Calendar and Record of the Revolutionary War in the South: 1780-1781

Seventh Edition.



By William Thomas Sherman

2010.



Gun Jones Publishing, Seattle, Washington, 2010
Copyright 2003, 2006. William Thomas Sherman
July 17, 2003, TXU 1-102-840
Calendar 3rd edition. June 19, 2006 TXu 1-361-729
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website: http://www.gunjones.com
ISBN: 0-9787684-0-X (hardcover version)
ISBN: 0-9787684-5-0 (softbound version)

***7th edition text last updated*: 4 September 2010.**

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Dedicated in Memory of
Sgt. Kevin J. Lannon,
U.S. Army Rangers,
2nd Ranger Battalion, 75th Inf. Div., A Company, 3rd Platoon.
KIA Grenada Oct. 27 1983.

Without such, there is no freedom,
Without freedom is no life.

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INTRODUCTION

The work presently before you is the result of many years of research, and made possible by the hard work of individuals too numerous to name. However, thanks must be expressed here to (in alphabetical order):

Lawrence E. Babits; Marg Baskins with BanastreTarleton.org; Charles B. Baxley, of the Battle of Camden Project; John Beakes; Robert Anthony Blazis; Lee Boyle; Sherri Bower; Todd Braisted at the Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies; Ann Brownlee, Shallow Ford researcher and Trading Ford Historic Area Preservation Association founder; Carol Buckler; Jay Callaham; Jo Church Dickerson; William Earl Finley; Charlie Frye; Donald J. Gara; William T. Graves, Michael David Kennedy; Charles LeCount, Jim Legg; John Maass; Stephen McLeod from the staff at Mount Vernon; Robert Menton; Odell McQuire; Phil Norfleet, Patrick O'Kelley; Stephen Rankin, Warren Ripley; John A. Robertson of the Battle of Camden Project; Ed St. Germain at AmericanRevolution.org, Jane S. Semple, Michael C. Scoggins of Culture & Heritage Museums, Brattonsville, Don Londahl-Smidt of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association; Toby Turner, Bruce W. Trogdon; Sam West; James H. Williams; Melinda M. Zupon of the Ninety Six National Historic Site, National Park Service.

It is only etiquette to throw together a list of acknowledgments in a non-fiction work. Yet here it should be mentioned that the direct and indirect contributions of most of these people has been tremendous; and, in some instances, even pioneering and ground breaking; and were it necessary to delete what they have provided, you would very much notice a difference in the quality of the text. Marg Baskins[1] www.banatsretarleton.org and John Robertson's "Online Library of the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution,"[2] are veritable libraries of rare books and documents relating to the Revolutionary War in the South with few, if any, peers; though Todd Braisted's "Online Institute of Loyalist Studies,"[3] and Phil Norfleet's "South Carolina Loyalists and Rebels"[4] and Charles B. Baxley's "Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution"[5] ought certainly be mentioned in this wise also. All of these individuals and their websites have contributed both enormously and generously in the way of resources and material for this project.

I would also like, as well, to express deep gratitude to hundreds of other genealogical and historical organizations and websites, such as those of state and county historical societies, and independent individual researchers as well; which and who furnished most of the pension extracts; while making it possible to fill in small details which could not be found anywhere else. They are too many to list unfortunately. Yet I hope that this token expression of thanks will give at least some of them a little satisfaction in knowing that their endeavors have, notwithstanding, been of substantial benefit to others.

Calendar and Record

The original purpose of this book is and has been to record and provide more precise information than is often usually and readily available on the Revolutionary war in the southern states during 1780 and 1781. "Who?" "Where?" "When?" "How many?" are asked as these questions pertain to the military situation existing in and from Georgia to Virginia during that period. In its earliest form, this work was intended as resource to aid in historical simulation design and focused exclusively on the events relating to General Nathanael Greene's campaigns; with an effort to provide extensive coverage of partisan operations in this same area and period as well. Now, however, the chronology is filled out with more material on the British siege of Charleston in 1780, events prior to and culminating in Greene's arrival in early Dec. 1780, with general coverage as well of the Virginia and Yorktown campaigns. Furthermore, some at least scant consideration has also been allotted to the Spanish offensive in Florida; and the numerous frontier skirmishes with the British allied Indians in western Georgia, (then) western North Carolina (i.e. present day Tennessee), and southwestern Virginia.[6] But more than this, the work, albeit still fundamentally a reference source, over time has taken on a more conventional literary and reflective character not at first quite anticipated or intended; and which it is hoped has contributed to making it more instructive to the heart and illuminating to the spirit.

Though military activity continued well into late 1782, it was decided, and given the large amount of data and research involved, to limit this study to the actions and movements leading up to and including Eutaw Springs and Yorktown. In addition, I had originally hoped to at least complete this work with coverage of the fighting in November and December 1781, but later circumstances suggested that it was better to keep things as they were. The book's full title then (i.e. with respect to "1780-1781") is something of a misnomer; which it is hoped readers will indulge as a pardonable convenience; and "From Charleston to Yorktown" perhaps would have been a more suitable.

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[1] I have told Ms. Baskins that *even if* Tarleton were reproachable for things he's accused of by some historians (and to which Ms. Baskins takes exasperated exception), he, nonetheless, certainly shows great merit in his admirers.
[2] http://lib.jrshelby.com/
[3] http://www.royalprovincial.com/
[4] http://sc_tories.tripod.com
[5] http://www.southerncampaign.org/
[6] Aside from actions involving large fleets, naval matters, such as pertain to the South and North Carolina navies (not to mention British and Continental navies, or for that matter privateers), are largely and glaringly omitted. As regrettable as this is, it could not, under the circumstances, be helped due to the already large scale of this work and the concomitant amount of material to be researched, located, and gone through necessary to achieve a properly comprehensive and reliable record.

Given that there has been an effort to organize the data in specific categories, a few identical passages and notes in this work are on odd occasion reproduced in different sections. While perhaps not terribly aesthetical, this approach has practical valuing in allowing certain records, such as troop strengths and supply lists, for example, to be seen in different contexts, thus providing additional insight to a given particular topic. To illustrate, that many of Cornwallis' men were without shoes helps to partly explain his hurried retreat to Cross Creek after Guilford Court House. This lack of shoes then might be noted in separate sections as something affecting military movement and morale, while also being relevant to logistics: either of which might be a given reader's particular concern or interest.

Notes on Formatting, Phrasing and Footnotes in the Calendar

Explanation of phrasing used for date entries in the *Calendar*:
* {date}. X marched to (L)
Means that X arrived at location L on the date given. Sometimes more than one specific date will be mentioned in a date entry, including say an alternatively proposed or else related date with respect to the event described. But the single date is assumed to be the point of reference for the event described or document (such as a letter) reproduced.

* {date}. X wrote Y; also X ordered Y: also Y received from X
Means on that given date X wrote or sent (or else received) an order to Y. This does not necessarily mean, however, either that Y received it on that date. In some instances though, it may be the case that Y *did* receive the letter/order, and or carried it out its instructions the same day it was dispatched.

Though occasionally specific times of day are given, the phrases such as "marched to" or "arrived at" as used might have a somewhat wide latitude of meaning as to when the person or force came to a certain place. For instance, they may have marched the night before the date given, and then arrived on the morning of that date. Or they might have started out on the morning of that date and reached their destination by day's end. If not elaborated on by, it is otherwise assumed to be adequate to indicate at least roughly where the person or force was situated on a given calendar day.

In keeping with age-old usage and practice, frequently the name of a force or army's commander is used to refer to that of the army (or body of soldiers) under their command. So, for example, if "Washington crossed the Hudson River," this means that Washington and the army under this command crossed the Hudson River on the day given. Similarly, if "Cornwallis camped at Winnsborough," it means Cornwallis and his army were encamped at Winnsborough on such and such date. Instances where only the individual leader is intended, and not the army, should again and without difficulty be discerned by context or by worded specification.

Letters, correspondence, and passages from other works quoted in the text, in the vast majority of cases, are selected *extracts*, and in the vast majority of instances should be understood to be such.

As a matter of convenience, I typically refer to both sides as American and British when in some engagements the fighting took place entirely or almost entirely between Americans; who were either Rebels or Tories. This is not intended to be a slight toward the loyalists (i.e. as if to say they were not necessarily "American"), but is merely adopted to avoid ambiguity in the presentation of battles and skirmishes.

In the footnotes where source materials are made reference to, three letter codes are used to designate a particular author and the work being cited. The following gives the keys to or translations of those codes. Names placed in parenthesis indicate that that author or other person is directly quoted within the text. More complete titles, author's names, publishers, etc. can be found in the bibliography.

Footnote Key.

ACG ~ *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales* (A. Aspinall, editor)
ADA ~ (Anthony Allaire's, Lieut. of the Loyal American Volunteers) "Diary of Lieutenant Anthony Allaire" (see Draper's *King's Mountain & Its Heroes*)
AJO ~ (Thomas Anderson, Lieut. of the Delaware Regt.) "Journal of Thomas Anderson's 1st Delaware Regiment"
AR80 ~ *Annual Register* for 1780 (author listed formally as "Anonymous.")
AR81 ~ *Annual Register* for 1781
ATR80a ~ *The Remembrancer for 1780*, (part 1, vol. 9)
ATR80b ~ *The Remembrancer for 1780*, (part 2, vol. 10)
ATR81a ~ *The Remembrancer for 1781*, (part 1, vol. 11)
ATR81b ~ *The Remembrancer for 1781*, (part 2, vol. 12)
ATR82a ~ *The Remembrancer for 1782*, (part 1, vol. 13)
BAV ~ Thomas Baker's *Another Such Victory*
BCA ~ E.H. Britton's "The Siege of Charleston in the American Revolution," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1848. [pp. 261-337]
BDB ~ Bright & Dunaway's *Like a Bear With His Stern in a Corner: The Battles of Hart's Mill, Pyle's Defeat, Clapp's Mill, Weitzel's Mill*
BDW ~ (Lawrence Babits') *Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*
BEA ~ (Mark M. Boatner's) *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*
BGC ~ (Robert Bass') *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter*

BGD ~ (Robert Bass') *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson*
BLB ~ (Nisbet Balfour) *Letterbook*
BLO ~ (Lawrence Babits') *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse*
BMS ~ (Tarleton Brown) *Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, A Captain in the Revolutionary Army*
BRG ~ John Buchanan's *Road to Guilford Court House*
BSC ~ Carl Borick's *A Gallant Defense: The Siege of Charleston, 1780*
BSF ~ (Robert Bass') *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion*
CAC ~ Cornwallis' *An Answer to that Part of the Narrative of Lt. General Sir Henry Clinton*
CAR ~ Henry Clinton's *The American Rebellion* (William B. Wilcox, editor)
CBA ~ Henry Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution 1775-1783*
CDI ~ (Alexander Chesney) *Diary of Captain Alexander Chesney* (Samuel C. Williams, editor) from *Tennessee Historical Magazine*
CGA ~ (Kenneth Coleman's) *The American Revolution in Georgia*
CGP ~ French Ensor Chadwick's *The* [Thomas] *Graves Papers*
CKR ~ Edward Cashin's *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*
CLC ~ (Rev. Eli W. Caruther's) *Life of Rev. David Caldwell.*
CLS ~ M. J. Clark's *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War,* vol. I
CNC14 ~ *The State Records of North Carolina*, vol. 14, (Walter Clark, editor)[7]
CNC15 ~ *The State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 15 (Walter Clark, editor)
CNC17 ~ *The State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 17 (Walter Clark, editor)
CNC22 ~ *The State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 22 (Walter Clark, editor)
CNS1 ~ (Rev. Eli W. Caruthers') *Revolutionary Incidents in the Old North State,* vol. I (1854)
CNS2 ~ (Rev. Eli W. Caruthers') *Revolutionary Incidents in the Old North State,* vol. II (1856)
COC ~ (Henry Clinton's) *Clinton's Observations on Earl Cornwallis's Answer.*
CON ~ Marvin Cann's *Old Ninety-Six in the South Carolina Backcountry 1700-1781*
CSS ~ *The Spirit of Seventy-Six* (Henry Steele Commager & Richard B. Morris, editors)
DKM ~ (Lyman Draper's) *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*
DLM ~ Stewart E. Dunaway's *The Battle at Lindley's Mill*
DME ~ Christopher Duffy's *Military Experience in the Age of Reason*
DNC ~ Charles Davis' *A Brief History of the North Carolina Troops of the Continental Establishment in the War of the Revolution*
DRO ~ Robert M. Dunkerly's *Redcoats on the River*
DRR ~ John C. Dann's *The Revolution Remembered*
DRS ~ (William Richardson Davie) *Revolutionary War Sketches of William R. Davie* (Blackwell P. Robinson, editor)
DSC ~ (Wilmot G. DeSaussure's) *An Account of the Siege of Charleston*
DSK ~ (Guilford Dudley's) "A Sketch of the Military Services Performed by Guilford Dudley, Then of the Town of Halifax, North Carolina, During the Revolutionary War," *Southern Literary Messenger,* March-June 1845 (vol. 11, Issues 3-6)
EHJ ~ (Johann Ewald's) *Diary of the American War* (Joseph P. Tustin, editor and translator.)
EPY ~ Greg Eanes' *Prelude to Yorktown: Tarleton's Southside Raid*
FNA ~ (David Fanning's) *The Narrative of David Fanning*[8]
FRM ~ *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. IV 1780-1783* (Adelaide L. Fries, editor)
FSN ~ (Henry Foote's) *Sketches of North Carolina*
FWI ~ (Sir John Fortescue's) *The War of Independence (History of the British Army,* vol. III*)*
FWV ~ Flagg's and Waters' *Virginia's Soldiers in the Revolution* [9]
GAH ~ (Horatio Gates) "Letters of Major General Gates from 21st June to 31st August" from *Magazine of American History,* October 1880 (John Austin Stevens, editor.)
GAM1 ~ (Joseph Graham[10]) *Archibald Murphey Papers, vol. I* (William Henry Hoyt, editor)
GAM2 ~ (Joseph Graham) *Archibald Murphey Papers, vol. II* (William Henry Hoyt, editor)
GAR1 ~ (Alexander Garden's) *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America* (1822) [first series]
GAR2 ~ (Alexander Garden's) *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America* (1828) [second series]
GCS ~ Donald E. Graves' *Guide to Canadian Sources Related to Southern Revolutionary War National Parks*
GDH2 ~ R. W. Gibbes' *Documentary History of the American Revolution: 1781-1782,* vol. II
GDH3 ~ R.W. Gibbes' *Documentary History of the American Revolution: 1776-1782,* vol. III
GDM ~ James Graham's *The Life of Daniel Morgan*
GHA3 ~ (William Gordon's, and also Otho Williams who is quoted in the work) *The history of the rise progress and establishment of the independence of the United States of America, v*ol. III[11]

[7] See http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/volumes

[8] In addition to what is listed in our bibliography, another copy of Fanning's *Narrative* can also be found at CNC22 pp. 180-239.

[9] This work can be found as an appendix in *Virginia Military Records: From the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, The William and Mary College Quarterly and Tyler's Quarterly*, with Index by Elizabeth Petty Bentley, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., Baltimore, 1983.

[10] Graham is quoted extensively in these texts.

[11] Respecting Gordon, one of the American Revolution's earliest historians, and to whom sometimes strangely opinionated reference is made in modern histories, *Appleton's Encyclopedia* provides this useful sketch: "GORDON, William, clergyman, born in Hitchin, England, in 1730; died in Ipswich, England, 19 October, 1807. He was settled over a large independent society at Ipswich, and afterward at Old Gravel Lane, Wapping; and came to Massachusetts in 1770. After preaching a year to the Third Church in Roxbury, he became its pastor, 6 July, 1772. During the Revolution he took an active part in public measures, and while chaplain to the Provincial congress of Massachusetts preached a fast-day sermon, strongly expressing his political sentiments, He was dismissed from his post, as the legislature regarded his prayers as intended rather to dictate their measures than to implore the divine direction on them. He returned to England in 1786, and published his 'History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States,' a minute

GHA4 ~ (William Gordon's, and also Otho Williams who is quoted in the work) *The history of the rise progress and establishment of the independence of the United States of America, v*ol. IV
GHC ~ (Alexander Gregg's) *History of the Old Cheraws*
GJG ~ A. A. August Gunby's Colonel John Gunby of the Maryland Line
GJW ~ William T. Graves' *James Williams: An American Patriot in he Carolina Backcountry*
GLG3 ~ G.W. Greene's. *The Life of Nathanael Greene,* vol. III
GNC ~ (Joseph Graham's) *General Joseph Graham and his Papers on North Carolina Revolutionary History* (William A Graham,[12] editor)
GNS ~ (Jerome A. Greene's) *Ninety Six: A Historical Narrative*
GPS ~ Pension application of Joseph Graham S6937, Transcribed by William T. Graves, see also GAM, GNC and SNC for other Joseph Graham transcripts.
GRA ~ (William A. Graham's) "The Battle of Ramsaur's Mill" (booklet article)
GWC ~ (Robert Gray's) "Observations on the War in Carolina, 1782." See *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XI, no.3. See also SCAR vol. 3 no. 2, p. 47.
GYT ~ (Jerome A. Greene's) *The Allies at Yorktown: A Bicentennial History of the siege of 1781.*
HDM ~ Donald Higginbotham's *Daniel Morgan, Revolutionary Rifleman*
HFR ~ Gaillard Hunt's *Fragments of Revolutionary History*
HGS ~ John Hardin's "Two Leaves of Revolutionary History taken down from Conversations with Governor Shelby" The American Whig Review, vol. 8, Issue 6, pp. 577-584. See also CNC15 pp. 104-111.
HMS ~ (William Hill's) *Col. William Hill's Memoirs of the Revolution* (A.S. Salley, Jr., editor)
HMP ~ (Samuel Hammond's) *Pension Application of Col. Samuel Hammond* (William T. Graves, editor, see SCAR vol. 2, no.1)[13]
HRS ~ (George Hanger's) *Reply to MacKenzie's Strictures*
HSC ~ Franklin Hough's *Siege of Charleston 1780*
HWW ~ William Haller's *William Washington: Cavalryman of the Revolution*
JFM ~ (William Dobein James') *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion* (Kessinger Pub. edition, 2004)
JJA ~ (Stephen Jarvis') "Narrative" appearing in "Journal of American History," vol.1, No.4
JHG ~ Charles Jones' *The History of Georgia*

and generally faithful narrative (4 vols., London, 1788). The value of this work was somewhat impaired by the expurgation of such passages as might incur prosecution. He subsequently settled at St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire. Besides his history, he published 'A Plan of a Society for making Provision for Widows by Life Annuities' (1772); 'First Anniversary Sermon after the Declaration of Independence, 4 July, 1777"; and an 'Abridgment of Edwards's Work on 'The Affections.'"

[12] William A. Graham was the son of Joseph Graham, and not to be confused with Col. William Graham, a N.C. militia officer of the Revolutionary war.

[13] See also JTR which contains Samuel Hammond's "Notes."

JKH ~ (Stephen Jarvis') *The King's Loyal Horseman, His Narrative, 1775-1783* (John T. Hayes, editor)
JLG1 ~ (William Johnson's) *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, vol. I
JLG2 ~ (William Johnson's) *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, vol. II
JPM ~ (Joseph Plumb Martin's) *Private Yankee Doodle* (George Scheer, editor)
JTR ~ (Joseph Johnson's, also Samuel Hammond's "Notes"[14] are quoted at great length) *Traditions and Reminiscences chiefly of the American Revolution in the South*
JYC ~ Henry Johnston's *The Yorktown Campaign and Surrender of Cornwallis - 1781*
KJO ~ (Robert Kirkwood, Capt. of the Delaware Regt.) *Journal and Order Book* (Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, editor)
LCC ~ (Henry Lee, IV; namesake and son of "Light Horse Harry" of the Legion) *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas*[15]
LCR ~ (J.B.O. Landrum's) *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina.*
LFB2 ~ (Benson J. Lossing's) *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* vol. II
LOB ~ "Leslie" Orderly Book (A.R. Newsome, editor); also known as the "British Orderly Books;" while Caruthers, in the appendix of his *Old North State*, has a version of the same, and calls it the "Cornwallis Order Book," see CNS2 pp. 207-231.
LOC ~ (John Laurens') "Original Correspondence of Col. John Laurens, J. L. Gervais, one of the Privy Council of S.C., and other persons during the siege of Charleston." Found in BCA.
LJA ~ (Roger Lamb, Sgt. of the 23rd regt.) *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War*
LLW ~ (Marquis de Lafayette) *The Letters of Lafayette to Washington* (Louis Gottschalk, editor)
LMS ~ (Henry Lee) *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department* (1869 edition)
LPS ~ Pension statement of Moses Lindsay S4551
LSC ~ Terry Lipscomb's *Battles, Skirmishes, and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina*
LSL ~ Roger Stansbury Lambert's *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*
LSY ~ Henry Lumpkin's *From Savannah to Yorktown*
MDR ~ Frank Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*
MGC ~ (Odell McQuire's) "And Some Were Sore Chased and Cut Down" (article series)
MHG ~ (Hugh McCall's) *The History of Georgia*
MLL ~ M.A. Moore's *Life of General Edward Lacey.*
MLW3 ~ (John Marshall) *Life of Washington*, vol. III (1926 Citizen's Guild edition)
MLW4 ~ (John Marshall) *Life of Washington*, vol. IV (1926 Citizen's Guild edition)
MLW4A ~ Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. IV (1805 edition)
MMS2 ~ (William Moultrie's) *Memoirs of the American Revolution, vol. 2*
MNS ~ (Lachlan McIntosh's) "Notes of the Siege of Charleston." See BCA.

[14] With respect to Samuel Hammond, see also HMP.

[15] Found at various locations in the pages of LCC are original and illuminating recollections, taken from their post-war correspondence with Henry Lee, of John Eager Howard, Edward Carrington, William Richardson Davie, Otho H. Williams, and members of Lee's Legion.

MSC1 ~ (Edward McCrady's) *History of South Carolina in the Revolution: 1775-1780*
MSC2 ~ McCrady's *History of South Carolina in the Revolution: 1780-1783*
MST ~ (Roderick MacKenzie) *Strictures on Lieut. Col. Tarleton's History*
NDI ~ (Henry Nase of the King's American Regt.) "The Diary of Henry Nase, King's American regiment," transcribed by Todd Braisted.
NGP ~ *The Nathanael Greene Papers* (Richard K. Showman, Dennis M. Conrad editors-in-chief) The number following "NGP" refers to which volume of the series.
ONB ~ Patrick O'Kelley's *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, vols. 2-3.
PLP ~ William K. Polk's *Leonidas Polk: Bishop and General*
PRO. ~ British "Public Records Office"
PMS ~ Purdon's History of the 64th regt.
RCC ~ (Cornwallis) *Correspondence of Cornwallis, (*Charles Ross, editor)
RCO ~ (Charles O'Hara) "Letters of Charles O'Hara to the Duke of Grafton" (George C. Rogers, ed.), *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, July 1964
RHA2 ~ David Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*, vol. II
RNC ~ (Hugh Rankin's) *The North Carolina Continentals*
RBG ~ Warren Ripley's *Battleground: South Carolina in the Revolution*
RSC2 ~ (David Ramsay's) *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*, vol. II
RWW2 ~ Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, vol. 2: *From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, 1777-1783.*
SAW2 ~ (Charles Stedman's) *History of the Origins, Progress and Termination of the American War, v*ol. II
SCAR ~ *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (an online and printed periodical found at www.southerncampaign.org)
SCV1 and SCV2 ~ B. F. Stevens' *The Campaign in Virginia 1781*
SDR ~ (Michael Scoggins') *The Day It Rained Militia: Huck's Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry*
SEU ~ (William Gilmore Simms') *Eutaw*, 1976 Reprint edition (Beverly Scafidel, editor)
SFR ~ (Simms') *Forayers*, 1976 Reprint edition (G. Michael Richards, editor)
SJM ~ (Rev. James Hodge Saye's, and also Joseph McJunkin who is quoted) *Memoirs of Joseph McJunkin*. For McJunkin's original narrative (as opposed to Saye's version) see SCAR vol. 2, no.11, pp 37-47.
SJS ~ (William Seymour's, Sgt.-Maj. of the Del. Regt.) "Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780-1783"
SLA1 ~ Lorenzo Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. I
SLA2 ~ Lorenzo Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. 2
SNA2 ~ Page Smith's *A New Age Now Begins: A People's History of the American Revolution*, vol. 2
SNC ~ (David Schenck's) *North Carolina 1780-1781*
SQR ~ (John Graves Simcoe, also Capt. John Saunders who is quoted) *Journal of the Queen's Rangers*
SRW ~ (Isaac Shelby's) *Account of his Exploits During the Revolutionary War* (William T. Graves, editor, see SCAR vol. 2, no. 3)
STL ~ "Scottish travel log" by anonymous British soldier that came to S.C. with Leslie's detachment in Dec. 1780. Like the LOB and for which it serves as a useful supplement, STL records places Leslie's and, where it applies, Cornwallis' forces halted between 2 Jan. and 8 Apr. 1781; see BDB pp. 12-13, 206-207, and N.C. Archives 80.1304.1-2 GD 26/9/51.
TBY ~ Erwin Thompson's *The British Defenses of Yorktown, 1781*
TCS ~ (Banastre Tarleton) *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces*
TOW ~ Osmond Tiffany's *Sketch of the Life and Services of Gen. Otho Williams*
TPY ~ M.F. Treacy's *Prelude to Yorktown*
USC ~ (Hinrichs) *The Siege of Charleston* (B. Uhlendorf, ed.)
WAR2 ~ Christopher Ward's *The War of the American Revolution, vol. 2*
WCA ~ (Otho Williams') *Calendar of the Otho Williams Papers*
WCO ~ Franklin and Mary Wickwires' *Cornwallis: The American Adventure*
WDC ~ Christopher Ward's *The Delaware Continentals: 1776-1783*
WFK ~ (Wertenbaker's) *Father Knickerbocker Rebels: How People Lived in New York City During the Revolution*
WHG ~ (Thomas Brown, loyalist) "Reply to David Ramsay" found in George White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*
WNA ~ (Otho Williams) *Narrative of Col. Otho Williams*
WNO ~ (Richard Winn) *Col. Richard Winn's Notes* (Samuel C. Williams, editor)
WNC ~ John H. Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina. from 1584 to 1851.* (2 vols. bound as one)[16]
WNR ~ (John Watson) "Narrative," transcribed by Donald J. Gara. See SCAR vol. 4, nos. 4-5-6, p. 55-61
WRM ~ John H. Wheeler's *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina*

[16] Wheeler, as fellow N.C. historian Joseph Schenck points out, is not always reliable; and occasional, including obvious, factual errors crop up in his work (he, for instance, erroneously states Jethro Sumner was at the battle of Camden, and Sevier at Musgrove's Mill.) Yet I include him -- in selected instances -- because the majority of the time he is correct; and, if this isn't enough, because he is at least useful in providing leads and filling in gaps regarding matters covered by just about no one else. Nonetheless and needless to add, he should be resorted to with caution and, where possible, supplemented with other sources.

Some General Remarks on the Text

Some areas on a given topic, person or event are filled out some more or some less than might be deemed desirable or necessary. This is a result of information available or else a judgment call made by myself as to importance of the subject. Without attempting to include every possible or interesting detail, it could not be avoided. As much as I have tried to be thorough, there are bound to be gaps in the record as presented here, which taken individually and by themselves might not have been impossible to fill. Despite this, in a few places insufficiency of time and resources prevented me from being completely exhaustive with respect to what would otherwise have been possible to include. For instance, David Fanning in his memorial (reproduced at FNA pp. 66-67) states of his having been in thirty six skirmishes in N.C. and four in S.C.; even so, our text does not try to account for even half this total of his averred encounters. Also, Simcoe's and Ewald's respective *Journals* (particularly the latter) make reference to so many minor combats and encounters while *in Virginia* that it would have been too ambitious, under the circumstances, to attempt to have created a formal entry for all of those.

Several skirmishes are included in the *Calendar* with no more information than a date, name and county. Except in the case of some engagements that are mentioned in pension statements, I have insisted that an action at least fulfill all three of these criteria if it is to be listed. Initially I was not going to include such skirmishes at all (i.e. which *only* have date, name and county), but changed this when I considered that they could still be a starting point for others who perhaps might be better situated than I am to uncover further information on these specific events. I have, however, made an exception to requiring the county in the case of certain actions recorded by Patrick O'Kelley in his *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*. Though he does not address the 1781 campaign in Virginia, Mr. O'Kelley has done quite an impressive job in his research,[17] and was able to uncover skirmishes that I had missed. Yet rather than attempt to catch up on all these, I have included most of them here as simple name and date entries accompanied by citations to the particular volume and page in his books where more can be found.

The movements of light troops such as those of Henry Lee and William Washington during the Guilford Court House and post Ninety Six campaigns, are difficult, if not impossible, to record wih close accuracy. Consequently, routes, marches, and halts of these units or forces is necessarily somewhat restricted. While a more thorough recording of the movements of cavalry and small detachment is desirable, as a rule, it simply has not always been possible to provide information on these as much as one might wish.

Likewise, it is very difficult to keep track of militia strengths since often times the men would come and go as they pleased. For this and other reasons, there were militia presences and minor skirmishes well beyond what we have been able to enumerate. And while a search through pension statements, rarely seen correspondence, and contemporary periodicals would bring many more small scale actions to light, a full and accurate listing in this book is under present circumstances impracticable.

The numbers given for a given force are sometimes derived from reconnaissance reports of the enemy, an officer's casual statement in a letter to a very distant superior, or (at worst) a secondary source that gives no reference. Understandably, such evidence cannot always be given full credit for accuracy. Yet many times it is as much as there is to go on with respect to the numbers in question, or for that matter data in general on that topic. The majority of the time, troop strengths include all "effectives" (that is *all* listed personnel, including officers, non commissioned officers [NCOs], supernumeraries, musicians, as well as rank and file); but where "Rank and File" is mentioned only privates and corporals are intended. Technically, "effectives" includes wounded, invalids, prisoners, those off duty, etc. Yet unless that form or strict interpretation is indicated, the term ordinarily and as often commonly used by people of the time and historians to denote "fit for duty" (the more proper term); and *the majority of the time* we employ "effectives" in this latter more colloquial sense of "fit for duty."

To obtain the full total number of effectives for a *rank and file unit or force*: in the case of the British add 17.5%; in the case of the Americans add 28% to the rank and file total. To obtain the rank and file strength from the total force of *effectives*, subtract the 17.5 or 28 of the overall number. These percentages come from the work of Hoffman Nickerson, as cited in Boatner.[18] Troop strengths when ordinarily given, and unless stated otherwise, assume the full strength of the unit and not merely rank and file.

When compiling number strengths of a given unit for a certain date or period, typically both a field commander (of the time) or a historian (writing years later) arriving at their total often make a certain amount of judgment call as to what men could be considered fit for duty and who were not so (say due to illness or absence of some kind.) As a result, the number the officer originally given may ended having been changed or modified within in a few days of the tally due to soldiers recovering (from sickness), returning, or else more soldiers becoming sick or missing. For this reason attempts at precise numbers for a particular unit on a given date should be

[17] And no less impressive are his fine, and sometimes lively, drawings inserted in his works. Pariseworty as well are John Robertson's maps contained in O'Kelley's volumes. Since this *Calendar and Record: 1780-1781* in its present state, is, regrettably, without maps, I would strongly recommend and refer you to: O'Kelley's books, Borick's on the Charleston siege, and volumes 7, 8, and 9 of the Nathanael Greene Papers for that purpose.

[18] BEA p. 916.

understood as being usually fraught with a certain amount of vagueness or uncertainty. In other words, even if on paper we know the regiment has so many men present on such and such a date, we cannot always be entirely sure how many of them were or remained present and fit immediately afterward. Sometimes also, for example, the sudden outbreak of illness, desertion or attrition on the march could affect the total significantly, such as during Cornwallis' pursuit of Greene in the Race to the Dan.

Promotions and the exact date they took place it was not always possible to find out. In order to be more careful, it is well to be aware that ranks given for officers in histories do not always s reflect that person's rank when they served in the war or at that time in the war. This problem, for example, is found in Lee or Tarleton where someone might be mentioned as a captain, or a major; who at the time of the fighting was a lieutenant or a captain (respectively,) or vice versa. Also Lieutenant Colonels are very often referred to as Colonels, and, if one wants to be more accurate and correct, one has to be cautious in not mixing up the two. With respect to militia officers, it is highly probable that someone listed as a colonel was actually a lieutenant colonel; only information was not conveniently to be had to clarify this. Although "Lt." is a conventional abbreviation for "lieutenant," here I instead usually use "Lieut.," while "Lt." is more typically employed for "light," as in light infantry.

While we have striven to be thorough in citing every major source when it applies to a given topic or event, one, of course, should not automatically assume that there isn't more to be found in these same sources on a given subject or occurrence that we cover. In addition, there are other occasional lacunae in other points of data and reference; which for lack of available sources, it was not possible to fill. Again, this does not mean that such missing information is nowhere to be had only that I did not know of or have access to it. Some information was deliberately omitted, perhaps unwisely, as being too trivial, deemed already generally known, or else thought to be something which could be inferred from other information given. This was viewed as necessary in order to avoid overload. Most of the more detailed and elaborate information was to be found in the sources cited and with more yet (i.e. not contained in *this* book) to be found in the same; most especially Showman-Conrad's *Nathanael Greene Papers* which has proved indispensable, particularly with respect to the military strengths and movements of 1781. Military historians and scholars who study this period and theater of the Revolutionary war owe Mr. Showman, Mr. Conrad, and their assistants great gratitude for detailing and clarifying much that was previously unknown, muddled or obscure.

The war in the south received more coverage in the way of formal memoirs and published writings by participants and contemporary historians than any other part of the conflict. One apparent cause of this was the need of some British military men to explain why the contest had been lost, and this necessarily entailed going over the events that immediately led up to and culminated in Yorktown. As an aid to understanding how the written history of the Revoluionary War in the South first evolved and developed, the following is a chronology of primary works (frequently cited in our text) that, in whole or in part, singularly pertain to the war in the south, and which were published prior to 1830. Included are *The Annual Register* and *The Remembrancer*, much drawn on by most all the early historians, and which, of course, were in already in print while the war was still being waged. (Some titles here are abbreviated for convenience.)
The Annual Register.
The Remembrancer. (two issues a given year)
Sir Henry Clinton, *Narrative of the Campaign in 1781 in North America*. (1783)
Lord Cornwallis, *An answer to Clinton's Narrative*. (1783)
John G. Simcoe, *Journal of the Queen's Rangers*. (1784)
David Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of S.C*. (1785)
Banastre Tarleton, *Campaigns*. (1787)
Roderick MacKenzie, *Strictures on Tarleton's History*. (1787)
George Hanger, *Reply to Mackenzie's Strictures*. (1789)
William Gordon, *History of the rise...and independence of the U.S.A*. (1788)
Charles Stedman, *History of the American War*. (1792)
Sir Henry Clinton, *Observations on Stedman's History*. (1794)
William Moultrie, *Memoirs*. (1802)
John Marshall, *Life of Washington*. (1805-1807)
Roger Lamb, *Journal of the American War*. (1809)
Henry Lee, *Memoirs*. (1812)
Hugh McCall, *History of Georgia* (1816)[19]
William Dobein James, *Life of Marion*. (1821)
William Johnson, *Life of Greene*. (1822)
Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War*. (1822) and (1828)
Henry Lee IV, *Campaign of 1781* (1824)
* Among the (then) *unpublished* memoirs of special note and that were penned in this same period are:
Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion* (Edited and published by Wilcox in the 20th century.)
Peter Horry, now mostly lost *Memoirs* and biography of Marion. (c. 1800-1815?)
Richard Winn, *Notes*. (1811-1812)
William Richardson Davie, *Revolutionary War Sketches*.(c. 1800-1820?)

[19] The portion of McCall's work that recounts the Revolution came out in this year; with the very first volume of his history of Georgia appearing in 1811.



Continental Army



6th S.C. Regt.



Queens Rangers



Coldstream Guards

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE SOUTHERN WAR IN PERSPECTIVE

In a day-by-day chronology of this kind, and which covers so much and various information, it is well to make a few preliminary historical remarks and observations in order to account for both noteworthy and interesting facts which might otherwise be unknown or overlooked in the *Calendar* itself. Additional data and anecdotal details of this kind are also to be found in the footnotes.

Some Odds and Ends

* Both Regulator and Indian fighting (particularly against the Cherokees) of the 1760's and early 1770's had a decisive role and impact on the organization and readiness of the militia in Georgia and the Carolinas; nor would it be all that much of an exaggeration to say that when the British launched their full scale invasion in 1780 they were entering a region that was in no small way already prepared to receive them militarily. The "Regulators" were originally vigilante groups formed to check the absence of legal authority in the Carolina backcountry. At the same time, they sometimes used their power to resist what they considered overreaching and excessive legal fees and taxes imposed by governors, crown sheriffs, and seaboard aristocrats. One of the results of this was that these backcountry people then became used to a kind of self-government noticeably independent of royal authority and supervision. However, after the original lawlessness was effectively dispelled, the Regulators then used the power they had acquired to settle personal grudges; and in some instances became petty tyrants punishing (among other alleged offenders) vagrants, immoral women, and lax family providers.[20] There followed then an effort on the part of Counter-Regulators or moderates from the lowlands and Backcountry to combat and suppress them. Yet some of these Counter-Regulators then in turn themselves became guilty of lawless acts in the pursuit of their own personal interests. So that by the time of the Revolution, the demarcation between Regulator and Counter-Regulator had in large measure (though not entirely) become the political boundary between Whig and Tory respectively. Even so, this division between warring parties durng the Revolution was by no means always or necessarily so easily decided on the basis of prior political allegiances. Many of the loyalists in the North Carolina interior, for instance, had themselves at one time been both Regulators and political enemies of the detested eastern land bosses, and whom they deemed the opposition rather than the crown; and it was from these that most of the interior (and as it turned out ill-fated) North Carolina loyalists derived. Likewise as a similar exception, the whigs in North Carolina were made up of both backcountry former Regulators *and* former seaboard Counter-regulators -- which re-alignment in practice sometimes made for an awkward, if not embarrassing, alliance, and the state was fortunate in having the likes of Griffith Rutherford and William Richardson Davie to bridge the western-eastern political gap.[21]

* As re-brought attention to of late by historian Michael Scoggins in his *The Day it Rained Militia*, much anti-British sentiment in the Carolina backcountry stemmed from an animosity to the religious authority that the British government represented in the way of the Anglican church, the *government backed* and thus more legally authorized church of the pre-revolution southern colonies; and with the same church of England having historically viewed Presbyterians and other religious dissenters with disapproval, antipathy and or subjected them to discrimination and, in some cases, persecution; and where such dominance could affect social and economic standing. South Carolina chronicler Joseph Johnson states: "Those residents in Spartanburg, York and Chester, of South Carolina, aided by those of Mecklenburg and Lincoln, in North Carolina, were the first and firmest in resisting the royal authority in the South. This region of the country was chiefly settled by families who had emigrated from the north of Ireland, and were descendants from the Puritans from Scotland, who had taken refuge there during the cruel persecutions which both the church and state carried out against them. From such circumstances, these Carolina patriots were called the Scotch-Irish, and their descendants still pride themselves in this appellation, tradition and lineage."[22] This enmity lived on in the Revolutionary War; not only with the religious dissenters themselves but with a few but very aggressive British officers who made it their business, and not without good reason, to associate vociferous protestant clergymen with the American cause. In addition, some American Irish, Scots, and Scots-Irish generally in combating British authority were taking up arms against what was for them was a traditional foe or rival. States Tarleton: "Irish were the most adverse of

[20] GNS pp. 47-48.
[21] SDR pp. 21-23.
[22] JTR p. 551.

all other settlers to the British government in America."[23] Deserving of mention as well in this regard, French Huguenots, known and recognized widely for their own struggles for religious liberty, were a conspicuous enthnic group in the South Carolina coastal region; and a few of the more well known southern whigs leaders, including Francis Marion, Isaac Huger, and John Sevier, sprang from families of that stock.[24]

* A relatively later wave of colonists in southeastern North Carolina was compromised of Scotch Highland emigrants who, beginning in 1729 and in fairly steady streams thereafter, settled on lands deeded them by George II. It was their gratitude for and fidelity to such royal grants that induced them to side with the British. Likewise and for the same reasons did many German colonists who settled in the Carolina hinterland and backcountry, the inhabitants of the fecund and land rich "Dutch" [i.e. Deutsch] Fork in South Carolina and the loyalist particpants at Ramseur's Mill in June 1780 being two noteworthy instances of such. The Moravians of North Carolina are interesting in that as dissenters of a kind they tended to like the American cause from an idealistic standpoint, yet their more conservative temperament argued against radicalism; so that, formally and for the most part, they remained neutrals in the conflict, and which neutrality both British and Americans (at least formally and for the most part) honored and respected.

* A considerable portion of major Carolina and Georgia military leaders, either themselves or their parents, had emigrated to South Carolina and North Carolina from Virginia and Pennsylvania sometime just prior to the war. A few had even been born in England, such as William Richardson Davie, Henry William Harrington, Robert Lawson, and James Jackson. Sumter and many of his regimental commanders, and such as Samuel Hammond, were originally from Virginia. Pickens, William Lee Davidson, and Edward Lacey were born in Pennsylvania; while Elijah Clark, the Georgian, had come from North Carolina. Of all the prominent leaders among the southern militia and partisans, only Marion was an indigenous South Carolinian. The same is also true of some the Carolina loyalist leaders, including Richard King who hailed from Great Britain; Robert Cunningham, John Harrison, James Cary by birth Virginians; and Daniel Plummer from Pennsylvania.

* Many names of the cities and towns mentioned are spelled or styled differently today than they usually were in the late 18th century. Charleston, for example, was "Charles Town, or "Charlestown,"[25] Hillsboro "Hillsborough," Orangeburg "Orangeburgh," Charlotte "Charlotte Town," and Winnsboro "Winnsborough" or "Wynnesborough." Waxhaw (the correct name) is sometimes referred to as Waxhaws or Waxhaw's district. Most frequently, the older version will be used in this work. In some rarer instances there are towns and other geographical locations and features that have names entirely different from what they were back then; for instance, Cross Creek is now Fayetteville, and Drowning Creek is now Lumber River. Also, Cheraws (once also known as "Chatham") is pronounced "Cheroys,"[26] while Catawba is "Cut-taw-buh." The name "Carolina," incidentally, was bestowed by Charles II for himself for an area that included later Georgia, South and North Carolina; the division creating North and South Carolina being later enacted by George II in 1729; with Georgia receiving its charter in 1732. Last, unusual Carolina names such as Wadboo, Combahee, Pocotaligo, Congaree, Peedee, Eutaw, Catawba, are, of course and if not obvious otherwise, of Native American origin.[27]

* William A. Graham (son of Major Joseph Graham): "In those days there were no post-offices or country stores for the congregating of the people. The flouring mills were the points of assembling, and the roads usually named for the mills to which they led." [28]
Frequent mention is made of mills in our text, and these were of course water mills; of which there were four basic kinds in the 18th century: grist mills for grinding grain; lumber mills for sawing wood; loom or textile mills; and iron, or metal shaping, mills. Plantation's as well and similalrly differed in terms of what sort of crop the given owner might predominantly harvest and trade in.

* Soldiers could vary greatly in age. Typically, they were in their teens. Yet sometimes one finds described in the record an old timer with more energy than many youths.[29] The average height of soldiers on both sides tended to be under six feet, and soldiers taller than this were the much rarer exception, despite notable examples among the officers like Col. William Campbell, Daniel Morgan, or of course, George Washington himself.[30]

* The British and loyalists often tended, due in part to lack of training aiming and or excessive powder in their cartridges, to over shoot their targets. Firing downhill would only increase the likelihood of the ball going higher than the intended point of impact. This phenomenon is mentioned specifically as occurring at King's Mountain and in the Guilford Court House campaign.[31] By contrast, the Continentals and a small number of the whig militia were generally sparing of powder and lead, and thus were prompted to make more economical use of their shots.[32]

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[23] TCS p. 86.
[24] For more on the topic of religion during the time of the Revolution, see JLG1 pp. 287-288, SCAR vol. 5, no2.
[25] Charlestown was incorporated in 1783, and only then became "Charleston." In the *Calendar* itself, the old spelling is used.
[26] Also at one time known as "Chatham." JTR p. 486, GHC p. 119.
[27] Oddly enough, one of the most incisive and at the same time comprehensive descriptions, including a summary history, of the Carolinas and Georgia prior to the Revolution is found in the Hessian diary of Captain Johann Hinrichs, USC pp. 145-159, 319-363.
[28] GRA.
[29] See for example EHJ, vol. iii, ch. 2, p. 231.
[30] Regarding the height of the rank and file, see CLS pp. 471-474.
[31] See LMS pp. 275n, 285n, and also CSS p. 620.
[32] See also BDW pp. 14-15.

* Customarily a cannon is spoken of as being, for example, a three-pounder, or four-pounder, or six-pounder, etc. The number spoken here refers to the weight of the ball or shot it fired. Iron cannon (which is heavier than brass) had the advantage of being able to fire somewhat longer distances than brass cannons of the same caliber, while the latter were less likely to become damaged or explode due to a mishap than iron guns. Howitzers, unlike ordinary ordnance, could fire at both low and high angles, while mortars (usually the more portable of the two types) could fire at only high angles. These last two types threw explosive shells and were customarily (though not always) employed in sieges and against fortifications. For a an indepth and detailed survey of artillery formations and tactics, types of guns, and ammunition used in the War of Independence, see GYT pp. 49-72.

* In the course of this work reference is made to types and components of fixed and field fortifications. The following then is a brief glossary of some of these. An at length presentation of 18th century defensive works, their role and usage can be found at GYT pp. 23-48.
~ *abatis* (also *abbatis)*: a carefully constructed defensive obstacle, either laid on open ground or sticking out from earthworks; formed of felled trees or *branches* (as opposed to stakes) with sharpened ends facing the enemy (not unlike how barbwire was employed militarily in later times.)
~ *embrasure*: an apeture or port, including loopholes, through which to fire.
~ *fascine*: a long bundle of wooden sticks or staves (usually 6 foot long) bound together into bundles of 6 to 8 inches in diameter and used to strengthen an earthwork's inner foundations and typically used in conjuncion wih gabions; while fraises, palisades and abatis by comparison aided in the fortification's outer defense.
~ *fleches*: two trenches coming together at a slight angle pointed in the direction of the enemy typically used in siege defense and besiegeing approaches.
~ *fraise*: an obstacle of pointed *stakes* (and larger than the *branches* of an abatis) driven, in uniform rows, into the ramparts of a fortification or redoubt in a horizontal or inclined position. While fraises, though larger in size, could be said to resemble certain kinds of abatis, not all abatis resembled fraises.
~ *gabion*: a basket or cage filled with earth or rocks and used especially in building a support or abutment.
~ *redan*: a small two palisaded redoubt usually with a ditch in front of it.
~ *redoubt*: a small, usually temporary, enclosed defensive work usually dug and constructed of earth.

* There were two main agricultural harvests in a given year -- one in early summer and the other in early autumn. In South Carolina, for example, planting would take place in March and April with a crop following in July and August. A second planting would occur in July and August with a possible crop then in September and October. Not untypically, the harvest times would draw many men from the militia home and away from the army.

* With armies camping in and passing through them, an area of territory could be exhausted of food and provisions, either for reasons of supply or because of willful destruction. And even if left untouched afterward, the denuded locale still might not substantially recover (as to be able to feed an army of 1,000 or more) for many months or even years. What happened above Camden and around Charlotte and Salisbury in the course of 1780 are good illustrations of this problem.

* So acute could be supply shortages for armies of both sides that not infrequently they found themselves having to subsist by impressing food and basic necessities from the local populace -- though not without conscience or reluctance, see LMS p. 544. The Americans, in addition, and particularly the militia, often had to rely on capturing stores from the enemy, including arms and ammunition, in order to provide themselves with what they needed to both fight and survive. One of the main reasons cited by historians for Cornwallis' supply problems was lack of wagons and teams of wagons and horses. The American army, for its part, lost most of what it had in the quartermaster's department at Camden, 16 Aug. 1780; so that Greene faced difficulties similar to his opponent in this respect. Nor were matters helped by the fact that the roads of that time were often very bad. Waterways, therefore, were a very often sought after means of transport. However, the British were usually prohibited from using river transport to Camden, or from Wilmington and Cross Creek (into the interior), due to interdiction by enemy militia and partisans. Loyalist Robert Gray describes one such supply path this way: "The stores at Camden were sent by water from Charles Town to Monck's Corner, from thence waggoned [sic] to a landing on Santee near Nelson's ferry where they were embarked in boats for Camden."[33] While Greene came to have the advantages of William Polk, Davie, Sumter, and Marion as defacto commissaries in North and South Carolina to help assist him when they could. Cornwallis and Rawdon, although sometimes receiving important aid from loyalists on the local and immediate level, had very little in the way of loyalist leaders of such broad and centralizing influence as Polk, Davie etc., to do the same, and frequenly had to rely on instant purchase and or seizure for provisions.
Militia, on both sides, as well as acting in a military capacity, facilitated both American and British efforts in gathering supplies, and military and geographical information (including through spying) from their own neighborhoods. While the Americans could normally be said to have had the much greater advantage in this; when Greene lay at Ramsey's Mill in late March 1781 he found himself in enemy country; such that local information was then not so easily had there as elsewhere.[34]

[33] GWC p. 147.
[34] It had been part of my original plan for this work to have compiled a supplementary volume; recording by means of both a general introduction and specific date the types, sources, and means of collecting and transporting various types of provisions

* Parties were sometimes sent out on in small groups from the main army as much too feed themselves as to scout and act as sentries, and a number of skirmishes arose as a direct result of some detachment (usually the British) seeking food for their men. Prior to an important march, troops would usually be doled out their rations (say for three days); which they were sometimes instructed to cook in advance of their setting out.

* The conduct of the war in the south was in no small way restricted and or facilitated by the judicious (or injudicious) use of rivers both as supply routes and strategic obstacles. As an aid to remembering some of the main waterways south of Virginia, the following is a helpful guideline:
~The (smaller) Haw and Deep Rivers join to become the (larger) Cape Fear River
Bell's and Ramsey's Mills are two key spots on the Deep River (the Haw, for that time, had none as such); the chief towns for Cape Fear are Cross Creek and, much lower down, Wilmington.

~The (smaller) Yadkin and Little Pee Dee Rivers become the (larger) Pee Dee.
The chief town on the Yadkin is Salisbury; that on the Pee Dee is Georgetown.

~ The Catawba River becomes the Wateree.
The chief town on, or at least very near, the Catawba is Charlotte; on the Wateree it's Camden.

~ The (smaller) Broad and Saluda Rivers together become the Congaree.
The Saluda served the Ninety Six and Dutch Fork area; while the chief locale on the Congaree was Belleville, Fort Grandby, Ancrum's Plantation, and vicinity.

~ The Wateree and Congaree Rivers then become the (much larger) Santee River.

* John Marshall: "The distresses of the southern [Continental] army like those of the north were such that it was often difficult to keep them together. That he might relieve them when in the last extremity, and yet not diminish the exertions made to draw support from other spurces by creating an opinion that any supplies could be drawn from him, Mr. [Robert] Morris [Congrees' Superintendent of Finance] employed an agent to attend the southern army as a volunteer, whose powers were unknown to general Greene. This agent was instructed to watch its situation, and whenever it appeared impossible for the general to extricate himself from his embarrassments, to furnish him, on his pledging the faith of the government for repayment, with a draft on the financier for such a sum as would relieve the urgency of the moment. Thus was Greene frequently rescued from impending ruin by aids which appeared providential, and for which he could not account."[35]

* It was not at all unusual for soldiers and sailors in the 18th century to see a given war as a means of obtaining personal plunder. Though loudly declaimed upon and ordered against by their commanders, the British in particular gained a notorious reputation for pillaging and private profiteering, even to the point of taking advantage of loyalists, which, not surprisingly, only ended up making it that more difficult to secure cooperation from the local populace in obtaining provisions. By contrast, some important American militia leaders, such a Sumter and John Stark (of Bunker Hill and Bennington fame) relied on confiscation of enemy property, on and off the battlefield, as a means necessary to securing their men's presence and cooperation, not very unlike comparable methods used by naval privateers to achieve the same. Although much has been written concerning Hessian looting in the north States (particularly in the early part of the war), in the south there is no (or else very scarce) mention of any such going on.[36]

* Weather played a very significant role throughout the war in the south, both in the way of heavy precipitation and excessive heat.[37] With respect to the former, and with the understanding that it would rain more heavily in some areas than others, there were notable showers, including some storms, in South Carolina during the summer of 1780. The Kings Mountain army encountered rain on its march in early October. December, January, and early February found both Cornwallis' and Greene's men contending with flooded and obstructed waterways; while a major downpour immediately following the battle at Guilford Court House prevented immediate assistance to many of the wounded left on the field.
On the occasion of such deluges, fords, and even ferries, could become difficult, highly dangerous, or even impossible to cross or use. In clear weather, it took Cornwallis' army (i.e. a force of one to three thousand) approximately twelve hours to cross a large river like the Santee by ferry. Swamps also, as a result of such flooding, could become even more impassible than they were otherwise. Natural delaying of movement would make force marches and surprise raids (such as Tarleton carried out) much less feasible. As well, sometimes supplies would be delayed before reaching their intended destination because of rain and the muddy roads they created.

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and military supplies. This wish not being as yet been possible to realize, it is at least worth noting that much of the primary data and source materials for such a project can be found in many of the works cited in the bibliography, not least of which official records and correspondence (such as are presented, for example, in the Greene papers.)

[35] MLW4A pp. 557n-558n, see also regarding Mr. John Banks of Virginia who in 1782 personally provided valuable assistance in supplying Greene at LMS p. 420.

[36] WCO p. 239. Also, the successful expedition against Musgrove's Mill in August 1780 was to some extent prompted by a desire for monetary gain on the part of some of the whigs, see LCR pp. 147-148.

[37] Henry Lee: "The heat in the months of July and August forbade the toils of war. In 1781 we found the heat of September and October very oppressive." LMS p. 133n.

Charles Baxley, editor of *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (SCAR), in comment adds: "Most summers in SC it rains almost every afternoon and evening with short duration, but often severe thunderstorms, sometimes scattered, but often in lines 100 miles long or more may dump 3" to 5" of rain in an area in less than an hour...the severe river 'freshets' were usually caused by 'Hurrycains' hitting the upper drainage basins along the eastern face of the Blue Ridge and in the winter by Nor'easters...hence: high roads and low roads...high roads were better in rainy weather as they crossed streams and rivers higher up where they are smaller and low roads, often more a direct route, but it had broader rivers, swamps and creeks to ford."
During the warmer months of of the year (late summer and early autumn), armies would often march during the evening, night, or very early morning to avoid the sweltering heat. In the winter, nightime in parts of the Carolinas could be bitinging cold. But with warm daylight hours, the snow that had fallen earlier in the darkness would melt into slush; thus making the already difficult roads that much more of a challenge to utilize and traverse.[38]

* Although such regulations could not always be met and adhered to, an American infanry company in 1781 *formally* consisted of 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 5 Sergeants, 1 Drumer, and 68 Corporals and Privates. An American cavalry troop, including those part of a Legion, were made up of 1 Capt., 2 Lieut., 1 Cornet, 1 Qtr. Master Sgt., 1 Sgt., 5 Corporals, 1 Trumpeter, 1 Farrier, and 60 privates; in practice though a given company, due to losses (including illness and desertion), might in the field well number less than this.
These companies then made up the battalion or battalions which formed the basis for a given regiment; while a cavalry regiment consisted exclusively of "troops" -- there being no sub-regimental cavalry organiation larger than this.
A British foot company, for its part, was made up of 1 Capt., 2 Lieuts., 2 Sgts., 3 Corporals, 1 Drummer, and 38 privates; with similarly and at given times, casulaties of a campaign resulting in a company's operating under its full strength.
With respect to the British cavalry, Robert K. Wright (in his *The Continental Army* p. 105) states: "The British Army's large cavalry contingent was organized for European combat. As a result, only two light cavalry regiments served in America during the Revolution. The 17th Light Dragoons arrived in Boston in May 1775 and served throughout the war; the 16th reached New York in October 1776 and remained for only two years. Each regiment consisted of six troops plus a small headquarters consisting of a titular colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a major, an adjutant, a chaplain, and a surgeon. Each troop initially contained a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet (equivalent to an infantry ensign), a quartermaster, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, a hautboy (drummer), and 38 privates. In the spring of 1776 the establishment of a troop was increased by another cornet, a sergeant, 2 corporals, and 30 privates. General Howe was given the option of either mounting the augmentation with locally procured horses or using the men as light infantry."
Despite this augmentation, it does not appear that in practice that an ordinary British or loyalst cavalry troop ever exceeded 38-40 mounted privates. Moreover, the organization of both loyalist infantry companies and cavalry troops occasionally permitted or necessitated some variation from the British model. In the case of the latter, we find the following examples:
~ A cavalry troop of the East Florida Rangers in early 1777 was comprised of 1 Capt., 1 Lieut., 2 Sgts., 2 Corporals, 25-30 Privates.
~ Philadelphia Light Dragoons troop in 1777: 1 Capt., 1 Lieut., 1 Cornet, 1 Quarter Master [Sergeant], 2 Sgts., 2 Corporals, 1 Trumpeter, 1 Farrier and 40 Privates.
~ A troop of the King's American Dragoons in 1782: 3 Commissioned Officers, 1 Staff Officer, 2 Sgts., 2 Corporals, 1 Trumpeter, 1 Farrier and 55 Privates.

* In the 18th century, the three or four rank line was the more ordinary battle formation for infantry; except in North America where the two rank line was more generally adopted in order to facilitate movement through difficult terrain and or due to the lack of men to fill the ranks. Similarly, an open line formation, where distance between adjacent soldiers in the line was maximized, was normally preferred over a close order line (where they were more or less shoulder to shoulder); in order to both extend the length of the line, ease movement, and to diminish the chance of being hit by enemy fire. Yet if risk of a melee was imminent, the close line would be reverted to.[39] States Henry Lee: "[Americans soldiers]…understand passing with facility through mud, water, and thick brush, fighting from covert to covert; whereas the enemy would never feel himself safe, unless in close order and unison of action, neither of which could long be preserved when attacked in such a position."[40]

* While we have fairly thorough and reasonably complete record of British, German, and French uniforms, with respect to American military clothing information is sometimes sorely lacking, and it is not unusual in doing deeper research that we sometimes find ourselves discovering peculiar facts that come somewhat as a surprise to a Revolutionary War historian who is not already a specialist on the subject of attire. To give just one interesting instance, Lieut. Col. Turnbull in a letter[41] mentions some of the Carolina partisans of York County and nearby wearing "uniforms" when we normally take it for granted that such were garbed in civilian clothes. Although, naturally, quite what he means by "uniforms" is open to question; the sort of possibility this raises cannot help but intrigue. So that while we are used to, say, picturing the patriots at Musgrove's Mill and King's

[38] TPY p. 4.
[39] EHJ p. 340, SQR pp. 187-188, DME p. 110. Incidentally and worth the noting, a table-top historical simulation that demonstrates the use of tactical formations well and in a readily grasped manner is Richard H. Berg's "Flintlock" put out by LocknLoad publishing.
[40] LMS p. 304.
[41] Turnbull to Cornwallis, 15 July, 1780, PRO. 30/11/2/158-159.

Mountain as garbed in hunting shirts and civilian frocks of some kind, it seems not at all implausible that some may have been (more or less and relatively speaking) conventionally uniformed. One form of standard clothing adopted by Greene's troops in the south were shirts, trousers and overhauls made from osnaburg -- an off-white cotton fabric. With respect to overhauls, Milfred F. Treacy writes: "These 'overhauls' [or overalls] fashioned of wool in winter and unbleached [cotton] linen in summer, consisted of close-fitting trousers or leggings, the bottoms of which extended over the instep. They had a strap which passed under the arch of the foot to hold them in place snugly. Worn with a fringed hunting shirt of matching material, the garments made a serviceable, if easily soiled, uniform for field duty."[42] Sometimes seamstresses were hired to make and mend clothing, and for which they were typically paid in salt (in place of ordinary currency.) Some works worth recommending on the topic of uniforms of the American Revolutionary War are: *Uniforms of the Continental Army* by Philip Katcher; *Soldiers of the American Revolution* by Don Troiani and James L. Kochan; *The Book of the Continental Soldier* by Harold L. Peterson; *Uniforms of the American Revolution* by John Mollo and Malcolm McGregor; *Military Uniforms in America: The Era of the American Revolution, 1755-1795* by John R. Elting, ed. and the Company of Military Historians); *The American Revolutionary War: Uniforms From 1775-1783* by Kevin F. Kiley & Digby Smith; various pertinent titles in the Osprey military books series; and see as well for additional reference, CNC14 pp. 714-716, CNC15 p. 181, GYT pp. 110-111, TPY p. 69. Finally, in the indexes to the *Nathanael Greene Papers* (NGP) headings are to be found for "clothing," "overalls," "osnaburg," "uniforms" (where in a given volume applicable.)

* "The horse is our greatest safeguard," said Greene, "and without them the militia could not keep the field in this country."[43] Generally speaking, the mounts of the Continental cavalry, often being derived from Virginia thoroughbreds, were swifter and heartier than those of the British; who had effectively lost (just about) all their mounts in the storms at sea sailing south to Charleston in Jan. of 1780.[44] The quality of horses made a singular difference both on the march and in combat. On campaign, the American cavalry could usually move longer distances and more quickly without showing strain too early. In a charge in combat, their stronger and heavier horses added additional power to the force of the attack. Lee speaks on this topic a few times in his memoirs. On the other hand, by the time Cornwallis invaded Virginia in the spring of 1781, Tarleton quickly availed himself of the horses of that state and in the process was able to carry out some extraordinary long distance raids. Meanwhile, it had otherwise become almost impossible for Greene (and despite Gov. Thomas Jefferson's own efforts initially to aid him in this) to obtain new steeds for his army from Virginia; as an act by the Virginia legislature about the same time further prohibited their impressment and seizure by his agents.[45]

* In at least 1780, whig militia commonly fastened pieces of paper in their hats to demarcate them from their opponents; while loyalist or tories wore green tree sprigs. Such was reportedly the case, for instance, at Ramseur's Mill and King's Mountain. However, by 1781 it is recorded, at least in North Carolina, that it was the whigs who fitted green twigs to their hats. Loyalists, on the other hand, by then wore a red cloth or red rosette; derisively referred to by historian Alexander Garden (himself an earlier member of Lee's Legion) as a "red rag."[46]

* With respect to movement rates there are the following examples to compare and consider:

~ Joseph Plumb Martin, a Continental soldier from Massachusetts reports walking a squad under his command 50 miles in 12 hours, and 90 miles in 24 hours.

~In pursuit to Waxhaws, Tarleton's troops rode 105 miles in 54 hours (while losing horses on the march; which were replaced en route.)

~After Musgrove's Mill, Isaac Shelby immediately retreated with a mounted forced, encumbered with prisoners, some 60 miles; such that in course of 48 hours his men had rode 160 miles, i.e. 100 to get to Musgrove's and 60 in retreat back toward the over-mountain settlements.

~ Joseph McDowell (of Quaker Meadows) and his militia marched 31 miles in one day, while other forces gathering for the King's Mountain engagement did above 23 miles per day. On October 1st, the entire force left Quaker Meadows and did 18 miles in one day, but there was rain; which forced them to halt for the entire next day. On the actual day of battle, and despite some drizzle and light rain, Shelby and Campbell's rode 40 miles to reach Kings Mountain.

~ An army moving at 10-15 miles a day considered to be moving at a very slow rate. As one example of this, in late January 1781, it took Cornwallis, 3 days to move 36 miles from his camp on Little Broad River to Ramseur's Mill.

~ Prisoners taken by Morgan at Cowpens (16 January 1781) amounted to two thirds of his force. Slowed by captured prisoners and munitions (muskets, artillery and ammunition), he did not reach the north fork or main stream of the Catawba until the 23rd of January (having moved a distance of approximately 50 plus miles in 7 days.)

~ Kirkwood's Delaware troops would typically move 60 miles a week on mathematical average, sometimes up to 70 or 80. An ordinary days march was 20 to 30 miles, or less depending on the strategy of the moment Greene was employing.

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[42] TPY p. 69, CNC15 p. 181.
[43] Greene to Joseph Reed, 18 March, 1781, NGP7 p. 448.
[44] Though, of course, the British were able to mount many of their cavalry similarly when Cornwallis invaded Virginia, and along the way captured some of those same breeds. See LMS p. 274n.
[45] LMS pp. 241, 265n, 274n, 379n, HWW p. 134. MSC2 p. 240. Somewhat conversely, the swords of American cavalry tended to be noticeably inferior to those wielded by British horsemen. LMS p. 215n, HWW p. 114.
[46] GHA3 p. 170, GAR1 p. 143, GAM2 pp. 225-226, TPY p. 162.

~ During his pursuit of Greene to the Dan River, Cornwallis managed a march of nearly 180 miles in the short space of ten days. Greene and his army, for their part, had moved on average 20 to 30 miles a day in the same period (see CNS2 pp. 59-60.)

~ On the retreat from the battle at Guilford, Cornwallis' sore, weary, and many shoeless men, and encumbered with sick and wounded, did 90 miles in six days.[47]

* According to historian Christopher Duffy, exhaustion, disease and desertion combined commonly deprived an army of about one-fifth of its strength in the course of an 18th century campaign.[48] In the war in the south, the effect of fevers and "fluxes," including typhus and dysentery, not unusually had a ruinous impact on army strengths, and the army's capacity to carry out operations, particularly with the British.[49] It was common medical belief at the time that such illnesses, in the words of historian Milfred F. Treacy, were induced by a "mysterious effluvia or miasma rising from the swamps."[50] For some of the Americans small pox at times could be a problem as well. Yet with respect to becoming ill generally, high-ranking officers could fall victim as likely as ordinary soldiers; with some becoming unfit for further duty or, such as James Hogun, James McCall, William Campbell, and William Phillips, actually dying as a result.[51]

* The presence of either British or American regular forces would tend to encourage the turnout of their respective militias significantly. Continental army presence tended to increase whig militia activity. Correspondingly, when the Continentals absence became prolonged, as after the fall of Charlestown and the battle of Camden, the number of whig militia who turned out dropped; with both large and small successes encouraging men to join an army as militia for either side. The time of the Race to the Dan stands as an interesting exception to this (few militia stayed with Greene in N.C. during that event); though this was due in no small part to the relentless pressure Americans then were placing on the loyalists in North Carolina. Later, and in South Carolina as well, so successfully that by the summer of 1781 some who had initially been loyalists ended up fighting for and alongside the rebels. Last of note, it was not at all strange or unusual to find soldiers in the ranks who had fought on both sides -- and not a few times were men hung as deserters by capturing armies in which they themselves had previously served.

* In most cases, in order for Continentals to be raised in a given state the British would either have to be absent, or else greatly circumscribed from operating within its borders; and when the enemy approached closer to home men tend to be drawn sooner into the militia than the regular army.

* Both Americans and British would often try to recruit from among the prisoners they might take, and on some occasions, particularly that of a major victory, they succeeded. In spite of this, the offer to enlist was not always open to everyone. Sumter, for instance, would only recruit loyalist prisoners whom he thought to be good and responsible men; there being an an expressed loathing and distrust of the criminal element among the tories otherwise.

* It was common practice to "parole" someone taken prisoner. This meant that the captive was allowed to go free, yet if he were taken again in the fighting he was liable to be executed. This civilized approach for dealing with prisoners had the advantage of relieving the conqueror of the unwelcome task of transporting, housing, and feeding them. Also if the prisoners were seriously wounded, it spared having to move them unnecessarily. Though violations of parole did occur, what is perhaps to us now more remarkable is that most of the time they were respected and observed. Paroled prisoners could be exchanged just like regular prisoners, and in such trading had equal status as the latter. This all said, the difference between a paroled captive and one confined could perhaps be likened to that between a promise versus payment in hand.[52]

* The preponderance of Continental Army men were ethnically of English, Scots-Irish, and Irish origin. Like their British counterparts, most soldiers came from lower economic strata, were illiterate and not infrequently some

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[47] "A day's march in the Canada expedition was frequently as little as ten miles, while in Sullivan's campaign against the Indians the day's journey varied from less than ten to about twenty miles; although it at times rose to forty miles in the twenty-four hours. Major Norris in his diary calls attention to the 'most extrordinary march' of his men from Tioga to Easton in Pennsylvania, a distance of 156 miles, in eight days—nineteen miles a day—over a mountainous and rough wilderness, with artillery and baggage. Better progress could be made by infantry when unencumbered; the Maryland companies of riflemen marched nearly 550 miles from Frederick Town (now Frederick City) to Cambridge in twenty-two days, or almost twenty-five miles a day. General Greene's army in the Southern expedition covered 2,620 miles from April 16, 1780, to April 19, 1781 (Morristown to Camden), or about seven miles a day, including battles and camping." Charles Knowles Bolten, *The Private Soldier Under Washington*, p. 195.

[48] DME p. 173.

[49] WCO pp. 245.

[50] TPY p. 4.

[51] CNC15 pp. 166-168.

[52] The following is a parole signed by Capt. Samuel Ryerson, of the New Jersey Volunteers, taken at King's Mountain: "I, the Subscriber, do acknowledge myself a Prisoner to a Detachment of the Troops of the united American States, under the Command of Colo. William Campbell; and do solemnly engage that I will not, directly or indirectly, act against the Troops or Citizens of the said United States, either by carrying Arms, giving Intelligence, or any other Means, until I am fairly exchang'd, according to the Rules and Customs of War; and that I will, when called upon by the Commander-in-Chief, Commissary of Prisoners, or any other Officer of the United States, appear at any place to which I am so directed, and untill called upon will keep within the Bounds of six Miles of my present abode, unless removed with the wounded of the American Troops nearer to Salisbury. Given under my hand in Camp at Colo. Walker's, Rutherford County, October 13th, 1780." CNC14 p. 694.

at times could be as unruly and insubordinate. While historians have debated the extent to which patriotism was a major motive for enlistment, it is not in question that most signed on for land grants and bounties. Yet so typically impoverished were these that much of the time, and sometimes early on, they sold these grants and bounties off to speculators in order to obtain much needed cash.[53] Even so, ardor for the revolutionary cause and "the United States of America" *was* present. For not only was a cause and "team" spirit necessary for winning, but it also gave to individuals greater meaning to what they were doing and engaged in; and which enthusiasm we not infrequently find expressed in letters, private journals, or spoken exchanges and anecdotes, not to mention post-war reminiscences and reflections.

* On 29 March 1779, Congress enacted a (for the most part) reduction, and accompanying reorganization, of Continental line regiments that resulted in many officers having to be sent home for lack of a unit to command or command in.[54] Subsequently, a not insignificant number of the most noted American partisan and militia leaders who went on to distinguish themselves in the southern theater in 1780 and 1781 were former Continental officers.

* On the day of the Yorktown surrender, Hessian officer Johann Ewald had this to say about his French and American opponents:
"Of the French I do not think it necessary to write much, for everyone knows that when these soldiers are properly led, everything goes well with them. The regiments have fine men, in very good order, clean and well uniformed. The men look healthy, and this climate affects them about as it does us.[55]
"But I can assert with much truth that the American officer, like his soldier, hates his foes more than we do. They admit this openly, and claim as the reason that they want more freedom than we, on our side, wish to give them. I think, too, that it is as much a kind of policy as a stratagem of General Washington to prevent quarrels that he separated the armies of the French and Americans so far apart during the winter quarters…
"Concerning the American army, one should not think that it can be compared to a motley crowd of farmers. The so-called Continental, or standing, regiments are under good discipline and drill in the English style as well as the English themselves. I have seen the Rhode Island Regiment march and perform several mountings of the guard which left nothing to criticize. The men were complete masters of their legs, carried their weapons well, held their heads straight, faced right without moving an eye, and wheeled so excellently without their officers having to shout much, that the regiment looked like it was dressed in line with a string. I was greatly surprised that the men were not in close formation, arm to arm, but had consistently left a place for a man between every two men, which is a very good thing in penetrating a thick wood or underbrush with entire battalions…
"Since the American nation consists of slender well-formed people, it is an easily recognizable fact that the regiments of this army consist of handsome, and for the soldier's profession, well-built men whose appearance suffers very much indeed from lack of clothing, hats, and shoes. For I have seen many soldiers of this army without shoe, with tattered breeches and uniforms patched with all sorts of colored cloth, without neckband and only the lid of a hat, who marched and stood their guard as proudly as the best uniformed soldier in the world, despite the raw weather and hard rain in October. But he keeps his piece clean and shining, and powders his hair as white as possible with provisions flour when on grand parades…
"With what soldiers in the world could one do what was done by these men, who go about nearly naked in the greatest privation? Deny the best-disciplined soldiers of Europe what is due them, and they will run away in droves, and the general will soon be alone. But from this one can perceive what an enthusiasm -- which these poor fellows call 'Liberty' -- can do!"[56]

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[53] BSC pp. 88-91.
[54] CNC15 p. 95, MLW4A pp. 125-129, MLW3 pp. 101-104, SNC pp. 30-31, BEA p. 263.
[55] For one illuminating presentation of American views of the French, see GAR1 pp. 206-216; while for commentary respecting French and American military and diplomatic relations as assessed by some contemporary observers, see AR81 pp. 21-22 and MLW3 p. 149n. Though it is well and rightly pointed out that the Americans had the French to assist them, the British, in addition to having more prodigious coffers and funding readily available to them, required and had the troops of (part of) Germany at their disposal -- up to 30,000 -- and this three years before a single regiment of Louis XVI's ever landed on American shores.
[56] EHJ pp. 339-341; while for British recognition of the improved quality of the Continentals at about this time see AR81 p. 18. Lafayette, at camp New Windsor, N.Y., on 20 January 1781 wrote to Count de Vergennes: "From my peculiar situation, sir, and from what it has enabled me to know and see, I think it is my duty to call your attention to the American soldiers, and on the part they must take in the operations of the next campaign. The Continental, troops have as much courage and real discipline as those that are opposed to them. They are more inured to privation, more patient than Europeans, who, on these two points, cannot be compared to them. They have several officers of great merit, without mentioning those who have served during the last wars, and from their own talents have acquired knowledge intuitively; they have been formed by the daily experience of several campaigns, in which, the armies being small and the country a rugged one, all the battalions of the line were obliged to serve as advance-guards and light troops. The recruits whom we are expecting, and who only bear, in truth, the name of recruits, have frequently fought battles in the same regiments which they are now re-entering, and have seen more gun-shots than three-fourths of the European soldiers. As to the militia, they are only armed peasants, who have occasionally fought, and who are not deficient in ardour and discipline, but whose services would be most useful in the labours of a siege." CSS pp. 1212-1213. Washington Irving, in his *Life of Washington* (Book IV, ch. 8), for his part gives this eyewitness testimony concerning the evacuation of New York in 1783, but which presumably was such as might also have been experienced at the British leaving of Charleston: "An American lady, who was at that time very young and had resided during the latter part of the war in the city, has given us an account of the striking contrast between the American and British troops. 'We had been accustomed for a long time,' said she, 'to military display in all the finish and finery of garrison life; the troops just leaving us were as if equipped for show, and with their scarlet uniforms and burnished arms, made a brilliant display; the troops that marched in, on the contrary, were ill-clad and weather-beaten, and made a forlorn appearance; but then they were *our* troops, and as I looked at them, and thought upon all they had done and suffered for us, my heart and my eyes were full, and I admired and gloried in them the more, because they were weather-beaten and forlorn.'"

* Maurice Saxe (1696-1750), the French Field Marshall, in 1732 wrote: "…he [the military author Folard] assumes that soldiers are always brave, without taking into account the fact that the courage of troops varies from day to day...Good explanations are rare, for they lie in the hearts of men, and it is there that we must search them out. Nobody has yet expounded on this subject, which is nevertheless the most important, the most subtle and most fundamental in the trade of war."[57]

* From *Annual Register*, 1781: "Most of these actions would in other wars be considered but as skirmishes of little account, and scarcely worthy of a detailed narrative. But these small actions are as capable as any of displaying military conduct. The operations of war being spread over that vast continent, by the new plan that was adopted it is by such skirmishes that the fate of America must be necessarily decided. They are therefore as important as battles in which an hundred thousand men are drawn up on each side."[58] Moreover, it could be argued that on the day of pitched battle (and where formal and outright suicide isn't being ordered), the individual is put at greater risk of losing his life or being woundd when there are fewer men engaged compared to an engagement where the same soldier finds himself alongside great masses of men.

Women and the War

There were some exceptions, like Jane Black Thomas,[59] but very seldom do we hear of women being involved in the fighting.[60] The more usual female a soldier might see would be among the camp-followers; which included wives, mothers, companions, and children. For the most part they took care of the soldiers, doing many of those routine, yet necessary and essential tasks that made a soldier's life more livable; and which included cooking, mending, and washing clothes, as well as caring for the sick and wounded. Officers, when they could, regularly corresponded with their wives and daughters, and sometimes would include small pictures of what was going on in the war in their letters home. But mostly they wrote about family matters, such as how the children were doing with their schooling, along with wishes to be together again.

Emily Geiger became a little folk-tale in the hands of Benson Lossing with the story of how she was captured by the British, while attempting to deliver an important message from General Greene. Through a bit of slyness she succeeded in destroying the message before it could be found.[61] Another oft recounted story concerns Greene's evening's sojourn at an inn at Salisbury, N.C. in early February 1781. Without a dollar to the army chest, he was feeling especially overwrought with the responsibilities and cares that fell under his charge when Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie Steele (or as she was named at the time of the occurrence, Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie), wife of the innkeeper, handed him a bag of money that represented a substantial part of her savings. Greene, touched by her generosity, wrote on the back of a portrait of King George in the inn, "Oh George, hide thy face and mourn!" He then left the picture facing the wall. What is claimed to be the portrait (which happens to be a print by the way) still exists in the hands of Thyatira Presbyterian Church in Millbridge, Rowan County.[62] The legend of Nancy Hart, by contrast, the Georgia woman who, almost single-handedly, captured or killed a group of 6 tories that had invaded her home,[63] probably didn't take place. Although it is agreed there was indeed a real Nancy Hart, modern scholarship tends (though not always) to take the view that the tale itself is bit of early 19th century lore and story-telling that made its way into elementary history books.

Among the historical traditions and lore, there are tales of young ladies in love with British and Loyalist officers.[64] One in particular reportedly died of a broken heart when the officer was impelled to leave the province. South Carolina historians of the Revolution, David Ramsay and Alexander Garden, on the other hand and allowing for understandable bias, are most zealous in depicting the ladies of Charlestown as aiders and supporters of those fighting for independence. And while we not infrequently hear of poor American soldiers subsisting and being clothed thanks to foreign aid, military captures, or impressment, the role of society women joining together, by means of charity drives and private donations, to contribute money and other necessities

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[57] DME p. 210.
[58] AR81 p. 83, author unknown.
[59] See the entry for Col. John Thomas, Jr., S.C. Militia.
[60] However, as Rev. Eli Caruthers observes: "An old lady of great respectability remarked to the writer not long since [the early 1850's], when speaking of the revolutionary times, that the women in this part of the country [North Carolina] would have shouldered their muskets and fought, if it had not been for the impropriety. The remark has been made by others; and we believe it to be true, for they seem to have been, from principle, as patriotic as the men; and they suffered so much from both British and Tories, that it could not be thought strange if they felt like shouldering their muskets and marching out to meet their ruthless oppressors in mortal combat." CNS2 pp. 270-271.
[61] McCrady, nonetheless, questions the accuracy of this anecdote, see MSC2 p. 301n.
[62] Why a portrait of George III adorned the inn in the first place, however, has yet to be explained. Sources for this incident include JLG1 p. 417, LFB2 p. 392n WAR2 p. 769, TPY p. 140.
[63] WHG pp. 441-447.
[64] Henry Nase of the King's American regiment (a Provincial corps): "27th. Novr. 1782 -- The heavy Baggage of all Corps and Departments , are Embarking, this day -- It is impossible to describe, what Confusion people of all denominations, seem to be in at the thought of the Approaching evacuation of Charles Town. The one is buying every thing he Can to Compleat [sic] his Shop of goods, the 2d. is Seeking for a passage to some Other Garrison of His Majesty[']s Troops, the third is going from house to house to Collect his debts, the fourth, and which is most of all to be lamented, is the Young Ladies ready to break their hearts, at the thoughts, that we are now going to Evacuate the Town, and leave them Subjected to the power of the Merciless and Insolent; at eleven o[']' Clock P.M. Mr. Anthony Lechmere was found Mortally wounded, in Broadway, and expired immediately -- " NDI.

toward the welfare of the Continentals has, by comparison, received much less attention and elaboration in more modern histories than in fairness the topic deserves. [65]

Whigs and Rebels

At the outset of the rebellion of the thirteen colonies, it was generally (if not with all persons everywhere strictly speaking) thought reasonable by ordinary people to take either the British or American side, each having some good arguments to bolster their position. Revolutionaries would speak of fighting for liberty and the land, while Loyalists could speak of fighting for loyalty and the king. If one side was no so virtuous as they would have wished, at least its opponent could be seen as being worse for one reason or other. As events proceeded, actions (military and otherwise) taken by the armies and partisans of either side could create new grounds for people to be for or against a given party; until eventually there was little or no room permitted for neutrality.

Whig was the common term used to describe those militia and others supporting the American cause locally or on the grass roots level -- yet rarely if ever with respect to the Continentals or the American cause at large; since the Declaration of Independence, of course, did away with any suggestion of overt commonality with Britain. Given the subsequent ramifications of the Revolutionary War, the name derived from a parliamentary faction might seem to us somewhat odd. Yet for the Americans to characterize themselves as Whigs was a way to tap into a long standing (and still present) division in British political and religious society; while at the same time it permitted the Americans from seeming *too* unnecessarily radical or disloyal to the mother country herself. The divisions of the war in part then had its origins in domestic political rivalry in Britain. Moreover, as some historians have pointed out, George III's packing parliament with Tories (i.e. "Tories" in the conservative political party sense of that term) after the French and Indian (or Seven Years) War was itself a consequential factor in fomenting the conflict.[66] Such in advance stacking of the political deck against the Whigs could only have further compounded matters when it is recalled that many colonists originally came to America as religious dissenters, and this of itself would have qualified many of the colonials as Whigs in some eyes.[67] Yet aside from the extent to which this should be adopted as the best explanation, Whigs was, in any event, the title the many Americans originally and on the local level denoted themselves as. More rarely, Revolutionist was another sometimes applied, and "Defenders of" or "Sons of" Liberty (or something similar relating to "Liberty") yet another. However, in the south towards early 1781, "American" or "republican" came to be more gradually adopted as a standard title in place of "whigs." To the British, however, these militia were almost always or invariably "rebels." [68]

When then we read of "whigs" in the Revolutionary War, we typically find it used in reference to the militia or else the Revolutionary movement carried out on the more local levels. Higher ranking Continental officers like Nathanael Greene were routinely critical of the reliance on militia in conducting the war; based on the view that the militia, generally speaking, offered less quality at a higher cost. in part because the militia were frequently

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[65] David Ramsay: "In this crisis of danger to the liberties of America, the ladies of South-Carolina conducted themselves with more than Spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies; and, though they withstood repeated solicitations to grace publick entertainments with their presence, yet they crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect…Many of them like guardian Angels, preserved their husbands from falling in the hour of temptation, when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honour and patriotism." RSC2 p. 124. After the city fell to the British in May 1780, whig ladies were sometimes permitted to enter more or less freely in and out of Charleston. JTR p. 102. For more with respect to notable female patriots, see AR81 pp. 19-20, GAR1 pp. 224-245, and GAR2 pp. 42-69.

[66] BEA pp. 416-419.

[67] A good, albeit brief, history of the use of the terms Whig and Tory can be found in Caruthers, CNS1 pp. 13-15, LFB21 p. 71n, and Boatner also. The Revolutionary cause was sometimes metaphorically associated, by people on both sides of the Atlantic (including Horace Walpole, see letter to Horace Mann, Feb. 20, 1778) with Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentarians (versus the Royalists.) The distinction, however, becomes blurry when Hanover is substituted for Stuart; at the same time Washington acted quite opposite from Cromwell. A remark of Dr. Johnson's (given in Boswell's *Life*,") and allowing for Johnson's usual hyperbole, is useful and illuminating with respect to the distinction to be made between the two viewpoints: "A Jacobite, Sir, believes in the divine right of Kings. He that believes in the divine right of Kings believes in a Divinity. A Jacobite believes in the divine right of Bishops. He that believes in the divine right of Bishops believes in the divine authority of the Christian religion. Therefore, Sir, a Jacobite is neither an Atheist nor a Deist. That cannot be said of a Whig; for Whiggism is a negation of all principle." And yet, ironically, in the American Revolution it was the Whigs who were most vocally religious; indeed often the most effective fomenting of rebellion sprang from local church pulpits in both the north and south.
Then there is Thomas Jefferson's delineating of the essential difference to be observed between the two views: "In every country these two parties exist, and in every one where they are free to think, speak, and write, they will declare themselves. Call them, therefore, liberals and serviles, Jacobians and Ultras, whigs and tories, republicans and federalists, aristocrats and democrats, or by whatever name you please, they are the same parties still, and pursue the same object. The last appellation of aristocrats and democrats is the true one expressing the essence of it all." Letter to Henry Lee Jr., 10 August 1824.
Often in the text I use the spelling "whig" and "tory," that is with lower case letters for purposes of emphasizing the expediency of these titles; while down playing *too great* an association with their original or more conventional meaning. This is not to say the traditional opposition between Tory and Whig was not of significance in the Revolutionary War; only I deemed it preferable to err on the side of minimizing it in order to avoid possible misconceptions about how the Americans themselves viewed such titles.

[68] Of course, from the very onset of the war and looking at affairs from a more strategic viewpoint, the title "American" was used by British and colonists alike, yet in some places it took some time for this identification to be accepted and adopted by people on the more regional and local levels, and it is this is the distinction -- local versus national – that I am alluding to here.

unreliable, hard to control and discipline, and tended to squander much needed and not always easy to obtain supplies. Another serious problem was their not always being there when they were needed. William Johnson, Greene's early biographer, remarks, "(B)oth the regulars and militia were for ever fluctuating in number; for, the continentals of the Virginia line, having been enlisted for various periods of service, and calculating their time from the date of enlistment, were continually claiming their discharges; and their commander had the mortification of seeing daily his best troops drop off in detail. As to the militia, most generally, being volunteers they came and went when they pleased; or being summoned into service for a short time, one half of their term was consumed in marching and countermarching, and they could never be calculated upon for a week together."[69]

The quality of the militia would often vary considerably according to where they came from and who was leading them. In the case of partisans -- as distinct from legislature run state militia -- it was not unusual in 1780 to freely move from leader/unit to another leader/unit. Thus someone under Sumter might serve under James Williams and vice versa, and in some instances this might create competition between the relative importance of commanders. Yet in striking contrast to Sumter's men, Elijah Clark's Georgians had no qualms about serving under South Carolinian Andrew Pickens when their own leader was laid up recovering from a wound.[70] Yet until state government could be reinstated in South Carolina, the partisans had to rely strictly on volunteers who more freely and easily decide for themselves if and under whom they would serve.

The formal state militia, however and by contrast, could mandate service. Terms of enlistment for such might range from three weeks to two months. By state law the South Carolina militiaman's tour was two months, even as late as July 1781 after which time new regulations were implemented. North Carolina often had men in the field for two months, but sometimes these tours were consecutive, so that a citizen soldier might end up serving four months, maybe more, at least if he was so inclined. The Virginia militia with Greene at Guilford Court House had been enlisted for six weeks. Most though went home before the six weeks were up, in part due to the oncoming of harvest, for which the men were needed, but also because (and so the militia men decided themselves) the time it took to get home was included in the six weeks term. Since Georgia and South Carolina were without state governments for most of 1780-1781, their militia generally acted as volunteer partisans staying or leaving as they felt necessary. Nevertheless, one should not infer that they were lackadaisical about this. In the case of the Georgians, the threat from Indians and their Tory allies, alone, gave them cause to serve regularly. Given the strain of British occupation, most especially in 1780, it was often necessary for both Georgia and South Carolina militia, and sometimes their families, to supply and equip themselves: independent of any external civil or military source (other than materials captured from the enemy.)

Much (if not most) of the time, the militia, especially those in the western halves of a given state, would be mounted. This had its advantages and disadvantages. George Hanger, a member of the British Legion, observes: "The crackers and militia in those parts of America are all mounted on horse-back, which renders it totally impossible to force them to an engagement with infantry only. When they chuse [sic] to fight, they dismount, and fasten their horses to the fences and rails; but if not very confident in the superiority of their numbers, they remain on horse-back, give their fire, and retreat, which renders it useless to attack them without cavalry: for though you repulse them, and drive them from the field, you never can improve the advantage, or do them any material detriment."[71] Greene and a number of his officers did not want too many *mounted* militia because it made them harder to train, discipline, feed, and organize, and gave them too easy an excuse to avoid combat if they felt like it; with the presence of many horsemen often appreciably deplete the foraging in a given area. This said, though being mounted could make the militia's presence in a battle precarious, it did on occasion allow them to independently carry out effective raids and forays (Musgrove's Mil and King's Mountain being notable instances of such.)

Many of the western militia acquired military experience from fighting with the Indians; which often stood them in good stead against the British, particularly in backcountry fighting.[72] As well, many, both east and west in the given state, served in earlier parts of the war. Not all militia then were green recruits or inexperienced civilians, and indeed, some effort was made to giving them a martial look and appearance, including in some instances having drummers and fifers. Notwithstanding, at the engagements where numbers-wise they were most congregated, such as Camden and Guilford Court House, the militia's lack of professionalism (though with some certain exception) was most evident. But whether properly prepared to fight or not, they were often an amalgam of individuals with more peculiar and pronounced idiosyncrasies compared to regular soldiers, and leading them could be difficult. For instance, "It is an invariable trait of the character of Militia," says Davie who commanded some of them, "that they will only obey their own officers in the line of action." For the same reason, Article 7 of David Fanning's "regulations for the militia" state: "The men are to understand, that in what relates to the service they are bound to obey all officers, though not immediately belonging to their own companies."[73] While their courage would sometimes surprise both British and Continentals alike,[74] and though a

[69] JLG1 p. 392.
[70] See GJW p. 16.
[71] HRS p. 82n.
[72] Marion's careful practice of constantly moving his camp in order to avoid surprise, and for which he became famous, is said to have derived from his experience fighting Indians, "a nation known to excell in wariness and stratagem" (Wm. Johnson). JLG1 p. 357.
[73] DRS p. 16, FNA p. 25.

necessary staple in the forces on both sides, ordinarily and most of the time, the militia could not be depended upon for very much, or that for very long.

On the other hand, an intractable resolve to reject militias and their effectiveness (as was manifested by many Continental officers) invariably assumed the infallibility and incorruptibility of the central government. Yet if the central government is overcome or temporarily absent, partisans and militias, as the war in the south demonstrated, become the last defense of the country. And though partisans and militias can, of course, be corrupted and misled by private motives, it is normally far harder to corrupt them at large and over wide areas than the central government in isolation. It was well then for President (i.e. governor) of Pennsylvania Joseph Reed, in a letter of 16 June 1781, to have prudently advised Greene with the proverb: "Be to their faults a little blind and to their virtues very kind." Although Morgan made profitable use of such wisdom, the sometimes necessary practicality of this approach was mostly lost on Greene. As a result and not surprisingly, the militia, generally speaking, more trusted and dutifully acquiesced to Morgan's requests while sometimes slighting and grudging (when not outright disobeying) Greene's.[75]

Despite Greene's and others understandable reasons for discouraging a too great reliance on them, in the *southern theater* the role of the militia proved peculiarly decisive -- much more so than Greene and his fellow Continental officers would openly admit. For it was the militia winning contests such as Kettle Creek, Huck's Defeat, Fort Anderson, Second Cedar Springs, Ramseur's Mill, Colson's Mill, Hanging Rock, Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain, and Marion's persistent warring that signaled the fall of loyalist support in the South, and to that extent contributed significantly to the war's outcome. This is all the more remarkable in that the only northern raids or battles where the militia conclusively affected a major campaign were the seizing of Fort Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, and Bennington. At the same time, and perhaps more astonishingly, the cumulative losses the British suffered in the course of these militia borne contests cost them as much as one or more major defeat on the field would have. Had these victories not occurred, let alone lost, the battle for the south might easily have turned out quite opposite to what it did. Indeed, as contended by South Carolina historian Edward McCrady, it could very reasonably be concluded: "It is not too much to say that without the partisan leaders of South Carolina and their followers the independence of America would never have been achieved."[76] Even Cornwallis, in a letter addressed to Clinton, was at one point prompted to write: "I will not say much in praise of the militia of the southern colonies, but the list of British officers and soldiers killed and wounded by them since last June [1780], proves but too fatally that they are not wholly contemptible."[77]

Yet let it neither be forgotten or ignored that many of the more notable southern partisan and militia leaders were former Continental army men, including some -- such as Edward Stevens, William Lee Davidson, Henry Dixon, Thomas Polk, James Read, and Joseph Graham -- who had led and served in Washington's army at Brandywine, Germantown, and elsewhere.

The Catawbas and the Cherokees

"I never could see the justice of denominating our Indian borderers savage. They appear to me to merit a very different appellation, as we well know they are not behind their civilized neighbors in the practice of many of the virtues most dear to human nature." ~ Henry Lee[78]

Their numbers as warriors were not very great, perhaps anywhere from 60 to 200 at a time at most, but as allies with the colonists against the Cherokees, the Catawbas, and from the commencement of the war, fought the British also.[79] They were present in a fairly large body at Hagler's Branch (itself Indian land) in mid June 1780 when Sumter was first elected (by his own men) as general. Following this, they were (along with Sumter) part of Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford's contingent that, armed with muskets and occasionally spears, collected to fight at Ramseur's Mill. In July, with chief General Newriver their leader, they acted with Maj. William Richardson Davie as light troops. Still later, they participated in the retreat of Gates' army after Camden; were at Pyle's Defeat, and were alongside Lee's Legion, and Preston's Virginia riflemen in the heaviest fighting at Clapp's Mill (the battle of Alamance Creek, 2 March 1781) against both Tarleton's cavalry and the light infantry of the Guards. Joseph Graham describes how the Catawbas led the counterttack there when "one of the Indians

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[74] It wasn't that the militia were always such bad soldiers, it was just that they were too often organized and led in a manner that made their own efforts seem necessarily amateurish. By the same token, when overseen by veteran Continental officers this sometimes inspired such confidence in them that they could perform reasonably or even quite well. LMS pp. 400-420. Although the vast majority of the N.C. and VA. militia (aside from the rifle companies) fled after doing (or not doing) their part in the battle at Guilford, some individual miliia men returned as volunteers to add their numbers to the Continentals. JLG2 p. 14.

[75] TPY pp. 199-200

[76] MSC1 p. 563. Also, "[I]n five months, the partisan bands in South Carolina under their own chosen leaders had fought twenty-six battles, inflicting a loss upon the British forces of 1200 in killed and wounded and 1286 in prisoners, in all 2486, at a loss to themselves of but 497 killed and wounded and 320 prisoners, in all 817; that is to say, they had killed, wounded, and taken prisoners of the enemy more than three times as many as the enemy had themselves." MSC1 p. 854. See also MSC1 pp. 703-706, 849-854. McCrady, by the way, takes exception to referring to such as Sumter, Marions, Clark and Harden's men as militia 'partisan' being preferred) because they were, by and large volunteers raised and organized by leaders acting independently of the state government (and which for a time had effectively ceased to exist.)

[77] 30 June 1780, to Clinton, RCC p. 102.

[78] LMS p. 198.

[79] At the time, the nation resided at a location just north of the Waxhaws settlement, or about roughly mid-point in the South Carolina-North Carolina border.

snorted like a deer, whereupon he and his comrades ran forward a few steps to the first timber, and fired." While after engaging in some musketry they fled, they can be no more faulted for this than most any of the other militia who, faced wih such opposition, predictably and not without good reason did the same in the face of disciplined British soldiers wielding bayonets.

Richard Winn, one of Sumter's commanders, wrote: "I must here mention the Catawba Indians. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, the Catawbas had a king of their nation by the name of Haghler [also Hagler]. When they found that the Americans were about to shake off their kind these Indians exiled King Haghler and appointed a native Indian by the name of New River to be their general. When we took the field after the fall of Charleston, we often encamped on their lands for days together. Those friendly Indians drove us beef from their own stocks and several times brought out their whole force and encamped near us; and after the defeats of Gen's Gates and Sumter, those Indians were so fraid [sic] of the British that they [that is the tribe as a whole, but not including some who remained to fight alongside Pickens and the N.C. militia] deserted their county, men, women and children, with a few exceptions, and moved on towards Virginia. And as we began to make head against the enemy [i.e. after Guilford Court House, 15 March 1781], they returned with joy to their own land."[80] Robert Gray, a Provincial officer, in 1782 further noted that Sumter had used them to track loyalists in the swamps.[81]

The tribe fell on hard times about the mid-19th century. Yet in the span of decades afterward and up until our own time they have made a substantial comeback and thrive to this day.[82]

"Neglected by the United States, and incited by the British,"[83] Cherokee and Creek Indians went against the colonials. A numerous and widely spread people, the Cherokees were found in southwestern Virginia, eastern Tennessee, western Georgia, and far western South Carolina; the Creeks in west Georgia and the later state of Alabama. This alliance with the crown ended up having mixed benefits for the British while having disastrous consequences for the Indians themselves; by providing the frotiersmen with both an excuse and a mandate to act both in self-defense and retaliation; with settler's from the western North Carolina and Virginia settlements (such as those present at King's Mountain) then gong on to defeat the Indians and set ablaze Cherokee towns (and their crops) by the half dozen. Though incursions by the Indians of the frontier took significant pressure off British forces, one modern genealogist, in writing of their revolutionary ancestor, remarks, "It is interesting [to observe] that Joseph chose to fight the Cherokee first. Perhaps, had the British not stirred the Cherokees against the settlers, he might have not made the decision to join the revolutionists."[84] Following King's Mountain Cornwallis felt compelled to request and summon their assistance. Yet it was George Lord Germain, Secretary of State for the American colonies of Lord North's cabinet, more than any high ranking army officer who it seems was most enthusiastic about using them militarily, and the view was by no means his own but had numerous supporters in the army and elsewhere in the government.[85]

Though we sometimes hear of them in the Carolinas,[86] attacks by Indians into Georgia (usually accompanied by loyalists dressed as Indians) were fairly frequent. At the same time, the continued grabbing of land and push of settlers moving west, as occurred both during and right after the war, inevitably resulted in conflict, again most especially in west Georgia and Alabama; with a number of prominent Revolutionary War officers, such as Pickens and Elijah Clark, going out on punitive expeditions and which also involved the burning and laying waste of the native towns and villages. [87]

Loyalists and Tories

In historical accounts, loyalists or "the King's Friends" are commonly referred to as Tories. The word "Tory" has different meanings and associations, and to this day is, of course, still used to refer to conservative politics and politicians in the United Kingdom. Yet generally -- though not always, some loyalists used it -- it was seen by American revolutionaries as having a negative connotation, and became the counter epithet of "rebels," though with perhaps more mocking and derision to it. Pro Crown-Parliament Americans were at the time also called "royalists;" though in post war and early 19th century histories that term is rarely used.

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[80] WNO, part II, pp. 6-7.
[81] GWC p. 155.
[82] Worth mentioning, some individual Native Americans and mixed-raced Native Americans are known to have served in the Continental army. See Lynn Montross' *Rag, Tag, and Bobtail*, and Charles Patrick Neimeyer's *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army* where at least brief mention is made of this.
[83] John Marshall, MLW4A p. 360n, MLW3 pp. 116n-117n.
[84] Biography of Joseph Chapman of Halifax, VA., and Guilford County, N.C., by Ira Chapman, Chapman Family Association.
[85] CKR p. 128.
[86] See, for instance, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 63.
[87] One of the most extraordinary Indian offensive exploits of the war was the noble in its daring but ulimately tragic attempt of Creek chief Guristersigo to surprise Anthony Wayne while, at the same time, breaking through to reach British succor at Savannah (23-24 June 1782.) The story is an especially melancholy one and, despite Wayne's victory, reflects far better on the character of the defeated Indians than on Wayne who, evidently still smarting from Paoli while exasperated at being so near ambushed by the natives, wantonly slew his captives afterward; and overruling Lieut. Col. Thomas Posey's initial taking for granted the natives' right (as prisoners of war) to safety and protection. LMS pp. 555-560. For more on the Creeks, Cherokees, and Native Americans generally in the Revolution, see RWW2 p. 239, USC pp. 157-159, MLW4A p. 556n, LMS pp. 198, 526-528, JLG1 pp. 471-472, 511-515, JLG2 pp. 184-185, GAR2 pp. 185-186, GAM2 pp. 380-388, SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp. 24-25; vol. 3, no. 6, pp. 27-31; vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 21-27.

Andrew Hamilton, of Abbeville County, S.C., in his pension statement, along with many other veterans expressed the view: "(I)n opposing Tories, Indians, and British and of all enemies he conceived the Tories, most detestable and most obnoxious to the Liberty of his country."

Part of the reason for how the "Tory" problem arose, as Andrew Hamilton uses that term, was British confiscation of rebel property and estates in large quantities after the fall of Charleston in May 1780, when this took place, some men took being active loyalists in order to profit as thieves and plunderers. Hence, there was this distinctly criminal element among otherwise legitimate loyalists, with some amount of shade in between. This is by no means to say that the Americans did not have some of the same problem, only that Clinton's outlawing of non-loyalists, and the tendency of many of the British early on in 1780 to simply take what they needed, is what escalated the trouble to such a pitch; with the Whig plundering of loyalist estates only becoming possible after King's Mountain. Cornwallis, in order to get a handle on unrestrained and private looting, set up the system of sequestration and confiscation in which an administrator, John Cruden, was appointed to oversee property taken. Though this took care of the situation at large (which is to say most of the time), it could do little to halt the illicit seeking of profit on the more common and individual level.

Among the lower class elements, neither side had a monopoly on cruelty and loose obedience to law. There were rogues and bandits of no particular persuasion and who acted under the banner of loyalty or patriotism to excuse their criminal actions and intent. Taking up one side or another sometimes became an excuse to commit a crime against another's person or property. It reached so sore a pont that in late 1781, in Georgia and some parts of South Carolina, it didn't matter whose side you were on, and bands of brigands passed themselves off as whoever they liked, bringing havoc and destruction to whig and loyalist indiscriminately.

The bitterness of internecine war in the south may be attributable in no small part to the British practice of burning rebel homes and private property, such as Tarleton and Wemyss carried out *acting under orders* from Cornwallis or Balfour; not to mention concomitant and sometimes stealing or foraging (depending on how you viewed it.) Such practices could only have incensed many neutrals and non-loyalists, and caused them to take and view the conflict war more personally than they otherwise might have. If, for instance, your neighbor fought for the king, that was one thing, but if he set yours, your friend's, or a neighbor's house on fire, it's easy to see how what was at first a fervid political dispute could escalate into something a good deal more acrimonious. And see LMS pp. 411-412 on Cornwallis' moderating this policy when he entered Virginia. [88]

Regarding the more brutal and criminal than usual nature of much of strife in the south, Georgia Provincial officer, Col. Thomas Brown, himself (erroneously or not) accused of savage acts, had this to say: "…A civil war being one of the greatest evils incident to human society, the history of every contest presents us with instances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. Men whose passions are inflamed by mutual injuries, exasperated with personal animosity against each other, and eager to gratify revenge, often violate the laws of war and principles of humanity.
"The American war exhibits many dreadful examples of wanton outrages, committed by both parties, disgraceful to human nature. From the commencement of the war, in the limited sphere in which I acted, it was my duty, and the first wish of my heart, to carry it on agreeably to the rules which humanity formed to alleviate its attendant calamities. The criminal excesses of individuals were never warranted by authority, nor ever obtained the sanction of my approbation…"[89]

There was also among the loyalist people who were idealistic about their King and the mother country; even some whose credulity and innocence may have caused them to suffer unnecessarily, such as those at Pyle's Massacre in February 1781. Although from about the time Independence was first declared, American leaders had been very careful to demarcate loyalists of principle from those seen as merely hirelings and mercenaries, such distinction was understandably difficult to make and subject to confusion in the field where the two sorts were found intermixed.[90]

In his *Memoirs of Major Joseph McJunkin*, the Rev. James Hodge Saye, asked the question, "who were the Tories," and arrived at this assessment:

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[88] Lee: "When governments adopt the policy of plunder and conflagration, they owe to the world, as well as to their nation, the justification of such departure from the liberal usage of war. In every condition of things such justification is difficult; in this state of affairs it was impracticable. The subjugation of the weakest portion of the Union, to which alone all the disposable force of Great Britain had been and was devoted, began to be viewed as chimerical even by the British officers. The battle of Guilford had fixed an impression on the condition of the war, which audibly declared the futility even of victory itself. To burn and to destroy, where no hope of effecting the object could exist but with the infatuated, was not less cruel than disgraceful. That the only people in the world, understanding and enjoying political liberty, powerful and enlightened, the brethren of Locke, of Newton, and of Hampden, should encourage, by their example, a return to barbarism, affords a melancholy proof of the inefficacy of the arts and the sciences, the sweets of civilization, -- nay, even of liberty itself, over passion supported by power. The British nation guided by ministers without talents, disappointment could not but ensue to many of their enterprises; which, embittering the heart instead of correcting the head, produced this baneful system, so destructive to the comfort first of the farmers of Connecticut, now of the planters of Virginia; heaping up a stock of irritation and hate, to be dissipated only by the force of time." LMS p. 312.
[89] WHG pp. 614-620.
[90] The British, for their part, could not, as a general and practical matter, permit a distinction based on purty of motive as such; because logically their opponents, as rebels, were (and had to be) all one.

"Various classes of men were Tories. The following divisions comprehend the most of them:
"1. There were some men in the country conscientiously opposed to war and every sort of revolution which led to it or invoked its aids. They believed that they ought to be in subjection to the powers that be, hence they maintained their allegiance to the British crown. The Quakers were of this class. They were far more numerous in South Carolina then than now. They were non-combatants, but the weight of their influence fell on the wrong side.
"2. There were many men who knew nothing of the merits of the question at issue. The world has always been sufficiently stocked with men of this class. Their days are passed in profound ignorance of everything which requires an exertion of intellect, yet often the most self-conceited, prejudiced beings that wear the human form -- perfect moles, delighting in dirt and darkness. Hence they are fit subjects for demagogues and tyrants. They followed their leaders in 1776 as at other times.
"3. Another class thought the Government of George III too good to exchange for an uncertainty. Let well enough alone. A little tax on tea won't hurt us, and as for principles and doctrines, leave them to the lawyers and parsons.
"4. Another class thought that how ever desirable the right of self-government might be, it was out of the question unless His Most Gracious Majesty might be pleased to grant it. They thought the fleets and armies of Britain perfectly invincible. Defeat and utter ruin must follow rebellion against the King.
"5. There was yet another class. A set of men who give themselves a good deal of credit for shrewdness and management. They pride themselves on being genteel and philosophical. If they ever had scruples of conscience they amount to very little. If they have religious principles at all they impose no self-denial and forbid no sensual gratifications. If they have a spark of patriotism it is because their country has a treasury and they see some prospect of getting their fingers in it. Upon the whole, the needle is no truer to the pole than they are to the prospect of gain. 'Make money' is their maxim; 'make money honestly if you can, but make it.'
"Accordingly, when Charlestown fell in 1780 and the state was overrun something appeared in the proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton which was to them a law of promise. Pardon was offered to all rebels, but such, &c. That exception covered many persons of large estates and a far greater number possessed of comfortable means. Here now the shadow of a golden harvest flits before their longing eyes. The success of British arms is an inevitable result in South Carolina. The excepted Whigs have property enough to make many rich if informed against by the zealous advocates of the officers of the crown. The chance is too good to be lost by any of the Shylock family. Feelings of humanity and tenderness weigh not a feather against the well cultivated farms of the proscribed Whigs now marked as available stock.
"6. There was another class that had a bad representation among the Tories. A class too, which, either on account of its numbers, industry or general influence, gave character to the whole fraternity. The writer has frequently asked Revolutionary Soldiers the question: 'What sort of men were the Tories?' The answer has generally been the same: 'A pack of rogues.' An eminent example of this class was found in the person of Capt. S. Brown ["Plundering Sam Brown"], who is understood to have been a notorious robber years before the war commenced. Yet this Brown, like other men who have money, had numerous friends. He had the shrewdness to perceive that the field suited him. Accordingly, he rallied his followers, joined Ferguson and for a time proved a very efficient ally, and although he had been an outlaw for years, yet few brought under the Royal standard a larger share of natural and acquired talents for the position assigned him. He now enjoys the liberty of plundering under the sanction of law and of arresting for reward those who have been long known as staunch defenders of honesty and justice."[91]

By contrast, Major Thomas Barclay, a Provincial officer, would have responded to such characterizations this way: "I find that those who were termed Royalists or Loyalists, in addition to their attachment to their king and country, preserve their principles of honor and integrity, of openness and sincerity, which marked the American previous to the year 1773; while those who have sold their king for a Republican Government, have adopted all the frivolity, intrigue, and insincerity of the French, and in relinquishing their allegiance, resigned at the same time, almost universally, religion and morality."[92]

Also Robert Gray: "The want of paying sufficient attention to our [i.e. Royal] Militia produced daily at this time the most disagreeable consequences. In the first place, when the Rebel Militia were made prisoners, they were immediately delivered up to the Regular Officers, who, being entirely ignorant of the dispositions & manners of the people treated them with the utmost lenity & sent them home to their plantations upon parole & in short they were treated in every respect as foreign enemies. The general consequences of this was that they no sooner got our of our hands than they broke their paroles, took up arms, and made it a point to murder every Militia man of ours who had any concern in making them prisoners, on the other hand when ever a Militia Man of ours was made a prisoner he was delivered not to the Continentals but to the Rebel Militia, who looked upon him as a State prisoner, as a man who deserved a halter, & therefore treated him with the greatest cruelty.
"If he was not assassinated after being made a prisoner, he was instantly hurried into Virginia or North Carolina where he was kept a prisoner without friends, money, credit, or perhaps hopes of exchange. This line being once drawn betwixt their militia & ours, it was no longer safe to be a loyalist in the frontiers. These last being overwhelmed with dismay became dejected & timid while the others increasing in boldness & enterprise made constant inrodes [sic] in small parties & murdered every loyalist they found whether in arms or at home. Their irruptions [sic] answered the descriptions we have of those made by the Goths & Vandals…Had our militia been

[91] SJM, and regarding Sam Brown, again as seen from the whig standpoint, see DKM pp. 134-139.
[92] SLA1 p. 207.

certain of being treated as prisoners of war by the enemy, many more would have sided with the royal Standard."[93]

The loyalists were grouped militarily in two ways, as provincials who acted as regular soldiers, and as royal militia. The provincials usually could be expected to perform as well or even better than ordinary British soldiers, they were not allowed special benefits and privileges accorded regulars, and were formally considered second class troops, even though a corps like the Queen's Rangers could, in terms of performance, be rated as elite. At the same time, some such regiments sometimes suffered from unusual idiosyncrasies. Lord Rawdon, who commanded the Volunteers of Ireland, one such unit, found some of his men deserting when they came in contact with the Scots-Irish of the Waxhaws region. In a letter to Cornwallis of 14 July 1780, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, of the New York Volunteers, insisted that his New York men ought to be fighting in New York.[94] Although, and more rarely, some units like the South Carolina Rangers (also known as Harrison's Rangers), and the North Carolina Volunteers were provincials on paper, on the march or in action their competence and durability of such was not much better than militia, and even some of Cornwallis' soldiers so viewed them as bumpkins and objects of risible derision such that his Lordship felt it necessary to enjoin them to be more forebearing and patient, on the march and in the camp, toward their rustic American cousins from the swamp lands and backcountry.

The loyalist militia, in the vast majority of instances, was inferior in military skill and prowess to its whig counterparts, and really had relatively few or no leaders among their ranks to match, or coming close to match, the likes of Sumter, Clark, Williams, Marion, and Pickens. This was in part because they were organized to fight more as a policing force than to operate as rampant guerillas. Some such as David Fanning, Jesse Barfield, and William Cunningham saw the error in this and accordingly took on the roles of active partisans -- but these were the exception. There was therefore sometimes a pronounced discrepancy between how the British wanted the loyalists to conduct themselves and the loyalist's own natural need and desire for *some* amount of autonomy and independence.

In letters, we find many high ranking British officers occasionally giving scathing assessments of such men; often accusing or blaming them of from everything from unreliability to perfidy.[95] Yet the excuse for many of the loyalist militia conducting themselves as they did was British haughtiness and insolence toward them.[96] Maj. Patrick Ferguson was one of the rare few among British officers who knew how to treat the loyalist militiamen with proper respect, encouragement and sympathy. As a result, and not so surprisingly, British occasionally encountered professed loyalists but who carried out their duties unreliably (perhaps, in a given instance, out of purposeful intent or else grudging their forced service) -- or worse behaved duplicitously; with the British, following the fall of Charlestown and throughout their stay in the south afterward, not infrequently finding themselves let down, betrayed or having tricks played on them.

And strict British treatment and methods then, did not always sit well even with well-meaning loyalists. Some felt taken advantage of when it came to their property. Ramsay states the British did not always pay for what they took and were usually more interested in supplying their army than in being careful to treat loyalist and rebels differently. Likewise Robert Gray observed "the abuses of the British army in taking the peoples Horses, Cattle & provisions to make up for the shortages, in many cases without paying for them…disgusted the inhabitants." [97]

Charles Stedman (from Pennsylvania), Cornwallis' chief commissary and post-war historian, summed the matter up when he wrote, "The militia of South Carolina were in general faithless, and altogether dissatisfied in the British Service." Nevertheless, and despite the challenges posed by friend and foe alike, the local loyalists did succeed in performing invaluable services for the British in way of scouting and were most instrumental helping to keep the British army supplied (including gathering and driving cattle from the woods), and some, like William Cunningham and David Fanning, few though they were, were even a kind of inspiration to the British war effort.[98]

Historian Roger Stansbury Lambert estimates that as many as one fifth of South Carolina's free population in 1775 became loyalists during the American Revolution. In addition, a smaller proportion resumed British allegiance after fall of Charlestown. Robert Gray, on the other hand, gives the number as one third, though "these by no means the wealthiest part." At the war's close an exodus of loyalists left the state numbering 9,000 to 10,000 people, roughly 5 percent of state's prewar population, and numbered slightly more blacks than whites.[99]

To protract their hardships, towards and after the end of the war, some loyalists lost estates, both small and large, in the Carolinas and Georgia. These properties ended up being parceled and bought out at auctions by

[93] GWC pp. 144-145.
[94] WCO pp. 188-189.
[95] WCO pp. 185-188
[96] LSL pp. 151-153, see also 4 March 1781 "Leslie" *Orderly Book* entry for 4 March 1781 found in the main text.
[97] SAW2, pp. 204-215, RSC2 pp. 140-141, GWC p. 141. For the whig view of how loyalist prisoners were treated see CNS2 pp. 222-227.
[98] SAW2 pp. 225-226n, LMS pp. 202n.
[99] GWC p. 140, LSL pp. 120, 306.

some of those who fought against them. While in retrospect this seems harsh, it should be recalled that many of the Rebels had their own properties confiscated during the British occupation. It then became, as it does so often in war, a rule of them or us. Although the British in peace negotiations sought reparations for the loyalists, the Americans in most instances refused it; arguing that such could only be countenanced if the British agreed to indemnify former rebels for property losses they had suffered at British hands.

Aside from the matter of personal and property loss, following the Revolution some loyalists accepted the outcome as much as if they had simply lost a game. Many were still able to reside peaceably in the new states, and not a few went on to become esteemed and honored participants in the community and government. On the other hand, others who tried to stay, were received with little tolerance, and so at last moved to Canada, England, or the West Indies as many of their brethren had done earlier, with modern Canada to a significant extent being formed and founded by such and their immediate descendants.

The Role of Blacks

Blacks as slaves did much labor for both armies, playing a key role in finding and the moving of supplies, and the establishment and dismantling of fortifications. They also did fatigue duties manning the artillery, such as at the siege of Charlestown. There are, however, relatively sparse records of work done by slaves in various military roles.

Their heaviest concentration was generally on the plantations along the coast and in the immediate hinterland. Beyond these regions slaves were not nearly so common by comparison, with the "institution" developing more slowly in North Carolina than South Carolina. Not all farmers, particularly those in the backcountry and more remote areas, were slaveholders of perhaps more than a few slaves, and in contemporary letters and correspondence we not infrequently see statements mentioning the need for whites at planting and harvest.[100]

Although reference is not frequently made to the fact, they fought on occasion as well. Marion is known to have had some in his ranks. Scholars, including Bobby Gilmer Moss,[101] have compiled lists of Cowpens participants who were men of color. Greene's black manservant was a private in the Maryland regiment, and gave his life for his country in fighting just after Eutaw Springs.[102] We find post war pension statements, as well, in which the black soldiers express a proud patriotism. This all said, it is unlikely to have found many black soldiers at a time in one unit. Further north the elite 1st Rhode Island Regiment, which served at Yorktown, had a large proportion of black infantrymen. Although there was some effort by some to try and do so, raising such an organization in the deep south was otherwise unthinkable. Some South Carolina historians, such as William Gilmore Simms and Joseph Johnson provide portraits of slaves who stayed loyal to their masters despite temptations and threats from the British.[103] The placement and predominance of the bugler in the well-known folk painting[104] of the cavalry encounter at Cowpens, probably gives a good pictorial sense of how the black presence in the army was usually then seen: participating but inferior; noble in his deeds, but still only a boy.

Significantly more blacks, however, (some estimates making it more than three times as many) came over to the British side and saw the latter as liberators, despite being mistreated just as some ordinary loyalists were mistreated. As Stedman states: "[T]he Negroes in general followed the British army."[105] Of these we don't have much record so to what extent they were used in the fighting down south is not quite clear. We know of at least one[106] that fought in a Provincial regiment at Hanging Rock. While only a single case, given the relative scarcity of records for blacks generally, there were undoubtedly a good many more than that individual who served as regular soldiers. George Fenwick Jones, in an article for *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, describes blacks being recruited by the Hessians.[107] It is possible that slaves carrying muskets were part of the Augusta garrison in the spring of 1781. Yet in the south the arming of blacks in large numbers was a sensitive issue; so the British had to tread cautiously. Nonetheless, by 1782, a Provincial black regiment, the Black Dragoons, was brought from New York to Charlestown, and saw some fighting.

Although some blacks, including women and children died in collection camps of fever, and others were simply transported across the water to resume their enslaved status in the Bahamas or Jamaica; yet even so there were others who had joined the British and who did finally obtain their long sought emancipation in Canada and elsewhere.[108]

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[100] TPY p. 7.
[101] See *African-American Patriots in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution,* by Bobby Gilmer Moss and Michael C. Scoggins, Scotia-Hibernia Press, Blacksburg, S.C., 2004, and Moss' *The Patriots at the Cowpens*. Blacksburg, SC, Scotia Press, 1994. Babits remarks on some men of color actually serving in the southern Continental army as NCO's, see BLO pp. 74-75.
[102] JLG2 p. 242.
[103] See, for instance, JTR p. 104.
[104] By William Tylee Ranney (1813-1857), and presently at the South Carolina State House, Columbia.
[105] SAW2 p. 241n.
[106] Samuel Burke, a free black, who served in the Prince of Wales American Volunteers.
[107] George Fenwick Jones. "The Black Hessians: Negroes Recruited by the Hessians in South Carolina and Other Colonies." *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, no. 83, 1982, pp. 287-302.
[108] TCS pp. 89-90, LMS p. 609, JLG1 pp. 276-282, JLG2 pp. 472-473, WCO p. 237, SNA2, LSL pp. 307-308. Some 3,500 blacks are estimated to have emigrated from the United States to Canada after the war, see GCS p. 7.

The War and Its Purpose

The American revolutionary war was very much a civil war as has been many times observed, but perhaps not sufficiently appreciated. This sometimes grievous nature of the strife between neighbors is vividly recounted by Joseph's Graham's son, William, in incidents he describes that took place at and following Ramseur's Mill in June 1780:

"In some instances this was a fight between neighbors and kindred, although there were not many Whigs in the Lincoln forces-the militia of the County being with Colonel Graham, who was with Rutherford.
"In the thickest of the fight a Dutch Tory, seeing an acquaintance, said: 'How do you do, Pilly? I have knowed you since you was a little boy, and never knew no harm of you except you was a rebel.' Billy, who was out for business and not to renew acquaintance, as his gun was empty, clubbed it and made a pass at his friend's head, who dodged and said:
"'Stop! Stop! I am not going to stand still and be killed like a damn fool, needer', and immediately made a lick at Billy's head, which he dodged. A friend of Billy whose gun was loaded put it to the Dutchman's side and shot him dead...
"Fifty-six dead lay on the face of the ridge, up and down which the forces advanced and retreated. Many of the dead were buried on the field...
"Wives, mothers, daughters and other kindred of the contestants came that afternoon and next morning to inquire for their friends. As they discovered them among the dead and dying, there were heart-rending scenes of distress and grief. Mrs. Falls came twenty-five miles on horseback, accompanied by her negro cook. Finding her gallant husband dead, she obtained a quilt from Mrs. Reinhardt, whose husband lived near the battleground, and carried his body across Sherrill's [Sherrald's] Ford and buried it with his kindred."[109]

While Ramseur's Mill was an untypical engagement, still it was these attitudes, feelings, and gestures so overtly expressed there, that were the common experience of many in a struggle that not infrequently brought neighbors in sanguine and heated conflict with each other.

The British soldier while battling for a dismally failed political policy, was battling also for a solid and well-established military tradition. For the soldier of the fledgling United States it was essentially the reverse. Yet since the war itself, not a few have often pointed out how not many of the Americans were Revolutionaries, and how not that many of the Revolutionaries were men and women of ideals and principle. But what then makes the American Revolution among the most noteworthy of human achievements is that the principals and ideals of a few succeeded against the designs, selfishness, or incompetence of a much larger numbers. British Army historian, Sir John Fortescue, believes that it was the ineptitude of George Lord Germain and political parties in Parliament that lost the colonies to Britain. Yet the short sightedness of the British administration does not begin to explain the forbearance and self-sacrifice of so many who were loyal to the cause of liberty when things seemed most bleak and resources were nil; who stayed the course when others jumped ship. In this lay the fame of the American soldiery and it is this that for many and in retrospect perhaps most inspiries and fascinates them today about the war.

Fortescue for his part maintains that the Provincial troops were generally better soldiers than the Continentals, while at the same time believed more in what they were fighting for. The Americans, by comparison, were generally less high minded and more desirous of gain. Without denying that many of the Provincials did fight from principle, this (for several reasons) is a rather odd argument seeing that the Provincials were invariably far better and regularly paid and supplied than the Continentals.

An anonymous British officer, in the *Annual Register* of 1781[110], writes: "It is impossible to do justice to the spirit, patience, and invincible fortitude, displayed by the commanders, officers, and soldiers, during these dreadful campaigns in the two Carolinas. They were not only to contend with men, and these by no means deficient in bravery and enterprise [sic], but they encountered and surmounted difficulties and fatigues from the climate and the country, which would appear insuperable in theory, and almost incredible in the relation. They displayed military, and, we may add, moral virtues, far above all praise. During renewed successions of forced marches, under the rage of a burning sun, and in a climate, at that season, peculiarly inimical to man, they were frequently, when sinking under the most excessive fatigue, not only destitute of every comfort, but almost of every necessary which seems essential to his existence. During the greater part of the time, they were totally destitute of bread, and the country afforded no vegetables for a substitute. Salt at length failed; and their only resources were water, and the wild cattle which they found in the woods. Above fifty men, in this last expedition, sunk under the vigour of their exertions, and perished through mere fatigue. We must not, however, confine the praise entirely to the British troops, as a detachment of Hessians, which had been lent upon the occasion by General de Bose, deservedly came in for their proper share. The same justice requires, that the Americans should not be deprived of their share of this fatal glory. They had the same difficulties to encounter,

[109] GRA.
[110] Much of the *Annual Register* pertaining to the Revolutionary War (though presumably not such as the proceeding passage) is understood to have been written by Edmund Burke (an editor and principal contributor) and most the contemporary and post contemporary formal histories of the American Revolution, including John Marshall's, heavily rely on, if not include whole sections from, this fair and equitable work.

joined to a fortune in the field generally adverse: Yet, on the whole, the campaign terminated in their favour; General Greene having recovered the far greater part of Georgia and of the two Carolinas."[111]

Although the writer's impartiality is to be commended, the Continentals, arguably, still had it worse. In addition to making frequent long marches on makeshift and sometimes sodden roads, enduring both extremes of weather, subject to sickness, often lacking proper food, fighting far from home, and neglected by their countrymen, they received little or no pay or clothing, and were usually limited in their supply of ammunition -- and this on a more constant and continual basis than their adversaries. Further, as Alexander Garden points out, though British soldiers might for a time go without salt or liquor; for the American soldier such things were scarce luxuries.[112] Nor should we forget that not until the Articles of Confederation were formally ratified in March 1781 did the U.S. have a formal and properly chartered system of government, and until then had to rely on the voluntary contributions of states, while having little or no power of its own to enforce its requisitions and quotas.[113] To further compound matters, 1779-1780 also witnessed continuing and staggering deflation of the Continental dollar ($1,000 in Continental dollars for $100 in specie in March 1779; with by Jan. 1781, 75 paper dollars obtaining 1 dollar of hard money);[114] the expiration of numerous 1777 three-year enlistments;[115] the harshest winter of the entire war for the Continental army (at Morristown); the ensuing mutinies in the Continental line,[116] and Arnold's defection;[117] followed up in February 1781 with the loss of money and supply channeling St. Eustatius in the (Dutch) West Indies -- all this in addition to the not unambitious task of fighting the then finest army in the world. All the more then to be respected then is the perseverance of the Continental troops at this time in the face of such straining challenges; with, for our own purposes, Greene's Maryland, Delaware and Virginia Regiments in particular providing ample proof of such hardihood and resiliency.[118]

While we might conveniently view the Revolutionary War itself as a conflict between "American" and "British," this is a gross simplification. Much more were people judged by their conduct and moral code than with any special regard to their happening to be by birth American or British.[119] Moreover, some Americans, could or would argue that they were more genuine adherents to the British sense of natural laws and rights (as, say, enunciated by John Locke), and to that extent were actually more British in spirit and tradition than their foes.

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[111] This same passage is found in Tarleton's work, though evidently Tarleton was not its author, it being not at all unusual for historians of that time freely quote other writers without citing or acknowledging them. AR81 p. 97, TCS pp. 507-508, SAW2 p. 225.

[112] GAR1 p. 297.

[113] For example, for 1781 Congress "demanded" of the states 37,000 Continentals by January, but in result the entire American army in May (not counting militia present or which might be called up) numbered no more than 10,000 effectives. LMS pp. 481n-482n.

[114] WAR2 p. 614.

[115] Fred Anderson Berg, *Continental Army Units*, pp. 141-142.

[116] The army ultimately survived the mutiny by impressments of money and supplies from civilians which bred discontent among the latter. Later foreign loans obtained by John Laurens from France and the Netherlands further secured the stability required of the army's finances. AR81 pp. 72-77, GHA4 pp. 16-26, MLW3 pp. 127-128, GAR2 pp. 12-19.

[117] A de-coded letter ciphered letter from Arnold to André, July 12, 1780, reads: "The mass of the People are heartily tired of the War, and wish to be on / their former footing -- They are promised great events from this / year's exertion -- If - disappointed -- you have only to persevere / and the contest will soon be at an end. The present Struggles are / like the pangs of a dying man, violent but of a short duration." CSS p. 748.

Even former American diplomat Silas Deane, in some private letters (captured and published by the British), came to see the war on the part of the states at that time as futile, while suggesting that reconciliation with Britain, on terms fair and honorable to America, was perhaps the best solution after all. In consequence of taking this radical stance, he placed himself in a position which later, justifiably or no, cast grave doubts on his loyalty to the nation; a suspicion and interpretation of his views the unfortunate Deane, in response, vigorously denied.

Ironically and despite these doubts and seond guesing on the Amerian side, not all His Majesty's officers were so very optimistic or had so rosy a view of the British military position as Arnold or Deane, and some like, Charles O'Hara and Alexander Leslie, actually fought the Americans with grave misgivings about likelihood of ultimate British success. In large part their skepticism sprung from a rejection of the Germain and Ministry's view that there was strong and latent loyalist sentment in the colonies, waiting to be untapped. See RCO p. 161n. For the record of a debate held in the House of Commons, conducted in Nov. 1780, on the merits and demerits of continuing the war, see AR81 pp. 150-155.

[118] GAR1 pp. 295-298. Garden: "During the severity of the winter campaign in North Carolina, General Greene, passing a sentinel who was barefoot said, 'I fear, my good fellow, you must suffer from cold.' 'Pretty much so,' was the reply; 'but I do not complain, because I know that I should fare better, had our General power to procure supplies. They say, however, that in a few days we shall have a fight, and then, by the blessing of god, I shall take care to secure a pair of shoes." GAR1 p. 306. Also there is this anecdote found in William Gordon: "Charly Morgan [a Continental soldier who had been sent on an espionage mission by Lafayette when in Virginia] by his management carried off seven deserters with him. When he had reached the American army, and was brought to head quarters, the marquis upon seeing him cried out, 'Ha! Charly, are you got back?' 'Yes and please your excellency, and have brought seven more with me,' was the answer. When Charly had related the reason of his returning, and the observations he had made, the marquis offered him money; but he declined accepting it, and only desired to have his gun again. The marquis then proposed to promote him to the rank of a corporal or sergeaht. To this Morgan replied -- 'I will not have any promotion. I have abilities for a common soldier, and have a good character; should I be promoted my abilities may not answer, and I may lose my character.' He however nobly requested for his fellow soldiers, who were not so well supplied with shoes, stockings and clothing as himself, that the marquis would promise to do what he could to relieve their distresses; which he easily obtained." GHA4 pp. 113-114. See also MLW3 p. 124, LMS pp. 203, 248-249, 386n, JLG1 p. 402.

[119] It must be admitted, notwithstanding, that it was far easier for someone of British birth to rise up as a leader in the American ranks than vice versa; which, some would observe, goes to much of the point and reason for the dispute. Furthmore, both before, during and even after the war it was customary with some to belittle Americans and view and or treat them as second class citizens of the world. One very good such illustration of this, related by Ewald, is how following Yorktown and much to Washington's dismay, the French officers at post siege gatherings tended to seek company with their German and English counterparts rather than among the American officers. EHJ p. 342.

And while we like to think of the two combatants as adhering to one essential ideological viewpoint versus its opposite; in reality the motives of the contestants on an individual level were many and diverse, and not a little affected by conditions of the moment. "Few know, till they are tried," says Lyman Draper, "what they would do under certain circumstances."[120] So that a given person may well have been moved or persuaded to take one side or another for reasons such as loyalty to family, region, culture, local politics, religion or career frustration -- wholly separate from any consideration of those ideals and issues we commonly associate with the American Revolution (as Americans denote it) or the War for Independence (as the British.) When men fight in a literal war they usually and to some extent fight blindly on behalf of the side they espouse; for the simple reason, namely that all their nominal comrades in arms do not necessarily share or equally embrace their own particular view or interpretation of things. Is the cause they adopt exactly the same or necessarily the same as the group of people they happen to be with? They can't always know, and even if they could the motives overtime of some can and do change -- particularly in the case of an event as complex in its origins as the Revolutionary War. And over time, other and more immediate and practical factors affecting the strength and character of one's opinion also would or might come into play. For instance, even if the British in conducting the war were asserting their rightful sovereignty, they nevertheless made themselves obnoxious to many by enforcing that sovereignty peremptorily and militarily. After all, why weren't the colonists themselves asked, before troops were sailed over to Boston, whether the crown and parliament should use soldiers to suppress the militant elements in their midst? And after it did come to fighting, the Americans faced a situation where if they were put down and overthrown, it meant losing their nation. While their opponents risked forfeiting some citizenry, lands, and suffering embarrassment, at no time did the Americans pose a threat to the life of the British nation and its system of government as the British posed to theirs.

Yet though in retrospect we see greater moral, cultural and jurisprudential implications to the conflict, some could, on some level or other at least, argue it didn't strictly matter to them which side was better (say morally speaking); either was not really so bad or so worse. For such it was, as a practical matter then, all the same to them who ran things: whether Congress or the Crown and Parliament. Once the war was finally concluded, however, *then* might they feel compelled or inclined to philosophize and view things from a broader perspective.[121]

This having been said, it is nonetheless fair and reasonable to characterize the Revolutionary War generally as a contest for self-determination while, at the same time, a continuation and culmination of an effort that sought to find and secure a new way of life that arose above the real or perceived inequities and injustices of the old world. Wrote Henry Dietrich Von Bulow, a contemporary observer writing in the very early 19th century: "The American Revolution, thus, was by no means brought about by disinterested motives. It only furnished the opportunity to circulate among the masses of the people the political truths which up to that period had been the exclusive possession of the most enlightened."[122] Yet more than this, it was an idealistic cause that had actually began with the colonies earliest settlement, and which the higher-minded Revolutionaries were continuing. Yet there were, and always had been others, whose goals were less humanitarian and progressive, more materialistic and selfish. And it has ever been the clash between these two forces that has brought about the saddest moments in this nation's history, and criticism by foreign nations of the American experiment. The history of the Revolution, like all other periods in American history, was one of great successes and great failures. But it will not do to ignore the errors, or to forsake the hope because of those errors. Better to profit

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[120] DKM p. 239. Writes Lord Chesterfield in his April 26, 1748 letter to his son: "Were most historical events traced up to their true causes, I fear we should not find them much more noble nor disinterested than [Martin] Luther's disappointed avarice; and therefore I look with some contempt upon those refining and.sagacious historians who ascribe all, even the most common events, to some deep political cause; whereas mankind is made up of inconsistencies, and no man acts invariably up to his predominant character. The wisest man sometimes acts weakly, and the weakest sometimes wisely. Our jarring passions, our variable humors, nay, our greater or lesser degree of health and spirits, produce such contradictions in our conduct that, I believe, those are the oftenest mistaken who ascribe our actions to the most seemingly obvious motives. And I am convinced that a light supper, and a good night's sleep, and a fine morning, have sometimes made a hero of the same man who, by an indigestion, a restless night, and a rainy morning, would have proved a coward.
"Our best conjectures, therefore, as to the true springs of actions, are but very uncertain, and the actions themselves are all that we must pretend to know from history. That Caesar was murdered by twenty-three conspirators, I make no doubt, but I very much doubt that their love of liberty, and of their country, was their sole or even principal motive; and I dare say that, if the truth were known, we should find that many other motives at least concurred, even in the great Brutus himself, -- such as pride, envy, personal pique, and disappointment. Nay, I cannot help carrying my pyrrhonism still further, and extending it often to historical facts themselves, at least to most of the circumstances with which they are related; and every day's experience confirms me in this historical incredulity. Do we ever hear the most recent fact related exactly in the same way, by the several poeple who were at the same time eye-witnesses of it? No. One mistakes, another misrepresents; and others warp it a little to their own turn of mind, or private views. A man who has been concerned in a transaction will not write it fairly, and a man who has not cannot."

[121] "It forcibly brought to mind the prophetic remarks of Lord Shelburne to Mr. [Henry] Laurens, of South Carolina, once our envoy to Holland and President of Congress, who had been a prisoner in the Tower (1779) for some time; after his release, in an interview with England's Secretary of State, the following conversation occurred:
"'I am sorry for your people,' said Lord Shelburne, 'that they have gained their independence.' 'Why so?" asked Mr. Laurens. 'We English people gained it, by centuries of wrangling, years of battle and blood, and confirmed it by at least fifty acts of parliament," answered his lordship. 'All this taught the nation its inestimable value, and it is so ingrained in their creed as to become the foundation of our liberty and no judge or party will ever dare to trample upon it. Your people will pick it up, and attempt to use it; but having cost them nothing, they will not know how to appreciate it. At the first internal feud you will have it trampled under foot by the lawless power of the majority; the people will permit it to be done, and away goes your boasted liberty.'" WRM pp. 110-111.

[122] "Views of the American Revolution," *The Historical Magazine*, p. 112, vol. IX, No. 4, John H. Shea, New York, 1865.

and learn from both the successes and the failures as respective lights and warnings to guide us into our future, while insisting on our ultimate aim of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

And howsoever it is fair or appropriate (or not) to see the Revolutionary War as the emphatic defiance of the "New World" against the bad and corrupt ways of the "Old," the "American Revolution," in retrospect and in its truest sense, was and is a contest for the realization of moral and civil aspirations and ideals, transcending any geographical location, that carries on to this day. How perfectly and auspiciously those ideals were manifested or realized in the conflict between America and Britain will, as we stated, naturally be a topic of some dispute. Yet that in the course of that conflict significant ground *was* gained *toward* achieving them, should not be.[123] And even if the many instances of dedication, faith, fortitude, long suffering and courage exhibited in the struggle for freedom and equality were all the accomplishment the Revolutionary War attained, these, in their lasting way, remain encouraging and rewarding examples that deserve our coninued admiration, gratitude, and emulation.

[123] David Ramsay: "The American Revolution…brought forth great vices; but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occasion for the display of abilities which, but for that event, would have been lost to the world.
"When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them on thinking, speaking and acting in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed.
"The difference between nations is not so much owing to nature as to education and circumstances. While the Americans were guided by the leading strings of the mother country, they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion. All the departments of government were established and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776 the country, being suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its sons, these generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pursued their objects with ardour, a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed. This displayed itself in a variety of ways. It was found that their talents for great stations did not differ in kind, but only in degree, from those which were necessary for the proper discharge of the ordinary business of civil society." RHA2 ("Appendix No. IV") pp. 629-630.

LEADERS AND UNITS

While an effort has been made to compile a reasonably thorough roster, of both American and British leaders, of high rank, or otherwise special note, these lists are not intended as exhaustive, but merely provide a catalogue of a majority of the most significant and representative leaders. Almost always the information given for a officer pertains exclusively to their involvement in the war in the south 1780-1781, and is not intended as a summary biography as such. The leaders given here were selected on the basis of their being a field commander, unit commander, or else participant of special note. Very likely there is bound to be missing some officer whom some might feel should have been included, and other officers not named due simply to lack of adequate information readly available about them. This problem, unfortunately, could not be much helped given the large number of officers involved in this wide-ranging conflict. I have, for example included Capt. Patrick Carnes of Lee's Legion, but not Capt. George Armstrong of the Maryland line who fell at Ninety Six because it is sometimes difficult to follow whether an officer in Lee's Legion is in the infantry or cavalry; while gallant officers like Armstrong are so *relatively* numerous (given the number of men involved in the southern campaigns) that it would have enlarged my task too much to have attempted to included them all. Who knows or can say if an officer, killed at an early engagement, or sidelined before he had a chance to be involved in more battles, might have reached a prominence that his early forced absence completely denied him. Some of those taken at Charlestown in 1780 come to mind as examples of this. As well, there might be nominally known, yet unsung, soldiers, including the privates, sergeants and junior officers, whose impact was much greater than history is in a position to take notice of. Such cases, for understandable reasons, we usually can only acknowledge the general possibility of. These comments made, the roster is sufficiently comprehensive to account for at least most of the key leaders on both sides.

Though many very important military leaders of the Virginia and Yorktown campaigns, particularly those on the Franco-American, side are not incorporated into this roster; their names, rank, and specific service during this period can be found in the main text.

It being not always possible to track who was where and when, in mentioning engagements an officer fought at, the given listing of skirmishes and battles should not be assumed to be complete, but, for practical purposes, a general summary. Additional details, including such pertaining to other leaders *not* named in this section, can be found in the *Calendar* itself (including the footnotes.)

I. AMERICAN LEADERS

The Continental Army

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln
(Age in 1780: 47 years old) Head of the Southern Department for the Continental army from 25 September 1778 to 13 June 1780, Lincoln (who had been among the American generals, acting under Gates, at the battle of Saratoga) oversaw the American defenses at Charleston during its siege in early 1780. There he exhibited firmness and spirit, and could be seen toiling among the ordinary soldiers and submitting to common duties.[124] Becoming one of city's prisoners, he was paroled, yet was not able to return to Philadelphia until a year later, having been exchanged in October 1780 for British generals Phillips and Riedesel (both of whom were taken at Saratoga.)[125] He then went on to lead a division, in the Yorktown Campaign, during which he also acted as Washington's second in command; later receiving Cornwallis' surrender sword from Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara. Lincoln was subsequently appointed to head the Congressional Board of War on October 25, 1781. Although not one of the Continental army's more dashing field commanders, the Massachusetts general was well liked and did not suffer anything like the reproach for Charleston Gates did for Camden.[126] See LMS p. 122.

Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates
(53) Gates was appointed by Congress as Lincoln's replacement on 13 June 1780, taking actual command of the army on 25 July at Coxe's Mill[127] on the Deep River. He subsequently led the American forces at the debacle at Camden in August 1780. A move was then made in Congress by certain officers and factions to have him ousted. As a result, on 30 October 1780, he was himself replaced by Greene; but served out the remainder of his position till the latter arrived in early December. Although criticized by many, then and since, for his performance at

[124] BSC p. 88.
[125] RCO p. 164.
[126] Lincoln, Gates and Greene, as Southern Department head, had command over all American military leaders and forces in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. This meant that Lafayette and Von Steuben, despite their seeming independent commands in Virginia, were actually under Greene's formal authority. So, for example, when Lafayette was finally given official over-all command in Virginia, the one who bestowed it on him was Greene -- though Washington, naturally, as Commander in Chief had the final say over all of them.
[127] More accurately known as Wilcox's Iron Works. However, in the text a special exception is made to leaving this particular site denoted as "Coxe's" because of the more frequent contemporary use of that abbreviation; this, in contrast to most all other locations mentioned where we ordinarily and where possible have sought to use only the most formally correct names. Other and similar exceptions found in the text are "Friday's Ferry" -- more properly Fridig's Ferry; "Colson's Mill" for the more correct Colston's Mill; and with some such as Shirar's Ferry (aka Brierly's Ferry) and Sherrald's Ford there are more than two spellings that not infrequently come up.

Camden (and the events leading up to) less known is the fact that officers like Charles Pinckney, William Richardson Davie, and Greene saw him rather as a victim of bad luck and circumstance; preferring to blame the defeat on the clumsy high-ranking leadership of the North Carolina militia (-- even though the Virginia militia, it could be shown, performed worse in the battle.) Gates has also been depicted as vain and self-seeking, in part because of his incidental and removed involvement in the earlier cabals against Washington. Despite this, as southern commander Gates showed himself, if not always a fit and sensible leader, an otherwise conscientious and caring one. It was he, not Greene, who created the "flying camp" under Morgan -- thus dividing the southern Continental army into two formal and separate wings. It was he, not Greene, who first dispatched lieut. Col. Edward Carrington to look into the crossings on the Roanoke, a measure that made possible the rescue and preservation of Greene's army that concluded the Race to the Dan.[128] See GAR1 pp. 345-350.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene
(38) After serving as the Quartermaster General for the Continental army (2 March 1778 to 5 August 1780), Greene (a *Quaker* from Rhode Island) was, upon Washington's endorsement, selected by Congress to replace Gates on 30 October 1780. He arrived in Charlotte, North Carolina and assumed command in the first week of December 1780; serving in the southern department till the end of the war. Although technically defeated at Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs, in every one of these setbacks the losses to his regular troops never greatly exceeded that of his opponent, and each battle "lost" invariably resulted in his finally winning the given campaign. Yet his most memorable generalship was seen the "Race to the Dan" phase of the Guilford Court House campaign; applauded by commanders on both sides. Nor was his holding together a rag-tag army that had been neglected and abandoned by just about everyone else, and in circumstances in which the treasury was almost non-existent and and public credit exhausted, no small achievement.[129] On occasion, however, his tactical judgment was highly questionable (such as in the wide separation of his lines at Guilford,[130] his use of William Washington's cavalry at Hobkirk's Hill, and in his too-forward initial approaches to Ninety Six). As well, he manifested at times odd quirks of temperament; was subject to fits of extreme elation and dour dejection; sometimes rushed too hastily to blame or find fault (particularly if he himself was or might be in part to blame; as for instance in his perhaps harsh treatment of Gunby following Hobkirk's Hill.[131]) Not infrequently he spoke rather brashly, indeed recklessly (as in his remarks concerning the North Carolina militia), and doing so evidently *with* purposeful political motives in mind. Yet in all and despite these weaknesses, he possessed both a remarkable capacity for organization, and a penetrating grasp of the broad strategic picture; not least of which in his seeking to secure the hearts and minds of the people; something Cornwallis tried but failed to accomplish.[132] See GAR1 pp. 75-84, GAR2 p. 227.

Maj. Gen. Johannes de Kalb[133]
(59) De Kalb (originally Hans Kalb, from a peasant family) was a native of German Alsace who had once served in the French army. He arrived in North Carolina in July 1780 with two brigades of Maryland and Delaware Continentals. Despite his high rank, he had a difficult time getting the North Carolinians, under Richard Caswell, to cooperate with him. In Ausgust he acted as second in command to Gates at Camden in (which battle he himself thought Gates should have avoided.) His performance at that battle where (according to at least one version) helmet clad, sword in hand, he only submitted after suffering some eleven sword, bayonet and bullet wounds, stands as one of the war's most memorable moments.[134]

Brig. Gen. Louis Le Begue de Presle Duportail, *Continental Army engineers*
(37) By March 1780, Duportail, a volunteer officer from France, served as chief engineer in the latter stage of the Charleston siege, was taken prisoner when the town surrendered. He was exchanged on October 25,[135] and on his return northward briefly stopped at Greene's camp on the Peedee River. He subsequently participated in the planning for an attack on New York (which he advised against), and afterward acted as Washington's chief engineer at Yorktown. Today he is formally recognized as the father of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

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[128] LMS pp. 249-250.
[129] Milfrid F. Treacy: "...The members of Congress could only recommend -- they were powerless to order -- that the legislators and executives of the southen department afford 'every necesity Assistance and Support' to General Greene. They specificially authorized Greene 'to call for the same.' The heads of the staff departments of supply of the main army were also requested to provide [by such patriotic appeals to local and state governments] what could not be obtained to the southward." TPY p. 55.
[130] Henry Lee IV: "Greene's army united [at Guilford], was rather more than two to one to that of the enemy; and upon this numerical superiority he ventured to engage. By separating it into three insulated lines, it was attacked, with a force of about twenty-two to fifteen against each division, and Lord Cornwallis, instead of meeting an army of forty-five hundred men, defeated successively, three detachments of fifteen hundred; and in each action had a superiority or, at least, an equality of force." LCC p. 217.
[131] After all, even if Gunby gave the wrong order to his regiment, this hardly accounts for the flight of half of an army.
[132] In his first letter (from Dec. 1780) to Francis Marion, Greene stated that until the Continentals had established a more permanent army "…we must endeavor to keep up a partisan war, and preserve the tide of sentiment among the people as much as possible in our favor." GLG3 pp. 80-81. Greene's disdain for the N.C. militia, incidentally, was in some measure prompted by his desire for North Carolina to raise Continental regiments in their stead.
[133] Johann-Henry-Jules-Alexandre von Robaii, Baron de Kalb.
[134] A quite different account of de Kalb's end is given by North Carolina militiaman Humphrey Hunter in Kirkland's *Historic Camden*, vol. I, pp. 186-187. There he is described as being on horseback and felled by a volley while trying to attempting to evade capture. Even if correct, there is no controversy about his having fought bravely before hand, and which British, such as Tarleton's, as well as American, reports attest to. See also GHA3 p. 443, SAW2 pp. 209-210, MLW4A pp. 184-185, LMS pp. 575-577, GAR1 pp. 212-215, SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 3-4.
[135] Regarding his return north upon his release from Charleston in Jan. 1781, see *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII, Apr. 1917, pp. 65, 67-68.

Brig. Gen Mordecai Gist, *3rd Maryland Regiment*
(32) Gist commanded the 2nd Maryland Brigade at the battle of Camden, for which efforts there he received praise. He afterwards left the southern army and returned to Maryland where he helped in recruiting. After being present at Yorktown where he assumed command of some light infantry. He returned to join Greene in 1782, and led the Americans to victory at Combahee Ferry on August 26th of that year, subsequently settling in S.C. after the war.

Brig. Gen. James Hogun, *7th North Carolina Regiment*
Hogun, who earlier had distinguished himself for bravery at Germantown, brought reinforcements to Charleston in February 1780, and was among those captured when the town capitulated. He refused parole and remained at Haddrell's Point, to care for the suffering prisoners there while encouraging them to resist British offers of enlistment. He served in this manner until he died of natural causes on January 4th 1781.

Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, *5th South Carolina Continentals (1st South Carolina Rifles)*
(38) Huger (pronounced U-gee) participated in the defense of Charleston; with forces under his command summarily routed by the British under Webster, Tarleton and Ferguson at Monck's Corner, on April 1780. He was, nonetheless, able to avoid being taken when the city itself fell. At the time of the battle of Camden, he was at Hillsborough with Gov. Rutledge, and otherwise acted as emissary from Gates to Gov. Nash (of N.C.) to represent army's supply needs up to that point. When Greene arrived in December 1780, he was appointed the latter's second in command; a position he served in throughout 1781, with a period of absence (due to illness) in the late spring and early summer. Although a South Carolinian, he fielded the Virginia brigade at Guilford Court House (where he was shot in the hand) and at Hobkirk's Hill. Later in 1782, he was one of the representatives attending the reunited South Carolina assembly. For more, see GAR1 pp. 55-57, GAR2 pp. 206-207.

Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, *1st Georgia Regiment*
(55) McIntosh led the South Carolina militia at Charleston in 1780; where he was taken prisoner with the garrison. When others insisted that Lincoln stay and defend the town, McIntosh was one of those who advocated abandoning the city, and carrying on a strategic defense from without. He remained a captive till finally exchanged for Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara (taken at Yorktown) in February 1782.

Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, *11th and later 7th Virginia Regiment*
(45) Morgan, veteran of Bosotn, Quebec, Saratoga, and the Monmouth Campaign (though not at the latter battle itself) joined Gates army (at Charlotte) in late September 1780, where he was appointed to head the army's light troops. On Gates' belated but timely petition, he was (and after a long period of canvassing, arguing, beng refused, and waiting) raised in rank from Colonel to Brigadier General by Congress, and at last received his commission on October 25th. One reason for this promotion was to prevent any temperamental militia commander from disputing his seniority. He led the American forces at Cowpens in January 1781, and in doing so achieved one of the most sweeping tactical triumphs of the conflict.[136] On the other hand, he could also have been said to been only *very* lucky in evading Cornwallis' pursuit after that battle. On 10 February 1781, rheumatism and sciatica forced him to return to Virginia and leave the service. Though he re-appeared briefly in mid summer 1781 to lead a body of rifleman in the pre-Yorktown campaign, illness again soon forced his early retirement. Morgan was unusual because in his background, personality and ability he managed to bridge the gap between the common soldiers and the higher-ranking officers, a quality that endeared him to many.[137]

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, *2nd South Carolina Regiment*
(50) Moultrie was one of those taken prisoner at the surrender of Charleston; where he was second in overall charge of the American forces. Though he was paroled, he remained in the town and, without formal authorization, acted conscientiously and courageously as head and representative of the other American prisoners. The British attempted to bribe and get him to change sides while in captivity; an offer understandably scorned (see GDH3 pp. 143-144.) Lossing states that he later went to Philadelphia (this would have been no earlier than late Spring 1781), and was ultimately exchanged in February 1782, at which time he returned to South Carolina. Moultrie had a certain dignity, steadfastness, and sense of public duty somewhat reminiscent of Washington; though he was more down to earth and less the genteel aristocrat by comparison. Had he, rather than Lincoln, commanded at the siege of Charleston there is perhaps some reason to think he might have done a better job inasmuch as he was less likely to have been intimidated by the civil authorities present in the city. In addition to his own *Memoirs*, see LMS p. 126, GAR1 pp. 7-16.

Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, *2nd Virginia Regiment*
(41) Scott, a veteran of the French and Indian War and who had served with Washington there, was captured at Charleston and within some months paroled to Virginia; though he was not released from this status till war's

[136] As one of his earliest biographer points out, although much is made of Arnold's contribution to Saratoga (the exact nature of which, particularly with regard to the first battle Freeman's farm, some historians have methodically and scrupulously challenged), it was Morgan who first checked Burgoyne, and it is almost impossible to see the battles there going with relative smoothness for the Americans as they did without his participation.
[137] The King's Mountain commanders, before deciding upon Campbell, requested to have Morgan lead them; as similarly did N.C. militia leaders after the death of William Lee Davidson at Cowan's Ford. GDM p. 238, MSC2 p. 120. For some sketches of Morgan by his contemporaries see AR81 pp. 58, 66 and LMS pp. 579-584. Although Virginia was and had been the site of Morgan's residence since 1755, his place of birth was New Jersey.

termination. In his *Campaigns*, Tarleton states that in the British raid on Charlottesville in June 1781, Brig. Gen. Scott was one among a group of Virginia assembly members and state officers who were "killed, wounded or taken [prisoner]."[138] Though he was definitely not killed, it is not clear whether he was wounded, captured, or both. If captured it would be something of legal question what his status would have been seeing that, at the time of his presumed capture, he was on parole. For more on Scott, see BEA pp. 993-994.

Brig. Gen. William Smallwood, *Maryland Continentals*
(48) Smallwood, a veteran of the French and Indian War and some of the very earliest portions of the Revolution (including the battle of Long Island), commanded the 1st Maryland Brigade at Camden. Though he is not said to have particularly distinguished himself in that engagement, he did play a significant role in regrouping and reorganizing the army afterward. He became Gates' second in command and in late September 1780 was appointment by the North Carolina Board of War to command the North Carolina Militia, replacing Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell. He apparently had hoped to command the Southern army himself, but was disappointed in this. On 19 December 1780, he left the Southern army and returned to Maryland. There he was assisted in recruiting men for the southern army while engaged in some political wrangling over lack of promotion.

Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, *3rd North Carolina Regiment*
(47) Sumner, originally a Virginia native, was generally recognized as North Carolina's pre-eminent Continental officer, having served with merit in Washington's army years earlier in the war.[139] In Sept. 1780, he (along with William Lee Davdson) assumed a high-ranking command in the North Carolina militia. After Greene's arrival, however, he relinquished this and was put in charge of forming and re-organizing the state's Continental Regiments; which task he performed with resolute dedication and professionalism. When enough men had been collected and armed to form the newly re-founded North Carolina Continentals, he returned actively to the field in August 1781; commanding those units (which he more than anone had made possible) with conspicuous honor at Eutaw Springs. See SNC pp. 468-471.

Brig. Gen. William Woodford, *Virginia Continentals*
(46) Woodford, who commanded the state militia at Virginia's equivalent to Bunker Hill, i.e. Great Bridge, Dec. 9 1775, arrived in Charleston with reinforcements for the city on 7 April 1780, and was one of those captured with the garrison. Yet unlike most of the other higher ranking American officers taken, he was not paroled; though it is not clear if this was out of choice as it was with James Hogun. He was taken to New York City where he died (still a prisoner) on November 12 (or 13), 1780, and was buried by the British in Trinity Church Yard in New York City.

Col. Charles Armand, *1st Partizan Corps,* also known as *Armand's Legion*
(30) A French volunteer, his actual name was Charles Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie, yet he shortened it to "Charles Armand" while in America. Sometime after the fall of Charleston, what remained of Pulaski's Legion (which numerically speaking wasn't much) became part of Armand's corps. He was at Camden with Gates' army, though his recalcitrant troops behaved very badly in and following that engagement (evidently despite his own sincere efforts.) Afterward, his Legion was sent to forage and make cantonments in Warren County, North Carolina, "from whence," says Otho Williams, "Armand went to Philadelphia and never returned [to the southern army.]" In February 1781, he sailed to France to obtain support and supplies for his men; by May he and his legion were with Lafayette in the latter's Virginia campaign; being present at Green Spring and later Yorktown where he participated with noted gallantry in the assault on redoubt no. 10.

Col. Abraham Buford (also Bufort, Beaufort), *15th Virginia Regiment*
(31) Buford commanded the American forces at the disastrous defeat at Waxhaws in May 1780. To de Kalb's dismay, he left with the men remaining with him to Virginia; pleading that they were without clothing or supplies. Though Gates called him back, he did not return in time for Camden. Not long after Greene's arrival in Charlotte, Buford, became ill, and, as a result, was sent to command the post at Salisbury; where there was a hospital and a company of N.C. militia under Captain Edward Yarborough. On 5 March 1781 he received leave of absence to go home to Virginia to recuperate, and there stayed till the conflict's culmination.

Col. John Gunby *2nd Maryland Regiment*, and *1st Maryland Battalion* (of 1781)
(35) Gunby was at Camden where he commanded the 7th Maryland Regiment (not his own, the 2nd.) When Greene arrived in December 1780, Gunby was acting commander of the post and magazine at Hillsborough, and subsequently involved in removing the stores from thence to Prince Edward Court House, VA., when Cornwallis invaded North Carolina in February 1781. He then left Prince Edward to rejoin Greene on March 12th. Alhough also present at Guilford Court House, Gunby received most fame at the battle of Hobkirk's Hill when he ordered the 1st Maryland Regiment (of 1781) to fall back in the face of Rawdon's advancing force. This purportedly resulted in the scattering of that unit and the subsequent route of the entire army.[140] Greene later angrily

[138] TCS p. 297.
[139] Avers North Carolina historian Schenck without hesitation: "The greatest soldier of that day, from North Carolina, was Brigadier General Jethro Sumner, of Warren County." And yet honorable mention should at least be made by us here of North Carolina generals Francis Nash (brother of N.C. Gov. Abner Nash), mortality wounded at Germantown and for whom Nashville, TN. is named), William Lee Davidson killed at Cowan's Ford, and Griffith Rutherford of the Rowan County militia.
[140] Greene's sense of the matter was that Gunby's order robbed the advancing American line of the desire and momentum to attack, and which was clearly evident and manifest in the troops *until* that order was given. NGP8 p. 187. "[I]t was only an error

blamed the battle's defeat on him, and arranged -- *at Gunby's own request*[141] -- to have him court-martialed. The colonel was acquitted but not without having incurred some diminution of his reputation in despite of this. Not long afterward, he fell ill from dysentery and was appointed to oversee the post and hospital at Charlotte. In August, still very sick, he requested leave to go home to Maryland, which Greene reluctantly but with due kindness and respect granted. He did not subsequently return. By war's close, states his biographer, he was made Brigadier General.

Col. Charles Harrison, *1st Continental Artillery* (Virginia)
Harrison came to North Carolina with de Kalb, and took command of Continental artillery. Neverthless, just prior to Camden he injured his leg; as a result of a kick from a horse,[142] and so did not participate in that engagement. Afterward he left the southern army, and did not rejoin it till a few days before Guilford Court House. He subsequently headed Greene's artillery at Hobkirk's Hill[143] and Ninety Six, at least in name. In August of 1781, Greene sent him into North Carolina to report back to him on the state of military stores at Oliphant's Mill, Charlotte and Salisbury, and the possibility of creating a munitions laboratory at Salisbury. While dutifully applying himself to these tasks, Harrison became ill and by the 28th of August, went to Salem, N.C. to convalesce. After that he went to Virginia; where he ended up remaning, working to obtain additional supplies and support for Greene's army. He only returned to the southern army in late spring of 1782.

Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *1st South Carolina of 1780*
(34) Pinckney was at Charleston where he served actively and was among the captured. He was thereafter paroled, and finally exchanged in February 1782. To him has been attributed the famous oath of defiance, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" Though, in his reply to the French diplomat at the time of the XYZ affair, what he actually is reported to have said was "It is No, No! Not a sixpence!" For more, see GAR1 pp. 104-110.

Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Engineer
(35) Kosciuszko, of Lithuanian origin (then a part of Poland), was perhaps most notably recognized and responsible for the American field works at Saratoga and the designing of the strategically important fortifications at West Point. By late November 1780 he'd joined the southern army then under Gates, and following the arrival of Greene became the latter's chief engineer. He was busily employed in various projects, and among his very first tasks was the selection of Hick's Creek as the reviving camp ground for Greene's sore and tattered command. Shortly after he was involved in building boats (for river crossings) and establishing redoubts and small fortifications (such as those on the Dan River). His presence in the southern campaigns was most prominent at the siege of Ninety Six in 1781. Lee somewhat unfairly blames him for the failure of the siege when, after all, as William Johnson (Greene's biographer) rightly points out, Greene was the one in charge of the operations there.[144] At the same time, but for the loss of perhaps a few days, the siege might well have succeeded. At Eutaw Springs, he acted as a mounted volunteer. If not perhaps the consummate engineer he sometimes may be implied to have been, he was, nonetheless, a competent, dedicated and energetic, as well as likeable, officer indispensable to Greene's efforts. After the war, Kosciuszko distinguished himself as a reformer, philanthropist, and advance-guard abolitionist both in this and his home country (as well as becoming a celebrated and victorious general in Europe.) See LCC pp. 404-406, JTR pp. 414-418.

Col. Otho Holland Williams, *6th Maryland Regiment*, and *1st Maryland Battalion* (of 1780)
(31) Williams came south with de Kalb and as well as commanding the 6th Maryland Regt. acted as Gates' Assistant Adjutant General (later continuing in that same latter capacity for Greene), and at Camden led a "band of [light infantry] volunteers" in the van of the Virginia militia.[145] He figured significantly in the reorganization of the Maryland Regiments after that action, and became commander of 1st Maryland Regiment (of 1780-1781), then the Maryland Brigade itself. He commanded Greene's light corps in the maneuvering prior to Guilford. Exactly where Williams' strengths lay as a combat leader are not so readily obvious. His performance as commander of the light corps in the Race to the Dan is justifiably assumed by historians to be to his credit. Yet Davie, a shrewd assessor of his contemporaries, was in after years critical of Williams being caught napping, as "a corps of observation" at Weitzel's Mill,[146] and for giving, at a crucial moment, an ill-

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in judgment in him as his courage and activity are unquestionable. War is critical businesss and the fate of the day after every possible precaution depends upon the most trifling incident." Greene to Nash, 2 May, 1781, NGP8 p. 190.

[141] GJG p. 109. Incidentally, a very warm and credible defense of Gunby can be found in this biography (i.e. GJG) and written by descendant, Andrew Augustus Gunby (1849-1917).

[142] See Gates to Jefferson, August 3rd, 1780. GAH p. 297.

[143] See Greene to Pres. Samuel Huntington, 25 April 1781.

[144] Says Lee, Kosciusko was "much esteemed for his mildness of disposition and urbanity of manners," (LMS p. 359) and "was an extremely amiable, and, I believe, a truly good man, nor was he deficient in his professional knowledge; but he was very moderate in talent, -- not a spark of the ethereal in his composition. His blunders lost us Ninety-Six..." (LMS p. 371.) And yet in his post war activities, Kosciusko elevated himself to universal respect and admiration, and to a degree and in a manner Lee could hardly have dreamt of doing; including openly pressing and soliciting for the abolition of slavery.

[145] LMS p. 183.

[146] In support of Davie's interpretation, it could be said that at Weitzel's Williams had (according to Joseph Graham) little over ten minutes to form up while the militia posted to his front (as sentinels and a delaying force) were most very fortunate (as well as remarkably swift, plucky, and agile) to have incurred so relatively few losses: caught up as they were in the onslaught of the British advance. Notwithstanding, Otho Williams biographer, John Beakes, contests Davie's view of Williams at both Weitzel's Mill and Guilford. Respecing Weitzel's, Beakes points out that Williams, although his troops were separated in groups to facilitate foraging, had secured their safety by deploying them behind Alamance Ceek (the creek thus acting as barrier which

advised order to the 2nd Maryland at Guilford Court House (somewhat like Gunby at Hobkirk's Hill.) Because he had relatively little opportunity to exercise a truly independent command, it is open to question how effective he was as a combat field leader and tactician. Yet as staff officer, Williams brought solidity, integrity, and (usually) reliable judgment to *Greene's* command; which, given the often ragged, not infrequently chaotic, and fragmented condition of the southern army, were no small blessing to the patriot cause. The quality of the writing of his *Narrative* (arguably among the foremost *literary* works by an American observer of the war in the south) reveals the young colonel to have been a highly cultivated and intelligent individual, gifted with keen powers of observation and discernment, and it is much to be regretted that we do not have a lengthier memoir from him.[147] In addition, Williams' order book "Brigade and Regimental Orders [by] O H Williams Comm," MS 768, found in the Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections is a veritable gold mine of information pertaining to camp life in the Continental army, and includes many entries on military justice, company organization of the Maryland regiments, discipline and training, clothing and uniforms, arms and equipment (including instruments for the musicians), rationing supplies to the men, dealings with civilians, and more. For a sketch of Williams, see LMS pp. 592-594.

Lieut. Col. Peter Adams, *1st Maryland Regiment*
Adams commanded the 1st Maryland Regiment at Camden, but left the southern army afterward, and was replaced by Col. Otho Williams. He was later present at Yorktown.

Lieut. Col. John Baptiste Ashe, *6th North Carolina Regiment* and *1st North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)
(32) Ashe, from Halifax and a veteran of Moore's Creek Bridge, commanded the 1st North Carolina Regiment of 1781, leading his unit in battle at Eutaw Springs. See CNS1 pp. 125-126, WNC p. 199, WRM p. 203, and SCAR vol. 3, nos. 10-11 [joint issue], p. 29.

Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell, *13th Virginia Regiment* and *1st Virginia Regiment* (of 1781)
(45)[148] Campbell came south with (what would become) Samuel Hawes' Virginia Continentals and with whom he served at Guilford Court House. He assumed command of John Green's 1st Virginia Regiment after Green's departure in early April 1781, and led one of the two brave, but ill fated, American assaults against the siege works at Ninety Six. On July 19th, he (replacing Huger) was given command of the Virginia brigade (i.e. the joint 1st and 2nd Virginia regiments); while Capt. Thomas Edmunds took his place as head of the 1st Virginia Regiment. He was mortally wounded at Eutaw Springs, surviving till some hours after the battle.[149] See MLW4A pp. 549-550, LMS pp. 472-473, JLG2 pp. 233-234, LCC pp. 482-485.

Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, *1st Continental artillery* (Virginia), Quartermaster General for the Southern Army
(32) Carrington, leading the 1st Continental artillery, met up with de Kalb in Virginia on the latter's march into North Carolina. However, due to a dispute with his superior Col. Charles Harrison, he withdrew from his command. When Gates arrived to take charge of the army, he sent Carrington to Virginia to inquire into the availability of crossings on the Roanoke River; which Greene later extended to include the Dan River. Greene appointed him his Quartermaster General in which capacity he served admirably. He did not actually join Greene's army till 7 February 1781; about which time he was soon after employed in collecting the boats for Greene's subsequent passage at Irwin's and Boyd's ferries on the Dan River. In March through May, he led the American negotiations with Cornwallis for the exchange of prisoners while continuing to carry out his functions as quartermaster. One of his last tasks while with the southern army was to secure 200 horses from North Carolina for Greene. In July he went into Virginia for the purposes of obtaining more supplies, but ended up with Washington's army at Yorktown. After that he returned south and resumed his duties as Greenes' quartermaster.[150]

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford (also Foard), *5th Maryland Regiment*, and *2nd Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)
Ford commanded the 5th (or, says one good source, the 6th) Maryland Regiment at Camden. Whether he was captured at that engagement is not clear. In any case, he was with Greene's army at Guilford Court House and Hobkirk's Hill, where he commanded the 2nd Maryland Regiment. It was at the latter battle that he received a wound requiring his arm's amputation, but which unfortunately not heal. He survived long enough notwithstanding to return to Maryland where he arranged his estate previous to expiring. See GDH3 pp. 278-279.

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slowed the British and as such prevented surprise of the Americans), and further that morning fog had aided the concealement of Cornwallis' approach; so that in sum, but for Williams' caution things might have turned out much worse; with Greene himself (in a letter to Joseph Reed of 18 March 1781) concluding that Williams had "very judiciously avoided the blow."

[147] There actually was such (or the makings of), but in 1786 many of Williams' papers, after being loaned to British historian William Gordon, were lost at sea on the return voyage. See Otho H. Williams Papers, MD. Historical Society, Part 3/8, Item #353. Greene's biographer, Judge William Johnson, however, speaks of having access to some of Williams correspondence and records, etc., and which evidently were not among those sent to Gordon. John Marshall also evidently had Williams writings as a source for his own *Life of Washington*. JLG2 p. viii.

[148] Different sources give Cambell's birth date variously as 1730 and 1735.

[149] Alexander Garden: "An instance of his [Campbell's] romantic gallantry occurred in service, which I will mention, although it may fix the imputation on me, however unjust, of being a decided friend to dueling. His son, who bore a Subaltern's commission in his Regiment, had quarreled with a brother officer, and some harsh expressions were eventually exchanged, when the dispute appeared to terminate. The indignant parent, insisting that a war of words was ill-suited to military characters, compelled him to call his adversary to the field, and accompanied him to it as his second." GAR2 p. 196.

[150] LMS pp. 249, 562.

Lieut. Col. John Green, *6th Virginia Regiment*, and *1st Virginia Regiment* (of 1781)
Green commanded a regiment of newly formed Virginia Continentals, which acted as Greene's rear guard at Guilford Court House. He departed the southern army to go back to Virginia, on or before April 4th due to rheumatism, and to recruit for the regiment. See BLO p. 73.

Lieut. Col. John Faucheraud Grimké, *4th South Carolina (Artillery)*
Grimke served at the siege of Charleston where he was later taken with the garrison.[151]

Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes, *6th Virginia Regiment*, and *2nd Virginia Regiment* (of 1781)
(53) Hawes led the 2nd Virginia Regiment at Guilford Court House and Hobkirk's Hill. He became ill in May 1781, and, about June 19th, command of the 2nd was given to Major Smith Snead.

Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard, *5th Maryland Regiment*, and *1st Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)
(28) Howard commanded 2nd Maryland Regiment at Camden, and subsequently the 1st Maryland Regiment, and, in a detached capacity, the Maryland-Delaware light battalion at Cowpens where, at the just the right moment, he ordered his men to fix bayonets and charge Tarleton's advancing regulars. He saw as much battle field service in the southern campaigns as any of the higher ranking officers, being present at Camden, Cowpens, the Race to the Dan, Weitzel's Mill, Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill (after which action he replaced mortally wounded Benjamin Ford in as commander of the 2nd Maryland Regt.), Ninety Six and Eutaw Springs (where he was wounded in the left shoulder.) The valor and gallantry of the 1st Maryland Regiment under his command in these engagements (Hobkirk's Hill perhaps excepted) speaks as highly of him as any encomium possibly could.[152] See GAR2 pp. 87-91.

Lieut. Col. John Laurens, *3rd Light Infantry Battalion*, Hazen's Division
(26) Laurens, son of Henry Laurens (the one time President of Congress and later U.S. ambassador) and one of Gen. Washington's aide de camps, was a member of the South Carolina assembly at the time of Clinton's invasion of the south in 1779. He was among those who defended Charleston,[153] and served under Moultrie as volunteer; his troops boldly skirmishing with the British in their advance on the city. Captured at its fall, he was paroled then exchanged. In the spring of 1781, he sailed to France to assist Franklin in getting money and supplies. In August, having helped to rescue the army from insolvency by means of his successful mission, he returned and re-joined Washington's army; following which he led a battalion of light infantry at Yorktown, participating in the assault on Redoubt number 10. He later resumed fighting in South Carolina and was tragically killed just months before the war's end at Combahee Ferry on 27 August 1782. The only known surviving contemporary portrait of the young colonel is a miniature painted while he was at Valley Forge, and which bears the inscription "Dulce et Decorum est pro Patria Mori" (Sweet and Right it is to die for one's Country.) See GAR1 pp. 86-90, GAR2 pp. 12-19, LMS p. 565, JLG1 pp. 322n-323n; while for an interesting obituary of Laurens written shortly after his death by a Charleston loyalist, and which though disapproving of his having been a rebel, pays respect to his virtues otherwise, see *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, pp. 163-164.[154]

Lieut. Col. Henry Lee, *2nd Partizan Corps*, also known as *Lee's Legion*
(24) Lee joined Greene's army in January 1781, and remained serving with Greene until after Eutaw Springs, at which time he was sent by Greene with a full and minute briefing of southern affairs to Washington so as to be present at the closing days of the siege of Yorktown. By November, he returned to Greene's army, but in February 1782 he left for Virginia where he remained till after war's end. Though ambitious for glory, sometimes brash, and not always easy for some to get along with due to his somewhat artistocratic outlook, Lee was the American response to Tarleton, ever active and aggressive.[155] Yet in fairness to Lee, his daring capture of Paulus Hook, N.J. in August 1779 took place almost a year prior to Tarleton's famous southern exploits. His Legion instilled a pride to American arms, which won the respect of friend and foe alike.[156] Though criticized for his

[151] Grimke's "Order Book," dating from Aug. 1778 to May 1780, can be found in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Jan. 1916, pp. 26-33; vol. XVII, Apr. 1916, pp. 82-86 ; vol. XVII, July 1916, pp. 116-120; vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, pp. 167-174; vol. XVIII, Apr. 1917, pp. 59-69; vol. XVIII, July 1917, pp. 149-153; vol. XVIII, Oct. 1917, pp. 175-179.
[152] Howard for the first time was subject to book length biographical treatment in *"Cool Deliberate Courage": John Eager Howard in the American Revolution* (2009) by Jim Piecuch and John Beakes. See in addition LMS pp. 591-592. Many of Howard's own numerous personal recollections of the war in the south, as related in letters to Henry Lee, are to be found in LMS and LCC.
[153] When Prevost threatened Charleston in May 1779 and Gov. John Rutledge declared that he would be willing to surrender the city if South Carolina was granted a neutral status, Laurens (then present also) was among those who respectfully expressed strong disapproval of the idea (and which proposal, of course and in any event, was not realized because, ironically, the British refused it.) See MMS1 pp. 427-435, LMS pp. 127-128.
[154] Not all southerners of the time were for or indifferent to slavery, and Laurens was one such who endeavored, against the tide of local conventional wisdom and established opinion, to combat or urge against it when possible. For more on him, see GAR1 pp. 86-90. Henry Lee also, at least in his writing, was another opposed to slavery for its planting "bloody insurrection" in society's midst; though like Washington and Jefferson, still felt it necessary, while matters stood as they did, to keep them for economic reasons, see LMS p. 215n.
[155] Lee was a land owning aristocrat by birth and of longer established and respected lineage, while Tarleton, from a wealthy Liverpool merchant famly, formally speaking, could be considered less his equal when it came to social standing of the time.
[156] Joseph Graham describes some of the North Carolina militia meeting Lee's Legion for the first time on February 22nd, 1781, after Hart's Mill: "These veteran troopers attracted much attention from the militia, who judging them, though inferior in numbers, to be far superior in effectiveness to British cavalry (which some of them had seen in the morning), were inspired with a confidence they had hitherto not possessed." GNC p. 317. See as well LMS p. 260.

performance at Guilford Court House and Eutaw Springs, as well as the fact that he was probably too cavalier in risking the lives of militia in order to protect his own men, his omnipresence in the Guilford Court House campaigns, and his running successes while assisting at the reductions of Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, and Augusta (not to mention his exploits elsewhere) more than demonstrate his fire and efficacy as a military commander. His history of the war in the south, though often unreliable in its details and perhaps too self-promoting, is an otherwise noble work, and among the very best of Revolutionary War memoirs.[157] See GAR1 pp. 62-68.

Lieut. Col. Richard Parker, *1st Virginia Regiment*
Parker died in May, 1780, from wounds received at the siege of Charleston on April 24th. Lee comments: "He was one of that illustrious band of youths who first flew to the country's standard when she was driven to unsheathe the sword. Stout and intelligent, brave and enterprising, he had been advanced from the command of a company in the course of the war to the command of a regiment. Always beloved and respected, late in the siege he received a ball in the forehead, and fell dead in the trenches, embalmed in the tears of his faithful soldiers, and honored by the regret of the whole army."[158]

Lieut. Col. David Vaughn, *Delaware Regiment*
Vaughn commanded the Delaware Regiment at Camden where he was taken prisoner.

Lieut. Col. William Washington, *3rd Continental Light Dragoons*, and later the combined *1st and 3rd Continental Light Dragoons*, also referred to as the "Virginia Cavalry"
(28) A cousin of the General, and who had served as an infantry officer at Harlem Heights and Trenton, after Tarleton, no other officer participated at more engagements in the south than Washington; beginning with his lively presence at the defense of the outskirts of Charleston in 1780. Leading numerous raids just outside of the besieged city, however, and despite devastating setbacks in some later skirmishing, he was spared being made prisoner by the British. While absent at the battle of Camden, he actively served with the southern army up until the time of Eutaw Springs; where he was wounded and captured. His reckless handling of his unit there; including assailing Marjoribanks in a blackjack thicket (and without taking Kirkwood's Delawares with him for this purpose) while, at the same time, exposing his men to a deadly volley while passing in front of the British lines[159] raise serious doubts respecting his competence in that action. Not released till the war's end, he subsequently settled in South Carolina. As well as being a *usually* (though not always) victorious cavalry and partisan officer, Washington was evidently a both affable and straightforward individual as one never encounters a bad word spoken of him.[160] See GAR1 pp. 68-74.

Lieut. Col. Anthony Walton White, *1st Continental Light Dragoons*
White, from New Jersey, led cavalry at the minor victories at Rantowle's Bridge and Wambaw's Plantation, while being also among the American leaders defeated at Monck's Corner and Lenud's Ferry[161] in the spring of 1780 -- with his subordinate William Washington subsequently questioning his competence. His and Washington's units were not at Camden because they were not properly outfitted and equipped at the time. He was with Greene's army for brief while, but because of lack of horsemen and proper clothing and equipment, he returned to Virginia, to recruit and obtain supplies. While there in Oct. 1780, he suffered a medical ailment that, by his own account (see CNC14 pp. 703-703), almost caused his death. He was able, in spite of this, to rejoin the Greene's army in December 1781 (LMS pp. 538-539.) [162]

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[157] *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas* (1824), a reply to William Johnson's *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* (1822), was written by his son, Henry Lee IV. Johnson's negativity toward Lee in his *Life of Greene*, and which incited the literary wrath and counterattack by Lee's son, would seem to have stemmed from Lee senior's anti-Jeffersonian and pro-Marshall stance in post-war Virginia politics in opposition to Judge Johnson's advocacy, on the bench and elsewhere, of the Democratic-Republican party, and moreover the influence of some of Sumter's lieutenants disgruntled by Lee (Johnson was himself, of course, from South Carolina.)

[158] LMS p. 160.

[159] GDH3 pp. 147-157, CSS pp. 1190-1191.

[160] Alexander Garden: "I heard, from an officer of distinction in the army of the enemy, who was wounded in this action [Guilford Court House], the following interesting particulars: 'I was near General Webster, when the charge was made by [William] Washington. The desperate situation of the Guards, had its effect on all around. An officer of rank in the American army, quickly perceiving it, rode up to the British line and called aloud, 'surrender, gentlemen, and be certain of good quarters.' Terrified by appearances, and concluding that defeat was inevitable, the soldiers of the regiment De Bose, were actually throwing down their arms. Confusion was increasing. General Webster, whose presence of mind could not be disturbed, exclaimed -- 'Unless that gallant fellow is taken off, we are lost.' A Lieutenant of artillery, bringing up a field-piece at the moment, was directed to fire into the throng, where the guards now appeared to be greatly out-numbered, and did so with the happiest success -- the cavalry wheeled off, the remains of the battalion rallied, and the army was saved.'" GAR1 pp. 68-75. In pension statements, veterans sometimes make reference to him as "Billy Washington." For more, see LMS pp. 587-589, Stephen Haller's biography (HWW) as well as SCAR vol. 3, no.4, pp. 21-31.

[161] William Washington, who was present, yet in a subordinate role there, attempted later to have White brought up on charges of negligence for the defeat.

[162] After the war, in 1798 during John Adams' administration, when White's name, along with that of John Sevier, came up in nomination for Brigadier General in the United States army, then late president George Washington responded caustically in a letter to Timothy Pickering: "What, in the name of Military Prudence could have induc'd the appointments of White & Severe [Sevier] as Brigadiers? The latter never was celebrated for any thing (that ever came to my knowledge) except the murder of Indians. and the former, for nothing but frivolity, empty shew, & something worse. Having no suspicion that it was intended to nominate Officers for the Provisional Army at the time these were, I conceived it was time enough to contemplate characters for that Corps: and in going over the list of Field Officers put Mr White down among those of New Jersey, merely as one that might

Lieut. Col. Thomas Woolford, *4th Maryland Regiment*
In mid August 1780, Woolford was sent with a detachment of Maryland Continentals to assist Sumter in the latter's successful raid on the Wateree Ferry below Camden. He was later among those wounded and taken prisoner at Sumter's defeat at Fishing Creek just a few days later, dying from those wounds on 12 November 1780.[163]

Maj. Archibald Anderson, *3rd Maryland Regiment*, and *1st Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)
Anderson fought at Camden, and particularly distinguished himself by keeping himself and his men collected in the post battle withdrawal. Though not at Cowpens, he was at Guilford Court House; where he was slain. GHA3 pp. 444 449-550, DRS p. 27.

Maj. John Armstrong, *4th North Carolina Regiment*, and *1st* and soon after *2nd North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)
Armstrong commanded the N.C. light infantry at Camden in August 1780. A reference to him is made to a "Colonel" Armstrong in the *Records of the Moravians* as a colonel. If not a different Armstrong, this perhaps was his rank while involved with the militia (as was the case, for instance, with Henry Dixon.)[164] Later he was part of Ashe's newly formed 1st North Carolina Continental Regiment (of 1781.) However, within the month prior to Eutaw Springs, he was put in charge of and led the 2nd North Carolina at that battle.

Maj. Reading Blount, *5th North Carolina Regiment*, and *3rd North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)
(23) Blount, from Edgecombe County, commanded the 3rd North Carolina Regiment at Eutaw Springs. See SCAR vol. 3, no. 9, p. 24.

Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, *5th North Carolina Regiment*, advance Light detachment of the *N.C. Continentals (1781)*
Greene first appointed Eaton to command the depot at Hillsborough, N.C. on January 31, 1781, to replace Gunby who was needed in Greene's camp, and who had been previously in charge there. Gunby, however, ended up remaining in Hillsborough so that Eaton was, as it tuned out, not needed there. Eaton, says McCrady, had been Sumner's "most active assistant in raising the new levies, and was the first officer assigned to active service in the campaign of 1781."[165] He subsequently led the very first detachment of Sumner's newly formed North Carolina Continentals sent to Greene; with which he served at Fort Motte, and the siege of Augusta. He was killed on 21 May 1781 during (or possibly immediately *after*) the fighting at Fort Grierson, one of the two posts at Augusta. From Halifax, N.C., in his correspondence he sometimes signed his first name as "Pinkney" and "Pinkey."

Major Henry Hardman, *3rd Maryland Regiment*, and *2nd Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)
Hardman saw action at Camden, Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill, Ninety Six and Eutaw Springs. He assumed command of the 2nd Maryland Regiment on the felling of Col. Ford at Hobkirk's Hill.

Maj. John Jameson (also Jamieson), *1st Continental Light Dragoons*
Jameson[166] was at Rantowle's Bridge, Monck's Corner, and Lenud's Ferry in the spring of 1780. After the disaster at Lenud's, he left the south and subsequently joined Sheldon's 2nd Continental Dragoons in Westchester, New York, and later played a major part in the events immediately preceding the discovery of Arnold's treason.

Major John Rudulph (also Rudolph), *Lee's Legion Cavalry*
Rudulph, "Fighting Jack," and brother of Michael, was one of Lee's regularly active cavalry officers. He was sent to Virginia in August 1781 to secure horses for the Legion, but was unsuccessful because the horses collected ended up being used at Yorktown.[167] By late September 1781, he was promoted to major.

Maj. Smith Snead, *11th Virginia* and later *2nd Virginia Regiment (of 1781)*
On 19 June 1781, Snead took command of the 2nd Virginia Regiment when Lieut. Col. Hawes was so ill as to be unable to continue in that position. He has the regrettable, some might feel ignoble, distinction of having slain fellow officer Col. Marquis de Malmedy in a duel that took place near or outside Greene's camp in the High Hills of the Santee, sometime in November 1781.

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be considered for that grade. To give two Brigadiers to that State when more important ones furnished none, and one of these too, not only without merit or pretensions, but despised by the Revolutionary Officers who had served with him, is to me inconceivable. The certain consequence of it will be, that many of the most valuable of them (to the Southward, where he was best known) will not be his Juniors. As to Severe, as he is little known, little is said ab[ou]t him yet." Washington to Pickering, 9 Sept. 1798; and see also Washington to James McHenry, 22 July 1798, and 14 Sept. 1798. In fairness to White and Sevier, Washington's indignation was partially aroused by the slight being simultaneously displayed by the war department towards his old comrade Henry Knox.

[163] FWV p. 1261.

[164] FRM p. 1747. Letters in the *State Records of N.C.* indicate that there was a Col. James Armstrong (CNC15 p. 467) as opposed to Maj. John Armstrong (with an example of the latter at CNC15 pp. 467-468); so the colonel referred to by the Moravians may indeed actually be the other (i.e. James) Armstrong. In any event, both of these Armstrongs had commissions in the North Carolina Continentals (see, for instance, CNC22 pp. 1049 where they appear on the same roster as members of the N.C. line.)

[165] MSC pp. 268n-269n. See also SNC pp. 418-419.

[166] Incorrectly referred to by Tarleton in his *Campaigns* as a lieutenant colonel, though this was his later rank.

[167] The editor to the Greene papers say it was Michael Rudulph who was sent on the mission, but Michael, in addition to being an infantry officer, was at Eutaw Springs, while there is no mention of John being there.

Maj. Chevalier Pierre-François Vernier, *Pulaski's Legion*
A French volunteer, Vernier was one of those badly cut up by the British Legion at Monck's Corner on 14 May 1780. The gratuitous brutality of some of the British cavalry on the occasion outraged even Ferguson who threatened to shoot them on the spot if they did not desist.[168]

Capt. James Armstrong, *Lee's Legion Cavalry*
The name of Capt. Armstrong, as a dutiful and intrepid officer of Irish descent, comes up regularly in Lee's *Memoirs*. Having fought in many actions in 1781, Armstrong was ultimately captured at Dorchester on 13 December of that year, and was held captive till the end of the war. What McCrady denoted "Eggleston's Capture" (3 July 1781) was more a result of Armstrong's efforts than to Eggleston's -- as (according to Alexander Garden) Eggleston himself later insisted. Perhaps his most famous moment was at Quinby Bridge. There he sent a messenger back to Lee, a mile or two behind, to ask if he should continue with the attack, without telling Lee, however, that most of the planks had been loosened on the bridge. Lee replied back, correspondingly, with an emphatic yes. After receiving this order, Armstrong, with his small troop, charged over the precarious and flimsy span, and for a while, with additional help from Marion's men, scattered most of a regiment.[169] He himself, however, was finally taken in a skirmish near Dorchester in Dec. 1781, respecting which see LMS p. 538, JJA.

Capt. William Beatty , *7th Maryland Regt*. (*1st Maryland Regt*. of 1781)
(22) Beatty, who got his start in the army as a ensign way back in 1776, joined Greene's camp along with some Maryland recruits on 7 December 1780. An active and evidently very popular officer on and off the field, his climactic death on the field of Hobkirk's Hill is sometimes cited as the real reason (and less so Gunby's unpropitious order) for the confusion which ensued among the American ranks at that battle. See "Captain William Beatty's Journal: From The Year of Our Lord 1776 to 1781," (28 pages), Maryland Historical Society, no. 58436 (1853). Presented by Judge Beatty of Kentucky.[170]

Capt. Patrick Carnes (also Carns), *Lee's Legion Infantry*
Patrick Carnes had originally been a lieutenant in Pulaski's legion. See MSC2 p. 86, and Heitman p. 352.

Capt. Joseph Eggleston, *Lee's Legion cavalry*
In Joseph Graham's account of Pyle's Defeat, it was Eggleston who set the slaughter going when he delivered the first blow against an unsuspecting loyalist. If Lee is to be believed (or at least understood correctly), his well-intentioned but futile effort to aid William Washingon at Eutaw Springs may have lost the Americans that battle; and in the pursui of Stewart's rear column following that action, Eggleston's own detachment itself got tangled in some blackjack (not unlike Washington during the battle) and as a result was repulsed with loss. Alexander Garden states of him, he "was endowed with superior powers of mind, but decidedly better qualified to gain celebrity in the cabinet, than in the field."[171]

Capt. Thomas Edmunds, *1st Virginia Regiment* (of 1781)
Edmunds was given command of the 1st Virginia Regiment on 19 July 1781, when Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell left that position to take lead the Virginia brigade. He was wounded at Eutaw Springs.

Capt. Griffin Faunt le Roy (also Fauntleroy), *1st Continental Light Dragoons*
(26) Faunt Le Roy commanded the 1st Continental Light Dragoons when Col. Anthony White was ill in late 1780, and, says Babits, served at Cowpens. He remained with Greene when many of the 1st Dragoons returned to Virginia with White at the close of January 1781, and continued to serve with Washington's cavalry. At Guilford Courthouse he was mortally wounded; where there is today a small monument commemorating him.

Capt. Ebenezer Finley, *1st Continental Artillery*
(26) From Maryland, Finley first saw action at Guilford Court House and was later was present with Lee at most of the latter's sieges, including Augusta. However, there is (at the time of this writing) some dispute, as yet unresolved, and with good arguments for both sides whether this was "Samuel" (of VA.), rather than "Ebenezer," Finley -- *both* being Continental officers who served with the southern army in 1781. Although most sources give the Guilford and Augusta officer in question to be Samuel, Ebenezer was an artilleryman while Samuel (according to Heitman) was of the infantry. Our own text, for convenience and based on conjecture, assumes the artillery officer to be Ebenezer. See BLO p. 76.

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[168] SAW2 p. 182n.
[169] This story, given in Moultrie's *Memoirs*, Marshall's *Life of Washington*, William Johnson's *Life and Correspondence of Greene*, and Lee's *Memoirs*, is openly challenged in Joseph Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences*, ostensibly by Col. Thomas Taylor, one of Sumter's commanders, who denies Lee's troops ever even crossed the bridge, and that, indeed, they disgracefully failed to support Marion's and Sumter's men when most needed. While noting that Moultrie's, Marshall's, Johnson's and Lee's accounts are all based on hearsay, exactly what the true story here is hard to say, except that in support of "Taylor's" story, other militia commanders in other engagements, such as Col. William Campbell at Guilford Courthouse, accused Lee also of not supporting the militia in the fighting when most wanted, and recklessly risking their lives in order to safeguard those of the legion. JTR pp. 541-542. On the other hand and again respecting Quinby, it is hard to fathom why the fall of veteran comrades Armstrong reportedly suffered in making the bridge attack could or would have been both fabricated and dwelt on by Lee in his *Memoirs*, see LMS p.392 and for further LCC pp. 427-432.
[170] My warm thanks to author John Beakes for kindly providing me a copy of this.
[171] GAR1 p. 123.

Capt. George Handy, *Lee's Legion Infantry*
In his *Memoirs*, Lee singles out Capt. Handy's performance at Augusta for special praise. The passage seems to suggest that Handy was of the Maryland line, when in fact he was with Lee's Legion; though it is true, he also happened to be a citizen of Maryland. In early July 1781, he was captured by a British patrol who robbed him of his watch and money but then released him after doing so (rather then risk getting into trouble for the robbery), see LMS p. 382.

Capt. Robert Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment*
(24) Kirkwood was with the southern army from Camden till 4 January 1782, when he was furloughed and returned home to Delaware. Truly one of the Continental Army's very best company commanders, he was a dutiful and unpretentious man with his Delaware company distinguished as *elite*.[172]

Capt. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, engineer
(26) L'Enfant, a French volunteer who would later play a leading role in the architectural formation of Washington, D.C., served at the siege of Charleston; though at the time was suffering from poor health. He was taken prisoner, and was not set free until January 1782, when Rochambeau arranged for his exchange. In May of that year he was promoted to Brevet Major.

Capt. Edward Oldham, *5th Maryland Regiment*, and *1st Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)
Oldham was at Camden, served at Guilford Court House, and commanded a company detachment of Maryland light infantry that assisted Lee at Pyle's ambush, and the sieges of Ft. Watson, Ft. Motte and Ft. Granby. Lee writes: "To the name of Captain Oldham, too much praise cannot be given. He was engaged in almost every action in the South, and was uniformly distinguished for gallantry and good conduct. With the exception of Kirkwood of Delaware, and Rudolph [Michael Rudulph] of the Legion infantry, he was probably entitled to more credit than any officer of his rank in Greene's army."[173]

Capt. Michael Rudulph (also Rudolph), *Lee's Legion Infantry*
(22) See Lee's quote contained in the entry above for Capt. Edward Oldham.

Capt. Anthony Singleton, *1st Continental Artillery*
Singleton officered the guns of the southern army at Camden, Guilford, Hobkirk's Hill, and was part of Sumter's Dog Day's Expedition.

Capt. John Smith, *3rd Maryland Regiment*, and *1st Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)
Smith, referred to by Greene in one letter as "Jack," served at Camden, Guilford Court House (where he was wounded), Hobkirk's Hill, and Eutaw Springs. At Camden, he was wounded and taken prisoner,[174] but was back with the army soon after. Whether through escape or exchange is not clear: the idea that he might have been one of those Marion liberated at Great Savannah stands as an intriguing possibility. Smith acquired some notoriety for slaying Lieut. Col. James Stuart of the Guards at Guilford in sword-to-sword combat; though some of the British[175] accused him of murdering Stuart after having taken him prisoner. What apparently happened is he dealt the death-blow when Stuart had lost his footing, but clearly would have had no time to have taken him prisoner.[176] "Capt. Smith's" survey of the Dan River was crucial in the saving of Greene's army during the crossing of that river in February 1781. However, there was evidently a second Capt. John Smith of the 6th Maryland Regiment, and it may have been he, not "Jack," who did the survey.[177] If so, and which seems likely, then "Jack" Smith may have been at Cowpens. At Hobkirk's Hill, as at Guilford Court House, he and his men fought like "bulldogs" (one eyewitness description.) In attempting to rescue the artillery, all of his men were killed, though the guns were finally saved. Suffering a contusion, he was taken prisoner, but was left in Camden on parole when Rawdon evacuated the town (May 10th.)[178] He shortly afterward (on May 21st) went voluntarily to

[172] See also Lee's tribute to Kirkwood, LMS p. 185n.
[173] LMS p. 362n.
[174] GHA4 pp. 86-87.
[175] NGP8 p. 174.
[176] Historian, William Johnson: "Two combatants particularly attracted the attention of those around them. These were [Lieut.] Colonel [James] Stuart of the guards; and Captain John Smith of the Marylanders -- both men conspicuous for nerve and sinew. They had also met before on some occasion, and had vowed that their next meeting should end in blood. Regardless of the bayonets that were clashing around them, they rushed at each other with a fury that admitted of one result. The quick pass of Stuart's small sword was skillfully put by with the left hand, whilst the heavy sabre of his antagonist cleft the Britain to the spine. In one moment, the American was prostrate on the lifeless body of his enemy; and in the next, was pressed beneath the weight of the soldier who had brought him to the ground. These are not imaginary incidents -- they are related on the best authority. A ball, discharged at Smith's head as his sword descended on that of Stuart, had grazed it and brought him to the ground, at the instant that the bayonet of a favorite soldier, who had always sought the side of his captain in the hour of danger, pierced the heart of one who appears to have been equally watchful over the safety of the British colonel." JLG2 p. 12, MLW4A p. 373-375, BAV p. 68, BLO pp. 158-159.
[177] Carrington, as cited in Henry Lee IV's *Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas*, notes that there *were* two Capt. Smiths in the Maryland Line, see LCC pp. 116-117.
[178] William Dobein James: "Capt. Smith, afterwards well known in this state as Col. John Smith, of Darlington, surrendered himself prisoner [at Hobkirk's Hill] to a lieutenant of the British; and after he had delivered his sword, was struck by the lieutenant with the broad side of it. At the battle of Guilford, Smith had killed Col. Stewart [James Stuart], of the British guards, in a single rencounter; and his bravery was otherwise so well known that the British officers invited him to a dinner in Camden. Before dinner, he mentioned how he had been treated by the lieutenant, and it was agreed among them, that, as that officer was to be present at the dinner, Smith should be at liberty to treat him as he thought fit. Accordingly Smith kicked him down

Charleston as a prisoner in order to be exchanged. Johnson relates how on his subsequent return from there, he was waylaid by a band of tories, masquerading as whigs, who gave him a good flogging.[179] He remained a prisoner on parole till the close of the war. Though not much formally educated, Smith appears to have been an intelligent, as well as a very brave and colorful individual. For a brief sketch and further details on Smith, see JTR pp. 364-365, NGP8 pp. 174, 180-181, 195-196, and BLO pp. 158-159, 182-183, 203.

Capt. Robert Smith, *4th North Carolina Regiment*, and *1st North Carolina Regiment (of 1781)*
Smith, of the Salisbury district, a Continental lieutenant in 1775, and formerly of the 4th North Carolina Regiment and the Salisbury District, took command of the North Carolina light infantry detachment at Augusta from Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, who was slain following the assault on Fort Grierson in May 1781. According to Joseph Graham's pension statement, Smith by October of that year commanded a N.C. "Legionary Corps" (including some cavalry) that operated under Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford outside of Wilmington.[180]

Cornet James Simmons (also Simons), *3rd Continental Light Draoons*
Possibly the most immediately recognizable of William Washingon's lieutenants, Simons, in company with mounted S.C. militia, under Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes defeated the loyalists at Williams' Fort (following Hammond's Store) on 30 Dec. 1780. Having served through most of the important fighting in 1781, he finally fell alongside fellow Baylor officers Capt. John Watts and Lieutenant King at Eutaw Springs. See LMS pp. 469-470, GAR1 pp. 441-442, and HWW p. 82.

Virginia Militia[181] and State Troops

Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, from Prince Edward County
Lawson, at one time colonel of the 4th Virginia Continentals and who was present at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, led the Virginia militia at Guilford Court House, Lafayette's Virginia Campaign and Yorktown. While not instantly recognizable as one of the better militia leaders, his correspondence show him to have been a dedicated and hard working officer who was notably successful in collecting together and bringing with him many militiamen from Virginia to Greene's army. See BLO pp. 65-66.

Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, from Culpepper County
(35) Formerly of the 10th Continental Regiment and veteran of Brandywine and Germantown, Stevens commanded the Virginia militia at Camden and Guilford Court House. At the latter battle, he was wounded in the thigh, and forced to return home, and was one of the Virginia state officials and officers who averted capture by Tarleton at Charlottesville in June 1781. After that, he led a militia brigade in Lafayette's Virginia campaign and Yorktown. Like Lawson, he was tireless in raising men and working to assist Greene's army, but in addition was an effective field leader and inspirer of men. Although, granted, at Camden success somewhat strangely eluded his command, at Guilford Court House, it was his troops, along with the 1st Maryland Regiment, and Washington's cavalry, who received more praise than any other American unit. When the North Carolina militia at that battle came routing through his line, Stevens, in order to avert panic, told his men to make a path for the North Carolinians, since their retreat had been arranged in advance. In fact, no such thing had been planned (at least not to Stevens' knowledge), and Stevens sternly ordered his men to hold their ground or else be shot for disobedience. Then in one of the most memorable militia feats of the war his homespun rifle and musket men (most without bayonets) for a crucial while manfully withstood the oncoming British Guards.

Brig. Gen. William Campbell, from Washington County,[182] also known as the North Holston settlement
(35) Six and a half feet tall, Campbell received his commission as Colonel in April 1780, and in the summer of that year was occupied with putting down the numerous loyalists in southwest Virginia. At least nominally, he went on to lead the army that defeated Ferguson at King's Mountain; then in February 1781 joined Greene with a corps of Virginia riflemen. He succeeded Pickens as head of the militia force that assisted Williams and Lee's light detachments, going on to fight at Weitzel's Mill, New Garden Meeting House, and Guilford Court House. A few days after Guilford, he resigned his commission in disgust over what he claimed was Lee's carelessly exposing his Virginia militia to harm in the latter phase of that battle. Returning to Virginia, it was not long before his services were soon much both wanted and needed. He was promoted to Brigadier, and in June led a corps of 600 south and southwest county riflemen to reinforce Lafayette. This force later grew to 780 men. Tragically, however, he came down with a chest ailment from which he died, thirty-six years of age, while at Rocky Hills, in Hanover County, VA. in August 1781. See DKM pp. 378-402.

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stairs; and as he did not resent it, he [the lieutenant] was soon after cashiered." JFM pp. 48n-49n. See also SNC pp. 408-412, WCO p. 207, and DRR p. 224.

[179] JLG2 pp. 96-97.

[180] See entry for Raft Swamp, 15 October 1781. GPS.

[181] For a valuable and useful single volume archive on the Virginia militia in the Revolution, see Joseph T. McAllister's *Virginia Militia In The Revolutionary War* (1913).

[182] In 1777, Washington County, named after the General, was formed from Fincastle County. Its county seat, Abingdon was established the following year. The original Washington County, or North Holston settlement, contained some of the counties now adjacent to it, including Sullivan County, TN.

Col. Charles Lynch, from Bedford County
(44) Along with William Campbell, Lynch spent much of his time in 1780 fighting the loyalists, tories, and Indians of southwest Virginia. The term "Lynch Law" comes from his reputation for dispensing of judicial niceties when dealing with his foes. This said, in Lynch's case, whatever the actual basis of the charge or association, it must be borne in mind that his actions were not racially motivated, and that he was operating in a wartime circumstance. He commanded a corps of Virginia and North Carolina riflemen at Guilford Court House. After that, he seems to have remained in his own area suppressing the loyalist or assisting against the Cherokees.

Col. William Preston, from Montgomery County
(51) Originally, Preston was Campbell's superior and in the late summer of 1780, sent orders to the latter to attack the loyalists who were threatening the Chiswell lead mines. There were not a few loyalists in Preston's own Montgomery County, so that he sometimes had to go to go to neighboring counties to raise men or obtain military assistance. He played a major role in helping to gather the Virginia men who went on to fight at King's mountain -- though he himself could not be present due to illness in his family at that time. In the Guilford Court House campaign, he joined Pickens' and Lee's forces with a corps of riflemen just after Pyle's defeat, and fought alongside those leaders at Weitzel's Mill. However, despite his earnest appeals that they remain, most of his men went home after that action. Possibly he and few of his men might have been at Guilford. If so, they would have been only a handful of his original corps. He subsequently served as one of the negotiators with the Cherokees, and on July 20th 1781 the Virginia Council appointed him as one of the commissioners of the western counties assigned the task of settling the disbursement of public monies and other concerns relating to a peace treaty with the Indians. Even so, he fell ill and was forced to resign. His biographer, Patricia Givens Johnson, describes him as inclined to corpulency, fair-haired, ruddy and with hazel eyes. Contrary perhaps to what one might have expected, Preston was, for his area at least, a refined and well-educated person with a taste for literature, and, among his other talents, wrote poetry.[183]

Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield, *Garrison Regiment* (Virginia State Line*)*
(30) Porterfield, from Frederick County VA. and a participant (as sergeant) in Montgomery's ill fated assault on Quebec and by at least 1778 was a member of Morgan's 11th VA. Reg., headed the Virginia State Troops which acted as light infantry in the battle of Camden. His was one of the few American units to have come out of that action with any credit; even though he was mortally wounded (states Otho Williams in his "Narrative") in the skirmish the night before (i.e. Saunders Creek); with (according to both David Fanning and Dudley himself) Col. Guilford Dudley on the morrow carrying him from the field during the action of Camden itself. For ten days he went without medical attention when he was then taken to Camden and his left leg amputated. While there, he was treated kindly and generously (as their own circumstances allowed) by Cornwallis and Rawdon. Following this he was paroled, but on January 10, 1781 finally succumbed to the effects of his wound while still in South Carolina. See GHA3 p. 437, LMS p. 581, DSK (vol. 11, issue 3 pp. 146-148, issue 4 p. 235).

Maj. Alexander Rose, from Bedford County
Though usually understood to be militia, Rose's detachment of 100 "picked" riflemen that served with the southern army from October 1780 to July 1781, should probably be considered state troops. They seem to have typically acted as a skirmishing or else guard detachment.

Maj. Thomas Rowland, from Botetourt County
Commanded a group of Botetourt County riflemen that served under Preston in the Guilford Court House campaign, including Clapp's Mill and Weitzel's Mill. Rockbridge County historian, Odell McGuire, believes Rowland and some of his remaining men may have been with Lee at Guilford Court House, as well as the New Garden Meeting House fighting just prior to.

Maj. Francis Triplett, from Fauquier County
Triplett oversaw the Virginia militia at Cowpens. He and his men returned home not long after that action.

Captain James Tate (also Taite), from Augusta County
(38) Tate led a company of Virginia militia at Cowpens. Although like Triplett, he returned to his state following that battle, in his case he and his men were able to rejoin Greene's army on March 7th, the day after Weitzel's Mill; when they were attached to William Campbell's militia corps. He had his thigh broken in the fighting on the New Garden Road skirmish preceding Guilford, from which wound he died shortly afterward. See LCC p. 170n.

[183] See *William Preston & the Allegheny Patriot*, by Patricia G. Johnson, Walpa Publishing, 1976.

North Carolina Militia and State Troops[184]

Note. Next to the name of each N.C. militia leader a county is given. The county referred to, and when possible to identify, is usually what would now be the present day county the individual came from, and on which basis it is easier to determine what (if different from the modern county) the contemporary county or district was. Tryon County, named after North Carolina Royal Governor William Tryon, was abolished by the state in 1779, and out of it was formed two counties: Rutherford (the western half) and Lincoln (the eastern.) Nevertheless, new, as well as old, histories will sometimes still refer to Tryon County with respect to events of this period.

Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, from Lenoir County
(51) Caswell, originally from Maryland, had earlier been one of the foremost whig commanders at the seminal victory at Moore's Creek Bridge in 1775 and, as one of the most powerful, popular and influential men in the state, and subsequently Governor. In violation of the state constitution (as contended by his successor Gov. Abner Nash), he was in April 1780 made commander-in-chief of the N.C. militia,[185] occupying this position with some amount of overt incompetence until the time just after Camden; when the North Carolina legislature appointed Brig. Gen. William Smallwood to replace him. Being deprived of his command, he resigned his commission. But when he also quitted the Board of Trade in October,[186] he before long (January 1781) was placated and returned to take part in re-establishing the state's militia forces, though occupying the lesser post of commandant of the militia in the eastern part of the state. He was ill for a time, thus missing Guilford Court House, and subsequently acted more as a military administrator working from an office, for which he was far better suited than a field commander. It was he who prevented Sumner and or other former Continental officers from leading militia brigades at Guilford Court House based on his view that those commands should go to available state militia officers first before permitting Continental men to fill them.[187] For more, see CNS1 pp. 120-123, WRM pp. 104-106.

Brig. Gen. John Butler, from Orange County
Butler (who had been a loyalist early in the war) commanded brigades at Camden and Guilford Court House, and in both instances, most of his men fled in the face of the British. Like Robert Lawson of Virginia he was a committed and hardworking soldier, if not a shrewd and stirring leader. Indeed, but for Col. Robert Mebane, Butler's defeats at Lindley's Mill and and Livingstone's Bridge in Sept. 1781 might have resulted in disaster. Even so, Bulter could, notwithstanding, be credited with keeping his men together afterward; and subsequently maintaing the offensive against Wilmington till the arrival of the more capable Rutherford. For more on Butler, see SNC pp. 304-305, BDB pp. 135-138.

Brig. Gen. William Caswell, from Lenoir County
(26) Son of Richard Caswell, and a former Continental Army captain, in late April 1780, William commanded 400 North Carolina militia posted north of the Santee at Lenud's Ferry on the Santee. He later removed them to Cross Creek when word came in of Charleston's capitulation. His rank was evidently a result of his family ties, an inference no doubt shared by many of his contemporaries. On the other hand, we should not necessarily assume from this that he was without ability. When Greene passed through North Carolina in August 1783 on his way north to Rhode Island, Caswell was one of the North Carolina leaders he visited.

Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, from Rowan County
(34) Along with Griffith Rutherford, Davidson, originally from Pennsylvania, was one of the best and most effective of the higher-ranking North Carolina militia leaders, and in the months prior to his death in Feb. 1781 acquitted himself as alert and aggresive in battling the British in an around Charlotte. Having first served earlier as a N.C. Continental officer (being present at Brandywine, Germantown and possibly Monmouth), he later acquired notoriety as a militia colonel, defeating the loyalists at Colson's Mill in July 1780. Earlier, he had missed being taken at Charleston because he was on leave with his family at the time of that city's fall. Then

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[184] Historian Charles LeCount, in an article titled "The Hillsborough District Militia, 1776-1783," states: "At the outbreak of the Revolution, the newly formed North Carolina government divided the state into six military districts. These districts were each comprised of a number of counties surrounding a significant town. The six districts, which corresponded with old judicial organizations, were: Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, Halifax, Salisbury, and Hillsborough. Later, two additional districts were added, further dividing the mountainous western part of the state. Within the Hillsborough District were the counties of Caswell, Chatham, Granville, Orange, Randolph, and Wake.
"Each district was to supply a brigade of militia regiments under the command of a brigadier general. Thomas Person was appointed the first commander of the Hillsborough District Brigade in 1776. During the 1781 Guilford Court House campaign, the Hillsborough District was commanded by John Butler.
"Each county supplied a regiment (Orange County supplied two regiments), which in turn was composed of various companies. Each company consisted of no less than 50 men and was further divided into five 'divisions.' One of the five divisions was reserved for 'the more aged and infirm men.' The other four divisions, of each company, drew lots to determine the rotation they would follow for their tour of service, which usually lasted for three months. Eventually the 'fifth division' of 'aged and infirm men' was dropped, as was the maximum age limit from 60 to 50. In order to provide a greater pool of available manpower, the old colonial militia exemption list was revised.
"As the militia had a poor reputation for turning out, bounties to induce volunteerism were common during the war. For men who chose not to serve when drafted, there were two options: pay a substitute or pay a fine. These options, with some modifications, remained throughout the war." *Reprinted with permission of the author.*
[185] And also the only militia Major General in the entire southern conflict.
[186] CNC15 p. 131.
[187] SNC pp. 266-268.

the wound he received at Colson's Mill laid him up for eight weeks, thus keeping him from being at Camden. After Griffith Rutherford was captured at the latter engagement, Davidson was appointed head of the militia in western North Carolina, and later replaced Smallwood as commander of the entire North Carolina militia when the latter went home to Maryland. For a time he acted in cooperation with Morgan facing the British on the South Carolina-North Carolina border, bringing Morgan some crucial reinforcements prior to Cowpens. Further, to him perhaps may be credited the idea of using Morgan to threaten Ninety Six -- a ploy that resulted in the victories at Hammond's Store and Cowpens (see Davidson to Alexander Martin, 27 Nov. 1780, CNC14 pp. 759-760.) He later lost his life at Cowan's Ford, in an effort to forestall Cornwallis' crossing of the Catawba River.[188] Although his North Carolina militia were defeated, the British may have had as many as 100 casualties due to their efforts, and achieved this without any assistance from the Continentals. For more, see CNC22 pp. 115-120, LMS pp. 585-586, WNC pp. 263-265, WRM pp. 240-242.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton, from Bute County
(40) Eaton commanded one of the two brigades of North Carolina militia at Guilford Court House. He had succeeded Brig. Gen. Allen Jones when the latter became ill a week or so before that battle. SNC pp. 305-306.

Brig. General Isaac Gregory, from Camden County
Gregory commanded one of the North Carolina militia brigades at Camden, where he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Of the brigades present in that battle, the men in his (including Col Henry Dixon's regiment) put up the best fight of any of the militia. By no later than June 1781, he was exchanged and oversaw a force of militia in the northeastern portion of the state. In early July, he was surprised and routed near the Great Dismal Swamp by a detachment from Cornwallis' army. He, however, suffered few losses in the attack, and was able to resume his position guarding the entry into North Carolina immediately after the British left.[189]

Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington,[190] from Cumberland County
(33) In early August 1780, Harrington (originally from England) led a command primarily in upper Peedee and Cheraw areas combating the loyalists. His headquarters were chiefly at Cross Creek; though prior to that he was at Haley's Ferry near Cheraw. Though Marion, who for a time acted as his subordinate, charged him with not making better use of his men,[191] it migh be said he did contribute to the cause by providing stability in a time of chaos. In November 1780, we learn from correspondence of his that he was desirous of resigning his Brigadier Generals commission for reasons of not being formally assigned a brigade or district to command. In about mid-December, he removed north to Grassy Creek on the Roanoke River, after which time his name does not appear to arise. For a sketch of Harrington, see CNC14 pp. 748-749, CNC15 pp. 139-141, CNS2 p. 255 and GHC pp. 104-105.

Brig. Gen. Allen Jones, from Halifax County
(41) In early 1781, Jones was placed in charge of one of the North Carolina militia brigades in preference to Sumner.[192] In February, he marched with Butler to reinforce Greene prior to Guilford. However, soon falling ill, he was unable to continue, and was replaced by Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton. By May, he had returned to command in the northeastern part of the state; at which time he acted in cooperation with Sumner in hindering or otherwise keeping watch on Cornwallis' movements in the direction of Virginia. By early summer, he went to Virginia to obtain arms for Sumner's North Carolina Continentals only to find there were none then available. In the course of the war, Jones (who, incidentally, was Eton educated) was prominent in both civil and military matters. See WRM p. 197.

Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington, from Brunswick County
(55) Lillington along with Richard Caswell, was one of the two key whig leaders at Moore's Creek Bridge in 1775. In January 1781, he was subsequently occupied with containing the loyalists in the Drowning Creek area. Yet when the British occupied Wilmington later in the month, he took up a position to the northwest, acting to keep Maj. Craig and his force confined there. On March 9th, his men fought Craig's at Heron's Bridge just a few miles north of Wilmington of that city in what apparently amounted to a draw with the British. Thereafter he took post at Rutherford's Mill (present day Burgaw) and for the most part managed to keep Craig in check till the summer. When Cornwallis retreated to Cross Creek after Guilford Court House, Greene directed Lillington to keep his distance from the British, particularly Tarleton; which Lillington managed safely to do. After Cornwallis moved into Virginia, he resumed his post above Wilmington; though was not himself apparently involved in further fighting. Lossing speaks of him as being known for his "uniform kindness to all," and observes how

[188] It is somewhat odd that Davidson himself should have been slain when the American losses otherwise were only two killed and about twenty wounded. His being felled by a rifle ball was interpreted as his being killed by a loyalist. WNC p. 264.
[189] "In volume 2 of the Iredell letters this description of General Gregory's personal appearance is given: 'A lady, who remembers General Gregory well, says that he was a large, fine looking man. He was exceedingly polite, had a very grand air, and in dress was something of a fop.' In the same volume the following interesting account of an incident in the life of the famous General is found: 'General Gregory lived in his latter years so secluded a life and knew so little of events beyond his own family circle, that he addressed to a lady, the widow of Governor Stone, a letter making a formal proposal of marriage, full six months after her death.'" From *In Ancient Albemarle*, by Catherine Albertson, p. 112, North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution; Raleigh, Commercial Printing Company, 1914. For more on Gregory see chapter XII of Albertson's book, and also WRM pp. 99.
[190] He is also sometimes referred to as simply "William Harrington," and is also spoken of as being from Richmond County where he is buried.
[191] GHA3 p. 457.
[192] See NGP7 p. 349n.

especially loved he was by his black slaves, some of whom (who were children at the time of the Revolution) the artist and itinerant historian himself met. See CNS1 p. 123, WRM p. 48, DRO pp. 154-158.

Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford, from Rowan County
(59) Perhaps it could be said that Rutherford might have garnered as much fame as Marion and Sumter but for his capture at Camden and that technically he was not a self-established *partisan* but rather a formal state militia officer. Born in Ireland and brought to this country at a very young age, he it was who called out and collected the men and officers who won the victory at Ramseur's Mill; and it was from his force that Davidson was sent forth to defeat the loyalists at Colson's Mill -- two victories which, by helping to win North Carolina, at least contributed significantly to winning the war itself. Commanding one of the three North Carolina brigades at Camden, he was badly wounded (shot through the leg and suffering a saber wound) and taken prisoner there. He was thereafter sent to St. Augustine to be confined, but on 22 June 1781 was exchanged and released in Philadelphia. When he returned to the field he took charge of the Salisbury militia, in place of Col. Locke, and, along with Butler, went on to carry out a successful offensive against Fanning and the loyalists acting out of Wilmington (including defeating them at Raft Swamp); subsequently them and Craig in check until the British finally evacuated the town on 18 November. In later life, Rutherford moved to and settled in Tennessee. See WNC pp. 383-384, and WRM p. 399.

Col. Philip Alston, from Cumberland County
Alston, who (at least as early as Sept. 1780 -- see CNC15 p. 79) led the Cumberland County militia while also heading a force called "Alston's Independent Partisan Corps," was captured and paroled by David Fanning in late Sept. 1781 in a skirmish that took place on Alston's estate known as the "House in the Horseshoe."

Col. Thomas Brown, from Bladen County
(36) Brown commanded a force of local militia in the Little Peedee region in a series of skirmishes against Capt. Jesse Barfield's loyalists in October and November 1780. See WNC p. 42.

Col. Benjamin Cleavland (also Cleveland) from Wilkes County
(42) Despite a weight size of some 300 pounds, Cleavland was a remarkably active man. When Campbell and Preston in much of 1780 were busy regularly putting down the tories and loyalists in southwest Virginia, Cleavland was doing the same in northwest North Carolina. He played a major part in the victory at King's Mountain, and an even greater one in bringing about the hanging of the loyalist leaders at Biggerstaff's afterward. We see in him some of the same tendency to use "Lynch Laws," probably more than Charles Lynch did just to the north of him. With much horse stealing, looting, and kidnapping going on, the areas the two men covered seem to have had their fair share of the devil. In the early part of 1781, he raised a force of 100 militia, and served with Pickens' light corps, returning home prior to Guilford Court House. In April, he was kidnapped and involved in two of the stranger episodes of the war in the south: Wolf's Den and Riddle's Camp. Much of the subsequent summer, he and his men were occupied in policing or chasing tories below the mountains. By fall, they served a three-month tour of duty under Brig. Gen. Rutherford in southeastern North Carolina. See DKM pp. 425-454, WNC pp. 462-465, WRM pp. 416-417.

Col. William Richardson Davie, from Mecklenburg County
(24) Davie was raised[193] in the Waxhaws settlement of South Carolina, but his militia ties were more with North Carolina people of Mecklenburg, since it was from that district that he received most of his command. In the summer of 1780, he was in the field with a partisan corps carrying out raids weeks before Sumter's entered the fray, and months in the case of Marion. He worked with Sumter at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, and showed himself to be a very capable combat leader. Although no member of the landed gentry or so refined in his upbringing, in his personality he resembled Lee, being something of an aristocrat (by temper), republican and partisan -- all at the same time. During the retreat from Camden, his was about the only American unit still fully intact. And by informing Sumter of what had happened at Camden at least made it possible for the latter to escape (though Sumter, of course, subsequently stopped to rest and was caught up with by Tarleton at Fishing Creek.) The high points of Davie's military career, when in the field, were at Wahab's (or Wauchope's) Plantation and in the defense of Charlotte in which Cornwallis' army was embarrassed by the audacity and tactical ingenuity of a small force of North Carolina militia which thrice repulsed the British before withdrawing themselves. At the time Morgan was operating with his detachment of light troops in late December 1780, Davie was making plans to form a legion of North Carolina men to join him with. Nevertheless, Greene asked him instead to become the commissary general for North Carolina; arguing that he would be much more useful to the army in that role. Davie reluctantly agreed, but only on the condition that he could leave that position as soon as his services were no longer required. Appointed then Commissary General on January 16th 1781 by the state of North Carolina, he served in that capacity till at least November 1781,[194] acting from Halifax and where he came to settle; while making at Guilford at least one combat appearance.[195] Afterward he became involved in North Carolina politics, ultimately becoming one of the state's governors. Well educated and licensed to practice law, he was also one of the founders of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. See DRS, LMS pp. 577-578, GAR1 pp. 37-47, "General William Richardson Davie, 1756-1820," by Walter Clark, *Magazine of American History*, vol. XXVIII, July to December 1892, p. 414.; and *William Richardson Davie: A Memoir*, annotated by J.G. de R.

[193] Though "born in the village of Egermont, near White Haven, in England," on the 20th of June, 1756, LMS p. 577.
[194] See, for instance, CNC15 pp. 628-629, 659.
[195] LMS p. 278.

Hamilton, with letters annotated by K.P. Battle, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1907; also many of Davie's own reminiscences are interspersed amid the texts of LMS, JLG2 and LCC.

Col. Henry Dixon, from Caswell County (also *2nd N.C. Regt,* 1782)
(40) Dixon was a Major (later, at the time of his death, Lieut. Col.) in the 3rd N.C. Regt. but at the battle of Camden (1780) headed a militia regiment as colonel. While all the rest of the Virginia and North Carolina fled, Dixon's battalion, whom he had trained closely, put up a fight as dauntless in its way as that of the Continentals; at one point reportedly charging the British regulars with the bayonet and actually driving them back momentarily; and or else according to another account firing several rounds.[196] Surviving capture at Camden,[197] he and his men later served for a period with Pickens light troops in the Guilford Court House campaign, and after that at Weitzel's Mill and Guilford Court House itself (where he was inspector of the N.C. militia.) When Greene wanted Thomas Polk to command the Salisbury militia, the state of North Carolina (evidently under Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell's influence, and to Greene's chagrin) appointed Dixon instead. Dixon, however, declined the post as being too far from his own residence. The position ultimately went to Col. Francis Lock. Assisting Sumner in early 1781 in the reformation pf the N.C. line while acting as Inspector general of the N.C. militia[198], by 1782 he was back serving with the 2nd N.C. Regt. and on 17 July of that year was mortally wounded in fighting near Round O in Colleton County, S.C. Said Col. Guilford Dudley: "Col. Henry Dixon of Caswell County, whom I well knew and who was…a regular officer of the North Carolina line, had the command of a regiment of Caswell's militia and who by his skill in military discipline and tactics had trained his troops to stand and do their duty in battle with great firmness and order." See as well, TCS p. 149, LMS pp. 184, 186-187.

Col. Thomas Farmer, from Orange County
Farmer served at Camden, and later led a force of 310 (mostly) Orange County militia that reinforced Davidson just before Cowan's Ford. He ostensibly served in the Guilford Court House campaign; including the battle itself. As well, he commanded a militia regiment at Eutaw Springs under Col. Francis Malmedy; though his men ostensibly performed with less than valorous distinction.

Col. William Graham, from Lincoln (now Cleveland) County
(35) Graham served with Rutherford's army on its way to Ramseur's Mill, and was present at Thicketty Fort and Second Cedar Spring. Then sometime in probably late September 1780, he, along with three others, defeated a band of 23 tories who were attacking his home, which skirmish afterward became known as "Graham's Fort." He headed a detachment of Lincoln men on their way to King's Mountain. However, on the very morning of the battle he received word his wife was very ill, and so was forced to return home. His command then was bestowed on Lieut. Col. Frederick Hambright. He does not appear to have been directly related to Joseph Graham. See DKM p. 476.

Col. Robert Irwin (also Irvin, Irvine), from Mecklenburg County
(42) Irwin, a justice of the peace and signatory to the much disputed Mecklenberg Declaration of 10 May 1775,[199] commanded a relatively large proportion of the troops at Sumter's battles of Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock. At the time of the offensive against the loyalists operating out of Wilmington in the Fall of 1781, he led a militia regiment under General Rutherford. A veteran of Irwin's corps referred to it as the "Riflemen Rangers."[200] One source states that Irwin later was also involved in fighting against the Cherokees, and afterward served twelve years in the North Carolina assembly, and twenty years as an elder in the Steele Creek Presbyterian Church. See DRS p. 52n.

Col. James Kenan, from Duplin County
(40) Present in various actions against the loyalists in eastern North Carolina, Kenan's name comes up fairly often in the record, with Brig. Gen Harrington describing this commander of "the [N.C.] first Regiment of Horse"

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[196] GHA3 p. 440.
[197] See DSK (vol. 11, issue 5 pp. 286-287).
[198] Schenck: "February 24th, 1781, General Sumner writes General Greene that he 'had sent expresses to Colonel Ashe and Major [Hardy] Murfree, who were, by the temporary arrangement of the officers of the North Carolina line, present in the State, to take charge of two of the regiments, to acquaint them without delay that it was your wish that they join the militia camp to render such assistance as may be in their power. Major Dixon and Major Armstrong are to take charge of the other two regiments. Major Dixon is in your camp, who is Inspector General of militia, and promised me to join that camp upon a general rendezvous. Major Armstrong is with the forces from the district of Salisbury. A large number of the officers of the State are, to my knowledge, already in the militia camp.'
"I quote this letter entire, so far as it refers to the organization of the regular troops, to show the changes that afterwards occurred; for when the three regiments moved, in July, they were commanded respectively by Colonel John B. Ashe and Majors John Armstrong and Reading Blount, as General Sumner's correspondence shows. How it was that Murfree did not reach the rendezvous from Newbern, or did not take the command assigned him, I am not able to solve." SNC pp. 392-393. See also CNC15 pp. 446, 506, CNC22 pp. 1008.
[199] William Graham and Thomas Polk were also, by the way, signatories. It has been heatedly questioned whether the "Mecklenberg Declaration" of 1775 as published in the early 19th century was authentic or a well-meaning reconstruction. Even if the latter (and which seems to be the case), it doesn't necessarily follow that there was no actual Declaration, and which otherwise might conceivably have been misplaced or lost. Moreover, there is some second-hand documentation supporting its existence. Certainly, the "Mecklenberg Resolves" of 1775, a document largely similar, were genuine; and are identical in spirit. Arguments based on whether Jefferson knew or didn't know about the alleged Declaration are fairly irrelevant to the main question -- unless we *assume* he did know about them before mid 1776; but there is no known evidence that he did. For good discussions of both the Declaration and Resolves of 1775, see GAR2 pp. 7-11, MSC1 pp. 578n-579n and PLP pp. 54-62.
[200] Pension statement of Francis Miller of Mecklenburg County, N.C.

in one letter as a "good & spirited officer." Kenan and his militia (usually, if not always, mounted) were involved in a number of successful skirmishes in 1781. Yet on August 2 of that year, they met defeat at the hands of an almost equal sized force of British regulars under Maj. Craig at Rockfish Creek. See DRO and which, along with accounts of most of his battles, includes a photograph of a sculpted profile of Kenan.

Col. Francis Lock (also Locke), from Rowan County
(58) Lock commanded the whig forces at Ramseur's Mill, and later served under Pickens in the Guilford Court House campaign, temporarily holding up the British at Grant's Creek in February 1781. Later that Spring, he was made head of the Salisbury militia despite Greene's desire that the job go to Col. Thomas Polk. Greene's disappointment was apparently well founded as he soon found Lock lackadaisical and difficult to work with. His less than energetic cooperation with Greene may have stemmed from Greene's occasionally expressed contempt for the North Carolina militia, or at least such might explain his apparent indifference to Greene's concerns and wishes. See WRM pp. 399-400.

Col. François Lellorquis Marquis de Malmedy (also Malmèdy, Malmady)
Malmedy, a Continental officer, was at the siege of Charleston and, in the eyes of some, discredited himself there by his withdrawing from the strategically important post of Lampriere's Point, in haste, and without putting up a fight. But as Carl Borick, in effect, points out in his *A Gallant Defense*, it is more of wonder why Lincoln placed him in command there, given its pivotal significance. Removing from the city before its fall at Lincoln's request, Malmedy then became actively involved with the North Carolina militia. He was probably at the battle of Camden, for he went to Philadelphia afterward, and was one of those who asked for the recall of Gates. According to the pension statement of Edward Dorton (or Darten) of Washington County, VA., he was also present at King's Mountain. He was seen with a corps of light horse[201] and mounted militia in the Guilford Courthouse campaign, and successfully ambushed and captured some of Cornwallis' jägers during the latter's retreat to Ramsey's Mill. During the summer of 1781, he spent much of his time trying to raise and arm a new command, after the term of enlistment for the previous one had expired. He subsequently led the North Carolina militia at Eutaw Springs; in which role he received praise from Greene.[202] Sometime in the Autumn of 1781, he sought to raise a body of state horse only to have his intended role in that corps superceded by a captain appointed by the N.C. assembly; which prompted his resignation.[203] Tragically, in November he was felled in a duel with Maj. Smith Snead of the Virginia Line; which occurrence N.C. militia man Jonas Hill (originally from Granville County, and who later settled in Tennessee) mentions in his pension statement: "They marched to Salisbury where Hickman became ill and was replaced by Capt. McDowell. They were under the command of a French officer. Col. Malbortie [Malmedy]. They participated in the battle Eutaw Springs and were later ordered by Gen. Green [Greene] to guard the prisoners at Camden. At this place the French officer aforesaid was killed in a duel [which took place in the proximity of Greene's camp in the High Hills of the Santee] by an American officer named Sneed [Maj. Smith Snead], and Col. Locke [Francis Lock] became commander, marching the prisoners to Salisbury." Greene shortly after ascribed the Marquis' untimely and much regretted death to that "stupid custom which has in many instances disgraced the history of the American war and deprived the public of the services of several valuable men."[204]

Col. Robert Mebane, from Orange County
(35) Mebane was at Charlestown when the city fell, and sometime by 1781 was exchanged. Where Gen. Butler faltered at Lindley's Mills, Livingstone's Brigade, and Brown Marsh in mid Sept. 1781, Mebane, an officer formerly with the 3rd N.C. Regt., rose thrice to rally the militia and retrieve American honor in the face of Fanning, the loyalist Highlanders, and Craig's British regulars' victory; only to tragically killed (as is reported) in a chance confrontation with lone tory following these heated battles. See DLB.[205]

Col. Joseph McDowell, Jr. ("Quaker Meadows Joe"[206]), from Burke County
(24) McDowell was present at Ramseur's Mill, Second Cedar Spring, Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain, and Cowpens, playing important roles in these engagements and which garnered him much fame. Draper states that he served a tour in the spring of 1781 (against Cornwallis) and also in August of that year, but gives no details. It is then somewhat a mystery (to this author at any rate) exactly what he was doing during this time. But it is a safe bet that he was serving alongside (or near) Cleavland both in the Guilford campaign (though not Guilford itself) and in keeping down the tories in northwest North Carolina. See WNC pp. 57-61, WRM pp. 85-86, DKM pp. 471-473, and SNC pp. 464-466.

Col. Charles McDowell, from Burke County
(37) The older brother of "Quaker Meadows Joe," Charles acted a major part in being the rallying point for North Carolina men, and Georgia and South Carolina in the earliest fighting against the British after the fall of Charleston. Although among the victors at Fort Anderson (aka Thicketty Fort), 30 July 1780, he was not otherwise thought to be a very keen or strong military leader; yet which ironically may have worked to the Americans advantage. His being repulsed at Cane Creek in September 1780 may have led Ferguson into thinking

[201] Malmedy, as a result of his request of 28 Oct. 1780 (see CNC22 p. 528), was given this command by Gov. Nash.
[202] NGP9 pp. 307, 329.
[203] CNC15 pp. 229-233.
[204] NGP9 p. 625.
[205] See also the article, "Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane" by William Lee Anderson III found at: http://home.earthlink.net/~historycarolina/RobertMebane.pdf
[206] To be distinguished from his cousin Capt. Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Garden, "Pleasant Garden Joe."

the whig militia had little fighting left in them, thus encouraging the him to take unnecessary risks. When the King's Mountain leaders voted who would lead them, William Campbell was chosen rather than Charles McDowell, who was seen as not being a sufficiently energetic commander. He then was given the task, which he cheerfully accepted, of going to Gates to secure a Continental army appointment for command of the King's Mountain army as the leaders among themselves had agreed. Consequently, McDowell was not at that decisive battle which he, as much as anyone else, helped to bring about. See SNC pp. 464-465.

Col. Thomas Polk, from Mecklenburg County
(50) Polk was a self-made, wealthy and eminent citizen of Rowan County, and one of the early leaders in the cause for Independence; serving as a Colonel of the 4th N.C. Regiment at Brandywine and Valley Forge. Working out of Salisbury, he was chief commissary for Gates and for short time Greene, but resigned due largely to some political in-fighting and what he felt were false accusations made against him by some of Gates' subordinates; with the post then assigned to Davie as his replacement (whom he himself proposed for the job.) In the spring of 1781, Greene worked to have him made head of the Salisbury militia, but Col. Francis Lock was appointed instead.[207] It is inferred that given the various and unjust slights he was subject to by some North Carolina politicians that he was an object of some envy and or rivalry; but what is exactly the true story behind it all remains to be more closely determined. He was uncle to later U.S. President James Polk.[208] See WRM pp. 282-283, and PLP pp. 4-37.

Col. William Polk, from Mecklenburg County, *South Carolina State Troops*
(22) William Polk, son of Thomas, earlier in the war had earned honors for himself at Brandywine and Germantown (at which latter he was wounded) as a Major in the 9th N.C. Regiment. Later, he was with Davie at Flat Rock and Beaver Creek in July 1780. He later commanded one of Sumter's regiments of "10 months men," serving at Eutaw Springs as an officer in the South Carolina State Troops. See GAM2 pp. 400-410, WRM pp. 200-202 and PLP pp. 37-51.

Col. James Read (also Reade), *2nd North Carolina Regiment*
Read was a captain in the Continental army, who, acted at Colonel in the N.C. militia, and had participated in the siege of Charleston. He was present at Guilford Court House and Hobkirk's Hill and later became chief military advisor to Governor Thomas Burke; with whom he was captured by David Fanning in September 1781. Fellow colonel Guilford Dudley speaks of him as a dutiful and dependable officer. After the war, Read, although a former Continental officer, opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution. See SNC pp. 298-299, CNC15 pp. 558-559.

Col. Thomas Robeson, from Bladen County
(41) As well as a notable capture of some British and loyalists near Elizabethtown, N.C. in early to mid April 1781 (see CNC15 p. 438), Robeson scored a second surprising victory, also at Elizabethtown, in August 1781.[209] He (or else his brother) was apparently present at Lindley's Mill, Livingstone's Bridge and Brown Marsh in Sept. 1781, later serving as part of Rutherford's command in the campaign against the loyalist of Drowning Creek, being among the victors at Raft Swamp in mid October.

Col. Thomas Wade, from Anson County
In late December 1780, Wade became both contractor for South Carolina and Greene's commissary officer for the area north of the Peedee near Cheraw. Reading his correspondence with Greene, he comes across as something of a *character;* who knew how to work well with people. Although a supply officer, Wade had his share of fighting with both the British and the Cross Creek loyalists in his efforts to move provisionss and protect his magazine.

Col. Joseph Williams, from Surry County
Williams served at King's Mountain and shared in defeating the tory leaders Col. Gideon Wright and Col. Hezekiah Wright at Shallow Ford in October 1780. He was also with Davidson's militia at the time of Cowan's Ford in February 1781, though not actually present at that engagement. Later in the same month, Greene appointed him as one of the negotiators with the Cherokees. See DKM p. 433n.

Lieut. Col. Frederick Hambright, from Lincoln County
(53) Hambright, a native of Germany who had emigrated to North Carolina from Pennsylvania, on the morning of King's Mountain took command of the Lincoln county militia after Col. William Graham was forced to return home to attend to his wife who was very ill. See WRM p. 177 and DKM pp. 476-477.

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[207] Schenck says that in the course of 1780 and 1781, including the Guilford Court House campaign, that both Polk and Sumner were deprived of commands due to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell's attitude and policy of not having Continental officers command the militia unless strictly necessary. SNC pp. 266-268.

[208] South Carolina historian Joseph Johnson: "In the fall of 1782, while a child, I remained two or three months in Charlotte with my father's family. I remember to have seen the then General [Thomas] Polk and his sons repeatedly. The general was plain and unassuming in his deportment, more like a farmer or a miller than a general; the sons were wild, frolicsome blades, four in number, named Charles, William, James and Ezekiel." JTR p. 84.

[209] Historian Robert M. Dunkelry, however, is inclined to attribute leadership of the whigs in this action to Robeson's brother Peter, DRO pp. 206-209, and regarding whom see also GAR2 p. 217.

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Herndon, from Wilkes County
(31) Herndon was one of Cleavland's officers and commanded a company of 60 men at King's Mountain. He later led the attack against Riddle's Camp in the spring of 1781. See 15 April 1781, Wolf's Den.

Maj. William Chronicle, Lincoln County
(25) When Col. William Graham had to leave the King's Mountain army to be with his wife who was very ill, Draper, in his main narrative, says Chronicle was placed in charge of Graham's men. Despite this, later in his book he states it was Lieut. Col. Hambright who commanded them, which would seem to be more correct. In any case, at the battle itself, Chronicle was among those killed. See WRM p. 176.

Maj. Joseph Dickson, from Rowan County
(35) Dickson was a member of the North Carolina assembly at the start of the war. By 1780 he fought under Colonel Joseph McDowell, Jr. at King's Mountain, lead a bold raid against the British camed about Charlotte in late Sept. 1780, and in 1781 served under Pickens in the Guilford Court House campaign (including Clapp's Mill), being later promoted to colonel that same year. Joseph Graham, who was with him under Pickens, makes mention of Dickson more than a few times in his reminiscences.

Maj. Joseph Graham, from Rowan County
(21) Capt. Graham, who earlier had served up north as a quartermaster sergeant for the 4th N.C. regiment, served as Davie's commander of the reserve in the defense of Charlotte in late September 1780 and officered a troop of mounted riflemen. He won honor for himself in that engagement, and received multiple wounds in the fighting, both from sabers and by bullets. This laid him up in the hospital for two months. He later led a troop of dragoons in the Guilford Court House campaign, where he served under Pickens. He was present at Cowan's Ford (where his company was, by his own account, the only one to retire in good order), Hart's Mill, Pyle's Defeat, Clapp's Mill, and Weitzel's Mill. The term of service for his men lapsed a few days before Weitzel's Mill, such that he was not at Guilford Court House. During the summer he resumed his military activities, and by September was promoted to Major. Lossing states that, in the autumn, in an effort to rescue Gov. Thomas Burke (who had been captured by David Fanning), Graham led a force of 136 dragoons and mounted men against 600 tories and at a location south of Cross Creek, defeating them. He fought in a few more actions, and retired from the service in November. Graham's reminiscences, as related to Archibald Murphey (who was preparing a history of North Carolina during the war), are extremely informative. Although not present in those battles himself, his accounts of Ramseur's Mill and King's Mountain are priceless, as are also his recounting of the events of the Guilford Court House campaign at which he was present. But for these writings, there would be huge gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the military conflict in the south. See CNC22 pp. 121-126, GAM2 pp. 212-311, WNC pp. 233-237 and WRM pp. 227-230, as well as, of course, Graham's own reminiscences.

Maj. Joseph Herndon, from Wilkes County
The brother of Benjamin, Joseph commanded the reserve of Campbell's army while the latter were fighting the loyalist at King's Mountain.

Major Joseph Winston, from Surry County
(34) Winston fought at King's Mountain and took part in the ongoing battle with the western state loyalists in February 1781. At Guilford Court House, he headed the North Carolina riflemen who served under Col. Charles Lynch. See WRM pp. 168-170 and DKM pp. 454-456.

Capt. Marquis de Bretigney (also Bretigny, Britigny)
A French volunteer, Bretigney served at the siege of Charleston and later commanded a troop of light horse and mounted men before, at, and after Guilford Court House, participating in William Washington's famous charge there. For a while he served as a French purchasing agent for South Carolina, and after Charleston's fall did the same for North Carolina, procuring quantities of arms and equipment for the state troops. See BLO p. 64.

Capt. William Falls, from Rowan County
(50) Although Falls passes through the record only briefly due to his death at Ramseur's Mill, his contribution to that very important victory qualifies him, like Shadrack Inman at Musgrove's Mill, for military honors of high distinction. Some accounts of Ramseur's Mill, incidentally, mention a "Capt. Gillefall," a "Capt. Gilley Falls" and a "Galbraith Falls" who may actually have been the slain leader, or the same person as "William" (or "Willy"?), or else a different, but possibly related, person. See pensions statements of William Armstrong of Lincoln County, N.C. and John Ross of Mecklenburg County, N.C. See GAR1 p.378.

Capt. Joseph McDowell ("Pleasant Garden Joe"), from Burke County
This Joseph McDowell served under his cousin of the same name, "Quaker Meadows Joe" (McDowell), at King's Mountain.

Frontier Militia[210]

These officers lived in what is now Tennessee, but what was then a part of North Carolina.

Col. Arthur Campbell, from Washington County, TN.
(37) Cousin and brother-in-law of William Campbell, Arthur Campbell stayed to guard the frontier, while his county lieutenant, John Sevier, went with Shelby to fight at King's Mountain. In late December 1780, he directed and oversaw an expedition against the Cherokees and their allies; then in 1781 was one of the negotiators in peace talks with them.

Col. John Sevier, from Washington County, TN.
(35) Sevier lived in the Watauga-Nolachucky (also Nolachuckie) settlement, south of the Holston River, and acted as both a civil administrator and military leader for that district. He was of French Hugenot descent and his family's name originally "Xavier" (they having emigrated to America from England.) His most famous contribution to the war was at King's Mountain (but *not* Musgrove's Mill) where he led one of the main forces of over-mountain men. Both Sevier and Shelby tended to be on the attack and mobile when fighting Indians;[211] and this worked decisively to their advantage against the British and Loyalists. Perhaps but for this seizing the moment and pursuing the initiative there might have been no King's Mountain victory; for it was the relentless pursuit of Ferguson that made the latter's defeat possible. Sevier also was involved in several Revolutionary War battles but with the Indians; in which he displayed both shrewd tactical judgment and daring, "Boyd's Creek" in December 1780, being one of his most notable military achievements. In February 1781, Greene appointed him one of the representatives in peace talks with the Cherokees; while in the same month he was promoted to full colonel. Near the end of autumn, he arrived, along with Shelby, with reinforcements for Greene's army; upon which he served for a period under Marion. Perhaps fittingly, after Shelby became the first Governor of Kentucky in 1792, Sevier, in 1796, became the same for Tennessee.[212] See (though use with caution) WRM pp. 461-463, WNC pp. 449-454, and DKM pp. 418-422.

Col. Isaac Shelby, from Sullivan County, TN.
(30) Shelby, who was from the Holston settlement, played a key role not only at King's Mountain, but in the battles of Second Cedar Spring and Musgrove's Mill leading up to it. One is struck how time and again to he took his men to assist others in need of help elsewhere. This deep sense of responsibility was matched by a high sense of honor. When Ferguson, with his threats and ultimatum, challenged the self-respect and integrity of the over-mountain people, there were some who thought it would be best to disperse and lie low. It was Shelby, however, that first and unhesitatingly picked up the gauntlet and set in motion the gathering of the King's Mountain army *offensively* against him.[213] See HGS, SRW, WNC pp. 98-102, and DKM pp. 411-416.

[210] Also known as "Over Mountain" men, "Back Water" men, and "Mountaineers" -- with most of these settlers originating from North Carolina and Virginia. In a 30 Jan. 1781 letter to William Campbell, Greene referrs to them as "Mountain Militia," NGP7 pp. 218-219; while Cornwallis in a dispatch of 6 Jan. 1781 to Clinton speaks of "Back-Mountain-men," see COC pp. 50-51. "They were the rear-guard of the revolution, as well as the advance-guard of Civilization; and yet they re scarcely mentioned in general history; for their work was done in the silence of the wilderness, and if for a moment they emerged into the view of men to strike a vital blow for their country, they vanished again, as quickly as they came, into the solitude of the far-off forest," James R. Gilmore, *The Rear Guard of the Revolution*, p. 11.

[211] A given mountain man, who was mounted, carried only a blanket and wallet of parched corn; with each typically supplying himself personally or by way of his family. SAW2 pp. 221-222, RWW2 p. 302.

[212] In 1798, when Sevier's name was submitted for the rank of Brigadier General in the United States army, George Washington, and partly in resentment of the poor treatment Henry Knox was receiving at the hands of John Adams' war department, expressed pronounced distrust of Sevier's qualifications for such a high ranking military post; saying (in a letter to Timothy Pickering) Sevier "never was celebrated for any thing (that ever came to my knowledge) except the murder of Indians." See Washington to James McHenry, 22 July 1798, and 14 Sept. 1798; and to Timothy Pickering, 9 Sept. 1798.

[213] Even so, Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West*, manifests an unaccountable peevishness in his presentation of Shelby. After pointing out errors in the numbers Shelby, in the later years of his life, gave in his account of King's Mountain, and though Roosevelt acknowledges that Shelby deserves credit for planning and starting the campaign against Ferguson (RWW2 p. 255), he states: "Late in life Shelby asserted that this steadiness in pushing on [after Ferguson] was due to his own influence. The other accounts do not bear him out." RWW2 p. 271 And yet why, when apparently no one else had done so, bring up Shelby's claim only to criticize it? Nor, in addition, is what Roosevelt asserts itself conclusive proof that what Shelby averred wasn't actually true.

South Carolina Militia and State Troops

South Carolina at that time did not have counties, but rather districts (or precincts), some of which, like Ninety Six, covered fairly wide-ranging areas. The original South Carolina Districts were: Camden, Ninety Six, Orangeburgh, Cheraws, Georgetown, Charleston, Beaufort, and Cherokee Indian lands in the far western corner of the state. Reference below, however, is made to modern County names in order to help better locate where an engagement took place, or where an individual had his residence on or about 1780.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, from Berkeley County
(48) Originally a lieutenant colonel with the 2nd South Carolina Regiment and briefly commanded Lincoln's light infantry at the siege of Charleston, Marion was absent from the city at the time it fell; due, reportedly, to his ankle being broken. He next appeared when the American army entered South Carolina in July, at which time he brought a small, rag-tag group of followers to General Gates and offered his services. Neither Gates nor Marion himself thought he and his men would be of much use with the main army, and they were directed to obstruct British communications and lines of retreat along the Santee. Shortly after his return to the Williamsburg area (located roughly north of the Santee and just east of the Peedee), Marion was chosen by the local officers to head of the militia: this on the basis of his previous military experience. From there he went on to become the partisan extraordinaire of the Revolution; who (as circumstances permitted) trained and expected obedience and orderliness from his militia almost as if they were regulars. He knew to not stay camped at the same place for too long, but unlike Sumter was very strict in regularly posting sentinels even if the risk of danger or of being surprised was very small. He was a unique figure among the higher-ranking South Carolina leaders. He does not appear to have been especially well educated, yet he was intelligent and sensitive to principle. He seems to have desired fame, yet he was also a person of high moral character and ideals -- and very strict and punctilious discipline. He had insubordination problems on more than one occasion. True, it was difficult for any partisan or militia leader to keep men together for very long, but for him it at times seemed worse than for others. [214] His refusal to go along with Sumter's "Law" caused him to lose men, and it may have been the desire for higher standards of discipline from his men that caused many to sometimes shirk their duty when most needed. In addition, he had the unfortunate habit of wording his orders in an impersonal and peremptory manner. In these respects, he understandably irked some. Yet in his adhering to doing things in what he thought was the right way, he showed himself to have been a true son of Gideon: better to fight with a dedicated few than an undependable many. The result of this attitude was brought out well at Parker's Ferry in August 1781. Though let down by some of his officers there, it nevertheless turned out to be what was perhaps his greatest victory. He faced many problems leading his men, dealing with militia turncoats, and carrying on the fight, but in staying the course, by sticking to what he thought was right and just, he was ultimately successful like few others. Although Sumter technically outranked him,[215] Marion had the unique reputation of giving inspiration to the American cause at large and with which he readily identified himself;[216] and it is noteworthy how more frequently his name comes up in the press and the very earliest general histories, including John Marshall's, in this regard. See GHA3 pp. 354-358, LMS pp. 174-175, 584-585, GAR1 pp. 18-29.[217]

Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, from Edgefield County
(41) Pickens had been active in fighting the British in Georgia in 1779, but when Clinton conquered the state in the spring of 1780, submitted to Royal amnesty and protection. While this decision might be seen as reflecting badly on him, in his defense it might be pointed out that the area in which he lived was heavily loyalist, and he had a home and family to look out for. Indeed it was ultimately because the British failed to protect his home from some tories that in December he concluded he was not bound by his pledge. Shortly thereafter, he joined up with Clark's, McCall's and Hammond's men and was in the field soon enough to take charge of the South Carolina militia at Cowpens. Yet probably his most noteworthy command was when he led the North Carolina militia in the Guilford Court House campaign. It was there he got to know Henry Lee, with whom he later besieged Augusta. That the North Carolina men willing accepted a South Carolina officer as their head, while in their home state no less, speaks to both the credibility and authoritativeness of his character. It is interesting that in many accounts of Greene's Race to the Dan it is mentioned how the militia had all but deserted Greene during that time. Yet the simple fact is Pickens very admirably managed to somehow keep something like a command together in North Carolina (even if only his own South Carolinians) when and after Greene left the state in mid February 1781; thus presumably leaving him for a time all alone in North Carolina with Cornwallis; and later successfully attacking and skirmishing the British at Hart's Mill. There was evidently some friction between Pickens and Otho Williams; this would seem to have been a result of a Continental colonel perhaps looking down on a militia Brigadier (and presumably possible conflict of rank, in addition to a meeting with Gov. Rutledge,[218] kept Pickens from participating at Clapp's Mill); moreover, we do not think of Pickens as one of Greene's military family, and for this reason we tend to view him as somehwat distant in importance, compared to his Continental peers, in the Guilford Court House campaign. The discrepancy may have caused him to be

[214] Bass: "Marion's Brigade was an anomalous corps. Its composition changed frequently, as the different militia colonels brought in different regiments. Boddie, *Williamsburg*, says that at one time or another twenty-five hundred men served under Marion." BSF p. 257. In addition to William Dobein James (JFM), for some rare and interesting descriptions and accounts of Marion and his men by people who personally knew them see BMS, JTR pp. 279-285.
[215] Even McCrady, Sumter's avid advocate, observes that Marion's letters show an impatience of Sumter's control and that there existed a jealousy between the two leaders' respective followers. MSC2 pp. 324, 342.
[216] He preferred, for example, to speak of his compatriots as "Americans" rather than "whigs" or "Carolinians, "etc.
[217] For a sketch of Marion by Henry Lee, see LMS pp. 174, 584-585.
[218] BDB p. 70.

slighted,and in a way that didn't help his already strained position, far away from his real command in S.C. while leading the N.C. militia. Even so and despite these pressures, including the literal and figurative tatters of his command, Pickens in retrospect, and but for some occasional well-earned groaning, comported himself magnanimously and with iron solidity of character. This said, his military ability as a strategist is otherwise difficult to assess because he really did not achieve dramatic success as an independent commander and was usually acting as a subordinate to Williams or Greene. Yet he was victorious at Augusta, sharing command honors with Lee, and later in the vacuum left by the expulsion of the loyalists from Ninety Six in the summer of 1781, Pickens played a crucial role helping to restore law and order to that troubled area. Later, at Eutaw Springs, leading what were mostly Sumter's men, he once more (as at Cowpens) showed himself a trustworthy officer on the battlefield. See GAR1 pp. 35-37, GAR2 pp. 83-87, LMS pp. 175, 594-596, SCAR vol. 4, no. 1, 2,3 [joint issues], p. 18.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter (also Sumpter[219]), from Clarendon County
(46) Although Sumter had been an officer in the 6th South Carolina Regiment (also denoted the 2nd S.C. Rifle Regiment), he had resigned his colonel's commission in 1778, was for a time in the state legislature, and so was not serving militarily at the time of the siege of Charleston. He only became active after the city's fall and yet the British lost no time in trying to round him up. It would have been well for them if they had succeeded because for a time Sumter *was* South Carolina.[220] He was the one leader, working in cooperation with the Georgians and North Carolinians, able to bring together fairly large bodies of militia and take on the regulars. While it is true that much of the credit goes to many of his subordinates, it was Sumter who united them.[221] As well as being a good politician, he had a sharp sense for overall strategy.[222] He knew the country and he knew the people. Like Morgan he was a high-ranking officer whom the common soldier could relate to. Yet unlike Morgan, he had a hard time obtaining the respect of other high-ranking officers. Nor, to say the least, did he always act wisely. His refusal to assist Morgan seems petty and ludicrous. His February 1781 "Rounds," taking place as they did amid the tense movements of Cornwallis and Greene before Guilford, have an almost a comical quality to them.[223] Greene and others blamed him for not being present at Hobkirk's Hill. But the truth seems to be he was having a hard time arming and bringing together his command at that time, or at least, he could have used this as a legitimate excuse. He incurred the scorn and ire of many of both the Continental and militia officers after Shubrick's Plantation. Yet his Dog Day's plan was not such a failure as it has been made out to be. While granting he was reckless in exposing Taylor's and Marion's troops, it is hard to understand why Marion could not have withdrawn his own men himself after Taylor retired. Probably the key to understanding Sumter lies in the fact that if or when he did act ill advisedly or showed poor judgment,[224] it was more out of well-meaning foolishness than selfishness and bad character. For all his faults and foibles he, more than anyone else, kept the resistance alive in the state's darkest days. Said Robert Gray: "Sumpter was bold & rash, and run many risks, from which his good fortune always extricated him. Marion was timid & cautious & would risk nothing, yet both succeeded in their attempts."[225] See LMS p. 174-175.

Brig. Gen. James Williams, from Laurens County
(40) Williams, formerly of Granville County, N.C. and who at one time headed the Little River[226] regiment, was one of the top commanders at Musgrove's Mill, and was at King's Mountain where he was killed at 40 years of age. He was a potential rival to Sumter and much of what we know about him comes from William Hill, one of Sumter's men. In late September 1780, Hill refused to take orders from him after Williams had been commissioned a Brigadier General by Governor John Rutledge.[227] In fairness then to Williams, the story of his

[219] In this work we adopt "Sumter" as the standard spelling, yet his family name was originally "Sumpter" and this latter version is found about more frequently than the former in contemporary papers, correspondence, and histories; John Marshall, for instance, uses "Sumpter" rather than "Sumter" in his *Life of Washington*.
[220] "Sumter's corps has been our greatest plague in this state," Cornwallis to Tarleton, 23 Nov. 1781. TCS p. 203.
[221] Henry Lee shows a disdain for Sumter; in turn ostensibly derived from Greene and the subsequent falling out with Sumter following Quinby Bridge; see Lee's letter to Greene of 30 April 1781, NGP8 pp. 178-179, JLG2 pp. 105-110, and related commentary, at LCC pp. 290-297, 374-380, 388, 433-436. Such disparaging attitudes as Lee's (and also, oddly enough, of Lee critic and Greene proponent, William Johnson) toward Sumter no doubt are what precipitated Edward McCrady's later spirited, and on several points just, vindication of the "Gamecock."
[222] McCrady argues, rather convincingly, for a revised view of Sumter; stating he "was nevertheless a man of larger and broader views, and with a much greater military instinct than has been represented." MSC1 p. 568. In support of this, he, among other things, makes reference to Sumter's plan for crushing Rawdon before the three regiments arrived from Ireland to reinforce the British army -- a proposal that (had it been adopted) might indeed have resulted in an earlier American conquest of the south. For Sumter's *own* statement on the same, and Henry Lee IV counter argument to it, see LCC pp. 378-380.
[223] This is not, though, to make light of the fact that it was such threats and incursions by his and Marion's South Carolina partisans that ultimately forced Rawdon from Camden.
[224] A receipt written by Sumter to a Colonel Goodwyn: "Received, 18th December, 1780, of Col. Goodwyn, one negro man, named Doctor; one sorrel gelding, one saddle and bridle, one cutlass, nineteen silver dollars, for the use of the public. Unless it should appear when a full investigation can be made, that Col. Goodwyn's conduct has been nowise injurious to the liberties of America, in which case I promise to have the above articles returned to said Col. Goodwyn; and I further promise to give up to said Col. Goodwyn his negro man, named as above, upon his (the said Col. Goodwyn's) depositing in my hands the sum of two hundred guineas, or twenty thousand Continental dollars, or loan-office certificates to that amount which money shall also be returned as above." GDH3 p. 138.
[225] GWC p. 144. For sketches of Sumter by contemporaries, see GAR1 pp. 32-34 and LMS pp. 174-175.
[226] Located in the adjoining areas of present day Newberry and Laurens counties.
[227] William T. Graves, Williams' biographer, questions whether this was actually so. Yet in at least three contemporary sources, William Hill, Anthony Allaire, and Robert Gray (the latter two loyalists), he is spoken of as being a Brigadier or a General. Graves, incidentally, also states that Williams was seen by Samuel Hammond as commanding the upper or western part of South

being Sumter's "commissary" at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, and of his trying to abscond with Sumter's supplies should not be taken too seriously, despite Draper's giving Hill's account full credit.[228] From what we know elsewhere about him, he was a conscientious individual, admired by many; who prior to his death at King's Mountain had fought with intrepidity alongside Elijah Clark, Samuel Hammond and Isaac Shelby. Moultrie describes him, "Col. Williams of Ninety-six district, a brave and active officer, and warm in the American cause;"[229] while Thomas Young remembered, "On the top of the mountain, in the thickest of the fight, I saw Col. Williams fall, and a braver or a better man never died upon the field of battle. I had seen him once before that day; it was in the beginning of the action, as he charged by me full speed around the mountain; toward the summit a ball struck his horse under the jaw when he commenced stamping as if he were in a nest of yellow jackets. Col. W. threw the reins over the animal's neck -- sprang to the ground, and dashed onward. The moment I heard the cry that Col. Williams was shot, I ran to his assistance, for I loved him as a father, he had ever been so kind to me, and almost always carried carrying cake in his pocket for me and his little son Joseph. They carried him into a tent, and sprinkled some water in his face. He revived, and his first words were, 'For God's sake boys, don't give up the hill!' I remember it as well as if it had occurred yesterday. I left him in the arms of his son Daniel, and returned to the field to avenge his fall. Col. Williams died next day [thus living long enough to know of the victory], and was buried not far from the field of his glory."[230] See CNC15 p. 391, JLG1 p.. 307, JTR pp. 482-494, DKM pp. 465-467, SNC p. 44, LCR p. 170, GJW.

Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson, from Greenwood County
(50) Williamson was head of the Ninety Six militia at the time Charleston surrendered, and at that time was probably the most eminent militia officer in the state. Like many then (and shortly after), he agreed to accept Royal protection, and, after taking a vote among his officers, had his men lay down their arms. While we might today look askance at such behavior, we must remember that Pickens and other proven patriots of note at first accepted protection as well. What made Williamson unusual was that when both the Americans and British pressed the issue. At one point in late December 1780, he was made prisoner by the Col. Benjamin Few while at his Whitehall residence.[231] After Few and Clark were chased from the area as a result of the battle of Long Canes, Williamson removed to Charleston and there continued to outwardly maintain his status as a loyal subject of the crown. For this, he came to be seen by many as a traitor. When whig leader Col. Isaac Hayne temporarily captured Williamson near Charleston, in early July 1781, it was believed by some that Williamson would be hanged. As it turned out, in a turning of tables, Maj. Thomas Fraser's South Carolina Royal dragoons came to his rescue. They made Hayne prisoner, and it was Hayne who, afterward, was hanged. Later in 1782, however, Williamson is believed to have secretly supplied important information to Col. John Laurens; so that by the end of the war Greene acted to have his estate spared confiscation. As a result, he ended the last years of his life a wealthy and prosperous man.[232] Yet it is not hard to see that such would have been poor consolation for the odium he incurred for having behaved so timidly -- or so foolishly -- in the time of crisis. See JTR pp. 144-149, SLA2 p. 437, and MSC1 pp. 527-529.

Col. Robert Anderson, from Abbeville County, *Pickens' brigade*
Anderson, who succeeded to James McCall's command after the latter succumbed to small pox in April 1781, was at Cowpens, the second siege of Augusta and Ninety Six and, very likely, Eutaw Springs as well.

Col. Thomas Brandon (also ofen seen written by contemporaries as "Brannon," "Brannen"), from Union County
(39) Brandon was among the first who immediately and actively took up arms against the British after the fall of Charleston. He served under Brig. Gen. James Williams at Musgrove's Mill and King's Mountain. He was also at Ramseur's Mill, Blackstock's, Cowpens, and Ninety Six. His name does not seem to come up further with respect to the fighting; though this is probably due simply to gaps in the record. After the war, Brandon was made a Brigadier General of the militia. "He was a good soldier," says Draper, "but, like Cleveland [Benjamin Cleavland], a bitter enemy of the Tories, who received little mercy at his hands." See DKM pp. 469-470.

Carolina, Sumter the middle, Marion the lower. Pickens then replaced Williams according to this view or interpretation. JTR p. 522.

[228] Gov. John Rutedge on 20 Sept. 1780 to the S.C. Delegates: "I have seen Colo. Jas. Williams whose affair [Musgrove's Mill] with Innis (not killed, as you have heard, but recovering of his wound,) was truly brilliant -- He is gone on with a Determination to distinguish himself as a Partisan, & I believe he will -- I have put, both him & Sumpter, (each of whom may be of service but they will never agree) under Genl. Smallwood's Command --" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, pp. 131-136.

Historians who insist that Williams should be remembered only as "Colonel" are in effect saying Sumter's men could just overrule the Governor's directive and commission. While this argument *may* have some plausibility, it is far from being *obviously* justified, and to that extent it is certainly at least as fair to give Williams the benefit of the doubt. Roosevelt's treatment of Williams by the way, like his treatment of Shelby, is slighting and derogatory almost to the point of being bizarre and inexplicable. For example, because Hayes, Brandon and Thomas, *who were in Williams' command* at King's Mountain (Samuel Hammond, by the bye, was also with Williams; though not as a field commander) are listed in an *after battle* roster as having men under them while few or effectively none are listed under Williams, Roosevelt arrives at the absurd conclusion that Williams and his men were probably not that much engaged in the battle. RWW2 p. 285. In actual fact, in contemporary accounts of the battle, Williams is made more frequent mention of than any other South Carolina leader who was present at King's Mountain; including in Gen. Washington's post battle congratulations in which Williams is one of only three Amerian commanders specifically referred to (the other two being William Campbell and Shelby.) CNC15 pp. 131-132.

[229] MMS2 p. 220.

[230] Williams' eighteen year old son, Capt. Daniel Williams (and Joseph also according to Young's account), was killed by William Cunningham's men at Hayes' Station in November 1781. For Thomas Young's Narrative see SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.

[231] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, pp. 62-63.

[232] Joseph Johnson, on the other hand, speaks of him dying in poverty. JTR. p. 152.

Col. William Brandon, from Union County, *Sumter's brigade*
William Brandon appeared as one of Sumter's militia commanders in June of 1781. His name does not (to my knowledge) arise in any of the known descriptions of battles and skirmishes, and is listed here merely to distinguish him from his more prominent brother, Thomas.

Col. William Bratton, from York County, *Sumter' brigade*
(38) Bratton was originally from Northern Ireland and moved with his family first to Pennsylvania, then Virginia, and finally, in 1774, to "New Acquisition" or what is now largely York County, S.C.; being a captain of the militia there as early as 1775. Along with Capt. Richard Winn and Capt. John McClure, he brought about one of the very first acts of rebel defiance following Charleston's surrender at Mobley's Meeting House in late May 1780. Although conspicuously absent at Musgrove's Mill (Samuel Hammond faults him for almost ruining the attack against the loyalists at the Mill by taking time out to vist his home), he went on to become one of Sumter's regimental commanders, fighting at Huck's defeat (aka Williamson's Plantation), Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's, and Sumter's "Rounds" (February 1781). It is also likely he took part in the Dog Days Expedition of July 1781. See SDR pp. 59-60.

Col. Hugh Ervin, probably from Marion County, *Marion's brigade*
Ervin was made Marion's second in command in January 1781, and was in command of Snow's Island at the time of Doyle's raid in March.

Col. John Ervin, from Marion County, *Marion's brigade*
(26) Ervin commanded Marion's Britton Neck Regiment.

Col. LeRoy Hammond, from Edgefield County, *Pickens' brigade*
(est. 40) Although Hammond, originally one of the state foremost regimental militia commanders prior to the fall of Charleston, had originally taken protection, in 1781, he later disavowed that oath, and subsequently participated at the second siege of Augusta, Ninety Six, and just missed being with Pickens at Eutaw Springs due to his being summoned by Gov. Rutledge on some state business. Even so, his second time around he apparently at first took on a less noticeable role and perhaps did not wield quite the same status and prestige as he had earlier; with one source speaking of him as a captain (though granted other records make reference to his still being a colonel.) Nonetheless, on resuming command he worked and fought with continued vigor. He was the uncle of Maj. Samuel Hammond. For a sketch of LeRoy, see JTR pp. 477-482.

Col. Henry Hampton, from Richland County, *Sumter's brigade*
Along with Richard and Wade, Henry was one of the three well-known Hampton brothers. Originally a loyalist, he was actually among those taken prisoner at Mobley's Meeting House in early June 1780. As a whig leader, Henry was present at the attack on the Wateree Ferry in August 1780, Fishing Creek, Blackstock's, and the Dog Days Expedition of July 1781. By the time of the latter, his regiment was fully mounted and included some cavalry (as opposed to mere mounted militia), as were the regiments of his brothers. Regarding the Hamptons, see JTR pp. 442-444.

Col. Richard Hampton, from Richland County, *Sumter's brigade*
When Sumter formed his regiments in the spring of 1781, Richard Hampton, then a major, acted as second in command to Col. Charles Myddleton. In May and June 1781, he carried out a wide stretching series of raids, which took him to Dorchester, Monck's Corner, the Ashley River, and Round O (in Colleton County.) Also in June, Hampton was with Myddleton at "Myddleton's ambuscade."

Col. Wade Hampton, from Richland County, *Sumter's brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*
(26) Hampton submitted to Royal sovereignty in September 1780, and for a time sold supplies to the British from his store north of the Congaree near Fridig's (or much more commonly but incorrectly "Friday's") Ferry. Yet coming to suspect his sincerity, in November they confiscated some goods from his stock. By at least February, he was in contact with Sumter and informing him of the strength of British forces in his area. When Sumter came that same month on his expedition to the posts along the Congaree and Santee, Hampton joined him and went on to became one of his most successful field officers of mounted troops.[233] He fought at Friday's Ferry and Orangeburgh in May 1781; and participated with Lee's Legion in the scouting of Rawdon and the latter's detachments after Ninety Six. In the Dog Days Expedition of July, he led stunning raids on Goose Creek (albeit in which he raided a church while it was in service!) and the Quarter House. At the time of Eutaw Springs, he was part of the State Troops under Henderson, and when Henderson was wounded there assumed command of the cavalry. After the war, he became extremely rich through his plantation holdings and produce, having for a spell acted, rather ingloriously, as a general in the war of 1812. His grandson, of the same name, was one of the great cavalry generals of the Civil War, leading under Henry Lee's son, Robert Edward. See NGP7 p. 107n.

Col. William Harden, from Barnwell County
At one time a Captain of the South Carolina Artillery, Harden joined Marion's band after the fall of Charleston. In early April 1781, he received a commission as colonel and authorization from Marion to operate with an

[233] McCrady, however, believes Hampton came around in March or early April; rather than February during Sumter's rounds. He had gotten in trouble with the British; was taken prisoner, and then effected his escape to Sumter. . JLG2 p. 31, MSC p. 148-149.

independent partisan command in the region between Charleston, Augusta and Savannah. His force was made up largely of men from Barnwell County, and Georgia. Initially, his band was rather small, but over time it grew at one point to 200 men; though typically it was difficult for him to keep his men together on a regular basis. Nevertheless, he was otherwise very successful operating in the heart of what was then enemy country. And though suffering an occasional setback, in a number of skirmishes and ambushes achieved notable success. So much so that by mid-spring, Balfour complained that overland communications between Charleston to Savannah had become impossible. Unfortunately, Marion had cause to complain of Harden's men disobeying orders at Parker's Ferry, and as result not participating in the fighting. Yet exactly what caused this insubordination (Harden himself was away and his son was in command) we can only speculate. It may have been something beyond his son's control, as the discipline among his men was fairly loose. See JLG2 pp. 119-120, JTR pp. 350-354 and MSC2 pp. 129-130.

Col. Isaac Hayne, from Colleton County
(35) Hayne served at siege of Charleston, but was not present when the city capitulated. While his much written about execution in August 1781 (Lee, for instance, devotes a considerable portion of his *Memoirs* to the subject) was unnecessary and tragic, it was also counter-productive to British interests. The temporary intimidation and increased recruitment they achieved hardly was worth the censure and criticism subsequently leveled at them. Further, Hayne, after all, made something of a fool of himself, when after capturing Williamson he was captured himself. Had Balfour and Rawdon used the incident as propaganda and mockery, they would have done far better in the long run than they did in making him a martyr. Part of what makes Hayne's story so tragic is that depsite his real or seeming violation of his protection, he, like Nathan Hale and John André, was otherwise a principled and high minded individual. In addition, as Lee argues, if he was a British subject when taken he ought to then have been at least entitled to a more fair and conventional trial under British law. Balfour would, and Rawdon did later argue, that in view of the heightened spirit of insurrection in the area of Charleston at the time, it was necessary to make an example of him; and as for a for a "fair" trial he received no worse than André. For more on Hayne, see GHA4 pp. 102-107, 164-167, LMS pp. 449-462, 614-620, JLG2 pp. 189-202, GAR1 pp. 250-255, 278-280, LSL1 pp. 204-205, MSC2 pp. 130-134, 318-321, and James Thacher's *Military Journal of the American Revolutionary War*.

Col. William Hill, from York County, *Sumter's brigade*
(39) Hill, who also owned the oldest and most important iron works in the state of South Carolina, was among the first who gathered men to fight the British after the siege of Charleston. He became one of Sumter's stalwart regimental commanders, and appeared at numerous actions, such as Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, Fishing Creek, King's Mountain, Fish Dam Ford, and Blackstock's. Even so, he does not seem to have been an officer of special merit when it came actual fighting. In his pension statement, Samuel Walker, from Chester County, S.C. stated: "We again took up the line of march -- determined never to yield …[We then] marched to Col. Bratton's where in battle they killed a celebrated British Gen. named Hooke [Capt. Christian Huik]; from there to Blackstock['s] where [we] had [a] fight with Col. Tarlatan [Tarleton] at which place Gen. Sumpter was wounded in the shoulder and had it not been for Col. Hill, we would have taken every person there. He behaved so cowardly that he had his side arms taken from him and a wooden stick placed in the scabbard."[234] Hill, in partnership with Col. Isaac Hayne, operated an Iron Works on Allison Creek in York County. After the war, Hill wrote reminiscences of his experiences, which, if not always trustworthy, are still of value and interest. He was the grandfather of C.S.A. general, D.H. Hill. See SDR p. 59.

Col. Daniel Horry, from Georgetown County, *Daniel Horry's Regiment of Light Dragoons*
Horry (pronounced Or-ee), who had been Pulaski's second in command at Savannah, led the state cavalry during the siege of Charleston; after which he took the British oath of allegiance and did not serve thereafter; presumably because he wanted to protect his Georgetown properties which were considerable. He was a cousin of Hugh and Peter.

Col. Hugh Horry, from Georgetown County, *Marion's brigade*
The brother of Peter, Hugh Horry was originally a Major in the South Carolina line. He was perhaps Marion's most liked and trusted officer, and was more frequently present with him then Peter was. By January of 1781, he'd become the commander of Marion's infantry, and in early April scored a smashing success catching Watson's foragers off-guard at Catfish Creek. Right after the battle at Parker's Ferry, Marion jubilantly reported to Greene that Hugh, along with Col. John Ervin, "behaved Like the true Sons [of] Liberty."

Col. Peter Horry, from Georgetown County, *Marion's brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*
(33) Horry, a lieutenant colonel in the South Carolina line, led a troop of light horse during the siege of Charleston and was present at Rantowle's Bridge, Monck's Corner and Lenud's Ferry. He later became head of Marion's cavalry and fought with the Swamp Fox in numerous engagements, becoming one of his most able and trusted lieutenants. After Greene returned south in the spring of 1781, he was appointed to organize a corps of light dragoons for the South Carolina State Troops. In 1782, these were combined with Maham's and the unit was put on the Continental establishment. Outside of surviving correspondence, most of what we know about Marion and his operations comes from Horry: whether through the order book he kept, or as passed down to us through South Carolina historian William Dobein James. Boatner mistakenly states that he was at Eutaw Springs, when in

[234] In his account of Blackstock's, Hill (somewhat absurdly) states that Sumter had no more than 600, while Tarleton had "1200 horse and Infantry together with a field piece." HMS p. 14.

fact Marion wrote him after the battle reporting what had happened. Horry wrote a memoir of his Revolutionary war activities used, by among other historians, Parson Weems; but which unfortunately, except in odd fragments (including some quoted in William Dobein James, Alexander Garden, and William Gilmore Simms' biography of Marion), is not known to survive. See GAR1 pp. 29-31 and LFB2 pp. 480n-481n.

Col. Abel Kolb, from Marlboro County
Kolb, who for a time served in and during the siege of Charleston, commanded a militia regiment in the upper region of Peedee, Long Bluff area of South Carolina, as early as August 1780. Known for his ruthlessness against the tories, on April 28th, 1781, he was captured at his home and murdered by 50 of them led by Joseph Jones. Afterward, his death appears to have incited the loyalists to renewed activity (i.e. now that he was gone.) Though perhaps more well known for his unusual death, Kolb was a reliable officer who often assisted Marion, and was proficient at combating the loyalists in what was typically a very volatile region. See GHC pp. 359-367, SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 27-29.

Col. Edward Lacey, from Chester County, *Sumter's Brigade*
(38) The son of a staunch loyalist, Lacey rose from Captain to Colonel in Sumter's brigade, and became one of his most well thought of and revered officers. Like Bratton and Winn, he served as a volunteer in the Charleston siege; and subsequently granted parole.[235] Later he commanded a main body in the defeat of Huck, and headed detachments at Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, Cary's Fort (Wateree Ferry), Fishing Creek, King's Mountain, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's, Sumter's "Rounds" (in February 1781), Orangeburgh, Quinby Bridge, and Eutaw Springs. Says M.A. Moore who wrote a biographical sketch of him, he had "an uncommonly handsome face, with fine address; he was a man of strong native intellect, fond of pleasure, entirely devoted to his friends; generous to a fault; 'and every inch a soldier'…It is well known that many of the officers of Marion's Brigade never presented their claims for military services against the State of South Carolina for they all knew the State was greatly embarrassed at the heels of the Revolution in paying the poor soldiers…The writer is informed by Mr. J. Augustus Black (who is the greatest antiquarian in the State), that Col. Edward Lacey has never presented an account of Revolutionary War services against the State, and, of course, has never received any remuneration."[236] See also JTR pp. 578-579 and DKM pp. 463-464.

Col. Maurice Murfee (also Murphy), from Marion County
Murfee operated in his own neighborhood near the Peedee Rivers, engaging in frequent small skirmishes with the local loyalists. From 1780 to late 1781, he was keeping tories like Ganey and Barfield busy; which consequently freed Marion to take care of more pressing matters elsewhere in the state. One biographer describes him as a man of daring and reckless courage, but who was of "violent passion" and had a quick temper. See GHC pp. 354-355.

Col. Charles Myddleton (also Mydleton), from Orangeburg County, *Sumter's brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*
Myddleton was one of the original leaders of Sumter's brigade. He appears to have been a relatively more cultivated individual than his associates, and often acted as Sumter's staff officer. In mid summer of 1781, he was ambushed and received a sore drubbing by Coffin's cavalry in what McCrady has labeled "Myddleton's Ambuscade."

Col. Andrew Neale (or Neal, and Neel),[237] *Sumter's brigade*
Neale, one of the more experienced of the militia officers who had very early taken arms against the British after the fall of Charleston, was probably the ostensible leader of the whig expedition against Captain Huik -- at least based on pension statements accounts of that action. He was shortly after killed leading one of the assaults on Rocky Mount in late July 1780. He is spoken of by his contemporaries as having been a leader of great promise.[238]

Col. Samuel Tate, from Orangeburg County, *Sumter's brigade*
Tate, was one of Lacey's officers, fought at King's Mountain, and probably took part in most (if not all) of the same battles as Lacey. He became one of Sumter's regimental commanders in the spring of 1781.

Col. Thomas Taylor, from Richland County, *Sumter's brigade*
(37) Another one of Sumter's better lieutenants, Taylor was with the brigade in August and was largely responsible for the successful attacks against the Wateree Ferry in that month. He subsequently served at Fishing Creek, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's, Sumter's "Rounds," the siege of Fort Granby in May 1781, and the Dog Days Expedition. When Sumter placed Taylor's troops in an exposed position at Shubrick's Plantation, Taylor suffered heavy losses. In disgust, he refused to fight the next day, leading the chorus of others in angrily denouncing Sumter's needlessly endangering his men. See GAR1 p. 286n, JTR pp. 536-542.

[235] MSC2 p. 149.
[236] MLL pp. 1, 20. See also SDR p. 29.
[237] His men were described by Tarleton as coming from the districts of the Enoree and Tyger, or else the upper Saluda district, so probably about the closest we can guess is that Neale possibly came from either Union, Laurens, or else Spartanburg County.
[238] Historian Patrick O'Kelley, on the other hand, asserts that "Andrew Neel" died three days after Rocky Mount at Rocky Creek, while it was a Lt. Col. Thomas Neel instead who was killed at Rocky Mount.

Col. Richard Winn, from Fairfield County, *Sumter's brigade*
Previously a Continental officer who had performed service within his home state, Winn was with Sumter from the earliest days of 1780, and as well as being at Huck's Defeat, he fought at Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock (where he was wounded), Fishing Creek, Fish Dam Ford, and Blackstock's. After that, while continuing to serve, he does not seem to have been all that active as a commander in the field. The town of Winnsborough was named after a member of his family. His *Notes*, edited by Samuel C. Williams, are a valuable resource on many of the southern war's battles and military figures. Winn once defeated his old commander for a term in the US House of Representatives. See also SDR pp. 60-61.

Lieut. Col. John Baxter, from Marion County, *Marion's brigade*
A Captain in January 1781, Baxter was one of Marion's cavalry officers, fighting under him in most of the Swamp Fox's 1781 engagements; up until the fighting at Shubrick's Planation when he was so badly wounded he had to leave the service.

Lieut. Col. James Hawthorn, from York County, *Sumter's brigade*
Hawthorn, one of Lacey's officers, fought at Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, Cary's Fort, Fishing Creek, Kings Mountain, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's, and was wounded on Sumter's "Rounds" in February 1781.

Lieut. Col. William Henderson, from Spartanburg County, *Sumter's brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*
Henderson was originally a native of N.C. but who had moved to the Ninety Six area in the early 1770's. As an officer in the 6th South Carolina Regiment, he was present at the siege of Charleston, and there led a gallant and tactically successful sortie. When the city fell, he was made prisoner but by early November he was exchanged. Soon following this, he was at Blackstock's, and took charge of Sumter's brigade following Sumter's being wounded in that action. He appears in the record again in May 1781 at the time of the siege of Ninety Six. When Sumter, under various pressures, resigned temporarily in August 1781, Henderson was put in his place and became commander of the South Carolina State Troops (created largely from Sumter's now much diminished brigade) and lead them with notable competence at Eutaw Springs (and where he was wounded.) Both his letters and the trust Sumter and Greene bestowed on him show Henderson to have been a truly professional soldier with good sense and sound judgment. In 1782 when Sumter had finally and formally resigned, he was promoted to Brigadier General of the state troops.[239]

Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes, from Laurens County, *Sumter's brigade*[240]
Hayes was Col. (later Brig. Gen.) James Williams' chief lieutenant, serving under him at Hanging Rock, Musgrove's Mill, and King's Mountain at which last he succeeded Williams. He also commanded at Blackstock's, Hammond's Store, Williams' Fort, and Cowpens. On 19 November 1781, at his home, "Hayes' Station," he was taken prisoner by Lieut. Col. William Cunningham, who had him killed on the spot for having allegedly violated his parole. See MSC2 pp. 24n-25n.

Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Maham, from Berkeley County, *Marion's brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*
(41) Maham, an officer in the 5th S.C. Regiment, was to be seen as cavalry leader during the British approaches to the city that preceded the siege of Charleston itself. Later in the spring of 1781, he acted with Marion. Boatner disputes that Maham was ever part of Marion's brigade. However, whatever the particulars, Maham served with and alongside Marion's troops enough times to warrant the association. He was an intelligent and much respected officer. The Maham Tower he produced at the siege of Fort Watson in April 1781 became one of the standard methods used by the Americans in their siege approaches -- though credit for its first use evidently goes to someone in Sumter's command at the 19-21 February siege of Fort Granby. Later that year Maham was authorized to raise a corps of State Troops cavalry; which was afterward combined with Peter Horry's unit to form a Continental regiment. He participated in the Dog Days Expedition, Quinby Bridge, and Eutaw Springs and its aftermath. Near the end of 1781, he was taken prisoner and paroled while at his home in St. Stephen's parish, and was not released till the war's culmination. See JTR pp. 286-293.

Lieut. Col. James McCall,[241] *Pickens' brigade*
(39) McCall, as a result of previous ties he had with them fighting Indians and as a Captain in the (Continental) South Carolina Rangers, was closely connected with Clark and Pickens, and often served under or alongside them. Like Clark, he was an extremely active officer, and saw much action in the course of 1780 and early 1781, including being present at Musgrove's Mill, the first siege of Augusta, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's, Long Canes and Cowpens. Sadly, after having survived so many combats, in late April, or the first few days of May 1781, he died of small pox. For more, see JLG1 p. 375n, MSC2 p. 32, and SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp. 11-13, and vol. 3 no. 12, p. 19.

Lieut. Col. James Postell, from Georgetown, *Marion's brigade*
Like his brother, Postell was taken at the surrender of Charleston and paroled. He carried out several raids for Marion and was one his regular subordinates, serving in that brigade's cavalry.

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[239] Henderson was brother of Maj. Pleasant Henderson, of the North Carolina line, and was himself originally from Granville County, N.C. SNC p. 40.
[240] Sumter in a letter to Greene of April 25th, 1781, spoke of Hayes as being part of his brigade, but that is about as much reference as I have come across on this score.
[241] McCall was from the Ninety-Six area; which is about as much as we specifically know. One source says he migrated from Georgia in the early 70's.

Lieut. Col. John Purves (also Purvis), probably from Edgefield County, *Pickens' brigade*

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Roebuck, from Spartanburg County
Roebuck, born in Orange County, Virginia about 1755, was at Hanging Rock, Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain (where he served under James Williams, and after which engagement he was promoted to Lieut. Col.), and Cowpens. He was part of John Thomas Jr.'s regiment which he later came to command. On March 2nd, 1781, at Mud Lick, in Newberry (or else Laurens) County, he led a militia force of 150 militia against some loyalists. There he was wounded, captured, and subsequently taken prisoner to Ninety Six, then to Charleston; till finally he was exchanged in August. He, and his companion officer Lieut. Col. Henry White, are spoken of at length and in a praiseworthy fashion in Rev. James Hodge Saye's *Memoirs of Joseph McJunkin*. See also MSC2 p. 114n.

Lieut. Col. Alexander Swinton, from Georgetown County, *Marion's brigade*
With the initial rank of Major, Swinton appeared as one of Marion's top officers in the spring of 1781, and acted in that capacity till the Dog Days Expedition in July, when he was badly wounded in the fighting at Shubrick's Plantation.

Lieut. Col. John Thomas, Jr., from Spartanburg, *Sumter's brigade*
One of earliest to take to the field after Charleston's surrender, Thomas, from Fairforest Creek,[242] was the only one of Sumter's leaders present at First and Second Cedar Spring, Musgrove's Mill and Cowpens. He scored a minor success at Bush River on May 1, 1781. It is not quite clear in what actions he served with Sumter; though it is likely that he was probably at most of the main engagements in 1780. His being at Cowpens perhaps suggests that, as one of Sumter's lieutenants, he was more independent minded than his fellow officers in that brigade. On the other hand, Cowpens being located in his own area could naturally be considered sufficient justification for his presence in the battle. His mother, Jane Black Thomas, was a spirited woman, who in the summer of 1780 armed with a saber and helped by her two daughters, her son, and a skillful rifleman drove off large band of tories intent on seizing an important cache of ammunition, which was being kept in her home. Also, it has been claimed it was she who gave the whigs warning of the approach of the loyalists prior to First Cedar Spring.[243] His father of the same name, commanded the Spartan "regiment until Charleston fell, soon after which he was taken prisoner by a tory Captain by the name of Sam Brown and confined at Ninety Six and in Charleston until near the close of the war. The said Brown carried off his Negroes and horses."[244]

Maj. Samuel Hammond, from Edgefield County, *Pickens brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*
Hammond, originally from Richmond County, VA.,[245] was another one of those ubiquitous figures in the fighting in the south. He served with Andrew Williamson's Augusta based corps of militia and state troops during the siege of Charleston, and following the fall of that town was one of noble few in Williamson's command who refused to submit to British protection.[246] He then went on to lead men at Second Cedar Spring, Musgrove's Mill (after which he was promoted to Major), King's Mountain (serving under James Williams), Blackstock's, Long Canes, Cowpens (following which he was promoted to Major), Augusta 1781, Ninety Six, and finally Eutaw Springs, where (serving in Henderson and Wade Hampton's cavalry) he was wounded. In Sept. 1781 he was commissioned by Gov. John Rutledge to raise a corps of state troops, and ended the war, says Draper, as a colonel in the cavalry. See WHG pp. 624-628 (which, incidentally, includes an interesting reproduction of a painting of him as a well-groomed Continental or State Troop officer), JTR pp. 149-154, 507-536 and DKM p. 467.

Major John James, from Williamsburg County, *Marion's brigade*
(48) James, who after considering the matter rejected the idea of taking British protection, was one of Marion's earliest subordinates and participated in most of the latter's campaigns and battles, up to and including Eutaw Springs. Says Ramsay, "In the course of this cruel and desultory warfare, Major James was reduced from easy circumstances to poverty. All his movable property was carried off, and every house on his plantation burnt; but he bore up under these misfortunes, and devoted not only his possessions, but his life itself, for the good of his country" -- in vivid contrast to someone like Daniel Horry.[247] James was the father of historian and Marion biographer William Dobein James.

Major Joseph McJunkin, from Union County
(25) McJunkin, who served under Col. Thomas Brandon, participated in quite a number of engagements including Huck's Defeat, Musgrove's Mill, Blackstock's, Hammond's Store, Cowpens, Mudlick Creek, and the siege of Ninety Six. On May 8, 1781, he was taken prisoner while at his father's house, and taken to Ninety Six where he was tried, and then paroled. On leaving to go home with some others on parole, he was taken to Greene, and at

[242] A tributary of the Tyger River.
[243] However, states Joseph Johnson, a Mrs. Dillard, wife of one of the soldiers, and who lived in the vicinity, with Clarke's camp brought the advanced warning, though Mrs. Thomas' was given credit. Johnson out of politeness says it was both. But, evidently, at least as far as First Cedar Spring is concerned, it was Mrs. Dillard. JTR p. 518.
[244] SJM. For more on Thomas and the Thomas family see SCAR vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 15-22.
[245] He only moved with his family to Edgefield county, S.C. in Jan. 1779, and was to have served with the Virginia troops in Charleston, but ended up instead in his uncle LeRoy Hammond's militia regiment in Georgia. JTR p. 507.
[246] Hammond relates this event at some length in his pension statement, saying "he was struck dumb, on finding not more than one officer of the staff, one field officer, and about four or five captains, to oppose an immediate acceptance of the terms stipulated for the militia of the State by the convention of Charlestown." HMP.
[247] David Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, p. 259.

Col. Thomas Brandon's recommendation joined the siege of Ninety Six. After the siege was lifted, however, and still suffering from a wound he incurred at Mudlick, he was permitted to return home. Despite the title and although containing many valuable reminiscences of his own, *The Memoirs of Joseph McJunkin* were actually compiled by his grandson-in-law Rev. James Hodge Saye; who included commentary and other history relating to the war, as well as anecdotes of other participants.

Capt. Shadrack Inman, from Newberry County
Inman was active against the loyalist in Georgia during the fighting in 1779. But he achieved most fame at Musgrove's Mill, where he both devised and carried out the ruse that succeeded in luring the regulars and loyalist militia into an ambush. It was in that battle also that he lost his life.

Capt. John McClure, from Chester County
McClure, along with Col. William Bratton, is one of the first names we come across in the fighting after Charleston. He served in the 3rd SC Regt. from 1775 to 1778, and his militia rangers from New Acquisition were part of Huger's detachment that was routed and scattered at Monck's Corner. He later helped lead the raids at Alexander's (or Beckham's) Old Field and Mobley's Meeting House, and fought at Huck's Defeat and Hanging Rock. It was at Hanging Rock that McClure was mortally wounded. He was taken from there to Charlotte where he died after lingering for two weeks. See JTR pp. 339-346 and SDR pp.38-39.

Capt. William McCottry, from Williamsburg County, *Marion's brigade*
McCottry commanded the main detachment of Marion's riflemen. In the fighting in the swamps he and his men did signal service.

Capt. Rannall McKay (also McCoy, McKoy[248])
(17) McKay (Georgia historian Hugh McCall's spelling but more frequently referred to as McCoy with McCrady insisting on the "McKoy" spelling) was an active partisan, to the British a plunderer, and associate of William Harden's who haunted the Savannah River and its swamps intercepting supplies headed for Augusta. Mention is made of how his wife was tortured while in the hands of the British and which presumably accounts for his more than usual hostility toward them.[249] After successfully ambushing a loyalist detachment at Mathew's Bluff in early April 1781 (or else possibly January 1781), he was himself afterward captured at Wiggins' Hill (early April 1781) and executed by Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown in retaliation for the alleged shooting in captivity of "Lieut. Kemp" of the King's Rangers (it is speculated by Loyalist historian Todd Braisted that "Kemp" may actually have been a John Champ of the New Jersey Volunteers.)

Capt. John Postell, from Georgetown County, *Marion's brigade*
Postell, an officer of considerable experience who had served in the French and Indian War, like his brother James carried out independent raids on behalf of the "swamp fox." In February, with a force of comparable size, he captured a group of 30 soldiers of the King's American Regiment who had fortified themselves in his family's home. Evidently in retaliation, Postell, in March, was taken prisoner while under a flag of truce on the grounds that he had violated his parole. The excuse Postell himself gave was that the British had violated the original parole he had received as one of the Charleston garrison, and as well had seized his property in contravention of his protection. He thereafter remained in captivity for the duration of the war. See MSC2 p. 83n.

Capt. Jacob Rumph, from Orangeburg County
Rumph led a company of militia cavalry, or else mounted infantry from the Orangeburgh area. His command was assailed and scattered at Fork of the Edisto on August 1st, 1781.

Georgia Militia and State Troops

Brig. Gen. John Twiggs, from Richmond County
As colonel, Twiggs headed the Georgians at Fish Dam Ford and Blackstock's. When Sumter was wounded at Blackstock's, he took command of the army and showed himself a capable leader. Rather than being the roving field commander like Clark was, he seems to have spent much of his time acting as a headquarters administrator in Georgia: all as much, if not more, necessary as the state was then without a (non-Royal) government. In August 1781, he was promoted to Brigadier General by the state's re-united civil leaders. See SCAR vol. 3, no. 12, p. 16.

Col. Elijah Clark (also Clarke), from Wilkes County[250]
(47) Though not so well known as Marion, Pickens, or Sumter, Clark deserves accolades as great. It has never ceased to impress this writer how often his name, or those of the men under his command have come up in the

[248] In Scottish, McKay is simply an alternative spelling of McCoy, and are pronounced the same way; hence, "Rannall McCoy" *is* how his name would sound.
[249] See RSC2 pp. 236-238, MMS2 pp. 284-285, MHG pp. 307, 362, 366, MSC1 pp. 610-611, CKR pp. 125-127.
[250] Wilkes County, formerly denoted the "Ceded Lands," (and which name was also used afterward) was named for John Wilkes, a vociferous spokesman in Parliament for American rights, and Free Speech. It occupied a fairly large area, and out of it were subsequently created Elbert, Lincoln, and Oglethorpe counties, with parts also going into Greene, Hart, Madison, McDuffie, Taliaferro and Warren counties. Its central town Washington, named after the General, was established on January 23rd, 1780.

course of putting together this work. The best of the Georgia military leaders, his list of battles include Second Cedar Spring (wounded), Musgrove's Mill, the first siege of Augusta, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's (wounded), Long Canes (wounded), Beattie's Mill, the second siege of Augusta, not to mention a number of encounters with the Indians. He only missed King's Mountain because he was seeing whig families from Georgia safely over the mountains, and Cowpens only because he was severely wounded at Long Canes in December. By November 1781, he was carrying out a war of devastation against the Cherokees in the western part of the state burning at least seven towns in the process. This said, it should be borne in mind that following the fall of Charleston the war in Georgia was usually more savage than elsewhere. Although most histories only seem to mention him incidentally, the people knew Clark, and after the war treated him like a hero.[251] Like Marion, he knew the tactical value of frequently changing his encampment. His wife, Hannah Harrington Clark, in her own way, was as brave and tough as her husband, and has been written about as one of the heroines of the Revolution. For more on Clark, see DKM generally (where there is much material on him), WHG pp. 685-687 and SCAR vol. 4, no. 1, 2,3, p. 38.

Col. John Dooly (also Dooley), from Wilkes County (or Lincoln County which was later formed out of Wilkes County) (40) Dooly was Colonel in the Continental army, and was one of Georgia most prominent officers. But in August 1780, he was, in the presence of his family, murdered by some tories who burst into his home in the dead of the night. On the other side of the coin, loyalist Col. Thomas Brown, in a footnote of his "Reply to Ramsay," says "that he was one of three execrable ruffians who murdered sixty loyalists on ceded lands in their own homes in the course of a week."[252] Much earlier, he and his men had fought alongside Pickens and Clark in the important victory over the loyalists at Kettle Creek, Georgia, in February 1779. For more, see MHG pp. 471-472, SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 30-32.

Col. Benjamin Few, from Richmond County
(36) Few was at Fishdam Ford and Blackstock's. He had seniority over Clark, and commanded the Georgians at Long Canes in December 1780, but exhibited poor leadership in that engagement. For most of the early part of 1781, Few served as a representative for Georgia in Congress. Returning home in late July in 1781, he participated in the re-establishment of the state government.

Lieut. Col. James Jackson, from Chatham County, *State Troops*
(23) Jackson, born in Devonshire, England, served as a lieutenant at Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's, Long Canes and Cowpens. In February he was made Pickens brigade Major when the latter took charge of the western North Carolina militia in the campaign leading up to Guilford Court House. Later he was at the second siege of Augusta. In May 1781, he was made lieutenant colonel while being appointed to raise a regiment of Georgia State Troops. It is unclear, however, what, if any, action this unit saw as recruiting men was difficult due to small pox and the state government's lack of money. In after years, Jackson became both U.S. Senator from and Governor of Georgia. See WHG pp. 219-221.

Maj. William Candler, from Columbia County
Candler was at Clark's attack on Augusta in 1780, commanded Clark's men at Kings Mountain, and also took part in Fish Dam Ford and Blackstock's. Draper says he rose to the rank of colonel, but doesn't give a date.

Maj. John Cunningham, possibly from Wilkes County
Cunningham became the head of Clark's command after Clark was seriously wounded at Long Canes. Following this, he led the Georgians at Cowpens.

Capt. Charles Odingsell, from Chatham County, *Marion's brigade*
Odingsell served with Marion's brigade in late 1780 and early 1781.

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[251] Clark's biographer, Louise Frederick Hays, perhaps deserves the palm for one of the most winning, if embellished, passages in all of American biography: "With his greatest ambition realized in the capture of Augusta and the dethronement of Thomas Brown, Colonel Elijah Clark was in high spirits. Safe and sound, he and John went to the home of friends on the far side of Augusta to find Hannah. With her heart in her throat, she had watched the battle from a distance and recognized Elijah's five-pounder each time it thundered forth. Her joy knew no bounds when she saw her battle toughened husband and son coming. She ran to meet them and as she embraced them she exclaimed: 'Now, Elijah, it's all over. We can go home and live like real people.' The gleam in Elijah's flaming eyes faded as he replied: 'Not yet, Hannah. We cannot be safe as long as these barbarous Indians murder our people.' He explained to her that he had just received a messenger telling him that Colonel Thomas Waters and James Tillet, had collected a band of Tories and Indians and were attacking the forts on the border. He sent Captain George Barber to cover the Forts and dispatch any parties he might meet. Barber carried out his orders well, but now James Tillet with a body of Indians had attacked two small Forts on Broad River near their home. They had murdered eighteen women and children and had taken such women as were able to bear a rapid march into captivity, where they would be compelled to endure the difficulties of a savage life. Elijah dismissed his men for a rest with orders to hold themselves in readiness for a rendezvous at Waters' Fort to make ready for another campaign. As much as Colonel Clark wished to go with General Pickens against Ninety-Six, he could not conscientiously leave since his first concern was for the protection of the Ceded Lands. The Indians must be kept in bounds on the border, and besides he must hang around home as Hannah was fixing to have another baby.
"The House of Commons of North Carolina in recognition of the valiant services of Elijah Clark of Wilkes County, Georgia, voted him a gratuity of thirty thousand dollars. This was concurred in a Resolution by the House." *Hero of Hornet's Nest*, pp. 138-139.
[252] WHG p. 617n.

II. AMERICAN UNITS

This roster does not include the American regiments and detachments that served at the Charleston siege, the Virginia campaign of 1781, and Yorktown. Also, as with the officers, further information about these units and formations can be found within the *Calendar* itself.

The Continental Army

* *Delaware Regiment*
In April 1780, the Delaware Regiment numbered 250 rank and file, or 320 of all ranks, then at Camden (16 August 1780) most were killed or taken, among the latter including the regiment's commanding officer Lieut. Col. David Vaughn. This was followed by Great Savannah (21 August), where a number of those captured were liberated and escaped; so that the net loss ended up being only 70 rank and file. Whereas before Camden the unit had eight companies of 38 men, afterward they had two companies of 96 total, including officers, one under Capt. Robert Kirkwood, and the second under Capt. Peter Jacquett. By the end of October 1780, these were combined with some of the Maryland regiment to form the Maryland Light Infantry Battalion. When this unit was broken up in early February 1781, Kirkwood's company acted as an independent light infantry command; sometimes being coupled with Washington's cavalry to form a legion. Jacquett's company, on the other hand, was informally organized into one of the two Maryland Battalions. While it occasionally received a few replacements, the companies did not normally exceed 80 men. By June 1781, however, the Delaware regiment of the southern army totaled 121 rank and file. Although 85 recruits were sent from the state of Delaware to Washington's army at Yorktown, Greene received no significant number of reinforcements or replacements for the unit until 1782 when it then numbered four companies. These were subsequently integrated into Col. Laurens' Light Infantry Corps on June 13, 1782.[253]

* *Maryland Brigade*
At Camden were present the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Maryland regiments. Following that action their strength was so reduced that in October 1780 what remained following the battle was consolidated (as per orders from Washington)[254] into two battalions or "regiments" -- these were grouped as follows:

~ 1st Maryland Battalion, under Maj. Archibald Anderson:
Made up of the remnants of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th regiments.
~ 2nd Maryland Battalion, under Maj. Henry Hardman:
Made up of remnants of the 2nd, 4th, 6th, regiments, plus Jacquett's Delaware company.

Informally, these battalions were thereafter known at the 1st and 2nd Maryland Regiments (of 1781); though these were designations of convenience and not, on paper, formal regiments as such. The officers, for example, would continue to be listed in official state records according to the regiments they originally belonged to. These two battalions then made up the (new) Maryland Brigade, which was commanded briefly by Brig. Gen. William Smallwood, and then by Col. Otho Williams. Out of a portion of this brigade, in the same month, was formed the Maryland Light Infantry Battalion.[255] This light corps fought at Cowpens, while the remainder of the brigade stayed with Greene and Otho Williams at Hick's Creek on the Peedee. In the early part of 1781 (Jan.-Feb.), as replacements came in to the southern army, the Light Battalion was disbanded. Some sources say it was at this time that the Maryland brigade organized into two regiments. But what seems to have happened was that there may have been a second minor reorganization, and the new recruits were concentrated in the 2nd (defacto) regiment. Following that, despite Greene's pleas, no significant number of troops were sent as reinforcements from Maryland until after Yorktown. In a letter of May 4th, 1781, he wrote President (i.e. Gov.) Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania: "Maryland has given no assistance to this army. Not a recruit joined us from that state, and we are discharging her men daily, their time of service being expired."[256] According to William Johnson, a few recruits from both Maryland and Delaware were occasionally sent on, but the number of rank and file in service at no time exceed about 1312 for the Marylanders (including Jacquett's Delaware company) and Virginians, and 80 for Kirkwood's Delaware company.[257] States historian David Schenck: "Maryland [and Delaware] had early adopted the policy of enlisting for the war, and to that fact may be assigned the splendid heroism of her troops in the South. Virginia and North Carolina only partially adopted this policy, and the Continental line of the latter was now in prison, and the militia of both States being generally called out for six weeks, spent one third of this time in getting to camp and the other two-thirds in calculating the day of their return."[258]

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[253] WDC pp. 351-354, 363, NGP9 p. 224n, JLG1 p. 443.
[254] MLW4A pp. 333-334.
[255] A significant reinforcement from Maryland in the way of a company of Continentals under Capt William Beatty and a Maryland State Regt. under Col. Alexander L. Smith arrived sometime in November 1780 -- the latter unit returned home in January 1781, however, due to a dispute between Greene and Smith concerning rank. See entry for 26 October 1780, Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist to Gates, CNC14 pp. 710-711.
[256] JLG2 p. 88. Gordon: "Greene complains in this letter of the Marylanders -- but they had raised 500 regulars, who might have joined him in April, if proper pains had been taken by the executive power." GHA4 pp. 87-88.
[257] JLG1 p. 443.
[258] SNC p. 272.

** North Carolina Brigade*

In January 1781, steps were taken for the formation of North Carolina Continental regiments to replace those lost at Charleston. At the time there were already a small number of North Carolina Continentals present with Greene's army, but these numbered no more than 30.[259] Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner was appointed by Greene the task of collecting, training and arming the units. However, with Cornwallis' invasion of North Carolina in February the number of recruits coming in were very few. It was not till after Guilford Court House, when the North Carolina assembly passed a law making deserters from the militia at that battle liable to military service, that Sumner was able to obtain the men he needed. In addition, by general exchange of April 1781 between Greene and Cornwallis, many veterans who had been prisoner since the fall of Charleston were released.[260] As they were collected and came in, Sumner formed one detachment at a time; which he then sent on to Greene. The first under Maj. Pinkertham Eaton arrived at Greene's army around the time of Hobkirk's Hill in April 1781. They initially numbered around 200, but due to desertions decreased to about 140, many of the draftees understandably protesting the forced service without being allowed what they felt was a fair hearing. By July, additional detachments had been formed such that in August Sumner was with Greene with a total of 350 men. These were formed into three regiments or battalions: the 1st North Carolina Regiment (of 1781), the 2nd North Carolina Regiment (of 1781), and the 3rd North Carolina Regiment (of 1781.) Not a few of the N.C. leaders officers of 1780 and 1781 were former Continental officers who had seen service in Washington's army -- and it is perhaps the disparity between the quality of the N.C. militia and their Continental brethren that highlighted in Greene's mind the deficiency of the former. Although largely drafted troops, the North Carolina Continentals of 1781 became a very respectable combat formation, fighting bravely and absorbing more losses than any other American unit at the bloodier-than-usual battle of Eutaw Springs.[261]

** Virginia Brigade*[262]

Aside from those taken at Charleston in 1780, the Virginia Continentals presence in the deep south came with Buford's reinforcement which suffered heavy casualties at Waxhaws. What were left were with de Kalb for a brief time, returned to Virginia in July, and came back again to join the southern army after Camden. This group suffered much attrition from desertion, illness, and expired terms of service. Yet by the time Greene came to take charge of the southern army, there were still about 300 left, including remnants of Porterfield's Virginia State Troops. Of this 300 some ended up going home as well, but those that stayed were incorporated into the two newly created Virginia regiments which reinforced the army prior to Guilford Court House. These were John Green's and Samuel Hawes' Virginia regiments (of 1781.) Green's arrived in early January; Hawes' in early March. Initially there was some confusion as to how all the different Virginians were to be organized; which might help account for their lack of cohesion at Guilford Court House. In a letter of April 3rd, to William Davies (also Davis), head of the Virginia Board of War, Greene wrote: "The disagreeable situation of the detachments serving with this army from the State of Virginia, and the complaints of all ranks of officers from their not being Regimented induces me to wish that the first and second Virginia regiments should be immediately formed, and the Officers sent forward without loss of time. While the troops act by detachment and the officers uncertain whether they will command the same men, they will not pay attention to the discipline of the troops which the service requires." It appears to be the case that many of the Virginia Continentals, their tours expired, went home after Guilford. In any case, on April 4th, the Virginians were divided into two equal corps, Green's became the 1st Virginia Regiment (of 1781) and Hawes' the 2nd Virginia Regiment (of 1781.) Shortly after, Lieut. Col. John Green was forced to leave the army for health reasons, and Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell was put in charge of the 1st. Hawes as well later became ill sometime before the end of May, and command of the 2nd was given to Major Smith Snead. On July 19th, Campbell was appointed head of the Virginia brigade, and Capt. Thomas Edmunds took his place commanding the 1st Virginia Regiment. [263]

* 1st Continental Light Dragoons, also 1st Continental Regiment of Cavalry, "Bland's"[264]
* 3rd Continental Light Dragoons, also 3rd Continental Regiment of Cavalry, "Baylor's"
* the Combined 1st and 3rd Continental Cavalry, also Washington's cavalry, and Virginia Cavalry

Commanded by Lieut. Col. Anthony White, the 1st Dragoons fought alongside the 3rd Dragoons, under Lieut. Col. William Washington, during the siege of Charleston.[265] Both managed ultimately to escape the British, but not without having incurred excessive losses beforehand. Gates subsequently had White's regiment remove to

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[259] In *Fortitude & Forbearance: The North Carolina Continental Line at Guilford Courthouse*, (Office of Archives and History of the N.C. Department of Cultural Resources, 2004) authors Lawrence E, Babits and Joshua B. Howard make the case that by Guilford Courthouse there were as many as 100, and which were present at that engagement.

[260] See DNC pp. 28-30.

[261] For some close documentation of the North Carolina Line in 1781, see CNC15 pp. 98, 426-430, 432-435, 438-505, 528-533, 538-542, 590, 597, 599-600, SCAR vo. 3, no. 9, pp. 22-24, and for further SNC and RNC.

[262] Virginia regiments generally were at various times reduced in overall number, recombined, some disbanded; so that the organization of the Virginia line went through considerable fluctuation during the course of the war. And while a given regiment might not be active in reality, it was still in existence on paper; with its originally assigned men sent to serve in the other units where they were more needed. Later however, the regiment might be disbanded (for example in Sept. 1778, the overall number of Virginia regiments were reduced in number), and officers and remaining men (if any) transferred to a new unit (if not discharged.)

[263] NGP8 pp. 44, 55, 330, 410n, NGP9 p. 43.

[264] Dragoons were originally mounted infantrymen. Yet by the time of the 18th century they could be characterized as regular cavalry, yet cavalry armed with typically a carbine and pistol.

[265] The 1st was made up preponderantly of men from Virginia; while the 3rd contained a number from Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Salem, N.C.; while Washington's went to Virginia to recruit and refit; so that neither was at Camden. Washington, however, rejoined Gates at the time of the collecting of the army in September. By December, some of White's men had been added to Washington's corps; which then became the combined 1st and 3rd Continental cavalry. White's dragoons were at Salem as late as January 30; at which time, Greene ordered him to send all who are fit for duty to join him, then collecting around Sherrald's Ford. Greene partially countermanded the order, and directed that those of White's dragoons "who are fit for duty" to be integrated into Washington's unit. So about 10 to 15 of White's dragoons (that is those "fit for duty") subsequently left Salem on February 4th to join Washington. What was left of White's command returned to Virginia (including White himself.) What became known as Washington's ("Virginia") cavalry were then with Greene up till Eutaw Springs. In the course of 1781, Washington occasionally picked up recruits from both North Carolina, and, as well, some from South Carolina. At Eutaw Springs, in an attack on the British flank companies under Marjoribanks, Washington was taken prisoner, and many of his men cattered. This resulted in the corps' temporary disbanding; however, some remnants remained and ostensibly others were recruited as well, for we read (at LMS p. 552) of Col. Baylor himself coming to South Carolina to take command of them in 1781.[266]

Artillery

* 1st Continental Artillery Regiment detachment (Virginia)
This unit was with Gates at Camden, and remained with the army throughout the war in the south. They were formally commanded by Col. Charles Harrison; though in the field itself it was Capt. Anthony Singleton who usually led and directed them.

Partizan Corps[267]

** 1st Partizan Corps, Armand's Legion*
Armand's was at Camden, and although typically derided as having fled the field without fighting Tarleton reports that they "displayed a good countenance" and tried to rally the torrent of routing militia "but were soon borne down by the rapid charge of the legion" (TCS p.108.) In early September, Armand's men were sent to seek provisions and make cantonments in Warren County, N.C. In November 1780, it was reorganized; then in December sent by Greene to Virginia as unfit for duty.[268] Although it wasn't actually disbanded, the legion remained inactive while Armand went to France to seek funds, supplies and other aid. Upon his return in the Spring of 1781, he brought his men back into the field; where they served in Lafayette's Virginia campaign and Yorktown. The unit has been described as being comprised primarily of foreigners, but this is an exaggeration, and while a significant number of European born men did fill the ranks these were rather the exception than the rule.

** 2nd Partizan Corps, Lee's Legion*
At least on paper, the legion consisted of three troops of cavalry commanded by Joseph Eggleston, Ferdinand O'Neal, and James Armstrong, and 3 companies of infantry under Patrick Carnes, Michael Rudulph and George Handy. They joined Greene's army in the first week of January 1781, and remained there into 1782. On May 3, 25 men from the North Carolina Continentals under Maj. Pinkertham Eaton were attached to the Legion infantry, thus raising their strength to 110. On July 28th, 25 from the 1st North Carolina Regt. (of 1781) were also attached. It is not clear if this second group of 25 were the same that had been assigned earlier, or different. As well as reinforcing the Infantry, this joint venture was a good means of training some of the North Carolinians who at that time were draftees from the militia. By Eutaw Springs, the Legion infantry, with the 25 added, were 100 in number. The cavalry averaged a strength of from 60 to 90 rank and file.[269]

** Pulaski's Legion*
Commanded by Maj. Chevalier Pierre-François Vernier, some remnants of the legion were with the American army at the defense of Charleston, and attached to White's and Washington's cavalry. However, Vernier was killed and most of the unit was decimated or dispersed at Monck's Corner on 13 April 1780. Others were taken at the fall of Charleston. Months earlier, in the charge on the Spring Hill Redoubt (in the September 1779 attack on Savannah) Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski himself and many of his cavalry had been killed. Pulaski's was then incorporated into Armand's legion in 1780; though some individual troopers (I have as yet to confirm this myself) may have ended up with William Washingon's corps.[270]

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[266] NGP7 pp. 70n, 119n, 205n, 221, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 15-33. Included with Lee's account of Eutaw springs is a defacto and useful roster of some of Washington's officers at LMS pp. 469-470.
[267] These partizan or partisan units contained one contingent each of infantry and cavalry. Although typically referred to as "Legions," the Partisan corps *technically* differed from a Legion proper (in the Continental army) in that the cavalry or infantry troop of the former numbered 50 privates each; whereas in a Legion the number per troop was 60. Consequently to refer to Lee's of Pulaski's units as "Legions" is formally incorrect. See Wright, *The Continental Army*, pp. 161-162.
[268] Greene to General Washington, from Head-Quarters, High Rock Ford, on Haw River, 28 February, 1781: "I am convinced that Colonel Armand's legion can render no service on its present footing. The officers refuse to go on duty with the men; thirty-eight, out of a detachment of forty men, deserted to the enemy, and the Baron Steuben was obliged to order a number of them to join their regiments, who are prisoners at Charlottesville." See also CNC15 pp. 184-186.
[269] For some uncommon and unusual anecdotal and other information on Lee's Legion, see GAR1, GAR2, SCAR vol. 5 no.1, p. 32, and MSC2 pp. 79-82.
[270] The legion cavalry when under Pulaski were spoken of by one observer as "lancers," see CSS p. 1096.

State Troops

State troops are to be distinguished from Continental regiments; which latter were specifically formed to meet a quota decreed by Congress. The former, by contrast, were formally independent of Congress and answerable only to their state. This difference sometimes was a source of conflict; as when, for example, the Maryland State Regt. left Greene's army in early January 1781 because of a disagreement between Greene and its commander over questions pertaining to military rank. In spite of this, the cooperation between state and Continental units was mostly harmonious and they customariily acted together like friendly allies. Yet the re-formation of state troops in South Carolina in late 1781 marks an interesting development since Continental units could conceivably have been created instead under the commands of Hammond, Horry, and Maham, but were not. Why this wasn't done was no doubt related to South Carolina's pressing need at the time to re-establish her own civil authority. By comparison in unoccupied North Carolina, the leading local military man (i.e. real --- as opposed to Richard Caswell), Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, was a loyal Continental, and who worked with patient and sedulous zeal to re-form that state's Continental battalions, and without him (or William Lee Davidson had he survived) North Carolina might have ended up having more state and militia units (the possible consequences of which, in retrospect, raises an interesting question.)

* *Georgia State Troops*
Although an effort was made to form a command of light horse under Lieut. Col. James Jackson at Augusta, in the summer of 1781, this unit, consisting of 3 companies of cavalry and 2 of infantry, only became operational by October, and was largely made up of former loyalists and British deserters. A plot among some of these men to assassinate Jackson, as the unit lay outside Savannah, was foiled in November. [271]

* *North Carolina State Troops*
There were North Carolina state troops, but these are not always easy to distinguish from militia; the two acted together so regularly: with Davie's mounted troops (of the summer and autumn of 1780), and Malmedy's corps, which operated in the spring of 1781, being perhaps somewhat exceptions. Babits mentions another state unit being at Cowpens. While there is presumably more to be found out and explained about the state troops of North Carolina, unfortunately these too brief marks here will have to suffice. For more see SCAR vol. 3, no. 9, pp. 22.

* *South Carolina State Troops*
Daniel Horry's Regiment of Light Dragoons, formed in 1779, were active in helping to check the British approaches on Charleston in early 1780. However, with the fall of that city, they were captured and disbanded. The regiments Sumter formed in the spring of 1781, in a way, were state troops. But they were established under Sumter's Law. This meant that when Rutledge ended up, in effect, annulling "the Law" in July 1781, the regiments' status as state troops was de facto taken away from them. Those of Sumter's men who served under Pickens at Eutaw Springs then were actually back to being militia. Even so, in August, immediately after Rutledge's proclamation, State Troops proper were formed under Lieut. Col. William Henderson, and consisted of an infantry and a cavalry element numbering about 75 rank and file each. Not a few of the soldiers in this unit came from Mecklenburg and Rowan counties in North Carolina.
In the summer of 1781, two troops of cavalry were raised under Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Maham and Colonel Peter Horry. Maham's corps was present at Quinby Bridge and Eutaw Springs. Horry's troop, on the other hand, was still not quite ready by the time of those engagements.[272] In September, a third was created and commanded by then Lieut. Col. Samuel Hammond, who earlier the same month had been a Major at Eutaw Springs serving in Henderson's S.C. state troops infantry.

* *Virginia State Troops*
The Virginia State Troops under Porterfield, in this case the Virginia Garrison Regiment, came south to assist the besieged Charleston garrison. In spite of this, they arrived too late (probably June) to be of assistance. By early July they had joined De Kalb's army, and later fought in the battle of Camden. A small number survived and some 50 of these were incorporated in to the Virginia line;[273] while the remainder returned to Virginia where they were discharged. By January, 1781, under Col. George Muter, the strength of the organization, which had returned to Virginia, was 174. During 1781 it was united to the remnants of the First and Second state regiments by order of the Governor and the Council. Under an act of Assembly of Jan. 1782, a second consolidation was effected of the remnants of the various state organizations into a legion under Col. Charles Dabney.
The Virginia State Cavalry regiment, under Major John Nelson, was ordered south in 1780 to join Gates' army. One source reports it to have been at Camden (16 August 1780); yet more likely it was absent as was the case with White's and Washington's 1st and 3rd Continental dragoons, and probably for similar reasons, i.e. lack of supplies and equipment. When Greene came to take command in December, he sent them back to Virginia as not fit for duty.[274] They appeared, however, in Lafayette's 1781 campaign in Virginia and were present at

[271] Jackson depended on the skill and industry of his men in equipping his legion, and they made even their own swords, as well as other parts of their cavalry accoutrements and uniforms (which were jackets.) JHG pp. 496-498.
[272] In a letter to Col. Peter Horry of 17 Sept. 1781, Marion writes: "It is true Col. Mayham had sixty Dragoons out, elegantly mounted and well clothed and armed; in ten days hence he will have twenty more fit for the field." GDH2 p. 168. When they had them, S.C. State troops usually wore blue coats or jackets with red trim or facing; see for example GDH3 pp. 147-148, 196.
[273] SNC p. 184.
[274] CNC15 pp. 184-186.

Yorktown. After that engagement the remnants of the corps appear to have been consolidated with other state troops; which were then together denoted Dabney's legion.
The Virginia State artillery regiment, of Lieut. Col. Elias Edmonds, was raised for the defense of Virginia in 1780. Under the at least the formal command of Col. Thomas Marshall (till possibly Feb. 1781), it participated in a Southern Expedition in April and May 1780. Though apparently not participating at Camden, it was still present in North Carolina when Greene arrived in Dec. 1780, and while there under the supervision of Maj. John Mazaret. After that it appears to have been withdrawn to Virginia presumably due to dearth of supplies and or expiration of enlistments.[275]

[275] FWV pp. 853-854.

III. BRITISH LEADERS[276]

The British Army, Provincials, and Royal Militia

Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, commander-in-chief, *12th Regiment*
(Age in 1780: 50 years old) Among the 19th century historians, there was an inclination to blame Clinton (whom, incidentally, was American born) for the failure of the British effort in 1780-1781, while excusing Cornwallis. In later years, into and in the 20th century, the trend tended to be more impartial -- both men, as well as others (such as those in the government or the navy), were to be faulted. In insisting on a naval station in the Chesapeake at Old Point Comfort in Hampton Roads,[277] Clinton, in a way, forced the Yorktown debacle. Because as soon as Cornwallis found Hampton was unsuitable, his lordship made arrangements to place the station in Yorktown. Yet why was Hampton, or later Yorktown, chosen over Portsmouth? Because, irony of ironies, Portsmouth made for a poor defensive position! Had Cornwallis remained at Portsmouth, he could have had sooner warning of the allies' approach (i.e. it would have taken the allies longer to reach him), and therefore more time to receive reinforcements via the sea, or more time to make his escape. [278] Moreover, the primary reason for a Virginia port was to furnish a berth for the Royal Navy. Clinton himself said that 600 to 800 in Portsmouth would have been sufficient for defending that post as naval station.[279] In other words, if the British were not going on the offensive in Virginia, they ought forthwith to have pulled out entirely, leaving a small garrison in Portsmouth for purposes of serving the navy -- assuming that (or any) station could (given the French presence) be justified to begin with.[280] In his sometimes vacillating between choices, or in his communicating in a confusing manner, one almost senses that Clinton expected the war to take care of itself. Yet with political favortism from home distracting and affecting the direction of a united command, it was difficult for him, or for almost any man in his position, to have done much otherwise.[281] Germain favored Cornwallis,[282] and had Cornwallis been the man of the hour, things would have gone more smoothly for the British. As it was Cornwallis on more than one occasion showed bad judgment at the decisive moment, and it was this that ended up putting Clinton in the lurch. Clinton had far fewer troops than Howe had to do his job, and under the circumstances, he seems, at the very least, to have been adequate to the task. On the other hand, his second proclamation of June 3, 1780, which, in the worst of its effects, denied Carolinians neutrality, did as much damage to the British cause as any American victory could do by arousing much antagonism and resentment. As well, it made it that much more difficult to gain loyalist support among the lukewarm and uncommitted who were simply told they *had* to support the British. For this lapse of policy judgment (a lapse certainly not unique or unprecendented among the British leadership generally, before and during the war), if not failure as a military strategist, he might well be faulted (as much as anyone) for final defeat.
What presumably prompted the voluminous post war controversy between the two generals was a wish to persuade public opinion and history to adopt their own respective interpretations of then recent military history. In this, Clinton seems the more belligerent -- both due that he was mostly right but also in part because people in Britain generally sympathized more with Cornwallis than himself. Yet if Clinton was mostly right, why was he so contentious? There is a peculiar mania to his criticism; such that he so pursues small arguments while making it less possible to separate them from what are the larger and more decisive ones.
In sum, Cornwallis, along with the Admiralty and Germain's Ministry, did, according to Clinton, make most of the pivotal mistakes. But Clinton's belabored criticism of Cornwallis notwithstanding makes Clinton himself look the worse in the disputation; again, only to further render more cloudy and make more indistinguishable his many good arguments from his more minor and trivial ones. Leaving aside whether he should have even invaded North Carolina in February 1781, the most questionable of Cornwallis' judgments was his moving into Virginia without properly securing that state's southern neighbors. His own idea was that by cutting off Virginia from the Carolinas the latter would more easily fall; indeed, he initially felt that the subjugation of Virgina was necessary

[276] A rank in the British Provincials was technically one grade lower than that in the regular British army. So when Rawdon is called a Colonel, in truth he was a Provincial Colonel (of the Volunteers of Ireland), though a Lieutenant Colonel in the regular army. Similarly, Tarleton was a Major in regular army, and a Lieut. Col. of Provincials, as similarly was Patrick Ferguson; though in the latter's case, he is almost always referred to in histories by his British army title (hence his being designated by that rank in his biographical-entry here in our book.)
[277] The contemporary spelling of Hampton Roads is more frequently given as "Hampton road."
[278] Wertenbaker: "The broad Elizabeth River gave the place [Portsmouth] access to the sea, while the Dismal Swamp and Western Branch made it almost impregnable by land." WFK p. 234. For a detailed description of Portsmouth at it appeared at the time to Johann Ewald, see EHJ pp. 274-275, and to Simcoe, SQR pp. 178-181. Nearby Norfolk, as Ewald mentions, had been burnt to ashes and left without a house standing earlier in the war.
[279] Clinton to Maj. Gen. William Phillips, dated New York, April 13, 1781. COC p. 80.
[280] Yet the greatest threat opposing a British naval station in the Chesapeake was the French; and it was understood by a number of higher ranking army and navy officers that unless the British had naval superiority any such post potentially stood in danger of a sea borne attack. Though the British at least already had Charleston and Wilmington at their disposal as southern ports and though presumably aware of the serious risk posed by the French, Clinton, after all, *gambled* on the Chesapeake station notwithstanding. Clinton asserts in his defense on this point that he did not have reason to believe the French would have naval superiority based on assurances he had from German. SCV1 p. 23. Critics of Clinton were rarely satisfied by such arguments; with Royal Governor of New Jersey William Franklin, for instance, characterizing the British Commander in Chief in North America as "...weak, irresolute, unsteady, vain, incapable of forming any plan himself, and too weak or rather too proud and conceited to follow that of another..." WFK p. 247. Henry Lee, as well, viewed Clinton's generalship as commander in chief with skepticism and was inclined to fault him for Cornwallis' debacle in Virginia, see, for example, LMS p. 516.
[281] At one point Clinton reversed his own orders and told Cornwallis to keep troops in Virginia -- but only because of instructions from Germain; therefore while Clinton and Cornwallis were prepared to decrease British forces in Virginia, Germain was not.
[282] SCV1 p. 43n.

towards this end. While subsequent raids and movements by the British in Virginia did draw away reinforcements and seriously end up weakening Greene's army after Guilford Court House, Greene's dilemma, as it turned out, was largely alleviated by the south's robust partisans and militias, and also such who subsequently volunteered or were drafted as Continentals (or as state troops.) Not so much and in a manner Greene felt was desirable, but enough to offset and mitigate the disadvantage brought about by Virginia's own crisis and preoccupation. The advantage then of cutting off Virginia from the Carolinas was in a sense realized and accomplished, yet the overall benefit was relatively small and or far too costly.

Clinton himself did not want to conquer Virginia (at least not until the Carolinas were solidly secure), and thought it too ambitious an undertaking.[283] All he sought, as far as that state went, was a naval station in the Chesapeake, with perhaps some minor interdiction of the supplies going south to Greene's army. Cornwallis was not needed in Virginia to establish the naval station (i.e. not, at any rate, until Lafayette had assembled a major army in Virginia); nor did the Earl settle clearly with Clinton whether or not Virginia should be the primary target for an offensive. In other words, Cornwallis in entering Virginia embarked upon its conquest -- even though if pronounced that way openly to Clinton the latter would (probably) have said it was too risky and problematical a venture.[284]

In the midst of all this the loss of North Carolina seems hardly worth a mention in the generals' controversy. And yet in coming to assume as Cornwallis did that that state was too excessively hostile and irredeemable could be said to have been the defining moment of defeat and the actual beginning of most of the subsequent misapprehensions and muddling of purposes; because it was from there he made the decision to march to and wage war in Virginia.

Cornwallis (with Germain's approval) was doing what he wanted, and Clinton let him do it though without being informed that the complete conquest of Virginia was his intent. For were that not his intent, he had no need really to be in Virginia. And even if Clinton was confused, Cornwallis ought to have made plain with him what the primary aim was supposed to be if he was going to keep so many men with him there.

At last, however, it must be stated in Cornwallis' behalf that by June he'd requested leaving Virginia and returning to Charlestown, but Clinton in his letter of 15 July refused him. Thus it might well be concluded that it was Clinton's fault that Cornwallis remained in Virginia -- the reason for this in turn being that Clinton, on behalf of the Navy, insisted on a naval station in the Chesapeake. Nonetheless, could not this naval objective been accomplished without Cornwallis himself and his main body of troops? Evidently, not with Lafayette in force in the region, and it is perhaps this last then which ultimately compelled Cornwallis' staying put.[285]

Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis, *33^{d} Regiment*

(42) While an outstanding commander on the battlefield, and in many ways likable in his person, Cornwallis' blunders in the course of 1780 and 1781 were far too many and obvious. Here is a list of some (and only *some*) that might be mentioned:

He did not better support his detachments, namely Ferguson's[286] and Tarleton's.

He made Charlotte, a veritable hot bed of rebel activity, his (first) *base of operations* in North Carolina

He let Leslie sit in Camden a full week before the latter moved to bring his reinforcement to the main army.

He arguably missed the opportunity of destroying Morgan after Cowpens.

He waited too late to inform Clinton of his second invasion of North Carolina; undertaking that invasion despite the loss of his light troops at Cowpens (much against Clinton's wishes.)[287]

He allowed Greene time to reinforce his army, rather than continuing on the attack after Weitzel's Mill.

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[283] CAR p. 186, SCV1 pp. 111, 115, TPY p. 19.

[284] AR81 pp. 120-121.

[285] Also had not Lafayette been in Virginia, what, one conjectures, might have transpired if Phillips (and or Arnold) had united with Cornwallis in an attempt to chase again after Greene following Cornwallis' recuperative stay in Wilmington in April 1781? Henry Lee IV similarly observes that had Cornwallis returned to the Carolinas after coming to Virginia this would have then pitted him with 6,000 against Greene with some 2,000, LCC p. 459.

[286] Cornwallis' excuse was that he ordered Tarleton to support Ferguson, but that the latter did not act as promptly as ordered. This seems a somewhat feeble defense since it either shows how little control he was able to exercise over Tarleton, or else fails to explain why he did not have not have some of the legion (or alternatively some other unit) sent out under someone else. After all, he knew Ferguson's force to consist primarily of militia, and given Ramseur's Mill, Huck's Defeat, Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, and Musgrove's Mill, he ought to have known by that time (see for instance Cornwallis to Clinton, 29 Aug. 1780) to have been more sensitive to their safety. His delayed support of Tarleton while perhaps less culpable, nonetheless, seems unnecessarily lethargic given that here was half the American southern army right in his own back yard.

[287] Clinton: "No person can be more ready than I am to admit the difficulties Lord Cornwallis had to struggle with; and I shall always acknowledge that I expected success (notwithstanding) from his Lordship's abilities. I left his Lordship in the Carolinas, with every power, civil and military, which I could give him, to carry on such operations as he should judge most likely to complete their reduction. Where I had hopes of success, I studiously sought to approve without reserve. And, as long as I imagined his Lordship to be in sufficient force, and in other respects prepared and competent to give the experiment of supporting our friends in North Carolina, a fair and solid trial, I certainly approved. But after the unfortunate day of Cowpens, which diminished his Lordship's acting army nearly one fourth; and after he thought proper to destroy great part of his waggons, proviant train, &c. (whereby he was reduced, I fear, to something too like a Tartar move); had it then been possible for him to have consulted me, he would have found that, could I have even consented to his persisting in his march into that province, that consent must have totally rested upon the high opinion I entertained of his Lordship's exertions, and not on any other flattering prospect I had of success." COC pp.5-7 and also CNC15 pp. 239-241. Cornwallis original directives were to pacify South and North Carolina, maintain order in Georgia and the Floridas and then move north and take Virginia. It should be understood then that Clinton originally was not averse to Cornwallis' invading North Carolina. It was only after Cowpens, when Cornwallis had lost his main body of light troops, that he rejected the idea. See also RCO p. 169 and McCrady's comments at MSC2 pp. 92n-93n.

He only learned the inadequacy of attempting to supply his army in North Carolina by way of the Cape Fear River following Guilford Court House and after he reaching Cross Creek. (Should he not rather have known this before even entering the state?)
He failed, when he had a number of opportunities, to destroy Lafayette in Virginia before the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau.[288]
He abandoned his outer defenses at Yorktown; thus depriving himself of extra time which might have saved his army.
The behavior then of Cornwallis is simply puzzling. Was he in some measure uncertain or doubting of the aims and policy of the British war effort? Did he not really care about winning; while tending to believe the cause, militarily speaking, essentially hopeless? Alternatively, was he over-confident? In fairness, his was far from an easy task. All in all, his men were less idealistic about what they were fighting for compared to the Americans; which may have caused him to question his own purpose being there. We see this in his admonitions (almost laments) against plundering and looting prior to Guilford Court House. In battle, the British soldier was most of the time unbeatable, but without the incentive of a cause, and when the battle was drawn out into a campaign, things became much more difficult for him, his officers, and the army he marched with. With relatively few or no local loyalists to give results to his efforts, what was he risking his life for? Cornwallis knew the importance of aiding and getting the support of the loyalists.[289] Yet his inability to accomplish these things adequately was perhaps his most signal failure. Was there, however, really more he could have done than he did? Such a what-if one is hard put to answer; yet with commanders under him like Leslie and O'Hara, as early as late 1780, likely to have demurred in the negative. This much, however, can be said. For most of 1780, there would seem to have been at least as many loyalists, or potential loyalists, as whigs in the southern colonies. Moreover, had events proved more propitious for Cornwallis than hey did, he might conceivably have had at his disposal a militia and or Provincial army larger than Greene's force of Continentals to add to his British regulars: Moore at Ramseur's: 1,200; loyalists with Samuel Bryan: 700; with the Wrights at Shallow Ford: 500; Pyle in the Haw River region: 300; and in southeast N.C. such as were with Fanning and the Highlanders: say, 500 -- for a total of 3,200 (and without taking further into account a corresponding diminution in the number of N.C. whigs had the Briish been more successful.)[290]

Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, *64th Regiment*
(49) Leslie left the army due to illness when it was in Wilmington in May 1781; then returned to Cornwallis in Virginia (along with some reinforcements sent by Clinton) by 29 May; only to then on 25 July once more sail back to New York -- presumably, again, for health reasons.[291] By December, he was in Charleston where he then took charge of the British forces remaining in the south. He had little opportunity to exercise an independent command in 1780-1781; so it is not easy to assess his abilities as a field commander. One wonders how things would have turned out if he had originally been left in charge in the Carolinas, rather than Cornwallis. Perhaps

[288] See in support of this, see Continental officer Col. John Francis Mercer's remarks at HFR pp. 34-39.
[289] Stedman: "The loyalists in North Carolina were originally more numerous than in any of the other colonies: But the misfortunes consequent on premature risings had considerably thinned them [e.g. such as led to the actions at Ramseur's Mill 20 June 1780, Shallow Ford 14 Oct. 1780, Pyle's Defeat 24 Feb. 1781, and Williams, Lee, Pickens and the N.C. militia suppressing them generally in Spring 1781] Some had suffered, others had left the country and joined the king's troops to the southward, and those who remained were becoming cautious from the recollection of past miscarriages. Their spirits may be said to have been broken by repeated persecutions." SAW2 pp. 332-333. For Tarleton's comments respecting Cornwallis' failed, but well meaning, handling of the loyalists, see TCS pp. 89-91, 98.
[290] Cornwallis: "The disaster of the 17th of January [Cowpens] cannot be imputed to any defect in my conduct, as the detachment was certainly superior to the force against which it was sent, and put under the command of an officer of experience and tried abilities. This misfortune, however, did not appear irretrievable; and to have abandoned, without absolute necessity, the plan of the campaign, would have been ruinous and disgraceful: ruinous, by engaging us in a defensive system, the impracticability of which I have already stated; and disgraceful, because the reasons for the undertaking still existed in their full strength, the public faith was pledged to our friends in North Carolina, and I believed my remaining force to be superior to that under the command of General Greene. That this opinion was well founded, the precipitate retreat of that General from North Carolina, and our victory at Guildford, after his return with Virginia reinforcements, are sufficient proofs.
"The unexpected failure of our friends rendered the victory of Guildford of little value. I know that it has been asserted or insinuated that they were not sufficiently tried upon this occasion: But can any dispassionate person believe, that I did not give every encouragement to people of all descriptions to join and assist us, when my own reputation, the safety of the army, and the interests of my country, were so deeply concerned in that junction and assistance? All inducements in my power were made use of without material effect; and every man in the army must have been convinced, that the accounts of our emissaries had greatly exaggerated the number of those who professed friendship for us, as they must have observed, that a very inconsiderable part of them could be prevailed upon to remain with us, or to exert themselves in any form whatever." CAC pp. IV-V.
In further defense of Cornwallis, his biographers, the Wickwires' make the following points:
* Clinton took all the wagons back with him to New York, left Cornwallis with very little cash, thus severely hampering the latter's supply capability and effectiveness in gaining support.
* Clinton did not leave Cornwallis enough men to do his task, and, in addition, poisoned the waters of loyalist sympathy by the harsh terms of his second proclamation.
Wickwire: "In his letter [to his brother the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry] Cornwallis emphasized that he had ordered Ferguson not to engage (which contemporary evidence overwhelmingly supports) and that he had ordered, indeed entreated Tarleton to march to Ferguson's relief." But it was Tarleton's plea for rest which delayed him. WCO p. 229.
Last, it might be contended that the British perhaps ought to have more actively armed and incited the loyalists. However, when early on a few militia regiments turned coat on them, carrying away issued arms and supplies to then be used against the British themselves, Cornwallis understandably was obliged to be more cautious and hesitant when it came to empowering them militarily; and it is this distrust, justified or not on either side, which may perhaps have proved fatal to an increase in the loyalists participation and support.
[291] TCS p. 284, 360, EHJ p. 302, Cornwallis to Clinton, 27 July 1781 at RCC p.109.

he would have stayed put and avoided North Carolina -- something Clinton, no doubt, would have preferred to Cornwallis' (post Cowpens) offensive. See BLO pp. 196-197.

Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost, *60th Regiment*
(57) Prevost distinguished himself in defeating the combined American and French forces in the siege and assault on Savannah in September and October 1779. While in Georgia, he was able to work well with his subordinates and local loyalists, such that when he left in May 1780, his absence was sorely felt.

Brig. Gen. Paston Gould, *30th Regiment*
Gould, while still a Colonel, arrived in Charleston in early June 1781 with 3 regiments, and some additional troops, from Ireland. In doing so, he superseded Balfour as overall commander in the Carolinas and Georgia. He remained inside Charleston, however, until after Eutaw Springs; when he then took command of the army in the field from Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart. In December, Clinton promoted him to Brigadier General.

Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara, *Coldstream Guards (2d Regiment of Guards)*
(40) O'Hara was at the siege of Charleston, Cowan's Ford, Guilford Court House, and Cornwallis' Virginia campaign and Yorktown. At the time of Camden, he was reportedly in Charleston. At Guilford, he was so severely wounded (twice, in the chest and thigh), that "his recovery was long in doubt." He nevertheless did recover, and re-joined Cornwallis' army by summer. After being taken at Yorktown, where he acted on Cornwallis' behalf in handing over the sword of surrender, he was paroled, and then exchanged in February 1782. A man of good sense who understood well the nature of what was going on, he viewed actual chances of British success with some pessimism; due, in part, to disagreement with and lack of confidence in the Minstry's assumptions and expectations. Yet like many others with whom he served, he steadfastly continued to do his duty, and with distinction, even when things became most difficult.
In letter dated Nov. 11, 1780 to the Duke of Grafton (a fellow whig who like O'Hara had sided with the colonists before the war), he, in no small way shrewdly, observed: "If I am not much mistaken, every day confirms me the more, in my old Opinions, that England has not only lost this Counry for ever, but must for ever consider the People of this Continent, as the most invetrerate of her Enemies. I am sensible that this Doctrine will appear very extraordinary, at a time, when England is exulting over Her Triumphs, in the reduction of Charlestown, and the Defeat of general Gates's Army on the 17th. [16th] of August by Lord Cornwallis; the old and fatal delusion must now act with redoubled force, that our success wil enable numerous Friends to exert themselves in the cause of Great Britain -- that the Carolinas are permanently ours, and the Rebellion receiv'd such severe, decisve checks, that this Continent wil very shortly be ours again -- in this Country we do not see these events through such flattering Mediums, on the contrary, we hold our situation are precarious, and much more critical, as we are more materialy vulnerable at this moment, than we have been at any Period during the War." He goes on at some length as to why specificallly this is so -- French intervention, American armies flee at their defeats (i.e. so that their lasting losses, as result, are not so great); true loyalist support was not showing as hoped and counted on.[292] See BLO pp. 91-92, 159-160, 195-196.

Brig. Gen. James Paterson, *63d Regiment*
Paterson came south with Clinton's expedition and served at the siege of Savannah. For a period he acted as commandant of Charleston and its garrison, but by early September had fallen ill. Following this he returned home to England, and Balfour took his place.

Col. Nisbet Balfour (also Nisbit), *23d Regiment*
(36) Initially Balfour was in charge of Ninety Six before Cruger came from Augusta to take his place. Thereafter he was commandant of Charleston, and nominally commanded the British forces in South Carolina and Georgia after Cornwallis' departure (in early Jan. 1781.) When Gould arrived in June to oversee British forces in Carolinas and Georgia, Balfour continued as commandant of Charleston till the city's evacuation on 14 December 1782. A man who had risen from the ranks to high command, Balfour seemed to have taken his task in a matter of fact, routine way. He did no more, nor less, than he had to do. In his correspondence, he sometimes comes across as a detached observer; sometimes amused, gratified, or annoyed by this or that going, but rarely seeming to be actually part of it. In addition, he gained the reputation, deserved or not, among the Charleston prisoners for being a rude and capricious tyrant.[293]

Col. Alured Clarke, *7th Regiment*
(35) Clarke, was part of the Charleston expedition, and in the early part of the siege there led a brigade consisting of the 7th and 23rd regiments. He later commanded the garrison in Savannah after Prevost left in May 1780. In April 1781, he went briefly to reinforce the garrison at St. Augustine, returning to and resuming his place in Savannah by early June; with Savannah itself being evacuated on July 11th, 1782.

Col. Edmund Fanning, *Kings American Regiment*
(43) Fanning, from Surveyor General of lands in North Carolina and founding officer of the King's American Regiment, accompanied Clinton's Charleston expedition. After the city was taken, he returned to New York with Clinton, though some of his regiment was left with Cornwallis. He later returned south with Leslie in October 1780, arriving in Charleston in December. Though his regiment went on to serve in parts of South Carolina and

[292] RCO p. 159.
[293] MMS2 p. 252. For some of Balfour's correspondence while comandant in Charlestown, see BLB.

Georgia, he himself remained within the city's walls till sometime in late 1781, after which he returned to England due to illness. Originally a Yale graduate from Long Island who later moved to Orange County, North Carolina, Fanning was a wealthy man who earlier on had played a prominent part in that state's politics. Yet he was viewed with pronounced detestation by some whigs and a sketch critical of him can be found in CLC pp.114-117.

Col. Francis Lord Rawdon, *Volunteers of Ireland*
(26) Rawdon was only a Lieut. Col. in the British at this time, and was not made a full Colonel until after the war. He was, nonetheless, as regimental commander of the Volunteers of Ireland a full Provincial Colonel.[294] Despite historical appearances, at no time was he head of the British army in South Carolina, and after Cornwallis left that Province technically served under Balfour[295] and then later Paston Gould. He commanded the British left wing at Camden, and later when Cornwallis moved into North Carolina in Jan. 1781, was entrusted with the troops on the South Carolina frontier. This then was how Greene found him in April 1781. Having suffered from bouts of malaria, on Aug. 21st, Rawdon left Charleston for England only to have his ship captured by the French. He himself was not exchanged till 1782. Only 26 years of age in 1780, Rawdon handled his small army in a masterly way in dealing with Greene. His surprise attack at Hobkirk's Hill, while somewhat reckless and, perhaps not worth the losses he suffered, was even so an astounding victory. When the countryside subsequently flamed about him in rebellion, he kept a cool head, and ("Armstrong's" or "Eggleston's capture" excepted) was able to protect his forces, despite being probed and assaulted from all sides by Greene's light detachments and militia. A less sharp and vigilant commander might more easily have been *found out* and incurred disaster. Rawdon, nonetheless, maintained his guard while managing to retain the firm confidence of his men. He may not have been such as to inspire love (he could be pointedly harsh and driving, and there were desertions), but as a commander he was bold and intimidating, and his troops respected him for this. See GAR1 pp. 278-280, GAR2 pp. 114-116 (though Garden, be it understood, is very negative toward him), ACG, LMS pp. 613-620.

Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, *3d Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers*
(39) Allen led his men at the first siege of Augusta, Long Canes, the defense of Ninety Six, and at Eutaw Springs, on all of which occasions he and his unit acquired honor for themselves. See SCAR vo. 3, no. 9, pp. 27-28.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown (also Browne), *King's Rangers*
(30) Early in the war Brown, who had a talent of for sarcasm, had been tarred and feathered by some whig extremists for not supporting the cause of American liberty.[296] He was forced to abandon his estate in Georgia, and fled to East Florida, where he raised a unit called the East Florida Rangers, later known also as the King's Rangers.[297] He and his unit paricipated in the siege of Savannah in 1779, and were in that city when Clinton's invasion force came south. He subsequently occupied Augusta where he became superintendent of Indian affairs; a strategically important position, acting as a go-between with the Creeks, Cherokees on behalf of the British. Both Balfour and Cornwallis feared that both his reputation for violence and his close ties with the Indians, would only inflame rebel sentiment, and for a time considered having him removed from Augusta and replaced with Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen.[298] However, in this they were dissuaded by Cruger. As commander at Augusta, he lost no time in seeking and obtaining revenge against the whigs for the outrages he suffered, and war up along the Savannah thereafter became quite brutal and bitter. Speaking in his defense, his biographer Edward Cashin argues that the wrongs Brown was blamed for were simply the carrying out of orders he received from Cornwallis and Cruger. Brown successfully defended Augusta in the first siege of September 1780. But when, in the spring of 1781, Lee and Pickens came south to join the Georgians, he was forced to surrender. He put up a quite determined and, while it lasted, shrewd defense, but was finally undone by Lee's cannon posted in a Maham tower. He was, even so, shortly after exchanged and served into 1782. After the war, he settled in the Bahamas and wrote an indignant reply to David Ramsay's *History*, which can be found in White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, Volume 2, page 617, (and dated 25 December 1786.) See JLG1 pp. 289-291, LMS pp. 198, 554-555, SLA1 pp. 260-265.

Lieut. Col. George Campbell, *King's American Regiment*
While Edmund Fanning was the regimental head of the King's American Regiment, Campbell actually led them in the field while in the south. He fought some of Marion's men in some skirmishes outside of Georgetown in late 1780 and January 1781. In Lee's and Marion's night raid on Georgetown in late January, he was taken prisoner and paroled. He was exchanged by the time of Hobkirk's Hill, and led his regiment successfully at that victory.

Lieut. Col. James Coates, *19th Regiment*
Coates' 19th Regiment was one of the three that arrived in Charleston in June 1781, and was made up largely of new recruits. In July, despite being the object of an attack by Sumter's, Marion's, and Lee's combined forces, he managed to extricate himself from a ticklish situation at Biggin Church and Quinby Bridge, and fought off the partisans at Shubrick's Plantation; thereby compelling them to withdraw the ensuing day.

[294] He had formed this unit himself out of loyalist volunteers when the British occupied Philadelphia.
[295] Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour, in Charlestown, preceded him on the Army Lists and thus had seniority over Rawdon, who was only a *Provincial* Colonel.
[296] FNA p. 2.
[297] Brown's King's Rangers company had a chaplain -- a somewhat unusual distinction for a regiment.
[298] LSL p. 135.

Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, *1st Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade*
(42) Like the 3rd Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, Cruger's 1st Battalion, Delancey's Brigade fought at the first siege of Augusta, Long Canes (though Cruger himself wasn't present), the siege of Ninety Six and Eutaw Springs. Cruger, a New York loyalist, had *his* most famous moment at the defense of Ninety Six in May and June of 1781. Outnumbered and cut off from contact with British forces elsewhere, he put up a stout and heroic stand against Greene's army. It is very clear, based on some of the smaller sieges that took place in South Carolina, that had a different officer been in charge, Ninety Six might well have fallen. But Cruger was resolute. Short on supplies, then water, he took every possible measure to keep the garrison going until Rawdon arrived with relief. On the regrettable side, it seems rather arrogant of him to have disallowed Greene from burying his dead after the assault on the 18th, and in his Memorial he had the temerity to claim that the American army numbered 4,000[299] at the siege when Greene probably didn't even have half that amount. After leading out the refugees from Ninety Six, he acted as Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart's second in command at Eutaw Springs. See SLA1 pp. 343-346.

Lieut. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, *Volunteers of Ireland*
(28) Though his unit was the Volunteers of Ireland, about mid November 1780, Doyle replaced Turnbull as head of New York Volunteers. Although I have encountered no confirmation of the fact, it seems likely he would have been at the battle of Camden. In February 1781, he led the New York Volunteers as part of the effort to chase down Sumter during the latter's "Rounds." In March, he commanded a triumphant raid of Marion's long inviolable Snow's Island, and in August was sent on an armed expedition to collect rice along the Edisto. At Eutaw Springs it was Maj. Henry Sheridan, not Doyle, who commanded the New York Volunteers. Doyle departed Charleston with Rawdon on 21 August (with whom at sea he was captured by the French); while Maj. Henry Sheridan was left in charge of the Volunteers of Ireland.

Lieut. Col. James Grierson, *King's Rangers*
Grierson was Thomas Brown's stalwart subordinate, and was with him at the defense of Savannah and both sieges of Augusta. He was murdered by an unknown whig assassin shortly after the fall of Fort Cornwallis in June 1781. Lorenzo Sabine, the Loyalist historian, states: "One account is, that, confined in a house with his three children, 'an unknown marksman.' disguised and on horseback, rode rapidly up to the building, dashed into the room in which Grierson was kept, and, without dismounting, shot him dead, then wheeled about, and escaped. Another version is, that he was killed by a well-known Whig, who said that in 1780 Grierson chained his father seventy-eight years of age to a cart, and dragged him forty miles in two days; and that he ordered the driver to apply the whip whenever the old man attempted to rest himself by leaning on the cart."[300]

Lieut. Col. John Hamilton, *Royal North Carolina Regiment*
Having raised the unit himself about the time the war began, Hamilton led the Royal North Carolina Regiment at the sieges of Savannah and Charleston (where he was briefly captured), Camden, the Guilford Court House campaign (though the unit was not present in the actual battle.) He was a native of Norfolk, Virginia (though one source says Halifax.)[301] Lee, who apparently was in some way acquainted with Hamilton before the war, remarks that his "goodness, hospitality, and urbanity had attracted universal esteem."[302] Wheeler records this description: "Dr. G. C. Moore states that he knew Colonel Hamilton, who was for a long time after the war the British consul at Norfolk, Virginia; that he was a short, red faced man, full of gaiety, and fond of high living. He enjoyed the respect of all parties, and was of a generous, kind disposition." And speaks Stedman of: "that valuable partisan, colonel Hamilton, of the North Carolina regiment to whom, perhaps, the British nation owed more than to any other individual loyalist in the British service."[303] Schenck meanwhile makes mention of his honorable character and carefulness in keeping his soldiers from looting and plundering. Yet Cornwallis, on the other hand, apparently did not hold so high or warm an opinion of him, at least militarily, and at one point referred to him as an "obstinate blockhead" -- this evidently due to the role he played in the premature loyalist uprising that resulted in Ramseur's Mill. For more, see LSL p. 127, WRM pp. 213-214, SLA1 p. 511, SNC pp. 273-274, and SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 32-34.

Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes, *South Carolina Royalists*
Innes was at both Savannah 1779 and Charleston 1780. In July, he joined Ferguson's efforts to help enlist and secure the support of the loyalists northeast of Ninety Six. It was in the course of this task that he found himself engaged in the battle of Musgrove's Mill in August, and was there defeated. He himself was badly wounded while leading the attack, and afterward, apparently due to these same injuries, does not seem to have been involved in further fighting.

Lieut. Col. Daniel McGIrtt (also McGirth), *King's Rangers*
McGirtt, from the Camden area and evidently a rather self-willed and temperamental young man, at one time served with the whigs. Yet when in Satilla, Georgia, sometime before 1779, a whig officer of that province sought to confiscate a horse he was especially fond of, McGirtt knocked him flat in the attempt. This caused him to brought up on charges, and he was flogged and imprisoned. Angered at the disgrace and humiliation, he made

[299] Roderick MacKenzie, yet who was not present, gives this same 4,000 figure in his *Strictures*. MST p. 144.
[300] SLA1 p. 500.
[301] Another source says Halifax, Virginia.
[302] LMS p. 412.
[303] SAW2 p. 385.

his escape and joined the loyalists; who gave him a commission. Although we seldom if ever hear of him being involved in any of the more well known engagements, he rode, along with some other mounted loyalists, as a kind of partisan ranger, and gained a notorious reputation (justified or no) among the whigs for murdering and stealing. After the war, he settled with the loyalists in St. Augustine, FL. He and a gang he led reportedly continued their depredations and plundering on some of the inhabitants there; with a militia force subsequently raised to capture or else chase him from the area. Not long after this, he gave up living as an outlaw and returned to Sumter County, S.C. to live with his brother-in-law. [304] See CNS1 pp. 146-149, WHG pp. 289 and SLA2 pp. 64-65.

Lieut. Col. Chapel Norton, *Coldstream Guards* (*2d Regiment of Guards)*
Norton commanded the 1st Guards battalion at Guilford Court House; leading them as well in Cornwallis' Virginia campaign and Yorktown.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Pattinson, *Prince of Wales American Volunteers*
Pattinson (Allaire refers to him as Patterson) served at the siege of Charleston. However, about August 1780 he was placed under arrest for being found (by Rawdon) drunk on duty. He remained in Charleston till June 1781 when he returned to New York, and was subsequently retired on half pay in August. Correctly or incorrectly, Sabine, on the other hand, speaks of him dying at Charleston in December 1782.[305]

Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe, *Queen's Rangers*
Simcoe was present at the siege of Charleston. However (and of course aside from his part acting under Arnold, Phillips, and Cornwallis in Virginia), he deserves inclusion as a biographical entry here for other reasons; inasmuch as his handling of the Queen's Rangers acted as an inspiration and model to both Tarleton and Lee in the forming, training, and use of their own respective corps -- even to the extent of their all having similar green jacketed uniforms. Moreover, Simcoe's *Journal of the Queen's Rangers* was among the very first military memoirs of the Revolutionary War,[306] and seems to have, directly or indirectly, in some measure prompted several which came after him, including Tarleton's and Lee's, and yet which for candor, clarity of expression, and detail of observation is, except for Otho Williams, without peer among such authors.[307] Had the United States lost the war and come to formally and politically reconcile themselves with Britain, it is not improbable that Simcoe would today (and outside of Canada) be lauded as one of America's great national heroes of that period. See LMS pp. 301n-302n.

Lieut. Col. John Small, *84th Regiment*
Small led the 84th Regiment, the "Highland Emigrants," which came south with Leslie in December 1780. Though the incident is itself apocryphal, it is Small incidentally who is depicted as attempting to turn aside the bayonet from Joseph Warren's breast in John Trumbull's painting of Bunker Hill, GAR1 pp. 282-284.

Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart, *3d Regiment*
Stewart, who arrived in Charleston with his own 3rd Regiment in June 1781, commanded the British at Eutaw Springs. He seems to have been inexcusably careless in permitting the rooting party sent out before Eutaw Springs to be so easily surprised and taken by Greene's advance guard. Despite this, in the battle itself, he seems to have exhibited reasonable competence, but not much beyond that. He was wounded in the elbow during the fighting; with his being promoted to full Colonel on May 16th, 1782.

Lieut. Col. James Stuart, *1st Regiment of Guards*
Stuart immediately succeeded O'Hara when the latter was severely injured in the fighting at Guilford Court House, but was himself soon after killed in a melee with the 1st Maryland Regiment.

Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton, *British Legion*
(26) It is perhaps odd to think, but Tarleton was possibly in more battles and skirmishes in the war in the south than any other single individual on either side. Like him or not, for his time, Tarleton really was an innovator. He understood that by taking the attack where the enemy seemed too far away to reach he could bring about a surprise which otherwise appeared impossible. This method was very demanding on both his men and horses, but time and again it worked, that is, until the Americans adjusted their movements accordingly. Henry Lee, a resourceful and intelligent officer in his own right, could not help but imitate the successful approach when he saw it. As well, his deception of Pyle was actually a tactic Tarleton had used a few months early, though without the to be regretted bloody results.[308] While it would to be extravagant to label himself a butcher for what happened at Monck's Corner, Waxhaws, and Fishing Creek (cavalry of that day in general tended to be exuberant with the sabre when and where they could), it would be equally wrong to think that the brutality his men frequently displayed was entirely unrelated to his own character as commanding officer. Yet this said, he would

[304] JTR pp. 172-174.
[305] SLA2 p. 153.
[306] Ethan Allen's *Narrative* (1779) being ostensibly and to my knowledge the actual first.
[307] Simcoe's dedicating himself to recording his wartime experiences so closely and carefully as he did may have originated with instructions given by Maj, Gen. William Phillips; who while in Virginia directed his officers to keep journals, see SQR pp. 192-193. Simcoe also, incidentally is an excellent source for information on Revolutionary War uniforms.
[308] Though it must be noted, and as Lee himself was already well aware, even prior to Tarleton's feat Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe had successfully impersonated Lee's own Legion during a daring and remarkable raid by Simcoe into New Jersey in late Oct. 1779, see LMS pp. 301n-302n.

seem afterward to have largely corrected the problem; insofar as no horror stories are recorded after the time of Guilford Court House: the British Legion in Virginia showing far greater moderation than they had when in South and North Carolina.[309] Although vanquished at Cowpens, Tarleton cannot be blamed too much for not anticipating the extraordinary gathering of men he ended up facing. With David Ramsay's *History of the Revolution of South Carolina* running a very close second, his *Campaigns*, for all the criticisms it has received, much of them justified, is otherwise and, given both its scope and immediacy, the single most valuable book on the War in the South 1780-1781 by a contemporary.[310] See GAR1 pp. 284-288 (as to be expected, Garden in his sketch of Tarleton manifests a decidedly frowning view of him.)

Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, *New York Volunteers*
Turnbull was present at both the defense of Savannah and the siege of Charleston. In a letter of June 30th, 1780, Cornwallis credited him and his troops with putting down what Cornwallis thought was the last resistance in South Carolina. He later defeated Sumter at Rocky Mount in late July 1780. By November, he had come down with malaria and requested leave to go home; which was granted though by at least April 1782 he had rejoined them.

Lieut. Col. John Watson (formally John Watson Tadwell Watson), *3d Regiment of Guards (Scots Guards)*, and *Provincial Light Infantry Battalion*
(32) Watson commanded the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion, which came south with Leslie. When Leslie marched on to join Cornwallis in Dec. 1780, Watson remained to construct the fort named in his honor. He subsequently engaged in a series of running engagements with Marion, in which, for the most part, he was bested. Watson was a good officer, but attempting to fight Marion in the swamps turned out to be as futile for him as for all the rest who had tried. He became the center of attention in April 1781 when the question being asked was whether his corps would be able to evade Lee, Marion and Greene and make it into Camden. As it turned out, the swamp fox, on that occasion, was outfoxed and Watson succeeded in reaching Rawdon. He left Charleston for New York by July, and was later was part of Clinton's abortive flotilla sent to rescue Cornwallis at Yorktown.[311] William Dobein James, Marion's biographer, speaks respectfully of him both as a adroit partisan and humane officer, JFM pp. 46-47.

Lieut. Col. James Webster, *33d Regiment*
(40) Webster, a Scotsman by birth, led detachments of the army at Charleston, Monck's Corner, Lenud's Ferry, Camden, Weitzel's Mill, and Guilford Court House, and each time victoriously. With a reputation for demanding strictest discipline of his men, he was both liked and revered by his soldiers and fellow officers, and respected by his foes. Mortally wounded at Guilford Court House, he died a few days later on the road to Cross Creek. Stedman writes of him: "Cool, determined, vigilant, and active in action, an officer of great experience and observation as well as bravery and rigid discipline."[312] See LMS pp. 292-293, GAR1 pp. 280-282.

Maj. Thomas Barclay, *Loyal American Volunteers*, and *Provincial Light Infantry Battalion*
(27) After Watson left to go home in July 1781, Barclay was left in command of the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion. He himself departed Charleston, probably in August, and like Rawdon was captured at sea by the French and was being held prisoner by them in September 1781. He may actually have been taken with Rawdon,

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[309] Lee explains this as being the result of the death of the bugler Gillies and circumstances following it. LMS p. 242-243.
[310] Physician Ramsay's book in a number of respects is superior to Tarleton's, in that (and this is also true of Stedman's *History*) he analyzes political, moral, and psychological aspects of the war, and does so with a perspicacity that is actually somewhat surprising to a modern reader; who otherwise perhaps expects only a reproduction of the *Annual Register* interspersed with eulogims in tribute to how well the American soldiers fought. Yet for purposes of providing military information and references, and it is these which we are here, after all, most concerned with, Tarleton's work is generally more useful -- though, admittedly, far from being always reliable in its factual particulars. Rawdon, in a letter to Colonel McMahon, Donington, 19 Jan. 1801, writes: "Tarleton's narrative is here. He has so strangely disjointed facts which bore important relation to each other, & has so singularly miscomprehended points with which he ought naturally to have been acquainted, that his exposition of the chain of events is as incorrect as his specific accounts of many of the actions. I could, therefore, little aid my memory by recurrence to that book." ACG p. 193. One also needs to be careful using the letters and documents Tarleton includes as they are sometimes paraphrases or else heavily edited extracts, though this is less a fault peculiar to Tarleton, and rather something typical of contemporary histories of that day.
For two contemporary and at length reviews of Tarleton's *Campaigns*; and which with minor qualification, tend to be rather negative; with one characterizing him as a mere adventurer (rather than a serious soldier), and both accusing him of too much self-promotion in his book, see *The Critical Review, or the Annals of Literature*, Vol. 63, for Jan. 1787, pp. 346-352, and *The English Review*, vol. X, Dec. 1787, pp. 403-410; bearing in mind that much of this resentment probably stems in nosmall part from his bold and blunt criticisms of Cornwallis. For MacKenzie's *Strictures on Tarleton's Campaigns* reviewed in the same volume of *The English Review*, see pp. 410-418.
[311] See SCAR vol. 4, no 4,5,6, pp. 47, 55 (at which page starts the full text of his "Narrative" transcribed and edited by Don Gara), 61. At one time Watson acted as an aide to Clinton, and possibly for this reason he was disliked by Cornwallis who called him "that plague." Tarleton similarly did not get along well with him; yet in addition, it might be said (based on his "Narrative" and other circumstantial evidence) that he perhaps was at times, if not an un-forthright equivocator, an at least an affected and too careful an apologist of himself when seeking others' favor or good opinion. Rather then candidly speak what would seem to be his mind, he seems more often inclined to adopt artificial expressions and, to some extent, obsequious politeness evidently calculated to impress or make himself pleasing to his listener or reader. Such at least is my own impression reading his "Narrative." As a leader of a detachment doing his duty, on the other hand, I have as yet to learn anything notably bad or deficient in him, and his Feb. and March 1781 parlays (found in GDH2) with Marion are interesting for his insistence on fair dealing and reasonableness on the part of both sides.
[312] SAW2 p. 234.

but this is not clear. As captive, Barclay happened to be present on board one of the French ships engaged in the Second Battle of the Capes, and was witness to that action.

Maj. John Carden, *Prince of Wales American Volunteers*
After Pattinson was removed from command of the Prince of Wales Regiment for being drunk on duty at Hanging Rock (29 July 1781), Carden was appointed in his place. The latter led the British forces at Hanging Rock in August 1780, and he was badly wounded there. Carden does not subsequently appear to have participated in further fighting in the south.

Maj. Charles Cochrane, *British Legion Infantry*
(31) Cochrane commanded the British Legion infantry while in the south, including at Monck's Corner and Waxhaws. On June 1st, 1780, he obtained permission to return to England on personal business. He later returned to New York. While acting as an emissary from Clinton, on 17 October 1781, he was killed by a cannon ball at Yorktown.

Maj. John Coffin, *New York Volunteers*
(29) Coffin, originally from Boston, had been present at both Briar Creek in 1779 and Camden in 1780. Then in November and December. 1780, he was seen operating out of Camden and in Santee area with a mounted unit, of initially about 30, then later 140 men, of the New York Volunteers. Then, no later than early April 1781, he fielded a unit of dragoons created out of the New York Volunteers and S.C. Royalists Regiment, which he led at Hobkirk's Hill. It was in Rawdon's report of Hobkirk's Hill that we find the latter referring to him as Major, but at Eutaw Springs he was only Brevet Major and not full Major till December 25th, 1782. Though himself thwarted a few times, Coffin was a very capable cavalry leader, his most notable victory in the south being "Myddleton's Ambuscade," as well as his checking the cavalry of Lee's Legion at Eutaw Springs.[313] See SLA1 pp. 324-326 and *Memoir of General John Coffin* by Henry Edward Coffin.[314]

Maj. James Henry Craig, *82d Regiment*
(32) Craig came south with Leslie, and led the British expedition against Wilmington. While relatively little attention has been paid to his efforts there, Craig, and later David Fanning with him, carried out an enterprising little war of his own from out the North Carolina seaport. For a time, he kept much of the North Carolina militia in the eastern part of the state busy trying to keep him contained. At one point, he marched seventy-five miles up the coastal interior to New Bern, and carried out a successful raid on that town. A member of Craig's staff penned this description: "Sir James Craig was a man who had made his way by varied and meritorious services to a high position in our army. He had improved a naturally quick and clear understanding by study, and he had a practical and intimate acquaintance with every branch of his profession. In person he was very short, broad, and muscular, a pocket Hercules, but with sharp, neat features, as if chiselled in ivory. Not popular, he was hot, peremptory, and pompous, yet extremely beloved by those whom he allowed to live in intimacy with him; clever, generous to a fault, and a warm and unflinching friend to those whom he liked."[315]

Maj. Thomas Dawson, *3d Regiment*
Dawson led the 3d Regiment, "the Buffs," at Eutaw Springs.

Maj. John Doyle, *Volunteers of Ireland*
(30) Brother of Welbore Doyle, John had earlier been a lieutenant in the 49th Regiment. He was Brigade Major of the Volunteers of Ireland at Hobkirk's Hill, and later acted as Adjutant-General to Rawdon, Stewart and Gould.

Maj. James Dunlop (also Dunlap), *Queen's Rangers*, and *Ferguson's Corps*
Dunlop was one of Ferguson's officers, and assisted Ferguson in training and leading the loyalist militia in the Ninety Six and surrounding areas. He fought at McDowell's Camp (or Earle's Ford) and Prince's Fort in July 1780, and later also at Second Cedar Springs. On September 12th, he was wounded at Cane Creek. By December, having sufficiently recovered, he was given temporary command of a militia corps of mounted infantry and cavalry based at Ninety Six. Then on 23 March, he was defeated and himself captured by Elijah Clark at Beattie's Mill. A few days later, while prisoner in Gilbertown, he, like Grierson, was murdered by a guard, or someone connected with those guarding him, with the motive ostensibly being one of revenge. His mounted militia corps was

[313] Regarding Coffin versus the legion at Eutaw, see GDH3 p. 151 (and CSS p. 1190), LMS pp. 463-475, JLG2 pp. 234-235, LCC pp. 469-482, and NGP9 pp. 335n-336n. What apparently transpired was that Greene ordered Lee's cavalry to support Col. Washington against Marjoribanks. Lee himself being absent with his infantry, Greene's aide, Cap. Nathaniel Pendleton, gave the order to Eggleston (who was with the legion cavalry) instead. Eggleston's assistance proved of little help to Washingon's mismanaged and abortive attack, while at the same it placed the legion cavalry on Greene's left. When then, with Stewart's center reeling, the moment of truth arrived to charge Coffin on the right -- and which many strongly believed might have won for Greene the day -- Eggleston arrived too late and Coffin withdrew in safety, thus saving Stewart the battle. The blame in retrospect therefore seems to have been Greene's for sending the legion cavalry to aid Washingon, and or the attempt to dislodge Marjoribanks that prompted that ill advised order.

[314] Sabine: "He [Coffin] was fond of talking with citizens of the United States of the Revolution, and of the prominent Whigs of his native State. 'Samuel Adams used to tell me,' said he, 'Coffin, you must not leave us; we shall have warm work, and want you. The battle of Breed's Hill was regarded by General Coffin as the event which controlled everything that followed. " You could not have succeeded without it,' he frequently said to his American friends, 'for something was indispensable in the then state of parties, to fix men somewhere, and to show the planters at the South, that Northern people were really in earnest, and could and would fight. That, that did the business for you.'" SLA1 p. 325.

[315] GCS p. 44.

formally disbanded in July 1781; with some of its members going on to serve under William Cunningham. See DKM pp. 156-164.

Maj. Patrick Ferguson,[316] *71st Regiment*, and *Loyal American Volunteers*
(36) Much has been written about Ferguson, yet in many ways he remains an odd and elusive character. He had his own independent way of seeing things, and took the British cause (against the rebels) more to heart than most others who were simply doing their duty. While this in its way made him admirable, it also seems to have isolated him from some of his fellow officers. That he was most often spoken of as Major is perhaps significan because as a commander of provincials he was also a Lieutenant Colonel; so that by preferring his lower British Army rank he arguably and to his credit was trying to get the loyalists under him to see themselves as *British army* (and not mere provincials.) In a poetical sense and in retrospect, his death at King's Mountain symbolized the end of the loyalist military effort in America: a courageous and charming, yet rather proud and impetuous, commander leading his men headlong to their doom. Ironically, the reason for his defeat was that his men relied on bayonets against rifles. On normal more flat terrain this exchange could well have proven efficacious for the British. But on rugged King's Mountain the reverse proved true. The Scottish major was very personable toward the loyalists, a quality that both astonished and endeared him to them; though the whigs he is said to have pillaged and plundered savagely.[317] Robert Gray: "Had Major Ferguson lived, the Militia would have been completely formed. He possessed all the talents & ambition necessary to accomplish that purpose & set out exactly in that line, he therefore would have achieved with the inhabitants of the country what the other British officers can only effect with important [regular] soldiers. The want of a man of his genius was soon severely felt & if ever another is found to supply his place he will go great lengths towards turning the scale of the war in our favor."[318] See AR81 pp. 51-53 and DKM pp. 48-67.

Maj. Thomas Fraser, *New York Volunteers*, and *South Carolina Royalists*
Born in Scotland, Fraser had been a Virginia merchant before the war.[319] Just before Camden, he was made a Captain in the New York Volunteers, but almost immediately became a Major in the South Carolina Royalists. He was present at both Musgrove's Mill and at Hobkirk's Hill. Later in the summer of 1781, Fraser led a corps of South Carolina Royalists mounted as cavalry, with which he both rescued Andrew Williamson and captured Isaac Hayne. He was defeated by Marion at Parker's Ferry in August 1781, and afterward served with Coates at the time of Sumter's Dog Days Expedition.

Maj. George Hanger, *British Legion*
(29) During the siege of Charleston, Hanger commanded a company of German chausseurs (or light infantry) having been been appointed a captain in the Hessian jager corps by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in February 1776. His unit was involved in scouting the rebel defenses, and he was permitted to personally suggest to Clinton the best means of approach. After the siege ended, his chausseurs (without him) returned to New York with Clinton, and, at his request, he was transferred to the British Legion. By early August 1780 was made a Major in that corps' cavalry. He ably led a detachment of Tarleton's horsemen at Camden, but the Legion under his command received a rude check at Charlotte on 26 September. Boatner says he was also at Davie's raid on Wahab's Plantation at few days before the action at Charlotte, but I have not seen this confirmed elsewhere. He subsequently became very ill with malaria and returned an an invalid to Charleston, only rejoining his unit following Yorktown.

Maj. John Marjoribanks,[320] *19th Regiment*
(23) Marjoribanks with the flank companies of the 3d, 19th, and 30th, joined Rawdon's march to relieve Ninety Six; and possibly was present at Quinby Bridge and Shubrick's. He led the flank companies with surpassing valor and distinction at Eutaw Springs; where he was mortally wounded. After the battle, Marjoribanks was removed to a not too distant home where he died on 27 October 1781.[321] In addition to mentioning how his timely intervention saved William Washington's life at Eutaw Springs, Garden states: "This distinguished officer is still spoken of in St. John's with great respect. He was the foe to oppression, and guarding of the unfortunate. He suffered no severities within the reach of his command; nor withheld his beneficence where the power appeared of doing good, even from the families of his most decided opponents." [322]

Maj. Andrew Maxwell, *Prince of Wales American Volunteers*
In January 1781, Maxwell, a native of Maryland, was sent to establish the post of Fort Granby. For a time, his garrison was supplied by Wade Hampton who owned a nearby store. Hampton, aware of the diminishing of the fort's supply, informed Sumter of Maxwell's vulnerability. Sumter then in February, briefly laid siege to the post, but was driven off by a relief column sent from Camden before he had a chance to take it. In early May, Sumter returned again to attack Granby, and when he decided to move on further (and in addition) to Orangeburgh, he left a detachment under Col. Thomas Taylor to maintain the siege at Granby. On May 15th, Lee and Marion came on the scene with cannon and persuaded Maxwell's surrender. It was said he could have held out much longer, but was more concerned with saving his personal property. It was this personal agenda, it was

[316] Ferguson was also a Lieutenant Colonel in the Loyal American Volunteers.
[317] DKM pp. 72-73.
[318] GWC p. 144.
[319] Lambert speaks of him as being from New Jersey. LSL p. 151.
[320] McCrady states that the name is pronounced "Marshbanks."
[321] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, p. 161.
[322] GAR1 p. 71n.

believed, brought about the swift capitulation of the post. Maxwell and his officers, being able to retain their private belongings (which reportedly included some plunder), were then paroled along with the rest of the Granby garrison to Charleston. See LMS p. 350 and SLA2 pp. 52-53.

Maj. Archibald McArthur (sometimes given as MacArthur) *71st Regiment*
In June 1780, McArthur was assigned with the 71st Regiment to Cheraws; which became one of the British forward outposts in South Carolina. When Gates' army advanced in July, McArthur fell back to Lynches River, and after that to Little Lynches River. Later at the time of Cornwallis' move north to attack Gates (in early August), he was put in charge of the garrison at Camden. At Cowpens, he led the 1st Battalion of the 71st, and was among those captured. He was exchanged by May 1781, and thereafter (rather than rejoin the remainder of his regiment and which was then with Cornwallis) commanded a mixed corps comprised up small detachments and invalids, which assisted Watson in his drive to get to Camden to reinforce Rawdon. Both fellow and enemy commanders viewed him as a sound and worthy officer who had a good sense of what needed to be done, including some who criticized Tarleton for not having sought his advice at Cowpens.

Maj. Robert McLeroth (also M'Ilraith or McIlraith), *64th Regiment*
McLeroth led the 64th in the Santee Camden area in November and December 1780. It was he who used the ruse of a duel to evade Marion at Halfway Swamp. Despite his cleverness in that encounter, McLeroth was thought to have been too timid in dealing with Marion. After receiving permission to return to Charleston from Rawdon, he, reportedly, was later cashiered. William Dobein James describes him as among the most restrained and humane of the British officers towards civilians and cites this as the reason for his dismissal (apparently by Balfour and or Rawdon.)[323]

Maj. James Montcrief (also Moncrief, and Moncrieffe), Engineer
Montcrief, originally a New York state resident, was the chief engineer in charge of both the defense of Savannah, the siege of Charleston, the fortifying of Georgetown, and later the reconstruction of Charleston's defenses. He also acted as one of Cornwallis' commissioners of captures. Although praised by Stedman for his abilities, Ewald speaks disparagingly, albeit amusingly, of his skill and manner of carrying on a siege. For more see, SAW2 pp. 187-188, GAR1 pp. 268-269, SLA2 pp. 86-87.

Maj. Timothy Newmarsh, *7th Regiment*
Newmarsh led the 7th at Cowpens, was wounded there and taken prisoner.

Maj. Henry Sheridan, *New York Volunteers*
Sheridan commanded the New York Volunteers battalion at Eutaw Springs.

Major Charles Stewart, *63d Regiment*
Charles Stewart is apparently the "Major Stewart" mentioned in (Alexander) Stewart's after-action report of Eutaw Springs, and presumably commanded the 63d Regiment at that engagement.

Maj. James Wemyss, *63d Regiment*
(32) Although only a major, Wemyss (pronounced "Weems") was the acting commander of the 63d Regiment since it's Lieut. Col., Patterson, was serving as a General Officer in America. Wemyss led the mounted 63d on raids burning homes and confiscating munitions and other property from suspected rebels in the Williamsburg area of South Carolina (i.e. north of the Santee) in late August and early September 1780. In November, he mounted an abortive attack on Sumter at Fish Dam Ford in November 1780. Badly wounded in his arm and knee in that encounter, he was taken prisoner, but immediately paroled; Sumter apparently thinking it more practical and more politic to let him go then risking him to whig retribution for his house burning. Wemyss then retired to Charleston, his injuries preventing him from serving further in the southern campaign. In the 1790's, he and his wife emigrated to New York state, where he lived until about 1833 when he died at the age of 85, and was buried in Huntington, Long island.

Maj. James Wright, Jr. *Georgia Loyalists*
Wright held a commission in the King's Rangers and served at the defense of Savannah in 1779. After the fall of Charleston he endeavored to recruit men from among the rebel prisoners, along with Brown and some others, and for this he was censured. His father of the same name was Royal Governor of Georgia. Wright senior attempted to restore civil control of the government in Georgia, but was refused this by the British. Moreover, it was Col. Alured Clarke, rather than himself, who controlled matters in that region. Nevertheless, Wright Sr. remained very active attempting to raise troops and administer affairs where he could. Regarding both himself and his father, see WHG pp. 186-196, SLA2 pp. 457-459.

Capt. Archibald Campbell, *Georgia Light Dragoons, South Carolina Light Dragoons* (as of Spring 1781)
Although he participated in a number of small actions and skirmishes (including the capture of Isaac Hayne in which he and his men figured decisively), Campbell is more a well-known figure of anecdotal history than of military prominence, and which mostly centered around his antics as a Charleston social figure. One story relates how he forced a clergyman at gunpoint to marry him to a woman he was courting. After being unhorsed

[323] JFM p. 40, MSC1 p. 102n.

and taken in the battle of Videau's Bridge, 2 January 1782, outside Charleston, he attempted to escape, but was shot in the process and killed.[324]

Capt. David Campbell, *64th Regiment*
It is somewhat ironic that although David Campbell's name does not come up in the usual histories, Alexander Garden took the trouble to write a warm and effusive sketch of this officer, distinguished for his gallantry and kindess, and who settled in South Carolina after the war, see GAR2 pp. 109-111.

Capt. Robert Campbell, *84th Regiment*
Campbell commanded the detachment of the 84th Regiment at Eutaw Springs,[325] and was wounded there.

Capt. Alexander Chesney, *Loyal American Volunteers*, and *Ferguson's Corps*
(25) Chesney was present at a number of engagments, including King's Mountain and Cowpens, as well as quite a number of skirmishes. With a small mounted detachment of loyalists, he defeated and captured Capt. William Clay Snipes' men at Snipe's Plantation in June 1781. Yet like Allaire, Chesney is best known for his own *Journal*, which in Chesney's case, gives a rare view of the war from the perspective of a *southern* loyalist. See SLA1 p. 310 and GCS pp. 43, 81-82.

Capt. Edward Lord Fitzgerald, *19th Regiment*
Lord Fitzgerald fought at Quinby Bridge and was among those there who, sword in hand, parried with and fended off Lee's Dragoons. Yet following the war and about the time of the French Revolution (which he sympathized with), he became opposed to British authority in Ireland and planned an uprising that subsequently proved a failure. He died of wounds stemming from the ill fated attempt while in prison.

Capt. Christian Huik (also Huck, Houk, and Hook), *British Legion Cavalry*
(32) At one time a Philadelphia attorney who had emigrated from Germany, Huik (usually referred to by historians as Huck) was active in cowing the rebels north of Ninety Six after the fall of Charleston as well as being present at Waxhaws. His detachment, however, was surrounded at Williamson's Plantation on July 12th, 1780, himself killed and his force roundly defeated and scattered (which action later also became known as "Huck's Defeat.") Following his death, command of the British Legion cavalry went to Capt. David Ogelvey. Herein I use the "Huik" spelling based on Turnbull's letter to Cornwallis of July 12th 1780; a signature of his; and contemporaries invariably pronouncing his name as "Hook." For an at length biography, see SDR pp. 215-228.

Capt. Dennis Kelly, *64th Regiment*
Kelly led the 64th Regiment at Eutaw Springs.

Capt. David Ogelvey (also Ogilvie), *British Legion Cavalry*
Formerly a Cornet of the 17th Light Dragoons, Ogelvey replaced Huik after the latter's death, and commanded the British Legion cavalry at Cowpens. He was with Tarleton up to and including Yorktown, while playing a key role in repulsing the Americans at Spencer's Ordinary, 26 June 1781.

Capt. Abraham De Peyster, *King's American Regiment*,[326] and *Ferguson's Corps*
(27) DePeyster, a New York native, was present at Musgrove's Mill, and was Ferguson's second in command at King's Mountain, where he was captured. In February 1781, he was paroled to Charleston and exchanged. See DKM p. 479, SLA1 pp. 372-374 and GCS pp. 45-46.

Capt.-Lieut. James De Peyster, *King's American Regiment*
In February 1781, De Peyster and 28 others surrendered and were taken prisoner by Capt. John Postell and a numerically comparable force of Marion's militia. Notwithstanding this ignominious defeat, we read in Sabine: "His superior officers gave him high 'testimonials of courage, ability, and conduct,' after he closed his military life as a Loyalist. In 1786, he was commissioned as first lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, commanded by his brother-in-law, Colonel James. De Peyster is said to have been one of the handsomest men in the British Army."[327]

Capt. John Rousselet, *British Legion Infantry*
Rousselet succeeded Maj. John Carden commanding the British forces at Hanging Rock when Carden was wounded. He distinguished himself, and retrieved the day, when he fended off two of Sumter's attacks. Rousselet also probably fought at Cowpens, but if so it is not clear whether he was taken prisoner. In any case, in July of 1781, he accepted a lieutenant's commission in the 7th Regiment.

[324] For more, see William Gilmore Simms' *Katherine Walton*, ch. XXXV, and JTR p. 68.
[325] There was also a Capt. Daniel Campbell and a Capt. Neil Campbell in the 84th, but upon looking into the matter the consensus seems to be that the one commanding the detachment at Eutaw was Robert.
[326] Draper says DePeyster was originally in the New York Volunteers, but it was his brother Frederick who actually served in that unit.
[327] SLA1 pp. 374-376.

Capt. Samuel Rowarth (also Roworth), *King's Rangers*
Rowarth served at the defense of Savannah 1779, the first siege of Augusta, and also Fort Galphin, where he led the garrison.

Capt. Samuel Ryerson (also Ryerse), *New Jersey Volunteers*, and *Ferguson's Corps*
(28) Ryerson was one of Ferguson's captains, and though wounded, survived King's Mountain. Although contemporary records speak of him as "Ryerson," "Ryerse" was apparently the version of his name he settled on later in life. See SLA2 pp. 250-251, DKM pp. 479-480, and GCS pp. 49-50

Capt. John Saunders, *Queen's Rangers*
(26) Saunders, originally from Princess Anne County, Virginia, officered the detachment of Queen's Rangers cavalry that came south with Leslie. When Lieut. Col. George Campbell was taken prisoner at Georgetown in January 1781, he was succeeded by Saunders as commandant of that post. Saunders and his men were involved in various skirmishes in and around Georgetown that same year. Simcoe, wrote of him: "It is to be lamented that Captain Saunders did not keep a regular journal, as it would have related a series of gallant and active services, which he performed when in the command at Georgetown, and afterwards at Dorchester, and which strongly characterize in that officer the same boldness and prudence with which he maintained himself with his small party in his native country, where his decisive character had its due weight and superiority." By contrast, one Queen's Ranger, Stephen Jarvis, showed him in a darker light and claimed that at Snipes' Plantation in June 1781, he gratuitously hacked and wounded a prisoner with his saber.[328] SLA2 pp. 256-257.

Lieut. Anthony Allaire, *Loyal American Volunteers,* and *Ferguson's Corps*
(25) Allaire marched under Ferguson before and to King's Mountain, was taken prisoner there, but not long afterward was able to make his escape back to Charleston. He, however, is most famous for the invaluable diary that he kept; which records events ranging from the approaches on Charleston in 1780, up to and including King's Mountain, with many important occurrences referred to or described in between. His (like Henry Nase's Diary of the King's American Regt.) is also a very personal and contemporaneous portrait of a loyalist soldier in the conflict, and at times enlivened by odd and amusing observations and expressions of his opinions.

Lieut. Stephen Guyon, *23^{d} Regiment*
Guyon, with a small detachment of the 23^{d}, repulsed a much larger rebel force at Polk's mill near Charlotte in early October 1780. He survived the Guilford Court House campaign only to be killed at Yorktown.

Lieut. Henry Haldane, Engineer
(30) As well as being an aide to Cornwallis, Haldane acted as engineer for the fortifications at both Camden and Ninety Six.

Lieut. James McKay, *Kings American Regiment, Provincial light infantry*
McKay, described as a brave and able officer, commanded Ft. Watson at its siege in April 1781.

Lieut. John McLeod (pronounced "McCloud"), *Royal Artillery*
(28) McLeod directed Cornwallis' artillery at Camden and Guilford Court House.

Lieut. Donald McPherson, *71st Regiment*
McPherson commanded Fort Motte, when that post was besieged by Marion and Lee in May 1781. He was able to hold out against Marion and Lee until the roof of the house within the fort was set ablaze by launched and hurled incendiaries.

Lieut. John Money, *63^{d} Regiment*
An aide de camp and favorite of Cornwallis, Money led the outnumbered 63^{d} Regiment at Blackstock's in a gallant and auspicious counterattack on Sumter's troops, but was mortally wounded in its execution. He died a few days later. For more on this officer, see SCAR vol. 3, no.1, p. 9.

German

Col. J. C. Koehler, *Regiment von d'Angelleli*
Koehler served as part of the Savannah garrison, and had participated in the defense of that city in October 1779.

Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen, *Regiment von Dittfurth*
Westerhagen commanded the April 17th, 1780 reinforcement to Charleston, which included Lord Rawdon.

Lieut. Col. Friederich von Benning, *Regiment von Huyn*
Benning was with his regiment when it accompanied Clinton's 1779 expedition. He subsequently stayed in Charleston as part of the garrison, and later took part in the action at nearby Parker's Ferry in August 1780.

[328] SQR p. 248, JKH p. 66.

Lieut. Col. Johann Christian de Puis, also given as de Puy and De Buiy, *Regiment von Bose*
De Puis led the von Bose regiment at Guilford Court House, where, fighting alongside the 1st Guards battalion, it performed as well as its dauntless British counterparts. In his after battle dispatch to Germain, Cornwallis wrote: "The Hessian regiment of Bose deserves my warmest praises for its discipline, alacrity, and courage, and does honour to Major Du Buy, who commands it, and who is an officer of superior merit."[329] De Puis himself left Cornwallis' army and returned to New York sometime in August 1781.

Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Porbeck (also Borbeck), *Regiment von Knoblauch*
Porbeck was at the defense of Savannah in October 1779, where he acted at Prevost's second in command. When Col. Alured Clarke became commandant of that post, Porbeck continued as second, and was actually in charge when Clarke temporarily left the city in the spring of 1781.

Capt. Johannes Ewald, *Hesse-Cassel Jägers*
(36) Ewald saw action at the siege of Charleston, the Virginia campaign of 1781, and Yorktown, in all of which, he and his unit distinguished themselves. Simcoe said of him: "I will take care of the left; while Ewald lives the right flank will never be turned."[330] His *Journal*, recommended and lauded by scholars, is a standard source book on the war in the south, both with respect to the siege of Charleston, British operations in Virginia, and Yorktown, as well as being one of the most animated and detailed eyewitness accounts of the war there is available.

Lieut. Friedrich Starckloff
In April 1781, Starckloff was appointed to command a cavalry troop of 60 men composed of soldiers from the three Hessian regiments in Charleston, in which capacity he served till at least late December.

North Carolina Loyalists

Col. Samuel Bryan, from Rowan County, *North Carolina Volunteers*
(59) Like John Moore of Ramseur's Mill, Bryan had received a lieutenant colonelcy in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. When in June 1780, word became known of Moore's gathering at Ramseur's, pressure came down on the loyalists elsewhere in western North Carolina to act also. It was this that prompted Bryan to call out his own men from the north end of Rowan County. He was able to collect some 800, and fearing he might share the same fate as Moore, made a speedy withdrawal to unite with Cornwallis' army -- to Cornwallis' regret for reasons of it's being premature with respect to his lordship's own plans. Out of Bryan's force was subsequently formed the North Carolina Volunteers. Although formally a Provincial Regiment, in terms of training and discipline they were little better -- if at all better -- than militia. They were present at Hanging Rock, Camden, Wahab's Plantation, and the Guilford Court House campaign, and eventually ended up in Wilmington when Cornwallis came there in April 1781. Of the two actions they are known to have actually "fought" at (Hanging Rock and Wahab's) their performance was very poor, being scattered or slain in both instances. How much this reflected on Bryan himself, however, is hard to say. In 1782, he was taken prisoner, and sentenced to death, but which sentence was understandably deemed impolitic and not carried out. Although still viewed with resentment by some, he returned with his family to the Yadkin Valley after the war and was able to settle there peaceably. See SLA1 pp. 272-273.

Col. Faithful Graham
Graham commanded a N.C. militia regiment and which came to Charleston with Major Craig, on his return, in Dec. 1781. What specific locale Graham came from is not clear, but almost certainly it was somewhere in the southeastern portion of the province.

Col. Vezey Husband (also Vesey, and Husbands), Burke County
Draper includes Husband in his description of the battle of King's Mountain. It would seem he both commanded some of the loyalists there, and was killed.

Col. Hector MacNeil, Bladen County
MacNeil, whom Caruthers refers to as "one-eyed Hector," was one of the most well-known and influential of the southeastern North Carolina loyalists, commanding those in the Drowning Creek area. In 1775 he actually held a commission as Continental lieutenant, apparently resigning, like Barfield, due to lack of promotion. We know of him taking the field as a loyalist as early as September. 1780, and from that point on he was regularly active in combating the nearby whigs. Although his name doesn't actually come up that frequently, references to the Drowning Creek loyalists do, and it is reasonable to assume that he was involved in their activities most, if not all, of the time. At some point by at least the late summer of 1781, MacNeil had joined forces with David Fanning, and took part in the capture of Governor Thomas Burke at Hillsborough on September 12th, 1781. He lost his life, however, the next day in the battle at Lindley's Mill. See CNS1 pp. 227-228, JTR p. 571n, MSC2 p. 85 and SNC p. 21.

[329] TCS p. 330.
[330] SQR p. 232, EHJ p. 428n (62).

Col. Archibald McDougald
McDougald, from Cumberland County (the royal militia of which he command), was one of loyalist officers who accompanied Fanning's victorious capture of rebel Gov. Burke, and says Caruthers, succeeded Hector Mc Neil after the latter fell at Lindley's Mill. He was later among the loyalist officers dispersed at Raft Swamp. Like Faithful Graham, although we can't specify which county, it is safe to conclude he llived somewhere in the southeast portion of the state. After the war, he settled in Country Harbour, Nova Scotia.

Col. Ambrose Mills, from Rutherford County[331]
Mills led men at Earle's Ford and Kings Mountain, and was among those condemned and executed at Biggerstaff's. His was considered among the most lamentable deaths there; and by most whig and tory accounts he was an honorable and decent man. Though Mills himself was not responsible for it, historians William Gordon and McCrady make note of the fact that his own death was prompted in retaliation for the hanging of whig Adam Cusack by Maj. James Wemyss. See GHA4 p. 29, DKM pp. 481-482, SNC pp. 123-124, MSC1 p. 748, LCR pp. 235-236.

Col. John Pyle (also Pile, Piles), from Chatham County
(57) and (34) According to Jeffrey G. Bright and Stewart E. Dunaway's fascinating account of "Pyle's Defeat," there were two John Pyles at that event: John, Jr. and John, Sr; the first had been a Regulator, and both formally held rank as colonel and both were veterans of Moore's Creek Bridge, 2 Mar. 1776. John Jr., at first taken for dead at "Pyle's Defeat" by some of the Americans, was maimed there (he lost an eye and two fingers) while acting as immediate commander of the confounded loyalists. However, John, Sr., who happened to be a physician by trade, though apparently present in the vicinity was not involved in what took place and escaped injury by hiding. Both survived capture only to be taken again serving the British cause at Lindley's Mill. In light of John Sr.'s tending to the wounded of both sides after that battle (and which action occurred not far from where they lived), both father and son were paroled three days later by N.C.miliia officer Col. William O'Neal. Following the war, they remained in North Carolina and became United States citizens. For more see BDB.

Lieut. Col. David Fanning, from Randolph County[332]
(25) *Not* to be confused with Edmund Fanning. The two were radically different, both in their persons and backgrounds, and probably not relatives (at least not directly.) Fanning was a rather extraordinary individual, in both good and bad ways, and any brief sketch of him is bound to fall very short of the full man. But we will try our best. From the very early part of the war he acted as a loyalist, and was involved in a number of scrapes, and skirmishes. At one point, he was taken prisoner and made to suffer terribly in captivity (including being shackled naked in the jail at Ninety Six.) Eventually, however, he was pardoned by Gov. John Rutledge in 1779, as part of which, apparently he did a stint in the whig militia. When, however, the British returned to the Ninety Six area in July 1780, he served for a while under loyalist William Cunningham. Following this, with his own independent band of followers, he then acted as a tory partisan in South Carolina. After King's Mountain he removed to Randolph County in North Carolina; where for a few months he was involved in minor raids or skirmishes, often involving the abduction of horses. After the British occupied Wilmington in February 1781, he was elected head of the loyal militia in Randolph and Chatham counties; which election Maj. James Craig validated, commissioning him lieutenant colonel. From that point on into 1782, Fanning was the terror of the rebels in eastern North Carolina, carrying out some of the most incredible raids by a militia leader in the entire war, including the taking of Governor Thomas Burke. Despite his success, Caruthers (in his account of Raft Swamp in October 1781) states that the Scotch loyalists of southeast N.C. would not serve under him -- evidently insisting that they would act only under their own Scotch officers. There is no small irony that Cornwallis received a discouraging and tepid reception when he came to Cross Creek and Wilmington, and yet only three months later Fanning, along with Maj. Craig, transformed the region into a seething cauldron of tory aggression; the like of which was rarely seen in all of the Revolutionary War. Fanning himself has been portrayed as unprincipled, and a malignant freebooter. Even the British, some years after the war almost ended up hanging him. Yet if only a scoundrel and a savage murderer of the helpless,[333] we are hard pressed to understand how he could have been at the same time such a genuinely valiant and resourceful military leader. But then this is part of the puzzle of David Fanning. His *Narrative* (FNA) exhibits wit and intelligence, and, allowing for his primitive literary skills, is one of the prime examples of Revolutionary War autobiographies. Although colored by partisan bias, a useful survey of his life and career also is contained in Caruthers' *Revolutionary Incidents in the Old North State*, see CNS1 pp. 138-244; also GAR1 p. 27, GAM2 pp. 389-400, JTR pp. 569-573, WNC pp. 84-85, WRM p.112, SLA1 pp. 417-418.

Lieut. Col. John Moore,[334] from Lincoln County, *Royal North Carolina Regiment*
(27) Moore was a lieutenant colonel in the Royal North Carolina Regiment, and was second in charge of the loyalists at Kettle Creek in February 1779. Not long after he took command in the south, Cornwallis ordered Moore from Charleston to help organize the loyalists in his home area of Tryon (also Lincoln) County in

[331] Mills is said to have lived near the Green River, which runs through both Rutherford and Polk counties.
[332] Fanning was born in Johnston County, and had lived in Orange and Chatham Counties. He is given here as being from Randolph because this was where, in February 1781, his more significant military activity began.
[333] There are not a few pension statements and reminiscences (including that of James Collins) in which he is emphatically denounced or cursed, accompanied by stories of his cruelty.
[334] (Later "Sir") John Moore (of Corunna), at the time a lieutenant with the 82ndRegt., was serving in America with one of the light companies that (out of Wilmington) accompanied Cornwallis into Virginia in May 1781, but which was removed from the Cheseapeake to New York just prior to Yorktown.

southwestern North Carolina. Unfortunately, he either misunderstood or disobeyed his orders and called out his men prematurely. As a result, he was completely defeated at Ramseur's Mill in June 1780, and the loyalist cause in that region, as a result, utterly vanquished and annihilated. He managed to escape to Camden with about 30 men. Although court-martialed, he was acquitted, probably so as not to offend or frighten other potential loyalist leaders in North Carolina. Afterward he is said to have been with Thomas Waters' Tories at Hammond's Store in Dec. 1780. In an article for the *Political Magazine*, (of London, April 1783), a N.C. Loyalist *reported* that Wade Hampton made him prisoner near the Wateree, and had him hanged.[335] See also SLA2 pp. 100-101.

Col. Duncan Ray, from Anson County
Ray led a regiment of North Carolina militia from Anson county that served at Wilmington throughout most of 1781. He led the defeated loyalist's at Beattie's Bridge in early August 1781, and was one of those routed at Raft Swamp in mid October.

Maj. Nicholas Welch, from Lincoln County
An officer in the Royal North Carolina Regiment also, Welch was second in command to Col. John Moore at Ramseur's Mill. After that action he continued acting as a company commander in his regiment at least into April 1781, and probably later as well.

Col. Gideon Wright, from Forsyth County
Along with his brother Hezekiah, Wright headed the loyalists at the battle of Shallow Ford in mid October 1780, where they were trounced and scattered. Though we don't hear of him being further involved militarily, he is listed on the loyalist payrolls for 1782.[336]

South Carolina Loyalists

Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, from Newberry County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
(39) Cunningham, of Irish heritage, was head of the clan prominent in the prosperous "Dutch" Fork settlement lying between the Broad and Saluda Rivers. He became a lieutenant colonel of the local loyalists in May of 1780 when Ferguson, empowered with bestowing officers commissions to the Loyal Militia, came to Ninety Six; when by mid September, Cornwallis had commissioned him a Brigadier General of the militia, and in lieu of forming a new Provincial corps under his command (as was at first hoped for and intended.)[337] Despite his rank, Cunningham does not seem to have had large bodies of troops under his command at any one time, unless nominally. At Long Canes in December 1780, he needed to appeal to Cruger to obtain the soldiers necessary to face Few and Clark; seeming to imply he could not call out very many men of his own. After that we don't really hear of him involved in any military efforts of consequence. Although there is evidence he was at the siege of Ninety Six, we know this only from a passing remark in a Continental army reconnaissance report. The same report said he left the fort when Rawdon did. For these cumulative reasons, and despite his high rank, he does not appear to have turned out to be a very effective or influential officer; though it must be understood the British formally intended such as Cunningham to be more "conservators of the peace" than military guerillas. Lieut. Col. William Cunningham, who it is said was a allegedly cousin or relation of some sort, was, by contrast, a model of youthful vigor and activity. See SLA1 pp. 346-347 and GCS p. 45.

Col. Elias Ball, from Charleston County
Ball was the nominal commander of the Craven and Berkley County Regiment of Militia.

Col. Robert Ballingall, from Berkeley County
Ballingall was directed by Balfour, in September 1780, to organize and recruit men for the militia from St. George's, St. James', St. Andrews' parishes just north and northwest of Charleston. He was evidently successful in this because by January, Balfour commended him for dispersing the rebels in his area. It was Ballingall who originally persuaded Isaac Hayne to take protection. See SLA1 p. 205.

Col. William Bannatine (also Bannatyne), from Kershaw County
Bannatine commanded the Second Regiment of Camden militia.

Col. James Cary, also Carey, from Kershaw County
Cary, of the Camden District loyal Militia, owned some property on the west side of the Wateree River, within the present day Lugoff community, where he established a redoubt to protect the ferry to Camden. In August 1780, he was attacked there by Sumter's force and taken prisoner. However, at Fishing Creek a few days later, Tarleton came to he and his men's rescue and liberated them. He survived the war and left Charleston with the British. See GCS p. 61 and *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 60n.

[335] Moore is listed on loyalist payrolls as late as June 1781. CLS p. 410.
[336] CLS p. 421.
[337] His starting pay date at that rank is 1 October 1780. See CLS p. 221.

Col. Daniel Clary, from Newberry County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
Before the fall of Charleston, Clary commanded some whig militia from Georgia and served under Andrew Williamson.[338] Thereafter he was one of the heads of the loyalist militia in the Ninety Six region, and took part in Musgrove's Mill. At that battle the rebels seized his horse's bridle to take him prisoner, upon which he exclaimed, "D—n you, don't you know your own officers!" They let him go, and thus managed to get free. He also fought at King's Mountain and survived the battle. After the war, says Draper, he remained in the state and actually became a beloved and respected citizen.

Col. Robert English, from Kershaw County
English led one of the Camden militia regiments.

Col. Joseph Cotton, from Edgefield County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
Cotton commanded one of the militia regiments of the Ninety Six Brigade.

Col. Edward Fenwick, from Charleston County
Initially a captain, Fenwick as lieutenant colonel commanded a unit of loyalist dragoons from out Charleston in early 1781. In April, he managed to route Harden's men at Pocotaligo Road in modern Colleton County, but a few days later was captured and paroled by Harden at nearby Fort Balfour. He and a number of his men were exchanged, and in the latter part of July reappeared in the field. Thereafter Fenwick and his troops continued to act as a patrol outside Charleston. Joseph Johnson says he was twice traitor, first to Americans, later to British, and supplied Greene with information, and for which, like Andrew Williamson, his property was later spared confiscation by the rebels.[339]

Col. John Fisher, from Orangeburg County
Fisher had served at the defense of Savannah in 1779, and after the fall of Charleston was sent ahead by Balfour to organize the Orangeburgh militia; of which he was made the head. He established a fort there following the battle of Camden. Both he and the fort were taken by Sumter on 11 May 1781. See SLA2 p. 515.

Col. Mathew Floyd, from Chester County
An Irishman from Pennsylvania, headed of thirty volunteers at Rocky Mount from whom a loyalist militia regiment was formed. See SDR p. 76.

Col. Richard King, (possibly from Greenwood or McCormick County), *Ninety Six Brigade*
King led the Long Cane militia regiment that had formerly been under Pickens' command. He later oversaw the loyalist militia under Cruger at the siege of Ninety Six. He apparently left Ninety Six with Cruger or Rawdon, but did not live to see the war's end (due to causes unknown.) See SLA1 p. 603.

Col. Moses Kirkland, from Kershaw County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
(50) Kirkland led a rather colorful and unusual life of which here we can only briefly mention a few particulars. Very early in the war, he had been an officer who served with the rebels of the Ninety Six area (indeed had been elected to the Provincial Congress of 1775 -- though he did not attend), but disgruntled because of a dispute over rank and or dissatisfied with whig extremism, threw in his lot in with the British. Evidently coming from Savannah or else East Florida, he joined Clinton's forces before Charleston in 1780. They reportedly valued his advice on the local situation, and in this way he aided them in the siege. Afterward he was made part of Robert Cunningham's command at Ninety Six. He was left in command of Ninety Six with 100 militia when Cruger went to the relief of Augusta in September. With Cunningham he defended against the Americans at Williams' Fort in late Dec. 1780. After this, he reportedly removed to Savannah; though in what role or capacity is not clear. One writer says Kirkland "was not in favor of the conflict, but likely believed that the British would ultimately prevail." Upon the war's termination, he moved to Jamaica, but was lost at sea while en route to England in 1787. SLA1 p. 604 and GCS p. 47.

Col. Nicholas Lechmere, from Beaufort County
Lechmere commanded the Granville County Militia, and was taken captive and paroled along with Col. Edward Fenwick at the surprise of Fort Balfour in mid April 1781. He died in Charleston in March 1782, regarding which event see *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, no. 4, p. 163.

Col. William Henry Mills, (probably) from Marlboro County
Mills nominally commanded Cheraws Loyalist regiment, narrowly escaping capture at Hunt's Bluff on the Peedee River.

Col. Thomas Pearson, from Laurens County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
Headed a second Little River (of the Saluda) regiment.

Col. John Phillips, from Fairfield County
Originally from Northern Ireland, Phillips led the Jackson's Creek (located near Winnsborough) Regiment, and which was one of the Camden area militia units. Lambert characterizes him as one of the more dutiful and

[338] See HMP.
[339] JTR p. 183.

effective of the loyalist militia officers and who was very helpful in providing Cornwallis with much needed wagons when the latter sojourned in Winnsborough in late 1780.[340]

Col. Henry Richbourg, from Clarendon County
Richbourg was of a respected and prosperous family that owned a Mill in modern Clarendon County. He commanded a troop of his own loyalist dragoons, and briefly, as part of Watson's command, fought Marion in March 1781. Otherwise, it would seem he only operated in his own local area.

Col. Henry Rugeley, from Kershaw County
Despite being a commissioned loyalist officer, Rugeley, a very wealthy planter and merchant had enough sense of his obligations as a host to entertain rebel Governor John Rutledge and some of his council in late May 1780, (at a time when Rutledge was just leaving the state in the face of rapid British consolidation of territory.) Later, in early December, he succumbed to William Washington's dummy cannon trick at Fort Rugeley, a relatively small stockade located at Rugeley's plantation, Clermont. He was paroled as a result of this surrender, and did not subsequently serve. One can't help but wonder however (as did Tarleton and Cornwallis), if this acquired neutrality might not have arose as a result of intended design. SLA2 p. 242.

Col. W.T. Turner, from Chester County
Turner apparently at some point led Mathew Floyd's Rocky Mount Militia of the Camden District.

Lieut. Col. James Cassells, from Georgetown County
Cassells, selected by Major James Wemyss when the latter came to Georgetown in July 1780, commanded the Georgetown militia in early September 1780, but then was later replaced with Lieut. Col. Robert Gray.[341] The apparent reason for his being replaced is explained in a footnote found in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 60n, in which it is stated that sometime in 1780 he was betrayed by his own men and taken prisoner into North Carolina, and from whence by he eventually escaped. Cassells then remained in service with the British while they continued to occupy Charleston, and left with them a the time of the city's evacuation in 1782..

Lieut. Col. Robert Gray, *King's American Regiment, Georgetown Regiment of Militia*
(33) Early in the war Gray resided in the Cheraw district and was a Justice of the Peace. Originally he was a whig, but in 1776 became a loyalist. He was chosen by Maj. Archibald McArthur, when the latter was in that region in late 1780, to actively lead the loyal militia from Cheraws. When that unit became disbanded he was put in charge of the Georgetown Regiment of Royal Militia. At some point later, he held a commission in the King's American Regt. His "Observations" [342] are less a memoir than what would appear to be a formal report written in late 1781 advising how the British could still win the war in the Carolinas. It reveals both considerable military and political acumen on his part, as well as a bitter resentment toward the rebel army and government.

Lieut. Col. Samuel Tynes, from Sumter County
A well meaning, but not terribly inspiring leader, Tynes, his men carousing and no one on guard, was undone by Marion at Tearcoat Swamp in October 1780. He was shortly after taken prisoner, along with some others, by Maj. William Clay Snipes, but was able to effect his escape days later. He sought to bring in a new force of loyalists for the purposes of defending a small redoubt south of Camden. But due to fear of the more numerous whig militia, few were willing to remain with him. Tynes then let those still with him go home and himself resigned by the end of November.

Maj. Patrick Cunningham, from Laurens County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
Cunningham commanded one of the militia regiments of the Ninety-Six Brigade, after his brother Robert, the unit's previous leader, was given a commission as Brigadier General of the Ninety-Six militia. Following the war, he and is brother made an application to remain in the state, but were refused. See SLA1 pp. 347-348.

Maj. William Cunningham, from Laurens County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
Early in the war Capt. Cunningham had served with the whigs, but having a falling out with them afterwards, he ended up joining the British after the fall of Charleston. He then participated in the restoration of the royalists rule at Ninety Six, and may have been at King's Mountain. [343] In May of 1781, he was placed in charge of what remained of Dunlop's corps of Ninety Six loyalists, and with them carried out partisan operations against Greene's forces besieging Ninety Six. When Cruger and the majority of loyalists left the Ninety Six district in July, Cunningham removed to a location below the mountains with a mounted band of followers. About the same time, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, having sometime just before been made a major. He was personally incensed by the loyalists being forced from their homes and being forbidden from remaining unless they submitted to United States authority. With the occasional aid of some Cherokees, he consequently went on to carry out a series of vengeful and brutal hit-and-run raids and attacks, which soon earned him the soubriquet "Bloody Bill." Some of his most sanguinary deeds took place in November of 1781, including Hayes Station. At the notorious "Bloody Scout," Dec 2. 1781, he reportedly "cruelly murdered and mangled" 20 men, beheading

[340] LSL p. 119.
[341] LSL p. 120.
[342] See SCAR vol. 3 no. 2, p. 47.
[343] LSL p. 207.

one and cutting off another's hands while the victim was still alive.[344] He himself survived capture and the war, and died in 1787 while living on Nassau in the Bahamas. Perhaps not so strangely, Cunningham has been viewed both by some British historians as a kind of hearty hero, and by the Americans as a veritable monster. Like Fanning, he was a somewhat complex personality, and there is evidently some amount of truth to both points of view.[345] SLA pp. 348-349, GCS p. 45, and LCR pp. 341-365.

Maj. Micajah Ganey (also Gainey), from Marion County, *Lieut. Col. Robert Gray's Regiment*
While not so much the military man as his whig counterpart Francis Marion, Ganey (who had himself been a whig early in the war) was a solid leader for the loyalists in what are now Marion and Dillon counties,[346] and sometimes could bring together a fairly large following. Though he never defeated Marion, he regularly kept him and other whig leaders in the region fairly busy, and was able to reunite his own men after being scattered. In December 1780, Balfour thought it prudent to have him move his command to Georgetown. At the end of that month, Ganey was involved in a skirmish just outside the town in which he was badly wounded. He recovered by April when he again raised men from his home district to temporarily assist Lieut. Col. John Watson. Feeling the pressure of the American offensive later in the spring, he negotiated and signed a truce with Marion in which he and his men agreed to stay out of the fighting if not molested. Despite this, the peace did not last long. He accused the whigs of violating the agreement, and for a while fighting resumed in the Peedee area. On 21 June 1782, he signed a second truce with Marion at Burches Mill, located, as Peedee geneologist and historian Jo Church Dickerson (in her "Harrelson family of Pee Dee" study) describes it "just across Great Pee Dee River from the old Gainey [sic] family lands and William Harralson lands in Wahee." In July he and some of his men then went to Charlestown to join the British garrison there. After the war, Ganey removed from South Carolina to Richmond County, N.C. where he settled. See GAR2 pp. 26-27, SLA1 p. 458 and MSC2 p. 119n.

Maj. Zacharias Gibbs (also Gibbes, and Zechariah), from Spartanburg County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
(39) Gibbs fought at Kettle Creek in 1779 where he was captured. He was released from the jail at Ninety Six on April 3rd, 1780, and removed to Camden, where he remained till Clinton's subjugation of the province. From there he went to Ninety Six where he became one of the key loyalist militia leaders of the frontier region, and setting up camp at a home of his on the Pacelot River, at a location about four miles west of Cowpens. At the time of King's Mountain, he was gathering a force of some 400 to possibly 600 men. What exactly happen to this group is not known. But it may be that if they didn't disperse after the battle of King's Mountain, some may have joined Gideon and Hezekiah Wright and fought at Shallow Ford a week or so later; though Gibbs himself would not have been present at that action. In a biographical sketch of Gibbs, British historian E. Alfred Jones remarks: "Colonel Nisbet Balfour, sometime commandant at Charleston, testified in evidence in London [after the war ended] to his [Gibbs'] excellent qualities as a man and as one of the truest of loyalists, though, with the traditional prejudice of the British regular officer against the Provincial or militia forces, qualified his praise by adding that Colonel Gibbs was not a very good soldier." Gibbs led a fairly interesting life and we can only touch on a few points here. But one additional fact we might mention is that he invested in large tracts of land in the Dutch Fork and near Camden, which has been interpreted as reflecting his convinced faith in the British cause.

Maj. John Harrison, from Charleston County, *South Carolina Rangers*, also *Harrison's Corps*
Harrison was commissioned major and appointed to raise the South Carolina Rangers. When not out as part of a detachment, his unit was sometimes mounted as cavalry, and usually based in Camden. On a few occasions they saw action against Marion's brigade. At the Revolution's conclusion, Harrison made his home in the Bahamas. States Alexander Gregg, the Cheraws chronicler: "The Tories on Lynche's Creek, in the neighbourhood of M'Callum's Ferry, committed many murders and depredations. They were headed by the two Harrisons, to one of whom Cornwallis refers. It was he, doubtless, who was afterwards a colonel, the other becoming a major, in the British service, and both called by Tarleton, men of fortune. They were, in fact, two of the greatest banditti that ever infested the country.[347] The proposed plan of a provincial corps was never carried out. Before the fall of Charlestown these brothers lived in a wretched log hut, by the road near M'Callum's, in which there was no bed covering but the skins of wild beasts. During the contest the major was killed; after it was over, the colonel retired to Jamaica, with much wealth, acquired by depredation." [348] See SLA2 p. 526-527.

Maj. Samuel Harrison, from Charleston County, *South Carolina Rangers*
Brother of John, Samuel was killed at Widoo Swamp on March 6th, 1780.

Maj. Daniel Plummer, from Spartanburg County, *Ninety Six Brigade*
As best we know, Plummer commanded the South Carolina loyalists at King's Mountain. Chesney further states that he was wounded at that engagement. Although he survived the war, it is not known what other role, if any, he played in the remainer of the conflict.

[344] NGP9 pp. 651-652, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, pp. 161-162.
[345] According to Bobby Gilmer Moss, William Cunningham had earlier served as a captain in Brown's King's Rangers. See *Roster of the Loyalists in the Battle of Kings Mountain* (Blacksburg, South Carolina, Scotia Hibernia Press, 1998), xii.
[346] Ganey's residence was located six miles south of present day Marion, S.C.
[347] In his description of the Harrison, Gregg here echoes James verbatim, JFM p. 18.
[348] GHC p. 308 and see MSC1 p. 642.

Capt. John Coming Ball, from Charleston County
John Coming Ball was part of Col. Elias Ball's regiment of militia. After being defeated by Marion at Black Mingo in late September 1780, he ostensibly withdrew from active service, and yet is listed on the payrolls as serving at least as late as March 1781. [349]

Capt. Jesse Barfield (also Barefield), from Dillon County
(51) Barfield at one time had been a captain in the South Carolina line. But like Moses Kirkland, dissatisfied with being denied promotion, he switched sides. As a leader of a small band of loyalists from what is now Dillon County, he and his brothers in the autumn of 1780 contested stubbornly, in a number of small raids and skirmishes, against Marion, the Murfees and Col. Thomas Brown of Bladen County, N.C. On a few of occasions he joined forces with Ganey. Barfield remained fairly active up until the time of his last engagement, which was against Capt. Malachi Murfee at Bass' Mill in August 1781. He died, evidently of small pox, later that same year. The numerous skirmishes he is known to have led or participated in show him to have been a challenging opponent who knew his business. Author William Gilmore Simms used him as the basis for a central protagonist in his Revolutionary War novel *Mellichampe: A Legend of the Santee* (1836). See GHC p. 338.

Georgia Loyalists

Col. Thomas Waters
Waters led the loyalists at Hammond's Store in December 1780. Afterward he and a handful of other loyalists, including James Tillet, joined the Creeks and Cherokees in raids upon the Georgia border settlements. See SCAR vol. 3, No. 5, p. 20.

[349] CLS p. 183.

BRITISH UNITS[350]

The British Army

** Brigade of Guards*
Two Guards battalions came south with Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie in December of 1780, and which included at least one light infantry and one grenadier company. This brigade contained soldiers from the 1st Guards Regiment, the 2nd Guards Regiment (the Coldstream Guards, "Second to None"), and the 3rd Guards Regiment ("Scots Guards," though they did not go by this title at that time.) However, the regiments were intermingled to form an amalgam of the three; although the component companies of these Guards battalions, individually, retained their regimental distinctness and integrity. So, for example, a given battalion might be made up of companies of the 1st Guards Regiment, and end up being called the 1st Guards Battalion. While a second battalion made up of companies from all three Guards regiments might be called the 2nd Guards Battalion. In the course of the war, composition then of what were called the 1st and 2nd Guards Battalion might differ according to how many companies of one of the three regiments might be present in a given battalion: the two battalions forming the brigade.[351] While this might make things confusing to scholars, the system had the advantage of allowing army organizers to form a Guards brigade from what effective companies were available from the three regiments; without insisting on regimental integrity beyond the company level. The Brigade served with Cornwallis up unto the time of Yorktown, and was commanded by Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara.

** 3rd Regiment of Foot*, also "The Buffs"
The 3rd arrived at Charleston, along with the 19th and 30th in June 1781; departing when the British evacuated Charleston on 14 December 1782.

** 7th Regiment of Foot*, also Royal Fusiliers
The 7th sailed south with Clinton in January 1780, although it was not at full strength, and remained with Cornwallis. A battalion of 200 recruits arrived in Charleston in December (separately from Leslie's reinforcement disembarking about the same time.) These became part of Tarleton's command and were effectively destroyed at Cowpens. What remained of the regiment, at one point numbering some 182 rank and file, afterward served with the Charleston garrison. They ended up leaving Charleston in August 1782.

** 16th Regiment of Foot*
The 16th was in Savannah at the time of Clinton's arrival south. During the course of 1780 three companies were sent to assist in the subjugation of Ninety Six and the backcountry. These later were with Tarleton at Cowpens. In early 1781 a second detachment was sent from Savannah to bolster the garrison at Pensacola. These had no better luck than the first, being taken by the Spaniards in March. What was left then of the 16th departed Charleston in March 1782.

** 19th Regiment of Foot*
The 19th arrived as part of the June 1781 reinforcement to Charleston. They left in December 1782.

** 23d Regiment of Foot*, also Royal Welch Fusiliers
The 23d were with Clinton when he came south in January 1780. They subsequently became a standard component of Cornwallis' field army, ending up with him at Yorktown. One authority, however, says a detachment of the 23d remained in Charleston, as did one of the 33d. These reportedly stayed in Charleston up and till November 1782.

** 30th Regiment of Foot*
The 30th arrived in Charleston in June 1781. It left there in December 1782.

** 33d Regiment of Foot*
The 33d Regiment's deployment history is identical to the 23d's.

** 63d Regiment of Foot*
Having arrived with Clinton, the 63d remained in South Carolina as part of that province's defenses and never left it. Along with the 71st, they as much or more than any unit in the deep south suffered severe losses due to sickness.[352] They embarked from Charleston by October-December 1782.

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[350] For more information on British, Loyalist and Hessian units which served in the South beyond what is contained here, see GCS pp. 109-134.
[351] A similar approached was used in creating grenadier and light infantry battalions (i.e. battalions made up exclusively of grenadiers, on the one hand, and light infantry in the case of the other.) These battalions were formed, respectively, from individual companies of grenadiers and light infantry taken from regular regiments; with each regular British army foot regiment commonly having one grenadier and one light infantry company integral to its original organization to potentially contribute to such. Similarly and for example, the Provincial Light Infantry battalion was created out of light infantry companies taken from loyalist Provincial regiments.
[352] TCS p. 191.

** 64th Regiment of Foot*
Having come south with Clinton in early 1780, the 64th remained in South Carolina as part of that province's defenses. Up until about November 1780, they were assigned to guard the prisoners in the town, and when the latter were placed on board prison ships, the regiment was then no longer required to guard them and was freed up for other duties.[353] They left Charleston by October 1782.

** 71st Regiment of Foot*, also 71st Highland Regiment[354]
The 71st was present in Savannah when Clinton came south in January 1780. Being the largest regiment present in the south, they possessed two battalions (as opposed to the more common single battalion.) One of these was effectively destroyed at Cowpens; the other stayed with Cornwallis up to and including Yorktown. A remnant of the 1st Battalion departed from Charleston in November 1782. Originally formed in Glasgow, Scotland in 1775 at the war's onset, it was finally disbanded in 1783.[355]

** 82d Regiment of Foot*
A detachment of the 82d accompanied Leslie to Charleston in December 1780. They were subsequently posted to Wilmington, N.C. After Guilford Court House, its light companies marched with Cornwallis into Virginia and were with him at Yorktown. From Wilmington, the main contingent was evacuated to Charleston on 18 November 1781; ultimately leaving there in April 1782.

*2d Battalion of the *84th Regiment of Foot*, also Royal Highland Emigrants
The 2d Battalion of the 84th came to Charleston with Leslie and became part of the town's garrison. Sometime in the spring of 1781, its commander Lieut. Col. John Small was posted at Monck's Corner. Later about two companies of the 84th fought at Eutaw Springs. At some point no later than August 1781, they had a detachment in Wilmington with Craig. When they actually went there and how long they stayed is not clear, though they may have accompanied the initial invasion force to that town in late January 1781. The 84th had the honorable distinction of being a Provincial regiment promoted to the regular army establishment.

** 17th Regiment*, and 17th Light Dragoons
One troop of the 17th arrived with Clinton, and then left with him in June to New York. Nevertheless, the detachment returned to Charleston in early December (separate from Leslie's reinforcement of that same month) and were with Tarleton at Cowpens. A few survived that battle to be informally incorporated into the British Legion cavalry or else were used for policing, as messengers, and keeping up communications between posts in South Carolina. In a dispatch of 11 June 1781, Clinton requested Cornwallis to return some troops to New York including, among others, the remaining officers and men of the 17th. The motto worn on their crests read "Death [using a death's head image] or Glory."[356]

** Royal Artillery*
A number of detachments of the Royal artillery came south with Clinton; while another was already present in Savannah. Some of these returned with Clinton to New York in June 1780, with others left in Charleston to service the garrison and Cornwallis' army. Gunners and matrosses (or artillery laborers who helped move, sponge, and load the cannon) would be made available as circumstances required and allowed. After Tarleton captured two brass cannon[357] from Sumter at Fishing Creek in August 1780, a command was formed using them. In this case, the particular detachment (including its 2 brass guns) was lost at Cowpens; so by the time just before Guilford Court House, Cornwallis' artillery detachment was under-strength. As a result, he ended up having 1 or 2 more guns with him on his march than he had men to man them with, not counting the additional 2 cannon he subsequently captured at Guilford Court House itself.

** Guides and Pioneers*
About a company or more of these were regularly with Cornwallis' army, while individual engineers might be available to lend their services to assist in the construction or enhancing of fortifications; or else the building and repairing of bridges and boats. A number of Blacks, incidentally, served in this capacity and made up a formal part of the corps.

[353] See Cornwallis to Clinton, Dec. 3rd, 1780.
[354] Also "Fraser's Highlanders," though I have never seen them referred to by this while they were in the south.
[355] It was reported some of the 71st Regiment's soldiers came from prisoners in Savannah, after that city was taken and who were offered freedom upon enlistment. For this reason, one whig leader, a Major Butler, in speaking of them to some towns people, called the soldiers of the 71st "jail-birds." "This speech was reported to that regiment, and both men and officers vowed vengeance against him, but were never able to effect their purpose." JTR p. 470.
[356] See Cannon, Richard. *Historical Record of the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, Lancers, 1759-1841*. John W. Parker, London, West Strand, 1841.
[357] These 2 three pounders were originally captured by the Americans at Saratoga in 1777.

Provincials

In my organizing the units in this and the following sections into Provincial units versus Royal militia, it may be open to question whether a given regiment or troop shouldn't more properly be placed in its companion category. No doubt some militia units would have liked to aspire to Provincial status, and perhaps, at least in certain respects, such as military effectiveness, were worthy of being classed as such. Conversely we have "provincial" regiments like the North Carolina Volunteers and South Carolina (or Harrison's) Rangers which were not much better in quality than ordinary militia. Nevertheless, a call had to be made that they be grouped in one category or the other, and in a given instance that call on my part may, upon closer inspection and new information, be somewhat mistaken. Yet even if this is the case, it will only be so with a very small handful of units (if any), and could not be entirely avoided as information on some lesser known units is relatively scarce.

* *British Legion*, also 5th American Regiment, (at one time) Cathcart's Legion, and Tarleton's Legion
The British Legion was made up one element of cavalry and one of infantry. They came south with Clinton, and subsequently were a regular part of Cornwallis army, being with him at Yorktown. At Cowpens, however, the Legion infantry was so decimated that it was informally disbanded; though later it was reformed in New York. It is possible a remnant of them may have remained in Charleston till late in the war, but this is not clearly established. Simcoe mentions that while in the south the Tarleton's legion were mostly clothed in white, SQR p. 210.

* *Delancey's Brigade*, also Delancey's New York Brigade
The 1st and 2d DeLancey's battalions were already stationed in Savannah at the time of Clinton's coming south in January 1780. Being both under-strength, the 1st and 2nd were consolidated to form the single 1st DeLancey's Battalion. This unit was present for most of 1780 and 1781 at Ninety Six, finally departing from Charleston in February 1782.

* *Ferguson's Corps*, also Ferguson's Rangers
Ferguson's Corps was made up of 100-150 volunteers selected from the King's American Rangers, the New Jersey Volunteers, the Loyal American Regiment, and at least one Queen's Ranger (Maj. James Dunlop.) It was not intended as a permanent unit, but rather one formed for special services and missions in the American war. It came south with Clinton, and was destroyed and effectively disbanded at King's Mountain.

* *Georgia Loyalists*
This unit, under Maj. James Wright Jr. and based in Abercorn, GA., acted as part of the Savannah garrison, and served in the siege there. In June 1782 it was disbanded and merged with the King's Rangers. Its maximum strength did not exceed 200, and its normal effective strength closer to 100.[358]

* *King's American Regiment*, also 4th American Regiment and [Edmund] Fanning's Corps
A detachment of 100 of the King's American Regiment is said to have come south with Clinton in January 1780, and presumably returned with him to New York in June. The main regiment itself came back to Charleston with Leslie in December 1780. Thereafter they remained a part of the defenses of South Carolina, acting in that capacity till June of 1781 when they were sent to Savannah. By Sept. 1st 1781 its strength had been reduced to 271. It was removed with the rest of the garrison to Charleston after the British left Savannah on 11 July 1782. Like the South Carolina Royalists and King's Rangers, the King's American Regiment at one point had a cavalry troop formed from its ranks. It ultimately embarked from Charleston 27 Nov. 1782.[359]

* *King's Rangers*, also King's Carolina Rangers, East Florida Rangers
The East Florida Rangers were first raised by Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown in St. Augustine Florida in 1776. From this The King's Rangers was created in June 1779 while they were still in Florida, or, according to another source, after the siege of Savannah in October 1779; at which they were present. They subsequently participated in the defense of Savannah in October. After Clinton captured Charleston in May 1780, they were sent to occupy Augusta. Although in July or August 1780 a detachment was sent north into South Carolina (and which took heavy losses at Hanging Rock), the unit otherwise remained in Augusta, until June 1781 when they were taken prisoner there along with the town itself. In June 1782, the Georgia Loyalists were incorporated into their ranks. Nonetheless, the regiment was reformed later in Savannah, and was one of those which went to New York from Charleston in late 1782. The King's Rangers, as with the King's American Regiment, at some point had a troop of cavalry, which were often sent out on patrols into the Savannah environs and countryside. Following the fall of Augusta in June 1781, its total effective strength thereafter did not exceed 160.

* *King's Orange Rangers*
A number of buttons from the uniforms of this regiment were brought to light in recent archeological excavations of the Camden battlefield, and it is surmised that a small contingent was present at the battle there (16 Aug. 1780) which served under Capt. John Coffin -- possibly as Cornwallis' body guard or else attached to the British Legion Cavalry.

[358] See CLS pp. 434-435, 440, 444-445, 451.
[359] NDI.

* *Loyal American Volunteers*
This Provincial unit served at the siege of Charleston in 1780 leaving there at siege's end; while a detachment of 21 men, under Lieut. Anthony Allaire, remained and became part of Ferguson's Corps.

* *New Jersey Volunteers* (brigade of three battalions)
The 3d Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers was present at Savannah in 1779, and, in July 1780, were at Ninety Six with Cruger. Due to cumulative reductions in the ranks of the different New Jersey Volunteer battalions, by the time of the Ninety Six siege, the 3d ended up being re-designated the 2d New Jersey Battalion. Though it may have been earlier, they left Charleston no later than December 1782.

* *New York Volunteers*, also 3d American Regiment
The New York Volunteers were at both the siege of Savannah (1779) and Charleston (1780.) In Nov. and Dec. 1780, Capt. John Coffin was operating in Santee area with a mounted infantry unit of about 30 and later 140 men of New York Volunteers. At some point in or before April 1781 this mounted detachment of Coffin's actually became cavalry and fought at Hobkirk's Hill. The New York Volunteers themselves otherwise served as part of the South Carolina defenses, at last returning to New York from Charleston in August 1782. Unlike the New Jersey Volunteers, the New York Volunteers, being fewer, did not have numbered battalions.

* *North Carolina Dragoons*
A small provincial corps of dragoons was raised in Wilmington in the summer of 1781, and is reputed to have been a good unit, and not a mere militia troop. At the evacuation of Wilmington (18 Nov. 1781) they were removed to Charleston where they became part of the garrison, being engaged in at least one late war skirmish. After the summer of 1782 they were incorporated into the South Carolina Royalists.

* *North Carolina Volunteers*, also Bryan's Refugees
Although they marched with Cornwallis, the North Carolina Volunteers should really be classed as militia rather than a regular Provincial regiment, with Bryan's Refugees being perhaps their more suitable title. They were formally formed on 24 June 1780,[360] and were present at Camden. They accompanied Cornwallis on both his first and second invasions of North Carolina, and stayed in Wilmington when he moved in the direction of Virginia in late April 1781. The Volunteers returned to Charleston on Wilmington's evacuation in December the same year. Then their numbers were far fewer than the original 800 of July 1780, having suffered severe losses at Hanging Rock and Wahab's Plantation. In October 1782, they accompanied the Royal North Carolina Regiment to St. Augustine.

* *Prince of Wales American Volunteers*, also Prince of Wales Regiment, Prince of Wales Volunteers
The Prince of Wales Regiment came to Charleston in April 1780. At Hanging Rock in August the unit suffered devastating casualties; with a light infantry company being lost at Cowpens. What were left were then used in South Carolina as various detachments, including one which was part of the Fort Granby garrison in early 1781. The remnants left Charleston for New York in December 1781.

* *Provincial Light Infantry Battalion*
A battalion composed of light companies from the other northern Provincial battalions, commanded by Lieut. Col. John Watson, sailed south with Leslie to Charleston in December 1780. It remained part of the South Carolina defenses, ultimately leaving Charleston no later than the end of 1782.

* *Queen's Rangers*, also 1st American Regiment
Some 200 Queens Rangers were at the siege of Charleston in 1780, leaving when it was over. A detachment of 15 dragoons however returned to Charleston with Leslie in December 1780, with instructions to recruit more, which they did reaching up to possibly 65 to 80 total for the detachment at one point.[361] A number of these subsequently served most of their time as part of the Georgetown garrison, including carrying out raids from there as well. At one point their commanding officer, Capt. Saunders, was almost successful in having the whole detachment removed from the southern department (ostensibly to join their main unit.) However, the losses caused by Cowpens forbade it. They continued in Georgetown till about May 1781, and at that time were removed to Charleston. About July, the Queen's Rangers detachment was attached on different occasions to the South Carolina Royalists under Maj. Thomas Fraser. Presumably they left Charleston some time in 1782.

* *Royal North Carolina Regiment*, also Hamilton's Corps
Originally formed at St. Augustine, FLA., the Royal North Carolina Regiment was at the siege of Savannah in 1779. After the fall of Charleston, at which they were present, they were made part of Cornwallis' army. However, they were still at Camden when Leslie marched with them to join Cornwallis at the time of Cowpens in January 1781. Thereafter they were with him up to the time he was in Wilmington. In late April, Cornwallis took with him a light company of the regiment into Virginia while leaving the main unit itself in Wilmington. A second light company was reportedly raised along the way, and was commanded by Capt. William Chandler. Both were

[360] Bryan's initial pay date and that of his chief officers is given in the records as 24 June 1780. CLS p. 361.
[361] Queen's Rangers historian, Donald J. Gara, notwithstanding, is inclined to think this is too high an estimate. See Marion's letter to Greene, 3 Sept. 1781, NGP9 pp. 289, 291. On the other hand, an intelligence report of Leslie's detachment at Portsmouth, VA. made in late Nov. 1780 lists the number of Queen's Rangers with him at that time as 100. See Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory to Gov. Abner Nash, 24 Nov. 1780, CNC15 pp. 157-158.

at Yorktown. The main regiment remained part of Wilmington's garrison till December when it retired with the rest of the garrison to Charleston. According to one source, the regiment was removed from Charleston to St. Augustine in October 1782.

* *South Carolina Rangers*, also Harrison's Corps, King's Rangers
The South Carolina Rangers were formed and raised in June 1780 following the fall of Charleston. Thereafter they served mostly as part of the Camden garrison, and are said to have numbered not more than 100 at a time. Sometime, evidently just before Hobkirk's Hill, they were merged with the then newly formed mounted South Carolina Royalists unit under Maj. Thomas Fraser. Although Provincial in name, originally they were not all much better than militia rabble, but presumably were in some wise improved after being included in the Royalists. See TCS pp. 91, 117.

* *South Carolina Royalists*, also South Carolina Loyalists and later when some were mounted the S.C. Rangers
The Royalists, originally formed in East Florida, were at the defense of Savannah, and later participated in the siege of Charleston. They were defeated and took significant losses at Musgrove's Mill in August 1780, having been sent west to join the frontier defenses. By April of 1781, some of what remained served alongside Coffin's mounted detachment of New York Volunteers at Hobkirk's Hill; with Maj. Thomas Fraser having just before hand formed a revived battalion of the Royalists; which included some of Ferguson's former corps and new recruits. Within a month afterward they were mounted as cavalry and integrated into the South Carolina Rangers (in the process effectively re-creating the Rangers and that had been significantly depleted before hand in scrapes with Marion and William Richardson Davie [with respect to the latter, at "Wahab's" Plantation]),[362] and acted in this capacity through to the end of the year as part of the South Carolina and Charleston defenses. The Royalists left Charleston in November 1782. There were still at least about 250 of them operational by the end of 1781.

* *Volunteers of Ireland*, also 2^{d} American Regiment
The Volunteers of Ireland arrived in Charleston in April 1780, and thereafter served in the defense of South Carolina. They remained in the south till at least the latter part of 1781 (being noticeably absent at Eutaw Springs) at which time they may have left for New York (if not later.)

Royal Militia

"In the district of Ninety-Six, by far the most populous and powerful of the province, Lieutenant-colonel Balfour by his great attention and diligence, and by the active assistance of Major Ferguson, who was appointed Inspector-general of militia of this province by Sir Henry Clinton, had formed seven battalions of militia, consisting of above four thousand men, and entirely composed of persons well-affected to the British government; which were so regulated that they could with ease furnish fifteen hundred men at a short notice, for the defence of the frontier, or any other home service. But I must take this opportunity of observing, that this militia can be of little use for distant operations, as they will not stir without a horse, and on that account your Lordship will easily conceive the impossibility of keeping a number of them together without destroying the country." ~~ Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, dated Camden, August 20, 1780.[363]

In the two months succeeding Charleston's fall to in May 1780, the British command had succeeded in authorizing 2,500 officers and men as militia in South and North Carolina. However, after King's Mountain in October Carolina (in addition to other early notable whig militia victories), the numbers decreased drastically. By the end of the year, some previously formed Royal militia units ceased to function entirely. As per Cornwallis' comments quoted above, they were seen more as conservators of the peace, or police forces, than active military or guerilla units, unlike their rebel counterparts. Tarleton, for one, lamented there that a greater effort had not been made instead to organize and train the militia into Provincial units as a way of increasing both their reliability and effectiveness.[364]
Despite the appearance of Murtie June Clark's and Lambert's well done books, militia records are far from complete. The list of militia regiments below then should not necessarily be considered exhaustive, as there may well have been other units but for which we simply have no formal record. Dates given are earliest known effective date, and last *known* pay date; again based on the records still surviving. For some individual companies of a given regiment both the first and last dates may be different. Here, however, we are giving earliest effective and latest pay dates regardless. The number following each entry is the number of effective men that were paid (i.e. rank and file/full total effectives), based on *remaining* pay records (which are sometimes far from complete.) Now this figure can be very misleading with respect to how many men the unit actually consisted of at its greatest strength, and should not be taken too formally. Despite this, it is being included here to provide some *rough sense* of how that unit stood in terms of strength and cohesiveness with respect to other militia units, while bearing in mind again the insufficiency of present available records and the effect of historical events. With regard to the latter, for example, though it may be a surprise that Robert Gray's Georgetown Regiment shows up with so few numbers when the British evacuated that town in the Spring

[362] Stephen Jarvis: "At this time we were re-inforced [at Charlestown] with the South Carolina Regiment, who for their gallant conduct at Camden [Hobkirk's Hill], were made Cavalry. This re-inforcement made the Cavalry of great consequence at this post, and we had soon an opportunity to try our mettle." JJA.
[363] CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268.
[364] TCS p. 98.

of 1781, it may simply have been the case that the men who made up the unit simply did not want to leave their homes. Those then that removed to Charleston were far fewer perhaps than the unit's strength in its heyday. Most dates and numbers are taken from Murtie June Clark's *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War, vol. I: Official Rolls of Loyalists Recruited from North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana*, Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1981.

South Carolina

**** Camden "Brigade"***[365]
These were mostly indifferent troops, with, says Lambert, "only Phillip's [Jackson's Creek] men demonstrating consistent zeal for the cause."[366] Each numbered less than 100 men a "regiment," and on average they were less than 50 normally. Very few were still actually active by the end of 1780, with men having deserted. Notwithstanding, some still were with the British army in Charleston by or near the war's end.

~ *Col. Henry Rugeley's Regiment*, Camden Regiment of Militia
Effective date 13 June 1780
Last known pay date: 13 December 1780.
27 rank and file/36 total effectives (i.e. and includes rank and file)

~ *Col. William Bannatine's Regiment*, Second Regiment of Camden Militia
effective date: 13 June 1780
Last known pay date: 19 November 1781
94/117

~ *Col. Robert English's Regiment*, Camden Regiment of Militia
Effective date: 12 September 1780
Served in Charleston at least as late as March 1782.
9 companies: 91/132

~ *Col. James Cary's Regiment*,[367] Camden Militia
Effective date: 14 July 1780
Last known pay date: 13 January 1781
18/28

~ *Col. Mathew Floyd's Rocky Mount Regiment*, later Col. W.T. Turner, Camden District
With 30 men originally, a large portion of Mathew Floyd's Regt. under John Lisle defected. Lisle took not only the core of the regiment with him, but also new arms and supplies. A number of these men then ended up serving with Sumter at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock.
Effective date: 13 June 1780
Last known pay date: 14 December 1782
17/23

~ *Col. John Phillips' Regiment*, Jackson's Creek[368] Militia, Camden District
This unit was commended by Cornwallis for helping to keep his army supplied while camp at Winnsborough in late 1780, and Lambert speaks of it as one of the best and most dependable of the royal militia units.
Effective date: 13 June 1780
Last known pay date: 7 February 1782
4 companies: 81/95

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* Non-Brigade Units and Corps

* *Col. Elias Ball's Regiment*, Craven and Berkley County Regiment of Militia
Effective date: 3 July 1780
Last known pay date: 19 March 1781.
26/38

* *Colonel Robert Ballingall's Regiment*, Colleton County Militia
At greatest strength this regiment had 10 companies, and perhaps at one point numbered as many as 200.[369]
Effective date: 1 August 1780
Last known pay date: July 1782
165/204

[365] Although records do not denote a Camden Brigade, I use this title to organize these regiments.
[366] LSL p. 119.
[367] Situated near the present day community of Lugoff, S.C.
[368] Near Winnsborough.
[369] CLS p. 169.
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* *Col. William Henry Mills*'s *Regiment*, Cheraws Regiment of Militia, later briefly led by Lieut. Col. Robert Gray
As things became too hot for the British in the Cheraws area this unit eventually disbanded or removed to Georgetown and became part of the Georgetown Regiment.[370]
Effective date: 1 September 1780
Last known pay date: --

* *Col. James Cassells Regiment/Col. Robert Gray's*, Georgetown Regiment of Militia
Originally commanded by Cassells, at some point not clear the command became Robert Gray's, who had commanded the Cheraw regiment (see above.) The Georgetown regiment was also the same which Maj. Micajah Ganey held a commission in.
Effective date: 1 September 1780
Last known pay date: 17 August 1781
15/15

* *Col. John Fisher's Regiment*, Orangeburgh Regiment of Militia (Fork of Edisto and Orangeburgh)
Effective date: 14 June 1780
Last known pay date: 14 December 1780, though we know in point of fact that the unit was active at least as late as May 1781. Furthermore in September 1782, Fisher's Regiment, while in Charleston, was able to muster 91 effective privates.
10 companies: 456/507

* *Col. Nicholas Lechmere's Regiment*, Granville County Regiment of Militia, Beaufort District[371]
Effective date: 20 October 1780
Last known pay date: 12 November 1781
165/173

* *Lieut. Col. Samuel Tynes' Regiment*, Santee Militia District
Tynes men were badly scattered by Marion in November 1780, and only 30 ended up being paid.[372]
Effective date: 16 June 1780
Last known pay date: 13 December 1780
17/25

* *Col. Hezekiah Williams' Regiment*[373]
This unit was organized as a regiment at least as early as 12 Oct 1781.[374]

* *Capt. Peter Tyler's Company*, S.C. Loyal Militia,
Effective date: 1 Sept. 1780
Last known pay date: 1 Sept 1782.
25/27

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* Ninety Six Brigade
This Brigade was initially formed on 14 June 1780, and by about mid September Robert Cunningham was commissioned its Brigadier General. Lambert notes that Tory sentiment was much stronger north of the Saluda than south of it. Perhaps 1,500 men enlisted in the seven militia regiments in Ninety Six district and saw service with them in the period till December 1780, a greater number than any other part of the province.[375] Perhaps 1,500 enlisted in 7 Ninety Six regiments and saw service with them until Dec. 1780. In commenting on King's Mountain, Clinton states that all militia of Ninety Six, amounting to 4,000 men, were lost at *or* else due to that battle -- though these remarks of his should be treated as hyperbole rather than literally, as there were still a few, approximately some 400 or perhaps slightly more, serving afterward.[376]

For the initial strength of the Ninety Six Brigade in Mid June 1780 see the *Calendar* entry for that date. The effective start date for the following grouped regiments was 14 June 1780. Although the British evacuated Ninety Six in July 1781, some remnants of the brigade returned with them to Charleston and served to or about the war's end.

~ *Col. Daniel Clary's Regt.*, north of Saluda Regiment (modern Newberry County)
~ *Maj. Daniel Plummer's Regt.*, Fair Forest Regiment (modern Spartanburg County)
~ *Maj. Patrick Cunningham's Regt.*, Little River (of the Saluda) Regiment (modern Laurens County)

[370] CLS p. 187-190.
[371] CLS p. 120.
[372] LSL p. 117.
[373] CLS pp. 224-225.
[374] CLS pp. 224-225.
[375] LSL p. 112.
[376] SCV1 p. 103-104.
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This unit was originally commanded by Col. Robert Cunningham before he was promoted to Brigadier General. Although high hopes were held for it by Cornwallis it does not seemed to have played any specially significant role in battles or skirmishes.
~ *Col. Joseph Cotton's Regt.*, Stevens Creek regiment (modern Edgefield County)
~ *Col. Richard King's Regt.*, Long Cane Creek Regiment, (modern Greenwood and or McCormick Counties)[377]
King's regiment was formerly that commanded by Andrew Pickens before the fall of Charleston in 1780.
~ *Maj. Zachariah Gibbs' Regt.*, (modern Chester also York County)
~ *Lieut. Col. Moses Kirkland's Regiment* (or Fifth regiment of Militia), Lower Ninety Six Brigade
~ *Col. Thomas Pearson's Regt.*, (2nd) Little River (of the Saluda) Regiment (modern Laurens County)

~ *Major George Neal's Regt.*, Ninety Six Militia
This regiment was only operating in late 1781 and early 1782, and was not part of the original Ninety Six Brigade.[378]
~ *Major William Cunningham's Corps*, Little River (of the Saluda) Regt.,[379] Ninety Six Brigade
This regiment also was only operating in late 1781 and early 1782, and was not part of the original Ninety Six Brigade. Pay records only include December 1781, and into 1782[380]
68/85

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* *Charleston Volunteer Battalion*
After the fall of Charleston, a battalion formed of volunteers from Charleston was created to assist the city's garrison. They disbanded, if not sooner, by the evacuation of Charleston in December 1782.

CAVALRY
* *Capt. John Fanning's Independent Troop, S.C. Volunteer Horse*
This troop numbered at most some 25 to 50.[381]
Effective date: 21 August 1781
Last known pay date: 20 October 1781
19/24

* *South Carolina Light Dragoons*, John's and later James Island, Col. Edward Fenwick
Effective date: 22 January 1781
Last known pay date: 24 December 1781
22/30

North Carolina

* *Col. David Fanning's Regiment*
The effective date of this unit was 15 Feb. 1781. After that Fanning recruited in the course of his incursions out of Wilmington (as he relates in his "Narrative"); so that in a way it was a regiment formed "on the go." Only a tiny handful remained by Aug. 1782 to receive any pay, though one of Fanning's second in command, Capt. Meridith Edwards had by that date had been with him as long as 360 days.[382]
Effective date: 1 March 1781
Last known pay date: 24 August 1782
7/17

* *Col. Faithful Graham's Regiment*
With 5 companies of 10 to 20 men, they came to Charleston from Wilmington with Major Craig in November 1781.[383]
Effective date: 27 April 1781
Last known pay date: 1 December 1781
49/80

* *Lieut Col Hector MacNeil's Regiment*, Bladen County
From Bladen County, their leader Hector MacNeill was killed at Lindley's Mill in October 1781, and by January 1782 most of the unit lost or disbanded, though, by that date when it had removed to Charleston, it was still fielded by a Lieut. Col. Hector MacNeil, a relative of the original commander *and* with the same name. [384]
Effective date: ?
Last known pay date: 17 Jan. 1782
6/14

[377] This was formerly Andrew Pickens' regiment.
[378] CLS p. 223.
[379] CLS pp. 269, 271.
[380] CLS p. 269.
[381] CLS p. 343.
[382] CLS p. 361.
[383] CLS p. 348.
[384] CLS pp. 353, 411.
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* *Col. Samuel Campbell's Regiment*
Effective date: 24 November 1781
Last known pay date: 1 April 1782

* *Lieut Col John Moore's Regiment*
22 privates and 8 commissioned officers were all that remained of this regiment after Ramseur's Mill.[385]
Effective date: 14 June 1780
Last known pay date: 13 June 1781
22/30

* *Col. Duncan Ray's Regiment*, Anson County
From Anson County, and part of the Wilmington garrison which returned to Charleston. This was Col. Archibald McDougald's regiment.
Effective date: 21 February 1781
Last known pay date: 27 January 1782
4/10

* *North Carolina independent companies*
Aside from N. N. Hunter's light company from the North Carolina Volunteers, these were the sole units of North Carolina militia loyalists that Cornwallis was able to take with him into Virginia in the spring of 1781. They were taken at Yorktown, and ended up at Lancaster, PA. as prisoners.

~ Capt. N. N. Hunter's Co. of N.C. Volunteers
40/44

~ Capt. Eli Branson's Co. of N.C. Independents, captured at Yorktown
11/14

~ Capt. Thornton's Co. of N.C. Independents, Detached corps under the charge of Lieut. John de Beck, N.Y. Volunteers[386]
19/22

~ Capt. __ Hamilton's Co. of NC Independents, Detached corps under the charge of Lieut. John de Beck, NY Volunteers
28/32

Georgia

* Capt. Archibald Campbell's Troop, Second Troop of *Georgia Light Dragoons*
These served at the siege of Savannah in 1779. Campbell in 1781 was transferred to the S.C. Light Dragoons sometime in the spring of 1781.
Effective date: 1779
Last known pay date: June 1781
24/31

* *Georgia Dragoons*
In early 1781, Royal Governor James Wright received permission from Cornwallis to form additional small troops of Georgia Dragoons. When formed these were 20 to 30 man patrol units that operated out of Savannah and Augusta. They apparently were used more as a police force then as a regular military unit, as we don't hear of them coming up in the fighting.

* *Volunteers of Augusta*
These were raised sometime in late 1781 to assist in the defense of Savannah. Their numbers were probably not very great, probably less than 100.

Miscellaneous

* *West Florida Royal Foresters*
There were loyalists in Pensacola, FL from which a unit was formed called the West Florida Royal Foresters. Small loyalist military groups were also to be found in present day Mississippi and Louisiana.

[385] CLS p. 410.
[386] CLS pp. 414-416

German[387]

This list does not include all of the German regiments which served at the siege of Charleston in May 1780. Those not listed here left Charleston for New York in early June 1780. With the two very important exceptions of von Bose and the Feld Jägers Korps, the Germans were normally kept as garrison troops while in the south due to their tendency to desert. Indeed, even the von Bose regiment was not immune to the problem, and many slipped away from its ranks when Cornwallis was at Ramseur's Mill in late Jan. 1781.[388]

* *d'Angelleli*, also Regiment von d'Angelleli, (formerly *Regt. von Rall*) -- Hesse-Cassel
Von d'Angelleli was in Savannah at the time of its defense in October 1780. They were moved to Charleston in July 1780, and stayed there till November 1782.

* *von Bose*, also Regiment von Bose, (prior to 1778 denoted *von Trümbach*) -- Hesse-Cassel
Von Bose came south to Charleston with Leslie in December 1780, and soon following this became a permanent part of Cornwallis' army.

* *von Dittfurth*, also Regiment von Ditfurth -- Hesse-Cassel
Von Dittfurth arrived in Charleston in April 1780. Thereafter they served as a garrison regiment until November 1782 when they departed for New York.

* *von Huyn*, also Regiment von Huyn, and von Huyne, and *later* retitled von Benning -- Hesse-Cassel
Von Huyn came south with Clinton in January 1780 where it stayed as garrison regiment (being renamed in that year "von Benning") until leaving Charleston in November 1782. The units previous commander, Maj. Gen. Johann Christoph von Huyn, accompanied Clinton's expedition to Charleston, and also left with the commander imn chief when the latter returned to New York; only to succumb to consumption on 25 July 1780.[389]

* *von Knoblauch*, also Regiment von Knoblauch, (formerly von Wissenbach) -- Hesse-Cassel
Von Knoblauch served at the defense of Savannah in 1779, and finally left there in August 1782.

German Detachments

* *Hesse Cassel artillery company* -- Hesse-Cassel
There were up to three companies of Hessian artillerymen that arrived at Charleston with Leslie in December. 1780.

* *Jäger Corps*, also Jaeger Corps -- Anspach-Bayreuth[390] with some likely included from Hesse-Cassel
This unit was at the siege of Charleston, and was one of those which went back to New York with Clinton. Later about a 100 men arrived at Charleston in December 1780 with Leslie's reinforcement. Following this they served with Cornwallis until Wilmington where they were left to be later on November 18, 1781 removed to Charleston when the North Carolina seaport town was evacuated.

* *Starckloff's Troop of Light Dragoons,* Hesse-Cassel
In April 1781, Capt. Friedrich Starckloff's troop of light dragoons was formed from 60 officers and men of the three Hessian regiments in South Carolina. It was active until at least the end of 1781. Pay records for the unit give a 1 April 1781 starting date, and count 53 rank and file, of these 32 fit for duty, and with 8 officers and supernumeraries.[391]

[387] Although the vast majority of such units which served in the south were from Hesse-Cassel (or in more proper German, "Hessen-Kassel"), the German states that contributed mercenaries to Britain during the American war in all included: Anhalt-Zerbst, Anspach-Bayreuth, Braunschweig (Brunswick), Hanover, Hessen-Hanau, Hessen-Kassel, Waldeck.
[388] Garden: "Had but the opportunity been afforded to the battalions of Hesse, few of their number would ever have returned to Germany. Fourteen of these unfortunates, detected on one occasion in an attempt to escape, were found by our patrol, near their outposts, cut up to atoms. And there need no stronger proof of their anxiety to remain, than to mention, that on the night of the evacuation of the city [Charleston], considerably upwards of one hundred Germans were brought to the main Guard, who had concealed themselves in chiminies [chimneys] and common sewers, risking their lives, and supporting for many days all the miseries of hunger and thirst, rather than return to their Prince, and soil of their nativity." GAR1 p. 307.
[389] See USC pp. 365-397 for the diary of Maj. Gen. von Huyn.
[390] As per Babits, BLO pp.80-82; though typically reference is made elsewhere to these jaegers as being from Hesse Cassel.
[391] See CLS pp. 463-464.

"The Rebellion in America was at its last gasp; and a very few more month's escape from disaster on our side promised us every good effect of the most decisive victory, by insuring to Great Britain the future dependence of the revolted colonies on a firm and permanent basis. For it was well known at the time that the French would not (we now say could not) assist the Americans beyond the campaign of '81, and that America without such assistance could not resist."

~~ Sir Henry Clinton[392]

[392] CAR p. 293.

DECEMBER 1779

1 December. According to Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton's estimation, the total effective strength of the British army in the district of New York on 1 December 1779 was not more than 18,538; plus an additional 6,000 sick and unfit for duty most of whom, it was anticipated, would not be well and ready till at least Spring -- with a grand total then of 24,538.[393]

Alternatively to the above, South Carolna historian Edward McCrady gives us these figures: "The number of British troops in America on the 1st of December, 1779, amounted to 38,569, which were distributed as follows: New York and its dependencies, 28,756 [in contrast to Clinton's 24,538]; Halifax and Penobscot, 3460; Georgia, 3930; West Florida, 1787; Bermuda and Providence Island, 636. Washington's army, as we have seen, was nominally 27,000 strong. It was apparently practicable, therefore, now that D'Estaing had gone to the West Indies and left the coast clear, and now that he had the fleet under Arbuthnot to convoy his army, for Sir Henry Clinton to transport a sufficient force to strike a successful blow in South Carolina during the months in which operations were suspended at the North."[394]

Stationed at Savannah, Georgia at this same time were the following:
* *Key* (i.e. #/#): Rank and file/Full total
"Rank and File" refers to corporals and privates only.
"Full total," in addition to corporals and privates, includes regular officers, NCOs, supernumeraries, musicians or full total effectives. Both "Rank and File" and "Full Total," unless noted otherwise, represent fit for duty, and do not include sick, missing, those in captivity, etc.

Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost, first in command in Savannah
Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Porbeck, second in command

BRITISH
16th Regiment of Foot
71st Regt. of Foot (2 battalions)

GERMAN
Hessians
Regt. von d'Angelleli, Col. J. C. von Köehler
Regt. von Knoblauch, (von Porbeck)

PROVINCIALS AND LOYALIST MILITIA
1st Bttn. Delancey's Brigade, Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger
3rd Bttn. New Jersey Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen
New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull
South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes, 205/259[395]
King's Rangers, Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, 99/125[396]
Royal North Carolina Regt., Lieut. Col. John Hamilton
Georgia Loyalists, Maj. James Wright, Jr., 98/138[397]
South Carolina Loyalist Militia, Capt. Samuel Rowarth, Capt. Alexander Wylly[398]
Second Troop of Georgia Light Dragoons, Capt. Archibald Campbell, 24/31[399]

At the siege of Savannah in October 1779, there were 2,350 British, German and Provincial troops in Georgia, all situated within the province's capital. British casualties at the siege were so relatively light that the garrison by December would not have been less than 2,250-2,300 men -- if that low.[400]

With respect to American forces at or around this time, Washington had *about* 18,000 total Continentals in and around north New Jersey (Morristown, the army's main winter cantonment, and also Monmouth), east and southeast New York (West Point, Suffern, New Windsor) and Connecticut (Danbury.) This number was exclusive of temporary militia that could be called up nearby, and does not count Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's force in South Carolina, nor the 828 North Carolina Continentals (both officers and men) and 2,500 Virginia Continentals

[393] CAR p. 152n.
[394] MSC1 p. 426. And McCrady in turn cites "British Forces in America," summaries from State Papers Office, London; *Washington's Writings*, vol. V, [p.] 542. *Annual Register* (1780), vol. XXIII, [p.] 217."
[395] 1 Dec. 1779
[396] For 29 Nov. 1779, CLS p. 51.
[397] Abercorn, Georgia, 6 Dec. 1779, CLS pp. 435-436. In Feb. 1780 the Wright's Georgia loyalists numbers were 73/99.
[398] Both Rowarth and Wylley (prononcd "Willie") were officers in the King's Rangers -- at least Rowarth can be indubitably confirmed as such. In contrast, McCrady states: "McCall, the historian of Georgia, represents Wylley as a captain in the British service, but Browne states that he was one of those who had taken the oaths and obtained protection, and on this occasion [i.e. Mathew's Bluff, see *April* 1781] acted as guide and betrayed them." MSC2 259n. One possible explanation then is that Wylley took protection but then (somehow) obtained a commission; or else there were two "Wylleys." McCrady notwithstanding, Brown's biographer Edward Cashin concurs with McCall and assumes Wylley to have been a Captain in the King's Rangers.
[399] 30 Nov 1779, CLS p. 453.
[400] CGA p. 137, LSY p. 286.

which were en route to Lincoln at this time.[401] The North Carolinians marched from New Windsor, New York on 23 November 1779, and reached Charlestown by 3 March 1780, while the last of the Virginia Continentals dispatched southward left Morristown, N.J. on 12 December and did not reach Charlestown until 7 April. As well that same November, Baylor's dragoons, viz. the 3rd Continental Light dragoons under Lieut. Col. William Washington, numbering some 125 men, had been sent south also. And though, as we shall see, the Sir Henry Clinton's army and ships suffered terribly in their subsequent sea voyage south, at Morrristown in flimsy huts, Washington's men were going through what would end up being the worst and most severe winter of the conflict (even including 1777-1778, the period of Valley Forge.)[402]

In the deep south, most American forces were situated in Charlestown, under the leadership of Maj. Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts. The American contingent there that, by April 1780, would ultimately face Clinton would be comprised of ten "weak" Continental and State regiments from Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia -- for a total effective force of roughly about 4,000 (or 3,600 rank and file), which included 1,000 South Carolina and 1,000 North Carolina militia.[403]

However, prior to this Lincoln, i.e. at the end of January 1780, had reported to Congress he commanded only 1,400 Continental infantry and cavalry fit for duty along with 1,000 N.C. militia. The Continentals at that time were primarily from South Carolina, with also two Virginia battalion detachments and another from North Carolina. By February 1,248 N.C. militia had reached city. The remainder of Lincoln's aforesaid 4,000 subsequently came in the way of Virginia and North Carolina Continentals arriving as reinforcements (see 7 April.)[404]

Lincoln's navy, berthed at Charletown, consisted of Continental and S.C. Navy ships under Commodore Abraham Whipple, with Capt. Hoysted Hacker, second in charge, and stood thus:
Frigates: *Bricole* 44 guns; *Providence* 32 guns; *Boston* 32 guns; *Queen of France* 28 guns; *L'Adventure* 26 guns; *Truite* 26 guns, also *Ranger* 20 guns.
Brigs: *General Lincoln* (later renamed *General Moultrie*) 20 guns; *Notre Dame* 16 guns
All seamen present in port or in the town were impressed to serve either on the ships or on land. [405]

McCrady: "Lincoln's force at this time consisted of the South Carolina Continentals, which were now so reduced by death, desertion, battles, and the expiration of their terms of service, that they did not exceed 800; a detachment of Virginia Continentals, under Lieutenant Colonel William Heth, numbering about 400, which had arrived the December before; and a body of cavalry, consisting of Colonel [Daniel] Horry's dragoons; the remains of Pulaski's legion [that had undergone severe losses at the siege of Savannah in 1779], under, Major [Pierre-François] Vernier, which, however, all together did not muster but 379 men. Excepting the militia, Lincoln's whole force, therefore, at this time [Dec.-Jan.], did not muster 1600 men. Of the militia he had about 2000, including the Charlestown battalion of artillery, Colonel [Maurice] Simons's Charlestown Regiment, and [Brig.] General [Alexander] Lillington's North Carolina [militia] Brigade." [406]

4 December. British and Hessian units in New York scheduled to leave with Clinton for the conquest of the Carolinas received their orders to pack their baggage and equipment and prepare for embarking.[407]

16 December. Clinton's forces began boarding ships in the East River for an expedition intended for the capture of Charlestown and the subjuegation of rebel controlled South Carolina. They were supposed to have departed on the 19th but excessive cold and ice postponed loading, and not all vessels could reach the embarkation point until 21 December. When they did start sailing, one ship, *Pan*, was destroyed due to ice floes forcing it aground on Long Island shore. Six other transports were disabled by ice, and incapacitated entirely. Transfer of men and materials from those ships then further delayed embrkation another ten days.[408]

Sir Henry's force, including convoy, was made up as follows:

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[401] MSC1 p. 426, On average it took three months for a unit of Washington's marching from the Hudson to reach Charlestown. By contrast, a British unit carried by ship from New York, and in good weather, could arrive at the same in ten days. MSC1 p. 426. For further regarding the strength of Washington's army in late 1779 and early 1780, see also MSC1 p. 837 (and which includes data from official estimates by Maj. Gen. Henry Knox), WAR p. 611, BEA p. 747. Fred Anderson Berg's *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units*, p. 143, Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, pp. 153-154.
[402] Although the 1st Continental Light Dragoons had been in the south since 1779, their new colonel, Anthony Walton White, did not arrive to take command until April 1780, i.e. after Gen. Washington transferred him from the 4th Light Dragoons. Under Lieut. Col. Benjamin Temple, the 1st Dragoons eighty or so troopers had participated in Pulaski's ill-fated cavalry charge at Savannah. Thereafter, they were stationed near Augusta, until, upon the British invasion, they moved to a post 20 miles north of Charlestown at Bacon's Bridge under Maj. John Jameson, whom White later superceded. HWW pp. 51-52. BSC pp. 36-37.
[403] TCS p. 13, RSC2 p. 46, MLW4A pp. 133-135, MSC1 pp. 427-428, BEA p. 208.
[404] BSC p. 38. See 17 April 1780 for more details on specific units, artillery, and American and French naval forces present.
[405] The S.C. Navy had obtained the *Bricole* and *Truite* (both former transports), and *L'Aventure* from the French. The *Queen of France* may have originated with the French similalry, but this (per this writer at any rate) is as yet unclear. MLW4A p. 138, BSC pp. 39, 45, 47, 73. The *Providence*, *Boston*, *Ranger*, and *General Lincoln* (aka *General Moultrie*) had been sent to Charlestown by order of Congress on 10 November 1779. MSC1 pp. 429, 442.
[406] MSC1 pp. 427-28.
[407] USC pp. 367-368.
[408] USC pp. 104-111, 368, AR80 pp. 217-218, BSC p. 24.

BRITISH
1st and 2nd Light Infantry Battalions: 800
1st and 2nd Grenadier Bttns.: 900
7th Regt.: 400
23rd Regt.: 400
33rd Regt.: 450,
63rd Regt.: 400
64th Regt.: 350
detachment of 17th Light Dragoons
Guides and Pioneers: 150
Royal Artillery: 200

GERMAN
Hessian Grenadiers: 1,000, including
1st Bttn. Grenadiere von Linsingen, Lieut. Col. Otto Christian W. von Linsingen
2nd Bttn. Grenadiere von Lengerke, Lieut. Col. George Emmanuel von Lengerke
3rd Bttn. Grenadiere von Minnigerode, Col. Friedrich Henry von Schuler
4th Bttn. Grenadiere von Graff, Lieut. Col. von Graff

Regt. von Huyne: 800, Col. Friedrich von Benning

Jägers: 200, *including*
2nd Company, Anspach-Bayreuth Jäegers
Hesse Cassel Jägers (1 company)
Hesse-Cassel chasseur company, Capt. George Hanger
Hessian artillery detachment

PROVINCIALS
King's American Regt.: 100, Col. Edmund Fanning
Loyal American Volunteers: 300, Maj. Patrick Ferguson
British Legion, cavalry and infantry: 200, Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

Also accompanying Clinton's expedition were 250 Hessian and Provincial recruits for the regiments garrisoning Savannah.

Among the higher ranking officers Clinton had with him were Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, Maj. Gen. Henry Julian Kospoth, Maj. Gen. J. C. von Huyne, and Brig. Gen. James Paterson. Col. Francis Lord Rawdon, who would subsequently play a major role in the southern campaigns, was not with the initial invasion force, but arrived later, on 17 April, with a follow-up convoy of reinforcements. General Lieut. Gen. Wilhem Von Knyphausen meanwhile was left in charge of British forces in New York.[409]

TOTAL LAND FORCES UNDER CLINTON: 6,650-7,000 rank and file

Historian Henry Carrington gives a total of 7,550, not including the Hessian recruits. Subtracting the 42nd Regiment (700) and the Queen's Rangers (200) which Carrington, incorrectly includes in his list (these units came on 17 April), makes for 6,650. Adding the reinforcement of 2,566 rank and file effectives of 18 April, minus those not fit for duty -- thus getting a 1,863 rank and file fit for duty total for the reinforcements -- would bring Clinton's total rank and file force by late April to 8,513. Adding the complete 2,566 reinforcement gives (as an approximation) 9,216 total at the time of the siege proper, not including sailors or marines. Clinton in his memoirs states that his *initial* expedition did not exceed 7,000, which roughly corresponds with Carrington's figure as adjusted. Both Boatner and Borick, on the other hand, give the total of Clinton's expedition (including the April 18 reinforcement and *not* counting sailors and marines) as 8,700 effectives.[410]

Capt. Johannes Ewald of the Hesse-Cassel Jägers: "On 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th of December the following embarked in the East River at New York. Under Generals Cornwallis, Huyn[e], Kospoth and Paterson

1. 280 Hessian and Anspach Jagers
2. Two battalions of English light infantry, reckoned at 1,000 men, under Colonel [Robert] Abercromby and Major [Thomas] Dundas.
3. Two battalions of English grenadiers of 1,000 men under the two colonels [John] Yorke and [Henry] Hope.
4. Four battalions of Hessian grenadiers under lieutenant colonels Linsing, [Lt. Col. Georg Emanuel von] Lengerke, [Lt. Col. Ferdinand Henrich von] Schuler, and Graff.
5. The 7th, 23d, 33d, 63d, and 64th English regiments.
6. The Hessian Regiment Huyn.
7. The British Legion under Colonel Tarleton.

[409] SAW2 p. 176, WAR2 pp. 695-696.
[410] CAR pp. 152n, 167n, CBA pp. 493-494, BEA p. 206, LSY pp. 288-289.

8. A company of the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons.
9. A company of Bucks County, Pennsylvania refugees. [under Capt. Evan Thomas of Pennsylvania.]
10. The [Capt. John] Althouse sharpshooter company.[411]
11. The Scottish corps [Loyal American Volunteers] under Major [Patrick] Ferguson.
12. One hundred Hessian volunteers drawn from all the regiments under Sir George Hanger, who served as a volunteer with the Jager Corps.
13. 250 English and Hessian bombardiers and gunners under Majors [Peter] Traille and [Capt. Robert] Collins, which were equipped with all the necessities for a siege.
14. 200 pontoniers and pioneers.

"The entire corps numbered between 7,000 and 8,000." [412]

Historian Carl P. Borick states that for the campaign Clinton amassed a force of 8,708 men, as much as Burgoyne but (citing Clinton) 16,000 less than Howe had available to him. Clinton's initial fleet consisted of 100 ships and of these 88 transports, and included tents, bedding, clothing horses, entrenching tools, artillery, gunpowder, and food stores. As protection were five ships of the line, one fifty gun ship, 2 forty-four gun ships, four frigates, and two sloops.[413]

CLINTON'S NAVAL STRENGTH:

Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot, naval commander in chief
Royal Navy personnel: 4,000 to 5,000 sailors and marines.

There were 90 transports in all, with enough to carry 8,500 troops, plus the 396 horses brought along. 18 of the transports carried necessary supplies and ordnance.

The above were escorted by a convoy of warships including:
Europe, 64 guns; *Russell*, 74 guns; *Robuste*, 74 guns; *Defiance*, 64 guns; *Raisonable*, 64 guns; *Renown*, 50 guns; *Romulus*, 44 guns; *Roebuck*, 44 guns; *Blonde*, 32 guns; *Perseus*, 32 guns; *Camilla*, 20 guns; *Raleigh*, 28 guns; *Richmond*, 32 guns; *Virginia*, 28 guns[414]

Ewald: "The entire fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty-three sail, among which were a number of one-masters which had on board the horses for the dragoons, the mounted of the Legion, and the artillery."[415]

19 December. Clinton's expedition left New York harbor for Charlestown. [416]
Ewald: "The jägers, who were embarked last, left their miserable winter quarters early on the morning of December 19 full of joy. These quarters consisted only of half-finished huts and destroyed houses. Moreover, a very severe winter threatened us, with little wood available. Our comrades who had to remain behind wished us all blessings on our journey and would have gladly exchanged their lot for ours…" [417]

26 December. With Vice Admiral (of the Blue) Marriot Arbuthnot giving signal to weigh anchor, Clinton's expedition left Sandy Hook, New York[418] on a voyage that would end up lasting (for most of the ships) around thirty-eight days -- for a trip that ordinarily would have required only about ten.
However, on the 27th they were struck by a sharp squall that continued unabated till the 29th. [419]
Ewald: "On the morning of the 27th we lost sight of the coast and sailed SSE. Toward noon the wind turned NE and became stronger hour by hour, so that a very severe storm arose which continued until the 30th. The wind turned SE and the fleet had to tack about." [420]

[411] This unit along with 250 Hessian replacement recruits for Savannah, plus 150 Hesse and Anspach chausseurs, ended up landing in Cornwall, England with the *Anna*. USC pp. 106n-107n.
[412] EHJ p. 190. There is good reason to believe that Ewald's Diary describes events of the day prior to the given entry date, rather than events of the date given in his entry, though this isn't always clear. Nonetheless, we here will usually (unless informed otherwise) place a passage of Ewald's according to the date he gives. See for example EHJ p. 335.
[413] USC pp. 104-111, BSC p. 23
[414] EHJ p. 192, CBA p. 494.
[415] EHJ p. 192.
[416] EHJ pp. 190, 193, USC pp. 104-111, 369.
[417] EHJ pp. 190, 193.
[418] For a large fleet, Sandy Hook was usually two days out of New York City, with possibly a stop at Staten Island in between.
[419] USC pp. 104-115, AR80 pp. 217-218, TCS p. 4, GHA3 p. 346, CAR p. 159-160, MSC1 pp. 430-431, WAR2 pp. 695-696, LSY p. 42.
[420] EHJ pp. 190, 193.

JANUARY 1780

1-6 January. A second storm, this time combining rain, hail and snow took place. On the 9th, yet a third tempest blew, and a week later even more turbulent weather wracked the fleet. Gale winds dismasted many ships, some developed serious leaks, while others were completely lost. Both convoy and transport vessels, in general, were separated far and wide from each other. One transport, the *Anna*, with 200 Hessians on board, was caught in the Gulf Stream and was blown so far across the Atlantic it landed in Cornwall. As well, a few disabled ships were siezed by American privateers. One ship sunk was an ordnance ship carrying most of Clinton's artillery. Many supply stores, most of the artillery, and all of the cavalry horses were also lost in the voyage. The horses were either thrown overboard, had had their legs broken by the violent rocking motion of the ships (and consequently had to be destroyed), or else (though less likely) were lost with the captured ships. At least two ships lost their supply of rum, which only made the sea journey more difficult for their pasesngers. Much of the fleet was pushed into Gulf Stream thus lengthening the duration of their voyage to the rendezvous point at Tybee, Georgia.[421]
Diary of Hessian jaeger, Capt. Johann Hinrichs:
"[Jan. 5.] This morning we sailed for a few hours, but then the storm began to rage again so violently that toward noon it was necessary to lash the helm again and furl all, sails except one. The entire day and night one could see and hear nothing but the flags and shots of ships in distress. However, no one could go to their assistance. At noon our ship, too, sprung a leak below the cabin, near the helm. But it was easily stopped since one could get to it without trouble. The wind was NW. and we stood SW…
"[Jan. 8.] The wind was as violent as before, and from yesterday noon until noon today it was SW. The ship drifted WSW. In the afternoon we caught a shark. It weighed about two hundred pounds and measured nine feet and two and one-half inches from head to tail. I kept a piece of its skin, which is so sharp that it can be used as a fine saw in a mechanic's shop…
"[Jan 9.] Up to midnight last night we had a SW. storm; about twelve o'clock in the night the wind was WSW., and around ten o'clock in the morning it was N. by W. The helm was unlashed, and we made nine miles W. by N. before two in the: afternoon. At two o'clock the wind veered to the north and the storm abated. During the night there was a calm.
"[Jan. 10.] At seven o'clock in the morning we again raised the top-yard and set all mainsails. We were fifty-five ships. Around ten o'clock there came a gentle breeze from S. by W., before which we stood W. by N. In a short time the sea had become so calm and looked so innocent that one could almost come to love this treacherous element. We were especially happy because not a single jager had become ill, and flattered ourselves that we would be able to land within a few days; however, at two o'clock in the afternoon the wind veered to W.
"[Jan. 11.] This morning we had a head wind (SW.), and every inch we moved we went farther from our destination. We plied from S. to N. and from N. to S. In the afternoon there was a little mutiny among the crew, who complained to the ship's master about their rations. But everything was adjusted…
"[Jan. 13.] Everything the same! Still a westerly wind! We cruised up and down. Terrible weather! Snow, rain, hail, storm, foaming waves and bitter cold! Torward noon the *Judith* transport, carrying fascines and engineers, hoisted a flag of distress. She had sprung a leak and, furthermore, had lost all her yards. She approached the flagship and obtained assistance. Toward evening it cleared up, but the blue horizon was a foreboding of severe cold. During the night the wind veered somewhat to N., so that it was about NW. We stood WSW. and were hoping for the wind to shift still more to the north. With such hopes we slept fairly well, especially since the ship did not roll as much as usual, for snow and rain had beaten down the waves somewhat.
"[Jan 14.] However, we had hoped in vain; the wind remained the same, backing even more to the westward in the morning. We cruised up and down. The weather was rather good, but there was no indication of any change of wind in spite of the fact that the moon entered the first quarter in the afternoon..."[422]

24 January. On this date from Charlestown, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln wrote Brig. Gen. James Hogun of the North Carolina Line: "By what we learn from a vessel brought in here yesterday, it no longer remains a doubt but that the Enemy mean soon to invade this State. The latter end of Decem. [sic] a large fleet, wt. [with] a number of Troops on board, (some say 10,000,) left the Hook [Sandy Hook], conveyed by nine ships of war, six of them of the line, destined for Savannah, from which place we may expect them here. Your early arrival would add much to our safety, and is an event most ardently wished for. I, therefore, must entreat you to march the Troops under your command with all possible dispatch to this place."[423]

31 January. Lincoln to Lieut. Col. Francis Marion, at Sheldon: "The state of officers is such as to make it necessary that we draw our force to a point as much and as soon as possible. No troops will be kept in the field, except two hundred Light Infantry and the Horse. You will, therefore, please to select from the three regiments with you, two hundred of your best men and those who are best clothed, and organize them into a corps with proper officers. All the remainder, with the baggage of the whole, (saving such as is absolutely necessary for Light Troops,) will march immediately to this town. You will please take the command of the Lt. Infantry untill [sic] Lt. Col. [William] Henderson arrive, which I expect will be in a few days; after that I wish to see you as soon as may be in Charles Town Cross will deliver you this, a letter to Col. [Richard] Parker and another to Major

[421] USC pp. 115-141, 369-371, AR80 pp. 217-218, BSC p. 25.
[422] USC pp. 117-141.
[423] CNC14 p. 796.

[John] Jamieson You will send them on towards Augusta in the common route by four horsemen. Two will guide Col. Parker to this town by the shortest way, and the other two will guide Major Jamieson to your camp."[424]

Late January. Due to the heavy damage the ships underwent from the various storms, it was decided by Clinton and Arbuthnot to land in Georgia first, rather than make a direct landing outside Charlestown as was originally planned. "By the last of January" the first ships had rendezvoused and put in at Tybee Island on the tip of Georgia coast; each ship captain having prior written instruction to do so in the eventuality of the fleet's being divided. The rest of the scattered convoy and transport ships arrived at Tybee in different groups a number of days later (into February.)[425]

[424] GDH2 pp. 9-10.
[425] USC pp. 135-141, 369-371, AR80 pp. 217-218, TCS p. 4, SAW2 p. 176, CAR p. 159, MLW4A pp. 134-135, MSC1 p. 431, FWI p. 164, BEA p. 207.

FEBRUARY 1780

Early February. Lincoln instructed his two Virginia Continental detachments at Augusta, GA., led by Lieut. Colonels William Heth and Richard Parker, to return to Charlestown; meanwhile directing that battalions of Georgia and South Carolina militia take their place at Augusta. The Virginians augmented Lincoln's garrison strength a further 350 men.

1 February. By this time, all but 12 vessels of the British expedition had attained Tybee. Along the way, the ordnance ship *Russia Merchant* foundered and sank, taking with her much of the artillery and shot; while another ship, the 64 gun *Defiance*, lost critical entrenching tools when she went down off Tybee Island. Not long afterward, Clinton sent dispatches to British commanders in St. Augustine, Florida and the Bahamas asking that all the artillery and supplies that could be spared be sent to Savannah to make up for those lost at sea, which request was complied with. For a thorough account of both the voyage itself and a list of the ships and units that arrived in Georgia at or about this time, see Hinrichs' diary (USC). [426]
Ewald: "Toward morning the air was fair and the course set W by N. As soon as the air cleared up, the tongues of the men loosened again. About half past three we passed the men-of-war, which had anchored before the bar because of the lack of depth. At last, about four o'clock, we caught sight with true joy of the lighthouse of Tybee on the coast of Georgia. Toward six o'clock in the evening a large part of the fleet anchored safely in the mouth of the Savannah River, where to our joy we found over eighteen sail of the fleet which we had given up for lost. On the 3d I visited several of my good friends on board their ships to hear some news."[427]

2 February. From Tybee, Clinton sent Brig. Gen. James Paterson ashore with a detachment of about 1200 to head via Savannah towards Augusta. As part of this contingent, Paterson took with him replacements for the 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade and the German regiments, both of whom were already part of the Savannah garrison. Included with Paterson also were the Loyal American Volunteers, Ferguson's Corps, a detachment of the dismounted British Legion, 17th Light Dragoons and Cathcart's Legion [i.e. the British Legion]. These latter cavalry units were directed to collect horses where they could find them. [428]
Clinton: "[It was decided] to detach all the cavalry and about 1400 infantry under Brigadier General Paterson [in Savannah] to Augusta on the upper Savannah by way of making a diversion, while the remainder of our acting force, which did not exceed 5000 men,[429] proceeded by sea to lay siege to Charlestown." [430]

3 February. The British invasion having forced the suspension of legislative sessions, the South Carolina assembly conferred on Gov. John Rutledge wartime dictatorial powers; pending the time they could once more re-convene in safety. When they did finally meet again in January 1782, after almost two years of dedicated and distinguished service in this capacity, Rutledge finally stepped down. His contribution has been overshadowed by the more romantic exploits of the likes of Marion and Sumter. Yet during this time of crisis and civil disorder he played a seminal role in both maintaining the state's war effort and preventing it from sinking into chaos.[431]
Among his first acts in his new appointment was to call out the South Carolina militia. He also ordered out Black Volunteers, that is from South Carolina slaveholders, to aid in the defense. The response was relatively nil due to concern about loyalists, and in some cases Indians, in their own neighborhoods, plus (unfounded) fear of smallpox in Charlestown; yet others remained on plantations for fear of slave insurrections.[432] Among the exceptions who did make it to Charlestown were militia from the Peedee area under Col. George Hicks, Lieut. Col. Abel Kolb, Majors Tristram Thomas and Maurice Murfee who came to Charlestown in two detachments (one in January and the second in February) and were posted at Ten Mile House. These Peedee militia left, however, when their term of service expired sometime in April.[433]
William Dobein James: "The first order issued by Governor Rutledge, was, to call out the drafted militia, for the defence of the town, under pain of confiscation of property. This order was but partially obeyed; -- the militia, who were friendly to the cause, had been much harassed in the last campaign, and it was generally known that the small-pox was in the town. At the same time, the governor sent out many influential officers, to secure the execution of his first order; and though intended only to operate for the present, this last order was in time productive of a fortunate result; as these officers afterwards headed the people."[434]

John Marshall: "The legislature on its meeting had enabled the executive to employ slaves to work on the fortifications; and, alarmed at the formidable army with which their country was invaded, had passed an act

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[426] USC pp. 141-145, 173-177, 221, AR80 pp. 217-218, CAR pp. 160, 172, LSL p. 121, BSC p. 69.
[427] EHJ pp. 194-195.
[428] USC p. 371, MLW4A p. 137, BSC pp. 26-28.
[429] McCrady puts this number at 6,000. MSC1 p. 435.
[430] Clinton misspeaks slightly because Paterson's force did not reach a strength of 1,400-1,500 until it was reinforced at Savannah. See 5 March. CAR p. 160. McCrady speaks of Clinton's initial Charleston force as 6,000 rather than the 5,000 given here. MSC1 p. 435.
[431] MSC1 p. 432. For more on Rutledge, see LMS p. 125, GAR1 pp. 11-12, 173-176; while for his wartime letters to the delegates of the S.C. Assembly, annotated by Joseph W. Barnwell and which are not infrequently a rich mine of historical information, see *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, pp. 131-146; vol. XVIII, Jan. 1917, pp. 42-49; vol. XVIII, Apr. 1917, pp. 78-84; vol. XVIII, July 1917, pp. 131-142.
[432] JFM p. 12, MSC1 pp. 425, 430, WAR2 p. 698, BEA p. 955, SFR p. 591n, BSC pp. 42-53, 58.
[433] GHC p. 301, MLW4A pp. 136, 143-144, MSC1 p. 425.
[434] JFM p. 12.

'delegating to governor Rutledge and such of his council as he could onveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial.'
"Under these acts, about six hundred slaves were immediately employed on the works, and vigorous, though not very successful measures were taken by the executive to assemble the militia of the country."
"The fallacious hope was entertained, that if the fortifications could be so improved as to render the town defensible before the siege should commence, the garrison would be made sufficiently strong by the re-enforcements expected from the north, and by the militia of the state, to maintain the place, and compel sir Henry Clinton to raise the siege."[435]

Lossing: "[Gov. John] Rutledge ordered three hundred negroes to be brought from the neighboring plantations to work upon the [Charlestown] fortifications, and within a few days cannons and mortars were mounted; a trench, filled with water, stretched across the Neck from the Ashley to the Cooper, and two rows of abatis[436] protected the whole. Fort Moultrie, the redoubts at Haddrell's Point and Hobcaw (Lampriere's), the works at South Bay, Hospital Point, and all along the city front, were strengthened and manned. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was placed in command of the garrison at Fort Moultrie. Captain Daniel Horry was sent to Ashley Ferry to watch the approach of the enemy, and General Moultrie went southward to gather the militia, direct the movements of the cavalry, and annoy the enemy on his approach." [437]

4 February. Ewald: "Today the admiral put out to sea with the fleet to blockade the harbor of Charlestown. I heard today that Fort Mobile [Fort Charlotte at Mobie] on the Mississippi in Florida had been taken by the Spanish…[this was garrisoned by the Waldeck regiment.]" This earlier report of Mobile having been taken was mistaken. Regarding the actual Spanish attack there, see 14 March.
Although Spain was allied with the French against Britain, and this in large measure prompted by a desire to sieze Gibraltar, it was not, like France, formally or by treaty allied with the United States as such.

10 February. A Return of the Brigade of North Carolina militia, comprised of 6 infantry plus 2 small cavalry regiments, under Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington and stationed at Charlestown gives their total numbers as 1,248. The infantry regiments were denominated according to their districts, i.e. Wilmington, Edenton, New Bern, Halifax, Salisbury, Hillsborough.[438]

10-11 February. Stormy weather having subsided Clinton and Arbuthnot, with most of the Charlestown expedition, set sail from Tybee Island to land at the North Edisto River (between Simmons [now Seabrook] Island and Tucker's Island) whose mouth lies twenty five miles south of Charlestown. Continued rain and winds, however, slowed their progress. By the 11th, the British had seized John's Island, Stono ferry, James' Island, Perreneau's landing, Wappo cut -- all locations just to the south or southwest of Charlestown. In addition, the advanced portions of the expeditionary force occupied the bank of the Ashley River opposite Charlestown. The passage to the islands, that in terms of navigation was exceedingly treacherous, was not achieved without some difficulty. Yet, very fortunately for Clinton, this problem was largely overcome by the expertise and assistance of Capt. Keith Elphinstone of the Royal Navy.[439]

De Brahm,[440] entry for 9 February: "The English fleet arrived in Stono Inlet; the alarm was fired in Charlestown." Entry for 10 February: "The [British] troops landed." [441]

DeSaussure: "On the retreat of Gen. [Augustine] Prevost in May 1779, he [Prevost] had taken the route by these Sea Islands. In June 1779, a stubborn battle[442] had taken place near Stono Ferry, the American army endeavoring to cross at that place so as to attack the rear of the British then on John's Island. Sir Henry Clinton was, therefore, acquainted with these water-ways, and knew that if he was to be molested on John's Island, it was almost necessarily by the way of Stono Ferry. The promptness with which he possessed himself of Stono Ferry showed his appreciation of its value to him. In all probability the flat bottomed and light draught vessels required to pass over the Church Flat Shoals, where the Wadmalaw and Stono Rivers connect their waters, had been all prepared prior to his sailing from Savannah, so as to allow him to act with dispatch. Stedman says: 'The flat bottomed boats had been brought from North Edisto Sound, through the inlets by which the coast is intersected, until they entered Ashley River by Wappoo Cut." The possession of this ferry enabled him to prepare more leisurely and effectively for his future operations against Charles Town. It was scarcely possible for the American army to attack him on John's Island by way of James Island, for the Stono River, during the

[435] MLW4A pp. 136-137.
[436] An abatis is a defensive obstacle made by laying felled trees on top of each other with branches, sometimes sharpened, facing the enemy.
[437] LFB2 p. 558.
[438] CNC22 p. 1022.
[439] USC pp. 179-181, 371-373, AR80 p. 218, BSC pp. 28-29.
[440] Ferdinand de Brahm was a French engineer serving under Lincoln and DuPortail in Charlestown who kept a journal of the siege. His entries given here and subsequently would seem to usually record events of the day prior to the entry date give. For purposes of this work, and unless noted otherwise, they are placed chronologically according to the date *he* gives; that is usually and presumably a day later than the event or events being recorded (and as indicated by context.) GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[441] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[442] Regarding the Battle of Stono, 20 June 1779, and at which Lincoln, Moultrie, Jethro Sumner, Isaac Huger, John Butler, the Marquis de Malmedy, William Henderson, Joseph Graham, and William Richardson Davie were present (Pulaski was absent), as well as John Maitland, James Moncrieff, John Hamilton, and Archibald McArthur on the part of the British -- all of whom, except Maitland, would subsequently play important parts in the events of 1780 and 1781. See LMS pp. 130-132.

whole of its course separating it from John's Island, is a bold, navigable stream, in which the British fleet could send light vessels, and so render any attack very hazardous to the American army.'"

Tarleton: "On 10th February the transports, with great part of the army on board, convoyed by a proper force, sailed from Savannah to North Edisto, the place of debarkation which had been previously appointed. They had a favorable and speedy passage, and through it required time to have the bar explored and the channel marked, by the activity of the navy these difficulties were surmounted, the transports all entered the harbor the next day, and the army immediately took possession of John's Island and Stono Ferry; James Island, Peronneau's Landing, Wappoo Cut and other adjacent places were soon afterwards obtained, and by a bridge thrown over the canal the necessary communications were secured and the advanced part of the King's army occupied the bank of the Ashley River, opposite to Charles Town."[443]

Ewald: "Early on the morning of the 11th the fleet set sail. The wind was so favorable that about noon we reached the mouth of the North Edisto, and toward evening the harbor, which forms a circular basin in which one hundred ships can ride at anchor. Although the mouth of this harbor is so narrow that only two ships at a time can wind through the sandbars, Captain [Keith] Elphinstone guided the entire fleet through safely. We dropped anchor near Simmons Island, the coastline of which surrounds a part of the basin. [Here in the evening at Simmons Island they disembarked, Ewald gives list of order of disembarkation.]…"

"First Disembarkation
"English grenadiers and light infantry under General Leslie, with whom were the Commanding General and Lord Cornwallis.

"Second Disembarkation
"Hessian grenadiers, the jager detachment, and the 33d Regiment which were to perform the service of the light infantry. The first was placed under General Kospoth and the last two under Brigadier Webster, a very meritorious man.

"Third Disembarkation
"The 7th and 23d regiments under Brigadier [Lieut. Col. Alured] Clarke. The 63d, 64th, and the Hessian Garrison Regiment Huyn[e] under General Huyn." [444]

Hinrichs: "[The 11th] This afternoon the light infantry, the British grenadiers and two companies of Hessian grenadiers began the disembarkation. Rain and darkness prevented us from following. The army was divided into the following brigades:

"Lord Cornwallis:
Light infantry, British grenadiers} Major General Leslie
Hessian grenadiers} Major General von Kospoth

"Lieutenant Colonel Clarke:
7th [Regt.], 23rd

"Lieutenant Colonel Webster:
Jägers, 33rd, 71st
Note. The 1st Battalion of the 71st was with General Paterson, and the 2nd with General Leslie, who had not yet come down the Savannah River when we departed from Tybee.

"Major General Huyn:
63rd, 64th, Huyn's"[445]

Clinton: "Violent gales of wind had driven out to sea some transports that were bringing to us a battalion of the Seventy-first Regiment from Savannah. The *Defiance,* of sixty-four guns, belonging to Mr. Arbuthnot's squadron, was likewise lost at the entrance of Tybee harbor. And many other untoward circumstances, the effects of the present tempestuous season, considerably retarded the movements of the fleet and kept back the cooperation and assistance we anxiously expected from them. However, as soon as the remaining line-of-battle ships could be secured in Beaufort harbor, some heavy guns, ammunition, and seamen were forwarded from them, and the rest of the ships assembled off Stono. A battalion was immediately upon this sent to the Lighthouse Island [Morris Island] and two twenty-four-pounders mounted in a battery to cover the boats of the fleet while laying buoys on the passage over the bar. It was, however, the 20th of March before we had the satisfaction to see the Admiral's flag flying on board the *Roebuck* in Five Fathom Hole."[446]

[443] TCS p. 5.
[444] DSC, TCS pp. 5-6, CAR pp. 160-162. EHJ pp. 195-196.
[445] USC pp. 179-181.
[446] Five Fathom Hole was where the British ships anchored just outside Charlestown harbor. CAR p. 162.

Early to Mid February. Lieut. Col. William Washington, arriving with his regiment from the north, sent Maj. Richard Call ahead with an advance detachment of the 3rd Continental Light Dragoons to link up with Maj. Jameson's 1st Light Dragoons at a location just above and outside Charlestown. See early March 1780.[447]

12 February. Lincoln wrote to General Washington: "I have received information that on 3d inst. The enemy landed about eight thousand troops, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. I am told that fifty sail of vessels got into North Edisto this day[;?] by a person just from Edisto I learn that the number of vessels in the harbor there is little [over?] fifty.[448]

Marshall: "General Lincoln received a re-enforcement of between three and four hundred Virginia regulars, who had marched from Petersburg under the command of colonel Heth, and of some new levies and militia from North Carolina. His force, however, was still so incompetent to the defence of the place, and the works around it were so incomplete, that had Sir Henry Clinton been in a condition to march against it immediately after effecting his landing, the town must necessarily have fallen into his hands. But the injuries and losses sustained during the voyage from New York to Savannah, had unfitted him for immediate operations, and he seems to have determined 1780. to commit nothing to hazard."[449]

Sir Henry Clinton: "[On] Page 180, vol. ii. Mr. Stedman says, 'that General Lincoln had reflected on the British Commanders for their tardiness in making their approaches to the siege of Charles Town.' Surely, it might naturally occur to Mr. Stedman (as it has done to others) that every delay (mortifying and unavoidable as they were) tempted General Lincoln to fortify Charles Town Peninsula, and put the fate of both Carolinas on that of Charles Town."[450]

12-14 February. Having landed his whole force at the southwest end of at Simmons Point on Simmons (now Seabrook) Island, Clinton established headquarters at Stono Ferry, on the Ashley River; that acted as the natural southern boundary of the city of Charlestown. From John's Island on the 14th, Clinton ordered the 33rd Regt and Hessian jägers to occupy Stono ferry. Some Americans were posted at north bank of the Stono, probably Daniel Horry's command which Lincoln had recalled from Sheldon on the Saltketcher River about this same time.[451] But these offered no resistance and withdrew. Clinton himself reconnoitered the ferry the next day.
Clinton intended, notwithstanding, to advance his main forces via James Island rather than inland from Stono in order that he could be more easily supplied by water. After the taking of Stono Ferry, Capt. Elphinstone provisioned the British troops on Johns Island by dispatching boats of the fleet from the North Edisto up through Wadmalaw Creek then to the Stono River.[452]
Among the Americans meanwhile, Horry withdrew to join Gen. William Moultrie at Biggin's Bridge aka Bacon's Bridge (close to present day Summerville), which spanned the Ashley River.[453]

13-14 February. Leslie's brigade, with whom Hinrichs was present, on the 13th advanced from Simmons Island to a location just facing Stono Ferry. For further details of their movements and activities up to the 17th, see USC pp. 185-189, 373.

14 February. A letter from by Colonel John Laurens, at Charlestown, to General Washington: "The British army, said to be under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, are distributed on Port Royal Island, John's Island, Stono Ferry, and a detachment last night landed upon James' Island. The headquarters are at Fenwick's house, on John's Island. Four of their galleys have been seen between John and James' Island. The number of troops, not known, supposed to be much diminished since the embarkation at New York. About twelve deserters from the fleet and army have come into Charlestown, and as many prisoners are taken by our light horse. Different deserters from the fleet and army agree in reporting heavy losses at sea. Three ships foundered, many dismasted, one brig, two ships are taken, and brought into Charlestown; a brig is carried into North Carolina. One of the deserters informs, that thirteen sail were left on the rocks of Bermuda. There is undoubtedly some grand impediment to the enemy's progress. All their horses perished at sea, and much of their furniture was captured. Three days ago passed by Charlestown bar, in a hard gale wind, a sixty-four gun ship, a frigate, and some transports. These may be gone to New York for further supplies; but all is conjecture. Near the bar of Charlestown daily appears a frigate and others ship of war, reconnoitering and blocking up the harbor. We have four Continental frigates, two French armed ships, two State armed ships, six other armed vessels, some of them carrying very heavy cannon. The enemy's delay has afforded an opportunity for strengthening the lines of Charlestown, which will be in pretty good order tomorrow. The number of men within the lines is uncertain; but by far too few for defending works of near three miles in circumference; especially considering many of them to be citizens, and unaccustomed to the fatigues of a besieged garrison, and many of the Continental troops half naked.

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[447] HWW p. 52.
[448] DSC.
[449] MLW4A pp. 135-136, and similarly LMS p. 145.
[450] *Observations on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War* by Sir Henry Clinton, J. Debrett, London, 1794, p. 7.
[451] Lincoln's cavalry consisted of 379, including the 1st and 3rd Continental light dragoons, remaining cavalry of Pulaski's legion, under Vernier, and two troops of S.C. light horse under Col. Peter Horry and Maj. Hezekiah Maham. Clinton's force had no cavalry at this point, except that which was with Paterson, who was collecting mounts in Beaufort area, BSC pp. 4-55.
[452] USC pp. 179-184, BEA p. 206, BSC pp. 52-53.
[453] AR80 p. 218, BSC p. 50. For more on Bacon's Bridge, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/baconsbridge.htm

"Reinforcements are expected -- General Hogan [James Hogun] is within a few miles. The Virginia troops are somewhere! -- assistance from that state has been expected these eighteen months. General Moultrie is forming a camp at Bacon's Bridge, where he has five hundred horse belonging to South Carolina -- Baylor's [William Washington's] and Bland's [Anthony White's][454]regiments of Virginia. General [Andrew] Williamson is encamped at Augusta -- a thousand men are expected from his brigade. General Richardson and Colonel Carlen are raising the militia at and about Camden. At this moment the escape of the Americans depends on further delay on the enemy's part: two or three weeks more will make this garrison strong…"[455]

14-16 February. Clinton sent Hessian Grenadiers to occupy Fort Johnson on James Island; a fort which had been blown up and abandoned on the 14th by Continental Marines dispatched for that purpose by Commodore Whipple, and in consequence of orders received from Governor John Rutledge.[456]

15 February. The South Carolina Assembly decreed that all boats and watercraft removed within two miles of seacoast and brought into Charlestown; the absence and unavailability of which subsequenly helped to slow the British approach on the city.[457]

18 February. [capture] Charleston Ambush (Charleston County, S.C.) Cavalry under Maj. John Jameson took 3 British soldiers of the 23rd Regt. prisoner.[458]

19 February. Royal Navy Captain Keith Elphinstone sailed 2 schooners, and a flat boat into the Stono River in advance of the transports.[459]

19 February. Originally marching from Philadelphia, Brig Gen. James Hogun with 700 N.C. Continentals reached Wilmington on their way to reinforce Charlestown.[460]

19 February. Earlier in the month, Lincoln had dispatched Maj. Gen. Moultrie to Bacon's Bridge to form a camp for the gathering of the militia outside of Charlestown. Moultrie, whose command totaled 606, had with him 379 cavalry under Maj. Jameson (including the state cavalry under Horry), and 227 Continental light infantry 227 (drawn from the three Continental Regiments); with militia as yet with him. His Continentals were first under the leadership of Col. Francis Marion. Marion, however, by mid March was subsequently recalled to town so that command of the light infantry went to Lieut. Col. William Henderson.[461]

20 February. Capt. Elphinstone was able to get transports into the Stono river. The vessels sailed to Mathew's Ferry where the crews could now debark supplies directly to the army. With the navy present to furnish, provide and assist them, the British now had John's Island securely controlled and established as an expeditionary base.[462]

21 February. Hurricane like whether delayed Clinton's crossing over to James Island, ready and supplied as he now was by water. The tempest drove out to sea 20 British transports arriving in a convoy and blew ashore two others posted in the North Edisto. To compound matters, the next day, one of three British galleys blew up as a result of an accident. Moultrie reported to Lincoln that rain made it difficult if not impossible for the British army to move their supplies and equipment.[463]

22 February. Moultrie, at Bacon's Bridge with 379 cavalry, to General Lincoln: "I did not write you sooner, as I waited for the return of a party of horse that had gone out towards the enemy's lines at Stono, which might returned last night. Major Jemeson [John Jamison] informs me he has within view of the centries [sentries] of their picquets [sic], posted at the cross-roads; that he had not heard of any number coming out, except the first day or two, to drive in some stock. By the accounts he got, he believes there are not so many at Stono as when they first took post there; that some of them are returned to John's Island."[464]

22 February. [capture] Stono Ferry (Charleston, S.C.) Major Hezekiah Maham's cavalry on patrol captured a British officer and eight privates prisoner who were attempting to retrieve a grindstone from a farm just north of Stono Ferry. [465]
On Feb. 23, Molutrie wrote Lincoln: "Major [Hezekiah] Maham and Capt. Sanders with a party of' horse, took Capt. McDonald and eight privates yesterday [22 February] near their picquet...We are much in want of ammunition -- the people about the country have none."[466]

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[454] At this time the 1st Continental Light dragoons were under Maj. John Jameson's command. White did not arrive in S.C. till April 23rd.
[455] MDR pp. 410-411 as well see Laurens' letter of 25 Feb. at ATR80b pp. 52-53. The extract of this letter printed in Tarleton gives the date at February 25th.
[456] USC pp. 199-200, 373, EHJ pp. 198-202, BSC pp. 44, 63-64.
[457] BSC p. 52.
[458] BSC p. 56.
[459] USC pp. 189-191.
[460] CNC14 p. 798. MSC1 pp. 427-428.
[461] MSC1 pp. 435-436.
[462] USC pp. 189-191, EHJ p. 202, BSC p. 53.
[463] EHJ p. 202.
[464] DSC.
[465] USC pp. 191-193, BSC p. 56.

24 February. Weather cleared so as to allow the British to cross over to James Island. The two light infantry battalions embarked in boats at Fenwick's plantation (on John's Island just below Wappoo Cut.) The Grenadiers disembarked at Hamilton's plantation. Elphinstone's gunboats covered their flatboats.[467]

25 February. Ewald: "…the [lead] corps under Lord Cornwallis crossed the Stono River at Mathew's Ferry and landed at Hamilton's Ferry on James Island."[468]

25 February. Moultrie, at Bacon's Bridge to Lincoln: "[Yesterday] I took the two Majors and a party with me to reconnoitre the enemy on James and John's Island. We proceeded to Wappoo Cut, from whence we had a very good view of their whole encampment: their left on Stono River, extending their right along the ditch in Mr. Hudson's pasture, to the end of the ditch, near Wappoo Creek, which I take to be a quarter of a mile; by the stacks of arms, and number of men moving about, I judge them to be about one thousand or twelve hundred, British and Hessians: in Stono River I saw gallies and two schooners, and some small boats sailing down the river: one galley lay at the mouth of Wappoo Cut; another lay at Hudson's landing, and one at Fenwick's lower landing: they have thrown up a work near the cut." [469]

26 February. [skirmish] Pon Pon Road (Colleton County, S.C.) Ewald: "Since several officers of the 7th and the 23d regiments of the [Alured] Clarke Brigade begged General Leslie to allow them to go out on patrol to share the glory of the service with the light troops, their request was approved and one captain, two officers, and fifty men were sent out early today. They took the route toward Ponpon to collect Negroes and livestock, if any were still left.
Ewald: "The Chevalier [Pierre-François] Vernier was informed at once by the country people, who were devoted to him, while they hated us from the bottom of their hearts because we carried off their Negroes and livestock. After he had observed these people for a long time, marching like a changing of the guard, Vernier followed alongside them on their return march until they were inside the narrow approaches between the ponds. Since they had not seen or heard anything of the enemy on their way out, they marched back in tranquility and without formation. Suddenly Vernier attacked them on all sides and killed and wounded nearly half of these people, who had their impertinent and unskilled officers to thank for their misfortune.
"As soon as we heard the firing every jager grabbed his rifle and hurried to their assistance with all speed. By luck we arrived just in time, when the enemy had cut off the whole detachment and was about to finish them off. The chevalier, who seemed to be certain of his prey, now in turn received rifle fire from all directions and withdrew. The English detachment was rescued, but they had ten killed and nine wounded. Afterward, we surely killed and wounded just as many of the enemy. In addition, we captured one noncommissioned officer, four soldiers, and two lancers, and took three horses. [470]

27 February. Ewald: "At none o'clock in the evening the corps under Colonel Webster recrossed the Stono River and took position at William Ashley's plantation on John's Island. The remainder of the 71st Scottish Regiment, which had arrived from Savannah, joined us here. The regiment had melted away during this war from three thousand to four thousand men, due partly to the sword and partly to the climate. A captain and one hundred men remained in the redoubts at Stono River."[471]

28 February. Commodore Whipple requested captain of *L'Aventure* to fall down near Fort Johnson and fire upon enemy encampment there. Ensuing broadsides from the ship killed two Hessian grenadiers and one British Soldier. Clinton, in reaction, personally rode up and ordered Kospoth to a safer location.
DeSaussure: "On 28th February, Col. Daniel Horry wrote: 'I am just returned from Lucas' old field and Wappoo Cut: and with a small party I went over to a point called Long Island: the galley is at her old station, and about twenty-four or twenty-five at Mr. Hudson's landing, with four armed schooners, and two other schooners, with a number of armed boats are now going up Stono; probably with a view to bring off the baggage from that post; which we are told now consists of a command, with six hundred men to guard their provisions and boats.' The reinforcements under General Patterson [Paterson] were now advancing along the road by Stono Ferry, for on 29th February , Major Richard Call says 'the officer who went down the Pon Pon Road reports that their drums beat and their horns sounded about eight o'clock.' This approach enabled a concentration on James Island preparatory to an advance."[472]

29 February. Ewald: "On the 29th, while work was being done on a redoubt at the demolished Fort Johnson on James Island, the workmen were disturbed by the firing of two enemy frigates. A Hessian grenadier captain had the standard guard and two field pieces of a Hessian grenadier battalion brought up against the frigates. They

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[466] BCA.
[467] USC pp. 193-195, 373, BSC pp. 62-63.
[468] EHJ p. 202-203, , USC pp. 193-197, DSC.
[469] DeSaussure: "Richard Hutson at that time owned the plantation on James Island, immediately at the junction of Wappoo Cut and Stono River, and the ditch above alluded to is probably what is now known as Elliott's Cut. William Elliott had opened this Elliott's Cut prior to 1777, through 'high and loose land,' and almost certainly is the ditch alluded to. In the map accompanying Stedman's History of the American War, a fleche or redoubt is shown directly at the intersection of Wappoo Cut and Stono River, and another, apparently a square redoubt, is shown on Wappoo Creek, about a half mile near Charleston." DSC.
[470] EHJ pp. 202-203.
[471] DSC.
[472] DSC.

were so well received by the enemy that two grenadiers and one gunner were killed by the first shot. General Kospoth recalled the guard and the pieces, relieved the captain, and the frigates remained quiet."[473]

Late February. When Lincoln earlier in the month had removed Continental troops from Georgia, Georgia asked South Carolina to send troops to help defend its western borders. The latter then in late February dispatched Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson from the Ninety Six district with about 300 militia to Augusta (some of these were themselves from Georgia and presumably already present there); and where Williamson remained till May 29 (after the siege was already concluded.)[474]

Late February to March. For the next few weeks, the main British army was engaged in "establishing magazines and erecting works to defend communications, near the banks of Ashley river." To replace horses lost at sea en route to Charlestown from New York was a top priority for the dismounted British Legion and 17th Lt. Dragoons. "To procure others," writes Clinton, "was one of our first cares after we arrived in Tybee; and Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, who commanded the Legion, had removed at his own request with the dismounted troopers of both [i.e. the Legion and 17th Dragoons] to Port Royal Island for that purpose. Here by great exertion and good luck he collected a number of horses (some marsh tackies which made poor cavalry horses), in time to join Brigadier General Paterson as he passed by that route in his march to the army before Charlestown." Tarleton himself with the main body of his legion was at Beaufort, where he had managed to collect enough horses to mount his cavalry. Notwithstanding, these horses were largely unsuited for military service. The juncture with Paterson referred to by Clinton took place in March.[475]
William Dobein James: "(T)he enemy proceeded cautiously in the siege of Charlestown. They formed a depot on James Island, and erected a fortification on it, and the main [depot], near Wappoo cut."[476]

[473] EHJ p. 203, USC pp. 374-375.
[474] CGA p. 131.
[475] USC pp. 193-197, 374-375, TCS pp. 9, 6-7, CAR p. 165, WAR2 p. 701.
[476] JFM p. 12.

MARCH 1780

Early March. Having taken both James and John Islands, the British now controlled both banks of the lower Stono River. The upper reaches of the Stono River being no further use to them, Clinton directed that the works there be dismantled and abandoned. Remaining British transports were sailed from the North Edisto into the Stono. Except for a detachment left behind to protect the Johns Island bank of the Stono, the rest of the army was moved to James Island. From James Island, the light infantry, including the jägers, resumed their advance on Wappoo Bridge.[477]

Early March. From Feb. 29 thru March 7, Washington, Jameson, and Horry's cavalry were stationed at or near Charles Elliott's plantation, then known as "Sandy Hill." Maj. Richard Call of Washington's regiment scouted British Movements near Stono Ferry, as their army advanced on Charlestown.[478]

3 March. After a long and difficult march from Washington's army in New York, Brig. Gen. James Hogun arrived in Charlestown with 700 North Carolina Continentals.[479]
Lincoln, on this date, wrote to Brig. Gen. William Caswell of the N.C. militia: "near the center of ye. State [South Carolina] the people in general are disaffected, and the friendly are insufficient to restrain ye. Friendly."[480]

3 March. To remedy his shortage of cannon and ammunition, and other equipment lost in the voyage, Clinton had earlier wrote commanders at St. Augustine, the Bahamas, and the West Indies entreating them to send what artillery and stores they could. Some entrenching tools then arrived from them on this date.[481]

4 March. Lincoln reported to General Washington: "Sir Harry [Henry Clinton] seems to be collecting his force on James Island, and is there throwing up some works; one among the ruins of Fort Johnson, another a little to the Westward of it. It is said that he is also throwing up a bomb battery opposite the town. Drawing his principle force to this island, hauling his galleys and other armed vessels of small draught of water near the mouth of the Wappoo, collecting a number of boats there, indicate that an attempt on the Southerly part of the town by boats will be made."[482]

5 March. Col. Francis Marion, posted with 200 light infantrymen posted at Bacon's Bridge on the Ashley River, wrote Lincoln on this date that he and Maj. Pierre-François Vernier were short of ammunition and that only 22 militia (from neighboring Berkeley County) had joined them. Meanwhile, an additional command of 175 to 190 men were sent out from other Continental regiments to cover the landing at the ferry lower down the Ashley. Also about this same time, the 1st S.C. Regt. under Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and which occupied Fort Moultrie, had a number of blacks dispatched to them from the city to assist in bolstering that post's defenses.[483]

5 March. To help replace cannon lost at sea, Clinton had previously asked to borrow artillery from the Royal Navy. After first obtaining 8 thirty-two pounders with ammunition, on March 5th, he received from Vice Admiral Arbuthnot's squadron 4 additional thirty-two pounders, with one hundred rounds of shot, and 6 twenty-four pounders with like quantity of ammunition. Despite the admiral's compliance, Clinton believed him ungenerous furnishing only 100 rounds per gun, when 200 had been requested. [484]

5 March. Brig. Gen. James Paterson's detachment at Savannah, having had much of the Savannah garrison added to its ranks, continued its march up along the Savannah River towards Augusta. By end of the day his force of 1,500 had made some 17 miles progress.
Allaire[485]: "Sunday, March 5th. The following corps marched from Savannah, viz.: Light Infantry, commanded by Maj. [James] Graham; [Loyal] American Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Ferguson; New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Turnbull, North Carolinians, Lieut. Col. Hamilton; South Carolinians, Col. [Alexander] Innes; Dismounted Legion, Maj. [Charles] Cochrane; one company of Georgia Dragoons, Capt. [Archibald] Campbell, and the First Battalion of the Seventy-first regiment, Maj. [Archibald] McArthur -- in number about fifteen hundred. We marched from Savannah at six o'clock in the morning; arrived at Cherokee Hill, nine miles from Savannah, at twelve o'clock, and encamped to refresh ourselves. At three o'clock in the afternoon got in motion, and marched to Abercorn, eight miles from Cherokee Hill; here we encamped and lay all night. Disagreeable, rainy weather."

5-6 March. [skirmishes] Stono River (Charleston County, S.C.) Ewald: "On the 4th [March] my turn came to occupy the redoubts across the Stono River with the usual detachment. Since I had made a very thorough inspection of these miserable works, which resembled heaps of sand, I requested thirty Negroes provided with axes and

[477] USC pp. 195-199, 375-376, BSC p. 64.
[478] HWW p. 52.
[479] BEA p. 209.
[480] BSC p. 57.
[481] AR80 p. 218.
[482] DSC.
[483] BSC p. 67.
[484] AR80 p. 218, CAR p. 439.
[485] Lieut. Anthony Allaire, who kept a diary from which this and subsequently quoted extracts are taken, was an officer in Ferguson's Corps.

shovels to repair the works and strengthen the abatis surrounding them. Toward evening Monsieur [Pierre-François] Vernier appeared with foot and horse, and again on the 5th, about eleven o'clock in the morning. However, he withdrew after several of his men and horses were shot dead and a few wounded.
"But since I thought he would return toward evening, I placed a corporal with six Scots and six jagers in two ambuscades in the outlying pine woods along the main road. My plan was correct. Toward seven o'clock in the evening a small party of about fifteen to twenty men appeared. The signal for the ambuscade was the firing of a double post which I had placed right in the open in front of the works. The sight of these two men was so pleasing to Vernier's gentlemen that they surrounded them in such a way that they thought they had cut them off. These well-chosen jagers allowed the enemy to play with them until it became serious. They fired the signal, the ambuscades attacked and the enemy was nearly all shot or stabbed to death. Since night fell, some of them escaped."[486]

6 March. Paterson advanced to Ebenezer, GA. located on the south bank of the Savannah River.

7 March. Ewald: "On the 7th at three o'clock in the morning Colonel Webster marched with the jager detachment, the 33d Regiment, and the 71st Scottish Regiment to Mathew's Ferry, where they would be ready to cross over to James Island at a moment's notice."[487]

8 March. A mixed force of British light infantry, and possibly some cavalry, under Capt. Nash attempted to surprise attack the Continental light dragoons and S.C. state cavalry at Wambaw (Bull's plantation.) On alert, Washington extricated himself, and by the 10th had withdrawn his horsemen north to Bacon's Bridge.[488]

9 March. Ewald: "Toward morning the Webster Corps marched off, crossed the Stono River at Mathew's Ferry (a good half hour wide here because of its marshy banks), and landed at Hamilton's landing place on James Island. We found the entire army assembled here, except for the 63d Regiment, which had remained behind on Stono Island…"[489]

9-10 March. De Brahm: "Seven vessels were sunk [by the Americans] near the mouth of Cooper River, and cables fixed from one to the other, to prevent the entrance of this [the Cooper] river." In addition, the sunken ships had fitted to their decks chevaux de frise, or what we might here characterize as naval mines of a sort but with sharpened metal points sticking out (instead of explosives) intended to damage the hulls of enemy vessels. 3 "stout" American and 1 French frigate, plus 1 French 16 gun polacre, were, however, kept afloat, but were subsequently captured by the Briish when the town was taken.[490]

10 March. Allaire (with Paterson's detachment): "Friday, 10th. The American Volunteers and British Legion marched three miles up the Augusta road to Tuckasse-King. Here we encamped, and took breakfast in the morning. A Rebel Lieut. Johnson with twenty men surrounded a poor man's house here this morning. They heard we were in motion, but not being certain of it, they came to find out the truth. They did no damage to the family; neither did they tarry long, being informed that we were in possession of the Two Sisters, they thought it proper for the brothers to take themselves off. This is the first Rebel party we have heard of. At three o'clock in the afternoon received orders to take the ground we left in the morning, where I and part of the detachment lay all night. One division crossed the river -- the others to follow as expeditiously as possible."

10 March. Cornwallis with a force consisting of the light infantry, 2 Hessian grenadier battalions, the jägers, and the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd regiments crossed the Wappoo Cut as part of the British advance on the city.[491]
Ewald: "On the 10th, at four o'clock in the morning, Lord Cornwallis set out on James Island with the following troops: (1) the jägers; (2) the 33d Regiment; (3) the light infantry; (4) the English grenadiers; (5) the two Hessian grenadier battalions and the [Alured] Clarke Brigade. At daybreak this corps crossed the Wappoo Cut (or Canal) and took the following positions on the mainland, on the right bank of the Ashley River.
"The jagers and the 33d Regiment, under Colonel Webster, set up their post at Rose's plantation on the main road to Ashley Ferry. The light infantry under General Leslie was stationed at Linning's Point, and the English grenadiers with the [Alured] Clarke Brigade [i.e. 7th and 23rd regiments] were posted at Fenwick's Point [at the mouth of Wappoo cut]. The two Hessian grenadier battalions Linsing and Lengerke occupied the bridge over the Wappoo."[492]

Hinrichs: "[The 10th] Fort Moultrie is situated on the eastern point of the Island and is constructed like the usual fortifications of a harbor *en amphitheatre*. The material is brick and palmetto, a pliable, very strong, and tough wood, which yields to an impact without breaking. The fort has a garrison of one hundred and fifty men commanded by Colonel Scott, and twenty to thirty guns, 24-pounders being the heaviest. A bridge with a *tête de pont*, called 'bridge battery,' leads to Mount Pleasant, thus connecting the island with the mainland. Four enemy frigates and four row-galleys, and two schooners are stationed in the mouth of the Ashley River in a line with the outflow of Wappoo Creek. The works on the point of the town and the fortifications along the town side

[486] EHJ pp. 204-205.
[487] EHJ p. 204, SAW2 p. 183.
[488] HWW p. 52.
[489] EHJ p. 204, USC pp. 199-200, 377.
[490] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 213-215, AR80 p. 219, 222, SAW p. 180, MLW4A pp. 139-140.
[491] USC pp. 203-205, 377, BSC p. 93.
[492] EHJ p. 205.

of the Ashley River are almost finished. On the land side, lines have been joined to both ends of the unfinished royal fortifications, extending them toward the rivers. The entire line, it seems to me, is a series of works resembling redans and interspersed with demi-bastions. The artillery in Charleston consists of more than two hundred pieces, ranging from French 2-pounders to 32-pounders. The city is garrisoned with six thousand men [this is an exaggerated estimate], including militia, inhabitants, seamen, and artillery. Our position is as follows: Headquarters and light infantry at Wappoo bridge, British grenadiers and fusiliers at Mr. Scott's house, jägers and the 33rd at Newtown New Cut, Hessian grenadiers one and one-half miles this side of Fort Johnson, Huyn's, the 63rd, the 64th, and two companies of the 71st at Hamilton's house, three companies of the 71st on Lighthouse Island, while the baggage ships, a row-galley, and twpo armed vessels are stationed at Headquarters."[493]

11 March. McIntosh: "Heard cannon all this day as we rid [sic] along the road, which makes us impatient. [Heard] that Gen. Moultrie who commanded the horse at Bacon's bridge [Biggin's Bridge], was taken sick [with gout; this was in late February], and Gen. [Isaac] Huger sent to take command in his room [i.e. in his place]. It consisted of Bland's, Baylie's [Baylor's], Pulaski's and Horry's corps, with some volunteers-altogether about 250. Came to Charleston in the evening and put up at Mrs. Minis's; though disagreeable on account of some British persons quartered at her house. Hogan's brigade arrived in town 3d inst."[494]

11 March. Paterson crossed north over the Savannah River at a spot near Two Sisters.[495]

11 March. Ewald: "On the 11th a number of ordnance, supply, and transport ships entered the Stono River, whereupon it was made known to the army that it was to fill all its needs from there. It was high time, too, for we jagers had almost nothing left on our bodies and on our feet."[496]

12 March. [skirmish] Hammond's Plantation, also Savage's Plantation (Charleston County, S.C.)
By the morning of this date, Cornwallis' forces had erected a battery at Fenwick's Point (modern day Albemarle Point) on the north side of Wappoo cut, which effectively blocked American movement from the Ashley River into and out of Charlestown. The American's, even so, still had the Cooper River and northern approaches to Charlestown available to them. Col. James Webster's detachment encountered a rebel scouting party at Hammond's plantation which they skirmished for four hours, but without serious loss to either side.[497]
Ewald: "At daybreak on the 12th [March], Colonel [Robert] Abercromby, with the light infantry and two amusettes, marched to Hammond's plantation, which was situated about one German mile from the jager post, in order to undertake a foraging there for the few artillery and generals' horses which we had collected in the countryside. At the same time Colonel Webster marched up the road along the left bank of the Stono River with the jager detachment and the 33d Regiment to cover the left flank of the light infantry.
"Colonel Webster took his position at Savage's [Hammond's] plantation, where we ran into an enemy party of fifty horse and about one hundred infantry, whom we attacked and skirmished with for over two hours, during which two jagers were wounded. Afterward, they left us and moved against the chain of Colonel Abercromby, whereupon the jagers rushed to the aid of the light infantry as soon as they heard several amusette shots. Abercromby then ordered me to march on ahead with forty jagers and lie in ambuscade along the road. But the enemy did not follow further than rifle-shot range of the ambuscade. I waited all night without having had a drink of water the whole day in the oppressive heat, and withdrew to the camp in silence."[498]

McIntosh: "12th March. Found the enemy had possession of James Island, since the latter end of February, and were now erecting a work upon Bunker's Hill, behind Fort Johnson. We saw their fleet, transports, store-ships, merchantmen, &c., in Stono river, Wappoo Cut, from Ferguson's house, in Tradd street; and some men of war over the bar. Our horse skirmished near Ashley Ferry."[499]

12 March. In a move south from Biggin's Bridge, Lieut. Col. Washington, Jameson and Horry led a scouting party near Drayton Hall.[500]

12 March. According to Carl Borick, Lincoln by this day had approximately 4,300 men under his command, with perhaps one quarter unfit for duty, either due to illness or lack of clothing or arms. With respect to Continental troops, there were 2 Virginia Continental line battalions numbering 362 men; 3 S.C. Continental infantry regiments with 660, and the N.C. brigade of Continentals totaling 760. Furthermore, there were 200 artillery pieces defending the city. Over 700 more Virginia Continentals under Brig. Gen. William Woodford were soon expected daily to help reinforce the garrison. See 17 April for full totals of both American and British forces by that date.[501]

12 March. The British erected a battery put on Fenwick's Point at the mouth of Wappoo Cut.[502]

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[493] USC pp. 201-203.
[494] MNS.
[495] ADI, 11 March, MSC1 p. 446.
[496] EHJ p. 205, USC p. 205.
[497] USC p. 205.
[498] EHJ p. 208.
[499] MNS.
[500] HWW p. 52.
[501] BSC pp. 66, 118-119.
[502] MSC1 p. 446, USC p. 377.

13 March. De Brahm: "The enemy [the British] took possession of the land on Ashley River opposite the town, constructed a battery near the mouth of Wappoo, on the prolongation of Tradd street."[503]

13 March. Maj. Patrick Ferguson and Maj. Charles Cochrane of the British Legion Infantry were sent in separate detachments by Paterson to seize crossings at the Combahee (aka Salkehatchie) River. However, they accidentally ran into each other and mistook their comrades for Americans. A few were killed and wounded before the error was discovered. About this same time, Tarleton, with the Legion cavalry, was headed towards to Port Royal to collect what horses he could for his largely dismounted unit.[504]

14 March. [surrender] Fort Charlotte, Mobile (Mobile County, AL.) Fort Charlotte (located in modern day Mobile, Alabama), and which controlled British posssessions in western Florida, with its 300 man British garrison were captured by Spanish forces under General, also Governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez. The news of this Spanish victory heartened and gratified the Americans who understandably much welcomed it.[505]

14 March. Lieut. Col. John Laurens wrote to General Washington: "His [the enemy's] transports and store ships have removed from Edisto up Stono River, where they lie contiguous to Wappoo Cut, which is the water communication from thence to Ashley River. At a point of the main land, formed by the issuing of the former into the latter, he raised in the course of a night, the 11th inst., and a battery of six embrasures [apetures or ports, including loopholes, through which to fire.] This situation, naturally advantageous, he will probably render very strong, and establish in it his deposit of military stores and provisions. He may then either force a passage over Ashley River or turn it by a circuitous march, fortify a camp on the neck and open his trenches. The best communication between his magazines and camp will be across Ashley River, from a bluff, marked Bull in your large map."[506]

15 March. [skirmish] St. Andrew's Church (Charleston County, S.C.)
Ewald: "At daybreak Major Dundas and five hundred men of the light infantry were sent forward into the vicinity of St. Andrew's Church to forage the plantations which are situated on the right bank of St. Andrew's Creek. At the same time, Colonel Webster advanced with the jagers and the 33d Regiment of Lowndes plantation to cover Major Dundas's left, and to forage there and divide the enemy forces. The Americans had demolished the bridge near the church and posted a number of riflemen along the creek, with whom the jagers skirmished from our side of the bank up to the end of the foraging."[507]

16 March. Allaire (with Paterson's detachment): "Thursday, 16th. Remained at [Isaac] McPherson's plantation, living on the fat of the land, the soldiers every side of us roasting turkeys, fowls, pigs, etc., every night in great plenty; this Mr. McPherson being a great Rebel, and a man of vast property, at present in Charleston. About thirty Rebels showed themselves this morning, a mile and a half in front of us. A party went out in pursuit of them; but returned without effecting anything-the jockeys being on horseback easily made off."

18 March. [skirmish] Salkehatchie, also Combahee, Saltketcher (Colleton County, S.C.)
Clinton: "I called immediately to me the corps which had been left in Georgia under Brigadier General Paterson (as before mentioned, for the purpose of trying the temper of the back settlements and endeavoring to create a diversion in favor of the besieging army), as this small addition was now become absolutely requisite to enable me to occupy the numerous posts that were necessary for preserving our communications." As well, when Clinton realized he need more men than he had with him to properly carry out a siege, he sent orders for more to be sent from New York, and which arrived April 17th.[508]
Paterson accordingly began moving in the direction of Charlestown. In advance of him, Washington, Jameson and the Continental and S.C. state cavalry felled trees in his path while Col. Ames Ladson's 80 Colleton county militia destroyed the ferries boats. Later in the day, in a sweep of the area around Beaufort, Tarleton with the British Legion, after taking a crossing farther down river, ambushed Ladson at Salkehatchie Bridge[509] (posted at the north side), killing 16 and wounding several. The British suffered 4 wounded.
According to McCrady, the defeated American force numbered 50 and lost 17 killed and 4 wounded. Paterson lost 2 wounded. [510]
Allaire: "Saturday, 18th. Marched from McPherson's plantation to Saltketcher, a Rebel party consisting of eighty militia, commanded by a Maj. [Ames] Ladson, placed themselves on the north side of the river to oppose our crossing. They were amused by a company of the Legion returning their fire across the river at the place where the bridge formerly was, whilst the Light Infantry and remainder of the Legion crossed the river below, and came in the rear of them before they were aware of it. Here the bayonet was introduced so effectually that a Capt. Mills, and sixteen privates of the Rebels, could not exist any longer, and of course gave up the cause. Four were badly wounded, and one taken prisoner that luckily escaped the bayonet. Maj. [James] Graham, of the Light Infantry, and Maj. [James] Wright, [Jr.] of the Georgia Loyalists, slightly wounded. The former continued

[503] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 205-207, 377.
[504] MSC1 p. 447.
[505] SAW2 pp. 188-189, LMS pp. 161-162, FWI p. 198, BEA p. 710.
[506] DSC, USC pp. 207, 377.
[507] EHJ p. 209, USC p. 207.
[508] CAR p. 162, CBA p. 495, BAR p. 208.
[509] The Salkehatchie and the Combahee are the same river; though "Combahee" is preferred. MSC p. 135.
[510] MSC2 p. 744. BGD p. 73, BSC pp. 97-98.

to command his battalion, and the latter continued his march. Two privates of the Light Infantry were also slightly wounded. We remained all night at Ogelveys' [sic] plantation, on the side of the river called Indian land. This day's march was very tedious -- a disagreeable, rainy, cold day, and through a swamp where the water was from two to three feet deep."
William Dobein James: "There being now no force in the field, but the two hundred light infantry, under Gen. [Isaac] Huger, and the horse under Col. Washington; which were those mentioned in Lincoln's order to Gen. Marion; the British were suffered to detach small parties through the country, and to take all the horses which were fit, either to transport their cannon and baggage, or to mount their cavalry. In one month after their landing, Col. Tarleton had his legion mounted, and began his career of slaughter. On the 18th March, he surprised a party of 80 militia, at Saltketcher bridge, killed and wounded several, and dispersed the rest."[511]

18 March. J. Lewis Gervais, at Charlestown, to Henry Laurens: "I am happy to say that to this day we may still convey letters to you. The enemy have made but little progress since you left us. They are still fortifying themselves at James Island. They have withdrawn their post at Stono and levelled their works at that place. Our horse keeps still at or near Bacon's Bridge. Their fleet is still off the bar, waiting I suppose, for the spring tide to-morrow or next day. This day has been rainy, and this evening the wind is inclined to northwest: but should they come in, I still think chances are in our favor. Their fleet consists of the *Raisonable*, of 64 guns, (which they don't mean to bring in) the *Renown* of 50; the *Roebuck* of 44, Capt. Hammond, and Admiral Arbuthnot on board the *Blonde* of 32; the *Perseus* of 28 and another of 20. It is said the *Raleigh* joined them yesterday. Now I think our vessels, supported by Fort Moultrie are more than equal. We have the two continental vessels, the *Truite,* the *Bricole* and the *Adventure*, besides four gallies; for they have all left Ashley river which is defended by two batteries at Coming's Point, one of which mounts three 26 pounders and 4 eighteens. Yesterday, the enemy were at work near Old Town, and we at Corning's Point. The forts upon the bay are nearly finished. Col. Cambray goes on briskly at Fort Moultrie making a glacis. A few militia are coming in. Col. Garden brought in 100 two days ago. But the enemy have crossed a body of three or four hundred men from Georgia, at the Two Sisters, and some horse from Port Royal, which, it is said, are at Sheldon. I suppose they are three regiments of new levies which were left at Ebenezer. The 7th inst., Gen. Williamson was encamped near Augusta with the Georgia militia, he may have some 7 or 800 men. After he hears of the enemy's movement from Ebenezer, I make no doubt he will move after them. The tories are partly routed. Several have been brought to gaol [jail]. Yesterday, their Col. Anderson was brought in by one Captain Richards, who took him near the Salkehatchie with four of my negroes. They are all six now in the hands of our friends. Col. [Andrew] Pickens [sent by Andrew Williamson to assist Col. John Twiggs, the latter already deployed just outside Savannah[512]] has been down with a party of horse scouring the country. Balentine, who at tempted to go over to the enemy, was hanged last Thursday. Anderson, I expect, will follow. A special court is appointed for his trial. We are still hoping for the Virginia line. Sometimes they are near, sometimes at a distance. As for General [Charles] Scott, I believe he never will come."[513]

19 March. William Dobein James: "Gen. Lincoln had ordered Lieut. Col. [Francis] Marion to select two hundred men, out of the three regiments with him, at Sheldon, and to march immediately to town. (31st Jan.) No troops were to be left in the field but two hundred light infantry, and the horse under Col. Washington. Marion repaired to town, according to orders, but before the garrison was finally hemmed in by the enemy, he, by accident, in attempting to escape from a drinking party, dislocated his ankle. Gen. Lincoln had issued an order, 'that all supernumerary officers, and all officers who were unfit for duty, must quit the garrison, and retire into the country.' In consequence of this order, Marion retired to St. John's." It was then, ostensibly because of this accident dislocating his ankle, that Marion was not in Charlestown at the time it was placed under siege. Both Lossing and Bass give the date for this accident as 19 March, whereas James gives 31 January. That a sprained ankle should have kept Marion from commanding his men seems rather strange, not to mentioned the circumstances in which he suffered the injury. Yet even *if* (at least for the sake of argument) there were unstated factors and motives in his being absent during the siege, it is, only fair to Marion to say that cowardice would not have been one of them. [514]

19 March. Hinrichs: "The enemy worked with untiring effort on the fortifications of the city. One trench, one battery after another, was thrown up; like mushrooms they sprang from the soil. From the point of the city along the Ashley alone I counted twenty-two embrasures. The inhabitants were moving from their houses on this side of the city to the eastern side, because several days ago when our 6-gun battery on Fenwick's Point opened fire on the enemy's ships in the mouth of the Ashley, they learned that it would be easy for us to throw hot shot into the city. Since our landing, their garrison has been reinforced by six hundred men from North Carolina. Their regular regiments amounted to three thousand me. The rest are militia, Negroes, and inhabitants of the city, as well as some hundred French."[515]

20 March. As well as encircling Charlestown by land, it was intended by the British to cut it off by water. In order to begin to do this it was necessary for Vice Admiral Arbuthnot to bring his ships across the Charleston bar. The bar is a relatively narrow causeway of limited depth which would have given defending ships the opportunity

[511] JFM p. 14.
[512] MSC1 p. 528.
[513] LOC.
[514] MMS2 pp. 222-223, JFM p. 12, GAR1 p. 18n, LFB2 p. 769n, BSF p. 29.
[515] USC pp. 211-212.

to contest the British crossing, and with significant advantage to themselves, and who could bring their full broadsides to bear as the enemy approached. Persistent bad weather had hitherto prevented Arbuthnot from attempting to make the attempt, but by 20 March it had cleared. However, Commodore Whipple, whose flotilla had been anchored under the guns of Fort Moultrie since early in the month and despite Lincoln's wishes, did not contest the crossing; because (rather absurdly) he did not want to endanger his own ships; the waters near the bar, it was argued, were too shallow for the Continental frigates to form a line of battle -- Moultrie and some others supported him in this (though *not* his later refusal to take a stand beside Fort Moultrie.) Arbuthnot, who transferred his flag from the ship-of-the line *Europe* to the *Roebuck* (44 guns) for this event, then moved with that ship, along with *Renown* (50), *Romulus* (44) and four frigates, *Richmond, Raleigh, Blonde,* and *Virginia*, and passed the bar without hindrance. So absent was the American defense, that it was easy to lighten the ships of their guns and stores in order to effect the crossing. The guns and stores were then brought in by transports and placed back on the ships afterward; which unloading and loading of guns on the ships on order to get them through perhaps argues for how much easier defense of the bar might otherwise have proved.[516] This potentially major challenge having been overcome, it now remained for Arbuthnot's ships to get past Whipple's flotilla and Fort Moultrie's guns which covered the city harbor. With the bar's crossing, Clinton then making arrangements to move the army over the Ashley River to Charlestown neck. This same day, he sent a body of light troops to join up with Paterson in St. Andrew's parish west of the Ashley.[517]
De Brahm [entry for 21 March]: "The English fleet passed the bar, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole."[518]

20 March. [skirmish] McGirth's Repulse (Chatham County, Georgia) In response to forays by loyalist Lieut. Col. Daniel McGirth (of the King's Rangers) out of Savannah and which were intended to seize or destroy rebel property in Georgia, Col. Andrew Pickens on this date united with a force under Col. John Twiggs (the latter including a detachment of horse under Capt. Shadrack Inman.) Together the two contingents numbered 300 S.C. state troops and S.C. and GA. Militia. Shortly after, the two planned to ambush McGirth; but the latter upon being informed of their approach beat a retreat back to Savannah; yet not without losing a few men killed or taken prisoner before doing so. Pickens and Twiggs then formed a defensive position on the Ogeechee River, where and at which they were themselves attacked and routed attacked on 14 April by a detachment of DeLancey's corps (out of Savannah) commanded by Capt. Conklin.[519]

20 March. [skirmish] Salkehatchie River (Colleton County, S.C.) Allaire: "Monday, 20th. The army got in motion, marching about two miles. Received orders to halt, the rear guard being fired on; it proved to be the [New] York Volunteers, getting the boats on the carriages at the river, were fired on by a skulking party of rascals on the other side of the stream. Three poor lads of the York Volunteers were killed. What damage was done to the Rebels we are not certain. Detained by this and repairing of bridges on the road, we only marched seven miles this day. Took up our ground at a place called Godfrey's savannah."

21 March. Tarleton's dragoons and the detachment of the 17th Light Dragoons, coming from the Beaufort area, united with Paterson's force at Horse Shoe and or "Fish Pond." Together they moved on to Jacksonboro.[520]
Allaire: "Tuesday, 21st. The army got in motion. Marched to Fish Pond river. Here we were detained to repair the bridge till evening. Before we crossed we moved on about three miles, through a swamp, over an exceeding bad causeway. This day Col. Tarleton, with his dragoons, joined us from Beaufort, where he had been to get horses -- his being all lost on the passage from New York. We took up our ground about ten o'clock at night, and remained till ten o'clock next morning."

22 March. Allaire: "Wednesday, 22d. The army [Paterson's detachment] got in motion at ten in the morning, and marched as far as Horse Shoe, where we again were detained to repair the bridge. After crossing, continued our march to Jacksonsburgh, a village containing about sixty houses, situated on Pon Pon, or Edisto river."

22 March. Anonymous Charlestown correspondent to Henry Laurens: "On 22d March, Monday, the enemy got all their shipping over the bar, and this evening we expect they will pass Fort Moultrie, and make a very heavy attack upon the town in conjunction with their land forces from James Island. Yesterday, our four continental frigates with some armed vessels belonging to this State (having had previously their station under the guns of Fort Moultrie) came up to town, in order, as is said, to place their guns and men in the batteries on the bay; having discovered that they could not possibly withstand the enemy's naval force. This acquisition of their guns and seamen will be very great. I apprehend our ships will retreat up Cooper river. Our troops are in high spirits, but the great misfortune is that we have too few of them. The Virginia Line, which we have so long expected, have not yet made their appearance, and I am much afraid they will come too late. Col. John Laurens, who, while our ships lay at Sullivan's Island, had the command of the marines, is now stationed with his men in a battery near Fort Moultrie, where he is determined to give the British troops the first salute, and where I expect to join him to-morrow as a volunteer. As soon as the enemy passes the fort, we shall proceed up to town, as the principal and only opposition will be made here, there being no retreat for us if the enemy should succeed."[521]

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[516] General Washington himself had argued that if the bar could not be defended than neither could the town; which, of course, as it turned out proved to be the case. MSC1 pp. 440-441.
[517] USC p. 213, 377-378, AR80 pp. 218-219, MLW4A pp. 138-140, LMS pp. 148-149, DSC, BSC pp. 78-79, 81-82, 96.
[518] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[519] MHG pp. 465-466, Rev. William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia*, pp. 242-243.
[520] MSC1 p. 448, BGD p. 73.
[521] BCA, USC p. 379.

Moultrie: (22 March) "All our ships and gallies are ordered up to town, their guns taken out, placed in the batteries, and manned by the sailors; by which means we have a reinforcement on shore of 1,200 men, which adds greatly to our strength. We are to sink some ships, to stop the channel from the Exchange over to the marsh. Commodore Whipple did not choose to risk an engagement with the British fleet. I think he was right in the first instance, when stationed just within the bar to prevent the British fleet from coming over, as that was a dangerous place; but his second position, when he was to lay a little above Fort Moultrie, within point blank shot of the fort, with his ships across to rake the channel-in that situation it would have been impossible for them to pass without losing some of their ships. I scarcely think they would have attempted it."[522]

John Lewis Gervais to Henry Laurens, 22 March: "You guessed right. The shipping of the enemy got over the bar on Monday morning, in part, and in the evening the remainder; one of them a 64 gun ship. This was not expected. It is a little surprising that we should have been in possession of this country a century, and at this day, only know that a vessel of such a draft of water could come in; after destroying the beacons and blackening the church [steeple]. This success o' the enemy made it necessary to adopt different plans. The shipping have left their station near Fort Moultrie, and is come to town yesterday evening. The guns are taking out to be placed in the batteries, to be worked by the seamen. This gives us an addition of eleven or twelve hundred men. Several hundreds of the North-Carolinians' time is out in three or four days. Propositions have been made to them of a large bounty, and the greater part have agreed to stay for three months longer. A battery is erecting near Liberty Tree at the old Indian Fort, which will command Town Creek, and it is said, the *Bricole* is to be sunk in it-if the enemy leaves us time to do it. Traverses are making to cover our lines from the fire of the shipping In a few days, perhaps to-morrow morning, the matter will be very serious. Fort Moultrie, if they stop there, I make no doubt will make a valiant defence. Col. Laurens, I am told, came up last night, and is gone to Fort Moultrie this morning." [523]

22 March. [skirmish] St. Andrew's Church (Charleston County, S.C.)[524]

23 March. [skirmish] Bee's Plantation, also Pon Pon (Colleton County, S.C.)
Moving in advance of Paterson's column, Tarleton came upon a party of militia infantry and dragoons at Bee's Plantation, home of Lieut. Gov. Thomas. Bee, killing 10 and taking 4 prisoners (according to Allaire.)[525]
Tarleton: "The inhabitants of Carolina having heard of the loss of the cavalry horses at sea, had flattered themselves that they could not be speedily recruited. In order to confine the British troops as much as possible to the line of march, and to prevent their collecting horses in the country, some of them accoutred [sic] themselves as cavaliers, and a few days after the junction of the dragoons from Beaufort, ventured to insult the front of General Patterson's [Paterson's] corps, which was composed of his cavalry, who made a charge, unexpected by the Americans, and without any loss took some prisoners, and obtained a number of horses."[526]

Peter Timothy (diary): "[24 March] Advice was received that 50 of our militia were surprized [sic] in a tavern near Salkehatchie Bridge; some were shot, some bayonetted, some are missing, and the enemy got 15 horses. Report was also received that Cornet Hart and his brother, of Horry's light horse, being out with a party, and meeting with some of the enemy, rode off to them."[527]

Allaire: "Thursday, 23d. All the army, except the Seventy-first regiment, and greatest part of the baggage, crossed the river in boats and flats, the bridge being destroyed. Col. Tarleton came up with a party of Rebel militia dragoons, soon after crossing the river at Gov. Bee's plantation. He killed ten, and took four prisoners. Gov. [Thomas] Bee was formerly Lieut. Gov. under His Majesty, is now one of the members of Congress, and Lieut. Gov. of South Carolina."

William Dobein James: "On the 23d, he [Tarleton] put to flight another party at Ponpon, killed three, wounded one, and took four prisoners."[528]

23 March. McIntosh: "23d March. The same as yesterday, at work; and the enemy busy at their works, south side Ashley river. Very cold, windy, rainy and stormy. Gallies came through Wappoo Cut. 1 sub. [subaltern], I sergeant, 1 corporal and 25 privates, ordered to relieve Ashley Ferry, last time."[529]

24 March. [skirmish] Dam near St. Andrew's Church (Charleston County, S.C.)[530]

24 March. Being transported by boat from Savannah, the 71st Regt. was brought in to reinforce Clinton's army, and by this date was with the main army.[531]

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[522] MMS2 pp. 60-61.
[523] LOC.
[524] EHJ p. 211.
[525] MSC1 p. 450, BGD p. 73.
[526] TCS p. 8. Regarding the site of the action, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/beesplantation.htm
[527] What is described here by Timothy would seem to be the Bee's Plantation action but this is not completely clear. BCA.
[528] JFM p. 14.
[529] MNS.
[530] USC pp. 219-221.
[531] BSC p. 98, USC p. 379.

24 March. Enlistments of most of the N.C. militia expired on this day, and they were released to go home. Only a very few, under Col. Archibald Lytle (from Rowan County, N.C.) could be persuaded to remain. The enlistments of these last, some 170 or less, were set to expire 6 April. Some 100 S.C. "country" militia under Col. Garden, in the meantime, agreed to come into town a day or two before Lytle's men became the only NC men left under McIntosh's command. [532]
Ramsay: "Out of a thousand North-Carolina militia, commanded by general Lillington, whose term of service expired while the siege was pending, no more than three hundred could be persuaded to remain within the lines, though the government of South-Carolina offered to those who would continue in the garrison very generous encouragement."[533]

McIntosh: "General Lillington, with his North-Carolina militia, all went home, except about 170 volunteers of them, who agreed to stay under the command of Col. Lytle. Major Habersham appointed their Major. Cold, clear weather."[534]

25 March. Arriving at the Stono River just a few miles outside and southwest of Charlestown, Paterson united his force with Clinton's. The editor to Hinrichs' diary notes respecting Paterson's contingent and after referring the reader to McCrady that the latter "is mistaken when he says that the entire 71st Regiment was with general Paterson. The 2nd battalion of this famous regiment had joined Sir Henry Clinton's army on March 3."[535]

25 March. De Brahm: "Our [the American and French] armed vessels before Fort Moultrie returned to town; their cannon were transported into the land batteries." [536]

25 March (Hinrichs enters this event on 26 March.) [skirmish] Dorchester Road (Charleston County, S.C.)
Ewald: "At daybreak the outpost under Captain Hinrichs on the highway to Dorchester was alarmed by an enemy party. He sent several men through the wood lying before him on the right to fire a few shots in the flank of the enemy. A noncommissioned officer of the enemy [American] party, who ventured ahead beyond all daring, was shot in the belly and captured. I asked him why he behaved so rashly. -- 'Sir, Colonel [William] Washington promised me that I would become an officer right away, if I could discover whether the jagers were supported by infantry and had cannon with them, because if not, he would try to harass the jagers.'
"He begged me to ask the surgeon whether his wound was mortal, and when he heard that it was he lay quietly down like a brave man, clasping his hands, saying: 'Well, then I die for my country and its just cause.'
"Captain Hinrichs handed him a glass of wine. He drank it down with relish, and died like a man."[537]

25 March. [skirmish] Stono Ferry (Charleston County, S.C.) A detachment of horse under Maj. Vernier ambushed a foraging party that was returning to Stono Ferry with some wrested livestock. Vernier's men would have cut detachment to pieces but for other foragers coming to their rescue. Some British were wounded nonetheless.[538]

26 March. Brig. Gen. William Woodford's Virginia Continentals, had reached the Peedee River on their way to Charlestown proceeding then to the latter by way of the Cooper River.[539]

26 March. [skirmish] Rutledge's Plantation (Charleston County, S.C.) Washington, Vernier, and Jameson's dragoons managed ambush a party of British, capturing 2 officers and 7 cavalrymen. The Americans were, notwithstanding, pursued afterward by additional British horsemen to Gov. John Rutledge's plantation. Here they clashed and in the ensuing combat, Washington and his men very barely were able to fight their way out and escape.[540]
Baylor Hill, an officer in Washington's cavalry: "Colo. Washington with his Regimt. & Vanears [Vernier's] faced about & charg'd the Enemy, & after a few minutes the Enemy retreated, with the loss of twenty kil'd [sic] wounded & taken, we had three men wounded, one very bad, the others slightly, the Enemy had a very bad Cossway [causeway] to Cross where only one at a time could come over, we took advantage of this place and charg'd them before they had more than sixty or seventy over."[541]

26 March. Following the fray at Rutledge's Plantation on this same day, Paterson crossed Rantowle's Creek, and was now within fifteen miles of the forward elements of Clinton's army. Clinton himself, having examined the Ashley, decided to cross his army at Drayton Hall, thirteen miles from Charlestown. Capt. Evans of Royal Navy arrived the same day with 75 flatboats ready to assist him.[542]

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[532] MNS, MSC1 p. 448, BSC p. 119.
[533] RSC2 p. 52.
[534] MNS.
[535] USC p. 221, MSC1 pp. 446-448.
[536] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[537] EHJ p. 214, USC pp. 221-223.
[538] BSC p. 56.
[539] BSC p. 107. Brig. Gen. Scott was with them but had no troops under his own command with him.
[540] HWW p. 57, BSC p. 102.
[541] Taken from *Diary of Baylor Hill*, vol. 3, Hayes, (editor), 48-56; Eben, *Dragoon Sketchbook*, 9. p. 71, and quoted in HWW p. 57.
[542] USC pp. 221-223, 379, BSC p. 102.

26 March. With the imminent advance of the British toward the city, Lincoln proceeded to deploy his army into and towards the front siege lines, while continuing to form earthworks and mount cannon.[543]

27 March. [skirmish] Rantowle's Bridge, also Rantol's Bridge (Charleston County, S.C.) 300 American cavalry, consisting of Lieut. Col. William Washington's 3rd Continental Light Dragoons, the 1st Continental Light Dragoons under Lieut. Col. Anthony White, Pulaski's Legion cavalry under Major Pierre-François Vernier, and presumably as well Col. Peter Horry's South Carolina light horse, defeated the British Legion and 17th Light Dragoons, with 200 to 300, in a skirmish in which the Americans captured Lieut. Col. John Hamilton of the Royal North Carolina Regiment along with six other prisoners. The affair ended with the Americans retiring to Bacon's Bridge, and with otherwise equally small loss to both sides.[544]
Tarleton: "This affair [at Bee's Plantation] was nearly counterbalanced in the neighbourhood of Rantol's [sic] bridge, where a body of the continental cavalry, consisting of Washington's and Bland's light horse, and Pulaski's hussars, carried off Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, of the North-Carolina provincial regiment, with some other prisoners; and owing to the imprudence of the officer who commanded the advance guard of the British dragoons, sent in pursuit, was on the point of gaining advantage over that corps." [545]

Allaire: "Monday, 27th. Two companies of Light Infantry, American Volunteers, and one company of Dragoons, crossed at Rantowle's in scows; the rest of the army crossed yesterday. Col. Hamilton, of the North Carolinians, and Dr. Smith, of the Hospital, proceeding about a mile in front of the army, to Gov. Rutledge's house, were immediately surrounded by three hundred Continental Light Horse, and they consequently made prisoners. The British Dragoons fell in with them soon after, and had a skirmish; the Rebels soon gave way, and showed them the road, as is customary for them to do. Qr. Master Sergeant Mcintosh, of the Georgia Dragoons, badly wounded in the face by a broadsword. Several Dragoons of the Legion were wounded. How many of the Rebels got hurt we can't learn; but they did not keep up the combat long enough for many to receive damage. This morning, Capt. Saunders, that came in with the flag on the 24th, was sent out; his attendant, Capt. Wilkinson, not being mentioned in the body of the flag, is detained as a prisoner of war. We took up our ground on Gov. Rutledge's plantation, about one mile from his house, where we remained all night."

William Dobein James: "On the 27th, near Rantowle's bridge, he [Tarleton] had a recounter with Col. Washington, at the head of his legion of 300 men; Tarleton was worsted in this affair, and lost seven men, prisoners."[546]

28 March. Lossing: "On the twenty-eighth of March the royal army crossed the Stono, marched to the Ashley, at Old Town (the site of ancient Charlestown), and there crossed that stream toward evening. They had strengthened Fort Johnson, cast up intrenchments [sic] along the Ashley to confront those of the Americans upon the opposite shore, and galleys were in motion to enter the harbor and anchor in the Ashley."[547]

28 March. The 7th, 23rd, 71st, regiments, the British and Hessian grenadier battalions moved to Drayton Hall where the light infantry, jägers and 33rd had already been encamped a few days. The 63rd and 64th regiments, with the bulk of Paterson's forces, remained west of the Ashley to secure communications between army on Charlestown Neck and the Navy.[548]
Allaire. "Tuesday, 28th. The army got in motion about nine o'clock in the morning, and marched to Ashley Ferry, where we met the British and Hessians, Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Yagers, under command of Sir. H. Clinton. We continued our march down the river about six miles to Lining's plantation; it is situated on Ashley river, nearly opposite Charlestown, and commands an extensive view towards the sea."

William Dobein James: "On the 28th of March they [the British] crossed Ashley river, near the ferry, and made a lodgement in Charlestown neck." [549]

29 March. With their flatboats protected by galleys under Capt. Elphinstone, Clinton sent out the light infantry, jägers, and grenadiers from the Drayton Hall encampment and had them ferried across the Ashley. By 3 pm, having encountered no opposition, most of his army was across. They proceeded down the Dorchester road towards Charlestown, and by 9 pm the light infantry and jägers reached the Quarter house six miles outside city. The rest of army bivouacked to their rear some six miles distance. During the same day, Lincoln dispatched the Continental Light Infantry battalion under Laurens, consisting of the light companies of the 2nd and 3rd S.C. regiments, and which numbered 200. These stationed themselves in advance of the British, and kept watch of their movements.[550]
Ewald: "About five o'clock in the afternoon the troops and field pieces had crossed the river and the army set out at once toward Charlestown. During the march the jagers skirmished constantly with a party which observed

[543] MSC1 p. 451. For the nature of the defense works and deployment of both the Continental and militia troops, see MSC1 pp. 452-453.
[544] CNC15 p. 386, USC p. 223, TCS p. 8, MLW4A p. 137, JFM p. 14, MDR p. 413-414, CBA p. 496, MSC1 p. 451, MSC2 p. 744, HWW p. 54.
[545] TCS p. 8.
[546] JFM p. 14.
[547] LSF2 p. 558.
[548] USC pp. 223-225, BSC pp. 102-103.
[549] JFM pp. 12-13.
[550] EHJ pp. 216-218, USC pp. 223-225, 381, DSC, AR80 p. 218, BGD p. 73, BSC pp. 103-104.

us and withdrew toward Charlestown as we advanced. The queue of the army was also accompanied by an enemy detachment, so that we now marched between two fires. About nine o'clock in the evening the army moved into camp near the Quarter House, six English miles[551] from Charlestown. Since the right flank was protected by the Ashley River, the army formed a front facing three sides. The entire army, with the troops of General Paterson had assembled at Savannah, may well now consist of ten thousand men. The piece of land which we now occupy lies between the Cooper and Ashley rivers is called the Charlestown Neck. At the Quarter House it is well a good hour wide, but in front of the city, the width is scarcely a half an hour. Hence this terrain was easy to occupy, since we were protected on both sides by navigable rivers. But on the left side, that is the front facing the city on the side of the Cooper River, we were not secure against a landing, since the enemy was still master of this side through his fleet."[552]

Allaire: "Wednesday, 29th. Sir Henry Clinton, with the British and Hessian Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Yagers, passed over Ashley river to Charlestown Neck, early in the morning. Spend the day in viewing Charlestown and found it not a little like New York; for Ashley and Cooper[553] rivers form a bay exactly like East and North river at New York."

McCrady: "General Patterson [Paterson] had been left at Wappoo Cut, immediately west of the city, with the greater part of his command, to guard the magazines and stores while the main body gained the Neck. As soon as this was accomplished, his command was crossed over at Gibbes's Landing, and communication was opened at this point, and all trouble and delay upon the land carriage by the upper crossing by way of the Ashley ferry was avoided."[554]

John Laurens: "On the 29th ulto. They crossed Ashley River in force, one mile above the ferry. The next day they advanced to Gibbes' [Plantation], a convenient landing, about two miles from town, having previously collected a number of boats at the opposite shore, for the purpose of crossing their heavy artillery and stores. My battalion of Light Infantry, posted there to prevent a surprise, or to sudden approach of the enemy, was ordered not to engage in earnest, but rather skirmish with advanced parties, retiring slowly and orderly towards town, as there was no object in maintaining an advanced post, And the advantages of a serious affair were all on the side of the enemy."[555]

30 March. [skirmishes] Gibbes' Planation, Fuller's Plantation (opposite from Drayton's house), and Road to Charlestown. (Charleston County, S.C.) With the light troops leading the way, the British moved down the Dorchester road headed towards Charlestown. As they approached the city, Laurens' Continental light infantry kept up a steady skirmishing fire from behind trees and at a distance. This lasted for about half an hour, during which time Lord Caithness, an aide to Clinton, and one of the jägers were wounded. Laurens retired then behind the fleches, from where he requested additional reinforcements. Some few artillery arrived to his support; however, Lincoln had sent countermanding orders for these to withdraw, yet which orders had not yet arrived. Laurens, by this time had left the fleches, which were subsequently occupied by some jägers. He then ordered a swift bayonet counterattack. With three bayoneted, the outnumbered Hessians were driven from the redoubt. Despite this, the British light infantry were brought forward, and they in turn forced Laurens back. Artillery of both sides then exchanged fire for a while, with relatively little effect by either side. As assessed by Borick, the Americans suffered Maj. Edmund Hyrne wounded, along with 7 privates, and a Captain Bowman of the N.C. line slain. The British lost the 3 Hessians in the counterattack, one of whom was killed, these in addition to Lord Caithness (injured in the abdomen) and the jäger wounded earlier on. With the onset of nightfall, Laurens retired into the city, while most of the British army camped at Gibbes' Plantation, two miles from Charleston, at which location the British subsequently had their supplies landed.[556]
Allaire: "Thursday, 30th. Incessant firing of small arms on the neck; cannon at short intervals. This firing was at the Commander-in-chief and his family reconnoitering. He forbid the British returning the fire. Lord Cathness [Caithness], standing by the side of Gen. Clinton, was shot through the body by a musket ball; one Yager killed."

De Brahm: [Entry for the 30th] "The advanced guard of the enemy came within two miles of Charlestown, when a party of two hundred men, under Colonel John Laurens and a little while after two field-pieces), went out against them, who, after a skirmish of some hours, returned towards sun-set. The fortifications of Charlestown were, even at this time, very incomplete. All the negroes in town were impressed, who, together with the parties detailed from the garrison, were henceforth employed upon the works."[557]

Letter from South Carolina printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 25: "March 30. -- Yesterday, a large body of British grenadiers and infantry crossed the Ashley River, and to-day they appeared before the American line, where they are now camped. As the enemy approached, Colonel John Laurens, with a small party, had a brush with the advance body, in which Captain Bowman of the North Carolina forces, fell, much lamented; Major Herne [Edmund Hyrne] and two privates were wounded. The enemies loss is reported to be from twelve to

[551] There are seven English miles to one German mile. EHJ p. 204.
[552] EHJ p. 218.
[553] A boom or barrier had been constructed and placed across the mouth of the Cooper River which prevented the Royal Navy from entering it. BSC p. 80.
[554] MSC1 p. 455.
[555] Quoted in DSC.
[556] USC pp. 225-229, 381, DSC, MMS2 p. 65, MSC1 pp. 454-455, BGD p. 73, BSC pp. 104-106.
[557] GDH3 pp. 124-128.

sixteen killed. A French gentlemen, who was a volunteer in the action, says he counted eight and a Highland deserter says Col. St. Clair was mortally wounded." [558]

Ewald: [entry for the 29th] Toward noon the vanguard encountered an enemy party of about one thousand men at the Governor's House, a good German mile from Charlestown.[559]

McIntosh: "The enemy came down as far as Gibbs', from whence they skirmished with, and drove our light infantry, who continued skirmishing with them all the day in view of our lines, each retreating and advancing alternately in excellent order. Lieut. Col. Laurens, who commanded, was reinforced in the evening by Major Low [Philip Lowe[560]] and ninety men, with two field pieces. Our officers and men, stimulated in view of both armies and many ladies, vied with each other in acts of firmness and gallantry; particularly regaining an old breast work, the enemy took possession of in the evening, after our people were retreating regularly to the garrison. A mere point of honor, without advantage! and afterwards left it about dark, re treating very orderly into the garrison. Our loss -- Capt. [Joshua] Bowman killed, Major [Edmund] Hyrne and seven privates wounded. The enemy must have lost many. Their view seemingly was to draw our men over the river into the woods. They were all this day ferrying their troops over from Wappoo Neck to Gibbs'."[561]

Moulrie, on April 3rd, wrote to a "friend in the country": "We had a skirmish with the enemy on their approach Col. Laurens commanded a corps of light troops and fought them two or three hours. Several were killed and wounded on both sides, and was obliged to retire within the lines. Major Hyrne was wounded in this skirmish."[562]

McCrady: "The skirmish took place in view of both armies and many ladies of Charlestown, who came out to the works, and who continued to do so even after the firing from the town had begun, and would, with all the composure imaginable, watch the cannonading of the enemy."[563]

31 March. The bulk of his army now situated about two miles up from city on Charlestown neck, Clinton formally inaugurated the siege. Some cannon were mounted and materials were brought up, as digging began on the first parallel at a distance from the city of 800 yards, according to Clinton, or 1,100 according to James. [564]
De Brahm: "At day-break we observed that the enemy had opened his trenches in three places."

Marshall: "The defences of Charleston had been constructed under the direction of Mr. Laumoy, a French gentleman of reputation in the American service; and, although not calculated to resist a regular siege, were by no means contemptible.
"They consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from one river to the other. In the front of each flank, the works were covered by swamps, originating from the opposite rivers, and tending towards the centre, through which they were connected by a canal passing from one to the other. Between these outward impediments and the works, were two strong rows of abattis, the trees being buried slanting in the earth, so that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraized work against the assailants; and these were further secured by a ditch double picketed; between which and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals to break the columns of the assailants, should a storm be attempted. In the centre, where the natural defences were unequal to those on the flanks, a horn work of masonry had been constructed, as well to remedy that defect, as to cover the principal gate; and this, during the siege, had been closed in such a manner, as to render it a kind of citadel, or independent fort. a These were the fortifications across the neck. Towards the water, equal attention and industry had been used, and works were thrown up at every practicable landing place."[565]

[558] MDR p. 414.
[559] EHJ p. 218.
[560] Major Philip Lowe, originally of the 2nd N.C. Regt. and later the 3rd Georgia. MSC1 p. 454n.
[561] MNS.
[562] MMS2 pp. 63-64.
[563] MSC1 p. 455.
[564] McIntosh reports 1,000 to 1,200 yards while Borick speaks of the British being 800 to 1,000 yards from the Charleston front lines. MNS, USC pp. 229-231, AR80 p. 218, CAR p. 163, MLW4A p. 142, WAR2 p. 700, BSC p. 121.
[565] MLW4A pp. 142-143.

APRIL 1780

1-2 April. 1,500 negro laborers, both volunteers and conscripted, escorted by an equivalent amount of British soldiers, marched toward Charlestown from the Gibbes' Plantation encampment to construct redoubts, batteries, and dig the first siege parallel. By 8 April the whole first parallel was completed. Artillery lost in the voyage had to a large degree been made up for by guns loaned from Admiral Arbuthnot's ships, or obtained from posts elsewhere, such as Savannah, while detachments of seaman were sent on shore to assist in their operation.[566]
De Brahm: "[1 and 2 April] The enemy's [British] works were a little extended, and ours augmented." [567]

William Moultrie's diary [entry for 2 April]: "This morning appeared two redoubts, one nearly opposite the nine gun battery, on the right of the horn work, the other a little to the left of the same." [568]

3 April. Lincoln brought most of his artillery up to his forward emplacements. Continuous firing was then kept up on the British lines, yet with relatively little effect due to inexperienced and inept handling of the guns.[569]
De Brahm: "This morning the battery was discovered upon a height, at Hampstead. At battery of four pieces was constructed on our right to oppose that of the enemy, from which, as well as from all the others, a continued firing of shot and bombs was kept up the following night along the lines."

Moultrie in a letter to a "friend in the country" on this date wrote: "The enemy are now before our lines, and throwing up works very fast. They have four redoubts abreast finished; one at the broad road at Watson's; one at Hampstead, where St. Edmond Head's house stood; and one between these two; another they have on our left, near Cuming's point. I suppose, to-night, they will have one where Taggart's house stood. We began to cannonade them yesterday and shall continue every day. Their batteries are not yet opened; but I suppose to-morrow or next day, they will begin. Then you will hear a great deal of noise, but there is very little danger from this sort of fighting. I hope the obstructions laid across our river, before the Exchange, will deter their shipping from coming up. We have established a hospital at Cainhoy Meeting House, for all those who are not able to do duty to repair to. I forgot to mention to you that the women walk out from town to the lines, with all the composure imaginable, to see us cannonade the enemy; but I fancy when the enemy begin, they will make themselves pretty scarce."[570]

4 April. The British battery on Hampstead Hill was completed by the early morning hours, while what was left of the American ships in the Cooper River were used to contribute to the city's forward defense. [571]
De Brahm: "This morning, daylight discovered to us the enemy's [the British] battery very much injured."

McIntosh: "Several deserters came in to us within this three or four days past, who say that on Thursday last the enemy had upwards of twenty men killed and wounded,-among the last was Lord St. Clair and a Lt. Col.; and that they were bringing their heavy cannon on the Neck. The cannonading from our batteries continues day and night. Two ten-inch and one seven-inch mortar, are removed from the Bay to play upon them. They are all this day hard at work, finishing their batteries, redoubts, and throwing up lines of communication. A sortie, to be commanded by Gen. [Charles] Scott, Col. Clark, Lt. Col. [John] Laurens, &c., was intended, but was not put in execution. Fine weather. The continental ship *Ranger* and the French ship [*L'Aventure*?], cannonaded the enemy's works on our right, from Town Creek, which was returned by two 24 pounders from their field pieces. Wolf-pits begun, and additional works in the gorge of the horn-work."[572]

5 April. Early in the night, Clinton had fire from his galleys (moored in Wappoo cut) and the battery on Fenwick's Point directed at within the city itself in order to distract the besieged.[573]
De Brahm: "Last night's fire of our batteries was kept up as heretofore. The enemy's galley approached the town, and fired upon it all night. We began to dig wells in our front, and to close up the gorge of the horn work."

Ewald: "Toward nine o'clock in the evening, the Commander in Chief ordered the batteries on Fenwick's and Linning's points to play upon the city which quieted the enemy fire somewhat. A terrible clamor arose among the inhabitants of the city, since the firing came entirely unexpectedly. During this time I had approached quite close to the city to discover the effect of these batteries, and in the short intervals between the shooting I could often hear the loud wailing of female voices, which took all the pleasure out of my curiosity and moved me to tears."[574]

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[566] USC pp. 233-235, 381-383, AR80 p. 218, JLG1 p. 285, DSC, BSC pp. 121-122.
[567] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[568] DSC.
[569] USC p. 235, BSC p. 123.
[570] MMS2 pp. 63-64.
[571] USC p. 237, 383, MNS.
[572] MNS.
[573] USC p. 239, 383, BSC p. 125.
[574] EHJ p. 224, USC p. 383.

5-6 April. [skirmish] Retreat from Middleton's (Colleton County, S.C.) Tarleton with 500 cavalry and infantry attempted to surprise Washington, Vernier, Jameson, et al. at Middleton's Plantation, but the Americans, on alert, foiled the attempt, with Washington withdrawing to 23 Mile House. When the following morning the British retired, Washington's men returned. Catching up with Tarleton's rear detachment, they took several prisoners.[575]
Moses Young: "Last Wednesday night, 5th April, the enemy detached 50 horse and 500 foot, to surprise our cavalry at Middleton's place; they went by way of Dr. [Alexander] Garden's and came out at Tom Smith's; entered Col. Washington's encampment with fixed bayonets, found the fires burning, but no troops. The Colonel had taken the precaution to remove to the 23 Mile House, being apprehensive the enemy had received information of his situation from two deserters who left him the night before. The British, being disappointed, commenced their retreat, and Col. Washington sent a party of his horse after them, who picked up three of the enemy's rear guard."[576]

7 April (also 1 April.)[577] A British reinforcement of some 2,700 men, under Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen, intended for Charlestown, debarked from New York. See 17 April.[578]

7 April. Having embarked at Addison's Ferry on the Wando River, and then going by way of the Cooper River in plain view of the British, Brig. Gen. William Woodford entered Charlestown with 700-750 Virginia Continentals, or 737 fit for duty according to Borick; and who had made a march of approximately 500 miles in 28 days. By 2 pm, with a crowd cheering, bells ringing, and cannons fired in salute, they landed at Gadsden's Wharf. Brig. Gen. Charles Scott was also with Woodford, but without any command of his own.[579] Col. Henry William Harrington with some 120 N.C. militia arrived to the town at or shortly before the same time.[580]
Ramsay: "Seven hundred continentals, commanded by general [William] Woodford, who had marched five hundred miles in twenty-eight days, arrived in Charleston on the tenth [sic] of April. This was the only reinforcement he garrison received during the siege, though the communication between town and country was open until the middle of April."[581]

De Brahm: "The fire of the batteries and the works continued as before. To-day the reinforcement under General Woodford arrived."
[Entry for the 7th]: "Very little fire from our batteries last night, and more on the part of the enemy. The enemy has prolonged the right of his first parallel. All our workmen employed digging wells." [582]

Moses Young: "6th April. Friday, at 10 o'clock, General Woodford's brigade arrived in Charleston, consisting of about a thousand men, very fine looking troops, the sight of whom made an amazing alteration in the countenances of the citizens who had almost despaired of their arrival. In the afternoon, the lines were manned, and a *feu de joie* was fired from 13 pieces of cannon, followed by three huzzas from the troops. The Charleston militia were ordered from the right of our lines to take post on South Bay; the Virginia troops supplied their place. The enemy have not yet been able to mount a single gun on the Neck. The inhabitants very busy in throwing up banks of earth against their dwelling houses to secure them from the British shot. The wind fair for the enemy's shipping. Col. Laurens surprised that the British Admiral does not make use of the present opportunity...Two horses belonging to Gen. McIntosh's aids, killed last Thursday night. Capt. Warley tells me that a few of the 3d regiment of South-Carolina, are in the small-pox on board the Hospital Ship; only five or six of the officers of that Regiment have had the disorder. The enemy strong in works at Wappoo, which, Col. Laurens says, is naturally very defensible, and they have been at great labor to preserve their communication between, About 700 says Moultrie, the army on the Neck, and stores on James Island. The late reinforcement from the Northward [Virginia, be it remembered] have had the small-pox. Mr. Owen's wound healed up, but very painful His late fatigue on the lines has hurt him much." [583]

7-8 April. [coastal battle] Fort Moultrie, also Sullivan's Island, Haddrell's Point (Charleston County, S.C.) At around sunset of the 7th, a British squadron of 11 ships including the *Roebuck*, *Richmond*, *Romulus*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Raleigh*, *Sandwich* (armed ship) and *Renown*, passed the heavy guns of Fort Moultrie. The post was occupied by Lieut. Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and 200 of the 1st S.C. Regt, with barely enough to man the fort's guns. The British lost only 27 men killed and wounded, as well as the *Arteus*, an ordnance ship,[584] which went aground and was burned later that night by a Royal Navy landing party. Some the ships suffered some significant but reparable amount of damage, including the *Richmond's* whose foretop mast was shot away. The flotilla then anchored off Fort Johnson, the move having marked a major breach in the American defenses. Whipple, whose flotilla had stood off the while, withdrew to the Cooper River. American ships *Bricole*, *Truite*,

[575] MSC1 pp. 457-458, BGD p. 74, HWW p. 57.
[576] BCA.
[577] "also," i.e., another source gives the date as April 1st.
[578] SQR pp. 136-137.
[579] MLW4A pp. 143-144, BEA p. 209, BSC pp. 119, 129.
[580] Harrington, by consent of Lieut. Governor Gadsden and Lincoln, left the city prior to its fall to help raise and organize the militia in Peedee region. CNC14 pp. 800-801, USC pp. 239-241, SAW2 p. 181, GHC p. 301, SNC p. 35, MSC1 p. 459.
[581] RSC2 p. 52, CBA p. 495.
[582] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC p. 383.
[583] BCA.
[584] Some account speak rather of the ship being the transport, *Aelous*, rather than the *Arteus*.

and *Queen of France* were subsequently scuttled in the river,[585] and this added 1,100 seaman and 150 pieces of artillery to the city's strength. The loss of the harbor was seen by some then and subsequently as the moment Lincoln should then have withdrawn from defending the town, yet Lincoln remained hoping that succor from Virginia and North Carolina would be sufficient to stave off defeat.[586]
Allaire: "Sunday, 9th. Admiral Arbuthnot came on shore, and went over to Headquarters on the Neck. By him we were informed that there were only seven men killed, and fifteen wounded, in passing Sullivan's Island. The shipping damage was so trifling that 'twas not worth mentioning."

De Brahm: "Last night the [British] enemy commenced a battery of six pieces. All our workmen employed making traverses. A quarter of an hour before sun-set, the English fleet passed Fort Moultrie, under a heavy fire on both sides, and anchored in a line near Fort Johnson. Nobody wounded or killed in Fort Moultrie. The fleet consisted of the following vessels: -- One of 50 guns [*Reknown*], two of 40, four frigates, two vessels armed en flute, and two other smaller ones; one of these armed en flute grounded on a band called 'The Green.'" [587]

8 April. DeSaussure: "Col. Charles C. Pinckney was thereupon ordered up from Fort Moultrie, and Lieut.-Col. Scott left in command there. General Moultrie, who had been in command of the cavalry and militia, at Bacon's Bridge [near Monck's Corner], was relieved in consequence of illness, and on 9th March he returned to Charlestown, and Gen. Isaac Huger took his place [i.e. at Bacon's Bridge]."[588]
Allaire: "Saturday, 8th. But little firing from the Rebels. Rainy, disagreeable morning. The rebels were reinforced with thirteen hundred men last night, commanded by a Gen. Scott. They fired a *feu de joie*, and rang all the bells in town on the occasion. About four o'clock this afternoon the fleet hove in sight, coming up under full sail with a fresh breeze at south west, and passed Fort Moultrie -- the Rebel fort that they boasted of on Sullivan's Island, which no fleet could ever pass. They were but a few minutes passing. What damage is sustained we have not yet learned. The *Richmond* lost her fore top-mast; a cutter lay opposite the fort all the time the fleet was passing, with a flag hoisted to point out the channel. A heavy cannonade from the Rebels' batteries, which the shipping returned as they passed with a spirit becoming Britons."

8 April. DeSaussure: "During the night of the 8th they [the British] had 'continued their approaches from their redoubt on the left, and threw up a battery for ten cannon, against the angle of our advanced redoubt and the redan [a V shaped projection] No. 7.' This battery, it appears by the maps, was somewhere in the neighborhood of the present Hampstead Mall, a little West of it; and a mortar battery seems to have been erected a little East of it."[589]

9 April. De Brahm: "The vessel [the *Arteus*] which grounded was abandoned, and burnt by the crew last night. This morning the commencement of a battery appeared in front of our left. Our workmen employed as heretofore." [590]

9 April. Lincoln, in Charlestown, to N.C. Governor Richard Caswell: "On the 29th ulto. the enemy crossed the Ashley, near the ferry, in force, and the next day took post in front of our line, about three thousand yards therefrom. Since they have thrown up several works, none nearer than six hundred yards, from that to eleven hundred.
"Seven Ships of war passed Fort Moultrie yesterday afternoon, and anchored near where Fort Johnson stood, with no apparent damage, save that one of the Ships lost her fore topmast; one other ship, said to be a Transport, fell to leaward and catched the ground within reach of some guns on Sullivan's Island, which obliged the Crew to abandon and burn the ship.
"I am informed that there is a quantity of Salted pork in Wilmington, which is wanted in this Garrison, but that there is an Embargo on provisions, and without your Excellency's permission it cannot be shipped. I have therefore to request your interposition in this matter.
"Colo. [Henry William] Harrington is arrived with about 120 men. I expect at Cornhoy [Cainhoy] to-night about 200 more, where at present they will be left. I anxiously wish the speedy arrival of your son with the Troops under his command."[591]

10 April. The British completed their first parallel, April 9-10, and by afternoon of the 10th Clinton summoned the town to surrender. Lincoln asked for a temporary truce, which was granted. By the end of the day he thus replied to the British ultimatum:
[To Major General Sir Henry Clinton and Vice Admiral Arbuthnot:]
"Charles town, April 10, 1780
"Gentlemen,

[585] BSC p. 132.
[586] In 1776, Sir. Peter Parker had tried to pound the fort on Sullivan's Island into submission. Arbuthnot, this time, sought merely to sail past it. USC pp. 241-243, 383-385, AR80 p. 219, SAW2 p. 180, CBA p. 495, MLW4A pp. 138-142, 144-145, MSC1 p. 459-460, FWI p. 166, WAR2 pp. 702-703, BSC pp. 132, 134-135.
[587] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[588] MLW4A p. 146, DSC.
[589] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[590] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[591] CNC14 pp. 800-801.

"I have received your summons of this date. Sixty days have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity.
"I have the honour to be, &c.
[Signed] B. Lincoln, Commanding in the south department."

There were those like Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh who advised taking the army out of Charlestown and continuing the fight from out the countryside. Notwithstanding, Lieut. Gov. Christopher Gadsden and many city leaders insisted that Lincoln and the army remain. Lincoln, for his part, felt he had no choice but to acquiesce to the state and city officials wishes. While some might in retrospect think Gadsden and the city council as acting selfishly, it would be more accurate to see their stance as one based in defiance and a proud refusal of defeat; Gadsden himself, who at one time commanded the 1st S.C. Regt., being a most resolute firebrand and one of the earliest and most vociferous radicals against British rule.[592]

De Brahm: "The works of the enemy [the British] were advanced. Our negroes employed in making a battery of five pieces of redoubt, and the soldiers on fatigue in making traverses. This evening [the 10th] a parley was received from the enemy, demanding the surrender of the town; it was refused." [593]

William Dobein James: "All attempts at removing the force besieged, out of the town, had, while it was practicable, been opposed by the governor and council, and the officers of the South Carolina troops; and Gen. Lincoln, had not the resolution to counteract them. At length it was thought advisable, that the governor and three of his council should leave the town; and that Lieut. Gov. Gadsden and five others should remain. The ships of war, in the harbour of Charlestown, being quite inadequate to oppose the force which had passed Fort Moultrie, were divested of their guns, to reinforce the batteries, and were sunk nearly opposite the exchange, to impede the passage of the enemy up Cooper river."[594]

11 April. As digging continued, the British passed by the wet ditch by means of a sap (or perpendicular trench), and moved within twenty-five yards of the forward American positions.[595]
De Brahm: "Our batteries kept up a great deal of fire last night. The enemy had repaired his batteries, and mounted some cannon. Finished the battery in the redoubt. Our workmen employed in making traverses, and strengthening the profiles of some works. This evening Major [John] Gilbank[596] was accidentally killed, making some experiments with shells."

11 April. Allaire: "Tuesday, 11th. Col. [Patrick] Ferguson came from Headquarters. Informs us that the town was summoned to surrender to his Britannic Majesty. Answer was returned, that they thought it necessary as well as their duty to defend it to the last extremity, which they meant to do. Wednesday, 12th. Received orders to march. The North Carolinians [Royal N.C. Regt.] were ordered to join Col. Ferguson. We left Lining's plantation about seven o'clock in the evening, and marched to Bacon's Bridge, twenty-two miles, where we arrived at five o'clock on Thursday morning; very much fatigued. We halted to refresh till seven. Cool weather."

12 April. De Brahm: "Very little firing last night. The enemy [the British] had more cannon mounted. The workmen employed as before. Our sailors employed in elevating the parapet near Exchange Battery, and making embrasures to it. At 12 o'clock, meridian, three chalops [shallops or sloops] passed Fort Moultrie, and joined the fleet, although fired upon all the time by the Fort." [597]

12-13 April. By the 13th, the British had been able to mount 17 twenty-four pounders, 2 twelve pounders, 3 eight-inch howitzers, 9 mortars of various sizes in three 7 seven gun batteries. [598]
Lincoln, also on the 13th, called a council of his officers and the city council to address important question questions facing the besieged, including whether Charlestown should be evacuated. Except for Brig. Gen. McIntosh and a few others, most rejected the idea on the ground that it would leave the city and its inhabitants helpless. Lincoln, however, did persuade Gov. John Rutledge and several members of Privy Council to leave city, for purposes of keeping Civil authority alive. Among those who departed with the Governor on this same date was Col. Marion, still suffering from his ankle injury he suffered on 19 March. Lieut. Gov. Gadsden, and five members of the council remained behind. Lincoln in the meantime still had free access out of and into Charlestown by was of the Wando and Cooper Rivers. In an effort to keep them secure, he sent Col. François Malmedy with 200 men to Cainhoy on north side of Wando River, nine miles from Charlestown, to fortify that post which also served as a depot. Further, he directed Malmady to fortify Lampriere's Point (also called Hobcaw), a small fortified post that overlooked the Cooper, just below its confluence with the Wando. In the interim, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, who had replaced Moultrie commanding the American forces (including

[592] USC pp. 243-245, 385, AR80 pp. 219-220 (and which gives a fairly detailed description of Charlestown's defense works), TCS pp. 56-67, MLW4A pp. 144-145, LFB2 p. 560, MDR p. 415, MSC1 pp. 460-463, WAR2 p. 700, BSC pp. 136-137. For a sketch of Gadsden, see GAR1 pp. 169-172. Of note, after the war ended he argued against confiscation of formerly Loyalist property.
[593] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[594] JFM p. 13.
[595] USC pp. 245-247, RSC2 p. 58.
[596] Gillbank was Lincoln's key artillery munitions expert and was skilled at making fuses for shells. MSC1 p. 463, BSC p. 175.
[597] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[598] USC pp. 247-249, 385-387.

Washington's, Jameson's, Vernier's, and Daniel Horry's cavalry), continued at at Biggin's Bridge keeping communications with the city open while protecting the more distant northern approaches to the town.[599]
De Brahm: "Very little firing last night. This morning one of the batteries of the enemy [the British] was finished, the others not quite; the trenches extended. This morning, at 9 o'clock, the enemy opened his batteries, firing bombs, carcasses [combustibles confined in iron hoops] and hot balls, which were returned with all our force from the batteries. This lasted about two hours, when the firing was abated on both sides, till about 5 o'clock, when all the fire was on the side of the enemy. We had one 18 pounder dismounted, and two houses burnt in town. Our workmen employed as before." [600]

13 April. [raid-skirmish] Monck's Corner, also Biggin Bridge, Biggin's Bridge, Bacon's Bridge, Biggin Church[601] (Berkeley County, S.C.) Moving out from Middleton's Plantation, Tarleton (with the British Legion and a detachment of the 17th Light Dragoons) and Ferguson (with his corps and the American Volunteers), supported by Webster with the 33rd, 64th, and Royal N.C. Regiments -- together totaling some 1,400-1,500 men[602] -- maneuvered to seize the American positions north of Charleston, and which served as a main conduit and gathering point for receiving supplies and reinforcements headed toward the city. The attack was two pronged with Webster's detachment being sent by Clinton to Strawberry Ferry on the west branch of the Cooper; while Tarleton and Ferguson launched a night assault on Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger's force at Biggin's Bridge. The bridge lay across Biggin Creek, about a mile north east of Monck's Corner. Huger's detachment consisted of about 200 to 300 cavalry under Washington, White and John Jameson, Vernier, and Daniel Horry, plus 100 to 200 South (and or North Carolina) militia. The Americans were caught off guard and routed; though not without a fight followed by most of Huger's cavalry making good their escape. The success of the British was later attributed in part to failure of the Americans to post a proper picket above the bridge which guarded the approach to the American camp. As well, the militia were wretchedly armed and many poorly trained. 60 to 100 Americans were taken prisoner, while 30 (Allaire) to 50 (Tarleton) wagons loaded with arms, ammunition and clothing, as well as 180 to 400 much needed horses, fell into the hands of the British, who suffered only 3 men wounded, and 5 horses killed and wounded. Specifically, Allaire speaks of 60 Americans being captured and of these 15 to 20 were wounded. James says there were 100 captured and 25 killed. McCrady states Huger lost 100 men (wounded and not wounded prisoners), and 15 killed. Ward says American losses were 20 killed and wounded and 67 captured, 42 wagons all loaded, 102 wagon horses, 83 dragoon horses. Haller cites 30 American dragoons killed and wounded, 70 made prisoner, and 50 supply wagons and 200 fully equipped cavalry horses taken, with Tarleton losing 2 wounded. Borick lists the Americans with 15 men killed and 18 wounded, 63 officers and enlisted captured, 40 supply wagons and 98 dragoons horses captured.[603] Maj. Pierre-François Vernier of Pulaski's Legion was among those taken, but so badly wounded at the hands of Tarleton's dragoons that he died shortly afterward; with his loss resulting in the de facto disbanding of Pulaski's Legion cavalry. Following this event, says Ramsay, "the British. immediately extended themselves to eastward of Cooper River, and took post with 250 cavalry and 500 infantry, in the vicinity of Wappetaw." Tarleton and Webster united their forces and proceeded to move on Cainhoy. Not long thereafter, Cornwallis was sent to succeed Webster in command of these detachments.[604]

Stedman: "The loss of the Americans, in men, was major Birnie [Vernier] of Pulaski's legion of dragoons, three captains, one lieutenant, and ten privates, killed j fifteen privates, one captain, and two lieutenants, wounded; fifty-eight privates, two captains, and three lieutenants, taken prisoners, including the wounded. Major Birnie was mangled in the most shocking manner; he had several wounds, a severe one behind his ear. This unfortunate officer lived several hours, reprobating the Americans for their conduct on this occasion, and even in his last moments cursing the British for their barbarity, in having refused quarter after he had surrendered. The writer of this, who was ordered on this expedition, afforded every assistance in his power; and had the major put upon a table, in a public-house in the village and a blanket thrown over him. The major, in his last moments, was frequently, insulted by; the privates of the legion: Some dragoons of the British legion attempted to ravish several ladies, at, the house of fir John Collington, in the neighbourhood of Monk's [Monck's] Corner. Mrs. --- the wife of Doctor -- of Charlestown, was most barbarously treated ; she was a most delicate and beautiful woman. Lady -- received one or two wounds with a sword; Miss -- sister to major -- , was also ill treated. The ladies made their escape, and came to Monk's [Monck's] Corner, where they were protected; a carriage being provided, they were escorted to the house of Mr. -- . The dragoons were apprehended and brought to Monk's Corner,, where, by this time, colonel Webster had arrived and taken the command. The colonel Patrick Ferguson (of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter) was for putting the dragoons to instant death. But colonel Webster did not conceive that his powers extended to that of holding a general court-martial. The prisoners were however sent to head-quarters, and, I believe, were afterwards tried and whipped."[605]

Tarleton: "On the 12th of April, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, being reinforced at the quarter house by Major Ferguson's corps of marksmen, advanced to Goose creek: Colonel Webster arrived on the following day at the

[599] MLW4A p. 146, BSC pp. 138, 140-141, 146.
[600] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[601] St. Johns Berkeley Church, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/bigginsch.htm
[602] Webster formally commanded the whole.
[603] Lossing gives 300 horses as captured, Tarleton 400.
[604] USC pp. 385-387, AR80 pp. 220-221, RSC2 p. 53, TCS pp. 15-17, GHA3 p. 352, SAW2 pp. 182-184, MLW4A pp. 145-148, LMS pp. 153-155, JLG1 p. 285, JFM p. 14, LFB2 p. 559, MSC1 pp. 467-469, MSC2 p. 744, FWI p. 166, WAR2 pp. 701-702, BEA pp. 710-711, HWW pp. 58-59. BSC pp. 147-150, SCAR vol. 2, no.5, pp. 3-5.
[605] SAW2 p. 184n

same place, with the 33d and 64th regiments of infantry; Tarleton again moved on in the evening, with his own and Ferguson's corps, towards Monk's Corner, as had been previously concerted with the commander in chief, in order, if possible, to surprise the Americans encamped at that place.
"An attack in the night was judged most advisable, as it would render the superiority of the enemy's cavalry useless, and would, perhaps, present a favourable [sic] opportunity of getting possession of Biggin bridge, on Cooper river, without much loss to the assailants. Profound silence was observed on the march. At some distance from Goose creek, a negro was secured by the advanced guard, who discovered him attempting to leave the road. A letter was taken from his pocket, written by an officer in General Huger's camp the afternoon of that day, and which he was charged to convey to the neighborhood of Charles town: The contents of the letter, which was opened at a house not far distant, and the negro's intelligence, purchased for a few dollars, proved lucky incidents at this period: Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's information relative to the situation of the enemy was now complete. It was evident, that the American cavalry had posted themselves in front of Cooper river, and that the militia were placed in a meeting house, which commanded the bridge, and were distributed on the opposite bank. At three o'clock in the morning, the advanced guard of dragoons and mounted infantry, supported by the remainder of the legion and Ferguson's corps, approached the American post: A watch word was immediately communicated to the officers and soldiers, which was closely followed by an order to charge the enemy's grand guard on the main road, there being no other avenue open, owing to the swamps on the flanks, and to pursue them into their camp.
"The order was executed with the greatest promptitude and success. The Americans were completely surprised: Major Vernier, of Pulaski's legion, and some other officers and men who attempted to defend themselves, were killed or wounded; General [Isaac] Huger, Colonels Washington and Jamieson [Maj. John Jameson], with many officers and men, fled on foot to the swamps, close to their encampment, where, being concealed by the darkness, they effected their escape: Four hundred horses belonging to officers and dragoons, with their arms and appointments, (a valuable acquisition for the British cavalry in their present state) fell into the hands of the victors; about one hundred officers, dragoons, and hussars, together with fifty waggons, loaded with arms, clothing and ammunition, shared the same fate.
"Without loss of time, Major [Charles] Cochrane was ordered to force the bridge and the meeting house with the infantry of the British legion: He charged the militia with fixed bayonets, got possession of the pass, and dispersed every thing that opposed him. In the attack on Monk's corner, and at Biggin bridge, the British had one officer and two men wounded, with five horses killed and wounded. This signal instance of military advantage, may be partly attributed to the judgment and address with which this expedition was planned and executed, and partly to the injudicious conduct of the American commander; who, besides making a false disposition of his corps, by placing his cavalry in front of the bridge during the night, and his infantry in the rear, neglected sending patroles in front of his videttes; which omission, equally enabled the British to make a surprise, and prevented the Americans recovering from the confusion attending an unexpected attack."[606]

Allaire: "Thursday, 13th. Got in motion at seven o'clock in the morning. Marched through a small village called Dorchester. It contains about forty houses and a church. Continued our march to Middleton's plantation at Goose creek, about fifteen miles from Bacon's Bridge, and ten from Dorchester. Here we met the Legion about one o'clock in the afternoon, and halted till ten at night. Then, in company with them, got in motion and marched eighteen miles to Monk's [Monck's] Corner, being informed that Col. Washington's, Pulaski's, Bland's, and Horry's Light Horse lay here. We arrived just as day began [the 14th] to appear on Friday morning, and found the above enemy here, in number about four hundred, including some militia that arrived the day before, commanded by Gen. Huger. Luckily for them, they were under marching orders, which made them more alert, when the alarm was given, than usual, which alone prevented their being all taken completely by surprise. They made off with great expedition. We pursued, overtook and killed Pulaski's Major Vernier, wounded a French Lieut. Beaulait, and one other officer; about sixty privates were taken, fifteen or twenty of whom were wounded. We had but one man wounded, and he very slightly. We took thirty wagons, with four horses in each. A number of very fine horses that belonged to their troops were likewise taken, and converted to British Light horses. Col. Washington and all their officers made but a narrow escape; their baggage, letters, and some of their commissions were taken."

Pension statement of George Hight, a soldier in Washington's cavalry: "... in March, 1780. Shortly after, learning that Tarleton was on his way from Savannah to Charleston, Washington whipped him, taking sixteen prisoners, including a colonel and a doctor. But later, Washington was surprised and defeated at Mon[c]k's Corner. The attack was so sudden that although the horses were saddled and bridled, there was not time to mount. Affiant was captured and after being dragged about with the army of Cornwallis some ten days, was put into a prison ship till after the surrender of Charleston. He was then placed in the barracks, there, but this being inconvenient to the British, he was again put on board a prison ship and confined till about August, when he was exchanged at Jamestown, Va."[607]

William Dobein James: "On the 13th April, the American infantry and cavalry under Gen. [Isaac] Huger, lay, the infantry at Biggen church, and the cavalry under Col. Washington, at Monk's [Monck's] corner. Col. Tarleton with Ferguson's corps of marksmen, advanced on from the quarter-house to Goose Creek, where he was joined by Col. [James] Webster, with the 33d and 64th regiments of infantry. There an attack upon the American post was concerted, and it was judged advisable to make it in the night, as that would render the superiority of

[606] TCS pp. 15-17.
[607] *Virginia Militia In The Revolutionary War* (1913) by Joseph T. McAllister, p. 113.

Washington's cavalry useless. A servant of one of Huger's officers was taken on the road, and he agreed for a few dollars, to conduct the enemy through a by-road, to Monk's corner. At three o'clock in the morning, they charged Washington's guard on the main road, and pursued them into the camp. The Americans were completely surprised. Major Vernier, of Pulaski's legion, and twenty-five men, were killed. One hundred officers, and dragoons, fifty waggons [sic] loaded with ammunition, clothing and arms, and four hundred horses, with their accoutrements, were taken. A most valuable acquisition to the British. Major [Charles] Cochrane with the British legion of infantry, forced the passage at Biggen [Biggin] bridge, and drove Gen. Huger and the infantry before him. -- In this affair, Major James Conyers, of the Americans, distinguished himself by a skilful retreat, and by calling off the attention of the enemy from his sleeping friends, to himself. The British had only one officer and two men wounded. The account of the loss of the Americans in this affair, is taken from Tarleton…In this surprise, the British made free use of the bayonet, the houses in Monk's [Monck's] corner, then a village, were afterwards deserted, and long bore the marks of deadly thrust, and much bloodshed."[608]

13 April. McIntosh: "13th April. All the general officers were called by Gen. Lincoln to his quarters this morning, where he gave us the first idea of the state of the garrison, the men, provisions, stores, artillery, &c., in it; the little hopes he had of any succour of consequence, and the opinions of the engineers respecting our fortifications,-that they were only field works, or lines, and could hold out but few days more. With every information he could obtain of the numbers, strength of the enemy, &c., he was compelled to take up the idea of evacuating the garrison:-when, without hesitation, I gave it as my own opinion, that as we were so unfortunate as to suffer ourselves to be penned up in the town, and cut off from all resources, -- in such circumstances, we should not lose an hour longer, in attempting to get the continental troops, at least, out-while we had one side open yet over Cooper river -- upon whose safety, the salvation, not only of this State, but some others will (may probably) depend. The General said he only desired (and which, I think, all the gentlemen seemed to acquiesce in now) that we should consider maturely of the expediency and practicability of such a measure, by the time they would send for us again; and the cannonade, mentioned this morning, from the enemy, beginning, broke up the council abruptly. Gov. Rutledge and part of his council, went over Cooper river about 12 o'clock this day. Between 9 and 10 this morning, the enemy opened all their guns and mortar batteries at once, (being the first time they fired upon the town, or our lines, upon the front) and continued a furious cannonade and bombarding, with little intermission, till midnight; their batteries from Wappoo playing upon the left flank of our lines and the town, at the same time, and their gallies from Wappoo Creek, during the night, as usual; which we returned smartly from our lines, and we presume with good effect. A sergeant and private from North-Carolina killed, and some women and children in town; the houses were much damaged and two were burned down near Gen. Moultrie's, Ansonboro, by carcasses [combustibles bound with iron hoops], of which they threw several from ten inch mortars. Their cannon are chiefly 24 pounders, opposite our lines, and 36 pounders upon Wappoo; their mortars from 5~ to (ten) thirteen inches. One embrazure [embrasure] at redan [a V shaped projection] No. 7, destroyed; and also a 26 pounder in the latter dismounted, with some other smaller damages."[609]

14 April. De Brahm: "A slow fire was kept up on both sides last night. The approaches of the enemy a little advanced. The enemy's galley fired all night. He commenced another battery opposite the town, on the banks of Ashley River."[610]

14 April. In the wake of the defeat at Biggin's bridge, Lincoln ordered all remaining infantry east of the Cooper to retreat to Lampriere's Point. Some 60 mounted survivors of the American cavalry, who'd been dispersed at Biggin's Bridge, gathered together about fifteen miles north of Monck's Corner. These were joined by 100 Virginia Continentals under Col. Abraham Buford. These together lay hidden in the woods in that area for several days. On April 17, a detachment of horse returned briefly to Monck's Corner in a futile search for more survivors.[611]

14 April, also given as 27 or else 25 March [skirmish] Ogeechee River (Chatham County, Georgia) At 10 o'clock, a Capt. Conklin with a detachment of DeLancey's brigade coming from Savannah routed at force of some 300 S.C. state troops and S.C. and Georgia militia under colonels Andrew Pickens and John Twiggs posted on the Ogeechee River. The British lost 3 killed and 5 wounded. American losses are not known. The British then returned to Savannah; Conklin, however, had been mortally wounded in the engagement and died the next day (see 20 March.) There were a number of similar small skirmishes just outside Savannah at this time (including one in which a whig Capt. John Bilbo was mortally wounded as related by McCall, MHG p. 467), and that in large measure were a result of small parties of Americans attempting to keep the British within the city while they and or their friends removed private property from the local area (in view of Clinton's invasion.) It was partly to assist in this that Pickens and Twiggs had been ordered to be in the vicinity.[612]

14 April. The British advanced a sap in front of a battery (connected to the first parallel) they had recently constructed to within 750 feet of the canal. From the head of this sap they began work on the second parallel

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[608] JFM p. 14.
[609] MNS, MSC1 pp. 464-465.
[610] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[611] HWW p. 59.
[612] MHG pp. 465-467, Rev. William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia*, pp. 242-243, *A History of the 1st Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade*, see:
Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies at http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/delancey/1delhist.htm

(completed on 20 April.) Cannonade and bombardments continued day and the night from both sides, with firing becoming more intense the closer the besiegers got to the city.[613]

15 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries and works as before. The enemy had a bomb battery. His second parallel commenced, and manned by the Chasseurs, who kept up a continued fire upon our lines."[614]

Mid April. Despite pleas for additional men, only 300 N.C. militia were at this time en route to join Lincoln.[615]

16 April. Maj. Gen. Johannes Baron de Kalb with near 1,400 Maryland and Delaware Continentals, and by command of General Washington, left Morristown, New Jersey on their way south with the hope of assisting Charlestown. They would have departed sooner than this date but for a severe shortage of funds and supplies which Washingon's army lacked generally.[616]
De Kalb was issued some funds by Congress that later were found unaccounted for. After the war and regarding a then inquiry by the Army pay office, Otho Williams wrote: "Baltimore, Sept. 20, 1786. Sir: -- I was from home when your letter of the 14th July was left at my office. It is not in my power to give you any satisfactory account of the money received by the Baron De Kalb in the year 1780. Captain Marbury of the Maryland line acted at that time as Quartermaster to the Maryland division of the army, and probably received some part of it; but I think it improbable that the regimental clothiers, forage-masters, or commissaries had much of it in their hands; they were constantly with the troops, and we seldom encamped where there was any thing to purchase. In my opinion, the Baron expended the principal part of the money, or left it in Philadelphis, for clothes and other articles to be forwarded."[617]

16 April. Lincoln summoned a council of officers, and it was decided not to attack the British detachment, under Webster (and shortly after, Cornwallis), at Wappetaw.[618]

16 April. De Brahm: "In addition to his usual fire, the enemy opened his new battery. Last night we extended from our redoubt a counter-mine with a small parallel whence we could return the fire of the enemy's musketry. This evening one of our Gallies ascended Cooper river to a place whence she enfiladed the English camp for several hours, which was briskly answered by field pieces from the camp."[619]

17 April. De Brahm: "The enemy [the British] enfiladed the town on all sides last night and threw a great quantity of bombs-sometimes from fifteen to twenty at once. We worked upon our counter mine. We received intelligence from our detachment at Lampriere[']s, that one thousand or fifteen hundred of the enemy under General Lord Cornwallis had passed Monk's [Monck's] Corner, Strawberry, Bonneau's Ferry, and Wappetaw, and actually arrived within six miles of the said post. This morning the enemy's second parallel was prolonged towards our left, supplied with bags of earth and full of Chasseurs."[620]

17 April. St. Thomas Parish, north of Charlestown, was occupied by the British thus all but completing the encirclement of Charlestown by land.[621]
Allaire. "Monday, 17th. Crossed Bono Ferry and passed on to Miller's Bridge, over a branch of Wando river, where we took up our ground about nine o'clock in the evening. This day passed St. Thomas' church, where we met the Thirty-third regiment."

17 April (sometimes mistakenly given as 18 April.) A body of troops, under Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen (von Dittfurth Regt.), and which had sailed from New York City on 4 April, sailed up the Stono Inlet, passing the Ashley River, and were landed outside Charlestown to strengthen Clinton's army. The reinforcement numbered 2,566 rank and file effectives, of which 1,863 were fit for duty. It included the 42nd Regiment, Regt. von Dittfurth, the Queen's Rangers, the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, the Volunteers of Ireland, and some replacements. Col. Francis Lord Rawdon, along with his regiment the Volunteers of Ireland, was also present.[622]
William Dobein James: "Soon after this, Sir Henry Clinton, being reinforced by two thousand five hundred men, under Lord Cornwallis, pushed them over Cooper river, and enclosed the besieged on the side of St. Thomas' parish and Christ church; and the town was now completely invested by land and water."[623]

BRITISH
Maj. Gen, Sir. Henry Clinton, Commander in Chief

Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis
Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie

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[613] USC pp. 249-251, 387, SAW2 p. 184, MLW4A pp. 148-149, DSC, BSC pp. 161-162.
[614] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC p. 251, 387.
[615] BSC pp. 166-167.
[616] WNA, CBA p. 509, MLW4A pp. 166-168, MSC1 p. 655-656.
[617] *Records of the Revolutionary War*, by W.T. L. Saffell, p. 412, Charles C. Saffell, Baltimore: 1894, pp. 104-105.
[618] SAW2 p. 184, RSC2 p. 53.
[619] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 253, 387.
[620] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 387-389.
[621] USC p. 253.
[622] USC p. 389, SQR pp. 136-138, TCS p. 18, CAR p. 167n, MLW4A p. 149, MDR p. 415, BRG p. 63, BSC p. 159.
[623] JFM p. 13.

Maj. Gen. Henry Julian Kospoth
Maj. Gen. J. C. von Huyne,
Brig. Gen James Paterson

1st Grenadier Battalion: 611, Lieut. Col. Henry Hope
2nd Grenadier Battalion: 526, Lieut. Col. John Yorke
1st Light Infantry Battalion: 640, Lieut. Col. Robert Abercromby
2nd Light Infantry Battalion: 637, Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundas
7th Regt.: 463, Lieut. Col. Alured Clarke
23rd Regt.: 400, Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour
33rd Regt.: 450, Lieut. Col. James Webster
42nd Regt.: 700, Lieut. Col. Duncan McPherson
63rd Regt.: 400, Maj. James Wemyss
64th Regt.: 350, Maj. Robert McLeroth

Royal Artillery: 200, Maj. Peter Traille

Guides and Pioneers: 150

GERMAN
Hessian Grenadiers: 1000, including
1st Bttn. Grenadiere von Linsingen, Lieut. Col. Otto Christian W. von Linsingen
2nd Bttn. Grenadiere von Lengerke, Lieut. Col. George Emmanuel von Lengerke
3rd Bttn. Grenadiere von Minnigerode, Col. Frederich Henry von Schuler[624]
4th Bttn. Grenadiere von Graff, Lieut. Col. von Graff

Regt. von Huyne: 800, Col. Friedrich von Benning
Regt. von Dittfurth, Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen

Jägers: 224, *including*:
2nd Company, Anspach-Bayreuth Jägers
Hesse Cassel Jagers (1 company)

Hesse-Cassel chasseur company,[625] Capt. George Hanger

Hessian artillery detachment

TOTAL Germans (including Hessian Grenadiers): 2,264 rank and file. [626]

PROVINCIALS
King's American Regiment: 100, Col. Edmund Fanning
Queen's Rangers: 200, Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe
Volunteers of Ireland, Col. Francis Lord Rawdon
Prince of Wales Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Thomas Pattinson

Brig. Gen. James Paterson's detachment from Savannah:
71st Regt. , Lieut. Col. Alexander McDonald
1st Battalion: 378, Maj. Archibald McArthur
2nd Battalion: 491
Light Infantry
A detachment of 17th Light Dragoons
British Legion: cavalry: 250, infantry: 300, Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton
Loyal American Volunteers, Maj. Patrick Ferguson
New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull
South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes
Royal North Carolina Regt.[627]

TOTAL Strength of Paterson's detachment: 1,400 to 1,500[628]

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[624] Schuler was from the von Dittfurth regiment, but while in the south was temporarily commanding the Minnigerode battalion.
[625] Hesse Cassel Chasseurs: Capt. George Hanger formed a chasseur (or light infantry) company from among Hesse Cassel regiments, in December 10, 1779, which was sent to Charlestown. They returned to New York in June (without Hanger), but were disbanded in December 1780.
[626] A "State of the Troops under the Command of his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, 1st. May 1780" in Colonial Office, class 5, v. 99, pp. 514-515, shows the following Hessians in South Carolina: 81 officers and 41 staff present, 268 serjeants, 105 drums & fifes and 2264 rank & file present fit for duty.
[627] Lieut. Col. John Hamilton was captured at Rantowle's Bridge on March 27th, but was liberated after the fall of the city.
[628] Patrick O'Kelley's order of battle for Charleston is quite thorough and exhaustive and compared to this, and I would refer you to that as well. ONB2 p. 49

TOTAL LAND FORCES UNDER CLINTON: (approx.) 12,000-13,500

Clinton says about 7,000 (presumably rank and file) first came with him, which adding Westerhagen's 2,500 reinforcement brings the number to roughly 9,500. Counting the 71st Regt. and Loyalist regiments originally from Savannah, which were with Paterson, would make the number at least 10,000. Adding officers and supernumeraries then gives us the 12,000 total muster typically given by historians; with McCrady giving a 13,572 figure (providing a detailed order of battle of the British forces at MSC1 pp. 507-510.)[629] This total, however, does not include Arbuthnot's 4,000 to 5,000 sailors and marines, a number of whom served with the land forces. Boatner, for example, states that Clinton had at his disposal about 12,700 troops including 450 seaman and marines, while Arbuthnot had 4,500 seamen and marines additional.[630] Borick, on the other hand, avers that by 18 April Clinton could count approximately, 8,300 under his command, obviously not accounting seamen and marines.[631]

Coleman, in his *The American Revolution in Georgia*, states that British troops taken out of Georgia before the fall of Charlestown were never returned, and British holdings in that province became even more vulnerable after Cornwallis entered N.C. in the fall of 1780. Artillery would also have been removed from Savannah to assist in the siege at Charlestown.[632]

DeSaussure: "Sir Henry Clinton's map, and the French map, both give the positions and numbers of the British redoubts upon their first parallel. Sir Henry Clinton's gives also the head quarters of himself and his general officers, the positions of his troops, his artillery park, and his store of commissary tools. In giving the positions of his troops, it states that he had two battalions of British Grenadiers; four battalions of Hessian Grenadiers; two battalions of Light Infantry; two battalions of the 41st Regiment; Hessian Yagers (or Jagers), and Artillerists: aggregating twelve battalions, two full regiments, the Yagers and Artillerists. This would probably make a force of about ten to twelve thousand, and agrees with what Stedman had said, viz: he brought 8,000 men from New York, was reinforced by 2,500 men under Cornwallis from New York, and by 1,200 under Prevost from Savannah. The Americans, who surrendered, aggregated officers, men, musicians and all, 5,570, of whom 2,152 were officers without commands, militia, citizens, and a French local company."[633]

ROYAL NAVY
Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot
For ships and men under Arbuthnot's command see 26 December. It is not clear what warships accompanied Westerhagen's convoy.

AMERICAN FORCES DEFENDING CHARLESTOWN
Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln
Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, Second in Command

Brig. Gen. Louis DuPortail, Chief Engineer
Lieut. Col. Louis Antoine Jean Baptiste, the Chevalier de Cambray-Digny[634]

CONTINENTALS
* South Carolina Brigade, Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
1st South Carolina Regt.: 231, Lieut. Col. William Scott
2nd South Carolina Regt.: 246, Lieut. Col. Francis Marion (absent)
3rd South Carolina Regt.: 259, Lieut. Col. William Henderson

* North Carolina Brigade, Brig. Gen. James Hogun
1st North Carolina Regt.: 287, Col. Thomas Clark
2nd North Carolina Regt.: 301, Col. John Patten
3rd North Carolina Regt.: 162, Lieut. Col. Robert Mebane

* 1st Virginia Brigade, Brig. Gen. William Woodford
1st Virginia Regt.: 336, Col. William Russell
2nd Virginia Regt.: 306, Col. John Neville
3rd Virginia Regt.: 252, Col. Nathaniel Gist

* 2nd Virginia Brigade, Col. Richard Parker
1st Detachment of Virginians: 258, Lieut. Col. Samuel Hopkins
2nd Detachment of Virginians: 232, Lieut. Col. Gustavus Wallace

Continental Light Infantry: Lieut. Col. John Laurens

[629] MSC1 p. 435.
[630] CAR p. 152n, 167n, CBA pp. 493-494, LSY pp. 288-290, BEA p. 213.
[631] BSC p. 167.
[632] CGA p. 131.
[633] DSC.
[634] DuPortail did not arrive till April 25th, while Laumoy and Cambray-Digny were Lincoln's chief engineers before that date.

Attached Virginia officers: 46, Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, acting without a command.

Light Dragoons: 41
Georgia Continental officers: 5
Georgia regiment of Horse Rangers

Brigade of Artillery, Lieut. Col. John Faucheraud Grimké
South Carolina artillery: 93
North Carolina artillery: 64
Charles town Battalion of Artillery: 168
Cannoniers, manning town batteries (probably militia): 167
200-250 guns in battery. For a detailed list of number and types of American guns, specific batteries, and their deployment within the town see MMS2 pp. 106-108

MILITIA
* Brigade of Militia, Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington, Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh
Davie states that there were 300-400 North Carolina militia in Charlestown. According to Borick, Lincoln speculated that only 300 backcountry S.C. militia participated in the defense of the city.[635]

* Brigade of Charlestown Militia, Col. Maurice Simons
1st Battalion of Charles town militia: 352,
2nd Battalion of Charles town militia: 485

South Carolina and North Carolina militia: 1,231 [total]
French company: 43, Marquis de Bretigney.
American and French sailors serving with city: 1,000

TOTAL OF AMERICAN LAND AND NAVAL FORCES: 6,662-6,684[636]
The above list of units and total taken from Lumpkin, McCrady, and O'Kelley does not include Washington's and White's Virginia cavalry, Horry's South Carolina Light Horse posted outside the city, all under Huger.[637] Borick, however states that) by mid April Lincoln had only 4,200 present and fit for duty in Charlestown, Fort Moultrie, and Lampriere's Point.[638]

AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES
Commodore Abraham Whipple

American Ships
Bricole,[639] pierced for 60, mounting 44 guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders (scuttled)
Truite, 26 guns, twelve-pounders (scuttled)
Queen of France, 28 guns, nine-pounders (scuttled)
General Moultrie [aka *General Lincoln*], 20 guns, six-pounders
Notre Dame, brig, 16 guns
Providence, 32 guns, eighteen and twelve pounders
Boston, 32 guns, eighteen and twelve pounders
Ranger, 20 guns, six-pounders

French Ships
L'Aventure, 26 guns, nine and six pounders
Polacre, 16 guns, six-pounders
Also were some "empty brigs lying at the wharfs, with other small vessels…[and] four armed galleys."[640] The *Bricole*, *Truite*, and *Queen of France* had been scuttled earlier. See 7 April. [641]

18 April. Webster's detachment, situated to the east side of the Cooper River at Cainhoy (which Lincoln had abandoned[642]) was dispatched additional reinforcements consisting of the 23rd Regt. (under Balfour), Volunteers of Ireland, N.Y. Volunteers, S.C. Royalists, that is as soon as some of the replacements from Westerhagen's newly arrived contingent from New York made it possible. Cornwallis was then appointed to Webster's command, which by then, with the aforementioned reinforcement, numbered 2,300 men.

[635] BSC p. 119.
[636] This number includes sailors present. Boatner gives 3,600 Continentals and 2,000 South and North Carolina militia. For an additional and more complete American order of battle; see also ONB2 p. 35
[637] MSC2 p. 746, LSY pp. 287-288, BEA p. 208.
[638] BSC pp. 119, 166-167.
[639] Tarleton speaks of the *Bricole* as being pierced for 44 gun but that it did not mount more than half that number. The pierced for 60 with 44 guns comes from Arbuthnot's return. TCS p. 10.
[640] Arbuthnot's return given in Tarleton. TCS pp. 52-53.
[641] DBJ, TCS p. 10.
[642] What was left of Malmedy's force which had occupied Cainhoy had been withdrawn to Lampriere's Point.

18 April. With some cannon brought over from Fort Moultrie, Malmedy occupied Lampriere's Point with 100 Continentals and 200 N.C. militia. On this date Lincoln reinforced him with 300 troops including Laurens' light infantry, and slaves sent from Moultrie, and a strong redoubt was constructed at Lampriere's. Even so, mounting pressure from the British siege lines forced Lincoln to recall Laurens, and instead he sent Malmedy 75 additional N.C. militia to replace them. [643]

18 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as heretofore, and a shower of musketry all day; this day like last night very rainy." [644]
Moultrie's Diary: "Tuesday, 18th. We advanced a breastwork to the left of the square redoubt, for riflemen, to annoy the enemy on their approach. The enemy continued their approaches to the right, within 250 yards of the front of the square redoubt.
"Wednesday, 19th. The enemy began an approach from the left battery, towards our advanced redoubt; and moved some mortars into the former."[645]

19 April. Allaire: "Wednesday, 19th. Maj. Ferguson, with fifty of the American Volunteers, and part of the North Carolinians, moved on to join the Thirty-third and Sixty-fourth regiments, and the British Legion, which had gone forward to attack a Rebel post at Lempriere's [Lampriere's] Point. The British were coming back; they had marched up to the fort, but found it so strong that it was imprudent to storm it with so few men."

19-20 April. British second parallel completed at a distance of 300 yards from the American forward line. Ramsay gives the date as the 20th.[646]
De Brahm: "[19th] Fire from the batteries as heretofore. This evening three of the enemies Gallies [British] descended from Wappoo down Ashley river to the Fleet under a heavy fire from our batteries; one lost her mail mast. This night the communication is made from the battery of the French sailors to the town.
"[The 20th] Fire from the batteries as ordinary. This evening the Ravelin commenced in front of the horn work." [647]

20 April. [raid] Wando River (Charleston County, S.C.)
Allaire: "Thursday, 20th. Remained at Miller's Bridge, finishing the block house. Col. Tarleton surprised and took nine sloops with goods, stores, etc., and twenty pieces of cannon."

20-21 April. Lincoln once again summoned a council of war to decide what, at this juncture, should be done. Present were Brig. Generals Moultrie, McIntosh, Woodford, Scott, Hogun, Colonels Laumoy, Barnard, Beekman, and Maurice Simons. He reported to them having provisions on hand for only eight to ten days; though more were brought within a few days (passage to and from Charlestown had still not yet being completely obstructed.) Escape was still viable; with Lampriere's still permitting an open route through Christ Church parish, and if they left at night. Moreover, Lincoln had sufficient boats to make the attempt. He then requested their opinions. The military men seemed mostly inclined to evacuate. Lieut. Gov. Gadsden then came to council after Lincoln invited him, to sit with them. He was surprised that they contemplated capitulation or evacuation and said he needed to confer with the rest of the city council. When they reconvened in the evening, Gadsden accompanied by four privy council members argued against withdrawal, treating the officers rather rudely in the process. It was then determined to remain and defend city. The next day 21 April, Lincoln again convened the council. Following this he sent Clinton terms of surrender, which would permit he Americans to march out with their army intact, which Clinton rejected as unacceptable.[648]
DeSaussure: "The terms proposed by Gen. Lincoln contemplated the marching out of the garrison, with leave to go where they pleased, with 'the usual honors of war, and carry off at that time their arms, field artillery, ammunition and baggage, and of such stores as they may be able to transport.' The terms proposed by Gen. Lincoln were rejected. Gen. Lincoln thereupon called a council of war to consider the propriety of evacuating the town. The council were of opinion 'that it was unadvisable because of the opposition made by the civil authorities and the inhabitants, and because, even if they could succeed in defeating a large body of the enemy in their way, they had not a sufficiency of boats to cross the Santee before they might be overtaken by the whole British army.' The Council therefore recommended a capitulation. The recommendation was not adopted."[649]

21 April. While under now constant fire from the rebel lines, the British commenced work on the third parallel.[650]
De Brahm: "[21st] Fire from the batteries as ordinary. This morning the enemy had commenced [work on] two batteries, near his second parallel." [651]

21 April. Allaire: "Friday, 21st. Capt. [Samuel] Ryerson, with forty American Volunteers, a subaltern, and twenty of the Thirty-third, and a subaltern, and twenty of the Sixty-fourth regiments, remained at Miller's Bridge to

[643] BSC p. 183, MSC1 p. 483.
[644] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 253-255.
[645] DSC.
[646] USC pp. 255-257, 389, DSC, AR80 p. 220, DSC, RSC2 p. 53, SAW2 p. 184.
[647] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[648] RSC2 p. 53, MLW4A pp. 148-151, MSC1 pp. 473-478, BSC pp. 167-171.
[649] DSC.
[650] USC p. 389, BSC p. 176.
[651] GDH3 pp. 124-128.

defend and keep the pass. The remainder of the Thirty-third and Sixty-fourth regiments, American Volunteers, and British Legion, countermarched twelve miles and took up our ground at St. Thomas' church."

22 April. Capt. Charles Hudson onboard the *Richmond* reported the Americans were erecting works on Mount Pleasant (or Haddrell's Point), and which stood to command entrance to Hog's Island. As a result, Arbuthnot informed Clinton that unless the rebels were removed from thence, their heavy guns they would endanger his ships under Fort Johnson; as well as prevent him from sending ships in the direction of the Cooper River (which Clinton desired in order to complete the town's enclosure.)[652]

22 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as ordinary; and from the musketry more than ever. This morning a parley was sent to the enemy and the answer returned about 9 o'clock in the evening."[653]

23 April. Clinton ordered Cornwallis to sever northern approaches to the city. On the 25th, the latter camped near St. Thomas' church, having been recently reinforced with the 23rd Regt. and the Volunteers of Ireland (see 18 April.)[654]
William James Dobein: "Soon after this, Sir Henry Clinton, being reinforced by two thousand five hundred men, under Lord Cornwallis, pushed them over Cooper river, and enclosed the besieged on the side of St. Thomas' parish and Christ church; and the town was now completely invested by land and water."

24 April. [sortie] Charlestown (Charleston County, S.C.) Just prior to dawn, 200-300 Continentals under Lieut. Col. William Henderson, comprised of of detachments from Woodford's Virginians, Hogun's North Carolinians and 21 South Carolina Continentals, made a surprise sally against British besiegers. The British lost 8 prisoners and some 60 killed and wounded, and the Americans at least 2 killed. Borick more specifically gives British and Hessian losses as 8 killed or wounded, 12 captured (of these 7 were wounded.) The Americans had 1 killed and 2 wounded. Among those slain was General Moultrie's brother Thomas. The dramatic tactical success, interrupted British work for much of the day, yet had no major impact on the siege overall except to temporarily boost morale.[655]
Lossing: "At daybreak on the twenty-fourth of April, a party under Lieutenant-Colonel [William] Henderson made a sortie, surprised a British picket, and with the bayonet killed about twenty of them. Twelve were made prisoners. Captain Moultrie, a brother of the general was killed, and two other Americans were wounded."[656]

Allaire: "Monday, 24th. Lord Cornwallis joined us and took command. About ten o'clock in the evening there was the most tremendous cannonade I ever heard, and an incessant fire of musketry. The Rebels sallied out and took eight of the Light Infantry prisoners, upon which the whole line got under arms; some in their hurry getting out without putting on their coats, were taken by the others for Rebels, and fired on, which unluckily occasioned warm work for a few minutes. Sixty odd of ours got killed and wounded by our own men. The Rebels were repulsed, and they finding their muskets rather an incumbrance [sic] threw thirty odd of them away."

Hinrichs: "[24 April] I was ordered by Major General Leslie at three o'clock this morning to take thirty men and occupy the left of the advanced work, while Lieutenant von Winzingeroda with thirty jagers was to proceed to the right. When I arrived at the part thrown up last night, I had my jagers halt, while I myself and two men inspected the work, for I was aware of our light way of building and knew that we were right under the enemy's outer works. There was not a single traverse in a trench four hundred paces long. I went as far as the enemy's gatework. But as day was breaking, the enemy sent two enfilading shots from their left front redoubt into our trench, one of them enfilading *en flanc* down the entire trench as far as the sap, while the other, *en revers*, struck the back of the parapet a hundred paces this side of the gatework.
"I had my two jagers halt at the end of the trench to watch the gatework while I ran back to the British grenadiers in the second parallel. I brought one noncommissioned officer and twelve men (of the grenadier company of the 42nd Regiment) and had a traverse made approximately in the center of the trench. General Leslie came and was surprised that no infantry was here yet. He thanked me for my labors. In the meantime I had my jagers fetch sandbags and lay them on the parapet. While in the trench, which was barely six feet deep where I stood, I heard a loud yelling in the center, i.e. in the space that was still between the right and the left section of the third parallel. At the same moment the double post I had left standing above fired, and the workmen on the other side of the traverse came running over crying, 'D-- me, the rebels are there!'
"I jumped on the parapet and when I saw the enemy, who were already pressing upon our right wing from a barrier situated at their left-wing front redoubt and were also rushing out of the gatework, I had my workmen seize their muskets, withdrew the two jagers this side of the traverse, and opened a continuous fire along the unoccupied part of the parallel as far as the gatework. The enemy, having penetrated our right wing, were already more than fifty paces behind us, partly between the third and second parallels. I ordered some jagers and Corporal Riibenkonig behind the traverse and had them fire behind the trench across the plain. Now our second parallel began to fire. This made many bullets fall in our rear. But when the second parallel pressed forward on our right wing, the enemy withdrew, leaving twenty muskets behind. But they covered their retreat with so excessive a shower of canisters which were loaded with old burst shells, broken shovels, pickaxes, hatch-

[652] BSC p. 157.
[653] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC p. 259.
[654] CAR. p.167, USC p. 259, 389-391.
[655] USC pp. 259-265, 391, RSC2 pp. 54-55, MMS2 pp. 64-65, LFB2 p. 559n, DSC, BCA, SNC pp. 40-41, MSC1 pp. 482-483, WAR2 p. 702, BSC p. 177.
[656] LFB2 p. 559n.

ets, flat-irons, pistol barrels, broken locks, etc., etc. (these pieces we found in our trench), and so enfiladed us at the same time from the front redoubt of their left wing (fifteen balls were embedded in the traverse I had thrown up) that one could hardly hear another close beside him.
"It was still dark, and the smoke of the powder was so thick that one could not tell friend from enemy. Since I could not know that the enemy had withdrawn, I jumped on the parapet and had my jagers and grenadiers keep up such a hot fire along the trench and upon their embrasures that after half an hour's cannonade the enemy's batteries were silent. A deserter told us in the evening that Colonel Parker and several artillerymen were killed in an embrasure. I suffered no loss except one Englishman slightly wounded with a bayonet. The entire parapet where I stood with my men was razed more than one foot by the enemy's battery. What luck!
"Our right wing, where Lieutenant von Winzingeroda was stationed with thirty jagers and twenty-five light infantry, did not get off so well. One light-infantryman was killed, five wounded; two jagers had bayonet wounds and three, one of whom had a bullet wound in the abdomen, were taken prisoners. They were compelled to repair to the second parallel because through the negligence of the English the enemy was upon them too quickly, and without support they could not make a stand with discharged rifles against bayonets.
"From Captain Lawson of the artillery I had borrowed two pieces resembling cohorns, taken on the *Delaware* frigate, which he had changed into swivels. They were made of brass and had a chamber. They served me splendidly today, for my jagers had no more cartridges. (At ten o'clock fifteen fresh men and two companies of light infantry came to support me.) These Lawsons, as I shall call them, threw a hand grenade 1,800 feet, I also fired 100-bullet canisters, 3-pound case shot, and one-half-pound bogy shot, firing in the course of the day 130 shots. The enemy tried to silence me with cannon, a sign that our fire was effective. However, I moved from one place to another with my pieces and sometimes fired three to four 100-bullet canisters into the enemy's embrasures. During the night this part of the parallel, which was pretty well shot to pieces, was repaired again and provided with several traverses. Likewise, a new sap was begun on the left wing of the left section of the third parallel." [657]

De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as ordinary. This morning at daybreak, a party of two hundred men under Col. Henderson made a sortie upon the enemies works which caused a general fire of musketry on both sides. The party returned in a little while with twelve prisoners. Our loss was one Captain and one soldier killed." [658]

Moultrie's Diary: "Monday, 24th. A party composed of 300 men under the command of Lieut.-Col. [William] Henderson made a sortie upon the enemy's approaches, opposite the advanced redoubts, at daylight; they [the enemy] were completely surprised. The greatest part of the First South Carolina Regiment came into garrison this morning, with Col. C. Pinckney, from Fort Moultrie."[659]

A Continental Orderly book (author anonymous) entry for 24 April: "In the morning, at the appearing of day-light, 300 men from Gen. Hogan's [Hogun's] and Gen. Woodford's and Gen. Scott's brigades, and twenty-one men from the South Carolina Continentals, sallied out on an intrenchment [sic] which the enemy had thrown up in the night, and killed and took prisoners to the amount of sixty men, only twelve of whom were brought alive into lines, three or four being mortally wounded with bayonets. Col. Henderson, from Virginia, had the command of our troops, and made the men march up to these works, with their priming thrown out, and gun cocks let down. Our men behaved with the greatest bravery and good conduct. Our loss consisted of only 1 colonel killed, and three privates wounded." [660]

25 April. Still smarting from Henderson's sortie earlier in the morning (of the 24th), the British anticipated a second. That night, about 1 a.m. of the 25th, some nervous American sentinels, by accident, fired their guns into the darkness. This caused much of the American line to start shooting at what was believed a British night attack. The British and Hessian soldiers of the front line, in turn, thinking a major American assault was underway, fled to the second and third lines. The British in those lines seeing their own men come running at them from the forward position (believing they were American attackers) fired into them killing and wounding several. One estimate gives the British casualties as 1 officer killed, 1 wounded, 15 rank and file killed and wounded, other officers suggested higher casualties. An Ensign Hartung of the Hessians put the number over 30.[661]
Hinrichs: "The signal that the enemy was making a sortie along the whole line was a threefold 'Hurray!' on our side a fatal signal, indeed! About twenty to thirty of the enemy were seen at the gatework. Our nearest infantry post on guard gave the signal and fired. Everyone repeated the signal; the workmen ran back; the second parallel saw them coming, heard the 'Hurray!' believed they were enemies and fired. Within a short time there was a tremendous fire of musketry, cannon and shell on both sides. It was two o'clock in the morning before everyone realized that it was a mistake. We had an officer killed (71st) and more than fifty killed and wounded. Besides, our working parties could accomplish little or nothing during the night."[662]

Moultrie's Diary: "Tuesday, 25th. Between 12 and 1 this morning a heavy fire of cannon and musketry commenced from our advanced redoubt and the right of the lines, occasioned as it was said by the enemy's

[657] USC pp. 259-265.
[658] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[659] DSC, MSC1 p. 483.
[660] GDH3 p. 133.
[661] USC pp. 259-265, 391, BSC p. 179.
[662] USC pp. 259-265.

advancing in column. It is certain they gave several huzzas, but whether they were out of their trenches it is not clear."

25 April. Allaire: "Tuesday, 25th. About eight o'clock in the morning got in motion; were joined by the Twenty-third regiment and Volunteers of Ireland. We proceeded on, passed over Miller's Bridge and Waputa [Wappetaw] Bridge, took possession of Waputa meeting house, about seven o'clock in the evening, where we halted till two in the morning."

25 April. De Brahm: "As ordinary. Last night Col. [Richard] Parker of the Virginia line was killed by a musket shot."[663]

25 April. Brig. Gen. Louis DuPortail arrived in Charlestown, taking over as chief engineer from colonels de Laumoy and Cambray-Digny. His immediate conclusion, like that of his predecessors, was that the American defensive works were untenable, and urged evacuation.[664]
Moultrie: "As soon as General Du Portail came into garrison and looked at the enemy, and at our works, he declared they were not tenable; and that the British might have taken the town, ten days ago: he wished to leave the garrison immediately, but General Lincoln would not allow him, because it would dispirit the troops."[665]

26 April. Moultrie's Diary: "Wednesday, 26th. The enemy were very quiet all-day and last night; we suppose they are bringing cannon into their third parallel. Brig.-Gen. DuPont [DuPortail] arrived from Philadelphia. On Gen. DuPont declaring that the works were not tenable, a Council was again called upon for an evacuation, and to withdraw privately with the Continental troops; when the citizens were informed upon what the Council were deliberating, some of them came into Council, and expressed themselves very warmly, and declared to Gen. Lincoln that if he attempted to withdraw the troops and leave the citizens, that they would cut up his boats and open the gates to the enemy: this put an end to all thoughts of an evacuation of the troops, and nothing was left for us but to make the best terms we could."[666]

26 April. Concluding that Lampriere's was too strong to assault, about 2 a.m. Cornwallis moved a small detachment to Wappetaw toward Haddrell's Point, on Mount Pleasant; the latter being fortified with a 3 gun battery that was obstructing British water movement into Hog Island Channel, and consequently as well the Cooper River.[667]

26 April. De Brahm: "The enemy commenced his third parallel. Troops from a vessel and four gallies, landed at Mount Pleasant, and took possession of a battery of one piece, losing one galley in this affair."[668]

27 April. Arbuthnot sent Capt. Charles Hudson with 500 marines and seamen to deploy in the environs of Haddrell's Point on Mount Pleasant. By this time Col. Pinckney and most of the 1st S.C. Regt. had retired from Fort Moultrie, and leaving only Lieut. Col. William Scott there with 118 Continentals and 100 militia.[669]

27 April. Fearing, wrongly, that Cornwallis would attack, Malmedy, on the night of 27 April vacated the otherwise formidable post at Lampriere's Point. He did so in such haste that he left behind 4 eighteen-pounders and several smaller cannon. One boat carrying 3 officers and 80 men of that garrison inadvertently sailed into the Hog Island channel, where a British ship captured it.[670]
Moultrie's Diary: "Thursday, 27th. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon, four of the enemies' gallies, an armed sloop and a frigate, moved down the river, and anchored opposite the mouth of Hog Island Creek. Our post at Lemprier's [Lampriere's] ferry retreated across the river in the night, to Charles Town, after spiking up four eighteen pounders they were obliged to leave."

28 April. Capt. Charles Hudson moved to occupy Lampriere's, which had been left empty by Malmedy (with Col. Tinning and 200 to possibly 275 N.C. militia), thus decisively trapping the besieged town.
De Brahm: "As ordinary. Last night our Fort at Lampriere's was evacuated, and taken possession of by the enemy to-day. It was not until this moment that Charlestown was completed invested; the enemy having possession of James Island, Wappoo, Charlestown Neck, Hobcaw Point, Lampriere's, and Haddrell's Point; and his fleet anchored in the Road-stead before the town."[671]
Arbuthnot, in a letter to Mr. Stevens dated Charlestown 14 May, wrote: "Having stationed ships and armed vessels off the different inlets, upon the coast, and the town being now nearly invested, attempts were made to pass a naval force into Cooper river, by Hog's island, (the main channel being rendered impracticable) and small vessels to carry heavy guns were fitted for that service: But on being found the enemy had also sunk vessels in that channel, and its entrance was defended by the works on Sullivan's island, and mount Pleasant, it was

[663] See also MSC1 p. 483.
[664] MLW4A pp. 150-151, DSC, BSC p. 181.
[665] MMS2 p. 80, MSC1 pp. 484-485.
[666] DSC.
[667] DSC, BSC p. 185.
[668] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 269, 391.
[669] BSC p. 205.
[670] USC pp. 269-273, 393, MLW4A pp. 151-152, DSC, BSC p. 189.
[671] CAR p. 169, CBA p. 496.

resolved to dispossess them of the latter, by the seamen of the fleet; and in the mean time, to arm the small vessels that had been taken by Earl Cornwallis in the Wandoo [Wando] river. For this purpose a brigade of five hundred seamen and marines was formed from the squadron, and under the command of the Captains Hudson, Orde, and Gambier, landed at day break, on the 29th, at mount Pleasant; where receiving information that the rebels were abandoning their redoubt at Lamprie[re']s point, (an advantageous post on Cooper river) they marched with a view of cutting off their rear, but, on a near approach, found the garrison had escaped in vessels to Charles town; but their sudden appearance prevented the rebels from carrying off their cannon and stores, or from destroying their works. About the same time, a major, a captain, and some other commissioned and non-commissioned officers, with eighty privates, were made prisoners by the guard boats of the fleet, in retiring to the town."[672]

28 April. Allaire: "Friday, 28th. Fortified the small house by the side of the meeting house, at ten o'clock at night. Intelligence being received that the Rebels had left the fort at Lempriere's [Lampriere's] Point, and gone to Charlestown, we got in motion and marched down to discover the fact. We arrived about four in the morning, and found the fort occupied by the Navy, a Lieutenant of the Navy, commanding officer. The Rebels were gone to Charlestown."

28-29 April. Moultrie's Diary: "Friday, 28th. The enemy busy in throwing up their third parallel, within a few yards of the canal."
De Brahm [entry for 29 April.]: "The enemy's [British] third parallel almost finished, and a battery commenced; as likewise a redoubt on our side." [673]

29 April. The British galley *Comet* ran aground. The American's still occupying Fort Moultrie temporarily removed some cannon from there to Mount Pleasant and with those cannon sunk the vessel.[674]

30 April. Allaire: "Sunday, 30th. Got in motion at three o'clock in the morning, in company with the [New] York Volunteers, and marched to Lempriere's [Lampriere's] Point to take post there. We got to our ground about seven o'clock in the evening, where we found four eighteen, two four pounders, and five swivels, that the Rebels left in their fort. A very disagreeable post it is, being nothing but a bank of sand, where, in a windy day, you must keep your eyes shut or have them filled with sand. Here used to be a ferry called Lempriere's Ferry." [675]

30 April. Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington, at Georgetown, to his wife, Rosanna: "My dearest Love will be surprized, and highly rejoiced to see the word, near the date of the Letter, changed from Charles to George, but so it is my hope, I am now in Geo. Town, 60 Miles nearer to those in whom my Soul delights, than I was last Friday morng, at which time I left Charles Town, with the advice & unanimous consent of the Lt. Governr. & Council & by Gen. Lincoln[']s Order and am now on my Rout for Newbern, there to take my Seat in Assembly, and to request, in behalf of South Carolina, a large and immediate Aid of North Carolina Militia. I have permission on my way from Newbern to the Army, to feast my Eyes with the finest sight in the Universe; cannot my Love guess who I mean? She can; it needs no explanation, for She will know & will readily acknowledge it, that nothing on Earth, is so pleasing to the Sight, as her lovely self & her dear little Girls. On the Wings of Patriotism I fly to Newbern and from there on those of Love, to the happy Place of ye. Residence of my Charmer; where I hope to be & to find all well, in about three weeks from this, or sooner if possible. Should opportunity offer, please to write to me at Newbern, do my dearest Life, write, Opportunity or not, immediately after the receipt of this, and if a soon, a certain mode of conveyance does not before offer My Angel will deliver it herself, accompanied with one or more of the most gracious Smiles, into the hands of her affectionate [husband]."[676]

Late April. By the end of the month, Brig. Gen. William Caswell (the young son of Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell) was on the north bank of Lenud's Ferry on the Santee River with 700 North Carolina militia (Rankin says 400). Also with him was South Carolina Governor John Rutledge who was endeavoring to call out the South Carolina militia, but with little success. Many of the inhabitants of the state, intimidated by the large British forces, and the potential danger posed by tories and Indians to their districts decided it best to remain home.
About this same time, the American Cavalry began to regroup above the Santee River, now under the overall leadership Colonel Anthony White, who had just arrived in S.C. on 23 April, in time to take command of the 1st dragoons. They succeeded in locating new horses for the 250 cavalrymen who remained from the 1st and 3rd Dragoons, and a few also from Pulaski's Legion, and Daniel Horry's South Carolina troop (Jameson now commanding these latter two.) The 3rd, Washington's dragoons, had been diminished from over 100 to slightly more than a dozen troopers. While the state of N.C. had of late granted Washington $25,000 to rebuild his unit, his being still in S.C. prevented him from making effective use of the money, despite orders from Huger to do so. The combined cavalry and infantry corps, now with Col. Abraham Buford's contingent of 100 Virginia Continentals present, headed towards Georgetown to rest for a few days. Yet by May 3, White decided to move west and north of Charlestown. [677]

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[672] TCS pp. 49-50.
[673] USC pp. 275-277.
[674] USC p. 275.
[675] USC p. 275.
[676] CNC15 p. 402.
[677] JFM p. 14, RNC p. 237, HWW pp. 59-60.

May. Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost was replaced by Col. Alured Clarke as commander at Savannah; which position Clarke held and retained (with brief intermission in April 1781) till that town's evacuation in July 1782.[678]

1-3 May. On the night of May 1st, the British finished a sap running from their third parallel to the wet ditch, suffering 6 killed and wounded in the process. [679]
Moultrie's Diary: "May 1st. Our fatigue employed in erecting another redoubt on the left of the horn work. The enemy appear to be about another battery in their third parallel, opposite No. 12 on our right.
"Tuesday, 2d. Last night the enemy were making a ditch on the right to drain the canal. The enemy threw shells at us charged with rice and sugar."
De Brahm: "1st, 2nd, and 3rd. As ordinary. Our hospital ship taken by the English and carried higher up the river." [680]

2 May. [skirmish] Haddrell's Point, also Mount Pleasant (Charleston County, S.C.) Approaching by land from the north, Maj. Patrick Ferguson led an attack on Haddrell's Point, part of the Charlestown fortifications (and located across the Cooper River and to about the north and east of the city), and finding it abandoned on his approach captured it.[681]
Allaire: "Tuesday, 2nd. Began to fortify Lempriere's [Lampriere's] Point. Maj. Ferguson, with a detachment of American Volunteers, marched down to Mount Pleasant, stormed and took possession of a little redoubt, located partly on the main, and partly on the bridge that leads to Fort Moultrie. This cuts off the communication from Sullivan's Island, and keeps them on their proper allowance. The Rebels ran off from the redoubt, though it was very strongly situated, after they fired about a dozen shot."

Lee: "Lord Cornwallis had taken possession of Mount Pleasant, which produced the evacuation of Lempriere and Wando posts. It applied as precisely to the withdrawing of the garrison from Fort Moultrie; as that post had never been fortified in this quarter, and was, of course, subject to approach without difficulty."[682]

2 May. A Return of this date of Brig. Gen. William Caswell's Brigade of North Carolina militia situated just north of the Santee, and made up of 2 infantry regiments (i.e. the 1st and 2nd at 110 and 280 men respectively) plus 8 men men of the Light Horse under Capt. [William?] Falls, lists their full total as 398.[683]

2 May. Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de de Ternay with 7 ships of the line, 3 frigates and convoying 36 transports with 5,000 troops under Count de Rochambeau, left Brest for Newport, RI. He arrived there on 10 July.[684]

3 May. De Kalb, continuing his journey southward with his Charlestown bound reinforcements, reached Head of Elk (modern Elkton, Maryland.) [685]

3 May. Edward Rutledge, and a few other officers, including Col. Malmedy (who was instructed to do so by Lincoln) left the city. Even so and despite precautions, on reaching the east bank of the Cooper River, Rutledge and the officers were taken by a Britsih patrol; all except for Malmedy who succeeded in escaping to some nearby woods.[686]

4 May. Allaire: "Thursday, 4th. Continued fortifying the Point. Rode from Lempriere's [Lampriere's] Point to Mount Pleasant; dined with Capt. Ord, of the Navy. After dinner rode to Hurdle's [Haddrell's] Point to view the redoubt which Col. Ferguson stormed the second of May, with only sixty men and never was more surprised in my life, for twenty men like the American Volunteers would have defied all Washington's Army."

4 May. With 150 Marines and Seamen, Capt. Charles Hudson landed on the northeast end of Sullivan's island and captured an abandoned redoubt that covered approaches to the fort.[687]

4-6 May. De Brahm: "4th, 5th, and 6th.--The enemy employed in making three batteries upon his third parallel. And we to make two redoubts." [688]

5 May. [ambush] Wambaw's Plantation, also Elias Ball's Plantation (Berkeley County, S.C.) 1 officer and 17 privates out foraging and belonging to Tarleton's light infantry (presumably the British Legion) were surprised

[678] CGA p. 137.
[679] USC pp. 275-279, 393, BSC pp. 195-196, e199-200.
[680] GDH3 pp. 124-128.
[681] AR80 p. 221, MLW4A pp. 151-152, MSC1 p. 484, BSC pp. 187-188, 191.
[682] LMS p. 156n.
[683] CNC17 p. 1043.
[684] The *Annual Register* speaks of de Ternay's naval squadron as comprised of 7 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and 2 armed vessels. AR81 p. 21, MLW4A pp. 252-253, 257-258, CGP p. lii.
[685] WNA, CBA p. 509.
[686] BSC pp. 191, 194.
[687] AR80 p. 221, BSC p. 206.
[688] GDH3 pp. 124-128, USC pp. 279-283, 393.

and captured by 100-200 dragoons of Lieut. Col. Anthony White's under Capt. Baylor Hill at Wambaw's Plantation near Strawberry Ferry. White then withdrew to Lenud's Ferry to join the American forces collecting there. Lossing has this raid taking place on the morning of the 6th.[689]

6 May. Cornwallis camped at Manigault's between the east branch of the Cooper and the West branch of the Wando.[690]

6 May. Clinton's third and final parallel was finished.[691]
William Dobein James: "The batteries of the besiegers, having now obtained a decided superiority over those of the besieged, when the third parallel had opened its cannonade, and the British having crossed the wet ditch by sap, they opened a fire of rifles within twenty-five yards of the Americans."[692]

6 May. [raid] Lenud's Ferry, also Lanneau's Ferry, and Lenoo's Ferry (Berkeley County, S.C.)
Indignant from the loss of some of his men at Wambaw's Plantation (see 5 May), Tarleton proceeded after Lieut. Col. Anthony White and who had retreated to Lenud's Ferry (on the Santee River), and where the remaining American cavalry, some 200 to 300, under Lieut. Col. William Washington,[693] Maj. John Jameson, and Col. Peter Horry were re-grouping. Despite pleas from Washington, White fed and rested his men before crossing the river; only at 3 pm to have Tarleton, with 150 British Legion cavalry, after a long, hard ride (in which 20 horses were lost on the way), caught up with, surprised, and complete routed them. What Americans which were not killed or wounded, were scattered or made prisoner. Many drowned in Hell Hole Swamp where they fled before the charge began. A number did escape, however, including Washington, White, Jameson, and Horry, by abandoning their horses and swimming the river. In all, the Americans lost 41 men killed[694] and wounded 67 dragoons taken prisoner. About 100 horses fell into Tarleton's hands; who was in much need of them to (further) better mount his corps; and much arms and accoutrements; as well, the British light infantry who had been taken captive at Wambaw's were liberated. British lost 2 men and four horses in the action, though as well another 20 horses expired from fatigue. White and Washington now had fewer than 40-50 mounted men remaining, that is, those which had been across the river with Buford and were not present in the attack. Washington himself then removed with the remaining 75 dismounted troopers to Wilmington after briefly serving as an escort to Buford's wagon train at the time of Waxhaws, 29 May. It was also about this same period that Washington purchased a mare from Sumter to replace the one he had lost, while otherwise commandeering 16 horses for his men.[695]

Tarleton: "The American cavalry began to assemble on the north of the Santee river, towards the latter end of April, under the protection of two Virginia regiments of infantry and the militia of Carolina: Colonel White had brought some dragoons from the northward, and had collected those who escaped from Monk's [Monck's] corner; he was soon after joined by a detachment from George town, and by Colonel [Daniel] Horry's regiment of light horse. On the 5th of May, he crossed the Santee at Depui's ferry. Fortune favored his first attempt. He suddenly surrounded a detachment of an officer and seventeen dragoons, who were foraging the next morning at Ball's plantation, and made them prisoners without resistance: From thence he directed his march towards Lenew's [Lenud's] ferry, with an intention to recross the river, under the protection of two hundred continental infantry, ordered by Colonel Buford to meet the cavalry at that place. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, without any knowledge of the misfortune which it happened to the detachment of light-infantry cavalry, was proceeding on the same day with the patrole [sic] of one hundred and fifty dragoons, to gain intelligence at Lenew's ferry, of the force and motions of the enemy: On the road, the British were overtaken by a loyal American, who had been a witness to the success which attended Colonel White in the morning, but had luckily escaped his power. The description of the troops, the assurance of their intention to pass the river at Lenew's, and the hope of retaking the prisoners, stimulated Tarleton to push forward his patrole with the greatest expedition: At the same time, the distance of Lord Cornwallis's camp, the fatigue of the march, the heat of the weather, and the sight of their infantry on the opposite bank, threw the Americans quite off their guard. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the advanced dragoons of the English arrived in presence of their videttes: Tarleton instantly formed his troops, ordered them to charge the enemy's grand guard, and to pursue them into the main body. The corps being totally surprised, resistance and slaughter soon ceased. Five officers and thirty-six men were killed and wounded; seven officers and sixty dragoons were taken prisoners; and the whole party of the light infantry were rescued, as the boat was pushing off to convey them to the opposite shore. All the horses, arms, and accoutrements of the Americans were captured. Colonels White, Washington, and Jamieson [Jameson], with some other officers and men, availed themselves of their swimming, to make their escape, while many who wished to follow their example perished in the river. The British dragoons lost two men and four horses in the action; but returning to Lord Cornwallis's camp the same evening, upwards of twenty horses expired with fatigue."[696]

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[689] JFM p. 14, LFB2 p. 559, BEA p. 616, BSC p. 193.
[690] Also situated between Quinby and Huger's Bridge. BSC p. 192.
[691] USC pp. 281-283, AR80 p. 221, SAW2 p. 184, MLW4A pp. 153-154.
[692] JFM p. 13.
[693] Haller: "William may not in fact at have been present, given that he apparently wrote a letter dated May 5 or thereabouts from Wilmington. However, British menton Washington's presence…" HWW p. 61.
[694] Borick speaks of 20 to 30 men cut down.
[695] USC pp. 285-287, 393, AR80 p. 221, RSC2 pp. 65-66, TCS pp. 19-20, GHA3 p. 355, MLW4A pp. 152-153, LMS p. 156, JFM pp. 14-15, CNC15 p. 169, MSC1 pp. 493-494, BGC p. 150, BEA pp. 616-617, HWW pp. 60-61, BSC p. 193
[696] TCS pp. 19-20.

Allaire: "Saturday, 6th. Very disagreeable, windy day. Still at Lempriere's [Lampriere's]. News just received from Lord Cornwallis, that Lieut. Nash and eleven dragoons that were patrolling, were taken by Washington and [Daniel] Horry's Light Horse near Santee river. Col. Tarleton was immediately ordered to pursue them. He overtook them at the river; charged and killed a number, and took a Major and thirty privates. The patrolling party that had been taken were in a boat, rowing across the river. Upon their seeing Col. Tarleton, they immediately seized the guard, threw them overboard, rowed themselves back and joined their regiment again. Col. Washington and Horry took to the river and swam across it."

William Dobein James: "[After Monck's Corner] Col. White soon after took the command of the American cavalry, but with no better fortune. On the 5th May, he took a British officer and seventeen men of the legion, at Ball's plantation, near Strawberry, in the morning, and pushed back twenty-five miles, to Lenud's ferry, on Santee. While crossing there, Tarleton surprised him, at three in the afternoon; who states, that five officers and 36 men of the Americans were killed and wounded, and seven officers and sixty dragoons were taken; while he lost only two men, and retook his dragoons. Cols. White and Washington, Major Jamieson [Jameson], and several officers and men, escaped by swimming the river, but many perished in the like attempt. Thus the American corps of cavalry and infantry, in the open field, was completely annihilated, and from the Saltketcher to the Santee, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, either terror or a general depression of spirits, had spread through the country. What served to increase this, was the cannonade at the town. This was a novel thing in South Carolina, and along water courses, it was heard more than one hundred miles. In that distance, there were but few families, who had not a husband, father, brother or son in the garrison; and these listened to the sound, with the deepest anxiety, and, as was natural, with no little despondency."[697]

Lossing: "This day was marked by disasters to the Americans. On that morning, Colonel Anthony Walton White, of New Jersey, with the collected remnant of Huger's cavalry, had crossed the Santee and captured a small party of British. While waiting at Lanneau's [Lenud's] Ferry for boats to recross the river with his prisoners, a Tory informed Cornwallis of his situation. Tarleton was detached with a party of horse to surprise White, and was successful. A general rout of the Americans ensued. About thirty of them were killed, wounded, or captured, and the prisoners were retaken. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with Major [John] Jamieson and a few privates, escaped by swimming the Santee. Major [Richard] Call and seven others fought their way through the British cavalry, and escaped."[698]

6-7 May. [surrender] Fort Moultrie, also Sullivan's Island (Charleston County, S.C.) Reinforced with more men, for a total of 500, Capt. Charles Hudson of the Royal Navy summoned Fort Moultrie to surrender. Lieut. Col. William Scott responded that he would defend to utmost. Yet after negotiations, the Americans agreed to capitulate; on the basis of their being given honors of war, with officers retaining side arms and militia counted as paroled prisoners. This mutually agreed to, the next morning (the 7th) the garrison marched out and piled up its arms in surrender. Hudson took 117 Continentals and 100 militia prisoner, plus 9 twenty-four-pounders, 7 eighteen-pounders, 10 twelve-pounders, 9 nine-pounders, 2 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 4 ten-inch mortars, and a large quantity of artillery ammunition and equipment. McCrady remarks that had timely steps been taken it would have been easily possible to have evacuated the fort beforehand and thus prevented the taking of the men and supplies it contained.[699]
Moultrie's Diary: "Saturday, 6th. Fort Moultrie is in the hands of the enemy."

Tarleton: "This success [at Lenud's Ferry] was closely followed by the reduction of fort Moultrie. The admiral [Arbuthnot] having taken the fort at Mount Pleasant, acquired from it, and the information of deserters, a full knowledge of the state of the garrison and defences of fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's island. In pursuance of this intelligence, and wishing not to weaken the operations of the army, which became every day more critical, he landed a body of seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Hudson, to attempt the fort by storm, on the west and north-west faces, whilst the ships of the squadron battered it in front. The garrison, consisting of continentals and militia, to the amount of two hundred men, seeing the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and sensible of the impossibility of relief, accepted of the terms offered by a summons on the 7th of May; and by capitulation, surrendered themselves prisoners of war." [700]

Allaire. "Sunday, 7th. Orders to get ready to march with two days' provision, at a minute's notice. Maj. Ferguson had obtained permission to attack Fort Moultrie. He rode forward with four dragoons to reconnoitre. We were to remain at our post till we got orders for marching. The first news we heard was the fort was in possession of the British; the Rebels had surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Capitulation was as follows: Capt. Hudson of the Navy summoned the fort on Friday, and received for answer: 'Tol, lol, de rol, lol: Fort Moultrie will be defended to the last extremity.' On Saturday he sent another flag, and demanded a surrender, acquainting Col. Scott that the Lieutenant with the flag would wait a quarter of an hour for an answer. If the fort was not given up, he would immediately storm it, and put all the garrison to the sword. At this Col. Scott changed the tune of his song, begging that there might be a cessation of arms, that the fort would be given up on the following conditions: that the officers both Continental and militia, should march out with the honors of war, and be

[697] JFM pp. 14-15.
[698] LFB2 pp. 559n-560n.
[699] USC pp. 283-285, 393-395, AR80 p. 221, TCS pp. 20-21, 55-56, CAR p. 169, MLW4A p. 152, LFB2 p. 560n, MSC1 pp. 491-493, FWI p. 166, WAR2 pp. 702-703, BSC p. 350.
[700] TCS pp. 20-21.

allowed to wear their side arms; the officers and soldiers of. The militia have paroles to go to their respective homes, and remain peaceably till exchanged; and the continental soldiers to be treated tenderly. Granted by Capt. Hudson. About eight o'clock Sunday morning, Colonel Scott with his men, about one hundred and twenty, marched out of the fort, piled their arms, Capt. Hudson marched in, took possession of Fort Moultrie, the key to Charlestown harbor; which puts it in our power to keep out any forcing enemy that would wish to give the Rebels any assistance. Taken in the fort, fifty barrels of powder, forty-four pieces of cannon, one brass ten inch mortar, three thousand cannon cartridges, five hundred ten inch shells, forty thousand musket cartridges, three month's salt provision, a lot of rice, forty head black cattle, sixty sheep, twenty goats, forty fat hogs, six wagons, two stand of colors, an amazing quantity of lunt [match-cord for firing cannon]; and, in short, so many other articles which are necessary in a fort that it would take me a week to set them down."

Moultrie's Diary: "Sunday, 7th. Our principal magazine near being destroyed by a 13-inch shell bursting within ten yards of it[701]...in consequence of that shell falling so near, I had the powder (100,000 pounds) removed to the Northeast corner under the Exchange, and had the doors and windows bricked up. Not withstanding the British had possession of Charlestown so long, they never discovered the powder, although their Provost was the next apartment to it, and after the evacuation when we came into town we found the powder as we left it."

8 May. De Kalb with the Delaware and Maryland Regiments set sail, with 50 ships, from Head of Elk bound ultimately for Petersburg, Virginia; which latter they reached on the 23rd of May. About this same time of de Kalb's coming south, the state of N.C. ordered a large detachment of militia to serve for three months to help raise the siege of Charlestown, but which arrived too late for that purpose, and otherwise did not later formally coordinate with or under de Kalb (i.e. until Gates, appointed head of the southern department on 13 June, arrived to take overall command.) [702]

8-10 May. Clinton submitted a second ultimatum to Lincoln, with this and the following day spent in unsuccessful negotiations. On the 9th, at about 9 pm, the American's unleashed a thunderous artillery barrage to mark the failure of the talks. The furious cannonade continued on into the evening of the next day, with 469 rounds of solid shot and 345 shells being fired, and was the largest single bombardment of the entire siege -- doing more damage then any other; yet even so and at that hour to little or no avail.[703]
William Dobein James: "The caution of Sir Henry Clinton, in advancing so slowly, had been extreme, and the unsuspecting security of the Americans was still great; but Gen. Duportail, a French officer of engineers, having arrived in town before the communication was closed with the country, declared, that the works of the besieged were not tenable, and might have been stormed ten days before. This disclosed his true situation, and induced Gen. Lincoln to listen to a capitulation, which was proposed to him on the 8th of May. From that until the 10th, the negotiation was continued. On the 11th, the capitulation was agreed to, and, on the next day, the Americans marched out and grounded their arms."[704]

De Brahm: "As ordinary. Another redoubt was commenced last night in rear of our left line. This morning the enemy sent a parley again to demand the town-the truce was prolonged throughout the whole day. In a Council of War composed of all officers of the General Staff, it was resolved by a majority of votes, to propose a capitulation."

Allaire: "Monday, 8th. Six o'clock in the morning, Sir Henry Clinton sent in a flag, and demanded the surrender of Charlestown. General Lincoln requested cessation of hostilities till eight o'clock -- from eight to twelve; and the truce continued until four o'clock Tuesday evening when Sir Henry Clinton receiving a very insolent request, sent in word that he plainly saw that Gen. Lincoln did not mean to give up the town; that the firing should commence at eight o'clock in the evening, at which time began a most tremendous cannonade, throwing of carcases [carcass, i.e. a combustible confined in iron hoops] and shells into the town, and an incessant fire of musketry all night."

Lossing: "The citizens, appalled by the destructive agencies at work around them, worn out by want of sleep and anxiety, and coveting any condition other than the one they were enduring, now expressed their willingness to treat for a surrender. A flag was sent out, and Clinton's ultimatum was received. He demanded the surrender of the garrison and the citizens as prisoners of war, with all the forts and other works, and their appliances, together with the shipping that remained in the harbor. He would promise nothing except that the town property of those within the lines should remain unmolested, and that all prisoners should be paroled. A truce until the next day [May 9, 1780.] was asked by the besieged, and was allowed, when Lincoln again rejected compliance with Clinton's demands. At eight o'clock in the evening the firing commenced again. It was a fearful night in Charleston. The thunder of two hundred cannons shook the city like the power of an earthquake, and the moon, then near its full, with the bright stars, was hidden by the lurid smoke...At two o'clock on the morning of the eleventh [May, 1780.], Lieutenant-governor [Christopher] Gadsden, the council, and many leading citizens, requested Lincoln to signify his agreement to Clinton's proposed terms of surrender, if better could not be obtained. A signal was given, the firing ceased, and before dawn all the guns were quiet. Articles of

[701] DeSaussure: "This magazine was a brick building in a lot on the South side of the present Cumberland Street; it is about one hundred and fifty feet West of Church Street, and is still in fair preservation; it is in the rear lot, and touching on the Western graveyard of St. Philip's Church."
[702] KJO p. 9, MMS2 p. 213, MLW4A pp. 1671-68.
[703] USC pp. 287-289, 395, MSC1 pp. 442-444, 495-500, BSC pp. 206-208, 213-214.
[704] JFM p. 13.

capitulation were agreed to, and signed by the respective commanders, and by Christopher Gadsden in behalf of the citizens. Between eleven and twelve o'clock on the twelfth of May, the Continental troops marched out with the Turk's march, and laid down their arms, after a gallant and desperate defense of about forty days. General Leslie immediately marched in and took possession of the town."[705]

Moultrie's Diary: "After receiving the above letter [from Clinton, and which stated that hostiles would recommence due to a breakdown in surrender talks] we remained near an hour silent, all calm and ready, each waiting for the other to begin. At length we fired the first gun, and immediately followed a tremendous cannonade, about 180 or 200 pieces of heavy cannon fired off at the same moment, and the mortars from both sides threw out an immense number of shells; it was a glorious sight to see them like meteors crossing each other and bursting in the air; it appeared as if the stars were tumbling down. The fire was incessant almost the whole night; cannon balls whizzing and shells hissing continually amongst us; ammunition chests and temporary magazines blowing up; great guns bursting and wounded men groaning along the lines. It was a dreadful night. It was a dreadful night. It was our last great effort, but it availed us nothing. After this our military ardor was much abated; we began to cool, and we cooled gradually, and on the 11th of May we capitulated, and on the morning of the 12th we marched out and gave up the town."[706]

11 May. Lincoln convened his officers once again, and this time it was agreed by all except DuPortail to capitulate.[707]
De Brahm: "As ordinary. The enemy's trenches are extended under the abbatis of the advanced battery. This afternoon a parley was sent to the enemy to propose fresh terms of capitulation."

Allaire: "Thursday, 11th. The town set on fire by a carcase [carcass, i.e. a combustible confined in iron hoops], which burnt several houses. The Rebels sent out a flag soon after; our firing continued without taking notice of their flag. They showed the second flag, which we accepted. It was begging the terms that had been offered the last truce. Sir Henry Clinton answered them the firing should cease until he could send and consult Admiral Arbuthnot. The terms were granted."

Hinrichs: "The enemy stood our fire well and returned it till about noon, when again a flag was sent out. But since our fire was so violent that we did not see them coming, they were compelled to withdraw. At two o'clock in the afternoon the enemy hoisted a large white flag on the hornwork and dispatched a second falg, offering the capitulation of the city, etc.,, etc., on the terms we had proposed. We granted a truce, sent for the Admiral [Arbuthnot], who arrived at eight o'clock in the evening, and at eleven o'clokc at night the principal points of the capitulation had been agreed upon."[708]

11-12 May. [surrender] CHARLESTOWN, also Charleston (Charleston County, S.C.) On the 11th, after an approximately six week siege, Charlestown capitulated to the British, who then entered the city the morning of the next day. At least 2,560 Continentals and 1,000 militia were made prisoners -- the worst defeat, in terms of losses, suffered by an American army in the course of the entire conflict (a fact usually overlooked by Clinton's detractors); as well as being the only defensive siege carried on by the Americans of a major city in the war. McCrady makes the interesting remark that Lincoln should not only not have listened to the civilian authorities on what was a military matter, but should have gone further and threatened them with military justice if their behavior hindered or jeopardized his authority as commander. Civilian losses during the siege were relatively few compared to what they might have been.[709]
Allaire: "Friday, 12th. The gates were opened, Gen. Leslie at the head of the British Grenadiers, Seventh, Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth regiments, and Hessian Grenadiers marched in, and took possession of Charlestown, and soon leveled the thirteen stripes with the dust, and displayed the British standard on their ramparts. Still at Lempriere's [Lampriere's]."

Tarleton: "During these operations, the besieging army finished their third parallel, which they had carried close to the canal, and by a sap pushed to the dam which supplied it with water on the right, drained it in several parts to the bottom. On the 6th and 7th of May, the artillery was mounted in the batteries of this parallel, and the traverses and communications were perfectly completed. Thus enclosed on every side, and driven to its last defences, Sir Henry Clinton wishing to preserve Charles town from destruction, and to prevent that effusion of blood which must be the inevitable consequence of a storm, opened a correspondence on the 8th with General Lincoln, for the purpose of a surrender: But the conditions demanded by the American commander being deemed higher than he had a right to expect from his present situation, they were rejected, and hostilities renewed. The batteries on the third parallel were then opened, and by the superiority of fire, both of artillery and small arms, the British troops were enabled to gain the counterscarp of the outwork which flanked the

[705] LFB2 p. 560.
[706] DSC.
[707] AR80 p. 221, BSC p. 217.
[708] USC p. 289.
[709] CNC14 pp. 805-824, USC pp. 289-295, 395-397, 403-421, ATR80b pp. 36-55, 140-141, AR80 pp. 221-222, NGP7 p. 558n, NGP8 p. 402, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, pp. 131-136, TCS pp. 21-23, CAR pp. 170-172, SQR pp. 136-139, MMS2 pp. 86-110, RHA2 p. 481, GHA3 pp. 346-360, SAW2 pp. 185-186, MLW4A pp. 153-158, LMS pp. 157-161, JLG1 pp. 274-280, 284-286, JFM pp. 11-15, LFB2 pp. 560-561, MDR pp. 411-417, MSC1 pp. 503-514, CBA p. 497, DRR pp. 174-175, BEA pp. 211-213, BSC pp. 218-220. A lengthy account of the entire siege written by Lincoln to Gen. Washington can be found at CNC15 pp. 24-47.

canal; which they likewise passed, and then pushed on their approaches directly towards the ditch of the place. The present state of danger now urged the citizens and militia, who had formed the objections to the late conditions, to acquiesce in their being relinquished: General Lincoln accordingly proposed to surrender on the terms lately offered. The commander-in-chief and the admiral, besides their dislike to the cruel extremity of a storm, were not disposed to press to unconditional submission an enemy whom they wished to conciliate by clemency. They now granted the same conditions which they had before prescribed as the foundation for treaty. The capitulation was signed the 11th of May, and on the 12th, Major-general Leslie, by the order of Sir Henry Clinton, took possession of Charles town.
"As the siege was not productive of sallies, or desperate assaults, which were in a considerable degree prevented by situation and the nature of the works, the carnage was not great on either side, and was not unequally shared. The loss of the King's troops during the siege, before the town and in the country, amounted to seventy-six killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded; and that of the Americans, in the town, to eighty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded.
"By the articles of capitulation the garrison were allowed some of the honours of war; they were to march out of the town, at an hour appointed for that purpose, to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they were to deposit their arms; but the drums were not to beat a British march, or the colours to be uncased: The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain prisoners of war until they were exchanged: The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property: The citizens of all descriptions, to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia: The officers of the army and navy to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and their baggage unsearched: They were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them out of Charles town. A vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with General Lincoln's dispatches, which were not to be opened."[710]

Hinrichs: "We found abundant stores of ammunition and a great deal of artillery. There were in the city 290 iron and 21 brass cannon, as well as several large and small howitzers and shell mortars. There were two frigates, the *Ranger* and the *Providence*, which still had all their guns. In addition to these we got forty guns at Fort Moultrie, now called Fort Sulivan again, seven guns on Lempriere's Point, and four at Hobcaw. -- As regards the enemy's fortifications and their defense, as well as our attack upon them, I shall wait till I have drawn my plan, which I have so far found no time to do. Their artillery was better than ours. They confessed that since the opening of the third parallel our small-arms fire alone cost them between three and four hundred killed and wounded and that they could never open their embrasures without losses. The reason why they threw so few shells during the latter part of the siege was that their best bombardier, a major of the artillery [Major John Gilbank], was killed on the 30th of April [actually it was on evening of 11 April when Gilbank was killed by an American shell that accidentally exploded], and that they had no one who could make good fuses, of which they were in need. It was because of this that most of their shells failed to explode. This much is certain: had the French engineer [Duportail] sent by General Washington three weeks ago had arrived earlier, our work would have been considerably harder, for nature has favored the situation of this town."[711]

CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES[712]

BRITISH
Clinton's return: "Return of the killed and wounded of the troops under the command of his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, from the debarkation in South Carolina the 11th of February, to the surrender of Charles town the 12th of May.

Royal artillery. 5 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.
1st battalion of light infantry. 8 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant [sic], 17 rank and file wounded.
2d battalion ditto. 11 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 12 rank and file wounded.
Detachment of ditto. 3 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.
1st battalion grenadiers. 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 13 rank and file wounded.
2d battalion ditto. 10 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 11 rank and file wounded.
7th. 1 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.
23d. 4 rank and file wounded.
33d. 1 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.
62d. 2 rank and file killed.
63d. 4 rank and file killed.
64th. 1 rank and file wounded.
71st. 2 ensigns, 6 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 14 rank and file wounded.

GERMAN
Yagers. 7 rank and file killed; 14 ditto wounded.
Linsing. 2 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.
Lengerck. 1 rank and file killed; 15 ditto wounded.

[710] TCS pp. 21-23.
[711] USC p. 295.
[712] For troop strengths present at the siege see 17 April 1780.

Schuler. 3 rank and file killed; 18 ditto wounded.
Graff. 2 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 8 rank and file wounded.
Huyne. 5 rank and file wounded.

PROVINCIAL
New-York volunteers. 2 rank and file killed; 1 ditto wounded.
British legion. 5 rank and file killed; 9 ditto wounded.
Ferguson's corps. 5 rank and file wounded.

Total BRITISH, GERMAN, and PROVINCIAL losses.
2 ensigns, 1 serjeant, 73 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 179 rank and file, wounded."[713]

GRAND TOTAL Based on Clinton's Return: 76 killed, 189 wounded

In his memoirs, Clinton states the British lost 268 killed and wounded. [714]

Arbuthnot: "Our [the Royal Nay's] whole loss in the ships and galleys, and the batteries on shore, is twenty-three seamen killed, and twenty-eight wounded; among the latter is Lieutenant Bowers, of the Europe, but in fair way of recovery."[715]

AMERICAN
Return of John André,[716] Deputy adjutant general to Clinton: "Total of the rebel forces commanded by Major-general Lincoln at the surrender of Charles town, May 12, 1780, now prisoners of war. Two major generals, 5 brigadier generals, 3 majors of brigade, 16 colonels, 9 lieutenant colonels, 41 cornets or ensigns, 1 paymaster, 7 adjutants, 6 quarter masters, 18 surgeons, 6 mates, 322 serjeants, 137 drummers, 4710 rank and file."[717]

Tarleton: "Seven general officers, ten continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, became prisoners upon this occasion. The whole number of men in arms who surrendered, including town and country militia, and French, amounted to five thousand six hundred and eighteen, exclusive of near a thousand seamen."[718]
Tarleton gives Americans losses, exclusive of prisoners taken, as 89 killed, 140 wounded, while Clinton speaks of them as being 300. Ward repeats these figures but makes the wounded total 138.[719]

From Lincoln's dispatch to Congress, dated May 24 1780
"Return of the Killed and Wounded during the Siege.
Killed -- 1 Colonel, 1 Aide-de-Camp, 6 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 10 Serjeants, 68 Rank and File, Continentals.
Wounded -- 1 Major, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 18 Serjeants and 114 Rank and File, Continentals.
The Militia and Sailors being in a different Part of the Town suffered no Loss.

"Return of the Continental Troops, Prisoners of War, including the Sick and Wounded
Major General Lincoln
Brigadiers: Moultrie, McIntosh, Woodford, Scott, Du Portail, Hogun.
Colonels 9, Lieut. Colonels 14, Majors 15, Captains and Captain Lieutenants 84,
Second Lieutenants and Ensigns 32, Non-Commissioned Officers 209, Drums and Fifes 140, Rank and File 1,977.

"The Number of Deserters from our Army, from the 29th of March to the 12th of May, amounted to only 20."[720]

* The following information is abstracted from a more detailed document contained in the *State Records of North Carolina* (CNC15 p. 398) titled "Garrison of Charleston, S.C." May 1780, with numbers given as rank and file:
South Carolina Artillery……..….62
North Carolina Artillery…….……46
Charlestown Battn. of Artillery…..…….146
Cannoneers……..…….159
1st Regt. South Carolinians……..176
2nd Regt. South Carolinians……..….195
3rd Regt. South Carolinians……208
1st Regt. North Carolinians……234
2nd Regt. South Carolinians……245
3rd Regt. South Carolinians……130
1st Regt. Virginians……268

[713] TCS pp. 45-46.
[714] CAR p. 171.
[715] TCS p. 52.
[716] McCrady provides a very interesting and telling anecdote regarding André's impersonation an American officer during the siege; with obvious and important implications with respect to his later role in the Arnold treason plot. See MSC1 p. 487n.
[717] TCS p. 64.
[718] TCS p. 23.
[719] TCS p. 22, CAR p. 171.
[720] HSC pp. 175-176.

2nd Regt. Virginians……215
3rd Regt. Virginians……198
1st Detachment Virginians……235
2nd Detachment Virginians……..218
4th Virginia Reg……[NA][721]
5th Virginia Reg……[NA]
6th Virginia Reg……[NA]
7th Virginia Reg……[NA]
8th Virginia Reg……[NA]
10th Virginia Reg……[NA]
11th Virginia Reg……[NA]
Light Dragoons……..31
Officers of Georgia [total of 5]……[NA]
1st Battn. Charlestown Militia……312
2nd Battn. Charlestown Militia……446
S. and N. Carolina Militia……1,079
Citizens Company……..28
French Company……40
Spanish Company……36
TOTAL RANK AND FILE: 4,704

Ramsay: "The numbers which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia, and every adult male inhabitant, was above 5000, but the proper garrison at the time of surrender did not exceed 2500. The precise number of privates in the continental army was 1977 of which 500 were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and consisted of one Major General, 6 Brigadiers, 9 Colonels, 14 Lieut. Colonels, 15 Majors, 84 Captains, 84 Lieutenants, 32 Second lieutenants and Ensigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sense of honor repaired to the defence of Charlestown, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates." [722]

William Dobein James: "After a siege of a month and fourteen days, 2500 men submitted to an army of 12,000; and it was only surprising they held out so long. The continental troops and sailors were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged; the militia were permitted to return home as prisoners on parole, which, as long as they observed it, should secure them from being molested in their property."[723]

Carl P. Borick and others state that many claimed by the British as American militia, were not actually engaged during the siege, so that the total of militia captured was greater than number actually involved, perhaps as much as 300 more than official *American* returns. Although Clinton reported 5,618, exclusive of 1,000 sailors taken, Lincoln's actual number of effectives under arms by the end of April was 4,000, and 6,000 at any given point earlier in the siege. The garrison suffered 89 killed mostly Continentals and 138 wounded, with 20 civilians being killed also. 3,465 total Continentals were captured, along with 400 pieces of cannon and 5,000 muskets.[724]

Arbuthnot's return: "A List of rebel ships of war taken or destroyed in the harbour of Charles town. The *Bricole* pierced for 60, mounting 44 guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders, sunk, her captain, officers, and company, prisoners -- The *Truite*, 26 twelve pounders, sunk, her captain, &c. prisoners -- *Queen of France*, 28 nine pounders, sunk, ditto. -- *General Moultrie* [aka *General Lincoln*], 20 six pounders, sunk, ditto. -- *Notre Dame*, (brig) 16 ditto, sunk, ditto. -- *Providence*, 32 guns, eighteen and twelve pounders, taken, captain, officers, and company, prisoners. -- *Boston*. Of the same force, taken, ditto -- *Ranger*, 20 six pounders, taken, ditto. French Ships *L'Avanture*, 26 nine and six pounders, commanded by Sieur de Brulot, lieutenant *de Vaisseau*, taken, ditto. -- *Polacre*, 16 pounders, taken. -- Some empty brigs lying at the wharfs, with other small vessels, were also taken, with four armed galleys."[725]

From the return by Maj. Peter Traille, of the Royal Artillery, of arms and ordnance taken from the Americans:
"Munitions captured: French Musquets. Eight hundred and forty-seven in store, 4569 delivered at the abbatis [abatis], 15 stands of regimental colours. Large quantities of musquet [musket] cartridges, arms, and other small articles, not included in the above return: The scattered situation of the different stores not admitting of collecting them in so short a time. A more exact account will be given as soon as possible.
"Abstract of Ordnance: Brass guns, 21; mortars, 9; howitzers, 1; iron guns, 280. Total, 311. Besides the ordnance taken in fort Moultrie, Lampries [Lampriere's], Mount Pleasant, and on board the vessels, amounting in the whole to eighty or ninety pieces; and one ten-inch mortar."[726]

[721] These "un-totaled" (i.e. "NA") Virginia regiments in the course of the siege were earlier consolidated into the other (i.e. here totaled) regiments and detachments.
[722] RHA2 p. 481.
[723] JFM p. 13.
[724] BSC pp. 221-223.
[725] TCS pp. 52-53.
[726] TCS p. 55-56, 65-67.

Moultrie's Diary: "About 11 o'clock A. M. on the 12th of May we marched out between 1,500 and 1,600 Continental troops (leaving 500 to 600 sick and wounded in the hospital) without the horn-work, on the left, and piled out arms: the officers marched the men back to the barracks, where a British guard was placed over them; the British then asked where our second division was? They were told these were all the Continentals we had, except the sick and wounded; they were astonished, and said we had made a gallant defense."

Letter from Brig. Gen. DuPortail's to Gen. Washington, of 17 May 1780: "Fortunately, in all this honor of the American arms is secure, and the enemy have not yet great subject to triumph. To remain forty-two days in open trenches before a town of immense extent, fortified by sandy intrenchments [sic], raised in two months, without covered way, without out-works, open in several places on the water, and exposed everywhere to an open attack, and defended by a garrison which was not by half sufficient, to remain, I say, forty-two days before such a pace, and display all the apparel of a regular siege, is nothing very glorious. The British general has, perhaps, followed the rules of prudence in this conduct, but, at least, the troops under his command will never have subject of boasting of their audaciousness and enterprising spirit. The American troops, on the contrary, have given certain proof of their firmness in supporting a tremendous fire, and remaining all the while exposed to the danger of surprise and open attack, of which the success was almost certain if the enemy had taken the proper measures."[727]

Lossing: "Great skill and courage were brought to bear upon the patriots during the siege, and never was a defense more obstinate and heroic, and yet it was not a bloody one. The loss on both sides in killed and wounded was nearly equal; that of the Americans, exclusive of the inhabitants of the town not bearing arms, was ninety-two killed, and one hundred and forty-eight wounded. The British lost seventy-six killed, and one hundred and eighty nine wounded. The number of prisoners, including the inhabitants of the town, was between five and six thousand. About four hundred cannons were a part of the spoils of victory. Thirty houses were destroyed during the siege…[Lossing's footnote:] The terms of the capitulation were partly honorable and partly humiliating. The town, fortifications and shipping, artillery and stores, were to be given up; the Continental troops and sailors were to be conducted to some place to be agreed upon, there to remain prisoners of war until exchanged; the militia to be permitted to return home, as prisoners of war, on parole, and to be secured from molestation as long as they did not violate these paroles; the arms and baggage of the officers and their servants were to be retained by them; the garrison were to march out, and lay down their arms between the works and the canal, the drums not to beat a British march, nor the colors to be uncased; the French consul, and French and Spanish residents should be unmolested, but considered prisoners of war; and that a vessel should convey a messenger to New York, that he might carry dispatches to General Washington."[728]

**** Some Remarks on the Charlestown Prisoners***

Respecting the fate of many of soldiers and sailors taken at Charlestown, Lossing states: "But the camp and typhoid fevers, and dysentery, swept off hundreds before the cruel hand of the oppressor relinquished its grasp. Maddened by torture, and almost heart-broken on account of the sufferings of their families, more than five hundred of the soldiers who capitulated at Charleston agreed to enroll themselves as royal militia, as the least of two present evils, and were sent to do service in the British army in Jamaica. Of nineteen hundred prisoners surrendered at Charleston, and several hundreds more taken at Camden and Fishing Creek, only seven hundred and forty were restored to the service of their country."[729]
Of 2,700 enlisted who surrendered only 1,400 remained available for exchange at beginning of 1781. By November, most of the prisoners, including those taken later at Camden, were put on board prison ships[730] in Charlestown's harbor in order to free up troops (specifically the 64th Regt.) who had been guarding them. The subsequent mortality on board the ships was, according to one British observer, "truly shocking." General Moultrie, himself a prisoner, acted as their leader and representative and doggedly did what he could to present their grievances to the British. Balfour, the subsequent commandant of the town, usually turned a deaf ear to their complaints and petitions. Yet in fairness it needs to be pointed out that Cornwallis lacked adequate medical supplies and staff even for his own men. 373 to 500 of the rebel prisoners were induced to join the Duke of Cumberland's regiment in the West Indies; though it was attested by some witnesses on formal oath taken in August 1781 (and contained in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*) that many of these men were coerced into joining the British. On 8 May 1781, a general exchange was negotiated and many of the prisoners were shipped to Jamestown, VA. where they arrived on 22 June; subsequently serving in the Lafayette's or Greene's army (see SNC pp. 43-44.) The British, in their defense, argued that they were willing to exchange more and sooner but that Congress cynically left the prisoners to their fate because they would have been less use to the American cause (many of their enlistments having expired) than if exchanged for British prisoners, which the Briish could have more readily re-employed. [731]

[727] DSC.
[728] LFB2 pp. 561, 561n.
[729] LFB2 p. 562.
[730] Those not placed on the ships were held at Haddrell's Point.
[731] CNC14 p. 816-818, CNC17 pp. 1044-1046, ATR82a pp. 288-291, MMS2 pp. 118-146, RCC pp. 79-80, GAR1 pp. 159-167, GAR2 pp. 227-230, GHA3 pp. 452-454, GHA4 pp. 139-143, JLG1 pp. 276-282, SNC pp. 43-44, MSC2 pp. 344-381, WCO p. 146, CLS pp. 480-483, LSL p. 203, BSC p. 223. See also 17 May 1781.

McCrady: "Upwards of 800 of these prisoners, nearly one-third of the whole, exhausted by a variety of suffering, expired in the short space of thirteen months captivity. When the general exchange took place in June, 1781, out of 1900, 1 there were only 740 restored to the service of their country."[732]

Cornwallis, at "Wynnesborough" 3 December 1780, to Clinton: "In regard to the complaint contained in the letter of the 6th [November] of the removal of some of the [leading whig] citizens from Charlestown to St. Augustine, I have only to say that the insolence of their behavior, the threats with which they in the most daring manner endeavored to intimidate our friends, the infamous falsehoods which they propagated through the town and country, and the correspondence which they constantly kept up with the enemy, rendered it indispensably necessary that they should either be closely confined or sent out of the province."[733]

Extract of 12 Dec. 1855 Deposition of John Lane concerning the death of John Davis, from Minutes of Craven County, N.C. Court:
"John T. Lane appears in open Court, and being sworn upon the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposes and says that he heard Thomas A. Green, of the County of Craven say, that he, the said Green, and John Davis of said County were taken prisoners of war together during the Revolution, and imprisoned together in Charleston (1780), and that he, the said Green, was separated from the said Davis, and that he never saw the said Davis after the said separation, and did not know what became of him, except from general rumor, and that rumor was that he was whipped to death in the British Navy. Deponent further states that he has frequently heard Thomas Davis say that his brother, John Davis, was whipped to death on a British Man of War. Deponent further states that he heard Captain Richard Carter say that he was a prisoner of war during the Revolution, and was imprisoned on board a British Man of War with one John Davis; that the Master of the ship tried to make the American prisoners do duty on board ship, and that the said John Davis, who was an American, peremptorily refused; whereupon the said Davis was severely whipped, that the whipping was stopped and he was told that if he would draw a bucket of water from the ship's side the punishment should cease; that he refused to do it, and the whipping was commenced often, and continued until his bowels were whipped out, and he died; that he, the said Carter, was an eye-witness to the whole. Deponent further says that the said Green and Carter died many years ago; that they were men of truth, and that he believes that their statements were true, and that he has no interest whatever in making this deposition."[734]

12-13 May. After receiving word of the surrender of Charlestown, Brig. Gen. William Caswell on the north side of Lenud's Ferry, withdrew with his 400 North Carolina militia, and a few of South Carolina, towards Camden; perhaps some 700 in all (according to McCrady.) Not long before this, a corps of about 400 Virginia Continentals, 2 cannon, and some 28 wagons carrying ammunition and supplies originally intended for the relief of Charlestown, under Col. Abraham Buford had joined Caswell at Lenud's. Buford retreated as well to Camden, taking with him Governor John Rutledge and his legislative council. Caswell and Buford subsequently became separated at Camden: Caswell and the North Carolina militia continuing toward Cross Creek, while Buford's column headed, via Rugeley's Mills (modern Stateburg, S.C.), in the direction of Salisbury. According to James, at some point Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger took command of Buford's detachment. Then a day or two before Waxhaws on the 29th, he relinquished it to Buford, taking in his charge instead the task of escorting Governor Rutledge and his council members to safety.[735]
Pension statement of Isham Bobbet of Warren County, N.C.: "[Bobbet] entered the service of the United States as a volunteer in the county of Warren, North Carolina, about the first of February 1780. That he was mustered into service at that time under the command of Captain Chirstman and marched to Halifax where we were met by Colonel Allen, who took the command of the regiment. He marched us to Tarborough and thence to Cross Creek and Camden, thence to Nelson[']s Ferry near Monks Corner, thirty miles from Charlestown. In a few days the Brittish [sic] troops took Charlestown and then we were marched back to Camden in company with Colonel Bluford [Abraham Buford], at which place we parted from him. We marched under the command of General Caswell to Fayettesville [Cross Creek] and continued stationed there until the last of June, at which time we were discharged."

Pension declaration of David Cockerham of Surry County, N.C.: "David Cockerham entered service for three months in the spring of the year when Charlestown, SC, was taken. He was in the company of Capt. James Freeman of Surry County. David was a substitute for his uncle William Cockerham of Surry County. The company marched to Richmond where they remained some weeks and then marched to Salisbury in Rowan County, and then marched to Camden, SC, and from there to [Nelson's or Wilson's] Ferry on the Santee River, and then down this side of the River for the purpose of aiding in the defense of Charlestown which was then beseiged [sic] by the British. At Camden Capt. Freeman joined Gen. [William] Caswell from North Carolina with a considerable body of the North Carolina militia also marching for the relief of Charlestown. When they had gone down the River toward Charlestown and were so near it as to hear the firing of the cannon, Gen. Caswell was told by some of the American soldiers who had escaped from the siege that Charlestown had fallen. Gen. Caswell then ordered the troops under his command to march back to Camden and from there to Fayetteville [Cross Creek], NC, and from there to a place called Dobson[']s Crossroads in Surry County (but now Stokes County), where David was discharged."

[732] MSC2 p. 350.
[733] RCC p. 72.
[734] Craven County, December Term, 1855, Book 13, pp. 524-525, and as also found in CNC15 pp. 377-378.
[735] TCS p. 27, JLG1 p. 286, JFM p. 15, MSC1 p. 517, RNC p. 237.

15 May. A major ammunition magazine in Charlestown exploded, burning several of houses in the city and killing at least 33 British soldiers, including 15 artillerymen -- more than had been lost during the entire siege, and several civilians. As well, 2,000 to 3,000 muskets also were destroyed in the blast. Add to this the 4,000 muskets lost when the *Russia Merchant* foundered upon Clinton's expedition first coming south, and the result was a material shortage of weapons with which to arm the royal militia.[736]

Allaire: "Monday, 15th. Magazine blew up -- set the town on fire -- burnt several houses. Capt. Collins and Lieut. Gordon, of the artillery, Lieut. M'Leod of the Forty-second regiment, and about thirty privates, perished by the explosion. In what way the accident happened is not certain; 'tis supposed by throwing the captured arms into the magazine, one went off, and set fire to the powder."

Ewald: "Suddenly, the idea struck me to ask him not to enter the magazine until I returned, and I asked him to go to the coffeehouse, where he should wait for me. We parted. Wintzingerode went to the coffeehouse and I to Captain Biesenrodt's quarters, which lay about seven to eight hundred paces away from the magazine. I had hardly entered the house, when such an extraordinary blast occurred that the house shook. I ran out of the house, saw a thick cloud of vapor a short distance away, and rushed there. The most dreadful cries arose from all sides of the city. I saw that the magazine into which I intended to go some eight or ten minutes earlier, had blown up with all the people who worked in and around it, along with several adjacent houses. The view was horrible. Never in my life as long as I have been a soldier, have I witnessed a more deplorable sight. We found some sixty people who were burnt beyond recognition, half dead and writhing like worms, lying scattered around the holocaust at a distance of twenty, thirty, to forty paces, and in the confusion one could not help them. We saw a number of mutilated bodies hanging on the farthest houses and lying in the streets. Nearby and at a distance, we found the limbs of burnt people. Many of those who hurried to the scene were killed or wounded by gunshots which came from the loaded muskets in the cellars.
"Toward evening we discovered that about three hundred people had lost their lives, among whom were the following: Captain Collins (who had been rescued twice at sea with his eighty-three artillerymen, only to be burnt to death), an officer of the artillery, Lieutenant McLeod of the 42d Scottish Regiment, seventeen English and two Hessian artillery-men, and one Hessian grenadier who stood at the guard entrance.
The entire disaster had occurred through carelessness. In the cellars in which the muskets were stored there was a quantity of powder, and, as one might assume, one of the muskets had discharged while being handed into the cellar and the shot struck a powder keg. The catastrophe could have been greater, since a very large powder magazine was situated only two hundred paces away.
"From this incident I realized once more that if one still lives, it is destined that he shall live. One should do as much good as possible, trust firmly in the Hand of God, and go his way untroubled. Here I recalled the following French verse:
"Miserable toy of blind fortune,
Victim of wrongs and laws,
Man, you who through a thousand injustices
Must find life troublesome,
From whence comes only death, you fear all its power.
Coward, face it without flinching.
Think, that if it is an outrage,
It is the last you will receive."[737]

16 May. Allaire. "Tuesday, 16th. The American Volunteers relieved the Navy, and took command of Fort Moultrie."

17 May. Clinton sent Cornwallis, located at St. Thomas' Parish north of Charlestown, to take Camden.[738] Arbuthnot meanwhile, fearing the possible approach of the French fleet under Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay (see 2 May), was eager to depart with his ships from Charlestown as soon as possible. [739]
Clinton, in Charlestown, wrote to Cornwallis on this date: "Your lordship has already with you (in the field) two thousand five hundred and forty-two rank and file; but if you have the least reason to suppose the enemy likely to be in great number, you shall be reinforced with the 42d, the light infantry, and any other corps you chuse [sic]. As your move is important, it must not be stinted. I will give you all you wish of every sort. Let me know what it is as soon as possible. In the mean time, I shall order the light infantry and 42d regiment to prepare; depending upon it, that as soon as you can spare them, you will return them to me for all operations to the northward must be cramped without them. If you chuse [sic] to keep the 17th dragoons, you are heartily welcome to them during this move." Cornwallis in his reply of the 18th said the 42nd Regt., the Light Infantry, would not be needed, and declined the extra temporary support. However, he retained the 17th dragoons which he already had with him. These did nevertheless end up returning to New York with Clinton only to return again south with Leslie's expedition later in the year.[740]

[736] USC pp. 297-299, LSL p. 121, EHJ pp. 239-240, MMS2 pp. 108-111, CSS pp. 1109-1110, MSC1 pp. 505-506.
[737] Ewald's entry is for 18 May. EHJ pp. 239-240.
[738] DKM p. 68.
[739] LFB2 p. 561.
[740] TCS pp. 76-77, 97.

Cornwallis to Clinton, written from "Camp at Manigolds," 18 May: "It would be with great regret that I should see you leave behind any part of that corps destined for your first embarkation. The garrison, then, of Charles-town and Sullivan's island, will consist of three British regiments, -- two of them very weak, -- and two Hessian, and one weak Provincial, the latter of which, perhaps, will be sent to Fort Moultrie. This garrison will have the charge of two thousand five hundred prisoners. The corps at present under my command is, in my opinion, fully equal to the purpose intended by it, unless some considerable reinforcement of Continentals should come from the Northward. I have not yet heard that fact ascertained, by any intelligence which has come to my knowledge."[741]

18 May. Cornwallis left his ground near Huger's Bridge in Christ Church parish on the 18th and directed his march to Lenud's Ferry with 5 pieces of cannon and upwards of 2,500 men (2,542 rank and file.) Boats were collected with difficulty as the Americans had concealed or destroyed all within their reach; some Blacks slaves, however, helped remedy this situation for the British. While Cornwallis was engaged with crossing with his main force, Tarleton "received instructions to march to George Town, in order to chase away or take prisoners, all the violent enemies to the British government, and to receive the allegiance of the well-affected. This service was performed without any opposition, during the passage of the other troops."[742]

Mid to Late May. [raids] Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown and Lieut. Col. James Grierson, with the King's Rangers, and some Georgia and South Carolina loyalists under Daniel and James McGirtt left from Savannah to occupy Augusta.[743]
Before arriving there, the following took place as described by McCrady: "Shortly after the fall of Charleston, and before Colonel Browne had reached Augusta with his detachment, a party of Loyalists under the command of a Captain Hollingsworth was sent by McGirth, who was now commissioned as a Colonel in the royal service into the neighborhood of a Captain McKoy [Rannal McKay] in South Carolina, whose activity rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the British. The arty murdered seventeen men on their farms in one or two days. The country exhibited a scene of ruin. All the movable property was plundered, and every house was burned. A flourishing country of thirty miles in length and ten in breadth was desolated. Disappointed in their expectations of getting possession of McKoy's person, they tortured his wife to exhort from her a knowledge of the place of his concealment. The mode of inflicting the torture was by taking a flint out of a musket and putting her thumb in its place. Thus improvising a most effective thumbscrew, the screw was applied until the thumb was ready to burst. While under this newly invented species of torture, in addition to the questions put to her respecting her husband, she was required to disclose the secret deposit of her most valuable property, which they alleged had been removed and hidden in the woods. McKoy was afterward charged with cruelty toward the enemy by his own countrymen who were engaged in the same cause, but it is scarcely to be wondered at that he should have sought revenge for such barbarous treatment of his wife. Such atrocities upon the one side and the other did but provoke to others, and often to greater."[744]
At this same time, or else shortly after (this latter appears more likely), Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger with his 1st Battalion Delancey, the 3rd Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, a detachment of the 16th Regt.,[745] and 3 companies of light infantry were also marched from Savannah to Augusta. From that point on there remained only about 600 regulars in Savannah, and the city did not receive any new regular units until the King's American Regiment was sent there by Rawdon in very late May 1781. Some two thirds of the garrison were Provincials or loyalist militia, and approximately two ninths were Hessians. Less than one ninth were British regulars. Although from Augusta to the east most of Georgia was conquered, rebel resistance continued in the backcountry, against both British and their Indian allies, under whig leaders Elijah Clark, John Twiggs, Benjamin Few,[746] William Few,[747] and James Jackson. Noted rebel, Col. John Dooly, who had actively fought the British in 1779, would have been one among their number but was murdered by some loyalists in August 1780. The whigs numbered some 800 to 900; the vast majority of them from Wilkes County and the upper part of Richmond County. As part of their efforts, these partisans built small forts on the frontier to protect against possible attacks. Historian Kenneth Coleman writes of them: "The Whig militia [of Georgia] must have had a remarkable intelligence system, for its leaders always seemed to know when a band of Tories was nearby and how large it was. The militiamen assembled if there was any chance of success, attacked the Tories, and then dispersed to their homes to become ordinary frontiersmen until there was another chance to strike at the Tories. Sometimes they returned from an expedition to find their homes burned, their families murdered, or their crops destroyed; yet they always seemed ready for the next action."[748]

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[741] In fairness to Cornwallis, while it might seem he was being overly optimistic in his prospects, it is understandable he could have little idea of the effects fevers and illness would have on his army; not to mention the kind of resistance he would end up encountering from the rebel militia. COC pp. 2-3.
[742] TCS p. 26-27, MSC1 p. 516, BGD p. 78.
[743] MMS2 pp. 284-285, MHG p. 307, MSC1 pp. 610-611.
[744] MMS2 pp. 284-285, MHG p. 307, MSC1 pp. 610-611.
[745] No later than the first months of 1781 a detachment from it was sent from Savannah (by sea) to reinforce the British garrison at Pensacola in West Florida. The three companies of light infantry were with Tarleton at Cowpens. A third base unit was kept in Savannah. BEA p. 854.
[746] In the first quarters of 1781, Few served as a delegate to Congress from Georgia.
[747] For a sketch of William Few, see WHG pp. 409-412.
[748] TCS p. 87, CGA pp. 132-133, BGC p 51. Memorial of Andrew Cumming, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, vol. 126, folios 563-564.

Memorial of Lieut. Col. John H. Cruger: "In June 1780 Lord Cornwallis Commanding in the Southern District ordered your Memorialist with his Battn. and three other Regts. to take post so as to Cover the frontiers of Georgia and South Carolina which he did with such good effect, as to establish the tranquility of the Country."[749]

20 May. Lieut. Col. Alured Clarke left Charlestown to take command from Prevost of Savannah; with him went the regiment von D'Angelelli.[750]

20 May. Clinton, at Charlestown, to Cornwallis: "The light infantry and forty-second regiment march this evening to Goose-creek, and thence to Monk's [Monck's] corner, where they will remain at your Lordship's call, in readiness either to join you, or to return and embark, as shall have become expedient."[751]

21 May. Cornwallis on the south side of Lenud's ferry resumed his march toward Nelson's (aka Nielson's) Ferry, ultimately heading in the direction of Camden.[752]
Cornwallis to Clinton on this date: "The march of the light infantry and 42d to Monk's [Monck's]-corner will be of use to those corps, and will help to spread alarm through the country; but from what I hear, I do not believe that there can be any necessity for detaining any part of the first embarkation a moment after the ships are ready for them."[753]

22 May. Clinton, in cooperation with Arbuthnot, issued the first of three proclamations. The tenor of this first was rather mild compared to what would follow. It spoke of the restoration of "civil government," and promised severe punishment to those who should oppose Royal government or aid the Rebels, at the same time proffering assurances of protection to those loyal to the crown.[754]

22 May. Clinton wrote Maj. Patrick Ferguson appointing him Inspector of Militia in the Southern Provinces, by which authority Ferguson was to raise and train loyalists militia units, and to hand out minor officer commissions. Ferguson was given very specific instructions as to how the loyalists were to be paid, clothed and organized: "This Militia you will form into Companies consisting of, from 50 to 100 Men each, and will when the local and other Circumstances will admit of it, form Battalions consisting of, from 6 to 12 Companies each, allowing such as cannot conveniently be assembled in Battalions, to remain as Independent Companies. Each Company to be under a Lieutenant chosen by the Men, to whom you may add if you find it necessary, an Ensign from the Non Commissioned Officers and others who have served in the Army, to assist in establishing a certain Degree of Order, Regularity and Discipline, which however must be done with great Caution, so as not to disgust the Men, or mortify unnecessarily, the Love of Freedom…" Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes of the South Carolina Royalists and Major James Graham were to assist him in this. When Ferguson arrived at Ninety Six on 22 June, he was joined by Robert Cunningham and Capt. David Fanning, the latter from North Carolina; the latter also participating for a brief time in this program to enlist and train loyalists. After Cornwallis took overall command in South Carolina, he commissioned Cunningham a Lieutenant Colonel, and bestowed on him head leadership of the loyalists in the Ninety Six district.[755]
David Fanning: "After the British American troops had taken possession of Ninety-Six, I continued scouting on the Indian lines, until Col. Innis [Innes] forwarded his march up to Musgrovi [Musgrove] Mill on the Innoree [Ennoree] River, I then joined them with a party of fourteen men."[756]

24 May. John Rutledge, to Gov. Abner Nash of North Carolina, reported from Camden on this date: "I could not obtain a copy of the Articles of Capitulation at Charles Town untill yesterday. Inclosed you will receive it. Last Saturday the enemy took post, with a considerable force, at Dupree's Ferry on Santee River, which they began to cross that day on their march to George Town, whither they had sent some vessels from Charles Town. They are certainly in possession of George Town, which was not defensible. Genl. [William] Caswell, who lay a little below Lanier's Ferry with the North Carolina Brigade and the Virginia Continentals under Col. Buford, had luckily retreated this way before the enemy got to that ferry, and thereby prevented their cutting off his retreat, which was probably their first scheme.
"Those troops are now under command of Brigadier Gen. Huger, about 15 miles below this place, and will be here to-day; his future motions will be directed by the camp and force of the enemy. Sorry I am to say, his force is altogether inadequate to any offensive operations. The enemy, according to advices received last night were, the evening before, at Black Mingo, but whether their intention was to take a circuit by way of the Hanging Rock Road in order to get in the rear of our troops, or to proceed for your state, is as yet uncertain. The next movement they make will demonstrate which of these points is their objects. Parties are gone to reconnoitre; however, I think it advisable not to wait their return, but to give you the foregoing intelligence and what follows

[749] Innes with the South Carolina Royalists *may* have been with Cruger also, but he probably instead arrived at Ninety-Six with Balfour on 19 June.Dated 9 February, 1784, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 20, folios 142-145.
[750] USC p. 299.
[751] COC p. 5.
[752] TCS p. 27, USC pp. 301-303.
[753] COC p. 6.
[754] TCS p. 68-70, MSC1 pp. 549-553.
[755] Clinton to Ferguson, 22 May 1780, University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 100, item 15, DKM p. 68-69, 70-72, Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, 20 August 1780.
[756] FNA p. 12.

as early as possible, especially as I have charged the bearer to collect what intelligence he can as he proceeds, and to communicate it to you

"We have no certain account what the force above mentioned is, or by whom commanded, but it is said to be considerable, and under Lord Cornwallis. It is evident that the conquest of North as well as South Carolina is the enemy's plan. The time for which they endeavour to enlist men is until] those countries can be conquered, and a junction with them at Cross Creek will probably be attempted with the body above mentioned, who have with them a large Highland regiment. I have good reason to believe that they will send vessels (some perhaps with troops) to possess your rivers, and the towns on them, and it is probable that they will establish at Brunswick and Wilmington magazines of provisions. They may send hither great quantities of rice from the lower part of our State. They can hardly expect, I apprehend, to penetrate far into your back country unless they depend more than I hope they can with good grounds on the disaffection of your people, but I presume they will extend their camp along, and at some distance from the sea.

"I hope, indeed, that their progress will be soon checked, tho' their numbers are really great; but surely Virginia will now be roused, and the forces of your State, in conjunction with the Virginians and (supported, as I hope you will be, powerfully by Congress) will make the enemy repent of their audacity in attempting a conquest your way. Can't account for the backwardness of the troops ordered hither by Congress and Virginia, and for our want of intelligence respecting them. I still hope, however, that a combination of forces and better fortune than our late experience will soon oblige the enemy to head back their steps, and that, altho' there is no hope of regaining Charles Town except by treaty, the country will be preserved, and North Carolina, and even Georgia, be retained in the Union; for surely our brethren and allies will never give up the independence of either of those States or suffer such valuable territories to be lopped off.

"I request the favour of you to forward the inclosed per express immediately to the governor of Virginia [Thomas Jefferson]. Whether attempts will be made by the enemy on our back country (except by Tories and Indians) is still uncertain. If they send up a regular force, I am convinced they will be joined by numbers, and many will fall a sacrifice to the resentment of our domestic or internal enemies. But if regular troops are not sent up, I think our people will manage the disaffected and keep them from doing any considerable mischief. However, I expect no other service from the militia; they are so apprehensive of their families being killed (and their properties destroyed) by the Tories and Indians, who daily threaten hostilities while they are absent from their districts, that I believe it will be impracticable to keep any number worth mentioning on duty when the army are at any distance from their homes. If I can get them to embody in their own districts and keep the country quiet, it is really as much as I expect they will do at present and until troops arrive from the northward, but even this depends on the enemy's not sending up regular forces to take post in the back parts of the State; for if they do the disaffected will certainly flock to them, and those who are not disaffected will either abscond if they can or, which is more probable, be taken prisoners without arms, in which case they will expect to be treated as others are who have been taken under similar circumstances, in being dismissed on their parole, a piece of policy which the enemy have adopted with respect to our militia for obvious reasons.

"This is a melancholy but a faithful representation of our affairs at this period. However, we must not despair. I still hope for great and speedy success from our brethren to animate and support our people and for a reverse of our late bad fortune, but immediate and the greatest exertions of the Northern States are indispensable to prevent the desolation and ruin of this State and Georgia, and the enemy's obtaining (what they flatter themselves with securing shortly) the three southernmost States, too valuable a prize ever to be given up by them."[757]

24 May. Gov. John Rutledge, at Camden, to the Delegates of the South Carolina assembly: "P.S. Private. Be pleased to send, to me, as soon as possible a Copy of Lincoln[']s Letter, to Congress, respecting the Capitulation -- I want to know why, after the last reenforcem't. arrived (of 2500 men) he did not evacuate the Town & save his Troops, which I think he might Easily have done, with all his Artillery, & Stores, by crossing, in the Frigates, & other Vessells, over to Lempriere's, & coming thro' Christ Church Parish, before the Communication was cut off, which wd. have preserved the Country, or at least, the Army, & probably frustrated the Enemy's plan of Conquering this State, much less of going to No. Carolina -- & why, even at the last, & when Cornwallis was posted near Wappetaw, wth. 2500 Men, Lincoln did not end'r. to make good his way, wth. all his Troops, (which he might have done, tho'. with some Loss) rather than agree to so infamous a Capitulation, for the Garrison are in my Opinion, in Effect, prisoners at Discretion -- These things appear mysterious to me, but, I will suspend a final Judgm[en]t.,on them, till I hear what he says on the Matter. It is currently reported, & believed, here, that G. Britain will offer America, the Independence of all the States except No. & So. Carolina & Georgia -- & perhaps even of No. C. -- & that such a proposition will be accepted -- I think it impossible, that Congress will leave us in the Lurch -- but, pray inform me candidly, & fully what may be expected on that Head -- If they never will give up the Independence of any one State (which I trust they will not) it wd. be best to declare it immediately in the most pointed Terms, to satisfy the wavering & defeat the Schemes of our Enemies -- Such a declaration generally

made known with a good Number of Troops, wd. revive the Spirits of many of our credulous & dejected, tho' well meaning, People -- All your Friends who were in Town are well -- not a Militia Man killed or hurt, but Peter Lord killed & no officer of the Continentals that I recollect, killed or wounded except Colo. Parker of the Virginians, & Cap. Tho. Moultrie killed -- also Phil:Neyle -- I left Mrs. Kinloch & Mrs. Huger well, at Kensington, yesterday Fortnight…

"[This post-postcript is dated the 26th] Caswell[']s & Buford[']s Men are come up hither Each Corps consists of ab[ou]t. 400 Effective.

[757] CNC14 pp. 821-824, CSS pp. 1115-1116.

"Genl. Huger purposes sending Caswells to Haly's Ferry on Pedee in No. Carolina -- and Buford's to Charlotte -- from thence towards Hillsborough thinking this force too insignificant to resist the Enemy in this State & that they will be of more service in No. Carolina for the present where he apprehends the Enemy will Endeavour to make an Impression.
"Our Intelligence from below is that the Enemy had crossed Murray's ferry the day before Yesterday (abt. 85 Miles from hence) on the March hither."[758]

24 May. Allaire: "Wednesday, 24th. Lay at Fort Moultrie."

25 May. Allaire. "Thursday, 25th. The detachment was relieved by British and Hessian Grenadiers. The American Volunteers [including Ferguson's Corps] marched up to Mount Pleasant, and crossed over to Charlestown. Marched through the town, and took up their ground just in front of the lines. The horses and baggage with myself crossed from Lempriere's [Lampriere's] Point to the Ship Yard, which is about two miles from the town."

26 May. Allaire. "Friday, 26th. The following corps got in motion about three o'clock in the morning, under the command of Col. Balfour, of the Twenty-third regiment, viz -- Light Infantry, commanded by Maj. [James] Graham, three companies of the Seventh by Capt. Peacock, American Volunteers by Maj. Ferguson, and the Prince of Wales American Volunteers by Lieut. Col. Patterson [Thomas Pattinson] -- in number about six hundred. Marched out to the Ten Mile House, and halted. Made bough houses to cover the men from the heat of the sun. Heavy thunder shower."

26 May. Buford with his Virginia Continentals left Rugeley's Mills and resumed his retreat northward. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, in the meantime, remained along with Governor John Rutledge and his council, as guests of wealthy loyalist Henry Rugeley. Rugeley, apparently was acting both diplomatically and simply as a gracious host. William Dobein James' version of what took place might sound as if Buford's column itself had halted at Rugeley's along with the Governor's party, and did not resume proceeding northward till the 28th. This, however, seems unlikely given the distance from Rugeley's to Waxhaws and the heavy baggage Buford was carrying (see Waxhaws, 29 May.)[759]

27 May. From Nelson's ferry on this date, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton with 40 cavalry of the 17th Light Dragoons, 130 Br. Legion dragoons, 100 mounted infantry of the legion (these last on horses allotted by Cornwallis) and a three-pounder in pursuit of Col. Abraham Buford's contingent retreating northward. The same day, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger and the South Carolina officials at Rugeley's received advanced word of Tarleton's approach. Acting as escort, Huger moved with the governor and his council to escape capture, after having passed on command of the Continentals and supply column to Col. Abraham Buford. Long marches and severe heat caused the loss of number of horses, yet in 54 hours Tarleton managed to cover 125 miles and caught up with Buford on the 29th.[760]

28 May. After some hard riding and forced marching, Tarleton attained Camden, arriving at Rugeley's at dawn on the 29th; only to find himself disappointed in catching Governor Rutledge.[761]

28 May. Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour, with some of the Light Infantry, 3 companies of the 7th Regt., and the Prince of Wales Volunteers, and S.C. Royalists,[762] set out from Monck's Corner moving along the west side of the Santee until they reached came to Belleville, Col. William Thompson's Plantation (McCrady spells it "Thomson's.") Ferguson, with his American Volunteers, by then had reached Orangeburgh. Col. Thompson, who commanded the local militia in that area, was paroled to another place, and his command given to Col. John Fisher. See Allaire entry for 26 May.[763]

28 May. Sumter left his family and civilian life, headed towards Salisbury, North Carolina, to help raise troops to fight the British; and where North Carolina leaders were busying themselves as well with the same task. Almost immediately afterward, Sumter's home (located on the north side of the Santee River, just above Nelson's Ferry, see BGC p. 23) was set afire and burnt down by Tarleton's men under Capt. Charles Campbell after an effort to apprehend him.[764] He himself ended up in Charlotte; then removed to New Acquisition (west of Waxhaws), where he was joined by his rebel compatriots. As Sumter's house was frequented on a number of occasions afterward by a number of sojourners (including Sumter himself), it is not quite clear how much of the home and property was actually destroyed.

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[758] In this same letter but omitted here, Rutledge notes that Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger's health "will scarcely suffer him to undergo any kind of Fatigue." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, pp. 131-136.
[759] TCS pp. 28, 66, JFM p. 15.
[760] TCS pp. 27-28, JLG1 p. 286.
[761] TCS p. 28, MSC1 p. 517.
[762] Lambert speaks of the S.C. Royalists being present, though Allaire doesn't mention them.
[763] LSL p. 104.
[764] This information comes from Bass. Notwithstanding, Capt. Charles Campbell was a commander of the British light infantry and not formally with the British Legion; though evidently he was assigned in some capacity to help lead, train and assist it (as we see was also the case with Lieut. John Skinner of the 16th Regt. and the Legion (see TCS p. 205). Ironically, Campbell, again leading some of the Legion, was later killed at Sumter's ignominious defeat at Fishing Creek in Aug. 1780. RSC2 p. 130, SDR p. 44, BGD p. 102, BGC p. 53-54.

29 May. [battle] WAXHAWS, also Waxhaws Massacre, Buford's Defeat (Lancaster County, S.C.) At 3 pm, Tarleton, with his advance detachment, reached a squad of Buford's, under Lieut. Pearson, which he captured, or else as James puts it "cut to pieces." Buford, meanwhile, had been moving north along a road on the South Carolina side of the Waxhaws settlement, and had with him 350 to 380 Virginia Continentals; largely comprised of recruits and furloughed men on their way to replenish the Virginia regiments in Charlestown. [765] In addition, accompanying Buford were a troop or more of Continental Light dragoons under Col. William Washington, and two six-pounders. Tarleton then approached the Americans, whose main body was within view of Pearson's capture. Tarleton's contingent consisted of 130 Legion dragoons, 40 17th Light Dragoons and 100 mounted British Legion infantry, under Maj. Charles Cochrane, and a three pounder. However, it was only the lead elements of his which participated in the main attack. This consisted of 60 dragoons from the 17th Light Dragoons and the British Legion cavalry, and 60 mounted infantry of the British Legion, plus a flanking force of an additional 30 British Legion dragoons and some infantry. The remainder of his force came up gradually in the rear as a reserve. While allowing time for the latter to move up, Tarleton sent Buford a summons to surrender, which Buford refused. Buford, as the parley was taking place, had tried to keep the supply wagons moving, guarded by Washington's (at this hour) sore and tattered cavalry, while he formed up his men in line to receive the British attack. When Tarleton did attack, Buford's men waited till the British cavalry was within ten yards and then fired. The waiting till the last minute to fire caused few casualties among the horsemen, and in moments American force was broken up and routed. Buford's own cavalry was with the wagons and when apprised of the disaster fled northward. Many of his infantry who continued fighting, and even those who surrendered, were mercilessly cut down by the Legion dragoons. Some were hacked at and mutilated so gratuitously that the action became widely denoted a massacre. The Americans claimed that Tarleton had violated the flag of truce, but since Buford had already answered Tarleton's summons with a refusal this does not seem to have been the case.
Buford later maintained that the rampant butchery commenced after a white flag had already been lifted; and John Marshall, who knew Buford personally, states that Tarleton charged Buford immediately after flag of truce was over, and the Americans with their guard down were caught unprepared. Tarleton explains that his own horse had been shot out from under him (following the single volley from the Continentals); and his men (thinking their leader killed) retaliated with a fury; it taking some time in consequence of this for Tarleton to get his men under control. According to Tarleton's after battle report, the Americans lost 113 men killed, 147 wounded and left on parole (over 200 prisoners in all), 2 six pounders, (plus 2 accompanying wagons with ammunition, 1 artillery forge cart, 55 barrels of powder), 26 wagons with new clothing, arms, musket cartridges, new cartridge boxes, flints, and camp equipage. The British lost 5 killed, 12 wounded, plus 11 horses killed and 19 horses wounded. Allaire states that the Americans lost 114 killed, 150 wounded, 53 taken prisoners, and that the British lost 5 killed and 12 wounded. Buford with Washington's cavalry, and a few men who cut horses from the wagons, were all who escaped. Lee specifically states that 80 or 90 of Buford's infantry evaded capture. Regardless of blame, the Waxhaws' massacre had the signal effect of causing dismay and outrage and then inciting vengeful ire (in some) toward the British,[766] and is seen by some historians as a primary cause for the bloody and savage aspect the war in the south took on (with Hammond's Store in late Dec. 1780, and Pyle's defeat of 24 February 1781 being two of the more vivid and graphic manifestation of such.)[767]

Tarleton: "At three o'clock in the afternoon, on the confines of South Carolina, the advanced guard of the British charged a serjeant and four men of the American light dragoons, and made them prisoners in the rear of their infantry. This event happening under the eyes of the two commanders, they respectively prepared their troops for action. Colonel Buford's force consisted of three hundred and eighty continental infantry of the Virginia line, a detachment of Washington's cavalry, and two six pounders: He chose his post in an open wood, to the right of the road; he formed his infantry in one line, with a small reserve; he placed his colours in the center, and he ordered his cannon, baggage, and waggons, to continue their march.
"Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton made his arrangement for the attack with all possible expedition: He confided his right wing, which was composed of sixty dragoons, and nearly as many mounted infantry, to Major [Charles] Cochrane, desiring him to dismount the latter, to gall the enemy's flank, before he moved against their front with his cavalry: Captains Corbet and [David] Kinlock were directed, with the 17th dragoons and part of the legion, to charge the center of the Americans; whilst Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with thirty chosen horse and some infantry, assaulted their right flank and reserve. This particular situation the commanding officer selected for himself, that he might discover the effect of the other attacks. The dragoons, the mounted infantry, and three pounder in the rear, as they could come up with their tired horses, were ordered to form something like a reserve, opposite to the enemy's center, upon a small eminence that commanded the road; which disposition

[765] Historian Patrick O'Kelley: "Buford was an officer of the 14th Virginia Regiment. However the unit at the Waxhaws was not the 14th, the 10th or the 11th. Some historians mistakenly state that the men with Buford were the 3rd Virginia Regiment, or the 14th Virginia. The 3rd Virginia Regiment had been captured in Charlestown, and the only member of the 14th Virginia Regiment at the Waxhaws was Colonel Buford. His 350 recruits were the 3rd Virginia Detachment of Scott's 2nd Virginia Brigade. These men were Virginia recruits and recalled veterans intended for the various regiments of the Virginia Line." Though Buford was at one time a member of the 14th, this was disbanded in the Continental reorganization of March 1779. Consequently, he was actually in the 11th at this time, which earlier had been incorporated into the 1st and 2nd Virginia detachments in Charlestown. FWV p. 842.
[766] The countersign of the day for the whig's approaching King's Mountain on 7 Oct. 1780 was "Buford." And at both King's Mountain and Cowpens, "Give them Buford's play" (or something similar) was heard when the Loyalists or British attempted to surrender -- but which cry was as quickly stifled and suppressed by the whig or (in the case of Cowpens) Continental officers. RWW2 pp. 283, 272.
[767] USC pp. 303-305, ATR80b pp. 75-77, ATR81a p. 89, AR80 p. 223, RSC2 pp. 109-110, TCS pp. 29-32, 77-79, GHA3 pp. 360-361, SAW2 pp. 192-193, MMS2 pp. 203-208, MLW4A pp. 159-161, CSS pp. 1111-1115, LMS pp. 164-157, JLG1 pp. 285-286, GAR1 p. 285n, GAR2 pp. 135-139, 212-213, JFM pp. 15-16, LFB2 p. 458, MSC1 pp. 517-524, FWI pp. 165-167, WAR2 pp. 705-706, BGD pp. 79-83, BEA pp. 1173-1174.

afforded the British light troops an object to rally to, in case of a repulse, and made no inconsiderable impression on the minds of their opponents.
"The disposition being completed without any fire from the enemy, though within three hundred yards of their front, the cavalry advanced to the charge. On their arrival within fifty paces, the continental infantry presented, when Tarleton was surprised to hear their officers command them to retain their fire till British cavalry were nearer. This forbearance in not firing before the dragoons were within ten yards of the object of their attack, prevented their falling into confusion on the charge, and likewise deprived the Americans of the further use of their ammunition: Some officers, men, and horses, suffered by this fire; but the battalion was totally broken, and slaughter was commenced before Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton could remount another horse, the one with which he led his dragoons being overturned by the volley.
"Thus in a few minutes ended an affair which might have had a very different termination. The British troops had two officers killed, one wounded; three privates killed, thirteen wounded; and thirty-one horses killed and wounded. The loss of officers and men was great on the part of the Americans, owing to the dragoons so effectually breaking the infantry, and to a report amongst the cavalry, that they had lost their commanding officer, which stimulated the soldiers to a vindictive asperity not easily restrained. Upwards of one hundred officers and men were killed on the spot; three colours, two six-pounders, and above two hundred prisoners, with the number of waggons, containing two royals, quantities of new clothing, other military stores, and camp equipage, fell into the possession of the victors."[768]

Allaire: "Thursday, June 1st. Got in motion at five o'clock in the morning, and marched to Nelson's Ferry, Santee river. By express were informed that Col. Tarleton, Monday, the 29th, fell in with a body of Rebels [Buford's corps], forty miles above Camden. He summoned them to surrender-received all insolent answer, charged them, killed one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, eight Subalterns, one Adjutant, one QuarterMaster, and ninety-nine Sergeants and rank and file. Wounded three Captains, five Subalterns, and one hundred and forty-two rank and file. Made prisoners two Captains, one Subaltern, fifty rank and file. Total killed, wounded and taken prisoners, one Lieutenant-Colonel, eight Captains, fourteen Subalterns, one Adjutant, one Quarter-Master, and two hundred and ninety-one Sergeants, rank and file; three stand of colors taken, two brass six-pounders, two howitzers, two wagons with ammunition, one artillery forge wagon, fifty-five barrels powder, twenty-six wagons loaded with clothing, camp equipage, musket-cartridges, cartridge-boxes, flints, etc., etc. Killed of the Legion, Lieut. McDonald and Ensign Campbell, serving with the cavalry, two privates of the cavalry, and one of the Light Infantry. Total, two Subalterns, and three rank and file. Wounded, Lieut. Patterson, seven dragoons, making eight rank and file of the cavalry, and three of the infantry. Total wounded, one Subaltern, and eleven rank and file."

Hinrichs: "This young partisan [Tarleton] has more luck in the South than he had in the North. Is it likely that his knowledge of our metier has so much increased in this short time? Or is the race of people opposing us in the southern parts made up of timid peasants and ignorant commanders?"[769]

Lee: "Tarleton had but one hundred and seventy dragoons, his mounted infantry far in the rear, while our force exceeded four hundred, including our small party of dragoons. Had Buford, thus posted, deemed it dangerous to continue in his position until night, lest his antagonist should be re-enforced, he might safely have moved in the order suggested; and the moment night had overspread the earth, his retreat would have been secured; for light is indispensable to the effectual operation of cavalry. Before the break of day he might have reached Charlotte, where he was sure of affectionate and gallant assistance from its patriotic inhabitants; and where, too, he had reason to expect to find Lieutenant-Colonel Porterfield, an officer of zeal and talents, who had marched from Virginia in the latter end of April, with a corps of horse, foot, and artillery, amounting to four hundred men. But nothing of this sort was essayed, and our countrymen were wantonly slaughtered by an inferior foe. Lieutenant-Colonel Buford, with the horse, escaped, as did about eighty or ninety of our infantry, who fortunately being advanced saved themselves by flight."[770]

Ramsay: "Colonel Buford's party, having partaken of the general consternation occasioned by the British success, made a feeble resistance, and soon sued for quarters. A few, notwithstanding, continued to fire. The British cavalry advanced, but were not opposed by the main body of the continentals, who conceived that they were precluded by their submission from making opposition. On the pretence of this accidental firing of a few, the British legion was directed to charge men who had laid down their arms. In consequence of this order the unresisting Americans, praying for quarters, were chopped in pieces. Some lost their hands, others their arms, and almost every one was mangled in an inhuman manner. Five out of six of the whole number of Americans were, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, either killed or so badly wounded as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle, and by the same account, this took place though they made such effectual opposition as only too kill five and wound twelve of the British."[771]

William Dobein James: "At Camden, Caswell, with the militia, quitted Buford, who then commanded the continentals, and retreated by the way of Pedee. Buford's regiment was soon after placed under the command of Gen. Huger, as an escort to Gov. Rutledge, then at Camden; and was detained, with a fatal security, by the

[768] TCS pp. 29-31.
[769] USC pp. 303-305.
[770] LMS pp. 166-167.
[771] RSC2 pp. 109-110.

general, for two days in that place. And so much off their guard, were our rulers themselves, that Gov. Rutledge, and his council, were soon after hospitably entertained, at Clermont, by Col. Rugely [Henry Rugeley], an Englishman, professedly opposed to the American cause. At midnight, he woke them up, advised them of Tarleton's approach, and with some difficulty, persuaded them to escape; at daylight, Tarleton arrived at Clermont. That morning, Huger gave up the command again to Buford, and took the Charlotte road, with the governor and his two remaining council, Daniel Huger and John L. Gervais. Buford proceeded on rapidly, upon the Salisbury road, and from circumstances, his baggage waggons [sic] must have been sent on before he took the command again, that morning; otherwise, in making the very quick march he did, they must have been left far in his rear. But Tarleton blames him, for sending them ahead, because they might have served him as a rampart, and other historians have adopted his account. After a pursuit of one hundred miles, in fifty-four hours, Tarleton approached Buford, about forty miles from Camden, and twenty-six from Clermont; and dispatched Capt. David Kinloch [Kinlock][772] with a flag, summoning him to surrender upon the terms granted to the garrison of Charlestown. Buford called a council of his officers, who deeming it a deception, he continued his march. In the afternoon, Tarleton overtook him, unfortunately, in an open wood, and cut to pieces his rear guard. At the sound of his bugle, Buford drew up his men, all infantry; but Capt. Carter, (not Benjamin), who commanded his artillery, and led the van, continued his march. Tarleton advanced, with his infantry in the centre, and his cavalry on the wings. He was checked by Buford's fire; but the cavalry wheeling, gained his rear. Seeing no hope of any longer making a defence, Buford sent Ensign Cruitt with a flag of truce, and grounded his arms. Disregarding the flag, and the rules of civilized warfare, Tarleton cut Cruitt down, and charged upon Buford, with his cavalry in the rear; while Maj. Cochrane, an infuriated Scotchman, rushed with fixed bayonets, in front. A few of Buford's men, resumed their arms, and fired, when the British were within ten steps, but with little effect; as might have been expected, from what has been stated. Buford's regiment was entirely broken by the charge, no quarters were given by the British; 113 men were killed of the Americans, and 151 so badly wounded as to be left on the ground. This was nearly two thirds of the whole American force, according to Tarleton's own account; and the manner in which those left on the ground were mangled, is told, by others, as horrible. No habitation was near, but the lone cabin of a poor widow woman; and the situation of the dead, was fortunate, when compared with that of the living. Tarleton says, he lost but two officers, and three privates killed, and one officer and thirteen privates wounded. The massacre took place at the spot where the road from Lancaster to Chesterfield now crosses the Salisbury road."[773]

Garden: "PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF COLONEL BEAUFORT'S [BUFORD'S] DEFEAT. (Communicated by Colonel H. Boyer [or Bowyer, the original text uses both spellings multiple times; though in re-editing here we've settled on the former] of Fincastle, then acting as Adjutant to the Corps.)
"Colonel Beaufort commanded a detachment of three hundred men, whom he had collected at Petersburg, in Virginia, and marched them to the South, that they might join their respective Regiments in garrison in Charleston. Arriving at Lenud's Ferry on the Santee, he received intelligence of the surrender of the City, and being at a loss what course to pursue, sent an express to General Huger, the Continental officer of the highest rank in Carolina, for instructions. An order was received to retire to Hillsborough, in North-Carolina, taking Camden in the route, in order to remove the ammunition and military stores deposited there, together with thirty or forty British prisoners, previously captured. If unable to remove the stores, his orders were to destroy them. Colonel Beaufort executed the order with precision. On his arrival at Camden, such stores as could not be removed were thrown into a neighbouring creek, and his route continued via the Waxaw settlement, towards Hillsborough. On the morning of the day on which the corps was attacked, Captain Adam Wallace, (Beaufort having resolved to halt for a day, in order to refresh his horses, which, from the heavy loads which they drew, were nearly exhausted,) invited Adjutant Boyer to walk out with him. The latter observing that the spirits of his companion were unusually depressed, inquired the cause, and was answered, 'I have known, for two or three days, that I am to die on this day.' Boyer laughed at what he deemed idle superstition! Wallace became angry, and said, 'You know full well, Sir, that I am not afraid of death. Whatever event may occur, I shall do my duty.' The approach of a youth on horse-back, put an end to the conversation. 'Where from, my lad,' exclaimed Boyer. 'I left Ridgeley's [Rugeley's] mills this morning,' he replied,' and on my way hither, passed a large body of troops, most of whom were mounted the rest well armed, and on foot.' Wallace, turning quickly to Boyer, asked 'Do you not think my anticipations likely to be accomplished?' The lad was conducted to Colonel Beaufort, and, without the slightest deviation, repeated the information first communicated. The continuation of the retreat was instantaneously resumed, but the corps had scarcely proceeded two miles, before the sound of Tarl[e]ton a bugles was heard, and a British officer was perceived riding forward, bearing a flag of truce. Adjutant Boyer was instructed to meet him. Captain Kinloch, the advancing officer of the British, told Bowyer, that he could make no communication to him, and demanded a personal interview with Beaufort. A message to that effect being sent to the Colonel, he immediately repaired to the spot. Captain Kinloch then proposed, on the part of Tarlton, that Beaufort, and his detachment, should surrender as prisoners of war, on the same terms as those granted to the Garrison of Charleston, stating, at the same time, that his strength was upwards of six hundred men, half of them cavalry. The terms were, without hesitation, rejected by Beaufort, who did not believe that a force as strong could have reached the neighbourhood through which he was marching. Captain Kinloch assured him, on his honour, as a gentleman and officer, that his statement was correct; but, Beaufort, maintaining his opinion, dismissed the flag, returned to the ground where his detachment was drawn up, across
the road, assembled his officers, and consulted with them on the subject of Tarlton's demand. The general opinion concurred with that of Beaufort. One officer, (Boyer, thinks Captain Clayborne Lawson, of the 4th

[772] Regarding Kinloch, and who was related to American congressman Francis Kinloch, see LMS p. 424n.
[773] JFM pp. 15-16.

Virginia Regiment,) proposed that the wagons should be brought together and a barrier to the enemy formed, behind which, the detachment should be posted. But, it was suggested that such a plan would probably further the views of the British commander, who might have sent forward only a small body of soldiers to amuse and detain Beaufort till a force adequate to his destruction could be brought up. Every arrangement was, in the interim, made for action. The British Cavalry quickly appeared, and commenced an attack, which was unsuccessfully continued for about fifteen minutes, when Major M'Arthur [McArthur],[774] who commanded the Infantry, came up. The British force exceeded Beaufort s detachment in number. Weakened by a variety of extra duty, the command scarcely exceeded two hundred men. M'Arthur, attacked the left with the bayonet, while the Cavalry assaulted the right. The officers commanding platoons on Beaufort's left, being all killed, and the command thrown into confusion, Adjutant Bowyer was ordered to advance with a flag, and to say to Tarlton, that he was willing to accept the terms offered before the action began. The Adjutant remonstrated by saying, that as the firing still continued, the execution of the order would be impracticable, exposing the bearer of the flag to the shot of both parties. Beaufort repeated his orders, in positive terms, and the Adjutant rode forward, with a handkerchief displayed on the point of his sword. When close to the British commander, he delivered Beaufort s message, but a ball at the moment, striking the forehead of Tarlton s horse, he plunged, and both fell to the ground, the horse being uppermost. Extricated by his men from so perilous a position, the exasperated Colonel rose from the ground, and ordered the soldiers to despatch him. They immediately gathered round, and several cuts were made at him, which he had the good fortune to parry and avoid. By this time, Captain John Stokes and Lieut. Willison [sic], who occupied a position opposite to that where the Adjutant was surrounded by the British Dragoons, and saw the danger impending over him, directed their platoons to fire at the group. They were well obeyed, and the bullets thrown among the party around the Adjutant, frightening the horses, gave him an opportunity of dashing through them, and effecting his escape unhurt. His horse was seriously wounded, but not sufficiently so to prevent his carrying his master to a place of security. The overwhelming force of the British then prevailed, and a dreadful massacre of the detachment followed. The rage of the British soldiers, excited by the continued fire of the Americans, while a negotiation was offered by flag, impelled them to acts of vengeance that knew no limits. Captain Adam Wallace, too truly predicted his own death. He fought with consummate intrepidity as long as he had strength to raise his arm, and though quarter was tendered, refused to surrender." [775]

29 May. In the days and weeks following the fall of Charlestown, the question was put to remaining South Carolina militia units whether they would submit to the terms of protection and parole imposed on the Charlestown garrison. Town leaders from Camden, Beaufort, Georgetown, Cheraws, and Congaree came forward requesting the same terms granted the people of Charlestown.[776] About the same time, a meeting was convened at Augusta of top ranking Georgia officials and military leaders, some Continental officers, and Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson, who commanded the South Carolina militia regiments around Ninety Six and the western part of the state, to decide the question.[777] Although nothing decisive was agreed upon, Governor Richard Howley of Georgia, and some of that states military officers, including Colonel Clary, decided they would flee northward and continue the fight. Williamson evacuated Augusta on May 29th, with most, but not all, of the S.C. and Georgia militia at Augusta, and who were otherwise disbanded about this time.[778]
The preponderance of eastern Georgia submitted to British rule. Even Col. John Dooly was reported to have offered to surrender his troops. Whether or not this was true, he was murdered in his home by some tories later in August.
Lossing: "Colonel John Dooly entered the Continental army in Georgia, as captain, in 1776, and, rising to the rank of colonel, was very active in the neighborhood of the Savannah, until [August] 1780, when a party of Tories, sent out from Augusta by Colonel Brown, entered his house, in Wilkes County, at midnight, and barbarously murdered him in the presence of his wife and children."[779]

30 May. The Delaware and Maryland Regiments, under de Kalb, left Petersburg on their way to N.C.[780]

30 May. Cornwallis, at "Beach Creek 20 Miles from Camden," to Clinton: "When I arrived at Nelson's Ferry, I was assured that the Enemy had no intention of making a stand at Camden, and that they had sent off four out of six of their Field pieces. As they had 60 Miles start of me I had no hopes of coming up with them with my Infantry. The Virginia Troops by the last accounts amounted to about 300, the N. Carolina Militia to about 4 or 500. I thought it would have the best consequences in this province to strike a blow at this Corps. I therefore mounted the Infantry of the Legion & sent the whole of that Corps under Tarleton to harass their retreat, and to attack them if he could with any prospect of success. The Enemy separated on their leaving Camden, the N. Carolina Militia took the Route of Cross Creek, the Virginians under Col. Buford that of Salisbury. Tarleton [nicely?] followed these last; I had the most sanguine hopes from the Zeal, spirit & abilities of that excellent officer; by the inclosed [sic] Letter which I just received from him, you will see they were well founded; the Action happened 40 Miles beyond Camden. Tarleton had Marched 100 Miles in little more than two days. I shall write more particularly when I arrive at Camden. I fear we shall be very soon distressed for Rum and Salt. I should be

[774] This identification is erroneous as McArthur was not present.
[775] GAR2 pp. 135-138.
[776] MMS2 pp. 208-211.
[777] Williamson had with him three independent companies of South Carolina regulars and 150 to 200 militia. Pickens, who was not present, was still en route from the Savannah region headed toward Ninety Six. MSC1 pp. 529-532.
[778] MSC1 pp. 529-532.
[779] LFB2 p. 506n.
[780] KJO pp. 9-10, MLW4A pp. 167-168, WNA, CBA p. 509.

very much obliged to you if you would please to order 20 or 30 punchers of Rum & three or four Waggons loaded with Salt to be sent as expeditiously as possible to Nelson's ferry; I will send Waggons to meet them there; You will please to let me know by express the time of their leaving Charlestown. I send this letter by a [young man?] who accompanied Tarleton, whose Family have been remarkably loyal, and who deserves any gratification you may think proper to bestow on him."[781]

31 May. British units intended to be returned to New York, including the Queen's Rangers, the Jaegers, the Hessian Grenadier battalions, the Light Infantry battalions, the 42nd Regt., and most of the artllery began loading for embarkation, finally setting sail on 3 June. See 8 June.[782]

Late May. After acting for a short time as inglorious escort to Buford's lost wagon train, Lieut. Colonels White and Washington stayed in Wilmington thru the rest of May and early June. Despite their poor showing at Waxhaws, in fairness, the dragoons were in a very wretched shape, suffering from nakedness, hunger; with losses in men and too few horses fit for service. These and other shortages prevented the two Continental cavalry regiments from returning to the field until July, and even then they were still far from ready.[783]

Late May. Having left Williamsburg in late April, by sometime in mid to late May (the record isn't quite clear) Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield with 300-400 Virginia State Troops (Marshall and Lee speaks of him as having some cavalry and artillery included in this count) arrived to join, or else deploy near to, Brig. Gen. William Caswell's N.C. militia above the Peedee. Lee assumes he was present in either S.C. or south N.C. at the time of Waxhaws, 29 May. According to the following excerpt of a letter from Caswell, Porterfield fell in with some unknown party of the enemy who obliged his temporary withdrawal into North Carolina. Due to at present lack of independent corroboration and the unlikelihood of Tarleton or other British forces being as close as Charlotte at this time, this report should be taken with some wariness and or skepticism.[784]
On June 3rd, Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, at Cross Creek, wrote Gov. Abner Nash (at New Bern): "I have this moment received an account of the same party that Fought Col. Buford having a Scrimage with Col. [Charles] Porterfield at or near Charlotte. Colo. Porterfield retreated towards Salisbury, with little or no loss."[785]

[781] Public Records Office, PRO. 30/11/72/15.
[782] USC pp. 303-317, SQR p. 139.
[783] HWW p. 63.
[784] WNA, MLW4A p. 170, LMS p. 167, JLG1 p. 295.
[785] CNC14 pp. 832-833.

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June. [skirmish] Caldwell's Place, S.C. ONB2 p. 172.

June. [skirmish] Gaither's Old Field, S.C. ONB2 p. 173.

June. [skirmish] Love's Plantation, S.C. ONB2 p. 179.

June. The British began setting up a series of outposts and fortifying certain locations in South Carolina to protect both the frontier and littoral regions. Specifically, these were Camden, Cheraws, Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, Ninety Six and Georgetown.[786] Some loyalists soon began roving in bands threatening whigs with horse stealing, cattle rustling, and home burning. The whigs then gathered, east of Catawba, under Col. Thomas Brandon, Col. William Bratton, Capt. John McClure, Col. William Hill, Maj. Richard Winn and Capt. Edward Lacey (to name some of the more prominent) to resist.

Camden
Not long after Cornwallis arrived at Camden on June 1st, Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon was appointed commandant of that district. With a contingent that included the Volunteers of Ireland and a detachment of legion cavalry, the latter subsequnly made a brief excursion into the Waxhaws settlement, during which time some of soldiers of the Volunteers of Ireland deserted, being enticed by locals who themselves were Irish or Scotch-Irish.[787] Writes Tarleton: "The sentiments of the inhabitants did not correspond with his lordship's [Rawdon's] expectations: He there learned what experience confirmed, that the Irish were the most adverse of all other settlers to the British government in America. During the stay of the volunteers of Ireland in the Wacsaws [Waxhaws], many of the inhabitants gave their paroles; an obligation they readily violated, when called to arms by the American commanders." One of the reasons for Rawdon's foray into the Waxhaws area was tp ameliorate the strained supply situation at Camden; as part of which it was his policy, as it was with the British generally at that time, to encourage the inhabitants to return to their farms for purposes of harvest and cultivation. The area he found scarce of grain and bearing only a few cattle, while the locals themselves were at best uncooperative. By the 17th then, he withdrew to Camden, prior to and during which time Cornwallis had been transforming that town into a fortified base of operations and launching ground for the invasion of North Carolina. Stores such as rum, salt, artillery stores, were sent from Charlestown to start a magazine there in Camden. With Cornwallis were the 23rd Regt., the 33rd Regt., the 71st Regt. (subsequently moved to Cheraws), the Royal North Carolina Regt., the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, the Volunteers of Ireland, the British Legion, and a detachment of Royal artillery.[788]

Cheraws (also known as Cheraw Hill)
Not long after occupying Camden, Cornwallis dispatched Maj. Archibald McArthur with the 71st Regt. to occupy the Cheraws settlement on the south side of the Peedee River to cover that area of the country. The area of the Little Peedee, near the N.C. border, contained many loyalist sympathizers; who were subsequently supplied from Georgetown, and later Wilmington. It was McArthur who initially armed them. Over the next few weeks, a considerable number of his own men suffered from heat and fevers. This significantly weakened his detachment and enough died as to result in a small mass grave in the area.[789] Alexander Gregg, the Cheraws historian, speaks of Maj. James Wemyss, presumably accompanied by some of the 63rd Regt,. arriving at Cheraws and the Long Bluff area in early June; and for the period from 11 June to 29 June occupying himself in seizing and destroying property (including houses) as well as "in some instances hanging resistant Whigs." He afterward removed to Georgetown where he assisted in forming the militia.[790]

Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock
As with McArthur at Cheraws, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, with the New York Volunteers and some loyalist militia, were sent (sometime probably in the first week of June) to establish posts at Rocky Mount, and nearby Hanging Rock. Some British Legion infantry, if not with Turnbull originally, were subsequently added to his force, and even later he was reinforced by some Prince of Wales Volunteers who occupied Rocky Mount. Turnbull, however, does not seem to have been with Cornwallis when the latter first reached Camden, and was probably moved up (from Charlestown) to that location shortly after Cornwallis arrived, and *then* moved from Camden to Rocky Mount.[791]

Ninety Six
On 19 June (which date also see) and without encountering any resistance, Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour with a contingent of light infantry and the South Carolina Royalists, coming from Charlestown, the town of Ninety Six was occupied. The site was so named for being supposedly ninety-six miles from the main Cherokee town of Keowee or Keewee, or else, as Ward states, ninety-six miles from "the old frontier fort of Prince George on the

[786] SAW2 pp. 195-196, MLW4A pp. 164-166, MSC1 p. 561-563.
[787] Rawdon offered 10 guineas for each Volunteer of Ireland brought in dead, 5 for those brought in alive. GHA3 pp. 388-389, MMS pp. 215-216.
[788] AR80 pp. 230-231, AR81 p. 58, TCS p. 87-89, SAW2 p. 195, BSF p. 33.
[789] TCS p. 87, SAW2 p. 195, GHC pp. 309-312, 319-320, 642-647, MSC1 pp. 642-647, LSL p. 205.
[790] GHC pp. 303-304, 306. Respecting Wemyss movements in the region, see also Kingstree, 27 August.
[791] TCS pp. 86-88, SDR p. 51, CAR pp. 174-176, DRS p. 5.

Keowee River." William Johnson speaks of Cambridge as being the actual main town of the area, but Cambridge was not formally built till after the war; though there evidently was some amount of settlement there at the time. States Tarleton: "the force [posted] there consisted of a battalion of De Lancey's, and Innes's and Allen's regiments of provincials, with the 16th and three other companies of light infantry."[792]

Georgetown
Clinton had early on wanted to seize Georgetown (the second largest city in south Carolina), which was still occupied by some rebel militia, but the trouble of securing galleys for this purpose (given the departure of Arbuthnot by early June) prevented a sea borne landing which he preferred. Since moving by land would only succeed in dispersing any whig militia there (rather than capturing them), it was decided to put off taking the town till a later time. Hinrichs in his entry for 22 May reported the Americans had already abandoned Georgetown. See 1 July, 1780.[793]

Moultrie: "[A]ll military operations and all opposition to the British army were suspended for a time: after this the principal object of the British was to secure the submission of the inhabitants through the state, they accordingly sent detachments, and took post at Camden, Georgetown, Cheraws, Beaufort, and the Congaree [Nelson's Ferry], and the citizens sent in flags from all parts, (some excepted who were in the back parts of the state still kept out) with their submissions to the British government, praying that they may be admitted upon the same terms as the citizens of Charleston."[794]

Annual Register: "Notwithstanding the tranquil appearances of things in South Carolina, at the time of Sir Henry Clinton's departure from thence, it soon became obvious, that many of the inhabitants were so little satisfied with the present government, that they endeavoured [sic] to dispose of their property upon such terms as they could obtain, and totally to abandon the province. This conduct became so frequent and glaring, that Lord Cornwallis found it necessary towards the end of July to issue a proclamation, strictly forbidding all sales and transfers of property, including even negroes, without a licence [sic] first obtained from the commandant of Charles Town; and likewise forbidding all masters of vessels, from carrying any persons whatever, whether black or white, out of the colony, without a written passport from the same officer."[795]

Cornwallis' orders to his outpost commanders: "The inhabitants of the provinces who have subscribed to, and taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the utmost rigour [sic]; and also those who will not turn out, shall be imprisoned and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man who has borne arms with us and afterward joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most rigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you obey in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the inhabitants in this country." [796]

Early June. A commissioner was sent (according to William Hill's memoirs) by Rawdon to Hill's Iron Works on Allison's Creek in an effort to drum up support for the British, and to threaten rebel supporters. He received a cool reception, and was forced to leave frustrated, if not intimidated. Following this, citizens of the area who had gathered to form a whig regiment, elected Andrew Neal and William Hill as their colonels. Hill further points out that at the time it was customary for the militia regiments in South Carolina to have two colonels. A short while before, William Bratton and Samuel Watson had been made colonels at a similar gathering at Bullock's Creek.[797]

Early June. Sumter arrived in Salisbury in early June and began taking steps to arm and organize the S.C. militia. North Carolina authorities in support of his efforts issued him $19,000 in treasury certificates for supplies and ammunition.[798]

1 June. Cornwallis reached Camden.[799] On this same day, Clinton from Charlestown wrote him "Our first object will probably be the taking post at Norfolk or Suffolk, or near the Hampton Road, and then proceeding up the Chesapeake to Baltimore."[800]

1 June. Clinton and Arbuthnot issued a second proclamation that stated that all previous resistors to the crown who accepted allegiance, and aside from the most egregious violent offenders and murderers, would be offered pardon. They also invited all inhabitants to assist in the restoration of British rule. In addition to all this, Arbuthnot and the commissioners who had accompanied the expedition desired to reinstate civil government in

[792] TCS p. 87, CAR pp. 174-176, JLG2 p. 138, WAR2 p. 816.
[793] USC p. 303, TCS pp. 77, 80, 87, CAR p. 174-176, BSF pp. 35, 62.
[794] MMS pp. 208-209, MSC1 pp. 641, 647.
[795] AR80 pp. 229-230.
[796] RSC2 pp. 157-159, MMS2 pp. 240-241, MHG p. 481. Wickwire maintains that despite such orders Cornwallis was too mild in carrying out his threats, and as result such leniency only encouraged opposition. WCO p. 173.
[797] HMS pp. 6-8.
[798] SDR p. 80.
[799] SAW2 p. 193n, BSF p. 33.
[800] *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, vol. I, p. 214, MSC1 p. 855n.

South Carolina. Clinton, however, felt that given the then current state of things such a measure would be imprudent and premature.[801]

3 June. Clinton, *without* Arbuthnot's collaboration this time, issued a third, more drastic proclamation which announced that all paroles given to the inhabitants of South Carolina (as of 20 June) would be considered null and void, and that it would be assumed that all citizens were to continue as loyal subjects of the crown; meaning among other things, that a) the males of age were potentially liable for military service, either in the loyal militia of the regular army, b) all previously paroled militia (including those which were surrenderd at Charlestown in May) must be prepared if need be to take up arms for England, or be classified as traitors, and consequently risk hanging. Those with families were to form militia at home, and young men without family were to be ready to assemble when required, and to serve with the King's troops for any 6 months of the ensuing 12 that might be found requisite. They would not, even so, be required to be marched beyond the Carolinas or Georgia, and when their term of service expired were freed from all claims of military obligation, excepting the common and usual militia duty at the place of his residence. This edict, in effect, explicitly denied the right of inhabitants to remain neutral. Forced to choose, many were outraged -- not least of which those who would have liked to have avoided *actual* participation, regardless of who was prevailing (the previous whig system being more local in arrangement and generally less demanding and more flexible than the *de jure* conscription of the populace at large by the British); and thereby emboldened many to take up arms or otherwise resume the struggle against the British; including militia who had previously, under the terms of the Charlestown surrender, been on only on parole, and who interpreted Clinton's move as a breach of faith. To compound atters, some loyalists resented the proclamation as privileging and putting on the same level as themselves persons who earlier had rejected or were indifferent to royal authority. As a matter of course and not long thereafter, rebel militia groups started forming, including one in the Kingstree area under Maj. John James, one in the neck between the Peedee and Lynches Rivers under Lieut. Col. Hugh Giles, and another regiment on Britton's Neck under Col. John Ervin.[802]
Cornwallis to Balfour, dated Camden, June 11, 1780: "I yesterday met, by accident with a Proclamation issued June 1st, by sir H. Clinton and other Commissioners. I was at first startled at it, and at the effect it had on the people of the country. However, on considering it attentively, it appears vague and nugatory, and does not materially affect any part of my plan. I likewise find that Aides-de-camp at head quarters have been distributing protections, declaring some of the most violent and persecuting rebels good and loyal subjects. I must, however, notwithstanding these little obstacles, persevere steadily in my plan."[803]

Stedman: "[Abrogating paroles and foisting protection] in one instant, converted them either into loyal subjects or rebels. If it was proper policy at first to hold a middle course between these opposite extremes, the same policy required that it should have been continued some time longer; and that the condition of the inhabitants should have been altered, rather at their own application, either individually or collectively, then by the arbitrary power of the commander in chief. In this manner a proper discrimination might have been made between the inhabitants who really were loyal, and those who were nominally so: But by pursuing the opposite course, they were all blended indiscriminately together. Even the violent revolutionist, unless he chose to leave the country, was obliged to assume the appearance of loyalty: and thus the foundation of mutual jealousy and distrust was laid amongst the inhabitants themselves. The revolutionists complained that their condition was altered without their concurrence, and the loyalists murmured because notorious rebels, by taking the oath of allegiance, and putting on a shew [sic] of attachment, became entitled to the same privileges as themselves."[804]

Ramsay: "Had this severe alternative never been offered, and had the people been indulged in the quiet possession of their property, and their domestick [sic] ease, it would have been extremely difficult for Congress to have made adequate exertions for rescuing the state out of the hands of the British."[805]

Declaration of Allegiance: "I, A.B., do hereby acknowledge and declare myself to be a true and faithful subject to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and that I will at all times hereafter be obedient to his government; and that whenever I shall be thereunto required, I will be ready to maintain and defend the same against all persons whatsoever." [806]

3 June. Following news of Buford's defeat, Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford called out the N.C. militia of the Charlotte, Salisbury and outlying areas; so that by June 3rd about 900 were gathered at Charlotte. These were, notwithstanding, shortly after dismissed when it mistakenly appeared that the British were not moving from Camden. Ironically and despite this, Rawdon about this same time was making immediate preparations, if not already en route from Camden, to the Waxhaws region.[807]

3 June. Brig. Gen. William Caswell, at Cross Creek, to Gov. Abner Nash (at New Bern): "I imagine your Excellency will be surprised to hear from me at this place, but from the movements of the Enemy I found no

[801] TCS p. 74-76, GHA3 pp. 383-384, CAR pp. 181-182.
[802] AR80 pp. 223-224, RSC2 pp. 116-117, GHA3 pp. 384-386, SAW2 pp. 198-199, 220-221, CAR p. 181-182, TCS p. 73-74, MLW4A pp. 161-162, LMS pp. pp.162-163, 168-169, MHG p. 480, CBA p. 498, MSC1 pp. 552-560, BSF p.33, WCO pp. 182-183.
[803] RCC p. 46.
[804] SAW2 p. 221.
[805] RSC2 p. 117.
[806] GHC p. 304.
[807] MSC1 pp. 579-580.

other safe Retreat, and am happy to have the pleasure to inform you that we this afternoon arrived here with most of the Men of my Brigade. I sent Major Mitchell off to your Excellency a few days past. He, I suppose, gave a full account of our March to, or near, Haley's Ferry, on P. D. [Peedee River] I parted with Colo. [Abraham] Buford on Friday Evening. He marched from Camden on Saturday Morning, and on Sunday the Enemy were in Possession of the Town. About 12 o'clock Sunday night 300 Light Infantry, mounted behind 400 Horse, (the whole that came into Town that day,) Went in pursuit of Colo. Buford, and on Monday, 2 o'clock, overtook him. Colo Buford had notice previous to their attacking & had his men in readiness for action. The Infantry attacked him in front & the Light Horse in the rear. The attack lasted 20 Minutes, when the whole of Colo. Buford's Troops was killed & taken, the Advanced Guard and the main Guard excepted, which was in front and made their Escape. The rest fell into the hands of the Enemy, with the Baggage & Two field Pieces. This Acct. I have from several of the advanced Guard, who have joined me. I have not heard from that Party since, but from a Deserter I am informed they intend for Charlotte, & then to this place. Two thousand was ordered off after my Brigade. Three Days past they were at Lynche's [Lynches] Creek, since which I have not heard of them. And there was a party at Black River & Black Mingo. I lay partly between these parties when I was a Haley's Ferry, and had no other place but this that I could get Provisions at. And by reports from Deserters I was informed that a party would soon be at Wilmington, & these three Bodies to form a Junction at this place. This plan of operation I imagine they will easily carry into effect, if some troops do not arrive to our assistance. Shall wait here (the Enemy Willing) untill I receive orders from your Excellency, or some superior Officer.
"The Men under my command are very much in want of their Bounty; shall be happy to have it if Possible."[808]

4 June. Col. John Thomas Sr. of the Upper Spartan District (Spartan Regiment), Col. Thomas Brandon of the lower Spartan District (Fair Forest Regiment), and Col. James Lisle from the forks of Enoree and Tyger Rivers, (Dutch Fork Regiment) met at a location on Fair Forest Creek, some four miles from where the present city of Union is situated; mutually agreed and resolved to continue and maintain the fight against the British. On the same day, local loyalists continued collecting at not far distant Alexander's Old Field in modern Beckhamville in Chester County.[809]

6 June. According to Wiliam Hill's memoirs and which have been challenged in part on this point, Col Samuel Watson and Lieut. Col. William Bratton convened a meeting of the whig militia of New Acquisition[810] at Bullock's Creek Meeting House where it was decided to await reinforcements from the Continentals before resuming arms against the British. Even so, the two leaders almost just as soon changed their minds and took the field without awaiting or requiring such assistance; with Bratton in particular immediately raising a company of volunteers from the Bethesda neighborhood and seeking out Sumter .[811]

6 June. Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis, at Camden, assumed command of the British Army in the South as Sir Henry Clinton made preparations to sail back to New York. His instructions were that South and North Carolina be pacified, and order maintained in Georgia and the Floridas. One and only when these objectives were fulfilled could a further, and desired, move north into Virginia be contemplated.[812]
Annual Register: "After this success [Charlestown], there was nothing to resist the arms of Lord Cornwallis; and the reduction of that extensive colony of South Carolina was deemed so complete, at the time of Sir Henry Clinton's departure, [June 5th] on returning to his government of New York, that he informs the American minister in his letter, that there were few men in the province who were not either prisoners to, or in arms with, the British forces; and he cannot restrain his exultation, at the number of the inhabitants who came in from every quarter, to testify their allegiance, and to offer their services, in arms, in support of his Majesty's government; and who, in many instances, had brought as prisoners their former oppressors or leaders.
"That commander accordingly, in settling the affairs and government of the province, adopted a scheme of obliging it to contribute largely to its own defence; and even to look forward, in present exertion to future security, by taking an active share in the suppression of the rebellion on its borders. In this view, he seemed to admit of no neutrals; but that every man, who did not avow himself an enemy to the British government, should take an active part in its support. On this principal, all persons were expected to be in readiness with their arms at a moment's warning; those who had families, to form a militia for the home defence; but those who had none, to serve with the royal forces, for any six months of the ensuing twelve, in which they might be called upon, to assist 'in driving their rebel oppressors, and all the miseries of war, far from the province.' Their service was, however, limited, besides their own province, to North Carolina and Georgia, beyond the boundaries of which they were not to be marched; and, after the expiration of the limited term, they were to be free from all future military claims of service, excepting their local militia duties. So warm were the hopes of success then formed, that a few months were thought equal to the subjugation of, at least, that part of the continent."[813]

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[808] CNC14 pp. 832-833.
[809] SDR pp. 52-53.
[810] New Acquisition was located roughly in present day York County, S.C. Moultrie: "The New Acquisition was a tract of country taken from North Carolina in 1772 ; the line between the two states had been long disputed, till by an order of the king and council, it was run, beginning at the corner tree, on the Salisbury road, and which took fourteen miles of the south part of North Carolina into South Carolina, and run parallel with the old line sixty-five miles." MMS2 p. 234n.
[811] HMS p. 6, MSC1 pp. 588-589, SDR pp. 57-58.
[812] CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268, AR80 pp. 223-224, GHA3 p. 385.
[813] AR80 pp. 223-224.

Cornwallis wrote Lord Germain on August 20th: "Sir Henry soon afterwards embarked for New York, and appointed me to the command of His Majesty's Forces in the Southern Provinces. I was then at Camden, but the Corps with me being totally destitute of Military Stores, Clothing, Rum, Salt & other articles necessary for Troops in the operations of the Field, and Provisions of all kinds being deficient, almost approaching to a Famine in North Carolina, it was impossible for me to penetrate into that Province before the Harvest. I therefore employed myself in fixing posts of Troops from the Pedee [Peedee] to the Savannah rivers, to awe the disaffected and encourage the loyal Inhabitants…"[814]

Wickwire: "Clinton asserted he left Cornwallis with 11,306 effectives. Effectives is misleading for the only troops that [really] counted were those fit for duty. 'Effectives' however included the sick and wounded, men in England recruiting, and men prisoners of the rebels. Clinton did send 1900 men to the Carolinas in November, but he would have to have sent several thousand to the Earl for his arithmetic to make sense. He never sent them. Furthermore, his initial figure of 6000 with Cornwallis at Charlestown is suspect."[815]
Regarding Cornwallis's prospective supply situation, Wickwire later points out that even though his Lordship had to live off countryside, he was short of both wagons and cash. To add to this, he had to find food without leaving the country a desert while shielding his strung out lines of supply and communications from enemy partisans. Supplies rarely, and money never, arrived from Clinton, and sometimes supply convoys via the sea were hit by privateers. When in September, Balfour came to command in Charlestown, he lamented the shortage of food and stores being sent to the city. A week later a ship did arrive with supplies and men, but the transport sent to bring them in was "taken just off the bar by two twenty gun ships."[816]

Tarleton: "Charles town [after Clinton's departure] contained the 7th, 63d, and 64th regiments of infantry, two battalions of Hessians, a large detachment of royal artillery, and some corps of provincials, under the command of Brigadier-general Patterson. The legion dragoons (the 17th being ordered to New York) were directed to keep the communications open between the provincial posts of this extended cantonment: This service injured them infinitely more than all the preceding moves and actions of the campaign, and though hitherto successful against their enemies in the field, they were nearly destroyed in detail by the patroles and detachments required of them during the intense heat of the season."[817]

6 June. Allaire. "Tuesday, 6th. Got in motion at three o'clock in the morning, and marched thirteen miles to Col. Thomson's [Thompson's Plantation],[818] and halted on the march..."

6 June. (possibly 29 May, or else 7 June) [skirmish] Alexander's Old Field, also Beckham's Old Field, Beckhamville, (Chester County, S.C.) About 200 loyalists, collecting under Capt. Henry Houseman,[819] were surprised and scattered by a smaller, whig force of 32 mounted men under Capt. John McClure and Lieut. Hugh McClure. John Craig, a veteran of the event, in an article published in the *Pendleton* Messenger, Nov. 1839, speaks of the whig force consisting of 27 soldiers and 3 officers -- the three officers named, being the two McClures and Lieut. John Steel. He also mentions that 9 of the tories were taken prisoner.[820]
Lossing: "Here was the scene of exciting events during the early part of the summer of 1780. Rocky Mount was made a royal post. Captain [Henry] Houseman, the commander, sent forth hand-bills, calling the inhabitants together in an 'old field,' where Beckhamville post-office now stands, to receive protection and acknowledge allegiance to the crown. One aged patriot, like another Tell, refused to bow to the cap of this tiny Gesler. That patriot was Joseph Gaston, who lived upon the Fishing Creek, near the Catawba. In vain Houseman, who went to his residence with an armed escort, pleaded with and menaced the patriot. His reply was, 'Never!' and as soon as the British captain had turned his back, he sent his sons out to ask the brave among his neighbors to meet at his house that night. Under Captain John M'Clure, thirty-three determined men were at Judge Gaston's at midnight. They were clad in hunting-shirts and moccasins, wool hats and deer-skin caps, each armed with a butcher-knife and a rifle. Early in the morning, they prepared for the business of the day. Silently they crept along the old Indian trail by the margin of the creek, and suddenly, with a fearful shout, surrounded and discomfited the assembled Tories upon the 'old field,' at Beckhamville. The British soldiers in attendance fled precipitately to their quarters at Rocky Mount. Filled with rage, Houseman sent a party to bring the hoary-headed patriot, then eighty years of age, to his quarters; but they found his dwelling deserted. His wife, concealed in some bushes near, saw them plunder the house of every thing, and carry off the stock from the plantation. Nothing was left but the family Bible -- a precious relic, yet preserved in the family…"[821]

6 June. Johann de Kalb, at Petersburg, VA., to the United States Board of War: "Having been delayed at Annapolis [MD.] for near 2 days to get the money from the treasury of that State, I arrived at Richmond [VA.] the 22d, and next day at this place, where the Governor and Council had directed the troops rendezvous. By what was said to Mr. Bee (whom I met at Hanover Court House,) and wrote to me by him, by Governor Jefferson, it appeared the state had ordered to press as many horses as would be necessary to put all the soldiers on

[814] CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268.
[815] WCO p. 135.
[816] Balfour to Cornwallis, Sept. 20 and Sept. 27, 1780, PRO. 30/11/64, ff. 83-88, 112-113.
[817] TCS pp. 87-88.
[818] Thompson's Plantation, also known as Belleville, was situated just south and east of the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree rivers.
[819] Regarding Houseman, see SDR p. 55.
[820] LFB2 p. 451, MSC2 p. 744, RBG p. 72, BRG p. 111, SDR pp. 52-57, SCAR vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 2-5.
[821] LFB2 p. 451.

Horseback, to bring them on with the greatest rapidity; but found on my arrival at Richmond that the scheme was impracticable for want of Horses, Saddles, Bridles and forage; therefore it was determined that I should be furnished with a sufficiency of waggons (the Number agreed on) to carry the tents and the soldiers' packs; the waggons were to be in readiness in a few days, 40 were promised from Suffolk County, 12 from Richmond, and the others were to be taken here. Colonel [Edward] Carrington with his artillery arrived on the 25th, Captain Coleman on the 26th, but several of the Maryland and Delaware companies came in only on the 29th; the Transports having been parted in a Gale of wind, the shoes, shirts and overalls could not arive until the 30th.
"The waggons from the neighborhood coming in gave me a fair prospect of getting the others; not to lose a day, the artillery being ready, I ordered them on their march the 30th under Colonel [Charles] Harrison, who had joined with 30 Recruits; but the Suffolk and Richmond waggons failing, not only I could not march the first Brigade before 1st Instant, nor the Second ere now, but was also obliged to give up the thought of having the soldiers' packs carried in waggons. I hope to meet with no more obstructions on the Rout by Taylor's ferry [on the Roanoke River], Hillsboro, Salisbury, &c.
"An Ammunition Waggon of second Maryland Brigade sunk in crossing here, Appomatox ferry. The waggon was brought out, but the whole of 12,000 musket Cartridges are spoiled, and have been turned into the store; this accident cannot be attributed but to the Rudeness of the ferry Boat.
"The letter, General, you were pleased to write to me on the 16th May came only to hand the 31st, and to this day I have not Heard of Major Lee's Corps. If they come up with me, your orders respecting them shall be punctually complied with….
"P. S. As I am this moment informed by Major Jameson, who arrived from George Town, So. Carolina, that Charles Town capitulated on the 12th May, our garrison prisoners of war, the Enemy advancing this side of George Town, their officers in that quarter unknown, but that their Army under Genl. Clinton was with a late reinforcement. He received about 12,000. No certainty where Govr. Rutledge is with the troops under his command, and have sent orders to the first brigade and Artillery to halt where they are until I have joined with the 2d Brigade. I suppose my letters will find them not far from Salisbury. Then I will consider what steps to take, if a junction with Governor Rutledge may be expected, and whether there will be any prospect of obtaining militia from Virginia and North Carolina, but even then the Enemy will be still vastly superior in number. I am determined to be on the defensive until reinfercement and further orders and directions either from your board, Congress, or the Commander in Chief.
"By Major Jameson [John Jamieson] I also understand that Colonel Armand's Corps is under [William] Washington.
"The state Artillery of Virginia marched from this place 28 days ago by the same road I am marching. They are supposed to be actually about Camden or with Governor Rutledge."[822]

7 June. De Kalb camped at "Genl. Parsons" in Granville County, N.C. where he remained till June 21st.[823]

7 June. Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory, at "Camden County," N.C. to Gov. Abner Nash: "Your Excellency directed me to inform you of my situation and prospect relative to the Troops that marches out this Brigade. Some Counties turn out very well, and others seems something Tardy, but am in hopes I shall get the number, or very near it, Drafted for. Respecting arms, we are in a bad situation. I am informed by some of the Colonels that it is not possible to get arms. I shall do everything in my power to forward on the Troops. Hope to be at Kingston in a short time; any orders or directions I shall be glad to Know them."[824]

8 June. Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford, being informed of Rawdon's advance into the Waxhaws settlement from Camden, again issued orders for the militia of the Salisbury District, and Rowan, Mecklenburg and Lincoln (or Tryon) counties to meet on the 10th at Rees' (or Reese's) Plantation eighteen miles northeast of Charlotte.[825]

Ramsay: "The near approach of colonel Tarleton to Mecklenburgh county, where he defeated colonel Buford, induced general Rutherford to take the field for the defence of that part of the country. In three days he collected fifteen hundred militia at Charlotte town; but as lieutenant-colonel Tarleton immediately retreated, they returned to their homes. About ten days later, lord Rawdon fixed a post at Waxhaws. General Rutherford a second time collected eight hundred of his militia brigade at Charlotte, and soon after his lordship retreated. The brave men, who so willingly turned out for the defence of their country, at this time of difficulty, were reduced to greatest straits in providing themselves with suitable armour [sic]. They employed the sithe [sic] and sickle makes to convert iron and steel, where-ever they could be found, into instruments of defence. They had no lead but the small private stock accidentally in the possession of hunters, and would have been equally destitute of powder, if the remote magazines of South-Carolina had not been removed and lodged in their neighborhood."[826]

8 June. Clinton, along with Arbuthnot's squadron, sailed home for New York. By his own record, he took back with him "British Grenadiers[827] and light infantry battalions, Hessian Grenadiers, German Chausseurs,[828] the

[822] CNC15 pp. 499-500, MLW4A pp. 167-168.
[823] KJO p. 10.
[824] CNC14 p. 842.
[825] GNC pp. 213, GAM2 p. 217.
[826] RSC2 p. 127.
[827] Relatively few grenadiers were left with Cornwallis.
[828] Maj. George Hanger, who commanded the chausseurs company remained, and, at his own request, had been transferred to the British Legion.

Forty-second Regiment, the Queen's Rangers (see 31 May for when this unit actually left Charlestown), and a detachment of British artillery: amounting in the whole to about 4500;"[829] all of which reached New York by June 18th. Charlestown itself then was left with the 7th Regt., the 63rd Regt., the 64th Regt., 2 battalions of Hessians from the von Huyne, and von Dittfurth, a large detachment of royal artillery, and some provincials, all under the command of Brig. Gen Patterson; who had been appointed commandant of the town; while Regt. von D'Angelelli had been sent to Savannah. According to Tarleton, after the victories at Charlestown and Waxhaws, the British were able to raise 4,000 loyalist militia in Georgia and South Carolina. These added to the 6,000 British, Hessians and Provincial units left by Clinton (5,400 in South Carolina[830] and 1,000 in Georgia) gave Cornwallis 10,000 men. Maugre the impressive numbers, this total became significantly diminished over time due to subsequent illness, some desertion, and *oft* repeated minor (in size) engagements with the enemy.[831]
Hinrich: "[2 June entry] For the occupation of Charleston and the province there remained behind Lord Cornwallis, Brigadier General Paterson, the 7th, 23rd, 33rd, 63rd, 64th, 71st, von Dittfurth's, von Huyn's, and d'Angelelli's Regimemnts (the latter was expected from Savannah), the [British] Legion, the North and South Carolina Regiments, Brown's Corps [the King's Rangers], the Irish Volunteers, the New York Volunteers, Ferguson's Corps, and the refugees and loyalists of the the two Carolinas under the command of Major Ferguson and Captain Hanger…"[832]

8 June (or possibly 26 or 29 May, or 3 June, or 10 June). [raid] Mobley's Meeting House, also Moberley's and Gibson's Meeting House, Brierly's (Fairfield County, S.C.) Col. William Bratton and Captain John McClure, who had been camped beside the Catawba with some whig partisans, were enlisted to assist Major Richard Winn, and 100 of Capt. Edward Lacey's men under Winn's command, in a raid on a gathering of loyalists, under a (reportedly "Colonel") Charles Coleman, at Mobley's [Baptist] Meeting House (or else possibly at the not too distant Gibson's Meeting house) on little River twelve miles north of Shiroe's ferry (also known as Shirar's and as Brierly's Ferry.) Despite British successes at this time, Lacey, Winn and some others were already collecting men at New Acquisition, having reason to be encouraged by and expect support from continuing rebel efforts in North Carolina. It was these then that subsequently surprised and routed the above mentioned loyalists at Mobley's. Following upon, Winn and Lacey removed to their own localities while Bratton and McClure retreated to Upper Fishing Creek Presbyterian or Rev. Simpson's Meeting house where they made camp. Bass speaks of this event as two separate actions, followed by a third where another group of loyalist at Brierly's were sent retreating into the Dutch Fork.[833] The Dutch Fork, a corrupted pronunciation of "Deutsch Fork", was an area settled mostly by German immigrants, and largely loyalist in sympathy. It was located between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, and occupied part of what is now Newberry, Lexington and Richland counties.
Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, posted at Rocky Mount with some New York Volunteers and some British Legion dragoons, and who had been attempting to gather loyal militia of the area upon learning of the raid on Mobley's immediately began taking measures for a push after Bratton and McClure.

Lossing: "Already Whigs between the Catawba and Broad Rivers, led by Bratton, M'Clure [McClure], [John] Moffit, Winn, and others, had smitten the enemy at different points. The first blow, struck at Beckhamville [see 6 June], is noticed on the preceding page. To crush these patriots and to band the Loyalists, marauding parties, chiefly Tories, were sent out. At Mobley's meeting-house, on the banks of Little River, in Fairfield District, a party of these men were collected just after the affair at Beckhamville [June, 1780.]. Around them were gathering the Tories of the district, when Captains Bratton and M'Clure fell upon and dispersed them."[834]

Richard Winn: "About the middle of June the British took a strong post at Shiroes [Shirar's or Brierly's] Ferry, on the east side of Broad River opposite to the Dutch Fork, and the inhabitants summoned to come and take the oath of allegiance to the King and those that did not was treated as enemies. Capt. Richard Winn, living in that part of the country and finding that the enemy was fast advancing and that he could not raise one single person to oppose them, set out himself for the New Acquisition to see if he could not raise men by the help of Cols. [Edward] Lacey, [William] Bratton and Nelson. In the course of the day they collected 100 militia and immediately marched for Gipson's [Gibson's] Meeting House in Moberley[']s settlement where we found a large body of Tories strongly posted under the command of Col. Ch. [Charles] Coleman. As Capt. Winn was well acquainted with the strength and situation of the place, it was left to him to bring on the attack and in a few minuits [sic] this body of Tories was drove from a strong house, which answered for a block house, and totally defeated with a small loss of killed and wounded. The Whig party lost nothing. This body of Tories two or three days before their defeat had plundered the Hampton[']s on the road of about thirty negroes, two or three wagons and teams and thirty valuable horses and a large quantity of household furniture, besides many other things. They also made prisoners of Capt. John and Henry Hampton, which, the day before the action, they sent under a strong guard to Camden, the British headquarters. Their property was recovered by us. This was the first fight after the reduction of Charlestown. Gipson's Meeting House is twelve miles above Shiroe's Ferry on the same side of the river the British was posted as first mentioned."[835]

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[829] CAR p. 191n. Although not mentioned, he also took with him the detachment of the 17th Light Dragoons.
[830] Stedman, however, gives this figure as "about four thousand men" -- unless perhaps he means Cornwallis' army but not counting troops assigned to fixed garrison duty. SAW2 p. 195.
[831] USC p. 305, TCS pp. 85-87, GHA3 pp. 385-386, CAR p. 191n, BDW pp. 46-47.
[832] USC p. 305.
[833] MSC1 p. 588, MSC2 p. 744, BGC p. 54, RBG p. 72, BRG p. 111, SDR pp. 61-62, 167, SCAR vol. 2, no.7, pp. 16-25.
[834] LFB2 pp. 452-453.
[835] WNO, part I, p. 202.

10 June. Having called in and collected 294 men at and in the Orangeburgh district to serve either in the six months militia or their own more local militias, Balfour placed these under the command of Col. John Fisher. Ultimately, 10-12 companies of about 500 men were organized for the six month service. Two of Fisher's officers, John Salley and Samuel Rowe had previously served with the whigs. Leaving 100 regulars behind at Orangeburgh, on June 10th, Balfour continued his march toward Ninety Six. When he neared the confluence of the Saluda and Broad rivers, according to Lambert he divided his force sending the S.C. Royalists up the west bank of the Broad; with the rest he resumed his journey along the north of the Saluda. Where the S.C. Royalists were to have gone from after this point is not quite clear, though we next hear of them at a camp at Musgrove's Mill on the Enoree at least no later than mid August.[836]

10 June. Although Williamson, now at Whitehall (near Ninety Six),[837] had effectively disbanded the S.C. and GA. Militia at Augusta, he still retained 3 three companies of state troops, with Pickens having some few more of the same not far distant. Capt. Richard Pearis,[838] a loyalist independently acting on behalf of the British, petitioned Williamson and Pickens to relinquish their paroles and take protection. Williamson sent Pearis a letter on 5 June asking him under what authority he was acting. He then arranged for another meeting of Georgia and South Carolina officers at Whitehall, six miles west of Cambridge, in the proximity of Ninety Six. Many came to the gathering with a view of making plans to retire with military forces at hand into North Carolina. Included among these last were Capt. Samuel Hammond, Maj. Bennett Crafton (also Crofton), Capt. James McCall, and Capt. Moses Liddle and Williamson himself. Colonels John Dooly and Elijah Clark of Georgia had retired into Wilkes County, apparently under the impression that the Whitehall council would decide to continue fighting, and awaited arrangements for cooperation. Nevertheless, most of the other militia leaders including Col. John Thomas, Sr., Col. Andrew Pickens, Maj. John Purvis [also Purves] decided to submit to the Charlestown articles of surrender.[839] Only one officer of the staff, one field officer, and four or five captains, at the Whitehall conference voted against an acceptance of the terms. On 10 June, a formal document was signed between Pearis and David Rees, and four representatives of the district, according to which terms arms, ammunition and stores at Whitehall were given up, with the people south of the Saluda accepting protection. Supplies at Ft. Rutledge on the Seneca River were also to be handed over, yet the garrison there was to be maintained as a guard against the Indians until a substitute British force could be brought there to replaced it (an ironic proposal as it turned out given that the British in late 1780 actually used the Indians to attack the revolutionaries.) Notwithstanding the general tenor of the proceedings, a number of the troops under some of the dissenting officers resolved to carry on the struggle, and either temporarily went into hiding in their home state, or else prepared to retreat into North Carolina to join republican forces there. According to Samuel Hammond, Williamson himself had expressed a desire to resume the fighting, but abstained from this when, and only when, it became clearly the general consensus not to do so. About this same time, Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown at Augusta was also allotting protection on similar terms, most notably to Lieut. Col. LeRoy Hammond.[840]
Elsewhere in South Carolina, the same question was also decided on by individual officers and smaller units; and among those who also took Royal protection at that time were Col. James Mayson, Col. Isaac Hayne, and Major John Postell. Most all of these, including those mentioned with Williamson, later returned to fight for the American cause. Pickens, for example, who accepted terms of protection and parole by British, later considered himself not bound to them when his home was attacked by some tories. The British having failed to protect him, he concluded he was no longer bound by his prior agreement. He then took to the field with his men sometime in December 1780.
Of other leaders yet who did *not* accept British terms at the outset there were (to name some) Col. Thomas Sumter, Col. James Williams,[841] Col. Samuel Watson, Col. William Hill, Col. John Thomas, Jr., Col. William Bratton, Col. Andrew Neal, Col. Francis Marion, Col. Abel Kolb, Col. John Twiggs, Maj. John James, Maj. William Harden, Major Richard Winn, Major John James, Capt. Edward Lacey, and Capt. John McClure.[842]

William Hill: "At that time [i.e. after the fall of Charlestown] all the upper division of the State [South Carolina] was commanded by Genl. Pickens, as Genl. Williamson that had the chief command previous to that time, turned a traitor to his country & went to the enemy then in Savannah, & made his peace with them -- Previous to the fall of Charlestown, at that time there being a considerable quantity of arms & ammunition deposited at a fort in Ninety Six District, the British commander Earl Cornwallis, commissioned a certain Capt. Parriss [Richard Pearis], that commanded about 80 tories, to go ahead of his troops to take the submissions of all the Americans that was disposd. [sic] to become British subjects. To this Parriss & his small party of Tories did Genl. Pickens submit and surrender the before mentioned fort together with all the military stores. And likewise marched several hundred men with their firearms & surrendered to the said Parriss."[843]

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[836] CKR p. 113, LSL p. 105.
[837] Regarding the possible specific location of Whitehall, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/whitehall2.htm
[838] His name is also given elsewhere as "Peavis," see GCS pp. 58-59. For a sketch of Pearis, who incidentally was captured at Augusta by Pickens and Lee in early June 1781 and then paroled, see *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII, Apr. 1917 No. 2, pp. 97-99.
[839] McCrady argues that Williamson at that time was more true to cause then Pickens for "Pickens was not one of those who held up their hands to follow him in an effort to force their way to friends in North Carolina." MSC1 pp. 531-532.
[840] MSC1 pp. 529-532, LSL p. 106-107.
[841] George Bancroft, as cited in Schenck, asserts that James Williams' force was the only body of S.C. militia that actually remained intact to fight the British after the fall of Charleston. SNC p. 44.
[842] CAR pp. 174-176, JLG1 p. 284, JTR pp. 149-154, HMP, DKM p. 47, CGA pp. 131-132.
[843] HMS p. 6.

Joseph Johnson: "When the patriots of the middle and back country found they were not included in the capitulation of Charlestown, but treated like the inhabitants of a conquered country, subject to the orders of British officers, and liable to bear arms against their own friends and relatives, they concluded that the motives for resisting the royal authority were as urgent then, or more so, than at the commencement of hostilities. They likewise concluded that their prospects of success were better than at first -- they being better trained to arms and hardihood, with more confidence to be placed in the Union for support, it being now cemented with blood. Colonel [Thomas] Taylor [of S.C.], after consulting with his neighbors, removed with them to Sumter's camp, in North-Carolina. Others soon followed with their friends; and the arrival of the Hamptons, McClures, Brattons, Winns, Hammonds, Clarke and Twiggs, of Georgia, with Davie, McDowal [sic] and Locke [Lock], of North-Carolina soon enabled them to commence active measures."[844]

Ramsay: "The militia to the southward of Charlestown sent in a flag to the commanding officer of the royal detachment at Beaufort, and obtained terms similar to those granted to the inhabitants of the capital. At Camden the inhabitants met the British with a flag, and negotiated for themselves. The people of Ninety-Six assembled top deliberate what course they should hold in such a difficult conjuncture. Being informed that the British were advancing to that part of the state, they sent a flag to the commanding officer, from whom they learned that sir Henry Clinton had delegated full powers to captain Richard Pearis to treat with them. Articles of capitulation were immediately proposed, and soon after ratified, by which they were promised the same security for their persons and property which British subjects enjoyed. They submitted under a mistaken opinion that, agreeably to an early proclamation of sir Henry Clinton, previous to the surrender of Charlestown, they were to be either neutrals of prisoners on parole. A later proclamation of June third 1780, which, as shall soon be related, made a change of allegiance necessary to their being in the King's peace, was kept out of sight."[845]

Fanning: "After the reduction of Charlestown, myself and one William Cunningham, concluded for to embody a party of men, which we affected.
"We determined for to take Col'n [James] Williams, of the Rebel Militia, prisoner, and then to join Capt. Parish [Richard Pearis], who was to raise a company and assist us. Col'n Williams got notice of it, and pushed off; and though we got sight of him, he escaped us.[846]
"We now found ourselves growing strong, and numbers flocking daily to us.
"I then took the King's proclamations and distributed them through the country, for upwards of a hundred miles.
"Capt. Parish [Pearis] had command of the party, and marched up to Ninety-Six, which he took command of, without firing a shot, where I found him again. The day after, we marched about 12 miles to Gen. Williamson's at Whitehall; who commanded a fort with 14 swivels, and two companies of provincial troops. On our approach, he met us, about three miles of the Fort, attended by several officers, requesting he might discharge the troops, and have protection for himself and them.
"We granted him what he requested; and took possession of Fort, and their arms, which they piled up; after that they marched out of the garrison.
"Three days after that, Col. Pickens, with 300 men, marched out and laid down their arms.
"General [then Colonel] Robert Cunningham, of the Loyal Militia, now took command; and formed a camp.
"We kept scouting parties, through the country, and had many skirmishes; but none of consequence."[847]

Samuel Hammond: "This rendezvous was intended to concentrate a force from the militia of the upper part of South-Carolina and Georgia, to be employed under the command of General Andrew Williamson, of South Carolina, to make a diversion upon the outer post of the enemy, near Savannah, with the view of drawing away a part of the British force employed before Charlestown, in the hope of giving aid to General Lincoln. The militia were so tardy in their movements, that at the end of fifteen days there were not more, from Carolina, than two hundred, and from Georgia _____, under Colonel [Daniel] Clary. On being notified of the surrender of Charlestown, these troops were notified that the enterprise was given up, and a council of the officers called to meet the next day, at Mclean's Avenue, near Augusta, to consult what plan might be most advisable to adopt for the good of the country.
"Colonel Clary, with all the officers of his command attended; Governor [Richard] Howley, of Georgia, his council, his secretary of state; Colonel [John] Dooly, and several other militia and continental officers of the Georgia line; General Williamson and suite, with a number of field officers of his brigade, also attended. General Williamson presented a copy of the convention entered into by the American and British commanders, at Charlestown, which was read by one of Governor Howley's secretaries. Various plans were proposed and discussed, but finally no plan of operation could be resolved upon. Governor Howley, his council, secretary of state, and a few officers of his militia, determined to retreat, with such of the State papers as could be carried off conveniently towards the North. General Williamson resolved to discharge the few militia then on duty at that place, retire to his own residence, Whitehall, near Cambridge, to call together the field officers of his brigade, and the most influential citizens, to consult what course should be taken by him and the force of his brigade. Colonel Dooly and Colonel [Elijah] Clarke retired to Wilks [sic] county, and promised Williamson to co-operate with him in any plan that should be adopted by the council at Whitehall, *for the defence* [sic] *of the*

[844] JTR pp. 536-537.
[845] RSC2 p. 112.
[846] James Williams was spotted early on as an important whig leader by the British, and his plantation (also denoted Williams' Fort) near Ninety-Six was seized by the them in early June 1780. GJW p. 25.
[847] FNA pp. 11-12.

lower part of the two States, or to retire with him to the North, should that plan be determined upon. Some officers, still remaining in Augusta, with a number of respectable citizens of the State, sent a flag towards Savannah, offering their surrender on terms proposed, what those terms were is not known. Everything being thus disposed of, Williamson hastily moved to Whitehall. A large number of his officers were assembled there, and high hopes were entertained, by Captain Hammond, prior to going to council, that the determination would be to move without loss of time, with all the force there collected, and all that chose to follow for the northward; to press the march, until a number sufficient for offensive operations should be collected, and then to keep up a flying camp, until reinforced from the main army. General Williamson had under his command at that place, three independent companies of regular infantry, raised by Carolina, and enlisted for three years, or during the war. Their officers were good, and the troops well disciplined. There were one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, of various parts of the State (not organized) present; Colonel Andrew Pickens, being on his march for the lower country, was halted about three miles below and near Cambridge, Ninety-Six, and with this force a retreat would have been made safe, as the enemy had no force near us, except the disaffected men of the State, under Colonel Parris, and that not equal to us, either in number or discipline. Council met; the terms of capitulation of Charlestown were read; the general commented upon them, took a short view of the situation of the country, and wound up by advising an immediate retreat; but he said that he would be governed by the determination a majority of the council should adopt; that they were friends, and well informed that their families and his would be equally exposed or protected, by any course that may be adopted.
"Captain Samuel Hammond says he was struck dumb, on finding not more than one officer of the staff, one field officer, and about four or five captains, to oppose an immediate acceptance of the terms stipulated for the militia of the State by the convention of Charlestown. It was now proposed and carried, that a flag should be forthwith sent to Colonel Parris, to notify him of their determination, and to settle the time, place, and manner of surrender.
"Yet Williamson persevered; Colonel Pickens was not of the council, but encamped a few miles off. The general again addressed the council, expressed his wish for a different determination, and proposed to ride with any number of the officers present, as many as chose to accompany him, to Pickens' camp; stating that he wished to advise the colonel, and to address the good citizens under his command. This plan was adopted, and we shall see what was the result.
"General Williamson had a short consultation with Colonel Pickens -- his troops were drawn up in a square all mounted -- the general addressed them in spirited terms, stating that with his command alone, he could drive all the British force then in their district before him, without difficulty, and then caused the convention of Charlestown to be read to them. After it was gone through he again addressed them, that there was nothing in the way of safe retreat, and that he had no doubt that they would soon be able to return in such force as to keep the enemy at least confined to Charlestown. He reminded them of what they had already done, and hoped they would persevere, but left it to themselves to say what they would do, and that he would go on or stay, as they should resolve. A short pause took place, when the general called to them, saying: 'My fellow citizens, all of you who are for going with me on a retreat,, with arms in our hands, will hold up your hands; and all who are for staying and accepting the terms made for you by General Lincoln, will stand as you are.' Two officers, Captain [James] McCall and Captain [Moses] McLidle [or Liddle], with three or four privates, held up their hands; all else stood as they were. The question was again put, and the result was the same.
"Captain Samuel Hammond was present, and rode back with the general and his officers to Whitehall, and that evening, in company with Bennet Crafton, adjutant of one of Williamson's regiments, left Whitehall, determined to make his retreat in the best manner possible."[848]

Samuel Hammond pension statement: "Williamson discharged Militia & called a council of Officers to attend at White Hall, his residence near Ninety-Six. Counsel attended. Advised by a majority to send a Flag & purpose to surrender on terms such as was granted to the militia in Service at Charlestown, Applicant protested against that course, withdrew from there & with a few real Patriots retired to North Carolina. On his way he had one or two skirmishes with the Tories always successful. Passed to the North & on his entering into North Carolina fell in with & joined Col. E. Clark of Georgia with his little band of Patriots & in a few days was joined by Col. [given elsewhere as "Capt."] Edward Hampton, Col. James Williams & Col. Thomas Brannon [Brandon]."[849]

"An Account of Arms, Ammunition and Stores Taken from the Rebels and now in the possession of the Commissary at Ninety-Six, 19 Jun 1780
[some items mentioned]
1 two pounder
20 blunderbusses
20 swivels
638 stand of arms, fit and unfit
578 bayonets"[850]

10 June. Rutherford's militia congregated at Rees' (or Reese's) Plantation and numbered 700 to 800 and by the 14th were organized. His force included Maj. William Richardson Davie's two troops of state cavalry under

[848] JTR pp. 149-154.
[849] HMP
[850] CLS p. 276. Also on the same page: "List of Military Stores sent from Fort Seneca (S.C.) to Ninety-Six under the care of William Weatherford, 1 Aug 1780, [items mentioned]
3 pieces of cannon, 2 or 3 pounders without carriages
9 swivels." Fort Seneca was one of the forts intended to protect the inhabitants from the Indians.

Captains Lemmonds and Martin, and a corps of light infantry under Col. (later Brig. Gen.) William Lee Davidson.[851]

10 June. Allaire: "Saturday, 10th. Got in motion and left Thom[p]son's at twelve o'clock at night, and marched eighteen miles to Beaver creek, where we halted. Maj. [James] Graham, and two flank companies of the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, remained at Thomson's. This day a company of militia came in with their arms..."[852]

10 June. [skirmish] Moore's First Gathering. (Lincoln County, N.C.) Col. John Moore,[853] a Lieut. Col. in the Royal North Carolina Regiment acting (without, or so it was later averred, formal approval) as an agent for Cornwallis, arranged for meeting among the loyalists of Tryon County, North Carolina at Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramseur's Mill.[854] Major Joseph McDowell, with about 20 mounted men, attempted to ambush and capture some of its attendees, but upon being found out was himself chased off by Moore's larger force of around 40. No casualties to either side were reported.[855]
William A. Graham: "He [Cornwallis] sent Colonel John Moore into this country to inform the people that he was coming and would reward and protect the loyal, but would inflict dire punishment upon his opponents; for them to secure the wheat crop and be in readiness, but to make no organization until he should direct. Moore had gone from this section [Tryon County] and joined the British army some time previous and had been made Lieutenant-Colonel of Hamilton's Tory regiment [the Royal N.C. Regt.]. Colonel Moore returned to the vicinity and appointed a meeting for June 10th at his father's (Moses Moore) residence on Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramsaur's. The place of the 'Tory Camp' is still pointed out, and is on the Gaston side of the County line on the plantation which was owned by the late Captain John [I.] Roberts. Forty men met him on that day. He delivered Lord Cornwallis' message, but before they dispersed a messenger informed them that Major Joseph McDowell (who was one of the most ubiquitous officers of the North Carolina militia during the Revolution) was in the neighborhood endeavoring to capture some of the men who were present. Moore, having a force double in number to that of McDowell, sought him and followed him to South Mountains, but did not overtake him. He then dismissed the men with directions to meet at Ramsaur's Mill on the 13th of the month..."[856]

10 June (also 4, 8 or 30 June[857]). [raid] Brandon's Defeat (Union County, S.C.) In either early or else late June (i.e. after Ramseur's Mill), Col. Thomas Brandon and his men returned to present day Union County, South Carolina to enlist additional men and keep the loyalists at bay. While doing so, he was himself, with 70 or 80 men, put to flight by a much larger force of loyalists under Capt. William Cunningham from the Saluda River area. Elsewhere at this time, most of the resistance to British occupation in South Carolina was gathered under Sumter; formed in militia groups under Maj. John James and similar in the Peedee region; or else retired into North Carolina and from where occasional forays were made back into the state. Things otherwise remained relatively quiet for most of the month as both sides made preparations to renew battle.[858]
Thomas Young: "In the spring of 1780, I think in April, Col. Brandon was encamped with a party of 70 or 80 Whigs, about five miles below Union courthouse, where Christopher Young now lives. Their object was to collect forces for the approaching campaign, and to keep a check upon the Tories. They had taken prisoner one Adam Steedham, as vile a Tory as ever lived. By some means Steedham escaped during the night, and notified the Tories of Brandon's position. The Whigs were attacked by a large body of the enemy before day and completely routed."[859]

Saye (drawing on the reminiscences of Maj. Joseph McJunkin): "Cols. Thomas, Brandon and Lysle met on June 4 to concert measures for mutual safety and for the protection of the country comprehended within their several commands. They agreed to concentrate their troops and form a camp near Fairforest Creek, about four miles from the present site of Union, on the road to Adam's Ford on Tyger River. The present resident of Christopher Young is on the spot. As the place was near the center of Brandon's command, his men first arrived on the ground. He had in his possession a part of the powder formerly entrusted to Col. [John] Thomas, and as he considered its preservation of the greatest importance, he directed Joseph Hughes, William Sharp, John Savage, Aquilla Hollingsworth, Samuel Otterson, Benjamin Jolley and Joseph McJunkin to conceal it with great care in the neighboring forests. They were engaged in this business and absent from the camp on the night on which Brandon's men were assembling at the place appointed.

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[851] GNC p. 213, GAM p. 217, MSC1 pp. 579-580.
[852] "Came in with their arms" ostensibly means these former "rebel" militia were coming in and accepting British amnesty and protection.
[853] Moore himself was from the area, and on the 7th had returned a commissioned officer in the Royal North Carolina Regt. GNC p. 214, GAM2 p. 218.
[854] Lambert states that Lieut Col. John Hamilton of the Royal N.C. Regt. had also been in the area as well, and his own zeal to recruit had also helped to precipitate the uprising. LSL p. 127.
[855] GNC pp. 214-215, GAM2 pp. 218.
[856] GRA.
[857] Pension statement of Richard Brandon filed by his wife Agnes: "(Richard Brandon, brother of Col. Thomas Brandon) entered the service of his country as a private horseman, Capt. Jolly's Co., Col. Brandon's Regiment shortly after the commencement of hostilities and was afterwards promoted to the rank of sergeant of Quartermaster in his Brother Col. Brandon's Regiment until he was killed at Brandon's defeat in Union District S.C. the last of June [the 30th] 1781 as above stated..." Rev. War Pension Claim W. File No. 21, 714 (filed in Union District, S.C.)
[858] DKM p.77, MSC1 pp. 600-601, MSC2 p. 744, BRG p. 104, SDR pp. 67-68, SCAR vol. 2, No.11.
[859] JTR pp. 446-454, SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.

"Some one of the parties coming in arrested a Tory and brought him into camp. He was of the kind then denominated 'a pet Tory.' He was examined and presently let go or made his escape. He went immediately to the troop of Tories commanded by the famous William Cunningham, better known as 'Bloody Bill.' Cunningham immediately set out to surprise Brandon. He made a charge upon his camp soon after sunrise, killed a few of his men, took some prisoners and dispersed the remainder. Among the slain was a brother of Joseph McJunkin and a youth by the name of Young. This defeat occurred on the 8th or 10th of June, 1780. Intelligence of the intended movements of the Whigs had been conveyed to the Little River Tories a few days previous by Col. [Thomas] Fletchall, and Cunningham made immediate arrangements to meet them at that place.
"Robert Lusk was taken prisoner on this occasion and compelled to disclose the place where the powder was concealed.
"But the work of hiding had been done so effectually that the Tories found very little of it. This powder was afterward carried off by stealth to the east side of Broad River and constituted the principal supply of Sumter's men at Huck's Defeat, Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock. The Tories pursued some of the fugitives to the distance of fifteen miles. Among them was Samuel Clowney, who subsequently distinguished himself as one of the bravest of the brave.
"Capt. McJunkin then addressed the assemblage, reiterating the sentiments of young Thomas. It was proposed that those who were in favor of fighting it out when the question was put should throw up their hats and clap their hands. The question was put. Every hat flew up, the air resounded with clapping of hands and shouts of defiance to the armies of Britain and the foes of freedom. It was then proposed that those who through the need of clothing or a wish to see their families had a desire to return home were at liberty to do so provided they would agree to meet the others at the Tuccasegee [Tuckasegee] Ford on the Catawba River. Capt. McJunkin and most of the party set out at once for that place. Here they had the good fortune to meet Col. Thomas Sumter. The late Major Samuel Morrow of Spartanburg District was one of the party above mentioned."[860]

11 June. [raid] Fishing Creek Church, also Simpson's Meeting House, Upper Fishing Creek Church. (Chester County, S.C.) In the early part of the day, Capt. Christian Huik, his Legion dragoons and some Rocky Mount loyal militia under Col. James Ferguson and killed a young man, William Strong, [861] and wounded another at Strong's Plantation. Later, for purposes of rounding up rebels and awing potential sympathizers, and with the hope of catching Bratton and McClure, Huik proceeded onto the Upper Creek Meeting House pastored by Rev. John Simpson (of the Upper and Lower Fishing Creek congregations.) Simpson had been both vociferous and fervent in his stance against the British, and had, as well, aided and sheltered McClure and Bratton following their raid on Mobley's Meeting House (8 June.) Huik set fire to the Simpson home and possibly the meeting house itself as well; though this last has yet to be conclusively fully proven. On or about 12 June the next day, whigs from the west side of the Broad River in New Acquisition began collecting at Bullock's Creek Meeting House for what would subsequently culminate in "Huck's Defeat."[862]
Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, at Rocky Mount, in a letter to Lord Cornwallis of June 15th wrote: "Captain Hook [Christian Huik] and His Party Returned yesterday having made a circular Tour of about Forty miles to the Westward. The Rebells [sic] who were Embodyed [sic] Fled so fast to the Mountains that He could not come up with them. From information that some of them had Taken Post at Simson's [Simpson's] meeting [house], He surrounded the house and finding them gone, But in Recoinoitring [sic] the Road which Led to it, Two men with Rebell Uniforms[863] were Discovered running through a field of Wheat. The Militia fired upon them, Killed one and Wounded the other.
"Cols. Patten [Patton], Bratten [William Bratton], Wynn [Richard Winn] and Number of Violent People have abandoned their Habitations it is believed they are gone amongst the Cataba [Catawba] Indians and some say that the Indians Likewise have Retired further Back.
"The Rebells have Propagated a story that we Seize all their young men and send them to the Prince of Hesse, it is inconceivable the Damage such Reports has done.
"Corn Begins to be Scarce. I have now about ten Days meal[.] But when that is out I Don't know which Rout [sic] to take. There is an Irish settlement at Turkey and Bullock Creek which abounds with Provision but it is Thirty miles westward. I do believe those fellows woud be much the Better for some Troops to keep them in order for a Little, they have become very Violent.
"It is Difficult to Support Dragoons without Corn. I am in hopes if our own mounted men arrive and the Militia continue their good Countenance when they meet here against Saturday, that in such case we might spare the Legion altogether if your Lordship has any Service for them.
"I forgot to mention an Iron works [Hill's Iron Works] about Fifty miles to the westward, it has been a Refuge for Runnaways [sic], a Forge for casting Ball and making Rifle Guns &c. I woud [sic] Propose with your Lordship[']s permission to Destroy this Place. I think a small Party might be found against Saturday at the muster that woud [sic] Compleat [sic] this affair. Sending some of our own officers and men with them.
"I have given no Receipts for any Provisions as yet. But I fancy it will be necessary on some Occasion to give Receipts.
"While I am waiting I have Received a Letter from Lord Rawden [sic] Dated yesterday. He mentions that He is about Returning [sic] to Camden and that there is a Body of Rebell Militia still in arms Between Charlottburg

[860] SJM
[861] It was Col. James Ferguson's Rocky Mount loyal militia, who were with Huik, that killed Strong. Strong, incidentally, as well as being a member of Rev. Simpson's congregation had joined the whig militia some nineteen days earlier. SDR pp. 68-69, 115.
[862] SDR pp. 68-73.
[863] An interesting detail insofar as we normally think of the militia and partisans as being without formal uniforms, at least outside the ordinary hunting shirt (unless this is what he is actually referring to by "uniforms.") Perhaps what they were wearing were state troop or militia coats left over from before the British occupation of S.C.

[Charlotte] and Salisbury but as He has no Dragoons or mounted men, He says He has no chance of giving them a blow. I Flatter myself your Lordship will see the Necessity of Dispersing those men for while such a Body of Rebells keep in arms so near us our Militia affairs will not go well.
"I have appointed one Capt. of Militia at Cedar Creek until your Lordship[']s Pleasure is further known. Indeed He was the Choice of the People and I thought him Deserving.
"I shall Endeavor to make some arrangement on Saturday forenoon when I Expect them all at Rocky mount. But am much afraid I will not be able to get any body fit to make a Field officer."[864]

Historian Michael Scoggins: "Huck's visit to Fishing Creek Church and the burning of Simpson's manse are also mentioned in a deposition dated June 24, 1785, sworn by Charles Lewis before James Knox, Justice of the Peace for Camden District, S.C. This deposition was sworn in response to a lawsuit that Simpson brought after the war against several of the Loyalists who burned his home. Lewis states in this deposition that he was placed under guard by Turnbull and Huck at Rocky Mount on June 10 and 'forced' to guide Huck and his men to Simpson's home, and that the day after that (June 11) they destroyed Simpson's home and looted his personal property. This deposition is part of the John Simpson Papers, Record Group 1912, at the South Caroliniana Library in Columbia, SC. I would also refer you to the information provided by Chester County historian and magistrate Daniel Green Stinson regarding this incident, which was published in several of the chapters in Elizabeth Ellet's *Women of the American Revolution*, Volume III, and Stinson's statements to historian Lyman C. Draper, which are found in the Thomas Sumter Papers of the Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection, 9VV12-16, which contain a detailed description of the incidents at Beckhamville, Mobley's Meeting House, Fishing Creek Church, Hill's Iron Works, and Huck's Defeat. Stinson also dated Huck's destruction of Simpson's home and Fishing Creek Church to June 11. Stinson was the son of a Rev War veteran and was intimately acquainted with most of the families in Chester County; he knew almost all of the Rev War veterans and collected their stories while he assisted them in filing for their Federal pensions…
"Reverend John Simpson's home was in what is now Chester County, on upper Fishing Creek. It was located adjacent to the upper Fishing Creek meeting house in 1780; this is the same church shown as Upper Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church on Robert Mills' *Atlas of South Carolina* in 1825. It is very close to the York County line, and during the Revolution Simpson also preached at Bethesda Presbyterian Church near Brattonsville in York County."

12 June. [skirmish] Rocky Creek Settlement, also Martin's Covenanters (Chester County, S.C.) In light of the burning of Rev. Simpson's home and similar assaults and depredations carried out in the not too distant vicinity, Rev. William Martin exhorted the assembly at Covenanter Church on Rocky Creek to defy British military rule. Shortly thereafter, some members of the church, under Capt. Ben Land, collected at a site seven miles above Rocky Mount for that purpose. A local tory informed on them to Turnbull who instantly dispatched Huik and his dragoons and militia. Huik managed to route most of the whigs. Land, however, ably defended himself with sword, wounding a number of dragoons; till he himself was overwhelmed and slain. Some two miles north, some six or so other men of the Covenanter Church were gathered at the shop of George Harris, a Negro blacksmith, having their horses shod. Huik caught up with these as well, killing one James Boyd. Rev. Martin himself was subsequently arrested and taken to Camden to be confined in the jail.[865]

12 June. Ferguson marched to the "Congarees" or Congaree Stores and just southeast of what would later be Fort Granby (modern Cayce, S.C.; south of the confluence of Congaree[866] and Saluda Rivers.)
Allaire: "Monday, 12th. Got in motion at two o'clock in the morning, and marched fourteen miles to Congaree Stores..."

12 June. Saye (drawing on the reminiscences of Maj. Joseph McJunkin): "The men who had been engaged in hiding the powder, learning very soon what had occurred at Brandon's camp, collected as many of their friends as possible and retreated over Broad River. Having appointed Bullock's Creek Church as a place of rendezvous, as many were directed thither as possible. The Rev. Joseph Alexander was at the time pastor of that church, and had been for a number of years past. He had, however, labored extensively as a supply among the Presbyterian population on the west side of Broad River and had always taken a firm stand for liberty. So that now he had been compelled to escape for his life, as the Tories were determined on his destruction.
"On June 12 the refugees came together at the church. Among them were some of the regiments of Thomas, Lysle [James Lisle], Brandon, and a few refugees from Georgia. Their situation is talked over. The British are victorious, the Tories rising in large numbers and asserting their zeal for the royal cause; not a single corps of Whigs is known to be embodied in the State; the cause of liberty is desperate. The offers of British protection is before them. What is to be done? What can they do? At length a young man calls his command together. He recites the facts connected with their present situation. He recounts their past toils, sufferings and dangers. He states at large the reasons for the contest in which they have been engaged, and the instances of success and defeat which has attended their efforts in the cause of independence. He says: 'Our cause must now be determined. Shall we join the British or strive like men for the noble end for which we have done and spent so

[864] PRO. 30/11/2/158-159. A very warm thanks to historian Michael Scoggins for providing this letter, as well as accompanying comments. For the June correspondence of Turnbull, Cornwallis and Rawdon at length, see his book SDR pp. 185-204.
[865] SDR p. 73, ONB2 p. 175. Special thanks to John Robertson for helping to locate the specific site of the action.
[866] The Broad River flows into and becomes the Congaree.

much? Shall we declare ourselves cowards and traitors, or shall we fight for liberty as long as we have life? As for me, 'give me liberty or give me death!' The speaker was John Thomas, son of the Colonel of the same name."[867]

13 June. Though contrary to the wishes of Gen. Washington, Congress unanimously elected Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates to head the Army of the Southern Department in place of Lincoln, and to which he was to immediately repair.[868]

13-18 June. Moore's Second Gathering (Lincoln County, N.C.) Col. John Moore and Maj. Nicholas Welch prematurely called out the loyalist to Ramseur's Mill, contrary to Cornwalllis' instructions, and by the 18th, on which 200 more joined him, Moore had assembled 1,300 men. Many, even so, were without weapons or ammunition. Whigs Col. Hugh Brevard and Maj. Joseph McDowell with a small company again attempted to disrupt Moore and the gathering again, and, also again, were chased off. [869]

14 June. Allaire: "Wednesday, 14th. Lay at Congaree Stores. Capt. Peacock and the three companies of Royal Fusileers [23rd Regt.] under his command, remain here; Col. Patterson [Thomas Pattinson] and his battalion [Prince of Wales Volunteers] to go to Camden."

Mid June. Cornwallis formally instituted a policy, inaugurated by Clinton, by which rebel estates "were seized, and placed in the hands of commissioners, who were vested with power to sell the produce, which with the stock of cattle and horses found upon them was appropriated to the use of the army;" appointing Maj. James Moncrief, Major George Hay and James Fraser, esq., as commissioners. See 16 September 1780.[870]

14 June. On the evening of the 14th, Rutherford, his core force of militia now organized and having learned of the assembling of Moore and the loyalists at Ramseur's Mill, forty miles to the northwest of him, ordered Col. Francis Lock, based in Salisbury, to bring together an additional men to aid in dispersing Moore.[871]
Davie: "The Militia were every where in arms, but every place wanted protection; at length about ['three hundred'] men ['composed of the militia of Burke, Lincoln, & Rowan Counties'] assembled under Colonel Francis Lock and seven hundred under General Rutherford including the South Carolina refugees, under Col. Sumpter, Neale and others, and some Cavalry under Major Davie who had a commission to raise an Independent corps ['near Charlotte']."[872]

15 June. Mathew Floyd arrived with some 30 loyalist militia recruits from the Broad, Tyger, and Enoree River areas (in present Spartanburg County) to Turnbull's camp at Rocky Mount. In addition to collecting loyalists, Floyd had also, reportedly and by whig accounts, been distressing the inhabitants along both banks of the Broad River. Turnbull responded to his arrival by making him colonel and bestowed on him command of the Upper or Spartan district militia and which had previously been under Col. Andrew Neale (also Neel), and Lieut. Col. John Lisle the second in command; with Lisle presently remaining second in command, now as a loyalist, under Floyd. McCrady: "Neel, who now had a force with which to act, determined to put a stop to this. Taking with him all the men but about twelve or fifteen, left to keep the camp, he started in pursuit of Floyd, but was too late. Floyd with his recruits had escaped him." Lisle later (as he presumably originally intended to) defected along with most of Floyd's men and joined Sumter. For more regarding Lisle's "turnabout" and deception, see *Mid to late July* 1780. About this same time, Turnbull also raised and had with him companies of militia under Capt. Henry Houseman (of the action at Alexander' Old Field, 6 June), Col. James Ferguson (esq.), and Maj. John Owens. Owens was later captured on 11 July by the whigs; and as part of his negotiated release agreed to act as a spy for them.[873]

15 June. From the Congarees (in the area of later Fort Granby), Ferguson resumed his march towards Ninety Six. In the meantime, Balfour left the Congaree area and continued his advance up the Saluda with some companies of British light infantry in the same direction.
Allaire: "Thursday, 15th. Got in motion at twelve o'clock at night, and marched twelve miles to Saluda Ferry; crossed the river and halted."

15 June. Moving down from Salisbury, Col. Thomas Sumter camped at Tuckasegee Ford on the Catawba. Here he brought together a corps of comrades from his old 6th Regt. and some 200 Catawba Indians. He then passed down the river and joined with other South Carolina militia leaders and their men at King Hagler's Branch on Indian land (and near present Fort Mill, S.C.) A convention was formed, and on the 15th, he was elected brigade commander on the vote of Col. William Bratton, Maj. Richard Winn (president of the "convention"), Col. William Hill, and Capt. Edward Lacey. At the same time, the convention leaders all vowed to serve till war's end. They then moved on to join Rutherford gathering men for the expedition against Ramseur's Mill.[874] In spite of the election, Sumter would not formally become a Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia until October 1780.

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[867] SJM.
[868] GHA3 p. 391 MLW4A p. 169, JLG1 pp. 217-218, CNC14 p. 501.
[869] DRS p. 7, GRA.
[870] TCS p. 89, CAR p. 177-179, MSC1 pp. 544-546.
[871] DRS p. 7, GNC p. 213.
[872] DRS p. 7.
[873] JLG1 p. 292, MSC1 p. 590, SDR p. 78.
[874] GHA3 pp. 387-389, MLW4A pp. 168-169, BGC pp. 55-56, BRG p. 121.

Richard Winn: "When the business of the meeting was opened it was thought necessary to chose a President, when Col. Richard Winn was called to the chair.
"The first thing that was taken under consideration was the critical situation of the State; and here it was solemnly agreed on by the convention that they would support the laws, both civil and military, by every means in their power, and called upon the good people to aid them in this undertaking.
"Secondly, that they would oppose the British and Tories by force of arms, which arms was never to be laid down untill [sic] the British troops was drove from the State of So. Carolina and the independence of the United States acknowledged.
"It was then moved and seconded that Col. Thomas Sumter should be appointed a brigadier-general and that the President be directed to make out a commission to that effect and sign the same in due form, which was accordingly so done by R. Winn, Pres't [sic]. Several other officers being promoted, moved, seconded and agreed to.
"That all such persons as would oppose the common enemy under the command of Gen'l Sumter should inlist [sic] for six weeks under proper officers, sign an attestation and take an oath for their faithful performance of the office. (In a few days Gen'l Sumter found himself at the head of four or five hundred men.)
"Moved, seconded and agreed to that all property of the enemy taken in the field of battle or elsewhere shall be divided among the officers and men who shall serve as above, but it shall be clearly understood that no such property shall be divided until first condemned by three commissioners, which is hereby appointed for that purpose, which said commissioners shall keep books and make regular entries of the property as aforesaid.
"The people then directed the President to adjourn their convention (to meet again.)"[875]
The South Carolina rebels were themselves aided and encouraged in no small part by those in North Carolina; and we find Turnbull writing Cornwallis on 17 June: "Those Rebells [sic] Embodyd sic] Between Charlotburg [Charlotte] & Salisbury Over awes great [the greater?] part of the country and Keeps the Candle of Rebellion still Burning."[876]

15 June. Rutherford and the (mostly) N.C. militia advanced to two miles south of Charlotte.[877]

Mid June. By this time efforts had already been well underway for the forming of the royal militia. This was, in part, brought about initially by local loyalist leaders themselves, and without any or much direct involvement of the British themselves. Some units were formed out of existing, and previously, whig militias; others were created entirely new.[878]
On June 14th (or thereabouts) Cornwallis approved Robert Cunningham's plan to convert his levies of militia from the Ninety Six district into a provincial regiment. A short while before this, he had also granted John Harrison, located just north of the Santee, a Major's commission and permission to create a provincial regiment. On 30 June, he wrote to Clinton: "I agreed to a proposal made by Mr. Harrison, to raise a provincial corps of five hundred Men, with the rank of Major, to be Natives of the Country between the Pedee [Peedee] and Wateree." This unit in time became the South Carolina Rangers, or Harrison's Corps. The unit, however, originally[879] and in practice performed little better than ordinary militia, and was quite dissimilar to the more professional provincial regiments like the Royal North Carolina Regiment or the Volunteers of Ireland, though the latter had its own share of discipline problems. Both Cunningham and Harrison were men of fortune and influence in their respective districts.[880]
It was about mid June that the effective pay date for much of the loyal militia in South Carolina commences, including those of the following formationss:

* South Carolina Rangers, or Harrison's Rangers, Maj. John Harrison (Provincial Corps, and technically not militia, modern Kershaw county)[881]

* [Lieut.] Col. John Fisher's Orangeburg Regiment of Militia[882]

* *Ninety Six Brigade* of South Carolina Militia (June 14)
Note. Numbers given are initial totals as found in Murtie June Clark.

[Lieut.] Col. Daniel Clary's Regt. (north of the Saluda River in present day Newberry county)
45 privates/51 total

Maj. Daniel Plummer's Regt. (Fair Forest Regt., modern Spartanburg county)
62 privates/66 total

[875] WNO part I, p. 207, SDR p. 83.
[876] SDR p. 78.
[877] GAM2 p.214.
[878] With respect to the efficiency and character of the loyal militia as seen by the British, see TCS pp. 90-91, SAW2 pp. 197, 206-207.
[879] That is until integrated into the South Carolina Royalists in April 1781.
[880] TCS pp. 90-91, 120, BSF p. 35.
[881] By April 1781, however, when South Carolina Royalists were integrated into the corps the Rangers became more of a provincial unit proper.
[882] SFR p. 574n.

Lieut. Col. Robert Cunningham's (later Maj. Patrick Cunningham's) Regt. (Little River of the Saluda Regt., modern Laurens county)
145 privates/169 total[883]

[Lieut.] Col. Joseph Cotton's Regt. (Stevens Creek Regt., modern Edgefield County)
141 privates/167 total

[Lieut.] Col. Richard King's Regt. (Long Cane Creek Regt., formerly Pickens' command, modern Greenwood or McCormick counties)
111 privates/123 total[884]

Maj. Zachariah Gibbs' Regt. (modern Chester county, also York possibly)
50 privates/63 total

Lieut. Col. Moses Kirkland's Regt. (or Fifth regiment of Militia), Lower Ninety Six Brigade[885]

Brigade Total:
3 Colonels
1 Lieut. Col.
3 Majors
33 Captains
24 Lieut.s
1 QM
20 Ensigns
554 Privates (and apparently including Sergeants and corporals)
Total: 639[886]

Also, yet not included in the above list, was Col. Thomas Pearson's Regiment or (2nd) Little River (of the Saluda) Regt.

Cornwallis later wrote to Lord Germain, on August 20th, 1780: "I took every measure in my Power to raise some Provincial Corps, & and to establish a Militia as well for the Defence as for the internal Government of South Carolina. One Provincial Corps, to consist of five hundred men, was put in Commission to be raised between the Pedee and Wateree, to be commanded by Mr. Harrison with the rank of Major; And another of the same number was ordered to be raised in the district of Ninety Six, to be commanded by Mr. [Robert] Cunningham, to whom, on account of his active Loyalty for several years past, I gave the rank of Lieut Colonel; And there appeared to be great reason to expect that both these Corps would be soon compleated [sic] as well as the first South Carolina Regt., which was composed of Refugees who had now returned to their native Country. In the district of Ninety Six, by far the most populous and powerful of the Province, Lt Col. Balfour, by his great attention & diligence, and by the active assistance of Maj[o]r Ferguson, who was appointed Inspector General of the Militia of this Province by Sir Henry Clinton, had formed seven Battalions of Militia, consisting of above four thousand Men, and entirely composed of persons well affected to the British Government, which were so regulated that they could with ease Furnish fifteen hundred Men at a short notice for the defence of the Frontier or any other home Service. But I must take this opportunity of observing that this Militia can be of little use for distant Military operations, as they will not stir without an Horse, & on that account Your Lordship will easily conceive the impossibility of keeping a number of them together without destroying the Country. Many Battalions were likewise formed by myself & other Officers on the very extensive line from Broad River to Cheraws, but they were in general either weak or not much to be relied on for their fidelity. In order to protect the raising of Harrison's corps & to awe a large tract of disaffected Country between the Pedee [Peedee] & Black River, I posted Major McArthur with the 71st regiment & a troop of Dragoons at Cheraw Hill on the Pedee, where his detachment was plentifully supplied by the Country with Provisions of all kinds. Other small Posts were likewise established in the front & on the left of Camden, where the people were known to be ill disposed, And the Main body of the Corps was posted at Camden, which, for this Country is reckoned a tolerably healthy place, and where the Troops could most conveniently subsist & receive the necessary supplies of various kinds from Charlestown. I likewise had settled good channels of Correspondence with our friends in North Carolina, and had given them positive directions to attend to their harvests, & to remain quiet untill [sic] I could march to their relief." [887]

Annual Register: "That commander [Cornwallis] accordingly, in settling the affairs and government of the province, adopted a scheme of obliging it to contribute largely to its own defence; and even to look forward, in present exertion to future security, by taking an active share in the suppression of the rebellion on its borders. In this view, he seemed to admit of no neutrals; but that every man, who did not avow himself an enemy to the

[883] Robert Cunningham was not made Brigadier General of the Ninety-Six Brigade till September, so presumably he was in command of the Little River of the Saluda regiment, which afterward was given to his brother Patrick, who prior to that was second in command.
[884] LSL p. 110
[885] CLS p. 221.
[886] CLS p. 228.
[887] CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268.

British government, should take an active part in its support. On this principal, all persons were expected to be in readiness with their arms at a moment's warning; those who had families, to form a militia for the home defence; but those who had none, to serve with the royal forces, for any six months of the ensuing twelve, in which they might be called upon, to assist 'in driving their rebel oppressors, and all the miseries of war, far from the province.' Their service was, however, limited, besides their own province, to North Carolina and Georgia, beyond the boundaries of which they were not to be marched; and, after the expiration of the limited term, they were to be free from all future military claims of service, excepting their local militia duties. So warm were the hopes of success then formed, that a few months were thought equal to the subjugation of, at least, that part of the continent."[888]

16 June. Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, in command at Rocky Mount, dispatched British Legion Capt. Christian Huik with 35 British Legion cavalry, 20 mounted New York Volunteers, and 60 loyalist militia (these latter under Capt. Abraham Floyd) to New Acquisition (generally what is now York County, S.C.) for the purpose of encouraging and recruiting loyalists, and cowing the rebels. Although by July a fair number had agreed to sign with the British, William Bratton was offering pardons to men who would desert loyal militia and join him instead. So many then subsequently left Huik that that by 11 July he was reduced to probably not much more than his original strength of around 115.
Otherwise and in preparation for his attacking on Hill's Iron Works (June 17th), Huik gathered forage in the area of Brown's crossroads at the modern intersection of Highways 9 and 901, near the town of Richburg in Chester County. [889]

17 June. Encountering strong rebel sympathy, and with some of his own Irish Volunteers deserting at the enticement of local Irish and Scotch-Irish whig partisans, Rawdon called off his foraging excursion into the Waxhaws area and returned to Hanging Rock outside of Camden. For more respecting his Waxhaws sojourn, see *June* entry (at the beginning of this month's section under "*Camden.*")[890]

17 June (or 18 June). [skirmish] Hill's Iron Works (York County, S.C.) Huik's with some British Legion cavalry defeated a very small whig militia force that made a brief but spirited stand, and following this set fire to the iron works (owned by William Hill, soon one of Sumter's chiefs.) Huik later reported killing 7 and capturing 4 whigs; while American accounts speak of 2 whigs being killed. The iron works or foundry, located on Allison Creek, had been established by Hill and Isaac Hayne in the South Carolina backcountry in anticipation of the war. And having already proven itself as a major arsenal of its kind, they were specifically targeted by Turnbull, who dispatched Huik for that purpose. The latter, meanwhile and following action, retired the next day to White's Mills at Brown's Crossroads on Fishing Creek (in Chester County) located about six miles below the York County line.[891]
Lossing: "This disaster, following closely upon the other, [i.e. Beckhamvile then Mobley's Meeting House] alarmed the commander at Rocky Mount [Turnbull], and he sent out Captain Christian Huck, a profane, unprincipled man, with four hundred cavalry, and a body of well-mounted Tories, to 'push the rebels as far as he might deem convenient.' He executed his orders with alacrity. At one time he destroyed Colonel Hill's iron-works; at another he burned the dwelling of the Reverend William Simpson, of the Fishing Creek church [see 6 June], and murdered an unoffending young man [William Strong] on Sunday morning, while on his way to the meeting-house, with his Bible in his hand. He hated Presbyterians bitterly, and made them suffer when he could. Loaded with the spoils of plunder, Huck fell back to Rocky Mount, and prepared for other depredations. About this time, Bill Cunningham and his 'Bloody Scout' were spreading terror in Union and Spartanburg Districts, and also south of the Enoree. Against this monster, John M'Clure was dispatched. He chased him across Union District, and almost thirty miles further toward Ninety Six. Four of the scout were captured, and carried in triumph into Sumter's camp, on the Waxhaw; their leader barely escaped."[892]
Cornwallis, at Charlestown, wrote to Clinton on June 30th: "The surrender of General Williamson at Ninety Six and the reduction of Hill's Iron Works by the dragoons and militia under Turnbull has put an end to all resistance in South Carolina."[893]

17 June (or 18 June). Brig. Gen. Rutherford with the N.C. militia, and accompanied by Sumter and William Hill, arrived to command the various whigs, including Catawba Indians, collecting at Tukasegee Ford on the Catawba. Subsequently falling in with them were S.C. refugees John Thomas Jr., James Lisle, Andrew Neal, William Bratton, John McClure Robert Patton, and Richard Winn, and who aligned themselves organizationally under Sumter.[894]

19 June. Rutherford moved to Dickson's place,[895] sixteen miles from Ramseur's. Col. Francis Lock, meanwhile, had, along with Colonel Thomas Brandon of South Carolina, brought together about 400 North Carolina and a few South Carolina militia, many of them mounted, with which to attack Moore and the 1,300 loyalists at Ramseur's

[888] AR80 pp. 223-224.
[889] SDR p. 78-79.
[890] MMS pp. 215-216, MSC1 p. 563, GAM2 p214.
[891] TCS p. 85, LFB2 p. 453, MSC1 p. 592, BGC p. 59, SDR pp. 72, 80-84.
[892] HMS p. 8, LFB2 p. 453.
[893] BGC p. 59.
[894] SDR pp. 83-84.
[895] Dickson's home is described as being two miles northwest of Mount Holly ("on the line of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad.") Alfred Nixon, *The History of Lincoln County,* vol. IX.

Mill. They were camped at Mountain Creek or "the Glades," some 16 miles from Ramseur's. Included in Lock's force was 270 men under Major Joseph McDowell ("Quaker Meadows Joe"), as well as Brandon's small force of mounted South Carolina militia. On the 19th, Lock passed Sherrald's (also Sherill's) Ford on the Catawba proceeding towards the loyalists at Ramseur's Mill. Rutherford originally intended to coordinate a joint attack with Lock against Moore, but the order did not get through in time, due to the negligence of the messenger. In a council held on the night of the 19th, Lock and his officers, including Maj. Joseph McDowell and Capt. William Falls, decided to attack Moore the next day. Col. James Johnston of Lincoln County was sent to Rutherford to inform him of their resolution. Why Lock took it upon himself to go after Moore without Rutherford was perhaps in part prompted by a wish to sieze the moral momentum of the moment by unhestitatingly insisting on the wrongness of attempting to take arms as a loyalist in the state, and thus conducting themselves not unlike police enforcing (as they saw it) law and order.[896]
William A. Graham: "On the 18th Major Wilson, with sixty-five men, among whom were Captains Patrick Knox and William Smith, crossed the Catawba at Toole's Ford, about fourteen miles from Charlotte, near where Moore's Ferry was for many years and Allison's Ferry is now. The ford has been seldom used since 1865, and has been abandoned as a crossing for many years. It is three miles below Cowan's Ford. Taking the Beattie's Ford Road, he soon met Major Jo. McDowell with twenty-five men, among whom were Captain Daniel McKissick and John [also given as Joshua] Bowman. Major McDowell, who had been moving about the country awaiting re-inforcements, probably informed him of the position occupied by the Tories. These troops, in order to unite with the forces being raised by Colonel Locke, kept the road up the river, passing Beattie's Ford, and three miles above, Captains [William] Falls, Houston, Torrence, Reid and Caldwell, who had crossed at McEwen's Ford with forty men, joined them. McEwen's Ford was near where McConnell's Ferry was, up to 1870, but both ford and ferry have long been abandoned. Marching the road that is now the Newton Road, past Flemming's Cross Roads, they camped on Mountain Creek at a place called the 'Glades,' sixteen miles from Ramsour's. Here, on the 19th they received additional forces under Colonel Locke [Francis Lock], amounting to two hundred and seventy men, among whom were Captains [Thomas] Brandon, Sharpe, William Alexander, Smith, Dobson, Sloan and Hardin. Colonel Locke [Francis Lock] had collected most of this force as he proceeded up the river and had crossed with them at Sherrill's [Sherrald's] Ford, which is used to this day, and where General Morgan crossed the following January. The whole force now amounted to about four hundred-McDowell's, Fall's and Brandon's men (perhaps one hundred) being mounted."[897]

Joseph Graham: "In the evening of that day (the 18th), he [Rutherford] dispatched an express to col. Locke [Francis Lock], advising him of his movement and of the enemy's strength, and ordering Locke to join him on the 19th in the evening, or on the 20th in the morning, a few miles in advance of Tuckasegee Ford. The express was negligent and did not reach col. Locke. The morning of the 19th was wet and the arms of gen. Rutherford's men were out of order. At mid-day the weather cleared up, and orders were given to the men to discharge their guns. This discharge produced an alarm in the neighborhood, and the people thinking the tories were attempting to cross the river, many of them came in with arms and joined Rutherford. In the evening he encamped sixteen miles from Ramseur's."[898]

Davie: "It was agreed [by Rutherford, Lock, and their officers] to attack Moore's camp at Ramsours [Ramseur's] as the most dangerous body of the Enemy, on the 22nd[899] following, for this purpose Col. Lock marched to cross the river at Sherrills & Beatie's fords [Sherrald's and Beattiie's fords on the Catawba] while General Rutherford also moved to cross below at ['Tuckaseegie'] Ford [on the south fork of the Catawba.] These divisions were have to met in the night near the enemy and ['to have attacked'] them at break of day but the march of both parties was too circuitous, and the point of rendezvous too distant to insure punctuality; General Rutherford did not arrive, and Colonel Lock who had gained his position in the night, called a council of the officers in which they resolved to attack the enemy not withstanding the disparity of numbers..." [900]

19 June. The village of Ninety Six was occupied by some companies of light infantry (possibly including some from the 16th Regt.) under Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour. At the time, there was no fort at Ninety Six as such, though the town had, in addition to a formidable jail, what has been variously described as a primitive stockade and or else a simple ditch with a palisade used to protect against Indian attacks.[901]

19 June. On June 19, Congress recommended that N.C. and Virginia remount, equip and furnish new recruits for both the 1st and 3rd Dragoons until they were brought up to strength of 150 men each. By the end of June, William Washington and Anthony White had reunited at Halifax, N.C. to better facilitate recruiting and re-supply efforts. Virginia alone ended up spending $700,000 Continental dollars (about $9,300 dollars hard currency) from May thru July on the two regiments. At this juncture, notwithstanding, de Kalb informed Gates that they were not yet ready for service.[902]

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[896] DRS p. 7,GNC pp. 217-218, GAM2 p. 219-220, GRA.
[897] GRA
[898] GAM2 pp. 219-220.
[899] Davie's dates differ from other accounts, yet if his date is accepted it would assume, based on Allaire's diary, that some of the loyalist who fled the battle would have reached Ninety-Six the same day -- a not very likely occurrence.
[900] DRS p. 7. A letter from Col. James Williams to his wife, dated 4 July 1780, suggests that Falls, rather than Lock, may actually have been leading and organizing the whig attackers. GDH3 pp. 135-137.
[901] Letters from Balfour to Lord Cornwallis, 15-22 June 1780, CAR pp. 174-176.
[902] De Kalb to Gates, July 16, 1780, in Clark (ed.), Records of NC, XIV, 503, MSC1 p. 659, HWW p. 63.

20 June. [battle] RAMSEUR'S MILL, also Ramsaur's Mill, Ramsour's Mill. (Lincoln County, N.C.) In the morning hours of 20 June, Col. Francis Lock, Maj. Joseph McDowell, Capt. William Falls, and Col. Thomas Brandon[903] (to name some of the more prominent) with 300 to 400 men (mostly from North Carolina, but with some from South Carolina as well) advanced to assail Col. Moore and the 1,100 to 1,300 loyalists at Ramseur's Mill.[904] According, however, to Joseph Graham only about three fourths of the loyalists had yet been armed, giving them an estimated effective force of approximately 825 to 975, and whom were deployed on a wooded ridge covered with little underbrush. While they at first delivered a well-executed fire, they were soon engaged in hand-to-hand combat by Lock's men, and in a space of thirty minutes (or up to an hour) were routed. This is generally how the battle is described in summary. But such description can be misleading, as the fight might perhaps be better likened to a grand "shoot out," accompanied by a melee, than what we ordinarily think of as a more conventional revolutionary war action. The actual maneuvering, in both retreat and advance, involved small groups and individual men, rather than organized military units, and was conducted more by bands of men, and commanders leading by example, rather than by more disciplined military formations and tactics. Although a number of the whig leaders were actually former Continental army men, as Joseph Graham states "Few either of the officers and men had ever been in battle before."

Rutherford with his 700 men arrived too late to participate in the action, but did send Maj. William Richardson Davie with his cavalry, and some others, in pursuit. Both sides each lost about 38-40 killed, and 100 wounded. In addition, at least 50 loyalists were made captives. Loyalists, who were not wounded or killed, either fled into South Carolina, or went into hiding at their homes. The capture of many muskets, powder and other supplies had important consequences in the way of helping to equip the whig militia, particularly the South Carolinians who had no real stock of arms left in their own state. But the significance of Ramseur's Mill can be perhaps best appreciated when one considers what the effect of an additional 1,000 to 2,000 loyalist troops present in Tryon County alone might have had on King's Mountain, Cowpens, and Cornwallis' North Carolina campaign of 1781. Also, after the battle, north and northwest South Carolina, which had been mostly suppressed in June, in July grew into a hot-bed of rebel insurgency. [905] Although Cornwallis with vehemence later denounced Moore precipitation, earlier on 2 June he had written to Clinton on 2 June, from Camden: "I have sent emissaries to our friends in North Carolina to state my situation to them, and to submit to them whether it would not be prudent for them to remain quiet, until I can give them effectual support, which could only be done by a force remaining in the country. At the same time I assured them that, *if they thought themselves a match for their enemies without any regular force, and were determined to rise at all events, I would give them every assistance in my power, by incursions of light troops, furnishing ammunition,* &." [My italics.] [906]

NORTH CAROLINA AND SOUTH CAROLINA MILITIA AT RAMSEUR'S MILL
Col. Francis Lock (Rowan County)

North Carolina Militia
Maj. Wilson (Mecklenburg County)
Capt. William Alexander (Rowan County)
Capt. William Armstrong, killed
Capt. Joshua Bowman (previously a Continental officer), killed
Capt. Dobson (previously a Continental officer, Burke County), killed
Capt. Houston, wounded
Capt. Patrick Knox (Mecklenburg County)
Capt. [Daniel] McKissick, wounded
Capt. Murray, killed
Capt. Smith, killed

Mounted infantry:[907]
Maj. Joseph McDowell (Burke County, N.C.)
Capt. William Falls (Rowan County), killed

South Carolina Militia
Col. Thomas Brandon (Union County, S.C.)[908]

Total of Lock's attacking force: 300-400

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[903] See DRS p. 51n.
[904] Ramsay notes, that the greater part of loyalists at Ramseur's mill had taken an oath to N.C. and had served in that state's militia. RSC2 p. 128.
[905] AR80 p. 230, RSC2 pp. 127-128, GHA3 pp. 386-387, SAW2 pp. 196-197, MLW4A pp. 163-164, DRS p. 5-7, HMS p. 8, LMS pp. 167-168, CSS pp. 1117-1120, LFB2 p.391n, GNC pp 219-226, GAM2 pp. 222-226, SNC pp. 51-64, MSC1 pp. 579-586, WAR2 pp. 706-708, RNC p. 239, DRR pp. 174-175, BEA pp. 913-914, BRG pp. 106-110, ONB2 pp. 180-187, SDR pp. 85-87, 90.
[906] For this and related instances of Cornwallis' views expressed (in June 1780) on the subject of the premature uprisings in North Carolina, see RCC pp. 45-49.
[907] Some of these may have been armed as cavalry.
[908] O'Kelley lists William Brandon rather than Thomas; while Scoggins makes mention that 13 men under Captains James Martin and James Jamieson left New Acquisition (in effect "looking for action") on 10 June and joined Lock at Salisbury and whom they subsequently accompanied to Ramseur's Mill. SDR p. 86. If Thomas Brandon was present at the battle of Ramseur's Mill this would seem to support the 30 June date for Brandon's Defeat (which date is adopted in this work); for had he been dispersed before hand on 10 June (the alternative day for Brandon's Defeat) this would make his participating in the Ramseur's Mill action more problematical – though granted not impossible. See *30 June*.

The following were not present at the actual engagement, though involved in the after-battle pursuit:
Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford (Rowan County, N.C.)[909]

North Carolina Militia
Col. William Lee Davidson
Maj. William Graham (Lincoln County)
Maj. James Rutherford

Cavalry:
Maj. William Richardson Davie

South Carolina militia
Col. Thomas Sumter
Col. Andrew Neal
Col. William Hill
Maj. Richard Winn
Capt. Edward Lacey

Col. James Williams
Capt. Samuel Hammond[910]

Catawba Indians, General Newriver

TOTAL of Rutherford's column: 700 men

NORTH CAROLINA LOYALIST MILITIA AT RAMSEUR'S MILL
Col. John Moore, Royal North Carolina Regt. (from Tryon County)
Maj. Nicholas Welch, Royal North Carolina Regt.

Capt. Carpenter, wounded.
Capt. Cumberland, killed
Capt. Murray, killed
Capt. Whiston
Capt. Worlick, killed

Total Loyalist force: 1,100-1,300. Of these roughly 825 to 976 (based on an estimation) were armed.[911]

On 20 August, Cornwallis, at Camden, wrote to Lord Germain: "(O)ur Friends in Tryon County, North Carolina, in the latter end of June, who, having assembled without concert, plan, or proper leaders, were, two days, after, surprised and totally routed by the Son of Genl. Rutherford. Many of them fled into this Province, where their reports tended much to terrify our friends and encourage our enemies."

Davie: "...the Tories ['were'] encamped on a high ridge, clear of under wood, and covered with large oaks, their rear was protected by a Mill-pond and their right flank by a strong fence. At daybreak the regiments advanced by companies, the enemy drew up behind the trees and baggage and the action became in a moment general; the enemy's fire was well directed, but the militia pressed forward with great spirit and intrepidity and in about 30 minutes the Loyalists gave way on all sides, the loss of the militia was heavy in officers...a considerable number of the enemy were killed and wounded and they lost all their baggage. The General [Rutherford] arrived about an hour after the action and dispatched Major Davie with his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives with orders to clear that part of the country of all straggling parties; many came and surrendered voluntarily a great number were taken prisoners, some flying to South Carolina others at their plantations, and in a few days that district of country lying between the river, the mountains and their ['so called'] line was entirely cleared of the Enemy."[912]

Pension statement of Samuel Patton of Rowan County, N.C.: "The fightin' went on for near an hour with hundreds of men wounded and dead on both sides. The Tories had the advantage as they was on the ridgeline and hid by bushes and such. As our infantry got close they began to fight hand to hand with the butts of their guns as they didn't have no bayonets on 'em. The lines was crossed and neither side couldn't tell one another apart and the confusion got so bad that by the end only about a hundred Tories was still left to fight and they retreated across the creek and was joined by others from up on the ridge. It was then that two men from the Patriot militia was dispatched to ride to urge us to quickly come to the battlefield in case of further fightin'...When we arrived [Patton was with Rutherford's column] the battle had ended nearly an hour before. One of the militamen I had served with durin' my first commission told me all about what happened after our

[909] Rutherford's column was en route to the battle, but did not actually participate, except in the pursuit and follow-up.
[910] HMP.
[911] See also O'Kelley's order of battle for Ramseur's, ONB2 pp. 180-182.
[912] DRS p. 7-8.

company arrived about an hour after the fightin' had ended. The Torys was camped on a hill about a half a mile north of Lincolnton on a farm beside Ramseur's Mill. They was up on the ridge with view of a field with hardly no trees and a pond. When the troops of North Carolina approached the camp they was fired on by some advance picket guards who shot and then ran back to their positions. The cavalry companies led by Captain [William] Falls and [Joseph] McDowell followed by the infantry companies advanced on the Tories up the ridge. It was right at the start, the militia man said, Captain Falls was shot through his chest and rode about one hundred and fifty yard from the battle and fell dead from his horse."

Pension statement of John Hargrave of Union County, S.C.: "He [Hargrave] further states that in June of the year '80 he again volunteered under one Capt. Thomas Hemphill & Col. Francis Lock, for the purpose of fighting the Tories who were very numerous. That having got together about 400 they heard that the Tories had taken Maj. (then) Edward Hampton [given elsewhere as "Capt."] & John Russell Lieut. & had condemned them to be hanged, but that they, having determined to rescue them, met the Tories 1400 or 1500 in number at a place Called Ramseur's Mill & defeating them took all their baggage & made something like 100 of them prisoners as well as he recollects."

Allaire: "Friday, 23d. Lay in the field at Ninety-Six. Some friends came in, four were wounded. The militia had embodied at Tuckasegie [Tuckasegee], on the South Fork of Catawba river-were attacked by a party of Rebels, under command of Gen. Rutherford. The [loyalist] militia were scant of ammunition, which obliged them to retreat. They were obliged to swim the river at a mill dam. The Rebels fired on them and killed thirty. Col. Ferguson, with forty American Volunteers, pushed with all speed in pursuit of the Rebels. It is seventy miles distance from Ninety-Six. The militia are flocking to him from all parts of the country."

From notes appended to the text of a 23 July 1780 letter of Maj. Thomas Blount, of the N.C. Line, to Gov. Abner Nash as contained in the State Records of N.C. vol.15, page 7: "Maj. Thos. Blount also writes, dated the 23rd July, Informing that the attack on Col. Moore with a party of torys was not commanded by Col. Francis Locke, as was reported, but by seven Captains of Light Horse, the eldest of which was Capt. Gilbert Falls, who together with five others, fell in the attack. The other Capts. and 1 Lieut. wounded. The whole of our loss was seven killed & nineteen wounded; that Seventy of the Enemy were killed, One Hundred taken Prisoners, there Hundred Horses and considerabe Baggage."[913]

Joseph Graham: "…Moore and Welch gave orders that such of their men as were on foot or had inferior horses should move off singly as fast as they could; and when the flag returned, not more than fifty returned. They immediately fled. Moore with thirty men reached the British army at Camden, when he was threatened with a trial by a court-martial for disobedience of orders, in attempting to embody the royalists before the time appointed by the commander-in-chief. He was treated with disrespect by the British officers, and held in a state of disagreeable suspense; but it was at length deemed impolitic to order him before a court-martial.
"As there was no organization of either party, nor regular returns made after the action, the loss could not be ascertained with correctness. Fifty-six lay dead on the side of the ridge where the heat of the action prevailed; many lay scattered on the flanks and over the ridge toward the mill. It is believed that seventy were killed, and that the loss on each side was equal. About an hundred men on each side were wounded, and fifty Tories were taken prisoner. The men had no uniform and it could not be told to which party many of the dead belonged. Most of the Whigs wore a piece of white paper on their hats in front, and many of the men on each side, being excellent riflemen, this paper was a mark at which the Tories often fired, and several of the Whigs were shot in the head. The trees behind which both Whigs and Tories occasionally took shelter were grazed by the balls; and one tree in particular on the left of the Tory line, at the root of which two brothers lay dead, was grazed by three balls on one side and by two on the other.
"In this battle, neighbors, near relations and personal friends fought against each other, and as the smoke would from time to time blow off, they would recognize each other. In the evening, on the next day, the relations and friends of the dead and wounded came in, and a scene was witnessed truly affecting to the feelings of humanity.
"After the action commenced, scarcely any orders were given by the officers. They fought like common soldiers and animated their men by their example, and they suffered severely. Captains Fall, Dobon, Smith, Bowman and Armstrong were killed, and Captains Houston and M'Kissick wounded. Of the Tories Captains Cumberland, Murray and Worlick were killed, and Captain Carpenter wounded. Few either of the officers or men had ever been in battle before." [914]

21 June. Leaving Rawdon in charge of the garrison there, Cornwallis departed Camden and began his return personal visit to Charlestown.[915] On August 20th he wrote Germain: "I set out on the 21st of June for Charlestown, leaving the command of the Troops on the frontier to Lord Rawdon, who was, after Brigadier General Paterson, the Commandant of Charlestown, the next Officer in rank to me in the Province."

21-22 June. Rutherford remained at Ramseur's Mill for two days following the battle, having sent Davie and other mounted troops to pursue and round up any remaining loyalist resistance in the neighborhood. Word came in on the 22nd that Colonel Samuel Bryan was assembling another group of loyalists at the "forks of the Yadkin, in the north end of Rowan County adjoining Surry about 75 miles East of Ramsours." However, by this time

[913] CNC15 p. 7.
[914] GAM2 pp. 225-226, WNC pp. 227-232, SNC pp. 51-62, CSS pp. 1117-1120.
[915] AR80 pp. 230-231.

Rutherford's North Carolina and South Carolina militia force of about 1200 had dwindled to a mere 200. Even so, the shock of Ramseur's was enough to send Bryan flying with 800 loyalists, many of whom (like some of Moore's men) were not even armed, hurrying along the east side of the Yadkin to join McArthur and the 71st at Cheraws. What was left then of Rutherford's contingent, meanwhile, dispersed temporarily with his permission, while Davie and small groups of others remained in the field. However, by 13 July (which see) Rutherford had to some extent reconstituted his command.[916]
Memorial of Captain Henry Strouse, 13 Nov 1782: "He served the King's Government since 1780 when he received orders on 22 Jun 1780 to embody his company and march to take the rebels, Captain Smith and Captain Nyton, and the men under them, who were stationed to break the communications between Colonel Samuel Bryan and the Loyalists who were coming to join him. He did this on 23 Jun 1780, and marched them prisoners to Major McArthur, who commanded at Cheraws on the Peedee. He was also at Hanging Rock, under the command of Colonel Bryan, and also at the defeat of General Gates."[917]

Memorial of Capt. Robert Turner, N.C. Volunteers, who raised a company for Col. Samuel Bryan's Regiment: "He recruited a full company of volunteers from 21 Jun 1780 to 27 May 1781, and joined Major McArthur of the British Troops under Lord Cornwallis at Peedee and from thence, marched to and engaged in the battle of Hanging Rock. Then he marched his volunteers as a flank guard to the British Troops to James River in Virginia, where Lord Cornwallis directed, in writing, that Captain Turner, along with several others, return to Charlestown. They were to receive pay from 21 Jun 1780--27 May 1781, the time that they embarked at Westover in Virginia for Charlestown…"[918]

22 June. At Turnbull's request, Rawdon ordered 60 British Legion dragoons under Capt. David Kinlock[919] to reinforce Turnbull who had moved with some of his corps to Brown's Crossroads (see 24 June.) Notwithstanding, Rawdon directed that if the rebels came out in large numbers, Kinlock was to return to Camden and Turnbull to Rocky Mount. To further strengthen these border defenses, he also sent Maj. John Carden with 100 from the Prince of Wales Regt., along with a number of wagons of arms, powder and shot, to Rocky Mount.[920]

22 June. Ferguson with 152 men of the Corps bearing his name, having marched from Nelson's Ferry to Thompson's Plantation then the Saluda River (above the mouth of the Broad River), arrived at Ninety Six. He subsequently moved 16 miles to Williams' Plantation (home of whig leader James Williams) in Fair Forest, where he erected some field works which were to become the basis for Fort Williams, and which became a collecting and defensive point for loyalists under Col. Robert Cunningham. [921]
Allaire. "Thursday, 22d. Got in motion at twelve, and marched ten miles to the fording place, Saluda river; crossed the men and baggage in a scow, and forded the horses; continued our march six miles to Ninety-Six, where we halted. It is a village or country town-contains about twelve dwelling houses, a court-house and a jail, in which are confined about forty Rebels, brought in prisoners by the friends to Government, who have just now got the opportunity, and gladly embrace it, many of them having been obliged before this to hide in swamps to keep from prison themselves. Ninety-Six is situated on an eminence, the land cleared for a mile around it, in a flourishing part of the country, supplied with very good water, enjoys a free, open air, and is esteemed a healthy place. Here were condemned seventy-five friends to Government at one court; five were executed-the others got reprieved."

22 June. Balfour crossed the Saluda Ferry on his way to Ninety Six. Shortly after he reached the latter, he found friends not "so numerous as expected." Lambert also mentions that Balfour distrusted Capt. Richard Pearis who had, on his own, negotiated many of the rebels of the area into laying down their arms earlier in the month.[922]

22 June. De Kalb arrived at Hillsborough. Sometime prior to that on the marched there he was joined by Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington with 6 cannon and three under-strength companies of artillery.[923]

22 June. Governor Thomas Jefferson, in council, to Col. William Campbell: "Orders have been sent to the county lieutenants of Montgomery and Washington, to furnish 250 of their militia to proceed in conjunction with the Carolinians against the Chickainoggas. You are hereby authorized to take command of the said men. Should the Carolinians not have at present such an expedition in contemplation, if you can engage them to concur as volunteers, either at their own expense or that of their State, it is recommended to you to do it. Take great care to distinguish the friendly from the hostile part of the Cherokee nation, and to protect the former while you severely punish the latter. The Commissary and Quarter-Master in the Southern department is hereby required to furnish you all the aid of his department. Should the men, for the purpose of dispatch [sic], furnish horses for themselves to ride, let them be previously appraised, as in cases of impress, and for such as shall be killed, die, or be lost in the service, without any default in the owner, payment shall be made by the public. An order was lodged with Col. Preston for 1,000 lbs. of powder from the lead mines for this expedition; and you

[916] SAW2 p. 197, MLW4A pp. 163-164, GAM2 p. 227.
[917] CLS p. 421.
[918] CLS p. 422.
[919] For a biography of Kinlock, see SDR p. 95.
[920] SDR p. 89.
[921] LCR p. 104, BRG p. 137.
[922] LSL p. 107.
[923] KJO pp. 10, WNA, JLG1 p. 295, CBA p. 509.

receive herewith an order for 500 lbs. of powder from Col. Flemings for the same purpose, of the expenditure of which you will render account." [924]
In a letter of 12 Aug. 1780 to Gov. Abner Nash, Jeffferson mentions that Col. Campbell in the month of June was directed to raise "500 men from our Counties of Washington and Montgomery in order to destroy the Cherokee towns of Chickamogga."[925]

23 June. Turnbull, out of Rocky Mount with a detachment of New York Volunteers and some loyal militia under Col. Mathew Floyd, met up with Huik's and Col. James Ferguson's joint detachments at Brown's Crossroads. He shortly after ordered the two to Bullock's Creek and Turkey Creek to awe the rebels, while foraging wheat and corn there as well.[926]

24 June (or thereabouts). Bullock's Creek Ford (York County, S.C.) Kinlock and *his* detachment of Legion dragoons (as opposed to Huik's) met up with with Turnbull at Brown's Crossroads. Turnbull then sent them on a foraging and scouting expedition along the west side of the Catawba River; while at the same time, having Huik and James Ferguson's men raid through the Turkey Creek and Bullock's Creek area -- a known center for rebel sympathizers. Huik and Ferguson for their part encountered a small group of whigs and whom they dispersed, killing and capturing a few; at a location near where Quinn's Road crossed Bullock Creek in the west part of New Acquisition. [927]

30 June. Cornwallis, at Charlestown, to Clinton: "After having thus fully stated the present situation of the two Carolinas, I shall now take the liberty of giving my opinion, with respect to the practicability and the probable effort of farther operations in this quarter, and my own intentions, if not otherwise directed by your Excellency. I think, that with the force at present under my command (except there should be a considerable foreign interference) I can leave South Carolina in security, and march about the beginning of September, with a body of troops, into the back part of North Carolina, with the greatest probability of reducing that province to its duty. And if this be accomplished, I am of opinion, that (besides the advantage of possessing so valuable a province) it would prove an effectual barrier for South Carolina and Georgia; and could be kept, with the assistance of our friends there, by as few troops as would be wanted on the borders of this province, if North Carolina should remain in the hands of our enemies. Consequently, if your excellency should continue to think it expedient to employ part of the troops at present in this province, in operations in the Chesapeak[e], there will be as many to spare, as if we did not possess North Carolina. If I am not honoured with different directions from your Excellency before that time, I shall take my measures for beginning the execution of the above plan about the latter end of August, or beginning of September, and shall apply to the officer commanding his Majesty's ships for some co-operation, by Cape Fear, which at present would be burthensome to the navy, and not of much importance to the service."[928]

Late June. On 21 June, and just after Ramseur's Mill, Sumter received authorization from North Carolina officials to seize and impress wagons, horses, and provisions of loyalist to supply his own troops, while giving a receipt in the name of that state for any such confiscations. He then rounded up some horses, and camped at Hagler's Hill (a tributary of Sugar Creek) with a 105 men; later moving further east of the Catawba to Clem's Branch of Sugar Creek some 14 miles below Charlotte.[929] In two weeks of training, some of it involving activities like wrestling, contests of strength, and proper use and handling of firearms, and presumably, for those with rifles, some marksmanship, he had 500 men well organized and officered. Given how they later fought at Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock and Blackstock's, Sumter can be considered to have trained his men well. On 4 July he then emerged from hiding and camped at Old Nation Ford[930] on the Catawba. Although some sources say that Col. James Williams joined him with a small party from the Ninety Six region about this time, Williams' biographer, William T. Graves, says that Williams did not join Sumter until after the battle at Hanging Rock on 6 August. [931]
Ramsay: "His [Sumter's] followers were, in a great measure, unfurnished with arms and ammunition, and they had no magazines from which they might draw supply. The iron tools, on the neighboring farms, was worked up for their use by common blacksmiths into rude weapons of war. They supplied themselves in part with bullets by melting the pewter with which they were furnished by private housekeepers. They sometimes came to battle when they had not three rounds a man, and some were obliged to keep at a distance, till, by the fall of others, they were supplied with arms. When they proved victorious they were obliged to rifle the dead and wounded of their arms and ammunition to equip them for their next engagement." [932]

Late June. [skirmish] Bullock's Creek (Chester or York County, S.C.) Chesney[933]: "(A) number of loyalists assembled at Sugar Creek and the waters of Fair Forest[934] under the command of Col. Balfour, I took protection

[924] GDH3 p. 135.
[925] CNC15 pp. 47-48.
[926] SDR pp. 89-90.
[927] SDR pp. 90-91.
[928] COC pp. 12-13.
[929] Regarding the location of Clem's Branch, which is understood to have been at a spot on the Lancaster, S.C. and Mecklenberg, N.C. county borders, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/clems-branch.htm
[930] Old Nation Ford was near where U.S. Highway 21 crosses Catawba River at Fort Mill.
[931] HMS p. 8, MSC1 pp. 592-593, BGC pp. 57-58, GJW p. 29, SDR p. 87.
[932] RSC2 p. 130, RHA2 p. 487.
[933] Chesney was one among a number of South Carolinians responding to Sir Henry Clinton's call for recruits.

the 25th of June 1780 from Isaac Grey, Captain South Carolina Regiment. About the middle of June I embodied with the Militia as Lieutenant and I commanded in an affair at Bullock's Creek where the rebel Party was defeated in attempting to cross the ford. I then joined Colonel Balfour and was in an affair at James Wood's house above the Iron-Works on Pacolet but not finding the opposition there that we expected, returned again to Fair Forest; Col. Balfour then returned to Ninety Six, and Major [Patrick] Ferguson succeeded to the command under the title of Colonel and Inspector General of Militia."

Late June. In the Wake of Ramseur's Mill, Col. Samuel Bryan marched with 700-800 loyalists to Maj. McArthur's camp at Cheraws. Only two thirds of Bryan's men were armed, and these indifferently. However, after this was corrected, they were subsequently posted to Hanging Rock. Cornwallis wrote to Lord Germain, on 20 August 1780: "And about the same time [as Ramseur's Mill], notwithstanding my injunctions to the contrary, another body of Loyalists rose at the forks of the Yadkin under Col. Bryan (driven to it, as they said, by the most barbarous persecution,) and after a long and difficult march joined Major McArthur at the Cheraws to the amount of upwards of 700 Men."[935]

Late June. Near the end of the month, provisions were so scarce around Hillsborough that de Kalb marched his troops towards the Peedee country. He went no farther, however, than Coxe's Mill near Buffalo Ford on the Deep River; where he arrived early July. There being no magazine established or commissary appointed for him by the state of North Carolina to purchase supplies, much of the time after his arrival in the state was spent having his men collect food; while making an effort to establish a small depot. He unsuccessfully tried to persuade Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell with the North Carolina militia in his front to fall back and join him. Caswell claimed his own lack of provisions prevented such a move. As well as the Maryland and Delaware Continentals, de Kalb had with him Lieut. Col. Carrington's detachment of three companies of artillery, including five cannon; that had joined him on his march through Virginia.[936]

Late June. Volunteers of North Carolina, with some from South Carolina and Georgia, together amounting to about 300, began embodying in the southwest part of North Carolina under Col. Charles McDowell; with little or no coordination as yet with the higher state militia managers of North Carolina and who were largely uninvolved in the proceedings; in part because the latter, such as Richard Caswell, were occupied with pressing matters elsewhere.

[934] Fair Forest is just north of the Tyger River.
[935] TCS p. 91.
[936] WNA, RSC2 p. 138-139, MLW4A pp. 167-168, RNC p. 240.

JULY 1780

July. [skirmish] Big Glades (Ashe County, N.C.) In spite of Ramseur's Mill, there were still areas in western North Carolina where the loyalists and tories were active. And, as stated in the introduction to this book, there were many minor skirmishes that took place in the course of the war in general which are either entirely unknown, or else buried away in rare volumes, contemporary letters and or pension statements of former militia men. One such action then was Big Glades, which North Carolina historian, John Arthur Preston, among other similar events, records thusly: "From Robert Love's pension papers it appears that the first battle in which he took part was when he was in command of a party of Americans in 1780 against a party of Tories in July of that year. This band of Tories was composed of about one hundred and fifty men, and they were routed 'up New River at the Big Glades, now in Ashe County, North Carolina, as they were on the way to join Cornwallis.'… 'In the year 1780 this declarent [sic] was engaged against the Torys at a special court first held on Tom[']s creek down the New river, and afterwards upon Cripple creek; then up New river…then, afterwards at the Moravian Old Town…making an examination up to near the Shal~w [Shallow] Ford of the Yadkin…routing two parties of Tories in Guilford County, hanging one of the party who fell into his hands up the New River, and another, afterwards, whom they captured in Guilford.' This activity may explain the presence of the mysterious battle ground in Alleghany [Allegheny] County." [937]

July. The Hessian Regt. von d'Angelleli was sent from Savannah to Charlestown. This made it the third Hessian regiment present in the South Carolina capital, along with von Huyne and von Dittfurth.

July. Sometime in this month, "tory" Sam Brown, known as "Plundering Sam" and with a nototious reputation (deserved or no) for theft and murder, was shot and killed by an assailant at the the home of Dr. Andrew Thompson on Tyger River. See DKM p. 123 and also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/tyger.htm

Early July. [skirmish] Lawson's Fork [of the Pacelot River] (Spartanburg, S.C.) This event occurred near modern Glendale, S.C. [938]
J.B.O. Landrum, S.C. historian: "It is said that Capt. Patrick Moore escaped from the slaughter of the battle of Ramsour's mill, when his brother with a few men retired to Cornwallis' camp. Among the Whigs there was a great anxiety to capture Moore, whose influence and mischief was damaging the American cause. Maj. Joseph Dickson, Capt. William Johnson and the veteran William Martin, who had served in the French and Indian wars, were sent with a party to capture him. On Lawson's fork, near Wofford's old iron works (now Glendale), the parties met and a skirmish ensued, in which Capts. Johnson and Moore had a personal encounter. Moore was finally overpowered and captured. It was, however, a desperate contest, in which Johnson, received several sword wounds in the head, and one on the thumb of his right hand. While conducting his prisoners towards the Whig lines, a short distance away, he saw several British troops approaching him. He attempted to fire his loaded musket at them, but the blood from his bleeding thumb wet the priming. This misfortune on his part enabled his prisoner to escape, and perceiving his own danger, he fled to a thicket near by, thus eluding the grasp of his pursuers. Shortly afterwards he joined his command." [939]

1 July. Coming by sea from Charlestown, the British occupied Georgetown. McCrady, by contrast and on the other hand, speaks of this taking place about the end of June when Capt. John Plumer Ardesoif of the Royal Navy arrived with Clinton's proclamation to which many of the habitants agreed to comply. Not long after, Maj. James Wemyss with the 63rd Regt. arrived there by boat and commenced formation of the local loyal militia. Presumably, what whig militia were there, if any, left when or just before the British arrived.[940]

1 July. Sumter shifted camp from Hagler's Branch to Catawba Old Town, located 14 miles south of Charlotte and on Clem's Branch of Sugar Creek. [941]

2 July. De Kalb marched to Chatham Court House, N.C., where he stayed for two days after, leaving on the 5th. [942]

2 July. Kinlock returned from patrolling twelve miles along the Catawba River and reunited with Turnbull at Brown's Crossroads (see 24 June.) Following this, he then left the lalter and rode to be with Maj. Thomas Mecan and the 23rd who Rawdon had been sent out from Camden, and to the Waxhaws area, on a separate police and foraging mission. [943]

3 July. Cornwallis to Balfour (the latter still at Ninety Six): "*Entre Nous* I am afraid of his [Ferguson's] getting to the frontier of N. Carolina & playing some cussed trick."[944]

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[937] John Preston Arthur, *History of Western North Carolina* (1914), ch. 5.
[938] MSC1 p. 633, LSC p. 7, ONB2 p. 190.
[939] LCR pp. 129-130.
[940] MSC1 pp. 641, 647, LSL p. 119.
[941] SDR p. 93.
[942] KJO p. 10.
[943] SDR p. 93.
[944] WCO p. 205, PRO. 30/11/78, ff. 3-4. See also Cornwallis to Clinton, 29 Aug. 1780, SCV1 pp. 261-264.

4 July. Sumter established yet another camp (see 1 July); this time on the east side of Catawba some four miles from Old Nation Ford. Among those who joined him there were Col. James Williams of the Little River militia. Turnbull was shortly after informed that Sumter had 1,300 with him when the actual number was about half that amount.[945]

4 July. Maj. General Horatio Gates, on his way south to take command of the southern army, wrote from Fredericksburg, Virginia, to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, asking (upon Morgan's request) that Col. Daniel Morgan be promoted to Brigadier General; which petition was shortly after acceded to.
Gates also wrote to Lincoln on this date: "The series of Misfortunes you have experienced, since you were doomd [sic] to the Command of the Southern Department, has affected me exceedingly. I feel for you most sensibly. -- I feel for myself who am to succeed, to what? To the command of an Army without Strength -- a Military Chest without Money. A Department apparently deficient in public Spirit, and a Climate that encreases [sic] Despondency instead of animating the Soldiers Arm. I wish to save the Southern States. I wish to recover the Territories we have lost. I wish to restore you to your Command and to reinstate you to that Dignity, to which your Virtues, and your Perseverance, have so justly entitled you: -- with me you have experienced that the Battle is not the strong.[946] Poor Burgoyne in the pride of Victory was overthrown. Could the Enemy's Triumph over you, meet with the like Disgrace, I should be content to die in Peace, so might America be free and Independent; and its future Happiness under God rest solely upon Itself. You will oblige me very much by communication any Hints or Information, which you think will be useful to me in my Situation. You know I am not above Advice, especially where it comes from a good Head and a sincere Heart. Such I have always found yours to be; and as such, shall always venerate and esteem both. I mean not by this to urge you to divulge Matters the obligation of your Parole of Honor, commands you to conceal; I only ask you for the knowledge you have acquired at the Charte du pais. The Whigs and Tories of the Southern States, and how you would advise me to conduct, in regard to all those. The Enemy I must judge of from what I see, and what I will by every Means endeavor to know."[947]

4 July. Col. James Williams, with Sumter at "Camp Catawba, Old Nation [Ford]," wrote his wife on this date: "I expect you have heard of Moore's defeat [at Ramseur's Mill], in the fork of the Catawba by a detached party from General Rutherford, under Capt. [William] Falls, not exceeding 350, that defeated 1300 tories, and took their baggage, with about 500 horses and saddles and guns, and left 35 on the field dead. Since that [or "since then"] General Caswell has defeated the English at the Cheraws, and cut off the 71st Regiment entirely.[948] I can assure you and my friends that the English have never been able to make a stand in North Carolina yet, and they have slipt [slipped] their time now, for they are retreating to Charlestown with all rapidity. From this you may see, under the blessing of God that we will soon relieve our distressed families and friends; so bear up with fortitude till that happy day comes."[949]

4 July. Excerpt from the diary of an unnamed Captain in the Virginia line being held prisoner in Charlestown in 1780:
"July 4th. This day was appointed for a general meeting of officers at Haddrell's Point, to celebrate the Independency of the Thirteen United States of America. The following toasts were drank on the occasion:
"1st. The Free and Sovereign Independent States of America.
2nd. The Honorable the Continental Congress.
3rd. His Most Christian Majesty the King of France.
4th. His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain.
5th. May impartial justice guide the other powers of Europe.
6th. Stability and firmness to the Alliance between France and America.
7th. Gen. Washington and the American Army.
8th. The American Navy.
9th. The American Ministry at Foreign Courts.
10th. May the States of America be always found a sure refuge and an asylum against despotism and oppression.
11th. May the sword never be drawn but in the cause of justice.
12th. The immortal memory of those patriots and warriors who have fallen in the present war, in defence of the rights of mankind.
13th . Our brethren in captivity, suffering in the glorious cause of liberty.
"From each toast there followed a discharge of thirteen pistols and three cheers. That night the barracks were illuminated."

The officers who gathered were later, and understandably, reprimanded by the British for their conduct. Pistols were confiscated and the officers were threatened with close confinement for such behavior in future. British prisoners themselves, by the way, were known to have not dissimilar revels when incarcerated; but in their case, of course, for such events as the King's Birthday or St. George's Day.[950]

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[945] SDR p. 95
[946] Lincoln had been among Gates' division commanders at Saratoga.
[947] GAH p. 283.
[948] This report regarding Caswell's "defeating" the 71st at Cheraws turned out to be false; though the whigs were ostensibly causing the British some trouble there. See 24 July 1780.
[949] GDH3 pp. 135-137.
[950] *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. I, No. 7, Richmond, VA. 1835, p. 342.

5 July. A detachment of 40 mounted militia were sent by Sumter down the east side of Catawba to Wade's Mill, ten miles northeast of Rocky Mount. Learning of this but not being certain of Sumter's numbers, Turnbull retired with his force to Rocky Mount; which he proceeded to fortify. The same day Turnbull received a message from Rawdon saying he had sent ordered Maj. Thomas Mecan and the 23rd Regt from Camden to Waxahws with instructions to disarm all who did not enroll in the militia; as well as instructions to collect any grain that might be found and have it stored at Rugeley's.[951]

5 July. The Maryland and Delaware regiments, along with Carrington's Virginia artillery, under de Kalb crossed the Deep River and reached Coxe's (or Wilcox's) Mill.[952]

5 July. General Richard Caswell, at "Camp ten miles south of Ramsay [Ramsey's Mill?]," on this date wrote to Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington: "I had your favor from Chatham Court House, and also one from Col. Collier, and am much obliged by your information.
"Nothing new has happened in this part of the country since your departure. Donaldson's party left him at Cole's Bridge last Friday night, on the approach of 400 horse, they say from the Cheraws, 200 of which were British; since which I have heard nothing from that quarter. I shall wait on the Baron de Kalb to-day, and will fix the time and place of our joining. He is to be this day at Wilcox's [also known informally as Coxe's] Iron Works.[953] If it will not be attended with danger to the troops to move from Salisbury, I presume Gen. Rutherford will join me, in consequence of my letter by your favor, on the upper part of Deep River. Pray present my compliments to the General, and let him know I expect to hear from him on that subject daily.
"From you, I flatter myself I shall frequently hear. I am, with great esteem, dear Sir…"[954]

6 July. De Kalb remained at Coxe's (also, and more properly, Wilcox's) Iron Mill (or foundry) on the Deep River to collect provisions. The North Carolina Militia force, now under Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell (rather than his son William) and headed towards Camden, was in advance of him at Mask's Ferry on the Peedee River. Near Caswell on the same route was Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield with 300 Virginia State Troops. The country lying between Coxe's Mill and Camden was extremely sterile, and impracticable to pass through at this time, such that a supply magazine was much wanted by the Americans. This and lack of wagons and provisions, prompted de Kalb to march by way of Charlotte into South Carolina instead of directly to Camden.[955]

7 July. Upon hearing report of a British force (under Maj. Mecan) approaching Waxhaws, Sumter moved his men towards there. However, not finding the enemy present, he returned to Old Nation Ford. There he gave his men permission to his men return home to secure provisions, recruit more volunteers, and harvest crops. Although most did so, a few stayed to guard the camp and its supplies. Meanwhile, Maj. Mecan and the 23rd Regt., who actually had been in the area not been very far distant, withdrew to Hanging Rock, but left Capt. Kinlock and his Legion dragoons (but whom Sumter's men somehow missed.) Kinlock was subsequently joined by some of Col. Henry Rugeley's Camden militia.[956]

9 July. Allaire: "Sunday, 9th. The American Volunteers moved from Ninety-Six at seven o'clock in the evening, under the command of Captain [Abraham] DePeyster, and marched seven miles to Island Ford, of Saluda river, on our way to meet a party of Rebels that were making approaches towards our lines. Dr. [Uzal] Johnson[957] and I being late before we left our old quarters, without any guide, got out of the road; found our mistake at a mill, three miles from the road we ought to have taken. It turned out to be no great loss, as we have supplied ourselves with a grist of corn for our horses. We came up to the detachment at one o'clock in the morning. Our baggage had not arrived, which put us to the necessity of going to a house to lodge..."

10 July. Admiral de Ternay's convoy disembarked Lieut. Gen. Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur Comte de Rochambeau and 6,000 French troops at Newport, Rhode Island; the first division of what ultimately was to be 12,000 men being sent by France to aid the Americans.[958]

10 July. By this date, the 1st Bttn. DeLancey's under Col. John Harris Cruger, the 3rd Bttn., New Jersey Volunteers under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, and a detachment of the 16th Regt. were directed to move by way of Augusta, where they stayed a short while,[959] to reinforce Balfour and Ferguson at Ninety Six. During their subsequent year-long deployment at Ninety Six, Cruger's and Allen's men were involved in many small skirmishes in the region, most of them unrecorded: Ninety Six being by far the most populous and powerful district in western South Carolina. Cornwallis, in letter to the ministry, on 20 August 1780 wrote: "[The Ninety Six district had available] seven loyalist battalions available totaling 4000 men, 1500 of which could be ready at short notice for defense of the frontier or any other home service...such militia can be of little use for distant

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[951] SDR p. 97.
[952] KJO p. 10, GHA3 pp. 390-391.
[953] With respect to the specific site of Wilcox's Iron works and nearby landmarks, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/thompson.htm
[954] GHC p. 309.
[955] WNA, GHA3 pp. 390-391.
[956] SDR pp. 98-101.
[957] Loyalist surgeon Dr. Uzal Johnson, like Allaire, kept a diary that still survives. In 2002, it was edited and published by Bobby Gilmer Moss under the title *Uzal Johnson, Loyalist Surgeon, A Revolutionary Diary* (see bibliography.)
[958] MLW4A pp. 252-253, 257-258, FWI p. 183.
[959] It is not quite clear exactly when Cruger arrived at Augusta (from Savannah) or how long he remained, Brown ostensibly having been in place their in advance of him.

operations as they will not stir without a horse, and on that account your lordship will see the impossibility of keeping a number of them together without destroying the country." [960]

10 July. Turnbull ordered Capt. Huik with 20 mounted N.Y. Volunteers, some 50 mounted militia and 35-40 Legion dragoons with instructions to capture Bratton and McClure who it was believed were near or at the Bratton home along the South Fork of Fishing Creek, telling him "push the rebels as far as you may deem convenient." Among the militia accompanying Huik was Lieut Col. John Adamson of Camden loyal militia, Col. James Ferguson and Maj. John Owens of the Rocky Mount militia, and possibly as well (though it isn't clear) Capt. Henry Houseman. Later this same day then, Huik bivouacked at Bishop's Plantation.[961]

11 July. Huik stopped early in the day at the Adair Plantation for some forage, and later in the afternoon passed on to Bratton's Plantation. He did not, however, as intended find Bratton or McClure there. Afterward, rather than fall back to safer ground he choose to camp at Williamson's Plantation about a quarter mile to the southeast of Bratton's. By the morning of the 11th, word reached the whigs of Huik's presence; and companies under Bratton, McClure, Lacey, Hill, Moffitt and Andrew Neale collected at Sumter's camp at Old Nation Ford resolved to strike at him (Sumter himself was at Salisbury, N.C. arranging to secure supplies.) By sunset the party, numbering 250 to 300 arrived in the area of Walker's Mill. Later that evening, by a stroke of circumstance, a party of this same group managed to capture Maj. John Owens of Col. James Ferguson's Rocky Mount loyal militia. Sometime afterward, Owens agreed to act as a spy for the whigs as the condition of his release.[962]

11 July. Col. Elijah Clark with a 140-150 mounted men after collecting at Freeman's Fort (named after Col. Holman Freeman and his brother John Freeman) in modern Elbert County in upper Georgia crossed the Savannah (at a private ford six miles above Petersburg and ten miles west of modern Abbeville) with the intent of unting with Col. Charles McDowell's force gathering in North Carolina. Yet when Clark learned that a strong corps of loyalists barred his passage, he and his men decided it was more prudent to return to Georgia and disperse until they could collect a more sizable body of men. In spite of this, Maj. (also given as Col.) John Jones with 35 of Clark's men decided to resume the march on their own. They passed themselves off as a group of loyalists; by which means they were able to traverse the country, ultimately passing the head waters of the Tyger River on their way north.[963]

12 July. [battle] "HUCK'S DEFEAT," also Williamson's Plantation, Brattonsville (York County, S.C.) Whigs under Colonel William Bratton, Capt. John McClure, and another group under Col. William Hill and Capt. Edward Lacey attacked Capt. Christian Huik's contingent at Williamson's Plantation. Huik having previously left White's Mill[964] (in modern Chester County) had, on orders from Turnbull, went in search of Bratton and McClure, but not finding them at the Bratton home had made camp at Williamson's plantation nearby (in modern Brattonsville.) He had posted handbills calling inhabitants to renew allegiance to the King, while carrying out a program of threats and intimidation that outraged local whigs. Bratton and McClure first moved to attack Huik themselves, but were then joined by men from Sumter's camp (situated at this time on Clem's Branch east of the Catawba in Lancaster County.) The band when assembled was comprised of four groups: those under Bratton and McClure; those under Lacey; those under Col. William Hill and Col. Andrew Neal; and those under John Moffit (also spelled Moffet). At the time, Sumter himself was in Salisbury with a few men seek more money, arms, and recruits. When first gathering to go after Huik, Neale, Bratton, Lacey, Hill, et al. had, it is estimated, some 500 to possibly 800 men, but as they approached and became engaged their force had lessened to 250-350 (Ramsay gives the number as 133.) This shrinking of their force has been ascribed to the tendency of militia to come and go as they pleased -- and or, perhaps for some, last minute jitters (they were, after all, attacking regulars.) Many pension statements seem to indicate that Andrew Neale was made the commander of the expedition; which given his veteran qualifications and experience would have made sense. Lacey, in some subsequent histories, has also been spoken of as the leader of the collected group, but probably only because he had brought the most men with him: the militia men in practice generally answering only to their immediate superior. Among the soldiers also present with Bratton, Neale, and Lacey were Maj. Richard Winn, and Capt. Andrew Love.[965] Huik had started out in June with some 35 British Legion cavalry, 20 mounted New York Volunteers, and 60 loyalist militia, and probably gaining at least a few more loyalist militia who stayed with him along the way. Tarleton gives his strength as 110, while Allaire speaks of 17 British Legion,18 New York Volunteers and 25 militia. Based on these accounts Huik's detachment ranged anywhere from 70 to 125.

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[960] "Destroying the country" refers to the large quantity of grain or else grazing required to feed horses. DKM p. 142.
[961] SDR pp.101-102.
[962] SDR pp.101-104.
[963] DKM pp. 78-79, MSC1 pp. 611-613, Rev. William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia*, pp. 244-245, LCR p. 115. For a sketch of Jones, who was from Burke County, GA., see WHG p. 533.
[964] White's Mill was on Fishing Creek about ten miles west of Land's Ford across the Catawba River
[965] Although some historians include Col. Samuel Watson also, it would seem this is a mistake and he was not present at Huck's Defeat (whether Samuel Watson "Jr." who *was* at Huck's Defeat is connected with Samuel Watson is not clear and it is speculated that this "Jr." was *possibly* a nephew.) With respect to another important whig leader, Col. James Williams, William T. Graves notes that he was probably gathering recruits and seeing to home and family in Ninety-Six at the time of Huik's defeat; nor was he present at Hanging Rock on Aug. 6th. Says Ramsay: "Colonel Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, in particular, was indefatigable in collecting and animating the friends of Congress in that settlement. With these he frequently harassed the conquerors." RSC2 p. 137, JTR p. 486-487.

Huik's provincial troops were lying without proper pickets; with only a sentinel posted in the road at each end of their camp. At dawn, the whigs in two groups, quietly and stealthily approaching from opposite sides, surprised the sleeping camp. The fighting that ensued lasted an hour; after which most of the loyalist force was killed wounded or captured. Reports state that Huik lost 25 to 50 Killed, and more than this wounded. A number of the loyalists were hung afterwards, ostensibly in retaliation for the British doing the same to some whigs following the fall of Charlestown. Partisan losses, meanwhile, are said to have been very few. The particular significance of this battle lay in its being the first victory of militia against regulars; thereby encouraging the former to more ambitious feats and which soon followed at Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, and Musgrove's Mill. At the time of the action, Maj. Patrick Ferguson had been camped at Padget's Creek in the Fair Forest neighborhood.[966]
On August 6th, Cornwallis reported to Clinton: "The affair of Captain. Houck [sic] turned out of less consequence than it appeared at first; the Captain and three men of the Legion were killed, and Seven men of the New York Volunteers taken."[967]

Allaire (who was with Ferguson): "Wednesday, 12th. Got in motion at five o'clock in the evening, and forded Duncan's creek and Enoree river. Continued marching to Capt. Frost's, at Padget creek, eight miles from the Widow Brown's. This evening met an express with the disagreeable news of a party of ours consisting of seventeen of the Legion, eighteen York Volunteers, and twenty-five militia being defeated at Col. Bratton's, at Fishing creek.
"Thursday, 13th. Lieut. Hunt of the Legion Cavalry came to our quarters at Capt. Frost's. He was one of the party defeated the twelfth inst. He gave an imperfect account of the affair. Capt. Huck commanded the party consisting of one subaltern and seventeen dragoons of the Legion, three subalterns and eighteen New York Volunteers, twenty-five militia men. They were sent in pursuit of a Rebel party, and arrived at twelve o'clock, Tuesday night, the 11th instant, at Col. Bratton's, at Fishing creek, and were very much fatigued. They thought to rest themselves. Unfortunately a Rebel party commanded by a Col. Lacey came upon them at four o'clock in the morning of the 12th, who were in amongst them, and had possession of every pass before they where apprised of it-except a road leading towards North Carolina, where Captain Huck, with four dragoons, attempted to make off. Huck got shot through the neck, of which he died. Mr. Hunt, with one dragoon, took a foot path leading to a swamp. The militia he could give no account of..."

James Collins: "We had not proceeded far until the sentinels discovered us -- fired on us and fled. The troops were soon mounted and paraded. This, I confess, was a very imposing sight, at least for me, for I had never seen a troop of British horse before, and thought they differed vastly in appearance from us -- poor hunting shirt fellows. The leader drew his sword, mounted his horse, and began to storm and rave, and advanced on us; but we kept close to the peach orchard. When they got pretty near the peach trees, their leader called out 'disperse you d—d rebels, or I will put every man of you to the sword.' Our rifle balls began to whistle among them, and in a few minutes my Lord Hook was shot off his horse and fell at full length; his sword flew out of his hand as he fell and lay at some distance, and both lay till some of his men gathered about him and around him two or three times. At length one halted and pointed his sword downward, seemed to pause a moment, then raising his sword wheeled off and all started at full gallop. We then moved on to the house without opposition, but all at disappeared. In the yard sat two good looking fellows bleeding pretty freely, their horses standing at no great distance: one of whom was shot through the thigh."[968]

At 9 pm, Turnbull wrote Cornwallis: "I was unfortunate enough to be obliged to tell you a very Disagreeable story Some hours ago --
"Nine of our missing men have come in and one Dragoon.
"A Negroe [sic] Boy who was taken has made his Escape. and says that Lt. Adamson Fell of his horse Being much Bruised is Taken prisoner. that [sic] Seven of ours and a sergt. and two of the Dragoons are likewise wounded and taken Prisoners
"Lt McGregor and Cornet Hunt we suppose have made their Escape. But have not yet arrived -- Capt. Huik is the only Person who was killed Dead on the Spot.
"My Militia are so allarmed [sic] it will be some Days before they Recover their Spirits
"There are some wounded Militia I send Down by the Bearer in a Waggon to the Care of Doctor Hill --
"The Negroe [sic] Boy is very Intelligent He says the Rebells will send down Lt. Adamson and our wounded men Tomorrow
"By what I can Learn the only [Bait?] which Led Huik to Camp at this cursed unlucky spot was an [oat?] field that was near. But by every account the Position was very unfavourable."[969]

Turnbull, at Rocky Mount, at "one o'Clock past noon" on this date, wrote Rawdon: "By Intelligence from the other side that Kinlock had pursued the Rebells partly up the Waxhaws on Sunday last and hearing that a Noted Partizan [John] McLure was come home and Reaping his grain about twenty two miles above and that Col: [William] Bratton who lived about twelve miles farther was publishing Proclamations and Pardons to who shoud [sic] return to their duty. -- I proposed to Capt. Huick that I woud [sic] mount twenty of our men and give him some Militia to the amount of sixty to Beat up those two traitors.

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[966] CNC14 pp. 505-507 (see July 17 1780 entry, Sumter to De Kalb), TCS pp. 92-93, 127, RSC2 pp. 135-136, GHA3 p. 389, LMS pp. 169-170, HMS p. 8-11, LFB2 p. 453, MLL pp. 3-7, MSC1 pp. 592-600, BGC p. 60, BEA p. 1211. Michael C. Scoggins' recently published *The Day it Rained Militia* (SDR) is the most at length, thorough, and reliable account of the action.
[967] CNC15 pp. 258-262,
[968] James Collins, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier*, Reprint--Ayer Company Publishers, North Stratford, N.H., 1989.
[969] PRO. 30/11/2/277-278.

"The party marched from this Monday Evening and found only one of the McLures and no person at Brattons -- My order to him was not to go farther than Prudence should Direct him. He very unfortunately Encamped about a Quarter of a mile Beyond this, and was attack'd this morning about Sunrise By a Large Body of Rebells [sic] and has been Totally Defeated. Capt. Huick they Inform me is Killed. Cornet Hunt is wounded and supposed to be prisoner. Lt. Adamson and Lt. McGregor of the New York Volunteers, and all our Twenty are Missing. Ens. Cameron of the New York Volunteers, Lt. Lewis of the Militia and Twelve dragoons and Twelve Militia are Returned.
"This is a very Unfortunate affair, my Lord. If Major Ferguson does not advance from Fair Forest, or some Larger Body of Troops makes head against them I am afraid they will give us Trouble. Their success will no doubt Encourage them to pay us a Visit, and they may Distress us in Provisions.
"I hope your Lordship will be assured that what ever I Planned I thought could have been Executed without much Danger. Mr. Cameron Says the Ground they were on was not very favourable. and they advanced so Rapidly that the Dragoons had not time to mount.
"Lt. Col: [John] Moore nor Major [Nicholas Welch?] is neither of them here nor do I know where they are."[970]

On 23 July, Maj. Thomas Blount, of the N.C. Line, wrote to Gov. Abner Nash: "Three successful attacks [the first of these Blount refers to is not clear, the second and third are, respectively, Huck's Defeat and Colson's Mill] have been made on the Enemy. The particulars of the first I gave you in a former Letter. The second [Huck's Defeat] was a Party of about one hundred and thirty tories, Commanded by Colo. Ferguson, a noted tory from the Northward, and seventy Light Horse of Cathcart's Legion [the British Legion], Commanded by a Capt. Hook on the 12th Inst. by a party of 80 or 90 Militia, under the command of Colo. [Andrew] Neale. The surprise was compleat [sic]. Ferguson, Hook, a Lieut. and 11 others were killed on the ground; and a major, 2 Lieuts. & 27 taken, many of whom are since dead of their wounds; the remainder are dispersed. some accoutremnets for Light Horse & a number of Horses were also taken; of the exact number we have not yet a certain account, but it is supposed the whole. Our loss was only one man wounded."[971]

13 July (also given as the 12th). [skirmish] First Cedar Spring, also Cedar Spring (Spartanburg County, S.C.), Col. John Thomas Jr. and Major Joseph McJunkin were drawing recruits with which to join Sumter, when Ferguson sent 150 loyalists to disperse them. With 60 men, Thomas and McJunkin ambuscaded the loyalists at Cedar Spring, near Fair Forest (the name deriving, states Draper, from a large cedar tree that grew alongside the spring.) Casualties were apparently slight, but the loyalists were routed. Earlier, Thomas' father, John Sr., had taken protection, and was described as too advanced in age to take part in the resistance.[972]
Joseph Johnson: "About half an hour before day, a woman[973] came in full gallop to one of the videts [videttes], who conducted her to Colonel [Elijah] Clarke. She told him to be in readiness, either to fight or fly, as the enemy would be upon him, and they were strong. Every man was in an instant up and prepared, and the enemy entered our camp in full charge. They were firmly met, hand to hand; it was so dark, that it was hard to distinguish our friends from our enemies. The battle was warm for fifteen or twenty minutes, when the enemy gave way, and were pursued nearly a mile. We returned to the battle ground, took off all the wounded, and retreated by the iron works towards North Carolina.
"In this affair, the British lost twenty-eight of Dunlap's [Dunlop] dragoons, who were left dead on the field, besides six or seven tory volunteers, who were with him, and several who fell in the road, upon their retreat. Clarke had four killed and twenty-three wounded, most of them with the broad sword. Major Smith, of Georgia, a brave, intelligent and active officer of Clarke's regiment, was killed in the pursuit by a rifle ball. Colonel Clarke received a severe wound on the head. Colonel [Charles] Robertson -- a volunteer -- Captain Clark, and several other officers, were wounded in the same way. Captain Dunlap commenced the attack; he had sixty well equipped [sic] dragoons and one hundred and fifty volunteer mounted riflemen. About two miles below the battle-ground, Dunlap, in his retreat, was met by Ferguson; their joint forces, nearly all tories, amounted to between four and six hundred. They advanced to Berwick's Iron Works; one or two of our wounded were left there, and fell into their hands. They were well treated by Colonel Ferguson, and were left their by him. Clarke and his little band returned to North Carolina for rest and refreshment; the whole of this enterprise having been performed without one regular meal, and without regular feed for their horses."[974]

13 July. [skirmish] Gowen's Old Fort (Spartanburg or Greenville County, S.C.) Col. John Jones and his 35 men, mostly from Georgia, passing themselves off as tories surprised a sleeping loyalist force of 40 militia near the old Blackstock Road on the South Pacelot River. That the loyalists were caught asleep has led some scholars to surmise that they occupied Gowen's Fort at the time, a work originally erected for protection against the Cherokees. In any event, with 21 of his party, Jones awoke the camp, killing 1, wounding 3, and taking 32 prisoners (including the there wounded) who were paroled. They also confiscated the loyalist's best horses and guns; damaging those weapons he could not take. The next day (the 14th), the Georgians united with Col. Charles McDowell's 300 men at Earle's Ford on the east side of the North Pacelot River.[975]

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[970] PRO. 30/11/2/285-286.
[971] CNC15 p. 7.
[972] SJM, JTR pp. 516-518, DKM p.74, MSC1 pp. 608-609, MSC2 p. 746, LCR pp. 110-112, RBG p. 75, BRG 112.
[973] This apparently was Mrs. Dillard, a wife of Capt. Dillard, one of the whig officers, though some tradition gave credit for relaying the message to Mrs. John Thomas, Sr.
[974] JTR pp. 517-518.
[975] DKM p. 79-80, MSC1 pp. 612-613, LCR pp. 115-117, RBG p. 234.

13 July. Allaire: "Thursday, 13th...We left Capt. Frost's about six o'clock in the evening; forded Tyger river, continued our march twelve miles to Sugar creek. Here we found two hundred militia encamped at Wofford's old field, Fair Forest, under command of Majors [Daniel] Plummer and Gibbes [Zecharias Gibbs]. The Rebels, we hear, are collecting in force at the Catawba Nation and Broad river."

13 July. "A Return of the First and Second Draughts [of N.C. militia] from Salisbury District who have joined Rutherford's Brigade" of this date, and signed by Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington, gives a total of 334 officers and privates (with this number in turn itemized into different ranks and sub categories.) See CNC14 p. 874 and 21 July, Colson's Mill.

14 July. Allaire: "Friday, 14th. Lay encamped at Fair Forest. Every hour news from different parts of the country of Rebel parties doing mischief. Light Infantry of Gen. Brown's corps [Lieut. Col Thomas Brown, the King's Rangers] joined us at twelve o'clock at night."

14 July. Cornwallis, at Charlestown, to Clinton: "I have the satisfaction to assure your Excellency, that the numbers and dispositions of our militia, equal my most sanguine expectations. But still I must confess, that their want of subordination and confidence in themselves, will make a considerable regular force always necessary for the defence of the province, until North Carolina is perfectly reduced. It will be needless to attempt to take any considerable number of the South Carolina militia with us, when we advance. They can only be looked upon as light troops, and we shall find friends enough in the next province of the same quality; and we must not undertake to supply too many useless mouths."[976]

15 July. [skirmish] Broad River (County uncertain, South Carolina) In a letter to de Kalb of 17 July, Sumter reported "On Saturday last [the 15th] I sent a party over Broad River, who broke up an encampment of Tories that were forming there, to Secoure [sic] a passway over the River. They did them but Little damage, except that of Taking their post, which was of consequence to them, and not easy to be maintained by me, as the Tories are Very numerous in that quarter and are supported by British."[977]

15 July (also given as 14 or 16 July) [skirmish] Earle's Ford, also McDowell's Camp (Polk County, N.C.) Col. John Jones with some 35 georgia and S.C. whigs, and following his Gowen's Old Fort attack (see 13 July), retreated east and joined Col. Charles McDowell, who had 300 to 400 men in a camp situated on the North Pacelot River (most likely on the south bank.)
Meanwhile, issuing out of Prince's Fort (which was occupied by Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes with roughly 400 loyalists), Maj. James Dunlop (also Dunlap), along with 14 Provincials and 60 royal militia under Col. Ambrose Millls -- all mounted and seeking revenge for the Gowen's Old Fort -- caught up at night with Jones close by McDowell's camp. Fighting ensued in which the whigs lost 8 killed and 30 wounded. Another version states 2 of Jones' men were killed and 6 wounded. Among the wounded was Col. Jones; whose command then devolved on John Freeman. Freeman fell back, and was supported by Major Singleton, Capt. Edward Hampton[978] of McDowell's force; till finally the remainder of McDowell's corps was engaged. Dunlop was subsequently chased back to Prince's Fort. Loyalist losses were two killed, 2 wounded, and one captured.[979]
Allaire: "Saturday, 15th...Capt. Dunlap [Dunlop] made an attack upon the Rebels; drove them from their ground, took one prisoner, who informed him that the Rebels were four hundred strong. Upon this information Dunlop thought proper to retreat, as his number was only fourteen American Volunteers and sixty militia. We lost two killed, a sergeant and private wounded, and one prisoner. The loss of the Rebels is uncertain-reports are, twenty or thirty killed. Upon this news arriving, Capt. [Abraham?] DePeyster ordered the American Volunteers and militia to get in motion to support Dunlop. Capt. Frederick DePeyster, with one hundred militia men, marched twelve miles to McElwain's creek, where they met Dunlap."

Rev. James Hodge Saye (drawing on the reminiscences of Maj. Joseph McJunkin): "It is now our purpose to exhibit some of the events connected with Ferguson's movements from the time he came into the Fairforest congregation until he went into North Carolina, and the measure of resistance offered by the Whig population to his movements in what is now Union and Spartanburg Districts in South Carolina.
"In order to accomplish this object we must go back in the order of time and introduce new actors upon the stage. The first check given to Ferguson was by Gen. [actually Col.] Charles McDowell of North Carolina. No allusion is made to this transaction by any historian of South Carolina. The only account of it in any published document is found in the *Gazetteer* of Tennessee, by Eastin Morris, and is as follows: 'The American forces commanded by Col. McDowell were attacked by Ferguson near Enoree River, aided by a reinforcement of Tories and regulars. The battle was severely fought, but ended in the defeat of the British, who retreated, leaving a number of dead and more than 200 prisoners. The prisoners equaled one-third the number of the American forces.' This statement is made in such general terms as might possibly apply to the battle of Musgrove's Mill, already described, but the writer has evidence of a private nature that it was a previous affair and probably occurred in the month of July. Capt. James Thompson of Madison County, Ga., stated to the writer that he belonged to the army of Gen. McDowell.

[976] COC p. 13-14.
[977] BGC p. 62, SDR pp. 134-135.
[978] Some accounts, possibly (or not) in error, give him as Andrew Hampton, rather than Edward. McCrady speaks of Edward as one of the Hampton brothers (along with Wade, Henry, and Richard) and further adds that in October 1780 he was killed by William Cunningham at or near Fair Forest Creek, S.C. See MSC1 p. 615n.
[979] DKM p. 79-80, MSC1 pp. 613-615, RBG p. 234, SCAR vol. 3, no. 9, pp. 12-16.

"While this army was in South Carolina and lying near the home of Col. Hampton it was surprised by the British, but held its ground and drove the British from the field. Capt. Thompson was not in the main action. His captain, Joseph McDowell, had been ordered to reconnoiter, but failed to find the British. While engaged in searching for them they came and attacked the main army. He returned just as the British were retiring from the conflict, and finding that they had taken a number of prisoners, he rallied his men and as many others as would follow him, pursued the British, retook his friends and made a large number of prisoners. Living witnesses have stated to the writer that Col. Hampton's residence was on the Enoree River not far from Ford's Bridge. After this engagement Gen. McDowell retired toward North Carolina and took post near Cherokee Ford on Broad River."[980]

16 July (also given as 17 July). [skirmish] Prince's Fort, (Spartanburg, S.C.) After his raid on Jones' men at McDowell's camp (see 15 July), Dunlop withdrew to Innes' base at Prince's Fort, seven miles northwest of present day Spartanburg. Before day break the next morning (the 16th) Jones' remaining men under Freeman, and some of McDowell's under Captain Edward Hampton, all mounted and together numbering 52, went in pursuit of Dunlop and in two hours caught up with him not far from Prince's Fort. Historian Landrum suspects Dunlop was overtaken by Hampton because Dunlop was caught resting en route to Innes. 8 of his men were killed on the first fire; following which the remaning loyalists under him were routed, and a number more killed and wounded. This, of course, is the whig version of what transpired; such that it is well to bear in mind in other like instances that it is likely the loyalists would have given a different account of exactly what took place.[981]

16 July. De Kalb, at "Camp on Deep River," to General Gates: "I was honored with your letter of the 8th on the 13th, but the Express went away without calling on me; he was gone before the letter was delivered to me.
"I am happy by your arrival, for I have struggled with a good many difficulties for Provisions ever since I arrived in this State; and, although I have put the troops on short allowance of bread, we cannot get even that; no stores laid in, and no disposition made of any, but what I have done by military authority; no assistance from the legislative or Executive power, and the greatest unwillingness in the people to part with anything. Of all this I will give you a more particular account at your arrival. The design I had to move near the Enemy, to drive them from Peedee [Peedee] river a plentiful Country, has been defeated by the impossibility of subsisting on the Road, and no immediate supplies to be depended on in the first instant of a difficult march. I will prepare exact Returns, towards the time I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, of the regular Troops of the Department; but I could hardly depend on any but the Maryland and Delaware Regiments of my Division with a small number of Artillerymen and Col. Armand's Legion, and all those very much reduced by Sickness, Discharge and Desertion. This induced me to leave three pieces of Artry. [Artillery] at Roanoke river, and to send since 6 to Hillsborough, having kept eight, which I thought sufficient for so small an army.
"I am to move towards Coxe's mill [Wilcox's Iron Works], higher up on Deep River, where I am to be joined by the North Carolina Militia under M. G. [Richard] Caswell, of about 1,200; the Virginia Militia are still at Hillsborough, as you will be informed there. You may also have met with a small party of Col. Buford's remains. I wanted to keep them in the army, but lacking Arms and Clothing, he insisted on marching them to Virginia, and promised me he would join in the beginning of July. I have not heard from him since. Coln. [William] Washington and Coln. [Anthony Walton] White's regiments of horse are at Halifax [N.C.], it is said, unfit for service. I have wrote to them both several times to know their situation, but could not obtain an answer as yet. There were two troops of V. [Virginia] light Horse under Major [John] Nelson, in so bad order in respect to horses wanting saddles and every article of accoutrement that I have sent them to Halifax to refit and recruit.
"Colonel White has 25 of his Light Horse left at Hillsborough; they might serve you for an escort, if you ordered one from Camp to meet you. Let me be informed thereof in time. You will find the Army in a few days at or near Coxe's mill; your shortest road will be by Lindsey's mill, Col. Thaxton and Rocky river. Your waggons, if you have any, would go better by Chatham Court house; your Quarters will be marked near camp."[982]

17 July. On this date Sumter, at "Camp Catawba River," wrote Maj. Gen. de Kalb [with original spelling, capitalization and punctuation here retained mosty without correction, except with regard to some place names.]: "Having been well informed that you are Marching to the Reliefe of this Country, I think it my Duty to give you the Earliest Inteligence of the situation and force of the Enemy, together with such other things as appear the Most Interesting. From the best accounts the Number of British Are as follows, vize. [sic]: at George Town, 250; C. Town, 800; Beauford [Beaufort], 12; Savanah, in georgia, 300; Agusta [Augusta], 500; Sennica [Seneca] Fort, 70; Ninety-Six, 250; fair forest, 30; Rockey [Rocky] Mount, 200; Hanging Rock, 280 foot, 70 Dragoons; Camden & its Vicinity, 700; Cheraw's said to be 600; Total, 3,482.[983] This Number I Conceive to be equal to the Whole of the Brettish force, Provided every man fit for Duty was brought together from the Defrent posts, Which, if attempted, Coud not Posably [possibly] be effected en less than twelve or fifteen days' time, as to their Tory or Militia Force, Nothing Certain Can be Said, that Depending Solely upon Circomstances, and is a Matter of a Very Serious nature to this Country and Indeed to the Continent, for if they are pemitted to Retreat slowly to Charles Town, or have an opportunity of Collecting the Tories and imbodying the militia, who they Compell [sic] to do Duty, I say if they are suffered to do this they will by that means add above ten thousand men to their army -- and thereby be come so strong as Not only to Keep possession of Charles Town, but also a Great part of the State besides, and to Obviate this evil your excellency will, I hope, pardon me for the freedom

[980] SJM, LCR pp. 118-124. Respecting Cherokee Ford, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/cherokeefordsc.htm
[981] DKM pp. 81-83, LCR pp. 124-127, RBG p. 234.
[982] CNC14 pp. 503-504. Gates letter here helps to refute his supposed gross indifference to the value of cavalry that is alleged by Henry Lee ; see LMS pp. 171-172, 191-192.
[983] That is 3,482 divided into: Georgetown 250; Charlestown 800; Beaufort 12; Savannah 300; Augusta 500; Seneca Fort 70; Ninety-Six 250; Fair Forest 30; Rocky Mount 200; Hanging Rock 280 foot 70 dragoons; Camden and vicinity 700; and Cheraws 600.

I take in giving my opinion, the Method I Shoud purpose to Prevent this Junction and accumilation of force, Woud be to Detach a Body of Light Troops to take post upon the South Side of Santee River, at Neilson's [Nelson's] and Marigaultes [Manigault's] Ferries, this woud effectually Cut of their Retreat to Towns and thereby prevent them from forcing the Militia to retreat with them, or from there Gethering to gether the Forces, and also from Striping the Country of all its Resources, Which they are with the Greatest Diligence Doing, and if Not Shortly Pervented Will Leave it in a Situation Not Acceptable for Giving Scarce any Support to an army.
"When it is Considered how Vastly Weak the enemy is by being so Detached in Small parties, and the Impossibility of their being collected in a Short Time, and the certainty of their being much anoyed if that Shoud be attempted, Leaves No Room to Doubt but that one thousand or fifteen hundred Troops Might, With the Greatest propriety, Take Post at the place before mentioned, and woud unfailable answer the end Designed, Not only by perventing them from forcing the Militia into their Service and Carring off all the Horses, stock and other provisions that the country offers, But woud Render their own Retreat exceeding Difficult, if not impossible, as it Coud be effected only by the way of Georgia, the Distresses of the people of this country have been for Some Time past almost beyond Conception, in the Northerein part of the State they have Now Some Respite, I having Collected a party of men, attacked and Dispersed the enemy, So As to Cleare two Regiments of them, the Most Considerable Scirmish [Huck's Defeat, see 12 July] Happened on Wednesday Morning. The enemy's loss, Kild upon the Spot, was one Col., one Capt. & Twelve others; one Majr., one Lt. & Twenty-Seven others taken prisoners, Since Which the Number found Dead amounts to Twenty-one; the Loss very considerable among the Dragoons. I had about one hundred and thirty men in the action, the enemy twice that Number, Seventy of which were Brittesh [sic]. We Released a Number of our friends, who were fast bound with Cords and otherways Treated with Great Severity. On Saturday last I sent a party over Broad River, who Broke up an encampment of Tories that were forming there, to Secoure [sic] a passway over the River. They did them but Little Damage, except that of Taking their post, which was of Consequence to them, and not easy to be maintained by me, as the Tories are Very numerous in that quarter and are Supported by Brittish. I am destitute of almost every Requsite for war; but, notwithstanding, Can Counteract some of their Designs untill your army arives, which I have the Greatest hopes will be soon, if Not Disagreeable, shoud be exceedingly obliged by having the Route of your army for this few days to Come, as I might thereby be the better inabled to act aGainst the enemy With a probability of success."[984]

Mid July. Despite de Kalb's protesting his doing so, Col. Abraham Buford, and what was left of his Virginia Continentals, temporarily returned to Virginia due to lack of clothing, equipment and supplies. Gates, at Hillsborough, then summoned Buford back. Nonetheless, the latter was not able to return south until after the battle at Camden on 16 August. His dilatoriness, although seemingly insubordinate, was probably excusable since Greene almost ended up having to send some of these same men home for being unclothed and unequipped when he arrived to take command in December (see 20 January 1781.)
Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote to Buford on 20 July 1780: "In a Letter from Baron de Kalb of the 16th Instant is the following Paragraph, 'You may have met with a small Detachment of Colo Buford's Remains. I wanted to keep them with the Army, but wanting Arms and Cloathing [sic], he insisted on marching them to Virginia, and promised me he would join in the beginning of July. I have not heard from him since.' In the Difficulty of finding Arms and Cloathing I can find an Excuse for your Delay hitherto. Those Articles, I cannot but suppose are by this Time furnished; and in that belief, must convey my orders, that you join the Army under my Command as early as possible. But should any accident have arisen to prevent your Supplies, you will make such urgent application to the Executive Authority of the State, as the Necessity of the Case so clearly demands -- and when prepared, lose not a Moment in coming forward. I can add Nothing upon the Subject of collecting your Men, in your passage hither, which your own Judgment will not suggest."

19 July. De Kalb arrived at Hollinsworth's Farm on the Deep River.[985]

19 July. Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote to Gov, Thomas Jefferson: "When I had the Honor of seeing your Excellency at Richmond, I was taught to look forward to much Difficulty and a perplexed Department -- yet I cannot but profess that in the Course of a long and often critical Service, It has never hitherto fallen to my Lot to witness a Scene of such multiplied and encreasing [sic] Wants as my present command exhibits -- of the Militia voted by your State -- only 1438 are now upon the Ground, Commissioned and Non Commissioned Officers included, & those not so completely supplied as I either wished or expected -- The Arms were yesterday distributed among them; a few out of repair, -- but too many without Cartridge Boxes; and all destitute of Bayonet Belts; which I need scarcely tell your Excellency is the certain Loss of the Bayonet -- They are deficient also in Hatchets or light Axes; this article you will find in the List of Military Stores, and one that becomes doubly necessary from the Face of the Country in which we shall act -- These Defects are however but trifling when compared to the Weightier Considerations of Arms, Ammunition and Provision. This State is unhappily but too much at a Loss for the First -- The Casualties of the Campaign may render Issues necessary to the regular Troops, and such Volunteer Corps as I may find it expedient and practicable to embody -- this leads me to press yr [your] Excellency that, not only such Arms and Ammunition as you may allot us from the State Stores, but all Supplies from the Board of War, may meet with as immediate a Passage into this State as possible -- Upon the Subject of Provisions -- my Reports must be still less Satisfactory -- An officer just from the Baron's Head Quarters has assured me that there are often Intervals of 24 Hours -- in which the Army without Distinction are obliged to feed upon such Green Vegetables as they can find, having neither Animal Food or Corn. -- So frequent

[984] CNC14 pp. 505-507.
[985] KJO p. 10.

and total a Want must eventually break up our Camp; should not the Evil be hastily remedied. This Scarcity has unfortunately arose from several Causes, one of which can alone be corrected. The Scarcity of Crops for the Last year. The Disaffection of many of the Inhabitants; and a want of Œconomy [sic] and Management -- The Supplies have been precariously obtaind [sic] by Detachments from the Army -- whose misapplied Violence in some Instances must affect any future purchases. -- I have this Day made a Representation of our Wants in this and other respects to Governor [Abner] Nash -- General Huger has taken charge of my Dispatch, and will Personally urge such Steps to be taken by the Council of this State, as in conjunction with those I cannot but hope for from your Excellency -- may soon restore our Affairs, and enable me to prosecute my own Wishes and the Intentions of Congress."[986]

20 July. Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote Lieut. Col. Anthony White (at Richmond, VA.), of White's 1st Continental Light Dragoons waiting to be refit: "By this Time the Issue of your application to the Governor and Council of Virginia must be determined. I hope favorably to your Wishes and mine. I look up to the Cavalry for many services, in a Campaign, which from our domestic Management as well as the supposed energetic operations of the Enemy, must be a Campaign of much hazard and some enterprise on our part. The Practicability however of mounting all your Dragoons, is I fear questionable; and upon an inquiry into our Forces, I am led to confirm the Order which I presented to you at Richmond, for the Direction of your Conduct -- that it may not be mistaken, I think proper, to repeat my Intentions; that upon making the necessary Representation to Governor Jefferson, of your wants -- you will arm the Detachment lately at Petersburgh, and march the whole from thence to Hallifax [Halifax, N.C.]; leaving an intelligent industrious officer to stimulate the State Agents in their Purchases. This officer will from Time to Time communicate their progress to you; and should they succeed in procuring any considerable Number at the End of a Month or Six Weeks, he may bring them forward to the Corps; -- with such other additional supplies as may be obtained from the Government. -- After mounting such Number of both Regiments at Hallifax as the state of your Horses and Accoutrements will admit, you will proceed immediately to my Head Quarters, with such also as must action on Foot (being the Residue of both Regiments) -- An Officer with a small party, taken from those least fit to go on, must remain with the Horses to be left -- who will occasionally Report their state to you; and answer the other important Papers of quickening the Passage of your Supplies from Virginia. -- Mr. Long DQM Genl [Deputy Quarter Master General] shall have orders to afford you any assistance in his Line, to render your March easy and Expeditious.
"P.S. If from a scarcity of Army at Richmond you cannot be provided there -- some steps shall be taken to furnish you at this place." [987]

On July 22nd, Maj. Richard Call, of Washington's 3rd Continental Dragoons stationed at Halifax, N.C., wrote to Gates: "I was a few days since honored with your commands P. Q. Mr. Neal, & agreeable to your directions now send the most accurate State of the 1st & 3d Regts. Dragoons I could possibly make out in our present dismembered situation. The misadventures of this Campaign have so disconcerted us that it is hardly in my power to inform you when or what number of men will be in Readiness to join the army. It will depend greatly on the success of Colns. White & Washington, who are now in Virga. [Virginia], endeavoring to procure horses, arms, &c., tho do not think anything of a respectable party can be equipped in less than six weeks. Many of those men who have horses are deficient in other essential appointments, most of which want repairs.
"There is plenty of forage at present in this state if the horses thrive a little, but from their having been redued very low it will require some time & care to get them fit for the field again.
"Every artificer that can be got is employed and kept constantly at work."[988]

20 July. A considerable body of N.C. militia, (ostensibly) under Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory and in preparation to reinforcing Gates, assembled at Anson Court House.[989]

20 July. [ambush] Flat Rock. (Kershaw County, S.C.) Brig. Gen. Rutherford marched down the Yadkin, and directed Maj. William Richardson Davie to prevent the loyalists from foraging in the vicinity of Waxhaws. Davie with his own corps of cavalry, and reinforced with some South Carolina militia under Major [possibly Robert] Crawford, 35 warriors of the Catawba tribe of Indians under their Chief General Newriver,[990] and some Mecklenburg militia under Lieut. Col. William Haggins [Higgins, or also given as Heaggins, Huggins], then posted himself 18 miles from Hanging Rock on the north side of Waxhaws Creek. From this location, he engaged in frequent skirmishes with loyalists foraging (or plundering, depending on how one viewed it) and which latter ended up being driven back into the British lines at Hanging Rock as a result. At the time, the British at Hanging Rock needed to collect supplies on a daily basis, but, because of Davie, subsequently could not do so in the direction of Waxhaws. It then became necessary for them to draw supplies from Camden instead. After preparing an ambush on the evening of the 20th, Davie, with a portion of his dragoons and militia commanded, under Capt. Petit and, as well, Col. William Polk (who was present as an independent volunteer), in the afternoon of the 21st, about five miles below Hanging rock, captured one of these supply convoys from Camden; which contained liquor and clothing. The wagons were destroyed and the captured wagoners and escort were mounted on the horses which had been seized in the raid.[991]

[986] GAH pp. 285-286.
[987] GAH pp. 286-287.
[988] CNC14 pp. 507-508.
[989] SNC p. 62.
[990] The Catawba were newly returned to their homes after removing their families to Virginia in early June. SDR p.100.
[991] DRS pp. 8-10, LMS p. 169, SNC pp. 65-66, MSC1 p. 621, RBG p. 235, SDR pp. 136-137.

21 July. [raid] Colson's Mill, also Colston's Mill,[992] and Coulson's Mill (Stanly County, N.C.) Approximately 400 North Carolina militia under Lieut. Col. William Lee Davidson, and detached by Brig. Gen. Rutherford at Salisbury, attacked and dispersed 200 loyalists encamped at Colson's [Colston's] Mill close by the confluence of Rocky and Peedee Rivers. The loyalists lost 3 killed 4 or 5 wounded, and 10 captured. Davidson had two wounded, himself included (and as such personally went home to recuperate, and thus was not himself with Rutherford at Camden.) He subsequently reunited with Rutherford, and the latter commenced his march to join Gates. The significance of Colson's Mill lies in its being one of the first victories against the N.C. loyalists following the fall of Charleston and to that extent bolsterd and reinforced the benefit gained by Ramseur's Mill in helping to win the state over to the American cause.[993]
Pension statement of Henry Connelly of Guilford County, N.C.: "(N)ews arrived that General Lincoln was overtaken at Charlestown, and all were taken prisoners. General [William Lee] Davidson now raised several hundred men, and Colonel [Hugh] Brevard had several skirmishes with the Loyalists, in which this applicant and his company actively participated at Colson's Mills. About this time at a place in the western part of the state [N.C.] the Tories had collected to a great number and we marched against them and (met them) at Colson's Mills. This was in the month of May 1780, as well as this applicant recollects. He recollects well that it was just before or about the time of Gates' defeat at Camden."

On 23 July, Maj. Thomas Blount, of the N.C. Line, on 23 July 1780 reported to Gov. Abner Nash: "Lieut. Col. Williams, Lieut. [Col.] Davidson of the Continental Line, with a Detachment of one hundred & sixty Light Horse from Brig. Genl. Rutherford's Brigade, on the 21st Inst. made the third attack on about 500 or 600 tories, Commanded by the infamous Sam Bryan, near Colston on P.D., killed three or four, took Forty, & put the remainder to flight with more precipitation than we fled from Bryar Creek [sic]; none halted until they reached the Enemy's next Post at the Waxhaws, where they threw the whole into the utmost confusion and Consternation. Their whole time since has been employed in constructing Fortifications for their safety. Colo. Davidson was wounded in the Body, 'tis feared mortally; two Privates were also slightly wounded, but not a man killed. To Davidson's misfortune may probably be attributed their escape."[994]

21 July. Allaire: "Friday, 21st. Col. Balfour, with the Light Infantry from Ninety-Six, joined us -- we still remained at the [Fair Forest] Ford."

22 July. [skirmish] Beaver Creek Ford. (Lancaster County, S.C.) In the early hours of the 22nd, Davie was returning from the successful surprise at Flat Rock (see 20 July.) His advance guard under Capt. Petit and Col. William Polk, the latter with some dragoons escorting the prisoners, then was itself ambushed near the main branch of Beaver Creek by some unidentified loyalists (possibly some provincials.) The initial fire threw Polk's force back in confusion, and killed many of the prisoners who had been placed in the lead of the column. Very possibly some of Davie's men, either because the some of the prisoners understandably attempted escape (or else it was assumed they would or might escape) fired into the unarmed captives. Unable to regroup and fight back, the Americans retreated; having lost 2 wounded, including Capt. Petit, and 1 killed; the casualties falling mostly among the prisoners. Total British losses in this and Flat Rock action are estimated at 40, which includes prisoners taken. The specific spot of this encounter is not known, but since the creek begins at a point corresponding with the main road between Camden and Waxhaws, it is inferred that this is where the action took place, hence the Lancaster County designation.[995]

22 July. Allaire: "Saturday, 22d. The Light Infantry, American Volunteers, and three hundred militia, got in motion at seven o'clock in the evening; made a forced march of twenty-five miles to Lawson's Fork to surprise a party of Rebels, who, we were informed, lay there. We arrived at James Wood's plantation at six o'clock in the morning; greatly disappointed at finding no Rebels here. We were informed they were at Green river-twenty-five miles farther."
Alexander Chesney: "I then joined Colonel [Nesbit] Balfour and was in an affair at James Wood's house above the Iron-Works on Pacolet but not finding the opposition there that we expected, returned again to Fair Forest; Col. Balfour then returned to Ninety-Six, and Major Ferguson succeeded to the command under the title of Colonel and Inspector General of Militia."[996]

22 July. Gates, at Hillsborough, to Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens of the Virginia militia: "Provisions and carriages sufficient for the Troops under your Command being prepared, you will at Day break on Monday Morning next, march from your present Encampment, by the most convenient Route for Cox's Mills, and from thence to the Grand Camp of the Southern Army. You will proceed by easy Stages, so as not to fatigue your Troops. Upon your last Halt previous to your joining the Army, you will dispatch your Quarter Master to me, to receive Directions, where the Troops under your Command are to encamp. Confident that you will preserve the utmost Order and Regularity upon your March, practicing your Militia in that strict Discipline the same as is necessary in the Face of the Enemy, I forbear to trouble you with more pernicious Consequences, than suffering with Impunity any wanton Depredations, on the Inhabitants, our Friends and Fellow Citizens, that you will severely punish all who commit any outrages of that Sort."[997]

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[992] The correct name is Colston's, but the engagement is known in histories more familiarly as "Colson's."
[993] LMS p. 586, GAM1 p. 189, SDR p.138.
[994] CNC15 pp. 6-7.
[995] DRS pp. 8-10, RBG p. 235, MSC1 pp. 621-623.
[996] CDI.
[997] GAH p. 290.

23 July. Allaire: "Sunday, 23d. Got in motion at one o'clock in the morning, and countermarched to our old ground, Fair Forest Ford."

24 July. The two battalions of the 71st Regt., under Maj. Archibald McArthur, which had hitherto occupied Cheraw, had become so "exceedingly Sickly" that they removed at this time to the east branch of Lynches Creek. A little over 100 of the regiment, under Lord Nairne, were still too ill be shifted however and were left at Cheraws along with some loyal militia to guard them. See Hunt's Bluff, 26 July. By this time, Gates was still on Deep River and Rutherford had advanced no further than Rocky River (of the Yadkin.)[998]

25 July. Gates took command of the army from de Kalb at or Coxe's (i.e. Wilcox's) Mill on Deep River. A few days before, de Kalb had been augmented by Armand's Legion with about 60 infantry and 60 cavalry.[999]

25 July. Allaire: "Tuesday, 25th. Col. Balfour with the Light Infantry got in motion at two o'clock in the morning, and marched towards Ninety-Six."[1000]

25 July. Col. Charles McDowell, bivouacked at Cherokee Ford on the Broad River, had earlier dispatched a request to Col. Isaac Shelby and Lieut. Col. John Sevier for men to assist against the encroachments of Ferguson and the loyalists out of Ninety Six. Sevier, at that time too occupied in protecting the local settlements to come himself, sent a regiment of his men (mounted) under Major Charles Robertson; these then joined McDowell. On 25 July, a few days after Robertson's arrival in McDowell's camp, Shelby (who had to travel a greater distance) added to their number another 200 to 250 mounted riflemen from the Holston and Watauga-Nolachucky settlements (in modern east Tennessee.)[1001]

Mid to Late July. [raid] Hammond's Raid. (Edgefield County, S.C.) About roughly in this same period, Col. Elijah Clark and his Georgians of Wilkes County were again assembling. Mounted, they crossed over into South Carolina and proceeded north along the foot of the mountains. Somewhere in the march, they were joined by Col. John Jones and his men, and afterwards Captain James McCall and Capt. [Moses] Liddle with some additional twenty mounted men from the Ninety Six area. McCall and Liddle, incidentally, had earlier served in Pickens' regiment. The group then moved to join Sumter. Sumter, for some unknown reason, asked that those of them who were willing should reinforce McDowell instead. Among those from South Carolina who also joined Clark was Capt. Samuel Hammond, from Edgefield County, S.C. Hammond, along with Bennett Crafton, had gathered a force of 76 men for the purpose of making their way into North Carolina. However, about half withdrew before the expedition got started, and attempted instead to remain in hiding in Georgia, except for Jones who with his party of 35 continued on to McDowell instead (see 11 July.)
Despite their efforts at concealment, some of Clark's men who stayed (including Crafton) were captured by the British shortly afterward. Hammond and some 32 that had remained then packed up and sought safe egress from the region by maneuvering toward the base of the mountains. Along the way, he received a tip from a local, on the basis of which information he then surprised and routed a party of 70 to 80 loyalists; and who lost 4 killed, and 11 captured (but which were released on parole), with many muskets taken. They then went on, and passing the Saluda and Bush Rivers met up with another detachment of 70 to 80 of Clark's men under Capt. (later Col.) Edward Hampton. The two groups then united with Clark's main body just then and by this time making its way north, bringing Clark's force to a total of over 200 men. Clark then, shortly after, joined Col. Charles McDowell, including other whig refugees, at the Cherokee Ford encampment.[1002]

Mid to Late July. The larger part of a formerly whig but now "loyal" militia regiment (i.e. the Upper Saluda District Regt.), organized from the Saluda River area, and nominally commanded by a Col. Mathew Floyd, now re-armed and accoutered by the British were marched by their second in command, "one [Lieut. Col. John] Lisle.[1003]" off to join Col. Andrew Neal (the regiment's previous whig commander), and who was with Sumter on the Catawba, taking with them the new arms and supplies, and subsequently fighting under Neal at Rocky Mount on 30 July. Scoggins notes that Andrew Neal did not, as Tarleton remarks, command the Whig militia in the Tyger and Enoree River region. That area fell within the confines of the Spartan and Dutch Fork Districts under colonels John Thomas, Thomas Brandon, and James Lisle (as distinct from John.) The unit's defection, understandably embarrassing to the British, was reported by Cornwallis in a letter to Clinton of 6 August 1780. Although perhaps the most conspicuous instance where the British in the south incurred harm as a result "loyalist" unreliability and treachery, it was by no means the only such or related occurrence they encountered.[1004]

26 July (also possibly 25 July or 1 August). [ambush] Hunt's Bluff, also Mars Bluff (Darlington and Marlboro counties, S.C.) Because of the new threat from Gates' army, in late July the 71st Regt., which had been

[998] CNC15 pp. 258-262, RCC pp. 52-53, GHC pp. 315-316, SNC p. 92.
[999] WNA, MLW4A p. 169, RNC p. 241.
[1000] BRG p. 138.
[1001] DKM p. 84, MSC1 pp. 632, 635-640.
[1002] DKM p. 85, John A. Chapman's *A History of Edgefield County, S.C.*
[1003] Cornwallis to Clinton, 6 August: "Lieutenant. Colonel. Lisle, who had been Paroled to the Islands, exchanged on his arrival in Charlestown his Parole for a Certificate of his being a good Subject, returned to the Country and carried off the whole Battalion to join General Sumpter at Catauba [Catawba]," CNC15 pp. 258-262.
[1004] AR80 p. 231, TCS p. 93, 126, SAW2 pp. 200-201, 223, MLW4A p. 169, MSC1 pp. 619n-620n, SDR p. 129.

stationed at Cheraws, had been ordered to withdraw. They consequently began taking up a position on the east branch of Lynches Creek (modern Lynches River) with Maj. Archibald McArthur, commanding the 71st, relocating to that position on the 24th leaving 100-106 sick of the 71st (these last under Lord Nairne) at Cheraws to the care of Col. Robert Mills[1005] and some local loyalist militia; who were then to escort the invalids to Georgetown. 2 days later these same "loyalists" (not including Mills himself) mutinied, and took the 100 odd sick as prisoners to Gates' army.

Bass states that the Peedee borne flotilla headed for Georgetown but was ambushed and taken by Col. John Ervin near Mars Bluff, Mills; with a few loyalists having made their escape.

Ripley, on the other hand, states that Maj. Tristram Thomas and with a force of whig militia waylaid the group as it was coming down river, at a location nine miles southwest of modern Bennettsville. Using the "quaker cannon" ruse, suggested by Capt. James Gillespie, he compelled them to surrender. In a subsequent encounter, Thomas captured a supply detachment on its way up the Peedee River from Georgetown to Cheraws. Alexander Gregg describes the incident similarly and while he doesn't insist that Mills' men proactively aided the whigs, he does suggest that some of the leading loyal militia men may have had a "secret understanding" with them.[1006]

Cornwallis wrote to Germain on 20 August 1780: "Our Cheraw Militia, having seized & bound their field officers, attacked & took some boats on the Pedee [Peedee] in which Majr McArthur was sending near one hundred of his sick to Georgetown. I was greatly alarmed for a small detachment which I had sent under Majr Wemys[s] to reduce the people of Georgetown to some order, & for my water communication on the Santee, on which at that time a large quantity of Rum, Salt, Arms, & Military Stores were moving in boats up to Camden."

Gregg: "On the day that the British relinquished their post at Cheraw, the inhabitants, distressed by their previous depredations and disgusted with their conduct, took up arms. Preparatory to his departure, McArthur had made an arrangement for transporting a number of his sick, with the captured negroes, by boats to Georgetown. They were to be under the care of Lord Nairne, and the whole under the new-made British colonel, William Henry Mills, with a military escort, composed of a portion of the militia of the country who had taken the oath of allegiance.

"Hearing of the projected expedition down the river, a party of neighbouring Whigs, under the lead of James Gillespie, collected at Bedingfield, a short distance from Cheraw, and determined to gather a larger force and surprise the enemy. As they went on their numbers increased, and the command was assigned to Major Tristram Thomas. In the meantime, with the departure of the boats, McArthur commenced his retreat towards Black Creek."[1007]

On 31 July, R.D. Speight, at "Camp Ancrums' Plantation, S. Carolina, 4 Miles above the Cheraws," wrote to Gov. Nash: "We arrived here last Night after many disagreeable and fatiguing marches, having gone so far up the Country as to cross the Yadkin at Moore's Ferry. The Enemy, Immediately upon hearing of the surprise at Colston's [see 21 July], left Anson Court House, & the main Body Decamped from the Cheraws on 23 Inst. Their coming into this part of the Country has been of great service, for tho' numbers went of with them, yet those that remained, having Experienced the Cruelties of the British, are now willing to fight. A Capt. [Tristram] Thomas, with 25 Militia (all of them having taken the oath of Allegiance) under his command, marched down to a narrow part of the River, and took a boat going to Georgetown with most of the plunder & 102 of the 71st Regiment part of them sick.[1008] It is reported here that the Enemy have left Camden, but no Certainty of it. Their nearest party to us are about 500 on Linche's [Lynches] Creek; what their intentions may be I can't say, but Imagine when we form a Junction with the Maryland Line & proceed to the Southward they will retire to CharlesTown."[1009]

27 July. After first gathering all available men at Coxe's Mill on the Deep River, Gates' army marched through the barrens on their way to Mask's ferry on the Peedee River.[1010]

Otho Williams: "All were in motion, however, early in the morning of the 27th of July, and the general [Gates] took the route over Buffalo Ford, leading towards the enemy's advanced post on Lynch's Creek, on the road to Camden, leaving two brass field-pieces and some baggage for want of horses. Colonel [Otho] Williams, presuming on the friendship of the general, ventured to expostulate with him upon the seeming precipitate and inconsiderate step he was taking. He represented that the country through which he was about to march was by nature barren, abounding with sandy plains, intersected by swamps, and very thinly inhabited; that the little provisions and forage which were produced on the banks of its few small streams were exhausted, or taken away by the enemy, and by the hordes of banditti (called tories) which had retired from what they called the persecution of the rebels, and who would certainly distress his army, small as it was, by removing what little might remain out of his way. On the other hand, the colonel represented that a route about north west would cross the Peedee River some where about where it loses the name of Yadkin, and would lead to the little town of Salisbury in the midst of a fertile country and inhabited by a people zealous in the cause of America. That the most active and intelligent officers had contemplated this route with pleasure, not only as it promised a more plentiful supply of provisions, but because the sick, the women and children, and the wounded, in case of disaster, might have an asylum provided for them at Salisbury or Charlotte, where they would remain in security, because the militia of the counties of Mecklenburgh and Roan [Rowan], in which these villages stand, were staunch friends. The idea of establishing a laboratory for the repair of arms at a secure place was also

[1005] Ripley says William Henry Mills.
[1006] RSC2 pp. 139-130, SAW2 pp. 200-201, TCS pp. 127-128, SAW2 p. 201, JLG1 pp. 292-293, GHC pp. 315-317, MSC1 pp. 645-647, BSF pp. 34-35, RBG pp. 80-81.
[1007] GHC pp. 315-316.
[1008] Regarding 102 or 103 prisoners taken, see CNC15 p. 63.
[1009] CNC15 pp. 9-10.
[1010] SAW2 pp. 204-205, MLW4A p. 171, WNA.

suggested as necessary -- the security of convoys of stores from the northward, by the upper route -- the advantage of turning the left of the enemy's out-posts even by a circuitous route -- that of approaching the most considerable of these posts [Camden] with the River Wateree on our right, and our friends on our backs -- and some other considerations were suggested. And, that they might the more forcibly impress the general's mind, a short note was presented to him, concisely intimating the same opinion and referring to the best informed gentlemen under his command. General Gates said he would confer with the general officers when the troops should halt at noon. Whether any conference took place or not, the writer don't know. After a short halt at noon, when the men were refreshed upon the scraps in their knapsacks, the march was resumed. The country exceeded the representation that had been made of it -- scarcely had it emerged from a state of sterile nature -- the few rude attempts at improvement that were to be found were most of them abandoned by the owners and plundered by the neighbours. Every one, in this uncivilized part of the country, was flying from his home and joining in parties under adventurers who pretended to yield them protection until the British army should appear -- which they seemed confidently to expect. The distresses of the soldiery daily increased -- they were told that the banks of the Peedee River were extremely fertile -- and so indeed they were; but the preceding crop of corn (the principal article of produce) was exhausted, and the new grain, although luxuriant and fine, was unfit for use. Many of the soldiery, urged by necessity, plucked the green ears and boiled them with the lean beef, which was collected in the woods, made for themselves a repast, not unpalatable to be sure, but which was attended with painful effects. Green peaches also were substituted for bread and had similar consequences."[1011]

Gates, from "Headquarters," wrote Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford on this date: "Major General Baron de Kalb has acquainted me that he has for some Days expected the Return of Fifteen Waggons, that were sent to Cross Creek about twelve Days ago. They Were loaded with Rum, Salt, and Corn; I wish to see those wagons or to know the Reason of their Delay. I cannot express the Anxiety I feel for the Want of a proper Supply of Flour -- I wish you would exert yourself, and interest every Servant, and every good Whig, and Friend of the Public, to strain every Nerve to supply us. -- A Letter I have this moment received from Major Genl [Richard] Caswell informs me, that the Cry for Bread in his camp is full a loud as mine. I am confident your anxiety to serve your Country will lead you to do all that is possible to supply the Army."[1012]

28 July. Leaving camp at Old Nation Ford in anticipation of launching forays against Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, Sumter deployed towards Land's Ford on the Catawba. When he arrived, he was met by Maj. Davie and Davie's state cavalry and N.C. militia, as well as other militia from Mecklenburg, Rowan and Waxhaws. About this same time, Capt. John McClure (with Sumter) was elected Colonel of the regiment from the upper District lying between the Broad and Catawba Rivers; while Colonels Andrew Neal and William Hill were put in command of the reformed New Acquisition militia regiment, and Col. William Bratton, also from New Acquisition, put at the head of a small battalion of volunteers from Bethesda, Beersheba and Bullock's Creek congregations.[1013]

29 July. Rawdon learned that Lieut. Col. Thomas Pattinson, of the Prince of Wales regt., was drunk on duty while in command of the post at Hanging Rock. He shortly thereafter replaced the latter with Maj. John Carden (also of the Prince of Wales Volunteers.)[1014]

29 July. Gates, at "Camp Kimborough," to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: "Your favor of the 26th from Moor's [sic] Ferry I received the 27th in the evening at Spinks's 12 Miles West of Deep River. -- The 28th I marchd [sic] to Cotton[']s and this morning from thence here. -- I now dispatch the Bearer to know where you and General Rutherford are at present encamped, and if you are at Colston's [aka Colson's] as I conceive you must be finding from your Letter to General de Kalb dated 23d July last (which however I did not receive until the 25th at 4 P.M.) that you were marched from the Cross Roads; I immediately put the Troops in motion from Deep River, resolve to support you, and Genl Rutherford so did not wait for nor expect your obeying my summons to come to Cox's Mill. -- Yesterday a Deserter from the 71st Regiment arrived in my Camp at Cotton[']s; he assures me the Enemy evacuated the Cheraws, and all their outposts, quite to Camden, on Sunday Night last. -- This is also confirmed by several others. -- Whether the movements you have been making toward Peedee; has occasioned the Enemy's Assembling at Camden, or Intelligence they have received from Sea, is uncertain. -- Be that as it may, it is our Business to act as if the former alone was the Cause. I therefore request the Favour you will send me all the Intelligence in your power of Lord Cornwallis' Designs and your opinion what in the Circumstance, it is best for us to do. My Horses are so jaded and the Artillery and Baggage so far behind, that it will be impossible for the Maryland Line to march before Monday morning 3 o'clock. -- General [Edward] Stevens and the Virginia militia arrived only yesterday at Deep River. I cannot expect he will be here before Tuesday -- he was even then distressed for Flour.

"This General, Genl de Kalb has been the means in some Degree of relieving, by a Supply he had taken Measures to procure from the Moravians.[1015] This supply is also extended to the Troops here, or I know not how we should

[1011] WNA.
[1012] GAH p. 292.
[1013] SDR p. 140.
[1014] Letter from Lord Rawdon at Camden to Earl Cornwallis, 31 July 1780, PRO 30/11/2.
[1015] The strategically important Moravian settlements in western North Carolina, at Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania, generally kept aloof from the fighting, and were normally granted a neutrality denied most others. Though some historians describe the Moravians as tending toward the British sides, their records would seem to show the opposite to be as much if not more true. This said, whig soldiers seeking to too freely feed and supply themselves by way of the congregations' holdings antagonized some of the brethren to the point of switching them from neutral to a more loyalist stance or outlook. For more, including details on the American and British armies' sojourns and requisitions made upon the community, see CNS2 pp. 31-38 and FRM generally.

have been able to march forward -- so clean Genl Rutherfords Troops and yours have swept this part of the Country. -- Lord Cornwallis's collecting his Troops in One Body is perhaps a good Reason to us for doing the same, but this Depends upon the Intelligence we may get, and many Circumstances that it is not necessary to particularize in a Letter."[1016]

30 July. Gates, at "Camp Kimborough" on the north side of the Pee Dee, to Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens of the Virginia militia: "Captain Paschke acquaints me, has been able to supply you with Flour, upon your Arrival at Coxe's [Mill]; I am sorry you wanted it, as I was in Hopes that you would have been able to have brought with you from Hillsborough eight Days Allowance, besides what was necessary for the March there, but since it will no better be, I request you will march on with the most convenient Expedition. -- The Desart [sic] affords Nothing, therefore the sooner we get through it the better. -- By Deserters from the Enemy, Prisoners who have escaped from them, and Inhabitants who have come into my Camp to receive Pardon for their Crimes; and ask protection from the power that prevails; I am informed that the Enemy retreated precipitately from Anson Court House, and the Cheraws, last Sunday Night -- in consequence thereof I shall March with all possible Haste, and Endeavor all in my Power to push Lord Cornwallis into Charles Town -- Sure of your Support in every Effort to defeat the Enemy."[1017]

The same day from Kimborough, Gates wrote Maj. Gen. Caswell: "I am honored by the Receipt of yours by Genl [Henry William] Harrington dated Yesterday from Anson Court House, I am happy your Sentiments so perfectly agree with mine; that a speedy Junction of our Whole Force should be directly affected; and it adds to my satisfaction, that you have ordered General Rutherford immediately to join you at Ancram's [Ancrum's] Plantation. The Congress, the So States, and Genl Washington do earnestly wish that no more Capital Misfortunes may befall us to the Southward, to prevent that, I shall march by the direct Route to Anderson[']s and hope there to fall in with you and General Rutherford. General Stevens with the Virginia Militia shall have Orders to follow me forthwith, and I desire you will instantly send to Genl [John] Butler (whose Route I am unacquainted with) to march by the shortest Road to Andersons. -- General Harrington (with whom I have great Pleasure in being acquainted) is in Sentiment with me in this Determination; and will at my Request relate to you the Conversation we have had upon the Subject."[1018]

30 July. Cornwallis, at Charlestown, to Maj. James Wemyss, at Georgetown: "I received this morning your Letter of the 28th which gave me very great Concern. I cannot conceive how McArthur could have been so off his guard about his Sick. I dare say Coll [William Henry] Mills has rather seen things in the blackest light, however there can be no hopes of Peace & Quiet untill [sic] we can advance; Nor can you in the present Situation of things do any good towards forming a Militia at George town: I cannot therefore approve of your making any longer Stay there. Your coming directly back here would certainly be disgraceful, & for a time at least would be attended with the worst of Consequences in that part of the Country, it would likewise endanger our water Communication with Camden; on which our whole preparation for acting depends. I therefore think that you should march with much Secrecy from George town, & take your Route up the Black River. If you could surprise any Rebel Militia it would have the best effect if not I should hope you & Coll [Col. William Henry] Mills might assemble a part of his Militia, & with their assistance seize & bring off some of the most violent & dangerous people in the country. The being in possession of their persons would be of the greatest Services to our Friends. I should then wish that you moved up the Black River, keeping it on your right, & took post for a few days at the Bridge or Ferry, I am not sure which it is, that is the nearest to Gaillard's house; who will probably be able to assist you with Intelligence & some Militia. He will likewise be able to inform you of the State of the Horses at Cooke's, & how far the Navigation is secure. I am well aware that you must not stay long in a place; especially on the Black River which is a very sickly Country. But I would have you keep moving by short & easy Marches, paying the greatest attention the whole time to getting Intelligence & guarding against a Surprise; untill [sic] you arrive at the High Hills of Santee, where I would have you take post on any convenient spot you may chuse [sic]. I have written to Lord Rawdon to send some Provincials to meet you there & to order a part of Coll Moore's Militia to be embodied, & put themselves under your command: I shall order the Remainder of the 63d to join you there; & when we are ready to move you shall join the Army. You will regulate your march by what you hear in the Country, & by the State of our boats on Santee, which are of such consequence to us that we must wish a great deal for their preservation: It is entirely owing to the perverseness of the elements that the Galley & Sloop are not at George town. They went from hence long since. Ten days at least. I cannot think that you will be distressed for flour or Rice, Cattle you will get in plenty: Rum will be the difficulty; If you cannot get any at George town, & hear nothing of the Sloop, of whose Arrival I despair whilst this Weather lasts, you must send a trusty Express to Gaillard at Murray's [Murry's] Ferry, & inclose [sic] [an] order to the Commissary at Cooke's Landing to deliver a Puncheon of Rum for the Use of your detachment. Gaillard will forward your order thither & get the Rum down at Murray's Ferry, from whence he can send it to you, when you are posted on the nearest part of the Black River to that Ferry. Harrison's new Corps [S.C. Rangers] is reported to me to be nearly compleat [sic], they have been in the Country about Linche's [Lynches] Creek, & I should apprehend must have kept the Militia quiet in those parts: They are ordered to Camden to receive Arms & Cloathing [sic], but I do not believe they are moved yet.
"You must be sensible that in the execution of this plan, much must be left to your discretion, you must act from circumstances & Intelligence, you must even if necessary pass the Santee, but I would not have you do that

[1016] GAH pp. 292-293.
[1017] GAH p. 294.
[1018] GAH p. 295.

unless you are well convinced that your danger is imminent. At all evens I must recommend it to you to put a good face on things & talk big. Threaten the plunderers with the most severe Retaliation, promise indemnification, as far as possible, to our friends out of their Effects, & try to give Spirits to our cause. You have only Militia to oppose you, who are often daring & troublesome in attack, always timid & panick [sic] Struck when attacked. I should therefore on all occasions in your situation act offensively; & if any part of them no matter how numerous take post within a possibility of a Night's March from you; let their position be what it will, it will be safest to attack them. Let me hear from you when you leave George town & as often as possible afterwards, & leave the best advice to the Galley & Sloop in case they do not get to George town before you go. It will probably be to come back again.
"Give out that you expect great Reinforcements from hence, that a thousand Men are to join you to march to the Pedee [Peedee], & are already on their way. That we can now spare them on account of the Arrival of some troops from Savannah, & some that came in the last Fleet from New York; to save your credit some Invalids are arrived from thence, & a Hessian Regt from Georgia."
[P.S.] "From what I recollect of the Country between B. River & Santee, I doubt whether there is a continued Road on the West bank of B. [Black] River. If not, you understand the general Idea of the Move being to cover the Santee, you may certainly take post for a few days on the passage of it that I mentioned; & if you cannot march on the West Bank of it you will pursue whatever Route you think most eligible & agreeable to the considerations & best suited to the purposes which I have so fully explained."[1019]

30 July (also 26 and 29 July.) [surrender] Fort Anderson, also Thicketty Fort. (Spartanburg County, S.C.) Whig militia under Colonel Charles McDowell, Col. Edward Hampton, Col. Isaac Shelby, Col. Elijah Clark, Major Charles Robertson of Sevier's regiment (with some of Sumter's men in addition) moved from Cherokee Ford with about 600 men to attack Fort Anderson, also known as Thicketty (also Thickette) Fort, commanded by Loyalist Captain Patrick Moore. The fort was situated about ten miles southeast of Cowpens. The loyalist garrison of 93 militia plus one British sergeant-major surrendered, without firing a shot, on the condition they be granted parole; which terms were readily acceded to by the backcountry leaders. Among the items taken in the capitulation were 150 or 250 stand of arms (sources differ.) McDowell and his men then retired to their camp at Cherokee Ford.[1020]
Chesney: "Shortly afterwards he marched to Thicketty Creek, encamped and requested me to carry an express to Captain Patrick Moore, then commandant at Anderson's fort, with a particular private message to him to hold the fort till the last minute. Before I could return, the army had decamped about midnight and retreated towards Captain Lewis Bobo's on Tyger River, where I joined them, and we got an account that Col. McDole [Charles McDowell] had, without opposition, reduced Anderson's fort and made them prisoners, Moore having shamefully surrendered it thus disappointing Ferguson's scheme of bringing the Americans to battle whilst attacking it." [1021]

Isaac Shelby: "Very shortly after this acquisition of force, General McDowell detached Col. Shelby & Lieut. Col. Elijah Clarke with six hundred men to attack and carry a British post on Thicketty garrisoned principally by Tories & commanded by Capt. Patrick Moore[1022]-- The American detachment consisted of six hundred men who appeared before the British garrison & instantly surrounded it on the morning of the 22nd July, 1780,[1023] just at day light. Capt. William Cocke,[1024] was sent in with a flag by Col. Shelby to demand a surrender of the Garrison. Capt. Moore at first refused to surrender, but on being warned by Capt. Cocke of the consequences of the garrison being stormed by the Americans he surrendered although his post was made doubly strong by abbetees [abbatis] well constructed around it. Our men took one hundred prisoners of the enemy & two hundred stand of arms that were all charged with bullets & buck shot. This surrender was a fortunate event as the place was capable of sustaining an attack from double our force of small arms." [1025]

Saye (drawng on the reminiscences of Major Joseph McJunkin): "The next expedition against the enemy was set on foot at the camp of Gen. McDowell at Cherokee Ford. It was directed against a fort north of Pacolet River, on the waters of Goucher Creek. This was a strong position, well fortified and abundantly supplied with the munitions of war. It had been for some time a place or resort for the predatory bands of Tories who had been robbing the Whig families in the adjacent parts of the country. It was under the immediate command of that distinguished Tory chieftain, Col. Patrick Moore.
"This fort was in front of McDowell's position and lay between him and Ferguson's camp and was perhaps regarded as an outpost of the battle. To take this place Cols. Shelby, Clarke and Sevier were detached with a squadron of 600 men.

[1019] PRO. 30/11/78/61-64.
[1020] DKM p. 88, MSC1 pp. 634-635, LCR pp. 129-134.
[1021] CDI.
[1022] William T. Graves: "Moore was a native of Virginia of Irish decent. Settling in South Carolina, he became a Tory officer and died in 1781."
[1023] William T. Graves: "Shelby's date for this engagement is incorrect. The attack on Fort Anderson on Thicketty Creek near Spartanburg, South Carolina occurred on July 30, 1780. Col. Charles McDowell, Col. Andrew Hampton, and Major Charles Robertson (Col. Sevier's second in command), along with Shelby, were the patriot officers present at this engagement." This said, the Hampton in question would more likely have been Edward rather than Andrew as Graves states; though I have yet to confirm this.
[1024] William T. Graves: "William Cocke (1748-1828), one of the officers in Sevier's regiment."
[1025] SRW.

"With characteristic intrepidity these commanders appeared suddenly before this fortress, threw their lines around it and demanded its surrender. The second summons was obeyed. Moore surrendered 100 men, with 250 stands of arms loaded with ball and buckshot and so arranged at the portholes as to have repulsed double the number of the American detachment."[1026]

30 July (also given as 1 August). [battle] ROCKY MOUNT, and joint diversionary attack on Hanging Rock (Lancaster County, S.C.) On the last (or second to last) of July, Col. Thomas Sumter with 200 to 300 South Carolina refugees, and Col. Robert Irwin (also Irvin) with 300 Mecklenburg militia, rendezvoused at Davie's camp on the north side of Waxhaw's Creek. It was decided that Sumter, Neale, Irwin and Bratton, with their combined force of about 500-600 men,[1027] would assault Rocky Mount on the west side of the Wateree. Davie, in the interim, with about 40 militia cavalry and mounted infantry, was to make a diversionary raid on Hanging Rock about fifteen miles eastward.
Tarleton speaks of the fortifications at Rocky Mount as consisting of two log houses and a loop hole building surround by a "strong" abbatis; on an elevation which was clear all around. Bass, by contrast, describes the buildings as a great house with a shed. Defending the post was Lieut. Col. George Turnbull with a force of 300; about half of which were some New York Volunteers, and the other some loyalist militia. Sumter tried to surprise him but his approach detected by some loyalists and the alarm given. The subsequent attack began then about 6 am, and lasted some eight hours. Sumter's men made a few tries at assailing the post while keeping up a heavy fire. But without cannon to dislodge the defenders, little could be effected against them.[1028] The whigs attempted to set the great house aflame, but a sudden rain storm came up and put out the fire. Having run out of lead by this time as well, Sumter retreated some six miles northward, but was not able to cross Rocky Ford as intended because the storm had caused flooding there. In the meantime, 300 provincial troops marched in from Hanging Rock to reinforce Turnbull who then briefly attempted to pursue Sumter. The latter, however, marched on unhindered to Land's Ford on the Catawba. Ripley, however, states: "During the withdrawal, the Patriots met two parties of the enemy marching to reinforce the post. In the ensuing skirmish, Sumter lost 20 men but is said to have killed 60 of the enemy and captured a few others." Among the American losses was Col. Andrew Neale, considered a leader of great promise, and who was killed during one of the assaults on the fortified dwellings. Historian Henry Carrington states Sumter's losses as thirteen men killed or wounded. Tarleton gives British losses of one officer killed, one wounded, and about 10 killed or wounded. Though Sumter had failed, the action served as useful training for many of his men.
The same day, Davie, with Capt. Flenchau (Davie refers to him as Flenniken), 40 dragoons and 40 riflemen, on approaching Hanging Rock learned of three companies of mounted loyalist riflemen[1029] returning to the camp there. An ambush was laid, and the loyalist militia were attacked from front and flank. Because Davie's dragoons could not take prisoners, many of the surrounded loyalists were, as Davie himself candidly admits, "literally cut to pieces." 60 horses were taken, with accoutrements, as well as 100 muskets and rifles. The Provincials at Hanging Rock itself came too late to rescue the militia, and Davie was able to retire without loss.[1030]
Tarleton: "Having gained the necessary information, he [Sumter] directed his efforts against the corps at Rocky mount. Near the end of July he passed Broad river, at Blair's ford, with about nine hundred men, and advanced upon Turnbull, whose force was composed of one hundred and fifty provincials, and as many militia. The defences of Rocky mount consisted of two log houses, a loop-holed building, and an abbatis; placed upon an eminence, which commanded a view of the neighbouring [sic] country. Colonel Sumpter having no cannon to destroy the abbatis or the buildings, selected some of his bravest followers, to remove the former, and to endeavour [sic] to set fire to the latter, whilst his people, under cover of the trees and rocks, on the declivity of the mountain, maintained a heavy fire upon the garrison. After three attacks, in the last of which some of the forlorn hope penetrated within the abbatis, the American commander retreated with loss and precipitation. In the gallant defence of this post, Lieutenant-colonel Turnbull had one officer killed, one wounded, and about ten men killed and wounded."[1031]

Rawdon, on 31 July at Camden, to Cornwallis: "Before I set out, a Countryman mentioned that there had been firing in the morning near Rocky Mount. I examined the Man, and from his account it appeared to me that there was no room to suppose that it had been more than that some Patrols of Turnbull's had fallen in with a plundering party of the Enemy; several of which Turnbull had mentioned to have come very near his post. I thought it sufficient to order an officer with a party of Dragoons to patrol to the River: had I set out for Camden. When I got within four miles of the town, I met an Express who informed me that two Dragoons were arrived who had escaped from Rocky Mount; which Post had been surrounded and assaulted at Day Break by a great body of Rebels. I took every step which this tardy intelligence admitted; but my precautions were happily superfluous. I have just received a detail of the affairs from Turnbull; and, through the modesty of his recital, I can observe that the circumstances were much to the Honour of his vigilance and firmness. As his account was

[1026] SJM.
[1027] McCrady gives Sumter's force as 380, apparently including the N.C. militia. Tarleton says Sumter had 900. Cornwallis in his letter to Clinton of Aug. 6th speaks of 1,200. TCS pp. 93-93, CNC15 pp. 258-262, MSC2 p. 746.
[1028] Col. William Hill's version, where men with incendiaries crept up while under fire, is probably the correct one, as opposed to Lossing's, that mentions a hay cart being set alight and which was then sent rolling up against the structure.
[1029] Probably numbering 120 Ripley estimates.
[1030] RSC2 pp. 136-137, SAW2 pp. 224-225, TCS pp. 93-94, MMS2 p. 219, LMS pp. 176-177, DRS p. 11-12, CSS pp. 1122-1123, HMS p. 12-13, LFB2 pp. 453-454, CBA p. 507, SNC pp. 66-67, MSC1 pp. 623-625, MSC2 p. 746, FWI pp. 172-173, WAR2 p. 709, BGC pp. 63-67, RBG p. 64.
[1031] TCS p. 94.

very hastily written, I think it best only to send an abstract of it. His Dragoons having been saddled all night, were soon after Day-break ordered out to grass; but they had scarcely passed an abbatis which surrounded the Post, when they fell in with three large Columns of the Rebels by whom they were fired upon and dispersed. The New York Volunteers, who were as usual at the hour standing to their arms, were immediately thrown into some Log Houses constructed for the purpose of defence; and some Militia abandoning a Redoubt which they were appointed to garrison, likewise ran into the Houses. The Rebels advanced to the Assault; but were speedily driven back to a more respectful distance: They kept possession however of the Redoubt, from which, and the cover of Rocks, Trees, etc, they continued to fire for a long time. At length, Sumpter, (for it was his Corps of Militia that made the attack) summoned Turnbull to surrender; giving him Ten minutes only to consider of it: The proposal was rejected; and the attack was repeated with as little success as at first. Sumpter continued before the Post till three in the afternoon: I suppose to cover the carrying off his killed and wounded; for, either during the truce, or by means of a volley which from the loss of the Redoubt was not flanked, they carried off all who fell, excepting three dead and one wounded who lay too near the Post. Turnbull therefore cannot ascertain the Enemy's loss; but imagines it to have been pretty severe; A Colonel Neal is one of the dead; and the wounded man says that a Colonel Bratten [Bratton] was likewise killed [this report was mistaken.] At five, Turnbull sent out two Dragoons to reconnoitre; who brought back intelligence that they saw a large body of the Enemy on an Island at half a mile's distance; I suspect this to have been a part of our Militia; for I think the Corps at Hanging Rock must have been alarmed long before that time, and have attempted, according to their instructions, to sustain Colonel Turnbull. I do not despair yet, of hearing that the Enemy have suffered in their retreat. I enclose to your Lordship a copy (not in file) of Turnbull's loss in the action. Many of those returned Missing, have come in here. Had a single Man of them fled to Hanging Rock (which being only a third part of the distance was much more natural for them) I might in little more than an hour after receiving the intelligence have crossed the Catawba above the Rebels with Sixty of the Legion Cavalry and [Samuel] Bryan's Refugees who are all well mounted. Advancing in that manner upon an Enemy dispirited by repulse and ignorant of my numbers, I should have gone to sure Victory; which circumstances would have made both creditable and useful, although there might have been but little real merit in the success. I shall not however repine at want of fortune, so long as I am conscious that I have acted from cool deliberation, and that I have not omitted any of the arrangements which my situation required. I should have held myself highly blameable [sic] had I gone to Rocky Mount upon vague intelligence; thereby absenting myself another day from Camden, whilst the Enemy might have broken in upon my Right.

"I will make no other excuse for exceeding my two sheets of Paper, than that I think it better to risqué tiring your Lordship a little, than to leave anything unsaid which can tend to give your mind satisfaction respecting this part of your Command. Colonel Rugeley will have informed your Lordship that a party of the Enemy had pillaged our Waggons [sic] between this and Hanging Rock: That party was intercepted by a Captain Cole of our Militia, who, with half their numbers routed them, killing and wounding several. The same night a party of Colonel Bryan's routed two different Scouting parties, close to the Rebel Camp; killing some, and bringing off a few prisoners. These little successes have put them in spirits. Kinloch [David Kinlock] commands at Hanging Rock for the present; but I propose bringing Turnbull with his Regiment thither, and sending Carden (who is recovering) with the Prince of Wales's to Rocky Mount. Rutherford is at Waxhaw. Loose parties of Militia, under the direction of a Colonel Wade, on Rocky River at Pedee."[1032]

Richard Winn: "[Maj. John] Owens, who was a major in the Royal Militia, reported that Col. Turnbull commanded at Rocky Mount and had about 300 men and was posted in a strong blockhouse, two stories high, properly prepared for defence, with abattis. This information I got about the 20th July. Gen'l Sumter was still in No. Carolina. On my communicating this information to him, he returned to the State and marched with his force to Landsford [Land's Ford] on the west side of Catawba River, 18 miles above the Mount. Here a council was held by the officers and finally it was determined to make an attack on Rocky Mount on Sunday, 31st July. Accordingly, we left our encampment the evening before and marched all night and at day was ready for action; and should have completely surprised the place had it not been for a Tory colonel by the name of Black, with about 100 Tory militia, from Broad River to reinforce the Mount. They, getting to the place late, encamped out with intention of going on early in the morning. These people we had no knowledge of until we were among them. Winn, being in advance, gave them a fire and they run and left many of their horses and cloathing [sic]. This gave the alarm to the Mount. However, in a few minuits [sic] the place was attacked. Colonels Winn and [Andrew] Neil, marched up in front of the abbattis [sic] and sustained a heavy fire for some time from the blockhouse, which was returned. Here Col. Neil [Andrew Neal] was killed, Col. [Richard] Winn, being in a clear old field and finding his men much exposed, ordered a retirement for a small distance. In the meantime, Cols. [William] Bratton, [Edward] Lacey and [William] Hill attached the enemy to the right, but Gen'l Sumter, finding that nothing could be done, thought it best to refresh his men for a short time and bring on the attack from another quarter by marching round the place. And under the cover of large rocks he got with his whole in about 50 yards of the blockhouse.

"From this point the enemy was prevented from fireing [sic] on us as they dare not come to their port holes. It was here Gen'l Sumter directed Col. Winn to demand a surrender of the place:

"Summons.-31st July, 1780
"Sir: I am directed by Gen'l Sumter to demand a surrender of Rocky Mount. therefore, you will surrender this place with the men, &c., under your command, which will be considered as prisoners of war.
R. Winn.

[1032] Rawdon to Cornwallis, 31 July 1780, PRO. 30/11/2.

"To this, Col. Turnbull required that hostilities should cease for one hour for consideration. Granted. Meantime, returned the following answer:

"Sir: I have considered your summons and return for answer, that duty and inclination induce me to defend this place to the last extremity.
-- Turnbull, Colo. Command't

"In consequence of this, Sumter commenced a heavy fire on the house, having nothing but small arms, which could make little or no impression on the building. Notwithstanding, this place would shortly fall into our hands, as the house could have been easily set on fire had it not been for the powerful rains that fell one after another. As we had failed in all our efforts to reduce the place, Gen'l Sumter in the evening retreated about 8 miles on the road leading to Landsford. The rains continued to fall in great abundance...
"The day after the battle at Rocky Mount Col. Harthorn [Hawthorn] was sent with a flag to bury Col. Neil. He says that from the best information he could gain the enemy's loss, killed and wounded, was twelve or fourteen men. We had one man wounded: Col. Neil was killed."[1033]

Pension statement of Thomas Reagan of Newberry County: "The next morning this applicant with Sumpter[']s forces about sunrise moved down the River towards the British Camp & arrived there about 24 hours after they started. They lay about one mile & a half of the enemy the succeeding night and came within gunshot distance (neither side having cannon) about 8 o'clock Sumpters forces immediately attacked the British who lay in a large log house at a place called 'Rocky Mount' on the Catabaw [sic] -- The ingagement [sic] lasted till near 11 o'clock in the fore noon when the troops under Sumpter drew off, leaving the British in possession of the log house. During this ingagment [sic] Sumpter[']s party were protected by the woods and the huge rocks situated near the log house consequently but few were killed of his men -- This applicant thinks there were killed and missing about 14 or 15 men and among the killed were Col. Lee -- Capt. Jones and Capt. Burns who was shot in the Eye & fell close by this applicant who took an active part in the ingagement. Our forces were marched back to their old Camping ground and incamped [sic] for the night -- The forgoing officers named as belonging to Sumpters force except one Maj. Heather who carried a flag to the British the next day to get permission to bury the dead, are all now recollected. This applicant left Sumpters forces the third day after his joining them & with his six companions returned to Newbury County and joined the rest of his company."

31 July. Cornwallis, at Charlestown, to Maj. James Wemyss (at Georgetown): "Lt Coll [sic] Tarleton is going to Camden with a detachment of the Legion & sets out this Evening. I have directed him to pass at Lenew's [Lenud's] Ferry, & proceed up the Santee. He is informed fully of the State of things in those parts & will take any Steps in his power to contribute to the Security of your movement & to intimidate the Enemy. You will take Care to represent this detachment in the most formidable Light.
"I shall order the Remainder of the 63rd Regt: to march on the 5th or 6th from hence, & shall direct the Commanding Officer to remain at Nelson's Ferry, on this Side [south side] of the River, untill he hears from you. The violent & continued Storm prevented my sending the Officer off last night. I hope the Boat will be able to get over this day."[1034] See also 5 August, Tarleton to Cornwallis.

31 July. "Memorandum concerning the number and location of British troops" dated July 31st, author unknown:
"Force of the Enemy

31 July, 1780.	**Foot**.
At Charles Town. -- Gen. Patterson	500
Georgetown	250
Beaufort	12
Augusta	500
Seneca Fort	70
Ninety-Six	250
Fair Forest	30
Rockey Mount	200
Hanging Rock___70 Dragoons &	250
Camden & its Vicinity.—Lord Cornwallis	700
the Cheraws.—Lord Rawdon	600
Savanah, in Georgia 300	
In all	3,482

"Force and Disposition of British Troops in the Middle of June Last -- At and Near Camden.

23d Rgt. British.	300
33d " " British.	300
71st " " 2 Batns. [sic] British.	400
2d Rawdon's Irish Volrs. Raised in America	300
New Jersey " " Raised in America	150
No. Carolina Royalists Raised in America	150

[1033] WNO, part I, pp. 207-210.
[1034] PRO. 30/11/78/61-64.

So. [Carolina] " " Raised in America	100
Cavalry	200
Br. Legion.	
Infantry	100
[in all]	2000

"So. West of the Congaree River.

1st Infantry under Major Graham. British	120
Brown's Corps. American	200
Ferguson's " " American	180
[in all]	500

"Garrison of Chas. Town supposed to be 6 or 700."[1035]

The following is a separate intellignce report from 11 August.

"Examination of Elias Langham, Sergt. of Artill'y, from the British Camp at Camden the 11th [August] Inst."
"The Strength of the Enemy, as near as he cou'd learn at that time, was, in Expectives:

"Regulars, 23 Regt., about 400
Regulars, 33 Regt., about 300
Regulars, 71 Regt. 300
Ld. Roden's [Rawdon's] Corps [i.e. the Vols. of Ireland] 350
British Legion 420
[total] 1,770
Harrison's N. Levies [Royal N.C. Regt.] 250
Brion's [Samuel Bryan's N.C. Vols.] & the Militia 345
[total] 2,365

"The Fortifications of the Enemy are on this Side of Town [Camden] & not extensive, containing six six-pounders; the flanks of the works are open, no morasses or other impediments obstructing the passing of troops into the Town. There are no boats at the ferry more than three common scows; the troops are sickly, numbers suppos'd about six hundred. There was no Qr. [Quarter] Masters, Comm'y [Commissary] or Military Stores remov'd from Camden previous to his leaving that place. 'Twas reported that Lord Corn Wallace was near with a reinforcement of Hessians, said to be at the Congree."[1036]

Late July. In response to a call by Gates for all Continental officers to turn out, Col. Francis Marion and some 20 to 28 followers arrived at his camp. In an oft quoted or paraphrased passage, Otho Williams writes: "Colonel Marion, a gentleman of South Carolina, had been with the army a few days, attended by a very few followers, distinguished by small black leather caps and the wretchedness of their attire; their number did not exceed twenty men and boys, some white, some black, and all mounted, but most of them miserably equipped; their appearance was in fact so burlesque that it was with much difficulty the diversion of the regular soldiery was restrained by the officers; and the general himself was glad of an opportunity of detaching Colonel Marion, at his own instance, towards the interior of South Carolina, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy and furnish intelligence." A few days prior to Camden, probably August 14th, Marion then left Gates and returned to the Santee area for the purpose of destroying boats and otherwise interfering with both British lines of communication and their possible routes of retreat.[1037]

Late July. Sometime in July and into August, Maj. John James with some Williamsburg, S.C. militia, occupied Witherspoon's Ferry on Lynches River, while posting Capt. William McCottry with a force of riflemen in Indiantown. The two groups together totaled some 500. By 17 August, Marion had become the commander of these same.[1038]
McCrady: "About this time of the news of the approach of Gates; a public meeting was held [in Williamsburg], and it was unanimously resolved to take up arms in defence of their country. Major James was chosen leader, and four companies were formed under their former captains: William McCottry, Henry Mouzon, John James (of the Lake), and John McCauley [McCrady states "John McCauley" but he apparently means James.] Mouzon's company had been organized before. It consisted of seventy-five men previous to the fall of Charlestown…these four companies mustered about four hundred men. Two more companies, Witherspoon's and Thornly's, were added under major Hugh Giles of Peedee…
"The Whigs [of the Peedee] were not idle, however, while awaiting the arrival of their new commander [Marion.] They captured Gaskens and most of the officers appointed over them, and took post under Major James at the pass of Lynch's Creek, at Witherspoon's Ferry, four miles above it junction with the Great Peedee between the present counties of Williamsburg and Marion. The Tories on Lynch's Creek in the neighborhood of

[1035] CNC14 pp. 516-517. See also 17 July entry, Sumter to de Kalb (also at CNC14 pp. 505-507), and from which ostensibly some of this same information is taken.
[1036] CNC14 pp. 552-553.
[1037] WNA, BSF pp. 36-37, 40.
[1038] JFM pp. 17-19, MSC1 pp. 649-650, BSF pp. 35-36, 38.

McCallam's ferry, on the other hand, had about this time been giving great trouble. Matthew Bradley, Thomas Bradley, and John Roberts, respectable citizens, were killed in their own homes. The murderers were headed by the two Harrisons [John and Samuel of the S.C. Rangers] before mentioned. Captain McCottry was now posted in advance of Witherspoon's Ferry, at Indian Town, in what is now Williamsburg County. Colonel Tarleton, having learned of the Williamsburg meeting, crossing the country advanced at the head of seventy mounted militia and cavalry to surprise Major James. McCottry, receiving notice of this movement, sent back for reinforcement, but immediately marched his company of about fifty mounted men to give him battle. Tarleton, who had reached Kingston about dark on the 6th of august, learning of [William] McCottry's advance, through the wife of Hamilton, whose report increased McCottry's command, however, to five hundred men, retired at midnight. McCottry with his little band pursued the great British cavalry leader, but failed to overtake him. In this march Tarleton burned the settlement of Captain [Henry] Mouzon…fourteen buildings in all and posted thirty miles from Kingstree to Salem."[1039]

Late July (and into the ensuing months). By this time sickness had incapacitated much of Cornwallis' army. Sometime in the month, Balfour had complained that the Ninety Six garrison was "turning sickly fast." At Camden, 859 men, most from the 71st Regt., were invalids in the town at time of the battle; in fact many of the regiment had actually perished from disease while earlier posted at Cheraws. In early August, Maj. James Weymss, commanding the 63rd Regt., reported from Georgetown that "within three days men had died of putrid fevers [Typhus.] 4 sgts and 28 men are now ill."[1040]

Late July(?) [ambush] Crawford's Servant (Anson County, N.C.)
Alexander Gregg: "During the struggle on the Pedee Gen. [Henry William] Harrington sent a detachment of Whigs to Anson County in charge of a negro. He was the property of Michael Crawford, of Anson, had been in the service of Col. [John] Donaldson, and was exchanged for one of the general's servants. Shortly before they reached the river the Whigs were surprised by a party of Tories, who lay in ambush ; and upon the first fire were dispersed. The negro was taken off by the Tories and lost. The Whigs soon rallied, and returned boldly to the conflict.
"The Tories, satisfied with their booty, retreated after a brief skirmish. They were pursued, and a riderless horse, with a bloody saddle, was captured. Of the Whigs, one named Curtis was killed, and Daniel Hicks wounded in the thigh, from which, however, he afterwards recovered. After the war Crawford brought a suit against Gen. Harrington for the negro, but recovered nothing." Gregg is not quite clear as to the date of this occurrence and it may have taken place weeks or even months later than July 1780.[1041]

[1039] MSC1 pp. 649-650.
[1040] WCO p. 245, Cornwallis to Balfour, 13 Sept. 1780, PRO. 30/11/80, ff. 20-21, and PRO. 30/11/63, ff. 17-18, MLW4A p. 175, GHC p. 319, MSC1 pp. 706-707.
[1041] GHC p. 321.

AUGUST 1780

August. Throughout much of 1780, and to some extent into 1781, there was a pronounced degree of loyalist sympathy in the northwestern counties of North Carolina and southwestern Virginia. Within the latter, this included Botetourt, Bedford, Henry, Montgomery, Washington, Pittsylvania counties, and possibly Culpepper as well. After Ramseur's Mill and King's Mountain most of this pro-British support was largely suppressed, yet it was an ongoing task keeping it down. The term Lynch law comes from Col. Charles Lynch of Bedford County, Va., whom was not overly concerned with due process when it came to punishing "presumed" loyalists offenders of murder, house burning, looting and horse stealing. In his pension statement, Richard Medlock of Burke County, N.C. stated: "Having during the different periods served eighteen months in the most gloomy and difficult period of the Revolutionary War, declarant states that in that part of the State where he lived [i.e. the upper end of Burke County, N.C.], the militia (at least those who were true Whigs) were almost continuously on duty in order to protect the settlements from the incursions of the enemy and [compared to the Indians] none were more troublesome than the Tories who were numerous in that section of country." In Montgomery County alone more than half or more of the population were loyalists. Col. William Preston, who was from Montgomery County, VA. and with the aid of Holston and Watauga-Nolachucky settlements and Virginia leaders (civil and military), led the local confrontation against them. In mid July, he sent instructions to Capt. Isaac Taylor to disarm the Tories on New River in the vicinity of modern day Austinville in Wythe County, VA. Trouble continued into August, and in a letter of August 8th, Col. Walter Crockett[1042] wrote to Preston saying, in response to a murder and some horse stealing, he was marching with 250 men against the New River tories. He further advised Preston to send a party against Flower gap. Later in the month, there was fear that the loyalists of the Holston River area, now aided by those from the Yadkin River Valley in North Carolina, would seize the Chiswell lead mines in Fincastle County, which were of vital importance to the Continental army's munitions supply. There being many loyalists in his own county, or at least a reluctance in Montgomery to assist the whigs, Preston sent Col. William Campbell to put down the threat; which Campbell managed successfully to do.[1043]

Draper: "200 Tories of the New river region, within what is now Grayson County, Virginia, and Ashe County, North Carolina, had risen in arms, with some British officers aiding them with a view of seizing the Lead Mines near present Wytheville; when Colonel [William] Campbell, by order of Colonel Preston, took the field on August at the head of one hundred and forty or fifty men, and scoured that wild and mountainous country; and at a place known, as the Big Glades, or Round Meadows, approaching a large body of Tories, the latter under cover of a thick fog, fled, dispersing in every direction, and hiding themselves in the mountains, losing only one of their number in their flight...Colonel Campbell then marched to the old Moravian town of Bethabara, in North Carolina, where he made head-quarters for some time, sending out detachments in quest of Tory bands -- one penetrating into Guilford County, surprised and dispersed two companies of Tories at night, and captured Captain Nathan Read, on e of their leaders and seventeen others...Another party of Tories was dispersed above the Shallow Ford of Yadkin. Returning from this expedition, Colonel Campbell led four hundred brave riflemen from Washington County to meet Ferguson's Rangers and the united Tories of the Carolinas..."[1044] See also 1 September.

Preston wrote to Col. William Campbell on 24 August 1780: "I have ordered the Montgomery troops to assemble at the lead mines as soon as possible. As you are to take the command of the whole, you will please to give orders to the officers accordingly, who, with the soldiers, are hereby strictly commanded to obey such orders as they may receive from you on this tour of duty. You may continue them on this service as long as you judge it absolutely necessary for the safety of this and our sister State of North Carolina. I wish you every success in suppressing the internal enemies of the state." [1045]

August. Sometime by end of this month, Col Abel Kolb commanded a group of South Carolina militia, about 100 "good men," in the Long Bluff area on the Upper Peedee River, primarily for defense against local "Tories;" subsequently serving under the formal directives of Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington, and later, Francis Marion. [1046]

Alexander Gregg: "George M'Call [McCall] and four youthful companions, upon hearing that Gates had crossed the Yadkin, started up the river to join the army and take part in the expected conflict at Camden. They had proceeded but a short distance, when intelligence reached them that Col. [Hugh] Giles was raising a volunteer force below to swell the columns of the American commander. Hastening back, they found the colonel with his party at Giles's Bluff, some distance below on the Pedee. They remained in that locality two weeks or more, and were joined during the time by Colonel Marion with an additional force. Having collected a few old field-pieces, Marion crossed the river and commenced a redoubt. While engaged upon this work, where a temporary stand

[1042] John Crockett, the father of Davy (of Alamo fame), was a whig private at the battle of King's Mountain. According to a present day Crockett descendant, and based on genealogical records, Walter (1732-1817), paraphrased here (and possibly as well Hugh Crocket, who later became prominent in the Guilford Court House campaign), more than likely were John's cousins or uncles.

[1043] GDH3 p. 137, CNC14 pp. 626-627, DKM p. 171. For more in depth coverage of this topic see Patricia Givens Johnson's *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Walpa Publishing, 1976), and *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783,* by John E. Selby (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988.)

[1044] DKM pp. 387-388.

[1045] GDH3 p. 137.

[1046] CNC14 p. 580

was intended to be made, the news reached them of Gates's defeat. As a consequence, the plan of operations previously agreed upon was broken up; and the brilliant career in which he was to become so distinguished as a partisan leader, already successfully commenced; now opened in larger outline and bloodier prospect upon Marion. With the force hastily collected and now under his command, a few sallies were made against the Tories in Williamsburg and the region east of the Pedee. Col. Giles received orders to march with such a volunteer force as would accompany him, to Long Bluff, there to join Col. [Abel] Kolb, for a retreat into North Carolina, or any other movement which the course of events might determine. The result was, that Col. Kolb remained in the neighbourhood of Long Bluff, for the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants there against the Tories. Young M'Call, who met Col. Marion for the first time on the occasion alluded to, was so deeply impressed with his superior military sagacity, that he determined to join his command, and share the fortunes of the future with him to the close of the war. Col. Hicks had gone with his family to Virginia, leaving the active command of the forces on the Pedee to Lieut.-Col. Kolb, a position which the latter appears to have retained until his death, in the early part of the following spring." [1047]

1 August. The combined N.C. militia brigades, under overall command of Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, assembled at Cheraw Hill: with those from the western portion of the state present under Rutherford; those of the east under Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory, and those from the mid region under Brig. Gen. John Butler.[1048] Two letters, one of 31 July and the other 5 August, to Gov. Abner Nash in which Caswell reports his specific troop movements of this time are at CNC15 pp. 19-20.

1 August. Richard Winn: "August 1st, Col. Winn with 100 men returned to Rocky Mount and fell down below on the main road leading to Camden; fell in with a body of Tories be shortly dispersed, making several prisoners and releasing some of our men, one or two of which was to be hung the next day at the Mount; then returned to camp."[1049]

2 August. Richard Winn: "On Tuesday, the 2nd of August, Rocky Mount got a reinforcement from Hanging Rock of eight hundred men and two field pieces. Gen'l Sumter could not move from his encampment until the 3rd on account of high water in Rocky Creek. This day at eleven o'clock he crossed the creek and halted. The men turned out their horses and scattered about in search of roasting ears and green peaches, for this in fact was the most we could get to eat. In this situation, the first thing we knew the enemy to the number of eight or nine hundred men and two pieces of artillery was in a mile of our rear. Col. Winn immediately called out for one hundred men and officers that could first get their horses to join him with intention to hang on the enemy until Gen'l Sumter could move off. Col. Winn halting the enemy often gave time for the General to make his retreat good.
"Col. Winn kept two men ahead of him to watch and give notice of the enemy's motions. One of these men was a Capt. Coleman from Midway in Georgia, the other by the name of Stroud of this place. These two men ventured too near the British; both were made prisoners, stript [sic] naked and immediately hung up by the side of the road. Col. Winn, finding the enemy on retreat back to the Mount, persued [sic] without delay. Gen'l Sumter at night took possession of his old encampment near Landsford…
"In finding the reinforcement sent from Hanging Rock still at Rocky Mount, it was finally determined by Gen'l Sumter and Col. Winn to attack the British at Hanging Rock, Sumter being reinforced by Maj'r [William R.] Davie from Mecklinburgh [Mecklenburg] in No. Carolina with two troops of horse."[1050]

3 August. Heavy rains having previously delayed his baggage and artillery, Gates crossed the Peedee at Mask's Ferry and was joined by Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield with 300 Virginia State Troops. Porterfield originally had entered South Carolina sometime by mid to late May as a reinforcement intended for Charlestown. But arriving after the fall of the city, he remained just above the North and South Carolina border. Brig. Gen. William Harrington, of Cumberland County, N.C., who with his North Carolina militia from his own and adjacent counties (probably no more than a few hundred) had been with his men en route to (if not actually with) Gates for a short while, but then went instead, by this time, to Cross Creek to protect Gates against the loyalists emanating from that area (see letter from Gates to him, 6 April.)[1051]
Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, with the Virginia militia, was on his way to link up with Gates' army, but was halted 50 miles in the latter's rear at Buffalo Creek for lack of provisions; while Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell continued at his position at Cheraws (south of Gates and the Continentals.)[1052]
Gates, at the "West Side [of] Mask's Ferry," wrote to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: "I should have been glad to have received a Line in Answer to the Letter I wrote you by General [Henry William] Harrington, to have been certain that you would meet me at Anderson's it would have relieved my Mind from many anxieties; -- as it is I suffer every Distress for want of Provisions, and know not if I can expect any Relief where I am going; from you -- General [Griffith] Rutherford[1053] and your Command have gleaned the Country on both Sides of the River; and the Virginia Militia stick in my Rear, and devour all that comes forward. -- This is a Mode of conducting War I am a stranger to -- The Whole should support and sustain the Whole, or the Parts will soon go to Decay -- General

[1047] GHC pp. 326-327.
[1048] SNC p. 83.
[1049] WNO, part I, p.209.
[1050] WNO, part I, pp.209-210.
[1051] GHC pp. 330-331. For a 5 Sept. 1780 return of Harrington's command of some 423 men, though of which 232 only were fit for duty, at Forks Creek (near Cross Creek), see CNC15 p. 73.
[1052] WNA
[1053] Rutherford was with Caswell's army by this time.

Caswell's Zeal for the Public Service will induce him to consider my Situation, and be explicit in acquainting me how far in my present Distress I can depend upon him. I conclude General Rutherford has obeyed your Order, and that he is now with you. -- The heavy Rains since General Harrington left me has delayed us so much that the Artillery Stores & Baggage will only be on this side the Ferry by 9 o'clock this Morning, when I shall instantly march (in the firm expectation of finding you there) to Anderson's - I also earnestly expect from you a supply of Provisions."[1054]
Kirkwood: "Augst. 3rd. Marched to Thompson's Creek The line at this place divides North & South Carolina…18 [miles]."[1055]

McCrady: "Lord Rawdon [at Camden], on the first rumor of an advancing American army, called on the inhabitants in and near Camden to take up arms against these approaching countrymen, and confined in jail those who refused. In the midst of summer upward of 160 persons were shut up in a small prison, and 20 or 30 of them, citizens of the most respectable character, were loaded with irons. Mr. James Bradley, Mr. Strother, Colonel Few, Mr. Kershaw, Captain Boykin, Colonel Alexander, Mr. Irvin, Mr. Winn, Colonel Hunter, and Captain John Chestnut were among those subject to these indignities. The last of these gentlemen, though taken in Charlestown, and entitled, therefore, to the security of his person and property by solemn capitulation, was despoiled of $5000 worth of indigo and chained to the floor for a considerable time, on the charge, by one of his slaves, that he was corresponding with the Americans."[1056]

4 August. Gates issued a proclamation, extolling and exhorting support for the American cause, denouncing British policy of forced allegiance to the Crown on American citizens, and threatening punishments for those found guilty of plundering and looting.[1057]

5 August. Otho Williams: "On the 5th day of August, in the afternoon, General Gates received a letter, informing him that General Caswell meditated an attack upon a fortified post of the enemy on Lynch's [or Lynches] Creek, about fourteen miles from the militia [i.e. Caswell's] encampment...the next morning, orders were issued for the army to march with the utmost expedition to join the militia." Caswell feared an attack from the post. Gates not trusting Caswell's competence sought to bring the North Carolina militia under his own command. The two forces joined on 7 August.[1058]

5 August. In the latter part of July, the bulk of the Prince of Wales Volunteers under Maj. John Carden, along with some loyalist militia, advanced towards Hanging Rock in part to "awe the disaffected," having first stopped at Rocky Mount. On August 5th, his troops continued their march, and arrived at Hanging Rock at nightfall; at which time Carden assumed command of that post. Apparently thinking his position safe for the time being, he had neglected to send out proper patrols to guard against surprise. Earlier the same day, and following their cooperation on the attack at Rocky Mount (30 July), Sumter and Davie reunited at Land's Ford on the Catawba River in preparation and consultation for a prospective assault on Carden.[1059]

5 August. Tarleton, at Lenud's Ferry, to Cornwallis: "I have the Honor to inform you of my reaching this Place this Morn[in]g. The incessant Rains having raised the Water & destroyed the small Bridges rendered the Journey I think tedious --
"Col. [John Coming] Ball is here, his militia are not numerous -- He will I believe be able to furnish me with about 25 young Men to assist in allaying this Convocation near Black River & intermediate to Lenew's [Lenud's] & Murray's [Murry's] Ferrys. They likewise will be able to point out the Instruments of Disaffection.
"I cannot ascertain whether Major Wemyss is marched from George Town -- I shall if possible communicate with him, for that purpose I shall dispatch a Ms. [message] to him this afternoon.
"The Country My Lord, I found scared. I praised the Militia tho' not large for their celerity in turning out. They talked of the Enemy crossing to this side the Santee -- their Fears multiplied their Dangers -- A Man is just come in who informs me that they lye in Bodies of 30 & 40 -- many of the Insurgents having taken Certificates and Paroles don't deserve Lenity -- none shall they experience --
"I have promised the young men who chuse [sic] to assist me in this Expedition the Plunder of the Leaders of the Faction -- If Warfare allows me I shall give these Disturbers of the Peace no Quarter; If Humanity obliges I spare their Lives: I shall convey them close Prisoners to Camden -- For a confiscation must take place in their effects. I must discriminate with Severity --
"I cross the Ferry to morrow my Lord, & make use of every Exertion & Precaution in my Power -- I send all my Baggage to Nelsons under the Escort of [?] Militia on this side."[1060]

5-6 August. Gates' army camped at Anderson's Plantation on Deep River.[1061]

6 August. Cornwallis, at Charlestown, to Clinton: "The Wheat harvest in North Carolina is now over, but the weather is still excessively hot; and notwithstanding our utmost exertions, a great part of the Rum, Salt,

[1054] GAH pp. 295-296.
[1055] KJO p. 10.
[1056] MSC1 pp. 618-619.
[1057] TCS p. 140, MSC1 p. 662.
[1058] WNA.
[1059] DRS p. 13, *History of the Prince of Wales American Regiment*, Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies.
[1060] PRO. 30/11/63/19-21.
[1061] See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/deepcreek.htm

Clothing and necessaries for the Soldiers, and the Arms for the Provincials & Ammunition for the Troops are not very far advanced on their way to Camden. However, if no material interruption happens, this business will be nearly accomplished in a fortnight or three Weeks. It may be doubted by some whether the Invasion of North Carolina may be a prudent measure, but I am convinced it is a necessary one, and that if we do not Attack that Province we must give up both South Carolina and Georgia & retire within the Walls of Charles town. Our assurances of Attachment from our poor distressed Friends in North Carolina are as strong as ever, and the patience & fortitude with which those unhappy People bear the most oppressive and cruel Tyranny that was ever exercised over any Country deserves our greatest admiration. The Highlanders have offered to form a Regiment as soon as we enter the Country, & have desired that [N.C.] Governor [Josiah] Martin may be their Chief. I have consented, with the rank of Lieut. Colonel Commandant. The Men, they assure us, are already engaged…

"As Major [James] Graham's Corps grew very weak, and was very unequally composed, some of the Men of the 16th being totally unfit for Light Infantry, and the Major himself not in a good state of health, I thought it best to break up that Corps. The 71st I shall send to their Regiment, except as many as will compleat [sic] those already with Tarleton to a Troop of 70. The Provincials will likewise join their respective Corps, & the detachment of the 16th, consisting of about 60 men, will be attached to the Field Artillery, except 17 or 18, who are represented to me to be active young men, and whom I tend at present to lend to Tarleton.

"I propose taking the following Corps with me into North Carolina: 23d, 33d, 63d, 71st, Volunteers of Ireland, Hamilton's [Royal N.C. Regt.], Harrison's new raised Legion Cavalry & Infantry, & North Carolina Refugees [North Carolina Volunteers]. I intend to leave on the Frontiers from Pedee [Peedee] to Waxhaw, to aw the disaffected, who, I am sorry to say, are still very numerous in that Country, & to prevent any Insurrections in our rear, the N. York Volunteers & Brown's Corps [King's Rangers], & some of the Militia of the Camden district, who are commanded by Colonel. [Henry] Rugeley, a very active & spirited man. I shall place Ferguson's Corps & some Militia of the Ninety-Six district, which Colonel. Balfour assures me have got into very tolerable order, owing to the great assiduity of Ferguson, on the borders of Tryon County, with directions for him to advance with a part of them into the Mountains and secure the left of our March. Lieut. Colonel Cruger, who Commands at Ninety-Six, will have his own Corps, Innes's [sic], & the remainder of the Militia of that district to preserve that Frontier, which requires great attention, & where there are many disaffected & many constantly in Arms. [Isaac] Allen's Corps [S.C. Royalists], and for a time the Florida Rangers [i.e. King's Rangers], are stationed at Augusta, under the command of Lieut. Colonel [Isaac] Allen, He being, by all Accounts, a much properer [sic] Man than Colonel. [Thomas] Brown to trust with commands. Besides, the latter will have sufficient business in the Indian department.

"Poor [George] Hanger is always willing to do his best, but he did not think that he should be very useful in collecting the lists, fixing the Officers & establishing the Militia in the different districts, and as he found that the Attempt would take him up many Months, & would be entirely a civil employment, He beg'd [sic] that he might act as a Volunteer Major of Tarleton's Cavalry. As Tarleton seemed to wish it very much, I have given my consent until your pleasure shall be known.

"Major Stuart is rather inconveniently placed with the 63d Regiment, and as He and Major [James] Wemys[s] are not on very good terms, & the Regiment being joined with other Troops would occasion a constant change of command from one to the other, which would be prejudicial to the Regiment and the service, I have given him leave to go to New York, where, he tells me, he was appointed to remain as Major of Brigade before the sailing of the Expedition. Major [James] Graham has no further duty to detain him here, his Corps being dissolved. I beg leave to assure Your Excellency that He has served with Zeal and Attention. I forgot to apologize to You for letting Lieut. Colonel McDonald go to New York to Solicit leave to go home. His business in Europe seemed pressing, and I did not see any convenience in the command's devolving upon Major [Archibald] McArthur, who is an excellent Officer."[1062]

6 August. [battle] HANGING ROCK (Kershaw-Lancaster County border, S.C.) After making plans and arrangements on the 5th, Sumter with 300, mostly mounted, men (under Col. William Hill, Maj. Richard Winn, Capt. Edward Lacey, and Capt. John McClure) and about 500 North Carolina men (largely Mecklenburg militia under Col. Robert Irwin, which included some 80 cavalry and mounted militia[1063] under Maj. William Richardson Davie), for a total of some 800 moved to attack the British post at Hanging Rock. According to Winn, Davie's men were under his (Winn's) command; though Davie in his own record of the battle makes no indication of this -- possibly because he might have argued that such wasn't the case to begin with. Sumter did not yet have formal rank as Brigadier General, yet was selected the senior officer among the group – and even though the North Carolinians present were almost twice as numerous as their immediate southern brethren.

Hanging Rock itself, an "open camp" located in a settlement, was occupied by Maj. John Carden with 500 provincials, including 160 of British Legion, under Capt. Kenneth McCulloch and Capt. John Rousselet, a detachment of the Royal North Carolina Regiment,[1064] a detachment of the King's Rangers, and Carden's own Prince of Wales American Volunteers, posted in some houses, plus at least two cannon. A separate force of Col. Samuel Bryan's regiment of North Carolina Volunteers, a militia/provincial regiment, and some other loyalists, totaling about 700 to 900 were at a position near some woods separated from Carden's encampment by a creek with a steep ravine. Sumter decided on a plan of attacking the camp in three mounted detachments. Davie, on the other hand proposed leaving the horses behind *before* making their approach, "urging the confusion

[1062] CNC15 pp. 258-262, RCC pp. 52-53.

[1063] William Hill's figure. HMS pp. 12-13.

[1064] The Royal North Carolina Regt. probably arrived with Carden on the 6th. How and when the detachment of King's Rangers came to Hanging Rock remains to be determined (at least by this writer), but they may have accompanied Carden, if not there earlier than this. Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, their head, was not present.

consequent on dismounting under fire[,] and the certainty of losing the suddenness and certainty of attack." He was, however, overruled.

The American and British versions of what happened diverge not a little, hence the extensive quotations given below. The initial assault was made early in the morning where Winn's and Davie's men completely routed Bryan's corps. Capt. McCulloch's company of the British Legion, after presenting a volley, was also routed by Sumter's riflemen, with McCulloch himself was killed and which possibly accounts for their flight. The Prince of Wales Regt. also came under heavy fire and suffered very severe casualties, including Carden who was badly wounded. The King's Rangers then came up, and having cleverly deployed themselves in some woods, checked the rebel assault with a surprise crossfire. This allowed the British to draw up into a hollow square in the center of the cleared ground, while further protecting themselves with a three-pounder which had been left by some of Rugeley's Camden militia. [1065] According to another account, at some point, Capt. Rousselet of the Legion infantry, led a gallant charge and also forced Sumter's men back and it was this that permitted the British to form up into the square. Since Carden was wounded, command devolved on Capt. Rousselet. 40 mounted Legion infantry,[1066] under Capt. Charles McDonald and Capt. Patrick Stewart, on their way to Camden from Rocky Mount, rode to the scene after they heard shooting in the distance. These along with some of Hamilton's N.C. provincials (and after arraying themselves to appear as if greater in number than they actually were) charged Sumter's militia. Although initially much successful, they were, notwithstanding, driven back by a counter-charge from Davie's dragoons. While the main British force held up in the square, many of the whig units lost order and began looting the camp, not a few becoming intoxicated in the process by availing themselves of the British rum. Sumter, having run out of ammunition, and by this time finding Rousselet's position too strong to attack, took his men, now "loaded with plunder," and retreated.

The battle was interpreted by both sides as a victory for themselves: the British because they had fought off the Americans; the Americans because they had captured the British stores, took many prisoners, and withdrew in safety. The action lasted three to four hours, with many men fainting from heat and drought. Sumter reported British losses at Hanging Rock as 250 killed and wounded, and that he also took 70 prisoners, with himself losing 20 killed, 40 wounded, 10 missing. Capt. John McClure, one of the most active partisan leaders in the summer of 1780, was mortally wounded; Col. Hill and Maj. Winn were also wounded but not seriously. According to William Hill in his memoirs, Sumter incurred 40 killed and 3 wounded. Tarleton states that the British Legion, alone, suffered 22 killed, upwards of 30 wounded, and that the Americans left 100 dead on the battlefield. As well as Capt. McCulloch, the Legion also lost Lieut. Ralph Cunningham. According to a Loyalist source, the Prince of Wales Regt., out of 181 officers and men present, 93 were killed, wounded or missing. The same source says the Royal North Carolinians lost 50 officers and men. Allaire records the King's Rangers suffering over 100 lost, mostly of this number taken prisoner. Though not so catastrophic as some of the loyalist losses, Davie's corps did endure significant losses. Boatner gives Carden's figures as 192 killed and wounded, while Sumter's were 12 killed and 41 wounded. The extreme heat only aggravated the suffering of the wounded of both sides.

Following the battle, Rawdon at Camden sent the 23rd Regt., under Major Mecan, from Rugeley's to Hanging rock. This permitted Bryan time and room to collect his dispersed force. A historian for the Prince of Wales Volunteers maintains that many of the British prisoners lost at Hanging Rock were recovered after the battle of Camden.[1067]

Davie: "[Sumter's] right and center divisions fell together with the left upon the Tory encampment: -- these devoted people [the Tories] were briskly attacked both in front & flank and soon routed with great slaughter; as the Americans pressed on in pursuit of the Tories who fled toward the center encampment they received a fire from 160 of the Legion and some companies of [John] Hamilton's Regiment [i.e. Royal N.C. Regt.] posted behind a fence, but their impetuosity was not checked a moment by this unexpected discharge, they rushed forward, and the Legion Infantry immediately broke and mingled in the flight of the Loyalists, yielding their camp without another struggle to the Militia; at this moment a part of Col. Browns [Thomas Brown's] regiment [i.e. King's Rangers] had nearly changed the fate of the day, they passed by a bold and skilful maneuvre [sic] into the wood between the center & Tory encampment, drew up unperceived, and poured a Heavy fire on the Militia forming, from the disorder of the pursuit, on the flank of the encampment; these brave men took instinctively to the trees and bush heaps and returned the fire with deadly effect, in a few minutes there was not a British officer standing, one half of the regiment had fallen, and the others on being offered quarters threw down their arms; the remainder of the British line who had also made a movement to their right now retreated hastily toward their former position and drew up in the center of the cleared grounds in the form of the Hollow Square. The rout of these different corps the pursuit & plunder of the camps had thrown the Americans into great confusion, the utmost exertions were made by Col. Sumter & the other officers to carry the men on to attack the British square, about 200 Infantry with Davie's dragoons were collected and formed on the margin of the woods, and a heavy but ineffectual fire was commenced on the british [sic] troops, about 3 or 400 of the Enemy consisting of the Legion Infantry Hamilton[']s regt [Royal N.C. Regt.] with a large body of Tories, were observed rallying and forming on the edge of the woods on the opposite side of the British camp under cover of the trees, and charged them with his company of Dragoons, these people under the impressions of defeat were all routed and dispersed in a few minutes by this handful of men. The distance of the square from the woods and the constant fire of two pieces of field artillery prevented the militia from making any considerable impression on the British troops; so

[1065] As accounts do not mention it, the cannon was apparently not actually used, possibly due to its being separated from the ammunition, which perhaps the rebels had got hold of in their initial advance.

[1066] Tarleton's number. Davie speaks of them as cavalry, so some of these may have been present also.

[1067] RCC p. 555, TCS pp. 94-96, 100, GHA3 pp. 427-428, SAW2 pp. 202-204, MST p. 26, HRS pp. 28-30, DRS pp. 13-16, LMS pp.177-178, 188, HMS pp. 12-13, SNC pp. 69-74, FWI pp. 172-173, MSC1 pp. 625-631, WAR2 pp. 709-711, BGC pp. 68-73, RBG p. 87, BEA pp. 486-487, *History of the Prince of Wales American Regt.*, Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies, SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 24-27.

that upon Major Davie's return it was agreed to plunder the encampments and retire; as this party was returning toward the center encampment some British Legion Cavalry appeared drawn up on the Camden road, with a countenance as if they meant to keep their position but on being charged by the dragoons of Davie's corps they all took the woods in flight & one only was cut down. A retreat was by this time absolutely necessary -- The commissary stores were taken in the center encampment, and numbers of the men were already inebriated, the greatest part were loaded with plunder and those in a condition to fight had exhausted their ammunition, about an Hour was employed in plundering the camp, taking the paroles of the British officers, and preparing litters for the wounded; all this was transacted within full view of the British army who in the meantime consoled themselves with some military music & an interlude of 3 cheers for King George which was immediately answered by 3 cheers and the Hero of American Liberty [presumably George Washington]; the militia at length got into the line of march in three columns, Davie's corps covering their rear, but as they were loaded with plunder, encumbered with their wounded friends, and many of them intoxicated, it is easy to conceive that this retreat could not be performed according to the rules of the most approved military tactics, However under all these disadvantages the field off unmolested along the front of the Enemy about 1 O'clock."[1068]

Lee: "Our loss was not ascertained, from the usual inattention to returns prevalent among militia officers; and many of our wounded were immediately carried home from the field of battle. The corps of Davie suffered most. Captain [John] McClure of South Carolina, and Captain Reed of North Carolina, were killed; Colonel [William] Hill, Major Richard Winn and Lieutenant Crawford, were wounded as were Captain Craighead, Lieutenant Flenchau, and Ensign McClure of North Carolina. The British loss exceeded ours. Captain McCullock [Kenneth McCulloch], who commanded the legion infantry with much personal honor, two officers, and twenty men of the same corps, were killed and nearly forty wounded. Many officers and men of Brown's regiment were also killed and wounded and some taken."[1069]

Allaire: "Thursday, 10th…By the express heard that Sumter had attacked Hanging Rock the 6th instant. The North Carolinians were first attacked; they gave way. Brown's corps [the King's Rangers] came up, but were obliged to give way. The Legion Cavalry came in the Rebels' rear, and soon gained the day. Brown's corps suffered much -- three officers killed, and three wounded-an hundred men taken prisoners."

Tarleton: "Colonel Sumpter crossed Broad river, and retired to his former camp in the Catawba settlement; where, reinforcing the numbers he had lost at Rocky mount, he was soon in a condition to project other operations. This active partizan was thoroughly sensible, that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise [sic], and that to keep undisciplined people together, it is necessary to employ them. For this purpose, he again surveyed the state of the British posts upon the frontier, and on minute examination he deemed Hanging rock the most vulnerable: He hastened his preparations for the attack, because a detachment of cavalry and mounted infantry had been ordered from that place to reinforce Rocky mount. On the 6th of August, at seven o'clock in the morning, he approached the flank of the post, which was entrusted to the North-Carolina refugees, under the orders of Colonel [Samuel] Bryan. This loyalist, with his undisciplined people, though opposed by troops equally undisciplined, soon retreated from his ground, and Colonel Sumpter directed the weight of his attack against the legion infantry, which resisted his efforts with great coolness and bravery. The example of courage exhibited by one hundred and sixty men of the legion, who charged the Americans twice with fixed bayonets, to save their three pounder, made a detachment of Colonel [Thomas] Brown's regiment [King's Rangers] recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the flight of Colonel Bryan, and they now joined their endeavours [sic] to defend the British encampment. Colonel Sumpter still persevered in his attack, and very probably would have succeeded, if a stratagem employed by Captains [Patrick] Stewart and [Charles] M'Donald, of the British legion, had not disconcerted his operations. These officers, with forty mounted infantry, were returning the same morning from Rocky mount, and on the route heard the cannon and musketry at Hanging rock; on a nearer approach to their post, they judiciously left the Rocky mount, and made a circuit to get into the main Camden road, to reinforce their companions: When they arrived in sight of the Americans, the bugle horn was directed to sound the charge, and the soldiers were ordered to extend their files, in order to look like a formidable detachment. This unexpected appearance deranged the American commander, and threw his corps into a state of confusion, which produced a general retreat. Captain [Kenneth] M'Cullock, who command the legion infantry with so much distinction, was killed, with two other officers, and twenty men: Upwards of thirty of the same corps were wounded. The detachment of Colonel Brown's regiment had, likewise, some officers and men killed and wounded, and a few taken prisoners. Colonel Bryan's North-Carolina refugees were greatly dispersed, but did not suffer considerably by the fire of the enemy. About one hundred dead and wounded Americans were left on the field of battle. Colonel Sumpter rallied his men not far from Hanging rock, and again fell back to the Catawba settlement, to collect more men from the Wacsaws [Waxhaws], and to receive refugees, who flocked from all parts of South Carolina. The repulses he had sustained did not discourage him, or injure his cause: The loss of men was easily supplied, and his reputation for activity and courage was fully established by his late enterprizing [sic] conduct." [1070]

MacKenzie: "In our author's [Tarleton's] description of the action at Hanging Rock, the partiality which he entertains for his own corps is evident; the gallantry of officers, and of a detachment with which he was not immediately connected, is consigned to oblivion. This assertion is justified by his silence on the loss of

[1068] DRS pp. 14-15.
[1069] LMS p. 178.
[1070] TCS pp. 94-96.

Lieutenant Brown of the North Carolinians, who fell in a desperate charge, which the crisis of the action rendered inevitable; and besides him, not less than seventy men of the same regiment were killed and wounded, of which, however, no mention is made, as it would appear a participation of the credit ascribed to the legion. To the names already specified, those of many American Loyalists might have been added; men, whose integrity was incorruptible, undismayed in the hour of danger, who sacrificed their private interest to publick good, and who, though they knew that the internal peace of their families was destroyed, by the ravages of relentless war, fought and bled with manly spirit; maintained their allegiance to their latest moments, and evinced a probity of mind under every reverse of fortune, which must endear them to posterity."[1071]

Hanger: "Colonel Bryant's [Samuel Bryan's] militia were attacked by General Sumpter, were beat, and driven out of the field -- the North Carolinians [the Royal N.C. Regt.] suffered nearly the same fate. The loss of the Prince of Wales's regiment sustained was heavy; that corps, both officers and men, were nearly destroyed. The British legion were then attacked by the whole American force. Captain M'Cullock, before the attack became general, was mortally wounded: the command of the legion devolved on Captain [John] Rousselet. He charged the enemy; repulsed, and drove them. This officer, possessing happily not only valour, but also good conduct, joined with it, instead of permitted his victorious troops in a broken and irregular manner to pursue the enemy, (which in cases I could mention, has proved fatal, where British valour [sic], intoxicated with a momentary success, has lost sight of discipline, regularity and order; which neglect of regularity may in future wars, if not corrected, be more severely felt) halted, convinced of the advantage of the ground he had been attacked upon, he marched back and took possession of it again. Sumpter renewed the attack; he was again and again beat off, charged, and pursued, but with regularity. These operations of a gallant few, gave time for a few of the scattered troops to rally and join the legion, which the approach of the detachment under Captains [Charles] M'Donald and [Patrick] Stewart, &c. &c. as related by Colonel Tarleton, obliged General Sumpter to quit the field, and desist from any further attack on that post." [1072]

Richard Winn: "On Saturday the 6th of August, crossed at Landsford, Catawba River; marched all night; about two hours of daylight halted for the coming of two spyes [sic] sent into the enemies' camp. Those men shortly arrived and reported they left the British camp at the middle of the night and their force did not exceed 300 men and that their reinforcement sent to Rocky Mount had not returned. Here a disposition was made of the men, 500 in number, 200 without guns. Col. Winn, supported by Maj'r Davie's horse, was to bring on the attack on the British; the rest of the men was divided into four parts and, commanded by Colonels [Edward] Lacey, [William] Bratton, [William] Hill, and I think the other colonel was Harthorn [James Hawthorn] or Moffet [John Moffit] -- say both, in this order. We marched up and dismounted, and left the men without arms to care for the horses, but if we drove the enemy they were to follow us and take the arms of the killed and wounded and to join their respective commands, which was obeyed. It was now fully light, near sunrise. At this place we took two Tories. They informed us that the reinforcements sent to Rocky Mount had returned between twelve and one at night; and on this, Gen'l Sumter and the field officers being present, a council was held for a few minuets [sic]. The officers divided, some for fighting, others for retreating. As no officer was willing to be outdone by the others in bravery, the action immediately commenced.
"Gen'l Sumter with the main body wheeled to the left, Col. Winn with his command to the right to attack the Prince of Whales [Wales] Regiment; but his pilot, not knowing where Col. Brian's [Samuel Bryan's] Regiment [i.e. the N.C. Volunteers] was posted which was composed of about 500 men, Winn with his party was within thirty steps of them before they was discovered by Maj'r Davie who was in front. He was ordered to move on and make room for the foot. Here we received a most tremendious [sic] fire from Brian. The enemy, being on the top of a high hill, overshot us; and, before they could load again, Winn's party was ordered to put up the Indian hollo[1073] and rush up the hill before they discharged their prices. This took place in an instant. At the same time the horse was ordered to charge. Brian's men gave way immediately, after suffering much damage in killed and wounded. Notwithstanding so heavy a fire from the enemy, here we lost but one man killed and two wounded. By this time Gen'l Sumter got to the ground he ment [sic] to take, and as Brian's men went by him he gave them a severe fire. I have been well informed that many were so frightened they never stopt [sic] until they got into Georgia. To return, Winn as soon as Brian gave way marched with his party to the British camp which we found in an open old field about half a mile from where Brian was posted. The British immediately commenced fireing [sic] from behind some bush tents. Winn's men, according to custom, set up the Indian hallo, rushed and fired on their enemy as they went, with bullets in their mouths and powder in their pockets, and to load as they run up but by no means to take a tree even where trees was. The British at this place, finding such a charge made on them, retreated leaving behind them field pieces. This time Winn, hearing a considerable fireing [sic] to his left, repaired to the place as quick as possible and came immediately on the back of the British, who a party of our own men were in action with. I directly ordered my men to commence fireing as usual. The British, between two fires, gave way. Here I was an eye witness to the British taking trees to defend themselves. On hearing severe fireing to my right, I ordered my men to repair to the place; this was a short time before the action. Endeed [sic] here Col. Winn received a most dangerous would, but never quit the field until Gen'l Sumter had gathered his men. And for victory three cheers was given by the true friends of America. This action commenced about the appearance of the sun Sunday, August seventh, and lasted until nine o'clock. The British force including Tories was, from the best information, about 1400; their loss, the Prince of Whail's [Wales] Regiment almost destroyed, the Tories totally defeated with a great loss of killed, wounded and

[1071] MST p. 26.
[1072] HRS pp. 28-30.
[1073] Predecessor of the "rebel yell," and in turn probably derived from an Indian battle cry.

prisoners, besides a vast quantity of arms &c., and 300 horses. The loss on the part of Gen'l Sumter was 40 killed and wounded. The American and British flags was hoisted on the 8th for each to bury their dead and take off the wounded."[1074]

6 August. Gates, at the "West Side [of] Mask's Ferry [on the Peedee River]," wrote to Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington of the North Carolina militia on this date: "I am to desire that you will forthwith proceed to Peedee and take such a position for your Head Quarters as may be most convenient for the executing the Service you are intended by these Instructions to perform. That being done you will acquaint all the Colonels or Officers commanding Regiments of Militia that I have appointed you to be commanding General of the whole of the Militia upon both side of the River Peedee, from Cheraw District, to the District at the Mouth of the said River both inclusive. You will call out such Proportions of the said militia only as are necessary for immediate Service, not more than One half at a Time (but this is not to be understood to preclude you from accepting any Volunteers that may offer to serve). You have likewise in case of Vacancy from any cause full Power and Authority from me: to Grant Brevet Commission to any person capable of taking command of a Regimt [sic] of Militia: -- to direct and in my Name authorize him in like manner to fill up vacant Commissions in His Corps. -- When you have collected and organized a Body of Militia fit for a General Officers command, you will make your Returns and Report to me in writing, and I shall thereupon give Orders and Directions for the particular Service, which the Public Interest renders it necessary you should perform."[1075]
Harrington, with his North Carolina militia, had been headed toward (or else actually left) Gates a few days before, and was probably at Cross Creek (specifically Forks Creek near Cross Creek) by this time; and for a period Marion (and also Abel Kolb and Thomas Brown) looked to him as superior when not in direct consultation with Gates. Although considerably delayed (such that he had to be ordered again by Gates a month later), as per these instructions, he did, ultimately move by late October to the Cheraw District. Thereafter he operated primarily in upper Peedee and Cheraw areas. Initially Harrington kept those headquarters near Cheraw itself, and then later at Haley's Ferry. He continued to command in this district until about mid-December 1780, when (with Marion by then the dominant commissioned general in the region), he moved up state and shortly thereafter commanded at Grassy Creek on the Roanoke River.

6-10 August. [capture] Megert's Swamp, also Black River (Williamsburg County, S.C.) Having been laid up in Charlestown with fever, Tarleton recovered by the early part of August. Collecting all the dragoons he could find, he headed north to join Rawdon. Maj. Hanger, who had lately been appointed to the British Legion cavalry, accompanied him. With 30 dragoons and 40 mounted militia assembled, he crossed Lenud's Ferry on August 6th. Along the way, near the Black River, he disgused himself as an advance party of Gates' army, and as a result tricked into capture some Whig militia under Bradley; not unlike in the manner that Henry Lee later fooled Pyle (see 24 February 1781.) Tarleton then took them as prisoners to Camden. There he found the Legion cavalry nearly decimated by constant patrols and detachments. Collecting all of them as were fit for duty, on 10 August he reinforced Rawdon at Lynches Creek (also spoken of as Lynches River.) Bass records that Tarleton passed through the Kingstree area rather quickly to avoid ambush by the local whig militia, and makes no reference to Bradley's capture. It should be noted, however, that the British never used Kingstree (Francis Marion's country) as a means of connecting with Camden, and only sent forces to that area if they were specifically designated for action there.[1076]

7 August. Gates' army rendezvoused with the 2,100 N.C. militia under Caswell at "the Cross Roads, about fifteen miles east of the enemy's post, on Lynch''s Creek" in what is now Chesterfield County.[1077]
Gates, at "Camp at Little Black Creek," wrote to Brig. Gen. Harrington on this date: "Having yesterday delivered you your Public Orders; in respect to your Command and Management of the Militia on both sides of the River Peedee: -- I am now to request your particular attention to an Enterprise of much Utility to the United States, and great Glory to yourself: -- it is no less Sir, than the Surprise and Conquest of the Enemy in their Post at George Town. -- You have therefore my orders and Directions to proceed in that important Business, most rapidly; though at the same Time apparently, as if your other Command; was the sole Reason of your being detached. -- Let your First Object be, to select from the Militia and Troops under your Command -- a Chosen Band, fit to execute the intended Service. -- Secondly be vigilant to procure every possible Information, of the Strength of the Enemy's Garrison at that Post, their works, their weak Side &c. When these are obtained, you will determine your Plan of Attack; which I recommend to you (if no unforeseen circumstances prevent) at half an Hour before Daybreak. When you have subdued the Garrison, you will if possible, secure the Magazine for the Use of the Troops of the United States in the Southern Department -- You will send the Prisoners of the Royal Army to Richmond in Virginia, under a proper Escort and the Tories of South and North Carolina to Newbern.
"Reposing especial Confidence in your Courage, Experience and Wisdom, I rely that all your natural and acquired talents will be exerted to obtain success in a Conquest, that must redound so much to your Honor and prove in its Consequences so beneficial to the United States. -- I must likewise recommend to your particular attention the Situation of those unfortunate Men who have been obliged to take the Oath of allegiance to the then prevailing Power of Great Britain -- to whom you will be pleased to follow the Line of Conduct laid down in my

[1074] WNO, part I, pp. 210-212.
[1075] GAH p. 299.
[1076] TCS pp. 100-101, MSC1 pp. 648-651, BSF p. 37-38.
[1077] WNA, MLW4A pp. 171-172, MSC1 p. 663, RNC p. 242.

Letter of Instructions to the officers Commanding Militia Regiments in this State. -- In a firm Belief that you will do everything that the best officer can do to obtain success."[1078]

Maj. Thomas Pinckney, Gates' Aide, at "Head Quarters near Anderson's Creek Cross Roads," to Sumter: "After a rapid March of Forty Miles in two Days, we have arrived within Fourteen Miles of the Enemy's Post at Lynch's [or Lynches] Creek, but they have prudently thought proper to decamp last night for Camden. We here formd [sic] a junction with Major Genl [Richard] Caswell whose numerous Division is well found well armd [sic] and accoutred [sic] and eager for Action. -- Upon the Whole we form an army fully sufficient to drive our late insulting Foes to Charles Town, without the considerable Reinforcements which are coming up. -- General Gates (who now commands in chief in the Southern Department) desires to be particularly acquainted with your Situation, and any Late Intelligence you may have collected. He would therefore be glad if you would send him a Confidential Officer, well instructed upon the necessary Points, immediately -- if you should not be able to spare an Officer, you will be pleased to write fully, but so as to be calculated for accidents -- The State of Provisions in your neighborhood, should be particularly attended to, and Intelligence concerning it, immediately sent."[1079]

8 August. Gates, at "Camp Lynch's Creek," to Col. Charles Porterfield: "Sir, You will be pleased to proceed immediately on the Rout which the Enemy have taken, with the Virginia Troops, the Light Infantry of General Caswell's Division, and the Detachment of Cavalry which is ordered to join you, under your Command. Your object will be to hang upon the Enemy's Rear; to harass them as much as lies in your Power, and to take every Advantage which Circumstances may offer. -- I place so entire a Confidence in your Military Abilities, Prudence and Courage, that I leave the conduct of your operations altogether to your own Discretion, not doubting that you will distress the Enemy as much as lies in your Power; without hazarding too much the Troops under your Command. I shall order a Body of 600 men to march early in the evening to support your Detachment. -- A Deserter who is lately come in, gives Intelligence that the Enemy halted this Morning on an Eminence four miles beyond Little Lynch's Creek; where they purpose to remain till the cool of the Evening." [1080]

8 August, also given as 7 August. [battle] Second Cedar Spring, also Wofford's Iron Works, Buffington, Green Spring, Green's Spring, the Peach Orchard. (Spartanburg County S.C.) Col. Charles McDowell, who was camped at Cherokee Ford with not more than a thousand men (according to Draper), had sent out an advance force of an estimated 600 of them mounted under Colonel Isaac Shelby, Col. Elijah Clark, and Col. William Graham to keep watch on and check the foraging parties of Ferguson, who is thought to have had 400-600 according to one account, and 1,500-1,800 men according to Draper.
On the evening of 7 August, Shelby, Clark and Graham, expecting a direct attack, retreated from their bivouac two miles west of Cedar Spring to an area near Wofford's Iron Works a few miles north, and on Lawson's Fork of the Pacelot. On the morning of the 8th, Ferguson's advance guard of 114 dragoons and mounted loyalists under Maj. James Dunlop attacked, but, outnumbered was beaten back with some loss. When Ferguson's came up with his main body, however, Clark, Shelby and Graham's men were forced to make a hasty withdrawal. Ferguson then pursued some four or five miles, yet after the backcountry men had posted themselves on some high ground called, he called off the attack and withdrew. Much of the battle took on the form of a running engagement, and some versions speak of two separate but closely related skirmishes going on simultaneously. The number of men involved and of casualties in the battle is not clear; there being different versions of each coming from both sides. Nonetheless, it would seem on the surface fair to say that Dunlop and Ferguson outnumbered Shelby, Clark and Graham, and the losses for both sides were about the same except that the Americans took more prisoners. It is not stated that Ferguson even captured any. Draper presents and examines the various versions of the battle at considerable length in his *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. As with a number of facts about the battle, the given number of casualties differ. Shelby, cited in Draper, reported 20 British were taken including 2 officers. Ripley states the British lost 8 to 34 killed and wounded, and making reference to two separate reports says Shelby, Clark and Graham lost either 3 killed and 21 wounded, or else 21 killed to 50 wounded, preferring the lower figure. Allaire gives the loyalist losses as 20 to 30 killed, and 3 captured. The Rebel loss was not certain, but as many as 22 were wounded including, Col. Clark.[1081]
Allaire: "Tuesday, 8th. Learning that the Rebel wagons were three miles in front of us at Cedar Spring, Captain Dunlap [Dunlop], with fourteen mounted men, and a hundred and thirty militia, were dispatched to take the wagons. He met three Rebels coming to reconnoitre [sic] our camp; he pursued, took two of them-the other escaped, giving the Rebels the alarm. In pursuit of this man, Dunlap and his party rushed into the centre of the Rebel camp, where they lay in ambush, before he was aware of their presence. A skirmish ensued, in which Dunlap got slightly wounded, and had between twenty and thirty killed and wounded-Ensign McFarland and one

[1078] GAH pp.299-300. In light of later events there, Gates proposal to seize Georgetown with militia perhaps sounds strange. However, at this time it must have been must perhaps have been at least somewhat feasible for in a letter to Maj. Gen. Leslie of 24 Oct. 1780, Rawdon (acting for Cornwallis at that time) wrote: "This hour the majority of the inhabitants of that tract between the Pedee and the Santee are in arms against us; and when we last heard from Charles-town [i.e. Balfour], they were in possession of George-town, from which they had dislodged our militia." Tarleton simiallry believed Gates should have made more of an effort to undermine Cornwallis' communications with Charlestown and other posts before risking a direct engagement with the British, TCS p. 109. Also worth noting, Sumter at the time supported Gates idea of cutting off British line of retreat from and communications to Camden. SDR p. 134.
[1079] GAH p. 300.
[1080] GAH pp. 300-301. One can't help but think Gates was being not a little fantastic minded in this instance, to expect Porterfield, with infantry no less, to be harassing the enemy's *rear*.
[1081] HMP, SJM, MHG pp. 313-314, JTR pp.422-423, 516-518, DKM p. 92-102, SNC pp. 76-78, MSC1 pp. 635-640, LCR pp. 135-146, RBG p. 76, BRG p. 139.

private taken prisoners. The Rebel loss is uncertain. A Maj. Smith, Capt. Potts, and two privates, were left dead on the field. Col. Clark, Johnson, and twenty privates were seen wounded. We pursued them five miles to the Iron Works, but were not able to overtake them, they being all mounted. We countermarched five miles to Cedar Spring, and halted to refresh during the heat of the day. At six in the evening, marched and took a height near the ground the Rebels left."

Saye (with Major Joseph McJunkin): "Previous to this (that is, the Battle of Musgrove's Mill), in July, a battle was fought at the Green Springs, near Berwick's Iron Works, by Col. Clarke [Elijah Clark] of Georgia, with 168 men. The enemy, consisting of 150 volunteer mounted riflemen and sixty well equipped dragoons, were defeated with the loss of twenty-eight killed on the spot and several wounded. Clarke had four killed and twenty-three wounded, all with the broadsword. Major Smith of Georgia, a brave, intelligent and active officer, was killed, Col. Clarke was severely wounded, Col. [Charles] Robertson, a volunteer; Capt. Clarke, and several other officers were also wounded.

"Mr. Mills is probably mistaken in his statement that Col. Clarke was wounded in this battle; he was too soon in service again. Besides, Mr. Sherwood, in his *Gazetteer* of Georgia, states that Col. Clarke was wounded in the Battle of Musgrove's Mill some three weeks subsequent to this. We have a more detailed account of the battle at the Cedar Spring in the *Magnolia Magazine* of 1842, which is understood to be from the pen of a distinguished citizen of Greenville District. It is as follows:

"'Col. Clarke of Georgia, well known in the American Revolution as a bold, active and useful officer, was on his march into North Carolina with a regiment of refugee Whigs for the purpose of joining the American Army then expected from the north. The news of his march reached the ears of Col. Ferguson, who immediately despatched [sic] Major Dunlop of the British Army with a detachment of troops consisting principally of Tories for the purpose of intercepting Col. Clarke and his regiment of militia. The colonel, not expecting an attack from the enemy, had encamped for the night two or three miles from the Cedar Spring, when he was alarmed by the firing of a gun by one of Major Dunlop's soldiers. It is said that this soldier, whose name is not at present remembered, was a Tory who felt some compunctious visitings [sic] at the idea of surprising and capturing his countrymen and took this opportunity of giving them information of an approaching enemy. He pretended, however, that his gun went off accidently [sic], and he was not suspected of treachery. Col. Clarke immediately decamped and marched to the Cedar Spring, where he passed the night undisturbed. Mr. Dunlop, not thinking it prudent to pursue the Americans in the night, took possession of Col. Clarke's encampment and waited for the day.

"'Josiah Culbertson, noted in Spartanburg for his desperate and daring courage, had left the American camp that evening for the purpose of returning home, two or three miles distant, to spend the night. He came back about daylight, expecting, of course, to find Col. Clarke and his regiment. But as he rode into the camp he observed that the army seemed to present a different appearance from what it did the evening before, but nevertheless rode on to where he expected to find Col. Clarke before he became conscious that he was in the midst of an enemy's camp. With extraordinary coolness and presence of mind, he then leisurely turned around and rode very slowly out of the encampment with his trusty rifle lying on the pommel of his saddle. As he passed along he saw the dragoons catching their horses, and other preparations being made to strike up the line of march.

"'When out of sight of the British he put spurs to his horse and went in the direction he supposed Clarke had gone. While in the enemy's camp he had doubtless been taken for a Tory who was a little ahead of the others in his preparations for marching. He overtook Col. Clarke and found him in readiness for the attack of Major Dunlop. In a short time, too, that officer made his appearance and a warm engagement ensued. The British and Tories were repulsed with considerable loss. The Americans sustained very little injury. Major Dunlop hastily fled the country and Col. Clarke resumed his march toward North Carolina. During this engagement Culbertson was met by a dragoon some distance from the main battle who imperiously demanded his surrender, which Culbertson replied to with his rifle and felled the dragoon from his horse.

"'The next day when the dead were buried this dragoon was thrown into a hole near where he lay and was covered with earth. He had some peaches in his pocket when buried, from which a peach tree came up and was known to bear peaches for years afterward. His grave is yet to be seen, but the tree has long since disappeared.'

"[Here Saye discusses Fort Anderson or Thicketty Fort, see 30 July]…The effective force of Col. Ferguson at this time amounted to more than 2,500 men, composed of British and Tories. [Col. Charles] McDowell's force was too small to meet his antagonist in the field with any prospect of success. He therefore deemed it expedient to maintain his position at the Cherokee Ford, guard against surprise and harass his adversary in hope of soon acquiring a force sufficient to expel him from the country. He had under his command officers and men possessing peculiar qualifications for accomplishing such a task, and by no means averse to daring enterprise.

"Accordingly, soon after the return of the party from the capture of Moore, Shelby and Clarke were again in the field at the head of 600 mounted rifle men, with a view of passing beyond Pacolet River for the purpose of cutting off the foraging parties of the enemy. They crossed that stream near where the Rolling Mill Place now is and sent out patrol parties to give intelligence of the enemy and watch his movements. Ferguson soon penetrated the designs of his adversaries and set his army in motion to drive them from the country. Major Dunlop advanced to Cedar Spring and Ferguson with his whole force was but a few miles in his rear. Shelby's force occupied a position near the present site of Bivingsville. Various attempts were made to fall upon the Americans by surprise, but these schemes were baffled.

"About four miles from the present site of Spartanburg Court House on the road to Union is an old plantation known as Thompson's Old Place. It is an elevated tract of country lying between the tributaries of Fairforest on the one side and of Lawson's Fork on the other. Cedar Spring was about a mile distant on the Fairforest side, and Shelby's position not much further on the other. A road leading from North Carolina to Georgia by way of

the Cherokee Ford on Broad River passed through this place and then by or near Cedar Spring. A person passing at the present time from the direction of Union toward Spartanburg Court House crosses this ancient highway at Thompson's old residence.

"After passing this, by looking to the left, the eye rests upon a parcel of land extending down a hollow, which was cleared and planted in fruit trees prior to the Revolutionary War. Beyond this hollow, just where the road now enters a body of woodlands, there is yet some traces of a former human habitation. In this orchard two patrol parties met from adverse armies. The party from Dunlop's camp were in the orchard gathering peaches; the Liberty Party fired on them and drove them from the place. In turn they entered the orchard, but the report of their guns brought out a strong detachment from Shelby. The Captain of the patrol, when he saw the enemy approaching, drew up his men under cover of the fence along the ridge, just where the old field and the woodland now meet, and where the traces of an old place of residence are now barely visible. Here he awaited their approach. The onset was furious, but vigorously met. The conflict was maintained against fearful odds until the arrival of reinforcements from Shelby's camp. The scales now turned and the assailants fell back. The whole force of Shelby and Clarke were soon in battle array, confronted by the whole British advance, numbering 600 or 700 men.

"The onset was renewed with redoubled fury. Here it was that Clarke astonished Shelby by the energy and adroitness with which he dealt his blows. Shelby often said he stopped in the midst of the engagement to see Clarke fight. The Liberty Men drove back their foes, when the whole British Army came up. A retreat was now a matter of necessity as well as sound policy. Shelby and Clarke had taken fifty prisoners, most of them British and some of them officers. These Ferguson was extremely anxious to retake, and his antagonists by no means willing to lose. Hence the pursuit was pressed for miles with great vigor and the retreat managed so skillfully as to render the great superiority of the royal army of no avail. A kind of running fight was maintained for five miles, until the prisoners were entirely out of reach.

"The writer cannot close this account of the battles at Cedar Spring without a few remarks. The reader who has followed him through the whole of his narrative has noticed that he has described three conflicts at or near that place. The first is contained in the account given of the Thomas family. This is stated upon the authority of Major McJunkin, and was probably the last in the order of time. The second occurred when Col. Clarke was retreating from Georgia with his regiment of refugee militia. This is here described in the language of Mills, the author of *A Statistics of South Carolina*, and a writer in the *Magnolia* for 1842.

"The third took place between the forces of Clarke and Shelby combined, perhaps two weeks subsequent to the first. The biography of Shelby cited above and local tradition is the authority upon which I have relied in the statement given. I have no reason to doubt that statements from local traditions in regard to these engagements are extremely liable to error and confusion. This is especially the case from the fact that few of the citizens in that section were present. The Whigs were from neighboring states and probably strangers to the neighborhood, and the three conflicts occurring in the same vicinity, in the same summer, the traditions would become blended and confused. This is actually the case. One man will tell you of the fight which commenced at the orchard and then go back to the spring and tell about that affair."[1082]

Chesney: "On the 9th August I was appointed Capt. and assistant Adjutant General to the different battalions under Col. Ferguson; and same day we attacked the enemy at the Iron works and defeated them with little trouble to ourselves and a good deal of loss to the Americans, in whose hands I found some of our men prisoners, whom I released." [1083]

Lossing: "While Ferguson was in Spartanburg District, on his way toward Gilbertown, a detachment of his little army had a severe skirmish with Colonel Clark and his men at Greene's Spring. Clark and his company, some two hundred in number, had stopped at the plantation of Captain Dillard, who was one of them, and, after partaking of refreshments, proceeded to Greene's [sic] Spring. The same evening Ferguson arrived at Dillard's, whose wife soon learned, from the conversation of some of his men, that they knew where Clark was encamped, and intended to surprise him that night. She hastily prepared supper for Ferguson and his men, and while they were eating she stole from the room, bridled a young horse, and, without a saddle, rode to the encampment of Clark, and warned him of impending danger. In an instant every man was at his post, prepared for the enemy. Very soon Colonel Dunlap [Dunlop], with two hundred picked mounted men, sent by Ferguson, fell upon the camp of Clark. Day had not yet dawned, and the enemy were greatly surprised and disconcerted when they found the Americans fully prepared to meet them. For fifteen minutes the conflict raged desperately in the gloom, when the Tories were repulsed with great slaughter, and the survivors hastened back to Ferguson's camp."[1084]

8 August. Major James Wemyss left Georgetown with a mounted detachment of the 63rd Regt., and a number of sick and convalescents, and arrived at Sumter's plantation on the north side of the Santee at Nelson's ferry; on his way ultimately to Camden. Careful to avoid encountering Maj. John James (with some 500) rebel militia in the area, he remained at Sumter's for a few days, writing Cornwallis on the 11th: "The [loyalist] militia from St. James and St. Johns who were with Col. Tarleton returned yesterday and found everything quiet on the road to Camden." [1085]

[1082] SJM.
[1083] CDI.
[1084] LFB2 p. 424.
[1085] BSF p. 38.

9 August. Rawdon advanced to a position on the west branch of Big Lynches Creek, fourteen miles from Camden. With him were the 23rd Regt., the 33rd Regt., the 1st Battalion of the 71st Regt., the Volunteers of Ireland, the Royal North Carolina Regiment, 40 dragoons of the legion and 4 cannon, while a hospital, the baggage, and stores, were left under a weak guard at Camden. At the same time, Rawdon ordered Cruger at Ninety Six to send him the four companies of light Infantry under Capt. Charles Campbell. Carden and the Hanging Rock garrison meanwhile had evacuated that post and returned to Camden. The British Legion infantry under Capt. Patrick Stewart, and a detachment of the King's Rangers which had been posted at Rugeley's were ordered to Lynches creek. A guide led Stewart to the outpost of Gates' army where Stewart discovered his mistake in just the nick of time with Armand's cavalry and Porterfield pursuing him till he reached Rawdon at Lynches. Turnbull and the force at Rocky Mount made up of the New York Volunteers were also subsequently removed to Camden.[1086]
Moultrie: "Lord Rawdon on the report of the American army [under de Kalb] approaching, ordered all the inhabitants, in, and about Camden, to take up arms and join the British troops, and all those who refused were confined in a jail, upwards of one hundred and sixty persons were imprisoned; twenty or thirty of the most respectable citizens were put in irons, in close confinement."[1087]

Rawdon, in a letter to Colonel McMahon from Donington of 19 Jan. 1801, wrote: "Tho' Ld. Cornwallis had not thought it probable that the attack would be made upon South Carolina till the violent heat of the summer should be passed, I had suspected that Gates might calculate on our inability to withstand the climate (especially as it was known that we were very sickly) & might then make a speedier effort…Camden had from the first day appeared to me an objectionable station for the army. It was a false position to the country, & in itself indefensible beyond any ground that I ever saw.
"Of distances, I must speak loosely. I suppose the point where the road crosses the east branch of Lynche's [Lynches] Creek to be thirty miles from Camden; the post at Hanging Rock, thirty-five. There was a ready communication between the two by a road of about twelve miles. My object in taking this forward position was to retard the progress of Gates till Ld. Cornwallis should collect force from other parts of the Province, or to reduce the enemy to hazard an action where my peculiar advantages of situation would compensate for my disparity in numbers. I had 1100 men with me, all regulars and provincials; the detachment at Hanging Rock consisted of 400 provincials & 800 militia."[1088]

Stedman: "In order to stop their progress, lord Rawdon moved forward, with the force under his command at Camden, and took a strong position about fourteen miles in front of it, upon the west branch of Lynche's [Lynches] Creek. General Gates advanced on the opposite side; and the two armies continued for several days opposed to each other, with the creek only intervening between their advanced parties. While the opposite armies lay in this situation, orders were sent to lieutenant-colonel Cruger to forward with all haste to Camden the four companies of light-infantry stationed at Ninety Six; and intelligence being received of a movement made by the Americans towards their right, orders were sent to the British officer commanding at Rugeley's Mills, to evacuate his post, which was exposed on account of its advanced situation, and, after sending part of his detachment to join the army, to retire with the rest of Camden. By the evacuation of the post at Rugeley's Mills the road leading from Waxhaws to Camden was left unguarded; and lord Rawdon, fearing that general Gates might attempt to pass him by this road, and get into his rear, found it necessary to fall back from Lynche's Creek, nearer to Camden, and took a new position at Logtown. By this time almost all the inhabitants between Black River and Pedee had openly revolted and joined the Americans; and, in other quarters, they seemed disposed to follow the example, whenever it could be done with security."

10 August. McCrady: "After the battle of 2nd Cedar Springs, Ferguson sent his wounded to Musgrove's Mills on the south side of the Enoree River, in what is now Laurens County, and fell back to Culbertson's plantation on Fair Forest. There on the 10th [August] he received an express from Colonel Turnbull telling him of Sumter's attack on Hanging Rock on the 6th with orders to join Turnbull, who had in the meanwhile been ordered by Rawdon to evacuate Rocky Mount and join Ferguson at his camp on Little River. Upon receipt, Ferguson set out and marching east across present Union County, crossing Tinker's Creek and Tyger River, and fording Broad river at Lyle's Ford, resting in Mobley's friendly settlement in what is now Fairfield County -- pushing on, he marched to Col. Winn's plantation about eight miles west of Winnsboro, where he halted and lay awaiting news of Camden."[1089]
Allaire: "Friday 11th. [Ferguson's corps with some loyalist militia] Got in motion at six o'clock in the morning. Marched ten miles to Maj. [Zecharias] Gibbs' plantation; lay all night."

10 August. On the evening of the 10th, Cornwallis left Charlestown to take command of the army in the field at Camden.[1090]

10 August. Allaire (with Ferguson's detachment): "Thursday, 10th. Sent the wounded to Musgrove's Mills, Enoree river, to be attended by Dr. Ross. We marched about seven miles to Culbertson's plantation, on Fair Forest.

[1086] Cornwallis to German, 21 August, 1780, TCS pp. 99-100, 128, SAW2 pp. 204-205, BSF p. 38.
[1087] MMS p. 217.
[1088] ACG pp. 193-194.
[1089] MSC1 p. 686.
[1090] SAW2 pp. 205-211.

Express arrived from Col. [George] Turnbull [of the New York Volunteers] at Rocky Mount, with orders to join him…"

10 August. Marion arrived back from his interiew Gates to begin taking command of the already gathered Williamsburg, S.C. militia (of the lower Peedee region) under Maj. John James. Although he was a stranger to the Williamsburg and lower Peedee militia, he was formally elected, succeeding Hugh Horry, as their leader on 17 August.[1091]
McCrady: "About this time of the news of the approach of Gates; a public meeting was held [in Williamsburg], and it was unanimously resolved to take up arms in defence of their country. Major James was chosen leader, and four companies were formed under their former captains: William McCottry, Henry Mouzon, John James (of the Lake), and John [or rather James?] McCauley. Mouzon's company had been organized before. It consisted of seventy-five men previous to the fall of Charlestown…these four companies mustered about four hundred men. Two more companies, Witherspoon's and Thornly's, were added under major Hugh Giles of Peedee…
"In the meantime Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Horry arrived in Georgetown with a small party. He declined for some time the command over Major [John] James, to which his rank entitled him; but upon assuming it, he, on all occasions animated the men by his gallantry and persevering patriotism.
"On the 10th of August Marion arrived at the post of Lynch's Creek, and took command of the party there and of the large extent of the country on the east side of the Santee. He was accompanied by Major Peter Horry, Major John Vanderhorst, Captains Lewis Ogier, and James Theus, and Captain John Milton of Georgia."[1092]

11 August. On the approach of Gates, Rawdon left his position at Little Lynches Creek and advanced speedily toward Camden.[1093]

12 August. Cornwallis stopped at Nelson's Ferry, on his way to Camden, and met with Maj. Wemyss there whose "small" detachment of the 63rd Regiment then followed Cornwallis to Camden.[1094]

12 August. Turnbull received orders to remove the New York Volunteers and garrison at Rocky Mount to Camden, which he subsequently did.
Allaire, entry for 15 August: "Col. Turnbull had orders the twelfth to retreat from Rocky Mount, and act as he saw proper-to get to Camden if he could. Sumter appeared with cannon at Rocky Mount, about twelve hours after Col. Turnbull left it, in order to make a second trial for the post. He found not so harsh a reception as his first attempt."

12 August. Sumter, at "Camp Lands foard, Catauba River," to Maj. Thomas Pinckney (with original spelling, etc.): "By accounts Just Received from Ninty Six, Col. Ennis [Innes] did Not March to Take post at the High Falls of Santee, as was expected. He is Still at his Station. Col. Cruger Comm'ds; his force about five hundred men, one hundred and fifty at Agusta [Augusta], none at the Congrees [Congarees]; Weak in Town and very Seekly [sickly]; a Strong post Just to the wesward of me, Cols. Farguerson's [Ferguson's] & Cuningham's [Robert? Cunningham's], Rockymount, four hundred; place much strengthened. Our fieldpiece and our houtozer are Now moving into the Neighbourhood of this Post; Camden altogether Defenseless, without the Troops have Retreat to it, Which I judge is Not the Case. They are busy in preparing Works at the Saw mill, and woud prove an advantageous post if there was No Way of Going Round; but if they think to Make a Stand there, it will prove an excelent Trap for them, as the General Can[']t fail of having a proper Description of the Country about Camden. I am Cleare they mean to Make no great opposisseon at that place; these preperations are meare amusements by which they expect to gain time to Remove their Sick & Wounded, Which are Very Numerous. They have also Considerable Stores; three Large Boats has Just Come up in Which are a quantity of Salt, Rum & Sugar, Cloathing, &c. But should the Excelency, Gen'l Gates, thenk proper to Send a Party over pinetree Creek to fall in their Rear, either at the Creek or at the highills or Nielson's [Nelson's] ferrey, it Woud Totally Ruen [sic] them, as Nothing is more Certain then that their Retreat woud be Rendered exceedingly precareous, and the Necessary Supplies for their army imposible to be had; the way they Woud have to move to Save themselves and if these Large Convairs [convoys] of provision, Which are Now entended for Charles Town, Were Cut of, that place Could by no Means hold out but a few days if besiejed [sic]. There is Nothing to fear from below. They Cant Spare men from Town; the only force we have to oppose is What they Raise in this State. The Chief of the Militia Downwards are our friends, Readyer to do their Duty then ever, Notwitstanding many of these are in arms against us. The Methods Taken to ablije [oblige] them to bare arms are intolerable. Two of the Militia Who had lately Joind me Were Taken a few days ago, Carried to Rockymount and immedeately hanged. Nothing less then Ironing Serves for any Who Disobey. I have Just Got a Reinforcement from the Congress [Congarees] of about forty, many of the first people in the Qr [Quarter], also some few from the Wateree, the Whole Country Wishing for an oppertunity to Join the army. I have had posters Some Distance below Rockeymount [Rocky Mount], have Secoured Cheefe [chief?] of the provisions in the fork, but by Covering So much of the Country I have Worn Down my horses Very much; am Very Desireous of Taking post in the Dutch fork, a part that abounds in provision, from Whence they begin to Carrey Supplies to Ninty Six."[1095]

[1091] MMS2 p. 224, MSC1 pp. 651-652, MSC2 pp. 82-83.
[1092] MSC1 pp. 651-652.
[1093] WNA, MSC1 pp. 664-667.
[1094] BSF p. 39.
[1095] CNC14 pp. 553-554.

12 August. [skirmish] Brown's Creek, also Meador's Plantation (Union County, S.C.) Chesney: "On the 9th August was appointed captain of Militia and Adjutant of the different battalions under the Brave major Ferguson of the 71st Regiment Inspector General of Militia. I was with him in all his marches, and on the same day, August the 9th, we attacked the enemy at the Iron Works and defeated them with little trouble to ourselves and a great loss to the Americans in whose hands I found some of our men prisoners whom I released. August 12th. Our next rout was down towards the Fish Dam Ford on Broad River, where there was a fight near the mouth of Brown's Creek with [Andrew] Neale's militia,[1096] when we made many prisoners, amongst the rest Esau Smith who had taken me so recently; after this we crossed that river and formed a junction with troops under command of Colonel Turnbull, and the Militia under Colonel Phillips' and having received authentic accounts that Sumpter had cut off our retreat to Lord Cornwallis's Army at Camden, we had it in contemplation to cross Broad River and retreat to Charlestown; at this time the half-way men, (as those not hearty in the cause were called), left us; we then marched, August 16th, to the rebel Colonel Winn's, and encamped there waiting for more authentic accounts."[1097]

12 August. Allaire: "Saturday, 12th. Got in motion at seven o'clock in the morning, and marched seven miles to a Rebel Capt. Stripling's plantation. He has taken protection, and as yet has not broken his promise. A Maj. [James] Rutherford (Brig. Gen. Rutherford's son) came with a flag; in consequence of his coming in our rear, without giving signal by drum or trumpet, was detained all night, and threatened with imprisonment."

13 August. Allaire: "Sunday, 13th. Got in motion at five o'clock in the morning, and marched nine miles to Tinker creek. At seven in the evening got in motion and marched five miles to Smith's Mills, on Swift's creek. Here we lay all night."

13 August. Cornwallis arrived and took command of the British army at Camden. The same day four light Infantry companies arrived from Ninety Six. Upon the request of Tarleton, Cornwallis assembled all horses in the army and selected the best for the British Legion cavalry.[1098]

13 August. Key loyalist leaders of the upcountry or their representatives convened at Fair Forest Shoal in Brandon's settlement. Most the tory leaders themselves were actually away, but those present or represented included: of North Carolina, Col. Ambrose Mills; and of South Carolina: Col. Robert Cunningham, Maj. Zacharias Gibbs, Col. Moses Kirkland, Col. Daniel Clary, Col. Richard King, Col. Daniel Plummer, Lieut. Col. John Phillips. It was agreed that loyalists who joined the rebel cause were to be seen as worse than rebels, and would be subject to the most rigorous censure and punishment.[1099]

13 August. Gates marched his army to Rugeley's Mill (or Clermont, the name of Rugeley's estate); where 700 Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens arrived also. When Sumter learned Gates was at Rugeley's, he moved from Land's Ford on the Catawba towards the army. By August 13th Col. Charles Myddleton from the lower Congaree, and Col. Thomas Taylor with militia from Congarees had joined forces with him. Also Col. Henry Hampton was on the march from Broad River with his riflemen. Sumter suggested to Gates an attack against Wateree or Camden Ferry, to which the latter concurred. Gates then sent him 100 Maryland Continentals, 300 North Carolina militia and 2 cannon, under Col. Thomas Woolford, to assist his operations and with the hope, if possible, of acquiring much needed provisions for the army.[1100]

14 August. A considerable convoy of British wagons from Ninety Six advanced on the route from McCord's Ferry on the Congaree River to Camden. McCord's Ferry was located on the Congaree River, just northwest of Thompson's Plantation and Belleville.

14 August. Sumter, on the east side of the Wateree River, received reinforcements, under Lieut. Col. Thomas Woolford, which Gates had dispatched on August 13th. McCrady criticizes this move on the part of Gates inasmuch as it only weakened the Continental army's strength at the battle of Camden on the 16th.[1101]

15 August. Allaire: "Tuesday, 15th. Got in motion at seven o'clock in the morning. Marched two miles to Lisle's Ford; forded Broad river-proceeded seven miles to a Mr. Coleman's in Mobley's settlement; halted during the heat of the day. Got in motion at seven o'clock in the evening; marched two miles to the camp of the New York Volunteers, where we got intelligence that Gen. Gates lay within three miles of Camden, with an army of seven thousand men…"

15 August (also given as 16 August). [skirmish] Cary's Fort, also Carey's Fort, Wateree Ferry. (Kershaw County, S.C.) Sumter with 700 militia, that is 300 to 400 of own plus 300 N.C. militia as well, and Col Thomas Woolford's detachment of 100 Maryland Continentals, along with 2 brass three pounders, surprised and took Ft. Cary, a redoubt just south of Camden and on the west bank of the Wateree Ferry, commanded by Col. James Cary, a South Carolina loyalist. In the same operation, Col. Thomas Taylor attacked and captured a convoy containing arms, clothing, corn, rum and other stores, a number of sick, on its way to the redoubt from Ninety Six; which

[1096] Neale himself had been killed at Rocky Mount on June 30th, or as historian Patrick Kelley believes three days afterward.
[1097] CDI, ONB2 p. 246, http://gaz.jrshelby.com/brownscreek.htm
[1098] Cornwallis to Germain, 12 August, 1780, TCS p. 103.
[1099] DKM pp. 142-143, MSC1 pp. 711-712.
[1100] KJO p. 11, WNA, GHA3 p. 433, MLW4A pp. 171-172, CBA p. 511, BGC p. 78.
[1101] MSC1 p 671.

were being escorted by about 50 light infantry, many of whom themselves were invalids from fever or related sickness. Seven loyalists were killed, and all together Sumter and his men took 70 British soldiers, 150 loyalists, some horses, 44 wagons loaded with supplies, a drove of three hundred cattle and a flock of sheep. They then made a hasty retreat up the west side of the Wateree River. Bass, on the other hand, asserts that Taylor both surprised the fort *and* captured the convoy.[1102]
From the Wateree Ferry on this same day, Sumter wrote Gates (with original spelling etc.): "Have just time to inform you that Earley this morn'g I Took possession of all the pass Ways over the Wateree River, from Elkenses foard [Elkins' Ford] to Mr. Whitecar's ferrey [Whitaker's Ferry], five Miles below Camden. The enemy had Guards at many Difrent places upon the River, all of Which Was Evacuated Last Night or this Morning, and the Guards order'd into Camden, Except those at the Wateree Ferry, Which was Continued upon both Sides of the River, one of Which, that upon the West Side, Was Surprised by a party of my men, Who Kild [sic] Seven & Took about thirty prisoners, among Which Was Col. [James] Cary, their Commander, together With thirty odd Waggons loaded with Corn Rum &c., also a Number of horses. The Boates are all upon the oppisite side of the River; the Ground upon this Side [is] Very bad. The enemy Keeps up a Constant fier [sic], but I have Received No Damage Yet. I intend to keep possession if I Can untill I am honoured with your Excelencies farther Commands. I should Not have been So precepitate in my movements, But forsaw the excessive Disadvantage that Wou[l]d Result from their having the Communication open, Whereby they Was Constantly Receiving both men and provisions. The Number of Troops, Regulars I mean, Do Not exceed Twelve hundred, and Not as Many as one thousand of the Militia Who are Generally Sickly and Much Disperited [sic]. There is a Reinforcement Said to be upon the Way from Town, will a[r]rive in Two Days; The Number about five hundred. As Soon as possible will give you a More perticuler [sic] ac't [account] of What is passing…[P.S. I have the pleasure to inform your excellency, that I have this instant made about seventy prisoners, all British, six waggons, baggage, &c. just from Ninety Six; many of the prisoners are sick.]"[1103]

15 August. Gates gave orders to have the sick, extra artillery, heavy baggage and such quarter-masters stores not immediately wanted sent, under guard, to Waxhaws.[1104] In the evening he left Rugeley's and marched toward Camden, not aware that Cornwallis was immediately advancing toward him.[1105] His orderly book entry for the day reads as follows:
"CAMP CLERMONT,
"15th August 1780
"Parole, Berkely. Countersigns, Williamsburgh, Wilmington.
Of the Day To-morrow, B. G. RUTHERFORD, Lt. Colo [John Eager] HOWARD, B. M. LEWIS.
"One pound Flour and one Gill of Molasses is to be immediately issued to every Officer and Soldier in Camp.
"A Return of all the Sick unable to march to be delivered at the Orderly Tent at 3 o'clock this Day.
"General [Edward] Stevens with such of the Virginia Militia just arrived, to encamp in the Field South West of North Carolina Division.
"AFTER GENERAL ORDERS
"The Sick the Extra Artillery Stores, the heavy Baggage and such Quarter Master[']s Stores as are not immediately wanted to march this Evening under Guard for Waxhaws, to this order, the General requests the Brigadiers General to see those under their command pay the most exact and Scrupulous Obedience.
"Lieut Colonel [Elias] Edmonds, with the remaining Guns of the Park, will take post and March with the Virginia Brigade under General Stevens. He will direct, as any Deficiency happens in the Artillery affixed to the other Brigades, to supply it immediately -- His Military Staff and a proportion of his Officers with Forty of his men, are to attend him and awaite [sic] his Orders.
"The Troops will be ready to march precisely at 10 o'clock in the following order -- viz, Colonel Armands Cavalry commanded by Colonel Armand -- Colonel Porterfield's Lt Inf[ant]ry [Virginia State Troops] upon the Right Flank of Colonel Armand [Armand's Legion] in Indian File, Two Hundred Yards from the Road -- Major [John] Armstrong's Light Infantry in the Same order of Colonel Porterfield's upon the left Flank of the Legion. Advance Guard of Fort composed of the advanced Picquets [sic] -- First Brigade of Maryland -- Second Brigade of Maryland -- Division of North Carolina -- Virginia Division -- Rear Guard -- Volunteer Cavalry upon the Flanks of the Baggage equally divided. In this Order the Troops will proceed and thus March this night. In case you attack the Enemy's Cavalry in Front, the Light Infantry upon each Flank, will instantly march up, and give and Continue the most galling Fire upon the Enemy's Horse -- this will enable Colonel [Charles] Armand not only to support the Shock of the Enemy's Charge, but finally to rout them -- The Colonel will therefore consider the Order to stand the Attack of the Enemy's Calvary be their Numbers what they may, as positive. -- General Stevens will immediately order, one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, three Sergeants, one Drum and sixty Rank and File to join Colo Porterfield[']s Infantry. These men are to be taken from the most experienced woodsmen every way fitted for the Service. General [Richard] Caswell will likewise Compleat [sic] Major [John] Armstrong's [N.C.] Lt Infantry to their Original Number.[1106] These must be immediately marched to the advance Post of the army. The Troops will observe the profoundest Silence upon the March, and any Soldier who offers to fire without the

[1102] TCS p. 102, WNA, MLW4A pp. 186-187, LMS pp. 187-188, JLG1 pp. 296, 299-300, MSC1 pp. 667-668, BGC pp. 78-79, RBG p. 96.
[1103] CNC14 p. 550. *The State Records of North Carolina* from which this is derived gives the date of this letter as being from 10 August, but this is presumably a later copy error. The postscript, incidentally, comes from a separate transcription that I *very* unfortunately have lost the citation for. After weighing the matter, I decided, however, to retain it if in future I once more come across this secondary source.
[1104] The order, however, for reasons unknown was not carried out.
[1105] WNA, MLW4A pp. 173-175 JLG1 p. 301.
[1106] These apparently were N.C. light infantry under Maj. John Armstrong.

Command of his officer must be instantly put to Death -- When the ground will admit of it, and the near approach of the Enemy may render it necessary -- the army will, when ordered, March in Columns -- The Artillery at the Head of their respective Brigades, and the Baggage in the Rear -- the Guard of Heavy Baggage will be composed of the remaining Officers and Soldiers of the Artillery one Captain two Subalterns, four Sergeants, one Drum and sixty Rank and File. And no person whatever is to presume to send any other Soldiers upon that Service. All Batmen waiters &c who are Soldiers taken from the Line are forthwith to join their Regiments and act with their Masters while they are upon Duty. The Tents of the whole Army to be struck at Tatoo."[1107]

15-16 August. [skirmish] Saunders' Creek, also Gum Swamp (Kershaw County, S.C.) At 10 pm, Cornwallis issued forth from Camden on the road toward Rugeley's -- with the 23rd Regt., the 33rd Regt., the 71st Regt., the Light infantry, the Volunteers of Ireland, the Royal North Carolina Regt., the British Legion, the North Carolina Volunteers (i.e. Bryan's refugees), 6 field pieces (4 pieces of cannon went with main body, two in reserve) and some pioneers. A few supply wagons followed behind, guarded by the Legion dragoons. The coolness of the night made marching at such a late hour preferable to the torrid heat of daytime. Left in charge at Camden was Maj. Archibald McArthur, who had with him a small body of provincials, including the remnants of the Prince of Wales Volunteers, some loyalist militia, and a number of convalescents and sufferers of malaria from the regular army, including many such who were from his own 71st Regt. According to Stedman the number of these sick in Camden numbered 800. A portion of the 63rd Regt., under Maj. James Wemyss, which had been supplied with horses at Charlestown had also been sent thither to reinforce the garrison. Although the harvest was nearly over, the magazines at Camden were not ready. As a result, Cornwallis was in no position to hold out against a possible siege,[1108] hence the need to take action. About 2 am, some seven miles from Camden, his forward troops, under Webster, and Gates' advanced guard, to their mutual surprise, stumbled into each other near Saunders Creek. After some brief fighting in which most of the Americans, except such as Portefield's Virginians, were repulsed in disorder. Gates then withdrew, and the two armies made preparations for battle on the morrow. It was at Saunders Creek, says Otho Williams, not at the battle of Camden itself (as one would naturally assume), that Porterfield actually received his mortal wound. [1109]
Cornwallis to German, 21 August 1780: "I had now my option to make, either to retire or attempt the enemy; for the position at Camden was a bad one to be attacked in, and by General Sumpter's advancing down the Wateree, my supplies must have failed me in a few days."

Lee: "[Cornwallis] found his army very much enfeebled; eight hundred being sick, his effective strength was reduced to somewhat less than two thousand three hundred men, including militia and Bryan's corps, which together amounted to seven hundred and fifty men."[1110]

Tarleton: "[Webster] composed his advance guard of twenty legion cavalry, and as many mounted infantry, supported by four companies of light infantry, and followed by the 23d and 33d regiments of foot."[1111]

Stedman: "Cornwallis began his march towards Rugeley's Mills, at ten in the evening of the fifteenth of August, committing the defence of Camden to major McArthur, with some provincials, militia, convalescents of the army, and a detachment of the sixty-third regiment, which was expected to arrive during the night. The army marched in the following order: The front division, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Webster, consisted of four companies of light-infantry, and the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, preceded by twenty cavalry, and as many mounted infantry of the legion, as an advanced guard. The center division consisted of the volunteers of Ireland, the legion infantry, Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, and colonel Bryan's refugees, under the command of lord Rawdon. And the two battalions of the seventy-first regiment followed as a reserve; the dragoons of the legion forming the rear-guard. It is not a little singular that the same night, nearly about the same time, and with a similar intention, general Gates should have left his encampment at Rugeley's Mills, and moved forward towards Camden. Both armies marching on the same road, in opposite directions, their advanced guards met and fired upon each other about two in the morning. Some prisoners were made on both sides; and from these the respective commanders became acquainted with the movements of the other: Both armies halted and were formed; and the firing soon afterwards ceased as if by mutual consent." [1112]

John Robert Shaw: "Having received intelligence that general Gates had encamped in a bad situation, Lord Cornwallis mustered his troops and harangued them in words nearly to this effect. 'Now my brave soldiers, now an opportunity is offered for displaying your valor, and sustaining the glory of British arms; -- all you who are willing to face your enemies; -- all you who are ambitious of military fame stand forward; for there are eight or ten to one coming against [us]; let the men who cannot bear the smell of gunpowder stand back and all you who are determined to conquer or die turn out.' Accordingly we all turned out except a few who were left to guard the sick and military stores. We marched out of Camden about 10 o'clock at night, August 15, 1780; it being the intention of our general to surprise the enemy in his quarters at Ruggles [Rugeley's]. But in this we were

[1107] GAH pp. 319-20.
[1108] Camden did not have supplies large enough to withstand a siege, and whose line of communications with Charlestown were threatened by Sumter and other rebel militia.
[1109] RCC p. 554, TCS p. 104, GHA3 pp. 436-438, SAW2 pp. 205-208, WNA, CSS pp. 1129-1130, MLW4A pp. 176-177, LMS p. 180, FWI p. 173.
[1110] LMS p. 180.
[1111] TCS p. 104.
[1112] SAW2 pp. 207-208.

disappointed, for Gen. Gates had set out about the same hour, in hopes to surprise us at Camden. We came up with their advanced party about seven miles from Camden, when the light troops and guards advanced on each side necessarily engaged each other in the dark. In this blind encounter, the American cavalry being driven back in the van, occasioned some disorder in their ranks; and having thus repelled them, we were eager for a general engagement; but Lord Cornwallis finding the enemy were on bad ground, was unwilling to hazard in the dark the advantages which their situation would afford him in the light."[1113]

16 August. [battle] CAMDEN, also Gates' Defeat, Gum Swamp, Pine Tree (Kershaw County, S.C.) Sometime after dawn, Cornwallis approached to attack Gates' army. Although the Americans outnumbered the British at least two to one, most of Gates' troops were badly equipped and poorly organized militia, many of whom were sick from recently subsisting on a diet of green corn, green peaches, and molasses. In spite of this and other of the new formed army's shortcomings, Brig. Gen. Stevens in council with Gates assumed a stand against the British was necessary, to which Gates and all or most of his staff his concurred; even though De Kalb privately had taken it for granted that Gates should avoid battle instead. The engagement commenced with an American probing approach by their left wing led on by a party of Continental light troops. "Brig. Gen. Edward] Stevens, however, exhorting his soldiers [the Virginia militia] to rely on the bayonet, advanced with his accustomed intrepidity. Lieutenant-Colonel Otho Williams, adjutant-general, preceded him with a band of volunteers, in order to invite the fire of the enemy before they were in reach of the militia, that experience of its inefficacy might encourage the latter to do their duty."[1114] As American skirmishers under Williams continued moving, Webster, commanding Cornwallis' right, rather than fire, as the Americans invited, advanced instead to attack with the bayonet. In a mere matter of minutes, the British managed to effectively route Gates' entire left flank, the vast bulk of which was comprised of militia.[1115] The Delaware and Maryland Continentals under de Kalb on the American right, not quite aware of the disaster of their left put up a courageous fight, at one point even driving back the troops under Rawdon immediately in front of them. Nevertheless, it was just a matter of time before they were flanked by the British light infantry and 23rd Regiment, and then taken in the flank by a detachment of the British Legion cavalry under Hanger; while Tarleton with rest of the Legion cavalry "completed their confusion." What Delaware and Maryland troops who were not killed, seriously wounded or taken prisoner retreated toward Rugeley's. De Kalb, who throughout the action bravely led these Continentals, reportedly received as many as eleven bullet, sword, and bayonet wounds; from which he died a few days later. When the militia had fled, Gates tried a few times to rally them but without success. He then abandoned the field himself, before the battle had quite ended, and made toward Charlotte; his later explanation for his own precipitous flight was to facilitate the re-grouping of the army. The British cavalry pursued the Americans to Hanging Rock or about twenty-two miles distance from the battlefield.
Cornwallis, in defeating the Americans, had achieved one of the most remarkable and significant British victories of the war. It emboldened the loyalists, particularly those in the area of Lynches and Drowning Creek (in northeast S.C., and southeast N.C.),[1116] and no doubt later served as inspiration for Cornwallis and his troops at Guilford Court House (15 March 1781.)
Camden also had its more than usual dark side; though there is some question as to its extent.[1117] Following the fighting, says Ramsay, "(Cornwallis) ordered in the most positive manner "that every militia man, who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." Not long after this, several inhabitants in Camden and further south at Augusta were hanged in consequence of these orders. Otho Williams states these executions were done without trial. How many actually lost their lives in this manner is difficult to ascertain.[1118] Sometime in the evening, Cornwallis ordered Turnbull, with the New York Volunteers and Ferguson's corps, who were at Little River, to proceed instantly after Sumter.[1119] These latter orders, however, were shortly after countermanded; as Tarleton, who was sent on the same mission the next morning, actually did catch up with Sumter within two days.[1120]

BRITISH FORCES AT CAMDEN[1121]

Key: Rank and File/Officers, with NCOs, supernumeraries, musicians or full total effectives. Otherwise troop strength given is Rank and File total.

[1113] From *John Robert Shaw: An Autobiography of Thirty Years, 1777-1807, e*dited by Oressa Teagarden. Chapter 2, pp. 30-32.
[1114] LMS p. 183.
[1115] John Eager Howard: "In justice to these troops [i.e. the Virginia militia] it ought to be stated that the heat was so oppressive they could not march in the day. and therefore they had for several nights made forced marches to come up with us, which broke the spirits of the men." LMS p. 191n, and Tarleton: "[Gates'] second error was moving an army, consisting of young corps and undisciplined militia, in the night: A manoeuvre always to be avoided with troops of that description, in the neighbourhood of an enterprising enemy; and only to be hazarded, when regiments are perfectly officered, and well trained." TCS p. 109.
[1116] Drowning Creek is now named Lumber River.
[1117] MLW4A pp. 319-320, JLG2 pp. 466-471.
[1118] RCC p. 58, MMS2 pp. 239-241, MSC1 pp. 709-711.
[1119] Turnbull may have already separated from Ferguson and started his move toward Camden where he soon arrived.
[1120] Cornwallis to Germain 9 October 1781, CNC14 pp. 552-553, CNC15 pp. 49-56, 60, 65, 166-170, 383-384, CNC22 pp. 523-524, ATR80b pp. 267-280, 335-337, AR80 pp. 231-234, RSC2 pp. 145-152, TCS pp. 103-110, 134, 156-157, GHA3 pp. 430-447, SAW2 pp. 205-218, MLW4A pp. 173-186, 319-320, LMS pp. 32-33, 179-186, 193-194, JLG1 pp. 293-302, 494-498, JLG2 pp. 466-471, DRR pp. 193-194, 215-216, DSK vol. 11, issue 3 pp. 146-148, issue 4 pp. 231-235, issue 5 pp. 281-287, issue 6 pp. 370-375), LFB2 pp. 465-469, SNC pp. 85-98, FWI pp. 173-176, MSC1 pp. 671-683, WAR2 pp. 722-730, BGD pp. 95-100, SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 3-4.
[1121] RCC p. 56, TCS p. 136-137.

Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis

* *Webster's Division*
23d regiment: 261/292, Lieut. Col. James Webster
33d regiment: 209/238, " " " "
Light infantry companies: 129/148, Capt. Charles Campbell

* *Reserve*
71st Regt., Lieut. Col. Alexander McDonald
1st Battalion, 71st Regt.: 114/144, Lieut. Archibald Campbell
2d Battalion, 71st Regt.: 94/110

* *Rawdon's Division*
Royal North Carolina regiment: 233/267, Lieut. Col. John Hamilton
Volunteers of Ireland: 253/303, Col. Francis Lord Rawdon
North Carolina Volunteers [militia]: 300/322, Lieut. Col. Samuel Bryan

British Legion: 157/180 cavalry, 106/126 infantry, Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton
The British Legion infantry, under Capt. Patrick Stewart, formed part of Rawdon's Division; while its cavalry under Tarleton was deployed near the Reserve with discretion to act as opportunity arose.

Royal artillery: 15/19, Lieut. John McLeod
Additional men from the line regiments: 128 (matrosses)
4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders

Pioneers: 23/28, Lieut. Henry Haldane
Cornwallis' strength, from "Return of Troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis":
1 colonel, 4 lieutenant colonels, 3 mjors,31 captains, 46 lieutenants, 23 ensigns, 6 adjutants, 2 quarter masters, 3 surgeons, 3 mates, 133 serjeants, 40 drummers, 1944 rank and file.
Total minus surgeons, quarter masters and [surgeon's] mates: 2,231.

AMERICAN FORCES AT CAMDEN
Major General Horatio Gates
Major General Johannes de Kalb, second in command

CONTINENTAL AND STATE TROOPS
Brig. Gen. William Smallwood
* *1st Maryland Brigade* (Consisting of the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th Maryland Regiments)
1st Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Peter Adams
3rd Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Nathaniel Ramsey
5th Maryland Regt., Col. William Richardson
7th Maryland Regt., Col. John Gunby

Total for the 1st Maryland Brigade: 300-400 Rank and File

Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist
* *2nd Maryland Brigade* (Consisting of the Delaware Regt. and he 2nd, 4th and 6th Maryland Regiments)
Delaware Regt., Lieut. Col. David (Joseph) Vaughan
2nd Maryland Regt, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
4th Maryland Regt., Col. Josiah Carvel Hall
6th Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford[1122]

Total for the 2nd Maryland: 300-400 Rank and File

TOTAL for the combined 1st and 2nd Maryland Brigade: 1,052/781

* N.C. Light Infantry, Maj. John Armstrong[1123]

* Armand's Legion: 60 cavalry, 60 infantry, Col. Charles Armand

* 1st Continental Artillery [Virginia]: 100, Capt. Anthony Singleton,[1124] 7 six-pounders.

[1122] While one would think Col. Otho Williams, of the 6th Regt., would have commanded that unit at Camden, it would seem he was acting as an aide to Gates instead; though according to his *Narrative* he was evidently and even so present with his unit during at least some part of the battle. In support of this interpretaion, Fred Anderson Berg, in his *Continental Army Units*, has Ford commanding the 6th at Camden.
[1123] See Gates' orders for 15 August.
[1124] Col. Charles Harrison who would otherwise have commanded the artillery was suffering from a broken a leg bone at the time of the battle in consequence of an accident in which a horse kicked him.

* Virginia State Troops,
Virginia Garrison regiment [acting as light infantry]: 100, Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield
Virginia State Cavalry Regiment, Maj. John Nelson[1125]
Virginia State Artillery, Lieut. Col. Elias Edmonds

MILITIA[1126]
North Carolina Militia

Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell
* Butler's Brigade: 600, Brig. Gen. John Butler
* Gregory's Brigade: 600, Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory
* Rutherford's Brigade: 600, Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford

These included men from the following North Carolina counties: Franklin, Halifax, Chatham, Lincoln, Cabarrus, Anson, Rowan, Wilkes, Cumberland, Bute, Craven, Surry, Guilford, Caswell, Wake, Orange, Mecklenburg, Northhampton, Jones.

* *Virginia Militia Brigade*: 700, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens

These included men from the following Virginia counties: Bedford, Amherst, Dinwiddie, James City County, Louisa, Amelia, Spotsylvania, Henry, Pittsylvania, Charlotte, Lunenberg, Goochland, Chesterfield, Caroline, Northumberland, Montgomery, Culpepper.
One troop of South Carolina volunteer mounted infantry: 70, Maj. Thomas Pinckney

TOTAL AMERICAN STRENGTH: 3,052/4,100[1127]

According to Ramsay, Gates army prior to Camden was 3663, of which 900 were Continental infantry, 70 cavalry and the rest militia.[1128]

CASULATIES AND CAPTURES

BRITISH
"Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, in the battle fought near Camden, South Carolina, on the 16th of August, 1780.
Total. 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 64 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenant colonels, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 13 serjeants, 1 drummer, 213 rank and file, wounded; 2 serjeants, 9 rank and file, missing."

Total British Casualties: 324 (68 killed, 245 wounded, 11 missing.)[1129]

AMERICAN
Tarleton: Americans lost 2,070 men (70 officers and 2,000 rank and file.)[1130]

Stedman: "Between eight and nine hundred of the enemy were killed in the action, and in the pursuit, and about one thousand made prisoners, many of whom were wounded."

Otho Williams gives the combined losses for the Continentals of killed, wounded, and missing, in both Camden and Fishing Creek, as 872, or 711 Rank and File.[1131]

Ramsay: "Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden, after this action, of this number 206 were continentals, 82, were North Carolina militia, and 2 were Virginia militia."[1132]

Lossing: "The exact loss sustained by the Americans in the engagement on the sixteenth, and Sumter's surprise on the eighteenth, was never ascertained. The estimated loss was as follows: exclusive of De Kalb and General Rutherford, four lieutenant colonels, three majors, fourteen captains, four captain lieutenants, sixteen lieutenants, three ensigns, four staff, seventy-eight subalterns, and six hundred and four rank and file. They also lost eight field-pieces, and other artillery, more than two hundred baggage wagons, and the greater part of their baggage. That of Gates and De Kalb, with all their papers, was saved. The loss of the British was severe. Gates estimated that more than five hundred of the enemy were killed and wounded; Stedman says the British loss was three hundred less than the Americans. A great many of the fugitive militia were murdered in their flight. Armed

[1125] FWV p. 853-854.
[1126] These totals are approximations and are tentatively given as Rank and File.
[1127] WNA, LSY pp. 290-291, DRS p. 34.
[1128] RSC2 p. 146.
[1129] TCS pp. 137-139.
[1130] TCS p. 109.
[1131] JLG1 p. 302
[1132] RHA2 p. 492.

parties of Tories, alarmed at the presence of the Americans, were marching to join Gates. When they heard of his defeat, they inhumanly pursued the flying Americans, and butchered a large number in the swamps and pine barrens."[1133]

Ward: Of American losses there is no accurate report, however he gives as estimate 650 Continentals killed or captured, the wounded falling into the hands of the enemy. About 100 N.C. Militia were killed or wounded and 300 men captured. Only three Virginia militia were wounded.[1134]

American losses as given by Rankin: 800-900 killed, 1,000 prisoners, of these were 162 Continentals killed, 12 South Carolina militia killed, 3 Virginia militia killed, 63 North Carolina militia killed.[1135]

American officer casualties of note:[1136]
Maj. Gen. de Kalb mortally wounded.
Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford wounded and taken prisoner.
Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory wounded twice, taken prisoner.
Maj. Thomas Pinckney, leg shattered by musket ball and taken prisoner.

American cannons, muskets, wagons and stores captured:
"Return of ordnance and military stores taken by the army under the command of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, at the battle fought near Camden, the 16th of August, 1780":
Brass guns: Six pounders, 4; three pounders, 2; two pounders, 2. Total, 8.
Iron guns: Three pounder, 1; two pounder, 1; swivels, 3; Total, 5.
Ammunition wagons covered 22, 2 traveling forges, fixed ammunition for six pounders, 160, same for three pounders, 520, stands of arms, 2000, musket cartridges, 80,000.[1137]

Tarleton summarizes the captures as 20 ammunition wagons, 150 carriages containing baggage, stores, camp equipage.[1138]

Davie: "General Gates had joined the army but a few days which time was employed in continual marches, he was entirely unacquainted with the character of the officers or the merits of the different corps which composed his army, and was ignorant of their numbers, having never received a return untill [sic] after the orders of the 15th were issued, the regular troops wanted rest and refreshment, the whole of the militia wanted arrangement and the ordinary preparation for a battle was intirely [sic] neglected among them, in Rutherford[']s Brigade there was scarce a cartridge made up, and their arms were generally in bad order; the consequence of continual marching & exposure. A man must have had more than ordinary good fortune to avoid a defeat under so many unfortunate circumstances."[1139]

Allaire (with Ferguson's detachment): "Saturday, 19th. Lay at Winn's plantation. An express arrived from Camden with the agreeable news of Lord Cornwallis' attacking and totally defeating Gates' army on the morning of the 16th; twelve hundred were killed and wounded, left on the field; and one thousand prisoners, eight brass field pieces taken, being all the Rebels had in the field, several stand of colors, all their ammunition wagons, a hundred and fifty wagons of baggage, provisions, and stores of different kinds. All this with the trifling loss on our side of not more than ten officers killed and wounded, and two or three hundred non-commissioned officers and privates…"

Otho Williams: "…Every corps was broken and dispersed; even the boggs [sic] and brush, which in some measure served to screen them from their furious pursuers, separated them from one another. Major Anderson was the only officer who fortunately rallied, as he retreated, a few men of different companies, and whose prudence and firmness afforded protection to those who joined his party on the rout. Colonel Gunby, Lieutenant Colonel Howard, Captain Kirkwood, and Captain [Henry] Dobson, with a few other officers, and fifty or sixty men, formed a junction on the rout, and proceeded together. The general order for moving off the heavy baggage, &c., to Waxaws was not put in execution, as directed to be done on the preceding evening. The whole of it, consequently, fell into the hands of the enemy, as well as all that which followed the army except the waggons of the Generals Gates and De Kalb; which, being furnished with the stoutest horses, fortunately escaped under the protection of a small quarter guard. Other waggons also had got out of danger from the enemy; but the cries of the women and the wounded in the rear and the consternation of the flying troops so alarmed some of the waggoners that they cut out their teams and, taking each a horse, left the rest for the next that should come. Others were obliged to give up their horses to assist in carrying off the wounded, and the whole road, for many miles, was strewed with signals of distress, confusion and dismay…"[1140]

[1133] LFB2 p. 468n.
[1134] WDC p. 354. First return of Delawares after Camden, and made at Hillsborough in Sept. listed 297 of all ranks, including 18 who had deserted. Of these 103 were marked missing in action (at Camden.)
[1135] RNC p. 244.
[1136] Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield had received his mortal wound in the brief encounter the night before, and yet managed to participate in the main battle of Camden itself. WNA.
[1137] TCS pp. 139-140.
[1138] TCS p. 109.
[1139] DRS p. 18.
[1140] WNA.

Lee: "Major Davie hastened to the general rendezvous at Rugeley's mill. On the fifteenth, arriving after Gates had moved, he followed the army; and marching all night, met the first part of our troops about four miles from the field of battle...he continued to advance...[and learning of Gates' defeat]...instantly dispatched Captain Martin, attended by two dragoons, to inform Sumter of this afflicting event; to urge him to take care of his corps by immediate retreat, and to request him to repair to Charlotte, whither himself meant to proceed, and assemble...On the night following, Captain Martin reached Sumter who immediately decamped with his prisoners and booty."[1141]

Stedman: "They [the militia] ran at first like a torrent, and afterwards spread through the woods in every direction. Lord Rawdon began the action on the left with no less vigour [sic] and spirit than Webster had done on the right; but here, and in the center, against part of Webster's division, the contest was more obstinately maintained by the Americans, whole artillery did considerable execution. Their left flank was, however, exposed by the flight of the militia; and the light-infantry and twenty-third regiment, who had been opposed to the fugitives, instead of pursuing them, wheeled to the left and came upon the flank of the continentals, who, after a brave resistance for near three quarters of an hour, were thrown into total confusion, and forced to give way in all quarters. Their rout was completed by the cavalry, who continued the pursuit to Hanging Rock, twenty-two miles from the field of action… [After the battle] Instant death was again denounced against those who, having taken protections from the British government, should afterwards join the enemy; and, to impress them with an idea that this punishment would be hereafter rigorously inflicted, some few of the most hardened of the militia, who had been taken in general Gates's [sic] army with arms in their hands, and protections in their pockets, were actually executed. But perfidy, it seems, was not confined to the lower ranks of men: By letters found upon some of the officers of general Gates's army, it was discovered that even persons of superior rank, prisoners upon parole in Charlestown, had held an improper correspondence with their friends in the country. In consequence of this discovery, those persons, and some others, against whom there were strong circumstances of suspicion, were at first put on board the prison-ships, and afterwards sent to St. Augustine, in East Florida, where paroles were again allowed to them but under such restrictions as their recent conduct rendered necessary."[1142]

Tarleton: "After this last effort of the continentals, rout and slaughter ensued in every quarter. Brigadier-general Gist moved off with about one hundred continentals in a body, by wading through the swamp on the right of the American position, where the British cavalry could not follow; this was the only party that retreated in a compact state from the field of battle. The continentals, the state troops, and the militia, abandoned their arms, their colours, and their cannon, to seek protection in flight, or to obtain it from the clemency of the conquerors. As soon as the rout of the Americans became general, the legion dragoons advanced with great rapidity towards Rugeley's mills: On the road, General Rutherford, with many other officers and men, were made prisoners. The charge and pursuit having greatly dispersed the British, a halt was ordered on the south side of the creek, in order to collect a sufficient body to dislodge Colonel Armand and his corps, who, together with several officers, were employed in rallying the militia at that pass, and in sending off the American baggage. The quick junction of the scattered cavalry counteracted the designs of the enemy: Colonel Armand's dragoons and the militia displayed a good countenance, but were soon borne down by the rapid charge of the legion: The chase again commenced, and did not terminate till the Americans were dispersed, and fatigue overpowered the exertions of the British. In a pursuit of twenty-two miles, many prisoners of all ranks, twenty ammunition waggons, one hundred and fifty carriages, containing the baggage, stores, and camp equipage of the American army, fell into the hands of the victors."[1143]

Robert Gray: "Lord Cornwallis made some sever examples of the Revolters, a measure which was become absolutely necessary to deter others from the same conduct, as many of those who had taken up arms again had never had the smallest cause of Complaint, but had been treated with every mark of attention & respect by the King's officers. A universal panic seized the rebels after the battle of Camden and had Lord Cornwallis had a sufficient army to have marched into North Carolina & have established posts in his rear at convenient places to preserve his communication with South Carolina & to prevent the rebels from assembling in arms after he had passed along [sic] North Carolina would have fallen without a struggle, but the smallness of his numbers soon turned the tide against him."[1144]

16 August. After the action near Wofford's Iron Works, Col. Charles McDowell transferred his camp from Cherokee Ford on the Broad River to Smith's Ford downriver; and where on the 16th, Col. James Williams, with a South Carolina militia force comprised of men under Col. Thomas Brandon, Col. James Steen, and Major Joseph McJunkin, joined him.[1145]
About that same time, the term of expiration for Shelby's men was nearing, and it was decided to attack the 200 loyalists reported at Musgrove's Mill on the Enoree River, some forty miles from Smith's Ford. Shelby and Clark were chosen as leaders of a force, which included Williams and his men; some North Carolina militia under Major Joseph McDowell; Clark's Georgians and South Carolinians under Captain James McCall and Capt. Samuel

[1141] LMS p. 188.
[1142] SAW2 pp. 209-210, 214.
[1143] TCS pp. 107-108.
[1144] GWC p. 142.
[1145] Smith's Ford, on the Broad River, was about eleven to twelve miles south-southeast of King's Mountain, Cherokee Ford was about the same distance also from King's Mountain but east-southeast.

Hammond; and, of course, those under Shelby. Draper speaks of Clark and Shelby as the force's main commanders. However, showing often as Draper does in his work a certain antipathy towards Williams (evidently based on his reading of William Hill's memoirs), it is very possible that Williams, the highest-ranking *South Carolina* leader in the fight, had equal command status in the expedition as Clark and Shelby.[1146]

Mid to late August. Just following Camden, Col. John Fisher, commanding the Orangeburgh militia, established the small fort at Orangeburgh.[1147]

17 August. After learning of the debacle at Camden by way of one of Davie's officers and with Turnbull and the N.Y. Volunteers reportedly on the march in pursuit, Sumter made camp at Rocky Mount on his way northward.[1148] Early in the morning this same day, Tarleton left Cornwallis to go after him with 350 British Legion and one artillery piece. En route he captured 20 Continental stragglers left over from the Camden battle. His scouts then soon learned of Sumter's location, and he then crossed to the west side of the Wateree with his men, while swimming his horses, at a ferry facing Rocky Mount. "After the passage was effected," says Tarleton, "a patrole [sic] of legion dragoons was directed to proceed a few miles to the westward, to inquire after Turnbull and Ferguson; but no intelligence was obtained." He continued pushing north. By the afternoon, however, his men were sorely fatigued by the long march and sweltering heat. So by mid-day he took with him 100 dragoons and 60 mounted Legion infantry to push ahead, leaving the remainder of his force to follow up as they could. For his part, Sumter reached Fishing Creek on the morning of the 18th and feeling himself safe camped there.[1149]

17 August. Based on his credentials as a Continental officer of the 2nd South Carolina Regiment, rather than any formal state appointment, Col. Francis Marion was elected by local [militia] leaders took command of Williamsburg militia, under Maj. John James, at Witherspoon's Ferry. At the same time, he directed Peter Horry to lead the militia on the lower Santee, already under Captains Bonneau, Mitchell, and Benson, with orders to destroy all boats from lower ferry on the Santee to Lenud's Ferry and to prevent anyone crossing the river in that region. As Stedman himself states, Marion was most responsible for stirring up rebellion in Peedee region. See also 10 August.[1150]

17 August. The principal part of British army fell back to Camden while Cornwallis with the light Infantry, the Legion infantry and the 23rd Regt. moved forward toward Rugeley's.
Clinton: "[Cornwallis, after Camden,] immediately dispatched messengers into North Carolina with directions to the King's friends to take arms, and promised that he would march thither without loss of time to their support, his intention being, as he tells me in his letter of 23d of August, to endeavor to get as soon as possible to Hillsborough, and there assemble and try to arrange the friends who were inclined to arm in our favor, and so form a very large magazine for the winter of flour and meal from the country, and of rum, salt, etcs., from Cross Creek -- in short to engage in solid operations in North Carolina in support of them." [1151]

Cornwallis to German on August 21st wrote: "On the morning of the 17th, I dispatched proper people into North Carolina, with directions to our friends there to take arms and assemble immediately, and to seize the most violent people, and all military stores and magazines belonging to the rebels, and to intercept all stragglers from the routed army; and I have promised to march without loss of time to their support. Some necessary supplies for the army are now on their way from Charles town, and I hope that their arrival will enable me to move in a few days."[1152]

17 August. In the aftermath of Camden, at least 60-100 Continentals under Colonels Gunby and Howard, Maj. Archibald Anderson, and Captains Henry Dobson and Robert Kirkwood preserved a compact body during the retreat, and subsequently collected at Charlotte. Armand's Legion was also intact, but had lost few men during the engagement. There was a small amount of provisions in the town, which, with the aid of Charlotte inhabitants, made it possible to refresh the men. Most of the Catawba Indian tribe, who were allied with the Americans, both against the British and the Cherokees, retreated with the American army to Charlotte. [1153]

Otho Williams: "General Gates and [Richard] Caswell arrived at Charlotte on the night of the action. The ensuing morning presented nothing to them but and open village, with but few inhabitants, and the remains of a temporary hospital, containing a few maimed soldiers of Colonel Buford's unfortunate corps, which had been cut to pieces on the retreat, after the surrender of Charlestown.
"General Caswell was requested to remain there, to encourage the militia of the country, who were to rendezvous there in three days, (as it was first intended) to countenance the reassembling of the American army. General Gates perceived no effectual succour [sic] short of Hillsborough, where the general assembly of North Carolina were about to convene; thither he repaired, with all possible expedition; and was followed the

[1146] DKM p. 103-104.
[1147] SFR p. 416n.
[1148] M.F. Treacy speaks of Sumter escaping Turnbull thanks to Davie's timely warning; for further, see LMS p. 188, DRS pp. 19-20, TPY p. 41.
[1149] TCS pp. 111-113, BGC p. 82.
[1150] SAW2 pp. 226-227, MMS2 p. 224, MSC1 pp. 649-652, MSC2 pp. 82-83, BSF p. 41.
[1151] CAR p. 225.
[1152] COC p. 21.
[1153] TCS p. 149, WNA.

next day by General Caswell, who despaired of the meeting of the militia; probably because he thought that their first object, the army, was annihilated.
"On the two days succeeding the fatal action, Brigadier General Gist, who commanded the second brigade of Maryland troops, previous to its misfortune at Charlotte, arrived with only two or three attendants, who had fallen into his route. Several field officers, and many officers of the line also, arrived similarly circumstanced; and, although not more than about a dozen men of different corps arrived in irregular squads, from time to time, not less than one hundred infantry were collected in the village within that time; besides Armand's cavalry, which was very little reduced; and a small corps of mounted militia, which retired from the Waxsaw [sic] settlement, under the command of Major Davy [Davie], an enterprising and gallant young man, who had been raising volunteer cavalry, to join the army.
"Very few of the fugitive militia resorted to this place.
"Fortunately, there was small supply of provision in the town -- the inhabitants did all they could to refresh both men and officers -- and, by the provident care of Colonel [Josiah Carvel] Hall, of Maryland, a quantity of flour was sent back on the route of the retreating troops."[1154]

Gov. Abner Nash of North Carolina wrote to the state's delegates, on 23 August 1780: "General [Edward] Stevens writes to General Gates, that he has collected between seven and eight hundred of Virginia militia and state troops. General [Richard] Caswell made a stand at Charlotte near the boundary line, and called in upwards of 1000 fresh men. These he added to Col. Sumpter's party of about seven hundred (i.e. 700 as numbered prior to Fishing Creek), and gave him command of the whole."

Davie: "You will observe in a latter from Govr [Abner] Nash to the North Carolina Delegates dated 23d of Aug. 80. He says that 'General [Richard] Caswell made a stand at Charlotte and called in upwards of a thousand fresh men that he added these to Sumpter[']s party of about seven hundred and gave him command of the whole while he [Caswell] came on to the Assembly.' This you know is a damnable lie, Caswell did not stay to collect one man-and followed Genl Gates before Gist, Smallwood and the other officers abandoned the Town...Genl Gates in his letter of the 30th repeats this falsehood."[1155]

Ramsay: "A few of the Virginia militia were halted at Hillsborough, but in a little time their tour of service was out, and all who had not deserted were discharged."[1156]

17 August. Sumter paused and halted at Rocky Mount on his march northward to elude the British.

17-18 August. A number of pension statements and declarations refer to North Carolina militia units on their way to join Gates' army, but after hearing of Camden, either remained in North Carolina, or else retreated there.
Jacob Little of Pitt County, N.C.: "I volunteered as a private in the Militiea [sic] on the 10 August 1780 -- for three months in the County of Pitt, State of North Carolina under Capt. John Hodges and was marched to join the main army to go against Lord Cornwallis but Gen'l Gates defea[t] [text missing] Camp [text missing] So. Carolina disappointed us -- we joined col. [Benjamin] Seawell's Regiment at Ramseys Mill on Deep River…all marched to the Yadkin (line missing) very troublesome to our Army We suffer [for want] of provisions…"

Jesse Harrison of Halifax County, N.C.: "(J)oined a volunteer company under Lockheart who went to the assistance of the army under General Gates a short time before the battle of Camden, was after the dispursion [sic] of Gates[']s army regularly discharged from service in Halifax County, North Carolina…"

William Rose of Granville County, N.C.:"(W)e staid here some little time -- thence we marched to Salisbery [Salisbury] -- thence down to Pedee [Peedee] River, thence on the road to join General Gates we were joined by General John Butler then in about 7 miles of Camden we heard of the defeat of General Gates at that place and we retreated back to Hillsborough -- then we staid a short time -- and in Sept 1780 and as well as I remember we marched in the direction of Wilmington."

18 August. Having collected additional men, Marion moved to Lenud's Ferry to assist Horry in destroying boats in what proved their not ineffective efforts to interdict the British supply route to Camden.[1157]

18 Aug. [raid-battle] FISHING CREEK,[1158] also Sumter's Defeat, Catawba Fords (Chester County, S.C.) On the night of 17th, Sumter, had encamped at Rocky Mount with about 100 Maryland Continentals and 700 North Carolina and South Carolina militia, learned of Tarleton's approach. Marching at daybreak on the 18th, he retreated along the west bank of the Wateree; then paused about noon on the north side of Fishing Creek. Believing himself safe for the moment, he then made camp; where he and his men indulged a needed rest from the hot sun and lengthy march. Under normal circumstances, this might not have been so rash. But on this occasion, Tarleton was after him, and managed to utterly startle his camp. An advanced American picket had fired his gun in alarm when Tarleton approached, but the shot was ignored, and was thought to be only one of the idle militia shooting cattle. In consequence, Tarleton with 100 Legion dragoons and 60 mounted Legion

[1154] WNA.
[1155] DRS p. 20.
[1156] RSC2 p. 151.
[1157] BSF p. 42.
[1158] The area of the fighting is understood today to be mostly underwater due to a reservoir project.

infantry rushed on; killing, wounding, and taking many of the Americans prisoner. Sumter, meanwhile, had been asleep under a wagon and only just barely escaped being captured himself. Of his force he lost around 150 officers and men killed or wounded. As well, Lieut. Col. Thomas Woolford (also wounded), 9 officers, and 100 Continentals were taken prisoner, as were about 200 militia. A remainder managed to flee. At the cost of one officer slain and 15 killed or wounded, Tarleton managed to release the prisoners and wagons captured from Cary's Fort; while taking the two brass three-pounders Gates had loaned Sumter. Tarleton states the Americans lost 150 killed and wounded (including continentals), 110 Continentals and over 200 militia were captured, plus 2 brass three-pounders (which Tarleton later had with him at Cowpens), 2 ammo wagons, 1000 stand of arms, 44 carriages loaded with rum, and other stores.[1159] His own casualties were 16 men killed and wounded, and, in addition, 20 horses killed and wounded. Officers Myddleton, Lacey, Taylor, and Henry Hampton, were among those taken prisoner, but got away, as did a number of other of Sumter's men, on Tarleton's return march to Camden. A week later, Sumter had already regrouped and re-organized what remained of his followers.[1160]

Tarleton: "When Tarleton arrived at Fishing creek at twelve o'clock, he found the greatest part of his command overpowered by fatigue; the corps could no longer be moved forwards in a compact and servicable [sic] state: He therefore determined to separate the cavalry and infantry most able to bear farther hardship, to follow the enemy, whilst the remainder, with the three pounder, took post on an advantageous piece of ground, in order to refresh themselves, and cover the retreat in case of accident.
"The number selected to continue the pursuit did not exceed one hundred legion dragoons and sixty foot soldiers: The light infantry furnished a great proportion of the latter. This detachment moved forwards with great circumspection: No intelligence, except the recent tracks upon the road, occurred for five miles. Two of the enemy's vedettes [sic], who were concealed behind some bushes, fired upon the advanced guard as it entered a valley and killed a dragoon of the legion: A circumstance which irritated the foremost of his comrades to such a degree, that they dispatched the two Americans with their sabres [sic] before Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton could interpose, or any information be obtained respecting Colonel Sumpter. A serjeant [sic] and four men of the British legion soon afterwards approached the summit of the neighbouring [sic] eminence, where instantly halting, they crouched upon their horses, and made a signal to their commanding officer. Tarleton rode forward to the advanced guard, and plainly discovered over the crest of the hill the front of the American camp, perfectly quiet and not the least alarmed by the fire of the vedettes [videttes.] The decision, and the preparation for the attack, were momentary. The cavalry and infantry were formed into one line, and, giving a general shout, advanced to the charge. The arms and artillery of the [Maryland] continentals were secured before the men could be assembled: Universal consternation immediately ensued throughout the camp; some opposition was, however, made from behind the wagons [sic], in front of the militia. The numbers, and extensive encampment of the enemy, occasioned several conflicts before the action was decided. At length, the release of the regulars and the loyal militia, who were confined in the rear of the Americans, enabled Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to stop the slaughter, and place guards over the prisoners.
"The pursuit could not with propriety be pushed very far, the quantity of prisoners upon the spot demanding the immediate attention of great part of the light troops. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton lost no time in sending for the detachment left at Fishing creek, thinking this additional force necessary to repulse any attempt the enemy might make to rescue their friends. All the men he could assemble were likewise wanted to give assistance to the wounded, and to take charge of the prisoners; the troops who had gained this action having a just claim to some relaxation, in order to refresh themselves after their late vigorous exertions.
"Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the light infantry, was unfortunately killed near the end of the affair. His death cannot be mentioned without regret. He was a young officer, whose conduct and abilities afforded the most flattering prospect that he would be an honour to his country. The loss, otherwise, on the side of the British was inconsiderable; fifteen non-commissioned officers and men, and twenty horses, were killed and wounded."[1161]

Davie: "Major Davie about an hour after Genl Gates passed him despatched [sic] a confidential officer to give him information of the misfortunes of the morning, the officers reached his Camp the same evening and Colo Sumpter with his Detachment consisting of 100 regr [regular] infantry a compy [company] of Artillery 2 brass pieces & 700 militia began to retreat along the West bank of the river to gain the Upper Country and avoid the fate of the main Army; on the night of the 17th May encamped at Rocky Mount, at this place Colo Sumpter received advice that the British Legion had reached the opposite bank of the Wateree river then called the Catawba and already occupied the banks and fords. He marched again at day break -- and about 12 'Oclock the detachment halted having passed Fishing Creek and gained an open ridge on the No side of the creek, the Detachment halted in the line of march, the rear guard consisting of militia were posted at the Creek, the prisoners and part of the baggage were with the advance guard, the troops were permitted to stack their arms and indulge themselves in rest or refreshment, several strolled to a neighboring plantation, some went to the river to bathe, and numbers sought in sleep some refuge from their fatigue, in this unguarded and critical moment, Colo Tarleton approached the American Camp.

[1159] At Fishing Creek, Sumter's servant had hid certificates and cash Rutledge had given him, which Sumter later recovered. On 26 Aug., Sumter bought 4,200 dollars worth of linen cloth for saddle blankets. BCG p. 185.
[1160] CNC22 pp. 523-524, AR80 p. 234, RCC p. 56, RSC2 p. 153, TCS pp. 112-115, 134-135, 149, GHA3 pp. 447-448, SAW2 pp. 211-213, MLW4A pp. 187-188, DRS pp. 18-21, LMS pp. 188-190, WNO, part I, SJM, JLG1 pp. 299-300, DSK (vol. 11, issue 6 p. 371), LFB2 p. 454, FWI pp. 177-178, MSC1 pp. 681-684, WAR2 pp. 733-734, BGD pp. 100-103, BGC pp. 82-85, BRG p. 175, SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 20-23.
[1161] TCS pp. 113-115.

"The disposition for the attack was simple and made in a moment, the Cavalry consisting of 100, and the light infantry about 60 were formed in a single line and giving a general shout advanced to the charge The arms and artillery of the continentals were immediately in the possession of the enemy, as the men started from their slumbers they were cut down, a general panic ensued no regular opposition was made; and all that could escape, sought their safety in immediate flight, the main guard joined the fugitives and the prisoners were instantly released.
"This Victory cost the British very little, Capt Campbell [Charles Campbell] killed, and 15 privates killed and wounded. The Americans lost 150 officers and privates killed and wounded, 10 Continental offs 100 soldrs [sic], a large no. [number] of mila [militia] officers & 200 privates were made prisoners, The Artillery, 1000 stand of arms, 46 waggons loaded with valuable stores fell also in to the British possession.
"In this action Colo Tarlton [sic] had the merit of audacity and good fortune but the glory of the enterprise was stained by the unfeeling barbarity of the legion [British Legion] who continued to hack and maim the militia long after they had surrendered, scarce a man was wounded until he considered himself a prisoner, and had deprived himself of the means of defence. Numbers of these were old grey headed-men, who had turned out to encourage & animate the younger citizens, but their hoary honors were not respected by the British saber [sic].
"Colo Tarlton with only 160 men, presented himself before the American camp, without either information, or a moments reflection proceeded to charge them, had the Commanding officer taken any of the ordinary precautions to resist an attack, Tarlton must have suffered severly [sic] for this boyish Temerity; the conflict was nothing, the fighting was entirely on one side, and the slaughter among the defenceless [sic].
"Colo Sumpter recd information that the British Legion crossed near Rocky-Mount that morning, and that they were hanging on his rear, and yet marched only 8 miles before he halted & strangely neglected the necessary precautions to prevent a surprise and every means to resist an attack -- The Detachment was halted in the line of march upon an open ridge, no advantage was taken of waggons, the rear guard was posted so near that it was not distinguished by the enemy from the main body; the whole security of the army rested upon two videttes whose fire was disregarded or not heard by a slumbering camp; if a halt was absolutely necessary after a march of only 8 miles, a position should have been taken most unfavorable to the action of Cavalry, the army should have been posted or formed in order of battle, and the waggons so disposed as to have covered the troops from the charge of British Cavalry, these precautions dictated by common practice and common prudence would have enabled him to have repelled five times the Enemys [sic] force.
"If a proper patrole [sic] had been sent down the road towards the Enemy, and the rear guard had been sufficiently strong & posted at the usual distance, and the men had been ordered to remain in Camp near their arms, Colo Sumpter might have been beaten, but he would not have been surprised; or have yielded eight hundred men and two pieces of artillery as easy prey to 160 light troops: The listless and slumbering security in which this Detachment were caught at Mid-day under the eye of an enterprising enemy admits of neither apology nor explanation -- Colo Sumpter who was asleep under a waggon when the action commenced, fortunately made his escape amidst the general confusion and reached Major Davie's camp at Charlotte two days afterwards without a single follower."[1162]

Saye (with Major Joseph McJunkin): "It has been previously stated that Col. [James] Williams met Col. Sumter a few days after the Battle of Hanging Rock, that a part of Sumter's force united with Williams and were led by him to Musgrove's Mill and thence fell back toward North Carolina. Sumter immediately went down the Catawba River in obedience to the requisition of Gen. Gates. The latter seems never to have entertained a doubt of gaining a complete victory over the British Army at Camden. And in order to cut off every facility for their retreat to ward Charlestown he dispatched a small force under Col. Marion to destroy the boats on the river below that place. At the same time he ordered Sumter to perform a similar service near the village; also to prevent their supplies from reaching the British camp. These daring partisans did the duties assigned them with their accustomed intrepidity. Sumter, in addition to the work of destruction and interception, attacked and defeated Col. Carey [James Cary] at the head of a strong body of Loyalists, captured foraging parties, &c., until he had in his possession forty wagons well loaded with military stores and 300 prisoners.
"While engaged in this manner he received the intelligence of the defeat of Gen. Gates and the dispersal of the army under his command. He made a forced march for several days up the river to get out of striking distance of the British Army. At length, having reached the bank of Fishing Creek, on the west side of the Catawba, he halted to allow his men to refresh. Here, as is generally known, he was overtaken, surprised, and his force dispersed by Col. Tarleton of the British Army. The way in which this surprise was accomplished so completely was as follows:
"The writer is indebted for this information to the late William Ashe of Franklin County, Ga., who was at the time with Sumter. Mr. Ashe stated that the army was almost worn out with fatigue and watching when they stopped on the bank of Fishing Creek. It was near noon and the heat excessive. Sumter had received no intelligence of the enemy since the retreat commenced and thought they might enjoy repose without danger. No great attention was paid to order, but a guard was placed at some distance in the rear.
"The wearied soldiers had leave to prepare food and take rest for several hours before resuming their march. It happened that two Tory women passed the place soon after Sumter halted and went on in the direction whence Sumter had come. They had passed the rear guard about half a mile when they met Tarleton's force. They gave Tarleton precise information as to Sumter's position and the arrangement of things connected with his army. They also informed him of a way by which he could leave the main road and fall into a road leading to Sumter's position at right angles to the main road. This way was taken by the British and hence came upon wholly unexpected. The guard placed in that direction was small and near the army. No alarm was given until the whole

[1162] DRS pp. 19-20.

squadron was dashing up in full view. 'Here,' said the late Samuel Morrow of Spartanburg District, S. C., 'I seized my gun and shot a Capt. [Charles] Campbell of the British light horse. I looked around me and saw Sumter's men running in every direction. I snatched up another gun and saw Col. [William] Bratton rallying on a little eminence near me. I joined the little band that stood with him, fired again and the man at whom I took aim dropped. By this time the British were passed us in pursuit of those retiring and we saw no chance and our escape.'
"Mr. Ashe also stated that he was standing near Col. Sumter when the attack began. Sumter was sitting in the shade of a wagon shaving and the operation was about half finished. When the colonel saw the state of things around, he cut a rope with which a horse was tied to a wagon, dropped his razor, mounted the horse and made his escape without saddle or bridle. Mr. Ashe also stated that he cut a horse loose and mounted without any means of guiding him except his gun. His horse plunged into the thicket extending up the stream and lying between it and the road. He rode some distance at a gallop when he was knocked off the horse by a piece of projecting timber and lay for some time in a state of insensibility. When he recovered from the shock he heard the noise of battle in the road near him and escaped on foot."[1163]

Joseph Johnson: "On this occasion [Fishing Creek], both the Taylors [Thomas and his brother James] were captured, and Colonel [Thomas] Taylor wounded, but not dangerously. They were marched off to Camden, guarded by a detachment of Tarleton's dragoons, but effected their escape before they arrived at that post. Colonel Taylor smeared the blood from his wound over his hands and face, that the British, supposing him disabled, might not watch him. He managed to get next to his brother, and when an opportunity offered, on passing a thicket, he pushed Captain Taylor out of the line into the covert, and immediately jumped after him. A few pistol balls were fired at them, but both effected their escape. If his brother had been taken to Camden at that time, captured at the head of his company, after having broken his parole, the British would certainly have hanged him."[1164]

18-20 August. Smallwood, with his aides and a few other soldiers mounted, arrived at Charlotte the 18th; where remnants of Continentals from Camden were gathering; and which finally amounted to 770 Maryland, 175 Delaware troops and 50 Virginians. Smallwood then directed their march towards Salisbury; which they reached on the 21st. The army was accompanied by refugees, including the whole tribe of Catawba Indians who numbered about 350, among which were 60 indifferently armed warriors. Armand's Legion by this time had already retreated to Hillsborough where Gates was trying to put things in order. Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, in the interim, deployed at Hillsborough to reform the Virginia militia.[1165]

19 August (also given as 18 August). [battle] MUSGROVE'S MILL (Union and Laurens County border, S.C.) On 17 August, Col. Elijah Clark, Col. Isaac Shelby and Col. James Williams with 200 (or according to McJunkin 700[1166]) mounted men (from Georgia, the over-mountain settlements, and South Carolina respectively) rode from Col. Charles McDowell's camp on Smith's Ford to assail the loyalists gathered at Musgrove's Mill on the Enoree River.[1167] S.C. Historian Landrum, and who of all subsequent historians gives probably the most reliable and informed account of the action, states: "There were several reasons why it was preferred to attack this force of Loyalists at Musgrove's Mill to Ferguson's forces, which lay between Musgrove's Mill and Smith's Ford. In the first place the Loyalists were less trained and disciplined than the regular British forces, and it would be easier to overcome these than Ferguson's forces, which were composed of some good fighting material. In the second place, if this fording on the Enoree could be successfully carried the way would be open to Ninety-Six, where a British garrison was stationed and which might be stormed and captured. It was rumored also in McDowell's camp that a military chest was being conveyed from Ninety-Six via Musgrove's Mill to Ferguson's camp, and to intercept and capture this was a matter of great importance to the American troops."[1168]
On the morning then of the 18th, some of Clark, Shelby, and Williams' men skirmished an outlying party of loyalists at Musgrove's, in which both sides suffered some wounded, with one loyalist being killed. The firing alerted Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes and Major Thomas Fraser who were staying in the Musgrove's residence nearby. Hitherto unknown to the rebel back-countrymen was that the loyalist militia (their original target) had been reinforced the previous night from Ninety Six with 200 *Provincials* under Innes, and another 100 loyalists recruits intended for Ferguson. Innes' reinforcement included a detachment of New Jersey Volunteers under Captain Peter Campbell,[1169] a company from 1st Bttn. Delancey, under Captain James Kerr,[1170] plus 100 mounted men of Innes' own South Carolina Royalists. Some accounts, including Samuel Hammond's, speak of the New York Volunteers also being present, but this seems unlikely (though not impossible.) The initial garrison at the mill was under the command of Maj. Thomas Fraser of the South Carolina Royalists. With Fraser also were Capt. Abraham DePeyster of Ferguson's corps, and Capt. David Fanning, and Col. Daniel Clary,[1171] head of the loyalists of that region. Another hundred, apparently all or mostly loyalist militia, were out patrolling. In addition, Maj. Patrick Ferguson with a sizable force was not many miles away to the east. The rebel's presence being known, a

[1163] SJM.
[1164] JTR pp. 537-538. Although Johnson adds a few extra details, this same anecdote was originally and in subsance first related in print at GAR1 p. 286n. Garden there mentions also that the Briish cavalrymen escorting the Taylors were intoxicated.
[1165] GHA3 p.448-450, SAW2 pp. 232-233, WNA, MLW4A pp. 188-189, RNC p. 245.
[1166] SJM, GJW p. 32.
[1167] A rare and helpful map of Musgrove's Mill is contained in Landrum as an insert, see LCR p. 152-153.
[1168] LCR pp. 147-148.
[1169] Also mentioned as officering the N.J. Volunteers at this engagement are lieutenants William Chew and John Champ.
[1170] Spoken of as Innes' second in charge and upon whom command of the loyalists devolved after Innes was severely wounded.
[1171] Clary's militia regiment represented the area north of the Saluda River, in present day Newberry county.

council was immediately held by Innes and Fraser. Rather than wait for the patrol of 100 mounted who had gone out a short while earlier, it was decided to have at the rebels immediately, who meanwhile had moved to a wooded ridge about a half mile across (the forded) stream from the mill. Innes left 100 of his men (apparently the recruits for Ferguson) to guard his camp, and advanced with the remainder.[1172]
While awaiting Innes, Shelby and Clark's men built an impromptu redoubt in some thirty minutes. Then Capt. Shadrack Inman led a party of 25 men to lure Innes' force into an ambush. The ruse, which Inman himself had proposed, worked (although Inman himself felled) and Innes' forward ranks underwent a withering fire, including some marksman quality rifle shooting. The Provincials and loyalists reformed and then attempted to storm the backcountry men with the bayonet, and almost succeeded, but most of their officers, including Innes, himself, were wounded at the critical moment. Disorder set into their ranks and they fled.
Receiving word of the defeat at Camden (see 16 August), the Whigs then mounted and headed northeast toward North Carolina. Prisoners were distributed one for each three Americans who alternated riding double with the enemy. Each prisoner was forced to carry his rifle or musket, with the flint removed so that it could not fire. They eschewed the roads and moving with unpausing celerity, were thus able to attain the security of McDowell's camp at Smith's Ford.
The action as a whole, from the approach of Innes to the retreat of his forces to the Mill lasted about an hour, or an hour and a half according to Shelby. Draper states the British losses as 63 killed, 90 wounded, 70 prisoners. The back-country men lost 4 killed and 8 or 9 wounded. Much of the disparity in losses is attributed to the Provincials and Loyalist over shooting their targets. In the wake of the battle, Clark, Shelby and Williams withdrew in a northwesterly direction, traveling 60 miles, to re-join McDowell (there with about 200) at Smith's Ford. In their flight, they came within five miles of Ferguson, and who pursued but was unable to catch up with them.
The prisoners taken at Musgrove's were soon after marched to Hillsborough. Clark with his men, later (see 20 August) separated from Williams and Shelby and retired to Georgia; secreting himself in the woods of Wilkes County; where he was supplied with food by friends andn neighbors. Shelby, meanwhile, returned to the Holston and Watauga-Nolachucky settlements, the term of his men's service having expired.
Accounts of the numbers involved and casualty estimates of forces at Musgrove's Mill differ. Col. James Williams, cited in Draper, gave the Whigs strength as 200, the original Loyalists at the mill at 200, who were then reinforced by 300. The Whigs lost 3-4 killed and 7 or 8 wounded, while the loyalists lost 63 killed, 90 wounded with 70 being taken prisoners. Among the loyalists slain was a Captain Hawsey who had disinquished himself by making signal efforts to encourage and rally them; with his loss at the hands of a whig riflemen having disheartened the tories only further.[1173] Major James Sevier reported the Whig's strength as 250, as learned from participants. Maj. Joseph McJunkin gave Clark, Shelby and Williams' force at about 150, and the British who participated as 300. Ripley calculates the Patriots as numbering from 250 to 700, Tories 200 to 1,300, preferring the lower figure in each case. Although understandably much is made of the "Overmountain" or frontier militia gathering to stop Ferguson at King's Mountain, it is often forgotten that they actually made their *first* appearance to stop the British at Fort Anderson (or Thicketty Fort, 30 July), Second Cedar Spring, and Musgrove's Mill.[1174]
Allaire (with Ferguson): "Saturday, 19th. Lay at Winn's plantation…[Allaire here speaks about Camden]…We received orders to pursue Sumter, he having the only remains of what the Rebels can call a corps in these parts at present. At six o'clock in the evening our wagons were ordered forward that we might pursue Sumter with vigor. At seven we got in motion. That very moment an express arrived from Col. Innes, who was on his way from Ninety-Six to join us, informing us that he had been attacked by a body of Rebels at Musgrove's Mills on Enoree river; that himself, and Major [Thomas] Fraser of his regiment, were wounded, as were Capt. Peter Campbell [N.J. Volunteers], Lieuts. Chew and Camp [Kemp?], of Col. [Isaac] Allen's regiment. He wished for support as many of the militia had left him. This, to our great mortification, altered the course of our march. At eleven at night, we got in motion; marched all night; forded Broad river at sun-rising."

Chesney: "...[W]e received an express that the rebels had defeated Col. Ennis [Alexander Innes] at Enoree [Musgrove's Mill]; this occasioned a rapid march that way. The main body having crossed the Enoree, I was left behind in command of the rearguard and being attacked in that situation [20 August] we maintained our ground until the main body recrossed to our support; the Americans retreated [21 August] after suffering some loss."[1175]

Samuel Hammond (who at the time was a captain with James Williams' force): "We marched twenty or twenty-five miles on the 16th, halted, fed and refreshed for an hour, and after dark set out on our march again. In the course of the night Colonel [William] Bratton turned off the line of march, intending to pass through his own neighborhood and to fall in with us before day. This was injudicious in every point of view, for it afforded more than a double chance to the enemy of gaining intelligence of our approach and a probability of our not falling in with them or of their aiding us in the affair; and this proved to be the case, for they did not rejoin us until the affair was over. General [Charles] McDowell advanced a few miles, but declined joining the enterprise. Our march was silently and skillfully conducted and we arrived near the post about day.

[1172] Williams after battle report gives the American number as 200 and which marched on 17th August in order to attack 200 tories. But on night of the 18th the Tories were reinforced by Innes with 200 regular troops and 100 more tories. William T. Graves, while citing McJunkin's figure of 700 for the whigs, gives the loyalist strength as 1,000-1,200. GJW p. 32.
[1173] Not perhaps unlike how Capt. Beatty's fall induced a confusion and panic among the Continentals at Hobkirk's Hill .
[1174] ATR81a p. 87, RSC2 pp. 137-138, GHA3 p. 449, MMS2 p. 220, MST p. 25, SRW, HMP, MHG pp. 477-479, HMS pp. 24-27, FNA pp. 12-13, SJM, LFB2 pp. 444-445, JTR pp. 487-488, 519-522, HGS pp. 578-580, DKM p. 104-122, SNC pp. 78-81, MSC1 pp. 686-698, LCR pp. 147-166, BGC pp. 76-77, RBG pp. 99-102, BRG p. 177, GJW pp. 32-36, SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp 28-37.
[1175] CDI.

"We had one captain -- S. Inman [Shadrack Inman] -- a brave man and a good officer, with four men killed and eleven men wounded. The British lost Major [Thomas] Fraser [wounded but not killed], and eighty-five men killed; Captain Innis [Alexander Innes] and several other officers wounded, the number not known. One captain of regulars, two captains of tories, and seventy-three privates -- mostly York volunteers [presumably New Jersey Volunteers] -- were taken prisoners…Our [the whig's] numbers continued to increase from that time, and all seemed to have more confidence in themselves."[1176]

Isaac Shelby: "General [Charles] McDowell continued to maneuver on the north side of Broad River, not being in force to attempt an attack upon Ferguson camp, until the 18th of August at which time he received information that five hundred Tories were encamped at Musgrove's Mill on the Bank of the Enoree River. Colonel Shelby & Lieut. Col. Clarke [Elijah Clark] were again selected by General [Charles] McDowell to head the detachment destined to cut up that party of Tories. McDowell's camp was then at Smith's ford of Broad River forty miles or upwards from the Tories encamped at Musgrove's -- Major Ferguson lay about half way with all his force and only two or three miles from the route our party had to travel. They commenced their March from Smith[']s ford at sun about one hour high on the evening of the 18th of August, 1780, with seven hundred picked men well mounted, amongst whom were several of the field officers of McDowell's Army who volunteered their services and they were joined by Col. Jno. Williams [James Williams] and his followers making all together a force of between seven and eight hundred picked men -- They traveled through the woods until dark, then took the road, and traveled fast all the night great part of the way in canter, never stopped even to let their horses drink, & arrived within half a mile of the enemy camp just at break of day, where they were met by a strong patrol party of the enemy, coming out to reconnoiter -- a sharp fire commenced in which several of the enemy fell & they gave back to their camp; at this juncture a country man who lived in sight came up & informed Colonel Shelby that the enemy had been strongly reinforced the evening before with six hundred regular troops, from Ninety-Six, the queens American regiment from New York commanded by Col. [Alexander] Innes[1177] -- The Americans after a hard travel all night of forty miles or upwards were too much broke down to retreat, they prepared for a battle as fast as possible, by making a breast works of logs and brush which they completed in half an hour, when the Enemy's whole force appeared in full view, their lines lay across the road upwards of half a mile in length, a small party under Capt. Shadrack Inman had been sent on to scrimmage with the Enemy as soon as they crossed the river (for their Camp was on the south side at Musgrove's plantation) -- Capt. Inman had orders to give way as the enemy advanced--when they came within 70 yards of our breast works, a heavy & destructive fire commenced upon them. The action was b1oody & obstinate for upwards of an hour and a half. The Enemy had gotten within a few yards of our works: at that juncture Colonel Innes who commanded the enemy was badly wounded and carried back, and every other regular officer except one Lieutenant of the British was either killed or wounded when the enemy began to give way, just at that moment also Capt. Hawsey an officer of considerable distinction among the Tories was shot down near our lines while making the greatest efforts to animate his men. The Tories upon the fall of Capt. Hawsey broke in great confusion, the slaughter from thence to the Enoree River about half a mile was very great, dead men lay thick on the ground over which our men pursued the enemy -- In this pursuit Capt. Inman was killed while pressing the enemy close in his rear -- great merit was due to Capt. Inman for the manner in which he brought on the action-- and to which the success of the day was greatly to be attributed. This action was one of the hardest ever fought in the United States with small arms. The smoke was so thick as to hide a man at the distance of twenty yards -- Our men took two hundred prisoners during the action, and would have improved the victory to great advantage, their object was to be in Ninety-Six that night distant 25 or 30 miles and weak and defenseless. But just after the close of the action an express arrived from General McDowell [Col. Charles McDowell] with a letter to him from Governor[1178] [Richard] Caswell informing of the defeat on the 16th of our Grand Army under General Gates near Camden. In this situation to secure a safe retreat was a most difficult task our small party broke down with fatigue two hundred British prisoners in charge, upwards of forty miles advance of General McDowell who retreated immediately and dispersed upon the receipt of the news of Gates's defeat -- Ferguson with 3000 men almost directly in their rear. It required all the Vigilance and exertion which human nature was capable of to avoid being cut to pieces by Ferguson's light parties -- it was known to Col. Shelby that he had a body of dragoons and mounted men. That would endeavor to intercept him which caused him to bear up towards the mountains. The enemy pursued as was expected fifty or sixty miles until their horses broke down and could follow no further -- It is to be remarked that during the advance of upwards of forty miles and the retreat of fifty or sixty, the Americans never stopped to eat, but made use of peaches and green corn for their support. The excessive fatigue to which they were subjected for two nights and two days effectually broke down every officer on our side that their faces & eyes swelled and became bloated in appearance as scarcely to be able to see."[1179]

Saye (with Maj. Joseph McJunkin): "On this march Sumter was joined by Col. James Williams, and also received instructions from Gen. Gates to cooperate with him in the contemplated attack on the British forces at Camden. Williams preferred a return toward Ninety-Six to a march down the Wateree, took that direction. Such of Sumter's force as desired it joined Williams. Among these were Steen and McJunkin.
"Col. Williams, having separated from Sumter, turned his face toward the British post at Ninety-Six. He was probably induced to take this course from several considerations. He resided but a short distance from that

[1176] JTR pp. 519-522.
[1177] Innes actually commanded the South Carolina Royalists; though some New Jersey Volunteers were present at the battle.
[1178] Caswell had previously been governor of N.C. but at this time, of course, was now serving as Maj. Gen. of the militia.
[1179] SRW.

place, and his friends were suffering from the domination of the British Tories. Gen. [Charles] McDowell had advanced with a considerable force into the northern portion of the state.
"The Northern Army under Gates was advancing toward Camden. The recent spirited conflicts in which the command of Sumter had been engaged had rekindled the spirit of liberty and taught the militia that it was possible for them to conquer a foe superior to them in number and equipment.
"Williams, therefore, crossed the Catawba and took post near Smith's Ford on Broad River. Gen. McDowell lay at the Cherokee Ford, a few miles above, on the same river. The latter detached a part of his command under Cols. Shelby and Clark to unite with Williams for the purpose of surprising a body of 500 or 600 Loyalists who were understood to have taken post at Musgrove's Mill, Enoree River, forty miles distant. This arrangement was completed Aug. 18. Just before sundown this combined force, consisting of about 700 horsemen, crossed at Smith's Ford. They kept through woods until after dark. They also turned off the route to avoid the army of Col. Ferguson, which lay in their way. Through the whole night they pressed forward, often at a gallop, and at dawn of day met a strong patrol party half a mile from the enemy's camp. With this a skirmish ensued, but it soon gave way and communicated the alarm to the main body. Just at this time a man residing in the community joined them and communicated the intelligence that the Tories had been reinforced by a body of 500 or 600 British troops under command of Col. Innis [Innes]. To attack, under the circumstances, seemed imprudent; to escape, impossible. It was therefore determined to wear out the day as safely as possible and use the darkness of the ensuing night in effecting their retreat. A breastwork of old logs and brush was hastily constructed. Parties were thrown out to watch the movements of the enemy.
"It was soon ascertained that the enemy were formed near the ford of the river with the intention of giving battle. A corresponding preparation took place among the Whigs. The command of Williams was placed in the center [sic]. That of Shelby on the right and that of Clark on the left. At his own request Capt. Inman was sent forward with a party to skirmish with the enemy as they advanced. A flanking party of twenty-four men under the direction of Josiah Culbertson was sent out from Shelby's command. Inman met the enemy at the moment they began to peep forward and gave them a hot reception. The word of command passed along the American line, 'Reserve your fire until you can see the whites of their eyes!' Meanwhile, Inman's command gradually fell back from place to place until the enemy made a general charge under the impression that they were driving the main body before them. Inman passed the American line and the main body of the British and Tories were rushing forward in the utmost confusion within seventy yards of their foes. A stream of fire revealed the hidden battalions of liberty. The British sank down in great numbers, the survivors recoiled, rallied and again pressed forward, but the fire from the American line continued with little abatement for one hour to thin their ranks, while their own produced little effect.
"Culbertson's party, under cover of trees, was pouring in a deadly fire upon the flank and rear. Innis and other leaders were shot down and the whole of the royal forces fell back in consternation. Capt. Inman immediately rallied a party and pursued the fugitives to the river, but this onset proved fatal to the gallant Inman. In this engagement the royal force exceeded that of the Americans by at least 300. The British lost sixty-three killed and 160 wounded and prisoners. The American loss was four killed and nine wounded.
"The Whigs were greatly exhilarated by the result of this conflict. They mounted their horses with the determination of being at Ninety-Six that night. At this moment an express arrived from Gen. McDowell. Shelby received a letter from Gen. McDowell, inclosing one for himself from Gov. Caswell dated on the battleground where Gates's defeat occurred, giving an account of that disastrous engagement. McDowell advised Shelby and his companions to provide for their own safety. This intelligence led to a change of operations. It was necessary to avoid Ferguson's army, which lay between them and McDowell. And there was a strong probability that Ferguson would lose no time in pursuing.
"They, therefore, turned their faces toward the mountains of North Carolina in order to make good their retreat and secure the results of their victory. Their march was continued the balance of the day, through the night and the next day without stopping to take any other refreshment than drinking from the brooks by the way, pulling green corn from the fields near their road and eating it raw. Ferguson pursued, but found the backwoods men too fleet to be overtaken. The writer remembers having heard the late Major John Alexander, who died in Lawrenceville, Ga., May, 1820, speak of this march. He stated that he was without food for nearly four days. When his engagements permitted and the opportunity offered he pulled some corn and ate it raw and found it delicious. Major Alexander's residence at the time was at the fork of Tyger River, in the Nazareth congregation, and the retreating army passed through this congregation and up the North Tyger. The panic which followed Gates's defeat induced McDowell's army to disperse, and the leaders of the heroes of Musgrove's Mill, having kept together for several days after the battle separated, each to obey his own impulses in rousing the spirits of his countrymen to resistance and in affording protection to their friends from the insults of a triumphant invader.
"…The writer has been told by Richard Thompson of Fairforest that he passed through the battleground at Musgrove's a few days after it occurred. He was then a lad of twelve or fourteen, and going in company with his mother to visit his father, John Thompson, who was a prisoner with the British at Ninety-Six. He stated that there were marks of battle for two miles along the road on the east side of the river and that he made this observation in regard to the shooting of the different parties: The marks of the balls shot by the Whigs on the trees were generally from three to five feet above the ground, while their antagonists had generally shot entirely above the heads of the Whigs.
"On his arrival at Ninety-Six he learned from his father and other prisoners of his acquaintance that the fugitives from the battle had reported that the Whigs amounted to 5,000; that the garrison was in such a state of consternation that they would probably have fled if the Whigs had showed themselves. He further remarked that the prisoners at that garrison were treated in a barbarous manner. They were crowded into the jail, notwithstanding the warmth of the season; food of an unpalatable and unhealthy kind alone was furnished and

very inadequate in quantity. There was no attention to the cleanliness. Col. [William] Thompson was handcuffed in addition to other hardships unbecoming his rank as an officer and his standing as a citizen. Mr. Thompson was released about the first of November, got home to his family and died Christmas of disease contracted during his imprisonment."[1180]

Landrum: "The British and Tories before their final rout fought bravely. Their dragoons lately raised and poorly disciplined behaved with becoming gallantry, fighting on the left under Colonel Innes. They all exhibited more or less the training they had received from Ferguson, who has already been represented as a superior training master."[1181]

20 August. Clark, Shelby and James Williams re-united with Col. Charles McDowell's force which was then itself retreating, and considerably diminished in numbers. It was decided to call out additional men from South Carolina, North Carolina and over the mountains to resist Ferguson. However, the time of service for Col. Shelby's and Maj. Charles Robertson's riflemen of Holston and Watauga-Nolachucky having expired, that force returned home. The prisoners taken at Musgrove's were escorted by Clark; who, after an unspecified distance, turned them over to Col. James Williams and Captain Samuel Hammond, who in turn marched them to Hillsborough. Clark and his men thereafter went into hiding in Georgia. When Williams arrived at Hillsborough with news of Musgrove's Mill, he was given a commission as Brigadier General in the South Carolina militia by Gov. John Rutledge who was in Hillsborough at that time. Meanwhile, Col Charles McDowell and Col. Andrew Hampton, leaving Smith's Ford on the Broad River, stayed in the Gilbertown area with no more than 200 men, the rest having simply went home at this juncture. It was understood that Ferguson would attempt to go after the abundant cattle around Gilbertown, which was one reason for the militia's continued presence there.[1182]

21 August (also given as 20 August). [ambush] Great Savannah, also Nelson's ferry, (Clarendon County, S.C.) On the 20th, Col. Francis Marion, Major Hugh Horry (Col. Peter Horry was not present) and 150 men at Santee Swamp, moved towards Sumter's Plantation on the north side of Nelson's Ferry (on the Santee.) Past midnight (thus making the action take place on the 21st), they ambushed a convoy of prisoners taken at Camden that had stopped for the night at a house along the road and, in the process, freed 147 Maryland and Delaware Continentals. The loyalists had been mostly asleep with their arms stacked in the front yard. Marion killed or captured 22 of the 38 man British force; which consisted of soldiers of the 63rd and Prince of Wales Regiments, the latter under Capt. John Roberts, plus some loyalist militia and two Tory guides. Marion lost one killed, and one wounded. Of those released, 85 of the American prisoners reportedly refused to accept their liberation, and instead continued to Charlestown as prisoners: either disgusted with their leadership at Camden or else simply weary of fighting.[1183] Marion then took the rest of those released, along with the prisoners, arms, and accoutrements they had taken, towards Kingstree. On the 26th, he crossed Lynches River at Witherspoon's ferry. The Continentals who had come with him subsequently moved up towards Wilmington, and most were ultimately re-united with their units. Col. Otho Williams wrote Gov. John Rutledge on October 6th: "Of the 150 men retaken by Marion only about 60 rejoined their corps[1184] -- some were sick but most of them just departed."[1185]
Col. James Read, at Wilmington on Sept. 12th, wrote to Brig. Gen. Sumner: "Col. Marion retook one hundred and forty seven soldiers of the Maryland and Delaware line, fifty seven of whom have arrived in town [Wilmington] and committed to my care."[1186]

On 29 August, from Camden, Cornwallis reported to Clinton: "The Number of Prisoners was a great Inconvenience to us here [at Camden], in a small Village so crowded and so sickly. I was afraid that the close place in which we were obliged to confine them might produce some pestilential Fever during the excessive hot Weather. I therefore sent them off as early as possible, by Divisions of 150 each, under the Escort of 38 Men, about two thirds of which were composed of the 63d & Prince of Wales's Regiments, the rest Militia. In order to cover their March, altho' I did not apprehend much danger, I posted Major Wemyss with a Part of the 63d at the high Hills of Santee, and I sent Lieu[t.] Colonel Tarleton with a Detachment of the Legion, & Lieut 1 Colonel Hamilton's Corps & some Militia to Ratcliffe's Bridge on Linches [Lynches] Creek, which I thought would effectually awe the lower Country. The Disaffection however of the Country East of Santee is so great, that the Account of our Victory could not penetrate into it any person daring to speak of it being threatened with instant Death. And so great was the Ignorance in which these People were kept, that on the Night of the 23d a Party of about 200 mounted Militia under Colonel Marion went to Murray's Ferry, where they passed some Men in Canoes, drove away our Militia Guard, and destroyed the Ferry Boats to prevent our making our Escape from General Gates over the Santee. On the 24th they were proceeding to do the Same at Nelson's Ferry, when they heard of the March of the first Division of Prisoners, and that they were to halt that Night at Sumpter[']s House (which halting place was not very well chosen by the Qr Mr [Quarter Master] General).

[1180] SJM.
[1181] LCR p. 156.
[1182] DKM p. 118-119. For a sketch of Andrew Hampton, see DKM pp. 474-475.
[1183] Yet Christopher Ward in his *Delaware Continentals* asserts that much of the Delaware regiment returned to their unit following being captured at Camden, and presumably a number of these were such as had been liberated at Great Savannah. The number then which continued on as prisoners may be exaggerated, or else perhaps misunderstood as soldiers, still loyal, yet who simply refused to remain with Marion. See WDC pp. 354-356.
[1184] Those troops that returned met up with Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford at Wilmington. WNA, JLG2 p. 87n.
[1185] ATR81a p. 87, SCV1 pp. 261-264, GDH2 pp. 11-12, WNA, GHA3 p. 454-455, MLW4A pp. 318-319, MMS2 pp. 224-225, JFM pp. 19-20, MSC1 pp. 699-700, BSF p. 44-46, BGC pp. 88-89, RBG p. 103.
[1186] CNC14 p. 771.

"The Ensign of the Militia of the Escort contrived to get over to the Enemy, and conducted them to the Attack. The Consequence of which was that our Escort was taken and the Prisoners released. By this Time some Patroles of Lieu[t.] Colonel Tarleton's to Kingstree Bridge on Black River had spread the Alarm in their Rear, and being perfectly convinced by the Prisoners of General Gates's total Defeat; they retired with great Precipitation to George Town. The greatest Part of the Escort escaped from them, and above eighty of the Prisoners, all Continentals either English or Irish, declared their Determination to proceed to Charlestown. I am assured that not more than twelve of the Escort, and forty of the Prisoners were carried off by the Enemy. I believe that Cap[t.] Roberts of the 63d who commanded the Escort, did his Duty perfectly well, & was not to blame in any Respect."[1187]

Marion, from Lynches Creek, on 27 August wrote to Col. Peter Horry: "I am sorry to acquaint you that Gen. Gates is defeated with great loss; he was obliged to retreat to Charlotte, which obliges me also to retreat. You will without delay retreat with what men you can get, to Briton's [Britton's] neck, where I have encamped. It is necessary to obtain ammunition, arms and accoutrements, and as many horses as you can get; also stores from Georgetown, which you will send if possible up the river to Briton's [Britton's] neck. On the 20th inst. I attacked a guard of the 63d and Prince of Wales' regiment, with a number of tories, at the Great Savannah, near Nelson's ferry. Killed and took twenty-two regulars, and two tories prisoners, and retook one hundred and fifty continentals of the Maryland line; one waggon and a drum; one captain and a subaltern were also captured. Our loss is one killed, and Capt. [Lemuel] Benson is slightly wounded on the head."[1188]

21 August. Smallwood and remnants of Gates' army reached Salisbury. On receiving word the British had retired from Camden, he retained about 150 effective men with him, and sent the rest, some 50 or 60, along with the Waxhaws and Catawba refugees to Hillsborough. About this same time, the militia of Mecklenburg and Waxhaws, on their own initiative, started assembling at Charlotte under Major Anderson of the Maryland line. Smallwood subsequently received orders from Gates to bring his men with him to Hillsborough, which the latter did, going by way of Guilford. At Guilford there were plenty of provisions and so he halted his men for refreshment there, arriving at Hillsborough by August 24th.[1189]
Kirkwood: [Portion of Kirkwood's Journal entry after the battle of Camden]: "I can give no account of our Marches on the Retreat untill [sic] we came to Salisbury [sic] which we arrived at on the 21st."[1190]

22 August. Records of Moravians (Salem) "Toward noon Colonel [John] Armstrong[1191] and his brother the Major arrived. They had been in the battle, and through them we heard that Brigadier [Griffith] Rutherford was taken prisoner. An attempt will be made to gather the scattered troops, and half the militia are to be called out. The people are in extreme fright because of the English…"[1192]

22 August. Gates, at Hillsborough," to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: "Upon my Arrival at Charlotte the Night of the 16th Instant, I reflected there were neither Army Ammunition or Intrenching [sic] Tools, and that to think of maintaining that post without these was risquing [sic] a Second Loss perhaps greater than the First. I therefore resolved to proceed directly hither, to give Orders for assembling the Continental Troops on the March from Virginia, to direct the Three Corps of Horse at X Creek [Cross Creek] to cover the stores &c there, and to urge the Resources of Virginia to be drawn forth for our Support. I also have forwarded some Volunteer Horse towards P. D. and upon other Roads Westward, to succour [sic] our People and Waggons [sic] retiring from the Enemy. Captain Richmond informed me last night you had halted at Charlotte, and was assembling Militia there. I may be mistaken but with all deference to your opinions I think Salisbury a better Position; as it brings our Force, and that what we hope to collect, more within supporting Distance of each other, and certainly covers the Country more effectually. Now should the Enemy march out with a superior force to Charlotte, wanting the proper Means of Defence [sic], you must be obliged to retire, which I hope you will then be able to do towards Salisbury. I hope Colonel Sumpter is yet on the West Side of the Wateree, as I am confident he gives the Enemy infinitely more jealously by remaining there, than he can possibly do by joining you, for in that Case they would have only one Object to attend to."[1193]

23 August. In addition to 80 new cases of fever, including many officers, Cornwallis had many wounded to attend to, including Americans, that remained from the Camden battle.
Cornwallis, at Camden, to Clinton on this date: "Our [army's] sickness is great and truly alarming…It is difficult to form a plan of operations, which must depend so much on circumstances; but it at present appears to me, that I should endeavor to get as soon as possible to Hillsborough, and there assemble and try to arrange the friends who are inclined to arm in our favor, and endeavor to form a very large magazine for the winter of flour and meal from the country, and of rum, salt, &c., from Cross Creek, which I understand to be about eighty miles' carriage. But all this will depend on the operations which your Excellency may think proper to pursue in

[1187] SCV1 pp. 261-264, BSF p. 44.
[1188] JFM p. 83.
[1189] WNA, GHA3 p. 450, MLW4A pp. 188-189.
[1190] KJO p. 11.
[1191] This *apparently* is a refernce to Maj. John Armstrong of the N.C. Line who commanded that state's light infantry at Camden. His being given as colonel here may reflect his rank with respect to the militia, but this is only a surmise on my part.
[1192] FRM p. 1560.
[1193] GAH pp.304-305

the Chesapeak[e], which appears to me, next to the security of New York, to be one of the most important objects of the war."[1194]

24 August. Smallwood reached Hillsborough.[1195]

25 August (also given as 4 September)[1196]. [skirmish] Blue Savannah, also Port's Ferry (Marion County, S.C.) Marion, and Maj. John James, with (according to Marion) 52 mounted men dispersed Maj. Micajah Ganey and Capt. Jesse Barfield who had 200 to 250 loyalists in their camp on the Little Peedee River. Ganey and Barfield themselves had intended to attack Marion the next day. Along with Ganey was a small detachment of the 63rd Regiment. Ganey's own force had 45, 30 of these were killed or wounded, while Ganey himself and the rest of his force were dispersed. The same day, Capt. Jesse Barfield with 200 loyalists (and possibly included in this number a small detachment of the 63rd Regiment) attempted to waylay Marion, but was himself ambushed in the attempt near Blue Savannah on Britton's Neck; where Marion had retreated after his attack on Ganey. Barfield's men then fled into Little Peedee Swamp. Marion lost four men wounded, two horses killed. The next day, the 5th, about 60 volunteers joined Marion, bringing his force strength up to about 110. On the 7th, he proceeded to fortify Port's Ferry, on the eastern bank of the Peedee, having with him for that purpose two small field pieces. At the time, Wemyss was still in the neighborhood of Kingstree with roughly 270 men, and awaiting reinforcements from Camden.[1197]

On 15 September, from "White Marsh Bladen County," Marion reported to Gates: "I wrought [wrote] you by Mr. Simons the 29th Augt (pr Express,) who is not yet returned. I have not been able to learn any thing of your Situation, which has very much Disparited the friends to America. I have sent the Prisoners I took the 25th, Augt. with the Continentals to Wilmington. Many of the later has left me, & my Situation growing more Critical, I could not possible harm them any longer.[1198]
"On the 3d Inst: I had Advice that upwards of two hundred Toreys intended to Attack me the next day, I immediately marched with 53 men, which is all I could get. On the 4th in the morning I surprised a party of 45 men, which I mistook for the main body. I kill'd and wounded all but 15 which Escaped. I then marched immediately to attack the main body, which I meet about 3 miles in full march towards me. I Directly Attackt them & put them to flight (though they had 200 men) & got in to an Impassible Swamp to all but Toreys. I had one man wounded in the the first action, & 3 in the Second, & two horses killed. finding it impossible to come at them, I returned to Camp. The next day I was informed they all Disperst. On the 5th I was Joined by about 60 men; I then throughed np a small redoubt, to secure my camp from being surprised by the toreys should they again collect; on the 7th I crossed P. D. [Peedee], & Lynches creek with one hundred men, & Left 50 to secure my camp & the river, to attack a party of regulars & militia s[ai]d to be 150, which was in Williamsbourgh township, a Burning all the houses of those men who had Joind me. When I had got to Indian town Capt. [John] James, who I had sent to reconetre the Enemy meet me; he had taken a prisoner belonging to Colo. Ferguson riffle regt., by whom I learnt that they was 200 British & a number of Toreys, & that Majr. Whimes [Wemyss] with 200 more was to Join them that night. They was seen after Dark on their march, & by an Orderly book taken with an Officer's baggage with the above prisoner I found their Intention was to remove me & proceed to the Cheraws. I also had Intelligence that 200 men post regulars, had arrived in Georgetown from Santee, which Oblige me to return to my camp, which I did that Day On the 8th I had Intelligence that they Majr. Whimes had Crossed Lynches Creek, Come on my front, & those In Georgtown had crossed Black river & Whaney [Euhaney River] to fall on my rear. The Toreys which I had Lately Disperst was collecting on my right, which woud Compleatly surround me & cut of my retreat, which Oblige me to retreat to this place with 60 men the rest Left me to see after their family, which had their houses burnt; they have Burnt a Number of houses on Black river, Lynches Creek & Wallaman [Waccamaw?] I shall remain here until I hear from you or I have an Oppertunity of Doing something."[1199]

William Dobein James: "He [Marion] was dressed in a close round bodied crimson jacket, of a coarse texture, and wore a leather cap, part of the uniform of the second regiment, with a silver crescent in front, inscribed with the words, 'Liberty or death.' He was accompanied by his friend Col. Peter Horry, and some other officers. On the second or third day after his arrival, General Marion ordered his men to mount white cockades, to distinguish themselves from the tories, and crossed the Pedee, at Port's ferry, to disperse a large body of tories, under Major Ganey, stationed on Britton's neck, between great and little Pedee. He surprised them at dawn in the morning, killed one of their captains and several privates, and had two men wounded. Major James was detached at the head of a volunteer troop of horse, to attack their horse; he came up with them, charged, and drove them before him. In this affair, Major James singled out Major Ganey, (as he supposed) as the object of his single attack. At his approach Ganey fled, and he pursued him closely, and nearly within the reach of his sword, for half a mile; when behind a thicket, he came upon a party of tories, who had rallied. Not at all intimidated, but with great presence of mind, Major James called out, 'Come on my boys! -- Here they are! -- Here they are!' And the whole body of tories broke again, and rushed into little Pedee swamp.

[1194] RCC p. 57.
[1195] KJO p. 11, MLW4A pp. 188-189.
[1196] August date given by James and Ripley.
[1197] CNC14 pp. 616-618, MMS2 pp. 224-230, JFM pp. 18-19, MSC2 p. 744, BSF pp. 49-51, RBG p. 235.
[1198] Does he mean "arm" or "harm?" If the latter, perhaps Marion's curt strictness was one reason for the Continentals refusing to remain with him.
[1199] CNC14 pp. 616-618.

"Another party of tories lay higher up the river, under the command of Capt. Barefield [Barfield]; who had been a soldier in one of the South Carolina regiments. These stood to their ranks, so well, and appeared to be so resolute, that Gen. Marion did not wish to expose his men, by an attack on equal terms; he therefore feigned a retreat, and led them into an ambuscade, near the Blue Savannah, where they were defeated. This was the first manoeuvre of the kind, for which he afterwards became so conspicuous."[1200]

26 August. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "This morning Col. [John] Armstrong and Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Commans [Cummings] arrived, on their way to Hillsborough. The first-named told Br. Bagge confidentially that men were speaking angrily against us as Tories, from whom an uprising might be expected from Virginia, who were known to deal sharply with such people. He promised to give the necessary orders for our protection, for he did not consider us Tories."[1201]

27 August. On this date, South Carolina legislators in captivity, namely, lieutenant governor Christopher Gadsden, speaker Thomas Farr, Thomas Ferguson, Anthony Toomer, Alexander Moultrie, Jacob Read, Richard Hutson, Edward Blake, Edward Rutledge [one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence], Isaac Holmes, Richard Lushington, Peter Timothy, John Edwards, Hugh Rutledge, John Floyd, William Price, Thomas Savage, Thomas Heyward [another signer], William-Hazel Gibbs, Edward McCrady, David Ramsay [the post-war historian], John Todd, George Flagg, Peter Fayssoux, Josiah Smith, John Parker, John Sansam, John-Ernet Poyas, John Budd, John Loveday, Thomas Singleton, Edward North, Joseph Atkinson and others suspected by Cornwallis of inciting or assisting rebellion in Charlestown were arrested, and not long afterward sent in confinement to St. Augustine, Florida. Some American writers, such as Ramsay, later protested that they were made prisoner without any trial or hearing.[1202]

27 August. [ambush] Kingstree (Williamsburg County, S.C.) Within days of the ambush at Nelson's Ferry, Marion moved to intercept and or else obstruct the approach of Maj. James Wemyss, the latter on his way from the High Hills of the Santee (south of Camden) to the Kingstree area. With the latter were his own 63rd Regt. totaling about 300 (one account says 500.) Upon hearing of the incident at Nelson's Ferry, Cornwallis had ordered him from Camden to search for and dispose of Marion. Many of the 63rd, however, were weak from malaria. In support of Wemyss then, Cornwallis sent Maj. John Harrison's Provincials (the South Carolina Rangers) and Bryan's North Carolina Refugees. As well, Lieut. Col. John Hamilton and 100 men of the Royal North Carolina Regt. were dispatched to Radcliffe's Bridge.[1203] While in the area, Wemyss burnt houses and confiscated horses from the rebels. Marion, for his part, sent Maj. John James to scout ahead. In a night attack, James subsequently crept up on Wemyss' stragglers, capturing 30 of the enemy; then beat a swift retreat. According to McCrady's numbers, Marion had 150, lost 30 killed and wounded; Wemyss had 300 of which 15 were killed and wounded, and 15 taken prisoner. James later rejoined Marion, who then fell back to Port's Ferry.
The next day (the 28th) Marion disbanded his men, and with a small group of officers and men temporarily went up to North Carolina. Bass interestingly makes no reference to such a (relatively) large scale ambush, but does mention a soldier captured from Wemyss' column by James' men; from whom Marion obtained important information. Also Bass gives the date for this occurrence as the night of 7 September, rather than 27 August. Like Bass, Ripley believes that either the ambush as described by William Dobein James (John James' son) never took place, or else the reported capture was much exaggerated.[1204]
On 28 August, Cornwallis wrote to Wemyss "I should advise your sweeping the country entirely from Kingstree Bridge to Pedee, and returning by the Cheraws. I would have you disarm in the most rigid manner, all Persons who cannot be depended on and punish the concealement of Arms and ammunition with total demolition of the plantation."[1205]

William Dobein James: "By the exertions of Gen. Marion and his officers, the spirits of the drooping militia began to revive. But about the 27th day of August, when, having the command of only one hundred and fifty men, he heard of the approach of Major Wemyss, above Kingstree, at the head of the 63d regiment, and a body of tories, under Maj. Harrison.
"Maj. James was instantly dispatched [sic], at the head of a company of volunteers, with orders to reconnoiter [sic], and count them. Col. Peter Horry was called in, and the general crossed Lynch's creek, and advanced to give battle. The night after Maj. James received his orders, the moon shone brightly, and by hiding himself in a thicket, close to their line of march, he formed a good estimate of the force of the enemy. As their rear guard passed, he burst from his hiding place, and took some prisoners. On the same night, about an hour before day, Marion met the major half a mile from his plantation. The officers immediately dismounted, and retired to consult, and the men sat on their horses in a state of anxious suspense. The conference was long and animated. At the end of it, an order was given to direct the march back to Lynch's [Lynches] creek, and no sooner was it given than a hollow groan might have been heard along the whole line. A bitter cup had now been mingled for the people of Williamsburgh and Pedee; and they were doomed to drain it to the dregs: but in the end it proved a salutary medicine. Maj. James reported the British force to be double that of Marion's; and Ganey's party of

[1200] JFM pp. 18-19, MSC1 p. 652.
[1201] FRM p. 1561.
[1202] TCS p. 185, CNC15 pp. 391-397, LFB2 p. 562n.
[1203] Radcliffe's Bridge was about 21 miles east of Camden, near modern Bishopville.
[1204] CNC14 pp. 624-625, RHA2 pp. 497-498, JFM p. 23, MSC1 pp. 700-701, MSC2 p. 746, BSF pp. 52-55, RBG pp.103-104.
[1205] BGC p. 89.

tories in the rear, had always been estimated at five hundred men. In such a crisis, a retreat was deemed prudent."[1206]

28 August. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "…We hear that a company of light-horse, under Captain Caldwell, are on a Tory hunt in the neighborhood. They have beaten several men, and threatened Br. Steiner, claiming that he had spoken against *Liberty*. May the Lord mercifully turn this aside from us."[1207]

29 August. Cornwallis, at Camden, to Clinton: "Major Wemyss is going with a Detachment of the 63d Regiment mounted, -- some Refugees, Provincials & Militia to disarm in the most rigid Manner the Country between Santee & Pedee, and to punish severely all those who submitted or pretended to live peaceably under His Majesty's Government since the Reduction of Charlestown, and have joined in this second Revolt. And I ordered him to hang up all those Militia Men who were concerned in seizing their Officers and capturing the Sick of the 71st Regiment. I have myself ordered several Militia Men to be executed, who had voluntarily enrolled themselves and borne Arms with us, and afterwards revolted to the Enemy…
"I hope to be able to move my first division in eight or nine days into North Carolina by Charlotte-town and Salisbury; the second will follow in about ten days after, with convalescents and Stores. I shall leave the New York volunteers and Innes's [sic] corps [South Carolina Royalists] to take care of this place until the sick and stores can be removed. Our sickness at present is rather at a stand, the recoveries nearly keeping pace with the falling down. I dread the convalescents not being able to march; but it is very tempting to try it, as a move of forty or fifty miles would put us into a much better climate.
"Ferguson is to move into Tryon County with some militia, whom he says he is sure he can depend upon for doing their duty and fighting well; but I am sorry to say that his own experience as well as that of every other officer is totally against him.
"I most sincerely hope that nothing can happen to prevent your Excellency's intended diversion in the Chesapeak[e]. If unfortunately any unforeseen cause should make it impossible, I should hope that you will see the absolute necessity of adding some force to the Carolinas."[1208]

Tarleton: "[I]n order to keep alive the British interest in North Carolina, Major Ferguson's corps of rangers, and about one thousand loyal militia, were advanced to the western borders, to hold communication with the inhabitants of Tryon county till the King's troops under Earl Cornwallis were in condition to advance."[1209]

29 August. Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens marched from Hillsborough on his way back to Virginia with what was left of his militia.
Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote to Governor Jefferson on 30 August, 1780: "General Stevens informs me he has wrote frequently since our unfortunate Defeat to your Exclly [Excellency] -- he marched from hence yesterday, with what remained of your Militia (about 400) they are to be stationed for a Time at Guildford Court House. Four Hundred deserted in the last two Days they were here -- and the General is apprehensive, he shall very soon be left by many of those that went with him from hence…"

29 August. Davie, at Charlotte, to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: "The enemy's falling immediately back to Camden and making no further advantage of their victory laid me under no necessity of retreating further than this. I kept out small parties of horse to cover the country and furnish us with regular intelligence. The number of the militia in camp have been so fluctuating that nothing could be done. Last Saturday, with some difficulty, a command of one hundred horse was made up. I proceeded with them over the country as far as three miles below the Hanging Rock.
"The Tory militia have returned to their plantations, but none of them appeared. They have robbed a few houses and take every opportunity of enforcing their design of plundering the country and murdering the Whiggish inhabitants.
"The North Carolina militia are now reduced to 300 in number, and those are detained by the enemy's solemnly engaging to march into this State between the first and tenth of the next month.
"The arrangements the enemy are making in number indicate a disposition of this kind. They are industriously mounting their infantry on the captured horses, refreshing and shoeing the cavalry of the legion. This looks like a Bush Country trip. Getting barrels made to carry provisions. Have sent off some of their baggage to Charleston, conscious, I suppose, of the uncertainty of human affairs; but Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday marched off the prisoners to garrisons. It is said one party was released by the militia near Sumter. Two women who left Camden on Sunday told me it was publicly spoken of there as a fact. Last Friday they called in their outpost from Rugeley's. Colonel Turnbull has also discharged his militia on the other side the Catawba and marched with the regular troops into Camden.
"All the recruits raised in the District of Ninety-Six and other parts of South Carolina were furloughed till the 6th or 7th of the next month, when they are to rendezvous at Camden. Our old friend, Mr. B. B. Boote, is commanding of prisoners, and Mr. Kerr, who left Salisbury with him, is assistant.
"They talk of reinforcements from town, but God knows whether they are serious or not. The militia in lump are quite inconsiderable; frightened, too, and irresolute -- one day in camp, another away to save their property -- so that one-half will undoubtedly vanish upon the approach of the enemy. The counties of Rowan and

[1206] JFM p. 23.
[1207] FRM p. 1561.
[1208] COC pp. 21-22, SCV1 pp. 261-264. Regarding Ferguson, see also Cornwallis to Balfour, 3 July 1780.
[1209] TCS p. 156.

Mecklenburg are rich in provisions and strong in men, staunch, numerous and spirited, if they were only managed to take the field by timely assistance.
"These are the facts, as near as I can collect them, respecting the enemy's conduct and the situation of this distressed country. A small body of regulars with a few militia, and these counties would still keep the enemy at bay. Our poor wounded in body are in a most wretched situation. Col. Inbyson told me General Rutherford had no surgeon but himself, and that many of them had never been dressed. Something should be done for them. 'Tis cruel.
"Captain Marneal, of Hamilton's regiment, who came up with Col. Inbyson till he met with my party, mentioned the legion's returning last Monday from capturing some provision wagons, on their way, he said, to Nelson[']Ferry."[1210]

30 August. On this date, New York Volunteers, under Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, some survivors of the Prince of Wales' Regiment (that had incurred heavy losses at Hanging Rock, 6 August), and some loyalist militia from Camden under Col. John Phillips were ordered to Rocky Mount to patrol the area. Not encountering any resistance, Turnbull then returned to Camden.[1211]

30 August. Gates, at Hillsborough, to General Washington: "My public Letter to Congress has surely been transmitted to yr Exclly [your Excellency] -- Since then, I have been able to collect authentic Returns of the killed wounded and missing of the Officers of the Maryland Line, Artillerist and those of the Legion under Colo[nel] Armand. They are inclosed [sic]. The Militia broke early in the Day, and Scattered in so many Directions upon their Retreat, that very few have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy. -- By the Firmness and Bravery of the Continental Troops the victory is far from Bloodless on the part of the Foe; -- they having upward of 500 men with officers in proportion killd [sic] and wounded. I do not think L[or]d Cornwallis will be able to reap any advantage of consequence from his Victory. -- as this State seems animated to re-instate and support the Army. Virginia I am confident, will not be less patriotic -- and by the joint Exertions of the two States, there is good Reason to hope, that should the Events of the Campaign be prosperous to your Excellency; all South Carolina might be again recovered. Ld Cornwallis remained with his Army at Camden, when I received the last accounts from thence; -- I am cantoning ours at Salisbury, Guilford, Hillsborough and Cross Creek. The Marylanders and Artillerists, with the General Hospital, will be here. The Cavalry near Cross Creek and the Militia to the westward. This is absolutely necessary, as we have no Magazines of Provisions, and are only supplied from Hand to Mouth -- Two Days after the Action of the 16th ulto -- Fortune seems determined to continue to distress us -- for Colonel Sumpter, having marched near Forty Miles up the River Wateree, halted with the Waggons and Prisoners he had taken [on] the 15th. By some Indiscretion the men were surprised cut off from their arms -- the whole routed, and the Waggons and Prisoners retaken.
"What encouragement the numerous Disaffected in this State may give Lord Cornwallis to advance further into the Country; I cannot yet say. Colonel Sumpter since his Surprise and Defeat upon the West Side of the Wateree, has reinstated and increased his Corps to upward of 1000 men. I have directed him to continue to harass the Enemy upon that Side. Lord Cornwallis will therefore be cautious how he makes any considerable movement to the Eastward, while this Corps remains upon his Left Flank -- and the Main Army is in a manner cantoned on his Front. Anxious for the Public Good I shall continue my unwearied Endeavors to stop the Progress of the Enemy -- to reinstate our affairs -- to recommence an Offensive War, and recover all our Losses in the Southern States. But if being unfortunate is solely a Reason sufficient for removing me from Command I shall most cheerfully submit to the Orders of Congress; and resign an office few Generals would be anxious to possess -- and where the utmost skill and Fortitude is so subject to be baffled by the difficulties which must for a Time, surround, the Chief in Command here.
"That your Excellency may meet with no such Difficulties -- that your Road to Fame and Fortune may be smooth and easy is the Sincere wish of &c &c."[1212]

[1210] CNC22 pp. 776-777, SNC p. 101.
[1211] "Memorandum Book of Captain John Money," 30 August 1780. Cornwallis Papers, PRO. 30/11/3, folios 88-109.
[1212] GAH pp. 308-309.

SEPTEMBER 1780

September. Chesney: "We encamped for some time in the neighborhood of Enoree, and then up to Fair Forest. Some particular business having called Col. Ferguson to Camden, Capt. [Abraham] Depeyster who succeeded him to the command [September, 1780] marched us up the [Wofford's] Iron Works and I obtained leave to see my home and family whither I went for about two hours and sent orders for those who had shamefully abandoned us some time ago to join us at the Iron-Works in order to do three months duty in or on the borders of North Carolina, and returned to the camp that night; we continued some time at the Iron works and whilst there a party of Loyalists with whom I was, defeated Col. Brannan [Thomas Brandon], destroyed some of his party and scattered the rest. I was present also at a small affair at Fair Forest, the particulars of which, as well as numerous other skirmishes having escaped my memory, scarcely a day passed without some fighting." [1213]

September. The North Carolina Legislature passed the act for establishing a Board of War[1214] with ultimate power and authority to call out the militia and appoint its officers. Davie, sardonically observed: "Nothing can be more ridiculous than the manner this board was filled. Alexander the Little [Alexander Martin] being a Warrior of great fame, was placed at the head of the board -- [John] Penn who was only fit to amuse children, and O[randates]. Davis who knew nothing but the game of Whist composed the rest of the Board."[1215]
Abner Nash, who ironically first proposed the Board, later came to loggerheads against it for encroaching on his own authority as commander in chief. This -- and the earlier (and unconstitutional) appointing of Caswell, by the N.C. assembly in April 1780, to be supreme head of the state militia -- caused Nash's dissatisfaction; leading ultimately to his resignation as Governor in the Spring of 1781 (being replaced and succeeded by Thomas Burke in late June 1781.) To appease Nash, the assembly had formally abolished the Board in January 1781, while offering in its place a not so dissimilar "Council Extraordinary" -- but to be headed this time by Nash himself (made effective on Nash's continuing into the next term of office.) Despite these concessions, Nash still resigned; though it seems very probable his problem with tuberculosis (and from which he finally expired in 1786) was the more determining factor in actually declining re-election.[1216]

As a sample of the Board in action, the below is a missive from them to Brig. Gen. Sumner of 15 September:
"Our assembly having established a Board of war and invested them with extensive powers, we are, as members of that Board, to inform you that requisitions for supplies of all kinds & returns, etc., will be made to us. You will do your utmost to repel the enemy and cover and protect the western part of the State. We shall push forward to your assistance all the force that can be spared. Almost 200 men (on horses) will certainly arrive to your aid by the 25th inst.
"Gen. Butler in a few days will go forward with his men.
"200 horse under Col. [Thomas] Taylor [of N.C.] started yesterday, and will proceed through Chatham and form a junction with Gen. Harrington. Gen. Gregory will collect and gather his scattered brigade.
"We have wrote to Col. [Thomas] Polk to do his utmost respecting supplies of provisions for the troops in your quarter. Gen. [Richard] Caswell having informed the assembly that he could not conveniently immediately take the field, it was thought advisable to request Gen. Smallwood to take command of our militia. If he does not accept, the whole force of our state will be under your immediate direction and command."[1217]

September. [skirmish] Graham's Fort (Cleveland County, N.C.) Col. William Graham, with only three men, repulsed a gang of some reportedly 23 marauding tories at his home "Graham's Fort."[1218]

September. [skirmish] Rouse's Ferry (Dillon County, S.C.)[1219]

September. [skirmish] Peedee Swamp, also "Capt. Galvin Witherspoon Captures Loyalists" (Georgetown County, S.C.) See JFM p. 32 and http://gaz.jrshelby.com/peedeesw.htm

September, possibly June or late September.[1220] [skirmish] Stallions, also Stallion's, Stalling's, Brandon's Camp (York County, S.C.) Col. Thomas Brandon and Capt. Andrew Love, with a force of 50, surprised and surrounded a body of loyalists holding up at the Stallions (or Stalling's) home. Brandon had one wounded; the loyalists had two killed, four wounded, and twenty-eight taken captured. Mrs. Stallions of the residence, and wife of one of the loyalists, was accidentally killed by a stray ball. The date for this action is unclear, and previously has been given as 12 July. Historian Michael Scoggin's categorically dismisses the mid July date as (among other reasons) being erroneously derived from Rev. James Hodge Saye's not entirely reliable *Memoirs of Major Joseph McJunkin*. Moreover, a number of participants at the Stallions action were present at Huck's Defeat on that date.[1221]

[1213] CDI.
[1214] Perhaps in emulation of the Continental Congress' Board of War.
[1215] DRS p. 34.
[1216] SNC pp. 268-269. Schenck observes that North Carolina was probably acting in imitation to South Carolina's investing Gov. Rutledge with emergency war and dictatorial powers. Noteworthy in light of this is that Virginia under Thomas Jefferson took no such measure though herself also subject to imminent and present invasion.
[1217] CNC14 p. 771.
[1218] DKM p. 145.
[1219] LSC p. 9.
[1220] Lipscomb gives the action at Stalling's as taking place in June. LSC p. 7.
[1221] SJM, MSC1 p. 601, RBG p. 74, BRG pp. 104-105, SCAR vol. 2, no.10, pp. 10-16.

Thomas Young: "We had received Intelligence of a party of Tories, then stationed at Stallions; a detachment of about fifty Whigs under Col. [Thomas] Brandon, moved to attack them. Before we arrived at the house in which they were fortified, we were divided into two parties. Capt. [Andrew] Love with a party of sixteen -- of whom I was one -- marched to attack the front, while Col. Brandon with the remainder, made a circuit to intercept those who should attempt to escape, and also to attack the rear. Mrs. Stallions was a sister of Capt [Andrew] Love, and on the approach of her brother she ran out, and begged him not to fire upon the house. He told her it was too late now, and that their only chance for safety was to surrender. She ran back to the house and sprang upon the door step, which was pretty high. At this moment, the house was attacked in the rear by Col. Brandon's party, and Mrs. Stallions was killed by a ball shot through the opposite door. At the same moment with Brandon's attack, our party raised a shout and rushed forward. We fired several rounds, which were briskly returned. It was not long, however, before the Tories ran up a flag, first upon the end of a gun, but as that did not look exactly peaceful, a ball was put through the fellow's arm, and in a few moments it was raised on a ram-rod, and we ceased firing...We had but one wounded, William Kennedy, who was shot by my side. I was attempting to fire in at the door of the house, when I saw two of the Tories In the act of shooting at myself and Kennedy. I sprang aside and escaped, calling at the same time to my companion, but he was shot (while moving) through the wrist and thigh...The loss of the Tories was two killed, four wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners whom we sent to Charlotte, N. C. After the fight, Love and Stallions met and shed bitter tears; Stallions was dismissed on parole to bury his wife and arrange his affairs."[1222]

Early September. Starting in September and through into mid-November, Cruger worked to improve the relatively sparse fortifications at Ninety Six which earlier had consisted of little more than a single stockade and or a sheltered parapet. At the time it had had two light guns, and Cruger asked Cornwallis for more, *and* an engineer to assist him. See 23 November regarding Cornwallis' reply.[1223]

Early September. While Caswell (despite Camden) continued as nominal head of the N.C. militia, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, a North Carolina Continental officer, accepted command of the North Carolina militia in Hillsborough, and which he then sought to bring in and assemble at Ramsey's Mill. Initially, there were some 900-1000 there at this time, most badly clothed and equipped. 60 or 70 who were too ill to march he left at Chatham Court House. Due to the lack of a proper commissary and orderly collection system, about the a third of the men were kept regularly threshing wheat or foraging to keep themselves in supply. William Lee Davidson, also a N.C. Continental officer (and just recovering from the wound he'd received at Colson's Mill, 21 July) , was appointed Brigadier General to replace Griffith Rutherford (taken at Camden), and to command the Salisbury militia. He subsequently emerged in Rowan County with 20 privates fit for duty, and who hailed from the Charlotte area; as well as Guilford, Caswell, and Orange counties. With these Davidson began forming his brigade while camped on McAlpine's Creek, some eight miles south of Charlotte.
Many of the N.C. militia, contrary to orders, deserted their units, and went home to fight resurgent loyalists; whom had been emboldened by Cornwallis' victory at Camden. Others left to join the partisans and militia in the west just then assembling an all volunteer force against Ferguson. At one point during this same period, Sumner sent a force of 300 men to stop some loyalists on their way to join up with the British. With what men he had remaining,[1224]

A return of 3 Sept., abstracted here, gives Sumner's command at Ramsey's Mill as:

	R&F fit for duty/dragoons
Continentals under Capt. [Edward] Yarborough……..	14/0
Col. Jarvis……	216/0
Col. [Benjamin] Seawell……	449/15
Col. Exum……	84/0
Volunteers-Maj. Gorham……	53/18
Capt.Tutledge [Rutledge?]……	1/7

GRAND TOTAL…….816 rank and file fit for duty/40 dragoons[1225]

A similar return for the force under Brig. Gen. Harrington at Forks Creek, N.C., near Cross Creek, and dated 5 Sept. reports him as having 423 total (including officers and supernumeraries) and of these 232 fit for duty. [1226]

Extract of a Sept. 3rd letter from Brig. Gen. Sumner, "Camp at Ramsey's Mill," to Gates: "I arrived here almost six in the evening of the 2nd inst. and find the camping ground were disadvantagious upon being attacked -- arms in bad order. Nearly one-third of the soldiers are employed in beating out wheat at different farms, for the subsistence of the camp -- not a beef secured -- Mr. Molett having drove off nearly 300, without the modesty of leaving one. A number of gentlemen volunteers have formed, but few of them armed."[1227]

On the 4th, Gov. Nash wrote Sumner: "The longer you stay at Ramsey's [Mill on Deep River] the faster you will get set there. I desire of you by all means to march [to Salisbury] immediately. The country abounds in cattle,

[1222] JTR pp. 446-454, SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.
[1223] LMS p. 358, MSC2 p. 279, CON p. 21.
[1224] SNC p. 100, RNC pp. 247-248.
[1225] CNC15 p. 74.
[1226] CNC15 p. 73.
[1227] CNC14 p. 770. The Moravian Records mention Sumner's men foraging in their area about this time, FRM 1562.

and you must get them under the militia law if they cannot be had otherwise; and as for bread there is no stint at Salisbury, and the cornfields, if there be no other recourse, must supply necessities."
"The Western Counties are now high spirited, and things there wear a good countenance; 500 Virginia regulars will be here in a day or two, and nothing is wanting but the countenance of your brigade to give life and spirit to our affairs; so let me beg of you, sir, to march on, surmounting and despising all difficulties. Appoint a commissary yourself."[1228]

Early September. Brig. Gen James Paterson having fallen ill, command of Charlestown went to Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour. The former then left Charlestown in early September; wih Balfour (probably in late August) having been recalled from Ninety Six to act in his place. Shortly after taking command, he sent Maj. James Montcrief, and a battalion of 7th Regt. and some recruits for the Provincials to help fortify Georgetown, but which were subsequently marched from there to Camden. Before moving the 7th and the recruits to Georgetown, Balfour had issued a call to the Loyalist militia along the Peedee to come out, while ordering the militia regiments of Col. John Coming Ball (from St. James Parish) and Col. John Wigfall (from St. Stephens) to Georgetown.
When Montcrief arrived at Georgetown, he suggested to Cornwallis the following deployment: 100 militia under Lieut. Col. James Cassells at Georgetown, 50 at Wragg's Ferry, 50 at Potato Ferry, and 300 regular troops at Kingstree. Whether this full plan was ever carried out is not clear. However, Montcrief did send Col. Ball and Col. Wigfall to the Williamsburg area: Ball with 46 men to Shepherd's Ferry on Black Mingo Creek, and Wigfall with 50 men to Black River Church, while Cassells remained in Georgetown with the militia of that district.[1229]

Early September. [skirmishes] Kolb Versus the Tories (Anson County, N.C.) On 12 September, Brig. Gen. Harrington, at Cross Creek, wrote to Gates: "Colo. [Abel] Kolb has again defeated the Tories in two Skirmishes in Anson County. In the first He killed Captains Jno. Douglass & Abraham Bellew (in the Pocket of this last was found a Commission from Lord Cornwallis, of which the enclosed is a copy,) and one Private was found on the ground & 5 more wounded in such a manner that He (Colo. Kolb) writes that they will not trouble him again: in the second he wounded several & dispersed them; a ball passed thro' the Colonel's cloaths. He had one of his men wounded in the groin and another by a buck shot in the Mouth. He has from 80 to 100 good, resolute Men with him, who I am in hopes will stand by him until we march to Peedee."[1230]

1 September. Col. Elijah Clark collected men in Wilkes and Richmond Counties, GA. for an attempt on fortified Augusta, with Lieut. Col. James McCall in conjunction with doing the same in the area of Ninety Six south of the Saluda. A few days later when McCall had 80 men, he marched to Soap Creek in Georgia, forty miles northwest of Augusta, where Clark met him with 350.[1231]
Lossing: "About the first of September [1780.], Colonel Elijah Clark, a brave partisan of Wilkes County, Georgia, and Lieutenant-colonel M'Call, made efforts to raise a sufficient force to capture the fort at Augusta, and drive the British from the interior of the state to the sea-coast. These were the brave partisans who fought at the Cowpens a few months later. Clark recruited in his own County, and M'Call went to the district of Ninety-Six and applied to Colonel Pickens for aid. He wanted five hundred men, but procured only eighty. With these he marched to Soap Creek, forty miles northwest of Augusta, where he was joined by Clark, with three hundred and fifty men."[1232]

1 September. By September 1st, Cornwallis had made his defensive arrangements for South Carolina, and, despite his own expressed misgivings (see Cornwallis to Clinton, 29 Aug.), ordered Col. Ferguson to rouse the loyalists in Tryon County and otherwise keep in check and defeat the rebels on the frontier. Ferguson had only 110 regulars, in addition to a few hundred loyalist militia, but did have an ample supply of arms and other military stores. His movements were at first rapid, endeavoring to intercept the retreat of Col. Charles McDowell and the over-mountain men who were harassing the upper settlement of loyalists in South Carolina. Failing in this, he afterwards moved slowly, and frequently halted to collect all the loyalists he could persuade to join him. By the end of September, he had passed Broad River and encamped at Gilbertown, having increased his overall force (mostly militia) to upwards of 1000 men.
Allaire: "Friday, September 1st. Still remained at Culbertson's. Maj. Ferguson [who by himself and ostensibly with some staff had left Winnsborough and gone on a personal visit to Cornwallis at Camden in late August] joined us again from Camden with the disagreeable news that we were to be separated from the army, and act on the frontiers with the militia."

Draper: "It was the plan of Cornwallis to lead his army from Charlotte to Salisbury, there to form a junction with Ferguson's corps; and preliminary to the further invasion of North Carolina and Virginia to incite the Southern Indians not only to invade the Holston and Watagua settlements, but proceed, if possible, as high up in South-West Virginia as Chiswell's Mines, and destroy the works and stores at that place, where large quantities of lead were produced for the supply of the American armies. And as the destruction of the Mines and their product was a capital object with the British, the Tories high up New river, and in the region of the Elad Mines, had also been encouraged to make an attempt in that direction. Col. [William] Campbell had been diligently engaged, for several weeks [in September 1780] with a part of his regiment, in suppressing the Tory insurrection, and had just

[1228] CNC14 pp. 770-771. On Sept. 10, Sumner at "Camp at Downings" wrote Nash saying he expected to be in Salisbury by Wednesday (i.e. the 13th.) See CNC15 pp. 78-79.
[1229] TCS pp. 157-158, CBA p. 518, BSF pp. 52, 62.
[1230] CNC14 pp. 609-610.
[1231] MHG p. 482.
[1232] LFB2 p. 509.

returned from that service when Col. Shelby's letter [asking him to join in the effort against Ferguson] arrived."[1233]

5 September. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem Congregation): "…There is much distress in Bethabara, for 300 soldiers from Virginia are there, who have camped in the orchard, where they do as they please."[1234]

5 September. Having confiscated some horses from whig planters of High Hills of Santee, Wemyss was able to mount his 63rd Regiment and Harrison's Provincials, and by Sept. 5 had commenced a raiding expedition to get Marion. Many disgruntled farmers then joined Marion after losing their horses to him. Wemyss subsequently arrived at Kingstree; where he was later reinforced there with a detachment of Hamilton's Royal North Carolina troops, 50 New York Volunteers under Capt. Fredrick DePeyster, and another 50 militia. Shortly afterwards, however, he directed the detachment of N. Y. Volunteers back to the High Hills to cover the temporary post there.
By then Wemyss possessed a force of over 400 (minus the N.Y. Volunteers.) In addition, he had Col. John Coming Ball's and Col. John Wigfall's loyalist militia at Georgetown which would bring his numbers in the wider area to 800. Further, Ganey in a short while was again mobilizing his militia. In his efforts to suppress rebel sympathy. With things so in place, Wemyss proceeded to destroy fifty houses and plantations stretching from Kingstree to Cheraw; following which he and Harrison took post at Cheraw.[1235]

6 September. Governor Abner Nash elevated Maj. Davie to colonel commandant of cavalry. Davie then, along with his own mounted troop, posted himself at New Providence, fourteen miles below Charlotte, with two small companies of riflemen under Maj. George Davidson.[1236]

7 September. On the 7th, Ferguson set up his base of operations at Gilbertown (in present day Rutherford County, N.C.), but withdrew on the 10th in an effort to help contain and catch Colonel Elijah Clark who was leading a force against Augusta. Yet, on the 10th, before he left to fall back, he paroled rebel Samuel Phillips with a message for the nearby Blue Ridge mountain communities telling them to "desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard" or "he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay their country waste with fire and sword." After falling back from Gilbertown, his numbers were augmented by 500 loyal N.C. militia from Tryon county.[1237]
Allaire: "Thursday, 7th. Got in motion at seven o'clock in the morning; crossed Buck creek, and the division line of South and North Carolina; marched six miles farther, and halted. Maj. Ferguson, with about fifty of the American Volunteers, and three hundred militia, got in motion at six o'clock in the evening, and marched to Gilbertown in order to surprise a party of Rebels that we heard were there. Capt. [Abraham] DePeyster and I remained on the ground we took in the morning, with the remainder of the American Volunteers and militia.
"Friday, 8th. Got in motion at eight in the morning, and marched six miles to Broad river, and took a height where we halted, and waited orders from Maj. Ferguson.
"Saturday, 9th. Remained on the ground; received intelligence from Maj. Ferguson to keep our post. He was returning to keep a good lookout, as the Georgians were coming towards us."

Chesney: "Col. Ferguson having resumed the command and finding himself pretty strong he marched us to the North Carolina line and encamped. A dissatisfaction prevailed at this moment amongst the Militia founded on General Clinton's hand-bill which required every man having but three children, and every single man to do six months duty out of their province when required, this appeared like compulsion, instead of acting voluntarily as they conceived they were doing, and they were in consequence ready to give up the cause; but owing to the exertions of their officers a great part of which I attribute to myself, the tumult was happily appeased, and same night we marched with all the horse and some foot past Gilbert's town [Gilbertown] towards Col Grimes, who was raising a body of rebels to oppose us; whom we succeeded in dispersing, taking many prisoners, and then joined the foot at Gilbert's town and encamped there for some time; sending away the old men to their houses, and several officers to raise men to supply their places and strengthen us."

7 September. Judge John Williams, at Granville, N.C., to Gov. Nash: "Col. Buford's Troops, abt. [about] 300, as the officers say, very well armed, passed ths yesterday, and I presume will be at Hillsborough this week."[1238]

7-8 September. Leaving 50 men to guard Port's Ferry, Marion marched with 100 men to Indiantown. But after then learning of the forces under Wemyss, Ball, Wigfall, and Ganey now reportedly moving directly against him, he retired to Port's Ferry, dismantled the fort there, and further withdrew taking him with him the fort's two cannon. In the days which followed, he crossed the Little Peedee River, then, in what perhaps seems like an overly hasty expedient, spiked the cannon and abandoned them in the swamp. He then proceeded precipitately to Amis' Mill on the south side of Drowning Creek[1239] where he halted. After sending out Maj. John James on a

[1233] DKM p. 171.
[1234] FRM p. 1563.
[1235] RCC p. 58, MSC1 p. 747-749, BSF pp. 51-55, 58, BGD p. 105.
[1236] SNC p. 104.
[1237] LSL p. 139.
[1238] CNC15 p. 77.
[1239] This description of the location of Amis Mill is taken from Bass' *Swamp Fox*. However, researchers John Robertson and Ben Borroughs have raised a question as to whether Bass is correct. Burroughs suggests Horry County, S.C. as a more likely site of the

scouting mission, he then took his force to the Great White Marsh, on the south branch of the Waccamaw River, (located in present day Columbus County, N.C.) and went into hiding. While there he kept in contact with Brig. Gen. Harrington at Cross Creek. Not a few of his men at this time were afflicted with malaria and ague, including Col. Peter Horry.[1240]
Marion, from White Marsh in Bladen County, N.C., wrote Gates on15 September 1780: "On the 7th I crossed PD [Peedee River] & Lynches Creek with one hundred men, & left 50 to secure my camp & the river; to attack a party of regulars and militia s[ai]d to be 150, which was in Williamsburg township, a burning all the houses of those men who joined me, when I had got to Indian Town Capt. James [Major John James' son] who I sent to reconoitre [sic] the Enemy met me, he had taken a prisoner belonging to Ferguson's rifle regt. by whom I learned they was 200 British and a number of Torys and that Majr. Whimes [Wemyss] with 200 more was to join them that night; they was seen after dark on their march, & by an orderly book taken with an officer's baggage with the above prisoner, I found their Intentions was to remove me and proceed to the Cheraws; I also had Intelligence that 200 men just regulars arrived from Georgetown from Santee, which oblige[d] me to return to my camp which I did that Day. On the 8th I had Intelligence that Maj. Whimes had crossed Black River & Uhaney [Euhaney][1241] to fall on my rear, the Torys which I lately Dispert [dispersed, i.e. Barfield's and or Ganey's men] was collecting on my right, which would Compleatly [sic] surround me & cut off my retreat, which Oblige me to retreat to this place [White Marsh Swamp] with 60 men, the rest left me to see after their family which had their houses burnt..."[1242]

8 September. Armand's Legion was sent from Hillsborough to forage and make cantonments in Warren County, North Carolina, "from whence," states Otho Williams, "Armand went to Philadelphia and never returned." Although he did not come back to Greene, Armand and his men *were* later with Lafayette's in late April of 1781; Armand in the interim having been on a trip to France to seeking supplies and support.[1243]

8 September (or 7 September). Cornwallis, with his main army, consisting of the "7th, 23d, 33d, and 71st regiments of infantry, the volunteers of Ireland, Hamilton's corps (Royal North Carolina Regt.), Bryan's refugees (North Carolina Volunteers), four pieces of cannon, about fifty waggons, and a detachment of cavalry," launched his first invasion of North Carolina, marching from Camden to Waxhaws, where he yet wanted to make further preparatory arrangements before entering North Carolina proper, including awaiting necessary supplies and forming small magazines. At the same time, he left the New York Volunteers, under Turnbull, at Camden, and the 63d Regiment under Maj. James Wemyss, and Harrison's Corps at Cheraws. On the march with Cornwallis, Tarleton became very ill, and for at least two weeks he lay at White's Mill very sick with yellow fever.[1244]

8 September. Gov. Abner Nash authorized Col., now Brig. Gen.,[1245] James Williams (from South Carolina) to raise 100 horsemen in North Carolina after Williams brought news of Musgrove's. These made up largest portion of Williams' Kings Mountain command and most of these came from Caswell county; though some were from Rowan and the S.C. border where his lieutenant, Capt. Samuel Hammond recruited.[1246]
From an attachment to Samuel Hammond's pension application-marked "A":

"Call to Arms: Beef, Bread & Potatoes
"Higgins' Plantation 23rd Sept. 1780

"The undersigned has just returned from Hillsborough to this neighborhood. While there he obtained an order on the Companies and Quartermasters upon this frontier for supplies of provisions and forage for such of the patriotic Citizens of South Carolina & Georgia as might be embodied for actual services and being informed that there is a number of you, resting with patriotic friends in the Two adjoining Counties no doubt anxiously looking for an opportunity to embody for the performance of duty, but without the power or means of supporting yourselves or your horses from you own resources I have thought your wishes would be forwarded by the Establishing of a Camp at a rallying rendezvous at a convenient place for your assemblage, and to be ready when occasion might offer to give our aid for the recovery of Our County.
"I have with this view formed a Camp at Higgins' Plantation a few miles from Capt. Brannon's Tavern, near the road leading westwardly to Torrence's Crossroads, where we will be supplied with the needful. I am justified in the expectation of the arrival of a powerful support shortly and that we may return toward home with a strong army. Let us be prepared to do our part, our little force will be important if Combined possessing as we do a

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Mill, and Robertson suspects as well that it lay *north* (rather than south) of Drowning Creek. Archeologist Steve Smith goes further and mentions the mill may actually have lain on the North Carolina side of the state border.
[1240] BSF pp. 53, 55, 61-62.
[1241] Marion-Dillon County historian Jo Church Dickerson states: "Yauhannah/Euhaney/etc is a small creek, a tributary of Great Peedee River. It was also a ferry and site of an early Indian trading post on lower Great Peedee River (just a little NE of Black River/Black Mingo) where Hwy 701 now crosses the river. Snow's Island and Britton's Neck were just a little NW of Yauhannah. I would guess he means here [Marion in about quoted extract] that Wemyss crossed the Black River heading north, then crossed the Peedee at Yuhaney Ferry. There is a town shown on modern maps as Yauhannah, just a little distance down Hwy 701 from the ferry crossing, but in 1780 the ferry was known as Yuhaney or Euhanie."
[1242] BSF pp. 60-61. Somewhere on 12-15 Sept.,Wemyss reportedly burned a church not far from Indiantown; for more on this see: http://gaz.jrshelby.com/indiantown.htm
[1243] WNA. Although Armand's Legion did not return to rejoin the southern army, it did later serve in Virginia with Lafayette and at Yorktown.
[1244] TCS p. 158, LMS pp. 194-195, JLG1 p. 304, BGC p. 86.
[1245] See 20 August.
[1246] GDH3 p. 138, SNC pp. 143-145, BGC p. 77, GJW pp. 38-39.

better knowledge of the County and its resources. Now is the time to show ourselves and I invite you, both Officers & soldiers to obey the call: I here assure you that I shall cheerfully surrender the Command, and Cooperate."[1247]

10 September. At this time, Smallwood had 700 Maryland (including Delaware) troops at Hillsborough with as many as 200 Continentals recently arrived from Virginia. About all of the Virginia militia, however, had gone home except for Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens at Guilford with some 120 men. 1,200 N.C. militia of the second draft went to Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner's brigade now destined for Salisbury (and which initially had been at Ramsey's Mill.) In a letter to Willie Jones of this state, Gov. Abner Nash further reported that the State of North Carolina was in want of wagons, horses, magazines of provisions, arms, ammunition, tents, blankets, and "a great portion of the interior part of the country [is] against us"…."our zeal and spirit rises with our difficulties, drafts are nearly at an end, our men yield to the necessity of the times and turn out to service with willing hearts. We are blessed with plentiful crops, and, with proper laws, resources may easily be drawn forth for the defence of the country."[1248]

12 September. [skirmish] Cane Creek[1249] (McDowell County, N.C.) Ferguson led a group of his men in an attempt to assail Col. Charles McDowell's force of about 160 to 200 men before resuming his trek south to contain Clark moving on Augusta. McDowell, however, at Bedford Hill and Cane's Creek, a few miles southwest of Quaker Meadows, set an ambush. Recovering from the back-country men's first fire, Ferguson launched a counterattack under Maj. Dunlop which drove them back in retreat. According to Draper, the latter, though outnumbered at least more than two to one, nonetheless regrouped and, mounted as they were, continued firing at Ferguson's retiring column for a distance then went on their way unmolested to Gilbertown; there they paused for spell before returning to the Watauga settlement. One account has 200 of his men going to Gilbertown; the rest (about a 100 or more) immediately heading over the mountains. Alternatively, he had only 160, with approximately 40 having been dispersed in the action; to Gilbertown and to Watauga respectively. McDowell lost 1 killed, 1 wounded, plus 17 prisoners and 17 to 20 lbs of powder. Ferguson lost 2 wounded, including Dunlop who after being sent to a nearby home to recuperate, ultimately made his way back as an invalid to Ninety Six.[1250]
A short while after the action, McDowell later proposed the whigs remain at Gilbertown and submit to British protection, as a means, though only temporary, of protecting the local cattle from falling into British hands. Some of his officers agreed and took protection in order to save the cattle, though their motives for doing so were later impugned. Others made efforts to have the cattle driven into or over the mountains for concealment. Theodore Roosevelt, on the other hand, very persuasively discounts Draper's interpretation of Cane Creek as a whig stand off, if not victory, and bluntly pronounces it a defeat.[1251]
Allaire: "Tuesday, 12th. Maj. Ferguson, with forty American Volunteers and one hundred militia, got in motion at two o'clock in the morning, and marched fourteen miles through the mountains to the head of Cane creek, in Burke County, in order to surprise a party of Rebels we heard lay there. Unfortunately for us, they had by some means got intelligence of our coming, in consequence of which, Mr. McDowell, with three hundred infamous villains like himself, thought it highly necessary to remove their quarters. However, we were lucky enough to take a different route from what they expected, and met them on their way, and to appearance one would have thought they meant sincerely to fight us, as they drew up on an eminence for action. On our approach they fired and gave way. We totally routed them, killed one private, wounded a Capt. White, took seventeen prisoners, twelve horses, all their ammunition, which was only twenty pounds of powder, after which we marched to their encampment, and found it abandoned by those Congress heroes. Our loss was two wounded and one killed. Among the wounded was Capt. Dunlop, who received two slight wounds. After the skirmish we returned to one Allen's to refresh ourselves. We got in motion about four o'clock in the afternoon, and countermarched about six miles to a Rebel Mr. Jones', where we halted all night."

Chesney: "Colonel Ferguson soon after got intelligence that Col McDole [Charles McDowell] was encamped on Cain and Silver Creeks; on which we marched towards the enemy, crossed the winding Creek 23 times, found the rebel party strongly posted towards the head of it near the mountains. We attacked them instantly and after a determined resistance defeated them and made many prisoners. The rest fled towards Turkey Cove in order to cross the mountains and get to Holstein. On this occasion I commanded a division, [September, 1780] and took the person prisoner who was keeper of the records of the County, which I sent to my father's as a place of safety. We then fortified Colonel Walker's house as a protection to the wounded, and proceeded in pursuit of the rebels to the Mountains at the head of Catawba River, sending out detachments to scour the country and search the caves. A fight happened in the neighborhood between a detachment of ours and the Americans who were posted on a broken hill not accessible to Cavalry, which obliged us to dismount and leave our horses

[1247] HMP.
[1248] SNC pp. 100-101.
[1249] Although Draper speaks of it as being not far from Cowan's Ford, Boatner, understandably, notes that the precise location of Cane Creek is not clear. Even so, Daniel Barefoot, it his very useful and informative *Touring North Carolina's Revolutionary War site*, pp. 233-234, directs those seeking the site: "…(P)roceed north on U.S. 64 for 6.9 miles to S.R. 1700. On October 3, 1780, the Overmountain Men camped beneath Marlin's Knob beside Cane Creek, which parallels U.S. 64 on its route north into McDowell County….Continue north on U.S. 64. After 1.3 miles, you will cross into the south eastern corner of McDowell County. It is another 1.4 miles to a series of bridges over Cane Creek. A state historical marker notes that the Battle of Cane Creek took place here."
[1250] By March 1781, Dunlop had recovered and returned to the field only to be later murdered by a vengeful whig who surprised him.
[1251] CNC14 pp. 614-615, DKM pp. 147-150, MSC1 pp. 755-756, RWW2 p. 251n, BEA pp. 180-181.

behind. Whilst employed in dislodging the Americans another party of them got round in the rear and took the horses, mine amongst the rest; but it was returned by the person who was my prisoner in the last affair; about a week before he had been released, as was usual at this time with prisoners. At this period the North Carolina men joined us fast." [1252]

12-18 September. [siege] First Siege of Augusta, also McKay's Trading Post, Relief of Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) Sometime about September 12th, Col. Elijah Clark and Lieut. Col. James McCall called in a joint corps of Backwoodsman, some 400 to 700,[1253] depending on the account, in upper Georgia. With these they proceeded in the direction of British held Augusta. On the morning of September 14th, Clark halted not far outside the town and formed his command into three divisions: the right commanded by McCall; the left under Major Samuel Taylor; center under Clark himself. Coming from a southeasterly direction, the center column approached the town by the middle road; with the right and left columns by the lower and upper roads respectively; that is at Augusta's eastern (Taylor) and western (McCall) extremities. Near Hawk's Creek on the west side, Major Taylor fell in with an Indian camp: the latter kept up a fire then retreated toward their British allies. Taylor pressed on to try to get possession of the McKay trading house, or "White House" (also referred to in some text as "Seymour's white house"),and situated about eighty yards from the Savannah River.

While awaiting Brown (and the main British forces) at the house, Capt. Andrew Johnston, an officer with the King's Rangers, and some Creek Indians drove Taylor back. A few Indians took cover in nearby woods and by the rivers bank and which afforded them some protection.[1254] The commotion at the trading post was Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown's (at nearby Fort Grierson) first intimation of the Americans presence. Lieut. Col. Grierson and *then afterward* himself with most of the remainder of his King's Rangers then went to reinforce Johnston. In their resulting absence, Clark's center and right then subsequently took Fort Grierson, including some cannon there, and Fort Cornwallis as well, with little or no resistance. The latter work was in an unfinished state and contained sick and invalids of the 3rd Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, under Major Robert Drummond (or Drumond.) [1255] Fort Cornwallis' 70 prisoners and all the Indian presents were put under a guard, and Clark marched with the remainder to assist Taylor's assault on the trading post. Fighting around the lhe latter persisted well on till about 11 o'clock into evening. Approaching from the area of Garden Hill, not far distant, Brown attacked. Though he lost a three pounder, he was able to force back Taylor's and Clark's men. He then used the ensuing lull to reinforce Johnston's force while shoring up the house's defenses, including cutting loopholes to fire through.

The next morning Clark brought up the 2 pieces of artillery, a six and four pounder from Ft. Grierson, but their carriages were not made for field service; and which rendered them of negligible effect. The fire was kept up all day but with little effect in dislodging Brown. Then Capt. William Martin of S.C., who was Clark's only artillery expert, was slain; with the guns as a result being rendered even more useless.

About the same time that Clark was known to be assailing Augusta, Brown had sent Sir Patrick Houstoun to Cruger at Ninety Six seeking succor for the besieged. Houstoun arrived the next day (the 15th); and Cruger then moved to relieve Brown, leaving behind 100 militia under Lieut. Col. Moses Kirkland to guard Ninety Six.

On the 17th Col. Clark sent Brown a summons, but this was rejected. The same night, Clark's spies informed him of the advance of Cruger with a contingent of some 500, including the 1st Battalion, DeLancey's Regiment; the 3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers, and some militia. Many of Clark's men had gone to visit their friends and families in Burke County from whom they had long been absent; others who had been motivated by plunder had decamped laden with goods; hence Clark's force was weakened, not to mention running low on ammunition. About 8 o'clock on the morning of the 18th, Cruger appeared on the opposite side of the river, and Clark was compelled to raise the siege. About 10'oclock that morning he withdrew, having sustained the loss of 60 killed and wounded, among the killed were Charles Jourdine and Capt. Martin. In the immediate follow-up, Cruger took some 29 prisoners and the previously lost cannon.

Such of the Americans as were badly wounded were left behind, including Capt. Ashby and 28 others. Georgia historian Hugh McCall avers that these were subsequently disposed of under sanguinary order of Cornwallis. Ashby and 12 wounded were hung from Brown's staircase, and their bodies delivered up to Indians who scalped, mangled them, and then threw them into river. Other prisoners were reported as being delivered up alive to Indians and were reportedly scalped, tortured, then thrown into a fire. States McCall: "The record of these transactions is now before the author, from the pens of British officers who were present, who exultingly communicated it to their friends, who exultingly communicated it to their friends in Savannah, Charlestown, and London, where it stands upon record in the papers of the day."[1256] In addition, Brown, under orders from Cruger, dispatched raiding parties through the area that had not submitted and burned 100 plantations or settlements of those who attacked Augusta. Numerous relatives of the rebels who had participated in the siege were rounded up and incarcerated.[1257]

[1252] CDI.

[1253] Edward Cashin, Brown's Biographer, and citing Joshua Burnett, gives Clark 600 mounted men. He also states that 1000 Creek Indians would have joined Brown at Augusta whiel Clark was on his way their, but the death of a chief David Taitt caused their withdrawal 250 however continued the journey to Augusta CKR pp. 114-115.

[1254] Notes Brown a "great part of the Indians behaved with order and bravery," WHG pp. 607-609.

[1255] "A Return of killed wounded missing and prisoners of the 3d Batt. New Jersey Volunteers in the Action with the Rebels at Augusta, 14th. September 1780, Killed- 1 Rank & File, Wounded -- 1 Sergeant, 5 Rank & File, Missing- 1 Rank & File, Prisoners -- 1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Surgeon, 16 Rank & File. Isaac Allen Lt. Col. Commandt." Cornwallis Papers, PRO. 30/11/103, folio 4. (courtesy of Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist studies.)

[1256] MHG pp. 486-487.

[1257] McCall says further that British detachments were sent to seize upon such persons as had partaken in the siege, or were friendly to. One of these parties was under Lieut. Kemp and overtook and surprised Col. John Jones and 5 others at a house on

The British losses of 70, and which fell mostly among the Indians, McCall further adds were announced in Brown's official letter, published in Charlestown, but cannot now be stated with correctness. Among the slain was Capt. Andrew Johnston and ensign Silcox of the Kings Rangers.
Tarleton states that Clark lost in killed and wounded as "near a sixth their number."
Brown's command consisted of 250 men of several corps, but mostly King's Rangers, 250 Creek and 50 Cherokee Indians making a total of 500 to 550. Adds McCall, if Brown had not been surprised his numbers alone would have been sufficient to have defeated his adversaries.
After raising the siege, Clark retreated to Little River (on the Savannah), and his men dispersed into small parties. About the last of September, the distressed remains of Clark's regiment met at the place appointed, when he was ready to move. With 300 men, plus 400 women and children, and five days subsistence, he commenced a march of near two hundred miles toward the mountains. On the 11th day of October they reached Watauga and Nolachucky rivers in a starved and deplorable condition. Cruger for a time tried to follow Clark, but finding himself too far from his base, gave up the chase. He then got the idea of sending Ferguson after Clark. This effort to get Clark on both Cruger's and Fergusons' part was among the first of a series of pivotal events which lead up directly to the battle of King's Mountain, and was partly why Cruger did or could not aid and support Ferguson as well as he otherwise might have.[1258]
After the close call at Augusta, says Coleman, a bill was passed by Gov. James Wright that "allowed the drafting of slaves to work on the defenses and the arming of Negroes in time of extreme danger. The entire militia system was tightened. Wright immediately ordered out some 400 Negroes to work on the defenses of Savannah."[1259]
Letter from Lieut. William Stevenson, with Ferguson at Gilbertown, to Lieut. Col. Barton, Staten Island, New York, dated 25 September 1780: "…The rebels rose in Georgia, and the 12th instant attacked Colonel Brown in Augusta. He being very weak was obliged to leave the town, and take shelter in a fort where he had his stores for the Indians; but on the approach of Colonel Cruger from Ninety Six, and a body of Indians accidently [sic] coming down, the rebels fled, and Colonel Brown sallying out, they killed and took several hundred of them. Major Ferguson has just received a letter from Col. Cruger, who informs him that he has fallen in with the rebels and taken most of their plunder, killed a great number of them, hanged Several of the inhabitants, and has a great many more to hang; he likewise retook several brass field pieces…"[1260]

Allaire: "Sunday, 24th…Received intelligence from Col. Cruger, that he had marched from Ninety-Six to Augusta, to the assistance of Col. Brown, who was besieged by six hundred Rebels, under the command of Col. Clark. Fortunately for Col. Brown, the Cherokee Indians, for whom he is agent, were coming to Augusta for their yearly presents. They met the Rebels just as they were going into the town, which obliged them to fight. The Rebels being too numerous, and the Indians unacquainted with field fighting, were obliged to make the best of their way to a fort on one flank of the town, where Col. Brown had retired to. He made a very gallant defence for five days, two of which he was without bread or water. On Col. Cruger's approach, the Rebels moved off with their plunder, of which they had a tolerable share. Col. Cruger arrived time enough to retake the cannon which they had taken from Brown, and about thirty prisoners."

Lossing: "With this inadequate force [according to Lossing 430 men] they [Clark and McCall] marched toward Augusta. So secret and rapid were their movements, that they reached the outposts before the garrison was apprised of their approach [Sept. 14, 1780.] The right was commanded by [James] M'Call, the left by Major Samuel Taylor, and the center by Clarke. The divisions approached the town separately. Near Hawk's Creek, on the west, Taylor fell in with an Indian camp, and a skirmish ensued. The Indians retreated toward the town, and Taylor pressed forward to get possession of a strong trading station called the White House, a mile and a half west of the town. The Indians reached it first, and were joined by a company of King's Rangers, under Captain Johnson [Andrew Johnston]. Ignorant of the approach of other parties, Browne and Grierson went to the aid of Johnson and the Indians. While absent, the few men left in garrison were surprised by Clarke and M'Call, and Forts Cornwallis and Grierson fell into their hands. A guard was left to take charge of the prisoners and effects in the fort, and Clark, with the remainder, hastened to the assistance of Taylor. Browne and Grierson, perceiving their peril, took shelter in the White House. The Americans tried in vain to dislodge them. A desultory fire was kept up from eleven o'clock in the morning until dark, when hostilities ceased. During the night the besieged cast up a slight breast-work around the house, made loop-holes in the building for musketry, and thus materially strengthened their position. Early in the morning [Sept. 15.], Clarke ordered two field-pieces to be brought from Grierson's redoubt, to be placed in a position to cannonade the White House. They were of little

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Beech Island below Augusta. James Goldwire was killed and Jones and 2 others wounded, they succeeded in repelling invaders and retreated to swamps. However their place of concealment was discovered and Jones captured and made prisoner. Relatives of those whigs who had participated in the siege were arrested and crowded into prisons. "(B)y the inclemency of the season, the small pox, and inhuman treatment, very few of them survived to greet their friends in freedom, upon the re-conquest of t by the American troops." Those considered to have actually taken part in siege were hanged without trial. Although Brown was blamed, his biographer, Edward Cashin, argues that he was simply acting under orders from Cruger, and it was Cruger who actually prompted the retaliation and persecutions. MHG p. 488.

[1258] ATR81a pp. 28-30, TCS pp. 161-163, GHA3 pp. 460-461, SAW2 pp. 219-220, MMS2 pp. 238-241, MLW4A pp. 322-323, LMS pp. 198-200, MHG pp. 485-491, WHG pp. 607-609, JLG1 p. 311n, LFB2 pp. 509-510, DKM p. 200, MSC1 pp. 733-739, CGA pp. 134, BEA pp. 49-50, CKR pp. 115-120, SCAR vol. 2, no. 9, pp. 1-15.

[1259] CGA p. 139.

[1260] State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Draper Manuscript Collection, Sumter Papers, 4VV268-269. (courtesy of Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist studies.)

service, for Captain Martin, of South Carolina, the only artillerist among the besiegers, was killed soon after the pieces were brought to bear upon the building.
"No impression was made upon the enemy during the fifteenth. On that morning, before daylight, the Americans drove a body of Indians from the river bank, and thus cut off the supply of water for those in the house. Colonel Browne and others had been severely wounded, and now suffered great agony from thirst. On the night of the fifteenth, fifty Cherokee Indians, well armed, crossed the river to re-enforce Browne, but were soon repulsed. Little was done on the sixteenth, and on the seventeenth Clark summoned Browne to surrender. He promptly refused; for, having sent a messenger to Colonel Cruger at Ninety-Six, on the morning when the Americans appeared before Augusta, Browne confidently expected relief from that quarter. Nor was he disappointed. On the night of the seventeenth, Clarke's scouts informed him of the approach of Colonel Cruger with five hundred British regulars and Loyalists, and on the morning of the eighteenth this force appeared upon the opposite side of the river. Clarke's little army was greatly diminished by the loss of men who had been killed and wounded, and the desertion of many with plunder found in the forts. At ten o'clock he raised the siege, and departed toward the mountains. The American loss on this occasion was about sixty killed and wounded; that of the British is not known. Twenty of the Indians were killed. Captain Ashby and twenty-eight others were made prisoners. Upon these Brown and his Indian allies glutted their thirst for revenge. Captain Ashby and twelve of the wounded were hanged upon the stair-way of the White House, so that the commandant might have the satisfaction of seeing their sufferings. Others were given up to the Indians to torture, scalp, and slay."[1261]

Memorial of Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger: "In June 1780 Lord Cornwallis Commanding in the Southern District ordered your Memorialist with his Battn. and three other Regts. to take post so as to Cover the frontiers of Georgia and South Carolina which he did with such good effect, as to establish the tranquility of the Country this continued untill [sic] Sepr. [Sept.] following when a Body of Rebells [sic] consisting of between 1000 and 1200 Men composed Chiefly of fugitives from South Carolina and Georgia made a descent from the Mountains and attacked Augusta 130 miles above Savannah and 55 from your Memorialists post in South Carolina. The Critical Situation of that time not only of Augusta but of the whole province of Georgia, the rapid movements for its relief the raising the Siege of Augusta as well as driving the Enemy totally out of the province of Georgia by a pursiut [sic] of 60 Miles in consequence of which good order and Government were once more established in the province as a Circumstance which can be fully explained by his Excellency Sir James Wright and Lieut. Govr. [John] Graham and for your Memorialist[']s Conduct at that time he begs leave to refer to two Letters from Earl Cornwallis herewith delivered. That in order to derive proper advantages form this successful replusion [sic] of the Rebels your Memorialist used frequent endeavours [sic] to conciliate the minds of the Inhabitants by personally going through the Country and so far reconciled the disaffected that with the greatest approbation of all Description of people Commissions of the peace were issued out to principal persons throughout the Country, who continued to Act under them untill the approach of Genl. Green with a numerous Army in April 1781."[1262]

Lieut. Gov. John Graham was sent into Ceded Lands (Wilkes County) to investigate the situation there. He reported 255 men were loyal and formed a militia regt, under Col. Thomas Waters. Twice as many others were disaffected. Of these 140 had left with Clark, 42 sent down to Charlestown as prisoners by Graham, 21 were held hostage for good behavior of others, and 49 were "notorious active rebels laying out."[1263]

14 September. Allaire: "Thursday, 14th. Lay still at Col. Walker's. The poor, deluded people of this Province begin to be sensible of their error, and come in very fast. Maj. Ferguson, with thirty American Volunteers, and three hundred militia, got in motion at six o'clock, and marched to the head of Cane creek, and halted at one Wilson's." States Lee: "The principal object of the expedition [of Ferguson] was to excite the loyalists, in that quarter, to rebel openly and unite with the British army."[1264]

14 September. Brig. Gen. Davidson, at "Camp Maccappin's Creek," wrote Gates: "I am now encamped 8 miles South of Charlotte, my number consisting of 400, minute men from Rowan and Mecklenburg counties, none from the other counties being yet arived. The enemy are at Wax Haw creek, 20. miles distant. Lords Cornwallance [Cornwallis] and Roddin [Rawdon] are both with them. Their number, by the best intelligence, about 1,000. They are busied threshing and flouring wheat, collecting cattle, sheep, butter, &c. I do not learn they have any artillery. Col. Ferguson and his party, which by common report consists of 1,200, are troublesome[e] to the westward. I cannot find they have yet entered this State, except some who have committed some depredations on the west end of Rutherford county.
"Lest they should advance I have sent Col. Lock to Rowan to embody the rest of his regiment to join Col. Macdowell, who lies in Burke [County] with about 400, by the best accounts. Col. Paisley [John Peasley of Guilford County] joins me to morrow with near 200. Gen. Sumner with his bregade [sic] is expected to be at Salisbury this evening. Gen. Sumpter lies 13 miles to my right with 200, his number daily increasing. Our troops are in high spirits, and seem determined to stand out to the last extremity rather than submit to the fate of So. Carolina.
"P. S. The greater part of the Rowan regiment have not yet joined me on account of the frequent alarms from Ferguson's party, and the number of tories on the North and West of that county."[1265]

[1261] LFB2 pp. 509-510.
[1262] Dated 9 February 9, 1784, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 20, folios 142-145.
[1263] CKR pp. 121-122.
[1264] LMS p. 198.
[1265] CNC14 pp. 615-616.

Mid September. Cornwallis was encamped at the Waxhaws settlement. Bryan's refugees, 4 pieces of cannon, 50 wagons and a detachment of cavalry marched by Hanging Rock toward the Catawba settlement, while the British Legion with a three pounder crossed the Wateree, and moved up the east side of the river. Scarcity of forage in Waxhaws was cause of this dividing of forces.
Around this same time, Colonel Hector MacNeil was embodying some loyalist in the Drowning Creek area of (southeast) North Carolina, while Ganey's loyalists had collected at Catfish Creek along Little Peedee, and Barfield's between Drowning Creek and the Little Peedee.

Mid September. Although it was originally intended that Ninety Six loyalist, Col. Robert Cunningham would command a Provincial Regiment, Cornwallis decided to cancel the plan since it would draw too many officers away from the militia. Instead, about this time he made Cunningham Brigadier General of the Ninety Six militia. The actual date of his being paid at that rank is October 1st.[1266]

16 September. Col. Abraham Buford, returning from Virginia, with remnants of his Virginia Continentals, reinforced by 200 raw recruits, in ragged condition, reached Gates in Hillsborough. By the 18th, 50 remaining Virginia State Troops, under Capt. Thomas Drew (previously under Porterfield), also joined Gates and were incorporated into the Virginia Continentals. The Virginia troops with Gates then totaled some 300 all together. By mid September, what was left of the Maryland Brigades at Camden were formed into one combined "Maryland Regiment" under Col. Otho Williams and Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard, and organized into two battalions. The two battalions were commanded by Major Archibald Anderson and Major John Hardman. Prior to Camden, the two Maryland Brigades stood thus: Three Colonels, four lieutenant colonels, five majors, thirty-eight captains, fifty subalterns, twenty-four staff officers, eighty-five non commissioned officers, sixty-two musicians, and seven hundred and eighty-one rank and file. "The number," writes Williams, "which were killed, captured, and missing [at Camden], since the last muster could not with any accuracy, be ascertained. The aggregate was, three lieutenant colonels, two majors, fifteen captains, thirteen subalterns, two staff officers, fifty-two non-commissioned officers, thirty-four musicians, and seven hundred and eleven rank and file. These, at least a great majority of these, and all of them for aught I know, fell in the field, or into the hands of the enemy, on the fatal 16th of August. It is extremely probable, that the number of killed much exceeded the number taken prisoner. The Delaware regiment being mustered, the return stood thus: Four captains, seven subalterns, three staff officers, nineteen non-commissioned officers, eleven musicians, and one hundred and forty five rank and file, in actual service, &c. &c. &c. Eleven commissioned officers, and thirty-six privates of the Delaware regiment fell into the hands of the enemy." Added to Gates' force were some men belonging to Harrison's corps of artillery, now officered by Capt. Anthony Singleton, Harrison having returned to Virginia.[1267]
Two brass cannon which Gates at left behind for want of horses on his march to Camden were retrieved and brought to the army collecting at Hillsborough, while a few iron pieces were gathered from other locations to form a small park at Hillsborough. About this same time a shipment of clothes was delivered to Gates' troops supplied by the state of North Carolina, but tents they had none and blankets few.[1268]
Lee: "Having collected the shattered remains of his [Gates'] army at Hillsborough, in pursuance of a regulation established by the commander in chief, the broken lines of the Maryland and Delaware regiments were compressed into one regiment, and placed under Colonel Williams of Maryland. The officers of cavalry had not been very successful in their efforts, for but four complete troops could be formed from the relics of Bland's, Moylan's and Baylor's regiments, when united with the new recruits. These were embodied and placed under...Lieutenant Colonel William Washington...The supernumerary officers of Maryland and Delaware, and of the cavalry, were dispatched to their respective States, for the purpose of recruiting. Brigadier Gist, who had so nobly seconded De Kalb...was charged with the direction of this service, there being no command for him with the army, in consequence of its reduced state. General Smallwood was retained as second to Gates...About the same time, the recruits of the Virginia line reached Hillsborough; and the remaining companies of Harrison's artillery also joined our army. The union of theses several corps gave to General Gates about one thousand four hundred Continentals..."[1269]

16 September. Cornwallis issued a proclamation concerning the sequestration of Rebel estates, and appointed John Cruden to oversee their administration. Cruden as commissioner was to pay a fourth part of annual produce of any plantation for the support of the wife and children of the former owner, or a sixth part to a childless wife. For various reasons, including rebels destroying crops and produce, his efforts to make the plantation holdings profitable for the army ultimately failed. With rebels destroying what he had built up, he ended up spending more to keep the farms going than what could be taken in as profit.[1270]
Tarleton: "The estates of the violent absentees were seized, and placed in the hands of commissioners, who were vested with power to sell the produce, which, with the stock of cattle and horses found upon them, was appropriated to the use of the army, upon the commissaries giving receipts to the trustees for the different articles they received. The friends to the British cause, who had been driven out of the country, on proper application, had their property, or what remained of it, restored. The havoc made by the Americans, during their banishment, often defeated this intention. Encouragement was given to trade, by allowing merchants to

[1266] LSL pp. 152-153.
[1267] Harrison had broken his leg and removed to Virginia for rest. He rejoined Greene by March 4th 1781. NGP7 p. 25.
[1268] CNC15 pp. 65-66, WNA, JLG1 pp. 312-314, SNC p. 184.
[1269] LMS p. 208.
[1270] ATR81a pp. 25-28, AR81 p. 51, TCS pp. 89-90, 121-126, 157, 186-191, GHA3 p. 454, SAW2 p. 214, WCO p. 143; see also ATR81b pp. 189-190.

convey to Charles town a variety of manufactures which had been long wanted throughout all the southern provinces, and permitting them to receive payment in the produce of the country. Commissioners were appointed to arrange the differences which subsisted in Carolina concerning the negroes. It is here necessary to observe, that all the negroes, men, women, and children, upon the approach of any detachment of the King's troops, thought themselves absolved from all respect to their American masters, and entirely released from servitude: Influenced by this idea, they quitted the plantations, and followed the army; which behaviour caused neglect of cultivation, proved detrimental to the King's troops, and occasioned continual disputes about property of this description: In a short time the attention of the commissioners produced arrangements equally useful to the military and inhabitants."[1271]

17 September. Brig. Gen. Harrington, at Cross Creek, to Gates: "The Party of the Enemy detached from Cambden [sic] for George Town passed through Indian Town, between Black River & Lynches Creek, last Sunday & crossed Peedee at Britton[']s ferry on Tuesday; they recrossed the River the same Evening, & plunder, burn & destroy every thing in their way. They are about 400, & are commanded by Major Weyms. [Major] Captain [John] James of the Town Regiment fell in with the rear, took 3 or 4 Servants & Some Baggage, amongst the last an Orderly Book of a Capt. Lieut. [James] Depeyster's, wherein was an Order for them to go to the Cheraws, as I am told by Col. Giles & others who have seen it, tho' one Gentleman says the Order was for 90 only, to be detached from Cambden [sic] to the Cheraws, but Imagine Colo. Marion sent a more particular account by the same conveyance, as he was near the Scene & saw the Book. Upon the whole, I am induced to believe they have retreated, or are about to retreat to the Sea Coast, and that Weyms's manoevers were only to secure the passage down Santee River."[1272]

18 September. Davidson, not far south of Charlotte, to Sumner: "The news of your coming forward in such force gave a surprising spirit to the people of this county [Mecklenburg], but a report has taken place that Gen. Gates has directed you to retire over the Yadkin. Should that be the case, I dread the consequences. I need not tell you the dreadful effects of Gen. Gates's retreat to Hillsborough. The effects of it are, in my opinion, worse than those of his defeat. It has frightened the ignorant into despair, being left without cover or support to defend themselves against the whole force of the enemy. No people have a better claim to protection than the people of this county. They have fought bravely and bled freely. I mention these things, as I have reason to fear that my minute troops will disperse, should they not be treated agreeably to their expectations. The enemy continue at Waxhaw Creek, and are almost 900, and one third tories. The cavalry are inconsiderable."[1273]

18 September: Balfour wrote to Charlestown loyalist, Col. Robert Ballingall: "You are hereby required to take under your Command & join to your Regiment of Militia, the Inhabitants of the Parishes of St. Georges, St. James's, Goose Creek, and St. Andrew[']s including James's Island and you are to take charge of the Militia of said Parishes and discipline them according to the Instructions I have already given you."[1274]

18 September. Following the skirmish at Cane Creek, Col. Charles McDowell's and Col. Andrew Hampton's force of 160 men, mostly North Carolina militia, arrived at the Watauga settlement.[1275]

18 September. Cornwallis, at "Camp at Waxhaw," to Lord Germain: "I had the honour to inform your lordship in my letter of the 21st of August, that I had dispatched proper people into North-Carolina to exhort our friends in that province to take arms, to seize military stores, and magazines of the enemy, and to intercept all stragglers of the routed army.
"Some parties of our friends, who had embodied themselves near the Pedée [Peedee], disarmed several of the enemy's stragglers. But the leading persons of the Loyalists were so undecided in their councils, that they lost the critical time of availing themselves of our success; and even suffered General Gates to pass to Hillsborough with a guard of six men only. They continue however to give me the strongest assurances of support, when His Majesty's troops shall have penetrated into the interior parts of the province. The patience and fortitude with which they endure the most cruel torments, and suffer the most violent oppressions that a country ever laboured [sic] under, convince me that they are sincere, at least as far as their affection, to the cause of Great-Britain."[1276]

18 September. Col. William Preston, from "Bottetourt Court House," VA. to Col. Martin Armstrong, Surry County, N.C.: "This hour I was favoured with Your Letter of the 12th instant, which was forwarded to me by Colo. [Hugh? or Walter?] Crockett, who lives 90 miles from hence, by Express. The increasing distresses of our friends to the Southward give me the deepest concern; would to God I had power equal to my inclination in any measure to alleviate them. I have not a doubt but what they suffer now, unless Providence interposes, we must mostly experience even amongst our Mountains.
"Before Colo. [William] Campbell returned, a plan was laid by the Officers in Montgomery to raise 500 or even 1,000 choice Riflemen in the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Montgomery & Washington (amongst whom are to be 150 Light Horse tolerably equipp'd to act as a body of Light infantry under the immediate

[1271] TCS pp. 89-90.
[1272] CNC14 pp. 624-625.
[1273] CNC14 p. 773.
[1274] New York State Library, AT 7003, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box 2, Item No. 154. (Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies.)
[1275] DKM p. 170.
[1276] COC p. 30.

command of Genl. Gates, to Rendezvous at the Moravian town the 15 of October, & to continue three months on duty from that time, unless sooner discharged. This Scheme I sent to the Government by Congress, & expect an answer in Eight days, & perhaps sooner. I also applied to the several County-Lieutenants & exhorted them to put the Business in motion amongst their respective Militias, that preparations might be making in the mean time, & that when Orders arrive from the the Executive the Troops might be ready to march. How far the proposals may be adopted in the several Counties I can't positively say: but I have many reasons to believe that they will meet with all due encouragement, and that each County will exert itself on this alarming occasion; nor have I a remaining doubt but that our Government will most cheerfully adopt these measures..."[1277]

19 September. Sumner to Gates: "I arrived here last evening, and my encamping ground is almost ½ mile in front of Salisbury and a little to the left of the road leading to Charlotte."[1278]

20 September. Allaire: "Thursday, 20th. Got in motion at five o'clock in the evening, and marched six miles to Fair Forest Ford, where we halted and lay all night."
Chesney: "I was present also at a small affair at Fair Forest, the particulars of which, as well as numerous other skirmishes having escaped my memory, scarcely a day passed without some fighting." [1279]

20 September. Cornwallis, at "Camp at Waxhaw," to Major Richard England, Deputy Quartermaster General at Camden: "I find it difficult to decide immediately about the Waggons. I have desired Balfour to send up more Rum and Salt for the use of the troops at Camden; & I should wish to carry with us every drop of Rum that is now there, if we can get conveyance for it. Of the quantity, you will be able to judge; & will proportion the Carriages accordingly: But the difficult point to ascertain, is the conveyance of the Sick. We have now above 120 here, & they are daily increasing: The 71st will add considerably to that list. The disposal of all these Sick, will be a matter very naturally to be considered; but whether we move them forward, or send them back, waggons will be equally necessary. I think at present, of fixing a Post under Wemyss at Charlottetown; if I find that it can be supplied with Provisions. Tarleton was to have gone thither, to have ascertained that point; but unfortunately he is exceedingly ill at White's on Fishing Creek: He cannot be removed; & I am obliged to leave his Corps there, for his protection. Should the Post at Charlotte be found practicable, that will be the best place for the sick of whose recovery within these six weeks or two months we have any hopes. They will soon become a considerable addition of strength to Wemyss; & may afterwards, very possibly, be brought up to the Army.
"Make my best compliments to Col. Turnbull, who I hope is recovering; & tell him, that when Major [Thomas] Pinckney is able to travel, I will allow him to pass fourteen days at his Wife's Father's at the Congarees: He must then join the other Field Officers on Parole, who are at Orangeburgh unless otherwise disposed of by Col. Balfour, & report his doing so to the Commandant.
"Colonel Cruger informed me of the rising in the Ceded Lands in Georgia, & has marched with his whole force; which, by the bye, is not very great: Ferguson, who has made rather a successful expedition to the Mountains above Gilbertown, has, I hope, stopped some of the Rebel Parties who were going to the assistance of the Georgia Insurgents. I most sincerely hope that Col. Cruger will be able to settled that business without obliging me to detach; which will be very inconvenient.
"Pray talk over the arrangement of the [Surgeon's] Mates & Medicines very fully with Hill: We certainly must take a great stock of the latter with us; & a very considerable quantity must be left at Charlottetown, if it should be found expedient to establish the Post I talk of. You may depend on my not leaving you behind."[1280]

20 September. Clinton, in New York, to Cornwallis: "I have always thought operation in the Chesapeak[e] of the greatest importance, and have often mentioned to [Vice] Admiral [Marriot] Arbuthnot the necessity of making a diversion in your Lordship's favour in that quarter; but have not been able till now to obtain a convoy for this purpose.
"Your Lordship will receive inclosed [sic] a sketch of the instructions I intend to give to Major-general [Alexander] Leslie, who will command the expedition; which will give a general idea of the design of the move. But if your Lordship should wish any particular co-operation from that armament, General Leslie will of course consider himself under your Lordship's orders, and pay every obedience thereto.
"I have the honour to inclose the copy of a letter I wrote to Lord George Germain, and of his Lordship's answer, respecting the option Lord Rawdon had made in favour of his provincial rank. And I am happy in having it in my power to communicate to his Lordship the King's pleasure that he should still retain his rank of Lieutenant-colonel in the line, which I beg leave to take this opportunity of doing through your Lordship."[1281]

20 September. Gov. John Rutledge, at Hillsborough, to the Delegates of the South Carolina assembly: "I think it is beyond a Doubt, that at least, 7 Men, of those who have declared themselves British Subjects & taken up Arms with the Enemy, & who had afterward joined our Party, have been hanged, & that the Houses of sev[era]l. who had left 'em, have been burnt, upon a presumption, I suppose, that they had come over to us -- On the 15th Inst., Colo. Sumpter lay, with abt. 200 Men, to the Westwd. of Catawba, Genl. [William Lee] Davidson was with abt. 400 Militia, below Charlotte, & Genl. Sumner, with, (it is said,) ab[ou]t. 800 more, that day reached Salisbury where he halted, to get Pouches made for his Men, & this is all Our force that I can find to be actually

[1277] CNC14 pp. 626-627.
[1278] CNC14 p. 773.
[1279] CDI.
[1280] PRO. 30/11/80/31-32.
[1281] COC pp. 22-23.

embodied & in the Field, except the little Party under Marion; & a few at Cross Creek, under Colo. Harrington -- not a man from Virginia is in this State, except abt. 250 Contls. under Beaufort [Buford], & abt. 60 of the Militia, who ran away from the action wth Cornwallis, & who have been lately brot. to Hillsborough, nor can we hear ofany being on the March from Virginia -- Genl. Gates rec[eive]d. a Letter, from Govr. Jefferson, dated the 12th Inst. but he does not mention anything of the 18 Months Men who were expected from thence -- The 2000 Militia who, it is said, are to come from that State (in addition to these) I am told will not rendesvous till the 25th. of next Month -- I wish an apprehension that Portsmouth will be Clintons object, may not retard the March of the Virginia Forces -- Genl. Gates says the Continentals at Hillsborough (who do not exceed 900) cant. march, until they are furnished, with Shoes, Shirts, overalls, & Blankets, & until Magazines are established to the Westward -- If so, I fear it will be a very considerable Time before they stir -- for, where these Supplies are to come from, or when they will be procured I cant. guess -- as yet, not a single Hide is obtained for making Shoes—Genl. Smallwood, to whom the Legislature of this State offer'd the command of its Militia, will go, in 2 or 3 days, to Salisbury, to take that Command -- The Governor has ordered 4800 Men into the Field, but, what Number will actually get there, it is impossible, at present to say, However, Men are assembling daily -- The Horse are to serve for 2 months the Foot for -- but, all that Genl. Smallwood can do, for a while, will be, to endeavour to harrass the enemy's Parties, to cut off their Convoys, and perhaps, now & then, break up an outpost. Still, I fear the Militia will get diecouraged, & tired of the business, unless supported by Continental Troops: However, if the Virginians w[oul]d. really send on the Men whom they have promised, & the Continentals were equipped, & marched to the Westward, & the Militia of this State wd. also turn out spiritedly, I hope, by the Exertions of the good People of So. Carolina, Lord Cornwallis' mad Career wd. be soon checked -- But alas! when may we really, & reasonably, expect that all these things will come to pass, and, untill they do, what must be the Sufferings of our Friends in that unhappy State -- I have seen Colo. Jas. Williams whose affair [Musgrove's Mill] with Innis (not killed, as you have heard, but recovering of his wound,) was truly brilliant -- He is gone on with a Determination to distinguish himself as a Partisan, & I believe he will -- I have put, both him & Sumpter, (each of whom may be of service but they will never agree) under Genl. Smallwood's Command -- I wait, with the utmost Impatience, to hear what is intended to be done for our Country, by Genl. Washington, with the aid of our Ally [France] -- …Under the first Impression of Lord Cornwallis's Letter & Conduct, I had thought of writing to him, & of threatening Retaliation, on the Property of those who are avowedly his Friends: However, I have as yet, declined it, because, he probably wd: disregard a Threat which we cd. not, for the present, execute to any great degree, & because, I hope the Property of his Friends in So. Carolina will, in Time be applied to a better purpose -- But, I trust, that Congress will, immediately take Some proper Measure on this point. None occurs to me so proper, as the Burning Towns or Houses in G. Britain -- why Dr. Franklin prevented as is said [John] Paul Jones's so doing, I cant. conceive, but, I am sure, nothing wd. so effectually put a stop to the Enemy's cruelties, in this respect, as Retaliation and, Seriously, I wish, & shall expect, -- that some thing more than Threats may now take Place—It is Time to convince our Enemies that we dare to retaliate -- Armand's Corps, much reduced, are gone to Warren to recruit -- while Washington & Nellson are at Halifax not above 25 of their Men well enough for duty -- 150 of the Maryland Troops were retaken by Marion on their way to C. Town, but 70 of 'em went to the Enemy in Town & the rest have never joined the Army -- it is supposed they are strolling abt. the Country, or gone Hom -- The Enemy's principal Posts are at the Waxaws, & to the Westward of the Catawba -- they had sent some detachmts. to repossess Ninety-Six and Pedee -- their force at Camden not considerable."[1282]

20-21 September. [raid-skirmish] Wahab's Plantation, also Wauchope's Plantation (Union County,[1283] S.C.) When about September 8th Cornwallis moved with his army to Waxhaws, it was on the same ground occupied by Davie in June and July 1780, located on the S.C.-N.C. border. It was a rich country but one much devastated by warfare and neglect; many of the plantations being completely deserted, and a large number of the inhabitants killed, captured or made refugees.

Davie himself meanwhile had of late been appointed Col. Commandant of all cavalry of North Carolina by Gov. Nash. With 70 dragoons and two companies of riflemen commanded by Maj. George Davidson, he deployed twenty-five miles above the British camp, and fourteen miles south of Charlotte. The 71st Regt. was posted about a half mile in Cornwallis' rear, with Cornwallis main focre on the north side of Waxhaws Creek. To the east of the 71st were some loyalist light troops and militia, who had been spreading "havoc and destruction." Davie finding out about these, "formed a design to attack them." Early morning of 20 September he circled Cornwallis position, coming from the east,[1284] but finding the loyalist had moved a few days before, he continued scouting and found them at Wahab's plantation, a location overlooked by the camp of the 71st. It is not clear who these loyalists were, but references which suggest that horsemen were present among their ranks make it probable that they included Harrison's Provincials. On the morning of the 21st, Davie surprised and routed them, though he could not follow this up as being too risky. At one point in the fighting, some of the loyalists were surrounded, but the whigs were unable to take prisoners due to the proximity of the 71st. Davie did, however, capture some arms (120 stand) and 96 horses, and with these horses Maj. Davidson's riflemen were mounted. The British suffered 15 to 20 killed, and 40 wounded, while only one of the Americans was wounded.

The late arriving British, in retaliation, burned Capt. James Wahab's [i.e. Wauchope's] home;[1285] who himself had acted as a guide for Davie. That same afternoon Davie returned to his camp, having performed a march of sixty miles in twenty-four hours.[1286]

[1282] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, pp. 136-139.
[1283] Some sources, such as McCrady, suggest Lancaster county, but recent scholarship indicates Union to be the area in question.
[1284] Lee says from Cornwallis' left, or from the west, which Davie points out is incorrect.
[1285] His actual name was spelled "Wauchope." DRS. p. 55n.
[1286] LMS pp. 195-196, DRS pp. 21-23, CSS pp. 1137-1138, SNC p. 104-112, MSC1 pp. 742-743.

Davie: "Generals [Jethro] Sumner and [William Lee] Davidson had arrived that day [the 21st] at camp [south of Charlotte] with their brigades of militia[,] both of which However did not amount to one thousand men all on short enlistments, illy armed and diminishing every day. These with Davie's corps were the whole assembled force at that time opposed to the enemy."[1287]

Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, on possibly Sept. 24 (the date of the letter is not clear) and at "Camp, 8 miles South of Charlotte," wrote Gates: "I have the pleasure to enform you that Colo. Davie, with a Detachment of Horse and Light Infantry from my Brigade, compleatly surprized a party of Tories on the morning of the 20th Sept., two miles in the rear of the British encampment. Killed, 12; on the ground, wounded, by our best intelligence, about 60, and brought off our prisoner, and the Colo. made good his retreat with 50 Horses, as many saddles, 13 guns, &c. Lord Cornwalliss [sic] continues at the Waxsaw [Waxhaws] Creek, collecting reinforcements from the Militia, fattening his Horse, and Carrying off every article valuable to our Army. His present strength is about 1,200, with one piece of Artillery—perhaps near one-half of his number Tories. Colo. Trumbull [Turnbull], on the west of the River, has about 700, chiefly new recruits in uniform, and is now in fishing Creek Neighbourhood. Colo. Ferguson, with about 800 Tories, has advanced to Gilberts Town, and a Detachment from him has penegrated as far as Burk[e] Court House, with which Colo. Mc'dowul [McDowell] Skirmished with about two Hundred men, but gave ground and retreated, I am enformed, over the Mountains [See "Cane Creek" action 12 September]. Genl. Sumner has joined me. Genl. Sumpter has Collected about 400 of his Dispersed Troops, and lies 15 miles on our right on the Bank of the River. I have ordered Collonels [sic] Amstrong, Cleveland and Lock to unite their forces against Furguson, and if possible stop his progress. The establishment of a post at Maskes [Mask's] ferry appears well Calculated to make a Diverte [diversion] and give relief to the Western parts of the State. Inclosed you have a Coppy of a proclamation, which Colo. Furguson has taken grate pains to Circulate."[1288]

21 September. Cornwallis, at Camp at Waxhaws, to Balfour: "I informed you in my last letter that Tarleton was gone toward Charlotte, but I soon after heard that instead of having marched, he was very dangerously ill. I have been very uneasy about him until this morning; his Fever has not intermitted and I hope he is safe...Tarleton's Illness is of the greatest Inconvenience to me at present, as I not only lose his Services, but the whole Corps must remain quite useless in order to protect him."[1289] On the 22nd, he dispatched Major McArthur and the 71st regiment to protect Tarleton and the other ill[1290] and convalescent at Blair's Mill. Then, placing Major George Hanger in command of the British Legion, he ordered Hanger to cross the Catawba at Blair's ferry and form the advance guard for the march on Charlotte -- *instead* of sending him to aid Ferguson.[1291]

21 September. Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson with a body of N.C. miliia was posted at Phifer's, some seven miles distant from Charlotte.[1292]

22 September. Cornwallis, at "Camp at Waxhaw," to Clinton: "If nothing material happens to obstruct my plan of operations, I mean, as soon as Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton can be removed, to proceed with the twenty-third, thirty-third, volunteers of Ireland, and Legion, to Charlotte-town, and leave the seventy-first here until the sick can be brought on to us. I then mean to make some redoubts and establish a fixed post at that place, and give the command of it to Major Wimys [i.e. Wemyss], whose regiment is so totally demolished by sickness, that it will not be fit for actual service for some months. To that place I shall bring up all the sick from Camden, who have any chance of being serviceable before Christmas, and trust to opportunities for their joining the army.
"The post at Charlotte-town will be a great security to all this frontier of South-Carolina, which, even if we were possessed of the greatest part of North Carolina, would be liable to be infested by parties, who have retired with their effects over the mountains, and mean to take every opportunity of carrying on a predatory war, and it will, I hope, prevent insurrections in this country, which is very disaffected. I then think of moving on my principal force to Salisbury, which will open this country sufficiently for us to see what assistance we may really expect from our friends in North-Carolina; and will give us a free communication with the Highlanders, on whom my greatest dependence is placed."[1293]

22 September. Having been one of those who had received Ferguson's ultimatum (see 7 September), Col. Isaac Shelby,[1294] after conferring with Col. John Sevier, urged a proposal to Col Arthur Campbell, Shelby's county superior, to organize a force to combat the Scottish Major. Campbell agreed and on 22 September, messages were sent out to various leaders in South Carolina, western North Carolina, and Virginia.[1295] At the same time, September 25th (which see) was set as a date when the militia from the over-mountain settlements were to meet

[1287] DRS pp. 21-23, LMS p. 195.
[1288] CNC14 614-615.
[1289] BGD p. 106.
[1290] May soldiers relapsed into illness on the march into North Carolina. SAW2 p. 215.
[1291] BGD p. 106.
[1292] CNC15 p. 80.
[1293] COC pp. 29-30, SAW2 p. 215.
[1294] Shelby was from the Holston settlement in Sullivan County, N.C., while Sevier, south of him, was from the adjacent Watauga and Nolachucky settlement in Washington County, N.C.
[1295] Virginians, such as William Campbell, were prompt in joining the expedition because they feared Ferguson's presence would stir the already emboldened tories of southwest Virginia. *Virginia Militia In The Revolutionary War* (1913) by Joseph T. McAllister, p.8.

at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River. Half of the militia of Washington County, N.C. (Sevier's) were called out for the expedition, while the remainder were to remain and guard the frontier from the Indians. Those from Sullivan County (i.e. Shelby's) all accompanied the expedition.[1296]

23 September. Allaire: "Saturday, 23d. Got in motion at nine o'clock in the morning; marched three miles to Gilbertown; took up our ground on a height about half a mile from the town. This town contains one dwelling house, one barn, a blacksmith's shop, and some out-houses."

23 September. Cornwallis, at Waxhaws, to Ferguson: "I have just received yours of the 19th, and last night had the satisfaction to hear from Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, that he had arrived in time to save Browne [Thomas Brown], and retaken the guns, and totally routed the enemy [at Augusta], who had retired with great precipitation; that the Indians had pursued and scalped many of them. I have no objections to your making any allowance to the militia you think they deserve; but had rather it called gratuity than pay, even if it amounts to the same sum. Tarleton is better, and was moved to-day in a litter; his illness [the rest of the sentence is footnoted as having been in cipher, and is left blank]. I shall [the rest of the sentence was also in cipher and left blank].
"I heard a report that a Major Davie, who commands a corps of about eighty horse militia, had marched against you. You will know whether this is true before this can possibly reach you.
"P. S. As soon as I have consumed the provisions in this settlement [Charlotte], I shall march with as much expedition as possible to Cross creek. I am told the climate will be healthy there by the middle of next month."
This same day Ferguson had written him in turn: "A doubt does not remain with regard to the intelligence I sent your lordship: They are since joined by Clark and Sumpter, of course are become an object of some consequence. Happily their leaders are obliged to feed their followers with such hopes, and so to flatter them with accounts of our weakness and fear, that, if necessary, I should hope for success against them myself; but, numbers compared, that must be doubtful. I am on my march towards you by a road leading from Cherokee ford, north of King's mountain. Three or four hundred good soldiers, part dragoons, would finish the business. Something must be done soon. This is their last push in this quarter, &c."[1297]

23 September. Cornwallis, at "Waxhaw," to Balfour: "I send letters to go to New York by the first opportunity, and an additional letter to Lord George Germain with the account of the success of Cruger's expedition & the relief of Augusta. You will receive a copy of it and the duplicates of my Letters to Lord George Germain which you will get copied, and forward those I send you by the first opportunity after the sailing of the *Hydra*. -- Tarleton is vastly better, I got him conveyed this day to Blair[']s Mill on the East side of Catawba, and his Corps will pass this evening: This illness has been truly unfortunate, it has prevented our demolishing the Militia whilst they were assembling, and has given time to the Enemy to drive away Cattle and carry off Provisions: However we are fortunate to save him and get the use of his Corps, which could not leave Fishing Creek until he was well enough to be removed, and for which I was very uneasy, as there was no officer with them capable of Commanding them; Kinloch [Kinlock] arrived this evening, but he is still very ill, and I am sure he will be laid up in three days. I will trouble you to inclose [sic] a Copy of my Sixth and last Proclamation to the Admiral [Arbuthnot], and one to the General and Him when you send off my duplicates. -- A Rebel Officer who came in yesterday with necessaries for the Prisoners, & [Monys?]: -- agreed that no action had happened to the Northward, nor any thing at all material except an unsuccessful Attack on Paulus Hook by General [Anthony] Wayne.
"I shall probably March to Charlottetown tomorrow evening or the next day in the Morning. I flatter myself our communication will still be pretty safe, I shall however put every material Paragraph into Cypher; I will send you a copy of Ferguson's which is easier to write, but I believe easier to make out, both may be made use of in one letter, putting B in the front of yours, & F of his. It will probably be a fortnight before I shall be able to leave Charlottetown, I have heard nothing of either Wemys[s] or Moncrief, & I dread hearing of their sickness; I wish I could say that we found any material amendment. The 71st will remain here until the 2d division are ready to March, unless I should have any particular reason for warning them forward. -- I apprehend it will be necessary for me to send something to 96, and to erect some better Works there and at Augusta. Innes's Corps [S.C. Royalists] has only 160 duty men. -- From the gross misbehaviour of the Militia of this Province I intend in North Carolina to try raising Corps only, I wish I had tryed [sic] it more at first here. I should wish all the serviceable Arms that could possibly be spared to be sent in the Sandwich, as that article will be the most difficult to transport by Land, and will be much wanted, as our friends are every where rigidly disarmed in North Carolina. -- I have inclosed [sic] a copy of my Proclamation to Lord George Germain, but I must beg you will send a printed one with my duplicates. Our sickness continues much the same, very few die."[1298]

23 September. Col. Francis Lock to Sumner: "I have ordered all the militia in Rowan to join me at Sherril's [Sherrald's] ford, where I was ordered by Brig. Gen. Davidson to take post and send him all the intelligence I could of the strength and movements of the enemy. I have not in camp more than sixty men, and from the first accounts of the enemy they are 800, and some say 1,500, strong, lying at Burke [County] Court House and Greenlefe's [sic]. Lead we are in want of; Col. Armstrong was to have sent on a quantity. If you have any part of

[1296] DKM pp. 170-171.
[1297] TCS pp. 192-193.
[1298] PRO. 30/11/80/39-40.

your army you could spare to our assistance, I think we could drive the enemy out of our State. I have not any expectation of being much stronger, as the torries are committing robberies in all parts of our county."[1299]

24 September. Allaire: "Sunday, 24th. Five hundred subjects came in [to either volunteer or show their support], also a number of ladies…"

24 September. Marion and his men came out from their concealed camp at White Marsh Swamp, and moved to Kingston; which they attained on the 25th.[1300]

24 September. Cornwallis left Waxhaws, which had become exhausted of provisions, and began his march toward Charlotte.
Tarleton: "Several convalescent men of the army having relapsed, the 71st under M'Arthur was left near Blair's mill (which was located halfway between Camden and Charlotte), to afford protection of the sick, to cover the mills in the neighborhood, and to hold communication with Camden, till the arrival of additional supplies." [1301]

24-25 September. Col. William Campbell, Col. Isaac Shelby, Lieut. Col. John Sevier and their men gathered at Sycamore Shoals. Col. Charles McDowell had already been there with his 160 men mostly from Burke and Rutherford counties. Col. Arthur Campbell brought another two hundred, but himself returned to Holston to oversee the defense of that settlement. Most of those present were mounted and armed with Dickert long rifles (later commonly, though erroneously, called "Deckard" rifles.[1302]) About this same time, Col. Benjamin Cleavland and his officers from Wilkes and Surry counties were calling in men in those districts. The congregating force at Quaker meadows all told then then consisted of: 200 Virginia rifles under Campbell, 240 of Shelby's Regt., 240 of Sevier's Regt., approximately 150 to 160 with McDowell, 200 more VA. militia were brought by Campbell's brother. Later Col. Benj. Cleavland would join them with 350 men. As well, Sumter's men under Hill and Lacey were camped within the vicinity of Salisbury, while Clark was fleeing north in their direction following the failed siege at Augusta.[1303]
Isaac Shelby: "The Americans once more in pursuance of their plan which they had concerted on the Western waters began to collect on Doe River in the edge of the mountains that separates the Eastern from the Western waters about the 24th of September, 1780 -- at which place Colonel Shelby, Colonel Sevier & Colonel Campbell with their regiments and General McDowell with his followers rendezvoused, but previous to their march from Doe River it was discovered that a certain Crawford[1304] and one or two others had deserted to the enemy -- They proceeded however on their proposed route to the top of the Yellow Mountain -- but here it was determined in a council of officers as useless to attempt to surprise Major Ferguson, and they concluded to file off to the left— through mountains almost impassable, get in the enemy's front and act as circumstances might enable them to do -- fortunately on the first day they got clear of the mountains on the east side -- They fell in with Colonel Cleveland [Benjamin Cleavland], an officer of great zeal in the cause of liberty, with 400 men, who had embodied in the Northern Counties of North Carolina, with a view to join any other American party that might be collected to oppose the advance of the enemy -- The next day they fell in with Colonel John Williams [James Williams] and sundry other field officers of distinction from So. Carolina, with their followers who has also advanced with a view to join any Americans collected to oppose the Enemy, having all together about four hundred men -- The whole then moved on towards Gilbert Town[1305] where it was expected Ferguson's Army lay -- It was now discovered that the American Army thus accidentally collected without a head, was a mere confused mass, incapable of performing any great military achievement. The officers Commanding regiments assembled and determined that a Commanding officer was expedient, but the Senior officer of the army was unpopular and as the campaign was a volunteer scheme it was discovered that those who had the right to command would not be chosen -- It was determined to send for General Morgan, or General [William Lee] Davidson, to take the command and General Charles McDowell proposed to undertake this mission and actually set out in pursuit of one of those Generals -- During their sitting it was proposed that until General Morgan or General Davidson arrived that the officers composing that board should meet once a day & determine upon the movements of the army -- this being agreed to, it was also proposed and agreed to that Col. [William] Campbell should be appointed officer of the day to execute the plans adopted by the Commandants of regiments."[1306]

25 September. Having received reports of Cornwallis' advance, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner with his N.C. militia had earlier left his position at New Providence and marched to Charlotte. After collecting what stores and provisions he could, he then retired to Salisbury, leaving Col. Davie to cover his withdrawal.[1307]
Lee: "Four days after the affair at Wahab's, the British general put his army in motion, taking the Steel Creek road to Charlotte. This being announced to General Sumner by his light parties, he decamped from [New] Providence and retired on the nearest road to Salisbury, leaving Colonel Davie, with his corps, strengthened by a few volunteers under Major [Joseph] Graham, to observe the movements of the enemy. Hovering around the

[1299] CNC14 pp. 774-775.
[1300] BSF p. 63.
[1301] TCS p. 159.
[1302] These were manufactured in Pennsylvania. See BEA pp. 329-330.
[1303] DKM p. 175, MSC1 739-740, 759-763.
[1304] William T. Graves: "James Crawford, who along with Samuel Chambers, deserted the patriot forces on or about September 27, 1780. They were members of Sevier's troops. The patriots feared that these men would betray their intentions to Ferguson."
[1305] Modern day Rutherfordton, North Carolina.
[1306] SRW.
[1307] DRS p. 24, LMS p. 196, RNC p. 249.

British army, Colonel Davie took several prisoners during the evening, and reached Charlotte about midnight."[1308]

26 September. Colonels William Campbell's, Charles McDowell's, Shelby's and Sevier's men began their march from Sycamore Shoals. They had taken some cattle with them; so that on the 27th they spent much of the day slaughtering a number of these and feeding the men. Having in this way disencumbered their march, they proceed to through the gap between Yellow and Roan Mountains.[1309]

26 September. [skirmish] Bigger's Ferry (York County, S.C.)[1310]
Richard Winn: "Notwithstanding this, [Camden and Fishing Creek] Gen'l Sumter forms a camp just below Biggers Ferry on the Catawba River and begins to collect his men. A convention of the people is called. Colo. Winn, the president, advertised for the people to meet in convention in Gen'l Sumter's camp, on the 26th of September, 1780. On the day before, Colo. Winn arrives at the camp to preside in convention. At this time Gen'l Sumter lay with about one thousand men below Charlotte on McAlpin's Creek. Colo. Winn had not been in camp more than one hour when he received an express from Gen'l [Jethro] Sumner that Cornwallis with the British army was fast advancing towards Charlotte and that he [Sumner] had begun to retreat before him. Gen'l Sumter not being present, it was natural for Winn to conclude the camp was in great danger and immediately ordered that the men should cross the river, which together with the baggage wagons was by sundown completed and strong guards placed at the ferry and ford. Winn sent an express to Gen'l Sumter notifying him what was done, but as the Gen'l was unwell he did not come to camp until the next day. The morning of the 26th before sunrise, Colo. Tarleton with the British horse, each having a British infantryman behind him, surrounded the round we left the evening before. Had this precaution not been taken, I leave the world to judge what would have been the consequences. Here we were, the British on one side the river, we on the other. The people came in agreeable to the advertisement and met; Colo. Winn took the chair. After taking several weighty matters in consideration, it was unanimously decreed that Colonels Winn, [John] Thomas [Jr.] and Capt. Henry Hampton should without delay proceed on to Hillsborough and use their best means with the Board of War, Governor John Rutledge and Gen'l Gates in procuring arms, ammunition, camp utensils and cloathing, &c., in order to enable us more fully to prosecute the war in South Carolina. Notwithstanding the necessity and urgency of the demand, not a single article could be obtained. Gen'l Sumter being present, Govern Rutledge confirmed the General in his command; and we returned immediately to South Carolina, where in the meantime Colo. Lacey had been left in command. Lacey being informed that Maj'r Ferguson with a large party of men was on their march for Charlotte to join Ld. Cornwallis, was determined to give him battle, tho not having more than 300 men. But on approaching the enemy he found...(See Gordon's or Ramsay's History) in this action. I am well informed that no men in the world could behave more brave than the South Carolinians, which was the case with the officers and men from other quarters. I was well informed that after Ferguson had taken his encamping place many of his Tories said, 'we have got to the King's ground at last and for the honor of our King we will support it or die in the attempt.' Some time after the fight, Colo. Winn took a view of King's Mountain for the purpose of seeing which party had the advantage of the ground. The British officer had made the same mistake in the selection of his encampment as Colo. Brian [Bryan] had done at Hanging Rock."[1311]

26 September. [skirmish] Charlotte (Mecklenburg County, N.C.) On the 24th Davie's patrols had learned Cornwallis was in motion on the Steele Creek road heading towards Charlotte. Sumner and Davidson, meanwhile, left Charlotte, and retreated on Phifer's road marching towards Salisbury. Davie with 150-200 dragoons and mounted infantry, with some volunteers under Maj. Joseph Graham, skirmished in Cornwallis' front, and on the night of the 25th captured some prisoners. By midnight, he had taken post at Charlotte, 7 miles distant from where Cornwallis camped that night, being reinforced during night with 14 whig volunteers.
The next morning, British light troops, with British Legion under Major George Hanger, and followed up by Cornwallis' entire army, advanced on Davie's position. Hanger's cavalry was ambushed by riflemen as they passed by some houses, and being then charged by Davie's cavalry, were driven back in disorder. British light infantry and Legion light infantry, pressed forward, and Davie withdrew. Hanger's cavalry regrouped and charged in column again but also again received fire from the militia, which hurled them back in confusion. Even so, the British Legion infantry, which Cornwallis had reinforced with Webster's 23rd Regt., began to turn Davie's flank, and the Americans were compelled to pull back and withdraw. The British followed them with caution for some miles, and when the cavalry at last tried once more to charge Davie's rear guard, they were again repulsed. According to Davie he had 5 killed, 6 wounded, including Maj. Graham. The British lost 44 killed and wounded, Hanger being among the wounded. According to Tarleton, 14 British were wounded including Hanger. Sumner, presumably from information derived rom Davie, states the British lost 22 killed and "many wounded."[1312] At last, with the Americans finally withdrawn, Cornwallis with the rest of his troops moved in and occupied the town. Meanwhile, Maj. George Davidson removed in the evening to Phifer's planation, some twenty miles from Charlotte, while Davie posted himself behind Rocky River,[1313] sixteen miles from Charlotte, and four

[1308] LMS p. 196.
[1309] DKM p. 177.
[1310] WNO, part II, pp. 1-2, HMS pp. 17-1,BGC p. 88, SCAR vol. 2, no. 10, pp. 15-16.
[1311] WNO, part II, pp. 1-2.
[1312] CNC15 pp. 89-90.
[1313] Joseph Graham elsewhere speaks of Rocky River as a western tributary of the Yadkin and which traverses from west to east the modern county of Cabarrus. SNC pp. 261-262.

miles anterior to Davidson. Cornwallis,for his part, subsequently made Blair's Mill in Charlotte his headquarters.[1314]
On the same date of the engagment, Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, at "Capt. Phipher's" [also spelled Phifer's], wrote Gates: "This day at 11 o'clock the Enemy march'd into Charlotte in force. According to the best information, Col. Davie skirmished with them at that place, and for several hours since, retreating, as pr. Express. About two he was reinforced by about 300 cavalry and infantry, but no intelligence since they joined him. He is directed to continue skirmishing with them to cover our retreat. The Inhabitants are flying before us in consternation, and except we are soon reinforced the west side of the Yadkin must inevitably fall a prey to the enemy. Rowan is able to give us very little assistance, on account of Col. Ferguson's movements to the West-Ward."[1315]

Tarleton: "On the 22d, Earl Cornwallis directed the British legion and light infantry to cross the Catawba at Blair's ford, in order to form the advanced guard, for the immediate possession of Charlotte town. The junction of the light troops had been prevented for a few days, by a violent fever which had attacked Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and which yet disabled him from holding his situation when his regiment moved forwards. Several convalescent men of the army having relapsed, the 71st, under M'Arthur [McArthur], was left near Blair's mill, to afford protection to the sick, to cover the mills in the neighbourhood, and to hold communication with Camden, till the arrival of the additional supplies. Earl Cornwallis moved forwards as soon as the legion under Major Hanger joined him. A party of militia fired at the advanced dragoons and light infantry as they entered the town, and a more considerable body appeared drawn up near the court house. The conduct of the Americans created suspicion on the British: An ambuscade was apprehended by the light troops, who moved forwards for some time with great circumspection: A charge of cavalry, under Major Hanger, dissipated this ill-grounded jealousy, and totally dispersed the militia. The pursuit lasted some time, and about thirty of the enemy were killed and taken. The King's troops did not come out of this skirmish unhurt: Major Hanger and Captains Campbell and M'Donald were wounded, and twelve non-commissioned officers and men were killed and wounded."[1316]

Pension statement of Henry Connelly, of Guilford County, N.C.: "At the time of approach of Cornwallis to Charlotte, under Colonel Davie the troops posted themselves to meet the enemy. On the enemy's approach the companies commanded by this applicant received the first onset from Tarleton's Cavalry [the British Legion], and the firing became general on the left wing. The troops were commanded by Colonel Davie in person, and for three times we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. At length we had to yield to superior numbers. In this battle we had many men killed, several from under this applicant."[1317]

Joseph Graham: "…[I]t was discovered the Enemy were was within 35 or 40 miles of Charlotte. When the militia was ordered out en masse, this deponent joined them. From the experience he had previously gained in military duties, he was appointed Adjutant to the Mecklenburg Regiment. Because that county was a frontier & there was no other force to protect it, a part of said regiment & sometimes all of the regiment was kept in service most of the summer & this deponent with them. The Foot under Genl. Wm L. Davidson encamped South east of Charlotte & the Horse under Col. Davie detachments patrolled the country as far as Waxhaw (?) and others patrolled the adjoining Counties in the west who were disaffected. On the 25th of Sept, we heard that the whole British Army was on the March from Camden. General Davidson immediately decamped & marched up the Road towards Salisbury. Davidson ordered this Deponent to Charlotte to join Col. Davie & to take command of such of the inhabitants as should collect there. On the news of the approach of the Enemy, 50 odd collected. In the disposition Col. Davie made for resistance as the Enemy entered the village, this deponent commanded the Reserve and sustained the Retreat by molesting the advance of the Enemy for 4 miles. Their whole Cavalry & a Battalion of Infantry which followed at last charged us when Col. Davie was not in supporting distance and this Deponent Received nine wounds (the scars of which this Court Testify are visible at this time). He was left on the ground and afterwards taken to the Hospital & it was upwards of 2 months before his wounds were healed. After he recovered, the Enemy was said to be in Winnsborough, South Carolina. The tour of the militia which had been in service under Genl. Davidson & Col. Davie was up. Genl. Davidson some time in the month of December stated to this deponent that it was the opinion of General Greene the Enemy would again advance into North Carolina as soon as a reinforcement & some stores on their way from Charleston arrived & that a call must again be made for another draft. General Greene wanted a first Cavalry and, as Col. Davy [Davie] was now Greene's commissary, Greene did not expect Davie's unit to fulfill this need. Greene said to deponent that if deponent would raise a Company or more he should be entitled to such rank as the numbers would justify. As encouragement each man who would find his own horse & equipment & serve at that time for six weeks, it should stand in place of a tour of duty of three months, the time required by Law. This deponent therefore set out among the Youth of his acquaintance & in 2 or 3 weeks had raised upwards of 50 men. The principal difficulty in recruiting was in providing Arms. The recruits generally had rifles & carried machetes in a small boot tied to a strap fastened beside the right stirrup leather and then run through their shot bag belt so that the lock came directly under the right arm. Near half the swords were made by blacksmiths. Those who had a pistol had it slung by a strap the size of a bridle run hung down on the left side over the sword which was hung higher

[1314] CNC14 p. 780, CNC15 pp. 83, 89-90, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, p. 139, TCS pp. 158-159, GHA3 p. 462, SAW2 p. 216, HRS pp. 55-59, DRS pp. 24-26, LMS pp. 196-197, SNC pp. 106-116, MSC1 pp. 744-745, RNC p. 250.
[1315] CNC15 pp. 83.
[1316] TCS pp. 158-159.
[1317] W8188.

than the modern way of wearing them so not to entangle their legs when acting on foot. Their equipment was not splendid but it was the best that could be provided at that time and in the hands of such men, ultimately as serviceable as that which looked much finer. They had at all times all their arms with them whether on foot or horse back and could move individually or collectively as circumstances might require without depending on commissary Quartermasters."[1318]

Hanger: "I acknowledge that I was guilty of an error in judgment, in entering the town at all with the cavalry, before I had previously searched it well with infantry, after the precaution Earl Cornwallis had given me.
"But when I risked so few lives in drawing the fire from the enemy, I trust that, in some measure, palliate the fault. None but the advanced guard were with me till most of the enemy had given their fire.
"A part of the cavalry in reserve, whether from perceiving the enemy planted behind the houses, and imagining they were impervious to my view, (which they were, until I was considerably advanced into the town), or for other reasons best known to themselves, at this advantageous instant of time did not advance. My intent of charging through the town, after having drawn the enemy's fire, now became too late and too dangerous; and I was happy to draw the cavalry off as quick as I could, and with so trifling a loss.
"The Stricturist [Roderick MacKenzie] says, 'Lord Cornwallis being dissatisfied, ordered the light infantry to dislodge the enemy.'
"This I positively deny -- the truth stands thus:
"We had a part of the legion infantry mounted on inferior horses, to enable them to march with the cavalry, ready to dismount and support the dragoons. These infantry, of their own accord, very properly had dismounted, and formed before the cavalry were near out of the town. I ordered them to take possession of the houses to the right, which was executed before the light infantry, and the remainder of the legion infantry, came up, who were left behind with Earl Cornwallis to march at the head of his column.
"I appeal for the truth of this assertion to Captain Campbell, who, as their senior Captain, commanded them, came running up to me, when our dismounted infantry had advanced, and in a most friendly manner intreated me not to impute any blame to him, for not running up with the remainder of the light and legion infantry instantly on the first hearing of the firing; for Earl Cornwallis had ordered him to keep them with his Lordship. At this moment Earl Cornwallis appeared in sight, having been but a very short distance behind with the army, and ordered the whole to halt. The enemy had by this time all quitted the town for the woods and swamps close behind it. The whole light troops now advanced. You will please to recollect, Captain Campbell, whose name I have just mentioned, was not wounded in the town, but above half an hour afterwards, and full one mile further one.
"It was a trifling insignificant skirmish, which no person but the malevolent Stricturist [Roderick MacKenzie] (happy at all times to detract from public or private honour) would have attempted to have made of such magnitude, or even have ever mentioned.
"It would have been but liberal and just in you to have related the conduct of the cavalry that whole day; in the afternoon, as well as the morning. These troops, whom you say, neither my intreaties [sic], nor the exertions of their officers, could induce to face the American militia, were left unsupported in the evening, under my command, by Earl Cornwallis's express orders, when he took post at Charlotte Town, and left me to engage a corps of state horse and mounted crackers that had been very troublesome the whole day, perpetually skirmishing and harassing the front of our line of march. This service they performed with spirit, alacrity, and success. We had not moved on above one mile in search of the foe, when we fell in with them, attacked them instantly whilst they were attempting to form, dispersed them with some loss, and drove them for six miles, forcing them even through the very pickets of a numerous corps of militia, commanded by General Sumner; who, supposing a large part of the army to be near at hand, broke up his camp, and marched that evening sixteen miles. Lord Rawdon is well acquainted with the truth of my statement of this affair. Let the whole army judge, whether it was liberal, honourable, or just, thus to suppress one part of the conduct of the cavalry on that day, which certainly gained them some credit; and whether it does not manifest the extreme of rancour and malice, thus to dwell upon, and give an air of considerable consequence to a trifling skirmish in the morning, not worthy to be mentioned, or even thought of after it was over, by an officer acquainted with active service."[1319]

Stedman: "…the whole British army was actually kept at bay, for some minutes, by a few mounted Americans, not exceeding twenty in number."[1320]

27 September. Sumner and Davidson continued their retreat from Cornwallis moving north beyond the Yadkin. The day after the action at Charlotte, Davie for his part withdrew to Salisbury, where he was reinforced by Col. John Taylor's regiment from Granville which raised the strength of his corps to 300 mounted infantry and a few dragoons. He then returned to the outskirts of Charlotte. There his men acted in detachments in an effort to catch or confine within the town the enemy's foraging parties, while taking pains to avoid a general engagement. They were assisted in this by their close and thorough knowledge of the countryside, and the frequent support of the inhabitants. In the weeks following "no party of the enemy ventured out without being attacked, and often retired with considerable loss." As well, communications with Camden were frequently interdicted, and dispatch riders taken.[1321]

[1318] GPS, SNC pp. 106.
[1319] HRS pp. 55-59.
[1320] SAW2 p. 216.
[1321] DRS p. 26.

27 September. Ferguson left Gilbertown, and reached James Step's place in the Green River region, with the intention of catching Col. Elijah Clark's and his Georgians and South Carolinians who were retreating from Augusta.[1322]

28 September. The Frontier militia (of the then North Carolina and Virginia) under William Campbell, Charles McDowell, Sevier, and Shelby reached Cathey's or Cathoo's plantation at the mouth of Grassy Creek where they camped for the night.[1323]

28 September (also possibly 9 October -- though this last date may be a second action.) [skirmish] Polk's Mill (Mecklenburg County, N.C.) As part of his effort to keep his army well supplied, Cornwallis occupied several local mills and farms around Charlotte, including Polk's Mill (owned by Col. Thomas Polk.) On 28 September, Capt. (later Major) Joseph Dickson,[1324] a veteran of King's Mountain, and 120 mounted militia with rifles surprised the British there. Dickson captured a British sentinel and 8 loyalist militia men, while Lieut Stephen Guyon and about 20-30 soldiers of the 23rd Regt. barricaded themselves in a loop-holed stockade.[1325] There, out numbered four or six to one, they successfully fended off Dickson and his party. Dickson lost 1 killed and 1 wounded. Later in the evening, 50 whig militiamen came to Polk's plantation and made off with 50 horses.[1326]
Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, at "Rocky River, Sunday 2 o'clock," in a letter of 8 October wrote to Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner: "I have the pleasure to inclose to you a large packet of Dispatches taken yesterday at McCalpeon [McAlpine's] Creek, on the way to Cambden [sic], by a Small party of My Brigade. A Detachment of one Hundred & Twenty Horses under Rutledge & Dixson [Dickson] all most surrounded Charlotte yesterday, attacked a pickquet at Colo. Polk's Mill, and at a certain Mr. Elliott's Brought of a Sentry of 8 Tories, whom are now on there way to you. A Small Party of Riflemen brought of 50 Horses from the Tories at Colo. Polk's plantation last night. P.S. Dickson lost one man & Kild [sic] one, and one officer is wounded."[1327]

Joseph Graham: "A [British] guard of fifty men were stationed at Polk's Mill (now Wilson's), in two miles of Charlotte, which was kept grinding night and day for the army. On the 28th of September, Major Dickson set out from Colonel Davie with sixty men,made a circuit around Charlotte, and in the evening charged on this post. The garrison was vigilant, threw itself into a log house on the hill above the mill, and had loop-holes in the daubing and chinks to fire through. Major Dickson was repulsed, with the loss of oneman killed and several horses wounded. Before the nemy got into the house, two were wounded, but after that they were secure, and the assailants, much exposed, withdrew."[1328]

Tarleton: "The foraging parties were every day harassed by the inhabitants, who did not remain at home, to receive payment for the produce of their plantations, but generally fired from covert places, to annoy the British detachments. Ineffectual attempts were made upon convoys coming from Camden, and the intermediate post at Blair's mill; but individuals with expresses were frequently murdered. An attack was directed against the picket at Polk's mill, two miles from the town: The Americans were gallantly received by Lieutenant Guyon, of the 23d regiment; and the fire of his party from a loop-holed building adjoining the mill, repulsed the assailants. Notwithstanding the different checks and losses sustained by the militia of the district, they continued their hostilities with unwearied perseverance; and the British troops were so effectually blockaded in their present position, that very few, out of a great number of messengers, could reach Charlotte town in the beginning of October, to give intelligence of Ferguson's situation." [1329]

MacKenzie: "Many of the above remarks [of Tarleton's] are inadmissible. No disastrous event, inferior to that which befell Ferguson, could possibly have given effect to the exertions of the inhabitants inimical to the British government around Charlottetown; their whole [rebel] force, though directed against a detachment consisting of thirty men, under the command of Lieutenant Guyon of the 23d regiment, was repulsed with disgrace..."[1330]

Hanger: [after quoting the above from MacKenzie, and making some comments on the roads around Charlotte] "Though Lieutenant Guyon, of the 23d regiment, much to his credit, repulsed a very superior force, with only thirty men, this was a particular instance; for, in fact, the foraging parties were attacked by the enemy so frequently, that it became necessary never to send a small detachment on that service. Colonel Tarleton, just then recovered from a violent attack of the yellow fever, judged it necessary to go in person, and with his whole corps, or above two-thirds, when he had not detachments from the rest of the army. I will aver, that when

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[1322] MSC1 739-740.
[1323] DKM p. 179.
[1324] Some scholars speculate that it was or may have been Col. Henry Dixon (who had eluded capture at the battle of Camden) that led the Polk's Mill raid; rather than Capt. Joseph Dickson as is stated here; and this surmise based on Dickson's being present at King's Mountain (7 Oct.) and which *might* suggest his being outside the vicinity of Charlotte at the time the raid took place. However, James Jones, of the Mecklenburg militia, speaks in his pension application of participating in a raid on Polk's Mill under Captains "Hart" and "Dixon." That Jones refers to "Dixon" as a Captain would seem to indicate he is speaking of Joseph Dickson instead of (Col.) Henry Dixon. My thanks to researcher James H. Williams, "Fifer, Cobbler and Bookbinder," both for bringing this matter to my attention and providing the letter from Davidson to Sumner used in this entry.
[1325] It was not unusual for farms situated near or on the frontier to contain a stockade or other small fort to protect against possible Indian attacks. Some would remain standing years after any real threat had passed.
[1326] TCS p. 160-161, SAW2 p. 216, MST pp. 54-55, HRS pp. 68-69, GAM2 p. 258.
[1327] ATR81a p. 159, CNC14 p. 679.
[1328] GAM2 p. 258.
[1329] TCS pp. 160-161.
[1330] MST pp. 54-55.

collecting forage, I myself have seen situations near that town, where the woods were so intricate, and so thick with underwood, (which is not common in the southern parts of America) that it was totally impossible to see our videtts [sic], or our centries [sic] from the main boy. In one instance particularly, whether Lieutenant Oldfield, of the Quartermaster General's department, was wounded; the enemy, under cover of impervious thickets, impenetrable to any troops except those well acquainted with the private paths, approached so near to the whole line of the British infantry, as to give them their fire before ever they were perceived. Charlotte Town itself, one side most particularly, where the light and legion infantry camp lay, was enveloped with woods..." [1331]

28-29 September. [skirmish] Black Mingo Creek, also Shepherd's Ferry (Georgetown and Williamsburg County border, S.C.) Marion left Kingston and rode with his men to Port's Ferry. From there they moved to Witherspoon's Ferry on Lynches, and, after a 30 mile ride, were joined by Major John James, and 10 men, and some additional militia. States McCrady, Marion might have waited to be reinforced but "finding his men unanimous for battle, he gratified their wishes." That evening just before midnight, having gone another 12 miles, they stealthily approached Col. John Coming Ball's camp at Black Mingo. Ball with reportedly over 150 loyalist militia were camped around Shepherd's ferry on the south side of Black Mingo creek. A sentinel's gun only just alerted Ball of their approach yet who was ready with a volley that then wounded or killed a number of Marion's officers and men just in the midst of dismounting. However, flanking detachments under John James and Captain Waites took Ball's men by surprise, and routed them in an action that had lasted fifteen minutes. Although Marion's original force is also given by some sources as 150 also, the two opposing forces combined, i.e. those who actually fought and took part, probably did not number much over 100 men. Marion had two men killed, one them a Captain George Logan, and six wounded. Captain Henry Mouzon, who had been one of Marion's most important commanders up to that time, as well as Lieutenant John Scott were so badly hurt they were forced to retire from the ranks. Ball lost three dead and thirteen wounded or prisoners, and the rest of his force was effectively dispersed.
Marion captured a very useful supply of horses, gun, ammunition and other baggage, and five of the prisoners joined Marion's brigade. One of the horses taken was Ball's own, a very fine mount, which Marion appropriated to himself and named "Ball." Col. Ball himself ceased serving with the British not long afterward. Many of Marion's force dispersed after the engagement to see to business at home. Marion then with Col. Giles, Major Hugh Horry, Major King, Captain Waites, Captain Milton, and about twelve more, made their way later that morning (the 29th), by way of Britton's Ferry, to Amis' Mill, where they remained camped for about two weeks. O'Kelley states that Marion lost 2 killed and 8 wounded, Ball 3 killed, 1 wounded, 1 taken prisoner. Others give Marion's losses as high as 10-50; Ball's as 20-60.[1332]
On 4 October, Marion, at Amis' Mill on Drowning Creek, S.C., reported to Gates: "I set out from the White marsh a Sundary evening & took a tour to Kingston; from thence I turned & crossed Little Pede [Peedee] at Woodberry's & made a force march a Cross big P. D. to Black mingo, where was a guard of forty Seven men of the Militia of St. James, Santee & St. Stephen[']s, Commanded by Captn. Cummin Ball [John Coming Ball], which I immediately attackt about 12 OC: P. M., the 28th Sept. They had intelligence of our coming & Drew, up near a Swamp, & recd. our fire within thirty Yards, which they returned twice, & then took into their swamp. We killed three Dead on the Spot, & wounded & took thirteen prisoners. My Loss was Captn. Logan of the Continentals & one private killed, one Captn. & one Lt. & Six privates wounded. I have since heard that several of their men has been found Dead & wd. in the Swamp and adjoining woods. All their horses and Baggage fell in our hands. It was my Intention to broke up another Guard at Black river Church of fifty men, but so many of my followers was so Desirous to see their wifes & family, which have been burnt out, that I found it Necessary to retreat the next morning across Big P. D. at Britton's ferry to this Place, & have Delivered Col. [Thomas] Brown Nine of the prisoners taken at B. Mingo & three of the 63d Regt. taken at the Great Savanna some time ago, which I paroled to a house on Account of their being Sick & incapable of marching.
"The prisoners taken are men of family & fortune, which I hope may be a Check to the militia taking arms against us. I must beg that those men who have Cross before their names in the Ireland List may be shew'd as much favor as possible, as they had showed themselves, before this Last Action, to be Good Men. I would not Give them Paroles, as I thought it would be Acknowledging them to be British Subjects, and woud give my followers Great Discontent, for the British Imprison all those who are our frie'ds & have hanged one Cusey for Braking his Parole. I am Sorry to Acquaint you that Captn. Murphy's [Maurice Murfee's] Party have burnt a Great Number of houses on Little Peedee, & intend to go on in that Abominable work, which I am Apprehensive may be Laid to me; but, I assure you, there is not one house Burnt by my Orders, or by any of my People. It is what I detest to Distress poor Women & Children." [1333]

29 September. Sumner, at "Camp at the Yadkin Ford," wrote Gates, that he "had detached Davie and Col. Taylor [Thomas Taylor of N.C.] with 200 Horse to Phyfer's Mill & in the Vicinity, to remain & from thence to reconnoitre, & if possible to prevent the Enemy's plundering the inhabitants, & to gain what intelligence they could of their strenth & designs, & to communicate them immediately to me..."[1334]
About this same time, though the specific date is unknown, he also wrote to Brig. Gen. Butler: "I am sorry you are so badly fixed as to retard your moving on. Cols. Davie and Taylor, with about 300 horse, are in the vicinity

[1331] HRS pp. 68-69.
[1332] CNC14 pp. 665-666, MMS2 pp. 224-230, JFM p. 24, MSC1 pp. 749-750, MSC2 p. 746, BSF p. 66-67, RBG pp. 104-105, ONB2 pp. 316-318. For more on the locations and movements surrounding this engagement, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/blackmingo.htm
[1333] CNC14 pp. 665-666.
[1334] CNC15 pp. 89-90.

of Captain Fifer's [Phyfer's] . A large number of the inhabitants from Mecklenburg and Rowan Counties have joined them. Captain Hart last evening brought into camp fifteen prisoners, one of them Col. Roberts or Robenson, from the hollows of the mountain, (a very villain,) with several of the more active of the tory gang, and five of the British dragoons. I fear that Major Ferguson will move down the Yadkin to cover Cornwallis' crossing."[1335]

Pension statement from 1833 of John Booth, from Marion Disrict, S.C.: "…That Some time then elapsed [after the fall of Charlestown] without any organization when Genl Francis Marion with a few men formed a Rendezvous at Port[']s Ferry on Pee Dee river in Marion District (then George Town District) at that place he joined Genl Marion who had about an hundred men under his command, There were also several officers with him- they marched to Elizabeth City No Ca at which place they remained about one month when they returned to the White Marsh where they remained perhaps two or three weeks and from thence they were marched to Raft Swamp and while there Genl Marion dispatched Shadrach & John (?) and one McDaniel (a red headed Scotchman who was afterward killed at Wateree) to South Carolina -- they soon returned and the detachment marched to, and did attack a body of Tories under the command of one [John Coming] Ball -- while on the march they crossed the Pee Dee river at Brittons ferry -- they stopped at the Ferry until late in the Evening when they marched and reached Black-Mingo Creek some time in the night -- that when they reached the bridge they spread their blankets on the bridge and led their horses across on the blankets -- the Tories were below -- they had an engagement in which the Tories were defeated and the deponant was there Shot in the Belly -- his cartouch having changed the direction of the Bullet or he would have been Killed. Marion with some upwards of 100 men immediately retreated to the white marsh in No Car and stayed to recruit for about a fortnight to recruit when the detachment returned to So Ca -- Captn Joseph Graves commanded deponant during all this time. There was a party of Tories in the fork of Black river -- Marion[']s detachment about this time was greatly increased they marched and attacked and defeated the Tories under the command of Col. Tines [Tynes] -- Captn Melton commanded deponant[']s company -- Thornly was major -- Baxter was Colonel of one Regimt -- Major J. James commanded another Battn [Battalion] and thinks Giles Commd. the Regiment -- it might have been Col. Peter Horry or Col. Murphy and the Brigade commanded by Marion…"[1336]

29 September. The Frontier and Virginia militia under William Campbell, Charles McDowell, Sevier, and Shelby passed through Gillespie's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, then camped for the night in two separate divisions: Campbell's going to Gillespie's and Wofford's "Fort" (an old defense structure against Indian attacks) at Turkey Cove; the rest went to North Cove, on the North Fork of the Catawba.[1337]

30 September. After regrouping, Campbell, C. McDowell, Sevier, and Shelby marched to Quaker Meadows in Burke County, N.C., where they camped. Here the same day, they were reinforced by 350 North Carolina militia from Surry and Wilkes counties under Col. Benjamin Cleavland and Maj. Joseph Winston. Prior to receiving word to join the expedition, Cleavland and Winston's men had been suppressing loyalist movements in their respective districts.[1338]

30 September. Ferguson, bivouacked at Step's place in the Green River Region, called in some of the loyalists he had furloughed, after being informed by two deserters from Sevier's regiment of the over-mountain men coming to attack him. The same day he wrote Cornwallis asking for reinforcements. Notwithstanding, because his messengers were delayed by whigs who intercepted them, the dispatch did not reach Cornwallis till 7 October, the day of King's Mountain.[1339]

Late September. Brig. Gen. William Smallwood, to the chagrin of Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner who otherwise stood in command of the post himself,[1340] was appointed by the state of North Carolina to formally replace Richard Caswell as head of the North Carolina militia. Col. Otho Williams then succeeded Smallwood as the commander of the Maryland Brigade; with Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard acting as Williams' second. About or before this time the Maryland brigade, as per instrcutiosn from Gen. Washington, was consolidated into two regiments, or more accurately battalions, since these were not formal regiments, though ever afterwards they were referred to as regiments. They were made up as follows:
1st Maryland Regt.: (Comprised of men from the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, MD Regiments), Maj. Archibald Anderson
2nd Maryland Regt. (Comprised of men from the 2nd, 4th, 6th, MD. Regts., plus the Delaware Regt.), Maj. Henry Hardman[1341]

Late September. Col. Maurice Murfee with a forced of mounted men from Sandy Bluff on the Little Peedee, and on his own initiative, raided loyalists settlements in the Little Peedee area, in retaliation for the same being done to whigs by Wemyss and others earlier in the month.[1342]

[1335] CNC14 p. 780.
[1336] W 25258, transcribed by Sam West.
[1337] DKM pp. 179-180.
[1338] DKM p. 184.
[1339] DKM p. 199-201.
[1340] CNC14 pp. 787-78.
[1341] WNA, GHA3 pp. 459-460, MLW4A pp. 333-334, WAR2 p. 733, RNC p. 255.
[1342] BSF p.68-70.

Late September. On 31 August, Lieut. Col. Anthony White had written Gates stating that the light dragoons (1st and 3rd) would rejoin the army as soon as their inferior swords could be replaced. In the course of September, men of White and Washington's cavalry began arriving in Gates' camp at Hillsborough (finally all doing so by 2 October), but in small detachments as they became equipped and remounted in Virginia. By month's end, Washington took over field command of both regiments, since White was sick with fever. One observer described Washington's command as 90 men mounted on unshod horses and using rawhide bridles, and that the rest of the dragoons were ill in Halifax, N.C. In early October, Washington was finally given official command of the combined cavalry regiments, after which White left for Virginia, and subsequently Philadelphia."[1343]

Late September. In June 1780 Congress had ordered Daniel Morgan back into service, yet because of lack of promotion, he had deliberately ignored them. However, Gates petitioned for his obtaining a Brigadier's commission; which Morgan then received after the battle at Camden. Leaving his home "Saratoga" near Boyce, Clarke County, VA., he subsequently left to join Gates at Hillsborough, appearing there in late Sept.[1344]

[1343] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, p. 140, GHA3 p. 461, HWW p. 66.
[1344] WDC p. 357, GDM p. 235, HDM p. 107.

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October. Lieut. Col. George Turnbull in command at Camden had "commenced and almost completed some redoubts" there. Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger meanwhile, with some 400 Provincials and some loyalist as a garrison, continued erecting fortifications at Ninety Six.[1345]
Tarleton: "During the move into North Carolina, the officers who commanded upon the frontier, and within the province of South Carolina, had been attentive to the security of their respective commands. Lieutenant-colonel Turnbull, with the assistance of the inhabitants, and by the labour of the provincials and the negroes, had commenced, and almost completed, some redoubts at Camden, which would greatly remedy the badness of the position. Works were likewise constructed at Thompson's house,[1346] and at Nelson's ferry, to secure the communications with Charles town. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger had made use of the same precautions at Ninety-Six; the defences at that place were in great forwardness, and the post was in a tenable state. The troops at George town, since a late attempt of the Americans, had been employed in the same manner, and they were assisted by an armed naval force. Great alterations were made in the fortifications of Charles town; the old works were nearly thrown down, and Major Moncrieffe [James Montcrief] demonstrated his knowledge and judgement in the projected improvements."[1347]

October: Sometime in October, the North Carolina Board of War removed Richard Caswell as commanding general of the North Carolina militia, giving the position to Brig. Gen. William Smallwood (and who was delayed for a time in Hillsborough with Gates before assuming leadership.) Simultaneously, a small number of North Carolina Continentals were placed by Gates under his command also. Caswell as a result of the dismissal resigned his commission, although he later returned to command in early 1781. For their part, Sumner and other N.C. officers resigned their commands at what they felt was poor treatment of them by the Board of War, and directed their energies to re-establsihing the state's Continental Line.
Although he did take charge of them for a while, Smallwood by late December went north instead, and the command was then passed on to Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson.[1348]

October. A list made by in November 1780[1349] by Royal Lieut. Gov. John Graham of Georgia, reported some "723" males from Wilkes County area, divided into the following groups:
255 loyal men were formed into a militia regiment
140 (as rebels) departed the province to go north with Elijah Clark
This left about 169 in the area, from whom 21 hostages were carried to Savannah, 42 sent to Charlestown, 57 of unknown character, 49 notorious rebels.[1350]

Early October. Before and during King's Mountain, Capt. David Fanning, with fourteen men under his command, was going the rounds and sending notice to soldiers on leave to join their regiments, in the course of which he met Ferguson five days before the battle at King's Mountain (7 October). "The Rebels after that [King's Mountain], began to be numerous and troublesome; and little or no regulation amongst us, I made the best of my way to Deep River, North Carolina, where I remained until the month of February, 1781."[1351]

Early October. Cornwallis transferred Wemyss and the 63rd Regt., and the Royal North Carolina Regiment from Cheraw to Camden. Harrison's Corps (the S.C. Rangers) was then left at Cheraw, which Cornwallis reinforced with 80 mounted men (probably militia) in order to keep in check the whig resistance in the Peedee area. Also, after Col. William Henry Mills had resigned his commission as head of the Cheraw militia, Cornwallis appointed Col. Robert Gray in his stead.[1352]

Early October. While in Charlotte, though a handful did come out to show support, Cornwallis' troops regularly encountered resistance from locals and inhabitants from outlying areas.[1353]
Tarleton: "Charlotte possessed a number of good mills, but was a hot bed of rebel activity, plantations in neighborhood were small and uncultivated, roads narrow, and area covered thickly with woods. Dispatch riders were often way laid to and from Camden Mecklenburg and Rowan were the most hostile counties in America…
"In the beginning of October it was intended to send a corps from Charlotte town, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Webster, to attack a party of Americans, commanded by General Sumner, at Alexander's mill, on a branch of Rocky river; but the design was laid aside, on account of the news from the Westward [i.e. Ferguson's stand against the mountaineers]."[1354]

[1345] TCS pp. 169-170.
[1346] Thompson's house, at Belleville, lay about a mile west from where Ft. Motte would be built. Ft. Watson was not begun till late December 1781, and Fort Motte not until March 1781. Until the these dates, the smaller works at Thompson's and Nelson's Ferry served the purpose Motte and Watson did later.
[1347] TCS pp. 169-170.
[1348] WNA, RNC pp. 255-257.
[1349] Although completed in November the list would have reflected October numbers or earlier.
[1350] CGA pp. 134-135.
[1351] FNA p. 13.
[1352] BSF p. 71.
[1353] TCS p. 160, HRS pp. 70-71.
[1354] TCS p. 160, 165.

Stedman: "The vicinity of Charlotte abounded with mills; and the army, during its stay, was sufficiently supplied with provisions, notwithstanding the hostile disposition of the inhabitants."[1355]

Hanger: "As to the disposition of the inhabitants, they totally deserted the town on our approach; not above three or four men remained in the whole town."[1356]

Early October. [skirmish] Brandon outside Charlotte (Mecklenburg County?, N.C.)
Davidson, at an unspecified location and date (but by context apparently written in mid Oct. at latest), to Sumner: "I am extremely glad to hear of your, being so near at hand. It raises the spirits of the people here, who were greatly disgusted by the misfortune of Gen. Gates and the near approach of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis commands, and Lord Rawdon is there. Their force is perhaps almost 1,000, nearly all British. They are thrashing and flowering wheat and driving in cattle, sheep, hogs, etc. They have no artillery. Col. Brannon [Thomas Brandon] and his South Carolina refugees has routed a party of tories in Rutherford County, killed and wounded 2 and taken 24. The people here long for some support."[1357]

1 October. Ferguson left Step's place and, after stopping to collect forage and destroy enemy crops at Baylis Earle's on North Pacelot, marched to Denard's Ford on the Broad River in Tryon [now Lincoln] County.[1358] There he camped. Having by this time heard of the over-mountain men's approach, he sent out an appeal for local loyalists to immediately come join him.[1359]

1 October. Sumner, at "Camp McGoon's Creek," to Gates: "By Capt. Lock I received a Letter informing me of Colonel Dickerson, who was on the Enemy's Lines yesterday and discovered 800 of them upon their march, three miles in advance from Charlotte, with two Field pieces of Cannon, on the Road leading to Bety's [Beatty's] ford on Catawba River, about 9 o'clock in the morning. This Detachment is probably intended to support major Ferguson, who, we are informed, is in the neighborhood of burke Court House, and to act against Cols. Lock, Cleveland, McDowell and Armstrong."[1360]

1 October. Frontier militia marched from Quaker Meadows and by the end of the day halted in a gap of South Mountain, not far from the site of the action at Cane Creek, and sixteen or eighteen miles from Gilbertown. It rained so heavily that afternoon, the mountaineers remained in camp all of the 2nd.[1361]

2 October. Col. William Campbell was voted by the commanders of the *offensive* against Ferguson to lead their combined forces, pending the arrival of a Continental officer appointed by General Gates. Col. Charles McDowell, on his own initiative, was sent to Gates to bring the request for a general officer. Major Joseph McDowell then assumed command for his older brother's men.
Hereafter in entries relating to King's Mountain, "Campbell," for convenience sake, will refer to the small army of over-mountain men and backcountry militia, though his supreme leadership was more a formality than a reality. It was normally the custom of the backcountry militia, as at Musgrove's Mill, to follow only their immediate superiors who, in turn, tended to act democratically toward officers of their own rank: the attitude of Sumter's and Marion's officers, and effectively electing them an out and out general, being unusual exceptions.[1362]

2 October. Col. James Williams united his forces with those of Colonels William Hill and Edward Lacey at the Forks of the main and south branches of the Catawba; a few miles from Tuckasegee Ford. Williams had been authorized by Governor Abner Nash to raise men in North Carolina, and by this means was able to get 70 men from Rowan County to serve with him. Hill and Lacey had with them 270 who had retreated from South Carolina into North Carolina with the original intention of linking up with Davidson's North Carolina militia. Additional South Carolina militia joined the combined parties that day, including Captain Benjamin Roebuck's company, about 20 or 30, which joined Williams' group, and, in addition, Col. William Graham's and Col. Frederick Hambright's group which consisted of 60 men from Lincoln (Tryon) County. Although Williams had been commissioned a Brigadier General by Governor Rutledge, the South Carolina men under Hill and Lacey would not serve under him, presumably because of instructions from Sumter;[1363] consequently, Williams is usually later referred to as a Colonel, rather than a Brigadier General. The collected force was then, for command purposes,

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[1355] SAW2 p. 216. At Polk's Mill alone, Cornwallis seized 28,000 pounds of flour; and while in Charlotte fed his army of on the average 100 cattle a day. For additional specifics of the supplies to be found in Charlotte at that time, see SAW2 pp. 216n-217n.
[1356] HRS pp. 70.
[1357] CNC14 p. 722.
[1358] Tryon county was named Lincoln County by the state of North Carolina in 1779, in honor of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. Regarding the specific location Denard's Ford, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/alexandersford.htm
[1359] DKM p. 203.
[1360] CNC15 pp. 90-91. This letter from Sumner is of more than particular interest because it shows the Americans anticipated Ferguson might be reinforced by British regular troops as early as almost *a week* before King's Mountain. Since no such reinforcements actually were readied till too late, the conclusion then to be drawn is that Cornwallis evidently did not feel that Ferguson's situation was so terribly urgent -- in retrospect a very gross miscalculation. Also interesting is that Sumner at the time seems to have been largely (if not completely) unaware of Shelby and Campbell's being present to taken action *against* Ferguson; while assuming Cleavland and the rest were merely acting in a defensive capacity.
[1361] DKM p. 186.
[1362] DKM pp. 187-189.
[1363] DKM pp. 167-168, BCG p. 88.

divided three ways; Hill and Lacey's contingent, Graham and Hambright's, and that under Williams. Between the three of them they had about 420 to 430 men.[1364]
On this same date, Williams, in Burke County, wrote to Gates: "I am at present about seventy miles from Salisbury, in the fork of the Catawba, with about four hundred and fifty horsemen, in pursuit of Colonel Ferguson. On my crossing the Catawba river, I dispatched to different quarters for intelligence, and this evening I was favoured with this news, which you may depend on: That Colonel Clark, of the state of Georgia, with one hundred riflemen, forced his way through South Carolina to Georgia. On his route thither, being joined by seven hundred men, he proceeded to the town of Augusta [see 12-18 Sept., First Siege at Augusta], and has taken it with a large quantity of goods; but not finding it prudent to continue there, he has retreated to the upper parts of South Carolina, in Ninety-Six district, and made a stand with eight hundred brave men. This moment another of my expresses is arrived from Colonels M'Dowell [Charles McDowell] and Shelby: They were on their march, near Burke Court House, with one thousand five hundred brave mountain men, and Colonel Cleveland was within ten miles of them with eight hundred men, and was to form a junction with them this day.
"I expect to join them to-morrow, in pursuit of Colonel Ferguson, and, under the direction of Heaven, I hope to be able to render your honour a good account of him in a few days." [1365]

2 October. Ferguson retreated from Denard's Ford four miles towards Cowpens. Earlier he had furloughed some of his militia, but now called them back in view of the threat from Campbell, Shelby and the over-mountain men, and which must have come as something of a surprise to him -- the area having been largely subdued of rebels otherwise. He hoped the local loyalists would hurry back in time to assist him, and also expected reinforcements from Cruger and Cornwallis -- yet, as things turned out, none could or did arrive in time to succor him in the time of impending battle.[1366]

2 October. Sumner wrote Gates: "If the Board of War finds that the time of Col. Jarvis[']s and Col. Exum's regiments has expired, Col. [Benjamin] Seawell's regiment will only remain of my command. This would leave me without command as soon as Gen. Smallwood joins the camp. If you have any command for one in the line I am of, I shall cheerfully receive your orders."[1367]
In another letter, date unclear but apparently about this same earlier portion of the month, Sumner reported to Hon. John Penn, N.C. legislator: "The tories are joining the British at Charlotte in large numbers. The enemy are building bush huts in Charlotte. I recommend that the forces intended for this quarter join without delay to oppose these invaders ere they penetrate the interior part of the State. I doubt not of opportunity, if the force now in sixty miles was collected, but something might result in our favour. There is great probability of the troops suffering from want of provisions. I have ordered a captain and forty men to take post at Monger's Ferry to cover any disaster that may happen to the force under Col. Davie. These men will fight. I could wish to lead them on. I wrote to you of Jarvis & Exum's regiments, of the old draft. They are very turbulent and complain of their time being out. They are not to be depended on; they will not fight, I verily believe. I have ordered a party of infantry up the river as high as Howell's ferry to collect intelligence of the tories in that quarter."[1368]

On the 5th, Penn replied: "The militia must serve three months from the time they were at Headquarters, not reckoning the time they were absent since the defeat. Those men that are refractory ought to be informed that they must be obedient to the laws of their country. The Board has written to Col. [Thomas] Polk to furnish you with provisions. Gen. Smallwood and Col. Morgan will get off to-morrow with a number of regular troops to join you; the badness of the weather has retarded them for two days."[1369]

2 October. Colonels Anthony Walton White and William Washingon had finally all arrived at Gates' army Hillsborough with the remnants of their cavalry. See Late September.[1370]

3 October (also given as 4 October). [ambush] McIntyre's Farm, also "The Battle of the Bees," Bradley's Farm (Mecklenburg County, N.C.) A considerable foraging party (one source gives it as 450 infantry, 60 cavalry, and 40 wagons) under Major John Doyle was sent out from Charlotte in the direction of Hopewell, N.C. in search of provisions. A detachment of this force, about 100 and 10 wagons, was sent to the McIntyre (or else Bradley) farm on Long Creek, where they gathered corn, oats, livestock, and, as happened to be there, honey from some beehives kept on the farm. A small group of local militia (ranging in size from 6 to 14 men) under the command of Capt. Francis Bradley, kept watch on the British proceedings from some adjacent woods. Bradley himself either owned the farm or had family ties to those who did. At one point, one of the beehives was accidentally (or possibly deliberately) knocked over by someone, which incited an uproar, either in the way of making the soldiers laugh and or causing them to fly in fear from the bees. At this point, Bradley and his men opened fire on the disorganized enemy; killing 8 and wounding 12, before the British were able to regroup. The rebels then retreated with the British following in hot, extended pursuit but the latter were unable finally to catch up with

[1364] DKM pp. 192-194.
[1365] The large number spoken of ("four hundred and fifty horsemen") may suggest that Williams saw himself as in command of Sumter's men, and including Lacey and Hawthorne, who were present. Note also Williams speaks of joining the others "in pursuit of Ferguson;" contrary to suggestions by others that he rather had designs against Ninety Six and or the area outlying it to the north. CNC15 p. 94, TCS p. 196, GJW pp. 41, 46-47.
[1366] DKM p. 206.
[1367] CNC14 p. 781.
[1368] CNC14 p. 780.
[1369] CNC14 p. 782.
[1370] GHA3 p. 461.

them. However, over a month later, on 14 November, Bradley was himself ambushed in his own home and killed by four Tories.[1371]

3 October. Ferguson arrived Tate's Plantation where he camped for two days.[1372]
Allaire: "Tuesday, 3d. Got in motion at four o'clock in the morning; marched six miles to Camp's Ford of Second Broad river, forded it and continued on six miles to one Armstrong's plantation, on the banks of Sandy Run. Halted to refresh; at four o'clock got in motion; forded Sandy Run; marched seven miles to Buffalo creek; forded it; marched a mile farther and halted near one Tate's plantation. John West came in camp, who is a hundred and one years of age; is amazingly strong in every sense."

3 October. Hill, Lacey, Graham, and William's men marched by way of Ramseur's Mill to Flint Hill (or else simply the Flint Hills) in eastern Rutherford County, N.C, where they bivouacked. They had no specific intention at the time, even so, of joining Campbell, Cleavland, Shelby and Sevier, and apparently anticipated acting in a defensive role against Ferguson.[1373]

3 (and 8) October. [raids] Richmond, also Old Surry Court House (Forsyth County, N.C.) About this same period as Campbell, Shelby and Cleavland's forces were occupied with Ferguson, i.e. in the last week of September and first week of October, the brothers Colonel Gideon Wright and Col. (possibly Capt.) Hezekiah Wright raised a force of mounted loyalists in Surry County, N.C., numbering 310, and which, within a few days, grew to as many as 900. On October 3rd and 8th, they attacked whig inhabitants in and around Richmond, N.C.,[1374] including killing the county sheriff. As no mention is made of military resistance, presumably these raids were marauding excursions. With respect to that of the 8th, however, a company of whig militia, under Capt. Henry Smith, is reported as having been present and taken some losses.

4 October. Sumter and his colonels (minus Hill and Lacey) arrived at Hillsborough on 4 October where he conferred with Gov. John Rutledge for the purpose of obtaining a Brigadier's commission, secure material support and discuss strategy. This then was why Sumter was not at King's Mountain; though troops of his under Lacey and Hill were. Apparently, he was nettled by the fact that Col. James Williams had been given a Brigadier's commission ahead of him; though whether the matter of Williams' commission was ever discussed between him and Rutlegde is unknown.[1375]

4 October. From Amis' Mill on Drowning Creek, S.C., Marion penned Gates on this date: "The British marched from George town for Camden the 22nd Sept., it is Sd. [said] 220 men, part of them marines. Majr. Whymes [Wemyss] is at the Cheraw with about 90 men of the 63d Regt., Burning & plundering Negroes & every thing in their way. The Toreys are so Affrighted with my Little Excursions that many is moving off to Georgia with their Effects others are rund into Swamps. If I could raise one hundred men, I Shou'd Certainly pay a Visit to George town. My whole party has not been nor is more than Sixty men of all ranks. I Expect Genl. Harrington will be by this near the Cheraws, which I mean to Join him with Col. Brown [Thomas Brown of Bladen County, N.C.], (abt. [about] 100,) who is within Eight miles of me, & remove Majr. Whymes from his Post. I have had great fatigues, but I surmount every Difficulty & am happy with the assistance of Majr. Henry & Captn. Milton who are Excellent Officers. Majr. Vanderhorst I have recd. also great assistance from the Little time he has been with me. I have sent him with a flag to Santee to get Cloaths & Necessarys for the prisoners, by whom I hope to gain Some Intelligence."
Following the departure of the 220, mentioned above by Marion, from Georgetown, the town was garrisoned with 60 invalids, and later reinforced with some 20 regulars. It also, however, had several swivels and coehorn guns[1376] to defend itself, while containing considerable supplies of value, such as ammunition, clothing and salt.[1377]

4 October. Resuming the march from their camp at the gap of South Mountain, Campbell's force reached the mouth of Cane Creek, close to Gilbertown. Here they were subsequently joined by 30 of Col. Elijah Clark's men, under Maj. William Candler and Captain Johnston, plus 20 men from the South Fork of the Catawba under Major William Chronicle. Clark himself was not with them because he was helping to transport refugee families from Georgia over the mountains to the safe haven of the Nolachucky settlement.[1378]
On this same day, Cleavland, at "Rutherfordton County, Camp near Gilbert Town," on behalf of himself and the other whig leaders then assembled wrote Gates: "We have now collected at this place about 1,500 good men, drawn from the Counties of Surry, Wilkes, Burke, Washington and Sullivan Counties in this State, and Washington County of Virginia, and expect to be joined in a few days by Colo. [Elijah] Clark of Georgia and Colo. [James] Williams of South Carolina [note, no mention of Hill, Lacey or other S.C. leader -- only Williams], with about 1,000 more. As we have at this time called out our militia without any orders from the Executive of our different States, and with the view of Expelling the Enemy out of this part of the Country, we think such a body of men

[1371] JTR pp. 578-579, LFB2 p. 420.
[1372] DKM p. 207.
[1373] DKM p. 194.
[1374] Richmond, at that time the county seat of Surry, was located near modern day Donnoha in Forsyth County.
[1375] DKM pp. 167-168, MLL p. 10, BCG p. 88.
[1376] A coehorn is a small bronze mortar mounted on a wooden block with handles, and light enough to be carried short distances by two men.
[1377] CNC14 pp. 665-666, BSF pp. 70, 91-92.
[1378] DKM pp. 196-197, 214.

worthy of your attention, and would request you to send a General Officer, immediately to take the command of such Troops as may embody in this quarter. All our Troops being Militia, and but little acquainted with discipline, we could wish him to be a Gentleman of address, and able to keep up a proper discipline, without disgusting the Soldiery. Every assistance in our power shall be given the Officer you may think proper to take command of us.
"It is the wish of such of us as are acquainted with General Davidson and Colo. Morgan (if in Service) that one of these Gentlemen may be appointed to this command.
"We are in great want of Ammunition, and hope you will endeavor to have us properly furnished with Article.
"Colo. [Charles] McDowell will wait upon you with this, who can inform you of the present situation of the Enemy, and such other particulars respecting our Troops as you may think necessary." "We are, Sir,
Your most obdt. and very hble. Servts.,
Benja. Cleveland.
Isaac Shelby.
John Sevier.
Andw. Hampton.
Wm. Campbell.
Jo. Winston" [1379]

4 (or 5) October. [skirmish] Hollingsworth Mill (Union County, S.C.)
Saye (with Major Joseph McJunkin): "A day or two before the Battle of King's Mountain a party of Whigs consisting of some eight or ten men were lurking about the thickets along Brown's Creek near Broad River to gain intelligence of both friends and enemies. Joseph Hughes, John Savage, William Sharp, William Giles and Charles Crade are said to have been in the party. Late in the afternoon they took a pet Tory. From him they ascertained that a party of Tories, some 250 in number, intended to encamp that night at a school house near Hollingsworth Mill on Brown's Creek. The house was on a high hill which was covered with thick woods. Hughes and party determined to try to give them an alarm. They accordingly arranged their plan of attack.
"Some time after dark they approached the enemy's camp, spread themselves in open order around the hill at some distance from each other with the understanding that they should approach until hailed by the sentinels, lie down until they fired, then make a rush toward the camp, commence firing one at a time, raise a shout and rush into the camp.
"Accordingly they moved forward with great caution. The fires in the camp threw a glaring light toward the canopy of heaven and lit up the forest far and near. All was joy and gladness in the camp. The jovial song and merry laugh told the listening ears of the approaching Whigs that good cheer abounded among the friends of King George around the fires.
"But hark! The sentinel hails and then fires and then a rush. Bang, bang, go the guns, and then such screams and yells throughout the woods. Mercy, mercy, cry the Tories, and away they go. The poor scattered Whigs come one after another among the fires and pass around, but not a Tory can be found. They hear a rushing, rumbling sound among the woods, but growing fainter and more faint at each successive moment.
"They look cautiously around, see wagons standing hither and thither, horses hitched to them and at the surrounding trees, guns stacked, cooking utensils about the fires, clothing and hats and caps scattered in merry confusion, but not a man could they find.
"They kept guard until the gray twilight streaked the eastern sky, momentarily expecting the returning party, but nobody came. The sun rises and mounts high above the hills and still no report from the fugitives. What is to be done with the beasts, arms, baggage and baggage wagons? They cut a road from the camp around the hill some distance to a secluded spot. Thither the wagons, &c. are transported and watched for several days.
"Finally the one on guard sees a party of fifteen horse men rapidly approaching. He notifies the others and they consult for a moment. Their conclusion is that it is the advance guard of an army coming to retake the spoils, but they are resolved to test the matter.
"They advance and hail their visitors while permitting their horses to drink at the creek. But the horsemen responded only by a confused flight. They fired upon the flying corps and a single horse stops, unable to proceed. His rider surrenders in dismay. From him they learned that his party was just from King's Mountain and escaping as best they could from their assailants. Having gotten off from that scene of carnage, they were pushing on with no other object than personal safety.
"Then they went out and collected as many friends as could be gathered and conveyed away their spoils where they and their friends could enjoy the benefit." [1380]

5 October. From the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xviii, p. 906. "Resolved, That the Commander-in-Chief be and is hereby directed to appoint an officer to command the southern army, in the room of Major General Gates."[1381]

5 October. Campbell's army, after passing the Broad River, reached the ford of the Green River. Because of the slowness of their movement, due in part to the cattle they had brought along, around 690 of the best men and horses were selected to continue hunting down Ferguson. The slower part of his force that remained was left in charge of Major Joseph Herndon, from Cleavland's regiment, and Captain William Neal, one of Campbell's own officers. Sources somewhat differ as to the accumulated strength of Campbell's force prior to King's Mountain,

[1379] CNC14 pp. 663-664.
[1380] SJM.
[1381] WDC p. 364.

and before the 900-940 man selected detachment[1382] was actually sent out to attack Ferguson. Draper believes the number to have been 1,800, apparently including the men under Hill, Lacey, Williams, and Candler (the latter acting on behalf of Elijah Clark and the Georgians.) James Iredell, a later Associate Justice of the United States Supreme, in a letter of 8 October 1780, wrote: "A body of 1,500 men under officers of the name of Selby [Shelby] and McDowell, another 800 under Cleveland, and a third under Col. [James] Williams, were very near each other, and expected to join the day after the accounts came away, in pursuit of him [Ferguson]." Still yet other sources list the total as high as 3,000.[1383]

5-7 October. At this same time in which the mountaineers were in pursuit of Ferguson, some 400 to 600 tories were gathering four miles west[1384] of Cowpens at Zecharias Gibbs' residence on the Pacelot.[1385]

6 October. Cornwallis, at Charlotte, to Ferguson: "Tarleton shall pass at some of the upper Fords, and clear the Country; for the present both he and his Corps want a few days rest."[1386]

6 October. Campbell, after receiving word from Lacey (who on the 5th had gone alone with some aides to visit Campbell's camp), of the presence South Carolina and North Carolina force under himself, Hill, Williams, et al., went to form a junction with them at Cowpens, which they all reach the same day: the South Carolinians arriving just a little ahead of Campbell's force. Together the two groups numbered about 1100, most armed with rifles. Of these a reported force of 910 men was selected for the main assault. Although a number of large bands of tories were near by and whom they might have attacked instead (and plundered), the whigs -- very crucially -- knew the value of time and pressed on instead for Ferguson.[1387]

6 October. Sumter, in Hillsborough, was formally made Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia by Governor John Rutledge.[1388]

6 October: Marching from Tate's Plantation, Ferguson occupied King's Mountain on the evening of the 6th. This same day some loyalists, reportedly around 600 men, were collecting in several groups at [Zecharias] Gibbs' about four miles east of Cowpens, for the purpose of joining Ferguson, but apparently dispersed after King's Mountain. Awaiting the arrival of these loyalists was one of the reasons Ferguson remained on King's Mountain. On the 7th, he made preparations for a defense there, while sending a last urgent appeal to Cornwallis for assistance. By this time an unknown number of his furloughed men and some additional loyalist did manage to join him. He might easily have escaped to Charlotte in time, but instead lingered two days at Tate's and one day at King's Mountain hoping for the arrival of other of these militia, and perhaps also because he didn't want to seem be in such haste to run away.[1389]
Allaire: "Friday, 6th. Got in motion at four o'clock in the morning, and marched sixteen miles to Little King's Mountain, where we took up our ground."

Isaac Shelby: "These regulations being adopted the army marched into Gilbert Town. Ferguson had left it two or three days. The Americans pursued upon his trail which appeared for some distance as if he intended to take shelter under the walls of Ninety-Six -- in order to move with greater velocity in their pursuit the American officers spent the whole of Thursday night in selecting their best men, best horses and guns, & by daylight on Friday morning were ready to pursue with nine hundred and ten picked men well armed and mounted on good horses -- the residue about seven hundred of weak horses and foot men, were directed to follow as fast as possible -- the Americans pursued hard on the Enemy's trail all day on Friday without lighting until they arrived at the Cowpens just at dusk, here they killed some cattle, stayed an hour and roasted some beef then resumed their pursuit. The night was very dark but it was discovered that Ferguson had changed his rout and that instead of Ninety-Six, his object appeared to be to set in the rear of Lord Cornwallis, who lay at Charlotte, in North Caro1ina with the British Grand Army -- & that his making this circuit was merely to gain time to collect his Tories who had been suffered to go to their homes before it was known that the Americans had collected to oppose him -- At the Cowpens Colonel [James] Williams and his men left the Army & started just after dark to go to attack six hundred Tories said to be collecting at Major Geiles's [William Giles] but a few miles distant from that place. The Colonel was much importuned to abandon that object but refused. In the morning however just at day light on the army arriving at the Cherokee ford of Broad River, Colonel Williams with his men came up in the rear this was a welcome sight as from the sign on the enemy's trail the American army had gained ground greatly upon him and the conflict was growing to a crisis --"[1390]

6 October. Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington, at "Camp near Cross Creek," to Gates: "I received your favor of the 1st Instant on Wednesday night, in Camp at McAffee's, 34 miles from this Place, towards Peedee. I sent orders, in obedience to your Commands, early the next morning to Colonels [Thomas] Taylor [of N.C.], [James]

[1382] William T. Graves gives the numbet as 933. GJW p. 45.
[1383] See DKM pp. 61n, 214-215, 222.
[1384] Draper says "to the right," presumably with respect to the mountaineers moving in a southerly direction, so this would make Gibbs' residence *west* of Cowpens.
[1385] DKM pp. 222-223.
[1386] BGD p. 108.
[1387] MLL pp. 12-13, RWW2 p. 265.
[1388] BSF p. 73.
[1389] DKM pp. 207, 209, 223.
[1390] SRW.

Kenan & [Thomas] Brown [of Bladen County, N.C.] to join me at this Post immediately. I arrived here this day at 3 P. M., with the small Brigade under my command. Colo. Taylor, with 74 Horse, the Officers included, arrived here this evening armed with Muskets & Rifles. He has about 20 sick, not yet come up, and one Troop now on the South-side of Peedee with Colo. [Thomas] Wade, in pursuit of the fugitive Tories. Colo. Taylor tells me both British & Tories have left the Long Bluff and gone for Cambden with such precipitation that they left many Negroes & Stock behind them; but of this, Sir, I will send you a more particular account when I hear again from Colo. Wade. I have certain account that Colo. Kenan, with 55 Light horse, equipt with swords and some few Pistols, will join me by tomorrow evening. Colo. Brown's 200 are, I believe, volunteers for a month only; they cannot, therefore, be of much service; but upon the whole we cannot, when joined by Kenan, & not to mention Brown, be called more than 450 fit for duty, Officers included; with these, Sir, and with any more that may join us, I shall endeavour to be ready to march the moment I receive Orders."[1391]

7 October. [battle] KING'S MOUNTAIN[1392] (York County, S.C.) Campbell's select army, and which was mounted, crossed Broad River at Tate's Ferry (adjacent to Tate's Plantation) and Cherokee Ford about sunrise. They then marched a distance and halted about three miles from King's Mountain, where they ate and collected some forage for their horses. It was raining in the early part of that Saturday, and efforts were necessary to keep their powder dry. From there they moved to the east side of King's Creek, above Quarry Road, where, around 2 or else 3 pm, they dismounted, left some men in charge of the horses, and proceeded on foot to encircle Ferguson's encampment on King's Mountain.

Surrounded on all sides, the elevation (not quite a mountain, but rather a large rocky and wooded prominence) little availed Ferguson as it only caused his men to overshoot the mountaineers who were also protected by the many trees which covered the hillside. An occasional bayonet charge by his corps of (some 100) provincials drove the whigs back a few times, but in vain; for as the battle progressed the deadly rifle fire took its increasing toll on the hard pressed loyalists. Ferguson himself was killed attempting to lead another charge (or else, according to Shelby, trying to escape at the last moment[1393]), at which point the battle, which had lasted about an hour, effectively ended and his men surrendered.

Among its effects, King's Mountain induced many Americans to renounce their oaths of British protection and paroles, both in the eastern and western districts of South Carolina. At the same time, enthusiasm among the western loyalists of western South Carolina and North Carolina was drastically diminished, and obtaining loyalist recruits in those regions became much more difficult. The battle was also decisive in bringing about the termination of Cornwallis' initial invasion of North Carolina, and by the end of the month he had retreated from Charlotte to Winnsborough.[1394]

The true and full story of King's Mountain has probably yet to be told. Draper's is, most agree, the best book on the subject, and an excellent, in many ways, work it is. Yet his pronounced biases are frequent and often too obvious. Theodore Roosevelt's account in *The Winning of the West*, vol. 2 is (for the most part) clear headed and a good counterbalance to Draper's version -- though occasionally subject to prejudicial lapses and eccentric distortions of its own.

In the events preceding the battle itself, and what followed after, rancor in some ran deep, and passions often displayed were unusually violent on both sides. This no doubt helps explain why the record should be so colored, and why accounts of what happened should often be so obviously conflicting. This has left the historians with many and various questions and which have yet to be satisfactorily resolved. Why, for example, wasn't Ferguson better supported, either by Cruger, Cornwallis or Tarleton? Why exactly was Ferguson in such an ill concealed rage against the frontiersmen? Given the brutality of much of the fighting all over, it seems somewhat peculiar that the maiming of two loyalists by some Cleavland's men should have inspired him with a sense of a crusade. What exactly were the numbers of both sides engaged? How did certain individuals, such as James Williams, actually meet their death in the battle?[1395] What took place when the battle ended? Did certain rivalries among the Patriot leaders affect subsequent history? And there are others.[1396] One thing is not in question, and that is that the frontiersmen certainly showed themselves to be exceedingly bold and determined fighters. Though Allaire ridicules them, one can't help but sense in his testimony of what happened a certain amount of respect and admiration for their pluck and audacity; combined with an amusement at their uncultured simplicity. What he presents in the way of shaming them, to some extent, comes across as more comical than moral in its tone, -- even though, it is true, there were some actual assaults and even murders of prisoners after the battle (but which Campbell soon vigorously ordered a stop to.). Aside from the victory they achieved, the King's Mountain army was extraordinary for any time or place in history. As Roosevelt points out, it was originally neither

[1391] CNC14 pp. 673-674.

[1392] Moultrie: "This took its name from one King, who lived at the foot of the mount with his family…" MMS2 p. 243n.

[1393] Shelby to Col. Arthur Campbell, 12 Oct. 1780, CNC15 pp. 116-117.

[1394] In his 1835 historical novel, *Horse-Shoe Robinson*, John Pendleton Kennedy describes the battle, as well as life in the south during that time, in an engaging and reasonably authentic manner. The not always so easy to please, Edgar Allen Poe, in reviewing Kennedy's book, praised it highly.

[1395] See HMS pp. 23-24.

[1396] Treacy (at TPY pp. 47-48) in criticism of the mountaineers (or at least Shelby), and by way of casting suspicion on their motives, cites this passage from Shelby, in the which the latter states "[T]hey [the Over-mountain men] would raise all the force they could, and attack Ferguson; and if this was not practicable they would co-operate with any corps of the army of the United States with which they might meet. If they failed, and the country was over run and subdued by the British, they would then take water, and go down to the Spaniards in Louisiana." CNC15 pp. 104-111. It seems strange why Treacy should take such exception to these remarks and such a contingency plan; because Shelby speaks of seeking asylum with the Spaniards *only if* the southern colonists and the United States were finally "over run" by the British -- a very drastic state of things indeed.

sanctioned or organized by any formal state or national government, and consisted almost entirely of volunteers from five distinct and widely separated regions.[1397]

AMERICAN FORCES AT KING'S MOUNTAIN
Col. William Campbell[1398]
Col. Isaac Shelby, second in command

Virginia frontier militia: 200, Col. William Campbell

North Carolina frontier militia: 120, Col. Isaac Shelby
North Carolina frontier militia: 120, Lieut. Col. John Sevier

North Carolina militia: 110, Col. Benjamin Cleavland
North Carolina militia: 90, Major Joseph McDowell
North Carolina militia: 60, Maj. Joseph Winston
North Carolina militia: 50, Lieut. Col. Frederick Hambright,[1399] Maj. William Chronicle

South Carolina militia: 100, Col. Edward Lacey, Lieut. Col. James Hawthorn[1400]
South Carolina and Georgia militia: 60, Brig. Gen. James Williams, Maj. William Candler

TOTAL (not including officers): 910 to 940

Campbell, Cleavland and Shelby's official report gives 900. Shelby later gave the number as 910, and Hill as 933. Draper prefers the 910 figure. Lumpkin makes the total out to be 940, counting an extra thirty under Candler as separate from Williams' group.[1401]

William T. Graves: 1,100
Drawing from Bobby Gilmer Moss' work, he gives the breakdown of whig forces at King's Mountain based on *known* participants as follows:
61 were Sumter's men (although under his subordinates at the battle.)
114 were with James Williams.
126 were with William campbell
52 with Joseph McDowell.
57 with Sevier
14 with Clark (at the battle they were with Candler who was with Williams.)
47 Shelby, and Winston with him.
23 Chronicle
200 participants not attributed to anyone in particular.[1402]

BRITISH FORCES AT KING'S MOUNTAIN
Maj. Patrick Ferguson
Capt. Abraham DePeyster, second in command

Ferguson's Corps: 116-132; with 120 being probably an accurate approximation

North Carolina loyalist militia: 430 to 450, Col. Ambrose Mills, Col. Vezey Husband
South Carolina loyalist militia: 320 to 356, Maj. Daniel Plummer

It is not clear who commanded the South Carolina loyalist militia, but Draper speaks of Plummer hence his mention here.[1403]

TOTAL: 850-902

The numbers above for Ferguson's force are derived from Lumpkin.[1404] Campbell's report presents Ferguson strength as 1,103. Allaire gives the number was 800. Tarleton speaks of 100 Rangers (Ferguson's Corps) and

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[1397] ATR81a p. 280, ATR81a pp. 158-159, CNC14 pp. 663-664, 724-725, 785-786, CNC15 pp. 100-111, 115-119, 126-127, 132-136, 141-142, 163-165, 183, 372-373, RCO p. 173, AR81 pp. 51-53, RSC2 pp. 181-184, TCS pp. 164-167, 171, 194-196, GHA3 pp. 462-467, MMS2 pp. 242-246, MST pp. 57-68, MLW4A pp. 321-327, MLW3 pp. 107-108, LMS pp. 200-201, JLG1 pp. 304-307, GAR2 pp. 152-154, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier* by James Collins, pp. 55-58, HMS pp. 15-24, MLL pp. 10-155. LFB2 pp. 426-429, WNC pp. 100-108, HGS pp. 580-583, DKM pp. 222-229, 235, SNC pp. 124-177, RWW2 pp. 241-294, FWI pp. 179-180, MSC1 pp. 776-805, LCR pp. 188-220, WAR2 pp. 737-745, BGC p. 92, BEA pp. 575-583.
[1398] Some participants felt Shelby was their true leader in the battle, and claimed that Campbell absented himself during the engagement when most needed; a charge hotly denied by Campbell's supporters. See DKM pp. 558-591.
[1399] Hambright had succeeded Col. William Graham, who for urgent family reasons had to leave the morning of the battle.
[1400] Due to the wound he suffered at Hanging Rock in August, Col. William Hill, though present, was unable to lead his men in the battle, and Lieut. Col. James Hawthorn commanded in his place during the day. DKM p. 464.
[1401] DKM p. 227, LSY pp.292-293
[1402] GJW p. 50.
[1403] DKM p. 276.
[1404] LSY p. 293.

1,000 loyal militia. Americans claiming to know from captured provision returns claimed Ferguson had 1,125. There is good reason to believe, however that 200 loyalist left Ferguson's camp that day on a patrol or foraging party, thereby making the total more near 800 to 900 as per Lumpkin's figure.[1405]

Draper: "Where were the other Loyalist leaders of that region Colonels Cunningham, Kirkland, and Clary, Lieutenant-Colonels Phillips and Turner, and Majors Gibbs, Hill and Hamilton? Some were doubtless with the party whom the Whigs had passed at Major Gibbs' plantation, near the Cowpens, or possibly with Colonel Moore's detachment; others were scattered here and there on furlough." Capt. David Fanning and his me had been with Ferguson briefly on 2 October, but resumed their operations elsewhere. [1406]

Ferguson's militia force included detachments from the following Ninety Six Brigade regiments: John Cotton's, Patrick Cunningham's, Richard King's, Zecharias Gibbs', Thomas Pearson's, and Daniel Plummer's.

CASULATIES AND CAPTURES

AMERICAN
Virginia militia man, Ensign John McCorkle, on November 7th, wrote home to his wife, Rebecca: "We got to Hillsborough the fourth [twenty-fourth?] day of October about 10 o'clock and that day we marched 6 miles on our way to Guilford. I did not then have time to write you. At Guilford I had the opportunity of seeing Col. Wm. Campbell who informs me that he defeated Ferguson at King's Mt. and out of 1125 he killed and captured 1105 English and Tories. The loss on our side was not great, only 28 killed and 8 wounded. Nathaniel Dryden was killed and 3 of the Edmundsons."[1407]

American losses according to Campbell, Shelby and Cleavland's report were 28 killed, 62 wounded.[1408] Shelby in a letter of 12 October stated six officers and 23 privates were killed; though he believed the number would finally come to 35, plus 50 to 60 wounded.

BRITISH
Loyalist losses according to Campbell, Shelby, and Cleavland's report were 206 killed, 128 wounded, and 48 officers and 600 privates made prisoner. Shelby reported loyalist losses as 127 killed, 125 wounded, and 649 prisoners including the wounded.

Casualties for Ferguson's corps alone, the report lists 19 killed, and 35 wounded. Of officers and privates, 68 were taken prisoner including those wounded. Shelby, in his 12 October letter, gives: 38 killed, 28 wounded, 57 prisoners.[1409]

Campbell's official report states 1,500 stand of arms were taken, Shelby's letter of 12 October speaks of 1200. 17 of Ferguson's baggage wagons, these were not taken as being too cumbersome to move during the retreat.[1410]

Page Smith gives British losses as 157 killed, 163 too badly wounded to be evacuated, and 689 made prisoner.[1411]

Lambert makes reference to the fact that Robert Henry and David Vance counted 247 dead loyalists.[1412]

See also Allaire's Letter to the *Royal Gazette*, included just below, for his own account of losses on both sides.

Pension statement of Edward Dorton (or Darten) of Washington County, VA.: "Col. Campbell got word from Col. Cleveland that the Tories had fled from the Haw River and many from PeeDee and they had joined Ferguson (Major or Col.). We started from Abingdon all on horses and our Capt. was by the name of Looney. He thinks Col. Campbell's brother was a Capt. also. We crossed the Catawba high up in Burk[e]'s County, N.C. and came up with the British at a place called King's Mountain. Campbell was joined by Col. Cleveland and Major Shelby and Col. Sevier. There was a Frenchman there also by the name of Malmaday (this applicant thinks he was a Major) [Marquis de Malmedy] and Gen. McDowell were all on horses. When we got within one mile of the mountain we all hitched our horses and left them in care of some militia companies. The whole of us was divided; part of Campbell's men fell under Cleveland and one Sevier and Wilson. This applicant was one of them and marched up. They were on the side of the mountain. The firing commenced on the right wing (commanded by Campbell) and Shelby on the left, Cleveland in the center. The British with bayonets charged upon Cleveland's men and forced us to give back, but we all took turns. The battle lasted for some time and we made them all prisoners. The troops, or part, went over to Charlotte and we took some of the prisoners along. Gates' army was at

[1405] TCS p. 156, DKM p. 238.
[1406] DKM p. 294.
[1407] Quoted in Odell McQuire's "Many Were Sore Chased And Some Cut Down: Fighting Cornwallis with the Rockbridge Militia," October 1995.
[1408] DKM p. 302.
[1409] DKM p. 300-302.
[1410] DKM pp. 316-318.
[1411] SNA2 p. 1432.
[1412] LSL p. 132, 144.

Charlotte. From there we went to Hillsborough, N.C. and remained there but a few days and again went back to Charlotte where we all [?]-----. Gen. Greene took command, this was in December 1780 or 1781."

Cleavland quoted both in Ramsay and Moultrie: "Colonel Cleveland [Benjamin Cleavland], in going round the mountain, discovered one of the enemy's pickets, upon which he addressed his men: 'My brave fellows, We have beat the Tories, and we can beat them again; they are all cowards: if they had the spirit of men, they would join their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When you are engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me: I will show you by my example, how to fight; I can undertake no more: every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can: when you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; but I beg you not to run quite off: if we are repulsed, let us make a point of returning and renewing the fight: perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than the first; If any of you are afraid, such shall have leave to retire, and they are requested immediately to take themselves off.'" [1413]

Moultrie: "[T]he British made use mostly of the bayonet instead of firing their pieces. It was impossible for those heavy armed troops to come up with the strong, active mountaineers, who were dispersed about the woods. Had Colonel Ferguson dispersed his men (who were equally acquainted with bush-fighting) and fought his adversaries in their own way, he would have had a better chance to make a retreat."[1414]

Campbell, Shelby, and Cleavland's post-battle report to Gates, 25 September 1780: "…We began our march on the 26th, and on the 30th, we were joined by Col. Cleveland, on the Catawba River, with three hundred and fifty men from the counties of Wilkes and Surry. No one officer having properly a right to the command-in-chief, on the 1st of October, we despatched [sic] an express to Major General Gates, informing him of our situation, and requested him to send a general officer to take command of the whole. In the meantime, Col. Campbell was chosen to act as commandant till such general officer should arrive. We reached the Cowpens, on the Broad River, in South Carolina, where we were joined by Col. James Williams, on the evening of the 6th October, who informed us that the enemy lay encamped somewhere near the Cherokee Ford of Broad River, about thirty miles distant form us.
"By a council of the principal officers, it was then thought advisable to pursue the enemy that night with nine hundred of the best horsemen, and leave the weak horses and footmen to follow as fast as possible. We began our march with nine hundred of the best men about eight o'clock the same evening, marched all night, and came up with the enemy about three o'clock P.M. of the 7th, who lay encamped on the top of King's Mountain, twelve miles north of the Cherokee Ford, in the confidence they could not be forced from so advantageous a post. Previous to the attack, in our march the following disposition was made: Col. Shelby's regiment formed a column in the centre [sic] on the left; Col. Campbell's another on the right; part of Col. Cleveland's regiment, headed by Major Winston and Col. Sevier's, formed a large column on the right wing; the other part of Col. Cleveland's regiment composed the left wing. In this order we advanced, and got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before we were discovered.
"Col. Shelby's and Col. Campbell's regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire on the enemy while the right and left wings were advancing forward to surround them. The engagement lasted an hour and five minutes, the greatest part of which time a heavy and incessant fire was kept up on both sides. Our men in some parts where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a small distance two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardour [sic] to the attack, and kept up a fire on the enemy while the right and left wings were advancing forward to surround them. The engagement lasted an hour and five minutes, the greatest part of which time a heavy and incessant fire was kept up on both sides. Our men in some parts where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a small distance two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardour to the attack. The troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge where Col. Cleveland commanded, and were there stopped by his brave men. A flag was immediately hoisted by Captain [Abraham] DePeyster, the commanding officer, (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before,) for a surrender. Our fire immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down their arms--the greater part of them loaded -- and surrendered themselves to us prisoners at discretion.
"It appears from their own provision returns for that day, found in their camp, that their whole force consisted of eleven hundred and twenty-five men, out of which they sustained the following loss: -- Of the regulars, one Major, one captain, two lieutenants and fifteen privates killed, thirty-five privates wounded. Left on the ground, not able to march, two captains, four lieutenants, three ensigns, one surgeon, five sergeants; three corporals, one drummer and fifty-nine privates taken prisoners. Loss of the Tories, two Colonels, three Captains, and two hundred and one privates killed; one Major and one hundred and twenty-seven privates wounded and left on the ground not able to march; one Colonel, twelve Captains, eleven Lieutenants, two Ensigns, one Quarter-Master, one Adjutant, two Commissaries, eighteen Sergeants and six hundred privates taken prisoners. Total loss of the enemy, eleven hundred and five men at King's Mountain."[1415]

Allaire: "Saturday, 7th. About two o'clock in the afternoon twenty-five hundred Rebels...attacked us...their numbers enabled them to surround us. The North Carolina regiment seeing this and being out of ammunition gave way. Capt. [Abraham] DePeyster, on whom the command devolved, saw it impossible to form six men

[1413] RSC2 pp. 182-183, MMS2 p. 243.
[1414] MMS2 p. 245.
[1415] DKM pp. 522-524. For additional reports of the action made by William Campbell, as well as a resolution passed by the Virginia Senate in reaction to the victory, see GDH3 pp. 140-142.

together; thought it necessary to surrender to save the lives of the brave men who were left. We lost in this action Maj. Ferguson...had eighteen men killed on the spot...Of the militia, one hundred were killed including officers; wounded, ninety; taken prisoners, about six hundred. Rebels lost Brig.-Gen [James] Williams, one hundred and thirty-five, including officers, killed; wounded, equal to ours."

Letter of Allaire's Published in the (New York) *Royal Gazette*, 24 February 1781: "I think the last letter I wrote you was from Fort Moultrie, which I left a few days after. We marched to a place called Ninety-Six, which is about two hundred miles from Charlestown; we lay there about a fortnight in good quarters, after which we proceeded to the frontiers of South Carolina, and frequently passed the line into North Carolina, and can say with propriety, that there is not a regiment or detachment of his Majesty's service, that ever went through the fatigues, or suffered so much, as our detachment. That you may have some faint idea of our suffering, I shall mention a few particulars. In the first place we were separated from all the army, acting with the militia; we never lay two nights in one place, frequently making forced marches of twenty and thirty miles in one night; skirmishing very often; the greatest part of our time without rum or wheat flour-rum is a very essential article, for in marching ten miles we would often be obliged to ford two or three rivers, which wet the men up to their waists. In this disagreeable situation, we remained till the seventh of October, when we were attacked by two thousand five hundred Rebels, under the command of Gen. [James] Williams. Col. Ferguson had under his command eight hundred militia, and our detachment, which at that time was reduced to an hundred men. The action commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was very severe for upwards of an hour, during which the Rebels were charged and drove back several times, with considerable slaughter. When our detachment charged, for the first time, it fell to my lot to put a Rebel Captain to death, which I did most effectually, with one blow of my sword; the fellow was at least six feet high, but I had rather the advantage, as I was mounted on an elegant horse, and he on foot. But their numbers enabled them to surround us and the North Carolina regiment, which consisted of about three hundred men. Seeing this, and numbers being out of ammunition which naturally threw the rest of the militia into confusion, our gallant little detachment, which consisted of only seventy men, exclusive of twenty who acted as dragoons, and ten who drove wagons, etc., when we marched to the field of action, were all killed and wounded but twenty, and those brave fellows were soon crowded into an heap by the militia. Capt. [Abraham] DePeyster, on whom the command devolved, seeing it impossible to form six men together, thought it necessary to surrender, to save the lives of the brave men who were left.
"We lost in this action, Maj. Ferguson, of the Seventy-first regiment, a man strongly attached to his King and country, well informed in the art of war, brave, humane, and an agreeable companion-in short, he was universally esteemed in the army, and I have every reason to regret his unhappy fate. We lost eighteen men killed on the spot-Capt. [Samuel] Ryerson and thirty-two Sergeants and privates wounded, of Maj. Ferguson's detachment. Lieutenant M'Ginnis of [Isaac] Allen's regiment, Skinner's brigade [i.e. the New Jersey Volunteers], killed; taken prisoners, two Captains, four Lieutenants, three Ensigns, one Surgeon, and fifty-four Sergeants and privates, including the wounded, wagoners, etc. The militia killed, one hundred, including officers; wounded, ninety; taken prisoners about six hundred; our baggage all taken, of course. The Rebels lost Brig.-Gen. [James] Williams, and one hundred and thirty-five, including officers, killed; wounded nearly equal to ours. The morning after the action we were marched sixteen miles, previous to which orders were given by the Rebel Col. [William] Campbell (whom the command devolved on) that should they be attacked on their march, they were to fire on, and destroy their prisoners. The party was kept marching two days without any kind of provisions. The officers' baggage, on the third day's march, was all divided among the Rebel officers…"

Chesney: "Our spies from Holston, as well as some left at the Gap of the Mountains, brought us word that the Rebel force amounted to 3,000 men; on which we retreated along the north side of Broad River and sent the wagons along the south side as far as Cherokee Ford, where they joined us. We marched to King's Mountain and there encamped with a view of approaching Lord Cornwallis's Army and receiving support; by Col. Ferguson's orders I sent expresses to the Militia Officers to join us there; but we were attacked before any support arrived by 1500 picked men from Gilbert's Town [Gilbert town] under the command of Colonels Cleveland, Selby [Shelby] and Campbell, all of whom were armed with Rifles, well mounted and of course could move with the utmost celerity. So rapid was their attack that I was in the act of dismounting to report that all was quiet and the pickets on the alert when we heard their firing about half a mile off. I immediately paraded the men and posted the officers, during this short interval I received a wound which however did not prevent my doing duty; and on going towards my horse I found he had been killed by the first discharge. King's Mountain from its height would have enabled us to oppose a superior force with advantage, had it not been covered with wood which sheltered the Americans and enabled them to fight in their favorite manner; in fact after driving in our pickets they were able to advance in three divisions under separate leaders to the crest of the hill in perfect safety until they took post and opened an irregular but destructive fire from behind trees and other cover. Col. Cleveland's was first perceived and repulsed by a charge made by Col. Ferguson; Col Selby's [Shelby's] regiment was next and met a similar fate being driven down the hill; last, the detachment under Col. Campbell and by desire of Col. Ferguson, I presented a new front which opposed it with success; by this time the Americans who had been repulsed had regained their former stations and sheltered behind trees poured in an irregular destructive fire; in this manner the engagement was maintained near an hour, the mountaineers flying whenever there was danger of being charged by the Bayonet, and returning again so soon as the British detachment had faced about to repel another of their parties. Col Ferguson was at last recognized by his gallantry, although wearing a hunting shirt, and fell pierced by seven balls at the moment he had killed the American Col. Williams with his left hand; (the right being useless). I had just rallied the troops a second time by Ferguson's orders when Capt. [Abraham] DePeyster succeeded to the command, but soon after gave up and sent out a flag of truce. But, as the Americans resumed their fire afterwards, ours was also renewed under the supposition that they would give no quarter; and

a dreadful havoc took place until the flag was sent out a second time, then the work of destruction ceased; the Americans surrounded us with double lines, and we grounded arms with the loss of one third our numbers." [1416]

Isaac Shelby: "This was Saturday morning and at sun rise it began to rain hard. The army however continued unremittingly to pursue its main object, traveled hard all day through the rain, until they got within a few miles of the enemy where he lay encamped on King[']s Mountain, and where he had only arrived late the evening before -- On gaining information of the position of Major Ferguson's Army, the American line of battle was formed as follows -- Colonel Campbell's regiment headed by himself formed the center column to the right; Colonel Shelby's regiment commanded by himself formed the center column on the left. The right wing was composed of Colonel Sevier's regiment, Col. McDowell's regiment, Col. Winston's regiment & commanded by Col. Sevier in front. The left wing was composed by Col. Cleveland's regiment, Colonel Williams' regiment, Colonel Lacey's regiment & Colonel Brannum's [Thomas Brandon] regiment, & headed in front by Col. Cleveland himself, in this order the American Army advanced in four lines until it arrived in sight of the Enemy's Camp on Kings Mountain at three o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday the 7th day of October, 1780. The two center columns then wheeled to the right and left formed a front, marched up and attacked the enemy, while the right and left wing were marching round. The action then became general and lasted one hour and a half. The Americans had upwards of sixty killed and wounded -- and they killed and took of the Enemy eleven hundred and five -- three hundred and seventy five of them were left weltering in their Gore upon King[']s Mountain among the latter Major Ferguson himself, he fell in the close of the action -- about the same time or shortly before Colonel Williams was mortally wounded of which he died [the next day, 8 October]." [1417]

Petition of loyalist James White: "…[W]ho was appointed a sergent [sic] in Captain Cotton's Company, Ninety-Six Brigade, and joined Major Ferguson in September 1780 and continued with him until the defeat at King's Mountain, wherein he was taken prisoner and confined in Salisbury jail, where he remained for three months before making his escape. Returned home but found his position insecure, due to small rebel parties. He, with his Father and family, moved near to Savannah from whence they were lately arrived in great distress. He has never been paid for his service in the Army and requested that he be paid."[1418]

Cornwallis, at "Wynnesborough," on Dec. 3rd to Clinton wrote: "I am honoured with your letters of the 5th and 6th of last month. Lord Rawdon, during my illness, informed your Excellency, in his letters of the 28th and 31st of October, of the various causes which prevented my penetrating into North Carolina. I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation, except a few words about poor Major Ferguson. I had the honour to inform your Excellency that Major Ferguson had taken infinite pains with some of the militia of Ninety-Six. He obtained my permission to make an incursion into Tryon county, while the sickness of my army prevented my moving. As he had only militia and the small remains of his own corps, without baggage or artillery, and as he promised to come back if he heard of any superior force, I thought he could do no harm, and might help to keep alive the spirit of our friends in North Carolina, which might be damped by the slowness of our motions. The event proved unfortunate, without any fault of Major Ferguson's. A numerous and unexpected enemy came from the mountains. As they had good horses, their movements were rapid. Major Ferguson was tempted to stay near the mountains longer than he intended, in hopes of cutting off Colonel Clarke [Elijah Clark] on his return from Georgia. He was not aware that the enemy was so near him; and, in endeavouring [sic] to execute my orders of passing the Catawba, and joining me at Charlotte-town, he was attacked by a very superior force, and totally defeated on King's mountain."[1419]

7 October. Cornwallis ordered Maj. James Wemyss with the 63rd from Camden to combine with Harrison's Corps (the S.C. Rangers) and march to Kingstree. The order was countermanded after Cornwallis received news of King's Mountain. Earlier, in a letter of 30 September to his lordship, Wemyss had spoken disparagingly of Harrison's corps as an unreliable group seeking plunder, and "worse than militia."[1420]

7-8 October. Gates formed a light corps, or "Flying Corps" or "Flying Camp," for Morgan to command consisting of 70 cavalry under William Washington, 60 Virginia riflemen under Major Alexander Rose, plus 3 companies of light infantry drafted from the Maryland and Delaware Regiments. According to Christopher Ward, it also included some Virginians left over from Buford's detachment. The 3 companies of light infantry were formed as follows. Those drafted from Buford made up the 1st Co. under Capt. Peter Bruin of Virginia. The 2nd Company was of Marylanders and commanded by Capt. Benjamin Brookes of that state. The 3rd was chiefly composed of Delaware men with a few Marylanders and was commanded by Kirkwood. Added to this were Washington's cavalry and Rose's Virginia riflemen. The State of N.C. had recently provided Gates with some clothing and some tents, most which went to Morgan's men. Each soldier got one new shirt, a short coat, a pair of woolen overalls or trousers, a pair of shoes and a hat or cap. There were not enough blankets to go around; and so they were distributed to each regiment in proportion to its numbers.

[1416] CDI.
[1417] SRW.
[1418] Dated Charlestown, 1 Aug. 1782, CLS p. 252.
[1419] COC pp. 45-46.
[1420] BSF p. 72.

By the next day (the 8th), Morgan's newly formed corps began its march and reached Salisbury on the 15th. Gates with the main army remained in Hillsborough. The North Carolina militia under Smallwood, meanwhile, subsequently posted themselves at New Providence.[1421]
Kirkwood' Journal: "Octb. 7. This Day three Companies of Light Infantry were Chosen, one under the Command of Capt. Bruen of Virginia, Second by Capt. Kirkwood, & the third by Capt. Brooks the whole under the Command of Col. Morgan.
"Oct. 8. Began our march from Hilsborough [sic] under Command of Col. Morgan, and arrived at Salsbury [sic] the 15th Inst."[1422]

William Johnson: "On the advance of General Gates towards Camden, he had fortunately been obliged to leave two pieces of artillery on the road, for want of horses to carry them. These were now brought up to camp, and a few iron pieces gathered from various places, being also collected, formed a small park of artillery.
"The legislature of North Carolina being in session when General Gates arrived, he presented an earnest request to them, to make efforts to call out militia, collect munitions, and take such measures as the resources of the country would admit of, to put him in a condition again to take the field. The legislature manifested the best disposition imaginable to comply, but such was the excitement produced among the loyalists by the recent successes of the British army, that the assembly itself could scarcely sit in safety; and an opposition was sustained from the disafiectcd which paralysed every efibrt that was made. They could scarcely furnish provision for the troops; and when afterwards, Lord Comwallis passed Charlotte and advanced upon Salisbury, the confidence of the loyalists appeared approaching to open insurrection.
"Measures had also been adopted to bring forward reinforcements from Virginia; for that state having been engaged in recruiting, there was still a hope; of drawing some men from her depots. All that could be sent into the field were promptly forwarded, but unfortunately, in no better condition for taking the field than the troops encamped at Hillsborough. On the 16th September Colonel Williams says, 'Colonel Bufort [Buford] arrived from Virginia with the mangled remains of his unfortunate regiment, rehiforced by about two hundred raw recruits; all of them in a ragged condition. Uniform and other clothing were to be sent after them, but they never arrived. About the same time, a small detachment of Virginia militia arrived, without even arms.'
"Of the men whom Porterfield led into action on the 16th, only about fifty escaped; these, added to Bufort's reinforcement, constituted the Virginia line then in the field, about three hundred in number: to which are to be added, the remains of Harrison's regiment of artillery, commanded by Captain Anthony Singleton; the numbers we do not find specified, but the brunt of the battle of the 16th had fallen very heavily upon this corps.
"Gates now only waited for a supply of clothing and the embodying of the militia to take the field…
"About this time the celebrated Colonel Daniel Morgan, who had already reaped such harvests of laurels at Quebec and Saratoga, arrived in camp…
"Immediately on his arrival, General Gates ordered four companies to be drafted from the regiments, to be equipped as light-infantry, and to form a partisan corps to serve under Colonel Morgan. The arrival of Colonels White and Washington, with the remains of the first and third regiments of dragoons, so roughly handled by Tarleton after the fall of Charleston, enabled the general to add a body of seventy cavalry to Morgan's command. These were commanded by Colonel Washington, as Colonel White appears never to have met with a refusal when he solicited leave of absence. To these wera added a small corps of riflemen, about sixty in number, under Major [Alexander] Rose."[1423]

8 October. Campbell's King's Mountain force, having mounted their wounded, and taken as much from Ferguson's 17 baggage wagons as they could carry, retreated to the Broad River. In addition to the wounded and captured arms and stores, they were further hampered in their movement with the 600 prisoners they had taken. At one of the Broad River fords, probably Cherokee Ford, they met up with the group that had been left behind under Col. Benjamin Herndon. The re-united detachments finally camped that night on the eastern side of Broad River just north of Buffalo Ford Creek; where they buried a number of their men including James Williams.[1424]

8 October. Brig. Gen. Davidson, at "Camp Rocky River," to Sumner: "I am now N. E. of Charlotte 13½ miles. By the bearer I send you one British prisoner taken some days since, and three tories taken on the 6th. Golson Step, a tory, on examination gave the following particulars: -- That the enemy brought to Charlotte one hundred waggons, 1,100 infantry in uniform, 550 light dragons, 800 militia and two field pieces; that they received lately a small reinforcement of 100 or 150 men from the Waxhaws, and yesterday they drew two days' provisions to be had in readiness to march. I expect that the enemy will make a movement very shortly."[1425]

9 October. Campbell's army marched two and a half miles up the Broad River on its northern bank, much of the day having been spent burying the dead, tending the wounded, and resting generally.[1426]

9 October. Militia from Rockbridge, Fauquier, Augusta, and adjoining southern counties in Virginia began their march to join Gates. It was these troops under Maj. Francis Triplett and Capt. James Tate that would serve with Morgan at Cowpens. They arrived at Gates' headquarters, then below Charlotte, on 7 November.

[1421] KJO pp. 11-12, WNA, GHA3 pp. 459-460, JLG1 pp. 312-314, GDM p. 239, SNC p. 185, WDC pp. 357-358, RNC p. 258.
[1422] KJO pp. 11-12.
[1423] JLG2 pp. 312-314.
[1424] DKM 316-318.
[1425] CNC14 p. 784.
[1426] DKM p. 324.

From the pension application of William Miller, of Rockbridge County, VA.: "This applicant states that he was drafted as a militia man in the sd [said] County of Rockbridge, and marched on the 9th of October 1780 under Cpt James Gilmore, then of sd [said] County, now dead, Lieutenant John Caruthers, then of sd County, now dead, and Ensign John McCorkle, also of sd County...The company rendesvoused [sic] in the Town of Lexington, in sd County of Rockbridge -- marched to New London in Bedford Cty [County], Virginia, thence to Hillsborough in North Carolina, where they joined Headquarters under Gen.Gates, where the company was reviewed & drew muskets & there received orders to join Gen Smallwood,[1427] stationed about 16 or 18 miles below Charlotte, toward Cambden [Camden] and marched on to that Station, haping [hopping] through Guilford and Salisbury. At this station this applicant was taken from his company and ordered to the Catawba to guard Garrison's Ferry, in which service he was engaged about 4 weeks. When this applicant was returning to Smallwood's camp, he heard that Gen. Morgan had gone to Charlotte..."[1428]

9 October. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "…Andreas Volk's son came for the doctor for his brother-in-law Johann Krause, who was shot in the leg yesterday while standing guard at Richmond [N.C.], which was again visited by a strong party of Tories under Gideon Wright. The bullet had remained in his limbs; Joseph Dixon was sent to bind up the wound. The Tories had expressed sympathy for the injured man, saying the ball had not been meant for him but for some one else, and so on. What consequences this may have remains to be seen."[1429]

10 October. Campbell's force resumed their march in a north-westerly direction along the Broad River towards Gilbertown, covering this day about twenty miles.[1430]

10 October. Clinton, at his Headquarters in New York, to Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie: "You will be pleased to proceed with the troops embarked under your command to Chesapeak[e] Bay; and upon your arrival at that place, you will pursue such measures as you shall judge most likely to answer the purpose of this expedition; the principal object of which is to make a diversion in favour of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, who by the time you arrive there will probably be acting in the back parts of North Carolina. The information you shall procure on the spot after your arrival at your destined port, will point out to you the properest [sic] method of accomplishing this. But from that which I have received here, I should judge it best to proceed up James River as high as possible, in order to seize or destroy any magazines the enemy may have at Petersburg, Richmond, or any of the places adjacent; and finally, to establish a post on Elizabeth River. But this, as well as the direction of every other operation, is submitted to Earl Cornwallis, with whom you are a soon as possible to communicate, and afterwards to follow all such orders and directions you shall from time to time receive from his Lordship."[1431]

10 October. Col. Thomas Brown of the Peedee militia, N.C., at "Camp at the Beauty Spot," to Brig. Gen. Harrington: "I have, agreeably to your order, marched as far as this place, eight miles below Hick's Mills; but meeting with a letter here, informing me of your retreat back to Cross Creek [from Haley's Ferry on the Peedee], I conclude to proceed no farther; but shall, as directed by his Excellency, Gov. Nash, drive off all the beef cattle that I can possibly collect. I have received no orders from you since the 3rd inst., which, together with your unexpected retreat, has left me so much in the dark how to act, as to determine me as above. The inhabitants about this place seem perfectly still, except about ninety, who are said to be collected at Spike's Mill, on Jeffrey's Creek; but we learn there is a party gone out this day in order to dislodge them, under the command of Capt. Delany. Captains Murphy [Maurice Murfee] and Council, with their companies, are ranging up and down this river in order to keep the Tories in awe… We further learn that the Tories about Little Pe[e]dee are summoned to meet on Thursday next, by one Jesse Barfield. I shall endeavor to watch their motions, and if possible, disperse them."[1432]

10-11 October. On the 9th, Cornwallis pleaded with Tarleton to locate Ferguson, but the latter continued to refuse still claiming to be weak from yellow fever.[1433] The next day, Cornwallis then *ordered* him, with the light infantry, the British Legion and a three-pounder to Ferguson's assistance. Tarleton then proceeded to march to Smith's Ford below the forks of the Catawba only to learn of Ferguson's defeat.[1434] While in Charlotte, Cornwallis had contemplated sending Lieut. Col. James Webster with a detachment to attack a force under Brig. Gen. Sumner at Alexander's Mill; the move, however, was called off after word arrived of King's Mountain. Cornwallis also had made not-to-be-realized plans of moving his army to Cross Creek at this time. In a letter to Ferguson, quoted in MacKenzie's *Strictures*, and which Ferguson never received, on Sept. 23 Cornwallis had

[1427] Smallwood at that time was placed in command of the North Carolina militia.
[1428] MGC
[1429] FRM p. 1571.
[1430] DKM p. 324.
[1431] COC pp. 25-26.
[1432] GHC p. 333.
[1433] See also 21 and 23 September.
[1434] Tarleton had been down with a "violent attack of yellow fever" (Hanger's description) for the better part of month in Camden. Bass says he stayed at White's Mill on Fishing Creek. According then to Tarleton's own account, he was apparently then sufficiently recovered by this time to have come to Charlotte and taken command of the relief detachment. It is not entirely clear whether the light detachment was present in the vicinity where Tarleton was convalescing, sent to him by Cornwallis, or whether, Tarleton rode immediately to Charlotte to assume command of it -- the latter, nonetheless, seems more probable. TCS p. 165, MLL pp. 14-15, BGD pp. 106-108, BGC p. 86. 92.

written: “As soon as I have consumed the provisions in this settlement, I shall march with as much expedition as possible to Cross-Creek.”[1435]
Tarleton: “Accordingly Tarleton marched to Smith’s Ford, below the Forks of the Catawba, where he received certain information of the melancholy fate of Major Ferguson. This mortifying intelligence was forwarded to Charlotte Town, and the light troops crossed the river, to give protection to the fugitives, and to attend the operation of the enemy.”[1436]

11 October. In a letter to Marion, Gates stated that he had ordered Brig. Gen. Harrington, commanding the North Carolina militia at Cross Creek, to move down to a position on the Peedee opposite Cheraw.[1437]

11 October. Brig. Gen. Davidson, at a location northeast of Charlotte (see 8 October), wrote Sumner: “Nothing new from Charlotte. Had we more men, we could make their forage cost them dear. The appearance of 50 [whig militia] men yesterday caused 400 [British] to return without a handful.”[1438]

11 October. Campbell marched about twelve miles and camped at Col. John Walker’s plantation, some five miles northeast of Gilbertown on the east side of Cane Creek, remaining there through to the 12th.[1439]
Col. William Campbell’s Orders of the Day, “Camp Below Gilbert Town” 11 Oct.: “Return of the strength of the different regiments, with the rank and number of the dead and wounded in the late action, to be immediately made out. Two hundred privates, with the proper and necessary number of officers, to mount guard every morning who, with the field officers of the day, are to march with the front of the army, and when we camp are to take charge of the prisoners immediately, to detach the necessary pickets and patrols. I must request the officers of all ranks in the army to endeavour to restrain the disorderly manner of the slaughtering and disturbing the prisoners. If it cannot be prevented by moderate measures, such effectual punishment shall be executed upon delinquents as will put a stop to it.”[1440]

12 October. Gov. John Rutledge, at Hillsborough, to the Delegates of the South Carolina assembly: “Lord Cornwallis is going on with Burning & Hanging -- Capt. Conyers assured me Yesterday that 200 Houses have been burn'd -- Col. Morgan went from hence last Saturday with ab[out]. 180 Regulars & Genl. Smallwood went off on Monday with ab[ou]t. 90 of the Regr. Horse. The rest of the Regulars are now here & when they or any of them will go on I can't say, pretty support this from the Continent -- ab[out]. 100 Virginians of the 18 Months men arrived here a few days ago quite ragged & unequipped & here they are still -- No other force from that Country -- In short if any Thing material is done for our poor State in any reasonable Time it will probably be by the despised shabby Militia…”[1441]

12 October. Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote Gov. Thomas Jefferson this date: “The moment the supplies for troops arrive from Taylor’s ferry [on the Roanoke River], I shall proceed with the whole to the Yadkin. General Smallwood and Colonel Morgan are on their way to that post; the latter with the light infantry, was yesterday advanced eighteen miles beyond Guildford court house; the former with the cavalry, lay last night thirteen miles on this side of that place.”[1442]

12 October. Brig, Gen. Davidson joined Davie on the outskirts of Charlotte with 40 men, for the purpose of collecting, “if possible,” the N.C. militia on the east side of the Yadkin River. Capt. Samuel Hammond’s South Carolina and Georgia men (previous under James Williams) were with General Davidson and then, upon the retreat of Lord Cornwallis from Charlotte towards the Catawba (Oct. 14), acted a short time under the command of Colonel Davie.[1443]

12 October. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): “On account of the rain, the sowing of winter grain was interrupted. A company of Whig’s had to be fed here. They went on toward the Shallow Ford, and between Holder’s and Volk’s they met a strong company of Tories. The Whigs refused to surrender, and there was a hand-to-hand fight, in which the Tories killed one or two, and took several prisoners. Many of the Tories came here during the night to get bread to eat, but were very mannerly; they were in this neighborhood to see after the Whigs.”[1444]

12 October. On the night of the 12th (some accounts give the 14th) Cornwallis’s army began its retreat from Charlotte, during which time it rained, muddying the roads; while lack of teams for the wagons further hindered their progress. To compound their diffficulties, they were led astray of the main route into South Carolina by a deceiving guide. At the time Cornwallis was ill with fever, and command devolved upon Rawdon who formally ordered the evacuation. To add to Rawdon’s troubles, an attack on party of his column by a small party of whigs resulted in his losing 20 baggage wagons belonging to the 71st Regt. and the Legion infantry. He intended to cross

[1435] TCS pp. 165-166, MST pp. 52, 55-56, JLG1 p. 309.
[1436] BGD p. 106-108, BGC p. 92.
[1437] BSF p. 74.
[1438] CNC14 p. 785.
[1439] DKM pp. 325, 327.
[1440] CNC15 p. 115.
[1441] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, p. 141.
[1442] CNC15 p. 117.
[1443] DRS p. 28.
[1444] FRM p. 1629.

the Catawba at Old Nation Ford, but due to the swell of the river, was forced to halt. He then spent two days without supplies, while Davie and the local militia continued to cut off his foraging parties and skirmished with his rear guard. Desiring a prospective site suitable for supplying his army, Cornwallis sent out detachments in advance under Tarleton to find one. Winnsborough was ultimately decided upon and they arrived there at the end of the month. Incessant rains continued to inhibit the army's march.[1445] A little before and perhaps at the time of Cornwallis' retreat from Charlotte, Brig. Gen. Sumner and some militia were posted at Alexander's Mill located on a branch of Rocky River (an offshoot of the Yadkin River) in N.C.[1446]
Brig. Gen. Davidson, at "Camp Rocky River," on Oct. 13th ("7 o'clock A.M.") wrote Sumner: "This moment Mr. McCafferty is come to me & informs me that the Rear of the Enemy left Charlotte at 4 o'Clock last Evening; that he went with them to Barnet's Creek, five Miles below Town, on the road to Armour's ford. His conjecture is that their design is to go in quest of our Western Army, as they were particular in inquiring the nearest ford on Catawba river. You will please to accept as an Apology for my not sending a reinforcement of Horse to the forks of the Yadkin the accounts of 90 horsemen imbodied there last Wednesday as per Express, my orders of yesterday to Colo. [Thomas] Brandon to imbody all the Minute men he could to join them, & Colo. Davie being now out with 140 Horse. I am now preparing to march to Charlotte. Mr. McCafferty is sent with this under guard; his late conduct is to me a demonstration that he is not a friend to his Country." [1447]

On 14 Oct., Davidson again wrote Sumner: "Last evening I marched to Charlotte with the remainder of the cavalry, and by the latest intelligence the enemy were on the way to Nation ford. Col. Davie is now in pursuit with all his cavalry. The enemy seem to have gone off with an alarm, but from what cause is uncertain. Deserters say they received [erroneous] accounts last Monday of Gen. Clinton's defeat at West Point; others, that we were reinforced with 5,000. The inhabitants say they left their kettles on the fire, and 20 waggons, which they left 5 miles from town, with a quantity of valuable loading, have fallen into our hands. Express this moment arrived from Col. Davie informs that the main body of the enemy lay last night 11 miles from town. I propose to march downwards today."[1448]

Hanger: "When the army quitted Charlotte, I myself, with four or five other officers, sick of the yellow fever, were conveyed away in waggons. I was the only one that survived a week's march. From the inclemency of the season, and being frequently wetted by crossing rivers, I lost the use of my limbs for some months."[1449]

Tarleton: "The royal forces remained two days in an anxious and miserable situation in the Catawba settlement, owing to a dangerous fever, which suddenly attacked Earl Cornwallis, and to the want of forage and provisions: When the physicians declared his lordship's health would endure the motion of a waggon, Colonel Lord Rawdon, the second in command, directed the King's troops to cross Sugar creek, where some supplies might be obtained from the country: On this move, the Mecklenburg militia, supposing the cavalry still absent, attempted to harass the head of the column; when their want of intelligence proved fatal to the most enterprising of the party. A few days afterwards the army passed the Catawba river, near Twelve-mile creek, without difficulty or opposition."[1450]

Lee: "Soon after his Lordship left Charlotte...(Cornwallis took ill, and resigned command to Rawdon)...The swell of water-courses (due to heavy rains) presented new obstacles, not only to his progress, but to the procurement of forage and provisions for daily subsistence, which were before very difficult to obtain. The royal militia became now peculiarly useful. Inured to the climate, they escaped the prevailing sickness; and being mounted, were employed unceasingly in hunting, collecting, and driving cattle from the woods to the army. This meager supply was the only meat procurable; and young corn, gathered from the field, and boiled, or grated into meal, was the substitute for bread... (footnote in Lee): "Mr. Stedman, a British officer, and in the commissariat under Lord Cornwallis, tells us that the army would have been often destitute of provisions, but for the capacity and activity of the inhabitants who repaired to the royal standard."... (additional footnote) "During this retreat the British rasped the young corn into a coarse meal, which was considered a better mode of preparing the corn than roasting or parching, common with us. Biscuit made of flour, from which only the bran has been taken, is the best and cheapest for winter quarters, when the soldier may conveniently take his bread."[1451]

13 October. Col. Daniel Morgan was installed as Brigadier General by Congress (formally receiving the comission on 25 October), and on this same date arrived with his detachment at Sumner's camp at Yadkin Ford.[1452]

13 October. Campbell's King's Mountain army marched to Biggerstaff's (also later referred to as Bickerstaff's) located on Robertson's Creek in Rutherford County, N.C. The country being thinly settled, they had difficulty obtaining food.[1453]

[1445] CNC14 pp. 693, 695, 788, CNC15 pp. 127-128, TCS pp. 167-169, GHA3 pp. 467-468, SAW2 pp. 216-218, HRS pp. 92n-93n, MLW4A p. 327, LMS pp. 202-203, DRS p. 27, JLG1 p. 314, SNC pp. 179-182, FWI p. 181, BSF pp. 73-74, LSL p. 145.
[1446] This would be in modern Cabarrus County, N.C. TCS p. 165, SNC pp. 261-262.
[1447] CNC14 p. 695.
[1448] CNC14 p. 788.
[1449] HRS pp. 92n-93n.
[1450] TCS p. 167.
[1451] LMS pp. 202-203.
[1452] CNC14 p. 693, GDM pp. 242-244, HWW p. 66.
[1453] DKM p. 328.

Allaire: "Friday, 13th. Moved six miles to Bickerstaff's plantation. In the evening their liberality extended so far as to send five old shirts to nine of us, as a change of linen -- other things in like proportion."
Col. William Campbell's Orders of the Day, "Camp at Col. Walker's" for 13 Oct.: "The Deputy Quartermasters, under the direction of the Quarter Master General, to dispose of the wounded of their respective regiments, who are not able to march with the army, in the best manner they can, in the vicinity of this place.
"The Quarter Masters to call upon the companies to which the wounded belong for any necessary assistance for their removal. The Adjutants to wait upon the Brigade Major at six O'clock every day for the orders. The army to march without fail by two O'clock."[1454]

13 October. Col. Alexander Martin, of the N.C.Board of War, to Sumner: "Gen. Gates has laid before the Board of War a letter, addressed from you to him, asking his approbation to decline the militia service, as you conceive yourself, with other Continental officers, maltreated by the General Assembly, requesting Gen. Smallwood to take the Militia Command. This country, we are sensible, has a just sense of you and your officers' merit, and desire to have you employed in the defence of it, suitable to your wishes, not wounding your feelings, and should you leave the service at this critical juncture, in the face of your enemy, the Board will sincerely regret it. We wish that the brave and virtuous soldier will dispense with immediate inconveniences, and will not, for the little punctilios of honor, suffer his country to be given up into the hands of a merciless enemy."[1455]

13 October. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "Br. [Brother] Peterson set out on horseback for Bethabara, but heard from the younger Schumacher, who were returning from there, that a large party of Tories were in that village. About 500 Tories had marched past the mill, but without molesting anything. It looks now as though the entire Tory party had risen, both in this neighborhood and on Abbots Creek. Br. Peterson therefore turned back."[1456]

14 October (also given as 15 October). [battle] SHALLOW FORD (Yadkin County, N.C.) In response to the threat created by Colonels Gideon Wright and Hezekiah Wright[1457] (see 3 and 8 October), Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, at Charlotte, dispatched a force of 52 Mecklenburg men, under Capt. Andrew Carson, to Surry County. Simultaneously, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, near Salisbury, sent 60 Yadkin men under Capt. Jacob Nichols and a Capt. Miller to Deep Creek in the Forks of the Yadkin, where Surry militia men were themselves collecting to combat the loyalist uprising. This particular group of Surry militia ultimately numbered some 80 men. The different parties then united in an unrecorded location, but it probably was somewhere 2 to 3 miles northwest of Shallow Ford and west of the Yadkin. The whigs were further reinforced by some 160 Montgomery County, VA. militia led by Maj. Joseph Cloyd. Moving through western North Carolina, Cloyd was on his way to assist Campbell, but had come too late to participate at King's Mountain. Upon being informed of what was taking place in Surry County, he marched his force there instead.
On October 14th, the Wrights, with some 310[1458] to 900 men, having passed the Yadkin at Shallow Ford moving west on the Mulberry Fields road were confronted by the whig force sometime about 9:30 am. In a heated encounter of loosely formed units, which is believed to have lasted 45 minutes, the whigs managed to slay 14 loyalists, while probably wounding many more. The loyalists, who were mounted, fled and were effectively dispersed. The whigs, for their part, reportedly lost at least 1 killed, Capt. Henry Francis, and 4 others wounded. Draper *seems* to suggest that Col. Joseph Williams was prominent in the fight, but Williams only joined the fighting near its close, having heard the shooting going on from his home nearby. An additional 300 militia, under Col. John Peasly, of Guilford County, and sent by Sumner, also arrived just before the battle's closing. A modern estimate of the forces actually involved in the fighting gives the loyalists 500 and the whigs 300. Writes Revolutionary War specialist Ann Brownlee (from whom most of the above information was provided): "Within several days, most of them [the whigs] left for home. On October 19th, the Field Officers of the Patriots held a Council on nearby land owned by Abraham Creson. The Council directed that all those who had supported the Tory cause be offered a pardon, upon meeting specified conditions. Many availed themselves of this offer." While overshadowed by King's Mountain, Shallow Ford played a not insignificant part in undermining future loyalist support Cornwallis could have expected when he later re-invaded North Carolina in late January 1781.[1459]
Sumner, at "Camp Yadkin Ford," on 13 October had written Gates: "I inclose to you the Draft of the Enemy's lines at Charlotte, which I received from Genl. Davidson the 11th instant. The Evening of the same day Colo. Williams & Mr. Lenear arrived in Camp, informing me of the Torries getting very troublesome in Surry, being imbodied to the number of 3 or 400. I had some accounts at the same time that one [Gideon] Wright, their head-man, had sent in several of his men into Charlotte to get a way open for them to join the British Army. I have thought proper, therefore, to detach a party of 300 foot, with a few horses, under the command of Colo. Paisley [John Peasley], to endeavour to disperse them & Cut them off from Charlotte. This party is to be back within six days. On Tuesday last a Small party of Genl. Davidson's infantry fell in with two of the Enemy's Waggons, with an Escorte, on their way from Cambden, within two Miles of Charlotte, on the Steel-Creek Road; killed two men,

[1454] CNC15 pp. 118-119.
[1455] CNC14 pp. 787-78.
[1456] FRM p. 1571.
[1457] In some accounts, Hezekiah Wright is referred to as a Captain.
[1458] Draper assumes the number to be 310. DKM p. 433n. However, it is very conceivable that some of the loyalists who had been congregating at Zecharias Gibbs' on the day before King's Mountain joined up with the Wrights, thus significantly increasing the latter's strength. See 5-7 October.
[1459] Earlier on, Cornwallis had intended to move to Cross Creek, but the defeat at King's Mountain and difficulties around Charlotte forced his withdrawal. DKM p. 433n.

took two, & brought off the Waggon Horses, 2 port-mantues, with Officers' Baggages, &c., &c. No News of the Enemy's movements since my last. I expect Colo. Morgan in to-day. The Small-pox has been discovered on two of the prisoners brought in from the Enemy's lines. I have sent them, under a Guard, to a house down the River, & have taken all the precautions necessary to prevent the Spreading of this Contagious disorder, & have requested the Justices of Salisbury to take such measures as their prudence may dictate to Secure this part of the Country from the infection."[1460]

Col. John Peasley, date unknown, to Sumner: "Last Saturday about 10 o'clock we were within almost one and a half miles of Shallowford when we heard a foray. We advanced up with all possible speed, thinking our light infantry was engaged, and discovered that the Virginians and some of the Surry troops had attacked 300 Tories under Col. Wright. Our loss was only Capt. Francis killed and four wounded. Fourteen of the enemy were found dead on the ground, among which were Captains Bryan and Burke. Capt. Lakey was mortally wounded, and is now in our hands, with three more wounded prisoners, which were all we took."[1461]

Mid October. When Sumter returned from Hillsborough, he found his brigade camped on Bullock's Creek, in modern day York County. It flows from the east, just below King's Mountain, into the Broad River. Tarleton had hoped to catch him, but the retreat from Charlotte prevented it; during which time Sumter disbanded his troops. He called them out again to Hill's Iron Works on the New Acquisition after Cornwallis camped at Winnsborough.[1462]

14 October. On the night of 14 October nine loyalists, Col. Ambrose Mills, Captain James Chitwood, Captain Wilson, Captain Walter Gilkey, Captain Grimes, Lieutenant Lafferty, John Bibby and Augustine Hobbs, were tried and executed at Biggerstaff's plantation on grounds of alleged burglary, arson and murder, and which was done at the prompting of some of the leaders with Campbell, Col. Benjamin Cleavland being among the most prominent. As deplorable the event, It was not, nor was it seen, at the time as an isolated one and many whigs felt they were simply acting in just retaliation for the hangings after the battle of Camden, at Augusta and elsewhere of not so distant memory. This is mentioned not to palliate or excuse the ad hoc hangings but simply to at least give them their due context.[1463]
Campbell's orders for the day (the 14th): "The many desertions from the army, and consequent felonies committed by those who desert, oblige me once more to insist that proper regimental returns be made every morning, noting down the names of those who desert, that such may hereafter be punished with the justice which their crimes deserve; and officers commanding regiments are requested not to discharge any of their troops until we can dispose of the prisoners to a proper guard. The Quarter Master General to see the ammunition taken from the enemy properly issued to the troops, who have not yet drawn any of it. The Commissary General is to send small parties before us upon our route to collect provisions; and he is hereby empowered to call upon the commanding officers of the different regiments for such parties. It is with anxiety I hear the complaints of the inhabitants on account of the plundering parties who issue out from the camp, and indiscriminately rob both Whig and Tory, leaving our friends, I believe, in a worse situation than the enemy would have done. I hope the officers will exert themselves in suppressing this abominable practise, degrading to the name of soldier, by keeping their soldiers close in camp and preventing their straggling off upon our marches." [1464]

Allaire: "Saturday, 14th. Twelve field officers were chosen to try the militia prisoners-particularly those who had the most influence in the country. They condemned thirty-in the evening they began to execute Lieut.-Col. [Ambrose] Mills, Capt. Wilson, Capt. Chitwood, and six others, who unfortunately fell a sacrifice to their infamous mock jury. Mills, Wilson, and Chitwood died like Romans -- the others were reprieved."
Allaire's Letter: "…Shortly after we were marched to Bickerstaff's settlement, where we arrived on the thirteenth. On the fourteenth, a court martial, composed of twelve field officers, was held for the trial of the militia prisoners; when, after a short hearing, they condemned thirty of the most principal and respectable characters, whom they considered to be most inimical to them, to be executed; and, at six o'clock in the evening of the same day, executed Col. Mills, Capt. Chitwood, Capt. Wilson, and six privates; obliging every one of their officers to attend at the death of those brave, but unfortunate Loyalists, who all, with their last breath and blood, held the Rebels and their cause as infamous and base, and as they were turning off, extolled their King and the British Government…" Published in the (New York) *Royal Gazette*, 24 February 1781.

Cornwallis, from "Camp" at Winnsborough, to Maj. Gen. Smallwood, dated 10 Nov. 1780: "Your Letter of the 24th of last Month by some Mistake was not forwarded to me for several Days. I understand that some Prisoners who were on their March from Camden to Charlestown made their Escape, but have not yet had an Opportunity of informing myself whether those mentioned in your Letter were of the number. If they are still in our Possession, I will agree to Exchange them for Persons in similar Situation and Circumstances. I must now observe that the cruelty exercised on the Prisoners taken under Major Ferguson is shocking to humanity; and the hanging poor old Colonel Mills, who was always a fair and open Enemy to your Cause, was an act of the most Savage barbarity. It has also been reported to me that Capt. Oates, of Colo. [Robert] Gray's Militia, who was taken near

[1460] CNC14 pp. 692-693.
[1461] CNC14 p. 790.
[1462] TCS pp. 167-168, BGC pp. 92-93.
[1463] GHA4 pp. 28-29, JLG1 pp. 309-311, DKM p. 329-34.
[1464] CNC15 pp. 118-119.

the Pedee, was lately put to Death without any Crime being laid to his charge. From the Character which I have heard of you, Sir, I cannot suppose that you can approve of these most cruel Murders; but I hope you will see the necessity of interposing your Authorityto stop this bloody Scene; Which must oblige me, in justice to the suffering Loyalists, to retaliate on the unfortunate Persons now in my power.
"I am not conscious that any persons have hitherto been executed by us, unless for bearing Arms, after having given a Military Parole to remain quietly at home; or for enroling themselves voluntarily in our Militia, receiving Arms and Ammunition from the King's Store & taking the first Opportunity of joining our Enemies. The only Persons who were hanged at Camden, After the actions of the 16th. & 18th., except some Deserters from our Army, were two or three of the latter description, who were picked out from about Thirty, convicted for the like offence, on account of some particularly aggravating Circumstances which attended their case.
"I would willingly Exchange any of the North or South Carolina Militia, who may be prisoners with us, for those who were taken on King's Mountain." [1465]

McCrady: "Some, at least, of these no doubt [un]justly met their punishment. But revenge for the British execution of [Adam] Cusack, and of those at Camden and Augusta, left little play for mercy or even exact justice in their trial."[1466]

15 October. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "…a certain Captain from General Smallwood's troops had informed us that a part of his Detachment had camped at Friedrich Müller's in Friedland, and would be here today, and they arrived about forenoon. There were about 150 horsemen and 30 foot, with three wagons, and they were joined by a small company of militia from Guilford, and Capt. Lapp with 12 men came from Bethabara, where Col. Shepperd and Major Schmidt had arrived with about 200 men. All these men and their horses had to be fed. They kept good order, cooking in the open place by the Tavern in the heavy rain. They were being held in expectation of the rising, but stayed here all night. It is reported that Gideon Wright's party was defeated at the Shallow Ford by Capt. Gambly, and completely routed…"[1467]

15 October. As part of a move to support Cornwallis' now defunct operations in North Carolina (by cutting off and destroying supplies in Virginia), and with a view to establishing a naval station in the Chesapeake, Clinton sent Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie with 2,800 rank and file to Virginia. Leslie left New York on October 15th, pausing at Sandy Hook on the 17th.[1468]

15 October. In light of Cornwallis' evacuation of North Carolina, Morgan with his light troops arrived at Salisbury.[1469]

15 October. Campbell's men crossed the Catawba River at Island Ford just in time to reach Quaker Meadows before heavy rains made had made the Catawba impassible. Also on this date, about 100 of the King's Mountain prisoners were able to make their escape. Allaire and Chesney report of violent mistreatment of some of the prisoners, and which was not halted till Campbell issued a stern rebuke and warning to offenders.[1470]
Allaire: "Sunday, 15th. Moved at five o'clock in the morning. Marched all day through the rain-a very disagreeable road. We got to Catawba and forded it at Island Ford, about ten o'clock at night. Our march was thirty-two miles. All the men were worn out with fatigue and fasting- the prisoners having no bread or meat for two days before. We officers were allowed to go to Col. McDowell's, where we lodged comfortably. About one hundred prisoners made their escape on this march."

Letter of Allaire's Published in the (New York) *Royal Gazette*, 24 February 1781: "Shortly after the 14th it began to rain heavily In order to avoid being trapped by the flooded river, and eager to get themselves out of the possible reach of Tarleton who they believed might be on their trail, Campbell crossed the Catawba reaching Quaker Meadows where they camped, on the west bank of the Catawba. The militia and prisoners alike suffering continued privation for lack of food, but were able to partly appease their hunger there. By the next day, to their relief the river rose. On the morning of the fifteenth, Col. Campbell had intelligence that Col. Tarleton was approaching him, when he gave orders to his men, that should Col. Tarleton come up with them, they were immediately to fire on Capt. [Abraham] DePeyster and his officers, who were in the front, and then a second volley on the men. During this day's march the men were obliged to give thirty-five Continental dollars for a single ear of Indian corn, and forty for a drink of water, they not being allowed to drink when fording a river; in short, the whole of the Rebels' conduct from the surrender of the party into their hands is incredible to relate. Several of the militia that were worn out with fatigue, and not being able to keep up, were cut down, and trodden to death in the mire. After the party arrived at Moravian Town, in North Carolina, we officers were ordered in different houses. Dr. [Uzal] Johnson (who lived with me) and myself were turned out of our bed at an unseasonable hour of the night, and threatened with immediate death if we did not make room for some of Campbell's officers; Dr. Johnson was, after this, knocked down, and treated in the basest manner, for endeavoring to dress a man whom they had cut on the march. The Rebel officers would often go in amongst the prisoners, draw their swords, cut down and wound those whom their wicked and savage minds prompted. This is

[1465] RCC p. 67.
[1466] MSC1 pp. 748, 805. Regarding Adam Cusack's hanging by Wemyss, see GHA4 p. 29, RSC2 p. 156, GHA3 p. 471, and GHC pp. 266-267, 300, 302-307, 332.
[1467] CNC14 pp. 733-734, FRM pp. 1571-1572.
[1468] AR81 p. 54, LOB part I, CAR p. 467, MLW4A p. 328.
[1469] KJO p. 12, GHA3 p. 469.
[1470] RWW2 p. 291, LSL p. 144.

a specimen of Rebel lenity-you may report it without the least equivocation, for upon the word and honor of a gentleman, this description is not equal to their barbarity. This kind of treatment made our time pass away very disagreeably."[1471]

16 October. From Quaker Meadows, the South Carolina men under Hill and Lacey, and most of Shelby's and Sevier's men, and the Virginians on foot began their respective journeys homeward; with some of James Wiliams' former men joining Davidson. The men under Campbell, those of Cleavland and Winston, and possibly McDowell's also, and who were mounted, continued with the prisoners towards Hillsborough, having a force now of 500-600 to escort over 600 prisoners. During night, which was rainy, a number of prisoners (Allaire in his diary says 100) reportedly escape. Hill and Lacey subsequently camped at Bullock's Creek.[1472]

17 October. Campbell with what remained of his army, and escorting the King's Mountain prisoners, resumed his movements, and passing the valley of the Yadkin, forded the North branch of the Catawba and camped at a nearby plantation.[1473]

18 October. Campbell marched 18 miles and reached the bank of Moravian Creek not far from Wilkes Court House. The next day (the 19th) he arrived Brier's Creek and apparently discharged some of his Virginia troop, and by the 24th came to Bethabara.[1474]

19 October. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "…A Proclamation of General Smallwood had been published, in which he stated that any soldier caught robbing would be brought to the camp and hanged. This order will have a good effect, for barbarous and unjust treatment has driven many to the Tories who would gladly have remained peaceful."[1475]

19 October. Cornwallis' army, under Rawdon's command (the former being ill), crossed the Catawba at Land's Ford in his exit of North Carolina. After having sent out scouts to find a suitable location to base the army at, Rawdon moved to Winnsborough, S.C. where he settled his forces before the end of the month. Although Winnsborough had enough corn and more to feed his army, Cornwallis was noticeably deficient in both wagons and teams. He could not take them from rebels, and incurred the ire and grumbling of loyalists when he tried to get theirs.[1476]
Tarleton: "The plan for the winter's campaign being abandoned, the next object was to look out for a proper position to cover South Carolina: Immediate attention was given to procure intelligence of the state of the country between the Catawba and Broad rivers, and of the situations that would allow safe and direct communication with Ninety-Six and Camden. Several movements were made before a regular camp was established: It was impossible to rely upon the information of inhabitants; for, in all descriptions of country, they are influenced by secret considerations, which direct them to consult their own interest and convenience. Besides, it was not to be expected that individuals, unacquainted with war, could point out the most eligible post to be occupied by an army acting upon the defensive. The King's troops moved through a plentiful country in the neighbourhood of Fishing creek, whilst measures were employed to find out the most convenient position on the frontier." [1477]

20 October. Morgan, at Salisbury, wrote on this date Gates: "I am just setting out for Tephers, where my detachment arrived last evening. Genl. Smallwood detain'd me To go on with the cavalry -- no certain intelligence from the enemy since the 18th. They were on Monday last none miles beyond Charlott [sic] on the Road Leading to the old nation ford and at or near steel creek road that leads to camdon [sic, lower case "c"] -- I can't account for their maneuvers, as it seems thay [sic] are short of provisions & Forage and still continue at or near that place—but must think they are going to Camdon [sic].
"I am inform'd you are coming on with the main body which I think very advisable -- Salisbury will be very safe and comodeous [sic] encampment provided a sufficient number of boats are procured at the Yadkin well supplied with good ferry and a sufficient command of men left to guard the place. I think if you can march a thousand men we can act with safety, and cover the country -- I have been very sick since I left Hillsborough, but have got well except a very sore mouth.
"Being separated from Genl. Smallwood [I] have had little to eat or drink except meat & bread, no stores were allowed me when I came away. Genl. Smallwood & Mr. Pen told me you would see me provided for. I spoke to you but through a plenty of business I emagine [sic] you forgot me -- I assure you an officer looks very blank when he hant [had] it in his power to ask his officers to eat with him at times -- I understand some linen is coming on for the officers, if so, would be glad to get some. I come off from home bare of them thinking to be supplied at Richmond but could not get a yard, if I can get any my old friend Colo. Rosekranz will be kind enough to take charge of it for me and have it brought on [with] his baggage."[1478]

[1471] Published in the (New York) *Royal Gazette*, 24 February 1781.
[1472] DKM pp. 349-350.
[1473] DKM p. 349.
[1474] DKM p. 350.
[1475] FRM p. 1572.
[1476] TCS pp. 168-170, DRS p. 27, LMS pp. 201-203, WCO pp. 231-232.
[1477] TCS pp. 168-170.
[1478] HFR pp. 4-6.

21 October. The flotilla (see 15 Oct.) carrying them having cast anchor off Hampton Roads in the Chesapeake on the 20th, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie's force was landed and took possession of Portsmouth, Virginia. A detachment debarked the 22nd at Portsmouth, and a detachment was sent to Hampton Roads on the 23rd. The main body of troops were in Portsmouth on the 26th and 27th. Leslie fortified it, secured the posts of Great Bridge and Northwest Landing, and stationed a body of troops near Suffolk. From Hampton Roads on the 24th, he wrote to Cornwallis and described the troops that he brought south as including the "Guards, Bose, [Edmund] Fanning[']s [the King's American Regt.], a corps of provincial light infantry commanded by Col. Watson (left behind sick), part of the 82nd and 84th and 100 jaegers." A footnote in Clinton's memoirs gives his force as: "Guards, Regiment of Bose, Eighty-second, Thirty-fourth, Fannings, Watson's [Provincial] light infantry, Jagers, detachment of Seventeenth Dragoons,[1479] artillerymen (100), refugees, guides, pioneers, etcs. -- in all, 2800 rank and file." The mention of the "Thirty-fourth" is somewhat mysterious as no other mention of the regiment is made elsewhere in the southern campaign. However, it is likely the 34th Regiment returned to New York before Leslie moved, (as he did later) to Charlestown, because by that time the total rank and file strength of his expedition was approximately 2,300 rank and file.[1480]
In response to the threat Leslie posed from Suffolk, Brig. Gen. Thomas Benbury of the N.C. militia, fearing for the safety of Edenton, gathered a few not very reliable militia at Norfleet's Mill about 35 miles from the former location.[1481] For his part, Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory with a separate force sought to secure the pass at Great Swamp that led to Edenton.[1482]

Clinton: "(A)s Lord Conwallis had in his late disptaches [sic] explicitly told me that unless he immediately attacked North Carolina he must give up both South Carolina and Georgia and retire within the walls of Charlestown, I resolved without delay to send an expedition into the Chesapeake, with a view of making a powerful diversion in His Lordship's favor by striking at the magazines then collecting by the enemy at the head of James River for supplying the army they were assembling to oppose him." [1483]

22 October. When Congress, by a resolution of October 5th, requested Gen. Washington to appoint a new head of the Southern Army, with little hesitation he selected Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene. On this the 22nd, he wrote Congress expressing the reasons for this choice, and at the same time wrote Greene as well, offering him advice, support and encouragement. In the letter to Greene, Washington stated:
"Congress having been pleased by their resolution of the 5th. instant, to authorise [sic] me to appoint an officer to the command of the Southern army in the room of Major General Gates, 'till an inquiry can be had into his conduct as therein directed, I have thought proper to choose you for this purpose. You will therefore proceed without delay to the Southern army, now in North Carolina, and take the command accordingly. Uninformed as I am of the enemy's force in that quarter, of our own, or of the resources which it will be in our power to command for carrying on the war, I can give you no particular instructions but must leave you to govern yourself intirely [sic], according to your own prudence and judgment and the circumstances in which you find yourself. I am aware, that the nature of the command will offer you embarrassments of a singular and complicated nature; but I rely upon your abilities and exertions for every thing your means will enable you to effect. I give you a letter to the Honorable the Congress informing them of your appointment and requesting them to give you such powers and such support as your situation and the good of the service demand. You will take their orders in your way to the Southward.
"I also propose to them to send Major General The Baron [Friedrich] De Steuben to the Southward with you; his talents, knowledge of service, zeal and activity will make him very useful to you in all respects and particularly in the formation and regulation of the raw troops, which will principally compose the Southern army. You will give him a command suited to his rank; besides employing him as Inspector General. If Congress approve, he will take your orders at Philadelphia.
"I have put Major [Henry] Lee's corps [Lee's Legion] under marching orders, and as soon as he is ready, shall detach him to join you.
"As it is necessary the inquiry into the conduct of Major General Gates should be conducted in the quarter in which he has acted, where all the witnesses are, and where alone the requisite information can be obtained, I am to desire, as soon as the situation of affairs will possibly permit, you will nominate a Court of Inquiry to examine into his case, agreebly [sic] to the [a]forementioned resolution of Congress. Major General The Baron De Steuben will preside at this Court and the members will consist of such General and field officers of the Continental troops, as were not present at the battle of Campden [Camden], or being present, are not wanted as witnesses, or are persons to whom Major General Gates has no objection. I wish this affair to be conducted with the greatest impartiality and with as much dispatch as circumstances will permit. You will, on your arrival at the army, take the sense in writing of The General Officers and other principal officers, concerning the practicability of an immediate inquiry. If they judge it practicable on the principles of these instructions, you will have it carried into execution; if they do not think it can take place immediately you will inform Major General Gates of it and transmit me their determination; and you will from time to time pursue the same mode, that any delay which may happen may appear as I am persuaded it will really be, unavoidable. The Court need not consist of more than five, nor must it consist of less than three members; in all cases there must be three

[1479] The 17th Light Dragoons actually came to Charlestown a few weeks before Leslie did, accompanying some 200 recruits for the 7th Regt.
[1480] LOB part II, CAR p. 214n, 220, JLG1 p. 331, Cornwallis Papers, Public Record Office, Great Britain, 30/11/3, 275-6, CNC15 pp. 137-138, 143-145, 149, 157-158, MLW4A p. 328.
[1481] CNC15 p. 137.
[1482] CNC15 pp. 149-150.
[1483] CAR p. 210.

General Officers. You will keep me constantly advised of the state of your affairs and of every material occurrence.
"My warmest wishes for your success, reputation, health and happiness accompany you.
"P.S. Should General Gates have any objection to the mode of inquiry which he wishes to make to Congress or to me, you will suspend proceeding in the affair, till he transmits his objection, and you receive further orders…" [1484]

22 October. Kirkwood (with Morgan's force): "Octbr 22nd. Marched to Six mile run and there joined the No. Carolina Militia under the Command of Genl. Davidson."[1485]

24 October. Rawdon, at "Camp, near the Indian Lands, west of Cattawba [Catawba] river," to Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie: "Lord Cornwallis not being sufficiently recovered from a severe fever which lately attacked him to be able to write to you, his Lordship has desired that I should have the honour of communicating with you upon the subject of the present service. The Commander in Chief has transmitted to Lord Cornwallis a copy of the instructions under which you are to act. At the time when Petersburgh was suggested as an adviseable [sic] point for a diversion, which might co-operate with our intended efforts for the reduction of North Carolina, it was imagined that the tranquility of South Carolina was assured; and the repeated assurances which were sent to us by the Loyalists in North Carolina, gave us reason to hope, that their number and their zeal would not only facilitate the restoration of His Majesty's government in that province, but might also supply a force for more extensive operations. Events unfortunately have not answered to these flattering promises. The appearance of General Gates's army unveiled to us a fund of disaffection in this province, of which we could have formed no idea; and even the dispersion of that force did not extinguish the ferment which the hope of its support had raised. This hour the majority of the inhabitants of that tract between the Pedee [Peedee] and the Santée are in arms against us; and when we last heard from Charles-town, they were in possession of George-town, from which they had dislodged our militia.
"It was hoped that the rising which was expected of our friends in North Carolina might awe that district into quiet; therefore, after giving them a little chastisement, by making the seventh regiment take that route on its way to the army, Lord Cornwallis advanced to Charlotteburg [Charlotte].
"Major Ferguson, with about eight hundred militia collected from the neighbourhood of Ninety-Six, had previously marched into Tryon county to protect our friends, who were supposed to be numerous there; and it was intended, that he should cross the Cattawba [Catawba] river, and endeavour [sic] to preserve tranquility in the rear of the army. A numerous army now appeared on the frontiers, drawn from Nolachucki [Nolachucky], and other settlements beyond the mountains, whose very names had been unknown to us. A body of these, joined by the inhabitants of the ceded lands in Georgia, made a sudden and violent attack upon Augusta. The post was gallantly defended by Lieutenant-colonel [Thomas] Brown, till he was relieved by the activity of Lieutenant-colonel Cruger: but Major Ferguson, by endeavouring to intercept the enemy in their retreat, unfortunately gave time for fresh bodies of men to pass the mountains, and to unite into a corps far superior to that which he commanded. They came upon with him, and after a sharp action entirely defeated him. Ferguson was killed, and all his party either slain or taken.
"By the enemy's having secured all the passes on the Catawba, Lord Cornwallis (who was waiting at Charlotteburg for a convoy of stores) received but confused accounts of the affair for some time: but at length the truth reached him; and the delay, equally with the precautions the enemy had taken to keep their victory from his knowledge, gave Lord Cornwallis great reason to fear for the safety of Ninety-Six. To secure that district was indispensible [sic] for the security of the rest of the province; and Lord Cornwallis saw no means of effecting it, but by passing the Cattawba river with his army; for it was so weakened by sickness, that it would not bear detachment.
"After much fatigue on the march, occasioned by violent rains, we passed the river three days ago. We then received the first intelligence, respecting the different posts in this province, which had reached us for near three weeks; every express from Camden having been waylaid, and some of them murdered by the inhabitants. -- Ninety-Six is safe: the corps which defeated Ferguson having, in consequence of our movement, crossed the Cattawba, and joined Smallwood on the Yadkin.
"In our present position we have received the first intimation of the expedition under your command. From the circumstances which I have detailed, we fear that we are too far asunder to render your co-operation very effectual. No force has presented itself to us, whose operation could have been thought serious against this army: but then we have little hopes of bringing the affair to the issue of an action. The enemy are mostly mounted militia, not to be overtaken by our infantry, nor to be safely pursued in this strong country by our cavalry. Our fear is, that instead of meeting us, they would slip by us into this province, were we to proceed far from it, and might again stimulate the disaffected to serious insurrection. This apprehension you will judge, Sir, must greatly circumscribe our efforts. Indeed, Lord Cornwallis cannot hope that he shall be able to undertake any thing upon such a scale, as either to aid you, or to benefit from you in our present situation. The Commander in Chief [Sir Henry Clinton] has signified to Lord Cornwallis, that his Lordship is at liberty to give you any direction for farther co-operation which may appear to him expedient. But his Excellency has complied so very fully and completely with Lord Cornwallis's request, by sending so powerful a force to make a diversion in the Chesapeak[e], that his Lordship fears he should require too much, were he to draw you into the immediate service of this district. His Lordship is likewise delicate on this point, because he does not know how far, by drawing you from the Chesapeak, he might interfere with any other purposes to which the Commander in Chief

[1484] AR81 pp. 54-55, LMS pp. 210n-211n, MLW4A pp. 335-336, JLG1 pp. 326-327, LCC pp. 70.
[1485] KJO p.12.

may have destined your troops. Under these circumstances, Lord Cornwallis thinks himself obliged to leave you at liberty to pursue whatever measures may appear to your judgment best for his Majesty's service, and most consonant with the wishes of the Commander in Chief. No time is specified to Lord Cornwallis as the limitation of your stay to the southward. Should your knowledge of Sir Henry Clinton's desires prompt you to make a trial upon North Carolina, Cape Fear river appears to us to be the only part where your efforts are at present likely to be effectual. A descent there would be the surest means of joining and arming the friends of government, as well as of co-operating with this army.
"This, therefore, would naturally be the point to which Lord Cornwallis would bring you, did he conceive himself at liberty so absolutely to dispose of you. It must be remarked, however, that there are two difficulties in this plan; the first is, that the country from Cape Fear to Cross-creek (the Highland settlement) produces so little, it would be requisite in penetrating through it to carry your provisions with you; the second is, that no vessel larger than a frigate can pass the bar of Cape Fear harbour. Whatever you decide, Lord Cornwallis desires earnestly to hear from you as soon as possible.
"'Tis uncertain yet what steps this army (if left to itself) must pursue; but it will be ready at least to act vigorously in aid of any plan which you may undertake. Lord Cornwallis begs that you will inform the Commander in Chief of our circumstances, and that you will have the goodness to mention how highly sensible his Lordship is to the very effectual manner in which his Excellency has endeavoured [sic] to ease the operations of his army. The measure must have been attended with the most favourable [sic] consequences, had not accidents, which no foresight could expect, so greatly altered the complexion of our affairs in this province."[1486]

24 October. Maj. Francis Triplett's and Capt. James Tate's Virginia militia, about 100 to 200 in strength, arrived in Hillsborough to join Gates. [1487]

25 October. Morgan's commission as Brigadier General arrived for him to receive it. Also on this date his "Flying Army" was at New Providence, there for the purposes of feeding itself and keeping in awe potential loyalists. Present as well at New Providence, were Smallwood and Brig. Gen. William Davidson with 2 battalions of N.C. militia.[1488]
Kirkwood (with Morgan's force): 25th Moved our encampment in Front of the Militia[1489] this Neighborhood is called New Providence and within 14 miles of Charlotte." [1490]
Thomas Anderson, Lieutenant with the Delaware Regiment: "(October) 25th Moved our encampment in front of the Militia, this place [New Providence] is within fifteen miles of Charlotte, While we lay at this place, Colonel received his commission of Brigadier from Congress." [1491]
Smallwood, from "Camp at New Providence" 31 October, to Brig. Gen. Harrington: "The conquerors of Ferguson and his party I expected to join me here, but they have generally dispersed."[1492]

25 October. [skirmish] Tearcoat Swamp, also Tarcoat Swamp, and Black River (Clarendon County. S.C.) When Marion, at Britton's Neck, learned of Tynes encampment in the High Hills of Santee, he was able to call together 150 men (or up to 400 according to one source.)[1493] Lieut. Col Samuel Tynes, operating between Salem and Nelson's Ferry, had been able to call in about 200 men; whom he equipped with arms and stores coming out of Camden. Marion crossed the Peedee at Port's Ferry, then passed Lynches River (also called Lynches Creek) at Witherspoon's Ferry and thus made his way to Kingstree. From there he tracked Tynes to Tearcoat swamp "in the fork of Black river," where he surprised the loyalists. Tynes and his men were scattered, losing 6 killed 6, 14 wounded, and 23 taken prisoner. As well he lost 80 horses and saddles and "as many muskets." Some days following Tearcoat, Tynes himself and a few of his officers were captured (John Roberston believes in modern Sumter County) by a detachment of Marion's commanded by Capt. William Clay Snipes; though they subsequently escaped.[1494] Marion's own losses were anywhere from 3 to 26 killed and wounded. Many of Tynes men actually returned and enlisted with Marion; who sent those who were his prisoners to Brig. Gen. Harrington at Cheraw, and then proceeded to set up his camp at Snow Island for the first time. [1495] Following the loyalist defeat, Cornwallis had 50 men sent from Charlestown to Monck's Corner, while maintaining patrols covering his line of communication along the Santee River. Typical size forces British convoys had to guard against were about a dozen men. McCrady gives Marion strength as 400, and says Tynes, with an unknown number, lost 26 killed and wounded.[1496]
Gordon, and quoting Marion: "And from the same,: 'Capt. Murphy's [Malachi Murfee] party have burnt a great number of houses on little Peedee, and intend to go on in that abominable work, which I am apprehensive may be laid to me; but I assure you, that there is not one house burnt by my orders, or by any of my people: it is

[1486] COC pp. 32-38.
[1487] See Ensign McCorkle's letter quoted in "Many Were Sore Chased and Some Cut Down: Fighting Cornwallis with the Rockbridge Militia," by Odell McGuire, October 1995.
[1488] WDC p. 365, HWW p. 67.
[1489] Smallwood was present at New Providence at this time as well.
[1490] KJO p.12.
[1491] AJO, WDC p. 477.
[1492] GHC pp. 336-337.
[1493] In a letter from Marion to Gates, Marion stated that his strength on 25 October was 150 "of all ranks." BSF p. 78.
[1494] See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/highhills.htm
[1495] McCrady: "This island is situated at the conflux of the Peedee and Lynch's Creek, is of a triangular form, and is bounded by the Peedee on the northeast, by Lynch's Creek on the north, and by Clark's Creek, a branch of the latter, on the west and south. Thereby having command of the rivers he could be abundantly supplied with provisions, and his post was inaccessible except by water." MSC1 p. 752.
[1496] MMS2 pp. 224-230, JFM p. 25, MSC1 pp. 751-752, MSC2 p. 746, BSF pp. 75-78, RBG p. 105, BRG p. 246.

what I detest, to distress poor women and children.' The manner of Marion's expressing himself, points out Murphy for an anti-royalist. Many of the professed whigs disgraced themselves, by the burnings, plunderings and cruelties, that they practised [sic] in their turn upon the royalists. They changed sides at times, as appears by Marion's letter of October the 18th 'I have never yet had more than seventy men to act with me, and sometimes they leave me to 20 or 30. Many who had fought with me, I am obliged to fight against.'"[1497]

Marion, at "Lynches Creek," on 4 Nov. reported to Gates: "On the 24th Oct. I heard of a body of Militia encamping in the forks of Black river. I immediately Crossed Peedee, and the Next Night I came up with two hundred under the Command of Colo. Tyne[s], which I surprised, Killed Six, wounded 14, & took prisoners 23, & we got 80 horses and Saddles & as many Stand of Arms. The Colo. Made his Escape; but Sending a party to the high hills of Santee, he fell into our hands with Several Other prisoners who have Commissions in the Militia or Civill; also some who have been very Active against us & Great plunderers, all which I have Sent to Genl. Harrington on the Cheraw Hill.
"I hope I shall be Able to keep the North side of Santee clear of the Enemy, and prevent them from drawing off Stock. The militia is now turning out better than they have done for some time past. My Strength the 25 Oct. was 150 of all ranks, & at present Upwards of 200, & I expect in three Or four days it will be double. There is in Georgetown 60 British Invalides [sic], and as many militia from the South of Santee, which I hope to remove in a few days. Colo. Giles is with me, & has been very Active & Servicable; but I Believe Genl. Harrington will Order him from me, Greatly against his Inclination, and much to the Dissatisfaction of all his Officers…"[1498]

William Dobein James: "Tynes lay encamped at Tarcote, in the fork of Black river, much off his guard, and Gen. Marion crossing the lower ford of the northern branch of that river, at Nelson's plantation, marched up and surprised him in the night. The rout was universal, and attended, as Tarcote swamp was near, with more dismay than slaughter. Gen. Marion lost not a man; some tories were killed, and among the rest Capt. Amos Gaskens; a man noted before the war for petty larceny, and after it commenced, for plundering under Major Wemyss. The most of Tynes' men, soon after joined Gen. Marion, and fought bravely."[1499]

Lee: "With a force fluctuating from fifty to two hundred and fifty men, Marion held himself in his recesses on the Peedee and Black rivers, whence he darted upon the enemy whenever an opportunity presented itself. He not only kept in check all the small parties of the enemy, whom the want of forage and provisions, or the desire of plunder, occasionally urged into the region east and south of Camden, but he often passed the Santee, interrupting the communications with Charlestown, and sometimes alarming the small posts in the vicinity."[1500]

26 October. Col. William Campbell left his force of remaining King's Mountain men, some 450-550, along with the prisoners,[1501] at Bethabara under the command of Col. Benjamin Cleavland, while he personally went to Hillsborough to make his report to Gates.[1502]

26 October. Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist, at Baltimore, to Gates: "On my arrival here Colo. Hall informed me that he had just made you acquainted with the situation and number of Recruits raised in this State, since which no alteration has taken place. Our [Maryland] Assembly made a House Yesterday, and I make no doubt will immediately proceed to adopt some plan to fill my thin quota of Troops. I shall give my constant attendance, and will make you acquainted with such occurences as may serve to assist you in extending or contracting your prospects.
"Captain [William] Beatty march'd from Annapolis the 22d Instant [of Oct.] with 75 Rank & file as part of our quota, and was followed the Next day by Colo. A. L. Smith [Alexander L. Smith][1503] with the State Regiment. Total, 235. The Residue of this Corps are Sick in Hospital, except those who Deserted, which number is not very inconsiderable.
"We have just received Advice from Philadelphia that an Embarkation of 3,500 Infantry & a Troop of Horse, under the Command of General Leslie, had taken place at N. York and sailed a few days ago, suppos'd to be bound for N. Carolina…"[1504]

26 October. Lieut. Col. James Stuart and the Guards, from Leslie's force, were landed at Glebe, with a view to taking Great Bridge, VA., which was occupied by some militia. By noon of the 27th, the latter had fled, abandoning a four-pounder, of which the British took possession.

[1497] GHA3 pp. pp. 456-457.
[1498] CNC14 p. 726, GHA3 pp. pp. 456-457.
[1499] JFM p. 25.
[1500] LMS p. 203.
[1501] The prisoners that remained at this time were only about 300, perhaps as low as 200, some having escaped (see 15 October for example.) Some were subsequently paroled or drafted/enlisted into the North Carolina militia. About 130 prisoners, including the Provincials, were finally marched to Hillsborough. By 7 January 1781 only 60 were left in prison there (though some may have been moved to the stockade Greene later had built at Salisbury.) At least 200 of those who had escaped were able to continue fighting for the British. Gates had originally wanted to have the prisoners sent into Fort Chiswell, Virginia, but Governor Jefferson was strenuously against it due to the troubles in that area, preferring instead that they be marched further north. As it turned out, most, if any, of the prisoners don't seem to have even left North Carolina except as escapees. For more regarding the King's Mountain prisoners, see CNC14 pp. 724-725, 727-728, NGP7 p. 67, DKM pp. 358-360.
For more on the King's Mountain prisoners see FRM p. 1634.
[1502] DKM pp. 352, 357.
[1503] Regarding Col. Alexander L.Smith (or Alexander S. Smith according to one text), see 7 January 1781.
[1504] CNC14 pp. 710-711. Beatty arrived at Greene's camp on Dec. 7th.

In response to the invasion, Governor Thomas Jefferson called out 10,000 (later reduced to 6,000) militia. It had been intended that Col. (later Brig. Gen.) Robert Lawson with 500 mounted volunteers would assist Gates in North Carolina. Nonetheless, in view of the new threat, these were retained, and Jefferson requested Congress for assistance. The result ended up being the sending of Lieut. Col. Henry Lee[1505] and his Legion who arrived in North Carolina by January. The militia ultimately formed against Leslie was organized in two main bodies, one under Brig. Gen. Thomas Nelson on the lower James peninsula, and the other under Brigadier Generals Peter Muhlenberg and George Weedon at Pagan Creek near Smithfield. Although some loyalist came out to support Leslie, they were much less in number than he had hoped. Moreover, he was strained to find and secure both local pilots for his ships and information of enemy forces. Despite original instructions to advance on Petersburg, he never moved further than Suffolk, about which time (in early November) he received a directive from Cornwallis to descend with his expedition (via the sea) to the Carolinas.[1506]

26 October. Rawdon, at "Brown's House near the Cross Roads": "I dispatched a letter to you yesterday evening, informing you that Ld Cornwallis thought it necessary that your proposed march should for the present be postponed. As I have received no answer from you, I fear that the letter may have missed you: Therefore I am now to repeat the above instruction. Till it shall be judged expedient to let you proceed, I should of course wish to have you either with us, or as near us as best as Forage will admit. I see plainly that we cannot possibly be supplied with Flour or Meal in this Post: And I am convinced that this situation for the Army was recommended to you by the Militia merely because it was such as would cover them from the Enemy's incursions no matter at what expence [sic] of convenience to the troops. We are too far likewise from Camden. The [?] of getting up our Rum would be a perpetual weight & distress to us. For these reasons Ld Cornwallis judges it best to fall back to the neighbourhood [sic] of Lee's Mill in which situation I am informed we shall probably likewise be able to draw supplies from the Dutch Forks. I think we shall march this evening; as I only wait for some meal which we have been long expecting from Walker's. We shall proceed as far as Grime's [Grimes'?] where I should be glad to see you if it should not be inconvenient. I refer the Bearer to you respecting the feasibility of breaking up a nest of Plunderers who infest the neighbourhood & very much distress the loyal subjects. Capt. [Richard] Hovenden has arrived with Forty-five Dragoons."[1507]

27 October. 25 to 30 soldiers and two officers from the Prince of Wales Regt. left Charlestown, by boat, on their way to Georgetown.[1508]

29 October. Cornwallis, close to recovering from his fever yet still unwell, arrived at Winnsborough, formally making it his headquarters on 2 November. The total British army in the South Carolina and Georgia, including Loyalists and German troops, amounted to 5000. Some 500 recruits and convalescents belonging to different regiments about this time came in as reinforcements from New York. Meanwhile loyalist recruiting had proved somewhat successful and 150 loyalists were added to Tarleton's corps. As well as Ninety Six and Camden, the British now had posts at Nelson's Ferry, Thompson's Plantation (at Belleville), Dorchester, Georgetown, and Orangeburgh.[1509]
Tarleton: "Before the end of October, Earl Cornwallis fortunately recovered from his indisposition, and about the same period a proper encampment was discovered. After minute inquiry and examination, Wynnesborough presented the most numerous advantages: Its spacious plantations yielded a tolerable post; its centrical [sic] situation between the Broad river and the Wateree afforded protection to Ninety-Six and Camden; and its vicinity to the Dutch forks, and a rich country in the rear, promised abundant supplies of flour, forage, and cattle. As soon as the army arrived on this ground, the sick were conveyed to the hospital at Camden; rum and other stores were required from that place, and communication was opened with Ninety-Six."[1510]
Rawdon, "Camp between the Broad and the Catawba," writing on behalf of Cornwallis, to Clinton on this date: "For some time after the arrival of his Majesty's troops at Camden, repeated messages were sent to head quarters, by the friends of government in North Carolina, expressing their impatience to rise and join the King's standard. The impossibility of subsisting that additional force at Camden, and the accounts which they themselves gave of the distressing scarcity of provisions in North Carolina, obliged Lord Cornwallis to entreat them to remain quiet, till the new crop might enable us to join them. In the mean time General Gates's army advanced. We were greatly surprise, and no less grieved, that no information whatever of its movements was conveyed to us by persons so deeply interested in the event as the North Carolina Loyalists. Upon the 16th of August that army was so entirely dispersed, that it was clear no number of them could for a considerable time be collected. Orders were therefore dispatched to our friends, stating that the hour, which they had so long pressed, was arrived; and exhorting them to stand forth immediately, and prevent the re-union of the scattered enemy. Instant support was in that case promised them. In the fullest confidence that this event was to take place, Lord Cornwallis ventured to press your Excellency for co-operation in the Chesapeak[e], hoping that the assistance of the North Carolinians might eventually furnish a force for yet farther efforts. Not a single man, however, attempted to improve the favourable moment, or obeyed that summons for which they had before

[1505] Major Lee had been promoted by Congress to lieutenant colonel at Greene's request, JLG1 p. 329.
[1506] LOB part II. See John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783.* "Thomas Jefferson in answer to Query IX of his 'Notes on Virginia' gives the total militia enrolled in the state, in 1780-1781, by counties, as 49, 971. It should be remembered that the militia system of the state was been continually upset by the volunteering and drafting from it into the various armies of the continental and state regular service." FWV p. 860.
[1507] PRO. 30/11/3/281-282.
[1508] *History of the Prince of Wales American Volunteers*, Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies.
[1509] TCS pp. 169-170, SAW2 p. 224, BRG p. 243.
[1510] TCS pp. 168-170.

been so impatient. It was hoped that our approach might get the better of their timidity; yet during a long period, whilst we were waiting at Charlotteburg for our stores and convalescents, they did not even furnish us with the least information respecting the force collecting against us. In short, Sir, we may have a powerful body of friends in North Carolina, -- and indeed we have cause to be convinced, that many of the inhabitants wish well to his Majesty's arms; but they have not given evidence enough either of their number or their activity, to justify the stake of this province, for the uncertain advantages that might attend immediate junction with them. There is reason to believe that such must have been the risk.
"Whilst this army lay at Charlotteburg, George-Town was taken from the militia by the rebels; and the whole country to the east of the Santée, gave such proofs of general defection, that even the militia of the High Hills could not be prevailed upon to join a party of troops who were sent to protect our boats upon the river. The defeat of Major Ferguson, had so dispirited this part of the country, and indeed the loyal subjects were so wearied by the long continuance of the campaign, that Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, (commanding at Ninety-Six) sent information to Earl Cornwallis, that the whole district had determined to submit as soon as the rebels should enter it. From these circumstances, from the consideration that delay does not extinguish our hopes in North Carolina; and from the long fatigue of the troops, which made it seriously requisite to give some refreshment to the army; Earl Cornwallis has resolved to remain for the present in a position which may secure the frontiers without separating his force. In this situation we shall be always ready for movement, whensoever [sic] opportunity shall recommend it, or circumstances require it. But the first care must be to put Camden and Ninety-Six into a better state of defence, and to furnish them with ample stores and salt provisions. Earl Cornwallis foresees all the difficulties of a defensive war. Yet his Lordship thinks they cannot be weighed against the dangers which must have attended an obstinate adherence to his former plan. I am instructed by Earl Cornwallis to express, in the strongest terms, his Lordship's feelings, with regard to the very effectual measures which your Excellency had taken to forward his operations. His Lordship hopes that his fears of abusing your Excellency's goodness in that particular, may not have led him to neglect making use of a force intended by your Excellency to be employed by him. But as his Lordship knew not how far your Excellency might aim at other objects in the Chesapeak (to which point his Lordship's entreaty for co-operation was originally confined) he could not think of assuming the power to order Major-general Leslie to Cape Fear river; though he pointed out the utility of the measure, in case it should be conceived within the extent of your Excellency's purpose."[1511]

29 October. Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, at Petersburgh, VA., wrote Gates: "The Horses I mentioned in my last for the Artillery have just this moment left this place, & are to be pushed on as quickly as possible till they come up with you. I have not been able to get the Director of our Laboratory so well accommodated for business as I could wish, but have got him to work so well that the Articles we are likely to stand earliest in need of will be done. I expect in a few days he will send forward fixed Shott for the four pounder sent on to the Yadkin. I shall also shortly have a few Waggons supplied by Virga. for the intermediate Service from Taylor's Ferry [on the Roanoke River] to your Camp.
"The Enemy had last Week landed at Hampton a Body of Men, said to be about 500, but re-embarked again on Tuesday without doing any mischief further than getting a Considerable quantity of provisions & taking off some of the inhabitants. They had also landed a Body of Men in the Neighbourhood of Norfolk, from whence the Governor had been able to get no certain intelligence when I left Richmond last Thursday; but there has just now Arrived at this place an Express from Genl. Muhlenburg [Peter Muhlenberg], who lies at Cabbin point [sic], about 25 miles from this. From him we learn that the Enemy are moving on towards Smithfield, but the intelligence is so imperfect that I can say nothing to you as to their numbers. Genl. Muhlenburg Marched from here with about 1,000 men. Genl. [Thomas] Nelson is still nearer the Enemy, with such Militia as he has been able to Collect in the country thereabouts. Colo. [Robert] Lawson [later Brig. Gen.] is now forming a Volunteer Corps that will be respectable. Should the Enemy intend to push their operations in this State, I am convinced they will meet with a Vigorous opposition, as the people are much disposed to turn out. The State is unhappily much unprepared as to Arms, &c., but still I hope they will do well.
"I am now this far on my way back to Taylor's Ferry, where I shall be ready to be Honored with your Commands in two or three days at furthest."[1512]

30 October (and early November). [two skirmishes] Bear Swamp, and Brown's Counterattack (Marion and Dillon counties, S.C.) After Marion left Amis Mill, Capt. Jesse Barfield (also "Barefield") assembled some of his militia on the Little Peedee. As part of an effort to collect horses for the N. Y. Volunteers, on October 30th he struck at some of Col. Thomas Brown's men under a Capt. Moore at Bear Swamp and defeated them. Barfield himself then was shortly after counter-attacked by Brown himself who commanded a "regiment" of whig militia on the upper Peedee. Brown managed to disperse Barfield's force, at least temporarily. Wrote Brown on the 4th of November to Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington: "Barefield did surprise [Capt. Moore] & took several of his horses…I have killed Miles Barefield, and wounded two others of the Barefields; and it is said Jesse Barefield is shot through the hand, but the certainty I cannot tell. I have got four more of the Barefield's well ironed & under guard, whom I am very choice of...I have got 259 cattle and have just got to collecting again, as Barefield hath prevented me a fortnight (ago)." See Miller's Plantation, 8 November.[1513]

31 October. Smallwood, at "Camp New Providence," to Gates: "Since my last, nothing material has occured except a great scarcity of Provision. Colo. [Thomas] Polk has not even supplied the Regular Troops. Our principal

[1511] COC pp. 35-39.
[1512] CNC14 pp. 717-718.
[1513] GHC pp. 337-338, 340-341, BSF p. 88.

Subsistence has been brought in by Detachments, which they took from the disaffected who have gone over to the Enemy; and I have now not less than two Hundred Men employed on that duty, which is the only prospect of supplying the Troops till the late Provision Act for collecting the specific Tax in Provision is more effectually carried into Execution, which I fear at last will not afford an ample supply in addition to what Purchases can be made. Forage is also much exhausted, and can not long be procured for any considerable Force.
"Plundering prevails to an amazing degree, by Persons who go under the denomination of Volunteers. Your Proclamations restraining this infamous Practice, and offering terms to the Tories before they obtain Intelligence of the Enemy's landing in Virginia, might have, as I wrote you before, a salutary effect.
"The British two days ago were encamped at Lee's Mill, said to be fifteen Miles below the Cross Roads. From this place Roads lead to the Westward -- Congaree, Charles Town, and Camden; from which no just Conclusion can be drawn of their Destination or Views.
"I shall be happy to see you on with the Continental Troops as soon as they can be equipped; the present aspect of our Affairs seems inauspicious. The Enemy's late descent in Virginia, together with our defenceless Situation and want of Resources, is truly alarming. Pray what has become of the French Fleet? Unless something is to be expected from them, our Situation must become ineligible [sic].
"General Sumpter lies high up on the South side of the Catawba, he writes me his number is very inconsiderable. The Georgians have not joined him as he expected. The other Parties who defeated Ferguson are dispersed and gone Home, except the Escort with the Prisoners.
"You will be so obliging to continue to forward any farther Intelligence you may receive respecting the Enemy, or other material transactions…N. B. Axes and intrenching Tools are much wanting."[1514]

31 October. Having been earlier suggested by Gen. Washington (see 22 October), and that recommendation approved by Congress, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene was formally placed by Presient Samuel Huntington in command of the Southern Army as successor to Gates.[1515] Prior to this announcement, it was intended to have Greene command West Point, the post held only recently by turncoat Benedict Arnold. Once installed as southern commander, Greene, in Philadelphia, immediately set about seeking men arms, clothing, and transport. From Maj. Gen. Henry Knox, the Continental Army's senior artillerist, he was promised a company of artificers. From Joseph Reed, President (or Governor) of Pennsylvania he obtained 1,500 stand of arms (of the 4,000-5,000 Greene had solicited for.) He was promised 100 road wagons by Reed, and 40 covered wagons by Col. Timothy Pickering, the Continental Army's Quartermaster General (i.e. chief in charge of wagons and transport.) From Congress, Greene obtained $180,000 in Continental Currency or 1,800 in real money for his personal expenses; while acceding to his request to have Maryland and Delaware annexed to the southern department.[1516]

Late October. Years after the war ended, Davie reported the strength of the North Carolina militia in October and early November as follows: "In the month of October & part of November there were about [North Carolina] 1000 Militia under the command of Generals Davidson & Sumner about 300 mounted infantry and Colonel Davie about [left blank] under Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and [Joseph] McDowell...Genl [Allen] Jones marched 900 men in October 1780 to Genl Smallwood[']s Camp at [New] Providence…
Men from Burke and Rutherford, under Charles McDowell 160
From Wilkes and Surry counties, under Col. [Benjamin] Cleveland and Major [Joseph] Winston: 350
From Washington County, NC: [John] Sevier 240
From Sullivan County, NC [Isaac] Shelby 240
From Washington County, Va. [William] Campbell: 400
total 1390"[1517]

[1514] CNC14 pp. 720-721.
[1515] TPY pp. 28-29.
[1516] JLG1 pp. 329-336, GLG3 p. 49, CBA p. 529, WDC pp. 364-365, TPY p. 56.
[1517] DRS pp. 35, 61n.

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November. Balfour sent the 64th Regt., under Maj. Robert McLeroth, from Charlestown to pass the Santee and protect communications with Camden from Marion's partisans. Rawdon, for his part, detached some mounted infantry of the N.Y. Volunteers, under Capt. John Coffin, to assist McLeroth. Many skirmishes took place between McLeroth, Coffin and the rebels in the area, without considerable loss to either side, though supply convoys to Camden were not infrequently delayed. To further enhance British defenses along the frontier, fortifications at Camden, Ninety Six, and Georgetown continued to be upgraded and improved.[1518]

November. The 1st Bttn. of the 71st Regt., under McArthur, continued to occupy Brierly's (or Brierley's) ferry on the Broad River, in order to safeguard forage in that area of meal, flour, and cattle for Cornwallis at Winnsborough. These provisions were either supplied willingly by inhabitants, or else came from confiscated estates.[1519]

November. In November, including and back into October as well, Col William Davie was in the field with 300 mounted North Carolina militia, based at Land's Ford on the Catawba River. By the last day of the month, however, his men's term of service had expired. At the suggestion of Morgan, he intended to form a legion corps, but shortly after Greene solicited him to become Commissary General for North Carolina, and so he dropped the plan. Perhaps interestingly, and though not far distant, Davie apparently declined to join Sumter at the latter's gathering at Fish Dam Ford about just before the middle of November, despite having acted with him previously at Hanging Rock, 6 August.[1520]

November. [skirmish] Sandy River (Chester, County, S.C.)[1521]

November. During the month, skirmishing resumed between Whigs and Loyalists in the Drowning Creek area of South Carolina and North Carolina.
Pension statement of William White of Anson County, North Carolina: "Again, some time in November, 1780, he was drafted or called to serve a tour against the Tories under Captain Dudley Mask (rendezvoused) [sic] at the Grassy Islands, marched down to Drauning [Drowning] Creek. The Tories fled and we were verbally discharged...served at this time two weeks."

Early November. Capt. Feight Risinger[1522] to Cornwallis: "This is to inform your Lordship that the Last Express that was Directed to Leiutenant [sic] Colnl Tatleton [sic] was taken the 28th of this instant about six mil[e]s from Henerecses [sic] Mill and if your Lordship Sends any other Express it must Be a man that is well acquented [sic] with the woods or els[e] he cannot get along onless [sic] he is taken [by a guide] and likewise. I do acquint [sic] you that I am very unwell myself[.]"[1523]

Early November. After Cornwallis camped at Winnsborough, Sumter called out his men to Hill's Iron Works. He then moved to Stalling's Plantation on Fishing Creek. After learning that Tarleton had moved toward the High Hills (in pursuit of Marion), he relocated to Moore's Mill only thirty miles from British army; after suppressing some loyalists in the vicinity of Mobley's Meeting House.[1524]

Early November. Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton commenced preparations to assemble the N.C. militia in and around Halifax, N.C. in response to Leslie's landing at Portsmouth, VA. See 21 October.[1525]

1 November. Col. Abraham Buford, from "Camp" at Hillsborough, to Gates: "The company of eight Months' men that are taken (By Genl. [Edward] Stevens) from my Corps leaves me but three companies. I have reserv'd their arms, & propose to put them into the hands of as many of the Augusta [Augusta County, VA.] men. I understand that there are spare arms at Guilford Courthouse. If so, & I can have an order for them, I think It will be advisable to take all the Eighteen Months' men on with me. I shall be glad of your orders respecting the Matter. Also your order for the arms at Guilford Corthouse."[1526]

2 November. Major John Mazaret of the Virginia State Artillery, at Hillsborough, to Gates (spelling here left mostly uncorrected by me): "With grate [sic] deal of difficulty I at last have executed your orders. Receiving no Assistance From those Gentlemen Caled the bord of war [sic], it's my Opinion they be Caled the useless bord. I am Hartly sorry to inform you that I have Recd. no Kind of Clothing from Virginia, and was under the disagreeable necessity of sending on the men almost stark naked or disobey[e]d your orders. I intially troust to your goodness for an equal portion of the Clothing now Coming on. I am Now indeavouring [sic] to fitt the two

[1518] TCS pp. 183-184.
[1519] TCS p. 184.
[1520] DRS pp. 28-29, SNC p. 186.
[1521] LSC p. 10.
[1522] Risinger was an officer in the royal militia. The date of this message is unclear, however, context would seem to place it in early November 1780.
[1523] PRO. 30/11/4/256.
[1524] BGC p. 96.
[1525] CNC15 p. 153.
[1526] CNC14 p. 722.

[artillery] pieces Remaining at this place in a better ma[n]ner than those Now Coming On, for their is a Grate [great] deficiency In them. Genl. [Edward] Stevens has promised his Assistance to have them put in better Order at Salbary [Salisbury]. I am Once more at this disagreeable Station left to myself, and shall be the same Untill I have the Pleasure of hearing from you."[1527]

2 November. Due to a scarcity of supplies in Hillsborough, Gates ordered what remained of the Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia troops (the latter lead by Buford, numbering some 1,000) to Salisbury, along with two cannon under Capt. Anthony Singleton, which they subsequently reached on the 9th. Several days later, Gates himself left Hillsborough with a 130 man escort and arrived at Salisbury on the 11th. Most of his army was sick at the time with various wounds and illnesses. Despite promises of the North Carolina Board of War, there were few provisions to be had in Salisbury.[1528]
On 7 November, Ensign John McCorkle, with Capt. James Tate's Company from Rockbridge County, VA., wrote to his wife Rebecca: "On the seventh day of Nov. we arrived at headquarters about ten miles below Charlotte where Major-Gen'l Smallwood's Regiment was in camp, but we are to join Col. Morgan's Light Infantry and we cannot tell how soon we must march from here. We expect to do most of the fighting. The enemy have left Charlotte. Part of them went to Camden and crossed the Catawba River. Some think that they are on the way to Charlestown." [1529]

3 November. After receiving formal instructions from Congress, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, accompanied by Maj. Gen. Friedrich von Steuben, went south from Philadelphia to take command of the southern army. With him as aides were Col. Lewis Morris, Jr. and Maj. Ichabod Burnet. For his own staff, Von Steuben had Captains Benjamin Walker and Peter S. DuPonceau. Not long before, Brigadier Generals Peter Muhlenberg and George Weedon had recently arrived in Virginia to organize the militia in that state in the face of the still present threat posed by Leslie at Portsmouth.[1530]

3 November. Turnbull, at Camden, to Cornwallis: "Permitt [sic] me to Congratulate you on the Recov'ring of your Health. Which we all Heartily Rejoice at --
"Tarleton crossed the River yesterday morning and Proposes to set out Tomorrow in search of the Rebells -- Two men have arrived this moment from Black Creek who assure us that Marion and Snipes have their Quarters at Singleton[']s Mills. We have sent a spy who we Expect will be back by morning. And Tarleton will regulate his Route accordingly -- We never can fix the Number with those Country fellows.
"Col: Davis's [William Richardson Davie's] Parties has show'd themselves within twenty miles of us. But We cannot Learn that the Body of Twelve mile Creek has advanced --
"Your Lordship will be surprised that our works are not in greater forwardness. The Negroes took the Small Pox, Deserted, many Died, that the Troops have been oblidged [sic] to work there three weeks. We will do it as fast as we can. --
"Major Despard & Capt. [Henry] Haldane are arrived. We are Planning which way to get in a Quantity of Cattle and Corn from Santee Provided Col: Tarleton takes that Route.
"Capt. [John] Coffin having been taken ill at Col: Thomsons [William Thompson's] on his way here writes me that Parties of Rebells lay Lurking in that Country that twenty has been seen together."[1531]

3 November. Smallwood at "Camp New Providence," to Morgan: "Having understood that the disaffected Inhabitants in the settlements of Lynch creek, and Waxhaw, since the retreat of the British from Charlotte, have meditated the removal of their property to Camden, I was induced to order Colo. Davie with a detachment down into that quarter, to intercept all such property, which he might apprehend was about to be removed, and to draw what supplies of forage, and Provisions, could otherwise be procured, exclusive of the stock necessary for consumption of the remaining Inhabitants.
"I have this day received intelligence that a party of four hundred British & Tories, have advanced up to the Hanging Rock, to cover the disaffected who are actually removing not only their own effects, but the property of such Whigs as they fall in with, and apprehending the detachment under Colo. Davie will be annoyed in the Execution of their Duty, -- You will therefore proceed down with the Cavalry, Light Infantry, and Rifle men below the Range of his duty, to cover them in the discharge thereof. -- March with all imaginable secrecy and dispatch, and if possible give the enemy a stroke at the Hanging Rock, should they still be there, and no powerful reasons against it.
"In accomplishing your views should it be necessary you will call to your aid any part of Davie's detachment, but otherwise, I would not wish their duty to be obstructed --
"It will be unnecessary to caution you to guard against a surprise, and to restrain the soldiery from distressing such of the Inhabitants as may merit your attention. Your own Judgment and vigilance in the first instance, and your Humanity and discretion in the latter will govern --
"It is not improbable but you may fall in with part of our Tents, Waggons, and Baggage plundered by the Tories after General Gates' defeat. Whatever you fall in with under that description secure and forward to camp --
"You will give me the earliest, and frequent Intelligence of your transactions, and as speedy as possible, accomplishing the views comprized [sic] in your Instructions, return to camp -- distribute the orders prohibiting

[1527] CNC14 p. 724.
[1528] KJO p. 12, WNA, GHA3 pp. 469-470, JLG1 p. 314, WCA p. 68, RNC pp. 258, 261.
[1529] MGC
[1530] JLG1 pp. 329-336, GLG3 p. 49, LMS p. 214, CBA p. 529, WDC pp. 364-365.
[1531] PRO. 30/11/4/14-15.

plundering, copies of which are Enclosed and it may not be amiss to give assurances of Lenity to such tories, who may return and submit to the mercy of their country, intimating that proclamations to that purpose will be issued."[1532]

3 November. Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington, at "Camp Near Kershaw's Ferry," to the North Carolina Board of War (spelling left mostly uncorrected): "Your favor of the 28th Ulto. came to hand in due time, but I have not as yet been favoured with an answer to my Letter by Col. T. Wade [Thomas Wade] and I have not heard for some time from Col. [Thomas] Brown a [lacuna in text] two Expresses to Bladen County, but from his thorough honesty and attachment to the Cause I am sure He has not been, but then the Cattle he has collected must go by the way of Cross Creek & to Hillsborough. where I apprehend our Friends from Virginia and Maryland will want them. I have a considerable Body of Horse on the West side of the Pedee [Peedee], with the triple view of alarming or harassing the Enemy [Cornwallis] on their Retreat, gaining intelligence, and on their return, collecting of Beeves for the use of our Army near Salisbury or Charlotte, which Beeves I shall send by the Anson Militia. I have ordered out the So. Militia for the collection of Cattle, which from the information I have received, I am in hopes will be in tolerable plenty. Fat hogs are to be had here in great numbers; Barrels and Salt are all that are wanted, and as the first cannot be made in an instant, for the Timber must be seasoned…At the time I first heard of Brig. Gen. Davidson's appointment, the Enemy were advancing towards the Cheraws, and it was expected would attempt to Invade this State by the way of Cross Creek, where I then had the Honour to Command; and altho' I was determined, from the moment I heard of the said appointment to resign, yet I could not think of so doing until our insolent Enemy were obliged to Retreat. I acquainted His Excellency the Gov. and the Hon. Maj. Gen. Gates with my Intentions & determination. The time I waited for is now arrived, and I have the happiness to know that the last of our Foe has been obliged to retreat, and that by our own exertions. With regard to my said early Determination, I now beg leave to be permitted to resign my Commission of Brigadier General of Salisbury District, Pro tem., which the Last Session of Assembly were not willing I should hold, as clearly appears by Gen Davidson's Appointment. For my part, I am content, and I can assert with the strictest regard to Truth that, so this my Country is but faithfully Served, it is equal to me whether it be by me or by another. Colo. [James] Kenan's Regiment of Cavalry are but weak in regard to numbers; they are fine fellows and well officered, and have near three months to serve. Col. Thomas Taylor's [of N.C.] Cavalry is much more numerous, the Officers exceeding well disposed to do every service to their Country, the men fine fellows, but too much inclined to plunder, tho' restrained by their Officers. They are entitled to their discharge by the 20th Inst. One of the Nine Companies of Infantry now with me must have theirs by the 17th, four other Companies by the 24th, and the three last by the 2nd of December, Add to this that it is with difficulty and slowly that I collect the Draughts from Anson, Montgomery & Richmond; those from the first are almost all gone to the Enemy, as are many from the other two counties, yet I shall, with the utmost cheerfulness & assiduity, continue to collect the said Draughts and to answer the Views of the Board of War in other respects, until the time of these last Companies of Infantry is expired, by or before which time I hope the Board of War will instruct me with whom to leave the Command. Col. James Kenan, of Duplin County, who commands the first Regiment of Horse, is a good & spirited officer, and in my poor opinion would answer well the Intentions of the Board at this Post, but this must be left to your good judgment. I would now inclose my Commission, but will continue acting in this advanced Post without it till the General Assembly speaks [lacuna] however I will wait on the Board at Hillsborough and leave it, on my way to my family on Roanoke."[1533]

4 November. Around the beginning of the month, Tarleton had been sent to Camden from Winnsborough because Cornwallis was apprehensive of its possibly being attacked by Morgan. When it was realized no danger was imminent, on the 4th, Tarleton, with his Legion, Harrison's Provincials and two three-pounders, was instead sent, out from Camden to hunt down Marion.[1534]
Tarleton: "Earl Cornwallis was impressed with an idea that the Americans had a design upon Camden: The report of the advance of General Morgan towards the head of Lynche's [Lynches] creek, with Colonel Washington's cavalry, and a body of continental infantry, together with the exaggerated accounts of Marion's corps, gave plausibility to the supposition. The situation and importance of the magazine caused early jealousy and immediate attention. The light troops, however, on their arrival at Camden, found no reason to expect an attack from General Morgan, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton thought the opportunity favourable to commence an expedition against Marion."[1535]

4 November. Thomas Anderson: "Nov. 4. This day General Morgan's light infantry with Colonel Washington's cavalry marched down towards Rudgeley's [Rugeley's], within thirteen miles of Camden to reconnoiter the enemy and returned to camp on the 9th instant…marched 100 [miles]
[no entries till Nov. 22nd]
"22. This day the Maryland Division arrived here [New Providence.]"[1536]

5 November. Turnbull, at Camden, to Cornwallis: "I had the Honor of writing your Lordship Two days ago, Acquainting you that I had sent of[f] Twenty Prisoners. Four of which it seems not being able to march Remained [.] A Lt. [Forest?] of Col: Careys [James Cary's] set of[f] with a guard of Eleven Including himself charged with

[1532] HFR pp. 6-8.
[1533] CNC15 pp. 139-141.
[1534] TCS p. 171, MMS2 pp. 224-230, LMS pp. 203-204.
[1535] TCS p. 171.
[1536] AJO.

fifteen Prisoners. They put up at a house near Hunters the Twelve mile house. When by some Treachery the Prisoners not only Disarmed the Guard but Paroled them.
"Major Prevost being at Hunter's and hearing there was some Confusion amongst them went up, and found Mr. [Forest?] very drunk and the Prisoners gone Except a young boy who wou[l]d not go. They were so generous to Mr. [Forest?] as to make him a present of his arms back again, which is very Strong Presumption that it had been a concerted Scheme.
"Tarleton marched this morning Early I let him have our Light Company and the Officers of the Garrison mustered up about Twenty-five horses to a[s]sist him [sic]. I imagine He will be in the Rear of Singleton before day break Tomorrow. Nothing new from the Waxhaws. Rudgely [Henry Rugeley] is arrived from Town very Sick. I am afraid I Blamed him too Rashly."[1537]

5 November. Greene and Von Steuben arrived at Head of Elk, Maryland on their journey southward.[1538]

5 November. Marion camped with about 400 to 500 men at Jack's Creek, some ten miles north of Nelson's Ferry, in the proximity of the British supply route to Camden.[1539]

7 November. Greene and Von Steuben reached Annapolis, MD. and where Greene spent a few days writing governors and the legislatures of Maryland and Delaware for men, support, and supplies for the southern army (the Maryland legislature at the time happening to be in session.) By 12 November the two generals and their staffs had moved on to Mount Vernon where they stayed briefly; then resumed their journey toward Richmond, VA. Before departing Maryland, Greene had left Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist to act as his agent for any men and supplies that state might send.[1540]

7 November. Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, at "Isle of Wight," VA., to Gates: "I expected The Governor would have given you a circumstantial Account of the proceedings of the Enemy in this State, and of the measures adopted to oppose them, but I understand from Captain [Anthony] Singleton, who is just arrivd, that the intelligence you have procurd [sic] from that Quarter has been very deficient. I shall, therefore, do myself the honor to represent to you our present situation as concise as possible. On the Enemy's [Leslie's] landing in the State, I marchd all the regulars we had embodied, consisting of 800 Men, to oppose them & prevent their ravaging the lower Counties with impunity. It was near Six days before I got near them, when they immediately retreated to Portsmouth, where they are at present entrenching themselves.
"They have likewise compel[']d Colo. Senff [John Christian Senf, Gates' chief engineer] to retreat from The great Bridge, and taken possession of that post, but Generals [Isacc] Gregory & [Thomas] Benbury are collecting a force sufficient to oppose them on that side. General [Thomas] Nelson is on the North side of James River with about 1,000 Men & will be reinforced in a few days with more.
"We have had fourteen deserters from the Enemy since their arrival; & from their reports, as well as from other intelligence more to be depended on, I am convincd their force does not exceed 2,500, and these are a Motley Crew, composed of draffts from different corps.
"The post I at present occupy is fifteen Mile distant from the Enemy's outpost, & I only wait a reinforcement to move lower down. I have, since my stay at this place, been reinforced with 600 Militia; 800 more will join me in a few days, & General [George] Weedon is on his March to join me with 1,000, besides a Corps of Volunteers commanded by Colo. [Robert] Lawson [later Brig. Gen.] , consisting of 800 Infantry & 100 Horse, so that in a few days we shall have a respectable force. From every account I have been able to obtain, The Enemy on their first arrival intended to penetrate the Country & form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, but hearing of Ferguson's fate, they wait for further Orders, & now I believe it is too late to put that project into execution, as the Inhabitants have turned out with Spirit & Alacrity."[1541]

7-8 November. Tarleton, with 400 men and two small artillery pieces, arrived at the plantation[1542] of General Richard Richardson as the launching point of his expedition against Marion. Marion, apprised by a member of the Richardson family that Tarleton lay in ambush for him, retreated to Richbourg's Mill dam. Tarleton then, learning he had been given away, started in the early hours of the 8th and went in vigorous pursuit. Yet he gave up after a goose chase of twenty-six miles in the swamps. It was at Ox Swamp,[1543] where he finally halted, that (according to William Dobein James) Tarleton reportedly referred aloud to Marion as that "damned old fox." Marion had set an ambush at Benbow's Ferry on the Black River, but Tarleton never approached, returning instead to Richardson's Plantation, and then burned some homes and destroyed much corn between Nelson's Ferry and Camden. On November 9 and 10, he set alight thirty houses, and on the 10th camped at Singleton's Mill, about 17-18 miles north of Nelson's ferry, just east of the Wateree, and on the road leading to Camden.[1544]

[1537] PRO. 30/11/4/25-26.
[1538] GLG3 p. 49.
[1539] BSF p. 80.
[1540] GLG3 p. 53, TPY p. 56.
[1541] CNC14 pp. 728-729.
[1542] Richardson's was about 6 miles due east of Singleton's Mill, and roughly twenty-three miles north of Nelson's Ferry.
[1543] Bass: "Tarleton chased Marion from neat St. Paul on U.S. Highway 301, up Jack's Creek, and down Pocotaligo River to about the site of the town of Manning." BSF p. 254n. James, in a footnote: "This Ox swamp [where Tarleton gave up the chase] is twenty-three miles above Kingstree, another mentioned hereafter, is thirteen miles below." JFM p. 26n. Benbow's Ferry crossed Black River thirteen miles above Kingstree. BGC p. 269.
[1544] TCS p. 171-172, MLW4A p. 329, MLW3 p. 109, LMS pp. 203-204, JFM pp. 25-26, MSC1 pp. 815-819, BSF pp. 80-85, 259n, BRG p. 246. It was during this excursion that Tarleton reportedly, according to a letter of Gov. Rutledge to the S.C. delegates, dug up

Tarleton: "Earl Cornwallis approving the design [against Marion], the light troops marched down the east bank of the Wateree. According to the reports of the country, General Marion's numbers were hourly increasing, which induced Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to move his corps, for a short time, in a very compact body, lest the Americans should gain any advantage over patroles [sic] or detachments: But as soon as he found the account of numbers exaggerated, and that the enemy declined an engagement, he divided his corps into several small parties, publishing intelligence that each was a patrole, and that the main body of the King's troops had countermarched to Camden. Notwithstanding the divisions scattered throughout the country, to impose upon the enemy, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton took care that no detachment should be out of the reach of assistance; and that the whole formed, after dusk every evening, a solid and vigilant corps during the night. This stratagem had not been employed more than three days before General Marion was on the point of falling a sacrifice to it. He advanced on the 10th, before day, with five hundred militia, to attack Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, (who had notice of his approach) and arrived within two miles of his post; when a person of the name of Richardson discovered to him his misconception of the British force. Tarleton, unable to account for the slow advance of the Americans, dispatched an officer with a few men to find out the cause, who soon obtained information how the project was betrayed, which had already caused Marion to retreat with confusion and rapidity. A pursuit was immediately commenced, and continued for seven hours through swamps and defiles: Some prisoners fell into the possession of the legion dragoons, who gained ground very fast, and must soon have brought the enemy to action, when an express from Earl Cornwallis, who had followed the tracks of the march, recalled Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton."[1545]

Marion, quoted in Gordon: "Black river, Nov, the 9th, Col.Tarleton [with his corps] has burnt all the houses, and destroyed all the corn, from Camden down to Nelson's ferry: has behaved to the poor women with great barbarity; beat Mrs. Richardson, the relict [sic] of gen. Richardson, to make her tell where I was; and has not left her a change of raiment. He not only destroyed all the corn, but burnt a number of cattle in the houses he fired. It is distressing to see the women and children fitting in the open air round a fire without a blanket, or any clothing but what they had on, and women of family, and that had ample fortunes: for he spares neither whig nor tory. Moft of the inhabitants to the southward are ready and eager to take up arms against their talk masters."[1546]

William Dobein James: "As soon as Tarleton received intelligence of Gen. Marion's position [after Marion had evaded his ambush at Richardson's], and had got a guide, he thought to make sure of his prey, and commenced his march: he was led in silence to the spot which he contemplated as another scene of slaughter; but his intended victim had flown. He pursued to the Woodyard, but could not pass that night. The next morning Marion, knowing the vigilance of his foe, decamped betimes; and pursuing his route down Black river, for thirty-five miles, through woods, and swamps and bogs, where there was no road, encamped the following night on advantageous ground, at Benbow's ferry, now Lowry's bridge, about ten miles above Kingstree, on the east side of Black river. In a partisan warfare this position was the best that could have been taken. He could now defend himself, first at Black river itself; and after that at three difficult passes, of swamps, in his rear; all within ten miles, on that side of the river, before he reached Kingstree; but on the direct road to that place, on the west, there was but the one defile at the river; besides the possibility of being overtaken before he reached it. Here then Marion determined to make a stand, and felled trees across the road to impede the enemy. On the morning after the retreat, Tarleton found Marion's trail across the Woodyard, but went round it, and pursued, as he says, 'for seven hours, through swamps and defiles.' In fact he pursued about twenty-five miles, when arriving at Ox swamp, which was wide and miry, and without a road to pass it, he desisted, saying to his men, 'Come my boys! let us go back, and we will soon find the game cock, (meaning Sumter) but as for this d----d ~old fox~, the devil himself could not catch him.'"[1547]

8 November. Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, to Tarleton: "I am not sanguine as to your operations in that country [Santee and Peedee region]. The enemy is, I believe, in no great force, and Marion is cautious and vigilant. If a blow could be struck at any body of the rebels it might be attended with good consequences; but I do not see any advantage we can derive from a partial destruction of the country. As to your movements, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the country, or the state of provisions or forage, to direct you If you cannot move up between Lynches Creek and Pedee [Peedee] to make the enemy jealous, you must use your own discretion, keeping within reach of Camden, and within a few days' call of us, in case we should want you, always endeavouring [sic] to strike some blow if an opening should offer, and taking up all that have been violent against us, to change for our friends who have been everywhere seized and most cruelly treated.
"Lord Rawdon is going to command at Camden, and takes his corps [the Volunteers of Ireland] with him."[1548]

8 November. [skirmishes] Miller's Plantation, and Barfield's Retreat (Marion and Dillon counties, S.C.)
After being checked by Brown (see Bear Swamp and Brown's Counterattack, 30 October), Barfield returned to the field with a reported 200 men, and, on the 8th, and defeated a group of Whigs led by Col. Maurice Murfee at a location in Marion (possibly Dillon) County. Although reportedly killed in the fighting, Murfee was actually only wounded; though it would appear the wound put him out of commission for some time (see 17 June and Bass'

Gen. Richardson's grave and set a barn on fire with farm animals inside: see *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, p. 145, and vol. XVIII. Jan. 1917, p. 44.
[1545] TCS pp. 171-172.
[1546] GHA4 pp. 356-357.
[1547] Since we don't know where James obtained this anecdote, it is only prudent to receive it with caution. JFM pp. 25-26.
[1548] RCC p. 65.

Mill, August 1781.) Barfield, with what remained of his force (Marion in a letter to Harrington of 17 November reported Barfield as having 200 men), made his way to the British garrison at Georgetown sometime between 10 and 14 November.
Col. Thomas Brown (of Bladen), "Camp near Caird's Mill" wrote to Brig. Gen. Harrington on 9 November: "I this evening received yours, dated this day, near Charraw Ferry, with the disagreeable news of Capt. Murphy's [Maurice Murfee's] defeat, and highly approve of your plan, and will do everything in my power to put it in execution, as it is a most dreadful affair that such a set of scoundrels should be allowed to exist upon earth. I have 162 men, of whom 1 have about 45 horse, fit for duty. I expect to be to-morrow at Caird's Mill; and would recommend it to the officers commanding your posts, to meet me on Sunday at Jonathan Miller's, as Barfield resorts near that place. Your troops can cross Little Pedee at Gibson's, and then there is a direct road to Miller's. Yesterday, Barfield fell in with 5 of your men that left your camp on Monday, by the names of Robert Vernon, Matthew White, Theophiliis Eavens, Hadley (the other name I cannot tell), and kept them till about midnight, and then took all their horses and arms, paroled them and let them go.
"I would recommend it to you to send a formidable troop of horse, as Barfield can raise 70 or 80 horse himself, and is determined to prevent any cattle being collected amongst them; and, I imagine, there might be two or three hundred head of good cattle got, if they could be once broken up.
"Barfield attacked my regiment last Monday week, at night; but they did us no damage, only slightly wounded two men.[1549]

South Carolina Gazette, 15 November: "...About 200 inhabitants near Peedee River...(thoroughly routed) a gang of banditti;..leader of the rebels (was) a Col. Murphy [Maurice Murfee];...a few days since the victorious loyalists joined the King's forces posted at Georgetown."[1550]

Gregg: "Cautious and rapid in their movements, approaching by stealth and generally under cover of darkness, it was difficult for the Whigs to capture the marauding parties of Tories. Under Barfield, the organization was effective and formidable."[1551]

8 November. Brig. Gen. Benjamin Few, at "Fortenbury's, Tiger river…between 70 & 80 Miles from Charlotte," to Gates (spelling left as is): "Our Movements, to the time of General Sumpter's quitting Camp, no doubt you are fully informed of, as you likewise must be of the intention of the South Carolina & Georgia troops under my command marching again to the Southward from Broad river. I should closely have pursued that object, and have delayed no time in endeavouring to accomplish the ends thought of by the General and Council of Field Officers at Kelly's, but for the intelligence I have since received by my spies of the Enemy's motions.
"Our last accounts from Blackstocks inform us of Lord Cornwallis's crossing Broad River and joining Tarlton; this, however, seems to me improbable; but I am well assured they have received a large reinforcement. They are encamped in three divisions within six miles of each other, so as to form a junction in case of an attack.
"I have detached Colonel [John] Twiggs with Colonel [James] McCall to the southward, in order to keep up the spirits of the people until it may be practicable for me to make a movement with the main body.
"If any matter interesting should happen, I must request you to inform me of it. I shall take every necessary step to secure the body under my command and harass the enemy…N. B. I am just informed by two or three of my spies that Tarlton has moved, with two field pieces, towards Broad River by way of Thicketty."[1552]

8 November. [skirmish] Great Swamp (County?, North Carolina)
Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory, at "Camp Great Swamp," on 10 Nov. wrote Gov. Abner Nash: "I am now at this place with a few men, trying to secure this pass. On the 8th Inst. the Enemy [Leslie's detachment then acting out of Portsmouth, VA.] attacked our works at this pass but was repulsed with some loss on their side; the next day they came down with two field pieces and paraded their men with these pieces, burnt a few houses, went off without trying to attack our works. The situation that I am in is a bad one at present. Very few men then as volunteers turned out before I Returned home, and thinks themselves at large to act as they think proper. The Drafts that Genl. [Thomas] Benbury had ordered is not come to Camp. The Enemy is strong; from the best Intelligence I can get their strength when first landed was upwards of two thousand & a Gentleman of undoubted veracity who was at Portsmouth about eight days agoe says he saw one thousand, which makes upwards of three thousand. It's believed that they intend to Secure Edenton; if so the trade of this State is nearly completely stoped. You may judge the forlorn situation. I am distressed not only for men alone, but what men we have got their arms is by no means fit for use; we have very few of any sort. I shall do every thing in my power to frustrate them in every pass I can till such times I am enabled with men, and had I 300 men well pointed I should be able to take the pass, they possess, but Expect every day they will be Reinforced, which will make a great deal of Difference.
"I am without money even to pay Expresses or any other necessary thing that is wanting. I refer you for further particulars to Mr. Hervey, as he can inform you." [1553]

9 November. Gates' army camped at Salisbury, with Gates himself arriving there on the 11th. Accompanying Gates were 130 horsemen including Lieut. Col. William Washington's 3rd Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons,

[1549] GHC p. 340.
[1550] GHC p. 341, LSC p. 9.
[1551] GHC pp. 340-341.
[1552] CNC14 pp. 763-764.
[1553] CNC15 p. 149.

Lieut. Col. Anthony White's 1st Regt. of Continental Light Dragoons, and some odd remnants of Armand's Legion cavalry under Major Richard Call. These units, says Williams in his *Narrative*, had come to Gates camp at Hillsborough "with a very few effectives, of the first and third regiments of dragoons." White subsequently obtained leave to go to Philadelphia. Washington then remained to command the combined cavalry corps that then numbered about 60 or 70 fit for duty, and was attached to Morgan's light corps. In a letter to Col. Alexander Scammell of 13 November, Williams had written that Brig. Gen. John Butler had already been in Salisbury for some time with 200 to 300 militia whose terms of enlistment were to expire in two to three weeks.[1554]

9 November. [skirmish] Fish Dam Ford (Union County, S.C.[1555]) Major James Wemyss of the 63rd, whose corps had recently joined the army at Winnsborough from Camden, was dispatched on the 8th by Cornwallis to disperse Sumter's militia, who were congregating for the purpose of collecting volunteers at Fish Dam Ford.[1556] Wemyss' men were mounted on horses they had brought along with them to Winnsborough. With 100 to 200 of the 63rd Regiment and 40 dragoons of the British Legion, he led the advance guard, followed by Lieut. Moore Hovenden with the main body of dragoons, and Lieut. John Stark with the mounted infantry of the 63rd. Col. William Hill, as given in Bass, described the dispositions of Sumter's troops as follows: "The General [Sumter] takes post immediately at the ford [east side of the Broad River]…Colonel [Richard] Winn to his left, directly on the bank of the river; Colonel [Thomas] Taylor on a square to the left of Colonel Winn; and [Edward] Lacey [who was furthest east], [William] Bratton and [William] Hill in front about three or four hundred yards."
Wemyss approached the camp by night. About 1 am, he charged the picket, and in routing them woke the American camp. Some of his dragoons nearly missed catching Sumter. Sumter, in a letter to Smallwood of the 10th, said Wemyss' force was made up of a party of dragoons and mounted infantry, about 200 in number with a large party of loyalists, and that the attack came at 3 am. On the British second approach, Sumter with a reported 550 was prepared, and this time they were beaten back, with Wemyss himself receiving wounds (in the arm and knee), taken prisoner and subsequently paroled. The command of the British force devolved on a Lieutenant Stark, who was not capable of leading troops the later in the morning due to lack of knowledge or understanding of the original plan; preferring caution then, he consequently withdrew. Despite the repulse, Wemyss had actually succeeded in dispersing most of Sumter's force. Only about 100 of Sumter's men returned next day, "hoping at least to recover their horses, and joined by those who were collecting under the orders of the General, took a more secure position by crossing Broad-river." (Davie) Edward Lacey's biographer, M.A. Moore, says that many of Sumter's men had been intoxicated at the time of the fighting.[1557] Tarleton gives British losses as near 20 killed and wounded. Sumter reported 25 prisoners, including Wemyss wounded, one surgeon, and a Sgt. Major and 7 were killed. As well, a "parcel" of horses were captured. He gave his own casualties as 4 killed and 10 wounded. The action was interpreted as an American success by both sides. Within a few days Sumter's force rose to upwards of 1,000. Wemyss' wounds kept him from further participating actively in the south, and he returned to Charlestown.[1558]

On November 9th, Cornwallis, in Winnsborough, wrote to Tarleton: "Major Wemyss attacked Sumpter at Fish Dam at one o'clock this morning, contrary to his plan, which was to wait until day light; the consequence is, that Wemyss is wounded and left, and about twenty men: Lieutenant [Moore] Hovenden is wounded, but I believe the legion has not lost much -- Must beg of you to return immediately, leaving some horses for mounting men at Camden. I am under the greatest anxiety for Ninety-Six, and trust you will lose no time in returning to me."[1559]
The next day, he wrote Tarleton again: "You will have received my letter of yesterday, since which we have intelligence that Sumpter has passed the Broad River, and joined Clark, Brannen [Thomas Brandon], &c. They talk of expecting some of the mountaineers; as they have excellent horses we cannot hurt them; and unless they receive some check they will be very troublesome. The 63d are well mounted for infantry, and may occasionally ride in your train, they behaved vastly well, out of five shots which were fired from the picket, one broke Wemyss' arm, and another his knee, the command then devolved to a young lieutenant, who knew nothing of the plan, or the ground, or the force of the enemy, and all was confusion. After what I have said, I am sure I may depend on your acting for the best, on the general plan of the welfare of the army."

Sumter wrote[1560] to Smallwood on November 10th: "They [Wemyss' men] first charged on horseback and were repulsed. The infantry immediately dismounted, formed and charged with the bayonet. The cavalry at the same time charged on the right of Major Wemyss division. The horse was again beat back in disorder. The infantry succeeded better, and made the division under Col. [Thomas] Taylor give way, but not until the whole division had fired, and several of the men been bayoneted upon the spot, and for want of the means defending themselves, gave way. At the same instant, so war a fire was poured down the enemy from Colonel [Edward]

[1554] WNA, WCA pp. 67-68.
[1555] Some accounts give this action as taking place in Chester County, but there are some who suspect the Union County, situated on the west side of the Broad River (see Maj. Joseph McJunkin in SJM), as the more likely location.
[1556] Previously, Sumter had been at Moore's, and then moved five miles downriver to Fish Dam Ford, west of the Broad River.
[1557] MLL pp. 15-17.
[1558] TCS pp. 173-174, SAW2 pp. 227-228, GHA3 p. 471, MLW4A pp. 329-330, MLW3 p. 109, LMS pp. 204-205, JLG1 pp. 315-317, WCA p. 68, DRS pp. 28-29, HMS pp. 13-14, MSC1 pp. 819-824, MSC2 p. 746, MLL pp. 15-17, FWI p. 213, WAR2 p. 745, BGD pp. 115-116, BSF p. 84, BGC pp. 96-100, RBG pp. 112-114, WCO p. 224.
[1559] BGD p. 115.
[1560] As transcribed by Bass and who corrected Sumter's spelling and punctuation.

Lacey's and [James] Hawthorn's divisions, that they broke and moved off some distance, where they mounted and sent off some of their wounded, who were soon after followed by the whole."[1561]

Richard Winn: "To return to the Fishdam. Gen'l Sumter arrived here on the ninth of November in the evening. Colo. [James] McCall with some of his men from Long Cain [Cane] joins him; the General takes post immediately at the ford; Colo. Winn to his left directly on the bank of the river; Colo. [Thomas] Taylor on a square to the left of Colo. Winn, and Lacey, [William] Bratton and [William] Hill in front about three or four hundred yards. On the morning of the 12th of November, Colo. Taylor with fifty men was ordered to fall down the road towards Winnsborough to make what discoveries he could about the enemy; returned about twelve o'clock at night and reported none. Gen'l Sumter on the same day called a council of field officers, about eighteen in number, to see what was best to be done, being altogether in a Tory country -- Lord Cornwallis to our left with the British army at Winnsborough in 27 miles, a strong British force below at Shiroe's [Shirar's aka Brierly's] Ferry and a large British force in our front at Ninety-Six under the command of Colo. Cruger. In this situation of things, it was the opinion of every officer present that Gen'l Sumter ought to cross the river without delay, and particularly so of Colo. Winn who was well acquainted with the people and country. However, after this Gen'l Sumter thought otherwise. Colo. Winn being so sure of an attack made his men keep up good fires and sleep with their guns in their arms and shot-bags under their heads; and on the very spot they rose on they were to fight and not to fire a single gun until the enemy came up to the fires.
"Two hours today the picquets [sic] fired alarm guns, and, by the time I had my men in order, the horse made a violent charge; they too put up the Indian hollo. My men strickly [sic] obeyed my order and as soon as the enemy came up to the fires they halted with surprise. My people poured in on them a well-directed fire, which they did not stay to return. As well knowing that I would be immediately attacked by the foot I, drawing my men in close order, took advantage of a fence. By this time, the enemy was within 50 yards of me, crying out, 'G.D. your souls; who are you?'
"One my captains by the mane of Kirkland, a big spoken man, answered and said 'G.D. your souls and who are you?' The fire from both sides in a twinkling commenced; the British charged with the bayonet; my men having the advantage of the fire stood the shock and made the second fire. I had only one man bayoneted, through the arm. Major Wimess [Wemyss] their commander being badly wounded, the enemy began to retreat.
"Colo. Winn's party fell back. Colo. Taylor gave the retreating party two or three fires; but, it being dark and too far off, could not have done very great damage. Gen'l Sumter's markee [marquee or large field tent that typically served as an officers headquarters as well as shelter] was about forty yards from me, directly where the road enters the ford. At the first onset five or six horsemen, piloted by a Tory, strained down to make prisoner of the General, which they nearly effected owing to the orderly serjeant [sic] not giving notice of the alarm in time. Before he could put on his cloaths [sic], they were up with him. By jumping a fence and running through a briar patch he saved himself, but his service was entirely lost. I do believe had this accident not happened and the General could have got with Lacey, Bratton and Hill, but few or none of the British would ever have got back to the Borough. Notwithstanding the force of Lacey, Bratton and Hill was upwards of three hundred men, they did not fire a single gun. When I met Lacey, I asked him, 'Why did you not fight?' Answer, 'I was afraid of killing some of you.' Next morning after the sun got up, Gen'l Sumter from a hill took a view; found his men were in possession of the battleground; he also discovered our horses in the field to the number of 500 and the baggage wagons standing. He went to the camp and found the found strewed with killed and wounded, and the commanding British officer in his power, without the loss of a single man except Capt. [Patrick or Paddy] Carr of Colonel McCall's regiment who was wounded. Wading the river chilled his blood and he died on the bank. It is true a young man by the name of Sealy had been taken as a Tory in arms; this day his arms was restored and he taken from under guard. The next day his messmate told me that, as the British horse made their charge, this man dashed down his gun and cried out, 'I am a prisoner.' They cut him to pieces."[1562]

Saye (with Maj. Joseph McJunkin) "Historians generally state that Sumter's camp was on the east side of the river; this is a mistake. His position was west of Broad River, and his camp midway between that stream and a small creek which, flowing from the west, falls into the river near a mile below the ford. Here, says local tradition, was Sumter's camp. The whole section between the streams is now cleared and under cultivation, and is entirely overlooked by a high ridge, along which the road leading from Hamilton's Ford to the Fishdam passed. It is presumed that the road was then very near where it now is. About half a mile from the creek a road leading from the mouth of Tyger River intercepts the one leading from Hamilton's Ford. A traveler approaching the ford by this route has a fine view of Sumter's position as he descends the long hill before reaching the creek. Again, says local tradition, on the night of Nov. 12 [sic] the fires were kindled in Sumter's camp at dark, and the soldiers began to divert themselves in various ways, apparently as devoid of care as a company of wagoners [sic] occupying the same spot for the night would be at the present day. No special pains were taken by the general to have guards placed.
"But one officer in the camp was oppressed by anxious solicitude. That man was Col. Thomas Taylor of Congaree. He had been out with his command during a part of the previous day toward the Tyger River. In his excursions he had heard of the approach of the party under Wemyss, and from his intelligence of their movements he conjectured their purpose. He went to Sumter and remonstrated in regard to the state of things in his camp. Sumter gave him to understand that he feared no danger, and felt prepared for any probable result. Taylor's apprehensions were not allayed by the security of his commander. He determined to take measures to guard against surprise, and to this Sumter gave his hearty assent. Taylor conjectured that if the enemy came

[1561] BGC p. 99.
[1562] WNO, Part II, pp. 2-4.

that night his approach would be along the road leading from the mouth of the Tyger and hence must cross the creek at the ford to reach Sumter's position.
"He placed himself at the head of his own men, marched them across the creek, built up large fires of durable material, sent out a patrol party in the direction of the enemy, examined a way for a safe retreat for his party down the creek, and took all other precautions deemed proper in the circumstances. He withdrew his men from the fires some distance in the direction of the main army and directed them what to do in case of alarm.
"They slept on their arms until midnight, when they were aroused by the fire of their sentinels. The patrol party had missed the enemy, and hence no alarm was given until the sentinels fired. The British, judging from the extent of Taylor's fire that the main body occupied that position and that no advance guard had been placed, immediately charged down the hill with the expectation of falling upon Sumter's men in confusion. They crowded around the blazing fires in search of their victims. Taylor's men were ready and delivered their fire at this juncture. The enemy fell back, but were again brought to the charge, but were again repulsed and fled in consternation, leaving their bleeding commander to the mercy of their foes.
"It is said that when Taylor's men delivered their first fire, a scene of confusion resulted in Sumter's camp utterly beyond description. The soldiers and officers ran hither and thither, whooping and yelling like maniacs. Some got ready for action and joined in it, while others ran clear off and did not join Sumter again for weeks. Hence this action was denominated in the region round about as Sumter's Second Defeat, though the rout of the enemy was complete and the American loss was nothing."[1563]

Davie: "(T)he 12th [sic] of November was the 1st effort made by Sumpter and the officers in the neighborhood of the new acquisition to assemble the militia in that part of the Country -- so large a number of the leading characters had fallen at the time Sumpter was surprised, and the people were so dreadfully terrified by their past misfortunes, that it was extremely difficult to collect the remaining Whigs, However at this time Smallwood with a body of NC militia and Genl Morgan's detachment lay at Providence, and Col Davie with 300 mounted infantry occupied an advanced post near Land[']s Ford on the Catawba river in So Carolina, the defeat of Ferguson the retreat of Cornwallis and the advance of these troops began again to inspire the Country with some degree of confidence, and on the 11th of November the remnant of the Whigs in the upper part of So Carolina had notice to rendezvous at Fish-dam Ford on Broad-river from Sumpter…The orders for assembly were so public, that the Enemy had immediate notice of it."[1564]

Joseph Johnson: "At Fishdam, where Sumter was attacked by Colonel [Major] Wemyss, his division would certainly have been again surprised [as at Fishing Creek], but for the vigilance and preparation of Colonel Taylor. He commanded the piquet guard of twenty-eight men, made up his camp-fires in a little field, and when his men were refreshed, stationed them back of the fence, and rekindled the fires. He then ordered all the guns to be freshly primed, and soon after heard the enemy advancing. He ordered all his men to wait for the word -- each of them to single out his object, and aim at the crossing of his belt. When the British came so near to the blazing as to be distinctly seen, Taylor gave the word 'fire;' the discharge was as one gun, and left on the field twenty-three men and two officers, dead or wounded -- Colonel Wemyss was among the latter. The British, not being able to see an enemy, fired at the flash of their guns, killed one man and wounded another. Only one round was fired by Taylor's men, and the British retreated. Had Sumter then marshaled his men, and reached the field promptly, the whole British detachment might have been captured. But his men in great confusion retreated, after having surprised their surprising opponents. Colonel Wemyss was found the next morning, with his thigh shattered, just as he had fallen, among the dead and dying."[1565]

Cornwallis, in a letter of December 3rd, to Clinton "The 63d Regt under Major Wemyss had been mounted on indifferent horses of the Country for the purpose of reducing and disarming the Cheraws; It had afterwards been sent by Lord Rawdon for the security of Ninety-Six. When I sent Lt Col. Tarleton to the Low Country, I ordered Major Wemyss to come down to Broad River, to keep constantly moving on either side of the River he might think proper, for the Protection of the Mills from which the Army subsisted, and for the preservation of the Country. Sumpter then lay with about 300, Men partly of Militia, and partly of the Banditti who have followed him ever since the reduction of this Province, near Hill's Iron works, between the Catawba and Broad River, about forty miles in our front; Branan [Brandon], Clarke [Elijah Clark] and others had different Corps plundering the houses and putting to death the well affected Inhabitants between Tyger River and Pacolet. Major Wemyss, who had just past Broad River at Brierley's Ferry, came to me on the seventh of last Month and told me that he had information that Sumpter had moved to Moore's Mill within five miles of Fishdam Ford, and about twenty five Miles from the place where the 63d then lay, that he had accurate accounts of his position and good Guides, and that he made no doubt of being able to Surprize [sic] and rout him. As the defeating so daring and troublesome a Man as Sumpter, and dispersing such a Banditti, was a great object, I consented to his making the trial on the 9th, at day break, and gave him Forty of the Dragoons which Tarleton had left with me; desiring him however neither to put them in the Front nor to make any use of them during the night; Major Wemyss marched so early and so fast on the night of the 8th, that He arrived at Moore's Mill soon after midnight, He then had information that Sumpter had marched that evening to Fishdam ford, where he lay with his rear close to Broad River on a low piece of ground. The Major immediately proceeded to Attack him in his new Position, & succeeded so well as to get into his Camp whilst the Men were all sleeping round the fires, but as Major Wemyss rode into the Camp at the head of the Dragoons, and the 63d followed them on horseback, the enemy's Arms

[1563] SJM.
[1564] DRS pp. 28-29.
[1565] JTR p. 538.

were not secured, and some of them recovering from the first alarm, got their Rifles and with the first fire wounded Major Wemyss in several places, and put the Cavalry into disorder; The 63d then dismounted and Killed and Wounded about Seventy of the Rebels, drove several over the River and dispersed the rest; The command however devolving on a very young Officer, who neither knew the ground nor Major Wemyss's plan, nor the strength of the enemy, some few of which kept firing from the wood on our People who remained in the enemy's Camp, and who were probably discovered by their fires; Our troops came away before day break, leaving Major Wemyss and 22 Sergts & Rank & File at a house close to the Field of Action. In the morning those who were left with a flag of truce with the wounded, found that the enemy were all gone, but on some of their scouting Parties discovering that our People had likewise retired, Sumpter returned & took Major Wemyss's Parole for himself and the wounded Soldiers. Major Wemyss is gone to Charles-town and is in a fair way of recovery. [1566]

10 November. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "About 100 of the Tories, who had been prisoners [from King's Mountain] in Bethabara, for nearly three weeks, and who have obtained their freedom by enlisting in the American army, came here and went on to the mill, where they secured provisions, and on the next day proceed to the camp at Salisbury."[1567]

10 November. Gov. Thomas Jefferson, at Richmond, VA., to Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens: "Your two Letters of Octobr. 24 and Octo. -- have been duly received. I have been informed that the beeves which had been collecting in Princess Anne & Norfolk to be sent Southwardly were the first things which fell into the hands of the enemy. We received notice of this invasion a few hours after you left this place, & dispatched a letter to recall you, which we expected would have found you in Petersburg; however, you had gone on, and as there Should be a Genl. officer with the men from this State in the Southern Service, and we have here three General Officers, we have not repeated our call for your assistance. The force called on to oppose the enemy is as yet in a most Chaotic State, consisting of fragments of 3 months' militia, 6 months' men, 18 months' men, Volunteers & New Militia. Were it possible to Arm men, we could send on Substantial reinforcements to you, not withstanding the presence of the enemy with us; but the prospect of Arms is very bad indeed. I have never received a Line from Mr. Lambe as to his Success in impressing waggons; none have yet come in from the westward. The executive were so far from allowing the 18 months' men to inlist into the Volunteer Corps, as you say they pretend that they were expressly excluded from it in the Several propositions we made for raising Volunteers. Nothing of Moment has happened here since the arrival of the enemy. Genl. Muhlenburg [Peter Muhlenberg] is at Stoner[']s Mills, at the head of pagan Creek, with our main force. Genl. [Thomas] Nelson is on the Northside of James River with another body. General [George] Weedon is gone to Join the One or the other. A British emissary was taken two or three days ago, with a Letter from General Leslie to Lord Cornwallis, informing him he was at Portsmouth, but cannot learn where his Lordship was; that he had sent one Letter to him to Charlestown by Water and another by land, and Waited his Orders. Cannot measures be taken to apprehend the Messenger who went by land?"[1568]

10-11 November. Tarleton reached Singleton's Mill, on the road between Nelson's Ferry and Camden, where the loyalists came out and showed their support.[1569]
Tarleton's proclamation, from Singleton's Mills, dated 11 Nov.: "Be it known to all People concerned in the late Revolt, between Nelson's Ferry, Kingstree Bridge, & Santee Hills [or High Hills of the Santee], that a general and free Pardon, is held out to all said Delinquents, in case they will return Home between the Date hereof & twenty-fifth of this Month -- upon there arrival at Home they must separately acquaint the Officers of the Loyal Militia of their Intention to live peaceably at their Plantations, and in Case of a future Insurrection and Invasion to give Notice thereof; which Declaration (of the assembled People) the said Officers of Loyal Militia must Transmit to the Officer commanding his Majesty's Troops at Camden --
"It is not the wish of Britain to be cruel or to destroy, but it is now obvious to all Carolina that Treachery, Perfidy, and Perjury will be punished with instant Fire and Sword."[1570]

Tarleton to Cornwallis: "I was disappointed in my attack at Singleton's Mills, the Place where 4000 were said to be collected. I kept my Numbers concealed, advanced on the Roads, fell back again, showed Tokens of Fear, by leaving Camp Abruptly & Provisions cooked, in order to draw the Enemy of whom I could gain no news either to attack or approach me. I so far deceived Marion that he would undoubtedly have attacked on the 7th instant in the Evening had he not been prevented by some treacherous Women (Mrs. Richardson, &), with him 400 or 500 men -- A Prisoner who escaped from him in the Night came in to my Camp just before Day on Nov. 8th & informed me that he would have attacked me had he not obtained intelligence of number at Richardson's, but on that account he had altered his Route in Confusion. The Corps under my command were ordered under Arms immediately and made a rapid march of 26 miles through Swamps, Woods, and Fastnesses toward Black River without a Halt. The Enemy by being all mounted, obtaining so much time previous to the pursuing & owing to the Difficulties of the Country could not be brought to Action. I had the Mortification not to fight them, but I had the Pleasure in a great measure to disperse them.

[1566] COC pp. 46-48, SCV1 pp. 302-310.
[1567] FRM p. 1576.
[1568] CNC14 pp. 732-733.
[1569] TCS p. 174, MSC1 pp. 815-819.
[1570] NDI, BGD pp. 111-112.

"A few Prisoners were taken from the Swamps by Col. [John] Harrison's Corps. I returned on my Steps & laid the Houses & Plantations of violent Rebels Waste about Richardson's and Jack's Creek. The country seems now convinced of the error of Insurrection. People join me from the Swamps. The Torch is stopped & I have issued the enclosed Proclamation. Thus my Lord I have used my best Ability to settle the Affairs of this part of the Province, but if there had been one individual of the Country attached to our Cause & exempt from Fear[,] the total Destruction of Mr. Marion had been [would have been] accomplished..."[1571]

11-15 November. In furtherance of Cornwallis' directive to leave Virginia and come further south, Leslie commenced loading troops on the 11th, and embarked from Portsmouth on 15 November. Heavy winds, notwithstanding, kept him in the Chesapeake till the 22nd. Originally he was to land near the Cape Fear River, with a view toward his positioning himself at Cross Creek; where he would be joined by Cornwallis. The latter, however, changed his plans and Leslie disembarked at Charlestown instead on 14 December.[1572]
Stephen Jarvis: "An expedition was formed under General Leslie, of Virginia, and amongst the Troops that composed the Army was one Troop of the 17th Light Dragoons, Captain [John] Saunders, Lieutenant Wellson [John Wilson], Cornet [Thomas] Merritt, Quartermaster Jarvis and a few men of the old Troop of the Queen's Rangers. Captain Saunders was formerly from Virginia and he went to that place for the purpose of recruiting; clothing, saddles and appointment were placed under my care for the completion of a full Troop of fifty strong. We soon sailed and Captain Saunders with the other Officers and men landed at Norfolk, and marched to that part of the country where he had formerly resided. I was ordered to remain with the baggage until further orders. Captain Saunders, after traversing the country, and procuring a number of very fine horses, took up his quarters at Kemp's Landing, to which place I was ordered with the baggage and stores. I had hardly got into good quarters before we were again ordered to march and we supposed for, a short expedition only — and a Company took possession of my quarters in my absence, but was to surrender them on my return, which however never took place. We embarked for Charlestown, myself, men, stores and horses in one vessel and the Officers in another. On our leaving Norfolk Captain Saunders had plundered more horses than he was allowed to put on board. He, therefore, distributed them to his Officers and among the rest, gave me a very fine horse."[1573]

13 November. Cornwallis, at "Wynnesborough," to Lieut. Col. Kirkland, "…[I]f those who say they are our friends will not stir, I cannot defend every man's house from being plundered; and I must say that when I see a whole settlement running away from twenty or thirty robbers, I think they deserve to be robbed."[1574]

13 November. Having crossed the Broad River at Fish Dam Ford, Sumter moved to Hawkins' Mill on the Tyger and where he was reinforced with some Georgians under Colonels John Twiggs, Elijah Clark, and Benjamin Few. On 13 November, they encamped at Nixon's plantation on the Enoree River.[1575]
Richard Winn: "On the thirteenth, Sumter crossed the river and encamped at Nixson's [Nixon's] plantation on the Enoree River to give his men time to join him. When Gen'l Sumter and myself met at Nixson's he informed me that when he was cut off, being in his shirt sleeves, he verily believed he would have perished from cold had he not have got a horse; getting on him horsebacked [sic] and hugging his neck. He also assured me that from the manner in which the British brought on the attack, he did not expect to hear a single gun fired from you, and concluded to provide for his own safety; but said, 'If ever a man deserves the thanks of his country, it is you.' In fighting the above action, Winn had about 125 or 130 men, Taylor about fifty. The action lasted about 15 or 20 minuits [sic]. The British doctor coming to the ground expressed himself, 'I have not seen such damage done by so few men in so short a time since I have been in America.' This I had from Colo. Winn, who was on the spot with the doctor.
"Sumter moves from Nixson's [Nixon's] down to Shiroe's [Shirar's aka Brierly's] Ferry and gives a challenge to the British at that station to come out and fight him. They decline the invitation. Sumter moves up the country; arrives at Blackstock's on Tyger River 16th of November, leaving Colo. Taylor in his rear." [1576]

13 November. Turnbull, ill with malaria, requested leave to go home to New York; which was granted. Rawdon was then placed in command at command of Camden, while Lieut. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle replaced Turnbull as head of the New York Volunteers. Meanwhile, at Camden, in preparation for second invasion of N.C., horses were collected and the magazines significantly increased. "[Cornwallis]," writes Tarleton, "directed the recruits and convalescents to join their regiments: He ordered all deficiencies of arms, appointments, and necessaries, to be replaced: He prepared proper supplies to attend the march; and he adopted judicious precautions for the security of the frontier. In a short time, numbers strengthened each corps and regiment of the army: Above one hundred and fifty mjoined the light troops [presumably the British Legion]: Deficiencies of arms and necessaries were completed." Also the fortifications at both Camden and Georgetown by this time and subsequently had received considerable improvement, with more cannon added to the defenses.[1577]

Turnbull, at Camden, wrote to Cornwallis on 12 November: "I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letters of the 6th, 8th and 9th Instant Col: Tarletons Letters have been forwarded. I have not heard from him since the

[1571] BGD pp. 112-113.
[1572] LOB part II, TCS p. 170, TPY p. 57.
[1573] JJA.
[1574] RCC p. 69.
[1575] BGC p. 102.
[1576] WNO, Richard Winn, part II, pp. 4-5.
[1577] TCS p. 167, 182-183, BSF pp. 85, 88.

Letter I inclosed [sic] to your Lordship. But by some of Tynes [Samuel Tynes'] Militia who brought in Two Prisoners this morning, they say that they heard that He was very near as Low down as King Tree.
"A Deserter from Col: Washingtons Dragoons who came in Two nights ago says that Gen'l Morgan was there with 300 men. That Washington had 100 Dragoons when they Left Charlotte & that only seventy Remain'd [sic]. That they had Retreated Ten miles back on the Salisbury Road, but we find that the Same Party was back there yesterday.
"And that there is Likewise a Detachment of Rebells [sic] towards Lynches Creek. Their numbers have not yet been assertain'd [sic]
"Capt. McDonald has been very ill which Prevented the Flagg going off till yesterday. -- and I only wait Tarletons Return to Expedite those Gentlemans who are to go upon Parole --
"I have Lodged Mr. [Forest?] in the Provost the officer who let the Prisoners Escape.
"Lt. Oldfield set out with one and twenty Waggons to Forage in Col: Tarletons Rear. I Expect Likewise to get in some Cattle from that Quarter --
"I am sorry for Poor Wemyss. Their fellows will become more Imprudent --
"Permitt [sic] me to Return your Lordship my most Unfeyned [sic] thanks for your goodness in giving me hopes of going soon to New York. My health is Indeed in such a state that I do Believe Nothing but a Northern Climate will Reestablish it -- nor do I Believe that ever my Constitution will bear much Service in this Southern Climate --"[1578]

Rawdon, at Camden, to Cornwallis on 13 November: "I arrived here, my Lord, about an hour ago [7 pm]. Tarleton has not yet reached this place. He lies this night about eight miles off; but I have sent to request that I may see him very early in the morning, & his Corps will cross the Ferry at that time. They do not seem to have good information here, respecting the Enemy; & they depend upon a Channel, of which I should be rather doubtful. A negro who came in this afternoon, says that he was carried Prisoner to Morgan & Washington at Hanging Rock, & escaped from them last night. He reports, that in concert with Marion they were to have attacked this post; & he mentions the point at which the assault was to have been directed, which is indeed the weakest in the line: the dispersion of Marion's force overturned the plan. This, however, is only conversation which he heard in the Rebel Camp, & he cannot say from whom. I hear much of the prowess of Harrison's Rangers, upon the Expedition with Tarleton: a valiant Friend of Government is a Prodigy, of which all the world talks. I will praise them very highly, if I can find room to do so, in hopes that it may stimulate them to future achievements"[1579]

14 November. After learning of Fish Dam Ford, Tarleton left Singleton's Mill (the 14th) and returned to Camden. Marion then, with a reported 400 militia, avoiding Kingstree moved out of Williamsburg toward Gapway Swamp, and resumed operations. A few days later, he was in the vicinity of Georgetown with 500 men.[1580]

15 November. On this date, Balfour reported to Cornwallis sending to Nelson's Ferry (from Charlestown) 275 Rank and File of the 64th Regt., plus some Hessians, Provincials, loyalist militia and two three-pounders, all under the command of under Maj. Robert McLeroth of the 64th Regt.[1581]

15 November. [skirmishes] White's Bridge (also White's Plantation) and Alston's Plantation (also "the Pens") (Georgetown County, S.C.) Members of Marion's force under Col. Peter Horry fought loyalist militia from Capt. James Lewis' company at White's Plantation just outside Georgetown. The loyalists, who had been slaughtering cattle, were ultimately scattered, but only, however, after a number of Horry's men were seriously wounded, and Capt. Lewis killed. On the same date, Marion sent a separate force under Captain John Melton to the Pens, or Alston's plantation, where they were ambushed and routed by Capt. Jesse Barfield's and his loyalist militia. Among the slain was Marion's nephew, Gabriel Marion. Marion later reported that Barfield was wounded. On the 17th, he wrote to Brig. Gen. Harrington from Black Mingo: "Since my last to you, Colonel Tarleton retreated to Camden, after destroying all the houses and provisions in his way. By information, I was made to believe there was but fifty British in Georgetown, and no militia, which induced me to attempt taking that place, But, unluckily, the day before I got there they received a reinforcement of two hundred Tories under Captains Barfield and Lewis from Pedee [Peedee.] The next day the Tories came out and we scummaged [sic] with them.
"Part [of them] I cut off from the town, and drove the rest in, except the. two men killed, and twelve taken prisoners. Our loss was Lieutenant Gabriel Marion, and one private killed. These two men were killed after they surrendered. We had three or four wounded, one since dead of his wound.
"Captain Barfield was wounded in his head and body, but got off. Captain James Lewis, commonly called 'Otter Skin Lewis' was one killed. I stayed two days within three miles of the town, in which time most of the Tories left their friends and went home.
"Finding the regulars in the town [Georgetown] to be eighty men, besides militia, strongly entrenched in a redoubt, with swivels and cohorns [coehorns] on their parapet, I withdrew my men, as I had not six rounds per man, and shall not be able to proceed on any operations without a supply of ammunition, which I will be obliged to you to furnish me with by Captain Potts, who commands a detachment to guard the prisoners taken. I have not heard anything from General Gates since the letter you sent me."
In his report to Gates of the 20th Marion stated that in his recent encounter outside Georgetown he had lost Lt. Gabriel Marion, one private also killed, and three wounded, while killing three loyalists and taking 12 prisoners.

[1578] PRO. 30/11/4/93-94.
[1579] PRO. 30/11/4/110-111.
[1580] TCS p. 174, BSF pp. 85, 87.
[1581] BSF p. 96.

He went on to say "Many of my people has left me & gone over to the Enemy, for they think we have no army coming in & have been Deceived, as we hear nothing from you in a great while, I hope to have a line from you in what manner to act & some assurance to the people of support."[1582]

Mid November. Having been promoted to Lieut. Colonel on November 6th, Henry Lee and his Legion left Philadelphia on their way south. When they got to in Virginia, he attempted to get the highest quality men and horses, while letting some of his men go home on leave to Maryland and Virginia "with instructions to procure the best horses." His son, Henry IV, in his *Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas* relates that his father was especially attentive to the spirit and appearance of his men and mounts.[1583]

16 November. Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene and Maj. Gen. Baron Friedrich von Steuben arrived in Richmond, Virginia. Before, during and after this time, Greene was regularly writing and contacting various state Governors, officials, and members of Congress requesting supplies and recruits for the American effort against the British in the south. As one instance of such, Greene received 18 wagons from Gov. Thomas Jefferson, as much as could be collected and impressed at the time, but disappointingly far short of the 100 Greene had wished. After six days in the Virginia capital and before proceeding to Hillsborough, Greene on the 21st departed leaving von Steuben in charge of forming and organizing the Continental forces in Virginia. In addition to aides Col. Morris and Maj. Lewis, Greene was accompanied by three new members of his staff, Major Robert Forsyth, Capt. William Pierce (also Pearce), Jr. and Capt. Nathaniel Pendleton -- all of whom had been unemployed in Richmond.[1584]
In a letter written on January 9th 1781, Greene wrote to Adjutant General Joseph Reed: "I intended to have written you before, but I have been so employed since I left Philadelphia, that I have been obliged to deny myself the pleasure of writing to my friends, to attend to the more immediate duties of my department. On my journey I visited the Maryland and Virginia Assemblies, and laid before them the state of this army, and urged the necessity of an immediate support. They both promised to do everything in their power, but such was their poverty, even in their Capitals [sic], that they could not furnish forage for my horses. I have also written to the States of Delaware and North Carolina, neither of which have taken any measures yet for giving effectual aid to this army. I left General Gist in Maryland, and Baron Steuben in Virginia, to forward the recruits and supplies. Measures are taking in Virginia which promise us some aid, though very trifling to what they ought to give, and what our state requires. All the way through the country, as I passed, I found the people engaged in matters of interest and in pursuit of pleasure, almost regardless of their danger. Public credit totally lost, and every man excusing himself from giving the least aid to Government, from an apprehension that they would get no return for any advances. This afforded but a dull prospect, nor has it mended since my arrival."[1585]

18 November. [skirmish] Brierly's Ferry, also Brierley's Ferry, Shirar's Ferry (Border of Fairfield and Newberry counties, S.C.) Tarleton, with his Legion Cavalry and mounted Legion infantry, and two three-pounders, was sent from the Wateree in pursuit of Sumter. On the 18th, he joined the 1st Bttn. of the 71st and a mounted detachment of the 63rd who were already present at Brierly's Ferry on the Broad River. The opposite side of the ferry, however, was occupied by a 150 of Sumter's riflemen who had been sent to scout the 71st's camp. These Tarleton drove from their position with his cannon and infantry; at the same time taking care to conceal the green coats of his dragoons, thereby preventing Sumter of being apprised of the presence of himself and his legion. Later in the evening, he crossed with his dragoons and the mounted Legion and 63rd at a ford a few miles downriver. He then reunited with the 71st and the artillery three miles from the ferry, and by 10 pm had camped several miles into the Dutch Fork, having received information of Sumter's being not too distant with upwards of 1,000 militia from South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia.[1586]
Maj. Archibald McArthur, at Bryerly's Ferry, wrote to Cornwallis on this date: "I have the Honor to inform your Lordship that A Party of the Rebels having come within two Miles of the Ferry this morning I was just going to pass over wth [sic] 150 men when Col[.] Tarleton arrived at Nine o'clock & I countermanded my Party; the Rebells [sic] had the Audacity in half an hour after to come close to the River & fire at our Men who were washing in the Flatts. Luckily the most of them had retired before the firing began so there was only one Soldier of the 63d [Regt.] wounded slightly & A waggon Horse hurt. They blackguarded us a great deal but no return was made them except one shot by A Militia man without orders; At two o'Clock the Infantry of Tarleton's Corps passed at this Ferry & only one shott [sic] was fired at them which hurt nobody, for care was taken to fire several Cannon shott [sic] across which dispersed the Enemy, & I have this moment received advice from Col. Tarleton that his mounted People have passed at the Mill & Ford three miles lower down without opposition & the 63d were ready to follow. The Rebells appeared at the other side of the River opposite the Mill earlier than here & Capt Hill informs me they shewed themselves at Liles's [Lyle's] ford about the same time they came opposite to us. Tarleton has left his Baggage here & taken the Cannon I had wth [sic] me it being in better Condition than His own which He has left wth [sic] me. He proposed going between four & Miles only this Eveng [sic] -- It gives me concern that the [Emissary?] who was to Cross up the River returned this Eveng [sic] not daring to cross at Fishdam or Love's fords finding them both too well guarded, so that I have no hopes of being able to ascertain the desired Point. I have the Honor to be My Lord."[1587]

[1582] CNC14 pp. 746-747, JFM p. 27, BSF pp. 89-92, 97, GHC pp. 343-344.
[1583] LCC pp. 70-71.
[1584] NGP7 pp. 84-85, MLW4A pp. 336-337, JLG1 pp. 332-336, GLG3 p.56-63, MSC2 p. 8, WAR2 pp. 748-749, TPY p. 57.
[1585] NGP7 pp. 84-85.
[1586] TCS pp. 175-176.
[1587] PRO. 30/11/4/153-154.

19 November. Sumter had contemplated an attack on Ninety Six, but considering it too formidable, dropped the idea. He decided instead to assault a group of loyalists at "Fort" Williams (some 15 miles from Ninety-Six) occupied by some loyalists under Col. Moses Kirkland. He then proceeded in that direction. Sometime before, he had sent out a small detachment under Col. Thomas Taylor to seize provisions at a British held mill, and another group under Capt. Samuel Hammond to frighten the loyalists around Faust's in the lower Dutch Fork. Learning of Sumter's movement, Tarleton stealthily approached him; then camped in the evening of the 19th near the mouth of Indian Creek on the Enoree River. A deserter, however, from the 63rd apprised Sumter of Tarleton's advance. Sumter then, with some 800 to 1,000 men (most if not all mounted), withdrew in the night to Blackstock's (near Blackstock's ford and plantation on the Tyger River), where he posted his men in nearby cabins and wooded high ground.[1588]

18-20 November. McLeroth, after passing the Santee at Nelson's Ferry bivouacked at Kingstree where he camped on the 18th. According to Marion, in a letter to Gates of 22 November, McLeroth expected to be reinforced by Barfield, but that Barfield's men had gone home. Marion himself retired, and went back into concealment. On 22 November, he wrote to Gates: "I wrought you two days agoe [sic] since which Majr McLeroth who took post at Kingstree Saturday [the 18th], retreated to Murry's ferry a Monday morning before day…I suppose the party under Capt. Barefield was to have joined him but that party being dispersed, he found himself too weak to stay."[1589]

20 November. [battle] BLACKSTOCK'S, also Blackstocks, Tyger River (Union County, S.C.) At dawn, Tarleton resumed his march; moving, in advanced of the first Bttn. Of the 71st and the artillery, with 190 of his dragoons and mounted infantry of his Legion, and 80 of the mounted 63rd. He came upon a force of Sumter's at Enoree Ford (Newberry County. S.C.) that he dispersed with "great slaughter." McCall states, however, that the group were some loyalists prisoners which had previously been under the charge of some riflemen of Sumter's under Capt. Patrick (also Paddy) Carr. Carr abandoned the prisoners and made his escape on Tarleton's approach, and in the confusion Tarleton mistakenly took the liberated loyalists to be rebels.[1590] He then advanced on Sumter's position at Blackstock's Plantation with a mind to keep Sumter in place while he awaited the 71st and the artillery to support him. Just before the British arrived, Taylor's detachment lumbered into the camp with wagons loaded up with flour taken on the raid on Summer's Mills. Initially, Tarleton charged and threw back a group of Sumter's men placed forward of the main body. However, Tarleton later stated that he had no intention at that time of engaging Sumter directly, but that the battle came about as a result of some of Sumter's men (the Georgians) skirmishing his own. Sometime after 5 pm, Tarleton and his men were in a precarious position and suffered severely from the whigs' fire. In this moment of peril, Lieut. John Money led a gallant bayonet charge which drove Sumter's men back in confusion: Money himself being mortally wounded in the attack by Col. Henry Hampton's riflemen. Tarleton then retreated two miles in a last ditch effort to hurry forward his relief column. In the British withdrawal from Blackstock's, Maj. James Jackson and his Georgians captured 30 rider-less horses, apparently those of the mounted 63rd. By the time Tarleton did join forces with the 71st, it had grown dark and begun to rain. Maj. James Jackson in later years reported that the fighting had lasted three hours. Col. John Twiggs took immediate command from Sumter, who had been badly wounded.[1591] He then left Col. Winn to keep some camp fires burning, and then retired with Sumter's men over the Tyger River, moving towards the head of the Broad River where they camped for a short time. Sumter himself had to be drawn off the field on a litter.[1592] For the next three days, Tarleton endeavored to pursue them. Though he managed to take a handful of prisoners, most of Sumter's men managed to escape in separate groups. What remained of Sumter's brigade was placed in charge of Lieut. Col. William Henderson;[1593] who, taken at Charlestown, had recently been exchanged. Cornwallis reported to Clinton on December 3rd: "(A)s soon as he [Tarleton] had taken care of his wounded, pursued and dispersed the remaining part of Sumpter's corps; and then, having assembled some militia under Mr. Cunningham, whom I appointed brigadier general of the militia of that district, and who has by far the greatest influence in that country, he returned to Broad river, where he at present remains; as well as Major M'Arthur, in the neighbourhood of Brierley's ferry."
Though Tarleton had succeeded in breaking up Sumter's force, thus claiming a victory, the recklessness of his advance and relatively heavy losses did not go unnoticed or un-criticized.[1594] At the same time, Sumter, by February, had sufficiently recovered from his wound, and was once more in the field with his men[1595] -- though

[1588] TCS p. 176, BGC pp. 102-103.
[1589] BSF pp. 96, 98-99.
[1590] MHG p. 499.
[1591] Moses Lindsay in his pension statement recalled Col. Elijah Clark being in command at that point; possibly because Clark was seen actively engaged in leading Sumter's troops. LPS.
[1592] According to Maj. James Jackson, Sumter was wounded early in the fighting and Col. John Twiggs assumed command of the whole. One of Sumter's officers, Capt. David Hopkins, on the other hand, says that Sumter was wounded after most of the fighting had subsided. Following the battle Sumter was taken to a home on the Pacelot where he was treated by a physician. Thereafter he recuperated at the home of Col. Samuel Watson on Rocky Allison's Creek in York County, South Carolina. Watson's home is mistakenly given elsewhere as being on Sugar Creek. My thanks to Watson family researcher Toby Turner for the correction. See LFB2 pp. 446n-447n and BGC p. 107.
[1593] Pension statement of William Caldwell of Fairfield County, S.C.: "Gen. Sumpter was wounded and Gen. {William] Henderson took command, staying with the regiment until it was disbanded on the Congaree River in the fall of 1781."
[1594] Fortescue describes the battle as damaging to British interests. FWI p. 214
[1595] ATR81a pp. 146-147, AR81 pp. 53-54, TCS pp. 177-180, 204-205, GHA3 pp. 471-472, SAW2 pp. 228-231, MST pp. 71-79, MLW4A pp. 329-333, MLW3 pp. 109-110, LMS pp. 205-207, MHG pp. 497-500, LPS, HMS pp. 14-15, JLG1 pp. 317-321, MLL pp. 17-18, LFB2 pp. 446-447, JTR pp. 522-526, LCR pp. 243-253, MSC1 pp. 824-830, MSC2 p. 746, FWI p. 214, WAR2 pp. 746-747, BGD pp. 117-123, BGC pp. 102-111, LSY pp. 105-115, 293-294, RBG pp. 115-119, WCO pp. 225-226.

not at that later time with all his old comrades. As Bass states: "Many of [Sumter's militiamen] did not return to the field again during the Revolution [after Blackstock's.]"[1596]

AMERICAN FORCES AT BLACKSTOCK'S
Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter
Col. John Twiggs, second in command

South Carolina Militia: 800-900, Col. William Bratton, Col. Henry Hampton, Col. William Hill, Col. Edward Lacey, Col. Charles Myddleton, Col. Thomas Taylor, Col. Richard Winn, Lieut. Col. James McCall
Georgia Militia: 100, (Twiggs), Col. Elijah Clark, Maj. William Candler, Maj. James Jackson

TOTAL: 900 to 1,000

McCrady gives Sumter's force as being only 420 in number.[1597]

BRITISH FORCES AT BLACKSTOCK'S
Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

British Legion, cavalry and infantry (mounted): 190, (Tarleton)
Detachment of the 63rd Regt. (mounted): 80, Lt. John Money

TOTAL: 270-400

William Johnson: "There can be little doubt that Tarleton had with him a much greater number of the 63d than he admits. The Annual Register asserts that he had the whole; and if he took with him all his men who were mounted, this is probably the correct number; for in a letter of Cornwallis to him, of the 10th November, we find these words: 'The 63d are well mounted for infantry, and may occasionally ride in your train.' These were the men who accompanied him in pursuit of Sumpter; he admits their number to have been but eighty; but it would be supposing in their commander madness, and in his followers more resolution than falls to the ordinary lot of man, to have charged with so small a number as eighty, the American force advantageously posted on a commanding eminence. The Americans assert their number approached nearer 200. Tarleton admits his cavalry to have been 170 (Cornwallis says 190) and this brings the number near to the American 400 on the British side. Three hundred more are said to have remained in the rear with the artillery. Not less variance exists as to the number of the Americans. Tarleton makes it 1,000; but the Americans reduce their number to 420 or at the utmost 500."[1598]

CASULATIES

AMERICAN
Tarleton later reported Sumter as losing 100 killed and wounded (including three colonels killed), 50 made prisoner, and the rest of his corps of militiamen being dispersed.[1599]

Cornwallis in his letter to Clinton of 3 December 1780, speaks of three of Sumter's colonels being killed, and 20 men killed wounded or taken, with Sumter being wounded also.[1600]

Col. Charles Myddleton gave Sumter's losses as 3 killed, and 4 wounded, including Sumter.[1601]

Col. Elijah Clark was also among the wounded.

BRITISH
Tarleton gave his own casualties as 50 killed and wounded. Lieutenants Gibson and Cope of the 63rd were among those killed. Lieut. John Money, who had been an aide and favorite of Cornwallis, was wounded, but at the time it was thought the wound was not serious. Notwithstanding, He died from it a few days later.[1602]

Wemyss later said the casualties of the 63rd alone amounted to half of that units detachment, or 40 men.[1603]

Col. Charles Myddleton reported Tarleton's losses as 92 dead and 100 wounded.[1604]

Pension statement of Levin Watson (of Anson County, N.C. (who served with the Georgians): "[Watson's unit] turn[ed] for the head of the Tiger River a Col. [William] Candler as he believes his name joined Col. Clark with

[1596] BGC p. 110.
[1597] MSC1 pp. 824-830, MSC2 p. 746.
[1598] JLG1 p. 320.
[1599] TCS p. 179.
[1600] TCS p. 204.
[1601] BGC p. 109.
[1602] TCS p. 179.
[1603] RBG p. 119.
[1604] BGC p. 109.

sixty men mounted and at a Place called Blackstocks had a Battle with the British Dragoons and defeated them Col. Clark was shot through the arm with ball and did not brake the bone[.] [H]e was with Genl. Sumpter short time left him and went to the State of Georgia and some time after was Discharged by his officers served seven months and twenty too days his service as five Years but Short Terms except as above stated he at that time received a Discharge from Col. Clark."

Joseph Johnson: "[Col. Thomas] Taylor had discovered Tarleton's corps, about fifteen miles from Blackstock[']s, and sent expresses to inform Sumter of his approach. Taylor, likewise, sent two detachments of his men to watch and retard Tarleton's approach. They were ordered to occupy the brow of the hills, near the road, by which Tarleton was advancing. The first was ordered to fire upon the enemy, as soon as they came within gun-shot; then to retreat, and occupy another hill on Tarleton's route. The second was to do the same, and thus to continue their fire alternately, from one hill-top to another. By this means, Tarleton was retarded at every elevation in the road, and Sumter notified of his position; the two detachments co-operating, sustained each other in their alternate movements. Sumter was thus enabled to choose his positions, before Tarleton could come up, and his men coolly reserved their fire until it could be effectual on their foes…The Americans never fought better than at Backstocks, and were much encouraged by their success."[1605]

Lossing: "Sumter's left flank, where the hill was less precipitous. Here he was met by a little band of one hundred and fifty Georgia militia, under Twiggs and Jackson, who, like veterans of many wars, stood firm, and made a noble resistance for a long time, until hoof, and saber, and pistol, bore too hard upon them, and they gave way. At that moment, the rifles of a reserve, under Colonel Winn, and a sharp fire from the log-barn, decided the day. Tarleton fled, leaving nearly two hundred upon the field. Of these, more than ninety were killed, and nearly one hundred wounded. The Americans lost only three killed and five wounded. Among the latter was General Sumter, who received a ball in his breast early in the action, and was taken to the rear, when Colonel Twiggs assumed the command."[1606]

Col. Charles Myddleton, from his after battle report: "The conflict was warm, and the enemy were repulsed; they rallied, made a second charge, and were repulsed again; they made a third, and the people in front were obliged to yield to the impression, but the fire from the eminence gave them such an effectual check, that they quitted the field in great disorder, and retired with the utmost precipitation. We pursued, but the approach of night prevented our taking advantage of their plight." [1607]

Cornwallis in his letter to Clinton December 3rd wrote: "The enemy on this event [Fishdam Ford, see 9 November] cried Victory and the whole Country came in fast to join Sumpter, who passed the Broad River and joined Branan, Clarke [Thomas Brandon, Elijah Clark] &c; I detached Major [Archibald] McArthur with the 1st Battalion of the 71st and the 63d Regt, after having sent my Aid de Camp Lieut [John] Money to take the Command of it, to Brierley's Ferry on Broad River, in order to cover our Mills, and to give some check to the enemy's march to Ninety-Six. At the same time I recalled Lieut Col. Tarleton from the Low Country. Tarleton was so fortunate as to pass not only the Wateree but the Broad River without Genl Sumpter's being apprized of it, who having increased his Corps to one thousand, had passed the Ennoree and was on the point of Attacking our hundred Militia at Williams's House [James Williams' also Williams' Fort], fifteen miles from Ninety-Six, and where I believe He would not have met with much resistance. Lt Col. Tarleton would have surprized [sic] him on the South of Ennoree had not a deserter of the 63d given notice of his march; He however cut to pieces his rear guard in passing that River, and pursued his main body with such rapidity that he could not safely pass the Tyger, and was obliged to halt on a very strong position at a place called Black Stocks, close to it; Tarleton had with him only his Cavalry and the 63d mounted, his Infantry and 3 Pounder being several miles behind; The Enemy not being able to retreat with safety, and being informed of Tarleton's approach and want of Infantry, by a Woman who passed him on the March, and contrived, by a nearer Road to get to them, were encouraged by their great superiority of numbers, and began to fire on the 63d who were dismounted, Lt Col. Tarleton to save them from considerable loss, was obliged to Attack, altho' at some hazard; and drove the enemy with loss over the River. Sumpter was dangerously wounded, three of their Colonels Killed, and about 120 Men Killed, Wounded or taken. On our side about 50 were Killed & wounded; Lieuts Gibson & Cope of the 63d were amongst the former, and my Aid de Camp Lieut Money, who was a most promising Officer, died of his Wounds a few days after. Lt Col. Tarleton as soon as he had taken care of his wounded, pursued & dispersed the remaining part of Sumpter's Corps, and then having assembled some Militia under Mr Cunningham, whom I appointed Brigr General of the Militia of that district, and who has by far the greatest influence in that Country; He returned to the Broad River, where he at present remains, as well as Major McArthur in the neighbourhood [sic] of Brierley's ferry.
"It is not easy for Lt Col. Tarleton to add to the reputation He has acquired in this Province but the defeating 1000 Men posted on very strong ground and occupying log-houses, with 190 Cavalry and 80 Infantry, is a proof of that Spirit and those talents which must render the most essential services to his Country. -- Lt Col. Tarleton commends much the good behaviour [sic] of the Officers and Men under his Command, and He particularly mentions Lieut Skinner of the 16th Regt of Infantry, who does duty with the Legion, as having distinguished himself." [1608]

[1605] JTR pp. 539-540.
[1606] LFB2 pp. 446-447.
[1607] BGC p. 109.
[1608] COC pp. 46-48, SCV1 pp. 302-310.

Tarleton: "The whole position was visible, owing to the elevation of the ground, and this formidable appearance made Tarleton halt upon the opposite height, where he intended to remain quiet till his infantry and three pounder arrived: To encourage the enemy to do the same, he dismounted the 63d to take post, and part of the cavalry to ease their horses. Sumpter observing this operation, ordered a body of four hundred Americans to advance, and attack the 63d in front, whilst another party approached the dragoons in flank. A heavy fire and sharp conflict ensued: The 63d charged with fixed bayonets, and drove the enemy back; and a troop of cavalry, under Lieutenant Skinner, bravely repulsed the detachment which threatened the flank. The ardour [sic] of the 63d carried them too far, and exposed them to a considerable fire from the buildings and the mountain. Though the undertaking appeared hazardous, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton determined to charge the enemy's center with a column of dragoons, in order to cover the 63d, whose situation was now become dangerous. The attack was conducted with great celerity, and was attended with immediate success. The cavalry soon reached the houses, and broke the Americans, who from that instant began to disperse: The 63d immediately rallied, and darkness put an end to the engagement. A pursuit across a river, with a few troops of cavalry, and a small body of infantry, was not advisable in the night; a position was therefore taken adjoining to the field of battle, to wait the arrival of the light and legion infantry.
"An express was sent to acquaint Earl Cornwallis with the success of his troops, and patroles [sic] were dispatched over the river at dawn, to discover if any part of the enemy remained in a body: Intelligence was soon brought across the Tyger, that the corps was entirely dispersed, except a party of one hundred, who remained in a compact state, in order to escort General Sumpter, who was wounded in the action. This news, and some rumours of approaching reinforcements, impelled Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to follow the late advantage, by pursuing the fugitives; which would prevent their rallying to assist their friends, if the report was true concerning their advance. Accordingly, leaving a guard to protect the wounded, he again commenced his march: The men who had remained with their general since his misfortune, upon hearing of the approach of the British, placed him in a litter between two horses, and dispersed through the woods. After a toilsome pursuit of three days, in which a few stragglers were secured, intelligence was obtained that General Sumpter had been conducted across the country by five faithful adherents, till he was removed out of danger. Tarleton upon receiving this news, and having no farther information of an advancing enemy, retired slowly to Blackstock's."[1609]

MacKenzie: "Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, without waiting for the rest of his detachment, made a precipitate attack with one hundred and seventy dragoons, and eighty men of the 63d regiment, upon the enemy, under the command of General Sumpter, strongly posted on Blackstock Hill, and amounting to about five hundred. That part of the hill, to which the attack was directed, was nearly perpendicular, with a small rivulet, brush wood, and a railed fence in front. Their rear, and part of their right flank were secured by the river Tyger, and their left was covered by a large log barn, into which a considerable division of their force had been thrown, and from which, as the apertures between the logs served them for loop holes, they fired with security. British valour [sic] was conspicuous in this action; but no valour could surmount the obstacles and disadvantages that here stood in its way. The 63d was roughly handled; the commanding officer, two others, with one-third of their privates, fell. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, observing their situation, charged with his cavalry; unable to dislodge the enemy, either from the log barn or the height upon his left, he was obliged to fall back. Lieutenant Skinner, attached to the cavalry, with a presence of mind ever useful in such emergencies, covered the retreat of the 63d. In this manner did the whole party continue to retire, till they formed a junction with their infantry, who were advancing to sustain them, leaving Sumpter in quiet possession of the field. This officer occupied the hill for several hours, but having received a bad wound, and knowing that the British would be reinforced before next morning, he thought it hazardous to wait. He accordingly retired, and taking his wounded men with him, crossed the rapid river Tyger, while the victorious Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton retreated some distance, Parthian like, conquering as he flew. The wounded of the British detachment were left to the mercy of the enemy, and it is but doing bare justice to General Sumpter, to declare, that the strictest humanity took place upon the present occasion; they were supplied with every comfort in his power.
"You have been previously apprized, that the American historian [Ramsay], laudably, takes every opportunity to celebrate the actions, and record the death of those of his countrymen who fell in battle. He has, indeed, mentioned the wounds of General Sumpter, but is silent on the fall of the three Colonels described by our author [Tarleton.] The real truth is, that the Americans being well sheltered, sustained very inconsiderable loss in the attack; and as for the three Colonels, they must certainly have been imaginary beings, 'Men in buckram,' created merely to grace the triumph of a victory, which the British army in Carolina were led to celebrate, amidst the contempt and derision of the inhabitants, who had much better information."[1610]

Richard Winn: "Sumter moves up the country; arrives at Blackstock's on Tyger River 16th of November, leaving Colo. [Thomas] Taylor in his rear with fifty men and their wagons to collect and bring in flour. Colo. Taylor with his party and wagons just passed the piquets [sic] when they fired on the enemy; and, as Tarleton meant a surprise, Colo. Taylor's party and wagons and the British horse all run in together, which made a great noise as they had to pass over a poled cosway [causeway] for two or three hundred yards. All this took place in such a hurry and unexpected, we had only three or four minuits [sic] to make disposition of our men. The Georgians were on the left under Cols. Clarke [Elijah Clark], [Benjamin] Few and Chandler [William Candler]; Colo. [Edward] Lacey to the right, Colo. [William] Bratton, [William] Hill and Taylor in front; also a Colonel [Henry]

[1609] TCS pp. 178-180.
[1610] MST pp. 75-78.

Hampton from high up Broad River was thrown into a log house with his party. Colo. Winn was in a small distance from the [k]noll on the top of Blackstock's hill. This hill is high and steep and makes down to the road which passes at its base; and from this situation it was soon discovered by the Colonel it would be impossible for the horse to make an effectual charge on him. On the first onset, the enemy made a violent charge on the Georgians which they sustained manfully for some time; but their ground being open and level they fell back over the river. Colo. Lacey's being posted in a thick woody ground gave him a great advantage. When the British made an attempt to attack the front Lacey, fireing [sic] on them, jumping on their horses rides out of site, loaded, mounted their horses, rode in gun shot, discharging in like manner, and so off again. In this way he kept the enemy at bay for at least two hours, tho [sic] they had in the mean time made several attempts to dislodge the front which was immediately under the command of Gen'l Sumter.

"The General in attempting to lead on his men received a bad wound in his shoulder. Colo. Winn was soon made acquainted with this by Capt. Henry Hampton, on of his aides. Winn requested Hampton to have the General taken off the field and carried across the river and to say nothing about it. In a short time after, Maj. James Jackson, afterwards a Major-General of Georgia, came to me and gave me to understand that our men in the front was giving way, and 'Sir,' says he, 'I will tell you the salvation of this country depends on this single fight.' I told him we must try it. In above fifteen minuits [sic] after this information from Maj. Jackson, the fireing [sic] ceased from every quarter; my men was all fresh, as they not being engaged, in a line on top of the hill, I made them set down to prevent discovery about five yards from each other to make the greatest shew [sic] possible, and when I gave them the word they was to jump up, set up the Indian hollo and run down the hill on the enemy and to fire as they run, at the same time have bullets in their mouths and powder in their pockets. In a few minuits [sic] the British horse advanced, as appeared with great caution at the foot of the hill; and when they got to the far end of our line I gave the word. The officers and men obeyed, and at the instant the horse whealed [sic] right about and it did appear to me whose horse could run fastest was the cleaverest [sic] fellow. Thus ended the battle, and the enemy began to retreat. I sent a small party after them to watch their motion. On their return they reported Tarleton had taken up camp in two miles of the battleground. I then moved the men from the hill to where the first attack began, collected what of them I could and had them paraded. By this time night was coming on and it was beginning to rain. I ordered a party out to examine the ground, collect as many of the enemy as could be found and take them to Blackstock's house, and requested they might be well treated. From the position Tarleton had taken I was convinced he meant to try the business again. I left a party on the ground with orders to make a long row of fires, and marched off to where Sumter lay; found that the doctor had just extracted the ball. I got one of the men to light a torch and immediately wrote to Gen'l Smallwood and acquainted him of what was done here and at the Fishdam, which he received by my express, Capt. Andrew Love. Sumter wounded, the officers and men worn down with fatigue and hunger, it was thought advisable to move up the country, cross Broad River and halt in the New Acquisition to refresh.

"But to return to Colo. Tarleton: I could wish I had it in my power to say as much of his humanity as he has done of ours. This officer makes his retreat good to Winnsborough, but on his way he hangs Esq'r [John] Johnston, a respectable citizen with a large family. What was his crime, I know not, unless taking up arms on the American side. He took every old man and stout boy he could find, carried them to the Borough, there reported and made them prisoners at Blackstock's. These unfortunate people was sent and confined in Camden goal except some of them discovered to be Tories, where they lay for a considerable time without friends or money.

"In this action at Blackstock there was not a prisoner on either side carried from the ground. The Americans had five or six wounded, but not a man killed. The loss on the part of the British was considerable."[1611]

Saye (drawing on the reminiscences of Maj. Joseph McJunkin): "No sooner was the news of this disaster carried to Cornwallis than he ordered Tarleton from the pursuit of Marion to fall upon Sumter. Soon after the action at Fishdam, Sumter took up the line of march toward Ninety-Six. At this time Capt. Joseph McJunkin, feeling sufficiently recruited to take the field once again, assembled as many of his command as possible and joined Sumter at Padget's Creek, between the Tyger and Enoree Rivers. At the same time a number of the militia from Georgia effected a junction with Sumter. McJunkin was then appointed Major and received a commission as such. This was probably to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of Lieut. Col. James Steen. Major William Farr subsequent to this is called Lieutenant Colonel in Major McJunkin's written narrative. Hence the writer concludes that Farr succeeded Steen, and McJunkin ranked next to Farr in Brandon's regiment. Steen was killed some time previous to this in Rowan County, N. C., in an attempt to arrest some Tories.

"Sumter's march toward Ninety-Six was arrested by the intelligence that Col. Tarleton was following him by forced marches with the manifest intention of falling upon him. He turned to the north, which placed the Enoree River in his front. He had barely passed this stream with his main body when Tarleton's advance obstructed the passage of his rear guard. Sumter, however, pushed on and was gaining ground on his pursuer. Tarleton, apprehensive that his flying foe would succeed in passing the Tyger without hindrance, which was only a few miles in advance, left his artillery and such of his infantry as he was unable to put on horseback, and pressed forward with double diligence. Sumter, having reached the margin of that stream, took a strong position with a view of allowing his troops to take refreshments. His main body occupied the hill on which Blackstock's house was situated. The rear guard was left some distance behind on the road. The men composing it set about getting their dinner -- fires were built and dough rolled around sticks and set before the fire to bake. Just at this stage of the preparations Tarleton's force came in sight.

"Major McJunkin, who was Officer of the Day, immediately sent a messenger to Sumter to let him know that the enemy were in sight. Orders were returned to come up to the house. Tarleton having viewed Sumter's position, concluded to guard his opponent and hold him there until the balance of his force should come up. Sumter was

[1611] WNO, Richard Winn, part II, pp. 4-6

not of the metal to submit to such bondage. He drew up his force and called for volunteers to sally out and commence an action.
"Col. Farr and McJunkin were the first to step out. When a number deemed sufficient were out, Gen. Sumter gave orders to advance, commence the attack and, if necessary, fall back. The action was commenced with great spirit, the assailing party gradually yielding to superior numbers until Tarleton made a general charge with a view of pushing his adversary from his advantageous position. He was repulsed in the first onset with a heavy loss. A second was tried with no better success, when he drew off his whole force and left the field of conflict. The numbers of the respective parties are variously estimated. Tarleton's is thought to have been 400, and Sumter's perhaps about equal. It is thought 150 Georgians were present under Col. Twiggs. There was a great disparity in the loss of the two parties. The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to near 200; that of the Americans about one-sixth of that number. Among the wounded was Gen. Sumter, who received a bullet in the breast, by which he was disabled for service for several months. The command now devolved on Col. Twiggs.
"It was thought expedient to retreat that night, though it was near sun down when the enemy quit the field. According, a bier was constructed, upon which Gen. Sumter was carried between two horses. Not a few of the militia lodged that night among the Storys and McIllwaines, twelve miles distant from the scene of action. The retreat was continued the next day toward King's Mountain in York District. On the way thither a part of the Whigs encamped on Gilkie's Creek. A pet Tory lived near where they lay, and some of them told him they would press him into service and take him along with them in the morning. To escape that disaster he took a chisel that night and cut off one of his toes.
"In the morning after the battle Tarleton returned to the battle ground and, finding his opponent gone, hung John Johnson, a Whig who had been captured the day before. Mr. Johnson had taken protection some time in the summer, as many others had done, and when forced to fight had chosen to fight for liberty. His residence was on Tyger River in the vicinity of Hamilton's Ford, where some of his descendants may still be found. After the necessary arrangements were made, Tarleton renewed the pursuit and followed as far as Grindal [also Grindall's] Shoals on Pacolet River. Here he spent a night. William Hodge, a peaceable citizen, resided two miles above the shoals. The next morning a little after sunrise Tarleton with his whole army came to the house of Mr. Hodge, took him prisoner, seized provisions and provender, killed up his stock, burned his fence and house, and carried him off, telling his wife as they started that he should be hung on the first crooked tree on the road. He was carried to Camden and put in jail. Some time in ensuing April he made his escape by cutting the grating out of the window, with some others."[1612]

20-23 November. Gov. John Rutledge, at Salisbury on the 20th, to the Delegates of the South Carolina assembly: "…I will therefore give you an exact Relation of Matters, as they are at present -- The Enemy have a post (strong wth Redoubts) of betwn 5 & 600 Men at Camden where Lord Rawdon commands -- another, fortified, of ab[ou]t. 300 at Ninety-Six under [John Harris] Cruger -- one at Augusta, ab[ou]t. the same Number under [loyalist, Thomas] Brown -- & Lord Cornwallis is, with the main Army, ab[ou]t. 1600 Reg[ugla]rs, at Winnsborough, on Broad River, ab[ou]t. 45 Miles from Congaree, & the same distance from Camden & Ninety-Six -- So that he may, pretty readily, reinforce Camden, Ninety Six, or Augusta, or draw his Troops from these posts to his main Body, &, with that, or his whole Army, retreat down, or advance up, the Country, as Circumstances render most eligible -- Smallwood & Morgan are at 6 Mile Creek, in this State, ab[ou]t. 16 Miles below Charlotte (on the Road to Camden) with ab[ou]t. 200 regulars, 1100 militia & 150 Cavalry -- Gates is just marching from hence, to join them, w[it]h ab[ou]t. 600 Regulars, & Sumpter lay, a few days ago, between Tyger & Enoree Rivers, w[hic]h. (it is said) ab[out]. 1000 Militia, but, I believe he has moved more Westwardly, with a View of giving a Blow to a party of the Enemy, in that Direction -- Genl. [John] Butler is here, with ab[ou]t. 150 Men, guarding Prisoners -- Genl. [Edward] Stevens is at Hillsboro., (& ord[ere]d. from thence hither,) w[hic]h some Virginia 8 Month[']s Men (Militia who deserted in Gates's action, & who are condd. to serve for 8 Months, on that acco[un]t.) &, ab[ou]t 260 Men are, somewhere in Virga. on the March from Maryland -- Genl. Harrington is stationed at Cheraws, w[ith] ab[out]. 250 Men, whose Term of duty is nearly expired -- A Colo. [Thomas] Brown, of this Country, is travelling near him, w[it]h. ab[ou]t. 150 or 200 Men, & Colo. Marion is moving ab[out]. on Pedee & Kingston, with perhaps 300 -- Thus you see what force, & of what kind, we really have on the Ground, & how it is scattered -- However, I hope that, as soon as Genl. Green[e] arrives, he will collect 'em to a good tenable Position, &, occasionally detach strong Parties to oppose the Enemy's light Troops who do the most Mischief, to harass the Enemy, circumscribe their Limits, & in Time oblige, 'em to retire to Ch.Town, & give us an opportunity of reestablishing Civil Government, in some part of the Country, of electing, & convening a Legislature, & of making & enforcing Laws -- but, this will not be the Work of a day -- when, or whether, we shall recover the Town, must depend on Events not to be foreseen, at present -- here at least -- I wish, however, the Spaniards may really do what they threaten, & that Aid from our Allies was more powerful & successful -- the Colo; & Justices of Surry County took upon 'em to release all the No. Carolina Tories taken in Ferguson[']s defeat, on giving Bail to appear at Courtbut, I imagine many, if not all of 'em will return to the Enemy[1613] -- they put the officers on Parol, they have broke it & gone off, probably to the Enemy—& they enlisted the So. Carolina Tories taken in that defeat, (116) to serve in the Contl. Army, 6 Months -- However, 30 of 'em ran away, on the March from the Moravian Towns to this place -- the rest (76) were released from their Enlistment, & are here in Goal -- this was a strange & unaccountable step of the Colo. & Magistrates -- A Colo. Cleveland [Benjamin Cleavland] hung 8 or 10 of the most noted horse Thieves & Tories (of No. Carolina,) taken in Ferguson[']s defeat, & Lord Cornwallis has complained to Smallwood of such Cruelty, tho' he & those Acting under him have hanged many more of our People -- It is said (& I believe it,) that, of the Prisoners whom Barr

[1612] SJM.
[1613] As we not infrequently find is the case in such instances, Rutledge's prediction proved uncannily correct.

took at Augusta, he gave up 4 to the Indians, who killed 'em, cut off their Heads & kicked their Bodies ab[out]. the Streets, & that he, (Brown,) hung upwards of 30 Prisoners -- his Lordship therefore has mistaken the Side on which the Cruelty lies -- Gates has carried the Letter wth. him; However, I will send you a copy of it, & of the Answer, wch. will be sent to it, when one is sent -- I am endeavouring to procure authentick Information, respecting the Hanging, House Burning, Plundering, & other Cruelties, & Acts of Barbarity committed by the British in So. Carolina & Georgia, & shall resolve, when I have obtained it, what to do, or write & to whom on those Points -- I do not chuse to take up the Matter, with[out]. good Authority -- From a letter dated the 4th. In[stance]., wrote by Leslie to C[ornwallis]…it appears that the plan of those Generals was to have formed a Junction of the Troops under their respective Commands -- that they hoped to do so in this State, & expected to have been powerfully aided by the Tories of this Country: However, Fergusons defeat has frustrated that plan, & I hope it will never take Effect -- but I think it probable that Lord C[ornwallis]. will call for Leslie's Troops, or some other Reinforcement, to the Southward -- if so, We shall have more Trouble than we otherwise should -- I omitted to mention, that there are some (a few) Regulars still at Hillsboro, who cannot, march, for want of shoes & cloaths -- Lord Cornwallis has proposed to exchange the People taken on Kings Mountain, for our Militia, in his hands, but, I think that proposal must not be accepted -- Genl. Huger tells me, he wrote you an Acc[oun]t. of Sumpter's successful Resistance of Major Wemys[s]'s Attack [Fish Dam Ford, 9 Nov.], and of his having taken that officer -- he is a valuable acquisition to us, but, I am sorry to find that he is only slightly wounded, & likely to recover -- I wish he may not give Sumpter the slip, for he keeps him with him…"
On the 23rd, Rutledge then added this postcript: "The person by whom this is to go, not having set out, as he promised, I've kept it open to add any Thing which might occur before he went -- Colo. or Major Davy [Davie] (of which gallant Officer with[ou]t. Doubt you have heard,) is just come up, from Smallwoods Camp -- which is still as above mentioned -- Col: Davy's Report of the Strength & posts of the Enemy, & of ours, is much the same as above, except that Lord C[ornwallis] -- has moved somewhat lower down the Country, & so has Sumpter -- the latter is below his Lordship, ab[ou]t. S:W. of him -- C[ornwallis]: is at Shivers Ferry [Shiroe's Ferry], on the E[ast]:Side of Broad River -- Sumpter below that Ferry, between Broad & Saluda -- his present object is to collect a force, & by going so low down the Country, give those who are desirous, an opportunity, to join him -- Davy says Tarl[e]ton is in Quest of Marion, & doing much mischief in burning houses on Santee -- I wish Lee's Corps [Lee's Legion] were come, but fear they will stop in Virginia -- Davy further adds, that the Enemy mount many of their Infantry, in order to proceed rapidly, with their Cavalry, the latter of which consists of, at least, 250 good -- I fear the Virginia 18 Months men will not come on, (for Genl. Mulenburgh [Muhlenberg], who was on the March Southwardly, with 1500, turned back) unless the Enemy sh[oul]d. leave Virginia & I am sorry to find that we must rely so much on our own Efforts. I mean on those of the Carolina's…"[1614]

21 November. Charles Coleman to Cornwallis: "I Desire to inform your Lordship that on this day I parted with Colonel Tarelton [sic] on Tiger River where he the Day Before fought Sumter's Brigade of Rebels Ho [i.e. who] he Disperst [sic]. Col Tarlton Retreated about a [mile?] which gave the Rebels an opportunity of Returning and Carried of their dead and wounded tho I saw some dead and som [sic] wounded. the general Sumter is sayd to be mortally wounded. I also would wish to inform you that on the forth instant the rebels tuck [took] me prisoner & treated me in the most unhumanist [sic] maner [sic] they could whilst the 20 on which the ginaral [sic] giv [sic] me a sort of parol [parole] which I send to you to let your Lord ship see the form then of which I exsepted [sic] of which the forfit [sic] of all that Ey [sic] had I have no more to [rite?] but that I would gladly com Before you But I am wounded & very unwell god save the king all from your most humble"[1615]

22 November. Tarleton, at "Black Stokes," "7 oclock A.M.," wrote Cornwallis "I have no Baggage consequently no Cypher -- I trust for this short Letter no Accident -- I yesterday cut Sumpter[']s rear Guard to pieces on Ennoree -- I pursued his trail with great rapidity & had an action on this ground last Night with the Cavalry & 63d only--
"Sumpter is defeated, his Corps dispersed & himself dangerously wounded. The ground was difficult. But Night came on & for want of more Infantry I coud [sic] not immediately pursue the Blow -- Three young men who were of Ferguson[']s Corps have promis'd to fix Sumpter immediately. I have promis'd them for the Deed 50 G. [guineas] each in case he falls into my Hands--
"But my Lord I have lost Men -- 50 killed & wounded & Officers which are losses to the public Service. Poor Money is wounded but not dangerously -- Gibson and Cope kill'd Also numrous [sic] Legion wounded and every Officer there my own included killd [sic] or wounded
"The Rebels were commanded by Sumter[,] Clarke [Clark,] Lacy [Lacey] & Brannons [Brandon's] Men were present, 1000 in all & were attacked by [i.e. we attacked with] 190 Cav.l [Cavalry] & 90 Inf.y [Infantry] on most unapproachable ground. I have wrote to McArthur to pass & bring in baggage. I shall take every immediate step boldly to suppress Insurrection…
"N.B. the Enemy attack'd the 63d & forced me to Action before the Cannon Legion & Lt Infr [Light infantry] could be brought up."[1616]

22 November. Gates coming from Salisbury with the main body of the army arrived at New Providence. Nevertheless, he left on the 27th, and moved to Charlotte where they erected huts with a mind towards a more permanent encampment."[1617]

[1614] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct., 1916, pp. 142-146.
[1615] PRO. 30/11/4/170.
[1616] PRO. 30/11/4/173-174.
[1617] GHA3 pp. 472-473,, WDC p. 365.

22 November. Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, wrote to Tarleton: "I have ordered [Maj. Archibald] M'Arthur [with the 71st Regt.] to proceed [from Brierly's Ferry] to Calley's ford on the Ennoree, and to wait orders with his battalion, sending on the baggage with a captain and fifty men: If you should want him it will make but little delay; if not, it will save him a long march."[1618]

22 November. Greene and his staff reached Petersburg, VA. continuing on their way southward to join the southern army.[1619]

23 November. Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, at Ninety Six, to Cornwallis: "From the Country reports recd yesterday & this Day I presume the Communication between this by Shirers [Shirar's also known as Brierly's] Ferry is again open, & shall therefore trouble your Lordship with a Letter, tho' nothing of any consequence has occurr'd since I had the honor of writing by Colo: [Patrick] Cunningham of 16th Inst: I am exceeding anxious to get some authentick [sic] Accnts [sic] of Colo: Tarleton's success, my expectations have been great, the prospect from the assurance of the rebels was favorable.
"Last Week Colo [Thomas] Brown sent here from Augusta twenty horses for the Quartr Mastr Genl's Department. I immediately acquainted Major [Richard] England with it, & that Brown wod [sic] send in about ten days fifty more. -- We are increasing daily tho' moderately our stock of provision.
"Last Week Colo [Isaac] Allan lost a Sergeant & private who contrary to orders, were [strolling?] through the Country & taken off by some sculking [sic] fellows…
"A Few of the Inhabitants on Long Cane have been plunderd [sic] many more deserved it for their pusillanimous [sic] behaviour [sic], about forty to fifty rebels frighten'd the whole regiment, two or three Loyalists are killd, & many disarm'd [sic]: I think I shall never again look to the Militia for the least support, & I am convinced that it is the Kings Troops only that can hold this Country."[1620]

23 November. Cornwallis wrote to Rawdon (at Camden) saying he was going to send Lt. Henry Haldane, an experienced engineer who at the time was drawing plans for Camden, to help with the fortifications at Ninety Six. Haldane arrived at Ninety Six, apparently, about 6 December. He found the existing works in a satisfactory condition, and in a much better state than he had expected -- the original fortifications having consisted of little more than a stockade of upright logs encircling a barn. But to further strengthen the now improved post he implemented additional improvements, including the addition of an abbatis and the Star fort; which latter were only completed in May 1781.[1621]
MacKenzie: "[The houses of Ninety-Six] intirely [sic] of wood, were comprised within a stockade. The commandant immediately set the whole garrison, both officers and men, to work, to throw up a bank, parapet high, around this stockade, and to strengthen it with an abbatis. Upon the left of the village was a ravine, through which ran a rivulet, that supplied the place with water. The county prison was fortified, and commanded the ravine upon one side, and a stockade on the left covered it on the other; but the only part of these works which deserved the name of regular, was upon the right. This was planned some time before, by Lieutenant Haldane of the engineers, Aid de Camp to Earl Cornwallis; it consisted of sixteen salient and re-entering angles, with a dry ditch, fraise and abbatis, and was called the STAR."[1622]

Historian Jerome A. Greene: "Thus, the fortifications erected by the British [when more or less finished by the British in May 1781] encompassed a variety of regular and irregular works consisting of the twin stockade with its bastions and blockhouses, the earthen star fort to the north, the stockade fort to the west, and the jail redan on the west flank of the village, all of which were joined by a network of ditches and trenches, themselves ringed with palisades and abates."[1623]

23 November. About this time in November, Capt. John Coffin, of the N.Y. Volunteers, with 30 mounted infantrymen, plus 20 laborers threw up a redoubt with 2 cannon at Upton Hill in the High Hills of the Santee. Lieut. Col. Samuel Tynes and some of his officers, though taken prisoner by Marion earlier, had managed to escape. Tynes was then able to collect a few men and posted himself in the redoubt Coffin constructed. Even so, all but 20 of his men abandoned it when frightened by false reports of an approach by Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington. Not believing the 20 men left were sufficient to accomplish anything, Tynes let go his remaining men. He handed in his resignation to Rawdon, who, on the evening of December 8th, accepted it, and the redoubt was left abandoned. Coffin's own contingent, by early December, was increased to 140, possibly to compensate for Tynes' withdrawal.[1624]

23 November. Brig. Gen. William Henry Harrington, at "Camp near Kershaw's Ferry," wrote Gates: "I have this day received Intelligence from Colo. Marian [Marion] that Major McLerath [McLeroth], with 200 British & Militia, with two Field pieces, crossed Santee, march to Kingstree & took Post there on the 20 Instant. The Enemy have also established another Post at Singletons Mills, on the High Hills of Santee, about 40 Miles below Cambden

[1618] TCS p. 202.
[1619] GLG3 p. 63.
[1620] PRO. 30/11/4/181-182.
[1621] Fanning speaks of a fort erected earlier by the rebels at Ninety-Six. FNA p. 3. MST pp. 142-143, GNS pp. 25-26, 88-92, 98-113, CON pp. 22-23.
[1622] MST pp. 142-143.
[1623] GNS p. 113.
[1624] BSF pp.101, 109.

[sic]. The Colo. writes me that, by a Letter from Lord Rawdon, intercepted by our People, the Enemy are about to mount a number of the New York Volunteers, with a View to Strengthen the Post at Kingstree. Colo. Tarleton retreated to Cambden on the 10 or 11th after receiving an Express from Lord Cornwallis. He published a Manifesto before he left Santee, assuring Pardon to all who would return immediately to their Plantations, threatening instant Fire & sword to those who did not comply. This has had such an Effect that numbers have left Colo. Marian & gone Home.
"I learn from Charles Town that 37 Sail of the Cork Fleet have certainly arrived there, and landed 36,000 Barrels of Beef, Butter & Flour, (a great deal of the last damaged,) the same number of the same Fleet arrived at Savannah & the remainder of that Fleet at New York. The Vessel captured off Charles Town was a Brig from Glascow [Glasgow] of 18 Guns. She surrendered after a warm Engagement to a Privateer of 20 Guns from Newbern, commanded by Captain Stanley. This Fleet was by many in Town supposed to be the Combined Fleet of France & Spain, and made the Enemy look about them. The Weather was hazy and the Pilots did not care to trust to appearances. The Garrison of Chas. Town consists of the 64th Regiment, 200 Strong, 350 Hessians, being part of two Regiments, & 100 of the 63d Regiment. The Charles Town Militia are eleven Companies, about 400 dressed in Scarlet faced with blue; they are kept to strict duty. A Polaise arrived there on the 12th; she left Chesapeak[e] bay on the 5th; she brought accounts that the British have burnt Hampton & had captured two Colonels & a Major of the Virginia Militia. The Scourge & two other Galleys, with the Sandwich of 28 Guns and 2 or three more Armed Ships, were to sail immediately from Chas. Town to Wilmington, but not the least word of any Troops going with them. A Captain Bluker of the 7th Regiment commands about 100 Convalescents & some Militia in George Town; but the whole Force of the Enemy in Georgia did not amount, in August last, to more than 500, viz.: a Regt. of Hessians, part of the 2d Battn. of the 71st & a few New York Volunteers. The New York Prints say Sir Hugh Palisser is coming on with 6 ships of the Line & some Frigates; that Ireland, particularly Ulster, is now exceedingly active against America, and is to furnish 11 Regiments by next May. My informant assures me that the Irish have certainly erected a Statue to Lord North, in Dublin, and that not any Reinforcements had arrived in Charles Town on the 13th Instant.
"A British Deserter who left Cambden on Sunday last informs me that Lord Rawdon's Corps and about 80 of the 7th Regt. were busily employed making Redoubts that One had lately been made on the East Bank of the River & another at the Old Mill on the Cheraw Road; that Hamiltons & Innis' [Innes'] Corps were encamped three Miles up the Waxaw Road.
"I would, with pleasure, continue to serve my Country and think myself Honoured by Your Orders, but a Brigadier's commission, without either District or Brigade, when from His Excellency, the Governour's Appointment, I had, in my opinion, a right to both, cannot with honor be held. After what the Assembly have done in favour of another, it would appear like begging both Commission & Brigade; that in justice to myself I cannot think, even for a single Moment, of altering my Resolution."[1625]

24 November. Maj. McArthur, at "Kelly's Ford on Enoree," to Cornwallis: "I was honoured with your Lordship's letter by Dr Stewart after I had passed Beyerley's [Bryerley's] Ferry the Night before Last. I wrote to Col. Tarleton before I received your Lordship's that I had passed the Ferry on my way to join Him, & Yesterday morn'g I wrote him that I would forward his baggage with an Escort of A Capt & 50 of the 71st agreeable to your Lordship's Command, & Yesterday at noon His Baggage with the Escort passed this Ford; But at Seven oClock last Night I received A letter from Him desiring I would join Him with all possible Expedition, as He has something Else to do near the Mountains before he returns. He tells me Colonels [Elijah] Clark & Chandler [William Candler] were killed & Sumpter Mortally wounded, that the Enemy's loss amounted to 120 killed & wounded; & some People who passed here this Day affirm Sumpter is Dead of his Wounds.
"I would have marched immediately on rect [receipt] of Tarleton's letter but this ford is too deep & Stony to pass in the Night. We are just preparing to pass the ford & hope to make A good Days march of it."[1626]

24 November. Brig. Gen. Gregory, at "Camp North West River Bridge," to Gov. Nash: "I received your favour by Capt. Hervey, and was very glad to hear the Gentleman was so ready to turn out. At the time I wrote your Excellency I believed the situation of this part of the State was in a bad way, as the Enemy seemed determined to force our premature pass. Since that they have left the post that we are in possession of, and have embarked on board their vessels, and on the 23rd this Inst. they left the bay. It is believed they intend for the Southward, but for the Certainty I am not able to say. Under these Circumstances I have Discharged the Troops that were here, and have wrote to General [Thomas] Eaton on the same subject. It is certain they intend to make their winter Campain [sic] at Portsmouth, as they had throwed up very good works there. It was a very great affront to tell them that Cornwallis was obliged to Retreat. They Expected to join him at Richmond, in Virginia, in about ten days from their first landing. A vessel from South Carolina gave them the first alarm. I have done the best I could to get all the Intelligence and strength of the Enemy at this place. Inclosed you will see a list of their strength, from the best authority I could procure, as I have had proper parties out for five days in Norfolk County & Prince Ann. I have nothing more to inform yr. Excellency at present.
[attached to the the above]

"RETURN OF BRITISH FORCES AT PORTSMOUTH

"The strenth of the british forces & Navy when at Portsmouth, Virginia:
Grenadiers & Light Infantry guards 400

[1625] CNC14 pp. 748-749.
[1626] PRO. 30/11/4/191-192.

Battn. of Hessians [Von Bose] 260
Detachment of [71st] Highlanders 300
Queen's Rangers to be Mounted 100
Eighty second Regt. 360
Six Companies of Light Infantry 240
Eighty fourth Regt. 300
Remains of the 17th Regt., the bal. [balance] being taken out at Stony Point 120
A Company of Yagers 50

Total 2,130

"Royal Provincials Commanded [King's American Regt.] by Colo. [Edmund] Fanning 300

[Grand Total] 2,430

"Navy
Romulus 44 Guns[,] Com'd [Commodore] Gaton.
Blonde 32 " " Capt. Berkley.
Iris 32 " " Dawson Express from Charlestown.
Arbuthnot 20 " " Mr. Person belong to Goodrich. [sic]
Delight 16 " " Capt. Ingles' Sloop of war.
Halifa 16 " " Capt. Brown Sloop of war
Otter 16 " " Capt. Creek " "
Apollo 10 " " King's Schooner " "
Two gallies
"The best information I could collect." [1627]

25 November. In a council of war among his senior officers (including Smallwood, Morgan, Huger, Davidson, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Buford, Howard, and William Washington) and with himself presiding, Gates decided to move the army from New Providence to Charlotte to ease the army's difficult food and medical situation (there was much reported sickness in camp at New Providence.) As it turned out, Charlotte was in a not much better condition to mantain them than either New Providence or Salisbury. The army actually started its move the new camp site on the 27th.[1628]
A Field return of the Southern Army at camp New Providence, N.C. of this same date gives Gates as having 1,053 rank and file/609 rank and file *fit for duty* in the "Continental Brigade;" 404 rank and file/358 rank and file *fit for duty* in "General Morgan's Brigade;" and 1,147 rank and file/737 rank and file *fit for duty* in "General Davidson's Brigade, militia" -- for a grand total of 2,604 rank and file with 1,704 of these being fit for duty.[1629]

26 November. Greene and his aides arrived at General Parson's House and which lay on the road to Hillsborough; by the 27th they were at Hillsborough itself. Although the assembly was not in session, Greene wrote sundry letters to the state's legislators entreating their assistance while there.[1630]

27 November. Brig. Gen. Davidson, at New Providence, to Alexander Martin of the N.C. Board of War: "By this time you may be acquainted with the position the Army is to take for the present. In the meantime it appears to me that a proper Exertion of the Militia of my District might greatly Injure, if not totally Ruin, the British Army. I have been deliberating on this Matter some time, and submit my plan to your Consideration, and hope that you will endeavour to promote it or something that may be more Eligible. My Scheme is to send Genl. Morgan to the Westward with his Light Troops & Rifle Men, 1,000 volunteer Militia, which I can raise in 20 Days, & the Refugees from South Carolina and Georgia to join, which will make a formidable Body of Desperadoes, the whole to be under Morgan's Direction, and proceed immediately to 96 and possess ourselves of the western parts of South Carolina; at the same time the main Army to move down to the Waxsaws, which will oblige the Enemy to divide (which will put them quite in our power) or vacate the present Posts & collect to one point, in which Case we can command the country, cut off their supplies, and force them to retreat & fight the Militia in their own way. The Messenger waits; I have neither time nor Room to make farther observations. I think the scheme practicable and certain of Success unless the Enemy be reinforced."[1631]

27 November. Gates marched his army to Charlotte, yet which was not much better able to supply him than New Providence, though Davie, making foraging excursions to outlying areas on Gates' behalf, was able to make up much of the deficiency. After arriving in Charlotte, the Maryland and Delaware regiments received a few recruits from their respective states. While these troops were regularly being drilled, a small laboratory was established for mending arms, and the residue of the Continental clothing was distributed. Otho Williams: "Each

[1627] CNC15 pp. 156-158.
[1628] Waxhaws had been considered, but rejected in favor of Charlotte. Salisbury, on the other hand, had not been included among the possible choices since, like New Providence, it was used up and depleted by this time. CNC15 pp. 160-161.
[1629] CNC15 p. 162.
[1630] GLG3 pp. 64-65, TPY pp. 59-60.
[1631] CNC14 pp. 759-760.

man in the brigade was supplied with one new shirt, a short coat, a pair of woolen overalls, a pair of shoes, and a hat or a cap. The dividend of blankets was very inadequate to the occasion."[1632]
Kirkwood: "Nov. 27. This Day the troops under Command of Genl. Gates, marched to Charlotte, where they built Hutts."[1633]

27 November. Col. Abel Kolb, near Long Bluff, wrote Brig. Gen. Harrington: "You last wrote that you wanted to see me, with a return of my regiment this day in camp. I should be happy in waiting on you at any time after today. I think to ride up to-morrow, if I should not be sick.
" Sir, you wanted to ascertain the number of men I had in the regiment.
"Agreeably to my returns, I have but 233 men, besides officers. I shall send you the part of my regiment you require to-morrow, or next day. I shall have them marched up under command of some one captain."[1634]

28 November. Kirkwood (with Morgan's light detachment): "This Day had orders to hold our selves in readiness in a moments warning to March. Accordingly left our tents standing with all our sick behind and marched to twelve mile Creek, which at this place Divides No. and So. Carolina; and from thence to the Hanging Rock, the Infantry remained at this place until Col. Washington went down to Col. Ridgely's [Rugeley's], and with the Deception of a pine knot took the garrisons Consisting of one Col. one Majr. and 107 privates: -- from thence returned to Camp, December the second." See 2 December.[1635]
On Nov. 29th, Smallwood, at "Camp" (presumably Charlotte), wrote Gates: "General Morgan's Brigade, Colo. Washington's Horse, and a detachment of one Hundred Men from Davidson's, Marched yesterday to the Waxhaws. Nothing Material has occured since you left us, except the Desertion of Thirteen of Major Nelson's Corps last Night, with their Horses, Arms, Accoutrements, &c., whom a party of Horse detached after I hope will fall in with and secure them to day."[1636]

Late November. [skirmish] Enoree River (probably Laurens County, S.C.)[1637] What is known of this engagement comes from Alexander Chesney, and who gives it as follows: "As I did not know where to find any British troops I continued about home some time [November, 1780] and as the Americans were in possession of the country, I was obliged to conceal myself in a cave dug in the branch of a creek under a hollow poplar with my cousins Hugh Cooke and Charles Brandon; in which we were forced for want of room, to lie flat. Cooke's wife brought us food and news every night; I sometimes stayed at my father-in-law's, until I heard that Col. Tarleton had defeated Sumter at Blackstocks Fort on Tyger River; on which news I raised a company with great difficulty and joined a strong party at Col Williams's house on Little River, where there was a strong party under General [Robert] Cunningham. Major Plumber [Daniel Plummer] having been wounded at King's Mountain, the command of our Regiment devolved on Jonathan Frost as Major, who directed me to assemble my company of Militia and join him at an appointed place on the Enoree. When I came to that place on the day and time appointed I found the Americans under Capt., then Major, [Benjamin] Roebuck, in possession of it who immediately disarmed us and marched us off. It was a great blunder by Major Frost to alter the place of meeting: however he did his best to remedy it. He pursued and overtook us about 12 miles higher up and having attacked Roebuck's party, where they were advantageously posted at a house, poor Frost was killed and the rest retreated. Roebuck, who was acquainted with me formerly, paroled me to Ninety-Six where I was exchanged for Captain Clerk [Clark?], a son to Col. Clerk, who had been taken after the attack on Augusta in Georgia. I was then sent to garrison the jail of Ninety-Six [December 1780], which I fortified and had the command of the Militia stationed there. Colonels [Isaac] Allen and Cruger commanded the fort near the jail; where I continued until Tarleton came into Ninety-Six District to go in quest of General Morgan."

Late November (or possibly within the first week of December). Some days before Greene's arrival in Charlotte, Col. William Davie was forced to relinquish his post at Land's Ford on the Catawba River because the term of service for his North Carolina mounted militia had of late expired.[1638]

[1632] KJO p. 12, WNA, RNC p. 258, 261, JLG1 p. 314, DRS p. 38.
[1633] KJO p. 12.
[1634] GHC p. 344.
[1635] KJO pp. 12-13.
[1636] CNC14 p. 764.
[1637] The Enoree River acts as the border between Laurens and Spartanburg, and also between Newberry and Union counties, so this action could conceivably have taken place in any single one of them. Laurens and Newberry, however, seem more the likely candidates given their proximity to Ninety-Six, where the loyalists forces of the region were centered.
[1638] DRS p. 38, SNC p. 186.

December. Sometime in the month, 2 iron six-pounders, which Cruger had requested, were sent by Cornwallis to Ninety Six. Yet not being adequately escorted the guns were captured by some whig partisans. A separate brass three-pounder was sent in their place in January (see 3 January), along with a wagonload of entrenching tools; but, this time, with a proper escort. This then left Cruger armed with at least 2 three pounders.[1639]

December. Col. John Twiggs and Col. Elijah Clark kept a small force together in the western part of Georgia near "the whig settlements."
Meanwhile, Col. Andrew Pickens, Lieut. Col. James McCall, and Maj. John Cunningham, Maj. James Jackson, with 70 to 100 South Carolina and Georgia militia, took the field, sending off their families and slaves over the mountains (ostensibly to the Watauga-Nolachcuky community) for their safety. They subsequently rode to join Morgan's "Flying Army" or 'Flying Camp." Pickens had just recently taken the field after disavowing his oath of British loyalty and protection. He claimed that the British had failed to protect him when his home was attacked by Dunlop and the loyalists, and therefore his oath was no longer binding.[1640]
Joseph Johnson: "From Colonel S. [Samuel] Hammond's notes of the expedition to Long Cane, by order of General Greene, we also extract the following statement: 'With these additions to our force, it was resolved in council to make a bold and rapid push, through the western part of Ninety-Six District, into the Long Cane settlement, west of the British stationed at the town, Cambridge or Ninety-Six. Our wish, also, was to draw out the well affected off that part of the country, who had been paroled by the enemy on the surrender of General Williamson; believing that the British had violated their faith under this capitulation, they having compelled the whigs to bear arms against their late companions in arms, instead of leaving them at home, until exchanged as prisoners of war; and that this would be a favorable opportunity for them to join us.
"At A. C. Jones' plantation, the council of officers detached Major [James] McCall, with this command to see Colonel Pickens and invite him to co-operate with us, as the British, by their breach of faith, had freed him from the obligation of his parole. Major McCall was selected for this purpose, not only for his known prudence and fitness, but for his personal friendship with Colonel Pickens.
"Major S. Hammond, with his command, was ordered down to Whitehall, the residence of General Williamson, for the same purpose and views. Captain Moses Liddle was united with him in this mission. Both detachments were ordered to bring the gentleman sent for to the camp, whether willing or otherwise. They were both, of course, taken to camp. The object of the whigs was to gain their influence and their better experience to our cause. They both obeyed the call promptly, but declared that they did not go voluntarily, and considered themselves in honor bound by their parole, whether the British violated their faith to others or not, 'so long as it was not violated by them.'
"They were subsequently ordered out by the British, when Pickens joined the Americans, and Williamson obeyed the British order."[1641]

December. Maj. James Dunlop, formerly of Ferguson's Corps, after recovering from a wound he incurred prior to King's Mountain, operated out of and around Ninety Six with a militia corps of mounted infantry and cavalry. There were many and frequent skirmishes around Ninety Six all through most of 1780 and 1781, but only a relative few were ever recorded. People in the region were put in a position of having to take sides. In some instances, if not loyal they had their homes plundered, or burned, etc. Among those who were accorded such treatment were Col. Andrew Pickens (see entry above.)[1642]

December. [skirmish] Hopkins Place, Broad River, S.C. ONB2 p. 388.

Early December. In preparation for his second invasion of North Carolina, and beginning sometime in November, Cornwallis ordered all recruits and convalescents to join their regiments; and prepared proper supplies to attend future marches. "In a short time, numbers strengthened in each corps and regiment of army. Above one hundred and fifty joined the light troops" and "many horses were collected and purchased for cavalry."[1643]

Early December. The British at Charlestown, from New York, received 50 dragoons of the 17th Regt., plus 200 recruits for 7th Regt. These latter were mostly intended for garrison duty at Ninety Six. In a letter of 28 December to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, Greene makes reference to a report of a small group of 400 to 500 British (and probably some Hessian) recruits and invalids which came to reinforce Charlestown a short time before Leslie's arrival. Among these no doubt, were these same replacements for the 7th Regt., and the detachment of 17th Light Dragoons, both of which reached Tarleton in time to serve at Cowpens.[1644] Babits writes that *some* of the 17th had remained in South Carolina when Clinton left for New York in June, which if true, would mean that those which arrived at this time would have numbered 10 to 20, rather than the full 50. While certainly not impossible, this is somewhat hard to believe since to speak of the detachment of the detachment as the "detachment of the 17th," is obviously very awkward and confusing. Further, and to my knowledge, no

[1639] CON pp. 21-23.
[1640] JLG1 p. 362, JTR pp. 153, 530 –532, MSC2 pp. 20-21.
[1641] JTR p. 153.
[1642] MHG pp. 503-504.
[1643] TCS pp.182-184.
[1644] NGP7 p. 9, TCS p. 212, BDW pp. 46-47.

specific reference to the 17th being in South Carolina (after the fall of Charlestown) comes up till the time of Cowpens.[1645]

Early December. Lee: "General Greene determined to draw in the detachment under Smallwood, which was advanced some distance in his front, and to risk the division of his force...Previous to this movement, Brigadier General Morgan, who commanded the van of Smallwood's detachment, attempted to strike a foraging party of the enemy, which had penetrated the country between the two armies. But the vigilant adversary eluded the blow, and returned safely to Camden."[1646]

1 December. Tarleton returned to his camp at Woodward's plantation near Brierly's Ferry. Afterward he rode to Winnsborough to confer with Cornwallis and where also he visited the sick and wounded. His dragoons meanwhile were spending the early days of the month at Woodward's in rest and recuperation. Some went on patrols; others foraged homesteads and plantations. Horses were shod, and new horses were purchased.[1647]

1 December. Greene and his staff reached Salisbury, N.C.[1648] On this same date from there, he wrote, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens of the Virginia militia: "Lieutenant-colonel [Edward] Carrington is exploring the Dan River, in order to perform the transportation [of stores and supplies] up the Roanoke as high as the upper Sauratown, and I want you to appoint a good and intelligent officer with three privates to go up the Yadkin as far as Hughes' Creek to explore carefully the river, the depth of the water, the current, and the rocks, and every other obstruction that will impede the business of transportation. All of which I want him to report to me. Let the officer be very intelligent, and have a charge to be particular in his observations. It is immaterial what rank he is. The object is so important and interesting to the public that I hope no one will refuse the service who has the abilities for the appointment.
"When the officer gets up to Hughes' Creek, I wish him to take a horse and ride across the country from that place through the town of Bethania to the upper Saura town, and report the distance and condition of the roads. At upper Saura [or Sauratown] I expect the officer will meet the party exploring Dan River. I wish him to get the report of that party also, and forward with his, as that is the [effaced] of the whole. I also wish the officer to make inquiry respecting the transportation that may be had from the Yadkin to the Catawba River, and whether the transportation cannot be performed with bateaux down that river."[1649]

1 December (or thereabouts). [skirmish] Rutledge's Ford (Abbeville and Laurens county border, S.C.)[1650]
Joseph Johnson: "The Georgians were soon joined by the South-Carolinians, under [James] McCall, S. [Samuel] Hammond and [Moses] Liddle, and proceeded to attack a party of loyalists, forted near Colonel Hoil's old establishment, on the Saluda. They marched all night and reached the post at day-light, but the enemy had evacuated it a little before our arrival, and passed the Saluda at Rutledge's ford, a very rough and rocky pass. Here a smart skirmish took place at long shot across the river, and several men were killed on both sides. After this, Colonel [John] Twiggs retreated seventeen or eighteen miles, to Hoil's old place, and rested there. From this post they made excursions into Ninety-Six District, and downward between Broad and Saluda Rivers, aided by the Ninety-Six refugees under McCall, [Samuel] Hammond and [Moses] Liddle. In these expeditions, little was done more than collecting recruits, under Colonels Cay, [Benjamin] Roebuck, and others. With these additions to our force, it was resolved in council, to make a bold and rapid push through the western part of Ninety-Six district, into the Long Cane settlement, west of the British, stationed at the town, Cambridge or Ninety-Six."[1651]

2 December (also given as 1 and 4 December). [surrender] Rugeley's Mill, also Rugeley's Fort, Rudgeley's Mill, Clermont (Kershaw County, S.C.) Rugeley's Mill, which had been fortified with a small stockade, was taken by Col. William Washington cavalry and some mounted militia, by means of a "Quaker" cannon ruse.[1652] A pine log painted and otherwise made up to look like a cannon was used to summon the garrison under Col. Henry Rugeley to surrender, and he capitulated. McCrady, however, seems to imply that Rowland Rugeley was the loyalist leader; and perhaps Henry then, though present, had delegated military command to his brother either because he felt he himself was not competent or else to (more easily) absolve himself or responsibility. Whichever Rugeley it was, he had 112 loyalists under his command in the stockade. Kirkwood gives the date of the surrender as 2 December, stating that the British lost "one Col. One Majr. and 107 privates." The men taken were apparently paroled, and the fort at Rugeley's burned down. Washington and his men then returned to Hanging Rock where Continental the light infantry were staying, and from there all removed to New Providence.[1653]
Thomas Anderson: "[November] 28 Received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moments warning; accordingly left our tents standing, with all our sick behind, and marched to Twelve Mile Creek -- this creek is the line between North and South Carolina. From thence we marched to Hanging Rock, where the

[1645] BDW pp. 46-47.
[1646] LMS p. 221.
[1647] BGD pp. 124-125.
[1648] GLG3 p. 66.
[1649] GLG3 pp. 66-67.
[1650] LSC p. 10. The date for the engagement given here is Lipscomb's.
[1651] JTR pp. 530-532. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/rutledgesfd.htm
[1652] The dummy cannon ruse first known used in the south in 1780 was by whig Capt. James Gillespie at Hunt's Bluff, 26 July 1780.
[1653] KJO pp. 12-13, WNA, TCS pp. 182, 205, GHA3 pp. 473-474, MLW4A pp. 337-338, LMS pp. 221-222, LFB2 p. 460, MSC2 p. 12, WAR2 p. 745, RBG pp. 121-122, SCAR vol. 2, no.6, pp. 11-15.

Infantry remained whilst Colonel Washington, with his Cavalry went down to Colonel Rudgely's [sic] and with the deception of a pine log took the garrison, consisting of one Colonel, one Major, three Captains, Four Lieutenants, and one hundred rank and file. From thence returned to camp with the prisoners, and arrived on the 2nd of December. 100 [miles]." See also Kirkwood's almost identical entry at 28 November.[1654]
Cornwallis, in a letter of 3 Dec. from Wynnesborough to Rawdon, wrote: "I think he [Rugeley] must be a traitor, or he would have come away when you desired him."[1655]

2 December. Sometime in the afternoon, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene and his aides arrived in Charlotte to join the Southern Army.[1656]

3 December. Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, wrote to Clinton, and among other matters summed up recent events: "I am just honoured with Your letters of the 5th & 6th of last Month; Lord Rawdon during my illness informed Your Excellency in his letters of the 28th & 31st of October, of the various causes which prevented my penetrating into N. Carolina; I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation, except a few words about poor Major Ferguson. I had the honour to inform Your Excellency that Major Ferguson had taken infinite pains with some of the militia of Ninety-Six. He obtained my permission to make an incursion into Tryon County, whilst the Sickness of my army prevented my moving. As he had only Militia and the small remains of his own Corps, without baggage or Artillery, and as he promised to come back if He heard of any Superior force, I thought He could do no harm, and might help to keep alive the Spirits of our Friends in N. Carolina, which might be damped by the slowness of our Motions: The event proved unfortunate, without any fault of Major Ferguson's; A numerous and unexpected Enemy came from the Mountains, as they had good horses their movements were rapid; Major Ferguson was tempted to stay near the Mountains longer than he intended, in hopes of cutting off Col: Clarke on his return from Georgia. He was not aware that the enemy was so near him, and in endeavouring [sic] to execute my Orders of passing the Catawba and joining me at Charlotte-town, He was Attacked by a very superior force and totally defeated on King's Mountain.
"Wynnesborough, my present Position, is an healthy spot, well situated to Protect the greatest part of the Northern Frontier, and to assist Camden and Ninety-Six. The Militia of the latter, on which alone we could place the smallest dependence was so totally dishearted [sic] by the defeat of Ferguson, that of that whole District we could with difficulty assemble one hundred, and even those I am convinced would not have made the smallest resistance if they had been Attacked. I determined to remain at this place until an Answer arrived from Genl Leslie, on which my Plan for the Winter was to depend, and to use every possible means of putting the Province into a state of defence, which I found to be absolutely necessary, whether my Campaign was Offensive or Defensive. Bad as the state of our affairs was on the Northern Frontier, the Eastern part was much worse. Col. Tynes who Commanded the Militia of the High Hills of Santee, and who was posted on Black River, was Surprized [sic] and taken, and his Men lost all their Arms. Colonel Marion had so wrought on the minds of the People, partly by the terror of his threats & cruelty of his punishments, and partly by the Promise of Plunder, that there was scarce an Inhabitant between the Santee and Pedee that was not in Arms against us, some parties had even crossed the Santee, and carried terror to the Gates of Charles-town. My first object was to reinstate matters in that quarter without which Camden could receive no supplies. I therefore sent Tarleton, who pursued Marion for several days, obliged his Corps to take to the Swamps, and by convincing the Inhabitants that there was a power superior to Marion who could likewise reward & Punish, so far checked the Insurrection, that the greatest part of them have not dared openly to appear in Arms against us since his expedition…
"Lt Col. Balfour by putting the Prisoners on board of Ships is enabled to spare the 64th Regt from Charles-town, and sent them to secure the navigation of the Wateree from Nelson's Ferry, and to communicate with Camden. This is the present state of our affairs.
"Smallwood had been encamped from the beginning of last Month with about thirteen hundred Militia, a Corps of 250 Continentals under Morgan, and 70 Dragoons Commanded by Washington about 12 Miles on this side of Charlotte Town; His front guarded by Davie and other irregular Corps, who have committed the most shocking cruelties, and the most horrid Murders on those suspected of being our friends, that I ever heard of; Gates joined him the Week before last with about 12 hundred Continentals and Six & Eighteen Months-men, and 300 Cavalry under [Anthony] White and Armand [this, of course, is in error and Armand was not present]; Morgan's Infantry and Washington with 100 Cavalry, came down on the 1st, in the evening to Attack a Block house built by Col. Rugeley, in which he had placed himself with 100 Militia; Lord Rawdon, who Commands at Camden, and had notice of their approach, sent to Rugeley to Order him to retire to Camden, but He answered that as the Enemy had no Cannon he was determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and had no fear of being taken. The enemy's Infantry did not advance within six Miles of his Block house, but the Cavalry surrounded it and Summoned him, and He instantly surrendered without firing a shot. I am informed that Green[e] is expected in a few days to relieve Gates.
"As it will be necessary to drive back the Enemy's army, and at the same time to maintain a superiority on both our Flanks, and as I thought the co-operation of General Leslie even at the distance of the Cape-Fear River would be attended with many difficulties I have sent Cruisers off the Fryingpan to bring him into Charles-town, and I hourly expect his arrival. After every thing that has happened I will not presume to make Your Excellency any sanguine promises; The force you have sent me is greater than I expected, and full as much as I think you

[1654] AJO, MLW3 p. 110.
[1655] RCC p. 71.
[1656] LMS p. 216, JLG1 p. 339, MSC2 p. 10.

could possibly spare unless the enemy detached in force to the Southward, the utmost exertion of my abilities shall be used to employ them to the best advantage."[1657]

3-4 December. Greene received command of the Southern Army from Gates in Charlotte. Somewhat oddly, the date stated for this event differs. Davie gives it as the 3rd as the date (see also CNC15 p. 170), Johnson the 4th, and Kirkwood in his journal the 6th. Upon assuming charge, it was among Greene's responsibilities to have Gates tried for misconduct at Camden. Yet an insufficient number of senior ranking Continental officers (Brigadier Generals or higher) necessary for such a hearing, as well as possibly a sympathetic and diplomatic desire to avert it, prevented the court of inquiry from ever taking place (and which it subsequently never did either.) Gates actually left the southern army on December 10th (Smallwood, as well, on the 19th), and thereafter served honorably with Washington in the north.[1658]
There were but three days provisions on hand when Greene arrived at Charlotte, and no promise of more, the provisions around Charlotte having grown quite depleted a long time since the Continentals first arrived in August. Among his first tasks then, on Dec. 8th he sent Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko (who had already been with Gates' army several weeks) to survey the area north of the Peedee above Cheraw for a new camp-site.[1659] When Kosciuszko returned in the late part of the month, he reported the Peedee-Cheraw area to be healthy and abundant. Upon this advice, Greene moved his army there, specifically Hick's Creek on the Peedee, later in the month (see 16, 20 and 26 December.)
In addition, at this same time, Greene had ordered his newly appointed Quartermaster General, Lieut. Col Edward Carrington,[1660] to learn about the feasibility of water transport on the Roanoke, Dan and Yadkin Rivers. Carrington then sent Capt. John Smith of the Maryland[1661] Line to make a survey of crossings and boats on the Roanoke and Dan. Smith submitted his valuable report to Greene on 25 December. Greene had wanted to arrange the construction of canoes for crossings on those waterways, but wrote Carrington, who was in Virginia, that he would put off implementation of such a plan until Carrington arrived. The latter, however, did not rejoin the army till 7 February, by which time such a construction scheme was too late. Nevertheless, the information Smith had obtained regarding availability of boats and places to cross proved invaluable and made possible the saving of Greene's army at the conclusion of the Race to the Dan. While it was Greene who was able to realize the benefits of making use of the Roanoke and Dan crossings, it was Gates (as Henry Lee states) who first sent Carrington to "superintended the examination" of the crossings on the Roanoke, though it was Greene who extended this survey to the Dan.[1662]

The army Greene[1663] took command of, not counting the occasional North Carolina militia, stood thus:

Maryland Brigade: 200 to 300, Col. Otho Williams

Light Infantry corps: 290, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
This was made up of companies form the Delaware Regt. and Maryland Regiments.

Virginia Continentals: 300, Col. Abraham Buford
Made up of the remnants of Buford's and Porterfield's corps, plus some 200 raw recruits, all mostly in very ragged condition.

[1657] COC pp. 46-48, SCV1 pp. 302-310.
[1658] CNC14 p. 699, CNC15 p. 185, LMS pp. 216-218 (and which includes some comments on Gates), JLG1 pp. 337-338, TPY pp. 60, 213n.
[1659] Initially, Greene, on 3 Dec., had instructed Kosciuszko to make a survey of the Catawba River, "from Mill Creek up to Oliphant's Mill," and with a view toward making Charlotte his main supply depot and conduit between Virginia and South Carolina. However, by the 8th, he changed this to the Pee Dee River instead, and subsequently (2 Feb.) gave orders to Lillington to establish a fortified magazine at Colston's (aka as Colson's; situated on the south side of th Pee Dee and just west of the mouth of Rocky River, S.C.) as a site for collecting provisions, including livestock, and other stores between Camden and Charlotte/Hillsborough. Although Cornwallis' invasion of N.C. prevented Colston's from being fully developed as a magazine, it was kept in some working and functioning state by Lillington, and by mid April 1781 was used by as a feeding and stop off point for Greene's army on his return into S.C. at that time. As well as the NGPs (e.g. NGP7 p. 168n), see *Colson's Plantation: Cross Road in the American Revolution* by Stewart Dunaway.
[1660] Carrington, at the time, was in Richmond seeing to other matters relating to the southern army's support and maintenance. GLG3 pp. 73-75, TPY p. 61. There were two main possible supply routes from Virginia into North Carolina: the first by way of the Roanaoke to Hillsborough, and the second by way of the Dan River and Lower Saura Town to Charlotte. It was with *this* in mind that Carrington and later Capt. John Smith were originally assigned to inquire into the state of the crossings and watercraft on those rivers (and, as well, the Yadkin using Salisbury as possible depot) -- not (then) as possible escape routes for his army as the subsequent "Race to the Dan" might seem to suggest. Regarding water transport, in a letter from late 1780 (cited by M.F. Treacy) Gen. Washington had written Greene "Pray, direct particular attention to the Boats." TPY p. 59, *George Washington Papers*, vol. XX, p. 183.
[1661] There were two Capt. John Smith's of the Maryland line. Though we don't know with perfect certainty, the one sent on the aforesaid mission was apparently not the "Jack" Smith who subsequently distinguished himself at Guilford Court House and Hobkirk's Hill.
[1662] NGP7 p. 7, 15, 23-25, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, pp. 63-64, GHA4 pp. 30-32, MMS2 pp. 250-251, LMS pp. 249-250, DRS p. 37, JLG1 p.337, MSC2 p. 10-12, WAR2 pp. 733-736, 750-751, WDC pp. 364-365, BEA p. 184.
[1663] With Morgan not present, Brig. Gen, Isaac Huger served as Greene's second in command. It is interesting to note, that if Morgan had stayed with Greene's army, Huger would have had seniority over him. Smallwood, for the time being, continued in command of the North Carolina militia at Providence, but soon departed north.

Much of this group dissipated, due to attrition (there were problems with desertion) or as terms of service ended, or else were incorporated into Col. John Green's or Col. Samuel Hawes' Virginia regiments which joined Greene just before Guilford Court House. Buford himself did not remain long with Greene due to illness.

Combined 1st and 3rd Continental Light Dragoons: 80-90 men, Lieut. Col. William Washington[1664]

Detachment of the 1st Continental Artillery (Virginia): [probably 80 to 100], Capt. Anthony Singleton[1665]
Two brass six-pounders at Hillsborough, along with a few iron pieces, composed the artillery's armament.

Virginia Riflemen: 60, Major Alexander Rose
These troops apparently went home sometimes just before or in the spring, and then returned to the army shortly after, finally leaving in July 1781. Possibly they did not go home and stayed with Greene longer, but, if so, there doesn't seem to be a record of them doing so.

Virginia militia, two companies: 100 to 200
Maj. Francis Triplette
Capt. James Tate
Although their term of service was as militia, a substantial number of these last were Continental Army veterans.

TOTAL operative strength of the southern army was 2,037, with 1,482 fit for duty. Roughly over half of Greene's overall force was militia while the total Continentals at Hick's Creek (i.e. not counting Morgan's detachment) did not exceed 949-1,100[1666] in camp, and not 800 could be mustered properly armed and clothed, and which debilitated condition seriously affected morale. In the way of arms, there were 5,000 muskets. But many of these were useless because of being damaged, and the lack of gunsmiths to repair them. Some Virginia troops, including the Virginia State Cavalry under Maj. John Nelson,[1667] were sent home due to the lack of clothes and arms. Desertions were common until Greene, after giving advanced warning, had some men who'd decided to go foraging and take some free time off for themselves executed as examples; which proved effective in arresting the problem. Finally, Lee's Legion arrived at Greene's camp on 8 January with some 280 troops to add.[1668]

On 18 December 18th, Col. Otho Williams sent to Greene (both at Charlotte) a muster and inspection report of the Maryland and Delaware troops. Maryland troops were serving for limited periods (in months and weeks), which varied and depended upon the individual. The Delaware troops, on the other hand, were all (or at least the vast majority) were to serve for the duration of the war. Williams (as paraphrased in his *Calendar*): "(H)oped to be able to include the Virginia troops, but they are so deranged that nothing can be got from them.; Col. [Benjamin] Ford mustered them but cannot get their returns; he [Williams] is therefore sending a weekly return of Col. [Abraham] Buford's entire detachment, including the dates [for] expiration of enlistment; 'these Troops are destitute of Cloathing [sic] and consequently dirty and exceedingly deficient in Discipline. Has no books or blanks and very little paper, so that since our misfortune in August [at Camden] the system of establishment has not been kept up; needs company and orderly books and copies of principal regulations and court martial treatises; has personally asked Col. (William Augustine) Washington for the cavalry returns, but has not yet received them; artillery in this department is a detachment of several corps from different states under Maj. [John] Mazaret of the Virginia State regiment; Mazaret is now at Hilllsboro and he [Williams] has written him there, asking him to send a return of the artillery to the General from there."[1669]

5 December. Cornwallis at Winnsborough wrote to Tarleton stating that the Legion baggage, escorted by the 7th Regt, has been ordered to Brierly's Ferry (where the Legion was at that time located.)[1670]
The same day Tarleton, at Woodward's, wrote him: "I think Rugel[e]ys Affair very immaterial -- The arrivals at Charles Town will be very pleasing --
"The Position your Lordship wishes, I will take To morrow or next Day & Intelligence I will Procure--
"At present we are most exceedingly busy -- No Iron for Shoes to be obtained here. I am obliged to send for it from Camden --
"I have order'd Cunningham[1671] to write to me daily -- He is collectg [sic] the Militia fast -- The Brunswicker your Lordship mentions I have not yet seen. Some Rum to day or to morrow woud [sic] be received with a heartfelt Welcome."[1672]

[1664] Some of Washington's cavalry were so naked at the time they had to be transferred back to Virginia to be clothed and refitted. JLG1 p. 337.
[1665] Maj. John Mazaret, a Virginia State officer, was also with the artillery at this time.
[1666] GLG3 p. 70, Ward states that at Hick's Creek, Greene had 1,100 total: "650 Continentals" (from Maryland), "303 Virginia and 157 Maryland militia." The 157 "Maryland militia" apparently refers to recruits from Maryland who were to fill out the 2nd Maryland Regt. WAR2 p. 752.
[1667] HWW p. 78.
[1668] GHA4 pp. 27-32, JLG1 pp. 312-314, 338-342, GLG3 p. 70, LSY pp. 294, 296, RNC pp. 262, 265, TPY p. 64.
[1669] WCA p. 31.
[1670] TCS pp. 246-247.
[1671] Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, who formally commanded the Ninety Six Brigade militia regiments is apparently who is referred to here. It may seem strange that Tarleton should speak about him in this tone, however, see 24 December.
[1672] PRO. 30/11/4/285-286.

8 December. Greene and Gov. Rutledge visited Sumter, and who at the time was staying at the home of John Price near Tuckasegee Ford on the Catawba River in New Acquisition.[1673]
Rutledge, in a letter to the South Carolina Delegates of this date, reported:
"2 Forts -- Augusta -- 300 Reg[ula]rs. 60 & Mil[itia]. Und[er]. [Thomas] Brown.
D[itt]o. -- 96 {Ninety Six] -- 300 Reg[ula]rs. 150 & d[itt]o - Col: Cruger.

>No [i.e. none] Works. Stephen's Cr[ee]k. 50 Mil. under [Moses] Kirkland.
>D[itt]o Col. [James] Williams [residence] 200 Mil. – Brig. Genl. Robt. Cunningham
Except on Little River
Blockhouses
[>] No Works Shilers [Shiroe's] Ferry 200 – Reg[ula]rs undr. Maj. McArthur
near ab[ou]t. 300 – d[itt]o. Tarlton [sic]
[>] No Works Winnsboro: 900 Reg[ula]rs Cornwallis
Mil[iti]a. with about 100 [militia] of [Richard] Pearis
[>] close red[oubt] Congaree 60 Mil[iti]a. Capt. Tullis
[>] No Works Col. Thompson's 200 Mil. – Major McWilliams
except an Nielson's [aka Nelson's] Ferry
Intrenchm[en]t. at Nielson[']s
[>] Lanews [Lenud's] Ferry – a small post of Mil[iti]a.
[>] 5 close red[oubt]s Camden 500 Reg[ula]rs - Ld. Rawdon
ab[ou]t. 200 Mil.
[>] Georgetown 80 Reg[ula]rs – Capt. Blake and about same no. of M[ilitia] under Col. [James] Cassell[s].
[>] Ferry near Camden – a small post under Col. Carey [James Cary].
[>] Singleton's Mill & High Hills of Santee
N.B. 204 Reg[ula]rs. Under Capt. Maxwell left C[harles]:Town ab[ou]t. 20 days ago in quest of Marion – and to take post at King's Tree – they are either there or at Lanew's Ferry

"Dec[embe]r. 7: 1780—
Ab[ou]t. 1000 Cont[inenta]ls. Of Maryland, Delaware & Virg[ini]a at Charlotte & w[I]th. Genl. Smallwood 16 miles below it. –
150 Cavalry –
& 200 No. Carol[in]a. Mil[iti]a. with Smallwood
N.B. the Times of the Mil[iti]a expire the 10th or 12th inst.
About 600 Virg[inia]ns under Genl. [Edward] Stevens served for 3 and a few for 8 Months – great part of their Times expired.
154 So. Carol. Mila. Under Col. Marion abt. Pedee [Peedee]
194 No. C. Mil. Under Genl. [Henry William] Harrington at Pedee – most of them abt. To disband.
4 or 500 So. Carola. & Ge[orgi]a. Mila. (lately under Genl. Sumpter) abt. the Iron Works on Pacelot.
260 reg[ula]rs. On the March from Hillsboro badly cloathed – the Virg[inia]ns. Wretchedly so -- No. C: says they will soon have a No. [number] of Mila. In the field but ques. When or what No.
150 mia. Undr. Genl. [John] Butler guard[in]g Pris[one]rs. at Salisbury.

"The enemy on the 15th also had about 500 regulars in C[harles]Town -- they were working on he Lines at the back of the Town -- repairing & strengthening 'em & I is said they were about to raise some Redoubts in front of these lines. The *Galatea* was in the Harbour. Very few Reg[ula]rs in Sav[anna]a[h]."[1674]

7 December. Capt. William Beatty arrived at Greene's camp along with some replacements for the Maryland Line.
Beatty's "Journal": "When I set out for Annapolis here I continued until the 22nd of October then march'd for our line Which Was at this time in N Carolina With a Party of recruits, by the Way of Alexandria [sic], Richmond, Petersburg & Hillsborough Where I expected to Join the line but Was disappointed by their Marching to Charlotte, some time before, Fryday Nov 24th 1780 I march'd from Hillsborough With Genl Stephens Brigade of Virginia Militia to Join the army Our rout Was by Guilford Courthouse, Salisbury from thence to Charlotte Where I arrived & Join[e]d the line the 7th December 1780, Genl Greene had Superseeded [sic] Genl Gates in his Command of the Southern army a Day or two or before, When I Joind the troops Were Hutting [sic] Which they Compleated [sic] a few days after,
"Dec 16th two Companies of Lt Infantry being Ordered out I got Comd [command] of the Compy [company] form'd by the late 7th Regt, Wednesday Dec 20, 80 the army march'd from Charlotte 10 Miles to fords [Ford's] Farm
"the 21st to Richardson[']s Creek 18 miles from Fords
"the 22nd to Browns Creek, 19 miles from RIchardsons
"the 23d to Cedar Creek 16 miles from Browns,
"the 24th Pass'd by anson C[ourt]-House to Haleys Ferry, 18 Miles from Cedar Creek, the 25 was taken up in Crossing the Ferry, the 26th we reach'd Hicks Creek 15 Miles below Hal[e]ys Ferry in South Carolina this being the place the Genl intended to take post at, We began to build Small Huts the 27th,
"January 5th 1781 a Soldier Was Shot for Desertion,

[1673] BGC p. 115.
[1674] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, pp. 59-61.

"Jany 10th a very Heavy rain fell Which rais'd the river Pee Dee and small Creeks so much that the troops Were Obliged to draw Corn in lieu of Meal
"On the Eleventh Fryday 12th In the night I went Hunting, 13th I wrote to F-- & P--
"Wednesday 24th The army in Consequence of a victory obtain'd by B. Genl Morgan On the 17 instant Over a Superior force of the Enemy Comd by Col Tarleton, near the Cowpens fired a *Feu de Joy* , I wrote to C-- & G--
"Thursday January 25th [17]81 Genl Stephens [Edward Stevens] Militia left us their times being Expired…"[1675]

8 December. Gov. Rutldge, at Charlotte, to the South Carolina Delegates: "-- On the 29th. Ult[im]o. I went to Col. Watson's in the New Acquisition (So. Carolina,) ab[ou]t. 20 Miles from hence, to confer with Genl. Sumpter, who had been removed thither -- it was really melancholy to see the desolate Condition of poor Hill[']s Plant[atio]n; & the Situation of his family -- all his fine Iron Works, Mills, dwelling House & Build[ing]s, of every kind, even his negroe [sic] Houses, reduced to Ashes, and his wife and Children in a little Log-Hut -- I was shocked to see the ragged, shabby Condition, of our brave & virtuous Men, who w[oul]d. not remain in the power of the Enemy, but have taken to Arms -- This, however, is but a faint description of the Suffering of our unfortunate Country for, it is beyond a Doubt, that the Enemy have hanged many of our People, who, from fear, & the Impracticab[ilit]y. of removing, had given Paroles, &, who, from Attachm[en]t. to our side, had joined it -- nay, Tarl[e]ton has, since the action at Blackstock's, hung one Capt. Johnston, a Magistrate of respectable Character -- They have also burnt a prodigious No. of Houses, & turned a vast many Women, formerly of affluent, or, easy fortune, w[l]th their children, almost naked, into the Woods..."[1676]

8 December. [skirmish] French Broad River, TN. ONB2 p. 379.

9 December. In November much of Cornwallis' army was destitute of attire, with 71st in particular quite naked. Rum, a welcome comfort of the soldiers, also was lacking. But on December 9th: "our clothing is all come up on every man & plenty of rum."[1677]

12 December (also given as the 4 and 11 December). [skirmish] Long Canes,[1678] also Long Cane (McCormick County, S.C.) After Col. Elijah Clark had brought many of the whig families of upper Georgia to the sanctuary of the Watauga settlements, he and his men (a number of whom were at King's Mountain and Blackstock's) returned to Georgia. Sometime in December he was again in the field and with Colonel Benjamin Few, with Few having seniority over Clark. With their combined force of 500 Georgia and South Carolina militia, (the South Carolinians under Lieut. Col. James McCall, Maj. Lindsey, and Maj. Samuel Hammond, and who were with Clark), they advanced on the Long Canes Creek settlement just southwest of Ninety Six; with many, if not most, of their men mounted. Upon their arrival at Long Canes, and which had a strong whig leaning, they sought to enlist recruits from the settlement.
Upon word of the rebels presence, Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, the loyalist commander in the area, sent to Cruger for support to stop them. Cruger then dispatched Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen with 200 New Jersey Volunteers, 200 loyalist militia, and 50 dragoons. It is not clear how many Cunningham himself had prior to the reinforcement, so that his original numbers then may have been negligible. Initially, the loyalists were forced to retreat in the face of an attack by Clark and McCall with about 100 whigs. Clark, who was wounded, then called to Few to support him, but Few refused or was unable to do so, nor did he tell Clark he had decided to withdraw. As a result Clark and McCall were driven back by four times their number. Few and Clark were subsequently pursued by Allen. Clark's casualties in both the skirmish and the pursuit were about 21 killed and wounded (14 of these in the actual engagement), while the Loyalists lost 3. Maj. Lindsey was left on the field mortally wounded. Clark's wound, which was at first also thought fatal, kept him from further fighting till early March 1781 when he joined Pickens in North Carolina. During the period of his recuperation, his men were commanded by Maj. John Cunningham.[1679]
Lieut. Col. Cruger, at Ninety Six, on Dec. 15th reported to Cornwallis (spelling left mostly as in original): "Last Tuesday Week I heard of a party of Rebels under Clark, Few, Twigs [Twiggs], Candler, &c crossing the Saluda into Long Cane settlement. they reported themselves 4, to 500 -- One of their Objects was to get the Inhabitants to join them, for which purpose they order'd Williamson, Pickens, & the Principal People of the Country who were on parole to attend them, alledging that we had violated the capitulation; they used both soothing & threatening Arguments to those Gentlen. who I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, behaved like men of Honor, & persisted in a different opinion: some idle worthless Chaps join'd them, but not, from what I can learn, one man of Character.
"Last monday morning was the soonest I could get together any militia, when Br: Genl: [Robert] Cunningham brought over with him about 110 -- to which I added 150 Rank & File of this Garrison with one field Piece under Colo: [Isaac] Allen, & sent them off on Monday Night at 11 O'Clock, in hopes of surprising the Enemy, who we had reason to believe lay at Genl: Williamson's [White Hall], but unluckily found no body there -- but recd: [received] intelligence that they were encampt six miles farther on, for which the march was immediately continued, but here again we fell short by about three miles; a halt was then made, the Day being far spent; a party of Militia was sent out for forage, & were driven by the Rebels, who having recd: not the least intimation

[1675] "Captain William Beatty's Journal: From The Year of Our Lord 1776 to 1781," (28 pages), Maryland Historical Society, no. 58436 (1853). Presented by Judge Beatty of Kentucky, and located in the Maryland State Archives.
[1676] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Jan. 1917, pp. 43-44.
[1677] WCO p. 242.
[1678] Long Canes, or Long Cane, Creek flows south into the Savannah River.
[1679] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, pp. 62-63, TCS p. 183, MHG pp. 501-503, JTR p. 512, 530-532, MSC1 pp. 831-833, LSY p. 89, RBG p. 123. See as well http://gaz.jrshelby.com/longcane.htm

of any Soldiers being on the ground, run headlong into our Camp, so sudden & rapidly that the Soldiers had but just time to form, they gave one fire & rush'd on with the Bayonets, a rout ensued & soon became general, our Militia avail'd themselves of this Circumstance & pursued for Two miles with spirit, the soldiers follow'd those of the enemy who had not time to get on their horses: the first Rebel that arrived in their Camp sett the rest agoing, & in an instant they were all off leaving six Waggons, & 30 head of Cattle, & on Wednesday Morning recross'd the Saluda: their loss kill'd is reported, from 30 to 50 prisoners taken -- one Major, badly wounded, & 8 privates chiefly wounded -- the Colonls: Clark & McCall are wounded but escaped -- Our loss, 2 Militia men kill'd, 6 wounded, & 3 soldiers wounded. Colo: Allen & the soldiers will be in this evening or tomorrow morning- the Militia I have desired to continue scouring the Country…" [1680]

Hugh McCall: "After resting for a few days, near Berwick's iron works, they [Clark and McCall's men] advanced by an upper route toward Long-cane, early in December, and on the way were joined by colonel Benjamin Few, with a part of the refugees from Georgia: the attention of this force was turned toward Ninety-Six, and encamped on Long cane creek. Colonel Few being the senior officer, assumed the command. The position of the encampment was favourable [sic] for the augmentation of their numbers, and the prospect was flattering…"[1681]

12-13 December.[1682] [skirmishes] Halfway Swamp, and Singleton's Mill (Clarendon and Sumter County border area, S.C.) Recommencing operations after a lull in activity, Marion, with several hundred men (McLeroth later reported 600; Ripley gives 300), including Major John James, Major John Van der Horst, Major Hugh Horry, left Snow's Island and moved up the Santee Road, passing Nelson's Ferry. At Halfway Swamp (about a mile and a half south of present day Rimini, S.C.) on 12 December he attacked the rear column of Maj. Robert McLeroth, who had about 100 to 300 of the 64th Regt. and some 200 new recruits for the 7th Regiment. As well, McLeroth had a number of supply wagons he was escorting to Camden. His men took cover from Marion's mounted men behind a rail fence, which apparently forestalled the whigs advance. During this pause, McLeroth sent out a flag of truce challenging Marion to a gentlemanly shooting duel between 20 men of each side. After arrangements were made where the duel was to take place on open ground, McLeroth's own appointed duelists, after first marching out, turned about and retreated. The seeming act of cowardice, drew a cheer from Marion's select group under Maj. Van der Horst. Meanwhile, Coffin's detachment of mounted New York Volunteers rode up, supposedly to escort the stalled 7th Regt. recruits to safety, but Coffin instead retreated to Swift Creek. During the night, however, McLeroth managed to escape moving off towards Singleton's residence, where then Coffin joined him. In the process though, McLeroth was forced to abandon his heavier wagons. Seeking to catch and delay him, Marion sent Major John James (and or Maj. Hugh Horry) with a force mounted on the fastest horses to seize the buildings at Singleton's. Yet when they arrived they found the Singleton family down with smallpox, and so immediately retreated back to Marion. McLeroth then was able to continue safely on his way to Camden. In the course of the two day action, the British reported Capt. George Kelly and two privates wounded, while the rebel militia lost some "ten or a dozen," according to Rawdon's report to Cornwallis of 16 December. Rawdon was not pleased with McLeroth's lack of aggressiveness, while at the same time McLeroth asked he be allowed to return to Charlestown. Rawdon granted his request and, says Bass, gave command of the 64th to Major John Campbell. Even so, there is no Major John Campbell of the 64th named on the British Army lists so this may be an error.[1683]

13-14 December. Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, escorted by a naval squadron under Commodore George Gayton, debarked in Charlestown with 2300 rank and file, but did not march to reinforce Cornwallis (at Winnsborough) till December 19th. Leslie's corps consisted of the Foot Guards, Regt. von Bose, detachments of the 82nd and 84th Regiments, the King's American Regt. (Fanning's Corps), a company of Hesse Cassel Jägers, a detachment of Queen's Rangers cavalry (about 15 under Capt. John Saunders, and who intended to recruit more while in S.C.), guides and pioneers, about 100 artillerymen, 2 six-pounders, and 2 three-pounders. After landing, Leslie's troops designated for Cornwallis and Rawdon were camped at the Quarter House just outside Charlestown.[1684]
Tarleton: "Major-general Leslie, on his landing (at Charles town), found an order to march to the frontier, with the brigade of guards, the regiment of Bose, one hundred and twenty yagers, and a detachment of light dragoons: The remainder of his corps being destined to strengthen Camden, and augment the garrison of Charles town."[1685]

Clinton: "(T)he rebel affairs soon after this began to assume quite another face. The news of Major Ferguson's misfortune having again revived their hopes and suddenly raised them, like that of Trenton, from the despondency into which they had been thrown. However, as the force under Lord Cornwallis, when he should be joined by the recruits I was now sending him, would amount to 11,306 effectives, I flattered myself I had nothing to apprehend for the safety of South Carolina."[1686]

On December 22nd Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, wrote to Clinton: "I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that Major-general Leslie arrived with his whole fleet at Charles-town on the 14th of this month, with no other loss than the dragoon horses, and a great part of those for the Quarter-master general. The species of troops

[1680] PRO 30/11/4, folios 335-336.
[1681] MHG p. 501.
[1682] William Dobein James and McCrady give these events as taking place in February.
[1683] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, pp. 63-64, JFM pp. 39-40, MSC2 pp. 101-104, BSF pp. 107-111, LSY pp. 74-75, RBG p. 142.
[1684] ATR81a pp. 147, AR81 p. 54, LOB Part II, TCS pp. 242-243, CAR p. 214n, FWI p. 215.
[1685] TCS p. 184.
[1686] CAR p. 221.

which compose the reinforcement are, exclusive of the Guards and regiment of Bose, exceedingly bad. I do not mean, by representing this to your Excellency, to insinuate, that you have not sent every assistance to me which you could with prudence and safety spare from New-York. From the account which your Excellency does me the honour to send me, of the situation and strength of General Washington's army, and the French force at Rhode-Island, I am convinced that you have done so. But I think it but justice to the troops serving in this district to state the fact, lest the services performed by the Southern army should appear inadequate to what might be expected from the numbers of which it may appear to consist. The fleet from New-York, with the recruits, arrived a few days before General Leslie."[1687]

14 December. [skirmish] Indian Creek (Newberry County, S.C.)[1688]

14 December. [raid] Nelson's Ferry (Clarendon-Orangeburg County area, S.C.) About mid December, due to plans for the second invasion of North Carolina (and thus with significant numbers of British troops being thereby drawn outside the state), and, as well, Marion's success in the field, Balfour changed the Charlestown-Camden supply path from the *shorter* route of Monck's Corner to Nelson's Ferry by way of the Santee Road, to the *much longer* one going from Monck's Corner to Fridig's, aka as Friday's, Ferry[1689] on the Congaree River. He also directed that boats on the Santee stay below Murry's Ferry. However, one ship which did not receive the instruction in time was captured and burned at Nelson's Ferry by Marion's men on 14 December. Although some of the 64th Regiment were posted at the north side of Nelson's Ferry at the time of the raid, their numbers were not sufficient to pursue Marion's more numerous and mounted raiders.[1690]

14 December. [skirmish] Indian Creek, S.C. ONB2 p. 387.

15 December. Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay died of natural causes while stationed in Rhode Island, and buried in Newport's Trinity Churchyard. He was succeeded by Destouches.[1691]

16 December. Charlotte having been exhausted of provisions for some time now, Greene decided to move the army to Cheraw area on the north side of the Peedee, specifically Hick's Creek; and based on a survey of the area conducted by Kosciuszko. As well as being better able to feed his army wih provisons locally, it was well situated to take in supplies and reinforcements coming by way of Hillsborough; and, at the same time, receive crucial intelligence of British movements from Marion (who alone was in a position to provide such) just south of him. Moreover, the move was prompted by more military considerations with respect to the British; since the Peedee River afforded him protection from attack; while the new camp would further cut off Cornwallis' communications with and support of the loyalists in the Cross Creek region. Greene's troops were put under marching orders the 16th; however, incessant rains prevented his setting in motion till the 20th.
Morgan, at this time lieing a few miles south of Charlotte, continued in command of the army's light corps; which was made up of 320 Maryland Continentals (of which the Delaware Regiment the time were informally included), 2 companies of 200 Virginia militia, and Col. Washington's Virginia cavalry (this latter "amounting to from sixty to hundred men.") Wrote Greene to Morgan on this date "with these troops you will proceed to the West side of the Catawba River, where you will be joined by a body of volunteer militia under the command of General Davidson of this state, and by the militia under command of General Sumpter." Except for a few accompanying Pickens, Sumter's men never joined Morgan, and Davidson's were not collected in time to have participated at Cowpens. See 20-21 December.[1692]
Kirkwood in his entry for the 17th writes "March'd to Charlotte...13 [miles.]"[1693] Kirkwood's next entry giving a location is on December 28th.

18 December. For purposes of seeking better forage, and because rains had waterlogged Woodward's lowland plantation near Brierly's, Tarleton moved upland, and bivouacked at Daniel's Plantation.[1694]

18 December. Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, writing to Tarleton stated: "I apprehend we must first dislodge Lacey [Sumter still convalescing from his wound], &c. from Turkey creek, and then march up the west side of Catawba to some of the fords about the Tuckasegee. I wish you would take pains to inform yourself as thoroughly as possible of the state of the roads, provisions, forage, mills, &c. I have good account of our recruits, in general, and hope to march from hence [Winnsborough] *three thousand five hundred* fighting men, leaving those I mentioned to you on the frontiers." And in a separate missive to the same remarks: "Our friends hereabouts are so timid and so stupid that I can get no intelligence."[1695]

19 December. Smallwood left the southern army for Maryland, where it was understood he would facilitate recruiting there. Greene's then appointed Brig. Gen. Davidson head of the North Carolina militia to replace him,

[1687] COC pp. 48-49.
[1688] LSC p. 11.
[1689] Fridig's Ferry, frequently referred to as Friday's Ferry, was on the Congaree between Cayce and Columbia, and close by the later and subsequently erected post of Fort Granby (see entry for 13 Jan. 1781.)
[1690] BSF p. 113.
[1691] GHA3 p. 499, LFB2 p. 334, CGP p. liii.
[1692] GHA4 p. 30-32, MLW4A pp. 338-340, JLG1 pp. 346-347, 352, 356-357, BDW p. 7, WDC p. 369.
[1693] KJO p. 13.
[1694] PRO. 30/11/4/357-358, BGD p. 139, RCC p. 74.
[1695] TCS p. 242.

subject to approval by North Carolina's General Assembly. Huger, meanwhile, became Greene's second in command.[1696]

Mid to Late December. Balfour in Charlestown had sent (probably by water) the King's American Regiment (which arrived with Leslie) to Georgetown under Lieut. Col. George Campbell, along with some Queen's Rangers cavalry under Lieut. John Wilson[1697] and "fragments of several regiments caught up and brought south in the draft of reinforcements under Leslie." Balfour also called up Ganey's loyalists, and directed them move to Georgetown.[1698]

19 December. Leslie began his march from Charlestown (more specifically the Quarter House) to join Cornwallis in Winnsborough. Want of horses (lost at sea on the way to Charlestown) and wagons delayed him from leaving earlier. Accompanying him north were 1530 rank and file, including the Brigade of Foot Guards, Regt. von Bose, and the Hesse Cassel Jägers.[1699] As well, he had with him, (but not included in this 1,530 count), were the Provincial light infantry (about 200 men) under Lieut. Col. John Watson, whom Leslie was to later detach on his passing the Santee (see 21 December.) By the 24th, he was at Monck's Corner on his way to Nelson's Ferry, arriving at the latter on the 28th. (See 1-8 January.)[1700]
Leslie to Germain, from Charlestown, on 19 Dec. wrote: "I did myself the honour of writing to your lordship at sea, on board the *Romulus*, the 27th ult. From hard gales and contrary winds, we did not get here before the 13th instant. The troops are all arrived in great health: We met with no loss except our horses.
"Commodore Gayton paid the greatest attention in keeping his fleet together, and disposing of his light armed vessels for the protection of the transports. I found orders here to march up the country with about one thousand five hundred and thirty men, to join Lord Cornwallis as soon as possible: The want of horses and waggons prevented me proceeding on my march until this day."[1701]

Clinton: "(S)ix British, three German, and nine provincial battalions were left for the protection of Charlestown and the frontier of South Carolina [i.e. all separate from Leslie's matching reinforcement]…The reinforcement under Leslie which was thus added to the service of the Carolinas consisted of a brigade of Guards, Regiment of Bose, provincial King's American Regiment, a battalion of light infantry selected from all the provincial corps in New York, a detachment from the German Jagers, and detachments from the Seventeenth Light, and British and German artillery, amounting in the whole to about 2,233 of as good troops as any general officer need wish to take with him into the field. Besides these [i.e. Leslie's reinforcement] they were accompanied by the remains of the flank and two other companies of the 82nd [regt.], and the small debris of the 84th (forming together between them 300 or 400 men), with the former of which Major [James] Craig afterward held the lower district of North Carolina...and afforded protection to all the loyalists of that province who fled to him after Lord Cornwallis' dereliction of the Carolinas."[1702]

20 December. Leaving Charlestown by ship on the 19th, the King's American Regt. under Lieut. Col. George Campbell, along with Lieut. John Wilson's detachment of the Queen's Rangers of (reportedly) 15 men, landed at Georgetown and there took up their new duty as the town's main garrison.[1703]

20 December. A British expeditionary force of 1,500-1,600 under Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold set sail from New York for Virginia, departing from Sandy Hook on the 21st . See 30 Dec.[1704]

20-21 December. The rains having abated, Greene's army at Charlotte started moving. The next day (the 21st), Morgan (as earlier ordered) headed in the direction of the Catawba, then the Broad River. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger with the main army marched to the Cheraw area north of the Peedee River (Cheraw itself was on the south bank), which he reached by the 26th; with Greene himself and staff following upon shortly thereafter. Morgan had with him about 400 "chosen infantry," and Washington's dragoons. These Greene expected "will be joined by 300 Militia horse under the command of Genl Davidson and near 400 militia that were lately with General Sumter and Colonel Clark...The small force that I have remaining with me [i.e. after Morgan] are so naked & destitute of everything, that the greater part is rendered unfit for any kind of duty."[1705]
Lee: "(Morgan took with him) four hundred Continental infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard of the Maryland line; two companies of Virginia militia, under Captains Triplett and Taite [Tate]; and the remnants of the first and third regiment of dragoons, one hundred in number." [1706]

[1696] NGP7 p. 9, RNC pp. 265, 273.
[1697] In Simcoe's *Journa*l these are given as 15 Queen's Rangers (cavalry.) SQR pp. 150, 153.
[1698] BSF pp. 115-120.
[1699] "Leslie" Orderly Book also mentions some Light Horse accompanying Leslie's column, though without specifying who they were. They may have been some Queen's Rangers who then remained at Camden, or returned to Charlestown. Regarding the 17th Light Dragoons see *Early December*.
[1700] LOB Part II, TCS pp. 210, 242-243.
[1701] TCS pp. 242-243.
[1702] CAR p. 231.
[1703] NDI.
[1704] SQR pp. 158-159, MLW4A p. 387, LMS pp. 297-298, CGP p. liii.
[1705] Greene to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, 28 December 1780, NGP7 p. 8.
[1706] LMS p. 222, BDW p. 48.

William Seymour, a Sergeant-Major in the Delaware Regiment: "On the 21st ult. The troops under general Morgan marched from Charlotte, being joined by two companies more of light infantry detached from the Maryland Line, directing our march towards Pacolet River. First day's march from Charlotte we came to Catabo [Catawba] River. Next day [22nd] we crossed the river at Bizer's [Bigger's] ferry. Next day [23rd] we marched to Cane creek..."[1707]

Thomas Anderson: "[December] 21 Was joined with two companies from the Maryland Line, command by Captains [Henry] Dobson and [Thomas] Anderson marched to Biggor's [Bigger's] Ferry[1708] on the Catawba River 15 miles
"[December] 22 Crossed the [Catawba] River and marched 5 [miles]."[1709]

21 December. Cornwallis directed Leslie to detach Watson's corps of Provincial light infantry to assist Lord Rawdon in securing South Carolina's northern frontier. Later then along Leslie's march (see 25 and 26 December), Watson was left at Wright's Bluff five miles above Nelson's Ferry to establish the fort (subsequently named after him) in that locality.[1710]
John Watson: "These troops [Leslie's] being landed at Charlestown, upon the order for moving up the country, I was informed by [Lieutenant] Colonel Balfour that I was not to go with the troops to Lord Cornwallis. Expecting my surprise, he endeavored to make me understand, I was to have a more distinguished situation than that of the rest of the advanced Corps of the Army, as mine would be a detached command and that the object of which was to protect the communications of the Santee River to Camden and to cover the Eastern District of the Province.
"Whatever may be a soldier's opinion, whenever he received prospective orders, it's his duty to obey them in silence. I therefore held no further conversation with the gentleman on the subject, than inquiring of him what might be the length of the river that called for protection. As my whole number embarked did not amount to 340 men, he said the river, indeed, was of considerable extent, but the principal front in which it was available, was within a few miles of Nelson's Ferry, that the eastern part of the province was my front, that I was to consider Camden on the left and Georgetown on the right as my flanks and appear (there) in case of necessity; that I should be supplied from the post on this side of Nelson's Ferry and that I was to communicate by letter with Lord Rawdon at Camden and with him at Charlestown.
"As the country was in perfect security on this side of the Santee River; myself, with every Man and Officer of the Corps, (were) total strangers to the part of it in which we were to act. [Since there were] several Officers, living in Charlestown, who had served in that province, I remained there, whilst the troops were on their march to collect such maps, plans and intelligence of the nature of the country, the force, character and conduct of the enemy. [Soon] as was possible, [I] joined my Corps just as they reached Nelson's [Ferry, on 25 December.] By this means (temporarily staying in Charlestown) I soon learned what I had been before, totally unable to apprehend."[1711]

22 December. Leslie, en route to Camden, halted at Monck's Corner.[1712]

22 December. Marion's emissary, Captain John Milton, having returned from a visit with Greene in Charlotte, Marion (at Benbow's Ferry on the Black River) then wrote Greene saying that some Continental troops sent to operate with him would bolster the morale and effectiveness of his militia. "[A] hundred would be sufficient for this purpose." Marion also reported that that the British detachment protecting the south (or west) side of Nelson's Ferry was made up of 80 Hessians, reinforced on the December 18th with 150 newly arrived troops from Charlestown. On the north side of the ferry were the 64th Regiment, plus a detachment of mounted New York Volunteers under Coffin.[1713]

24 December. Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, at Williams' Fort, to Tarleton: "From the best authority [I] am Convinced the Rebels are embo[d]ying at Ramsours Mills. in [sic] all probability intend moving their operation [sic] towards this Quarter; I shall exert ev[ery] Faculty to discover their Diabolical plans, [am intent on?] moving towards them with my militia. am [sic] Sorry to day I lack the Necessary Accountrements [sic] -- wish and shall endeavour [sic] a daily Correspondence with you. I am."[1714]

24 December. Marion departed Benbow's Ferry and moved to patrol the area between Murray's and Nelson's Ferry on the Santee River, and in advance of Leslie's trek to Camden.[1715]

[1707] SJS.
[1708] Bigger's Ferry on the Catawba River was about 18-19 miles east (east, or very slightly south east) of King's Mountain.
[1709] AJO.
[1710] See 27 December. PRO. 30/11/83, 61-61.
[1711] WNR.
[1712] LOB part II.
[1713] Greene had the idea, taken from or essentially concurring with one of Sumter's, that Marion should cross the Santee to attack Cornwallis' communications, and destroy enemy magazines at Nelson's ferry; while Lee was to go after Georgetown.. Greene to Sumter Feb. 3, 1781, MSC2 p. 98. On the 28 January, Huger had written Marion suggesting a similar plan. MSC2 p. 99. McCrady: Even after Cowpens, "[Greene] made, however, no move to join Morgan or to cover the retreat with his prisoners. Five days after he was still on the Peedee urging Marion to cross the Santee. " MSC2 p. 91.
[1714] PRO. 30/11/4/406.
[1715] BSF p. 116.

William Johnson: "At the time when Greene moved down to the Cheraws, Marion had been engaged in some very active movements against a party under M'Arthur [Archibald McArthur] and [Capt. John] Coffin, about Nelson's Ferry, and between that and the High Hills of Santee; and with the hope to cut off his retreat by the Peedee a strong detachment had been pushed on from Charlestown to Georgetown intended to interrupt him by ascending the north bank of the Peedee River. But Marion soon received intelligence of its movement, and divining its object, retired across the country and took a strong position on the north bank of Lynch's [Lynches] Creek, in the vicinity of his favourite [sic] retreat Snow's Island, where he always kept a party to guard his boats and awe the loyalists."[1716]

24 December. By this date, the Georgetown garrison consisted of 135 Kings American Regt., some 15 Queens Rangers, and 100 loyalists under Maj. Micajah Ganey. The town also possessed three 9 pounders and two galleys. Saunders himself left his men under Lieut. John Wilson, and personally rode to Winnsborough to confer with Cornwallis. What Rangers that didn't go to Georgetown remained in Charlestown. It had been intended that the Queen's Rangers would recruit while in Georgetown and add to their ranks in this way (Saunders had been assigned by Simcoe to form his own company of dragoons in this manner.) To what extent, if at all, this was ever accomplished is not clear. Yet what seems to have happened is that they did acquire some new men, up to perhaps 80 at one point while they wer in Georgetown, but, according to Stephen Jarvis, also lost many to desertion. So by the time Saunders and his men were operating out of Dorchester in June 1781, their numbers were not much more than what they had started out with in December.[1717]

25 December (also given as 28 December). [skirmish] "The Camp," also White's Bridge [II] (Georgetown County, S.C.) Having been sent by Marion from Indiantown, Col. Peter Horry, Captain John Baxter and Sergeant McDonald with 30 (British accounts say 50) men surprised and routed a small group of Queen's Rangers under Lieut. John Wilson (Bass says Cornett Thomas Merritt) at "The Camp" (near White's Bridge, not far outside of Georgetown.) As the Rangers retreated to Georgetown, a mounted force under Maj. Micajah Ganey came out to counterattack Horry's men, but were beaten back and Ganey wounded. The wound prevented him from returning to the field to fight till April 1781. Wilson was also wounded in the encounter, but not seriously.[1718]
Henry Nase of the King's American Regt.: "25th. -- Christmas Day, the Regt. marchd. [sic] Out in hopes of falling in with the Scoundralls [sic], but they fled on our Approach, Colo. Campbell., & Lt. Willson [sic] were Slightly wounded, One Rebel taken Prisoner."[1719]

Capt. John Saunders: "On our arrival at Charles Town, [Lieut.] Colonel Balfour ordered my officers and men up to George Town; and, as he told me that he had not authority to permit the return of myself and party to the regiment, I found it necessary to go to Wynnesburg [Winnsborough] (180 miles) where Lord Cornwallis was encamped, to solicit his leave. He granted it; I returned to Charles Town, and had the men in the boat, to embark in the *Romulus*, when the arrival of the express with Tarleton's disaster at the Cowpens, induced Col. Balfour to countermand the embarkation, and to detain us till the impression made by this unfortunate event should be done away. He ordered me and my troop to George Town, promising not only to explain to you the necessity of my detention, but also that it should not be long: I went there, and soon after obtained the command of that post. But before I mention what happened under my orders, I shall premise the behaviour [sic] of the troop, prior to this, when Lieut. [John] Wilson had the command of it. On the 25th December, 1780, being the day after Lieut. Wilson's arrival at George Town, he and his party made a patrole [sic], under the command of Col. [George] Campbell of Fanning's corps, when they fell in with a party of above fifty mounted rebels, which they were ordered to charge. They immediately did it, and with effect, defeating them and taking one of their officers prisoner: the others owed their escape to the speed of their horses, and the thickness of the wood. Lieut. [John] Wilson was wounded; he received the thanks of Col. Campbell for his conduct in the following words: 'It is with pleasure that the Commanding Officer observes the spirit and gallantry of the troops in general, but is infinitely obliged to Capt. Blucke and Lieut. Wilson, for their distinguished gallantry and behaviour this day. Laments much the wound received by the latter, as it may for a few days deprive him of the services of a good officer.'"[1720]

William Hamilton Merritt in his *Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt* gives this account (evidently referring to the above encounter) which is particularly of value because it provides an extract from Peter Horry's otherwise now lost memoirs: "In an illustrated volume of *Interesting and Patriotic Incidents Strikingly and Elegantly Illustrated*, published in New York in 1856, we find the following: -- Colonel Horry, a revolutionary officer states that he was sent by General Marion to reconnoiter George Town. His narrative is as follows: 'I proceeded with a guide through the woods all night. At the dawn of day I drew near the town. I laid in ambuscade with 30 men and their officers near the road. After sunrise a chair appeared with two ladies escorted by two British officers. I was ready in advance to cut them off, but reflecting that they might escape and alarm the town, which would prevent my taking greater numbers, I desisted. The escort and chair halted very near me, but soon the latter went on and the officers galloped in retrograde into the town. Our party continued in ambush until 10 o'clock.
"'Nothing appearing, and men and horses having eaten nothing for thirty-six hours, we were hungered and retired to a plantation of my Quarter master's, a Mr. White, not far distant. There a curious scene took place.

[1716] JLG1 pp. 357-358.
[1717] NDI, JKH p. 74, BSF pp. 119-120, BEA pp. 420, 1038.
[1718] NDI, SQR p. 242, JFM p. 39, BSF pp. 121-122.
[1719] NDI.
[1720] SQR pp. 241-242.

Four ladies appeared, two of whom were Mrs. White and her daughter. I was asked what I wanted. I answered, food and refreshment. The other two ladies were those whom I had seen escorted by the British officers. They seemed greatly agitated and begged most earnestly that I would go away, for the family were very poor, had no provisions of any sort; that I knew they were whigs and surely would not add to their distress. So pressing were they for my immediately leaving the plantation that I thought they had more in view than they pretended.
"'I kept my eye on Mrs. White, and saw she had a smiling countenance, but said nothing. Soon she left the room, and I left it also and went into the piazza, when I discovered Mrs. White behind the house beckoning me.
"'I got to her, undiscovered by the ladies, when she said, 'Colonel Horry, be on your guard; these young ladies are just from George Town; they are much frightened, and I believe the British are leaving it, and may soon attack you.
"'As to provisions, which they make such a rout about, I have plenty for your men and horses in yonder barn, but you must effect to take them by force; hams, bacon, rice and fodder are there. You must insist on the key of the barn, and threaten to split the door with an axe, unless immediately opened.' I begged her to say no more, for I was well acquainted with such matters, to leave the ladies and everything else, to my management. She said, 'Yes, but do not ruin us; be artful and cunning or Mr. White may be hanged and all our houses burnt over our heads.
"'We both secretly returned, she to the room where the young ladies were, and I to the piazza I had just left.'
"No time was allowed to exhort provisions. He had scarcely arrived at the piazza, when his videttes gave the alarm of an approaching enemy, and forgetting that his cap, sword and pistols lay upon the bench, he mounted, left the enclosure and rushed into the melee.
"By the time Horry reached the scene, his troopers were engaged in a severe hand-to-hand conflict with the dragoons, and it was not until he was about to engage with the Captain that Horry discovered that he was weaponless.
"The British had been taken by surprise, and after a few moment's fighting, they retreated, Captain Merritt bringing up the rear and urging them on. Only two out of seventeen escaped death or capture, and they were Captain Merritt and a sergeant.
"'My officers in succession,' continues Colonel Horry, 'came up with Captain Merritt and engaged him. He was a brave fellow. Baxter, with pistols fired at his breast, and missing him, retired. Postell and Greene engaged him with swords, but both were beaten off. Greene nearly lost his head. His buckskin breeches were cut through several inches. I almost blush to say that this one British officer, captain Merritt, beat three Americans. He left his horse and took to a swamp, wherein he remained until the next day.
"Colonel Horry, after the war, met Captain Merritt in New York City, and the latter recognizing him, said that he had never had such a fright in his life as upon that occasion. 'Will you believe me, sir,' said he, 'when I tell you that I went into the fight that morning with my locks of as beautiful an auburn as ever curled upon the forehead of a youth and by the time I crawled into George Town next day, they were as grey as a badger.'"[1721]

Marion, at Snow's Island, wrote to Greene on the 28th: "I wrought [wrote] you two days ago since which I find the Enemy at Georgetown is reinforced with two hundred men, their strength is near three hundred Including twenty horsemen well mounted; they have two Galleys & have brought three 9 pounders for their redoubt which incloses [sic] a Brick Building, a small party was sent there was pursued and wounded a Captn [sic] lost one man."[1722]

25 December. Morgan reached Grindal [also Grindall, Grindal's, and Grindall's] Shoals on the Pacelot River (roughly ten miles north of modern Union, S.C.) There he camped and awaited the arrival of anticipated militia reinforcements; with William Johnson reporting that "soon after" this date, 229 mounted volunteers from S.C.and N.C. came in. Babits states that former James Williams volunteer and subordinate Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes was present and had secured the Grindal's Shoals camp prior to Morgan's arrival. See 28-30 Dec.[1723]
William Seymour: "[It] being the 24th, we were alarmed about two o'clock in the morning by some men on horseback coming to our advance pisquet [picket], at which the sentinels challenging and no answer being made, upon which the sentinels fired and afterwards the whole guard, when immediately the whole turned out and continued under arms till daybreak. This day we crossed Broad River, and the next day, being the 25th, we encamped at Pacolet River." [1724]

25 December. Leslie camped at "Floods House." By this date he had received his instructions (of 21 Dec.) that Watson was to be detached to Rawdon at Camden.[1725]
John Watson: "When I found that I was to succeed (Lieutenant) Colonel [Robert] Mc Leroth [McLeroth] in his command and to take the field against the enemy with no more troops than he had, when they [the enemy] obliged him to find himself in one of the strongest posts [Nelson's Ferry] of that country, and send to Camden for a reinforcement acknowledging himself surrounded and unable to move, in a country -- desolate of provisions, by the supplies it had afforded to his troops and those of the enemy; all communications being cut off with the post at Nelson's Ferry, on the other side of the [Santee] River, wherever it (the river) rose which happened in a few hours at any time, in consequence of rains falling in the upper country.

[1721] Merritt, William Hamilton. *Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt*, U.E.L.(1759-1842). The Conservator Print, Brampton (Toronto) 1910, pp. 9-12.
[1722] BSF p. 123.
[1723] JLG1 p. 362, BDW p. 48.
[1724] SJS.
[1725] LOB part II.

"Under these circumstances, and whilst the enemy remained in this force, I inquired where our sick and wounded were to be lodged, and, if we kept our body together for covering the assailable points of the river, how we were to be fed, as detachments became impossible, if the they [the enemy] could surround when collected an equal, at least, [it is as said an superior force] to remain in a strong post in such a manner, that Colonel [Robert] Mc Leroth could not show a sentinel but was fired at. Nobody would tell me. I applied to [Major] General [Charles] O'Hara for his service and such instructions, as his experience might furnish us with, who only shrugged his shoulders.
"Having then applied for the mounted peoples [detachments of New York Volunteers under loyalist Capt. John Coffin] being attached to me who had attended Colonel Mc Leroth, some spare ammunition and wagons to convoy the sick or wounded we might have, and being informed that the mounted peoples must go with the other troops, that they could give me no ammunition, and as for wagons that I had already five, which was more than would be allowed me and which they actually took away two or three, I drew up two papers, copies of each other, describing my situation as total stranger in that country, without any place of security for sick and wounded nearer than Camden or Georgetown, the one fifty or sixty, the other not nearer than fifteen or twenty miles of my chief post, no wagons to convey sick, wounded or provisions if they could be fetched from a distance, not a horse, except one I had purchased, among the whole Corps, not a mounted man to place as a videt, to form a patrol or send with intelligence, and not a cartridge but was in the men's pouches, to oppose an enemy of superior numbers flushed with their late ascendancy.
"I showed the letter to General [Charles] O'Hara, telling him my situation, presenting one to General [Alexander] Leslie and conveying its copy to a friend, in case of misfortune to me, to be disclosed to the Commander-in-Chief. He approved it, said it was a justice I owed to myself, then, and never he believed was an officer left in such a situation; that he was persuaded I should do what could be done; but he was as seen putting his fingers before his eyes and cropping them, [as if] I should in a few days be in that manner peeping through the Grate of Hillsborough jails (as a captive with the enemy). This bill I sent to General Leslie and soon after had about twenty mounted men of that country, under a Captain [John] Harrison [of the South Carolina Rangers], sent to me.
"This whole country, the great roads excepted, is one continuous wood, without any underwood, minimally flat, except our place called the High Hills of Santee, where Colonel Mc Leroth had taken post. Our first object therefore was to look, while General Leslie was on his move towards Camden, for some spot in the vicinity of the weak spot of the River, which might be rendered secure for a time with a few men and having found a place, supposed to have been the burying ground of their Indian Chiefs in former times, resembling the barrows [burial mounds] of this country.
"We scraped it [the future Fort Watson] at the top, abated it at the bottom, and rendered it as strong as the materials we could collect, the only utensils we had, our tomahawks, would admit. This being done [27 December 1780] and Lord Rawdon, to whom I had made know my predicament and applied to, either for some cavalry to enable me to act offensively with a prospect of success, or for a gun to secure any defensive situation, having sent me a three-pounder with ammunition, and information that Sumpter and Marion were the Partisans I might expect in that quarter. His Lordship added instructions that I was to seek and fight them wherever they were found.
"Prior to the arrival of this piece, as the river soon rose and interrupted our communications with Nelson's Post, we were obliged to make long marches in pursuit of provisions, and as the enemy were all mounted, they used to attack us in small parties at a distance, drive when they could the cattle before us and, by long and chance shots at the column wound our men; nor did they neglect on our first taking the field, their customary attack by day on the sentinels and piquets by night. But ambuscades being laid with success and the spirit and activity of the officers, together with the courage and zeal of the men to emulate the Light Infantry of the Line, occasioned their constant impulse (to attack) with loss, soon rendered their visits less frequent, thus (making their) feeling for our several posts more tender (to their sensibilities).
"Upon the reinforcement of this gun, I left forty of the men who seemed least qualified for the severity of our marches, under Lieutenant [James] McKay, a very good officer of [Lieut. Col. Edmund] Fanning's [King's American] Regiment whom I appointed Commandant of the Post [Fort Watson.] We began in our turn to beat up Mr. Marion's quarters."[1726]

26 December. Maj. Archibald McArthur, at "Owens's Plantation," to Tarleton: "W. Grier would inform you of the firing heard at Liles's [Lyle's] Ford & of my having Sent to know the Cause of it, which proved to be nothing more than A [parcel?] of own Militia who had got too much Rum & began to celebrate Christmas to[o] early by firing their Pieces -- We lost a man Yesterday killed outright by the fall of A Tree at [our?] 2d Guard in the great Squall."[1727]

26 December. Greene with the main army, having arrived at the north bank of the Peedee, established a "camp of repose" at Hick's Creek, six miles southwest of Mask's Ferry, and in what is now Marlboro County, S.C. Local militia were called in to assist in foraging so that the Continentals could more properly devote themselves to their military dutits. While the area afforded more provisions than Charlotte, Greene's men continued to suffer sorely from lack of clothing and the rainy weather.[1728]

[1726] SCAR vol. 4, nos. 4-5-6, p. 55-61.
[1727] PRO. 30/11/4/407-408.
[1728] NGP7 p. 7, MMS2 pp. 250-251, JLG1 p. 347, BDW p. 7.

26-28 December. Leslie's corps reached Nelson's Ferry, where they spent the next couple days crossing the Santee. By the 28th, they camped at Sumter's house just to the north of Nelson's Ferry.[1729]

27 December. William Seymour: "On the 27th the General received intelligence that Colonel Tarleton was advancing in order to surprise us;[1730] upon which there were strong picquets [pickets] erected all round the encampment, putting ourselves in the best posture of defence. The rolls were ordered to be called every two hours, and reports given in by those that were absent. We arrived here in five days since we set out on our march from Charlotte, fifty-eight miles, it being very difficult marching in crossing deep swamps and very steep hills, which rendered our march very unpleasant. The inhabitants along this way live very poor, their plantations uncultivated, and living in mean dwellings. They seem chiefly to be the offspring of the ancient Irish, being very affable and courteous to strangers." [1731]

27-28 December. On the 27th, Cornwallis (still at Winnsborough) summoned Tarleton to his tent twenty miles distant; with the latter arriving to confer with him the next day.[1732]

29 December. [raid] Kingstree (Williamsburg County, S.C.) Lieut. Col. George Campbell sent Cornet [Thomas] Merritt with some Queen's Rangers who made a quick raid of the Kingstree area. Afterward, Merritt and his men returned to Georgetown.[1733]

28-30 December. Morgan's corps on the Pacelot was strengthened with 60 to 70 South Carolina and Georgia mounted militia under Col. Andrew Pickens, Lieut. Col. James McCall, and Major John Cunningham (of Col. Elijah Clark's command), though 30 or 40 needed to make a trip into North Carolina "to get their effects." These 30 or 40 returned the 16th, i.e. the day before Cowpens. Another group of 120 North Carolina militia brought by Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson joined Morgan sometime on or between 28 to 30 December. Davidson himself, however, did not remain, but returned to Charlotte to collect more men. Some 200 mounted South Carolina militia-partisans under Lieut. Cols. Joseph Hayes and James McCall, that would be with him at Hammond's store (30 Dec.) joined up with Lieut. Col. William Washington's dragoons about this time at a location not far from Morgan; though the specific site is not clear.[1734]
On the 31st, Morgan wrote to Greene: "General Davidson has brought in 120 men and has Returned to bring forward a draught of 500 more. Col. Pickens has joined me with 60 -- thirty or forty men who came out with him have gone into North Carolina to secure their Effects and will Immediately repair to my Camp...To expedite this Movement...I have sent for 100 Swords which I intend to put into the Hands of expert Riflemen to be mounted and incorporated with Lieut. Col. Washington's Corps. I have also Wrote to the Quarter Master to have me one hundred Pack Saddles made Immediately...Pack saddles ought to be procured let our Movements be what they may, for our Waggons will be an impediment, whether we attempt to annoy the Enemy, or provide for our own safety."[1735]

Saye (with McJunkin): "After executing various movements the detachment under Morgan encamped at the Grindal Shoals on Pacolet River, about Christmas. It was soon joined by a body of militia from North Carolina, as the writer supposes from the region of Burke, and under the immediate command of Major Joseph McDowell. The regiments of Brandon and Thomas took post in the immediate vicinity of Morgan's camp. At the same time the regiment of McCall, a part of the brigade of Gen. Pickens, joined his standard. A corps of Georgians under Majors [James] Jackson and [John] Cunningham also came up. Pickens was approaching with the residue of his force from the region of Long Cane, in what is now Abbeville. Among other objects of importance which pressed upon the attention of the enterprising general was the means of subsisting his army, for small as it was its stores of provisions were much smaller. Its position was in the midst of a country which had within a few months been ravaged successively by the armies of Ferguson and Tarleton. And in addition to the supplies levied by these commanders and their subordinate officers, bands of Tories had visited every house owned by a Whig, with desolation in the whole region round about.
"Mrs. Angelia Nott, widow of the late Judge Nott, lived in this vicinity at the time and states that the family with which she lived had nothing to eat but roasting ears during a considerable portion of the summer and autumn preceding, that every comfort in the shape of bedding was taken from them, that salt a great deal of the time was out of the question and that leather shoes was a luxury that no Whig family enjoyed that winter.
"But Morgan's army must have provisions or quit the country, thence his commissaries are dispatched abroad to glean whatever could be found. In these excursions they were generally accompanied by portions of the commands of Thomas or Brandon. These colonels were aided by Lieut. Cols. [William] Farr and [Benjamin] Roebuck and Majors Joseph McJunkin and Henry White, with the captains of their several regiments."[1736]

[1729] LOB part II, TCS p. 243.
[1730] Since Tarleton did not get started till January 1st, either Seymour's date is in error or what they had received was then a false report.
[1731] SJS.
[1732] BDG p. 141, TPY p. 68.
[1733] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 67, BSF p. 123.
[1734] Clark at this time was recuperating from the severe wound he suffered at Long Canes a couple weeks earlier; so that 55 of those with Pickens were originally from Clark's command. Pickens then, at that time, was acting as more of a surrogate rather than bringing together much of a force of his own (as such.) Nonetheless and in any event, by Cowpens most all of the South Carolina militia previously under Clark or James Williams served under him (and when Clark was absent.)
[1735] NGP7 p. 31.
[1736] SJM.

30 December. Leslie camped at Singleton's Mill.[1737]

30 December. British spy, David George to Cornwallis: "I have sot [sat] down to acquaint you with what I have Heard a few Moments agoe [ago] Morgan & Washington Had Joind [sic] the party that Lay at Grimes Mill yesterday & they all moved to Colonel [William] Henderson['s] Plantation about a mile this side of the mill and I am well Informed that they Intend to March as fast as they can to Ninety-Six I don't believe they have as many men at it is Reported to my Wife[']s Sister."[1738]

30 December. Subsequent to Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie's initial Virginia expedition, a second British force of about 1,500-1,600 men under Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold, Lieut. Colonels Thomas Dundas and John Graves Simcoe had been sent south by Clinton. Having left New York on the 20th, they appeared off Hampton Road on the 30th.; and subsequently moving up the James River and landing below Richmond at fortified Hood's Point on 3 Jan; and which the Americans quickly abandoned. En route, 1 war vessel and three transports carrying 400 in the convoy had got lost during a storm and did not rejoin Arnold's invasion force.[1739] For an account of Virginia's forces in the field in early 1781 see JLG1 pp. 440-441 and Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ch. 9.
Clinton: "(Arnold was sent) with similar instructions to those I had given to Major General Leslie, but rather more positive with respect to establishing a post at Portsmouth on Elizabeth River, which that officer had represented as 'the key to the wealth of Virginia and Maryland'; and [Leslie] had left the works he threw up there entire, in hopes of our reoccupying the same ground. He [Arnold] was likewise directed to prepare materials for building a number of boats, etc., and to collect a naval force as soon as possible in Albemarle Sound, for the purpose of annoying the enemy's communications and trade and securing means of intelligence, or even of a retreat for his detachment in case a superior French fleet should take a temporary possession of the Chesapeake."[1740]

30 December. Marion, at Snow's Island, ordered Capt. John Postell: "You will proceed with a party down Black River, from Black Mingo to the Mouth of PeDee [Peedee], and come up to this place; you will take all the boats and canoes from Euhaney up, and impress negroes and bring them into camp, put some men to see them safe; you will take every horse top whomsoever he belongs; whether friend or foe. You will take all arms and ammunition for the use of our service. You will forbid all persons from carrying any grains, stock or any sort of provisions to Georgetown, or where the enemy may get them, on pain of being held traitors and enemies to the Americans. All persons who will not join you will take prisoners and bring to me. You will return as soon as possible. Let me know any intelligence you may gain of the enemy's strength or movements." Carrying out Marion's orders, Postell subsequently discovered some 150 bushels of salt on Waccamaw. Marion then sent a group with wagons to collect it. Much of this salt was subsequently distributed to needy families in the area.[1741]

30 December. (also given as 28 and 29 December). [raid] Hammond's Store, also Fair Forest Creek (Laurens County, S.C.) To encourage the British support in the upcountry of South Carolina and to check remaining rebel aspirations, 250 loyalists under Col. Thomas Waters, from Savannah, were sent into the Fair Forest area, at a location 15 to 20 miles south of Morgan's camp on the Pacelot. Joseph McJunkin, by way of Saye, however, says the loyalists were led by Col. Pearson and Major Ben Wofford; while anoher account speaks of one "Col. Vance" being their leader.[1742] Col William Washington with 75 of his dragoons and 200 mounted South Carolina militia under Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes and Lieut. Col. James McCall was sent to attack him on the 29th. Learning of their approach Waters fell back another to Hammond's Store where on the 30th Washington caught up with and routed him. Morgan reported to Greene the Loyalists as losing 150 killed or wounded and 40 captured. Haller states Waters escaped with 60 survivors, lost 40 as prisoners, 50 horses, and 150 killed or sabered beyond recovery. These high mortality figures would seem to indicate that many of Waters men were needlessly slaughtered. While it seems likely that the excessive casualties sprang to some degree from vindictive militia with scores to settle, it was not unusual for cavalry of the day to be free with the sword when opposition was nil; so that this evidently (assuming the figures) was otherwise the reason for the severe number of loyalist fatalities.[1743]
Marshall: "The active courage of his [Morgan's]troops, and the enterprising temper of their commander rendered him extremely formidable to the parties of loyal militia who were embodying in that quarter of the country. His detachments obtained several small advantages over them; and on one occasion, lieutenant colonel Washington, with his own regiment and about two hundred mounted militia riflemen, came up with two hundred and fifty tory militia from Georgia, at Hammond's store, near forty miles from Morgan's camp, whom he instantly charged so furiously that not one third of them escaped."[1744]

Thomas Young: "The next engagement I was in was at Hammond's Store, on Bush River, somewhere near '96. Gen. Morgan was encamped at Grindall's Shoals [on the Pacelot River] to keep the Tories in check. He

[1737] LOB part II.
[1738] BGD p. 142.
[1739] AR81 p. 73, SQR pp. 159-160, GHA4 p. 59, MLW4A p. 387-388, CAR pp. 235-236, WAR2 p. 868.
[1740] CAR p. 235.
[1741] JFM pp. 29, 83-84, BSF pp. 124-125.
[1742] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 65.
[1743] NGP7 pp. 30-31, GHA4 p. 31, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 65, MLW4A p. 340, JLG1 p. 363, MSC2 pp. 23-24, WAR2 p. 752, LSY p. 121, RBG pp. 126-128, BEA pp. 481-482, BRG p. 302, TPY p. 77, HWW p. 81, SCAR vol. 2, no.12, pp. 14-23, and see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hammondsstore.htm
[1744] MLW4A p. 340.

dispatched Col. Washington with a detachment of militia, and about seventy dragoons, to attack a body of Tories, who had been plundering the Whigs. We came up with them at Hammond's store; in fact, we picked up several scattering ones, within about three miles of the place, from whom we learned all about their position. When we came in sight, we perceived that the Tories had formed in line on the brow of the hill opposite to us. We had a long hill to descend and another to rise. Col. Washington and his dragoons gave a shout, drew swords, and charged down the hill like madmen. The Tories fled In every direction without firing a gun. We took a great many prisoners and killed a few."[1745]
Saye (with McJunkin): "While engaged in these preparations for action a body of Tories making Hammond's Store their headquarters advanced as far as Fairforest Creek to embarrass these operations. Morgan immediately dispatched Cols. Washington and [James] McCall with a command of some three hundred men to drive them from the country. Major McJunkin and some others familiar with the country were sent as pilots.
"Washington came suddenly upon the Tories at Hammond's Store and a general rout ensued. It was said Washington reported 100 killed and wounded, with forty prisoners. The whole party of Tories amounted to something over 200, so that but few escaped. They were commanded by a Col. Pearson and Major Ben Wofford.
"A detachment from Washington's command then proceeded to a fort on Mudlick Creek commanded by Gen. [Robert] Cunningham, but the Tories then made their escape to the garrison at Ninety-Six, which was not far distant. The effect of these movements was that Cornwallis immediately dispatched Col. Tarleton to Ninety-Six."[1746]

31 December. (also given as 29 December and 30 December) [skirmish] Williams' Fort, also Fort Williams, Williams' Plantation, Mudlick (Laurens or possibly Newberry County, S.C.) Brig. Gen.. Robert Cunningham with about 100 to 150 loyalists, including Col. Moses Kirkland who previously commanded the post, occupied Fort Williams; situated, a few miles northwest of Ninety Six, at the former home of Brig. Gen. James Williams. There was no fort at the site as such, but rather a blockhouse or else some blockhouses. Washington sent a detachment of 40 dragoons led by Cornet James Simmons (also given as Simons) and some mounted militia under Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes to take the post. Haller, on the other hand, state that the force consisted of 10 dragoons (Garden similarly says 11) and 40 mounted militia (Garden doesn't specify the number of. When they arrived, Simmons and Hayes demanded Cunningham's surrender. Yet during negotiations, according to one account, Cunningham and most of his men were able to slip out a rear exit; though a few loyalists even so were taken after some reportedly sharp fighting. Another version reports that the fort was evacuated before Simmons and Hayes arrived. Food and other stores were taken, though the structure itself was left intact.[1747]
William Seymour: "On the 31st December Colonel Washington was detached to Fort William in order to surprise some Tories that lay there; and meeting with a party of them near said place, upon which ensued a smart engagement, the latter having one hundred and sixty men killed dead, and thirty-three made prisoners."[1748]

31 December. From *Records of the Moravians* (Salem congregation): "We heard that the Virginians, 140 men [Triplett's and or Tate's men?], reached Bethabara yesterday, but camped in the woods, and made no trouble except that meal and meat must be furnished them. They will be here tomorrow."[1749]

31 December. Leslie camped at Ravenor's Creek.[1750]

Late December. [raids followed by ambush] Boyd's Creek (find county, TN.) Directly in reaction and to prevent frontier militia, such as those of Holston, Watauga and Nolachucky settlements (present at Second Cedar Spring, Musgrove's Mill, and King's Mountain) assisting Greene, Cornwallis arranged to have British agents incite uprisings among the Cherokee. Following some initial burning of cabins and scalping by the Indians, the frontiersmen otherwise found out about the scheme, and, as a result, arranged surprise attacks of their own. Boyd's Creek, the most notable and decisive of these was a successful ambush by Col. John Sevier with 300 frontiersmen against 70 advancing Cherokees. Sevier afterward returned to French Broad River and on December 22nd, with some 270, met up with Col. Arthur Campbell with 300 to 400 near Buckingham Island. Passing the Little Tennessee River at Tomotley's Ford, they reached the Cherokee town of Chota on the 24th; which they burned. Telllico followed, and on the 28th, Tuskegee. After marching to the Tellico River, they moved to Hiwasse on 1 January and found that town abandoned. From there the expedition returned home in broken up detachments and at least one additional Indian town was set fire to along the way. In all, some thousand cabins were set afire, fifty thousand bushels of corn destroyed, 29 warriors killed, 17 women and children made captives; with 1 white slain and 2 wounded. Despite the devastation, the Cherokees and their allies were able to continue raiding the western settlements well into 1781, and to that extent Cornwallis prevailed in attempting to divert and re-direct the frontier militia's attention and manpower from supporting Greene's army.
Regarding peace talks with the Indians, see 20 February 1781.[1751]

"*Late 1780*". [skirmish] Fairforest Creek (Union or Laurens County, S.C.)

[1745] JTR pp. 446-454, SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.
[1746] SJM.
[1747] JLG1 pp. 363-364, GAR1 pp. 441-442, MSC2 pp. 24-25, BGD pp. 142-143, RBG p. 128, BEA p. 482, HWW p. 82, SCAR vol. 2, no.12, pp. 18-19. See as well http://gaz.jrshelby.com/ftwms.htm
[1748] Seymour, who was not present, is confusing the attack at Hammonds Store with the taking of Williams' Fort. SJS.
[1749] FRM p. 1580.
[1750] LOB part II.
[1751] CNC15 p. 153, RCC p. 76, NGP7 pp. 10n, 258, MLW3 pp. 116-117, JLG1 pp. 471-472, MDR pp. 473-478, RWW2 pp. 299-305, TPY pp. 67-68, DRR pp. 307-309.

Saye: “A party of eight persons were set on a scout. They stopped at the house of an old man named Leighton. The house was near Fairforest Creek and not far from its mouth. A lane passed through the plantation by his house. Leighton was of doubtful politics, with an inclination to the strongest side. At the time the scouts stopped a party of 100 Tories were lying on the other side of the creek. In a short time they came over and formed on each side of the house, unperceived by the Whigs. Two of their party came near and fired. Two of the Whigs, William Sharp and William Giles, mounted their horses and charged through the Tories and made good their escape. Two others, John Jolly and Charles Crane, ran off on foot through the field. Crane succeeded, but Jolly was shot dead. The remaining four staid in the house, made a gallant defense, killed and wounded a number of their assailants, but after night were compelled to capitulate. They were put in jail at Ninety-Six, where two of them, Richard Hughes Sr., and his son, John, died. The other two, James Johnson and Allbritton, returned. This affair occurred in the latter part of 1780.”[1752]

[1752] SJM.

JANUARY 1781

January. Between January and May 1781, by order of Cornwallis, the fortifications at Charlestown were mostly leveled, and work was done to erect new ones. This move was later criticized by Clinton as only adding to the province's already unprepared state of defense.[1753]

January. Throughout most of the month there were heavy and light rains, in northwestern South Carolina and southwestern North Carolina; which caused many of the creeks and rivers to flood thus making fords at these places more difficult, or else impassible except by boat.

January. [skirmish] Backcountry, S.C. ONB3 p. 22.

January. [skirmish] Mann's Old Field, S.C. ONB3 p. 53.

January. [raid] Brier Creek Massacre. S.C. ONB3 p. 54.

Early January. The N.C. Assembly passed an act reducing the state Continental battalions from 6 to 4. General musters from each county to fill them out was to take place on or before 20th of March, with every fifteenth man in a county eligible for Continental service. The men so raised were to meet in Salisbury on or before 25 April.[1754]

Early January. Sometime prior to his movement from Winnsborough later in the month, Cornwallis instructed Balfour in Charlestown to send an expedition to take and occupy Wilmington. About this time the garrison at Camden under Rawdon contained 700 to 800 men and relatively few cannon, but was otherwise strongly fortified. [1755]

Early January. [skirmishes] Drowning Creek, et al. (N.C.) Constant skirmishing and personal fracases between loyalists and whigs continued in the Upper Peedee and Drowning Creek regions of South Carolina and North Carolina, including one defeat of the tories at Drowning creek by Col. James Kenan.[1756]
On 10 jan., Gov. Rutledge wrote the S.C. delegates: "Some Tories embodied here last week, on Little Pedee [Peedee]-- Colo. Kolb has dispersed 'em as he could find collected, but I fear a Storm is gathering in that Quarter, & will burst, if the Enemey [sic] should advance, in force, this Way, for I am well informed, that they have several British Officers, in disguise, & other Emissaries, recruiting in No. Carolina, and on the Borders of this and that State."[1757]

Pension statement of William White of Anson County, N.C.: "Again, in or about the first of January, 1781, he was drafted for to go against the Tories under Captain John McGuire (rendezvoused) at the Grassy Island, march to Drauning [Drowning] Creek and work back against the Tories. They fled and we were there discharged verbally. He served at this time two weeks."

1 January. On this date, William Washington wrote that of his original regiment of 1779 (i.e. the 3rd Continental Light Dragoons) only one fourth remained (i.e. 60 or 70) and the rest had been lost or discharged during the Charlestown campaign. On Jan. 3rd he received a welcome, albeit small, reinforcement of a corporal, seven privates and nine remounts; thus giving him some 70 or more troopers. On the 4th a deserter was hung -- the same day he was apprehended.[1758]

1 January. From his camp on the Peedee, Greene directed Kosciuszko, his chief engineer, to pick up tools at Cross Creek and to arrange for boats to be built for use by the army. These were to be constructed such that they could be mounted on wheels, and thus be moved overland. Exactly what was done with them after they were built is not clear. Historian Ann Brownlee suspects that they may have been used to help Greene's army get across Trading Ford on the Yadkin River in February, since there were not enough craft at that location to have allowed the crossing of Morgan's whole corps. Nonetheless, in a letter to Greene of 1 February, when Huger was on the march from the Peedee to join Greene (who was in the Trading Ford area), Huger states that Kosciuszko's boats were not with him -- seeming to imply they had been left behind at the Peedee River camp. The boats next seem to come up when Greene's army re-entered South Carolina in April 1781, at which time they were used to assist his passing of the Peedee at Haley's Ferry. This said, it should be remembered that Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington had earlier been assigned to look into the state of the crossings on the Yadkin, so that it is possible that he obtained additional boats elsewhere for use at Trading Ford, and which were used to

[1753] CAR p. 288.
[1754] FRM p. 1749n.
[1755] Maj. Frederick Kimbal, in a letter to Greene, of 16 January 1781, the garrison at Camden had 400 men. However, Conrad, Greene Papers editor, suggests, based on McCrady, that the garrison probably numbered between 700-800 men. Rawdon in a letter of 1813 to Lee said it was 700. NGP7 p. 135n, LMS p. 615.
[1756] NGP7 p. 94n.
[1757] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 65.
[1758] HWW p. 83.

transport Morgan over the Yadkin. Normaly, boats would not be needed for crossing on the Yadkin, but if it rained heavily, and as it actually did in January and February, the river's fords became unuseable[1759]

1 January. On December 30th, Marion was promoted to Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia by Governor John Rutledge, and actually received word of it on January 1st. At his entrenched position on flooded and inaccessible Snow's Island, he then appointed Col. Hugh Ervin his second in chief. Col. Peter Horry in turn was assigned leadership of the brigade cavalry. Horry's subordinates were: Major Lemuel Benson, Captain John Baxter, Captain John Postell, Captain Daniel Conyers, and Captain James McCauley. Command of Marion's infantry went to Lieut. Col. Hugh Horry, and under him: Major John James, Captain John James, Captain James Postell, and Captain James Witherspoon. When Marion ran short of ammunition (as he often did) he endeavored to convert more of his men to cavalry.[1760]

1-2 January. Tarleton received orders from Cornwallis to throw himself between Morgan and Ninety Six; with the latter seen as being made all the more vulnerable due to rebel sympathy and support in the region being increased by Morgan's presence. Leaving behind his baggage at Brierly's Ferry and leading his Legion, the 1st Battalion of the 71st, and 2 three-pounders, he advanced on the Jan. 2nd some 20 miles beyond the Broad River, to a position at the Dutch Fork (between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, not far from Ninety Six.) Here in a few days he was joined by his baggage, the 7th Regt., some light infantry and the 17th dragoons -- i.e. some 300 men as additions; so that his combined total amountied to 1,100 men when on 12 January he commenced the hunt proper for Morgan.[1761]
Tarleton: "Earl Cornwallis dispatched an aid-de-camp [Lieut. Henry Haldane] on the 1st of January, to order Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton over Broad river, with his corps of cavalry and infantry, of five hundred and fifty men, the first battalion of the 71st, consisting of two hundred, and two three-pounders, to counteract the designs of General Morgan, by protecting the country, and compelling him to repass [sic] Broad river. Tarleton received a letter the next day from his lordship, communicating an earnest wish, that the American commander, if within his reach, should be 'pushed to the utmost;' and requiring, likewise, his opinion, whether any move of the main army would be advantageous to the service"

MacKenzie:[1762] "This [Tarleton's] corps, after a process of some days, arrived at the vicinity of Ninety-Six, a post which was then commanded by Lieutenant Colonel [Isaac] Allen.[1763] An offer of a reinforcement from that garrison was made to Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The offer was rejected; and the detachment, by fatiguing marches, attained the ground which Morgan had quitted a few hours before."[1764]

1-8 January. For eight days, Leslie camped near Camden. Contrary then to some interpretations of what transpired, it was not merely the rain (which by the 8th had dissipated)and flooded creeks that postponed his reaching Cornwallis for so long, but rather this week and a day spent in Camden; a stay directed by Cornwallis. William Johnson and Henry Lee IV (in his *Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas*) observe that Leslie might otherwise have been ordered by Cornwallis direcly from Charlestown, and along the southside of the Congaree, to the latter's camp at Winnsborough, but instead was sent by way of Camden; presumably with a mind to mislead Greene as to his lordship's plan and intended route of invasion. This attemped feint only caused the Earl to lose what subsequently turned out to be some precious time. See 19 December 1780.[1765]
On January 8th, Leslie wrote Clinton: "I arrived here some days ago, with the Guards, the regiment of Bose, and Yagers; I went to Wynnesborough to see Earl Cornwallis. He moves to-day, and I march to-morrow with the above troops and North-Carolina regiment. I meet his Lordship about seventy miles from hence.
"The troops are exceeding healthy, and the weather has been very favourable."[1766]

Stedman: "Greene's army and Virginia, and force him to an action before he was joined by his expected reinforcements. The detachment under general Leslie, which had been purposely halted at Camden, until lord Cornwallis should be ready to march from Wynnesborough, the longer to conceal from the American general the road which the British army meant to take, now received orders to move up the banks of the Catawba, and join the main army on its march. The march both of lord Cornwallis and general Leslie, encumbered as they were with baggage and artillery, was greatly retarded by the swelling of creeks and water-courses. These obstacles Tarleton also experienced; but having the command of light troops, he more easily surmounted them, and probably overtook Morgan something sooner than was expected."[1767]

McCrady: "Cornwallis moved on Sunday, the 7th of January, a few miles to a place called McAllister's, and wrote Tarleton that he would remain there till Tuesday, the 9th, march to the crossroads on Wednesday, halt Thursday, and reach Bullock's Creek meeting-house, in what is now York County, on Saturday, the 13th. He did not, however, move from McAllister's until Saturday. He was waiting for Leslie, who was still in the swamps. On

[1759] NGP7 pp. 35, 232, VIII, p. 29n.
[1760] MSC2 pp. 82-83, BSF pp. 126-127.
[1761] TCS p. 210-211, MST pp. 96-97, JLG1 pp. 366-367, BRG p. 309.
[1762] Roderick MacKenzie was with the 71st Regt. which accompanied Tarleton.
[1763] Actually it was Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger who commanded at Ninety Six.
[1764] MST pp. 96-97.
[1765] LOB part III, STL, MLW4A pp. 340-341, JLG1 pp. 364-365, 367-368, LCC pp. 89-91, MSC2 pp. 26-28.
[1766] COC p. 52.
[1767] SAW2 p. 320.

Sunday, the 14th, he was at Bull Run, about two miles southeast of the present town of Chester. From this place [on the 14th,] he informed Tarleton that Leslie was at last out of the swamps."[1768]

2 January. Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, to Tarleton: "I sent [Henry] Haldane to you last night, to desire you would pass Broad river, with the legion and the first battalion of the 71st, as soon as possible. If Morgan is still at Williams', or anywhere within your reach, I should wish you to push him to the utmost: I have not heard, except from M'Arthur, of his having cannon; nor would I believe it, unless he has it from good authority: It is, however, possible, and Ninety-Six is of so much consequence, that no time is to be lost."[1769]

3 January. [raid] Hood's Point (Charles City County, VA.) The advance party of Arnold's invasion force -- consisting of 130 Queen's Rangers under Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe,[1770] along with the light infantry and grenadiers of the 80th Regiment -- landed at Hood's Point, VA . They proceeded to take a rebel shore battery (that had been abandoned immediately before by its 50 man garrison) and then spiked its guns.[1771] Arnold then proceeded up the James River and began raiding and setting fire to anchored ships, commerce, and stores. Three transports with some additional 400-500 British troops did not land till the 4th, and these last then did not reach him till the 9th.[1772]

3 January. Cornwallis to Tarleton: "I received yours of this morning. I suspect that the enemy are retired. If so, I would lose no time. Which side of the Broad River do you think it best for you to march? The 7th regt are ordered to Byerley's [Brierly's]...Be quite sure that 96 is safe. 7th reg't will take your old gun[1773] to Ninety-Six."[1774]

4 January. [raids, skirmish] Arnold's Advance on Richmond (Chesterfield, Richmond City, and Henrico Counties, VA.) Following the raid on Hood's Point, Arnold's moved up the James River to Westover, Virginia,[1775] approximately thirty miles southeast of Richmond. Governor Jefferson dispatched (according to Lee) "General [Thomas] Nelson to the coast as soon as he was informed of the enemy entrance into the (Chesapeake) bay, for the purpose of bringing the militia into the field; while Baron Steuben, believing Petersburg, *the* depot for the Southern army,[1776] to be the object, hastened his Continental force, about two hundred recruits to that town." Arnold, however, marched for Richmond. The size of his entire force at this time is believed to have been 1,500-1,600; the first figure based on a sworn deposition he later gave; though Clinton speaks of it as 1800; with the difference perhaps being accounted for by several transports loaded with 400 troops which became scattered from the main convoy in a gale, and did *not* rejoin Arnold (see 30 Dec. 1780.) Arnold is stated by Johann Ewald to have had with him a detachment of Jägers, the Queen's Rangers, the 80th Regt., the Royal American Regiment (aka Robinson's Corps), a company of artillery and 100 pioneers. Simcoe in advance of him dispersed a force of 200 militia under Col. John Nichols at Richmond Hill, and, as well, a few mounted men on Shrove Hill.[1777]
Simcoe: "Within seven miles of Richmond a patrole of the enemy appeared, who, on being discovered, fled at full speed. The Queen's Rangers, whose horses were in a miserable condition from the voyage, could not pursue them.
"Soon after Lt. Col. Simcoe halted, having received the clearest information that a road, made passable by wood carts, led through the thickets to the rear of the heights on which the town of Richmond was placed, where they terminated in a plain, although they were almost inaccessible by the common road. On giving this information to Gen. Arnold, he said it was not worth while to quit the road, as the enemy would not fight. On approaching the town, Gen. Arnold ordered the troops to march as open and to make as great an appearance as possible; and the ground was so favourable that a more skilfull enemy than those who were now reconnoitering would have imagined the numbers to have been double.
"The enemy at Richmond appeared drawn up on the heights to the number of two or three hundred men. The road passed through a wood at the bottom of these heights, and then ran between them and the river into the lower town. Lt. Col Simcoe was ordered to dislodge them. He mounted the hill in small bodies, stretching away to the right, so as to threaten the enemy with a design to outflank them; and as they filed off, in appearance to secure their flank, he directly ascended with his cavalry, where it was so steep that they were obliged to dismount and lead their horses. Luckily the enemy made no resistance, nor did they fire, but, on the cavalry's arrival on the summit, retreated to the woods in great confusion.
"There was a party of horsemen in the lower town watching the motion of Lt. CoL Dundas, who, the heights being gained, was now entering it. Lt. Col. Simcoe pushed on with the cavalry unnoticed by the enemy in the

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[1768] MSC2 p. 28.
[1769] Cornwallis had heard report Morgan might have cannon, hence his concern for Ninety-Six. BGD p. 143.
[1770] See LMS pp. 301n-302n for a sketch by Lee on Simcoe.
[1771] The battery contained 2 eighteen-pounders, 1 twenty-four-pounder, and 1 brass howitzer. The day before the militia had fired upon the British ships, but no damage. The brass howitzer kept and did not spike. WAR2 p. 868.
[1772] CAR p. 236, GHA4 pp. 59-60, SQR pp. 161-167, LMS pp. 297-298, LFB2 p. 228, CBA p. 549, WAR2 p. 868, BEA p. 1149.
[1773] See *December* 1780.
[1774] BGD p. 144.
[1775] Westover, just off the James River, is located in Charles City County.
[1776] Lee: "Petersburg, the great mart of that section of the State which lies south of Appomattox, and of the northern part of North Carolina, stands upon its banks, about twelve miles from City Point; and, after the destruction of Norfolk, ranked first among the commercial towns of the State. Its chief export was tobacco, considered our best product, and at this time its warehouses were filled. In addition were some public stores; as this town, being most convenient to the army of Greene, had become a place of depot for all imported supplies required for Southern operations." LMS p. 309. Tobacco, it should further be noted, frequently served as cash to fund the American war effort, AR81 pp. 87-88, TCSp. 333, LMS p. 310.
[1777] NGP7 pp. 34n, 41n, CAR 235, EHJ p. 258, SQR pp. 159-165, GHA4 p. 59, CSS pp. 1195-1198, MLW4A pp. 388-390, MLW3 p. 123, LMS pp. 299-300, JLG1 pp. 399-401, LFB2 p. 228, CBA p. 549.

lower town till such time as he began to descend almost in their rear, when an impassable creek stopped him and gave the enemy time to escape to the top of another hill beyond the town. Having crossed over lower down, he ascended the hill, using such conversation and words towards them as might prevent their inclination to retreat. However, when the Rangers were arrived within twenty yards of the summit, the enemy, greatly superior in numbers, but made up of militia, spectators, some with and some without arms, galloped off. They were immediately pursued, but without the least regularity." [1778]

Marshall: "Leaving Richmond the next day, the army returned to Westover [*Marshall's Footnote*: While the army lay at Westover, Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, at the head of less than fifty horse, attacked and dispersed a body of militia at Charles City court house [8 Jan.],[1779] with the loss of only one man killed, and three wounded] on the seventh; and, re-embarking on the morning of the tenth, proceeded down the river. It was followed by the Baron Steuben, who commanded in Virginia; and, near Hood[']s, Colonel Clarke drew a party of them into an ambuscade, and gave them one fire with some effect; but, on its being partially returned, the Americans broke and fled in the utmost confusion. (The author [i.e., Marshall] witnessed this skirmish.) Arnold proceeded slowly down the river; and on the twentieth reached Portsmouth, where he manifested the intention of establishing a permanent post."[1780]

4 January. Lieut. Col. Washington, with Thomas Brandon and Joseph Hayes returned to Morgan's camp at Grindal Shoals on December 4th. According to Babits, Col. John Thomas' Spartanburg regiment was already with Morgan by this time.[1781]

4 January. Tarleton, at "Brookes'," wrote to Cornwallis: "Morgan, with upwards of one thousand two hundred men, being on this side Broad river, to threaten Ninety Six, and evade your lordship's army whenever you may move, I beg leave to offer my opinion how his design may be prevented. I must draw my baggage, the 71st and legion's are deposited at my old camp, to me. I wish it to be escorted by the 17th light dragoons, for whom horses are ready; by the yagers, if to be spared; and by the 7th regiment. The 7th I will send, as soon as I reach Ennoree [Enoree River], with the field piece, to Ninety Six. My encampment is now twenty miles from Brierley's [Ferry], in a plentiful forage country, and I can lay in four days flour for a move. When I advance, I must either destroy Morgan's corps, or push it before me over Broad river, towards King's mountain. The advance of the army should commence (when your lordship orders this corps to move) onwards for King's mountain. Frequent communication by letter can pass the Broad river. I feel myself bold in offering my opinion, as it flows from zeal for the public service, and well-grounded inquiry concerning the enemy's designs and operations. I have directed Captain M'Pherson [Donald McPherson], the bearer of this letter, who is going on the recruiting service, to deliver a letter to Lieutenant Munroe, whom I left at my camp, to bring up my baggage, but no women. If your lordship approves of this plan, Captain M'Pherson may give my order to Lieutenant Munroe to escort to me three puncheons of rum, and some salt; and, upon their arrival, I will move."[1782]
Tarleton: "As Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had been entrusted with the outline of the future campaign, he thought it incumbent on him to lay before his lordship, by letter, the probable accounts of Morgan's force and designs; the necessity of waiting for the baggage of the light troops in their present situation, as any future delay might prove a great inconvenience to the army; and the plan of operation which struck him as equally necessary and advantageous for the King's service. He represented the course to be taken, which fortunately corresponded with the scheme of the campaign: He mentioned the mode of proceeding to be employed against General Morgan: He proposed the same time, for the army and the light troops to commence their march: He explained the point o be attained by the main body: And he declared, that it should be his endeavour [sic] to push the enemy into that quarter. Earl Cornwallis approving the suggested operations, the light troops only waited for their baggage to proceed."[1783]

5 January. Arnold entered Richmond, Virginia's wartime capital (as opposed to Williamsburg.)[1784]

5 January. Cornwallis to Tarleton: "I received your letter sent yesterday 7 o'clock a.m. I have ordered the baggage of your Corps to Byerley's [Brierly's] Ferry, under the care of the 7th Regt. I propose marching on Tuesday next. [9 Jan.] You will continue to correspond with me, keeping on my left Flank, either on the east or west of Broad River, as you will judge best according to the intelligence you may receive. McArthur [i.e. the 1st Battalion of the 71st regt.] will of course march with you."[1785]

5 January. Cornwallis to Balfour: "I heard from Tarleton last night. Morgan has retired & has got too far to give any hope of overtaking him; so I shall march as soon as possible, I believe on Sunday [7 Jan.] & Leslie will follow on Tuesday [9 Jan.]."[1786]

[1778] SQR pp. 161-162.
[1779] SQR pp. 163-165.
[1780] MLW3 p. 123.
[1781] BDW p. 49.
[1782] TCS p. 245-246.
[1783] TCS p. 211-212.
[1784] EHJ pp. 266-269, GHA4 p. 59, LMS pp. 300-301, WAR2 p. 869.
[1785] BGD p. 145.
[1786] BGD p. 146.

6 January. Cornwallis to Balfour: "I shall not march till Monday [8 Jan.], as I find that Tarleton will not be quite ready."[1787]

6 January. Cornwallis to Clinton: "I am just honoured with your letter of the 13th ult. I have written several letters in the course of last month, to give your Excellency an account of the state of the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, and of the military transactions. I fear they are all still at Charles-town, as no opportunity has offered of transmitting them to New-York. The present addition to the naval force in this quarter, will, I hope, enable me; or, if I am too distant, Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, to transmit reports more frequently.
"The difficulties I have had to struggle with, have not been occasioned by the opposite army. They always keep at a considerable distance, and disappear on our approach.
"But the constant incursions of Refugees, North Carolinians, and Back-Mountain-men, and the perpetual risings in the different parts of this province; the invariable successes of all these parties against our militia, keep the whole country in continual alarm, and renders the assistance of regular troops every where necessary. Your Excellency will judge of this by the disposition of the troops, which I have the honour to enclose to you.
"I shall begin my march to-morrow, (having been delayed a few days by a diversion made by the enemy towards Ninety-Six) and propose keeping on the West of Catawba for a considerable distance. I shall then proceed to pass that river, and the Yadkin. Events alone can decide the future steps. I shall take every opportunity of communicating with Brigadier-general Arnold."[1788]

6 January (also given as taking place between 11-13 January). [skirmish] Waccamaw (Georgetown County, S.C.) Marion sent Col. Peter Horry and 30 to 40 mounted militia[1789] to attack some loyalists butchering cattle not far from Georgetown; which Horry did find and route. Another larger group of Provincials in Georgetown, under Lieut. Col. George Campbell (totaling 60), hearing the shots sallied out to protect their friends and comrades. Horry's force was scattered, and thus began a series of minor skirmishes of small parties (sometimes as small as 2 or 3 men), back and forth, taking place thru much of the large "V" between the Sampit and Black River roads, the latter approximating the route of State highway 51. Another source describes the Waccamaw event this way. Lieut. Col. George Campbell with a detachment of mounted King's American Regiment and a troop of Queen's Rangers, under Lieut. John Wilson, skirmished with a larger sized force of Col. Peter Horry's mounted men near the Waccamaw River outside of Georgetown, with Horry being beaten back. According to Marion, in his letter to Greene of 14 January, the British lost three men and three horses killed, and two prisoners, Horry suffered 2 men wounded, 2 horses killed; and 1 Captain Clark was captured and paroled. British sources speak of Campbell losing 1 killed and two captured.[1790]
Capt. John Saunders, of the Queen's Rangers, quoted in Simcoe: "On the 6th January following, Lt. Col. [George] Campbell having marched some distance into the country, saw about a dozen mounted men on the road: he order Lt. [John] Wilson with his party to charge them. They instantly went to the right about, and retreated with precipitation within a corps and taken a strong and advantageous post in a swampy thick wood on each side of the road. Lt. Wilson and his party received a heavy and unexpected fire from this ambuscade, but impelled by their wonted spirit and intrepidity, and unaccustomed to defeat, they continued the charge and obliged the rebels to betake themselves to their horses, and to flight. Serjeants [sic] Burt and Hudgins, having charged through them, were carried off by them; Corporal Hudgins was killed, covered with wounds; two or three of the men were wounded, and three horses killed."[1791]

7 January. [raid] Westham (Henrico County, VA.) From Richmond, Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers rode to Westham where he destroyed, says Lee, "the only cannon foundry in the state": a laboratory and some shops. They met small resistance from a few militia, and then plundered and destroyed much of the town; capturing or destroying five brass guns, 300 stand of arms, and some quartermaster stores. Despite this, damage in all was relatively small, as the workshops and warehouses were not wholly consumed. On the 8th, with Simcoe back with him, Arnold left Richmond and returned to Westover.[1792]
Simcoe: "On Lt. Col. Simcoe's return, he met with orders from Gen. Arnold to march to the foundery at Westham, six miles from Richmond, and to destroy it. The flank companies of the 80th, under Major Gordon, were sent as a reinforcement. With these and his corps he proceeded to the foundery. The trunnions of many pieces of iron cannon were struck off, a quantity of small arms and a great variety of military stores were destroyed. Upon consultation with the artillery officer, it was thought better to destroy the magazine than to blow it up. This fatiguing business was effected by carrying the powder down the cliffs and pouring it into the water. The warehouses and mills were then set on fire, and many explosions happened in different parts of the buildings, which might have been hazardous had it been relied on that all the powder was regularly deposited in one magazine; and the foundery, which was a very complete one, was totally destroyed.
"It was night before the troops returned to Richmond. The provisions which had been made for them were now to be cooked. Fatigued with the march, the men in general went to sleep. Some of them got into private houses and there obtained rum…"[1793]

[1787] BGD p. 146.
[1788] COC pp. 50-51.
[1789] At least some of Horry's men were mounted as cavalry.
[1790] NGP7 pp. 121, 143, SQR pp. 243-244, MSC2 pp. 83-85, BSF pp. 128-130.
[1791] SQR pp. 242-243.
[1792] SQR pp. 163-164, GHA4 pp. 59-60, LMS p. 300, LFB2 p. 229, CBA 549.
[1793] SQR p. 163.

7 January. Henry Nase: "7th ~ Janv. [January] -- Sunday Majr. Tenpenny comes to George Town, who had been to the Rebels with a flag of Truce. George Town is a place, Lying on the Santee, about 60 Miles Distant from Charles Town. Several Refugees are in and About the Town, & Some Notorious Rebels, are Trading, Trafficing [sic] & Making their fortune." [1794]

7 January. [raid] Mobile Village, also La Aldea, Spanish Fort (Mobile County, AL.) Unsuccessful attempt was made by a British and Hessian detachment, led by Col. Johann Ludwig Wilhelm Von Hanxleden acting out of Pensacola, to sieze a Spanish fort situated on the outskirts of Mobile itself.[1795] For more, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/spanishfort.htm

7 January. Greene, at his Hick's Creek camp on the Peedee, wrote to Col. John Gunby, who commanded at Hillsborough, that he was sending Captain Edward Yarborough's detachment of what North Carolina militia (at Salisbury) to Hillsborough to relieve the Maryland State Regt. there under Col. Alexander L. Smith. Yarborough's troops previously had arrived at Greene's camp from Salisbury. It was intended that Col. Smith's men were to rejoin the resy of their regiment at Haley's ferry.[1796] Elsewhere, Col. Abraham Buford was in Salisbury suffering from illness, and which later caused him to leave the army and go home to Virginia.[1797]

7 January (also 8 Jan.) Lieut. Col. Henry Lee arrived at Greene's camp on the Peedee. His legion infantry and cavalry together totaling (according to Lee) "about" 280 men, in horse and foot, had arrived a day or two earlier. In a letter of January 20, nevertheless, Greene refers to Lee's Legion as comprised of 240 men; while Gov. Rutledge speaks of about 260.[1798] The Legion was immediately dispatched to join Marion to, among other objectives, help put down some Tories, and by 12 January Lee was with Marion conducting operations. Initially, he took with him some wagons, which he later sent back to Greene as too cumbersome for his light corps to move with.[1799]
Henry Lee, at "Camp On Pe[e]dee River," on the date of his arrival wrote Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne: "[After giving an account of the battle of Camden and recent military activity in the region]…I am confident nothing important can be accomplished by this [Greene's] army in its present state. * * * *Inter nos* the following calculation is large: Eight hundred Maryland line; eight hundred Virginia levies; six hundred Virginia militia, whose time of service expires in twenty days; and my Legion, two hundred and fifty, with one hundred North Carolina militia. General Morgan has one hundred regular horse, three hundred Maryland regulars, and eight hundred militia under him. General Sumter and General Marion have also flying parties. The Virginians are destitute of every article of clothing. Their only covering is an old shirt and trousers; the whole are without shoes, nor can any sort of manufactory be established in this country, therefore our hides are useless to us. Our two regiments of horse are reduced to half a regiment, and illy supplied with accoutrements. Our provisions are from hand to mouth. The present camp affords good support of every kind; but when we are forced from this, Heaven only knows how we are to employ our teeth. General Greene has conducted himself with the greatest wisdom and assiduity, and I verily believe, was he tolerably supported by the States, he would oblige his antagonist to retire to Charleston * * * I feel most sensibly for the situation of the refugees from South Carolina, their distresses are only equalled by their virtue. No situation of any inhabitant of the above description in the Northern States can give you even a faint idea of what these people suffer…"[1800]

7-8 January. In furtherance of his long anticipated second invasion of North Carolina, Cornwallis began his march from Winnsborough northward in which he covered only twenty-five miles in eight days. The rains, his heavy baggage, and dearth of wagons impeded his advance, but, in addition, he also moved with some deliberate slowness in order that he might not too quickly outdistance Leslie, whom he felt was necessary to have with him in order to conduct a proper offensive. Nonetheless, on January 7th, arriving at McAllisters's, he wrote Tarleton: "By the great assiduity of Phillips and his militia & the fortunate arrival of some country wagons, I am enabled to move tomorrow not without leaving a quantity of meal behind."[1801] Leslie, for his part, did not march from Camden till the 9th. Before leaving Winnsborough, Cornwallis sent an order to Balfour, at Charlestown, to dispatch a sufficiently strong expeditionary force by water to the sea-port town of Wilmington, N.C.; and to hold that post as a depot for supplies for the Royal army in North Carolina. In furtherance, Balfour detached Major James Craig on that service (see 21 January); with the latter subsequently driving the American militia from Wilmington and taking possession of the town on the same day he landed. Wilmington, however, later proved defective as supply point for the Royal army in N.C., or so at least Cornwallis came to decide; because the Cape Fear River that led into the interior from Wilmington was too easily interdicted by rebel militia.[1802]

[1794] NDI
[1795] AR81 pp. 23-24.
[1796] The editor to the Greene Papers states that because of a disagreement over rank, Greene desired to separate Alexander Smith's unit from those at camp. This controversy probably explains why Smith is not heard of subsequently in the southern campaign, with the probable (though not definite) inference being that he and his regiment shortly thereafter went home to Maryland. NGP7 p.59n.
[1797] NGP7 pp. 58-59.
[1798] Both Gordon and Marshall, who may have obtained this from a more accurate source, speaks of 100 cavalry and 120 infantry which is very close to what we find the Legion very soon after operating with. GHA4 p. 32, MLW3 p. 114.
[1799] NGP7 p. 62, LMS p. 223, LCC pp. 71-72, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 67.
[1800] LMS p. 34.
[1801] WCO p. 231, PRO. 30/11/64, ff.29-30.
[1802] LOB Part II, TCS pp. 220, 230, LMS p. 251, LFB2 p. 407, BRG p. 311.

Stedman: "When the campaign of 1781 opened up there was about fifty thousand weight of meal packed and ready for use. There was about fifty thousand weight of meal packed and ready for use. The whole expence, as charged by the commissary to government for this service, guides, expresses, collecting, shelling, grinding packing, wages, &c. did not amount to one hundred pounds sterling."[1803]

8 January. Greene ordered Major David Campbell with 105 Virginia riflemen of Botetourt County, who were situated in Salisbury, to join Morgan posted on the Pacelot River. Campbell, however, did not reached Morgan until after Cowpens apparently. See 16 January.[1804]

8-10 January. Henry Nase of the King's American Regt. at Georgetown: "8th January. Colo. [George] Campbell goes Out with a detachment of Horse & foot, towards Pedee River, the Same day I was taken with the agues [sic] -- "10th Jany. Colo. Campbell return'd with some Horses & Cattle,Two Serjeants & one Corpl. of the Dragoons were taken Prisoner --"[1805]

9 January. Tarleton remained at Duggin's on Indian Creek, waiting for the rains to stop and the Enoree to fall.[1806]

9 January. Leslie left Camden, crossing the Wateree Ferry, and finally arriving at Twenty-Five Mile Creek a western tributary of the Wateree. He had left behind his three pounders at Camden, while adding to his corps the Royal North Carolina Regt.[1807]

9 January. In a letter from Marion to Greene this date, he mentions that 80 British troops (30 of whom were mounted) departed Georgetown; 60 of which were to join Watson, and twenty to guard Lenud's ferry, leaving the Georgetown garrison with 200. Watson was at Wright's Bluff (the site of Fort Watson) just above Nelson's Ferry with 200 of the Provincial Light Infantry, while a detachment of Hessians guarded the south side of Nelson's Ferry.[1808]

10 January (also 9 or 8 Jan.)[1809] [skirmishes] Hood's Point, also Charles City Court House (Charles City County, VA.) On receiving a false report that Von Steuben was immediately advancing from Petersburg, combined with the appearance of militia at Manchester, Arnold, on the 10th, embarked from Westover (which he had arrived at on the 7th), and via Flour de Hundred headed for Portsmouth. En route an advance party of 40 men under Simcoe was ambushed at Hood's Point by 150 militia under Col. George Rogers Clark of Vincennes. The militia, however and owing to their indiscipline, were in turn defeated and suffered 20 men killed, wounded, or taken prisoner while Simcoe lost one man killed and three wounded.[1810]
Marshall: "Leaving Richmond the next day, they [Arnold's forces] arrived at Westover on the seventh; and re-embarking January -- on the morning of the 10th, proceeded down the river. While the army lay at that place, lieutenant colonel Simcoe, at the head of less than fifty horse, attacked and dispersed a body of militia at Charles City court-house, with the loss of only one man killed and three wounded.
"The militia were now assembling in considerable numbers; but it was found difficult to arm them. While baron Steuben followed Arnold down the river, colonel Clarke [George Rogers Clark] drew a British party of about three hundred men into an ambuscade. After sunset, lieutenant colonel Simcoe, who commanded this party, had landed at Hood's; and, perceiving a small body of Americans who had been advanced for the purpose of tempting him to pursue them, followed with rapidity until he fell in with the detachment which Clarke had posted for his reception. 1781. One fire was given with some effect; but on its being partially returned, the party which had formed the ambuscade broke, and fled in the utmost confusion.
"Arnold proceeded slowly down the river, taking Smithfield and Mackay's mills in his way where some stores were destroyed; and on the 20th he reached Portsmouth, where he manifested an intention to establish a permanent post.
"Finding himself unable to force this position, Steuben stationed his troops at the different commanding passes leading from it into the country, for the purpose of confining the enemy within the narrowest possible limits, and of giving every practicable protection to the inhabitants.
"The loss of the British in this expedition was stated in the gazette of New York at seven killed, including one subaltern; and twenty, three wounded, among whom was one captain. This small loss was almost entirely sustained in the ambuscade near Hood's. [1811]

Lee: "Major-General Steuben, having under him the indefatigable patriot and soldier General [Thomas] Nelson, had by this time drawn together a considerable body of militia, in consequence of the exertion of the governor. With all who were armed the baron followed Arnold; and at Hood's, Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, by a well-concerted stratagem, allured Simcoe to pursue a small party exposed to view, with the expectation of drawing him into an ambuscade, prepared for his reception. Judiciously as the scheme was contrived, it was marred in

[1803] SAW2 p. 319n
[1804] NGP7 pp. 73, 74n; with respect to the Botetourt Riflemen see SCAR vol. 4, no. 1, 2,3, p. 60.
[1805] NDI.
[1806] BGD p. 148.
[1807] LOB part III, STL.
[1808] NGP7 pp. 123, 164.
[1809] The exact date of this skirmish has yet by me to be adequately confirmed; so that the 10th is given here as a surmise but ithe action may actually have taken place a day or two earlier.
[1810] SQR pp. 163-165, GHA4 pp. 59-60, MLW4A p. 390-391, LMS pp. 301-302, LFB2 pp. 229-230, CBA p. 549.
[1811] MLW4 pp. 390-391.

the execution, by the precipitation with which the militia abandoned their post, after discharging one fire. Simcoe lost a few men, and deeming pursuit useless, retired to the squadron."[1812]

11 January. Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington was at Cole's Mill, North Carolina with the Wilmington and New Bern militia. He was awaiting the arrival of Col. James Kenan of Duplin County whose militiamen had recently put to flight a gathering of tories at Drowning Creek.[1813]

11 January. Cornwallis, at McAllister's, wrote to Tarleton: "I received yours last night, of the 9th, four P. M. I fear the waters have been much more swelled since you wrote it. At present I think I shall move Saturday to cross roads. I can hear nothing of Morgan; they say there are several ferries high up Broad river where he may pass, particularly Talbot's ferry. Leslie is much retarded by the waters."

12 January. Cornwallis to Leslie: "I have not heard from Tarleton since Tuesday, I believe he is as much embarrassed with the waters as you are."[1814]

12-14 January. On or about the 12th, that Capt. Alexander Chesney with some 50 loyalist scouts attached themselves to Tarleton. On the 13th then, with the 7th Regt. and the 17th Light Dragoons which he had requested of Cornwallis having arrived, Tarleton resumed his advance on Morgan's now known position on the Pacelot. After passing Indian Creek in present Newberry County and then Dunkin's Creek in Laurens County, on the 14th he moved to cross the flooded Enoree and Tyger Rivers; in the process building rafts for for that purpose, while the horses were swum over.[1815]
Tarleton: "Two hundred men of the 7th regiment, who were chiefly recruits, and designed for the garrison at Ninety-Six, and fifty dragoons of the 17th regiment, brought the waggons from Brierley's to camp. On their arrival, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton crossed Indian, and afterwards Dunken creek, though both were considerably swelled by a late fall of rain: He hourly received accounts of the increase of Morgan's corps, which induced him to request Earl Cornwallis, who was moving on the east of Broad river, to give him permission to retain the 7th regiment, that the enemy might be sooner pressed over Broad river, or some favourable situation obtained, whence great advantage might be derived from additional numbers: Having received leave to carry forwards the 7th regiment, he continued his course on the 12th to the westward, in order to discover the most practicable fords for the passage of the Ennoree and Tyger, and that the infantry might avoid the inconveniencies they had undergone in crossing the other waters. An useful expedient was concealed under this apparent necessity. In proportion to the approach of the light troops to the sources of the rivers, and the progress of the main army to King's mountain, General Morgan's danger would increase, if he remained to the westward of Broad river."[1816]

12 January (other mid January date). [ambush] Mathew's Bluff, also Matthews' Bluff (Allendale County, S.C.) A Capt. Rannall McKay (or M'Kay, also given as McCoy), who had been waylaying British supply boats on the Savannah River, and at Mathew's Bluff, ambushed a party of 30 loyalists, under a Lt. Kemp[1817] sent to out by Brown at Augusta to him. Kemp was routed, and lost 16 killed and wounded. Kemp himself was shot; reportedly after being made a prisoner. Regarding the origin of the personal and bitter wrangling with Mckay (or McKoy), see *Mid to Late May* 1780, Augusta raids.[1818]
Hugh McCall: "Captains Johnston and M'Kay, with a few active militia had taken a position in the swamp of Savannah river, and were employed in watching the communication between Augusta and Savannah. They had frequently intercepted boats, laden with provisions and other stores, which they took and secured or destroyed. Colonel Brown detached an officer, with twenty-five regular troops and twenty militia, to dislodge them. M'Kay hearing of the advance of the party, took an advantageous position near Matthew's Bluff [sic], and attacked them, though much superior in numbers to his own, killed the officer and fifteen of his men, and compelled the remainder to retreat precipitately to Augusta."[1819]

Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, of the Kings Rangers: "…After the reduction of Charlestown by Sir Henry Clinton, I was detached by Brigadier-General [Lieut. Col. Alured] Clarke to Augusta. On our march, the Carolinians of the districts near Savannah River voluntarily took the oaths of allegiance, and received protection. Among the number, one McCoy [Rannall McKay or M'Kay], a young man of a character notoriously infamous, applied for protection…
"…About twelve months subsequent to this period, numbers of Carolinians who had received protection, formed themselves into plundering parties, under the command of Captain McCoy, robbed and murdered many of his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and attacked the guards of the public boats navigating the Savannah River, with provisions, ammunition, and clothing, for the garrisons of Ninety-Six and Augusta. Having received

[1812] LMS p. 302.
[1813] NGP7 p. 94n.
[1814] BGD p. 148.
[1815] TCS pp. 212-213, JLG1 pp. 368-370, MSC2 pp. 28-29, BRG p. 311, BDW p. 61.
[1816] TCS p. 212.
[1817] Todd Braisted suggests that it is possible "Lieut. Kemp," may be Lieut. John Champ of the N.J. Volunteers, and who was present at both the First Siege of Augusta (September 1780) and Musgrove's Mill (August 1780); see Allaire's entry for 19 August.
[1818] BLB pp. 26-27., MSC2 pp. 259, 748, RBG p. 235, LSC p. 12, CKR pp. 125-127 (and who cites Brown to Balfour, January 23, 1781, PRO 30/11/62.) And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/matthews.htm
[1819] MHG p. 515.

intelligence that the King's stores had been intercepted, I dispatched Lieutenant Kemp, of the King's Rangers, from Augusta, with ten soldiers and twenty militia, to pursue the plunderers.
"He engaged one Willie [Wylley][1820] as a guide, a man who had taken oath of allegiance, and received protection; this traitor conveyed information to McCoy of Kemp's force, design and intended route, and led him into an ambuscade previously formed. The militia under the command of Kemp fled upon the first fire; he and the soldiers unable to resist a very superior force, surrendered themselves prisoners. Captain McCoy asked Kemp to join his party. On his refusal, he stripped and shot him. The same question was put to the soldiers; nine out of ten refused and shared the same fate. The other joined them to save his life, and in a few days afterwards made his escape, and brought me intelligence of the murder of Kemp and his men, and that Willie and young McCoy were the most active in putting them to death; that the inhabitants in general had converted their written protections into cockades, and had joined a Colonel [William] Harden; that the King's stores taken from the boats were distributed among the plunderers, and secreted in or near their homes. Apprehending a general revolt in that quarter of the country, I immediately marched from Augusta with one hundred and seventy Indians, and I was joined by four hundred militia. About thirty miles from Black Swamp, Colonel Harden, about midnight, attacked our camp, and was repulsed. The militia under my command during the action deserted to a man, joined Colonel Harden, who thus reinforced, at ten in the morning renewed the attack, but his men being totally without discipline, were defeated with considerable loss. Among the prisoners, Willie and young McCoy, and eleven of Kemp's murderers were taken. The identity of their persons and the fact being proved and confirmed by their own confession, they (Willie excepted) suffered on the gallows; and the houses of the plunderers where the King's stores were secreted, were ordered to be burnt. Although I lamented the necessity of having recourse to these extremities, a necessity created by themselves, I am persuaded on a similar occasion, Dr. Ramsay would have done the same…" Brown then goes on to tell how Willie was tomahawked by an Indian Chief, which latter had been a friend of Kemp. He then denounces Pickens for how his raid on thirteen Indian villages had been inhumanly carried out, while contrasting this with how the Indians he knew were touched at the sight of a defenseless enemy.[1821]

Royal Georgia Gazette in Savannah for April 26: "A set of the most barbarous wretches that ever infected any country, amounting some say to 200, others 250, lately crossed the Savannah from the northward, surprised and murdered several Loyalists at Wrightsborough and on the Ceded Lands, stripping their families of the necessities of life."[1822]

Balfour, on February 9th, in response to a 23 January letter sent by Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown wrote: "I am honored with your letter of the 23d. Ultimo. I am sincerely to thank you for yoru Judgment & Activity in surprising, & defeating Colo Harden with his party, I am truly happy, that in the present distracted State of this Country, the essential Post of Augusta is in such Hands, that the Enemy can form themselves but little hopes from attempting it.
"I shall write most fully to Col.o [Alured] Clarke on the subject of establishing a Post near the mouth of Briar-Creek, & likewise mention to Col.o [Nicholas] Lechmere the necessity of his Militia acting on Savannah River, as you point out, for the support of its communications, but I have scarce any hope they can be made to acquiesce in such a measure, tho' so much for their own security & advantage.
"As the case of the King's Rangers have twice lost their Necessaries, on Service, is very hard, on them & their plea to be reimbursed, strong [sic], I shall not fail to represent to Lord Cornwallis whenever a good opportunity offers.
"I have no doubt, that under your direction, <u>our friends</u> [underlined in the original] will act with Spirit, & deserve well…"[1823]

13 January (or other early to mid January date). [skirmish] Wiggins' Hill (Barnwell County, S.C.) Col. Thomas Brown with 570, including some Cherokees (or else 170 plus 500 Indians), went out from Augusta on an expedition to catch Col. William Harden; who by one account had 76 rangers.[1824] The two forces skirmished at Wiggins' Hill, and Harden, outnumbered, was beaten off. The whigs possibly tried to attack again next day, yet, if so it is assumed they were repulsed. In the encounter, Harden had lost 7 killed and 11 wounded, and some captured including Rannall McKay whom Brown subsequently executed for the death of Lieut. Kemp (allegedly shot in captivity immediately following Mathew's Bluff, see 12 January) as well as for violating his protection. Brown's losses are not known.[1825]
Tarleton Brown: "This atrocious deed of the sanguinary McGeart [Daniel McGirtt] and his band was shortly succeeded by another equally cruel, nay, doubly cruel. The British Colonel Brown marched down from Augusta with an overwhelming force of Tories and Indians, and taking their stand at 'Wiggins' Hill', commenced a slaughter of the inhabitants. The news of which reached the ears of those brave and dauntless officers, Colonels. McCoy [Mckay] and Harden, who soon hastened to the defense of the terrified Whigs, and coming upon the enemy, charged upon them and killed and routed them to a man, Colonel [Thomas] Brown escaping to the

[1820] According to Hugh McCall Wylley was a Captain (possibly even a member of Brown's own King's Rangers); yet McCrady disputes this, see MSC2 259n.
[1821] WHG pp. 614-620.
[1822] Quoted in CKR p. 128n.
[1823] BLB pp. 26-27.
[1824] Harden, who was from Barnwell, ostensibly had temporarily left Marion and was, in effect, then visiting the region. By April, however, he had returned to the Edisto-Savannah River area and then afterwards was to be found operating there on a more permanent basis.
[1825] BLB pp. 26-27, BMS, MSC2 pp. 259-260, 748, RBG pp. 235-236, LSC p. 12, CKR pp. 125-127.

woods. Colonels McCoy [Rannall McKay] and Harden, having accomplished all that was required of them, retired from the field of action [actually McKay was taken prisoner], after which Brown returned with the residue of his force and retook the 'Hill', at which he remained until he hung five or our brave fellows -- Briton Williams, Charles Blunt, and Abraham Smith, the names of the other two not recollected -- then he decamped for Augusta."

Hugh McCall: "(H)earing that the Americans had entered Georgia, and that colonel [William] Harden, with a body of American militia, was in the neighborhood of Cooswhatchie, colonel Brown ordered his provincials to repair to Augusta to defend it; but they were so covered with crimes, that they had no inclination to be cooped up in a garrison; fearing that they might be taken by assault, and receive the punishment due to them for their former offences: many of them fled to the Indians, and joined them in warfare up in the frontier settlements. When Brown had collected his troops, he determined to strike at Harden, and selected such regular troops, militia, and Indians, as the safety of the post would admit, and marched for that purpose: he detached a party under captain [Alexander] Wylly, into Carolina to reconnoiter, which approached Harden's camp and retired, with information to Brown of Harden's advancing on him, and requested him to hasten his march. Brown was joined by Wylly, and encamped in a field at Wiggin's [sic] hill, for the night. Harden was joined by Johnston and M'Kay, and had advanced within a mile of the place where he encamped, not knowing of the near approach of Brown; but in a few hours he was informed of it, and advanced to attack him by surprise. Brown had been apprised by Wylly of the dangerous position which he had taken, and that it was necessary, when opposing an officer of Harden's enterprise, to be on the alert; but Brown, always imprudent, and possessing no quality of an officer but courage, retired to a house a few hundred yards distant from his camp, and went to sleep. By some intelligence, Brown's officers were apprised of Harden's approach, and were forming their ranks, when Harden's troops commenced the attack. The contest lasted half an hour, when overpowered by superiority of numbers and discipline, Harden was compelled to retreat, which eh effected in good order, and carried off his wounded.
The American loss was seven killed and eleven wounded; amongst the latter, was captain Johnston. The loss of the enemy was about equal to that of the Americans. Colonel Harden retreated to an island in Cooswhatchie swamp, where the wounded were left until they recovered…
"Several prisoners were taken after the skirmish at Wiggins' hill by parties of the enemy detached by Brown: one of them by the name of [Capt. Alexander] Wylly, who had piloted Brown's detachment to Matthew's bluff, and whom they alleged had treacherously led the detachment into that difficulty: on the bare supposition, Brown turned him over to the Indians, who ripped him open with their knives in his presence and tortured him to death."[1826]

13 January (or possibly a few days earlier). Capt. (shortly after Maj.) Andrew Maxwell with detachment of 100 men, including some of his own Prince of Wales Regt., began work establishing Fort Granby. He commandeered over three of the best mills on the Congaree River; using which he proceeded to lay up quantities of meal.[1827]

13 January. Leslie reached Wateree Creek, a tributary of the Wateree near Winnsborough.[1828]

14 January. Leslie reached Smith's (near Rocky Mount); while the "Scottish Travel Log" lists "Hanging Rock at the forks near the Catawba." Cornwallis, meanwhile, was at Bull (or Bull's) Run,[1829] in modern Chester County. From the 14th to the 17th Tarleton was without communications with him or information of his position.[1830]
On this date Cornwallis wrote to Tarleton: "I received yesterday morning your letter dated Duggin[']s, Indian Creek, Jan'y 11 [January 11], 5 a.m. By report however of a man who brought it[,] I conceive it ought to have been dated Jan'y 12 as he assures me that he left you on Friday morning.
"I shall march tomorrow to the head of Tardy River[1831] & the next day to Hillhouse near Bullock Creek Meeting House. Leslie is at last got out of the swamps & reached this day the neighborhood of Rocky Mount. I have not heard of Morgan's moving, but conclude he will cross Broad River, as I hear it has fallen very much." [1832]

Tarleton: "On the 14th Earl Cornwallis informed Tarleton that Leslie had surmounted his difficulties, and that he imagined the enemy would not pass the Broad river, though it had fallen very much. Tarleton then answered, that he would try to cross the Pacolet to force them, and desired Earl Cornwallis to acquire as high a station as possible, in order to stop their retreat. No letter, order, or intelligence, from head quarters, reached Tarleton after this reply, previous to the defeat on the 17th, and after that event he found Earl Cornwallis on Turkey creek, near twenty-five miles below the place where the action had happened. The distance between Wynnesborough [Winnsborough] and King's mountain, or Wynnesborough and Little Broad river, which would have answered the same purpose, does not exceed sixty-five miles: Earl Cornwallis commenced his march on the 7th or 8th of January. It would be mortifying to describe the advantages that might have resulted from his lordship's arrival at the concerted point, or to expatiate upon the calamities which were produced by this event.

[1826] MHG pp. 512-513.
[1827] NGP7 p. 18.
[1828] LOB part III, STL. Somehwat inexplicably, the STL gives Leslie's Jan. 12th place of halting as "McAllister's Plantation," yet this was where Cornwallis was whom Leslie had not yet reached.
[1829] Bull Run, a tributary of the Catawba, is just to the east of Sandy Creek, which flows westward into the Broad River. McCrady gives Cornwallis' location there as being two miles southeast of the modern town of Chester.
[1830] LOB part III, STL, TCS pp. 213, 219- 220, MST pp. 82-88, JLG1 p. 369, MSC2 pp. 28-30, BGC p. 122, BRG p. 122.
[1831] Bass: "Tardy River undoubtedly furnished an excellent camp site, for the British had covered only thirty miles in six days since leaving Winnsborough." BGD p. 149.
[1832] BGD p. 149.

If an army is acting where no co-operation can take place, it is necessary for the commander in chief to keep as near as possible to his detachments, if such a proceeding does not interfere with a manoeuvre [sic] which in itself would decide the event of the campaign."[1833]

MacKenzie: "His [Tarleton's] mode of reasoning, in the present instance, is invidious in the extreme, with respect to the General [Cornwallis], and equally contemptuous of the judgment of every officer in his army: it is a bold stroke of imposition even upon the common sense of mankind: because it will be readily granted, by every person, that a march of sixty-five miles may easily be made out in the course of ten days, he, therefore, eagerly takes advantage of the obvious fact, to support his uniform drift, of attempting to render the General reprehensible. And as his Lordship commenced his march on the 7th or 8th, if difficulties and obstacles, which our author artfully conceals, had not intervened, he might certainly have arrived at the place of destination by the 17th. But let us take a candid and impartial review of this matter, and it will clearly appear, that this censurer of his General's conduct had no right to expect the arrival of the army at King's Mountain, by the time which he specifies.

"We have his own testimony, pages 219 and 248, of his having received due information that the army on the 14th had not got farther than Bull Run. This then is the point, both with respect to time and distance, from which we are to estimate the movements of the main body, as well as of the detachment; and hence are we to fix the criterion from which we are to derive our judgment of the subsequent conduct of both commanders.

"The distance of Bull Run, where the General was on the 14th, from King's Mountain, is [roughly] forty-five miles [south-southeast]. Our author's position at the same period of time, was not more remote from the spot of his precipitate engagement with the enemy than thirty miles. This engagement took place on the morning of the 17th, before one hour of daylight had passed. Instead therefore of an allowance of ten days, for a march of sixty-five miles, we now find, in fact, that the General had only two days to perform a march of forty-five miles; and it is but bare justice to point out the many obstacles which the army, on this occasion, had to surmount.

"His Lordship's attention to the situation of the enemy, of the country, and of his own detachments, has been, with respect to Ferguson, already pointed out. He neither advised the advance of that unfortunate partisan into the back settlements, nor was even apprised of it; having, therefore, no concern in the measure, he could not, in any justice, be responsible for its consequences, and it is the height of illiberality to throw reproach upon him on that account."[1834]

14 January. To the dismay and chagrin of some of his men, Morgan withdrew from Grindal Shoals northward in the direction of the Broad River, and by the 15th had moved to Burr's Mill, a short distance northward and above Thicketty Creek.[1835]

Mid January. Marion, after sending him a reinforcement of 15 men, directed Captain John Postell to collect rice, and 50 slaves (the latter intended for Greene's army on the Peedee.) The rice was to be moved by boats to Allston's plantation on Bull's Creek where it was to be stored. The plantation of Postell's own family had been recently "stripped" by 29 of the King's American Regt. under Capt. James DePeyster, operating out of Georgetown.[1836]

Mid January. Capt. John Saunders received permission to take his detachment of the Queen's Rangers cavalry out of South Carolina to rejoin the main regiment in New York. Those of the Rangers that were in Georgetown under Lieut. John Wilson removed to Charlestown for that purpose. Near late in the month, they were all ready to disembark when word was received of Tarleton's defeat at Cowpens. Balfour then ordered them to stay put instead. Under Saunders, they were subsequently re-sent to Georgetown, though whether only a part or the entire detachment was sent is not clear. Presumably Saunders had by this time at least somewhat augmented his original detachment of, apparently, 15 men. [1837] Although this 15 men total is preferred by Queen's Rangers scholar Don Gara, an intelligence report made when Leslie was at Portsmouth in November suggests the number of Queen's Rangers then with Leslie may actually have been as high as 100 (see Brig. Gen. Gregory to Gov. Nash, 24 Nov. 1780, CNC15 pp. 157-158.)

15 January. Lieut. Col. John Green with 400 Virginia Continentals, enlisted for eighteen months and sent by Von Steuben, reached Greene's camp on the Peedee. Green also brought with him 8 wagons with supplies originally sent from Philadelphia. Von Steuben would have dispatched more, but a further sizable addition of Virginia troops under Robert Lawson had been, to the Baron's chagrin, discharged by the state.[1838]

15 January. [skirmish] Road to Burr's Mill (Spartanburg County, S.C.) Capt. George Gresham, with some S.C. militia, surprised a small advance party of Tarleton's and took two prisoners. In the same or related encounter they captured a black manservant and two horses.[1839]

[1833] TCS pp. 219-220.
[1834] MST pp. 82-88.
[1835] NGP7 p. 178, TPY p. 84, BDW p. 52.
[1836] JFM p. 84, BSF pp. 130-131.
[1837] Again, based on Don Gara's research and interpretation, many, if not most, of the reported 65 to 80 Queen's Rangers may have been recruits/replacements (not originally Q.R.s) signed up in Virginia (when Leslie was there) and or South Carolina -- but, also again, this question has yet to be more formally resolved. SQR p. 241.
[1838] JLG1 pp. 355-356, NGP7 p. 70n.
[1839] BDW pp. 52-53.

15 January. Leslie arrived at Burns' House.[1840]

15 January.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

Brigade of Guards: 690
7th Regt.: 167
16th Regt. (3 companies): 41
23rd Regt.: 286
33rd Regt.: 328
1st Bttn., 71st Regt.: 249
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 237
Light Company, 71st Regt.: 69
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 347
Hessian Jägers: 103
North Carolina Volunteers: 256
British Legion (cavalry and infantry): 451

Total: 3,224[1841]

15 January. Greene, at "Camp on the Pedee," to Sumter: "It is a great misfortune that the little force we have is in such a wretched state for want of clothing. More than half our numbers are in a manner naked, so much so that we cannot put them on the least kind of duty. Indeed, there is a great number that have not a rag of clothes on them except a little piece of blanket, in the Indian form around their waists."[1842]

15 January. With a mind to feeding his troops with the corn available there, Morgan arrived at Burr's Mill, north of Thicketty Creek. He wrote Greene: "I have now with me only 200 South Carolina and Georgia, and 140 North Carolina volunteers. Nor do I expect to have more than two thirds of these to assist me, should I be attacked; for it is impossible to keep them collected." Scarcity of forage for the horses compounded problems of keeping his force together. He further asked Greene if Pickens and Davidson might remain with their militia; and while he himself returned with his force to join Greene's army. One reason for Morgan's disillusionment was the refusal of Col. William Hill, under orders from Sumter, to bring members of Sumter's brigade to Morgan's assistance. Sumter at the time was recuperating from the wound he received at Blackstock's.[1843]

15 January. The river being too flooded to ford, Tarleton marched to the source of the Pacelot in order to find a ford. Then, having become aware of Pickens scouts following his movements, he left camp in the early morning hours of the 16th and retraced his route to back Easterwood Shoals, six miles south of Morgan's camp; where he found a manageable crossing.[1844]
Tarleton: "On the 15th circumstantial intelligence was procured by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton of the different guards stationed on the Pacolet. A march was commenced in the evening towards the iron works, which are situated high upon the river; but in the morning the course was altered, and the light troops secured a passage within six miles of the enemy's camp. As soon as the corps were assembled beyond the Pacolet, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton thought it advisable to advance towards some log houses, formerly constructed by Major Ferguson, which lay midway between the British and Americans, and were reported to be unoccupied by General Morgan. The necessity and utility of such a proceeding appeared so strong, that some dragoons and mounted infantry were sent with all possible expedition to secure them, lest a similar opinion should strike the American commander, which might be productive of great inconvenience. Tarleton intended to take post, with his whole corps, behind the log houses, and wait the motions of the enemy; but a patrole discovering that the Americans were decamped, the British light troops were directed to occupy their position, because it yielded a good post, and afforded plenty of provisions, which they had left behind them, half cooked, in every part of their encampment.
"Patroles and spies were immediately dispatched to observe the Americans [Morgan]: The dragoons were directed to follow the enemy till dark, and the other emissaries to continue their inquiries till morning, if some material incident did not occur."[1845]

16 January. Tarleton, "8 a.m. on the march from Duggin's," to Cornwallis: "I have been most cruelly retarded by the waters. Morgan is in force and gone for Cherokee Ford [on Broad River and seven miles (roughly) east-northeast of Cowpens]. I am now on my march. I wish he could be stopped." [1846]

[1840] LOB part III, STL.
[1841] CAC p. 53.
[1842] NGP7 pp. 68n, 125, JLG1 pp.352-353, 393. There is a return in the Von Steuben papers, dated 26 March 1781, Chesterfield Court House, VA., which states that on that date Greene's army was sent the following clothing shipment: "235 coats, 226 overalls, 218 blanket, 675 shirts, 475 pairs of shoes, 65 pair of boots." Presumably these reached them sometime in April. NGP8 p. 84n.
[1843] NGP7 p. 128, JLG1 pp. 370-371, MSC2 p. 58, BRG p. 312, TPY p. 84, SCAR vol. 2, no.12, p. 8.
[1844] TCS pp. 213-214, JLG1 pp. 372-373, BRG p. 313.
[1845] TCS pp. 213-214.
[1846] PRO. 30/11/67/28-29, BGD p. 151.

16 January. Near dawn, Morgan learning of Tarleton being now just directly across the Pacelot from him, hurriedly retreated twelve miles from Burr's Mills to Cowpens;[1847] so speedily that when Tarleton's men arrived in his camp they found abandoned half-cooked breakfasts. The men from Pickens command, who had make a quick journey into North Carolina, returned to join Morgan's army[1848], bringing Morgan's militia total (estimating, based on Morgan's correspondence with Greene) to 370 to 400. By this time some sabers had arrived and these were issued to 45 of McCall's mounted men, and who were then merged with Washington's dragoons as cavalry. Despite appeals by Greene and Morgan, none or extremely few of Sumter's men were with Morgan. Babits, however, asserts that a company of Virginia militia came in that evening, as did at least 100 S.C. militia under Captains John Irby and Samuel Sexton.[1849]
Lee: "During Brigadier Morgan's march, he received a part of the expected succor, amounting to nearly five hundred militia under General Pickens..." In a footnote, on the same page, Lee quotes Col. John Eager Howard: "Some militia joined us in the march, but Pickens with its principal force, did not join us until the evening before the battle of the Cowpens."[1850]

Tarleton: "Early in the night the patroles reported that General Morgan had struck into byways, tending towards Thickelle [Thickette or Thicketty] creek: A party of determined loyalists made an American colonel prisoner, who had casually left the line of march, and conducted him to the British camp: The examination of the militia colonel, and other accounts soon afterwards received, evinced the propriety of hanging upon General Morgan's rear, to impede the junction of reinforcements, said to be approaching, and likewise to prevent his passing Broad river without the knowledge of the light troops, who could perplex his design, and call in the assistance of the main army if necessity required. Other reports at midnight of a corps of mountaineers being upon the march from Green river, proved the exigency of moving to watch the enemy closely, in order to take advantage of any favourable opportunity that might offer."[1851]

16 January. 105 Virginia riflemen, from Augusta County, and under Maj. David Campbell, were at Salisbury on their way to join Morgan; whom they met up with after Cowpens. Babits, on the other hand, believes Campbell may actually have been present at the battle.[1852]

16 January Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, writing to Greene from Charlotte on this date, said that draftees were ordered to rendezvous at Charlotte on the 10th are "but [only] now beginning to come in." Davidson ordered half of the Rowan and Mecklenburg militia to join him by 22 January 22 with six days provisions. Davidson also reported that a Col. Thomas Farmer[1853] with 200 (Orange County) militia was nearby, and asked Greene if Farmer was to join him (i.e. Davidson.)[1854]

16 January. On Greene's earlier recommendation, Col. William Richardson Davie was appointed Commissary General or Commissary Superintendent of North Carolina by the N. C. legislature, and in replacement of Col. Thomas Polk who held the position previously and had himself proposed Davie as his substitute. Before being asked by Greene to take the position, Davie had been making arrangements to form a North Carolina legion, of cavalry and infantry; for the purpose, in part at least, of serving as part of Morgan's light corps. However, Greene urged on him how much more necessary and valuable he would be as commissary; and that "he [Davie] might rely upon his support for the necessary detachments, and upon Colo [Edward] Carrington [Greene's Quarter Master general] as far as practicable for the necessary transportation." Davie reluctantly agreed, and only then on the condition that "it [i.e. his serving as Commissary General] be for as short a time as possible." As it turned out, he served as Commissary General at least up until the end of 1781.[1855]

16 January. Cornwallis reached Hillhouse's Plantation between Turkey and Bullock Creeks (in York County), some twenty-seven miles from Cowpens, and remained there till the 19th grinding meal and awaiting Leslie. During which time (the 17th to the 19th) many of those who had fled at Cowpens joined up with the army. This same day, Tarleton crossed the Pacelot, and halted on the ground previously occupied by Morgan. Based on the original plan, Cornwallis was to have marched up the Broad River to cut off Morgan's retreat. However, the delay spent waiting for Leslie prevented this flanking movement, and in eight days (beginning from the 8th) Cornwallis had up to this point only progressed some twenty-five miles.[1856]

[1847] Or Hannah's Cowpens, so named for being a location where let to cattle roam the woods would later be gathered and collected. Treacy: "It was customary in the Carolinas for the farmers to mark the young cattle by clipping their ears and turn them loose in the woods to fend for themselves until roundup time in the fall." TPY p. 90.
[1848] Babits says at 8 pm.
[1849] NGP7 p.129, TPY p. 88-90, BDW pp. 53-53, 57, 71.
[1850] LMS p. 222.
[1851] TCS p. 214.
[1852] NGP7 p. 74.
[1853] Farmer did join Davidson in helping to guard the Catawba fords by the end of the month. Farmer, was originally part of Lillington's command, but was dispatched from Lillington with upwards of 360 North Carolina militia. 50 of these, under Capt. Edward Yarborough, were sent to Hillsborough to guard supplies, while the remainder (310 men) marched to Charlotte to join Gen. Davidson.
[1854] NGP7 p. 134.
[1855] DRS pp. 39, 42, JLG1 p. 343, GLG3 pp. 71-75, MSC2 pp. 13-16.
[1856] TCS pp. 219-220, CAR p. 248, JLG1 p. 369, WCO p. 256.

17 January. [battle] COWPENS,[1857] also Hannah's Cowpens (Cherokee County, S.C.) Breaking camp at about 3 am on the 17th (a Wednesday), Tarleton, just after sunrise, finally caught up with Morgan at Hannah's Cowpens, a local grazing area for cattle. Morgan's baggage had already been sent ahead north, and his men were well rested and ready to receive his attack.[1858] In an action that lasted about an hour, what then followed was one of the great (possibly greatest) upsets and reverses of the war in which the Continentals and militia soundly defeated the British and loyalists, and which deprived Cornwallis of most of his light troops. After the battle had ended, Tarleton's forces were reportedly pursued upwards of twenty miles by Morgan's cavalry and other mounted troops. By nightfall, Morgan's forces had retreated to Island Ford on the Broad River.[1859]
Tarleton's recklessness and impetuosity, fatigue among his troops after a long march, the "loose manner of forming which had always been practised [sic] by the King's troops in America;" or "some unforeseen event, which may throw terror into the most disciplined soldiers, or counteract the best-concerted designs," have all been mentioned as contributing to the battle's outcome. Morgan's inspiring leadership, tactical genius, and "the bravery or good conduct of the Americans," have, of course, been noted by historians also as factors. The heavy casualties among the Delaware troops at Cowpens might also suggest that those men, as well as many of the Marylanders, were desirous of vindicating themselves after what happened to their regiments at Camden, and perhaps fought with a more than usual zeal and courage. Part of the reason for Morgan's success was that, premeditatedly or no, he lured Tarleton on both prior to and during the battle; and each time Tarleton impetuously followed. Morgan then, almost as a surprise, turned around to fight him. We see this both on the march and in Howard's fall back with the Continentals on the battlefield itself. The pattern is one of a) the Americans retire, b) the British (under Tarleton) overconfidently rush forward and in the process lose their cohesiveness, c) the Americans then capitalize on the opportunity by turning about and counter-attacking. As John Marshall describes it, Morgan used the retreat to disguise his willingness to fight by encouraging over confidence in his adversary. In retrospect then, one detects a certain rhythm and calculation to Morgan's seemingly forced or accidental responses. And even if in both instances (i.e. on the pre-battle march and during the battle itself), the retograde movement was forced by circumstances rather then pre-planned; that the Americans maintained their cool and calm reflects well on their self-discipline and confidence; qualities made no little possible, certainly, by the presence of more competent and more spirited than usual leadership.[1860]
Ironically, on the 19th, Greene, unaware of what happened, wrote Morgan telling him to avoid action.[1861]

AMERICAN FORCES AT COWPENS
Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan

The strength of Morgan's force and units present at Cowpens has received quite diverse treatment. Presented below are some of the more well known reports and versions.
* Morgan's report: "An Hour before Day light one of my Scouts returned and informed me that Lt Colonel Tarlton [sic] had advanced within five miles of our Camp. On this Information I hastened to form as good a Disposition as Circumstances would admit, and from the alacrity of the troops we were soon prepared to receive them. The Light Infantry commanded by Lt. Col. Howard, and the Virginia Militia under Majr Triplette [Francis Triplett], were formed on a rising Ground, and extended in a Line in Front. The 3rd Regiment of Dragoons, consisting of about 80 men, under command of Lt. Col. Washington, were so posted in the rear at such a Distance in their Rear as not to be subjected to the Line of Fire directed at them, and to be so near at to be able to charge the Enemy, should they be broke. The Volunteers of North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia under the Command of the brave and valuable Colonel Pickens, were situated to guard the Flanks. Majr [Joseph] McDowell, of the N C Volunteers, was posted on the right Flank in Front of the Line 150 yards & Major [John] Cunningham with the Georgia Volunteers on the left at some distance in Front. Colonels [Thomas] Brandon & Thomas, of the S Carolinians were posted on the right of Major McDowell and Colonels Hays [Joseph Hayes] and [James] McCall of the same corps to the left of Major Cunningham. Capts. Tate & [Patrick] Buchanan with the Augusta Riflemen [were] to support the right of the line…(W)e fought][with] only 800 men, two thirds of which were Militia." [1862]

* On 18 January, Cornwallis wrote to Lord Germain, that the best estimate of Morgan's force he could get was 500 Continentals and Virginia state troops, 100 cavalry under Colonel Washington, "and six or seven hundred militia: But that body is so fluctuating, that it is impossible to ascertain its number within some hundreds for three days following." Assuming Cornwallis larger estimate, Morgan's strength would have totaled 1,300.[1863]

[1857] Although the present day town of Cowpens is in Spartanburg, the battlefield itself is in adjacent Cherokee County.
[1858] Pension statement of Henry Connelly, of Guilford County, N.C.: "This was in January 1781. It was cold weather but inclined to be raining during this battle."
[1859] Gunby tried this same risky retrograde maneuver at Hobkirk's Hill, perhaps in an attempt to recreate what happened at Cowpens, but with reverse results.
[1860] MLW pp. 11-112.
[1861] KJO p. 13, NGP7 pp. 152-155, CAC pp. 2-4, ATR81a pp 271-273, 302-304, AR81 pp. 54-57, TCS pp. 214-220, SAW2 pp.318-325, GHA4 pp. 33-37, CSS pp. 1155-1160, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the years 1780,1781, and 1782*, (first American edition, New York, 1828) pp. 235-238, MMS2 pp. 253-259, MLW3 pp. 111-113 (Marshall, in vol. 3, cites Morgan and William Washington as some of his source for his account of Cowpens), MLW4A pp. 338-348, LMS pp. 225-231, JLG1 pp. 374-386, LCC pp. 91-99, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier* by James Collins, pp. 55-58, WNO, part II, pp. 8-9, SJM, LFB2 431-436, JTR p. 526-529, MSC2 pp. 28-51, FWI pp. 217-220, WAR2 pp. 755-762, BGD pp. 152-162, TPY pp. 88-111, DRR pp. 174-175, BDW, WCO pp. 262-269, SCAR vol. 3, no.2, pp. 15-23.
[1862] Morgan to Greene from Cane Creek,19 January 1781, NGP7 152-155.
[1863] TCS p. 249.

* On 27 January, Col. Otho Williams, based on a report Maj. Edward Giles, one of Morgan's aides, provided, wrote up this list of the American forces at Cowpens:

Maryland and Delaware light infantry: 290
South Carolina and Georgia militia under Pickens: 350
Virginia militia under Maj. Triplett: 170
3rd Regt. of Light Dragoons: (no number given)[1864]

Allowing 82 as the commonly accepted number of Washington's cavalry, Morgan's force, as given by Williams, totaled 892 rank and file. Adding 28%, as per Nickerson, gives a grand total of 1,142.

* Tarleton: "He [Tarleton] discovered that the American commander had formed a front line of about one thousand militia, and had composed his second line and reserve of five hundred continental light infantry, one hundred and twenty of Washington's cavalry, and three hundred back woodsmen. This accurate knowledge being obtained, Tarleton desired the British infantry to disencumber themselves of every thing, except their arms and ammunition:" Tarleton then puts Morgan's total at 1,920.[1865]

Roderick MacKenzie, from the 2nd Bttn. of the 71st Regiment, who was present at the battle wrote: "I was upon the detachment in question, and the narrative which I now offer has been submitted to the judgment of several respectable officers, who were also in this action, and it has met with their intire [sic] approbation. Towards the latter end of December, 1780, Earl Cornwallis received intelligence, that General Morgan had advanced to the westward of the Broad River, with about one thousand men. Two-thirds of this force were militia, about one hundred of them cavalry, the rest continentals…I venture to affirm, that the disparity of force at Cowpens was smaller than it had been in any engagement during the southern campaigns, consequently, Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton had it in his power to engage with greater advantages than occurred either previous to his defeat or since." [1866]

* William Johnson: "(T)he reader may rest assured on the most authentic information, that Morgan's whole force on duty, consisted of 290 regular infantry, 80 cavalry, and 600 militia, in all 970." Johnson details this further by saying the Virginia militia under Triplett and Taite [James Tate], and the Georgia militia under [Capt.] Beale together totaled about 140. Morgan's second line, under Pickens, consisted of 270 South Carolina militia. The first, or more forward line was made up of 150 riflemen from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia under Col. Cunningham and Col. McDowell.[1867]

* Christopher Ward in his *The War of the American Revolution*, presents Morgan's force in this manner:
320 Continentals
200 Virginia militia
80 Washington's Dragoons
Davidson's 140
McDowell's 200 NC and GA riflemen
McCall's 30 S.C. and GA. militia

TOTAL: 1,040
Taking these as rank and file, and applying Nickerson's 28% we arrive at a full total of 1,331.[1868]

* Henry Lumpkin, in his *From Savannah to Yorktown*, presents Morgan's force thusly:

Maryland and Delaware Light Infantry: 290, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
Virginia Cavalry: 80, Lieut. Col. William Washington
Virginia militia: 100, Capt. Taite [or Tate], Capt. Triplett
Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina militia: 490, Col. Andrew Pickens, Maj. Joseph McDowell, Maj. John Cunningham, Capt. Beale, Lieut. James Jackson
Georgia and South Carolina mounted infantry: 45, Lieut. Col. James McCall,

TOTAL: 1,005.[1869]
This number is presumably rank and file only, so adding Nickerson's 28% for American force totals gives us: 1,286

* The editor to the Green Papers notes: "A well reasoned estimate by Anthony Walker in his unpublished study of Cowpens, puts Morgan's force at 985 and Tarleton's at 1,025."[1870]

* Using Lawrence E. Babits' *Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*, the following general order of battle can be constructed, though with the caution that this is merely my interpretation of what Dr. Babits presents,

[1864] WCA p. 36.
[1865] TCS pp. 216-217.
[1866] MST pp. 96-97, 116-117.
[1867] JLG1 pp. 374-376.
[1868] WAR2 p. 755
[1869] LSY pp. 294-295.
[1870] NGP7 p. 161n.

his account being far more detailed and extensive. I forbear including Babit's numbers for most of the militia here, as this topic will be addressed further on.

~ First or forward Line
South Carolina militia, Maj. Joseph McDowell
Georgia and South Carolina militia, Major John Cunningham (GA.), Capt. Samuel Hammond (S.C.)

~ Second Line
Col. Andrew Pickens
South Carolina militia, Lieut. Col. Benjamin Roebuck
South Carolina militia, Col. John Thomas, Jr.
South Carolina militia, Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes
South Carolina militia, Col. Thomas Brandon

~ Third Line and Reserve
Maryland and Delaware Lt. Infantry: 290, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
Virginia militia: 160,[1871] Maj. Francis Triplett, Capt. James Tate
Company of Virginia State troops: 60, Capt. John Lawson
Detachment of N.C. State Troops, Capt. Henry Connelly
Burke County, N.C. militiamen (Burke County): 25
Company of Vrginia Continentals, Capt. Andrew Wallace
Virginia riflemen (Augusta County), Capt. Patrick Buchanan

~ Cavalry
1st and 3rd Continental light Dragoons: 82, Lieut. Col. William Washington,
Georgia and South Carolina mounted militia: 45-68, Lieut. Col. James McCall

Babits writes: "Tarleton said Morgan had about 2,000 men, but Morgan claimed only a few over 800 as his total force. It is highly unlikely that more than two-thirds of 900 participants survived forty more years and then swore to participating at Cowpens, as pension documents indicate. Given men who died between 17 January 1781 and the first pension act of 1818, a sizable number of veterans did not survive to file pension applications. Where unit size is known, the pension application rate is less than one to three or four. That is, one pension application equaled at least three or four Cowpens soldiers -- this is a low figure. Some 600 men filed pensions, so the total of Americans at Cowpens should thus be between 1,800 and 2,400 men. This figure agrees more closely with Tarleton's estimate of 2,000 than Morgan's 800."[1872]

1,800 to 2,400 men is quite a radical departure from all previous accounts, save Tarleton's. Yet is Babits' argument convincing? A few facts are worth considering in regard to it. For one thing his whole case rests on a certain interpretation of pension claims statements. Though he speaks of 600 pension applicants, he does not say how many of these applicatons were actually accepted and how many rejected. But assuming he means these were all accepted, there is a possibility that there may well have been some otherwise legitimate veterans who for years had told family and friends they were at the battle, yet were not actually so. Such that when the time came to file their pension they could hardly be silent about something others had so often heard, even if it wasn't true. While this is offered only as speculation, it does not stand as an unreasonable possibility. Even James Jackson, lieutenant in the battle and later both Governor and Senator from Georgia, wrote Morgan in after years (in his letter of 20 January 1795) asking him to confirm the role of the Georgians in the battle[1873] -- seeming to suggest that so many elsewhere had falsely claimed participation that Morgan's verification alone would suffice to prove the true fact.

Babits numbers the Continentals and State Troops at 600. Using his minimum grand total and granting this 600 figure leaves us to come up with 1,200 militia. With the exception of King's Mountain, at no other time in the south were such numbers of militia gathered as one force without a Brigadier General of the militia. The closest militia Generals to the battle on that day were Sumter and Davidson. Sumter had no such numbers collected at that or any single time to begin with. Davidson, by the time of Cowan's two weeks later at most was able to muster some 800. While Pickens was a superlative officer, he was not the recruiter Sumter, or even Marion, was. In fact, Pickens, while in South Carolina, never commanded a force greater than 400 men during the entire war.

The 150 troops (William Johnson and Babits' figure)[1874] Pickens brought with him were mostly Clark's, McCall's and Hammond's, and these he was placed in charge of due simply to his seniority. While Marion could later refuse to go along with Sumter's Law out of principle, Pickens utilized it, yet even then had problems bringing in

[1871] Babits points out that there is no strong proof to show that Triplett's and Tate's militia were composed mostly of Continental veterans, as has been often averred. BDW pp. 33-34.
[1872] BDW p. 150.
[1873] GDM pp. 471-473 and *Cowpens Papers: Being Correspondence of General Morgan and the Prominent Actors, from the collection of Theodorus Bailey Myers*, pp. 45-46.
[1874] Joseph Graham says Pickens had only 40 South Carolinians and Georgians in February, that is when he was in North Carolina. Pickens, in fact, was been present at Torrence's Tavern but, as Graham's describes it, was without a command to be able to do anything. GRA p. 311.

men.[1875] At King's Mountain, not far from Cowpens, the South Carolina militia numbered only 160. McDowell's *and* Cleavland's force of North Carolinians at the same battle numbered 260. Campbell's Virginians were 200. True, Morgan was a very popular figure. Yet even if all of these at King's Mountain were present at Cowpens it would still not give us anywhere near 1,200 militia.
We also might add in passing that before the battle, Morgan was having a difficult time supplying his men where he was, and wanted to return to join Greene.[1876] Yet if the militia with him were as large as 900 to 1,000 one would think he would not merely have advised withdrawal due to supply problems, but would indeed have insisted upon it as his duty. The King's Mountain troops encountered the same difficulty themselves while in the area.

BRITISH FORCES AT COWPENS[1877]
Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

7th Regt.: 168/177, Maj. Timothy Newmarsh
First battalion of the 71st Regt.: 249/263, Maj. Archibald McArthur
Light infantry, composed of companies from the 16th and 71st: 135-160/ ?[1878]

British Legion Infantry: 200-271/?,[1879] probably Capt. John Rousselet
British Legion Cavalry: 250/?, Capt. David Ogelvey, Capt. Richard Hovenden
17th Regt. of Dragoons: 50/52, Lt. Henry Nettles[1880]

Royal Artillery: 50, with 2 brass three-pounders[1881]

Loyalist militia: 50, Capt. Alexander Chesney, *these acted as scouts.*

* Tarleton's strength based on numbers taken from Cornwallis' Return of 15 January 1781.[1882] In Rank and File Tarleton then had:

16th Foot (3 companies): 41
Lt. Companies, 71st Regt.: 69
7th Regt.:167
1st Bttn. of the 71st: 249
British Legion, "&c. &c.": 451[1883]

TOTAL rank and file: 977
Using Nickerson's adjustment of 17.5% added to the rank and file total gives us 1,148 total effectives.

* Morgan's report of 19 January: "The British with their Baggage Guard, were not less than 1150, & these Veteran Troops. Their own Officers confess, that they fought 1037." Morgan, at Cain Creek, to Greene 19 January 1781.[1884]

* Otho Williams, on 27 January, and based on a report of Maj. Edward Giles, one of Morgan's aides gives Tarleton's strength as "1150 Regulars and 50 Tories."[1885]

* Tarleton manages to include descriptions of his force's strength, in his text, this way: "Cornwallis dispatched an aid-de-camp on the 1st of January, to order Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton over Broad river, with his corps of cavalry and infantry, of five hundred and fifty men, the first battalion of the 71st, consisting of two hundred, and two three-pounders, to counteract the designs of General Morgan, by protecting the country, and compelling

[1875] Gov. Rutledge to the S.C. Delegates, Jan. 10, 1781: "...Pickens & Bowie have joined Morgan, with abt. 70 Men -- but they can[']t promise that many more will follow -- Indeed it is almost amazing that any will come out, when there is such a disparity; between the Enemy's force & ours -- so little prospect of the latter increasing, & the Consequence of their coming off is, at least, the destruction of their property, & reducing their Families to Beggary--" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. Apr. 1917, p. 67.
[1876] TPY pp. 78, 84.
[1877] Numbers are taken from Babits, though note the full total does not include musicians.
[1878] Cornwallis' records for 15 Jan. 1781 give the rank and file present strength for the 16th Regt. as 41; and for the "71st Regiment, Light Company" 69 men, CAC p. 53. Babits states the British light inf. detachment was made up of 41 men from the 16th Regt., 35 from 1/71st, 34 from 2/71st, 25-50 from the Prince of Wales American Volunteers. *The History of the Prince of Wales American Regt.* notes: "All three had been joined together since 1779 in Georgia. Prince of Wales American Regt." BDW pp. 45-46, Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies.
[1879] Respecting the strength of the British Legion, Tarleton states he had "five hundred and fifty men," which total would seem to include the 17th Light Dragoons. See TCS p. 210, 212, MST p. 96, LMS p. 228n, and ONB p. 31. Evidently many of the Legion, like those in the 7th, were new recruits, and perhaps (states McCrady) even included Continentals taken at the battle of Camden. TCS pp. 182, MSC2 p. 33, TPY p. 98.
[1880] HWW p. 86.
[1881] These brass three-pounders, called "grasshoppers," were first taken by the Americans at Saratoga then recaptured by the British at Fishing Creek in August 1780.
[1882] CAC p. 53.
[1883] "&c. &c.," i.e. presumably the 17th dragoons.
[1884] NGP7 p. 155.
[1885] WCA p. 36.

him to repass Broad river….Two hundred men of the 7th regiment, who were chiefly recruits, and designed for the garrison at Ninety-Six, and fifty dragoons of the 17th regiment, brought the waggons from Brierley's to camp."[1886]

* MacKenzie: "Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton was detached with the light and legion-infantry, the fusiliers, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, about three hundred and fifty cavalry, two field-pieces, and an adequate proportion of men from the royal artillery; in all near a thousand strong."[1887]

* William Johnson says Tarleton certainly numbered 1050 regulars, and about 50 loyalists.[1888]

* Babits has Tarleton's command amounting to 1,200.[1889]

CASUALTIES

AMERICAN
Anonymous: "Report concerning casualties and prisoners at the Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina
Americans Killed and Wounded at Cowpens.
3 officers wounded and 55 non Comd. & Privates.
10 privates killed.
American, 60 cavalry, 20 Infantry, Militia."[1890]

Morgan's report of 19 January: "Our loss is inconsiderable. I have not been able to ascertain Colonel Pickens Loss but know it to be very small." The editor to the Greene Papers notes "The return [Morgan attached with his report to Greene] has not been found but Morgan's losses were given elsewhere as 10 killed and fifty-five wounded." In loosely transcribed and popularly published versions of Morgan's letter, American losses are given as 12 killed, 60 wounded.[1891]

Tarleton says the Morgan lost 300.[1892]

William Johnson: Morgan lost 11 killed, and 61 wounded.[1893]

Babits: American losses were 127 to 148.[1894]

BRITISH
Anonymous: "British Killed and Taken at the Battle of Cowpens.
"17th January, 1781.
Major 1
Captains 5
Lieuts 13
Ensigns 4
Adjutants 1
Cornet 1
Non Commd. & Privates 502
527 Prisoners not wounded.
3 officers 3
Non comd. & Privates 150
153 Prisoners wounded.
10 officers 10
Non comd. & Privates 200
210 killed.

"100 horses.
300 kings muskets.
35 waggons.
2 Field Pieces." [1895]

Morgan's report of 19 January: The British lost 100 killed and 200 wounded, 29 officers and about 500 privates taken prisoner. On the 23rd, Morgan said this last number had risen to 600. Also captured were 70 negroes, 2

[1886] TCS pp. 211-212.
[1887] MST p. 96.
[1888] JLG1 p. 374.
[1889] BDW p. 49.
[1890] CNC15 pp. 419-420.
[1891] NGP7 p. 161n.
[1892] TCS p. 218.
[1893] JLG1 p. 383.
[1894] Babits also mentions that 14 of 72 American casualties at Cowpens were from the company of 60 Delaware troops.
BDW p. 152.
[1895] CNC15 pp. 419-420.

pieces of artillery, 800 muskets, one traveling forge, 35 baggage wagons, 100 dragoon horses. Morgan: "they destroyed most of the baggage which was immense."[1896]

Otho Williams, based on Maj. Edward Giles' report, gives Tarleton's losses as 100 killed, between 200 and 300 wounded, and about 17 officers and 500 privates made prisoner.[1897]

Cornwallis, in his letter to Germain of 17 March wrote: "The unfortunate affair of the 17th of January was a very unexpected and severe blow; for, besides reputation, our loss did not fall short of 600 men." Difference between returns of for Cornwallis army for January 15 and for February 1 amount to 784.

Tarleton says there were 300 killed and wounded on both sides, but the Americans took two pieces of cannon, and near 400 prisoners.[1898]

William Johnson: "The world is at present in possession of the means of ascertaining with tolerable precision the actual amount of the British loss. This is in the correspondence between Cornwallis and Clinton, in which the former admits a loss in the affair of 700 men. But by comparing the returns of the British army of the 15th of January and 1st of February, we find the diminution amounting to 784 men. Which number agrees with other facts in our possession on the same subject; for, Major [Edmund] Hyrne, the commissary of prisoners, received of Morgan 600 on the east bank of the Catawba, and this will leave 184 for the killed and wounded, probably the true number; we may estimate the slain at sixty."[1899]

Babits: At least 87 wounded were left at Cowpens because they could not be moved.[1900]

Maj. Timothy Newmarsh and Maj. Archibald McArthur were among those taken prisoner.

Kirkwood: "17th. Defeated Tarleton
18th. March'd for the Catawba river arrived the 23rd...100[miles]"[1901]
Morgan, in his letter of 19 January to Greene wrote: "Such was the inferiority of our numbers that our success must be attributed, under God, to the justice of our cause and the bravery of our Troops."[1902]

Gordon: "Tarleton's impetuous attacks had answered in former instances: but in the present action, he did not surprise his enemy; and engaged an officer, Morgan, who had faced the troops under Burgoyne, and served under Washington and Gates."[1903]

Tarleton: "The particular incidents relative to the action arise from an examination of the orders, the march, the comparative situation of Morgan and Tarleton, the disposition, and the defeat. The orders were positive. The march was difficult, on account of the number of creeks and rivers; and circuitous, in consequence of such impediments: The Pacolet was passed by stratagem: The Americans to avoid an action, left their camp, and marched all night: The ground which General Morgan had chosen for the engagement, in order to cover his retreat to Broad river, was disadvantageous for the Americans, and convenient for the British: An open wood was certainly as proper a place for action as Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton could desire; America does not produce many more suitable to the nature of the troops under his command. The situation of the enemy was desperate in case of misfortune; an open country, and a river in their rear, must have thrown them entirely into the power of a superior cavalry; whilst the light troops, in case of repulse, had the expectation of a neighbouring [sic] force to protect them from destruction. The disposition was planned with coolness, and executed without embarrassment. The defeat of the British must be ascribed either to the bravery or good conduct of the Americans; to the loose manner of forming which had always been practised [sic] by the King's troops in America; or to some unforeseen event, which may throw terror into the most disciplined soldiers, or counteract the best-concerted designs. The extreme extension of the files always exposed the British regiments and corps, and would, before this unfortunate affair, have been attended with detrimental effect, had not the multiplicity of lines with which they generally fought rescued them from such imminent danger. If infantry who are formed very open, and only two deep, meet with opposition, they can have no stability: But when they experience an unexpected shock, confusion will ensue, and flight, without immediate support, must be the inevitable consequence. Other circumstances, perhaps, contributed to so decisive a route, which, if the military system admitted the same judicious regulation as the naval, a court martial would, perhaps, have disclosed. Public trials of commanding officers after unfortunate affairs, are as necessary to one service as the other, and might, in some instances, be highly beneficial to the military profession. Influenced by this idea, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, some days after the action, required Earl Cornwallis's approbation of his proceedings, or his leave to retire till inquiry could be instituted, to investigate his conduct. The noble earl's decided support of Lieutenant-

[1896] NGP7 pp. 155, 176.
[1897] WCA p. 36.
[1898] TCS p. 218. For a summary and breakdown of British Legion losses see (and search under) Don Gara's "Prisoners Taken at Cowpens -- British Legion Infantry" at http://www.banastretarleton.org/
[1899] JLG1 p. 384.
[1900] BDW p. 143
[1901] KJO p.13.
[1902] NGP8 p. 155.
[1903] GHA4 p. 37.

colonel Tarleton's management of the King's troops, previous to and during the action, is fully expressed in a letter from his lordship."[1904]

MacKenzie: "A detachment from each corps, under the command of Lieutenant Fraser of the 71st regiment (who was afterwards killed at York Town), had been left at some distance to guard the baggage; early intelligence of the defeat was conveyed to this officer by some friendly Americans; what part of the baggage could not be carried off he immediately destroyed, and with his men mounted on the waggon, and spare horses, he retreated to Earl Cornwallis unmolested; nor did he, on this occasion, see any of the American horse or foot, or of the party then under our author's directions. This was the only body of infantry that escaped, the rest were either killed or made prisoners. The dragoons joined the army in two separate divisions; one arrived in the neighbourhood of the British encampment upon the evening of the same day, at which time his Lordship had the mortification to learn the defeat of his detachment; the other, under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, appeared next morning."[1905]

Extracts of letter written after the war from John Eager Howard to Henry Lee: "Morgan was careful to address the officers and men, to inspire confidence in them. As to what Morgan has since said, 'I would not have the swamp in view of the militia' -- I do not think it deserves any consideration. They were words used in conversation, without any definite meaning. I am positive that [Francis] Triplett and [James] Tate were on my left. Major M'Dowell [Joseph McDowell] was of North Carolina. I do not think there was such an eminence; there was a slight rise in the ground; nor was Washington's horse posted behind it, but on the summit; for I had full view of him as we retreated from our first position. Seeing my right flank was exposed to the enemy, I attempted to change the front of [Andrew] Wallace's company, (Virginia regulars;) in doing it, some confusion ensued, and a first part, and then the whole of the company commenced a retreat. The officers along the line seeing this, and supposing that orders had been given for a retreat, faced their men about and moved off. Morgan, who had mostly been with the militia, quickly rode up to me and expressed apprehensions of the event; but I soon removed his fears by pointing to the line, and observing that men were not beaten who retreated in that order. He then ordered me to keep with the men, until we came to the rising ground near Washington's horse; and he rode forward to fix on the most proper place for us to halt and face about. In a minute we had a perfect line. The enemy were now very near us. Our men commenced a very destructive fire, which they little expected, and a few rounds occasioned great disorder in their ranks. While in this confusion, I ordered a charge with the bayonet, which order was obeyed with great alacrity. As the line advanced, I observed their artillery a short distance in front, and called to Captain Ewing, who was near me, to take it. Captain [Thomas] Anderson, (now General Anderson, of Montgomery county, Maryland,) hearing the order, also pushed for the same object, and both being emulous for the prize, kept pace until near the first piece, when Anderson, by placing the end of his espontoon forward into the ground, made a long leap which brought him upon the gun, and gave him the honour of the prize. My attention was now drawn to an altercation of some of the men with an artillery man, who appeared to make it a point of honor not to surrender his match. The men, provoked by his obstinacy, would have bayoneted him on the spot, had I not interfered, and desired them to spare the life of so brave a man. He then surrendered his match. In the pursuit, I was led towards the right, in among the 71st, who were broken into squads, and as I called to them to surrender, they laid down their arms, and the officers delivered up their swords. Captain [Robertson] Duncanson, of the 71st grenadiers, gave me his sword and stood by me. Upon getting on my horse, I found him pulling at my saddle, and he nearly unhorsed me. I expressed my displeasure, and asked him what he was about. The explanation was, that they had orders to give no quarter, and they did not expect any; and as my men were coming up, he was afraid they would use him ill. I admitted his excuse, and put him into the care of a sergeant. I had messages from him some years afterward, expressing his obligation for my having saved his life. Their artillery was not thrown in the rear, but was advanced a little ahead of the line, and was taken as I have mentioned. Washington did not encounter the artillery. He moved from the left from our rear, to attack Tarleton's horse, and never lost sight of them until they abandoned the ground. Major M'Arthur very freely entered into conversation, and said he was an officer before Tarleton was born; that the best troops in the service were put under "that boy" to be sacrificed; that he had flattered himself the event would have been different, if his advice had been taken, which was to charge with all the horse, at the moment we were retreating."[1906]

Richard Winn: "On the same day I got this letter I received one by express from Gen'l Morgan, then lying at Grindall Shoals on Paco River [Pacelot River]. The General mentioned he had a great desire to see me. I repaired to his camp about thirty miles from where I lay. He summoned his principle officers, Colos. Washington, Howard and Major Taliaferro who commanded the Virginia militia. After talking about the British headquarters and the situation of the country and people, and as Gen'l Morgan had been intimately acquainted with me from a small boy, he coversed [sic] freely with me on every point respecting the war in the Southern States, as he was well satisfied but few men could give him a better account.
"Question, Do you believe I shall be attacked by the British? Answer, I do and by a strong force from Winnsborough.
"Question, Can you inform me the manner Colo. Tarleton brings on his attacks? Answer, I can. Tarleton never brings on the attack himself.

[1904] TCS pp. 220-222.
[1905] MST pp. 102-103.
[1906] LCC pp. 96n—98n.

"His mode of fighting is surprise. By doing this he sends two or three troops of horse, and, if he can throw the party into confusion, with his reserve he falls on and will cut them to pieces.
"However, in looking into Gordon's *History* I see Tarleton brought on the action at the Cowpens himself. I think that, upon a strict scrutiny, this will be found to be a mistake. I rather suppose he was with his reserve of horse that took through the woods, when it was found that Morgan kept the ground. My own opinion of Tarleton as an officer was that he was more civil than brave. In a day or two after the battle, I met with Gen'l Morgan who gave me a statement of the action. Gen'l Morgan was well apprised that Colo. Tarleton was persuing [sic] of him, but when or where he would overtake him was uncertain. When the General got to the Cowpens he halted and took up his encampment and say, 'on this ground I will defeat the British or lay my bones,' and picked out the place for his grave. Curiosity led me afterwards to view the ground, and I can say it would not have been my choice. In the first place, it was even enough to make race-paths, covered over with a small growth of middling trees, open without underwood, and nothing to defend either in front, rear or flank. With the force of the British horse and the advantage of the ground they had, the advantage over Morgan was as two to one."[1907]

Saye (with McJunkin): "When Morgan was apprised of Tarleton's approach he fell back a day's march from his position on the Pacolet. He perhaps doubted the propriety of giving battle at all. His force was considerably inferior to that arrayed against him. The officers and men composing the entire body of his militia were almost wholly unknown to him except by report. He could not know what confidence to place in their skill and courage.
"A retrograde movement was necessary to enable him to call in scattered detachments. On the night of Jan. 16 the last of these joined him some time after dark. He now had his entire force and the question must be decided, 'Shall we fight or fly?' The South Carolina militia demanded a fight. Their general could, from past experience and common fame, commend their courage in their present position, but let them cross Broad River and he would not answer for their conduct. Here the final decision is to risk a battle. The Cols. [Thomas] Brandon and [Benjamin] Roebuck, with some others, had the special charge of watching Tarleton's movements from the time he reached the valley of the Pacolet. They sat on their horses as he approached and passed that stream and counted his men and sent their report to headquarters. They watched his camp on the night of the 16th until he began his march to give battle. Morgan appears to have had the most exact information of everything necessary.
"On the morning of the 17th he had his men called up. He addressed them in a strain well adapted to inflame their courage. Major [James] Jackson of Georgia also spoke to the militia. The lines formed and the plan of battle disclosed. Three lines of infantry were drawn across the plain. First the regulars and some companies of Virginia militia are posted where the final issue is expected. In front of these the main body of militia under Gen. Pickens are drawn up at the distance of 150 yards. Still in front of these at the distance of 150 yards a corps of picked riflemen is scattered in loose order along the whole front.
"The guns of the videttes, led by Capt. Inman, announce the approach of the foe, and soon the red coats stream before the eyes of the militia. A column marches up in front of Brandon's men led by a gayly [sic] dressed officer on horseback. The word passes along the line, 'Who can bring him down?' John Savage looked Col. [William] Farr full in the face and read yes in his eye. He darted a few paces in front, laid his rifle against a sapling, a blue gas streamed above his head, the sharp crack of a rifle broke the solemn stillness of the occasion and a horse without a rider wheeled from the front of the advancing column. In a few moments the fire is general. The sharpshooters fall behind Pickens and presently his line yields. Then there is a charge of the dragoons even past the line of regulars after the retreating militia. Numbers are cut down.
"Two dragoons assault a large rifleman, Joseph Hughes by name. His gun was empty, but with it he parries their blows and dodges round a tree, but they still persist. At the moment the assault on Hughes began John Savage was priming his rifle. Just as they pass the tree to strike Hughes he levels his gun and one of the dragoons tumbles from his horse pierced with a bullet. The next moment the rifle carried by Hughes, now literally hacked over, slips out of his hands and inflicts such a blow upon the other dragoon that he quits the contest and retires hanging by the mane of his horse.
"Soon, however, the militia are relieved from the British dragoons by a charge of the American light horse. The British cavalry are borne from the field. Meanwhile the British infantry and the regulars under Col. [John Eager] Howard are hotly engaged; the fight becomes desperate. Howard orders a charge, the militia come back and fall in right and left. The British line is broken, some begin to call for quarters, the voice of Howard is heard amidst the rush of men and clangor of steel: 'Throw down your arms and you shall have good quarters.'
"One battalion throws down their arms and the men fall to the earth. Another commences flight, but Washington darts before them with his cavalry and they too ground their arms. In the conclusion of this last foray you might have seen Major Jackson of Georgia rush among the broken ranks of the 71st Regiment and attempting to seize their standard, while they are vainly trying to form by it; you might have seen Col. Howard interposing for the relief of his friend when entangled among his foes.
"At the end of the strife you might have seen the same young man introducing Major [Archibald] McArthur, the commandant of the British infantry, to Gen. Morgan and receiving the General's thanks for the gallantry displayed on the occasion. You might have seen some five or six hundred tall, brawny, well clad soldiers, the flower of the British Army, guarded by a set of militia clad in hunting shirts, 'blacked, smoked and greasy.'
"The plain was strewn with the dead and dying. The scattered fragments of the British Army were hurrying from the scene of carnage. Washington hastily collected his cavalry and dashed off in pursuit of Tarleton. He was preceded, however, by a party that started with a view of taking possession of the baggage wagons of the enemy. The victory was complete.

[1907] WNO, part II, pp. 8-9.

"The militia engaged in this battle belonged to three States, the two Carolinas and Georgia. Two companies from Virginia were present, but were in line with the Maryland regiment under Howard. The North Carolina militia were led by Major [Joseph] McDowell. The Georgia militia were under the immediate command of Majors [John] Cunningham and [James] Jackson; the Captains were Samuel Hammond, George Walton and Joshua Inman. Major [James] Jackson also acted as Brigade Major to all the militia present. The South Carolina militia were directed by Gen. Pickens. The Colonels were John Thomas, Thomas Brandon, Glenn Anderson and [James] McCall; the Lieutenant Colonels, William Farr and Benjamin Roebuck; the Majors, Henry White and Joseph McJunkin; Captains, John Alexander, Collins, Elder, Crawford, with Lieuts. Thomas Moore and Hugh Means.
"On the night before the battle forty-five militia soldiers were enrolled as dragoons and placed under the command of Col. McCall and annexed to Washington's Cavalry. These officers and men, in the respective commands, were far from being tyros in the art of war. They were marksmen and had generally been in the war from its commencement. In regard to the conduct of Major McJunkin on this occasion the testimony of those who acted under him and with him is to this effect: That he exhibited undaunted courage in action and contributed largely in bringing the militia in order to the final onset by which the battle so honorably terminated."[1908]

The *Annual Register*: "This blow coming so closely upon that at King's Mountain, produced effects worse than could have been feared from such partial disasters. Indeed they seemed seriously to have influenced all the subsequent operations of the war and deeply affected its general forune. The loss of the light troops, especially of the cavalry, could scarcely be repaired; and the nature of the war, rendered this sort of force one of its most effectual arms."[1909]

17 January. [skirmishes-captures] Post Cowpens Skirmishes and Captures (Spartanburg County, S.C.)
Saye: "Love's Ford of Broad River is some miles below the mouth of Pacolet. Crossing at this place was somewhat difficult and not without danger to persons not acquainted with the place. In addition to the difficulties in the stream itself, the country around was in a wild, unsettled state at the period of the Revolutionary War. The low ground was covered with dense canebrakes, the hills, abundant round about, clad with reeds and wild pea vines to their very summits. This vicinity afforded an excellent shelter for fugitives during the period of the Tory ascendancy in South Carolina. At this time the ford was rarely passed except by armed bands and the more adventurous persons of the vicinity. The Whigs resident in adjacent parts of the country were accustomed to frequent the locality for the double purpose of concealment and to embarrass the movements of the enemy through this section.
"On the evening of the next day after the Battle at Cowpens a party of some fifty or sixty British troops, having succeeded in making good their retreat that far from the battle, were moving on toward Love's Ford. Their object was to reach the camp of Lord Cornwallis. Some distance from the river their leader turned off the road to the house of a Mr. Palmer to get directions. Here he met Mr. Sharp. The latter immediately presented his rifle and ordered him to surrender. The officer obeyed. Sharp learned his character, object, &c., as quick as possible.
"Having secured the commander, he determined to lose no time in pursuing his party. Accordingly, he went to his hiding place in the woods to rally his force. This consisted of James Savage, Richard Hughes, and perhaps others. About the time the men were gotten together a Mrs. Hall, a resident in the vicinity, came up in great haste. She had seen the British on their way and ran to give notice to the Whigs.
"Sharp and party pursued. Half a mile from the ford they met a man running as for life. He reported on crossing the river he had come upon a party of British soldiers, that they had stopped on top of a hill, apparently with a view of spending the night. Their armor and uniforms glistened in the sun, and though they took no notice of him, yet he was greatly alarmed at his situation. Sharp led on his men. They presented themselves suddenly before the enemy and ordered them to surrender. The summons was obeyed by some thirty or forty men. The balance ran off, some down the river, others threw their guns into it and leaped in themselves. Sharp led his prisoners to Morgan's camp and delivered them up prisoners of war.
"The above instance has its counter part in the following, which is found in *Mill's Statistics of South Carolina*:
"'Major Samuel Otterson being on his way to join Morgan at Cowpens, was followed by a few badly mounted volunteers. Finding on his approach to the place that the battle was begun, he determined to halt his men near a cross road, which he knew the enemy would take on the return, and wait either to make prisoners in case of their defeat or to attempt the rescue of our men who might be prisoners in their hands.
"'It was not long before a considerable body of the British horsemen, were discovered in full speed coming down the road. They appeared evidently to have been defeated. Major (then Captain) Otterson now proposed to his men to follow the enemy and attempt to make some prisoners, but found only one man willing to join him. Having mounted him on the best horse in the company and having armed themselves in the best possible manner, they pushed on after the flying enemy. In the pursuit Capt. Otterson prudently determined to keep at some distance in the rear until dark. He occasionally stopped at some of the houses along the road, ascertained the situation, number and distance of the enemy, and found his suspicions were verified that they had been defeated and that these horsemen were a part of Tarleton's cavalry. Toward dusk Capt. Otterson and his companion pushed their horses nearer the enemy, and when it was dark dashed in among them with a shout, fired their arms and ordered them to surrender. The darkness prevented the enemy from knowing the number of those by whom they were surprised and they surrendered at once. They were required to dismount, come

[1908] SJM.
[1909] AR81 pp. 56-57.

forward and deliver up their arms, which they did. Being all secured and light struck, nothing could exceed the mortification of the British officer in command when he found that he had surrendered to two men.
"'But this was not the end of this gallant affair. These British troopers, thirty in number, were all conducted by their captors in safety into North Carolina and delivered to Morgan as prisoners of war. Several days had to elapse before this was done, during which time these men never closed their eyes in sleep.
"'Major Otterson's residence was on Tyger River in the vicinity of Hamilton's Ford. He distinguished himself on several occasions in time of the war and proved a highly respectable and useful citizen after its close. Some thirty years ago he removed to Alabama.'" [1910]

17 January. 150 loyalists under Col. Hector MacNeil, at Amis' Mill on Drowning Creek (near the N.C.-S.C. border), of late had begun causing problems for the whigs of that region. Greene, at his camp on the Peedee, on this date dispatched Major Archibald Anderson of the Maryland line with detachment of 200 light troops against them. Marion, at Snow Island, meanwhile called in his detachments; needing to keep an eye on enemy movements in his own area, and therefore could not attack MacNeil himself. He did though order Col. Abel Kolb to go after MacNeil, but Kolb "never obeyed." Before Anderson had arrived to take care of the business, MacNeil was dispersed by a force of N.C. militia under Col. James Kenan of Duplin County.[1911]

17 January. Samuel Hammond: "The evening of the day of the Battle of the 17th he [Capt. Samuel Hammond] was detached by order of Genl. Morgan to look into Cornwallis' Camp north of the Broad River & to update his movements & communicate with Genl. Pickens and himself daily until further orders. This service was performed regularly until the British took up Camp at Ramseur's Mills."[1912]

17 January. Leslie reached Sandy Run.[1913]

18 January. [raid] Dugan's Plantation, S.C. ONB3 p. 53.

18 January. From his camp at Island Ford on the Broad River and slowed by the baggage and many prisoners (whose total amounted to two thirds the size of his own force) taken at Cowpens, Morgan continued his retreat north and on this day crossed the Little Broad River. At Gilbertown, Pickens and Washington were assigned to escort the prisoners, with Triplett's and Tate's militia, whose term of service was soon to expired, accompanying them.[1914] From Gilbertown, Pickens moved towards Shallow Ford on the Yadkin, while Morgan with the main body continued retreating east past Ramseur's Mill and towards Sherrald's Ford on the Catawba. The prisoners were afterward, taken up by some of Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens' men, whose time of service had also lapsed. About February 2nd, a detachment from Stevens' corps then escorted them into Virginia; while Washington and Picken then acted to assist against Cornwallis. Although in Pickens case most of his men, including James McCall and Cunningham, had returned home, steps were being taken to put North Carolina militia under his command. See *Early February*, and 2-3 February.[1915]

18 January. Leslie camped at Hillhouse's plantation near Turkey Creek,[1916] and where he finally formed a junction with Cornwallis' army. The addition of two six pounders carried by Leslie brought Cornwallis' artillery strength to 4 six-pounders, and 2 three-pounders. The same day, about 200 Legion cavalry and several other fugitives regrouped with Tarleton at Hamilton's Ford. They then moved to re-join Cornwallis the next day.[1917]

19 January (also 20 Jan.) Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold, having suffered few casualties, and while destroying some mills in his path, by this date had attained Portsmouth with his raiding expedition, and resumed work on the fortifications initially begun there by Leslie.[1918]

19 January. Greene directed Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner to make arrangements to form new North Carolina Continental Regiments to replace those lost or captured at Charlestown. On the 27th, Sumner wrote back reporting the recommendation of a board of officers which convened in Halifax, N.C. for the purposes of forming and organizing the regiments.[1919] Although marginally successful efforts were made at enlistment, the larger body of recruits necessary to fill out the new regiments were not available for service till after Guilford Court, March 15th; when the North Carolina legislature passed a law drafting North Carolina militia men who had deserted at that battle.[1920]
From "Return of the North Carolina officers in the Continental Army," as recorded by Brig. Gen. Sumner, January 23, 1781"

[1910] SJM.
[1911] NGP7 pp. 121, 136, 164.
[1912] HMP.
[1913] LOB part III, STL.
[1914] Tate, however, with some Augusta County riflemen, rejoined Greene's army at Speedwell's Iron works 7 March, the day after the skirmish at Weitzel's Mill. MGC
[1915] NGP7 p. 200n, SNC pp. 228-231, WAR2 pp. 763-865, TPY p. 113, BDW pp. 143-144.
[1916] See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/laceysfort.htm
[1917] LOB part III, STL, TCS p. 222-223, MLW4A pp. 348-349, MSC2 p. 29, TPY pp. 110-111.
[1918] SQR pp. 166-167, GHA4 pp. 59-60, MLW4A p. 391, CAR p. 244.
[1919] Due to the Congressional reduction of Continental forces in March 1779 (see BEA p. 263), many regular officers in both Virginia and North Carolina had gone to their home states to lead the militia.
[1920] NGP7 pp. 148, 208, CNC15 p. 420, JLG1 pp.343-344, WNA, DNC pp. 28, RNC pp. 255-257.

[*Note*. Main return which provides a specific count of officers (not including NCOs) of different ranks who were at this time present and available, prisoner, or else the number of them required to fill out the necessary quota, is omitted here.]
"Officers reduced on half pay.
Col. James Armstrong of the 5th [N.C. Regt.].
Col. Gideon Lamb of the 6th.
Lieut. Col. Comdt. James Thackston of the 4th.
Lieut. Col. Wm. Lee Davison of the 1st.
Capt. Francis Childs of the 3rd.
Capt. Micajah Lewis of the 4th."[1921]

19 January. Cornwallis, from Turkey Creek,[1922] where he had been joined by Leslie the day previous, began his pursuit of Morgan -- and as well, asi t turned out, his long planned and prepared for second invasion of North Carolina[1923] -- and moved to King's Creek. On the 20th, Tarleton was sent with the dragoons and jagers to obtain intelligence of Morgan, and give protection to any remaining fugitives. Cornwallis' immediate pursuit of Morgan, notwithstanding, proved ineffectual.[1924]
Tarleton: "The 19th, the army, with the cavalry on their left flank, moved towards King's creek: The 20th, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was directed to pass Broad river with the dragoons and the yagers, to obtain intelligence of General Morgan, and to give protection to the fugitives who might yet have escaped the power of the victorious Americans. He recrossed the river in the evening, having received information, that Morgan, soon after the action, had quitted the field of battle, to pass his troops and the prisoners at the high fords on Broad river, leaving the wounded under the protection of a flag of truce. This news induced Earl Cornwallis to cross Buffaloe [Buffalo] creek and Little Broad river, in hopes of intercepting General Morgan; but the celerity made use of by the Americans, after their unexpected advantage at the Cowpens, enabled them to evade his lordship's army, and reach the Catawba.[1925] In the mean time, General Greene appointed the eastern bank of that river for the place of rendezvous of the militia, and to effect a junction, if possible, of the continentals. In order to complete his plan, he prepared to dispute the passage of the British, with General Morgan's division and the militia, till the other corps of continentals could, by forced marches, reach the upper parts of North Carolina."[1926]

Saye: "But a more immediate cause of dread was about his own quarters. He had no cavalry of any worth. A strange looking set of horsemen prowled about his camp and seemed extremely busy looking into all of his arrangements. In vain he ordered them to be fired on; in vain he sent parties in pursuit. They went and came when they pleased, insulted sentinels and behaved as though they had leave to charge right through his army as any other way. It added not a little to his perplexity that their dress was different from that of any rebels he had ever seen before, and his prisoners knew as little whence they had come as he did. He finally set a favorite dog after them one day and the fellow had the audacity to shoot the dog in sight of His Lordship. From dread or some other cause he was a day's march from the place where Tarleton had a right to expect he would be when he attacked Morgan."[1927]

Schenck: "Cornwallis had lost the 17th and 18th of January in his camp waiting for Leslie, and when he did move he took six days of a circuitous route to reach Ramseur's mill, which he ought to have reached in two. At Ramseur's Mill some fatuity overshadowed his reason and cause him to stop two days more."[1928]

Ward: "Thinking that Morgan, dazzled by his success, would hold his ground near the Broad River or perhaps make an attempt on Ninety-Six, Cornwallis marched north-westward toward the Little Broad River to cut him off. But Morgan, as has been said, headed straight for Sherrill's [Sherrald's] Ford by way of Ramseur's where Cornwallis by marching due north, with equal celerity might have me and destroyed his depleted and much inferior army."[1929]

[1921] CNC15 p. 420.
[1922] The mouth of Turkey Creek, a tributary of the Broad River, is about six miles downstream from where both the Pacelot and Bullock's Creek flow into the Broad. Cornwallis then was camped a few miles up creek from the river. King's Creek, which flows westward into the Broad River is just a couple miles east of King's Mountain.
[1923] Cornwallis having learned the hard way the cost of advancing to conquest without proper information and intelligence in his earlier foray into North Carolina; so that, as Tarleton states: "Earl Cornwallis employed various measures, in order to acquire daily intelligence of the enemy, and to obtain a competent knowledge of the nature of the country [N.C.] in his front. No expence was spared to learn the state of the roads, the number of the mills, and the quantities of forage and provisions, between Broad river and the Catawba. This information was peculiarly necessary for a general who was about to invade a province not remarkable for its fertility, and which has no navigable rivers to convey supplies to the interior parts of the country." TCS pp. 208-209.
[1924] AR81 pp. 57-58, NGP7 p. 179n, TCS pp. 222-223, CAR pp. 259-260, GHA4 pp. 37-39, SAW2 pp. 239-240, JLG1 pp. 369-370, 387-390, LCC pp. 99-100, SNC pp. 228-231, MSC2 pp. 92n-93n. In contrast to some others (particularly William Johnson), Henry Lee IV takes issue with those who would fault Cornwallis for not catching Morgan, LCC pp. 99-100.
[1925] Yet see 23-31 January.
[1926] TCS pp. 222-223.
[1927] SJM.
[1928] SNC p. 231.
[1929] WAR2 pp. 764-755.

Treacy: "From the 19th to the 22nd Cornwallis marched thirty-one miles. From the 22nd to the 25th he marched thirthy-six miles, only five miles better than previous days, despite the fact that he had lightened his train somewhat by the detachment of the women and heavy baggage under the escort of Brigadier General Howard with orders to follow after more slowly."[1930]

20 January. Greene, from his camp on the Peedee near Cheraw, wrote to Benjamin Harrison that, including Morgan's and Lee's detachments, he had: 700 to 800 Virginia troops, "only have about 9 months to serve," and more than half were "little less than naked," 200 of the 1st and 3rd Regiments of Virginia cavalry, not two-thirds of whom were in the field due to lack of equipment, upwards of 1,000 Maryland troops, 240 of Lee's Legion, a half full company of artillery under Col. Charles Harrison, and a (North Carolina) state artillery unit, but whose term of service would be over in the following day or two. "North and South Carolina have not a man in field except militia and the greater part of these Volunteers. General [Edward] Stevens with the Virginia Militia is on the march home [escorting the Cowpens prisoners] all except 80 who are to continue 2 months longer. There is one Company of Artillery belonging to the Continental Regiment commanded by Col. [Charles] Harrison little more than half full. There is also some State artillery but their time of service is out in a day or two. We have no Magazines of provisions and very few stores of any kind; nor have I a shilling of money to help myself." Greene further stated the Maryland troops terms of service were "for the war," but this was not quite true as the terms of service for different parts of the Maryland troops varied somewhat. The Delaware Regt., which Greene did not list, but apparently included in his total of Maryland Troops, were, however, serving "for the war." Also, about this time, half of the Virginia Continentals, under Buford, would have gone home for lack of clothes, but a supply convoy did come in and they stayed. The terms of enlistment for the Virginia militia with Greene expired by early February.[1931]

20 January. Cornwallis reached Saunders' Plantation.[1932]

21 January. Maj. James Craig sailed from Charlestown with an expedition to take Wilmington. In a dispatch of 25 January sent to Clinton, Balfour reported Craig's expedition sailing on this date in three gallies convoyed by the ships *Blonde*, *Otter* and *Delight*. The invasion coningent was comprised of six companies of the 82nd Regt., of 210 rank and file, plus the convalescent's of Cornwallis' army and a small detachment of artillery, "making the whole near three hundred men; he has likewise two Threes and Two Iron Six Pounders & artillery stores and frames for batteries in case of taking post…"[1933]

21 January. [capture] Camden Escort (York County?, S.C.)
From the petition of loyalist (Lt.) Robert Phillips: "When Charlestown surrendered, he went into the country to look after his family and property, but finding that the Loyalists were harassed by the Rebels, he rejoined his former Colonel of the Jackson Creek regiment, and was made prisoner with many others while scouting for Colonel Tarleton's men toward Camden (Col. John Phillips was captured also.) on 21 Jan. 1781"
From petition of John McKeon (or McKeown): "21 Jan 1781, When escorting wounded men towards Camden, under the command of Col. Phillips, he was taken prisoner and carried from one jail to another [he was exchanged at Philadelphia on 14 March 1782.]"
Petition of Daniel Huffman: "He was conducting wounded men from Turkey Creek, Camden, under the command of Colonel John Phillips…on 21 Jan 1781, when his whole party was taken prisoner and carried into Virginia…"[1934]

21 January. Cornwallis camped at Buffalo Creek, northeast of Cowpens and on the east side of the Broad River, and just to the north of Cherokee Ford. Here he learned that Morgan was at Gilberton. [1935]

21 January. Morgan forded the Little Catawba at Ramseur's Mills.[1936]

22 January. 90 of Lee's Legion Infantry under Captains Patrick Carnes and Michael Rudulph, after reaching Marion's camp at Snow's Island on the 22nd, were taken by boats (steered and guided by Marion's men) ninety miles to an island at the head of Winyah Bay, at the mouth of the Peedee River; which they reach on the 24th (some accounts say the 23rd.) They then concealed themselves on the island in preparation for a water borne assault on Georgetown, while Lee and Marion with the remainder of their forces made their approach by land.[1937]

22 January. Col. Thomas Farmer on this date was at Salisbury with 310 N.C. militia men; including "Officers, Soldiers, and Wagoners," preparing to join Brig. Gen. Davidson. He also had with him seven wagons containing: 2400 cartridges, 240 muskets, 138 bayonets, 115 cartridge boxes, forty nine knapsacks, 35 pots, 12 axes and 36 flints. Farmer was later with the troops holdings Beattie's Ford on January 31. Davidson reported to Morgan that his own men were badly in need of flints; a problem Farmer evidently suffered from as well. On the 24th, Davidson, in Charlotte where he was assembling the militia, wrote Morgan: "Just now my Quarter Master returned from Captain Marbury, to whom I sent an order for flints, and found he has not any. 300 militia coming

[1930] TPY p. 122.
[1931] NGP7 pp. 110, 162, MLW4A pp. 350-351.
[1932] LOB part III, STL.
[1933] ATR81a p. 148, BLB pp. 10, 11-14, NGP7 p. 237 .
[1934] CLS p. 157.
[1935] BRG p.338, WCO p. 275.
[1936] TPY p. 117, 125.
[1937] LMS pp. 223-224, BSF p. 135.

from the District joins me, who are all wanting flints. If you have any that you possibly can spare until I can write and have a return from Gen. Greene, shall replace them. Cannot hear where you are…" Davidson, by that time had about 200-300 and still awaited Farmer.[1938]
On this same date (the 22nd), Davidson wrote to Morgan from Charlotte: "…I hope Major [Joseph] McDowell & the volunteers (his 120) answered the Character I gave you of them. The Militia care coming in fast to this place, again Wednesday or Thursday I shall be ready to march with a considerable number of pretty good men whenever it may be proper, and several Gentlemen from the Country have offered to embody the Militia that are at home to conduct the prisoners to any place that may be directed. If you think well of this I'll thank you to let me know by the bearer, Parson McCaull, as I have men here from every Company who can carry dispatches [sic] for the purpose immediately. I think I shall have 600 men at the place of rendezvous."

23 January. Henry Nase of the King's American Regt. at Georgetown: "Jany. 23rd. 1781 Ensn. Budd Return'd with the party under his Command. [sic] from a Successful Cruize, having retaken Colo. Gordon[']s Sloop & Kill'd & wounded 20 Rebels, with no other Damage than, Colo. Gordon recg. [receiving] a Ball, in his Shoulder."[1939]

23 January. Brig. Gen. Benedict, at Portsmouth, VA. Arnold to Clinton: "The line of works begun, which are necessary for the defence of this place, your Excellency will observe (by the plan inclosed [sic] are very extensive, and from the situation of it, cannot be contracted. The engineer's opinion of them, and the number of men necessary for their defence, against a superior force, I do myself the honour to inclose. Lieutenant-colonels Dundas and Simcoe, are clearly of opinion with me, that three thousand men are necessary for their defence. We have all been greatly deceived in the extent and nature of the ground. There are many places in the river much easier defended with half the number of men. From the sketch of the place your Excellency will judge whether our opinion is well founded or not.
"This province and North Carolina, are collecting the militia, undoubtedly with a view to pay us a visit. Their numbers, from the best information I can obtain, are four thousand or five thousand. At present I can hardly imagine they will attack this post, though the works are of no manner of service to us; and all our force cannot complete them in three months: I therefore think it my duty to request a reinforcement of at least two thousand men, which would render the post permanent and secure against any force the country could bring, as detachments could always be made (leaving the garrison secure) to disperse the militia, whenever it was found they were collecting; and the advantages of transportation, which we may derive from light boats (of which I propose to build fifty) would enable us to move with double the celerity, that the militia could do with every exertion.
"The country people have not come in, in numbers, as I expected; the necessity of General Leslie's removing from this place, after their being assured of his intention to remain here, has impressed them with the idea that we shall do the same; which is not easily effaced, as they have many of them suffered severely since his departure. I have not with certainty been informed where he is at present -- Reports, which are contradictory, say at Cape Fear; others that he is at Charles-town; and some say at neither. I know not what opinion to form; neither have I heard from Lord Cornwallis, but by reports, which say he is at or near Camden -- No opportunity has yet presented of writing to either of these gentlemen -- but I am of opinion our diversion at Richmond will operate much in his favour, as I am informed the militia and light-horse, sent to reinforce the rebel army, under Greene, have been ordered to return."[1940]

23 January. Cornwallis arrived at Tryon Court House; while the "Scottish Travel Log" lists "King Creek" for its entry.[1941]

23 January (also 24 January.) Having traversed sixty miles of difficult ground, and encumbered with baggage and prisoners taken at Cowpens, Morgan's detachment finally attained Sherrald's Ford which they crossed. They then camped on the east bank of the Catawba and rested. The prisoners and baggage passed the river some seventeen miles further north at Island Ford.[1942]
Ward: "Even when he did start, he went in the wrong direction. Thinking that Morgan, dazzled by his success, would hold his ground near the Broad River or perhaps make an attempt on Ninety-Six, Cornwallis marched north-west toward the Little Broad River to cut him off. But Morgan, as we have seen, had headed straight for Sherrill's [Sherrald's] Ford by way of Ramseur's Mill at which point Cornwallis by marching due north with equal celerity might have met and destroyed his opponents depleted and much inferior army."[1943]

24 January. Cornwallis reached Ramseur's Mill, at the south fork of the Catawba, having traversed thirty-one miles in three days. He remained at Ramseur's an additional six days; during which time, and after some difficult deliberation, he resolved on a full-scale invasion of North Carolina. Wickwire, Cornwallis' biographer, (and in contrast to Sir Henry Clinton) argues that the move was a sound decision under the circumstances; inasmuch as remaining in S.C. would not have gained more British support. At the same time, rallying the

[1938] NGP7 pp. 169-170, 228.
[1939] NDI.
[1940] COC pp. 61-62.
[1941] LOB part III, STL, WCO p. 147.
[1942] NGP7 p. 243, MLW4A p. 349, JLG1 pp. 387, 405-408, BRG pp. 339-340, TPY pp. 117, 125.
[1943] WDC p. 384.

loyalists in N.C. was all important, and unless the Continentals could be defeated this would be very difficult if not impossible to effect.[1944]
Cornwallis to Rawdon, 25 January: "My situation is most critical. I see infinite danger in proceeding, but certain ruin in retreating. I am therefore determined to go on, unless some misfortune should happen to you, which God forbid."[1945]

Treacy: "He [Cornwallis] had sent the cavalry across the Little Catawba on January 25 to scout the enemy. This was the detachment Morgan took for the whole army. However, the horseman, having ascertained that Morgan was on the east side of the ford, tamely turned aroudn and returned to the shelter of the British camp."[1946]

24-25 January (also given as 22-23 January). [raid] Georgetown (Georgetown County, S.C.) In the night of the 24th, in furtherance of a plan originally suggested to Greene by Marion,[1947] the latter and Lee made a two pronged surprise assault on Georgetown; one group, Marion's men, coming by land; and the other group, The Legion infantry under Capt. Patrick Carnes -- which made up the advanced attack -- approaching the town by boat; coming from an island in the river where they had hid themselves in the early morning hours of the 23rd. The Georgetown garrison was made up of about 200 or 300, commanded by Col. George Campbell, including some King's American Regt., and at least 15 Queen's Rangers cavalry and 20 other mounted infantry.[1948] The town was protected by a small redoubt with cannon, but most of the men were in houses. Initially, Campbell and a few others were taken prisoner (and then paroled), and a trap was set for the remaining force. However, the loyalists barricaded themselves in the houses. Had they assailed the redoubt, Lee and Marion might then have taken the cannon there, and used them on the structures. Notwithstanding, they did not want to risk unnecessary losses and so abandoned the idea. Campbell and those taken were paroled,[1949] and the attackers withdrew, subsequently camping at Murry's Ferry on the Santee. The losses were about equal. The Americans claimed their own casualties as 3 killed, and the British reported their own as about the same.[1950]
Henry Nase: "January 25th 1781 -- About four o[']Clock in the morning Rebel Colo. Lee, Surprized [sic] the Garrison of G. Town [Georgetown], in which Colo. Campbell, Ensn. Young & Adjt. Crookshank were made Prisoner, the latter was Dangerously wounded."[1951]

Balfour wrote to Clinton, on 31 January: "[Lee and Marion] failed in their Object, made Prisoners of Lieut. Col. Campbell & one or two other officers of Fanning's Corps [the King's American Regiment], who they immediately Paroled -- in other respects the loss was inconsiderable and nearly equal. Two or three being killed on each side."[1952]

Lee: "Colonel [George] Campbell commanded in this town, with a garrison of two hundred men. In his front he had prepared some slight defence, better calculated to repel a sudden, than resist a determined assault. Between these defences and the town, and contiguous to each, was an enclosed work with a fraise and palisade, which constituted his chief protection. A subaltern guard held it. The rest of the troops were dispersed in light parties in and near the town, looking toward the country. The plan of assault was found upon the facility with which the assailant might convey down the Pedee [Peedee] a part of his force undiscovered, and land in the water suburb of the town. After this body should have reached the wharves, it was to move in two divisions. The first was to force the commandant's quarters, known to be in the place of parade, then to secure him, and all who might flock thither on the alarm. The second was to be charged with the interception of such of the garrison as might attempt to gain the fort, their chief point of safety or annoyance. The militia and cavalry of the Legion, under Marion and Lee, were to approach near the town in the night; and when the entrance of the infantry, passed down by water, should be announced, they were to rush into it for cooperation and support."[1953]

Garden: "Although the flight of a guide who had engaged to conduct Captain [James] Armstrong and the dragoons of the Legion to a point, which would have effectually prevented the British Soldiers, who had escaped the Legionary Infantry, from reaching a redoubt that afforded perfect security, had given ample grounds for the

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[1944] AR81 pp. 58-59, TCS pp. 223, 261, CAR p. 259-260, JLG1 p. 405, BRG p. 338, WCO p. 276.
[1945] WCO p. 275, Jan. 25, 1781, PRO. 30/11/84, ff.83-84.
[1946] TPY p. 123 (citing Morgan to Greene, Jan. 25, 1781), GDM pp. 335-336.
[1947] Greene had further wanted to expand upon it by having Marion attack Watson near Nelson's Ferry (regarding which latter propsal Marion had expressed grave doubts); while sending Morgan to threaten the western British outposts. Essentially, Marion's idea as developed, but never realized, by Greene, and with some independently arrived at input furnished by Henry Lee, was one of keeping and distracting Cornwallis in South Carolina so as to prevent or forestall his moving into Virginia. JLG1 pp. 361-362, LCC pp. 75-89. Henry Lee IV notes that his fathers original orders from Greene allowed him the option of attacking either Watson's corps situated just north of Nelson's Ferry or else Georgetown; with the latter, of course, being the one finally chosen. LCC pp. 83-84.
[1948] Some time prior to the attack, Balfour had sent a detachment of Queen's Rangers which brought the garrison to 300, as Henry Lee estimated in a letter to Greene of 27 January. In his memoirs, however, Lee gives the garrison's strength as 200. NGP7 pp. 206, 207n., LMS p. 223-224.
[1949] After Campbell was taken and paroled, Major James Grant of the King's American Regt. became commander at Georgetown. Yet on 10 February, Capt. John Saunders was appointed in his place.[1949]
[1950] NDI, GDH2 pp. 15-16, GHA4 p. 32, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. July 1917, p. 134, MMS2 pp. 230-231, LMS p. 223-225, JLG1 pp. 358-360, GAR1 pp. 156-157, LCC pp. 72-79, JFM pp. 37-38, MSC2 pp. 82-83, 86-89, RBG p. 140, BSF pp. 135-137.
[1951] NDI
[1952] BLB p. 20, NGP7 p. 198n.
[1953] LMS p. 223.

suspicion of treachery and disconcerted the plans that had promised the most perfect triumph; yet advantages arose from it of considerable consequence to the American cause. Colonel [George] Campbell, the Commandant, was taken, and about seventy men either killed or taken prisoners. It [the expedition against Georgetown] convinced the British, that however great the distance by which they were removed from the enemy, (the Continental Army being, at the period of attack, on the borders of North Carolina) that they were still vulnerable, and at every moment subject to attack. It checked their marauding, predatory expeditions, gave comparative security to the oppressed inhabitants in their vicinity, and to themselves, full assurance, that to be safe, they must continue inactive, and remain within the limits of their Garrison. It is pleasing to me, to record the singular gallantry of a most meritorious Soldier, who, on this occasion, gained high renown."[1954]

25 January. Pickens was promoted to Brigadier General by Gov. John Rutledge.[1955]

25 January. Remnants of Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens' Virginia militia, whose time of service had expired, left Greene's camp at Hick's Creek on their way to pick up the prisoners captured at Cowpens. After securing these, they then made their return march home, while escorting the captives into Virginia for safekeeping.[1956]

25-27 January. Cornwallis, at Ramseur's Mill, destroyed most of his baggage, in an effort was made to transform his whole army into a light corps. He spent two days collecting flour, destroying superfluous baggage (included rum and much food), and "all my wagons, except those loaded with hospital stores, salt, ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded."[1957] States William Johnson, "By the destruction of his baggage and waggons, he was enabled to not only double his teams, but to mount a considerable body of infantry." Yet, he goes on to add that, Cornwallis could have caught Morgan if he had not halted. Schenck and others also remark that at the time of Cornwallis' stay at Ramseur's possibly as many as 250 of his Lordship's troops, particularly German soldiers from the von Bose Regt., deserted to the nearby German community or elsewhere; even the guards were reduced by one eighth during this pause. Although 250 seems an extremely large and rather unlikely figure; nonetheless, there would seem to have been unusually high degree of desertion while or about the same time as this relatively brief spell spent at Ramseur's. Treacy, for his part, speaks of this cunctation as saving Morgan's detahment.[1958]
Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara to (the 3rd) Duke of Grafton, 20 April 1781: "In this situation, without baggage, necessaries, or provisions of any sort for officer or soldier, in the most barren inhospitable, unhealthy part of North America, opposed to the most savage, inveterate, perfidious, cruel enemy, with zeal and with bayonets only, it was resolved to follow Greene's army to the end of the world." [1959]

25-26 January. Some of Arnold's artillerymen with some wagons were ambuscaded outside Norfolk while foraging. Simoce, with 17 jaegers and Queen's Rangers, was sent out in very heavy rain to find and retake those captured, but, due to the extremely bad weather, with limited success; discovering only one of the lost party, a British young officer "dreadfully mangled and mortally wounded."[1960]

27-28 January. It rained heavily on 27 and 28 January (in southeast N.C.), and by the 29th the Catawba was flooded. In the meantime, all of its fords, for more than forty miles from its fork, were seized and occupied by the North Carolina militia. Morgan had ordered Davidson to Beattie's Ford. The latter had 500 men, yet 250 of these were without flints. An additional 310 men, under Col. Thomas Farmer, however, joined Davidson the following day (the 29th.)[1961]
Lossing: "The pursuit by Cornwallis had been keen and untiring. He had kept between the Broad and the Catawba Rivers, and his sole efforts were to reach the fords toward which Morgan was pressing, in time to cut him off. Morgan's march was equally rapid, and he crossed the Catawba at the Island Ford, on the northern border of the present Lincoln County, with his prisoners and baggage, two hours before the arrival of the British van-guard, under Brigadier-general O'Hara [Jan. 28, 1781]. It was sunset, and the earl, confident of his prey, postponed further pursuit until morning. This delay was fatal to his success. Rain fell copiously during the night,[1962] and in the morning the Catawba was brimful, and entirely unfordable. Thus it remained for forty-eight hours; and in the mean while Morgan's prisoners were sent forward to a place of safety, and measures were adopted to dispute the passage of the river with the British. Had the flood in the river happened a few hours earlier, Morgan's little army must have been lost. The event was properly marked by the friends of liberty as the tangible interposition of Providence. The arrival of Greene, at this juncture, was equally providential; for Morgan had resolved upon a line of retreat which must have proved fatal. Greene interposed counter orders, and the whole army was saved."[1963]

[1954] GAR1 p. 156.
[1955] NGP7 p. 203n.
[1956] NGP7 p. 196n, MLW4A pp. 350-351.
[1957] Cornwallis to Germain, 17 March 1781.
[1958] LOB, part III, , STL, RCO p. 174, TCS p. 223, GHA4 p. 37, SAW2 pp. 326-327, MLW4A p. 350, JLG1 pp. 389-390, 405-406, 417, WAR2 p. 765, BRG pp. 339-341, TPY p. 124, WCO p. 276, BLO p. 89.
[1959] Quoted in Wickwire, see WCO p. 278 (O'Hara to Duke of Grafton, Apr. 20, 1781, Grafton Papers Ac. 423/191.)
[1960] SQR pp. 171-172.
[1961] NGP7 p. 211, TCS p. 225, JLG1 p. 390, LFB2 p. 392.
[1962] Joseph Graham, who was present in the region at the time, denies that it was raining at this time. See 28 Jan. below where he is quoted. GAM1 pp. 369-370.
[1963] LFB2 p. 392.

28 January. Greene, with only a single aide, a cavalry sergeant and a guide accompanying him, left his Peedee camp and rode to join Morgan's detachment at Sherrald's Ford on the east bank of the Catawba. Morgan at first expressed to him, almost to the point of insubordination, his determinaion to retreat wih his prisoners over the mountains, but was finally dissuaded from this by Greene to continue on his way to regroup with the main army.[1964] The latter, and including Morgan, by this date and according to William Johnson's estimate numbered 1426 infanry, 47 artillerists, 230 cavalry, and about 400 militia (whose numbers fluctuated.)[1965]
McCrady (who tends to be critical of Greene in defense of Sumter): "This was indeed a most extraordinary step to have taken after six days of hesitation and indecision. Why he [Greene] should have deemed it so necessary to abandon his main army and leave it under Huger, to join Morgan with his detachment, as to warrant this mad ride [near and in part through Tory country], it is difficult to imagine."[1966]

28 January. Cornwallis resumed his march from Ramseur's Mill and headed toward the Catawba. He camped at Beattie's Ford with intent to cross but flooded waters prevented it, then moved to Bower's Plantation. Joseph Graham, however, disputes that flooding affected Cornwallis' movement at this time.[1967]
From Alfred Nixon's *The History of Lincoln County*, vol. IX: "Early on the morning of the 28th the British [Cornwallis] broke camp and marched toward Beattie's Ford, a distance of twelve miles to Jacob Forney's. The moving Britons, in scarlet uniforms with glittering muskets, made an impressive sight, and tradition still preserves their route. Jacob Forney was a thrifty farmer and well-known Whig. Here they encamped three days, consuming his entire stock of cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry, and taking his horses and forty gallons of brandy. Some state that Cornwallis approached the Catawba on the evening of the 28th, and found it considerably swollen and impassable for his infantry and this caused him to fall back to Jacob Forney's plantation."

Joseph Graham: "It is stated, by historians generally, that about, and on the first of February, 1781, the Catawba river was swollen, and that this was the reason why Cornwallis did not pursue Morgan more closely. The statement is erroneous. During the three days immediately preceding the 1st of February, my command of cavalry, or portions of it, crossed the river at different fords; and it was not flusher of water than is usual at that season of the year, until the rain, which fell on the evening of the first of February. This did occasion a rise in the Yadkin, which intercepted the British after Greene's army had passed, on the third of February."[1968]

28-29 January (also given as 1 February) [surrender] Wilmington (New Hanover County, N.C.) 18 vessels[1969] with 300 or possibly 450 troops (Rankin's number), mostly of the 82nd Regt. (6 companies strength) plus at least 26 marines with 2 brass three-pounders and 2 iron sixes, under Major James Craig captured Wilmington after little or no American resistance. The primary motive for taking Wilmington was to provide Cornwallis a supply source that would help support his army in North Carolina. The town had been guarded by 50 North Carolina militia, under Col. Henry Young. But Young withdrew before the British landed. 400 to 500 N.C. militia under Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington arrived too late to prevent his landing, but did check the British from opening up communications with Cross Creek. Craig then set about upgrading the town's defensive works. Rankin gives the date as 1 February, and says 200 men surrendered to Craig after first spiking the 17 nine and twelve pounders, in two batteries, protecting the town. There was an effort to remove stores of arms and munitions upriver, but all were captured or destroyed by Craig's men, while the spiked guns would probably have been repaired.[1970]
Col. Thomas Brown (of Bladen County, N.C.), at Elizabethtown, on 19 February wrote Brig. Gen. Lillington: "I inclose you Col. [James] Emmet's [also Emmett] letter to inform you how Infamously the Newbern District hath behaved, and I am told cheafly owing to Capt. Thomas; I will gard the river on acct. of the Baggage & as far as lies in my power, but the greatest part of the good people in this County is Engaged back against the Toryes, and seems Very Loth to go Against the British And Leive [sic] their Families Exposed to a set of Villians, who Dayley threattains [sic] their Destruction. I intend seting out for Wilmington on Thursday with what few I can raise; at which time you shall hear from me." [1971]

From "Memorandum concerning the situation of Wilmington" by anonymous author, dated 13 February 1781, and found among Gov. Abner Nash's papers: "At the Constitution Hill, there is a strong fortification which Commands the Town [of Wilmington] and its Vicinity. Two Hills between the So. end of the town and the old Battery is also thrown into R. Dobbs. The N. West is also fortified with Baterrys. Garrison not over Vigilant and 450 by count. Inhabitants not to be depended on to the Common Cause of A. 4 Armed Vessels in the River. Small pox in Burguins, Yallow Corner house near J. Walkers. No Rum for -- have arrived. Major Craig Commands and Capt. Ingalls of the *Delight*, 20 Gun Ship."[1972]

[1964] LMS p. 583. Depites Lee's providing a seemingly corroborating anecdote and quote from Greene to Morgan on the occasion, William Johnson's denies Morgan's alleged recalcitrance or there having been any dispute with Greene, JLG1 pp. 408-409.
[1965] NGP7 209n, GHA4 pp. 38-39, RSC2 206 MMS2 p. 260, JLG1 pp. 392-394, 408-409, LCC pp. 101-104 SNC pp. 232-233, MSC2 p. 94.
[1966] GHA4 pp. 37-38, MSC2 p. 94. Henry Lee IV disputes this interpretation; arguing tha Greene's ride put him in no such grave peril.LCC pp. 101-104.
[1967] LOB part III, JLG1 p. 389, GAM1 pp. 369-370.
[1968] GAM1 pp. 369-370.
[1969] Including at least 3 warships and 3 galleys. DRO p. 141.
[1970] NGP7 pp. 209, 236-237, AR81 pp. 62-63, TCS p. 230, GHA4 p. 47, JLG1 p. 398, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. July 1917, p. 135, RNC p. 320, DRO pp. 140-144.
[1971] CNC15 p. 423.
[1972] CNC15 p. 423.

29 January. Returning from his foray against Georgetown, Marion halted to refresh and regroup his men at Corde's plantation.[1973]
McCrady: "Marion appears at this time to have had what were called three regiments. Of these Peter Horry was colonel of one, with William Benison as major, and John Baxter, John Postell, Daniel Conyers, and James McCauley, captains. Adam McDonald was colonel of another, but then being a prisoner, the regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Horry. A third regiment was commanded by Colonel John Ervin, who resigned and was succeeded by Captain John Baxter. Captain William McCottry commanded a company of riflemen but whether attached to one of these regiments or as an independent command does not appear. The following list of other of Marion s officers is compiled from those mentioned from time to time in James's *Life of Marion*: Colonels James Postell, William Harden, and Hezekiah Maham, Majors John James and Alexander Swinton, Captains John T. Greene, Thomas Waties, Gavin Witherspoon, Thomas Potts, -- Irby, John Simons (killed at Quimby), William Allston, Samuel Cooper, William Capers, G. Sinclair Capers, John Futhey, -- Bennett, William Clay Snipes, John Carraway Smith, Lieutenant Smizer."[1974]

29 January. By the 29th, Davidson had 800 North Carolina militia with him, most of these posted at Beattie's Ford. Morgan,[1975] who himself (while leaving his Cowpens army at Sherrald's Ford) was with Davidson, had 200 of the militia sent to Tuckasegee ford; where trees were felled and ditches dug to create obstacles for the British.[1976]

29 January. Huger left with main army from the Hicks Creek Camp on the Peedee to join Greene and Morgan; with Salisbury being the intend point of rendezvous. Yet as events developed, the junction took place at Guilford Court House instead.[1977]

29-31 January. Cornwallis camped at "Fawney's" (Forney's) Plantation, at 2 am on the 31st, he divided his army and marched to Cowan's and Beattie's Fords on the Catawba River.[1978]

30 January. [skirmish] First Heron's Bridge, also Big Bridge (Pender County, N.C.) See DRO pp. 145-148. Described also in John Robertson's online database as "Col. Henry Young vs. Major James Craig, 30 Jan 1781;" see: http://gaz.jrshelby.com/heronsbridge.htm

30 January. Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington writing from Colston's Mill and Ferry on the Peedee where he was building a redoubt to protect the magazine there. He had arrived at Colston's on January 14th with some N.C. militia under him. The size of his force was originally somewhat large (possibly as many as 500); as Greene had complained to him earlier about the difficulty of keeping relatively-inactive militia supplied. Soon after, Lillington withdrew his men from Colston's and was subsequently occupied in checking British operations out of Wilmington; though Colson's was still to some extent kept operational as a site for gathering provsions for Greene's army and the N.C. militia.[1979]

30 January. Having completed a 100 mile journey in four days Greene, alone with some staff, reached Sherrald's Ford on the Catawba River where he found Morgan's army -- though without Morgan himself who was with Davidson at Beattie's Ford.[1980]

31 Janaury. Just a few days after landing at and occupying Wilmington (see 28 January), Craig wrested and seized several ships in the vicinity. [1981]

31 January (also possibly 30 January). [raids] Wadboo [also Watboo], Monck's Corner, and Manigault's Ferry (Calhoun and Berkeley counties respectively, S.C.) On 29 January, Marion, at Corde's Plantation, wrote to Capt. John Postell: "You will cross Santee River with twenty-five [mounted] men and make a forced march to Watboo [Wadboo], there burn all British stores of every kind." He also ordered him to burn stores and wagons at Monck's Corner on his return. Postell was "to bring no prisoners with you." At the same time, Marion similarly ordered Major James Postell to take 40 (mounted) men and destroy stores at Thompson's Plantation on the Congaree. In the next day or two, Capt. John Postell had destroyed British provisions at Wadboo Bridge, and then surprised the Keithfield depot near Monck's Corner; burning 14 wagons loaded with clothing. Maj. James Postell for his part, succeeded in destroying a large quantity of military supplies at Manigault's Ferry on the Santee River, five miles northwest of Nelson's Ferry. Neither of the raiding parties suffered any losses.[1982]

[1973] MSC2 p. 99.
[1974] MSC2 pp. 99n-100n.
[1975] His corps of light troops was at Sherrald's Ford.
[1976] NGP7 pp. 212, 215-216.
[1977] NGP7 p. 232, GHA4 p. 38.
[1978] LOB part III, STL.
[1979] NGP7 pp. 130, 142, 222.
[1980] NGP7 pp. 219n, 267, GHA4 p. 38, MLW4A p. 350, LMS pp. 232-233, JLG1 pp. 403-405, LCC pp. 101-104. Treacy: "There is some confusion as to the date of Greene's arrival on the Catawba. Gordon, *America*, III p. 163 puts it at the 31st, as does Henry Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 233 and Lossing, *Field-Book*, II p. 391. [G.W.] Greene, *Life*, [v.] III, p. 154, Graham, *Morgan*, p. 342, and Johnson, *Greene*, [v.] I, 403, all state it as Jan. 30. Inasmuch as Johnson also quotes at length a letter from Greene to Huger dated Jan. 30 at Sherrald's Ford the evidence would seem to be that he was in fact there that day." TPY p. 221n.
[1981] DRO p. 148.
[1982] NGP7 p. 229, BMS, JFM pp. 84-88, BSF p. 138, RBG p. 141, LSC p. 12.

Tarleton Brown: "For prudence sake, General Marion never encamped over two nights in one place, unless at a safe distance from the enemy. He generally commenced the line of march about sunset, continuing through the greater part of the night. By this policy he was enabled effectually to defeat the plans of the British and to strengthen his languishing cause…The heavy rains which prevailed at this time and inundated the country to a considerable extent, proved very favorable to General Marion. He now set a detachment of seventy men, my self one of that number, across the Santee, to attack the enemy stationed at 'Scott's Lake' and 'Monk's Corner' [Monck's Corner.] We crossed the river at night in a small boat, commanded by Captains James and John Postell, dividing our forces into two companies, each consisting of thirty-five men. Captain James Postell took one company and proceeded to 'Scott's Lake,' but ascertaining the strength of the army, and finding the place too well fortified to warrant an attack, he abandoned the project and returned again to the river, and waited the arrival of Captain John Postell, who, in the meantime, had marched with the other company to 'Monk's Corner.' It was my good fortune to accompany the latter.
"Just about the break of day we charged upon the enemy, and our appearance was so sudden and unexpected that they had not time even to fire a single gun. We took thirty-three prisoners, found twenty odd hogsheads of old spirits, and a large supply of provisions. The former we destroyed, but returned with the latter and our prisoners to the army on the Santee. The news of our attack on 'Monk's Corner' having reached the enemy at 'Scott's Lake,' they forthwith marched to their assistance, but arrived too late to extend any -- we had captured their comrades, bursted [sic] their hogsheads of spirits, gathered their provisions, and decamped before their arrival. Captain James Postell, being apprised of their march to assist their friends at 'Monk's Corner,' returned to the fort, set fire to it, and burned it level to the ground."[1983]

31 January. After Georgetown, Lee and Marion headed in the direction of Ft. Watson. However, before they arrived Watson had left 80 men at the post; having marched with the remainder of his force to Camden. William Johnson writes: "An attempt was then made to throw a detachment of [Lee's] dragoons across the [Santee] river, with orders to ascend its south bank and destroy the enemy's stores at Colonel Thompson's, and some other depots on the Congaree. Some delay ensued from want of boats, but the detachment was then out on that service, when Colonel Lee was recalled, with orders to hasten to Salisbury to join General Greene, then retreating before Cornwallis." On the 31st, Lee left Marion at Corde's Plantation and moved north to reunite with the main army.[1984]

31 January. Tarleton: "On the evening of the 31st of January, a large proportion of the King's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning...The principal part of Cornwallis' army, and two three pounders, marched in the night to Cowan's or M'Cowan's ford, while Col. Webster with the 33rd, 2nd Battalion of the 71st, The Royal North Carolina Regt., the Jägers, Tarleton's Cavalry, Bryan's loyalists, the four six-pounders, two three-pounders, and all the wagons, moved toward Beattie's Ford."[1985]
"Scottish Travel Log" for 31 Jan.: "Within two miles of Beatty's Ford, Catawba River."

31 January. Greene and staff moved from Sherrald's to Beattie's Ford, where Morgan and Davidson already were, to examine and oversee the defenses there. Morgan's force itself (i.e. without him) left Sherrald's Ford and marched toward the Yadkin, which they crossed, on their way to Salisbury and where Morgan himself later re-joined them. [1986]
William Johnson: "Morgan's detachment .was encamped the day [31 jan.] before at Beat[t]y's Ford, six miles above M'Cowen's, and nearly that distance nearer to Salisbury."[1987]

Joseph Graham: "At Tuckaseege Ford, on the road leading from Ramseur's to Charlotte, he [Brig. Gen. Davidson] placed two hundred men under Colonel Joseph Williams, of Surry. At Tool's Ford seventy men under Captain Potts, of Mecklenburg, at Cowan's Ford twenty-five men under Lieutenant Thomas Davidson, of Mecklenburg. With his greatest force and Graham's cavalry, he took post at Beattie's Ford on the road from Ramsour's [Ramseur's] Mill to Salisbury being twenty miles above Colonel Williams. On the 31st of January the cavalry were dispatched over the river, and ascertained that the enemy were encamped within four miles. Within two miles they discovered one hundred of their cavalry, who followed them to the river, but kept at a respectful distance. The dispositions that were being made caused them to fear an ambuscade.
"The same evening General Morgan sent on the troops under his command with Colonel Howard, directly towards Salisbury. He himself and Colonel Washington came down to Beattie's Ford, about 2 o'clock, and in ten minutes General Greene and his aid, Major [William] Pierce, arrived. He had been early informed of the movements of the British army and had first put his troops in motion, then leaving them under command of General Huger on their march towards Salisbury, he had come on to ascertain the situation of affairs, and give orders to the officers in this quarter; General Morgan and Colonel Washington met him at this place, by appointment. They and General Davidson retired with him out of the camp, and seating themselves on a log, had a conversation of about twenty minutes they then mounted their horses, General Greene and aid took the road to Salisbury, Morgan and Washington took a way that led to the troops inarching under Howard. About the time General Greene had arrived the British vanguard of about four or five hundred men appeared on the opposite hill beyond the river. Shortly after their arrival, some principal officer with a numerous staff, thought to be Lord

[1983] BMS pp. 34-38, CSS pp. 1147-1148.
[1984] MLW4A p. 350 JLG1 p. 362, BSF p. 138.
[1985] LOB Part III, STL, TCS p. 224.
[1986] NGP7 p. 243, GHA4 p. 38, HWW p. 99.
[1987] JLG1 p. 414.

Cornwallis, passed in front of them at different stations, halting and apparently viewing us with spy-glasses. In about one hour after General Greene's departure General Davidson gave orders to the cavalry and about two hundred and fifty infantry to march down the river to Cowan's Ford, four miles below Beattie's, leaving nearly the same number at that place, under the command of Colonel [Thomas] Farmer, of Orange. On the march he stated to the commanding officer of the cavalry that, though General Greene had never seen the Catawba before, he appeared to know more about it than those who were raised on it, and it was the General's opinion that the enemy were determined to cross the river, and he thought it probable their cavalry would pass over some private ford in the night; and in the morning when the infantry attempted to force a passage would attack those who resisted it, in the rear; and as there was no other cavalry between Beattie's and Tuckaseege fords, he ordered that patrols who were best acquainted with the country should keep passing up and down all night, and on discovering any part of the enemy to have gotten over, to give immediate information to him. These orders were carried into effect. The party arrived at the ford about dusk in the evening, and after encamping it was too dark to examine our position."[1988]

[1988] SNC pp. 236-239.

FEBRUARY 1781

The locations of the different fords on the Catawba in this phase of the campaign can sometimes be difficult to follow for a reader unfamiliar with them. The rough graph below then will help to give an approximate idea of the site of the crossings, though it should be noted that Cowan's and Beattie's fords are closer to each other than this "map" would seem to indicate.

CATAWBA RIVER (Represented by the "I")

North

I

= Sherrald's Ford → Oliphant's Mill less than a mile north-east

I

I

I

Ramseur's Mill about 17 miles west ←. = Beattie's Ford → Torrence's Tavern about 9 miles north-east

I

=Cowan's Ford

I

= Toole's Ford

I

I

I

I

I

= Tuckaseegee Ford → Charlotte about 10 miles to the east

I

South

February. Pension statement of William White of Anson County, N.C.: "Again, in or about February, 1781, he was drafted to go against the Tories under Captain John Degarnett and Colonel Thomas Waid [Wade] at [Blewett's] Ferry. Marched to Drauning [Drowning] Creek & took some Tories as prisoners. They tried one of the prisoners by a Courts [sic] Martial and hung him. He [White] was then verbally discharged. Served at this time two weeks."

February. By this month, Captain David Fanning set up a base of loyalist operations at Coxe's Mill south of Moncure in present day Lee County, N.C. Prior to this time he had been in South Carolina with some armed followers acting on behalf of the British.

February. [skirmish] Enoree, S.C. ONB3 p. 101.

February. [skirmish] Watkin's (Newberry County, S.C.)[1989]

February. [skirmish] Muddy Spring (Lexington County, S.C.) "Capt. Philemon Waters vs. Loyalists…In the 1820s Lexington resident Paul Quattlebaum was told of a battle at Muddy Spring, on the main road between the British post of Fort Granby and Augusta. In that account Captain Philemon Waters of Sumter's Partisans had a running gun battle, in which the Patriots received the worst of it. Private James Calk was captured by the Loyalists, but afterwards made a daring escape." For more, and from which this quote is taken, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/muddy.htm

February. Admiral Charles Chevalier Destouches (also Des Touches) with 1 Ship of the Line, 2 frigates and a cutter tried to take or seize Arnold's ships within the Chesapeake; instead he captured a British forty-four gun ship and 8 transports. But not able to accomplish anything further, he sailed back to his base at Newport, R.I.[1990]

1 February.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

Brigade of Guards: 690
23rd Regt.: 279
33rd Regt.: 334
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 234
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 345
German Jägers: 97
North Carolina Volunteers: 287

[1989] LSC p. 12, ONB3 p. 100.
[1990] LMS pp. 305-306, CGP p. liv.

British Legion (cavalry only): 174[1991]

Total: 2,440[1992]

William Johnson: "The British forces during this very period [1 February to 15 February], without a battle, were reduced in number by 227, through death or desertion. The celebrated Guards were reduced by one eighth [due to desertion]...They were well clad, well fed, but had to march 230 miles between the 1st and the 15th of February. Before that time their progress had been so far from being precipitated, that between the 19th of January and the 1st of February, they had not made good eighty miles." [1993]
Tarleton: "On the junction of General Leslie, three thousand five hundred fighting men could advance into that province, besides leaving a large force on the frontier. Any advantage gained over the Americans at this period, would undoubtedly derange their projects, and give a better barrier to South Carolina and Georgia; and though the expedition was ultimately productive only of the advantage of securing old possessions, yet the attempting greater objects was justifiable, and gave a fair trial to the ardent wishes of government at home, and the confident hopes of the loyalists in America. General Leslie, with one thousand five hundred and thirty men, was greatly advanced on his march toward the army, when the operations of the Americans to the westward of Broad river laid immediate claim to the attention of the British."[1994]

If we grant Tarleton's 3,500 figure,[1995] and subtract what Cornwallis reported lost at Cowpens (700 rank and file +17.5% of 700), this would place Cornwallis' total overall strength at about 2,677. Somewhat similarly, Sumter wrote to Morgan on 28 January giving Cornwallis' strength, based on close counting by his spies, at no more than 1,600. If we add this to the 1,530 of Leslie (taking the number as a full total) would give Cornwallis a total of 3,130. On February 3rd, Greene, at "Camp on the Yadkin at the Island Ford," N.C., in a letter to von Steuben estimated Cornwallis' strength as 2,500. On February 9, in Council of War proceedings he spoke of the number as being "twenty five hundred to three thousand men." By the 15th, it had become 3,200. By averaging all these totals (except for Greene's "2,500 to 3,000") we arrive at 2,876. Adding 17.5% to Cornwallis' 2,440 rank and file comes the almost identical figure 2,867. Note none of these grand totals includes Bryan's North Carolina Volunteers who were also present.[1996]

1 February. [skirmish] Cowan's Ford, also McCowan's Ford (Lincoln and Mecklenberg County border, N.C.) Cornwallis moved to cross the Catawba River (that had begun to subside and become passable the afternoon of the 31st) with his main army at Cowan's Ford at dawn on 1 February. Webster's detachment (see 31 January) with the baggage was to loudly feint his forcing a passage at Beattie's Ford; while Cornwallis took the main body across Cowan's Ford.
The ruse to deceive the Americans, nonethless, did not prevail. For opposing Cornwallis at Cowan's Ford was Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson with 600 to 800 (mostly) North Carolina militia. Included in this body of troops was a mounted corps of observation, 300 to 500 strong (many with rifles), collected for the purpose of tracking British movements. Davidson deployed his men on a small hill a few hundred yards or less behind the river. In the interim, 200 of the militia on foot were placed in detachments at the different fords for 30 miles along the river, to prevent surprise. As the Light Infantry of the Guards, led by Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara and Lieut. Col. Francis Hall, moved to make their way over the Catawba (at Cowan's), their guide (presumably to spare himself from being shot) deserted them in midstream -- though historian M.F. Treacy disputes this interpretation; maintaining that the tory guide, Dick Beal, did not flee, and rather he had made an error.[1997] Whatever the reason for the guide's misdirection, the light infantry then they took the wagon ford exit rather than the horse ford exit, and in consequence and serendipitously were at an advantageous angle that partially protected them from the fire of Davidson's men, most of whom were posted behind the horse ford. Thus Davidson failed to halt Cornwallis' passing the river. As well, he himself (as well as 2 or 3 other officers) was mortally wounded in the process, and which much alarmed and disheartened his men.[1998]
Yet the British suffered a not insignificant number of casualties in their otherwise successful effort. Tarleton gives the American losses as 40 killed and wounded, and the British losses as 3 killed and 26 wounded. Lee in response stated: "Tarleton in his campaigns, speaks of forty being killed; but other officers, who examined the ground, said they found but 10." According to one witness, a loyalist, Robert Henry, Cornwallis lost at least 14 dead, even going so far as to say, based on an eyewitness' calculation "the British could not have lost less than one hundred men on that occasion." Among the British casualties was Lieut. Col. Hall, who was killed while ascending the opposite bank with his men. Many of those killed were reportedly wounded and who drowned.

[1991] The British Legion in the field as a unit at this time, and thereafter, consisted only of cavalry, the infantry having been destroyed or otherwise broken up as a result of Cowpens.
[1992] CAC p. 53.
[1993] JLG1 p. 408.
[1994] TCS p. 210.
[1995] William Johnson deems upwards to 4,000 a not implausible figure. JLG1 p. 366.
[1996] NGP7 pp. 242, 243n, 261, JLG1 pp. 365-366, MSC2 pp. 95-96, BGC p. 124.
[1997] TPY p. 224n -- citing Robert Henry, "Narrative of the Battle of Cowan's Ford," in George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin's, *Rebels and Redcoats*, p. 436.
[1998] Joseph Graham's pension statement: "On the 1st day of Feb. This deponent [Graham] had two of his Company killed opposing their passage and was the only Company that went off the Battle ground in order & covered the retreat. At the same time, our Genl. Davidson fell." GPS. Cornwallis' report to Germain of 17 March mentions that Davidson and 2 or 3 officers were among those killed, while a few other militia were captured. TPY p. 138.

After having made the crossing, Cornwallis and Webster then reunited their forces; the latter having met negligible if any resistance at Beattie's.[1999]
It had originally been planned that after delaying the British at Cowan's Ford Davidson and his men would join Greene at David Carr's home, some sixteen miles distant on the route to Salisbury. Despite this, Davidson's death caused the men, who were mounted, to scatter instead (some to Torrrence's Tavern); so that Greene awaited alone at Carr's till midnight without ever seeing them. By the morning of the 2nd, he had removed to Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie's tavern where he breakfasted, and where Mrs. Gillespie (who years afterward remarried and became Mrs. Steele) reportedly provided him with some welcome and much needed funds out of her own family purse.[2000]
Stedman: "The light infantry of the guards, led by Colonel [Francis] Hall, first entered the water. They were followed by the grenadiers, and the grenadiers by the battalions, the men marching in platoons, to support one another against the rapidity of the stream. When the light infantry had nearly reached the middle of the river, they were challenged by one of the enemy's sentinels. The sentinel having challenged thrice and received no answer, immediately gave the alarm by discharging his musket; and the enemy's pickets were turned out. No sooner did the guide [a tory] who attended the light infantry to show them the ford, hear the report of the sentinel's musket, than he turned round and left them. This, which at first seemed to portend much mischief, in the end proved a fortunate incident. Colonel [Francis] Hall, being forsaken by his guide, and not knowing the true direction of the ford, led the column directly across the river, to the nearest part of the opposite bank. This direction, as it afterward appeared, carried the British troops considerably above the place where the ford terminated on the other side, and where the enemy's pickets were posted, so that when they delivered their fire the light infantry were already so far advanced as to be out of the line of its direction, and it took place angularly upon the grenadiers, so as to produce no great effect."[2001]

In his letter to Germain of 17 March, Cornwallis wrote: "Lieutenant-colonel Webster was detached with part of the army and all the baggage to Beattie's ford, six miles above M'Cowan's [Cowan's], where General Davidson was supposed to be posted with five hundred militia, and was directed to make every possible demonstration, by cannonading and otherwise, of an intention to force a passage there; and I marched at one in the morning, with the brigade of guards, regiment of Bose, 23d, two hundred cavalry, and two three-pounders, to the ford fixed upon for the real attempt.
"The morning being very dark and rainy, and part of our way through a wood where there was no road, one of the three pounders in front of the 23d regiment and the cavalry overset in a swamp, and occasioned those corps to lose the line of march; and some of the artillery men belonging to the other gun, (one of whom had the march) having stopped to assist, were likewise left behind. The head of the column in the mean while arrived at the bank of the river, and the day began to break. I could make no use of the gun that was up, and it was evident, from the number of fires on the other side, that the opposition would be greater than I had expected: However, as I knew that the rain then falling would soon render the river again impassable, and I had received information the evening before, that General Greene had arrived in General Morgan's camp, and that his army was marching after him with the greatest expedition, I determined to desist from the attempt; and therefore, full of confidence in the zeal and gallantry of Brigadier-general [Charles] O'Hara, and of the brigade of guards under his command, I ordered them to march on, but, to prevent, confusion, not to fire until they gained the opposite bank. Their behaviour justified my high opinion of them; for a constant fire from the enemy, in a ford upwards of five hundred yards wide, in many places up to their middle, with a rocky bottom and strong current, made no impression on their cool and determined valour, nor checked their passage. The light infantry landing first, immediately formed, and in a few minutes killed or dispersed every thing that appeared before them; the rest of the troops forming, and advancing in succession. We now learned that we had been opposed by about three hundred militia that had taken post there only the evening before, under the command of General Davidson. Their general and two or three other officers were among the killed; the number of wounded was uncertain; a few were taken prisoners. On our side, Lieutenant-colonel Hall and three men were killed, and thirty-six wounded, all of the light infantry and grenadiers of the guards."[2002]

"Leslie" Orderly Book entry for 1 February: "Lord Cornwallis is highly displeased that Several Houses was set on fire during the March this day, a Disgrace to the Army; & that he will punish with the Utmost Severity any persons who shall be found Guilty of Committing so disgracefull [sic] an Outrage -- His Lordship requests the Comdg. [Commanding] Officers of Corps will Endeavor to find out the Persons who set fire to the Houses this day."[2003]

Joseph Graham: "We had none wounded or taken. The enemies loss as stated in the official account, published in the Charlestown *Gazette*, two months after, was Col. [Francis] Hall of the Guards, and another officer and twenty-nine privates. Thirty-one in all, killed, and thirty-five wounded. They left sixteen who were so badly wounded they could not be taken along, at Mr. Lucas's (the nearest farm) and a surgeon under protection of a

[1999] LOB, part III, STL, RCO pp. 174-175, ATR81a pp. 273-274, 302-303, AR81 pp. 59-60, TCS pp. 224-225, 261-263, SAW2 pp. 327-329, GHA4 p. 39, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. July 1917, p. 134, LJA pp. 343-344, MLW4A p. 351, LMS pp. 233-234, 234n, GPS, JLG1 pp. 413-415, LFB2 pp. 392-393, FWI pp. 222-223, SNC pp. 236-246, WAR2 pp. 767-768, TPY pp. 132-140, BEA p. 290, BRG pp. 344-348, SCAR vol. 3, no.2, pp. 2-3. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/cowansfd.htm
[2000] TPY pp. 138-140.
[2001] SAW2 p. 328.
[2002] TCS pp. 261-263.
[2003] LOB part III.

flag was left with them. Two wounded officers were carried on biers, and such of the wounded as could not walk were hauled in wagons. Some of the dead were found down the river some distance lodged in fish traps, and in brush about the banks, on rocks, etc., etc. An elegant beaver hat, made agreeably to the fashion of those times, marked inside, The property of Josiah Martin, Governor [Royal Governor of North Carolina], was found ten miles below. It never was explained by what means his Excellency lost his hat. He was not hurt himself. When General O'Hara sent on Tarleton his men kindled fires on the battle ground to dry themselves, cook their breakfasts, etc. They buried their dead, disposed of their wounded, and about mid-day he marched, and in the afternoon united with Cornwallis[2004] at Givens' plantation, two miles from Beattie's Ford, and one mile south of the Salisbury road Tarleton joined them before night. It had rained at times all day, and in the evening and night it fell in torrents.
"The men [N.C. militia] under Col. [Joseph] Williams and Capt. Potts who were guarding Tuckasegee and Tool's Fords, had early notice of the enemy's crossing and retired. The different parties met in the afternoon at Jno. McK. Alexander's, eight miles above Charlotte. By noon the next day all the men who were not dispersed, were collected near Harris' mill on Rocky river ten or twelve miles from the enemy."[2005]

Roger Lamb, Sgt. of the 23rd Regt.: "The American soldiers did all that brave men could do, to oppose our passage across the river, and I believe not one of them moved from his post, till we mounted the hill, and used our bayonets; their general [Davidson] was the first man that received us sword in hand, and suffered himself to be cut to pieces sooner then retreat; after his death, his troops were soon defeated and dispersed.
"Let the reader only for a moment consider what a situation the British troops were placed in, while they were wading over this ford, upwards of five hundred yards wide, up to their breast in the rapid stream, their knapsacks on their back, sixty or seventy rounds of powder and balls in each pouch, tied at the pole of their necks, their firelocks with bayonets, fixed on their shoulders, three hundred of their enemies (accounted the best marksmen in the world) placed on a hill as it were over their heads, keeping a continual and very heavy fire upon them." [2006]

1 February. [skirmish] Torrence's Tavern, also Tarrant's Tavern and Torrance's Tavern (Iredell County. N.C.) The militia dispersed at Cowan's and Beattie's Fords retreated to Torrence's (or Tarrant's) Tavern, some 9-10 miles from the Catawba, to regroup. Tarleton, with Webster's detachment, learning of their gathering, moved with all haste to the site where about 500 were collected.[2007] Tarleton's own force consisted of 200 Legion cavalry, 100 Jägers and 150 infantry of the 33rd Regt. With his cavalry in advance of the rest, he surprised and routed the whigs at the tavern a little after 2 o'clock in the afternoon. According to Cornwallis' estimate (based on Tarleton's report), near 40 to 50 militia were killed on the spot, and many wounded; while the others managed to escape on their horses. However, a British officer who rode over the area shortly thereafter (Stedman informs us) counted only 10 bodies on the ground.[2008] Tarleton lost 7 men killed and wounded, and twenty horses. Clinton gives the number of North Carolina militia dispersed by Tarleton as 300; Graham furthermore reports that the tavern itself was burned down after the attack.[2009]
Lossing: "A heavy rain had injured their powder, and they were not prepared to fight. The loss of General Davidson, and the total dispersion of the militia, greatly dispirited the patriots in that region, and Toryism again became bold and active."[2010]

1 February. Greene, who was at Oliphant's Mill[2011] accompanied by a few staff, wrote Huger directing him to bring up the army, especially Lee's cavalry, to join him. The supply train was to go to Guilford instead of

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[2004] Cornwallis was with O'Hara, so Graham apparently means Webster. Also Tarleton was with Webster.
[2005] GAM2 p. 264.
[2006] Roger Lamb was a Sergeant in the 23rd Regt. of Foot. LJA p. 344-345.
[2007] It is also not clear if and or to what extent Davidson had been able to remedy the shortage of flints among the militia.
[2008] SAW2 p. 329n, TPY p. 139.
[2009] Somewhat curiously, Tarleton (TCS pp. 226-227 and 252-253) makes mention of finding letters on the slain body of "Col. Locke;" which historians have interpreted as Lock's papers being carried by someone other than Lock himself, but whom Tarleton understandably construed as being that commander. Yet is it at all possible that Tarleton might, after all, have been correct; namely that Francis Lock was killed at Torrence's Tavern, and that for whatever reason we might conjecture, someone else somehow subsequently assumed his identity after the fact? Off hand and admittedly this sounds highly unlikely; only if true it would help explain why Lock's papers would *not* have been found on someone else (i.e. it was not someone else), but also why "Locke" did not stay with Pickens in the Guilford campaign, and why the lackadaisical and militarily inept Lock Greene later found himself dealing with seems so radically different from the bold and enterprising commander of Ramseur's Mill. If true (and I don't insist that it is so, but merely raise the point in order that we not possibly miss or overlook something of considerable importance), then perhaps Lock, and perhaps Davidson also, were intentionally assassinated by a tory in disguise (i.e. and outside the ordinary course of battle.) Also, if less strangely, "Col. Locke" was said to have been killed when Cornwallis entered Charlotte in late Sept. (PLP p. 31n), but which is then explained that this was a related but different "Col. Locke," i.e. the elderly Col. George Locke. ATR81a p. 274, AR81 p. 60, TCS pp. 226, 263-264, SAW2 p. 329, MLW4A p. 351, LMS pp. 234, JLG1 pp. 415-416, LFB2 p. 393, CAR p. 261, SNC pp. 244-247, BEA pp. 1089-1090.
[2010] LFB2 p. 393.
[2011] Respecting Oliphant's Mill, located in the immediate proximity of Sherrald's Ford; high up on the Catawba (roughly as far north as Salisbury and some 25 miles west of the same) and later one of Greene's primary local munitions and supply depots, Schenck (and after disputing claims that it was located at the confluence of Buffalo Creek and the Catawba in Iredell County, N.C.) states: "[O]n the opposite side of the Catawba River, in Catawba County, on Ball's Creek, there was, many years ago, Iron Works, which continued to a recent period of time, and I am much inclined to the opinion that Oliphant's Mill was located at this Iron Works, which would be an appropriate place for the repair of arms and the storage of provisions." SNC p. 393. See also JLG1 p. 343.

Salisbury. “Had we a superiority in horse the Militia would be useful but for want of which the Militia dare not go within miles of the enemy.” [2012]

1 February. Huger, coming from the Hick’s Creek camp, arrived with the main body of the American army at Mask’s Ferry (on the north side of the Peedee.) On this date, he wrote Greene saying he could not bring the army up further until Col. Thomas Wade sent more food, since the men had with them only three days allowance of food. He added: “Col. Wade promised me that he would have a thousand bushels of meal brought up at Sherraws ferry [Sherrald’s Ford] from below, by that time the wagons could be sent to transport it to the army. I have sent five wagons which came from Cross Creek, with salt &x for this purpose. The other five were detained by Lillington. I have ordered them to Col. Wade and to make as much dispatch as possible and follow the army upon the route it marches. I shall leave a part of Genl. Lillington’s men to guard them. The live stock shall be collected and I am in hopes to bring on a considerable drove...Col. Kosciuszko’s boats are not with us. I have wrote him to join you immediately and directed him to forward such boats as were finished and to put the rest in charge of Colonel Wade and to order the artificers to join the army. This I conceived to be absolutely necessary from the want of artifficers [sic] none having joined from Philadelphia...The rum and such stores as are coming on for the use of the army [from Hillsborough].[2013] I shall give directions to proceed to Ellis’ ferry and wait there for orders. None has yet arrived except the stores from Rocky River.”[2014]

2 February. [skirmish] Monck’s Corner (Berkeley County, S.C.)

2 February. Cornwallis camped at “Cossington” (while the “Scottish Travel Log” entry for this date states “Carol’s Ferry.”) Here Capt. John Goodricke (also Goodrickes) of the Guards was appointed to the Light Infantry to fill the vacancy left by Lieut. Col. Hall’s death; though it’ s probable Capt. William Maynard, already with the Light Infantry, actually assumed Hall’s command position, while Goodricke took Maynard’s.[2015]

2 February. Col. Otho Williams, at Camp at Mask’s Ferry wrote to Major John Mazaret[2016]: “The General [Greene] desires Mazaret to halt the artillery at the forks of the road about two miles below Mountain Creek Bridge; Captain Davis will come to Head quarters for some extra duty; all the men of Captain [Ebenezer] Finley’s company will be relieved from duty, and their places will be filled by men from other corps to the number of forty; Capt. Finlay [Finley] will have two six-pounders, with the best horses procurable, and will be sent to this camp with fifty thousand good musket cartridges; Mazaret will then go to G[u]ilford Court House and receive further orders; he [Mazaret] is authorized to press the horses he needs and to take any corn he finds; the General wishes to see him today if possible; he [Mazaret] will send forward all the good muskets.”[2017]
While on this same date, Maj. Ichabod Burnet, Greene’s aide and from writing Hick’s Creek, dispatched the following to Henry Lee: “I this moment returned from Roan county, where I left the general last evening. He had Washington's horse consisting only of 60 men, with him. The militia will not assemble or annoy the enemy unless we have a superiority in cavalry. Tarleton has 250 dragoons. The general's anxiety to collect the cavalry is very great, and he expects you to join him in three days. He supposes every thing will depend upon it. Lord Cornwallis has destroyed his waggons and formed and equipped his army as light infantry. You may rely on it he will penetrate the country by the upper route.
“The enemy crossed the Catawba yesterday morning; at M’Cowen’s [Cowan’s] ford, and Tarleton pushed our militia beyond Mr. Tournie's, which is 20 miles on the road to Salisbury. They were so dispirited that they will do nothing till our cavalry are able to circumscribe Mr. Tarleton’s limits. I expect the enemy will be at Salisbury to-morrow, and nothing but the fresh will prevent their crossing the Yadkin the next morning.
“If you knew the anxiety of General Greene, who is now exposing himself to collect the militia, which he expects only to accomplish by having a superiority of horse. Indeed our army cannot keep the field one moment after they cross the Yadkin, unless we have a superiority of cavalry.
“I congratulate you on your partial success [at Georgetown]. Please to make ray, compliments to Carnes and the other gentlemen of the corps. Unless you are with General Greene immediately you will lose the opportunity of acquiring wreaths of laurels, and the pleasure of rendering important services.”[2018]

2-3 February. Greene with Morgan and his light corps reached Salisbury; where they worked to get the troops and the supplies stored there to safety across the Yadkin River at Trading Ford (also known as Island Ford.) Due to the Yadkin’s being so overflooded, the ford itself could not be used; so that Greene’s (or someone else’s) earlier having boats collected to assist in the crossing had proved very wise and prudent indeed. Before the sun went down on the 3rd, only 100 riflemen from Virginia, a small troop of North Carolina militia cavalry, and some wagons were left on the south side of the ford. Some of Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens’ men who had not yet left to escort the Cowpens prisoners northward,[2019] helped to remove some of the Salisbury stores. Stevens then asked

[2012] Maj. Ichabod Burnet, Greene’s aide, in a letter to Lee of Feb. 2, 1781, from “Camp Pedee,” stated that Lieut. Col. Washington had only 60 men with him. LCC Appendix xxvii-xxviii. NGP7 p. 231.
[2013] Huger had moved the stores at Cross Creek and its neighborhood to Hillsborough, GHA4 p. 41.
[2014] NGP7 pp. 232-233.
[2015] LOB part III, STL.
[2016] As paraphrased in the *Calendar of Gen. Otho Williams.* Mazaret was with the Virginia State artillery, though he was serving alongside the regular Continental artillery at this time.
[2017] WCA p. 38.
[2018] LCC appendix pp.. xxvii-xxviii.
[2019] The Cowpens prisoners ultimately ended up in Winchester, VA.

these to continue with Greene's army a while longer, but this they disdained being very eager to get back home.[2020]
William Johnson: "It will be recollected, that very early, even before he [Greene] had reached his command, he had adopted the means of converting the navigable streams of the country into highways for transporting the supplies of the army. It will be also recollected, that his plan of operations, upon the advance of the British commander, involved some probable munoevering [sic] about the trading ford, which might render the quick passage of the Yadkin either for attack or defense, an important object. Both these purposes had led to the collection of the boats for some distance up and down the river, at this point."[2021]

Ramsay: "[The Americans] by expeditious movement crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close to their rear, yet the wants of boats and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains made their crossing impossible...The British having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed the two divisions of the American army made a junction at Guildford Court house." [2022]

Otho Williams: "The light troops [under Morgan then Williams] had not time, after the battle, to take care of the wounded or even breathe (surgeons were left on the field) and their retreat of 150 miles was effected under difficulties that harassed them exceedingly. The retreat of the battalions from the Peedee under Huger, was conducted for 100 miles under circumstances requiring the utmost patience. The worst waggons, with the poorest teams, and most useless baggage, were early sent off by col. O. Williams to Hillsborough; but the best, and even the artillery, was an encumbrance in their situation. They were some times without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. Notwithstanding the wintry season, and their having little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of raiment, till the heat of their bodies and occasional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. Their route lay through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. They were retarded by heavy rains, broken bridges, bad roads, and poor horses. Many of them marched without shoes over the frozen ground, and through flinty roads, which so gashed their feet, that the blood marked every step of their progress. All these hardships were endured without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lee's partizan legion had undergone extreme service, through their additional expedition to George Town, 75 miles distant from the point where the retreat of the battalion commenced.
"Though the toils and sufferings of the Americans exceeded, those of the royal army were far from trifling. The British had in common with the others bad roads, heavy rains, a want of cover, deep creeks and rivers through which to pass in the depth of winter: but then they were well supplied in the articles of shoes and clothes. The difficulties and evils arising from lord Cornwallis's destroying the superfluous baggage and waggons were not small; but they were submitted to with the most general and cheerful acquiescence, from his lordship's setting the example."[2023]

3 February. Lee, from Culp's Ferry, wrote Greene: I acquainted you with my situation and expectations, on receiving orders from Col. Williams to join the army. I have hurried on to this place, where I must necessarily halt one day, for the junction of two troops of cavalry in my rear. The invitation which the posture of affairs on the other side of the Santee, and in the state of Georgia, held out to a proper attempt, was so pleasing, that I regret exceedingly my recall from that country.
"I regret it not only as a soldier anxious to acquire honour, but as a citizen. The minds of the people are wavering ; their general inclination favours us, but they cannot, they will not, declare, when they understand our effort is confined to the exertions of their own militia. They will expect regular troops from us; being disappointed in this, and being obliged by our own conduct to take a part decisively, I fear instead of a general insurrection in our favour, we shall strengthen the enemy. My conclusion therefore is, that unless we can spare a force adequate to the great prospect of the day, it would have been better to have deferred operations.
"Whether an adequate force can be spared you best know, as it depends on the circumstances of the two armies. I must presume that General Morgan's victory was so complete as to put it out of the power of

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[2020] NGP7 pp. 196n, 240, 244n, RCO p. 175, RHA2 p. 557, GHA4 p. 40, *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. July 1917, p. 134, LMS pp. 235-236, JLG1 pp. 417-419, LFB2 pp. 394-395, BEA pp. 1022-1023.
[2021] JLG1 p. 418.
[2022] RHA2 p. 557.
[2023] GHA4 pp. 41-42. These passages are taken from Gordon, yet are very likely verbatim quotes from the Otho Williams papers which Gordon had available to him. The information conveyed and the style and tone used by the writer certainly support such an interpretation. John Marhall also apparanetly used Williams' writings in a like manner; see, for instance, his account of the Race to the Dan, MLW4A pp. 353-357. Gordon: "The advantage of col. O. H. Williams's official papers, of private letters, and of subsequent conversation with gen. Greene, for the purpose of information, has occasioned a variation in diverse parts of the above narrative from Dr. Ramsay and others." GHA4 p. 59n. Otho Williams and John Eager Howard biographer John Beakes, in commenting on my surmise, wrote in response: "There is a letter from Otho Holland Willams to [then] Governor Henry Lee of Virginia written in 1792, that reinforces your point…that WIlliams may well have been the original author of a section of writing in Gordon's work. Williams told Lee that he finds 'whole pages' of his narrative in Gordon's work. The letter also explains to Lee that Williams had lost all* of his military papers, because he sent them to Gordon (on the recommendation of Nathanael Greene,) and Gordon wrote him a year later to say that they had been lost at sea. [See] Williams, at Baltimore, to Lee, March 15, 1792. *Calendar of the Otho Holland Williams Papers* in the Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. MS 908: Part 4 of 8, item #688." See also Otho H. Williams Papers, MD. Historical Society, Part 3/8, Item #353; TPY pp. 194, 238n, 239n. *Actually only most or some of them were lost; as others of Williams' papers survived and which Marshall and William Johnson had access to, see JLG2 p. viii.

Cornwallis to effect a junction with his North Carolina detachment, even if General [Thomas] Dundas has arrived there from Virginia; unless the people of North Carolina are generally in the interest of the enemy. But should his force promise a junction, I think the recovery of the two south states would blast every advantage which his most sanguine success could produce.
"A party of horse and foot from your army, equal to the breaking down of all the outposts in the two states, and confining the enemy to Charleston, Georgetown, Ninety Six, Camden, Savannah, and Augusta, would increase daily, from 300 they would grow to as many thousand. This small party would have it in their power to dispossess the enemy of some of the above posts in the course of a few months. Militia never can force regular troops from intrenched posts.
"Fort Moultrie is an object of the first consequence, and might be the source of the most lasting benefit, if taken by us -- its garrison is small. Savannah and Beaufort are in the same situation. Two thousand continentals lay in prison ships in Charleston harbour. Cooper and Ashley rivers communicate directly with them.
"What might not a spirit of enterprize effect? One hundred chosen infantry, with my legion would perhaps be a sufficient number. If you think proper to adopt the scheme, favour me with your full instructions; give me the additional number, place one nine pounder in some secret place near Pedee, where I may get it ivhen ivanted, honour me with frequent letters, establish a communication in cyphers, and I will devote myself to rendering you the most essential services. I think you cannot do any thing decisive with your army, as you cannot risk an action only on partial grounds. Nor do I believe Cornwallis can succeed in his scheme unless Narth Carolina oppose the United States.
"Pardon the freedom of this address, it results from my zeal for the good of America, and for the prosperity of your arms. If you conclude that we join, I request you will be pleased to send me your orders by an express [see Burnet to Lee, 2 Feb. entry], and give the bearer, one of my sergeants, permission to take such of the prisoners under care of General Stevens, as he may claim. I flatter myself he will bring to me some of my deserters."[2024]

3 February. The British captured St. Eustatius from the Dutch. The West Indies island (and which incidentally included a substantial Jewish banking community) had for years been a rich and fecund link in the American and Allied supply line; with its loss being a significant blow to the financially and materially struggling American cause. For a time, the British continued on the island disguised as the Dutch, and by his means decoyed a number of allied vessels into being taken.[2025]

3 February. [skirmish] Trading Ford, also Island Ford (Rowan County, North Carolina) Just as most of Greene's men and supplies were making their way across the Yadkin at Trading Ford in the late hours of the day, Tarleton and Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara with the Guards approached there[2026] to find the few Americans remaining on the west bank of the river. A brief skirmish then ensued between O'Hara's column and some 100 Virginia militia under Maj. David Campbell, as well as some North Carolina mounted militia led by Col. John Luttrell.[2027] After some heated shooting, the American rear guard dispersed, abandoning some wagons carrying personal items; finally making their escape at a crossing two miles down stream. O'Hara then returned to join the main army under Cornwallis which had reached Salisbury, and where most of the army remained the next day resting. According to Joseph Graham, the Americans lost 2, and the British 10 to 12 killed and wounded.[2028]
Lossing: "General Greene had hoped, by guarding the fords on the Catawba with the light troops under Morgan, to prevent the passage of the British army until Huger and Williams should arrive with the other divisions of the American forces. The passage at Cowan's Ford destroyed these hopes, and Morgan and his light troops retreated precipitately toward the Yadkin. The detachment of Lieutenant-colonel Webster crossed at Beattie's Ford, and joined Cornwallis the next day [Feb. 2.], on the road to Salisbury, five miles from the crossing-place. The royal army rested at Salisbury 11 that night, and the next morning started in pursuit of Greene and Morgan. These officers did not await the dawn, but passed the Yadkin at Trading Ford while Cornwallis was slumbering; and when, on the morning of the third, the earl hastened to strike a fatal blow on the banks of that stream, the Americans were beyond his reach, and Providence had again placed an impassable barrier of water between them. Another copious rain in the mountains had swollen the Yadkin to a mighty river. The horses of Morgan had forded the stream at midnight, and the infantry passed over in bateaux at dawn. These vessels were secured on the east shore of the Yadkin, and Cornwallis was obliged to wait for the waters to subside before he could cross. Again he had the Americans almost within his grasp. A corps of riflemen were yet on the west side when O'Hara, with the van-guard, approached, but these escaped across the river, after a smart skirmish of a few minutes. Nothing was lost but a few wagons belonging to the Whigs who were fleeing with the American army, with their effects.[2029]

Tarleton: "General O'Hara having made a fruitless effort to get possession of the flats and large boats upon the river, took post with the infantry on the ground which commanded the ford and the ferry, and sent back the

[2024] LCC appendix pp. xxviii-xxx. Henry Lee IV uses this to help support his contention that it was Lee Sr. who first suggested that Greene turn south in early April 1781.
[2025] ATR81a pp. 157, 251, 260-271, 343-346, AR81 pp. 101-106, SAW2 pp. 278-280, GHA4 pp. 74-78, FWI pp. 203-204, CGP pp. lxv-lxvi. The island was retaken by the French on 26 Nov. 1781, SAW2 pp. 416-417.
[2026] O'Hara passed through Salisbury at 3 pm on his way to Trading Ford, which was seven miles distant. GAM2 p. 265.
[2027] Luttrell (also Lutteral) was a former Continental officer from Chatham County, N.C. who had been authorized by the North Carolina Board of War to raise 200 militia for three months service. Most of these men ended up going home before their term expired. Luttrell was later killed at Lindley's Mill in September 1781. NGP7 p. 227n.
[2028] NGP7 pp. 227n, 252, RCO p. 175, AR81 p. 61, TCS p. 227, GHA4 p. 40, MLW4A pp. 352-353, LMS pp. 235-236, JLG1 pp. 417-419, GAM2 p. 265-266, SNC pp. 248-252, TPY p. 141.
[2029] LFB2 p. 394.

cavalry to Salisbury. A heavy rain swelled the Yadkin the succeeding day and night, and General Morgan remained on the eastern bank, facing the British troops."[2030]

Joseph Graham: "Before the rear came in [under Cornwallis], Brigadier-General O'Hara and the cavalry moved on. It was seven miles to the Trading Ford on the Yadkin, and it was getting dark when he came near. General Morgan had passed his regulars and baggage all over, and there remained on the south side only one hundred and fifty militia and the baggage wagons of the troops which had escaped from Cowan's Ford, and some others. Finding the British approaching, the militia were drawn up near a half mile from the ford, where a branch crosses which was covered with small timber and bushes, and there was an old field along the road in their front. When O'Hara came, twilight was nearly gone. The American position was low along the branch, under shade of the timber; that of the advancing foe was open and on higher ground, and between them and the sky, was quite visible. When they came within sixty steps, the Americans commenced firing, the enemy returned it and began to form a line. As their rear came up, they extended their line to the right, and were turning the left flank of the militia by crossing the branch above. This being discovered, a retreat was ordered after having fired, some two, some three rounds. It was easily effected in the dark. They passed down the river two miles and crossed over, abandoning the baggage and other wagons which could not be gotten over, to the enemy, after taking out the horses. Two of the militia were killed; the loss of the enemy was not known, but from appearances of blood in different places, believed to be ten or twelve. They were by far the most numerous, yet from the positions of the contending parties were most exposed. After the firing ceased, the British marched on to the river, but found the water was too deep to ford, and still rising, and that General Morgan, encamped on the other side, had with him all the boats and canoes. General O'Hara returned to Salisbury the same night, notwithstanding the badness of the roads. Those under his command marched thirty-four miles in the course of this day and part of the night. On the 4th, the army needed rest, and their commander being, it is supposed, undecided what course to pursue, they remained in Salisbury."[2031]

Ward: "After crossing the Catawba the divisions of the British had joined on the road to Salisbury. Cornwallis had then added O'Hara's mounted infantry to his cavalry and sent the combined force forward to catch Greene before he crossed the Yadkin, while he himself burned more baggage, so as to double his teams, and get the few remaining wagons out of the mud in which they were sunk to the hubs."[2032]

"Reminiscences of Dr. William Read, Arranged From His Notes and Papers": "Dr. Read here retrogades to relate a story in the operations of this campaign, highly to the credit of Gen. Morgan, which should not be lost. Dr. Read, after parting with Gen. Greene on the evening of their crossing the Yadkin, walked into camp, and on enquiring for Gen. Morgan, whom he was desirous of seeing, he found him in a tent laying on leaves, under a blanket. On enquiry, the General said he was very sick, rheumatic from head to feet. The Doctor gave him advice to leave camp, and retire to some place of safety, and warm quarters. The General said, 'I do not know where that is to be found until I reach Virginia.' Dr. Read left him and walked down to the river, where were a number of officers observing the arrival of the enemy on the rising grounds over the river, column after column, which he and they contemplated as long as the light served them. Presently he saw Morgan come down to the river. Several officers approached him on seeing anxiety in his manner, and enquired what was the matter. The General's reply was short and evasive. At length Dr. Read made up to him, to reproach him for not following his advice, which was to seek an opportunity of perspiration as remedy against his painful rheumatic affection. The General said: 'to you, Dr. Read, I will be explicit, as it may give you some business. I have laid an ambuscade of 120 Virginia men for the British; we hope to do them some harm.' Dr. Read's reply was: 'good God, is it possible!' He did not think they had a hostile man over the river, and expressed his wonder how they could escape. The General observed that this was one of the strata gems of war that must be resorted to, and as to the hazard, brave men were always prepared for it. At this moment a firing was heard; the General appeared in ecstacy [sic.] 'There are my rifles, there the British pistol;' now a barking and howling of dogs were heard, then all was still, and a solemn silence ensued. Dr. Read stood looking over the dark expanse, reflecting on the horrors of war, when he saw an object which appeared like a vision. It was the discharge of a gun; a man on horseback falling backwards, then all was obscurity. He spoke of it; it was treated like a thing of imagination, and Dr. Read, mistrusting his own vision, insisted no more on it. Gen. Morgan was gone, and soon after Dr. Read retired to his camp. The next morning the General and a number of officers were at the river, to know the fate of the ambuscade. Presently was seen a company of men marching in loose order up the banks of the river wet, and apparently much fatigued. Numbers made enquiry, and conversed on the subject. Dr. Read related what he had seen the night before, and pointed to the spot, where there appeared to lay an object like a dead man; when a young man stepped up and said: 'It is true, sir, I am the man. I was pursued by a dragoon whom running across that field; he overtook me, and I wheeled about and shot him; I think he fell. At the moment he gave my rifle a heavy cut;' and, showing his rifle, the sabre cut was evident. The horse ran off, and the rifleman made good his retreat. Dr. Read now accosted the bystanders with a hope that they were no longer incredulous. Dr. Read spoke encouragingly to the young soldier, whose name was Campbell, and advised him to keep that rifle as a sacred deposit. After this battle, some anxiety was expressed to know its fate, when two young men, Steel and Gillespie, volunteered to go over the river and see. They mounted fine horses, and rode down a hill, which seemed vastly precipitous, and riding to the western end of the rocky island that gives the name of Island Ford to the crossing place, they crossed the river, and saw numbers of soldiers burying the dead in large pits. Some of

[2030] TCS p. 227.
[2031] GNC pp. 300-301.
[2032] WDC p. 392.

Morgan's ambuscade were missing, but Dr. Read never heard of their fate. He marched next morning on his important command, and never returned to this part of the country, and he never met Morgan again to enquire the history of this expedition."[2033]

3 February. Huger, from Mask's Ferry on the Peedee, informed Greene he would take two pieces of artillery with him, but would send them away if they proved an encumbrance. He also stated that the heavy baggage had been sent on to Guilford as ordered.[2034]

4 February. With heavy rain and rising waters having slowed his otherwise swift movement, Cornwallis reached Trading Ford on the Yadkin River, and positioning some artillery on a hill shelled Greene's forces on the opposite side of the River, though without doing much damage. Later in the evening, Greene marched toward Guilford. Then on the morning of the 5th, Cornwallis retired to Salisbury where he remained till the evening of 6 February (which see); at which time he crossed the Yadkin upriver at Shallow Ford; which brief respite permitted the junction of Huger and Morgan's forces on the 7th at Guilford. Greene originally planned to have entire army collect at Salisbury, but owing to the swiftness of the British advance had changed the point of rendezvous.[2035] While in Salisbury, Cornwallis burned even more of his wagons and baggage in order to lighten his load further.[2036]
"Scottish Travel Log": [3 Feb.] "March through Salisbury to banks of the Yadkin"; [4-5 Feb.] "Halt", and [6 Feb.] "Cross the South Fork, etc."
Cornwallis, at Salisbury, to Rawdon on this date: "We passed the Catawba on the 1st at a private ford, about four miles below Beatty's. The Guards [referring to the action at Cowan's Ford, 1 Feb.] behaved gallantly, and, although they were fired upon during the whole time of their passing by some militia under General Davidson, never returned a shot until they got out of the river and formed. On the same day Tarleton attacked a considerable body of militia, killed several, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest.
"I am much distressed by the rivers and creeks being swelled, but shall try to pass the Yadkin at the shallow ford as soon as possible.
"I have the utmost confidence in your abilities and discretion. Our friends must be so disheartened by the misfortune of the 17th [i.e. Cowpens], that you will get but little good from them. You know the importance of Ninety-Six: let that place be your constant care. I long to hear from you."[2037]

William Johnson: "To prevent Lord Cornwallis from getting on his right [i.e. to the east of him], was all-important to General Greene for several reasons. When the army commenced its march from the Peedee, the heaviest baggage had been ordered on, under a guard of militia, to take the route by Hillsborough, to unite there with the baggage removing from that place, and to pursue the march across the Dan, or until countermanded...Nor was the route by the upper fords the most convenient for favoring a junction with the reinforcements which were now advancing. All those expected from North Carolina must come from Roanoke, and those to be looked for from Virginia must all approach from the eastward, and generally by the road to Boyd's Ferry; so that to keep his enemy to the north and west of him, without permitting him to advance too far, became all important in the present posture of his affairs."[2038]

5 February. [skirmish] Edmond's Bridge (Portsmouth County, VA.) See SQR pp. 173-174.

6 February. [skirmish] Grant's Creek, also Second Creek (Rowan County, N.C) To prevent unnecessary losses in a crossing attempt at Trading Ford, Cornwallis moved north up along the Yadkin River some distance to Shallow Ford and crossed there on the evening of the 6th. At the same time he sent Tarleton in advance to reconnoiter. Tarleton subsequently encountered Col. Francis Lock and 100 North Carolina militia who were engaged in destroying the bridge at Grant's Creek (near Salisbury.) He then sent a detachment up to around the mouth of the creek, for purposes of taking Lock from the rear. As a result, Lock's troops were dispersed, though with only 1 wounded. Lock later regrouped and joined Pickens' band of followers and N.C. militia. Cornwallis later crossed the Yadkin at Shallow Ford during the night, and was on the opposite bank by the 7th.[2039]

6 February. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "During last night General Pickens arrived with his men and something over twenty wagons. Corn, hay, bread, and brandy were given to him at his request. He kept good order among his men. His manner was fatherly and mild, and he voted his belief that we would take no part in anything that was partisan or low.

[2033] GDH3 pp. 277-278; regarding Morgan's ill health see also LMS p. 237.
[2034] NGP7 p. 247.
[2035] LOB part III, STL, TCS p. 227, LMS p. 235, JLG1 pp. 422-424, SNC pp. 253-254.
[2036] STL, ATR81a pp. 303-304, AR81 p. 61, TCS pp. 227-228, GHA4 p. 40, JLG1 pp. 418-419, TPY p. 141.
[2037] RCC pp. 84-85.
[2038] Cornwallis believed he could either trap Greene by forcing the latter up against the Dan River, i.e. if Greene moved eastward, or else catch him at the fords upstream if Greene tried to escape by way of those crossings. As it turned out, Greene, to Cornwallis' surprise, went east. But instead of having his back to the Dan, Greene was able to cross at Irwin's and Boyd's Ferry, where a week or so earlier scarce and hard to obtain boats had been collected and secreted for that purpose. JLG1 pp. 422-424.
[2039] TCS pp. 227-228, SNC pp. 253-254, RNC p. 278.

"In the afternoon Colonel Clark arrived with more than fifty horse-men, and another company passed by the mill, all hurrying after General Pickens. So it went all day, partly with the passing of militia, partly with people fleeing from the war."[2040]

7 February. [skirmish][2041] Graham's Patrol, also Shalllow Ford (Forsyth County, N.C.) Some hours after the British army had crossed at Shallow Ford and moved on, 20 North Carolina militia cavalry, under Capt. Joseph Graham, captured six loyalists, and killed one Hessian in their wake.[2042]
Joseph Graham: "The American cavalry was mortified at coming so far and achieving nothing [i.e. the British had already crossed Shallow Ford the previous evening]. It was decided that twenty of those best mounted, under command of the Captain [Joseph Graham], should, after divesting themselves of their marks of distinction, pass the river. The Lieutenant was ordered to draw up the others at the ford, to cover their retreat, if pursued, and to place videttes on the roads some distance in his rear, lest some parties of Tories might be following the Americans. The party went over, saw several men whom they did not molest, and who, on being questioned, made professions of loyalty to the King and showed their protections. After going about three miles, the two soldiers who were kept in advance about one hundred yards, made signal of seeing the enemy. When Captain Graham came up, he saw about fifty dragoons, marching slowly in compact order. He followed them for two miles unperceived, but finding that they kept the same order, it was thought imprudent to go further, as the country that they were in was reputed to be favorable to the British. Returning about a mile, the Americans discovered three men in red coats, who fled, but being directly run down, surrendered. On proceeding further, they met a Hessian and a Briton, who also fled. On being overtaken, the Briton surrendered, but the Hessian held his piece at a charge and would not give up. He was cut down and killed. Before reaching the ford, the Americans took two armed Tories, who were following them. Having killed one and taken six prisoners, the party re-crossed the ford."[2043]

7 February. Sumter returned to field after recovering from the wound he received at Blackstock's. On the 9th, he called together his partisans for raids on some of the northern British posts in South Carolina. With about 280 men collected, he subsequently launched attacks on Fort Granby, Thompson's House (i.e. Belleville, not far from the later Ft. Motte) and Fort Watson, while, in he process, frightening the loyalists, and capturing (then losing) a supply convoy. These successive forays of February later became known as "Sumter's Rounds."[2044]

7-8 February. On the 7th, Greene with Morgan's corps reached Guilford Court House where he was joined by both Huger and Lee's Legion (the latter, having just returned from operations with Marion, had earlier overtaken Huger on the march.) It was initially intended for all to meet at Salisbury, but Cornwallis' precipitous advance impelled the change. The 8th was spent giving Greene's men a much needed rest.[2045]
Lee: "The united force of Greene, including five hundred militia, exceeded two thousand three hundred. Of which two hundred and seventy were cavalry of the best quality. The army of Cornwallis was estimated at two thousand five hundred; but his cavalry was far inferior, although more numerous than that of his adversary, was far inferior in regard to size, condition, and activity of the horses." Originally, Greene originally had hoped to effect a junction with Huger at Salisbury, but the swift advance of Cornwallis had prevented it. Although an effort was made to call out the Guilford militia, few (about 200) came out, and many of those who did come out, and in fear of the British, deserted. This left Greene with only a small body of North Carolina militia with him under Col. James Martin. At the same time Greene's army was badly short of supplies.[2046]

7-8 February. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "[Bethania] "Feb. 7...The report that the English were there [in Salem] was without foundation, but it was said that a party of them had been in Bryant's [Samuel Bryan's?] Settlement. After midnight an express brought word that about eight hundred of the English had reached Colonel Hound's.
"Feb. 8...This evening we heard that the English army under General Cornwallis had passed the Shallow Ford about three o'clock."[2047]
"Scottish Travel Log": [7 Feb.] "Cross two deep creeks & two others with bridges over them."[2048]

8 February. Greene, at Guilford Court House, wrote Col. John Gunby, at Hillsborough, ordering him to have supplies removed north to Virginia, and to march from there with his men to join the main army. Gunby was also directed to send to Guilford all the arms, flints, cartridges, entrenching tools, oars, and spirits that he could in lightly loaded wagons. In accordance with Greene's instructions, the evacuated supplies were later floated across the Roanoke, and removed to Prince Edward Court House in Virginia, "the principal depot of stores and arms [in Virginia]" [William Johnson].[2049]

[2040] FRM p. 1741.
[2041] Here the designation "skirmish" is used very broadly.
[2042] CNC22 p. 123, GNC pp. 309-310, GAM2 pp. 267-268.
[2043] GNC pp. 309-310.
[2044] NGP7 pp. 75n, 145, 266n, 328, RBG p. 145.
[2045] As Treacy notes, the sight of Huger's barefoot battalions at Guilford rendezvous made Cowpens veterans gasp. TPY p. 225n, GHA4 p. 41, MLW4A p. 353, LMS pp. 235-236, JLG 1 pp. 428-429, GLG3 p. 165.
[2046] NGP7 pp. 252n, 253n, LMS p. 236.
[2047] FRM p. 1765.
[2048] STL.
[2049] NGP7 pp. 256n, 268, JLG1 p. 333.

8 February. A letter from Col. Arthur Campbell in Washington County, VA., written on this date, informed Greene that (sometime in late December and early January) 700 frontier militia of three counties had defeated the Cherokees in the Watauga district, destroying many Indian houses and crops in the process. See *Late December* 1780.[2050]

8 February. Cornwallis camped at Lindsay's Plantation.
"Scottish Travel Log" for this date: "One mile beyond the yadkin[;] this river from 5 to 600 yards [wide?]"
"Leslie" Orderly Book: "All Offrs. [Officers] Are most Earnestly requested to Seize any Militia or followers of the Army who go into Houses & Commit excesses; and Report them to Head Q[t]rs. As soon as the Troops come to their Ground Any Offr. Who looks on with Indifference & does not do his Utmost to prevent the Shamefull [sic] Marauding Which has of late prevail[e]d in the Army Will be Consider'd in a more Criminal light than the persons who Commit those Scandalous Crimes, which must bring disgrace & Ruin on his Majestys Arms."[2051]

9 February. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "We expected the return of our guests of yesterday, but instead about eleven o'clock, a company of English dragoons arrived, bringing an order from Lord Cornwallis, for brandy, meat, meal and bread, and instructions that our mill should grind all it could, and that in the afternoon our wagon should take it to Bethania, where there were more than seven thousand men. In the afternoon the Commissary came for 100 gallons of brandy, more than 300 lbs. of bread, and all the meal that was ready…Then came a company of German Tories, with an order for cattle for the army, -- just now the question is not who are friends of the land but who are friends of the king. The last named company seized several travelers here, and took them to Bethania, to the main camp."[2052]

9 February. Col. Francis Lock with Rowan County militia, Maj. John Carruth with those of Lincoln County, and some 40 Georgia and South Carolina militia under Pickens were left behind Greene's main army with orders to harass the British rear. Lock at this time requested lead and flints. While Greene was able to send the flints, he told Lock to send someone to retrieve the lead, as the main baggage had already gone across the Roanoke River. Pickens own force was much diminished by this time, having for about the last two weeks been escorting prisoners north from Cowpens (prior to Stevens then taking up those same prisoners and conveying them to Virginia). Given the important loss of Brig. Gen. Davidson at Cowan's Ford, the western North Carolina militia were put under Pickens. "Until a more perfect arrangement can be made," wrote Greene on February 3rd, Pickens was to assume command of the North Carolina troops with him, with orders from to hang on skirts of enemy, and watch for and attempt to surprise British foraging parties. By no later than February 19th, Pickens force had grown to 600-700 men. Graham points out that, contrary to William Johnson, there were no officers with Pickens other than Lieut. James Jackson, who was made Pickens' Brigade Major.[2053] On the other hand, Pickens, in his dispatches to Greene at the time, does mention Col. Hugh McCall and Capt. Samuel Hammond. Yet evidently, James McCall and Cunningham, who had been with Pickens at Cowpens, had returned to South Carolina. About half of the soldiers in Pickens new corps were mounted, but only around 70 of these were actually cavalry.[2054]

Joseph Graham: "(W)hen General Andrew Pickens was vested with the command of the troops 6 or 700 in number Assembled in the rear of Lord Cornwallis on his march to the Dan River there was not more than 40 of the South Carolina Militia but were chiefly from between the Yadkin and Cataba [sic] Rivers from the Counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan (from which since Iredale and Cabarus [Iredell and Cabarrus counties]have been taken off)."[2055]

9-10 February. On the 10th, Caruthers states Cornwallis had his head-quarters at "Fred. Miller's'," which was four and a half miles from Salem by way of the Dansville; and from where his lordship subsequently moved towards the head of the Haw River. Some accounts erroneously state that his army entered Salem; which was not actually the case.[2056]
"Scottish Travel Log": [9 Feb.] "Bethania"; [10 Feb.] "Five miles beyond Salem."
"Intelligence from the southward, Philadelphia February 28"[2057]: 'Cornwallis' army finding they could not pass at Trading ford, near Salisbury, marched up the south side of the Yadkin, and on the night of the 7th crossed at the shallow [sic] ford, and had on the 9th advanced towards Salem, one of the Moreavian [sic] towns…'"[2058]

[2050] NGP7 p. 258.
[2051] LOB part III, STL.
[2052] FRM p. 1742, see also CNS2 pp. 31-38.
[2053] Graham, who was there, gives Pickens original numbers (i.e. men from S.C. and GA.) as 40, Johnson says 150. Nevertheless, it is not impossible, if not likely as such, that Pickens was later reinforced with more men from his home territory. GRA p. 311, JLG1 p. 435.
[2054] NGP7 pp. 241-242, 262-263, JLG1 pp. 433, 435, GNC pp. 273, 311, GAM1 pp. 370, 372, GAM2 p. 214, SNC pp. 262-263.
[2055] GAM2 p. 214.
[2056] STL, TCS pp. 253-256, JLG1 pp.419-421, 429-430, CNS2 pp. 54-59.
[2057] Quoted in Tarleton's *Campaigns*. While the "Intelligence from the southward" gives the 9th, Johnson says the 10th. The "Leslie" Orderly book does not mention Salem, but for the 8th gives Lindsay's Plantation and the next location given is Miller's Plantation on the 10th.
[2058] TCS pp. 253-256.

Tarleton: "The mild and hospitable disposition of the inhabitants, being assisted by the well-cultivated and fruitful plantations in their possession, afforded abundant and seasonable supplies to the King's troops during their passage through this district."[2059]

William Johnson: "The object of this was, to alarm his adversary for the safety of his stores at Hillsborough; these, notwithstanding the earliest attention to their removal, had been so delayed for want of wagons, that they were, most of them, just now put in motion for Taylor's ferry on the Roanoke, below the confluence of the Dan and the Staunton [rivers.]"

9-10 February. At Guilford, Greene summoned his field officers to a council of war of his chief officers and put forward the question of whether the army should give battle. It was voted that, for the time being, the army should continue retreating to gather more forces, and defer engagement with Cornwallis. Greene at this same time formed a special light corps to be commanded by Col. Otho Williams to cover the main army's retreat. In a letter to Gen. Washington of February 9th, he described the "light army"[2060] he had formed under Williams (who took command on he 10th) as composed of: "cavalry of the 1st and 3rd Regiments and the Legion amounting to 240, a detachment of 280 Infantry under Lieut. Col. Howard, the Infantry of Lieut. Col. Lee's Legion and 60 Virginia Riflemen making in their whole 700 men which will be ordered with the Militia to harass the enemy in their advance, check their progress and if possible give us opportunity to retire without general action." Kosciuszko who had recently joined up with Greene at Guilford, preceded him to Irwin's (also referred to as Irvine's and Ewing's) and Boyd's Ferries on the Dan River where he oversaw the constructing of breastworks for protecting the boats and the crossing of the army. Morgan, who was present at the council, at the time was suffering from sciatica and rheumatism, and soon became so unwell as to not be able to serve further.[2061]
Greene's army on the 10th did not exceed 2,036, and a fourth of these were in hospital due top nakedness and exposure; of those fit for duty were 1,426 Continentals fit for duty.[2062] The Maryland Regiment alone, for example, had 861 fit for duty, 274 in hospitals. In addition, there were 600 militia, about 200 of which were poorly armed. Of 400 North Carolina militia effectives, 200 were present and another 200 were expected on the way from Lillington. These latter never reached Greene; as Lillington had his hands full keeping an eye on the loyalists of Cross Creek and Craig at Wilmington. William Johnson mentions as well 230 cavalry (Lee and Washington's) and 47 artillerists.[2063]
Lossing: "Greene, also aware of the inferiority of his forces, called a council of war [Feb. 9.], when it was resolved to avoid a battle, and retreat as rapidly as possible across the Dan into the friendly districts of Virginia. A light army, designed to maneuver in the rear of the Americans and in front of the pursuers, was formed out of Lee's legion, the regular battalion of infantry under Colonel Howard, the cavalry under Colonel Washington, and a small corps of Virginia riflemen under Major [David] Campbell, in all about seven hundred men, the flower of the Southern army."[2064]
Lee: "Taking into view his comparative weakness, General Greene determined to continue his retreat to Virginia. The British general was twenty-five miles from Guilford Court-House; equally near with Greene to Dix's Ferry on the Dan, and nearer to the upper shallows or points of that river, which were supposed to be fordable, notwithstanding the late swell of water. Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington, quartermastergeneral, suggested the propriety of passing at Irwin's Ferry, seventy miles from Guiltord Court-House, and twenty below Dix's. Boyd's Ferry was four miles below Irwin's; and the boats might be easily brought down from Dix's to assist in transporting the army at these near and lower ferries. The plan of Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington was adopted, and that officer was charged with the requisite preparations.""[2065]

William Johnson: "(B)y pushing forward the [light] detachment under Williams, in the direct route for the upper Dan, he [Greene] induced his adversary to make a movement to his left [i.e. to the west], for the purpose of cutting this party off from the upper fords, still fondly believing that he had the main army in a cul de sac, from which it could not escape, for want of ferry boats. Williams was so lightly equipped, that he had nothing to fear from a near approach to the enemy, and coolly placing himself in front of his advance, marched as steadily before him for four days, as if he had been the enemy's advanced guard...in the rout of his enemy, every bridge was broken up, the provision consumed or removed, and every facility to his [Cornwallis'] progress, swept away by his tantalizing precursor." [2066]

[2059] TCS p. 228.
[2060] This light corps was similar in conception to Morgan's light corps, and was understood to be as such at the time.
[2061] Boatner makes the rather strange claim that Morgan left Greene not really due to illness but because he thought Greene was taking a dangerous course. BEA p. 736. For Dr. William Reed's mention of seeing Morgan sick shortly before the latter left Greene's army, see GDH3 pp. 277-278, LMS p. 237, JLG1 pp. 412-413, LCC pp. 107-108. Observes Treacy, sciatica is a paroxysmal ailment, and betwen bouts of pain victim appears normal enough, TPY p. 149.
[2062] 30 N.C. Continentals were listed in the returns under Lieut. Col. James Thackston and attached to one of the other Continental Regiments. Respecting the North Carolina militia, Greene, in a letter to Gov. Abner Nash of this same date, wrote: "There are few Militia collected nor can I see the least prospect of gathering any considerable force; and if we could, we have no provisions or forage. Col. [John] Lutterell's party that was three hundred strong a few days since, are now reduced to Thirty Six as the Colonel reported this morning; and those that have gone have carried off with them all their arms. There is besides these two hundred militia on the ground; and upwards of two hundred militia on the march under General Lillington and may join us by evening." Lillington did not join Greene, but remained in the eastern part of North Carolina. RNC p. 285, NGP7 pp. 263-265.
[2063] NGP7 pp. 261, 268, GHA4 pp. 42-43, LMS pp. 235-238, JLG1 pp. 392, 425-427, 431, 434, LFB2 p. 396.
[2064] LFB2 p. 396.
[2065] LMS p. 236.
[2066] JLG1 pp. 430-431.

10 February. Col. Marquis de Malmedy, at Halifax, North Carolina, was appointed by the North Carolina Assembly to lead 600 light horse to be raised in the Hillsborough district (Malmedy had requested the command from Gov. Abner Nash.) As well, General Richard Caswell was re-appointed "chief of the militia," to replace Davidson slain at Cowan's Ford.[2067]

10 February. Morgan left Greene's army due to illness, returning home to Virginia. Col. Otho Williams then succeeded him as head of Greene's light corps.[2068]

10 February. In response to appeals from Greene, militia leaders in western and southern Virginia began forming units to join him. Except for William Campbell, most of the over-mountain men who were at King's Mountain could not assist Greene, preoccupied as they were with dealing with the British allied Indians on the frontier. See entries for 18 and 20 February.
In a letter of 28 February, Col. Arthur Campbell wrote Governor Jefferson: "Your Excellency's orders of the 15th of February came to hand the 23rd and on the 25th a few odds of 100 men, under Col. William Campbell set out to join the militia of Botetourt and Montgomery on their march to join the Southern Army, previous steps having been taken, on hearing the enemy was advancing towards Virginia, to have them in readiness. A large number would have gone, were it not for the daily apprehensions of attacks from the Northward (Shawnee) and Southern (Cherokee) Indians. The latter, last week, killed three men in Powell[']s Valley and carried off a considerable number of horses."[2069]
"Colonel William Preston on February 10, 1781, ordered the militia of Montgomery County [VA.] to assemble at the [Chiswell] Lead Mines, and on the day appointed three hundred and fifty men assembled pursuant to the order of their commander. Major Joseph Cloyd, assembled and led the Middle New River men. It is to be regretted that the names of the men who went with Preston and Cloyd have not been preserved. One company went from the Middle New River valley, which was commanded by Captain Thomas Shannon, of Walker's Creek, and one of his lieutenants was Alexander Marrs. A few names only of the privates who went along have been secured. They were Matthew French, John French, Edward Hale, Joseph Hare, Isaac Cole and Thomas Farley. Preston began his march on the 18th day of February and reported to General Greene on the 28th day of that month, who assigned him to the command of General Andrew Pickens. On his way to report to Pickens he seems to have gotten between the American and British outposts, and camped for the night in close proximity to the British without knowing that they were near him."[2070]

11 February (or within a day or two.) North Carolina militia officers who had served under Davidson agreed to invest Pickens with command of their 700 men. However, during and after Greene's Race to the Dan, Pickens remained in North Carolina with apparently little more than his own contingent of some 30 South Carolinians at a location(s) as yet unclear; the Salisbury militia, in particular deserting him and whom Pickens (in a 20 Feb. letter to Greene) described as the the worst troops he'd ever commanded.[2071]

11-12 February. Cornwallis encamped near Sander's Mill, and by the next day was at Bruce's Crossroads; while the "Scottish Travel Log" entry for this date has "Miller[']s Plantation"; while that for the 12th reads "March five miles beyond Reedy Fork."[2072]

12 February (also given as 11 and 13 February). [skirmish] Bruce's Crossroads, also Gillies' Death, Reedy Fork, and Summerfield (Guilford County, N.C.) Informed by a local countryman that Cornwallis army had changed the route of its march, Col. Otho Williams directed Lee to investigate. Lee, in turn, sent out Capt. James Armstrong of the Legion cavalry to reconnoiter. When Armstrong returned, he apprised Lee of the British position; Lee then moved to prepare a trap; as part of which, Armstrong, with a small number of cavalry, was sent in the path of Tarleton's horsemen. Some British Legion cavalry, under a "Capt. Miller,"[2073] then galloped in pursuit of the decoy only to be charged in the flank by Lee and the main body of dragoons who had lain concealed along the road. It was in this encounter that Lee's bugler James Gillies, with Armstrong's detachment and who had been made to take a poor mount in order that the local guide could be better horsed, was savagely mauled by some drunken British Legion cavalry. It was at that point that Lee's dragoons, in view of the spectacle, emerged from hiding to swiftly retaliate. Though Tarleton speaks of Lee being finally repulsed, it would seem, tactically speaking, the Americans got the better of this action. According to Lee, the British lost 18, the Americans 1, with Miller being made prisoner.[2074]

[2067] NGP7 p. 274.
[2068] CNS2 pp. 43-45.
[2069] *Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 548.
[2070] David E. Johnston, *A History of The Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory* (1906), Part IV, Chapter IV.
[2071] NGP7 pp. 246, 262n, 316, 325.
[2072] STL, CNS2 pp. 45-50.
[2073] According to muster roles, there was no Capt. Miller in the Legion cavalry. There was a Cornet John Miller, who was with the Legion that year no earlier than May, and was taken at Yorktown. Another Miller, Cornet William Miller, is said to have been taken at Yorktown as well. If Lee is correct, William Miller seems to be the more likely candidate for the officer in question, particularly as the documentation on William Miller is so thin, and the report of his being taken at Yorktown doesn't seem to be especially well documented -- though, admittedly, on this latter point, I might be proved mistaken. There was a Capt. Thomas Miller in the British Legion infantry, but aside from the fact that he was not in the cavalry, his being captured at Yorktown and paroled is substantially recorded. [See Don Gara's Br. Legion roster at Tarleton.org)
[2074] NGP7 p. 283, TCS pp. 228-229, GHA4 p. 44, MLW4A p. 356n, LMS p. 239-243, GAR2 pp. 117-121, CLC pp. 227n-229n, LFB2 pp. 396-397, CNS2 pp. 45-50.

Tarleton: "Earl Cornwallis, wishing to intercept the Americans, and force them to action to the southward of the Roanoke, proceeded from Salem towards the head of Haw river, and on his march gained intelligence of their having composed a formidable corps of light troops, consisting of Lee's, Bland's, and Washington's cavalry, the continental light infantry, and some riflemen, in order to watch his motions, and retard his progress whilst General Greene removed the stores and heavy baggage of the continental army into Virginia, and hastened the remainder of his troops to the river Dan, on the frontier of that province. At the cross roads, near the Reedy fork, the advanced guard of the British light troops, was attacked by Colonel Lee's dragoons, who were repulsed with some loss. The bridge on Reedy fork being broken down, retarded some hours the advance of Earl Cornwallis, who afterwards crossed Troublesome creek, and persevered in the direction to the high fords of the Dan. On the road, many skirmishes took place between the British and American light troops, without great loss to either party, or any impediment to the progress of the main army."[2075]

William Seymour: "On the eighth instant we marched from here [Guilford], General Green's [sic] Army taking one road and the light troops another, being joined the next day by Colonel Lee's horse and infantry. This day we received intelligence that the British Army was advancing very close in our rear, upon which Colonel Lee detached a party of horse to intercept them, who meeting with their vanguard, consisting of an officer and twenty men, which they killed, wounded and made prisoners, all but one man." [2076]

Lee: "This ill-fated boy [Gillies] was one of the band of music, and exclusively devoted in the field to his bugle, used in conveying orders. Too small to wield a sword, he was armed only with one pistol, as was the custom of the Legion; that sort of weapon being considered of little import in action; now he had not even his pistol, it being with the countryman mounted on his horse."[2077]

Otho Williams: "The better to avoid a rapid pursuit, the main and light army took different routes. The next day the latter had a recounter with the van of the British army, in which an officer and half a dozen privates of Tarleton's legion were made prisoners, and several killed. Frequent skirmishes, and the manoeuvres [sic] practiced to mislead Cornwallis, had the desired effect, and gave Greene time to send forward his baggage."[2078]

12 February. Greene wrote to Gen. John Butler, of the N.C. militia, from his army Headquarters in Caswell County: "not more than one hundred & fifty [militia] Men are left with this [Greene's] army." By the 13th, he wrote again to Butler saying that all but "eighty" of the North Carolina militiamen have "deserted."[2079]

13 February. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "Major [Joseph] Winston arrived with a company of militia. Men and officers were friendly and behaved well, though we must supply them with bread, meat, meal, brandy, and forage for their horses. Late in the evening they left the town and camped in the woods, returning."[2080]

13 February. A storm on 22 January having dispersed four British blockade ships off Narraganset Bay (with one 74 gun ship, the *Culloden*, actually sunk, and another, the *Bedford*, dismasted as a result), a detachment of the French fleet under Captain Le Bardeur de Tilly, sailed from Newport, Rhode Island on Feb. 9th, and entered the Chesapeake in order to interdict Briish operations in Virginia and retake any shipping siezed by Arnold's expedition, and for this purpose anchoring in Lynnhaven Bay by the 13th. Arnold, in response, repositioned his boats up the shallow waters of Elizabeth River, where de Tilley could not reach them. De Tilley did, even so, manage to capture ten small ships, and returned with them to Newport; where he arrived on 24 (or 25) February. Despite these prizes, which included the taken by surprise 44 gun *Romulus*, the naval foray had little impact on Arnold's own operations other than to cause him some momentary distress. A second and larger naval foray from Newport, this time loaded with French troops, was again attempted by washington and Rochambeau on March 8.[2081]

13 February. When Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington, with his 200 N.C. militia, had not joined Greene by February 13th, Greene decided it was too dangerous to attempt risking a junction, and ordered him instead to Cross Creek.[2082]

13 February. Cornwallis camped at Speedwell Iron Works; the "Scottish Travel Log" states "Widow Duid[']s Plantation." Williams with Greene's light troops remained alert in his front; his men only able to obtain "six hours of sleep in two days and with little time to stop and eat."[2083]

13 February, or possibly 14 February. [skirmish] Road to Dix's Ferry (Rockingham County,[2084] N.C.) As part of the American army's rear guard, Lee's Legion took an out of the way detour, separate from Williams' route, in order

[2075] TCS pp. 228-229.
[2076] SJS.
[2077] LMS p. 241n.
[2078] GHA4 P. 44.
[2079] NGP7 pp. 283-284.
[2080] FRM p. 1743.
[2081] GHA4 pp. 60-61, AR81 p. 78, MLW4A pp. 417-421, MLW3 p. 133, JLG2 p. 45, LFB2 p. 334, WAR2 p. 870.
[2082] NGP7 pp. 280, 281n.
[2083] STL, CNS2 pp. 45-46, LMS pp. 237-238.

to avail himself of the plenty present at a nearby farm. Shortly after his men and horses were set up to be fed their breakfast (on the 12th), the shots of his pickets announced the approach of the van of the British army, under Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara. Lee made immediate arrangements to get his men to safety, while the British were as surprised by his presence as he was by theirs. He rushed to secure a bridge that was key to the escape of his corps, and was thereby able to get his infantry across the nearby stream in time to effect his escape; with his cavalry covering their retreat. The British then continued their pursuit, often being in clear sight of Lee in the course of the day. Lee, in this way just narrowly, managed to evade their approaches, and moved along the road to Dix's, and after that to Boyd's Ferry where he eventually crossed to join Greene.[2085]

13 February. Arnold, at Portsmouth, to Clinton: "No time has been lost in repairing the old, and erecting new works here, in which the negroes have been very serviceable, but none are yet complete. Repairing barracks, foraging, and patrolling with large parties, have engrossed the time of a great part of the troops. One hundred men are posted at the great bridge.
"Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with near four hundred men, are in Princess Anne county; scouring the country of several parties, and arranging matters with the country people.
"The enemy are at Suffolk, with two thousand five hundred, or three thousand men; they threaten an attack upon us, but I cannot suppose them capable of so much temerity. We are prepared for them at all points, and I believe nothing will induce them to attack us, but the hope of succeeding in a surprise, and despair of keeping their tattered force together, through want of provisions, and the necessity of their ploughing their lands, to prevent a famine the ensuing year."[2086]

13-15 February. On the 13th, Greene, with the main army, crossed the Dan River at Irwin's Ferry, also referred to as Erving's Ferry,[2087] thanks to the prior collection of boats by Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, and a survey of the river made by one of the Capt. John Smiths (there being two of that name and rank) of the Maryland line. Cornwallis had continued following swiftly upon on the heels of the Americans, occasionally coming into open sight of Lee and William's light detachment. Before sunset of the 14th (or, as infers Caruthers, the 15th; see his quotation immediately below) William's passed over downriver at Irwin's Ferry. Lee's troops soon followed at the same location. The last of them, after re-capturing some of horses who had fled at being forced to swim the river, crossed the Dan by about 9 pm. Lieut. Col. Carrington, who had been personally superintending the crossings, and Lieut. Col. Lee, were among the very last to make the passage. When the van of Cornwallis' army reached Irwin's,[2088] six hours after the last group of Americans had made it across, Greene's men cheered -- which the soldiers of O'Hara's advance column were close enough to have heard.[2089] Cornwallis had earlier calculated that Greene would have had to cross at the fords up the river, and in an effort to trap him had maneuvered his force towards the west, not expecting that Greene would be able to cross at Irwin's or Boyd's in time to escape (to the east then north.)
At the time, the British, such as Balfour, took the optimistic view that Greene had been chased from the state and prevented from rendezvousing with the militia. But, of course, what after all effectively ended up happening in the ensuing weeks was that although Cornwallis had in a sense temporarily dispersed most of the N.C. militia in the region, Greene did return to North Carolina and was able to resume drawing forth various militia reinforcements to his army; and which eventually culminated in the Guilford Court House army of 15 March.[2090]
"Leslie" Orderly Book for the 14th: "Brigade Ordrs, 8 o'clock at night, 14th Feb. 1781. It having been Signified to B Genl. O'Hara [Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara] that Ld [Lord] Cornwallis means to make a forward move in the Morng [Morning] of Twenty Miles in a Rapid Manner in order totally to Effect the purposes of every late Execution it is wished Comdg Offrs. of Bttns [Commanding Officers of Battalions]. Will Signify the same to their respective Corps in order to Ascertain at four oClock to Morrow Morng. What Men will be Able to undertake the Same & what may be left behind.
"After Orders, 9 o'clock at night. The army will march precisely at four o'clock in the morning. The Officers are expected to take with them no more baggage but their canteens, and the men will leave their packs behind them under the charge of such men or any that may not be able to march. The returns called for in Brigade Orders will be ready at four o'clock in the morning, taking care not to disturb the men in their rest."[2091]

[2084] Rockingham County, N.C., and also Rockingham County, VA.., were named after British prime minister and ardent American spokesmen and backer of independence, Charles Watson-Wentworth Lord Rockingham (1730-1782.)
[2085] LMS pp. 243-247, LFB2 p. 398.
[2086] COC pp. 64-65.
[2087] While the infantry crossed over at Irwin's, the cavalry and other mounted troops went over at Boyd's Ferry downriver, in order to speed the crossing of the whole army -- there being only so many boats at both locations. Irwin's Ferry was about 3-4 miles west of Boyd's Ferry, which in turn was about 2 miles west of where the Hyco River pours into the Dan. Irwin's was also closer to Halifax, VA., to which town Greene headed after the crossing. See Lee's Campaign of 1781.
[2088] Kirkwood, who was with Williams, gives the crossing as "Ewing's," i.e. Irwin's. The presence of Carrington also confirms the crossing was actually Irwin's. Lee's memory then is apparently mistaken in speaking of the crossing of the light troops at Boyd's, though it may be that part of William's and Lee's men did cross at that ferry as well.
[2089] Cornwallis, in his letter to Germain of 17 March gives the date as the 15th. His arrival then would apparently then have been the early morning hours of the 15th.
[2090] KJO p. 13, NGP7 pp. 212-213, 271n, 287, ATR81a pp. 274-275, 330-331, Balfour to Clinton March 3, 1781 BLB pp. 40-43, Balfour to German March 24, 1781 BLB pp. 44-47, RCO pp. 175-176, CSS p. 1162, AR81 pp. 61-62, TCS p. 229, GHA4 pp. 40-46, SAW2 pp. 346-347, MLW4A pp. 353-357, MLW3 pp. 114-116, LMS pp. 236, 244-247, JLG1 pp. 420-432, LCC pp. 113-126, LFB2 p. 398, WAR2 pp. 775-776, TPY pp. 150-153, BEA pp.1026-1027, SCAR vol. 4, no 4,5,6, p. 28.
[2091] LOB part IV.

Roger Lamb: "His lordship was, by some means, misled by false information relative to the lower [or easterly] fords being impassible, and began his march to the upper fords of the Dan."[2092]

Greene to Otho Williams on February 14th (quoted in Gordon): "'4 o'clock. Follow our route, as a division of our force may encourage the enemy to push us further than they will dare to do, if we are together. I have not slept four hours since you left me, so great has been my solicitude to prepare for the worst. I have great reason to believe, that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp the night before last.' -- Again -- '2 o'clock in the afternoon. The greater part of our wagons are over, and the troops are crossing.' [Gordon:] The communication between Greene and Williams closed for the present with -- [once more Greene:] 'Irwin's ferry, ½ past 5 o'clock. All our troops are over, and the stage is clear. The infantry will cross here, the horse below. Major Hardman has posted his party in readiness on this [the south] side [of the Dan], and the infantry and artillery are posted on the other, and I am ready to receive and give you a hearty welcome."[2093]

Kirkwood (who was with Williams' light detachment): "14th Crossed the Dan River at Ewings [Irwin's] Ferry...80 [miles]."[2094]

Lee: "…The British general was twenty-five miles from Guilford Court-House, and twenty below Dix's [or Dixon's] Ferry on the Dan, and nearer to the upper shallows or points of that river, which were supposed to be fordable, notwithstanding the late swell of water. Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington, quartermaster-general, suggested the propriety of passing at Irwin's Ferry, seventy miles from Guilford Court-House, and twenty below Dix's. Boyd's Ferry was four miles below [and to the east of] Irwin's; and the boats might be easily brought down from Dix's [to Irwin's] to assist in transporting the army at these near and lower ferries. The plan of Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington was adopted, and that officer was charged with the requisite preparations. The route of retreat being determined, the place of crossing designated, and measures taken for the collection of boats…" [2095]

In his *Campaign of 1781*, Henry Lee IV states: "In a letter of the 4th of October 1809, Colonel Carrington himself declares, that he was directed by Greene when at Hillsborough on his way to relieve General Gates, to examine the navigation of the Dan in order to ascertain, if supplies could not be conveyed up that river, and down the Yadkin and the Pedee, and he positively affirms, that until the army was united at Guilford, the retreat by the lower route had never been contemplated, and was then resolved on, in consequence of a state of things which had just arisen: viz. the advance of Cornwallis upon the left of Greene, and the consequent difficulty and danger of attempting the upper route. These are his words: 'one of the Captain Smiths of the Maryland line (there were two of that name) who happened to be at Hillsborough was sent to Taylor's ferry [on the Roanoke River], to ascend the Dan with a canoe and party of hands, as far as he might judge useful for the purpose of ascertaining these points. He ascended as far as the lower Sauratown [Saratown], and had made his report. When the retreat was determined on, it was predicated on the certain knowledge, that there was but one boat at Dixon's [Dix's] ferry, from which place, Cornwallis well prepared for rapid movement was not much more distant than Greene, and that between there and Boyd's ferry inclusive, five more were to be found. There was then a fresh in Dan, and as the rain still continued, for it was at the moment falling most heavily, the numerous and widely extended branches of that river would, upon every reasonable calculation, have continued the fresh. There were then no other boats in the river, other than the wide and shallow flats at the ferries, which it was impossible top to carry against the current.'"[2096]

Tarleton: "Owing to an excellent disposition, which was attended with some fortunate contingencies, General Greene passed the whole army over the river Dan on the 14th, near Country-line creek, without their receiving any material detriment from the King's troops. Every measure of the Americans, during their march from the Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed and vigorously executed. The British proceeded without intermission to Boyd's ferry, where they found some works evacuated, which had been constructed to cover the retreat of the enemy, who six hours before had finished their passage, and were then encamped on the opposite bank."[2097]

John Marshall, having Carrington directly as a source, and possibly (like William Gordon) quoting Otho Williams verbatim: "Dix's ferry is about fifty miles from Guilford court house, and was almost equidistant from the two armies. Considerably below, and more than seventy miles from Guilford court house, were two other ferries, Boyd's and Irwin's, which were only four miles apart. By directing their march towards the lower and more remote ferries, the distance from Lord Cornwallis was so much ground gained; and by despatching [sic] an officer with a few men to Dix's, the boats at that, and at an intermediate ferry, might be brought down the

[2092] LJA p. 346.
[2093] GHA4 p. 45.
[2094] KJO p. 13.
[2095] LMS p. 236. Following Lee's chronology, and being and what he describes as being just about the same time or prior to the formation of Williams' light detachment, this move of the boats from Dix's to Irwin's would have taken place on the 9th or 10th. Including Dix's, Irwin's and Boyd's, there were very few boats to be had on the Dan, hence it was relatively easy for Greene to have secured them. Johnson comments: "The boats were not actually collected at the point of transportation, for that also would have unmasked the General's designs; but they were secured at convenient distances, so as to admit of their being collected at a few hours warning."
[2096] LCC pp. 116-117.
[2097] TCS p. 229.

river in time to meet the army at the intended crossing place. These facts being suggested by Lieutenant Colonel Carrington, quartermaster general for the southern department, the proposition was instantly adopted, and an officer despatched to bring the boats from above down to Boyd's ferry.[2098]

"The next day both armies resumed their line of march. While General Greene pressed forward to Boyd's, [Otho] Williams gained an intermediate road leading to Dix's ferry, and thus placed himself between the two armies, a small distance in front of the one, and considerably in rear of the other. Such was the boldness and activity of this corps that Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to temper the eagerness of his pursuit with caution. Yet he moved with great rapidity;--marching nearly thirty miles each day. On the morning of the third day, he attempted to surprise the Americans by marching from the rear of his column into the road which had been taken by them, while his van proceeded slowly on its original route. Information of this movement was received, and Lieutenant Colonel Lee charged his advanced cavalry with such impetuosity, as to cut a company nearly to pieces. A captain and several privates were made prisoners. The whole British army turned into this road and followed in the rear of Williams, who used every effort to delay their march.

"The measures adopted by Greene for collecting the boats were successful; and, on the fourteenth, he effected the passage of his troops and stores.

"When Williams supposed that the American army had reached the Dan, he left the road leading to Dix's ferry, and entering that which Greene had taken, urged his march to the lower ferries with the utmost celerity. Lord Cornwallis, being at length informed that Greene had taken the lower road, turned into it about the same time by a nearer way, and his front was in sight of the rear of Williams. So rapid were the movements of both armies that, in the last twenty-four hours, the Americans marched forty miles; and the rear had scarcely touched the northern bank, when the van of the enemy appeared on the opposite shore.

"That General Greene was able to effect this retreat without loss, evidences the judgment with which he improved every favourable circumstance.

"The exertions, the fatigues, the sufferings, and the patience of both armies, during this long, toilsome, and rapid pursuit, were extreme. Without tents, without spirits, often without provisions, and always scantily supplied with them; through deep and frozen roads, high waters, and frequent rains; each performed, without a murmur, the severe duties assigned to it. The difference between them consists only in this,--the British troops were well clothed; the Americans
were almost naked, and many of them barefooted.

"Great praise was bestowed by the general on his whole army; but the exertions of Colonel Williams, and of Lieutenant Colonel Carrington were particularly noticed.

"Although that part of North Carolina through which the armies had passed, was well affected to the American cause, such was the rapidity with which they moved, and such the terror inspired by the presence of the enemy, that no aid was drawn from the militia. Indeed, those who had joined the army from the more remote parts of the country could not be retained; and, when it reached the Dan, the militia attached to it did not exceed eighty men."[2099]

Caruthers: "[On the 14th] Cornwallis, with a view of keeping between Greene and Virginia, as far as he could, took the road by what is now known as Lawson's Store and Bethany Church, near which was some skirmishing between the British advance and the American light troops under Williams.

"For the sake of comfort, we suppose, his lordship went across, about a mile to Mrs. Dumitt's (since Brown's Store, and now Locust Hill), on the High Rock road, while the army were encamped on the high ground, about a mile, or perhaps a little more, to the north-east, and near the junction of the two roads from this place, I am told, it is about twenty-five miles to Erving's ferry, and at dark, on the evening of the 15th, the British van arrived at Boyd's, a few miles above. About noon of that day, or a little after, a courier arrived with a letter from General Greene to Colonel Williams, informing him that he had passed the Dan on the preceding day--the 14th, as we suppose -- at three in the afternoon. The race had been long and the pursuit close; the last night was dark, cold and drizzly. As the British were close in their rear and pressed on until the night, Lee and Williams were obliged to do the same. About eight o'clock at night, they were alarmed by the appearance of camp fires a mile ahead; for, as they were ignorant of Greene's whereabouts, they supposed that it was his camp, and that he must be overtaken by the British; but they found on approaching, that they were the fires of Greene's camp two nights before, and had been kept burning by the people of the neighborhood. With their fears and anxieties thus relieved, they continued their match until they were assured that the enemy had halted for the night, when they halted too, kindled their fires, and slept for three or four hours. Before the day dawned their pursuers were again in motion; and notwithstanding their weariness, and the desperate conditions of the roads, both armies pressed on -- as that was the last day, and everything was at stake -- allowing only one hour, in the fore-part of the day, for a scanty meal. But when the courier arrived at noon, 'his horse all reeking with sweat,' and bringing the glad tidings that the army had got safely over the Dan, a shout of joy went up from that noble band of patriots, which was heard, it was said, by [Brig. Gen. Charles] O'Hara, and was regarded by Cornwallis as ominous; but still he pressed forward. At three o'clock, Williams filed off towards Boyd's ferry, fourteen miles distant, and left Lee to maneuver in front of the enemy. Williams reached the ferry before sunset, and at dark had his men all landed on the other side...

"We consider it as settled matter, that the main body under Gen. Greene, crossed the Dan on the 14th, and the light corps under Col. Williams, on the 15th; for, according to the Order Book of Cornwallis, it was certainly on

[2098] Footnote in original text: "The author [Marshall] received this fact from Colonel Carrington."
[2099] MLW3 pp. 115-116.

the evening of the 15th, that the British van arrived at Boyd's Ferry, and when they came in sight, the last of the light troops under Williams had just landed on the north side [of the Dan River]..."[2100]

Col. Lewis Morris, Jr., at Halifax, VA. 19 Feb., to his father: "The army was evidently the object of the enemy, and while we can keep that together the country never can be conquered -- disperse it, and the people are subjugated. An action in Carolina, circumstanced as we were, certainly would have involved us in this predicament. The General was well aware of the consequences-to prevent which he was under the necessity of retiring and he was closely pressed by a much superior army and incumbered with an immense deal of baggage and stores. The retreat was performed without any loss-not even a broken waggon to show that we were hurried and, what makes it the more brilliant, the enemy had burned all their baggage and pursued us perfectly light.
"The militia in Carolina gave us no assistance. They were more intent upon saving their property by flight than by embodying to protect it.
"The enemy are encamped on the other side of Dan River and are collecting provisions for a ten days' march. It is the general opinion that they will not pursue us any farther, but file off for Hallifax and Newbern in Carolina. If so we shall recross the Dan and press upon their rear. The army has recovered from its fatigue, and the militia of Virginia are turning out in great numbers. We shall move as light as they are, and may engage them partially without hazarding a general action. We have a superior body of cavalry, and the militia may go on without any apprehension, and if we can but turn the tide against them I am confident a very considerable part of the soldiers will desert." [2101]

13-14 February (or else 14-15 Feb).[2102] [surrender] DePeyster's Capture, also Hasty Point Plantation, Belle Rive, Belle Reve (Georgetown County, S.C.) On the night of the 13th, by threatening to set fire a house which Capt. James DePeyster and 29 men of the King's American Regt. occupied, Capt. John Postell of Marion's brigade, with 28 men, forced their surrender by next morning. The house belonged to Postell's own family, and was situated north of Georgetown, in between the Black and Peedee Rivers. The rebel success no doubt interested the British in taking Postell himself prisoner; which in the upcoming month they did.[2103]
Henry Nase: "Feby. [February] 10th. Colo. [George] Campbell & Major Grant Went to Charles Town [on parole having earlier been taken prisoner by Lee and Marion's men on 25 January.]
"14 Feby. A Detachment of About 100 foot & forty Horse, under Command of Captn. Saunders, Marchd. to Black River, where Captn. Jas. De Peyster, Ensn. Budd & Twenty four men were taken Prisoners. The Rest Return'd with About Twenty head of Cattle & 5 Officers & Two privates, of the Rebel Militia Prisoners."[2104]

14 February. Cornwallis camped, suggests Caruthers, at Mrs. Dumitt's (later known as Locust Hill); while the "Scottish Travel Log" for the 14th has "Dobin[']s Plantation."[2105]

15 February. Greene, at Irwin's Ferry, made arrangements for setting up camp for his army at Halifax, Virginia with intention to fortify it; though this latter measure was never realized. He then moved his army there and where his troops were soon fed and given moral support by the townspeople. During his sojourn in Virginia, about 1500 to 1800 local militia came out to defend the town, but most of these dissipated as the threat from Cornwallis diminished. However, on the day of Greeene's recrossing, the 23rd, 1000 remained with which to begin forming a brigade and for which Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens[2106] -- among those who had arrived in, and who had brought with him some volunteer Pittsylvania militia -- was appointed (on the 19th) to organize and command. Some additional North Carolina militia came in, and were also with Greene at and or about this same time. Greene had previously ordered his baggage in advance of he army to Halifax and had given "the necessary orders issued to the quarter-master's department, to make good the passage of Staunton river with the whole army, should such a movement become necessary."[2107]
William Johnson: "Sending off, and guarding the many detachments of baggage, stores, prisoners, sick, &c., had necessarily drawn off a number of men on detached commands. The militia alone could not be depended upon for this service, as they came and went when they pleased. Hence a small guard of regulars became indispensable; and where an auxiliary militia force was called out, it was relieved at different stages, according to the necessity of circumstances. On the 17th of this month, there was no less than 345 of Maryland line thus employed; and, on that day, every man in camp fit for duty, is stated at, infantry, 1078 -- artillery, 64 -- cavalry, 176 -- legionary infantry, 112. The militia had all departed, with the exception only of the gallant little band under Pickens, who alone, in the worst of times, never abandoned the retreating army: but, at this time, they were detached under their leader, on the service which has been already noticed…
"…[T]he state of Virginia appears [in mid February] to have in the field two thousand three hundred and twenty-one men, and to acknowledge a deficiency of three thousand one hundred and eighty-eight But of those in the field, five hundred were still to be clothed, and armed, and marched from Chesterfield court bouse; and the

[2100] CNS2 pp. 56-57.
[2101] CSS p. 1162.
[2102] "14-15," i.e. depending on how the Nase diary is to be interpreted. McCrady gives the date at 18-19, January, while Lipscomb gives February 21. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/postelle.htm
[2103] GDH2 pp. 24-43, JFM p. 38, RBG p. 138, MSC1 p. 752, MSC2 p. 83, 746, LSC p.12.
[2104] NDI.
[2105] STL, CNS2 pp. 56-57.
[2106] Stevens, it will be recalled, escorted the Cowpens prisoners to Virginia; afterward he took the militia remaining with him to Pittsylvania to return their arms and receive their discharge. It was at this same time, however, that they returned as volunteers to Greene's army. JLG1 p. 444.
[2107] NGP7 pp. 287, 290, 292, 353-354, MLW4A p. 358, LMS pp. 251-252, JLG1 pp. 433-436, 444.

return acknowledges, that 'arms, we have none, nor can by any means procure them.' One thousand and sixty-one more are said to be posted at various points in the state ; and the number actually with the army, is stated to be twelve hundred and sixty, consisting of [Charles] Harrison's regiment of artillery, estimated at sixty -- Bufort's [Buford's] infantry at five hundred -- Greene's [i.e. John Green's] at four hundred -- and White and Washington's cavalry at three hundred. Of the whole number in service, only one hundred and forty-four, stationed at Fort Pitt, and Harrison's sixty artillerists were enlisted for the war; the rest were engaged for various, and generally very short tours of service. Of the actual state of those troops stationed in the state, we know nothing; but, if the state returns with regard to them, be as inaccurate as they are with regard to the numbers with the southern army, the deficiencies in the Virginia line must have been much greater than that admitted. The field-return of the army of the same date, with Mr. Jefferdon's statement, gives of the Virginia brigade, five hundred and thirty-four rank and file fit for duty, thirty matrosses, and seventy-four cavalry -- about one half the number claimed by the state. The deficiency of six hundred and twenty-two, if with the army, must be made up of non-commissioned officers, musicians, sick, and absent on duty. But, it is well known, that the cavalry especially, never equalled one hundred, instead of three."[2108]

Caruthers: "On the night of the 15th, he [Cornwallis] had his headquarter at Wiley's, where he probably remained until the morning of the 17th, and took possession of Thomas's mill to do his grinding. Wiley's house, in which Cornwallis had his head-quarters, and which is yet standing, is about four mile south from Erving's Ferry [Irwin's], and is now [1856] owned and occupied by Samuel Tate. Thomas's mill was at the mouth of Country Line creek, where, a few year ago, the Milton Factory stood. O'Hara's brigade, we suppose, was now at or near Boyd's Ferry, a few miles above Erving's. His Lordship slowly retired toward Hillsboro', and made his next stage at Dobbin's, now the Red House, where, having given the troop another halting day, they were guilty of the mot shameful excesses. Some were quartered in the church of the Red House, or Middle Hico [Hyco], as it was then called and treated it with utmost disrespect. Great outrage were committed in the neighborhood, nor did they spare the house of the venerated pastor...Such is the tradition of the country, and it is confirmed by the ["Cornwallis," as Caruthers denotes it, or "Leslie"] Order Book. The orders given at Dobbin's, a well a at some other place, show that Cornwallis disapproved of the marauding and depredations of the soldiers, and he made considerable efforts to prevent their excess..."[2109]

Mid February. [raid] Waccamaw (Horry County, S.C.) A troop of about 30-40 Queen's Rangers, under Lieut. John Wilson, carried out a raid 40 miles up the Waccamaw River from Georgetown where a Capt. Clark (or Clarke), a local whig militia leader, was made prisoner.[2110]
Capt. John Saunders, of the Queen's Rangers (quoted in Simcoe): "Among a variety of other parties sent into the country by me, in order to prevent, as much as possible, depredation and violence by small bodies of rebels, who occasionally infested the vicinity of George Town, Lt. [John] Wilson was ordered, about the middle of February, 1781, to go about forty miles up the Waccama [Waccamaw] river, with a detachment of between thirty and forty men, in order to take Capt. Clarke, a very active officer, prisoner, who was said to have a small party with him, for the purpose of protecting himself and oppressing the inhabitants on Waccama neck; he was ordered also, to mount his party, if possible, and to return by land. He sat out in the evening with the first of the tide, and would have reached Clarke's house before day had it not been for a heavy fall of rain up the country, which checked the tide with such force, that, notwithstanding every effort, he found at day-light that he had not proceeded above half way, he therefore landed, sent back the boats, and lay concealed in a house till evening, keeping every passenger prisoner: he then marched to Clarke's house, which he reached before day-light, took him prisoner, but found none of his party with him; took horses sufficient to mount his party, and returned, without loss, to George Town."[2111]

15-16 February. On the 15th, Cornwallis camped at Wiley's House and rested his hard pushed troops. The Dan River began to fall, thus making possible crossing and pursuit by Cornwallis easier. Cornwallis, notwithstanding, continued on to Hillsborough with a mind to raising and emboldening the loyalists in the region. Pickens, with 700 men (at least half mounted) meanwhile and who had stayed in the state when had Greene left it, kept to the west of the British watching and harrying their flanks. A second force of N.C. militia under Caswell was also present menacing Cornwallis' right.[2112]
"Scottish Travel Log": [15 Feb.] "The banks of the Dan"; "Observe we march 169 miles without halting -- ten days."

From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation) entry for Feb. 16th: "The company in the tavern was called out at three o'clock this morning. The guard hailed some one, who replied: *Good Friend*. To the question: *Whose friend?* Came the answer: *King George's.*
"Then it was quiet until nearly four o'clock when the advance guard of General Pickens company arrived with orders for meat, corn and meal…The General and his officers were polite and courteous, and assured us that no damage should be done; and as it would be necessary for our wagon to take the meat and meal to the camp late in the evening they promised that it should not be pressed. Our supply of bread was all taken, largely without pay. The company that was here last night returned, and it was in all respects a much disturbed time."[2113]

[2108] JLG1 p. 435, 440-441.
[2109] CNS2 pp. 64-65.
[2110] SQR p. 243.
[2111] SQR p. 244.
[2112] LOB part IV, STL, JLG1 pp. 433, 435, BDB pp. 103-106.
[2113] FRM p. 1743.

16-17 February. [raid] Weeks' Defeat (Princess Anne County, VA.) See SQR pp. 174-175.

17-18 February. Cornwallis in orders for the day at "Dobbines'" [Dobbin's] House again decried plundering; as he had done on the 5th and 6th while at Salisbury.[2114]
"Scottish Travel Log": [17 Feb.] "Halt"; [18 Feb.] "Cross the North & South Hyco at Shallow ford."

17-20. Greene's light corps under Williams, crossed the Banister River on the 17th and then re-crossed the Dan on the 20th(or else 21st), with Lee having done so on the 18th, in the wake of Cornwallis,[2115] followed by the main army on the 21st. Two sub-detachments under Lee and Washington acted semi-independently of Williams (Lee's in particular.) On the 21st, Lee united forces with Pickens and his N.C. militia, which included some Catawba Indians, and the two commanders were in turn within a few day subsequently reinforced with a contingent of just arriving Virginia militia riflemen. The light detachments of Pickens, Lee, Washington, and Williams, supported by the Virginia and North Carolina militia, were to follow on the rear of Cornwallis' column, to retard and prevent his efforts to both forage and rouse the tories. Major Pierce, one of Greene's aides, with a small but select escort, equipped equally to fight or fly, was already in advance of Lee and Pickens and hung on Cornwallis wings immediately after the latter had retreated from the Dan. Greene, says Joseph Graham, ordered his various light detachments: "to proceed with caution and commit nothing to hazard against a superior force, unless compelled; but if meeting an inferior force, to strike them as quick as possible return to him as soon as an alarm should be given, it might be expected that the Cavalry and light troops of the enemy would be at our heels."[2116]
Kirkwood: "15th March'd and Crossed the Banister River...7 [miles]
"17th March'd and Recrossed...6 [miles]
"20th Crossed the Dan River...9 [miles]."[2117]

William Seymour: "On the seventeenth our army marched and crossed the Banister River. Here we halted till the 20th, and marched for Hillsborough, which the enemy had taken possession of, there erecting the Royal Standard, where a vast number of the inhabitants joined them, taking the oath of allegiance, and many more they compelled to do the same, forcing them away from their wives and children." [2118]

Lee "...(T)he Legion of Lee, strengthened by two companies of the veterans of Maryland, under Captain [Edward] Oldham, with the corps of South Carolina militia, under Brigadier Pickens, was ordered, in the morning of the 18th, to pass the Dan. This was readily performed."[2119]

William Johnson: "Colonel Washington continued his march parallel to that of the enemy, until he fully ascertained its directions towards Hillsborough, when he retraced his steps and attached himself to Col. Williams. The range of Lee was of far greater duration and extent...On the right, on the left, in the rear of the enemy, wherever service could be performed, or intelligence collected, we find him continually occupied, and forever changing his positions, to guard against surprise."[2120]

17 February. Brig. Gen. George Weedon, at Chesterfield Court House, VA., wrote to Greene, saying that he had urgently requested Gov. Jefferson to support Greene. "I found him well disposed to do so, and Orders were yesterday dispatched to Botetourt for 147 of their best Rifle men; to Montgomery for 187, to Washington for 207, to Pittsylvania for 230, to Henry for 251, making in the whole 1022. Those men you may expect will join you with the Utmost Expedition...am in hopes in [sixteen] days they will be in full march."[2121]
Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, a Virginia militia officer, wrote Jefferson on February 25, saying that after meeting with Greene about the 18th, he had ordered out the militia of Prince Edward, Cumberland, Amelia, Charlotte, Lunenberg, Mecklenburg, Buckingham, and Amherst counties. He asked Jefferson for help in arming these troops, as Greene had told him he had not enough arms even for his Continentals.[2122]

18 February. In a letter to von Steuben, Greene directed that reinforcements from Virginia approach by way of Taylor's Ferry on the Roanoke River. On the 17th, Steuben had written Greene informing him that lack of clothing would prevent him from sending the regiment of Virginia Continentals, under Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell, till at least the 25th; at which date (as it turned out) he did send them; they having by then received the necessary clothing shipment.[2123]

[2114] LOB part IV, STL.
[2115] Buchanan says the light troops re-crossed the Dan on the 19th. Boatner, following Lee, says the 18th.
[2116] KJO p. 13, SAW2 p. 333, GHA4 pp. 47-48, 169, MLW4A pp. 359-360, LMS pp. 253-256, JLG1 pp. 448-449, LCC pp. 127-130, GAM2 pp. 270-271, GLG3 p. 185, BEA p. 1027, BRG p. 362, HWW p. 102.
[2117] KJO p. 13.
[2118] SJS.
[2119] LMS p. 253.
[2120] JLG1 p. 449.
[2121] NGP7 p. 307.
[2122] NGP7 p. 310n.
[2123] NGP7 p. 311.

18 February. Some Caswell County, N.C. militia under Col. William Moore were posted at Wadkin's ford on the Banister river. In the course of the day, Moore had sent out a pary to scout for the British and was awaiting their return. He subsequently marced to reinforce Otho Williams' command.[2124]

18 February. Col. William Preston with 300 mostly mounted militia with rifles carrying six days provisions left Montgomery County, Virginia with expectations of reaching Surrey County the next day. In the same letter to Greene, Preston reported that Col. William Campbell would march next week with the militia of Washington County, and a party of men from Botetourt County.[2125]

18 February. Capt. Andrew Barkley, and with whom Craig had had difficulty working with, left Wilmington, taking with him 26 marines and his 3 warships, leaving for Craig's defense several galleys and gunboats.[2126]

19 February. Horace Walpole to Rev. William Mason: "Was not you edified with the last *Gazette*? When we expected to hear that all Washington's army was catched in a drag-net, and that Lord Cornwallis had subdued and pacified all Virginia and Carolina, we were modestly told that his Lordship and his handful of men have been sick, but, thank you, are a little better; and that Colonel Ferguson was beaten, and Colonel Tarleton had had a puny advantage; all which we knew two months ago."

19 February. Having completed his mission of bringing militia home and delivering Cowpens prisoners to Pittsylvania Court House, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens received orders to recruit Virginia militia. By the 21st to 23rd he had joined Greene, coming by way of Halifax, Virginia, having raised 1,000 men. Upon Greene's arrival in the state, efforts were made by Gov. Thomas Jefferson and former governor Patrick Henry to do all in their power to assist him in calling out men; with the former also authorizing Greene to impress horses as need be.[2127]

19 February Cornwallis bivouacked at Thompson's Plantation, N.C.[2128]

19-20 February. Pickens camped at Wilson's on the North Haw River, with 600-700 North Carolinians and 40 to possibly 150 South Carolina and Georgia militia; where he was preparing to march to Greene's camp at Boyd's Ferry on the Dan. At least 300 of his men were mounted; those on foot were command by Col. Francis Lock. Yet rather than join Greene, he was directed along with Lee and the Legion, who met up with him on Feb. 21, to move toward Hillsborough to follow and obstruct Cornwallis efforts to gain loyalist sympathy, while at the same time securing provisions to feed his men. At the time, Pickens was having difficulty retaining many of the North Carolina militia, and on the 20th informed Greene that the Salisbury militia were regularly deserting him.[2129]
Lee: "Pickens and Lee were commanded to gain the front of Cornwallis, to place themselves as close to him as safety would permit, in order to interrupt his communication with the country, to repress the meditated rising of the loyalists, and, at all events, to intercept any party of them which might attempt to join the enemy."[2130]

19-21 February. [siege] Fort Granby, also Congaree Fort (Lexington County, S.C.) With the men he had collected earlier in the month, Sumter moved forward to attack Fort Granby below the Congaree River. Wade Hampton, who owned a store in the area[2131] had earlier been contracted to supply Fort Granby with provisions. He had, until this time, taken British protection, but, despite this, informed Sumter that the British fort was running low on stores. On the basis of this information, Sumter on the 16th, with 280-400 men, including as many as 250 from North Carolina, left his camp at on the Catawba with and proceeded towards Granby where Maj. Andrew Maxwell lay with a garrison of 300. He reached the fort and briefly laid siege[2132] to it on the 19th; at the same time he wrote Marion requesting reinforcements. Though Marion did reply, he would or else could not help him in the siege or his subsequent movements.[2133] William Johnson says this Granby siege was the first occasion where the Maham tower was actually used. Bass qualifies this by implying it was of a more primitive sort than that later proposed by Hezekiah Maham. Rawdon, learning that Granby was in danger, dispatched Lieut. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle from Camden with the Volunteers of Ireland to attack Sumter. Doyle seized the fords above Friday's (more properly called Fridig's) Ferry (apparently to cut off Sumter's retreat) before bearing down. Receiving word of Doyle's approach, Sumter, on the night of the 20th, destroyed nearby provisions and other articles that would be of use to the British, then lifted the siege. By the morning of the 21st, after Doyle had crossed the river and arrived at Granby -- and with Rawdon and much of the Camden garrison on the way also -- Sumter had departed to attack Thompson's Plantation down river. On the 1st of March, Col. Thomas Polk, in Salisbury,[2134] reported to Greene that Sumter "had moved to the Congaree [Ft. Granby] & had taken a small

[2124] NGP7 pp. 313, 314n, 315.
[2125] NGP7 p. 314.
[2126] DRO p. 152.
[2127] NGP7 p. 316n, JLG1 pp. 444-446.
[2128] LOB part IV, STL.
[2129] NGP7 p. 325, LMS pp. 255-256.
[2130] LMS p. 253.
[2131] Hampton's Store was situated about five miles southeast across the Congaree River (north side) from the site of Fort Granby.
[2132] JLG2 p. 32.
[2133] GDH2 pp. 23-24, 27-28.
[2134] Polk's son, William, later became one of Sumter's regimental commanders.

Number of British that lay there With about 500 Negroes and a deal of stores. It is Reported the Militia all turn out Wherever he Goes."[2135]
On February 24th, Balfour wrote to Clinton: "By intelligence brought me yesterday the post of Congaree's [Ft. Granby] has been for three days invested by seven or eight hundred men under Colonel Sumter."[2136]

20 February. Greene issued a commission to William Christian, Col. William Preston, Col. Arthur Campbell, Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and to Robert Sevier, Evan Shelby, Joseph Williams and Col. John Sevier of the far western North Carolina and Virginia counties to act as peace treaty negotiators with the Cherokee Indians (see 2 and 29 July 1781.)[2137]

20 February. His army enduring acute privation along the long march since first commencing his pursuit of Greene (including some desertion beginning at Ramseur's Mill where he'd first began his second trek into N.C.), Cornwallis finally entered Hillsborough; North Carolina's state capital (at that time.)[2138]
Cornwallis' Proclamation of Feb. 20th: "Whereas, it has pleased the Divine Providence to prosper the operations of His Majesty's arms in driving the rebel army out of this province; and WHEREAS it is His Majesty's most gracious wish to rescue his faithful and loyal subjects from the cruel tyranny under which they have groaned for several years, I have thought proper to issue this Proclamation, to invite all such faithful and loyal subjects to repair, without loss of time, with their arms and ten days provisions, to the Royal Standard now erected at Hillsborough, where they will meet with the most friendly reception. And I do hereby assure them that I am ready to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion in this province, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government.
"Given under my hand at headquarters at Hillsborough this 20th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1781, and in the twentyfirst year of His Majesty's reign."[2139]

William Johnson: "When the British commander abandoned the banks of the Dan, he must still have entertained the hope of drawing his wary adversary into some act of indiscretion. It is impossible otherwise to account for the apparent indecision of his movements. Instead of pursuing the direct road to Hillsborough, his first day's march was up the course of the river, on the rout by which he had pursued the retreating Americans, and appeared to threaten the party under Pickens, or indicate an attempt to cross the river above Boyd's. The next was in a direction nearly contrary, and indicated a view to the magazines and stores, (now on the east bank of the Roanoke) or an intention to take a route below, for pushing on to the shores of the Chesapeake. The third was in a direction nearly at right angles, or rather retrograde to the last, and led directly to Hillsborough. Here he arrived on the 20th, and erected the British standard, fondly flattering himself and his employers that the state was conquered. Nothing was farther from the truth, and chagrine and disappointment soon attended the development of his error."[2140]

21 February. Accompanied by a tweny one gun salute, Cornwallis hoisted the King's Standard at Hillsborough, and in doing so sent out a call for loyal citizens and militia recruits. Although many inhabitants showed their support and enthusiasm, very few, no more than 100, subsequently stayed with him as militia, particularly a) after setbacks like Pyle's defeat on the 24th., and b) since Cornwallis had neither arms, nor supplies, nor food, to provide them with. Moreover, the sometimes practice of the British to feed their own army at the expense of the loyalists, including slaughtering even some of their draft oxen as a matter of last recourse, did not help matters. Otho Williams reported a few days later that his lordship had formed no less than 7 companies of loyalists, but these largely dissipated with Greene's approach.[2141]
Stedman: "During the time the royal army held Hillsborough, the author's [Stedman's] cattle-drivers were obliged to go a considerable distance from the army for cattle, and even -- then brought in but a very scanty supply. Lord Cornwallis could not have remained as tong as he did at Hillsborough had it not been for a quantity of salt-beef, pork, and some hogs, found in the town. Such was the situation of the British army, that the author, with a file of men was obliged to go from house to house, throughout the town, to take provisions from the inhabitants, many of whom were greatly distressed by this measure, which could be justified only by extreme necessity."[2142]

21 February. Greene, from Irwin's Ferry, wrote to Brig. Gen. John Butler stating that the light troops had already re-crossed the Dan river (going southward), while the rest of the army would be doing the same as soon as possible. Also, several hundred Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, had rendezvoused with Greene's army this same day.[2143]

[2135] NGP7 pp. 380, 381n, 417, GDH2 pp. 23-24, 27-28, Balfour to Clinton, 3 March 1781 found at BLB pp. 40-43, CAR p. 489, JLG2 pp. 31-32, MSC2 pp. 105-106, BGC pp. 129, 136, RBG p. 145.
[2136] CAR p. 489.
[2137] GHA4 p. 47, JLG1 p. 471.
[2138] LOB part IV, STL, CAR p. 263, GHA4 p. 47, JLG1 p. 447, CNS2 pp. 64-73, BDB pp. 103-106.
[2139] CNC17 pp. 986-987.
[2140] JLG1 p. 447.
[2141] LOB part IV, stl, RCO p. 176-177, TCS pp. 230-231, 256-257, SAW2 pp. 332-335, CAR p. 263, MLW4A p. 358, JLG1 p. 447-448, CNS2 pp. 64-73, FWI p. 224, TPY pp. 156, 163.
[2142] SAW2 p. 335.
[2143] NGP7 p. 327.

21 February. Pickens, who was joined by Lee on this date, was "10 from Hillsborough," requested ammunition of Greene. He had with him at this time, not counting Lee, 300 militia horse and 600 of the same infantry.[2144]

21 February. Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell ordered the North Carolina militia at Kingston (in Lenoir County) sent to the Wilmington area, while he himself was busy raising more men in the Wilmington and New Bern districts. Although once again now leading the North Carolina militia (Rutherford being in captivity and Davidson slain at Cowan's Ford), Caswell did not serve at Guilford Ct. House due to illness, though he remained relatively active as an administrator.[2145]

21 February. Col. Charles Lynch wrote Greene, saying that the Bedford County, Virginia militia would be with him in two days to join the mani army and requested instructions where to rendezvous. Greene, on the 21st replied, telling him he wanted him to take six days provisions with him, and link up with Gen. Robert Lawson, who was marching from Prince Edward County.[2146]

21 February. Greene rode alone with some aides to meet with Pickens and Lee at Pickens' camp to plan operations. He gave them instructions to prevent the loyalists from gathering, while assigning Pickens, at least formally, to command Lee's light detachment. After spending the night and exhorting the two leaders to act in harmony and cooperate closely, Greene returned to his army headquarters at Halifax, VA. the next morning (the 22nd.) Williams with the rest of the light troops (including Washington's cavalry), meanwhile, was situated anterior to Lee and Pickens guarding the approach to Greene's army itself.[2147]

21 February (also given as 22 and 23 February). [siege] Thompson's Plantation, also Belleville (Calhoun County, S.C.) Having abandoned his attack on Granby, Sumter laid siege to the stockade at Thompson's Plantation at Belleville (a couple miles southeast of what would later become Ft. Motte.) He attempted to take the stockade by assault, and setting fire to it, but the defenders, under Lt. Charles McPherson of the 1st Battalion Delancey's Regt., held their own and were able to extinguish the blaze. Toward the close of day, he left a detachment watching the stockade and moved with his main body to Manigault's Ferry, and where he collected boats in the area.[2148]
Regarding the post at Belleville, Joseph Johnson comments: "Various officers were in command of it at different times, and of very different dispositions; some behaving with great rudeness and brutality, while others were polite, and even kind."[2149]

21-22 February. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "Colonels [William] Preston and [Hugh] Crocket arrived with 400 mounted men, coming from the mountains more than a hundred miles away. As it was rainy they took possession of our stables, so that the cows could not be brought in and could not be milked…"
"Feb. 22. Soon after noon the soldiers went ton to Salem, at which we were content and happy. From Richmond came Colonel [also Major John] Armstrong and Cummings…"[2150]

22 February. "Leslie" Orderly Book: "It is with great concern that Lord Cornwallis hears every day reports of Soldiers being taken by the Enemy, in consequence of their straggling out of Camp in search of Whiskey; He Strictly Enjoins all Officers & Non Commission'd Officers Comdg. the Out Posts and Picqts. [Pickets] Of the Army to do their utmost to prevent any Soldier from passing them."[2151]

22 February (also given as 23 February) [ambush] Big Savannah, also Thompson's Plantation Convoy, Big Glades, Manigault's Ferry (Calhoun County, S.C) About the same time as Sumter laid siege to Thompson's, a convoy of 20 wagons and an escort of about 50 to 80 men (depending on sources), all under a Major David McIntosh, was sent out from Charlestown with clothing, provisions, munitions and some pay chests for the purpose of establishing what would become Fort Motte (also known as Buckhead.) Obtaining information about the onset of the convoy, Sumter, with Col. Edward Lacey and Col. William Bratton attempted to ambush it near Big Savannah, a few short miles down the road from Thompson's Plantation (as the road ran roughly southeast toward Eutaw Springs.) The British, seeing only a small party of Sumter's men came forward to attack it, when they themselves were then overwhelmed by the rest of Sumter's force. At one point in the fighting, some of Bratton's men ignored a white flag that had been raised and, as a result, seven British were needlessly killed and several others wounded. McCrady reports the British losses as 13 killed and 66 prisoners, as well as 20 wagons with clothing, supplies and arms taken which were intended for Rawdon's army. Both he and Ripley speak of Sumter being down to 100 men at this time, but this seems rather too conservative an estimate.
The same or the next day, Sumter loaded the captured items on flats he had been collecting, and tried to have them sent down river toward Nelson's Ferry; not far from where he and the rest of his men were to rendezvous with the boats at a specified location. A treacherous river pilot, however, in passing Fort Watson along the way, steered his craft under the guns of that fort and the stores and money chests were retaken by the British. In the

[2144] NGP7 pp. 331, 332.
[2145] NGP7 p. 329.
[2146] NGP7 pp. 330, 332.
[2147] NGP7 p. 343, LMS pp. 253-254, JLG1 pp. 448-451, LCC pp. 127-135, MSC2 p. 122, RNC p. 287.
[2148] Balfour to Clinton, 3 March 1781 found at BLB pp. 40-43, MSC2 p. 107-108, BGC p. 130, RBG pp. 145-146.
[2149] JTR p. 100.
[2150] FRN pp. 1744-1745.
[2151] LOB part IV.

meantime, Rawdon sent Maj. Robert McLeroth with the 64th Regt., a troop of dragoons, and a field piece to relieve McPherson at Thompson's, which they reached on the 24th. When McLeroth approached Thompson's, Sumter on the 24th (or possibly the 25th) retreated to "Mrs. Flud's [Flood's]."[2152] There for at least two days he passed his force over the Santee by means of a single canoe and swimming the horses.[2153]

22-23 February. Lee and Pickens, and which force that included Capt. Oldham and two Maryland companies, while hovering around Cornwallis at Hillsborough, watched for British foraging parties, while constantly shifting their own locations to avert detection. At one point, they received reports of Tarleton (who was said to have most of the Briish cavalry, two light brass cannon, and 400 infantry with him) being at a farm house in the vicinity and prepared to make a careful surprise attack. Yet upon nearing the farm, they discovered Tarleon had already left. Two of Tarleton's staff officers, and who had remained behind to finish up some business, were however taken.[2154]
Lee: "Greene having set out on his return to camp, Pickens and Lee advanced; first sending reconnoitring parties in their front, with orders to conceal themselves in sight of the road to watch passing occurrences, and to report from time to time the result of their observations. The main body moving obliquely to their right through an unsettled region, they encamped within three miles of the great road, with the Haw [River] on their right, about seven miles distant. Here they were joined by the light parties sent out in the morning, and by the officer who had the day before been detached toward Hillsborough. The first reported that every thing was still on the road, and that they had not seen a single person, except a well-grown boy, during the day, whom they had brought along with them agreeable to orders. From this lad we discovered that Tarleton had not passed the river yesterday, but would do it on the next morning.
"The officer who had approached Hillsborough found all quiet in that quarter, and neither saw nor heard any thing indicating a movement on the part of the enemy. Resting for the night, the corps proceeded after breakfast the next day, waiting until then to give time for the exploring parties to renew their efforts in obtaining more precise intelligence.
"Approaching the road, it was met by a dragoon bringing information that the British detachment had passed the Haw. This being ascertained, Pickens and Lee gained the great road, and followed on the enemy's route. Guides became unnecessary now; for the British detachment had plundered all the houses on the road, known, as they were, to be the property of patriots, and symbols of devastation marked their steps. The men having all fled, none but women could be seen. From them the American commandants learned that the loyalists between the Haw and Deep rivers were certainly embodying, and that the British detachment would not advance far on the other side of the river, it being commonly said among the soldiers, that they should return in a few days. By what could be gathered from report, and judging by the time of passing any one house, it appeared that most of the cavalry, two light brass pieces, and four hundred infantry, composed the detachment. Sending again a small party of dragoons down the road, to discover whether any second body of troops were moving from Hillsborough, Pickens and Lee continued on to the Haw, which they passed without delay, hearing that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton was encamped four miles in front. At this moment the officer sent down the road rejoined, communicating that there was no prospect of interruption from that quarter.
"Soon after we had crossed the river, which was fordable, a countryman was discovered by the cavalry in front; and being overtaken, was sent to the commandants. From him it was ascertained that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, as had been reported, commanded the party, and that he was encamped within three miles of us about noon; that his horses were unsaddled, and that appearances indicated his confidence of security. With respect to his strength, the countryman's information rated it the same as it was before understood to be. This being correct, Tarleton had the advantage in number of cavalry, but was inferior in quality; he had two light pieces, the Americans none; he was numerically inferior in infantry, but his troops were all tried regulars, while half of our infantry were militia, though of the best sort. A disposition for attack was immediately made. The infantry of the Legion led by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, forming the centre, moved directly toward the enemy…
"Thus arrayed, the divisions proceeded to their designated points, every precaution having been adopted to prevent discovery. The movement was conducted with the utmost precision and correspondency. When arriving within a few hundred yards of the expected theatre of glory, the farm and house were seen, but no enemy. The van of the horse galloping to the house brought off two of the enemy's staff, who had been delayed in settling for the subsistence of the detachment; and hearing from the family that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton would not advance above six miles further, Pickens and Lee instantly proceeded toward him, hoping that fortune would be more propitious upon the next occasion."[2155]

23 February (also given as 22 and 24 February). Greene and the main army, reinforced now with a substantial body of militia under Stevens, re-crossed the Dan River, having in mind to place themselves in a more favorable location to receive reinforcements and supplies from Virginia, while keeping Cornwallis from inciting and drawing forth the loyalists.[2156]

23 February (also given as 17 February). [skirmish] Hart's Mill (Orange County, N.C.) Capt. Joseph Graham with 20 N.C. cavalry, and Capt. Richard Simmons with 20 mounted N.C. militia, both acting under Pickens, set an ambush for a British lieutenant, a sergeant, 24 privates and 2 loyalists at Hart's Mill on Stoney Creek, three

[2152] Flood's House was located below Nelson's Ferry and down the road east a number of miles past Eutaw Springs.
[2153] JLG2 pp. 31-32, MSC2 p. 746, BGC p. 130-131, RBG pp. 145-146. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/bigsavannah.htm
[2154] LMS pp. 254-255.
[2155] LMS pp.254-255.
[2156] NGP7 p. 332, LMS pp. 263-264, JLG1 pp. 446-448, LCC pp. 127-130.

miles (Graham says ten) west of Hillsborough upon which a skirmish irrupted in which the British were repulsed. The British, states Graham, lost nine killed and wounded, while the remainder were taken prisoner.
In his report to Greene, Pickens says the American detachment was commanded by Col. Hugh McCall, yet Graham, oddly, makes no mention of McCall at all. Indeed, more strangely, (in response to William Johnson's account), Graham asserts that McCall was not even with Pickens.[2157] In any event, after the fighting, Graham and Simmons were with Pickens, who was later in the day joined by Lee and his Legion. Prior to that Pickens and Lee had not personally known each other, this being their first meeting. About this same time Graham was placed in command of Pickens' full contingent of cavalry, which numbered 70. On the 23rd, Pickens wrote to Greene from "Camp Hyco [River]," near Hillsborough. In reporting "McCall's" attack, he stated that his men had achieved a victory "that would have done Honor to the most disciplined Troops." 8 British were killed or severely wounded, and 10 and several Loyalists captured.[2158] Pickens further told Greene that he would move that evening or tomorrow to Stony Creek. He also said that Col. Lock, who was camped four miles below at High Rock Ford,[2159] was badly in need of ammunition, lead in particular, which he would have Lock send to Greene for. In his request to Greene on the 24th from High Rock, Lock said his men did not have a "Second ball," and asked Greene for 200.[2160]

Joseph Graham: "The commanding officer and party returned and gave Capt. [Richard] Simmons directions to go behind the swell in the ground until he got the buildings between him and the [British] guard and then advance; while at the same time, the Cavalry would make a diversion to our left. The Captain had his men across the great road, to Mebane's, and the Cavalry turning to the left, entered an old field in open order, upwards of two hundred yards from the enemy, and galloping across it as right angles to their lines -- completely attracted their attention and drew their fire; until Simmons's party reached the small buildings, and fired from the corners of both at the same instant. Those of the enemy who did not fall, fled. The Cavalry came down at full charge, and by the time the guard had fled one hundred yards beyond the river their front was overtaken, and the whole killed or captured.[2161]

Samuel Hammond [pension statement]: "Thence proceeded on & joined Genl. Greene & reported to him north of Catawba River. Was with the Genl. on his retreat through North Carolina constantly employed in command of small detachments until they arrived at Moore's Plantation on the Guilford road, there Genl. Pickens was ordered to pass round the British, fall in their rear & watch their movements & to communicate them to the Genl. Applicant was kept in advance in rear of the British, took many prisoners on the way to the borders of Virginia. Continuing upon their rear on their retrograde march, until their arrival at Hillsborough. In conjunction with Col. [James] McCall, took a picket guard at Hart's Mills in full view of the Enemy Camp consisting of one Commissioned officer, 2 non-commissioned Os [Officers] & 23 privates with some scattering Grenadiers, on plundering expedition. Prisoners committed to the charge of Applicant, was taken to Genl. Greene & by him ordered to Halifax old Court House Virginia. This duty, irksome as it was, was performed, returned & joined the army in Guilford County prior to the Battle of the 17th [sic] of March as memory now serves him ---"[2162]

23 February. [skirmish] Reedy Fork (Guilford County, N.C.) Tarleton with 200 of his Legion cavalry, 150 of the 33rd Regt., and 100 Jägers were sent to support loyalists between the Haw and Deep rivers. On the 24th, he dispersed a party of American militia who were endeavoring to keep the loyalist in check. Shortly thereafter, word came to Tarleton to return to Hillsborough.[2163]
William Seymour: "(W)e crossed Reedy Fork and drew up in order of battle, leaving some riflemen on the other side, when the enemy advanced and attacked the militia, who retreated off with precipitation, but, the British not advancing over the river, our troops marched and crossed the Haw River."[2164]

23 February. North Carolina Governor Abner Nash, at New Bern, to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: "[You] will march the detachment of militia now assembled and assembling to Halifax [N.C.], or to such other parts as the motions of the enemy or the exigency of the public affairs may require. He will also take such measures for posting these, as well as the militia of Halifax district, in such a manner and fortify in such places as he shall deem best for the public security. He will take such order respecting the militia, in Hillsboro and the other western districts, as shall seem expedient. The General will also, on his arrival at Halifax, call on the other members of the 'Council Extraordinary' to meet, and he will pursue such further steps as may be concluded on by the said council, for the further operations of the militia against the enemy. General [Alexander] Lillington having the command of the militia in the district of Wilmington, and there being no occasion for the presence of any other general officer there, Brigadier General [William] Caswell will serve in the army to the westward and take his orders from the Major General, who will also commission the officers for the Light Horse corps in such way (agreeable to the resolve of the General Assembly) as he shall deem best for the public service.

[2157] Moreover, we have McCrady saying it was James McCall not Hugh McCall. Eggleston had been sent out by Greene to attack Hart's Mill; but after forming up to do so found this had already been carried out by McCall (who'd been sent for his purpose by Pickens.) Graham, he goes, on probably commanded McCall's detachment. MSC2 p. 121.
[2158] Rankin gives the date as 17 February, and says 9 British were killed and 19 made prisoner. RNC pp. 288-289.
[2159] High Rock Ford, on the Haw River, is about three miles southeast of present day Williamsburg, N.C. in Rockingham County.
[2160] NGP7 pp. 336, 341, 345, JLG1 pp. 449-450, CNC22 p. 123, GNC pp. 313-318, GAM2 pp. 270-273, CNS2 p. 70, MSC2 pp. 121-122, SNC pp. 274-276, BDB pp. 17-19, 107-119.
[2161] GAM2 p. 271.
[2162] HMP.
[2163] TCS pp. 231-232.
[2164] Though not entirely clear, Seymour would seem to be speaking of the same occurrence as this date entry. SJS.

"The General will endeavor to have General Butler supplied with ammunition as speedily as possible, and he is earnestly requested to send forward, with dispatch, any important intelligence he may receive respecting the motions of the enemy."[2165]

23-24 February. "Scottish Travel Log": [23 Feb.] "Change the position of the Army [at Hillsborough]"; and [24 Feb.] "Encamp across river."[2166]

24 February. In a letter to Clinton of this date, Balfour reported the ships *Chatham*, *Assurance*, *Blonde*, *Carysfort* and *Galatea* as being in Charlestown harbor.[2167]

24 February. News of Greene's re-crossing the Dan River reached Cornwallis who then sent orders to Tarleton to immediately join him at Hillsborough.[2168]

24 February. Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, at Suffolk, VA., wrote to Greene stating he had with him 2,000 Virginia militia, but only 300 of these were armed with bayonets. He also had two brass six pounders. About this time, both Muhlenberg and von Steuben had intended to come and bring substantial reinforcements to Greene, but events in Virginia[2169] thwarted their intentions.[2170]

24 February. Lawson wrote Greene saying he would have militia collected and leaving from Prince Edward Court House on February 26. Lack of arms prevented many more militia from turning out as did.[2171]

24 February. Col. Robert Munford, of the Mecklenburg County, VA. militia, wrote Greene saying he was at Taylor's Ferry on the Roanoke River with 2 battalions of VA. militia from Lunenberg, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick counties. Though his troops were indifferently armed, he expected to reinforce Greene soon.[2172]

24 February. Otho Williams: "The light infantry hung round his lordship's quarters, while the main army advanced slowly, keeping in view the route to the upper parts of the country, the more effectually to avoid an action, and to form a junction with the militia of the Western Waters under col. Campbell and others, who were expected in considerable numbers."[2173]

24 February (also 25 February).[2174] [ambush] Pyle's Defeat,[2175] also Pyle's Massacre, and Haw River (Alamance County, N.C.) Before Cornwallis reached Hillsborough, Col. David Fanning published an advertisement, on behalf of the Royal N.C. Regt., offering an inducement to all those rallying to the British cause, and with a generous offer of bounty money. This and Cornwallis' call for volunteers brought out 400 loyalists (Fanning says 300) to assemble under Col. John Pyle (also Pile) a local loyalist.[2176] Lee and Pickens, meanwhile, had crossed to the south side of the Haw, both for purposes of seeking a junction with arriving Virginia riflemen under Col. William Preston (see 21-22 Feb.) and to waylay Tarleton. They followed the latter's trail to Butler's Plantation only to find that Tarleton had moved on to O'Neal's seven miles away. On the day prior (the 23rd), Pickens had been joined by 100 N.C. militia from Caswell County under Col. William Moore. According to one account, it was from Moore that he and Lee learned of Pyle's gathering (though other versions attribute the securing of this intelligence to other possible informants); with the Americans then setting out for the latter's camp at Holt's Plantation (Pyle, for his part, was just making late preparations to move north in the direction of Hillsborough to join Cornwallis, and yet evidently and very strangely had not yet heard from Tarleton's emissary.) By about 5 pm, Lee and Pickens laid an ambush for the loyalists by way of having Lee and his Legion pose as Tarleton. Lee seems to imply that the ruse would have worked to capture the loyalists but that a few of the latter, seeing some of Pickens lurking nearby detected the masquerade. As well, reportedly, some of the rebel militia unknowingly gave the charade away when they shouted in protest thinking it was Lee who was deceived. When alarm was given among the loyalists that something was amiss, some of them commenced firing. Lee and Pickens men then charged the helpless and astonished group; many of whom were cut down and killed hardly knowing what had happened; with the fighting and slaughter lasting some ten minutes. Joseph Graham, for his part and who was present, tells a somewhat different story (see quote below.)
Lee and Pickens then resumed their pursuit of Tarleton the following day, but on discovering he had passed over the Haw beyond their safe reach they halted. Also the next day (the 25th), they were finally joined by

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[2165] Schenck (from which the letter from Governor Nash is quoted): "It is more than probable that Caswell, as Major General, detached General Butler and General Eaton, with their brigades, to the assistance of General Greene (as they} were at Guilford Court-House) and remained himself in the command of the eastern part of the State, with Halifax as headquarters." SNC pp. 264-265.
[2166] STL.
[2167] BLB pp 35-36.
[2168] CAR p. 264.
[2169] For a comprehensive review of the state of Virginia's forces at the time, see JLG1 pp. 440-443.
[2170] NGP7 pp. 345-346, 362, JLG1 pp. 437-438.
[2171] NGP7 p. 344.
[2172] NGP7 p. 346.
[2173] GHA4 p. 48.
[2174] M.F. Treacy, examining Lee's correspondence of this time, very adroitly determined the date to be actually the 24th -- not the 25th as ordinarily given. TPY p. 161, TPY p. 228n.
[2175] This took place a few miles south-southwest of modern day Burlington, N.C.
[2176] There were two loyalist colonels named John Pyle: John, Jr. and John, Sr. It was the John Jr. who was acting commander when Lee and Pickens struck. For more, see "Col. John Pyle" contained in the biographical entries at the beginning of this book.

Preston's 300 mounted Virginia riflemen ("hardy mountaineers" Lee describes them); bringing Pickens' contingent, not counting Lee, to probably 800 to 900; many of the North Carolina militia having left them by this time. Preston's men ended up doing such hard duty for the next 12 to 14 days that they afterward refused to continue with the army and demanded to return home. On the 26th, Pickens, at "Camp Rippey's," wrote to Greene: "We were joined by Colonel Preston about three hours previous to our march yesterday, with about three hundred. Major's [Joseph] Winston and [John] Armstrong have about one hundred each. Colonel [William] Moore from Caswell joined me on Saturday with one hundred more. I have ordered Colonel Preston and Colonel Paisly [John Peasly][2177] of Guildford, who came with a few Men, on the south side of the river after another body of Tories, said to be forming themselves in Randolph. This affair [Pyle's defeat] however, has been of infinite Service. It has knocked up Toryism altogether in this part." For reasons not clear to this author, Lee and Pickens then separated, but reunited by March 1st.)

Lee was later accused of gratuitous butchery at Pyle's, yet in his own defense, he claimed his men, in the confusion, and for a moment outnumbered, and *fired upon first* had no choice. Moreover, it was not implausible that Tarleton might have been within hearing distance of the gun fire and brought in support. From what Joseph Graham has to say, it would seem Capt. Eggleston of Lee's Legion may have been responsible for the premature attack. The loyalists suffered 90-93 killed out of 300 with the rest dispersed and reportedly a few captured. Lee lost but a horse. Later in the day,[2178]

Tarleton: "Tarleton was told by the prisoners, that a continental force was expected in the neighbourhood [sic], which intelligence induced him to send to the Pyles [Pyle] to join him without delay. In the course of the day particular and authentic information was obtained of Colonel Lee's cavalry having passed Haw river to meet a corps of mountaineers under Colonel Preston, for the purpose of intimidating or dispersing the King's friends. This report made Tarleton repeat his order to the Pyles for an instant junction of the numbers already assembled, that he might proceed against either Lee or Preston before they united. Spies were sent to gain intelligence of both, and some satisfactory accounts had arrived, when several wounded loyalists entered the British camp, and complained to Tarleton of the cruelty of his dragoons. Though the accusation was erroneous, their sufferings were evident, and the cause from whence they proceeded was soon afterwards discovered. Colonel Pyle, and two hundred of his followers, being all equally ignorant of the customs of war, had not complied with the orders they received, and though forewarned of their danger, thought fit to pay visits to their kindred and acquaintance before they repaired to the British camp: Inspired by whiskey and the novelty of their situation, they unfortunately prolonged their excursions, till, meeting a detachment of dragoons, whom they supposed to be British, they received a fierce and unexpected attack, in answer to their amicable salutation of 'God save the King,' and many of them experienced inhuman barbarity; when discovering their mistake, they supplicated for mercy. Patroles [sic] were sent out to learn the course the American dragoons had taken after this event, and assistance was dispatched to the wounded loyalists. After dark information was procured of the distance and position of the mountaineers; and when the British troops were under arms at midnight, to proceed towards their encampment, an express arrived from Earl Cornwallis with an order for Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's return to Hillsborough."[2179]

Joseph Graham: "The whole army moved a few miles and encamped at an adjacent farm for the night. The next day it was in motion, in different directions, nearly the whole day; but did not go far, beating down nearer Hillsboro. The two corps kept near each other, though they moved and camped separately, as they had done the previous evening. Reconnoitering parties, which were sent out in the evening and had returned in the night, gave notice of a detachment passing from Hillsboro towards the ford on Haw River.

"Pickens and Lee put their forces in motion at an early hour, and came into the great road eight miles west of Hillsboro, -- near Mebane's farm.

"The whole of the militia cavalry, seventy in number, that had swords, were placed under Captain Graham, and in the rear of Lee's horse. Such of Graham's men as had not swords were ordered to join another company. They followed the enemy's trail on the road to Haw River, with the cavalry in front.

"During the whole day's march every man expected a battle and hard fighting. Men's countenances on such occasions indicate something which can be understood better than described in words. The countenances of the whole militia, throughout the day, never showed better.

"Lee states (page 311) that Pyle's men, on seeing the militia in the rear of his cavalry, recognized and fired on them. The true statement is this: Major [Joseph] Dickson of Lincoln [County, N.C.], who then commanded the column on our right (when the disposition for attack had been made at the last farm), had been thrown out of his proper order of march by the fences and a branch, and when Pyle's men were first seen by the militia, they were thought to be the party under Dickson, which they supposed had come round the plantation and gotten in the road before them, Captain [Joseph] Graham discovered the mistake; for he saw that these men had on cleaner clothes than Dickson's party, and that each man had a strip of red cloth on his hat. Graham, riding alongside of Captain [Joseph] Eggleston, who commanded the rear of Lee's horse, remarked to him, 'That is a company of Tories; what is the reason they have their arms?'

"Captain Eggleston, addressing a good looking man at the end of the line, supposed to be an officer, inquired, 'To whom do you belong?' The man promptly answered, 'A friend of his Majesty.' Thereupon Captain Eggleston struck him over the head. The militia, looking on, and waiting for orders, on this example being set, rushed on

[2177] For a sketch of Peasly (or Paisly), see CNS2 pp. 340-349.

[2178] NGP7 pp. 325, 343n, 355-358, CNC22 pp. 123-124, AR81 p. 63, TCS pp. 231-233, SAW2 pp. 333-334, GHA4 pp. 48-49, MLW4A pp. 360-362, MLW3 p. 117, LMS p. 254-263, GAR1 pp. 142-145, FNA pp. 13-14, JLG1 pp. 452-456, LCC pp. 136-140, DRR pp. 201-203, GNC pp. 318-319, GAM1 p. 374, GAM2, pp. 273-276, SNC pp. 277-286, CNS2 pp. 72-83, MSC2 pp. 123-126, WAR2 pp. 778-779, TPY pp. 160-162, RNC pp. 289-292, BRG pp. 363-364, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 34-37, BDB pp. 21-53, 120-155.

[2179] TCS pp. 232-233.

the Tories like lightening and cut away. The noise in the rear attracted the notice of Lee's men, and they turned their horses short to the right about, and in less than a minute the attack was made along the whole line.
"The same page stated that ninety loyalists were killed. The next day our militia counted ninety-three dead, and there was an appearance of many more having been carried off by their friends. There were certainly many more wounded. When Lee and Pickens retired, it appeared as though three hundred might be lying dead. Many, perhaps were only wounded, and lay quiet for security.
"At the time the action commenced, Lee's dragoons, in the open order of march, extended about the same distance of Pyle's men, who were in close order, and on horse back. Most of them having come from home on that day, were clean like men who now turn out for review. Lee's movement was as if he were going to pass them, five or six steps on the left of their line. When the alarm was given in the rear, as quickly as his men could turn their horses, they were engaged; and as the Tories were over two to one of our actual cavalry, by pressing forward they went through their line, leaving a number behind them. The continual cry by the Tories was, 'You are killing your own men.' 'I am a friend to his Majesty.' 'Hurrah for King George.'…"
Graham in addition makes the remark (found in the Archibald Murphey Papers): "Colonel Lee being in front, and at the other end of the line, say forty poles, from where the attack commenced, might have believed the Tories first attacked us. If, however, he had enquired of Capt. Eggleston, he [Eggleston] could have informed him otherwise."[2180]

David Fanning: "Of his [Cornwallis persuing [sic] Gen. Greene, as far as Hillsborough, this struck terror on the Rebels, and was so pleasing to us, that we immediately disarmed the disaffected and embodied about 300 under the command of Col. Pyles [Pyle]. He [Pyle] fell in with a party of Rebels (Col. Lee's dragoons) and lost 20 men killed, besides the wounded that died afterwards. At this time I was with a small party at Deep River, where I took two Rebel officers, prisoners and several soldiers. I then directed my march where I left Col. Pyles and came within a little distance of the Dragoons, that had cut him up, when I was informed of his misfortune by some of his party that had fled; we then separated into small parties and took to the woods for sometime."[2181]

Roger Lamb: "…they immediately begged for quarter; but the relentless Americans refused it, and in the very act of supplicating mercy, two or three hundred were inhumanly butchered. -- When did such a deed as this stain the British arms? Had twenty Americans thus fallen, how would the pages of Ramsay, Belsham, and the other Republican historians have foamed with the charges of murder, massacre, blood, and malice!!!! However the historian may weep over the record, this is a specimen of republican mercy, as horrible as it is true."[2182]

24-26 February. Col. Francis Malmedy assembled 40 mounted North Carolina militia near Granville Court House, N.C.; Cornwallis' occupation of Hillsborough having interfered with his recruiting efforts in the area. Brig. Gen John Butler, now with only 200 men, was also camped near Granville. He had recently come there expected to be increased by more militia from Halifax, N.C. By the 26th Malmedy was joined with Butler's at Granville itself.[2183]

24-28 February. Arriving at Morristown, New Jersey on the 24th, Lafayette with three battalions of Continental light infantry, totaling 1,200 men, moved to Philadelphia on his march southward to assist Virginia threatened by Arnold's invasion. In Philadelphia, some artillery (12 heavy guns, 6 smaller ones, and 4 companies of artillerymen) was added to his contingent, and by the 28th, after passing through Somerset on the 26th, he camped at Trenton, N.J.[2184]

25 February. Arnold, at Portsmouth to Clinton: "After my dispatches were closed (which were intended to go by the *General Monk*) three French ships, one a sixty-four, the other two frigates, arrived from Rhode Island, and anchored in Lynhaven Bay. On the 14th instant they arrived in Hampton road [Hampton Roads], and remained there until the 19th, when they left the Capes, and are said to be now cruizing [sic] to the southward of them.
"Before the arrival of the French ships, the enemy's force did not exceed two thousand five hundred men, at Suffolk and in the vicinity, which was greatly augmented soon after their arrival. On the 18th they came down in force, near our lines, and surprised a picquet [sic] of six men; but soon retired. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe with four hundred men being in Princess Anne county, I did not think it prudent to leave our works to attack them.
"I have very good intelligence that the rebels at Suffolk have been informed by express from General Greene, that on the 16th or 18th instant, my Lord Cornwallis crossed the Dan river, sixty miles above Halifax [N.C.], and one hundred and twelve from Petersburgh, with one thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, and was on the march for Petersburgh. Generals Greene and Morgan, with three thousand or four thousand men, chiefly militia, were retiring before him; in consequence of which a considerable part of their troops, have been detached to join General Greene. I have not been able to ascertain the number of troops remaining at Suffolk and in the vicinity; I expect to do it in a day or two, in which time every possible effort shall be made to complete our works in such a manner, that a considerable detachment may be made to proceed up the James river, with some ships to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis; and if he should have reached the river, to furnish him with such supplies of provisions, &c. as we can spare, and his troops be most in need of."[2185]

[2180] GNC pp. 318-319, GAM1 p. 374, and see also a separate account by Graham of the same encounter CNC22 pp. 123-124.
[2181] FNA p. 14.
[2182] LJA p. 347.
[2183] NGP7 pp. 344-345, 354.
[2184] LMS p. 306, LFB2 p. 337.
[2185] COC pp. 65-66.

25 February. Maj. David Campbell, who was ill, had gone home sometime after the action at Trading Ford on February 3rd. By the 25th, Greene had put Col. William Morgan in command of Campbell's Augusta County riflemen, who were with Williams's light corps.[2186]

25 February. Col. Martin Armstrong of the Surry County, N.C. militia on this date wrote to Col. William Campbell: "Yesterday I had an express from Col. [Francis] Lock's camp; he is at the High Rock Ford on Haw River. Gen. Perkins [Andrew Pickens] is near Hillsborough, and by this time considerable strong; General Greene on his march towards the enemy with a number of the Virginia militia and regulars; General [John] Butler, with the Orange district militia, lies below Hillsborough, and by every intelligence, the enemy are penned up in that town. It is generally supposed that a reinforcement is on their march to the assistance of the British; our people are gathering from all quarters, and the enemies pickets are constantly harrassed [sic] by our reconoitering [sic] parties. The arrival of your troops would add vigor to us and discourage the enemy, who, no doubt, have heard of your being on your march towards them. Pray send back this express as quick as possible; I shall endeavor to have some meat for you at Bethabara meal and corn you can have a plenty, but meat is scarce. However, I shall try my best. This day Col. [William] Preston, I think, will join Gen. Pickens; if any extra ordinary news comes to hand before you arrive at Bethabara, I shall let you know by another express." [2187]

25 February. Lieut. Col Richard Campbell, with 400 Virginia Continentals, departed Chesterfield Court House, and headed towards Taylor's Ferry on the Dan, to join Greene. Steuben, who reported this to the latter on the 27th, also noted in the same letter that Continental recruitment ceased in Counties where militia were being fielded. Also mentioned was the fact that a number of wagons from Philadelphia had just left Chesterfield Court House (on the 26th) and were on their way to Greene's army.[2188]

25 February. Col. Otho Williams, at Mitchell's Mill sixteen miles north-northeast from Hillsborough, informed Greene that Orange County loyalist militia (around Hillsborough) were to muster for Cornwallis on March 1 with two days provisions. News of the slaughter of Pyle's men and other loyalist setbacks and discouragements, however, prevented the turnout from taking place.[2189]

25-26 February. With Tarleon having rejoined him upon being summoned to do so, Cornwallis left Hillsborough and withdrew to Wiley's Plantation, (on the north side of Alamance Creek, and some three or four miles west of the Haw River) with a view to obtaining more provisions (there being a great scarcity around Hillsborough) while encouraging the loyalists in the vicinity. In response, Greene passed over the Haw near its source and took up a position between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork. The two armies stood facing each other from these locations for five days with occasional intermittent skirmishes between light parties. Tarleton says Cornwallis left Hillsborough on the 26th and camped on Alamance Creek on the 27th.[2190]
"Scottish Travel Log": [25 Feb.] "Halt at Wylie[']s Plantation"; [26 Feb.] "White's Plantation."

In his letter of 17 March to Germain, Cornwallis wrote: "The same day [25 February] I had certain intelligence that General Greene, having been reinforced, had re-crossed the Dan, which rendered it imprudent to separate my corps, occasioned the recall of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's detachment; and forage and provisions being scarce in the neighborhood of Hillsborough, as well as the position too distant (upon the approach of the rebel army) for the protection of the body of our friends, I judged it expedient to cross the Haw, and encamped near Allemance [Alamance] Creek, detaching Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with the cavalry, light company of the Guards, and 150 men of Lieut.-Colonel Webster's brigade a few miles from me on the road to Deep River, more effectually to cover the country."

Tarleton: "The exertion made by the noble Earl to call forth the loyalists in North Carolina, since the absence of the continental army, had excited the attention of General Greene, who endeavoured to obstruct the design, by privately employing the active emissaries of his party, till he had collected a sufficient force to venture over the Dan, and give public support to the American cause. The report of his advance soon made the luke-warm friends abandon the British camp, and prompted Earl Cornwallis to call in his detachments. The express from head quarters obliged Tarleton to forego his enterprise, and return immediately to the general, who had taken a new position out of the town, on the banks of the river Eno. The American commander, though considerably reinforced by state troops, by back woodsmen, and by militia, did not intend to approach and offer battle to the King's troops in the present situation of the two armies. His plan was not to venture upon action without manifest superiority and advantage; but to keep alive the courage of his party, to depress that of the loyalists, to wait for the additional assistance which he expected, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British.
"Although the King's standard had been erected at Hillsborough, and the loyalists of North Carolina invited to repair to it, Earl Cornwallis did not deem it judicious to remain long in that situation after General Greene returned from Virginia. On the 26th the royal army marched by the left, passed through Hillsborough, and pointed their course towards the Haw. The fruitfulness of the country, and the protection of a body of the King's friends, supposed to reside in that district, were the reasons assigned for this movement. The Haw was passed

[2186] NGP7 pp. 329, 350n.
[2187] GDH3 pp. 142-143.
[2188] NGP7 pp. 362-363.
[2189] NGP7 p. 350.
[2190] LOB part IV, STL, TCS p. 234, RSC2 p. 424, GHA4 p. CAR p. 265, MLW4A p. 362, JLG1 pp. 457-459.

on the 27th, and the King's troops took post near Allamance creek and Stinking quarter [or Sinking Quarter Creek; which is directly south of Alamance Creek.] If General Greene lost the confidence of his friends by quitting North Carolina when pursued by a superior force, Earl Cornwallis likewise relinquished his claim to the superiority of the British arms by abandoning Hillsborough upon the return of the American general into the province; and undoubtedly both officers from this period placed their future hopes in their own military conduct, and rested the event of the campaign upon the operations of their respective armies."[2191]

Roger Lamb: "Such was the scarcity of provisions at Hillsborough, that it was found impossible to support the army in that place. They were even obliged to kill some of their best draft horses. They therefore passed the Haw, and encamped in Allamance [sic] Creek. This movement much dispirited the loyalists, and raised the drooping hopes of the Americans. As the British retired, Greene advanced, crossed the Haw, and posted himself between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, carefully changing his position every night, to avoid an engagement. In this situation, lord Cornwallis gave orders to beat up the American posts at Reedy Fork, in order to compel them to a greater distance, or perhaps allure Greene, who lay in the direction of Guildford."[2192]

Caruthers: "With full reliance on the valor and discipline of his troops, Cornwallis was anxious to meet his enemies in the open field; but cooped up as he was in town, he was harassed without being able to strike a blow. Gen. Greene had re-crossed the Dan, and advanced within ten or twelve mile of Hillsboro' where he was waiting for more re-inforcements. His light troops under the most daring and enterprising officers, such as Williams, Lee, Howard, Washington and Preston, were scouring the country and cutting off his supplies. They had already cut up a large body of his friends in the neighborhood. They were increasing every day in boldness of their adventures, as well as in numbers, and were frustrating the main design of his advance into that region.
"Being thus confined within narrow limits, and not daring to forage far from camp, nor to forage at all without a very strong guard, they were under a necessity of changing their location...His lordship, therefore, [quoting Stedman] 'thought it expedient to retire from Hillsboro,' and take a position between the Haw and Deep river, so as effectually to cover the country in his rear, and accordingly, on the evening of the 25th, he issued orders for that purpose...
"On the morning of this day [evidently Caruthers means the 26th], they crossed the Big Alamance, and encamped within a mile of the place where Holt's factory now stands, where they remained several days. The soldier and camp followers together often plundered so much clothing and other property, from the people of the country, as we infer from the ["Cornwallis" or "Leslie"] Order Book, that it became burdensome, and the officers and had much of it burned."[2193]

Henry Lee IV: "And 'it was upon perceiving this ill effect of his very skilful movement,' that the British general complained of being 'placed between timid friends and inveterate enemies;' and not on any previous occasion, as is asserted by Mr. [William] Johnson, ([vol. 1] p. 448.) The absurdity of this passage [by Johnson] is, moreover, infected with an awkward confusion of cause and effect, which is injurious to the military fame of Greene. For while his bold and sagacious resolution to re-enter North Carolina, in reality originated all the subsequent maneuvering, and in a great degree imposed on his adversary the necessity of retiring with such ill grace behind the Haw, he is here represented [by Johnson] as previously influenced by this very movement which his skill had compelled. His conduct is deduced from necessity more than from choice, and he is made to suffer not to act, to endure, rather than to determine (as with an inferior force he had the address to do) this important and unfavourable measure of his antagonist -- a measure too which fell within the scope of his forethought when he designed the operation by which it was enforced. For it is agreed on all hands that he precipitated his return to North Carolina for the purpose of repressing the rising spirit of her numerous loyalists."[2194]

26 February. Maj. Thomas Rowland, of Botetourt[2195] County, VA., having attained the Dan River, reported to Greene he was on the march with 200 (mostly mounted) Virginia volunteers, Botetort County, to reinforce the southern army.[2196] Another 160 riflemen under Col. Hugh Crocket (1733-1816, of Botetourt as well), who had previously been serving with Preston, were by this time near Caswell Courthouse, also en route for the same purpose. By the end of this day, Crocket (whose force is said to have been made up of "mostly cavalry") had united with Williams' light corps at McMinimy's on Lynches Creek, N.C. Rowland followed soon after, probably the next day, and were subsequently joined to Preston's contingent. In a letter to Greene, Williams, at "McMinimy's Lynches Creek," N.C., asked that ammunition for 500 rifles be sent with all dispatch He also said receipt of the 200 pairs of shoes he had requested from the clothier would aid his men's endeavors "exceedingly."[2197]

26 February. [raid] Georgetown (Georgetown County, S.C.) Cornet Thomas Merritt and a sergeant and 10 Queen's Rangers, while protecting a foraging party outside Georgetown, were assailed by a larger body of mounted whig militia. A sergeant of the Queen's Rangers was killed, while the rest of the Rangers made it back

[2191] TCS pp. 233-234.
[2192] LJA pp. 348-362.
[2193] CNS2 pp. 88-89.
[2194] LCC pp. 144-145.
[2195] Odell McQuire: "'Botetourt' is pronounced 'body-tot.'"
[2196] Rowland's troops were subsequently placed with Preston's.
[2197] NGP7 pp. 353-354, 360-361.

to Georgetown. Merritt himself had been knocked unconscious and, thought dead, was stripped of his helmet, boots, and weapons. He afterward revived and rejoined his unit.[2198]
Capt. John Saunders, as quoted in Simcoe's *Journa*l: "In the latter end of February, Cornet [Thomas] Merritt was ordered with a party, of a a serjeant and ten dragoons to cover some negroes who were sent to the neighbouring plantations to search for and bring in some cattle that had escaped from us: he, from his great zeal and anxiety to accomplish this service, was led farther than was intended, when he unexpectedly fell in with a corps of the rebels, much superior to his both in the number and goodness of their horses. He retreated, in good order, for some distance, but finding himself much harassed from the fire of their advance, and seeing that it would be impracticable to get off without giving them a check, he determined on charging them, which he did several times, and with such vigor that he always repulsed them. He thus alternatively charged and retreated, till having two horses killed under him, he was so stunned by the fall of that last that he was left for dead. The rebels were so awed by their repeated repulses, that they suffered his party to escape into the woods, when by dismounting and concealing themselves in the thick savannahs, most of them got safe into the post: the serjeant was killed, and four men were wounded; several horses killed. Merritt, being supposed to be dead, was fortunate enough, after having recovered his senses, to get to the fort with the loss of his boots, helmet, and arms."[2199]

26 Feruary. [skirmish] Dickey's Farm, N.C. ONB3 p. 100.
Pickens, from "Bowts' Stoney Creek, 10 o'clock [pm?], Feb. 26" reported to Greene: "I wrote you in the morning of the enemy's movement from Hillsborough. About an hour after, I had intelligence of their passing Mabans, [Mebane's] with all their baggage, artillery, &c, and a party of horse and foot having taken the direct road for my camp, I concluded they would, of course, send a strong detachment, and as they might easily have been reinforced, I resolved to retire. I marched off in good order, about half an hour before they got to the ground, and retreated as far as Dickey's. I there formed and halted with an intention of staying till morning, but just after dark I received intelligence of their advance, and shortly they fired on my picket. The difficulty of getting riflemen to stand in the night, made me again resolve to retire, and I am retreated to this place. I could wish, sir, to form a junction with you in the morning; if you would fix a spot let me know by the bearer."[2200]

26 February. [skirmish] Fletcher's Mill (Alamance County, N.C.)

27 February. 600 to 700 Virginia militia from Amelia, Cumberland and Powhatan, counties, having come together on the 26th, at Prince Edward Court House under Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, marched to reinforce Greene's army. Lawson, having reached Collier's Ordinary, VA., with a force of 200 was in advance of the remaining 400 to 500 who were trailing some twenty miles in his rear. In a letter to Green of this date, he stated that a "second division of such troops" (in addition to the 400 to 500) would follow behind him in the not too distant future.[2201]

27 February. Having left Hillsborough this same day, Cornwallis made "Camp near the Haw River." Lee and Pickens meanwhile rejoined Williams, the latter now much reinforced with more Virginia militia, many of them mounted; and the combined light corps recrossed the Haw River that night.[2202]
"Scottish Travel Log": [27 Feb.] "Freeland[']s Plantation."

27 February. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "Some of Pickens' men were here; they said they were going to the army. Men from Wilkes County [GA.] returned from the army, on their way home. Another party from the mountains, who said they belonged to General Pickens' corps, remained here over night…"
[28 February.] "…Small parties passed all day, coming from our army on all kinds of pretexts. Some of General Pickens' men passed also, going to South Carolina, where they are to rally."[2203]

28 February. Cornwallis camped at Freeland's.[2204]

28 February (also given as 27 February). [assault] Fort Watson, also Wright's Bluff (Clarendon County, S.C) After crossing the Santee, Sumter made for Fort Watson commanded by Col. John Watson and where he attempted to take the post by storm; with a mind to recapturing the lost stores and boats he had lost (see 22 February.) The fort had been recently strengthened with a reported 400 men, and so soon after his approach he was soundly beaten back with some loss. The British later claimed the Americans suffered 18 killed, and a number of men and 30 horses taken. Sumter thereafter retired with his force to Farr's Plantation on Great Savannah, not far from his own home and where he fed his men and camped till March 2nd. Here many of his North Carolina militia men, unhappy with how things had transpired, went home.[2205]
From the pension statement of Thomas Reagan of Newberry County, S.C.: "(T)he next engagement was at Bell[e]ville from thence hearing of a reinforcement we marched to meet them It turned out to be a small

[2198] SQR pp. 243-244.
[2199] SQR pp. 243-244.
[2200] LCC p. 135.
[2201] NGP7 pp. 344, 362.
[2202] LOB part IV, STL, GHA4 p49-50, JLG1 p. 458.
[2203] FRM p. 1745.
[2204] LOB part IV.
[2205] NGP7 p. 465n, ATR81a p. 330, Balfour to Clinton, 3 March 1781 found at BLB pp. 40-43, JLG2 pp. 31-32, MSC2 pp. 108-109, BGC p. 132, RBG p. 147.

detachment of British guarding some British wagons loaded with clothing and money for the soldiers these surrendered and the loading was put on a barge and soon after retaken at Wright[']s Bluff with some of our men and we [text missing] Sumter for the purpose of retaking this prize from the British and were met by the British near said Bluff and defeated and dispursed [sic] in this engagement the applicant got a wound in his right arm which disabled this applicant a few weeks."

John Watson: "Returning one day from a foraging party, one of the wagons, which was bringing a mill to grind the corn, broke down as it was not about one mile and a half from home. I left an Ensign (of the Provincial Light Infantry), whose name was [Lieut.] Richard Cooper, with twenty men to repair and bring it on. Our men were just in and began to start their dinner, when we heard a continued firing towards the line, in which he had just left. Every man was instantly in arms, suspecting the cause, which was confirmed by the horses galloping home by themselves. We were soon up to the spot which was about a mile from having repaired the cart. They were proceeding home, when Sumpter wholly summoned them, called him [Cooper] to surrender but forming his men in a circle, joined the men nearest him. He replied 'Light Infantry never surrender' and began firing as hard they could. Seeing us approach, they quitted our gallant Ensign and formed to receive us. This fighting did not last long before they fled, leaving what killed and wounded may be seen by the actions. We took some prisoners and thirty horses. Lord Rawdon came the next day, flattered his Corps much by his manner of thanking them and took that particular notice of Mr. Cooper, [which] he so well deserved."[2206]

William Johnson: "Sumpter then sought shelter in the swamps of the north bank of the Santee,[2207] resolved to wait some opportunity of indemnity or service. But, it required all his firmness to prevent his North Carolina troops from deserting him. At the point of the bayonet they were detained a few days, and he then issued forth from his covert, made for the banks of the Black River, and availing himself of the friendly settlements on that route, once more moved up to the neighborhood of Charlotte.
"The expedition excited alarm among the enemy -- sustained the spirits of the well-affected -- and, above all, secured a stock of intelligence, which was immediately transmitted to General Greene by Colonel Hampton [who came to Greene's camp the day following Guilford.]"[2208]

28 February. Col. Otho Williams' detachment met up with Washington's, Lee's and Pickens' at High Rock Ford, N.C. On March 1st,[2209] Greene, himself at High Rock Ford, wrote to von Steuben: "On the 27th the Army encamped on Country Line Creek within five miles of our Light Troops, and on the 28th moved forward to High Rock ford on the Haw River. This move was occasioned by the Enemy's crossing the river twenty miles below us. At this place [High Rock ford] General Pickens with a number of rifle Men mounted on Horse back, and all the Light Infantry and Dragoons of the Army joined us; and early this morning the whole army crossed the river, and are now 15 miles within Lord Cornwallis determined to keep the upper Country of him..." [2210]
William Johnson: "Colonel [Otho] Williams...had ever since the 29th, had been constantly employed in watching the movements of the enemy...At this time his command was maneuvering in the vicinity of the Haw River, and Pickens having fallen back on the advancing of the British army, the two detachments now threw themselves in front of the enemy, one on each side of the Allemance [Alamance] Creek. Their force, by the accession of militia, was so considerable that they seriously mediated a combined attack, on the morning of the 2nd of March."[2211]

Late February. Sometime in mid to late February, a 250 man mounted infantry and cavalry unit raised at Halifax, N.C. as militia, and under Col. James Read, (a Continental officer), joined Greene's army serving largely as a scouting detachment. After Guilford Court House (in which they did not participate), they were all reorganized into infantry and remained with Greene till just prior to Hobkirk Hill battle; when most, but not all, of them returned home asserting that their term of service had run out.
Pension statement Guilford Dudley of Halifax County, N.C.: "…I entered into the service of my country again and joined a volunteer corps of 250 mounted infantry and cavalry raised also in the town and County of Halifax and placed under the direction of Maj. James Read, a Continental officer, by the legislature then in session in that town, which corps was forthwith marched to join General Greene wherever he might be found, Lord Cornwallis with the British army then lying in Hillsborough. This corps (after joining General Greene, whom we found posted above Reedy Fork of Haw River and a few miles below Guilford Courthouse, Lord Cornwallis lying upon Little Alamance about twelve miles southeast), serving day and night with the American army, most frequently on detachment until about seven days after the Battle of Guilford, that is on the twenty-second of March, General Greene then having his headquarters at Troublesome [or Speedwell's] Ironworks, twelve miles from the courthouse, when the corps was reorganized, and instead of horse, became foot, at which time I was called from the ranks and appointed major of the First Battalion of North Carolina militia (all the field officers having at that place retired from the service with consent, and a new set through the management of General Greene was commissioned by Governor [Abner] Nash, then in camp, mostly taken from the Halifax [N.C.] volunteers and put in their place in such regiments as could be collected there) and was in pursuit of Cornwallis down to Ramsay's

[2206] WNR, BLB pp. 40-43.
[2207] Sumter actually moved to the Waxhaws settlement, and was there by at least March 9th.
[2208] JLG2 pp. 31-32, NGP7 pp. 417, 465n.
[2209] According to the calendar for 1781 in Boatner, there was no "29 February," i.e. the actual letter date given, hence it is understood to be 1 March.
[2210] NGP7 pp. 362, 374-375, GNC p. 329, GAM2 p. 280.
[2211] Which contemplated surprise assault on Cornwallis' army Lee urgently cautioned Williams against, JLG1 pp. 459-460, and see NGP7 pp. 378-379, LCC pp. 155-159, and BDB pp. 58-60.

[Ramsey's] Mills on Deep River, a distance perhaps from the ironworks of between ninety and one hundred miles. General Greene having at Ramsay's Mills discharged all the Virginia and North Carolina militia except one regiment of the latter commanded by Col. James Read, who had before commanded the corps of Halifax [N.C.] volunteers, I was promoted to the rank of (senior) lieutenant colonel of one of the battalions of that regiment about the last of March of 1781."[2212]

Late February to Early March. Henry Nase of the King's American Regt. "February 24th. we [sic] March[e]d. from Geo. Town [Georgetown], & Halted the Night at Hogans, on Santee --
"Februarv 25th 1781. -- Crossd. the ferry & Marchd. to, a Mr[.] Warren, a Rebel Priest, for this Night we wanted for Nothing that his plantation Could afford.
"26th. March[e]d. to one Palmer, a Loyal, Subject, and when we left him, the next morning, He was Pleased with the Conduct of the Regiment
"27th. Febv. we Came to Monks [Monck's] Corner & were put under command of Colo. [John] Small of the 84th Regiment.
"March 2d. & 3rd. we Marchd to Nelson[']s ferry, Mr. Clair[']s Plantation."[2213]

[2212] DRR pp. 216-217, DSK.
[2213] NDI.

MARCH 1781

March. From pension statement of William White of Anson County, N.C.: "Again, in or about the middle of March 1781 while living at the same place last aforesaid, he was drafted under Captain John Degarnett in Colonel Thomas Waid's [Wade's] Regiment of Militia. We marched to Drauning [Drowning] Creek. We lay there some time, then marched through the country to keep the Tories from committing depredations."

March. [skirmish] Fair Forest Creek, S.C. ONB3 p. 101.

March. [raid] Tuckasegee, Cherokee Middle Towns, TN. ONB3 p. 102.

March. [raid] Dutchman's Creek (Fairfield County, S.C.) Rawdon sent some companies of New York Volunteers, under Capt. Grey, from Camden to attack some whig militia congregating at a location on Dutchman's Creek. This was a particularly hazardous thing for the whigs to be doing given how near to British occupied territory they were. 2 whig captains and 16 privates were reported slain and 18 were captured.[2214]

March. [skirmish] Wylie's Plantation, Rocky Comfort Settlement, S.C. ONB3 p. 164.

March. [skirmish] Rouse's Tavern, also Lillington vs. Craig (New Hanover County, N.C.) ONB3 pp. 166-170 and DRO pp. 191-193. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/rousestavern.htm

March. [skirmish] Capt. Sands' House (Lancaster County, S.C.) This was a relatively minor action but at which the then very young and future U.S. President Andrew Jackson was present. In addition to the following quoted passage, see also GAR1 p. 115, *History of Jackson*, vol. I, by Buell pp. 51-53 and CSS pp. 1170-1171.
Jackson biographer James Parton: "Danger was near. A band of tories, bent on taking the life of Captain Sands, approached the house in two divisions; one party moving toward the front door, the other toward the back. The wakeful soldier, hearing a suspicious noise, rose, went out of doors to learn its cause, and saw the foe stealthily nearing the house. He ran in in terror, and seizing Andrew Jackson, who lay next the door, by the hair, exclaimed, 'The tories are upon us!'
"Andrew sprang up, and ran out. Seeing a body of men in the distance, he placed the end of his gun in the low fork of a tree near the door, and hailed them. No reply. He hailed them a second time. No reply. They quickened, their pace, and had come within a few rods of the door. By this time, too, the guard in the house had been roused, and were gathered in a group behind the boy.
Andrew discharged his musket; upon which the tories fired a volley, which killed the hapless deserter who had given the alarm. The other party of tories, who were approaching the house from the other side, hearing this discharge, and the rush of bullets above their heads, supposed that the firing proceeded from a party that had issued from the house. They now fired a volley, which sent a shower of balls whistling about the heads of their friends on the other side. Both parties hesitated, and then halted. Andrew having thus, by his single discharge, puzzled and stopped the enemy, retired to the house, where he and his comrades kept up a brisk fire from the windows. One of the guard fell mortally wounded by his side, and another received a wound less severe. In the midst of this singular contest, a bugle was heard, some distance off, sounding the cavalry charge; whereupon the tories, coneluding that they had come upon an ambush of whigs, and were about to be assailed by horse and foot, fled to where they had left their horses, mounted, dashed pell-mell into the woods, and were seen no more. It appeared afterwards, that the bugle-charge was sounded by a neighbor, who judging from the noise of musketry that Captain Sands was attacked, and having not a man with him in his house, gave the blast upon the trumpet, thinking that even a trick so stale, aided by the darkness of the night, might have some effect in alarming the assailants."[2215]

Early March. [skirmishes] Rocky Creek, also Land's Defense, Dutchman's Creek (Lancaster County, S.C. or "forty miles above Camden")
Garden: "In the year 1781, while Rawdon in command at Camden, and Sumter lay on the borders of North-Carolina, the male inhabitants of the intervening settlements, who were capable of bearing arms, resorted to one or the other, according to the political principles which they cherished. The Whigs in the neighborhood of Rocky Creek, forty miles above Camden, having previously to their joining Sumter, chosen John Land, a respectable resident, as their Captain, adopted a practice of occasionally visiting the settlement, to pass the night with their families, and return at early morn to camp. On the evening of the 2d March, Captain Land, with seven of his companions, arrived at his home, placed a sentinel at the door, and having for some hours enjoyed the society of his delighted family, retired to rest. The period of repose was but of short duration. The Tories had, by some unknown means, obtained information of his intended visit, and a party of them, thirty in number, under the command of Captain Daniel Muse, arrived at midnight in the neighbourhood, and having carefully secured all the old men and boys likely to communicate intelligence, pushed on for Land's. When within about an hundred and fifty yards of the log-house which he inhabited, they were perceived by the sentinel at the door, who having hailed, fired on them. A momentary halt was made, and a guard being placed over their prisoner, two old men, a youth, and two boys, a furious charge was made on the house. The gallant inmates received them with firmness, kept up a lively fire through the open spaces betwixt the logs, and finally repulsed them,

[2214] MSC2 pp. 126-127.
[2215] *Life of Andrew Jackson* (1861), vol. I, by James Parton, pp. 86-88.

having previously mortally wounded Lieutenant Lewis Yarborough, the second in command. The Tory party taking up their line of march through woods and by-ways, now retreated, and moved with such celerity, as to reach British Head-Quarters at Camden, by twelve o'clock the same day, carrying the youth and two boys, one of them, Dr. John Mackey, now an inhabitant of Charleston, as trophies of their prowess and gallantry. The old man and wounded officer, were left on the way.
"Poor Land did not long enjoy the triumph of this little victory. Emboldened by success, he ventured in about three weeks on another visit to his family, accompanied by betwixt twenty and thirty of his neighbours. The party reached Rocky Creek in the evening, and having agreed to assemble at the house of one Boyd on the following day, dispersed each individual retiring to his own family. But alas! Treachery was again on foot. The enemy were apprised of every movement; and Lord Rawdon having lost much of his confidence in his Tory auxiliaries, by the failure of their former essay, send a detachment of his Regular Cavalry, united with them, to cut off Land his followers. Their success, on this occasion, was but too complete. Many of the party were killed as they approached the place of rendezvous, and among them the unfortunate Captain Land, who was butchered in cold blood, in revenge, no doubt, for the death of Yarborough, whom he had killed in just and honourable combat."[2216]

Early March. [skirmish] Dillon's Mill (Guilford County, N.C.) CLC pp. 225-226.

1 March. *Forces under Cornwallis*.
Rank and File:

Brigade of Guards: 605
23rd Regt.: 258
33rd Regt.: 322
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 212
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 313
German Jägers: 97
North Carolina Volunteers: 232
British Legion (cavalry only): 174

Total: 2,213[2217]

1 March. Brig. Gen. John Butler wrote Greene saying that he had just arrived at Harrisburg, N.C. with about 300 soldiers, and expected Brig. Gen. Allen Jones soon with another 700. About 300 mounted troops under Col. Malmedy, (separate from those Butler and Jones) were tol go "this day" near the enemy lines. Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, he also stated, set out from Kingston the same morning with some horse, and Col. Thomas Wade[2218] is "coming this way" with a guard of 60 horse.[2219]

1 March. Cornwallis camped at Smith's Plantation till the 6th,[2220] and which seems to have been located just to the west of the Haw River, and roughly in the southeast corner of modern Alamance County.

2 March. "Leslie" Orderly Book: "Notwithstanding every order, every entreaty that Lord Cornwallis has given to the Army to prevent the Shamefull & Dangerous practice of plundering & Distressing the Country & those orders back'd by every Effort that can have been made by Br. Genl. O'Hara, he is Shock'd to find this Evil still prevails, & Ashamed to observe the frequent Complaints he receives from Head Qrs. Of the Irregularity of the Gds. [Guards] Particularly affects the Credit of this Corps: He therefore calls upon the Officers, Non Commission'd Officers (& those men who are yet possessed of the feelings of Humanity & Actuated by the True principles of Soldiers The Love of Their Country, The Good of the Service; and the Honor of their own Corps) to assist with the same indefatigable diligence the Genl himself is Determined to persevere in -- In order to Detect & punish all Men and Women so Offending, with the Utmost Severity and Example -- "[2221]

2 March. Lafayette, at Philadelphia, to General Washington: "The artillery consisting of one 24 six 18 two brass one 8 inch howitz[er], two 8 inch mortars, in all twelve heavy pieces, four 6 pounders, and two small howitzers, with a sufficient proportion of ammunition will be at the Head of Elk this day and to morrow, so that by the 4th I hope we shall be ready to sail."[2222]

2 March. [ambush-raid] Mud Lick, also Mudlick Creek[2223] (Newberry or Laurens County, S.C.) Two whig leaders, Lieut. Col. Benjamin Roebuck and Lieut. Col. Henry White with a 150 South Carolina militia captured Fort Williams, the same fort attacked by Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes and Cornet James Simmons (under William

[2216] GAR1 pp. 424-425. Compare to 12 June, 1780 skirmish at Rocky Creek Settlement involving Ben Land rather than John Land, and see also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/dutchmanscr.htm
[2217] CAC p. 53.
[2218] Wade, coming from the vicinity of Greene's former camp on the Peedee was bringing a drove of cattle to Greene's army.
[2219] NGP7 p. 378.
[2220] LOB part IV, STL.
[2221] LOB part IV.
[2222] LLW p. 150.
[2223] Mudlick was located not far from Williams' Fort or Fort Williams (see 30 December 1780), formerly James Williams' South Carolina homestead. For more see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/ftwms.htm

Washington) in late December 1780. The loyalists in the fort, after being tricked to pursue a decoy, were engaged in some heated shooting; then routed. The fort was then easily entered and taken. Ripley speaks of it being burned, but in a letter from Pickens to Greene of 8 April, Pickens mentions a force under Cruger retreating to it for safety.[2224]

Saye (with McJunkin): "Immediately after the return of [Thomas] Brandon's command from North Carolina a camp was formed in the vicinity of the present site of Union, with a view of protecting the Whig population in that region. Soon after his arrival in this section Col. Brandon received orders from Gen. Sumter to collect as many men as possible and meet him on the east side of the Congaree River. In obedience to this requisition Brandon proceeded into the vicinity of Granby, where he understood that a superior force of the enemy were maneuvering, with a view to prevent his junction with Sumter, hence he deemed it expedient to effect a retreat toward home. When out of the reach of pursuit he received intelligence from Col. Roebuck that he designed to attack a body of Tories in the direction of Ninety-Six.

"Brandon immediately detached part of his force under the command of Major McJunkin to co-operate with Roebuck in this enterprise. On the arrival of the latter in the region of the contemplated operation he received intelligence that Roebuck had already met the enemy and the result of that meeting, and hence he fell back with his party to unite with Brandon…

"This battle has sometimes been called Roebuck's Defeat. No history of the country, it is believed, ever alludes to the transaction. It possesses some interest, and hence we transcribe an account of it found in the *Magnolia* for 1842, which, upon the whole, we believe may be relied upon as a correct statement, but not without some mistakes, which we shall point out as far as we can.

"'The Battle of Mudlick was fought in the summer of 1781 by the remnant of a regiment of militia under the command of Col. Benjamin Roebuck and a garrison of British soldiers and Tories stationed at Williams's Fort in Newberry District. The Whigs did not exceed 150 men, while the enemy was greatly superior in point of numbers and had the protection of a strong fortress. In order to deprive them of this advantage the following stratagem was resorted to by Col. Roebuck and Lieut. Col. [Henry] White.

"'Those of the Whigs who were mounted riflemen were ordered to show themselves in front of the fortress and then retreat to an advantageous position selected by the commanding officer. The enemy no sooner saw the militia retreating than they commenced a hot pursuit, confident of an easy victory. Their first onset was a furious one, but was in some measure checked by Col. White and his riflemen. As soon as the 'green coat cavalry' made their appearance Col. White leveled his rifle at one of the officers in front and felled him to the ground.

"'This successful shot was immediately followed by others from the mounted riflemen, which brought the cavalry to a halt until the infantry came up. The engagement then became general and waged with great heat for some time. The fate of the battle seemed uncertain for fifty or sixty minutes. At length the British and Tories were entirely routed, after having sustained considerable loss in proportion to their numbers. The loss of the Whigs was nothing like so great, but they had to lament the loss of several officers and brave soldiers. Among the former was Capt. Robert Thomas. Col. White was badly wounded, but recovered. This engagement was known as the Battle of Mudlick from the creek on which Williams's Fort stood. It is not mentioned in any history of the American Revolution, though its consequences were of the highest importance to the Whigs of Newberry and adjoining districts. It broke up the enemy's stronghold in that section of country and relieved the people from those marauding bands which infested every part of the state where there was a British station."[2225]

2 March (in the evening, so possibly 3 March). [skirmish] McJunkin's Confrontation (Newberry or Laurens County, S.C.)

Saye (wth MicJunkin): "Major McJunkin, as has been stated, having received intelligence of Roebuck's battle [Mud Lick, 2 March in the daytime], started on his return to [Thomas] Brandon's headquarters. On the night of the same day, March 2, 1781, while absent from the main body of his command accompanied by a single soldier, as a scouting party, he had an encounter with a few Tories and received a ball in his right arm, which measurably disabled him from service for the balance of the war.

"The details of this transaction are not given in the written narrative before the writer. He therefore takes the liberty of making another extract from the *Magnolia*. (See January number of the *Magnolia* for 1843, page 39.) The whole article is understood to be from the pen of a distinguished judge of South Carolina:

"'On his return he and Lawson, one of his men, scouting at a distance from the rest of the party, rode up toward a house at night. At the gate they were confronted by three Tories; Fight or die was the only alternative. He and Lawson presented their rifles at two. Lawson's gun fired clear and killed his man. The Major's gun fired also, but was a mere squib and produced no other effect than to set fire to his adversary's shirt. As Lawson's antagonist fell he jumped down, picked up his gun and shot down the other Tory and passed his sword through his body. The Major's fire so disconcerted his adversary that he missed him. The Major charged, sword in hand; his adversary fled. His flight on horseback soon caused his shirt to burn like a candle. This light so disconcerted McJunkin's horse that be could not make him charge the fugitive. After running him a mile to get a blow at him he ran his horse alongside. At that instant the flying Tory drew a pistol, fired, and the ball struck and broke McJunkin's sword arm. His sword was, luckily, fastened to his wrist by a leather string. As his arm fell powerless by his side he caught the sword in his left hand and drew it off his sword arm, and with a back handed blow as their horses ran side by side he killed his man. Lawson's second man recovered, notwithstanding he was shot and run through with a sword."

[2224] NGP8 p. 71, JTR pp. 423-424, MSC2 pp. 114, 746, RBG p. 129.
[2225] SJM.

"'Notwithstanding the severity and inconvenience of this wound, Major McJunkin rejoined his men and continued his march to Brandon's camp that night. Here his pain became so excruciating that some of his soldiers cut the ball out of his arm with a dull razor.'" [2226]

2 March.[2227] [skirmish] Clapp's Mill, also Alamance Creek (Alamance County, N.C.) Lee's Legion cavalry, led by Capt. John Rudulph,[2228] a battalion of Preston's riflemen[2229] under Major Thomas Rowland, 200 Lincoln County militia led Maj. Joseph Dickson, a detachment of 40 of Pickens' cavalry under Capt. Joseph Graham and Capt. Richard Simmons, some Catawba Indians, and Kirkwood and Oldham's Continental light infantry acting as a reserve[2230] -- all formally under Otho Williams' command; though Lee was in immediate charge for most of the actual fighing -- fought a covering party of Tarleton's at Clapp's Mill, near Alamance Creek (a south tributary of the Haw River). Earlier, Williams had wanted to attack the British but then, at 3 am, called it off and attempted instead, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to set a trap for Tarleton. The corps under Tarleton was comprised of the British Legion cavalry, under Capt. Richard Hovenden, the light infantry of the Guards, under Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundass, a few mounted infantry, and 150 men of the 33rd Regt. Wiliams was finally driven back, but only after inflicting relatively substantial losses on Tarleton's men. Greene, at Boyd's Mill, wrote to von Steuben on the 5th: "on the 2nd, Lieut. Col. Lee, with his Legion, and a few Militia and some Catawba Indians had a skirmish with the Enemy near Alamance. The Enemy had 7 killed and upwards of 40 wounded." Tarleton said he "dislodged and dispersed a corps of eight hundred men" with the British suffering 21 killed or wounded in the skirmish. Joseph Graham, who wrote a very interesting account of the fray, referred to the engagement as "Clapp's Mill" and said American casualties were 8 dead and an unknown number wounded. Capt. Nathaniel Pendleton, on behalf of Greene, wrote to Brig. Gen. Butler on 3 March, stating that a deserter gave the British losses at Alamance at 25 killed and wounded. The American losses were 10 or twelve killed and wounded. Lee in his memoirs, although described by Graham as "conspicuous by himself, among the militia, but to no purpose," makes a brief footnote reference to the skirmish; perhaps not thinking its significance extended beyond this.[2231]
Tarleton: "As soon as General Greene was informed of the position of the main body of the King's troops near Allamance [Alamance], and that their advanced guard extended a little way towards Deep river, he crossed the Haw near its source, and took post between Troublesome creek and Reedy fork. The two armies did not long remain in this situation. The British cavalry were ordered on the 2d of March to forage about three miles in front of their encampment. Captain [Richard] Hovenden, of the legion, who commanded the covering party, observing some of the American dragoons in the neighbourhood of the plantations where he was directed to collect forage, rode forwards to examine more closely; when, perceiving the enemy's infantry, he dispatched the foragers to camp without their burdens, and, on his return, reported the circumstances he had discovered. This intelligence induced Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to make a patrole with his whole corps, which consisted of the cavalry, a few mounted infantry, the light company of the guards, and one hundred and fifty men of Colonel Webster's brigade, after having conveyed to Earl Cornwallis, by express, his reason for such a proceeding. The approach to the ground where the enemy were described to have been seen proving unfit for the operations of cavalry, Tarleton directed the infantry to form the advance, and to explore the thick woods upon the flanks with great attention. The light company of the guards, commanded by Captain [Thomas] Dundass, led the column, the infantry of the line followed the guards, and the cavalry brought up the foragers in the rear, till the country would allow the dragoons to move on to the front. When the British drew near to the plantations which were to furnish the forage, a heavy fire from some thickets on each side of the road discovered the situation of the enemy. The guards formed with their usual alacrity, and Captain [James] Ingram, of the 33d regiment, who commanded the hundred and fifty men of Webster's brigade, was directed to dress his left by their right, whilst the cavalry moved to his right, where the country appeared most favourable for their exertions. The gallantry of the British troops, after a short conflict, dislodged and dispersed a corps of eight hundred men, composed of Lee's legion, Washington's dragoons, and Preston's backwoodsmen. The loss of the Americans was confined principally to the woodsmen; the continentals retreated early, and did not wait the charge of the British dragoons, who were much impeded in their advance by a thick wood and high rails, which prevented the action from being more general and decisive.
"The pursuit was restrained on account of the various roads by which the enemy's cavalry could escape, and in consequence of the report of prisoners, who acknowledged that General Greene was moving with the American army to the southward of the Reedy fork. Though the continentals suffered little in this affair, numbers of the riflemen were killed and wounded; and being abandoned by their cavalry, the rest were totally dispersed. The loss of the British amounted to one officer wounded, and twenty men killed and wounded, which fell principally

[2226] SJM.
[2227] Graham gives the date as the 1st, but contemporary correspondence confirms it as the 2nd.
[2228] As Graham makes no mention of them, it is not clear whether the Legion infantry participated. But if not, as some maintain it remains to be explained where then they were.
[2229] Preston himself was apparently absent.
[2230] In addition to Lee, and Oldham's men, Bright and Dunaway give Williams' command as containing 350 Virginia mountaineers under Preston (from Montgomery and Botetourt Counties), 542 mounted N.C. militia riflemen from N.C. from Surry and Mecklenberg counties "reporting to Col. Francis Locke;" Lieut. Col. John Paisley's from Guilford Cty.; Col. Thomas Farmer's of Orange Cty., Col. William Moore's of Caswell Cty.; Col.Richard Allen's from Wilkes Cty, plus Lincoln Cty. militia and cavalry under Capt. Jospeh Graham and mounted infantry under Maj. Henry Dickson; with finally 158 S.C. and GA. mounted militia men under Col. James McCall. BDB p. 56.
[2231] NGP7 pp. 382, 396, AR81 pp. 63-64, TCS pp. 234-236, GHA4 pp. 49-50, LMS pp. 263-264, JLG1 pp. 459-460, LCC pp. 155-159, CNC22 p. 124, GNC pp. 329-334, GAM2 pp. 280-283, RNC pp. 293-294, BEA p. 231, MGC, SCAR vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 37-39, BLO pp. 43-45, BDB pp. 54-74, 156-176. Earlier in the day, Williams had wanted to attack Cornwallis' whole army, but was dissuaded from doing so by Lee. Yet as we later find out, it was actually Greene's idea and intention that Williams take the offensive when he could -- not the latter's (as such.) NGP7 pp. 378-379, JLG1 pp. 459-460, LCC pp. 155-159, and BDB pp. 58-60.

upon the guards. During the time that the dragoons were collecting their trusses, an express was sent to Earl Cornwallis to advise him of the movement of the enemy; and the forage being completed, the light troops fell back to their former encampment; where they found Major De Buy [De Puis], with the yagers, the regiment of Bose, and two pieces of cannon, Earl Cornwallis having advanced this support as soon as he heard the musketry in front."[2232]

Otho Williams at "Allimance," on the 2nd wrote to Greene: "[About noon] Lee advanc'd one Mile from our Camp where his Flank was Fired upon. The mounted Rifle men had not time to dismount and did not return the fire so brisk as I expected. However those on Foot and the Infantry of the Legion were making a handsome defence when I order'd a gradual retreat which was well enough effected considering the irregularity of our order. I believe very few fell on either side. We have 10 or 12 wounded."[2233]

Gordon: "On the 2nd of March there was a slight skirmish in the morning, between a detachment under Tarleton and a part of the militia under Williams, within one mile of the British encampment."[2234]

Joseph Graham: "Cols. Williams and Lee used great exertions to form the militia, but as they got some to fall in, and exerted themselves to rally others, these would move off again. Major [Joseph] Dickson, of Lincoln, who with his characteristic coolness and decision, saw the difficulty, observed to [Otho] Williams, 'You may depend upon it, you will never get these men to form here while the enemy are firing yonder. If you will direct them to form on the next rise beyond that hollow, one hundred yards back, they will do it.' Col. Williams instantly adopted this plan. Our line was restored. The regulars [Kirkwood's and Oldham's troops] retired to their place in it, and the firing ceased, tho' the enemy was still in view. In about twenty minutes we marched off in order, and they did not follow. In a mile or two we came to the ford on Alamance, where the whole light troops, Washington's cavalry, and all the militia belonging to the army except what were with Greene, were drawn up in position. The eminences and passes were lined with the latter. This arrangement Col. Williams their commander had made, before he came on, to the battle. After remaining half an hour the whole marched back five or six miles when the different corps separated. Pickens and Lee camped together."[2235]

The *Annual Register:* "In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis having received intelligence, that Greene being reinforced in Virginia had repassed the Dan, he thought it necessary to collect his force by recalling Tarleton; and forage and provifions growing scarce in the neighbourhood of Hilllborough, and the position being too distant to afford countenance and protection to the well affected upon the advance of the enemy, he thought it expedient to make a movement to the Haw River, which he passed, and encamped near Allemance Creek; having pushed Tarleton a few miles forward towards the Deep River, with the cavalry, the light company of the guards, and 150 of Webster's brigade. Greene's light troops soon made their appearance; upon which Tarleton received orders to move forward, and, with proper precaution, to make what difsovery he could of the motions and designs of the enemy.
"Tarleton had not advanced far when he fell in with a considerable corps of the enemy, whom he instantly attacked, and soon routed; but being ignorant of their force, how they were supported, and grown circumspect from experience, he with great prudence restrained his ardour, and desisted from the pursuit. He soon learned from the prisoners, that those he had defeated were the corps called Lee's legion, with three or four hundred Back Mountain men, and fome militia, under a Colonel Preston. He likewise discovered through the same intelligence, that Greene, with a part of his army, was at no great distance.
"It appeared afterwards, though it does not seem to have been then known to the British general, that Greene had yet only received a 'part of the reinforcements he expected; and that a more confiderable body were then on their way to join him from Virginia. This induced him to fall fuddenly back to Thompfon's Houfc, near Boyd's Ford, on the Reedy Fork. It is remarkable, and deserving of particular notice, that although this part of the country, where the army now was, was considered and distinguished, as being peculiarly and zealously attached to the British cause and interest; and yet, that Lord Cornwallis should have had occasion pathetically to complain, that his situation was amongst timid friends, and adjoining to inveterate rebels; and, that between them, he had been totally destitute of information; by which means, he lost a very favourable opportunity of attacking the rebel army."[2236]

2 March (also given as 1 March). Upon being informed that Rawdon, out of Camden, was coming after him, Sumter decamped from Farr's Plantation. He proceeded north up the road from Camden to the High Hills of the Santee, passed Fort Watson towards Cane Savannah (also spoken of as the Pine Barrens) and then further east to Bradley's, which was on the north bank of the Black River (and northwest of Salem, S.C. along the road to Camden.) Along the way and in the vicinity of Cane Savannah, he picked up his wife and son who were staying at the home of some friends. Later at Bradley's, he wrote Marion again requesting aid. Though Marion had replied earlier when written to, he was not at that time able to come to assist him; presumably because he did not just then have the men and or munitions to do so (however, see 4 March.) Rawdon, in the interim, with the Volunteers of Ireland, had hoped to catch Sumter near Watson, but learning the whigs had left (towards Farr's) he returned to Camden, and then instead out sent Maj. Thomas Fraser and some South Carolina "Provincials,"

[2232] TCS pp. 234-236.
[2233] NGP7 p. 381.
[2234] GHA4 p. 50.
[2235] GAM2 p. 283.
[2236] AR81 pp. 63-64.

possibly including Harrison's Corps (i.e. the South Carolina Rangers) to continue the hunt (see Stirrup's Branch, 6 March.)[2237]

3 March (also given as the 5th, and 6th). [skirmish] Alamance Picket (Alamance County, N.C.) Otho Williams' light troops, including Kirkwood's Delaware company, in the evening of the 3rd, surprised a British picket, capturing 2 and killing and wounding a small number. American losses, if any, are not recorded. Greene wrote to von Steuben on the 5 March: "On the evening of the 3rd, one of the enemy pickets were surprised by Captain Kirkwood."[2238]
Kirkwood: "March 3d Some few were killed but only 2 Prisoners were taken.
"March 4th We came up with the Enemy at Allmance...[marched] 60 [miles]
"March 5th Marched this night to the old Regulation ground and attack'd the advance picquet. Brought off one of their Centinells & returned to Camp by morning...[marched] 24 [miles]."[2239]

William Seymour: "On the night of the sixth[2240] instant Captain Kirkwood, with his company of Light Infantry and about forty Riflemen, was detached off in order to surprise Colonel Tarlton [Sic], who lay encamped on the other side the Allamance; which having approached at about one o'clock in the morning, and going himself with a guide to reconnoiter their lines, where finding which way their pickets were posted, upon which he ordered the whole to move on, having formed the line of battle. When we came near the sentinels, they challenged very briskly, and no answer being made, upon which they immediately discharged their pieces and ran in to their guard. We took one of the sentinels, off his post at the same time and obliged him to show us where the guard lay, upon which we fired very briskly on them. By this time the camp was all alarmed…" [2241]

3 March. Lafayette on his date arrived at Head of Elk, Maryland.[2242]

3 March. Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, at "Thomas Person's [Parson's]," N.C., wrote to Greene that he had 220 men with him "arm'd with such Guns as they could collect in the Country." Col. Robert Munford was about twelve miles behind Lawson with 400 to 500 men from Amelia, and Buckingham counties. Lawson intended to link up with Gen. Butler at Haw Fields, and meanwhile had directed Munford to meet him at Hillsborough. Munford, in the vicinity of Hillsborough, in a separate letter wrote Greene saying many of his men were lacking flints and powder and "Buck Shot or Cartridges." He also mentioned being himself ill with gout, and that he had no other field officer with him.[2243]

3 March. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell,[2244] accompanied by 400 Virginia Continentals and 13 wagons loaded with 600 stand of arms and ammunition, arrived at Taylor's Ferry. Having learned of Cornwallis' no longer being in Hillsborough, Campbell immediately crossed the river, and took the direct route for that town. Generals John Butler, of North Carolina, and Robert Lawson, of Virginia, who also would otherwise have been forced to march along the north bank of the Roanoke, moved the same direction with their reinforcements. See 25 February.[2245]

3 March. [skirmish] Return to Clapp's Mill (Alamance County, N.C.) Tarleton was directed to move with 200 cavalry, the light company of the guards, 80 Jägers, 150 men of Webster's 33rd Regt., two six pounders, and the Von Bose regiment six miles to the front of Cornwallis' army, viz. in the direction of Greene. En route, some of Tarleton's men did some foraging, and subsequently found themselves in a situation which Tarleton describes as "ticklish," namely a party of his pickets was attacked (see Alamance Picket, 3 March below.) The next morning (the 4th) he withdrew to join Cornwallis and the main army.[2246]
Joseph Graham: "The day after the battle [of Clapp's Mill] Graham was directed by Lee to take 25 men to ascertain if the enemy were occupying the field and, if they had left, to follow the trail until he actually saw them which he did, on the Salisbury road within half a mile of their headquarters. He dispatched a sergeant with six men to inform Lee, and Graham with the rest of his party moved after dark through the woods in an unsuccessful effort to capture two sentinels who fired at them, but as Graham and his party proceeded a 1-2 mile up the main road met a patrol of cavalry, whom they hailed, then discharged a volley in their faces, causing them to retreat, leaving their officer a prisoner. Upwards of 100 cavalry were, as was afterwards learned from a deserter, hastily dispatched from the British camp in pursuit of Graham the same night, who met a company of Tories on the march to join them and were mistaken for Graham's party (see 3-4 March, "Tarleton's" Mistake.) A charge was made with considerable slaughter before discovering they were friends. This small affair greatly discouraged the Tories in the South."[2247]

[2237] BGC p. 133, BSF p. 142.
[2238] NGP7 pp. 391, 396, TPY p. 165.
[2239] KJO pp. 13-14.
[2240] Based on correspondence of the day, the dates Kirkwood and Seymour give are apparently mistaken.
[2241] SJS.
[2242] MLW4A p. 423.
[2243] NGP7 pp. 389-390.
[2244] Although Campbell led this reinforcement of Virginia Continentals, it was Hawes who commanded them at Guilford Court House. What happened to Campbell in the interim is not exactly clear, but presumably he served in some capacity with or for the Virginia Brigade.
[2245] JLG1 pp. 461, 462.
[2246] TCS p. 236.
[2247] CNC22 pp. 124-125.

3-4 March. [skirmish] "Tarleton's" Mistake, and Tory Cattle Drovers (location uncertain but possibly Alamance and Orange County, N.C.) Somewhere between the Haw and Deep Rivers, around midnight, a group 70 to 80 loyalists desirous of joining the British, were mistook by Tarleton's cavalry for some rebels. Accounts cite Tarleton himself as supervising what took place, but there is no clear evidence for this. Graham says the loyalists, as reported by a captured sergeant and some deserters, were from the Deep River area and eastern part of Rowan County. The British Legion horsemen had attacked them; killing 4, wounding 20 or 30 (these were "badly cut") while the rest were permanently scattered. The following day a party of militia dragoons, perhaps Malmedy's, attacked some Tory cattle drovers, and killed 23 of them. Both incidents only further discouraged loyalist support in the region. Greene wrote to von Steuben on the 5 March: "Yesterday morning [the 4th] a party of Tories were Fired upon by mistake. They halted and Tarleton suspecting they were Militia, rushed out with a part of the British Legion, and cut them to pieces. When the mistake was discovered great efforts were made to collect the fugitives, but the confusion was so great that all attempts proved ineffectual."[2248]
William Seymour: "Colonel Tarleton…meeting a party of Tories and mistaking them for our militia, he charged on them very furiously, putting great numbers to the sword. On the other hand, they taking Colonel Tarleton for our horse and infantry, there commenced a smart skirmish, in which great numbers of the Tories were sent to the lower regions. We marched for camp which we reached about daybreak after a very fatiguing journey, having marched all night through deep swamps, morasses and thickets, which rendered our marching unpleasant and tiresome, twenty-six miles." [2249]

Otho Williams (by way of Gordon): "The tide of sentiment of public sentiment was now no longer in his favor. The recruiting service declined and was stopped, which *had it proceeded a fortnight longer, would have strengthened his lordship, that he must have held the country.*[2250] The advocates for royal government were discouraged, and could not be induced to act with confidence. Considerable numbers, who were on their way to join his lordship, returned home to wait for further events."[2251]

4 March. Greene dismissed 1,000 militia horses from the army. Those mounted men without swords in Butler's force were directed to send their horses home. Greene believed that the prevalent and common use of horses to mount the North Carolina militia tended to lay waste the country to no purpose, and made movement of the army more difficult. In consequence and on the other hand, some militia went home rather than relinquish their mounts, but whose absence was conspicuously and perhaps (for the Americans) regrettably evident in the follow up of Cornwallis after Guilford Court House. Also by this date, Col. Charles Harrison of the Virginia artillery, coming personally from Richmond, VA., had rejoined Greene's army.[2252]

4 March. Col. Charles Lynch having attained Boyd's Mill on Reedy Fork with 360 riflemen from Bedford County, VA., wrote Greene requesting orders. He further stated that he needed "60 Stands" of arms, flints, and ammunition.[2253]

4 March. Lee,[2254] near William Shaffer's on Stony Creek, N.C., wrote to Greene: "I understand a volunteer company of mounted Militia from Amelia County has joined the Army. As they will be useless, I wish they may be ordered to join me. My sole object is to make use of their apprehensions & convenience so as to get their best horses for the use of my cavalry, & permit them to return home. This could be effected in the course of one week service with proper address. The militia company now with me have furnished twelve riflemen to act with me for three months, on the condition that the remainder be discharged."[2255]

4 March. Col. William Campbell, the King's Mountain commander, reinforced Greene with 60 mountain riflemen from Washington County, VA. -- far short of the thousand Greene had anticipated. The reason for the small number was that the frontier militia were occupied with holding off and then attacking the Cherokees on the frontier. Campbell was subsequently assigned to take Pickens command after the latter requested and received permission from Greene to return south (see 5-6 March.) Pickens' force by this date was down to 453 (from a previous 1,050) with 179 remaining from Preston's detachment (originally 350), 54 from Surry Couny, and 158 under McCall. In addition to, as they saw it, having been recklessly exposed in combat by the Continental commanders, one of the main reasons for so many of the militia's leaving was that they didn't, as ordered, want to relinquish their horses.[2256]

4 March. Though Marion was *now* making preparations to join him, Sumter decided he did not want to wait any longer for his assistance and left Bradley's.

4 March. Cornwallis was still at Smith's Plantation.

[2248] NGP7 pp. 393-94, 396, GHA4 p. 49, JLG1 p. 458, RNC p. 292, BRG p. 366, GNC pp. 338-340, GAM2 pp. 286-287.
[2249] SJS.
[2250] My italics.
[2251] GHA4 p. 49.
[2252] NGP7 pp. 25n, 388, JLG1 p. 470, JLG2 p. 29, GNC p. 334, GAM2 p. 283n, BLO pp. 44.
[2253] NGP7 p. 390.
[2254] Lee was with Williams at this time.
[2255] NGP7 pp. 391-393.
[2256] JLG1 pp. 468-469, MSC2 pp. 125-126, BDB p. 70.

"Leslie" Orderly Book: "(Lord Cornwallis) desires[2257] the Officers & Soldiers to reflect that the great object of his Majesty's forces in this Country is to protect & Secure his Majesty's faithfull [sic] & Loyal Subjects, & Encourage & Assist them in Arming; & opposing the Tyranny and Oppression of the Rebels. His Lordship therefore recommends it to them in the Strongest manner, to treat with kindness all those who have Sought protection in the British Army, & to believe that Altho their Ignorance & want of Skill in Military Affairs, may at present render their appearance Awkard in a veteran & Experience'd Army; When they are properly Arm'd, Appointed, & Instructed, they Will shew the same Ardour, & Courage, in the Cause of Great Britain, As their Countrymen who repair'd to the Royal Standard in the Northern Colonies."[2258]

5 March. Cornwallis left Smith's Plantation moving west along Alamance Creek.[2259]

5 March Greene, at Boyd's Mill, N.C.,[2260] wrote to Lee: "Major [Col. James] Read from Hallifax [Halifax] County [N.C.] has orders to join the light Infantry with about 170 men all mounted.[2261] Part of them are equipped as light Horse Men with swords, the rest with pretty good Arms. I have desired Col. Williams to attach them to your Corps."[2262]

5 March. With Sumter having been effectively chased out of the Camden and Santee region, Rawdon directed his attention to Marion. On March 5th, Lieut. Col. John Watson, as the first of a two-pronged attack on Marion, marched from Fort Watson down the Santee road. By afternoon he camped a few miles east of Nelson's Ferry. With him were about 500 men and which consisted of some companies of the Provincial light infantry, a detachment of the now much diminished 64th, Harrison's Provincials (the S.C. Carolina Rangers, who were mounted as dragoons) and two pieces of artillery (including a three-pounder.)[2263]
John Watson: "As (our) infantry, who were to follow mounted troops, became so little stationary, [it] would rarely permit their remaining two days upon the same ground. The fatigues of marching together with such skirmishes having weakened our Corps, Lord Rawdon, who apprehending the return of Sumpter and his junction with Marion, left me the 64th Regiment, for its services, likewise reduced in number, with another 3-pounder, saying he should want them again at a given time.
"The stores being sent forward from our Post and the country on this side of the Black River, evacuated by Marion, I determined to make the tour of the eastern part of the district, where Marion still continued his ravages upon those supposed to be well affected. [He] forced those who were disposed to remain at home, out in arms, under pain of military execution. As he had broken up all the bridges upon the River, I did not choose to expose the troops to his long shot with a river between us. I took the lower road."[2264]

5-6 March. Pickens and Lee were at Rock Creek above Cedar Creek, where they were joined by Col. Joseph Williams and some 80 N.C. militiamen from Surry County. There was much desertion in Pickens ranks, particularly among those from the Salisbury district, as many of the men were reluctant to give up their horses as Greene had ordered. Pickens own men, many having already left or else wanting to return home, due to "real need" (many being without proper clothing by this time, having done some extremely hard service as green himself acknowledged), Pickens, on the 5th, asked that he and those South Carolina and Georgia men remaining be allowed to return to South Carolina; which Greene granted. Col. William Campbell was then appointed to take charge of the North Carolinians of Pickens' command. On March 3rd, Capt. Joseph Graham's and his men's term of service was up, but Pickens had prevailed on Graham and 24 of his horsemen to stay a brief while longer. Pickens himself finally went home about the 10th.[2265]

6 March. Cornwallis camped at Alton's House.[2266]
Caruthers: "On the night after the skirmish at Wetzell's [Weitzel's] mill, he [Cornwallis] had his head-quarters at Alton's; but that was too small an affair to be noticed in his general orders. From the skirmish at Wetzell's mill, until the battle at the [Guilford] Court House, Cornwallis remained in this county, quartering his army upon the inhabitants, and remaining about two days in a place. Thus we find them successively at Alton's, Duffield's, Gorrell's, McQuisten's, and Deep River; but we have no particulars except what we get from the traditions of the country."[2267]

6 March. [skirmish] Stirrup's Branch,[2268] also Radcliffe's Bridge, Lynches River (Lee County, S.C.) On his way from Bradley's toward Waxhaws, Maj. Thomas Fraser caught up with Sumter at Stirrup's Branch and a running engagement ensued. Both sides claimed victory. The Americans said that Fraser was driven back, and that Sumter then continued his retreat. The British, on the other hand claimed Sumter was routed, but that they did

[2257] These were the same orders Cornwallis had given at Charlotte on 5 October 1780.
[2258] LOB part IV.
[2259] LOB part IV.
[2260] Boyd's Mill was short distance to the east of modern Williamsburg in Rockingham County, N.C.
[2261] As it turned out, Read had some 250 though they may not all, or even most, have been mounted. See 14 March.
[2262] NGP7 p. 395.
[2263] MMS2 pp. 224-230, JLG2 p. 69, BSF p. 143.
[2264] WNR.
[2265] NGP7 pp. 320, 325, 398-399, JLG1 pp. 462, 469, GAM2 pp. 288, 293-295, TPY p. 166. See also 8 March.
[2266] LOB part IV.
[2267] CNS2 p. 98. Cornwallis also stopped at Paisley's just north of Gorrell with both along the south side of Buffalo Creek, a tributary of Reedy Fork (that in turn flows into the Haw.) BDB pp. 96-99.
[2268] Stirrup's Branch is near Bishopville, S.C.

not have sufficient men to pursue him. Whatever the case, after the engagement Sumter crossed Radcliffe's bridge and "disappeared on a circuitous route toward New Acquisition" finally reaching Waxhaws. The British report states that Sumter lost 10 killed and 40-50 wounded. Ramsay gives Fraser's losses as 20 killed. Sumter in his letter to Greene on 9 March said that during the course of his whole expedition he returned with "Very Inconsiderable Loss."[2269]
Rawdon wrote to Watson on 7 March: "[Maj. Thomas] Fraser yesterday fell in with Sumter (who was advancing this way) between Scape Hoar and Radcliffe's Bridge. A smart action ensued in which the enemy were completely routed, leaving ten dead on the field and about forty wounded. Unfortunately none of your Dragoons had joined Fraser, so that he could not pursue his victory. Sumter fled across Lynches Creek and continued his retreat northward; he had his family with him, so that I think he has entirely abandoned the lower country." [2270]

6 March (possibly the 5 March). Captain John Postell was captured near Georgetown, while under a flag of truce for the purpose of exchanging prisoners. Capt. Saunders, in command at Georgetown, charged him with having violated his parole. Postell attempted to excused the violation on the grounds that the British had seized his family's property and estate. Marion later protested loudly to Balfour, but to no avail. In retaliation, Cornet Merritt of the Queen's Rangers (who like Postell came under a flag of truce) was later this same month detained and held by Marion in a manner similar to the taking of Postell. However, Merritt was freed when Doyle raided Snow's Island,[2271] while Postell remained in Charlestown till about the time the British left in late 1782. [2272]
Marion to Lieut. Col. John Watson on 15 or 16 March (the date is not actually given in the letter) wrote: "Yours of this day s date I received. In answer, I wish to carry on this war as usual, with all civilized nations. The violation of my flag is a good reason to believe it may a second time be done, and oblige me to act as I did ; when my flag is released, I will have faith, and act in the usual way. If Capt. Postell was a prisoner, it was no reason for the violation of my flag, especially when it was Sent to exchange prisoners agreed to by Capt. Saunders; but this matter I expect Lord Rawdon will set to rights. The enclosed letter gives me reason to believe it, and you may be assured I will not act in any other way, than what I find is done by the British Troops. If you will send me the number of wounded you wish to send to Charles Town, I will send you a pass for them."
Watson, at "Blakely's House, on 16 March responded: "I do not think it necessary to enter further into a detail of your conduct, or words to justify our own. Your mentioning that you wished to carry on the war as usual with civilized nations led me to mention the circumstances I did. Care is taken to prevent any thing being taken from those who do not bear arms against us, or who do not secretly assist our enemies. Whatever other people are deprived of we do not call plunder, but property fairly taken from the enemy, and what cannot be carried away conveniently we destroy, if we think proper; the burning of houses and the property of the inhabitants who are our enemy is thought right and is customary in all countries, but further than the distress that it occasions to their families, the distressing women or children, is so far from being either countenanced or connived at by any officers in our service, that on the contrary, every assistance possible is afforded them. Your pass only mentions Nelson's ferry. I believe Nelson's ferry is impracticable for men in their situations, and therefore should be glad you would give it for Murray's [Murry's] or any other ferry they find they can pass with least inconvenience in their way to Charles Town. I will inform Lord Rawdon of your inclination respecting a general exchange of prisoners."[2273]

6 March. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell with 400 Virginia Continentals passed Hillsborough on his way to High Rock Ford.[2274]

6 March. Malmedy was at Woody's Ford in the Hillsborough district with 220 men, most of them mounted. Also with him was "Baron" Glaubeck, one of Morgan's aides at Cowpens, with 60 well-equipped militia dragoons.[2275]

6 March. Although the North Carolina legislature had appointed Col. Henry Dixon to command the Salisbury militia, Dixon did not live in the district so Greene made Col. Thomas Polk temporary militia commander there. When Dixon later refused the appointment (perhaps at Greene's request, Dixon having been a Continental officer), Greene again asked Polk to command them. Nevertheless, the North Carolina legislature finally gave the command of the Salisbury militia to Col. Francis Lock in spite of Greene's wishes.[2276]

6 March. [ambush] Widboo Swamp (Clarendon County, S.C.) Marion, who had been preparing to assist Sumter, learned of Watson's advance and lay in wait for him at Widboo Swamp. The site was a marshy passage way located on the Santee Road between Nelson's and Murry's ferries. McCrady gives Marion's strength as 250. Watson's advance force of some loyalist (militia) dragoons under Col. Henry Richbourg clashed with some of the whig cavalry under Col. Peter's Horry; after which both side fell back. When Marion tried to send forth Horry once more, Watson's infantry and artillery forced him to halt. The South Carolina Rangers (Harrison's Corps), under Maj. Samuel Harrison,[2277] then came up once more to charge the Americans. They were, however,

[2269] NGP7 pp. 417-418, GDH2 pp. 31-32, RSC2 p. 226, MLL p. 19, MSC2 pp. 110-111, BSF p. 143, BGC pp. 134-135, RBG p. 235.
[2270] GDH2 pp. 31-32.
[2271] According to Capt. John Saunders account, given in Simcoe's *Journal*, however, Merritt and a few others actually disarmed some guards and devised their own escape: Saunders making no reference to Doyle's raid. SQR pp. 245-246.
[2272] GDH2 pp. 28-31, 35-37, SQR pp. 244-245, MSC2 pp. 150-155, BSF pp. 145-146.
[2273] GDH2 pp. 28-31, 35-37.
[2274] JLG1 pp. 461- 462.
[2275] NGP7 p. 406.
[2276] NGP7 pp.319, 380.
[2277] Brother of John Harrison, founder of Harrison's Corps.

arrested in this momentarily by one of Horry's horsemen, Gavin James, evidently a mighty individual of the cast of Peter Francisco; who single-handedly slew three loyalists before retiring. Marion then threw in his horsemen under Captain Daniel Conyers and Capt. John McCauley who drove the Rangers back, killing Harrison. Watson's regulars, however, then continued their advance and Marion retreated to Cantey's Plantation file miles northwest of present day Greeleyville.[2278]

6 March. [battle] Weitzel's Mill,[2279] also Wetzell's Mill, Whitesell's Mill (Guilford County, N.C.) Cornwallis' army left their encampment, passing over Alamance creek, marching in the direction of High Rock Ford. From there his advance forces under Webster and Tarleton moved to surprise and attack Otho Williams' and Campbell's detachments at Weitzel's Mill, on Reedy Fork Creek (west of the Haw River), were dispersed for foraging and also where a substantial quantity of corn was kept.[2280] Campbell, having recently succeeded Pickens in command of the militia attached to the light troops and cavalry, was posted in advance to act as both picket and scout for Williams.[2281] After some sharp fighting and in which Preston's Virginia rifemen and ancillary militia, personally led by Lee took, most of the American losses, Williams was forced to withdraw. It was claimed the British were not able to follow up the victory due the Americans' superiority in cavalry. Tarleton, nonetheless, later criticized Cornwallis' not bringing up he greater body of his troops and resuming the action. Cornwallis' response would presumably have been to say he sought to focus primarily on Greene himself and not be preoccupied pursuing the highly mobile American light corps with his regular (non-light) infantry.
Col. William Preston's and Col. Hugh Crocket's Virginia militia left Greene's army after the battle based on the charge that Williams deliberately exposed the militia in order to better protect the Continentals. The check forced Greene: "to retire over [to] the [north side of] Haw river, and move down the north side of it, with a view to secure our stores coming to the army, and to form a junction with several considerable reinforcements of Carolina and Virginia militia, and one regiment of eighteen-months men, on the march from Hillsborough to High Rock. I effected this business, and returned to Guildford court house," Greene to Washington, 10 March 1781. Tarleton states the Americans lost 100 men killed, wounded and taken, while the British suffered 30 killed and wounded. Joseph Graham, who was present, gave American casualties as 2 regulars killed, 3 wounded and between 20 and 25 militiamen killed or wounded. Otho Wiliams (by way of Gordon or else Gordon hismelf) speaks of each side losing 50. Webster, as he passed over Reedy Fork with his men, almost miraculously, escaped being shot by some of Campbell's riflemen -- who had been posted in a log hut close by -- only to be mortally wounded at Guilford Court House about a week later.[2282]
Order of battle for Weitzel's Mill as given in *Guilford Courthouse 1781: Lord Cornwallis' ruinous victory*, (Osprey Books), by Angus Konstam. p. 53. While certainly an informative and useful roster, its accuracy with respect to certain units and their strength -- as is often the case with such modern constructions -- is open to question. It is unlikely for example that Washington's cavalry numbered 100, or that the South Carolina and Georgia cavalry were even present during the fighting.[2283] Strengths given here are rank and file.

British:
Lieutenant-General Charles, Earl Cornwallis
Von Bose (reserve) 313
Royal Artillery, x4 three-pounders, 73 men

Tarleton
British Legion Cavalry -- 174
Jager detachment -- 94 men
Lt. Inf. Companies, Foot Guards -- 80

Lieut. Col. Webster's Command
23rd -- 258 men
33rd Foot -- 322
2nd Bn., 71st -- 212

Americans:
Col. Otho Williams
Maryland and Delaware Lt. Inf -- 226

[2278] MMS2 pp. 224-230, JFM p. 37, MSC2 p. 746, BSF pp. 139, 144-145, 259, RBG p. 149.
[2279] The site of Weitzel's Mill is with about two to three miles east of present day Osceola in (the northeast corner of) Guilford County, N.C.
[2280] Treacy lays stress on Cornwallis' advancing on the mill merely for the corn (even though the British also attempted to surprise Williams); citing Greene's reference to the action as "a small skirmish" and Draper's description, "a scrap." And yet why further postpone attacking Greene otherwise; while also allowing him more and ample time to bring in the militia? TPY pp. 167-168, 230n, DKM pp. 382-383, GLG 3 p. 188n.
[2281] While Pickens was probably present at or near the battle with his 40 to 150 Georgians and South Carolinians, it is not likely he took an active part. Capt. Joseph Graham's troops of N.C. cavalry were likewise soon to leave Greene's army, and were posted with Lieut. Col. William Washington's cavalry. Similarly to Pickens, neither Washington's or Graham's force, though witnesses to the fighting also, actually participated.
[2282] NGP7 pp. 408n, 422-423, STL, AR81 p. 64, TCS pp. 237-238, GHA4 pp. 50-52, SAW2 pp. 336-337, MLW4A pp. 363-364, LMS pp. 265-268, JLG1 pp. 462-465, LCC pp. 159-165, GNC pp. 340-347, CNC22 p. 125, GAM2 pp. 288-289, DKM pp. 382-383, GLG 3 p. 188n, SNC pp. 289-291, WAR2 pp. 781-782, TPY pp. 167-168, BEA p. 1195, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 40-43, BLO pp. 45-47, BDB pp. 75-95, 177-192.
[2283] The book, incidentally, contains a very handy map of the engagement.

Major Rowland's Virginia Rifle Corps -- 114
Col. [Hugh] Crockett's Va. Rifle Battalion -- 232
Lieut. Col. Harrison's NC militia -- 50
Col. Washington's dragoons -- 100

Col. William Campbell. Pickens Brigade
Campbell's Va Rifle Corps -- 54 men
Col. [William] Preston's Va Rifle Bttn -- 124
Lieut. Col. Williams NC militia -- 36
Col. [William] Moore's NC militia -- 45
Col. [James] McCall's cavalry -- 120
Lee's Legion -- 90 cav, 90 inf

Otho Williams, on 11 March and at "Camp near the Old Bridge on the Haw River," reported to Greene: "Dear General: Early yesterday morning I detached an officer with a small party, designing, under cover of the fog, to have surprised and brought off one of the enemy's parties stationed at a mill about a mile from their camp. Soon after, I was informed by one of my reconnoitring officers, that the enemy had decamped early in the morning, and had taken a route leading to my left. We were instantly in motion. They had approached within two miles of our position, and their intention was manifestly to surprise us. I immediately ordered the troops to march to Wiley's [Weitzel's] mills; and soon after was informed by two prisoners, that the enemy were marching for the same place on a road parallel to that in which we were. We annoyed them by light flanking parties, and moved briskly on to the mill; but were so closely pressed by Colonel Webster's brigade and Colonel Tarleton's legion, that I found it absolutely necessary to leave a covering party under the command of Colonel Preston. The rest of the troops passed the Reedy Fork, and formed on the north side without interruption. Very soon after, a brisk fire began on Colonel Preston's party, which they returned with great spirit. In the mean time Colonel Campbell, who had previously, in concert with Lieutenant Colonel Washington, served as a cover to the retiring troops, passed the creek above the mill. The ground on this side being very unfavourable, I waited only till Colonel Preston crossed, and then ordered the troops to retire; the enemy pursued at some distance; but receiving several severe checks from small covering parties, and being awed by our cavalry, he thought proper to halt. We continued to retire about five miles, where we encamped. and were refreshing ourselves, when Major Burnet delivered the instructions from you, which induced me to cross the Haw river, and take post here. Our loss is very inconsiderable: very few were killed, and most of our wounded were brought off."[2284]

Joseph Graham: "Pickens, Lee, Williams, and Washington kept up their game of checker-moving, in the district of country between Alamance, Haw River, and Reedy Fork, continually changing their quarters, and appearing to act separately, but yet connected in their plans. Lord Cornwallis could not get intelligence of their position to come at them. Genl. Greene after his return from Virginia [i.e. re-crossing of the Dan], a little behind them, kept manoeuvering [sic] in the same manner. It was the best way of supplying the army, to march where supplies were to be had, as the means of transportation from a distance, in the existing state of incertitude was difficult and hazardous, besides the doubtfulness of where the army might be, when they should arrive. The British General discovered that if the present system was continued it must prove ruinous to him…he adopted the most eligible plan of annoyance by making a rapid and to them unexpected march. If they had any place of concentration, he would thus separate them, and pushing them beyond it, make them fight in detail, or overtake Williams, or perhaps Genl. Greene himself. He was sure there could be no hazard, at any point; for the Americans taken unawares, could not bring their united forces to bear upon him. Wit h these views, it was on the 6th or 7th of March [actually the 5th], in the night, he broke up his Camp at Hawkins' and passed the Alamance shortly after daylight in a cloudy morning."[2285]

Tarleton: "On the 5th information was conveyed to head quarters of the principal part of General Greene's army being situated near Guildford court house, and that the light troops and militia extended down Reedy fork and towards the Haw river, to protect the country, and guard the communications with Virginia, and the upper parts of North Carolina. Several reports confirming the validity of this intelligence, Earl Cornwallis determined to move the next day to disturb the enemy's communications and derange their projects.[2286] Early in the morning he passed the Allamance [Alamance]: The light troops led the column, supported by Colonel Webster's brigade: The regiment of Bose was followed by the brigade of guards; and Hamilton's corps, with the waggons, brought up the rear. The British dragoons soon pushed Colonel Lee's cavalry from their advanced situation: They retired to Wetzell's [Weitzel's] mill on the Reedy fork: Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton discovered the enemy to be in force at that place, and reported the circumstance to Earl Cornwallis, who directed Colonel Webster to form his brigade in line with the light company of the guards and the yagers. This disposition being made, the front line advanced, the rest of the King's troops remaining in column. The enemy did not oppose the right wing of the British so steadily as the left: The 23d and 71st moved forwards to the creek without any great impediment; and the ardent bravery of the 33d and the light company of the guards soon dislodged them from their strong position. The infantry mounted the hill above the creek, and dispersed the Americans so effectually, that the

[2284] JLG1 p. 463, LCC pp. 160-162.
[2285] GAM2 pp. 288-289.
[2286] Ostensibly he means Cornwallis was trying to disrupt the gathering of the militia. Perhaps also Cornwallis was thinking to achieve this by at least throwing a scare into the oncoming militia and also those already with Williams (and Greene), and by indirect means achieve a Camden-like route of the same.

cavalry could only collect a few stragglers from the woods in front. The militia who guarded this pass had upwards of one hundred men killed, wounded, and taken. The killed and wounded of the British amounted to about thirty…
"The performance of these operations [i.e. continued offensive action against Williams], which would probably have averted many of the subsequence calamities, was not, however, undertaken, and an order was given for the King's troops to incline to the westward: They accordingly moved in a south-west direction for a few days, whilst General Greene connected, without molestation, his militia, his eighteen-months men, and his continentals; when he advanced towards a good position over Reedy fork with an army of seven thousand men, and pushed forwards his light troops to attack the rear of the British as they crossed a branch of Deep river: The legion dragoons repulsed the enemy's detachment with some loss, and the royal army encamped on the 13th at the Quakers' meeting house."[2287]

Davie: "Col. Williams was reproached [presumably by Greene] for suffering so important a movement of the Enemy to take place without observing it, 'till he had scarce time to escape himself, altho' he commanded a party of observation, and the salvation of the Army depended on his vigilance."[2288]

Lee: "In this quarter, through some remissness of the guards, and concealed by the fog, Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, commanding the British van, approached close before he was discovered.
"The alertness of the light troops soon recovered the momentary disadvantage; and the Legion of Lee advancing to support [William] Campbell, the enemy's van was held back, until Colonel [Otho] Williams, undisturbed, commenced his retreat, directing the two corps above him to cover his rear. Having crossed the Reedy Fork, Williams made a disposition, with a view of opposing the enemy's passage. Campbell following Williams, joined on the opposite banks -- the infantry of the Legion proceeding in the rear of Campbell, followed by the cavalry, which corps continued close the enemy's advancing van. During this movement, Webster made several efforts to bring the rear guard to action, having under him the British cavalry. All his endeavors were successively counteracted by the celerity and precision with which the Legion horse manoeuvred: establishing evidently in the face of the enemy their decided superiority. As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Lee was apprised of the rear infantry's passage over the river, he retired by troops from before Webster in full gallop; and reaching Reedy Fork, soon united with Colonel Williams unmolested. Their being convenient fords over the creek, above and below, after Williams had safely brought over his corps, he determined no longer to continue in his position. Resuming retreat, he left the Legion supported by Colonel Campbell, with orders to retard the enemy as long as practicable, without hazarding serious injury. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, having detached a company of Preston's militia to guard the pass at Wetzell's [Weitzel's] Mill, a little distance on his left, drew up his infantry in one line, with his right on the road, and its front parallel with the creek; while the riflemen under Colonels Campbell and Preston occupied a copse of heavy woods on the right of the road, with their left resting upon the right of the Legion infantry.
"The horse formed a second line in a field well situated to curb the progress of the British cavalry, should it press upon the first line when retiring, and to protect the horses of the militia, tied at some distance back, agreeably to usage. On the first appearances of the enemy Colonel Williams dispatched a courier to Greene, communicating what had passed, and advising him of the course he should pursue after crossing the reedy Fork. Unwilling to approximate Greene, this officer moved slowly, waiting the disclosure of the enemy's intention. Should he halt on the opposite side of the creek, Colonel Williams would take his night position within a few miles of Wetzell's Mill, giving time to the troops to prepare food before dark; but should the enemy advance to the hither side, he would necessarily continue his retreat, however much opposed to his wishes. The state of suspense lasted but a little while. The British van appeared; and after a halt for a few minutes on the opposite bank, descended the hill approaching the water, where receiving a heavy fire of musketry and rifles, it fell back, and quickly reascending [sic], was rallied on the margin of the bank. Here a field-officer [Webster] rode up, and in a loud voice addressed his soldiers, then rushed down the hill at their head, and plunged into the water, our firing pouring upon him…The stream being deep, and the bottom rugged, he advanced slowly…Strange to tell, though in a condition so perilous, himself and his horse were untouched; and having crossed the creek, he soon formed his troops, and advanced upon us. The moment that the head of his column got under cover of our banks, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee directed the line to retire from its flanks, and gain the rear of the cavalry. In the skirmish which ensued in our center, after some of the enemy ascended the bank, three or four prisoners fell into our hands. The enemy's column being now formed, soon dislodged our center; and pushing Lee, came in front of the cavalry. Here it paused, until the British horse, which followed the infantry, passed the creek, and took post on the enemy's right -- the nearest point to the road, which we must necessarily take. This attitude indicated a decision to interrupt our retreat; at all events, to cut off our rear.
"Lee ordered Rudolph [Capt. John Rudulph] to incline in an oblique direction to his left; and gaining the road, to wait the expected charge. Tarleton advanced with his cavalry, followed by Webster. The Legion infantry, close in the rear of the riflemen, had now entered the road, considerably advanced toward Colonel Williams, still waiting in his position first taken for night quarters, and afterward held to protect the rear-guard. Rudulph, with the cavalry, was drawn off, moving slowly, with orders to turn upon the British horse if they should risk a charge. It was now late in the evening, and nothing more was attempted. The British halted on the ground selected for our use, which he had abandoned. Having proceeded some miles further, he encamped on the northeast side of a range of hills covered with wood, some distance from the road…"[2289]

[2287] TCS pp. 237-238, 240.
[2288] DRS p.30.
[2289] LMS pp. 265-268.

On March 10th, Charles Magill, a liaison officer for Gov. Jefferson, serving at Greene's headquarters, wrote to Jefferson: "On the late Skirmish of which an account was given in my last, the Riflemen complained that the burthen, and heat, of the Day was entirely thrown upon them, and that they were to be made a sacrifice by the Regular Officers to screen their own Troops. Full of this Idea, the greater number left the Light Troops. Some rejoin'd their Regiments with the main Body and others thought it a plausible excuse for their return home... [William] Preston and [Hugh] Crocket[t] soon despaired of finding and convincing any sizeable number of their Virginia riflemen to remain for the impending battle [Guilford Court House] and left the army. Colonel Preston wrote to Governor Jefferson over a month later on April 13th...we did hard duty, under Genl. Pickens, twelve or fourteen days, on the Enemy's lines, greatly straitened for provisions. Part of the men were in one action and the whole in a second; in both overpowered by numbers, and in the last broken and dispersed with the loss of their blankets. After which no arguments that could be made use of by myself, or the other officers, could induce the remaining few to remain another week; the time Genl. Green[e] requested. After staying a few days at the Moravian Town, to have the wounded taken care of, Colo. Crocket and myself came home, accompanied by only two or three young men..."[2290]

6 March (in the evening). Lieut. Col. Washington intercepted and waylaid a group of 25 loyalists leading cattle to the British army. Otho Williams, whom Washington was detached to, afterward retired to rest his men, and the cavalry were able to re-shoe their horses.[2291]

6 (or 7 March). [raid] Scott and Lunsford's Raid (probably Guilford County, N.C.) Otho Williams: "The loss of the Americans [at Weitzel's Mill] was about 50 killed and wounded, that of the British probably much greater, as they twice sustained the unexpected fire of the former. Col. Williams retired three miles and formed to await the enemy; but as they did not advance he proceeded further, and encamped that evening about seventeen miles from the place of action. It may be thought worthy of being recorded, that Mr. Perry [apparently Perry Scott],[2292] sergeant major, and Mr. Lumsford [Swanson Lunsford], quarter master sergeant of the 3d American regiment of dragoons, two spirited young fellows, being separately detached with each four dragoons, as parties of observation on the retreat; saw 16 or 18 horsemen of the British army in new levy uniforms ride into a farm-house yard in an irregular manner; and some of them dismounted. They instantly joined their small force, seized the occasion, charged the horsemen, and in sight of the British legion which was on the contrary side of the fence, cut everyman down, and then retired without a scar."[2293]

7 March. Capt. James Tate, with some Augusta County Virginia riflemen, arrived at Speedwell's Iron Works to reinforce Greene's army. Tate and his men were then attached to Col. William Campbell's corps. This partly compensated for most of Preston's men then leaving at that time. [2294]

7 March. In the early morning, Marion left his bivouac at Cantey's plantation, near Murry's Ferry on the Santee (see also 10 March.) By later the same day, Watson had advanced and then camped there himself remaining till about the 9th or 10th. See 10 March, Mount Hope Swamp and Lower Bridge.[2295]
Henry Nase of the King's American Regt. which was with Watson's column: "March 4th. 1781. March[e]d to Laurens's Mills --
"5th. another of the Same Plantations
"6th. Marchd to the Mount on Schotch lake [Scott's Lake, the site of Fort Watson] 5 Miles from Sumpter[']s house, we serve under the command of Lt. Colo. [John] Watson.
"March 7th. we Marchd. to Littles plantation --
"March 8th. 1781 -- 11 oClock we had a Sckirmish [sic] with Mr. Marion & his Gang of Robbers -- but they were Soon Dispers'd, After which we March'd Peacably to Cantys [Cantey's] Plantation.
"11th. -- Marchd to the Mount & Remain'd the day
"March 15th. 1781 -- [marched] to Camden -- The corps were in Camden as follows 63 Regt.) British &: (K: A Regt. V. of Ireland) Provincial (N.Y. Volunteers)."[2296]

William Dobein James: "On the 9th of March, Col. Watson encamped at Cantey's plantation, and wrote a letter to Gen. Marion, in which he justifies (what the other had complained of by a previous communication,) the burning of houses and the hanging of those citizens who had taken paroles, and afterwards joined the Americans, upon the principles of the laws of war and nations. -- It seems the colonel had reference to the code of barbarous nations. Marion made him no reply, but gave orders to his nightly patroles [sic], to shoot his sentinels and cut off his pickets. Such a retaliation was to be expected; and thus raged the civil warfare."[2297]

7 March. [skirmish] Hampton (Independent City of Hampton, VA.) See SQR pp. 176-178.

[2290] MGC
[2291] HWW p. 105.
[2292] Regarding Scott, see GAR1 pp. 157-158.
[2293] GHA4 p. 52, LFB2 p. 400n.
[2294] MGC.
[2295] MMS2 pp. 224-230, BSF p. 147.
[2296] NDI.
[2297] JFM pp. 41-42.

7 March. George Lord German, from Whitehall, to Clinton: "Since my Letter to you of the 7th Feb'y, I have received your Dispatches, numbered from 113 to 117 inclusive, and laid them before the King. The Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line and Jersey Brigade, though not attended with all the good Consequences that might have been expected, are certainly Events of great Importance and must have very extensive Effects both in reducing Washington's present Force and preventing its being recruited by new Levies; and, as I doubt not, you will avail Yourself of his Weakness and Your own great Superiority to send a considerable Force to the Head of the Chesapeake, as soon as the Season will permit Operations to be carried on in that Quarter. I flatter myself the Southern Provinces will be recovered to His Majesty's Obedience before the long promised Succors (none of which are yet sailed) can arrive from France, and Mr. Washington unable to draw Subsistance for his Troops from the West Side of Hudson River, be compelled to cross it and take Refuge in the Eastern Provinces. I am very anxious to hear of Lord Cornwallis' Progress since General Leslie joined him. I have no doubt his Movements will be rapid and decisive, for His Lordship appears to be fully impressed with the absolute necessity of vigorous Exertions in the Service of this Country in its present Circumstances. The Success of General Arnold's Enterprise up James River, which the Rebel News Papers confirm, must greatly facilitate His Lordship's Operations, by cutting off Greene's Supplies and obliging the Militia to return to take care of their own Property. Indeed, so very contemptible is the Rebel Force now in all Parts, and so vast is our Superiority everywhere, that no resistance on their Part is to be apprehended that can materially obstruct the Progress of the King's Arms in the Speedy Suppression of the Rebellion; and it is a pleasing, tho' at the same time a mortifying, reflection, when the Duration of the Rebellion is considered, which arises from the View of the Return of the Provincial Forces you have transmitted, that the American Levies in the King's Service are more in number than the whole of the Enlisted Troops in the Service of the Congress."[2298]

Germain to Cornwallis on this same date: "I have had the honor to receive and lay before the King your Lordship's Dispatch of the 18th of Dec'r from Wynnesborough, transmitting Copies of your own and Lord Rawdon's Letters to Sir Henry Clinton & Brig'r Gen'l Leslie, and His Majesty observed with Particular Satisfaction that you were in perfect Health when the former were written, and I beg leave to add my own Congratulations upon your Lordship's recovery.
"The reason which you assign for calling Gen'l Leslie from Virginia are founded in Wisdom, and could not fail being approved by the King; and as I have had the pleasure to learn from Col. Balfour that Gen'l Leslie had joined you and you were in motion on the 11th of January, I make no doubt but your Lordship will by this time have had the honor to recover the Province of North Carolina to His Majesty; and am even sanguine enough to hope from your Lordships distinguished Abilities and Zeal for the King's Service that the Recovery of a part of Virginia will crown your Successes before the Season becomes too intemperate for Land Operations, as Sir Henry Clinton has informed me that he has sent a force under Brigadier General Arnold to replace General Leslie's at Portsmouth and co operate with your Lordship."[2299]

7-9 March. Cornwallis, though advised to attack and continue pushing the Americans, while cutting off their supplies and reinforcements coming from the east, decided the next day (the 7th) to withdraw instead towards the "Deep River" (so states Tarleton) to rally the loyalist in that region. This retreat was later severely criticized by some. On the 8th or 9th, he marched southwest to Guilford Court House where on the 8th or 9th he destroyed a cache of arms. Caruthers states that on the 7th and 8th, his lordship's light troops "were quartered on the plantation of William Rankin, a man in good circumstances, a sound Whig, and a member in the Buffalo church."[2300] Lee, with his cavalry, shadowed Cornwallis' movements and reported them to Greene. Greene himself, in the meantime, remained north of the Haw River across from Cornwallis at (or near) High Rock Ford where he awaited the arrival of the reinforcements and supplies; and which reached him on 10 and 11 March. He wrote to Gov. Jefferson from High Rock on the 10th: "The Object of the Enemy in this manoeuvre [at Weitzel's Mill], I suppose, was to intercept our Stores moving in that direction, or to surprise and cut off our Light Infantry from the Main Body of the Army then advanced upwards of 7 Miles. If it was either they were disappointed and they being Sensible of the disappointment have changed their direction, and are now retiring towards Guilford Court House."[2301]
"Scottish Travel Log": [7 Mar.] "Widow Flax's [Flack's] Plantation."

Cornwallis, in his oft quoted letter of March 17th to Germain, wrote: "Our situation for the former few days had been amongst timid friends, and adjoining to inveterate rebels; between them I had been totally destitute of information, which lost me a very favourable opportunity of attacking the rebel army. General Greene fell back to Thompson's House, near Boyd's Ford, on the Reedy River, but his light troops and militia still remained near us, and, as I was informed that they were posted carelessly at separate plantations for the convenience of subsisting, I marched on the 6th to drive them in, and to attack General Greene if an opportunity offered. I succeeded completely in the first, and at Wetzell's Mill, on the Reedy Fork, where they made a stand, the Back-Mountain men and some militia suffered considerably, with little loss on our side; but a timely and precipitate retreat over the Haw prevented the latter. I knew that the Virginia reinforcements were upon their march and it was apparent that the enemy would, if possible, avoid risking an action before their arrival.
"The neighborhood of the fords of the Dan in their rear, and the extreme difficulty of subsisting my troops in that exhausted country, putting it out of my power to force them, my resolution was to give our friends time to

[2298] CNC17 pp. 990-991.
[2299] CNC17 p. 991.
[2300] CLC p. 215, CNS2 pp. 98-99.
[2301] NGP7 pp. 417, 419, STL, TCS pp. 238-239, 266-267, LFB2 p. 400.

join us, by covering their country as effectually as possible consistent with the subsistence of the troops, still approaching the communication with our shipping in Cape Fear River, which I saw it would soon become indispensably necessary to open on account of the sufferings of the army from the want of supplies of every kind; at the same time I was determined to fight the rebel army if it approached me, being convinced that it would be impossible to succeed in that great object of our arduous campaign, the calling forth the numerous Loyalists of North Carolina, whilst a doubt remained on their minds of the superiority of our arms. With these views 1 had moved to the Quaker Meeting, in the forks of Deep River on the 13th and on the 14th..."[2302]

Clinton: "[Cornwallis coming from Alamance Creek], recrossed the Reedy Fork and marched in the southwest direction for twenty-five miles toward Deep River, where he halted for one day. This unfortunately afforded General Greene an opportunity of recrossing the Haw, to meet supplies and new levies which were coming to him from Virginia and Hillsborough -- which being completely effected by the 11th, he was now in a condition to face his Lordship and even bring him to action."[2303]

Caruthers: "While the [British] army was quartered at Rankin's, and in the neighborhood, he [Tarleton] was scouring the country one morning, at the head of his dragoons, for the purpose of getting information of General Greene's movements, and of giving protection to the forage-wagons, when he met old John McClintock on the High Rock road, and near the place where Milton Cunningham now lives. McClintock, then an old grey-headed man, was the maternal grandfather of the present Judge Dick -- to whom I am indebted for the incident-- and lived on the south side of the Reedy Fork, only a mile or two from the place where he met Tarleton. Having learned that the British were on the North Buffalo, five or six miles below, he had gone over the creek to inform his son-in-law, Samuel Thompson...that he might escape, and was now returning home. After asking McClintock a number of questions, such as, where he lived, &c., Tarleton asked him if he had ever seen Lee's troop of cavalry; to which he replied in the negative. 'Well,' said Tarleton, pointing back to his dragoons, 'there they are. This is Colonel Lee's troop.' He next asked him where he was going? To which he replied, in perfect simplicity, and without a thought of being duped, that he had been over the creek to inform his son-in-law, Samuel Thompson, of the enemy's approach, and was now returning. Tarleton then told him to turn about and go along with him; and supposing that he was with Colonel Lee, he promptly obeyed. As they started off together, side by side, Tarleton said to him, 'I presume, sir, you are too old to fight or be on the muster-list, but if the British were to come along, what would you do?' 'Blood!' said the old man, the fire of patriotism kindling in him, and using his common word of affirmation, 'Blood! I would shoot at them as long as I could stand to shoot.' 'You infernal old rebel!' said Tarleton; 'I have a mind to blow out your brains,' at the same time drawing and presenting his pistol. 'We are the British, and I am Colonel Tarleton.' Then, turning his pistol in his hand, he rubbed the butt end of it on his nose, and told him to kiss that, for a d--d old rascal. Such a wanton insult offered to a man of his age and respectability, can excite no other feelings than those of indignation. But this was not all, nor the worst; for, holding his pistol still in the same position, he struck the old man on the head with the butt of it, and knocked him off his horse. Having done so, he told him he might go now, but he must leave his horse, which was a very valuable one; and then leaving him to die, or get home in the best way he could, he went on his way. As the troop rode by, he saw his son-in-law, Thompson, among them; for they had either come by his house or met him on the road, and taken him prisoner."[2304]

8 March. Arnold, at Portsmouth, to Clinton: "On the 6th I received information that Lord Cornwallis had not penetrated further than the Dan or Roanoke river, and that, in consequence of the misinformation (sent to the rebel army, by express, as mentioned in my last) being contradicted, their [the rebel's] detachment had returned to their army at Suffolk, as well as Mr. [Isaac] Gregory, to the north-west bridge -- Their force at the former place three thousand, at the latter five hundred. On this change of affairs the troops under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Dundas [who was with Arnold's invasion force] , who were designed up the James river, were countermanded.
"The enemy within two days have moved with their force, said to be upwards of three thousand men to Pricket mills, twelve miles from this place, and threaten an attack upon us. I have every reason to believe they have collected their force to co-operate with the French ships and troops, which they hourly expect from Rhode Island."[2305]

8 March. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell was eight miles west of Hillsborough on his way to join Greene.[2306]

8 March. Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, who was not far distant from Brig. Gen. John Butler (and who Lawson, within a short time, joined) reported being at Faucett's Mill, N.C. with 1,200 Virginia militia. Among Lawson's troops was a battalion of Virginia riflemen under Col. Charles Lynch.
Maj. Gen. Caswell's health at this time had become bad and this prevented him from continuing with Butler. He hoped to follow later with a detachment of New Bern militia that was supposed be on the march as well, but these evidently remained in the eastern half of the state, as did Caswell himself.[2307]

[2302] TCS pp. 266-267.
[2303] CAR p. 265.
[2304] CNS2 pp. 99-100.
[2305] COC pp. 71-72.
[2306] NGP7 p. 411.
[2307] NGP7 p. 411, LMS p. 269.

8 March. Col. Thomas Polk, at Salisbury, wrote to Greene: "Gen. Sumter is now raising five regiments to be completed by March 16, two of which numbering 125 men each, 'will nearly be completed out of this County [Rowan.]"[2308] Polk was father of Col. William Polk, who became one of Sumter's regimental commanders.

8 March. At this time, Greene's army was half a mile from the Haw River, on the road from Guilford Court House to the Iron works on Troublesome Creek.[2309]
Gordon: "While Greene was really unequal to even defensive operations, and waited to have his army strengthened he lay for seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis' camp: but he took a new position every night; and kept it a profound secret with himself where the next was to be; so that his lordship could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to avail himself of it."[2310]

8 March. A French flotilla of 7 ships of the line and 3 frigates at Newport, Rhode Island under Admiral Charles Chevalier Destouches (also "d'Estouches")[2311] -- with 1,110 chausseurs and grenadiers under Maj. Gen. Antoine-Charles du Houx, Baron de Viomenil on board -- was sent by Washington and Rochambeau to Virginia.[2312] About 36 hours later, Vice Admiral Arbuthnot left his base in Gardiner's Bay, Long Island and reached the Chesapeake before Destouches arrived. See the First Battle of the Capes, 16 March.[2313]

8 March. Pickens and Maj. James Jackson formally received leave from Greene to go back to South Carolina. They and their some 30 (by this time ragged) men reached the Catawba on March 20th.[2314]

8 March. Lafayette's troops, on their way to Virginia to join von Steuben and act against Arnold, left Head of Elk and were conveyed by water to Annapolis; with the anticipation of later being met there by French transports of Destouches and to be reinforcd with 1,100 French carried by the same. This junction with he French, however, was not to be realized due the victory by the British at the First Battle of the Cape, see 16 March. Lafayette himself alone with some staff, meanwhile, went ahead on his men seeking to meet personally with von Steuben in Virginia (see 15 March.)[2315]

8 March. Cornwallis camped at Duffield's.[2316]

8-9 March. [siege] PENSACOLA (Escambia County, FLA.) General Bernardo de Galvez[2317] landed some 3,000 Spanish Troops[2318] at Pensacola in west Florida and began siege of the 900 to 1,100 man British garrison there, under Brig. Gen. John Campbell. The latter included detachments of the Royal artillery, the 60th Regt. and the 16th Regt. The 16th had previously been stationed in Savannah. Despite being outnumbered two to one, the town would not fall till May 9th, and then only after a deserter had exploded a key ammunition magazine within the post.[2319]

9 March. [skirmish] Second Heron's Bridge, also Big Bridge (Pender County, N.C.) Lillington, entrenched on the east side of the Northeast Cape Fear River skirmished Craig at Heron's Bridge (a drawbridge) , who made a surprise foray out of Wilmington. The Americans had one killed and two wounded, according to Lillington; though British losses were unknown to him. Lilington subsequently set up camp at Rutherford's Mill, not far from Burgaw, N.C., on 9 April. [2320]

9 March. Major Ichabod Burnet acting on behalf of Greene sent orders to Gen. Caswell to have 70 men assigned to assist Col. Thomas Wade who with some North Carolina was collecting supplies and overseeing a provisions depot for the army at Haley's Ferry on the Peedee River (which directive Caswell subsequently complied with, see 18 March.) On the 3rd, Wade's men (Wade himself remained at Haley's Ferry) had delivered a drove of cattle and hogs intended for Greene's army, that were handed over to Butler, at Granville Court House; after which the former returned to the Peedee.[2321]

9 March. Col. Samuel McDowell, at Pittsylvania Court House, VA., wrote Greene saying that he and 150 militia from Rockbridge County were on the way to join the army. He also reported as having with him five wagons and provisions for several days. Requesting of Greene a guide to lead him to the army, McDowell arrived in time to take part in the battle at Guilford Court House.[2322]

[2308] NGP7 p. 413. See 7 April.
[2309] NGP7 p. 410, LMS p. 269.
[2310] GHA4 pp. 52-53.
[2311] Charles-Rene'-Dominiue Gochet, Chevalier Destouches. He was succeeded in May 1781 by Admiral de Barras. BEA p. 329.
[2312] The French fleet originally was to have left on the 7th, but lack of necessary supplies delayed its embarkation.
[2313] GHA4 pp. 60-61, MLW4A pp. 418-422, LMS p. 307, JLG2 pp. 47-48, CGP p. liv.
[2314] NGP7 p. 410, JLG1 pp. 469-470, MSC2 pp. 125-126.
[2315] MLW4A pp. 423-424, JLG2 pp. 47-51.
[2316] LOB part IV, STL.
[2317] And for whom, incidentally, the city of Galveston, Texas is named.
[2318] Galvez began with about 1,400, and then was reinforced with another 1,600.
[2319] ATR81b pp. 168-172, 250-252, 277-282, AR81 pp. 24-25, 98-100, SAW2 p. 290-293, GHA4 pp. 129-131, LMS pp. 161-162 , FWI pp. 208-209, BEA pp. 853-854.
[2320] NGP7 p. 457. DRO pp. 154-158, 157, 182. A previous action had been fought at Heron's Bridge on 30 January.
[2321] NGP7 pp. 387, 414.
[2322] NGP7 p. 417.

9-10 March. Cornwallis' army had moved in a southwest direction (from Alamance) to Bell's Mill or at least that vicinity -- and camped at Gorrel's Plantation about eight miles west of Guilford; though Cornwallis himself stayed at McCuistan's not far distant.[2323]
Cornwallis: "The neighbourhood of the fords of the Dan in their rear, and the extreme difficulty of subsisting my troops in that exhausted country putting it out of my power to force them [i.e. following Weitzel's Mill], my resolution was to give our friends time to join us, by covering their country as effectually as possible, consistent with the subsistence of the troops, still approaching the communication with our shipping in Cape-Fear river, which I saw it would soon become indispensably necessary to open, on account of the sufferings of the army from the want of supplies of every kind; and at the same time I was determined to fight the rebel army, if it approached me, being convinced that it would be impossible to succeed in that great object of our arduous campaign, the calling forth the numerous loyalists of North Carolina, whilst a doubt remained on their minds of the superiority of our arms. With these views, I had moved to the Quakers' meeting, in the forks of Deep river, on the 13th, and on the 14th I received the information which occasioned the movement that brought on the action at Guildford, of which I shall give your lordship an account in a separate letter."[2324]

Lossing: "As soon as Greene heard of the approach of Cornwallis, he fell back across the head waters of the Haw with the main army, determined not to risk an engagement until the arrival of re-enforcements, now fast approaching. In the mean while he changed his position daily, and Cornwallis, who, unwilling to wear down his army by useless attempts to strike the Americans in detail had retired slowly to Bell's Mills on the Deep River, about thirteen miles below the present Jamestown (N.C.),[2325] would gain no positive information concerning him. [Lossing continues in a footnote] Cornwallis first encamped, in this retrograde march, on the plantation of William Rankin, a Whig, and then proceeded to the plantation of Ralph Gorrel, another wealthy patriot. The family were turned out of doors, and sought shelter at a neighbor's house. The soldiers plundered and destroyed until the place was made a desolation.[2326] On Sunday, the eleventh of March, the royal army proceeded to the plantation of Reverend Dr. Caldwell, one of the most ardent Whigs in North Carolina from the time of the Regulator movement. The doctor was then in Greene's camp, at the iron-works on Troublesome Creek. His family left the house, and retired to the smoke-house, where they remained twenty-four hours without food or a bed, exposed to the abuse and profane language of the soldiery. Cornwallis occupied the home of Mr. M'Cuistin, on the great road from the Court House to Fayetteville [Cross Creek.] Everything but the buildings were destroyed ion the plantation of Dr. Caldwell...All was made desolation. Cornwallis had offered a reward of one thousand dollars to anyone who should bring Dr. Caldwell into his camp. Dr. Caruthers, in his *Life of Caldwell* [pp. 218-224], gives many painful descriptions of the sufferings of this good man and his faithful Rachel..."[2327]

Foote: "[After Weitzel's Mill] Cornwallis removed his army into the hands of Buffalo congregation, and encamped on the plantation of William Rankin. Remaining there till all the provisions on the plantation and in the neighborhood were consumed, and the plunder secured, the army was marched into the Alamance congregation, and encamped on the plantation of Ralph Gorrel, Esq., who like Mr. Rankin, was a man of influence and wealth, and a true whig…family turned out and left a scene of desolation after two days. The army was marched on the Sabbath, March 11 to Dr. Caldwell's, where the Dr. was ill and the family separated from the main house. The headquarters of his lordship was at Mr. McCuistin's on the great road from the court house to Fayetteville [Cross Creek], but the army was mainly camped at Caldwell's plantation.
"'Mr. Caruthers says -- 'every panel of fence on the premises was burned; every particle of provisions consumed or carried away; every living thing was destroyed except one old goose; and nearly every square rod of ground was penetrated with their iron ramrods, in search of hidden treasure.'
"Before leaving the place, the library and papers of Dr. Caldwell were destroyed by fire. This was done by command of the officers. The large oven in the yard was used for the purpose…the Dr. was at this time in the camp of Greene, which on Monday, the 12th, was about five miles from High Rock; on Tuesday, eight miles farther, on Ready Fork, and on Wednesday at the Court House."[2328]

9-10 March. Greene had Williams' light contingent return and join the main army at High Rock Ford, on the north side of the Haw River, while retaining separately in the field Lee (with Col. William Campbell attached) and Col. Washington (with Kirkwood attached) as two corps of observation. At this point then, Williams ligh corps was formally disbanded. Greene wrote to Lee on this date: "The light infantry is dissolved...Col. Williams will join the line. And I propose in lieu of the light infantry two parties of observation, one to be commanded by you and the other to be command by Lieut. Col. Washington. It is my intention to give Col. Washington about 70 or 80 Infantry and between three and four hundred riflemen to act with him. Col. Cambell [William Campbell] I mean shall join you with about the same number of rifflemen [sic], and you and Col. Washington either separately or conjunctively as you may agree, to give the enemy all the annoyance in your power, and each to report to Head

[2323] LOB part IV, STL, NGP7 p. 417, CLC pp. 218-224, TCS p. 240, LMS pp. 268-269.
[2324] To Germain, 17 March 1781, TCS p. 267.
[2325] "Jamestown, [was] an old village situated upon the high southwestern bank of the Deep River, nine miles from New Garden meeting-house, and thirteen miles above Bell's Mills, where Cornwallis had his encampment before the Guilford battle." LFB2 p. 408.
[2326] No mention is made in the "Leslie" Orderly Book of what is described in Lossing; nor does it contain at this juncture in the entries the usual admonition from Cornwallis against plundering.
[2327] LFB2 p. 400.
[2328] FSN pp. 273-274. Foote is drawing his information from Caruthers' *Life of Caldwell*, but his own presentation is useful here for its brevity. However, for the original and more thorough account, see CLC pp. 218-224.

Quarters. Campbell will have orders to join you in the morning." Campbell left Greene and joined Lee on the 10th, with 300-400 riflemen.[2329]
Kirkwood: "March 10. This Day my Company & One from Virginia were ordered to remain with Col. Washington to Act as a Legion."[2330]

9-10 March. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara Congregation): "The soldiers [some of Colonel [William] Preston's and [William] Campbell's troops, see minutes for March 8] left this morning, there places being taken in the afternoon by many of General Pickens' men, and in the evening he arrived with the rest of his troops. This made much disturbance in the town, for though their camp was outside they had to be supplied with corn, bread, and meat. The General and some others spent the night in the tavern. Many of Colonel Preston's men were here also…"
"March 10. The above-mentioned guests remained until noon. Last night they broke into the spring-house; and they took all the eggs, even from geese that were setting. We were glad that no more damage was done by these people, who have been robbing and plundering wherever they go. Several Brethren went from here to the election of new members of the Assembly. Colonel [William] Preston and Colonel [Hugh] Crocket[t] arrived and spent the night. The fire from General Pickens' camp, between Rank's and the lower meadow, broke out, and before it could be extinguished a hundred rails were burned. The fence was probably set on fire, for it was discovered after they left."[2331]

10 March (also possibly 9 March).[2332] [skirmishes] Mount Hope Swamp and Lower Bridge (Williamsburg County, S.C.) Marion, in the face of Watson's advance (see Widboo Swamp, 6 March), had retired down the Santee Road from Cantey's and deployed his men at Mount Hope Swamp, and where he destroyed the bridge over the stream there. On the 9th or 10th, Watson pursued him and Marion's riflemen under Lieut. Col. Hugh Horry and Capt. William McCottry attempted to dispute his passage where the bridge had been. But Watson cleared the way with grapeshot from his cannon and had his men wade through the stream. Marion then withdrew in the direction of Georgetown expecting Watson to follow. The latter, however, went only a short distance and then turned and headed in the direction of Kingstree, one of the main focal points of rebel activity in the region. Desiring to cut him off in this, Marion sent ahead Major John James with 70 men, including 30 of McCottry's riflemen, to seize Lower Bridge at the Black River on the road leading to Kingstree. James, taking a short cut, reached the bridge before Watson, and removing some planks from the bridge, set his men in position. Marion, meanwhile, also came up with the main body prior to Watson's arrival. When Watson did approach he attempted to bring his cannon to bear on Marion's men, but due to enemy sharpshooters and the unusual terrain there he was unable to do so, and lost some men in the process. Watson then tried crossing at a ford not far distant. Yet when he reached that spot he was again kept back by the riflemen. By the end of the day, he retreated to the Witherspoon residence where he camped.
The next day (probably the 11th), Marion's men under Captains Daniel Conyers and McCottry sniped at the British at Witherspoon's from a concealed positions. Watson then removed his force that same day to Blakely's Plantation. Although not having as much trees and foliage as there was around Witherspoon's to conceal the marksmen, Marion's sharpshooters followed him there and continued their sniping. Despite his casualties and trying circumstances, Watson remained at Blakely's till the 28th.[2333]

10 March. Malmedy on this date was at "Haw Creek" (probably south west of Hillsborough and on the south of the Haw River) with 700 N.C. militia, 60 of these being his original corps of mounted men. Also included in the 700 (and separate from the 60 mounted men) were 40 cavalry under Capt. Marquis de Bretigney; though few of Bretigney's men were actually armed with sabers and acted instead as an independent patrol or scouting force. Malmedy was short of ammunition and which he requested of Greene. Within a few days, this was sent, along with instructions from Greene, to occupy the Rocky River area and prevent loyalists from sending provisions to Cornwallis up river. He also ordered Malmedy to transfer American supplies from Ramsey's Mill to the east side of the Cape Fear River. Bretigney soon after was evidently detached from Malmedy and joined Greene's army on the 12th.[2334]

10 March. Lee, in Guilford County, reported to Greene Cornwallis' army being camped at "Ralph Gorrells," and that loyalists along the road to Cross Creek (from Guilford) were collecting provisions for the British army.[2335]

11 March. Lee wrote to Greene: "I informed you by a verbal message of the enemys alteration of their route yesterday.[2336] [Cornwallis'] Headquarters is in two miles ½ of Guilford Courthouse, & one mile ½ from Dillon[']s Mill. I cannot account for this mysterious conduct in his Lordship. Inhabitants as well as their own army were

[2329] NGP7 pp. 415, 421, TCS p. 240, JLG1 pp. 472-473, GHA4 p. 53.
[2330] KJO p. 14.
[2331] FRM p. 1747.
[2332] The date is not quite clear on the actions of Mount Hope and Lower Bridge, and that given here was arrived at based on readings of William Dobein James' and Bass' narratives. It is possible these skirmishes actually occurred on two separate, consecutive days.
[2333] MMS2 pp. 224-230, JFM pp. 41-42, MSC2 p. 756, BSF pp. 148-149, RBG p. 150. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/blakely.htm
[2334] NGP7 p. 421.
[2335] NGP7 p. 424.
[2336] The editor of the Greene Papers states: "After moving toward the main road to Cross Creek, Cornwallis had marched his army west then north to the site that Lee reported in this letter." NGP7 p. 428n.

convinced that they intended to pursue the direct route to Cross Creek or Bell[']s Mill…it is exceedingly difficult to subsist troops near the enemy, such has been the devastation of their march."[2337]

11 March. Both Brig. Gen. John Butler and Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton, the two now commanding the North Carolina militia, joined Greene on this day at High Rock Ford, as did also Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell with 400 Virginia Continentals the same day (or possibly a day later.) Lawson's Virginia militia who were with Butler arrived at this time also.[2338]
Greene writing to Joseph on March 18th: "On the 11th of this month I formed a junction at the High Rock Ford with a considerable body of Virginia and North Carolina Militia, and with a Virginia Regiment of 18 Months Men."[2339]

11 March. Malmedy wrote to Greene, from Woody's Ferry[2340] on the Haw River, saying he was passing over the Haw by boat that night and maneuvering toward Cornwallis' lines. Some 600 loyalists were said to be collecting and plundering near Ramsey's Mill and where the North Carolina militia was having difficulty containing them. Malmedy also reported having a large stock of food stores at Ramsey's Mill removed to a safer location.[2341]

11 March. Cornwallis camped at Dillon's Mill about six miles south-southwest of Guilford; while the "Scottish Travel Log" entry for this date has "McQuiston's [McCuiston's] Plantation."[2342]

11 March. [raid] Great Bridge (Independent City of Chesapeake, VA.) See SQR pp. 182-183.

12 March. Cornwallis camped at McCuiston's, some three and a half miles south of Guilford. He departed there at 5 am on the 13th. [2343]

12 March. Capt. Henry Broderick and Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, on behalf of Cornwallis and Greene respectively, met to discuss terms for the exchange of prisoners. A point regarding private paroles, however, arose which Broderick was not empowered to negotiate. The two officers then arranged for a later meeting at which that question could be properly discussed. Articles of cartel where formed on May 3rd by Carrington and Capt. Fredrick Cornwallis (Broderick's substitute), and the agreement finally signed on June 22nd, by Maj. Edmund Hyrne, representing Greene, and James Frazer, representing Cornwallis.[2344]

12 March. Capt. Marquis de Bretigney, commanding a detachment of 40 mounted N.C. militia and having earlier been with Malmedy's force, joined Greene's camp at High Rock Ford.

12 March. [skirmish] South Buffalo Creek (Guilford County, N.C.) Early in the morning of the 12th, Lee had a brief skirmish with some of Tarleton's men in the area to the west of Guilford. Lee, with William Campbell's riflemen, retreated to "Widow Donnell's" (about twelve and a half miles west of Guilford) to protect his communications with Greene. No losses were reported by Lee in his letter to Greene.[2345]

13 March. A field return of Greene's army at High Rock Ford of this date gives his strength at 4,943.[2346]
With respect to his militia, William Johnson states: "A large portion of the volunteers under Stevens, continued faithful to their engagement; but the whole number of militia who accompanied the army to Guilford, including those from both states, only amounted to two thousand seven hundred and fifty three -- of which Virginia furnished sixteen hundred and ninety three -- and North Carolina one thousand and sixty."[2347]

13 March. Cornwallis marched to New Garden (Quaker) Meeting House, six miles southwest of Guilford Court House.[2348] Lee states that on the night of Cornwallis' moving to the meeting house, he had tried to intercept Cornwallis' baggage; which had gotten lost on its way to the main army, but after much groping in the darkness failed in the attempt. The incident is recounted at some length in Lee's memoirs. Lee then reunited wih Campbelll and by the 14th had repaired, as ordered, to Greene's camp which Lee found at Guilford.[2349]
"Scottish Travel Log": [13 Mar.] "Deep River Quaker Meeting House"; [14 Mar.] "Halt."

[2337] NGP7 pp. 427-428.
[2338] NGP7 pp. 319, 395. 421, 450, GHA4 p. 53, LMS p. 269, JLG1 p. 472, BRG pp. 368-369.
[2339] NGP VII p. 125.
[2340] Woody's Ferry lay on the present day Alamance and Orange County border, just east of Eli Whitney, N.C.
[2341] NGP7 p. 428.
[2342] LOB part IV, STL.
[2343] LOB part IV.
[2344] NGP8 pp. 102, 221, GDH2 pp. 122-123, LMS pp. 290-291, JLG1 pp. 470-471.
[2345] NGP7 p. 428, CNC15 pp. 451-452, BLO p. 50.
[2346] NGP7 p. 453, MLW4A pp. 364-365.
[2347] JLG1 p. 471.
[2348] Tarleton says Cornwallis encamped at the New Garden Meeting House on the 13th, while the entry writer of the "Leslie" Orderly Book does not state the army's location on the 12th and 13th. It may be that Cornwallis moved there on the 12th, and that the skirmish mentioned for 12 March is the same or connected with the foray against Cornwallis' baggage described by Lee. This, however, is only speculation. If we assume the chronology given by Lee's letter, his memoirs, and Tarleton's date, Lee must have moved from Donnell's toward Cornwallis' supply line on the 13th.
[2349] STL, TCS p. 239, GHA4 pp. 53-54, LMS pp. 270-272, 272n.

14 March. Having called in all his detachments on the 13th, Greene moved his army from High Rock Ford to Guilford Court House on the evening of the 14th. The area had been largely depleted due to the ravaging of the armies; nor was it a notably fruitful region to begin with. He wrote to Col. James Read directing him to collect as many cattle as he could and send 100 head to the army. Read, a Continental officer, at the time led a volunteer corps of 250 N.C. militiamen from Halifax.[2350]

14 March. Cornwallis camped near Mendelhall's Mills, located presumably near or not far from the New Garden Meeting House.[2351]

15 March. [raid] Fanning's Horses (Randolph County, N.C.) A Capt. Duck, with some N.C. militia surprised Capt. David Fanning's tories and stole their horses. Both sides lost 1 killed, with an unspecified number of wounded. The following day, Fanning with his men managed to locate and recapture the horses while wounding one of the whigs.[2352]
David Fanning: "We then mounted ourselves, and turning the other horses into the woods, we returned back to Deep River. We kept concealed in the woods and collected 25 men, having scouts out continually until we proceded [sic] to Dixon's Mill, Cane Creek, where Cornwallis was there encamped. On our arrival there his Lordship met us, and asked me several questions respecting the situation of the country, and disposition of the people. I gave him all the information in my power, and leaving the company with his Lordship, I returned back to Deep river in order for to conduct more men to the protection of the British arms."[2353]

15 March. Having had left his army in Annapolis, Lafayette, with a small escort, met with von Steuben, who was at Williamsburg with a small militia force. The latter had endeavored to contain Arnold who had remained ensconced in Portsmouth at this time apprehensive of a possible attack. It was anticipated at this time that 1,100 French would be disembarked by Destouches at Annapolis (where Lafayette's troops currently lay) to assist the Marquis; yet this reinforcement's arrival was thwarted in consequence of the First Battle of the Capes, 16 March.

15 March. [skirmish] Road from New Garden Meeting House (Guilford County, N.C.) Sometime after two in the morning on the 15th, Cornwallis sent off his baggage under the escort of Lieut. Col. John Hamilton's Royal North Carolina Regiment, 20 dragoons, and presumably Bryan's N.C. Volunteers as well, to Bell's Mill, "[located] considerably lower down on the Deep-River [from where Cornwallis was],"[2354] and marched with his army to attack Greene at Guilford Court House. About 9 am, and probably around six to eight miles down the road from the New Garden Meeting House (the latter located some twelve miles to the southwest of Guilford Court House), some cavalry of his advanced troops under Tarleton were ambushed by a detachment of Lee's cavalry scouting their movements. The British were forced to retreat. "The whole of the enemy's section was dismounted, and many of the horses prostrated;" says Lee, "and some of the dragoons killed, the rest made prisoners: not a single American soldier or horse injured."
Tarleton then took a separate route forward, and Lee, with his infantry and Campbell's riflemen, as well as his own cavalry, moved to cut him off where it was expected the British would next appear. A short time after, an animated and lively encounter took place at this location (probably 10 am) between Lee and Tarleton's forces, the latter being made up of the British Legion cavalry, the Hessian Jägers, and the Guards Light Infantry. Both sides acquitted themselves with valor, but Lee fell back when he saw the Cornwallis' column with the Guards approaching. The American loss was not inconsiderable and fell heavily among Campbell's Augusta and Rockbridge County riflemen, and who became much scattered as well. Tarleton admits of at least 20 to 30 killed and wounded. It was in this latter action that Tarleton lost two fingers due to rifle or musket fire.[2355]
Tarleton: "The British had proceeded seven miles on the great Salisbury road to Guildford, when the light troops drove in a picket of the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued between the advanced parties of the two armies. In the onset, the fire of the Americans was heavy, and the charge of their cavalry was spirited: Notwithstanding their numbers and opposition, the gallantry of the light infantry of the guards, assisted by the legion, made impression upon their center, before the 23d regiment arrived to give support to the advanced troops. Colonel Lee's dragoons retreated with precipitation along the main road, and Colonel [William] Campbell's mountaineers were dispersed with considerable loss. The pursuit was not pushed very far, as there were many proofs beside the acknowledgment of the prisoners, that General Greene was at hand. Captain [John] Goodrick of the guards, a promising young officer, fell in this contest, and between twenty and thirty of the guards, dragoons, and yagers, were killed and wounded. The King's troops moved on till they arrived in sight of the American army. An engagement was now become inevitable, and both sides prepared for it with tranquillity [sic] and order."[2356]

Lee: "Tarleton retired with celerity; and getting out of the lane, took an obscure way leading directly across the Salisbury road towards the British camp- while Lee, well acquainted with the country, followed the common route by the Quaker meeting-house, with a view to sever the British lieutenant colonel from his army, by holding

[2350] See Seymour's "Journal," Guilford Dudley's pension application found in DRR, DSK, and NGP7 p. 431. Read himself however was from Wilmington. SNC pp. 298-299.
[2351] LOB part IV.
[2352] FNA p. 14.
[2353] FNA pp. 14-15.
[2354] AR81 p. 65.
[2355] LOB part IV, AR81 p. 65, TCS pp. 271-272, GHA4 pp. 54-55, SAW2 p. 337, MLW4A pp. 368-369, LMS pp. 272-275, JLG2 p. 4, LCC p. 169, CNS2 pp. 101-103, MGC, TPY p. 176, HWW p. 106, BLO pp. 52-56.
[2356] TCS pp. 271-272.

him well upon his left, and with the determination to gain his front, and then to press directly upon him with his condensed force; and thus place his horse between Tarleton and Cornwallis, presumed to be some distance behind; By endeavoring to take the whole detachment, he permitted the whole to escape; whereas, had he continued to press on the rear, he must have taken many. As Lee, with his column in full speed, got up to the meeting house, the British guards had just reached it; and displaying in a moment, gave the American cavalry a close and general fire. The sun had just risen above the trees, and shining bright, the refulgence from the British muskets, as the soldiers presented, frightened Lee's horse so as to compel him to throw himself off. Instantly remounting another, he ordered a retreat. This maneuver was speedily executed; and while the cavalry were retiring, the legion infantry came running up with trailed arms, and opened a well aimed fire upon the guards, which was followed in a few minutes by a volley from the riflemen under colonel [William] Campbell, who had taken post on the left of the infantry. The action became very sharp, and was bravely maintained on both sides. The cavalry having formed again in column, and Lee being convinced, from the appearance of the guards, that Cornwallis was not far in the rear, drew of this infantry; and covering them from any attempt of the British horse, retired towards the American army. General Greene, being immediately advised of what had passed, prepared for battle…"[2357]

15 March. [battle] GUILFORD COURT HOUSE (Guilford County, N.C.) While Lee was skirmishing with Tarleton forward of his position up the main road (during weather which tended to be somewhat rainy), Greene at Guilford Court House arranged his army in three lines, and in a manner purposely reminiscent of Morgan's deployment at Cowpens. The first line, situated as to face the initial British advance, was made up with North Carolina militia, flanked on their right by Lynch's Virginia and North Carolina riflemen, Washington's cavalry, and Kirkwood's Delaware company. In the center was placed two six pounders under Capt. Anthony Singleton. The left would be soon after occupied by Lee's Legion and what remained of Campbell's riflemen (i.e. minus the losses they had taken on the New Garden Road.) Greene's second line, 300 yards behind (or east of) the first, consisted of the Virginia militia of Stevens, on the right (or northern flank), and that of Lawson on the left. Stevens, incidentally, following Morgan's advice, placed marksmen in the rear of his line with orders to shoot any of his men that fled.[2358] The third line situated on an elevation in front of Guilford Court House itself, and 500 yards behind (or east of) the second line, was made up of the Maryland and Virginia regiments, and a second battery of two six pounders under Capt. Finley.

After having made his approach, Cornwallis formed his army up from column into line with what was remarked as intimidating martial precision. Deployed on his right was Leslie's division, while Webster was placed left. O'Hara with Guards initially was formed as reserve in the center, but as the battle progressed, he soon joined his forces with Webster's.[2359]

The following will otherwise suffice as a brief description of this decisive battle, which took place in the course of upwards of two or else two and a half hours (William Campbell in a letter to a friend believes it may have been even longer in duration.[2360]) About noon, after a cannonade which lasted some twenty minutes to half an hour,[2361] Cornwallis advanced to attack the North Carolina militia, many of whom, though by no means all, took to their heels without having even fired. Even so, the British did not go unscathed and suffered some losses -- indeed more than once in the course of the action they were repulsed and compelled to reform their attack. Some of Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton's North Carolina men were among those who did not run, and managed temporarily to hold their ground with Col. William Campbell's riflemen.[2362] While Leslie, veering to his right, was occupied with Lee and Campbell, Cornwallis then came up on Greene's second line. Here he encountered some earnest resistance from Stevens' Virginians; though according to Davie, Lawson's Virginians did not remain long. Although Stevens as well (due in part possibly to his being taken in the rear by a flanking movement of some unidentified British unit)[2363] was finally forced to retire, Cornwallis suffered not inconsiderably attempting to dislodge him. In attacking the third line, a somewhat similar situation took place. The 1st Maryland Regt. contested their ground with a raging fury against the redoubtable Guards, in a struggle which included the very unusual sight of sword-to-sword and bayonet-to-bayonet fighting in open battle. The 2nd Maryland, however, made up mostly of new soldiers, retreated from the fray; thus obliging the 1st to do the same. The Virginia Continentals under Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes also fell back, while Greene directed those of Lieut. Col. John Green to the rear in order to protect the army's retreat. At one point, Washington's cavalry came up and threw

[2357] LMS pp. 274-275.
[2358] LCC pp. 182-183.
[2359] Tarleton: "Brigadier-general O'Hara was instructed to support Colonel Webster, with the 2d battalion and the grenadier company of the guards. Whilst these troops were forming, the yagers and the light infantry of the guards remained near the guns in the road; but when the line moved on, they attached themselves to the left of Webster's brigade." TCS pp. 272-273.
[2360] GDH 3 pp. 139-140, TCS p. 276.
[2361] WDC p. 412. Cornwallis, however, reported the engagement as lasting "an hour and a half." TCS p. 307.
[2362] Foote: "Some in the first line at Guilford were N.C. marksmen, called the Irish line, from Alamance, company of volunteers under Capt. John Forbes [also given elsewhere as Forbis]. Forbes received a mortal wound in the retreat, and was one of those left wounded on the field, and only later brought to a house where he died." FSN pp. 276, 279. Caruthers: [speaking at length in defense of the performance of the N.C. militia at Guilford remarks] "Col. McLeod, who made the official return of the British army, reported that they 'got one thousand three hundred stands of arms which had been distributed to the militia, and destroyed on the field.' Destroyed? how? when? by whom? If these guns all belonged to the militia, and were destroyed by the British after the battle, many of them must have belonged to other militia than those of North Carolina; for one thousand three hundred was two hundred and forty more than all the militia from this State [N.C.], and we know a large portion of them kept their guns. At that time, when game was plenty, every man who was of any account, would have a rifle if he had to go in debt for it; and his rifle was about the last thing he would think of throwing away." CNS2 p. 148. See also Schenk's at length treatment and defense of the conduct of the North Carolina troops SNC pp. 335-358.
[2363] LCC p. 172, CSS p. 1167.

the Guards into disarray. Cornwallis at this critical juncture, in order to deny the Americans their new found momentum, reportedly fired his artillery into the intermixed cavalry and guards.[2364] This dispersed the Continentals, but also inflicted losses on some of his own men. The Americans by this time now largely disorganized, Greene ordered a retreat. At the end there was some brief fighting[2365] between some of Campbell's militia and Lee's Legion against Tarleton's troops and the Von Bose Regt., in which the latter were victorious due to lack of cooperation between Lee and Campbell; the reason for this absence of coordination being a point for some debate, as say between William Johnson and Henry Lee IV, not to mention, presumably Cambell and Lee themselves.
Fortescue observes: "Never perhaps has the prowess of the British soldier been seen to greater advantage than in this obstinate and bloody combat." Yet while Cornwallis had emerged victorious, driving the Americans from the field and capturing all their cannon, his casualties were such that, ironically, the action lost him the campaign in North Carolina, and, as many have contended, in the end paved the way to his defeat at Yorktown.[2366]

Otho Williams, at "Camp at Speedwell's furnace," to his brother 16 March: "The Southern army has once more come off second best in a general action. Gen. Greene being reinforced with a few small detachments of new levies, which gave the regular battalion a respectable appearance, and a sufficient number of militia to make his force apparently superior to the British army, made the best possible arrangement of his troops, and for many reasons which rendered it almost absolutely necessary, came to a resolution of attacking Lord Cornwallis the first opportunity. When both parties are disposed for action all obstacles are soon overcome. The two armies met at Guilford Court House yesterday at 12 o'clock. Our army was well posted; the action was commenced by the advanced parties of infantry and cavalry, in which our troops were successful, but the situation of the ground not being favorable in our front, our army kept its position and waited the attack of the British. They were opposed wherever they appeared. The militia of North Carolina behaved as usual, but those of Virginia distinguished themselves by uncommon bravery. The regular troops were the last that had come to action and generally behaved well, but as these were the most inconsiderable in number, the general chose rather to retire than risk a defeat. The retreat was made in tolerable good order, and so stern was the appearance of our regular force, that the enemy did not think proper to press our rear, nor continue the pursuit more than three miles. Our greatest loss is four pieces of artillery and the field."[2367]

BRITISH FORCES AT GUILFORD COURT HOUSE
Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis
Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, second in command
Brig. Gen. Howard, serving as a volunteer

* *Leslie's Division* (right wing)
1st Bttn., Guards, Lieut. Col. Chapel Norton
Thomas Baker gives the 1st Bttn., Guards rank and file strength as 200, Lumpkin as 241.[2368]
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt., Capt. Robert Hutcheson, Ensign Edward Fraser.[2369]
Regiment von Bose, Lieut. Col. Johann Christian de Puis

Baker gives the combined rank and file strength of the 2/71st Regt. and von Bose as 565 officers and men, Lumpkin gives the 2/71st strength as 530, and von Bose's as 313.

* *Webster's Division* (left wing)
23rd Regt., Lieut. Col. James Webster
33rd Regt. " " " "

Baker has a combined total for 23rd and 33rd at 472 rank and file. Lumpkin gives the 23rd at 258 and the 33rd at 322.[2370]

Light Infantry Company (Guards): 50, Capt. William Maynard
German Jaeger company, Capt. Friedrich Wilhem von Roeder[2371]

[2364] Babits, however, in his recently published (2009) *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* disputes this long accepted interpretation and version of Cornwallis' use of his artillery at Guilford; since the story is based on Lee's account of the battle and who was not in the immediate vicinity at the time the alleged event took place.
[2365] TCS pp. 275-276.
[2366] KJO p. 14, LOB Part IV, NGP7 pp. 433-441, 444n, 453n, 455, RCO pp. 177-178, ATR81a pp. 331-332, AR81 pp. 65-70, TCS pp. 271-278, GHA4 pp. 53-57, SAW2 pp. 337-348, MLW4A pp. 364-379, MLW3 pp. 118-122, (again and as with the Race to the Dan, Marshall's account of the battle would seem to some extent to have drawn from Otho Williams [and William Washington also], and whom he may actually be quoting directly), LMS pp. 275-286, DRS pp. 31-32, JLG2 pp. 1-25, LCC pp. 167-218, GAR1 pp. 70-71, GAR2 p. 186 LFB2 p. 400-403, TOW pp. 18-19, CNS2 pp. 104-174, SNC pp. 293-387, FWI pp. 225-232, WAR2 pp. 784-794, TPY pp. 169-187, RNC p. 308, LSY pp. 169-175, DRR pp. 191, 193, 207-208, BAV, MGC, BLO.
[2367] TOW pp. 18-19.
[2368] BAV p. 51-52, LSY p. 297.
[2369] BLO p. 87.
[2370] BAV p. 51-52, LSY p. 297.
[2371] Babits identifies the German jaegar company as being from Ansbach-Bayreuth rather than Hesse Cassel, but which "may have included a few Hessians as well." BLO p. 81.

Baker: 84 rank and file, Lumpkin: 97 rank and file

* *Reserve*, Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara
2nd Battalion, Guards: Lieut. Col. James Stuart.
Baker: 240 rank and file, Lumpkin: 250 rank and file

Grenadier Company (Guards): 50, probably Capt. Augustus Maitland or else Capt. Christie

* Cavalry
British Legion Cavalry: 154-156 rank and file,[2372] Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

* Royal artillery: 40-50, Lieut. John McLeod
1 (or 2) six-pounders
2 three-pounders

According to the "Leslie" Orderly Book, Cornwallis had 4 six-pounders and 2 three-pounders while in North Carolina. Whether he had all of these at Guilford is not clear. Lumpkin gives his artillery at Guilford as 3 three-pounders. What would seem likely is that he had with him at the battle 2 three-pounders and 1 (possibly 2) six-pounders), while the remaining six-pounders were kept with the baggage due to lack of men to man them.[2373]

TOTAL STRENGTH OF CORNWALLIS' ARMY

In his letter to Clinton of April 10th, at Wilmington, Cornwallis stated: "Our force was one thousand three hundred sixty infantry, rank and file, and about two hundred cavalry."
In a return made on the morning of 15 March he gave his rank and file strength as 1,638, and his total effectives as 1,924.[2374]
His rank and file losses since 1 February were listed as 11 killed, 86 wounded and 97 missing, or 194 total. His losses for officers were 1 killed, 2 wounded, 3 missing. The combined total losses for both rank and file, and officers then was 200.
On the other hand in the return for 1 February, Cornwallis gave his rank and file strength as 2,440, though this, of course, includes Hamilton and the 20 dragoons assigned to the baggage.[2375] Bryan's N.C. Volunteers were not included in Cornwallis' official returns. If we subtract the losses since 1 February given in this morning of 15 March return, he would have had 2,246. If we allow Hamilton a strength of 200 and the 20 dragoons, this would then have made Cornwallis's Guilford army (approx.) 2,026 rank and file.

Lee: 2,400, both officers and rank and file. "Lord Cornwallis' army engaged is put down at one thousand four hundred and forty-nine infantry; the cavalry has generally been estimated at three hundred. Allowing the artillery to make two hundred, it will bring the British force nearly to two thousand, probably the real number at Guilford Court-House. Lieutenant-Colonel [John] Hamilton, with his own regiment, one hundred infantry of the line, and twenty dragoons, was left with the baggage sent off on the evening of the 14th to Bell's mill. The British force in toto may be put down as two thousand four hundred: one hundred less than it was when Cornwallis destroyed his baggage at Ramseur's mill, notwithstanding the companies of infantry raised while he lay at Hillsborough, and other small accessions."[2376]

William Johnson: 2,000 rank and file. Cornwallis initially claimed 1,360 rank and file as his strength at Guilford.[2377] However, as Johnson points out, Cornwallis admits a loss of 500 killed and wounded at that battle, yet in his return of 1 April gives a total of 1723. "Deduct from this number, Hamilton's loyal regiment, which does not appear to have been in the action, and there will remain more than 2000, exclusive of the artillery. It is also observable, that Colonel Tarleton admits his cavalry to have amounted to 200, and yet the whole legionary corps is set down, in Cornwallis' account, at 174. By the returns of the 1st of March, it appears that his total was 2213, which will leave 2000 after deducting Hamilton's regiment."[2378]

Caruthers: "How many of the British were engaged in the battle [of Guilford Court House] is uncertain. There may have been a good many Tories, and in this way the discrepancies between the British and American authorities might be reconciled; for his lordship, from prudential considerations, makes no mention of that class, except the passing notice in his Order Book, which he did not expect would ever be seen in this country. They had some from the Scotch region [of N.C.]; for I have been told that Colonels Ray and McDougal [Duncan Ray and Archibald McDougald] were there; but how many men they had was never known. It is probable that Colonel

[2372] British Legion infantry was effectively destroyed as a unit at Cowpens, and contrary to some orders of battle was not present at Guilford Court House; though a small handful of its individual members were incorporated into the Legion cavalry. In his May return, Cornwallis gave Tarleton's strength as 174 rank and file. If then the 20 dragoons left to guard the baggage are subtracted from 174 (and possibly minus say 2 officers from the 20 man total), gives a number somewhere around 154-156. Also, this is not taking into account losses suffered in the early morning skirmishes.
[2373] LJA p. 344, LOB part IV, LSY pp. 296-298, BAV, pp. 51-52.
[2374] RCC pp. 85-86, SAW2 pp. 344-346.
[2375] Babits mentions some 117 British regulars being also attached to the baggage. See BLO p. 50-51.
[2376] LMS p. 284n.
[2377] See Cornwallis to Clinton, dated from Wilmington, April 10, 1781, CAC p. 9.
[2378] JLG2 p. 4.

Field and [Samuel] Bryan were there with their respective corps; for it is said that Col. Field continued with them until they surrendered at Yorktown. How many men they had we cannot tell; but, when mentioned in the Order Book, they had each of them men enough to have a special, separate and important service assigned them. Hardly any of the American historians estimate his force at less than from two thousand to twenty-four hundred, and counting the Tories, it may have been considerably more."[2379]

Schenck: "It is also observable that Colonel Tarleton admits his cavalry to have amounted to 200, and yet the whole Legionary corps is set down in Cornwallis' account at 174. By the army returns of the ist March, it appears that his total was 2213, which will leave 2000 after deducting Hamilton's regiment. Sir Henry Clinton supposes that Lord Cornwallis ought to have had with him, after the affair of the Cowpens, 3000 men, exclusive of cavalry and militia, and General Greene constantly insists that his force, when at Hillsboro, as ascertained from his daily rations and other means resorted to by military men, exceeded 2500 and approached 3000. No author, that we recollect, ventures to state it at less than 2000."[2380]

Lumpkin: The British force is not known with certainty, but estimated between 1,981 and 2,253, both officers and rank and file.[2381]

Hugh Rankin: 2,192 rank and file. Cornwallis claimed his strength at time of battle was 1,360, but his return of April 1, 1781 gives 1,723 rank and file fit for duty; while his casualties at Guilford were listed as 469 killed and wounded. Rankin estimates his force at "around" 2,192 exclusive of officers and non-commissioned officers.[2382]

Thomas Baker: 1,924 troops total effectives.[2383]

AMERICAN FORCES AT GUILFORD COURT HOUSE
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene
Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, second in command

CONTINENTALS
* Maryland Brigade, Col. Otho Williams
1st Maryland Regt., Col. John Gunby, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
2nd Maryland Regt.,[2384] Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford

William Johnson gives as total effectives for the 1st and 2nd Maryland regiments together as 630. Lumpkin 632.[2385]

* Virginia Brigade, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger[2386]
Green's Virginia Regiment, Lieut. Col. John Green
Hawes Virginia Regiment, Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes

William Johnson and Lumpkin give the total effectives for both Virginia regiments together as 778. Relatively few of the Virginia infantrymen which comprised these units had previous combat experience.

* Independent Continental Units
Delaware Company: 80, Capt. Robert Kirkwood[2387]
William Johnson gives 80, Rankin 110, Baker 40.[2388]

* North Carolina Continentals, 30-100.

* 1st and 3rd Continental Light Dragoons: 90, Lieut. Col. William Washington
William Johnson says not more than 90, Rankin 86.[2389]

* Partizan Corps, (Lee's Legion, cavalry and infantry), Lieut. Col. Henry Lee
William Johnson: The strength of Lee's Legion cavalry was not more than 75, and the infantry 82. Lumpkin lists the cavalry as 62 and the infantry at 82. Possibly Lumpkin's lower number for the cavalry is calculating in losses suffered in the early morning skirmish. Baker echoes Johnson with 75 and 80 respectively.

* 1st Continental Artillery, Capt. Anthony Singleton, Capt. Ebenezer Finley

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[2379] CNS2 pp. 105-106.
[2380] SNC p. 313.
[2381] LSY p. 298.
[2382] RNC p. 301n.
[2383] BAV pp. 76-77.
[2384] Bakers states that the 2nd Maryland was a new regiment formed after Oct. 1780. These recruits arrived at the time Gates was in Charlotte and Greene was at Hick's Creek on the Peedee. BAV p.46
[2385] JLG2 pp. 2-3, LSY p. 296.
[2386] Most of the Virginia Continentals were inexperienced recruits. WDC p. 409.
[2387] Although Kirkwood's company initially acted as separate detachment, they later joined up with Jacquett's Delaware company which was already informally integrated into the 2nd Maryland battalion.
[2388] JLG2 pp. 2-3, RNC p. 303, BAV p. 44.
[2389] JLG2 pp. 2-3.

2 batteries of 2 six-pounders
William Johnson: "60 matrosses of Virginia and Maryland." Lumpkin gives a figure of 100.[2390]

Gordon, however, maintains that 2 of the American guns lost at Guilford were those captured at Cowpens which would make them three-pounders rather than six-pounders. If this is not correct then presumably the three-pounders were away at the time of the battle in safekeeping. Though not mentioned in reports, Col. Charles Harrison was with Greene's army at this time, and so would have been in overall command of the artillery. He's mentioned by Greene as having arrived at camp on March 4th.[2391]

NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA
* Butler's Brigade, Brig. Gen. John Butler
* Eaton's Brigade, Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton

William Johnson states that both Eaton's and Butler's brigades had about 500 men.[2392]

Schenck: "To sum up the organized 'volunteer' force of North Carolinians, in the Battle of Guilford Court-House, of whom no official report gives any account, we have the following:
"Colonel James Read's men, 200
Major Joseph Winston's men, -- 100
Major Armstrong, -- 100
[Capt.] Forbis' men from Guilford, - - 100
Sevier's men under Robertson, -- 100
Total, -- 600 men.
"Add to these the North Carolina
cavalry, 40 men,
And we have a total of -- 640
"North Carolina volunteers who were in this battle, besides the 1000 militia who joined Greene on the 11th day of March."[2393]

Some work remains to be done as to men from what counties made up Butler's and Eaton's brigades. Yet this said, going through some pension statements, I have been able to confirm that Butler's contained men from Granville, Orange, and Guilford counties, while Eaton's had some from Bute, Halifax, Granville, and Warren. Yet though there seems a certain demarcation here, one should not assume that Butler did not have men from say Halifax and Warren, or that Eaton did not have men from Orange or Guilford. Men from Mecklenburg, Caswell, Rowan, Surry, Martin, Edgecomb, and Stokes counties have also been identified as present, but I was not able to determine which brigade they belonged to.[2394]

* North Carolina Rifle corps, Maj. Joseph Winston
William Johnson gives the strength of the North Carolina riflemen who served with Lynch's Virginians as 60, Odell McQuire speaks of their number as 150.[2395]

* North Carolina cavalry: 40, Capt. Marquis de Bretigney. Most of these were actually mounted infantry.

William Johnson gives the total for the North Carolina militia as 1,060.[2396]

VIRGINIA MILITIA
* First Virginia brigade, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens
* Second Virginia brigade, Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson

* Militia company or troop of dragoons, from Prince Edward, Virginia, Thomas Watkins.[2397]

William Johnson: Both Virginia brigades had about 600, for a combined 1,200.

Caruthers: "The two brigades of Virginia militia amounted to one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, six hundred and thirty-three more than the North Carolina militia."[2398]

[2390] GHA4 p. 56, JLG2 pp. 2-3.
[2391] NGP7 p. 396, NGP8 p. 4.
[2392] JLG2 pp. 2-3.
[2393] SNC p. 302/
[2394] Since this writing, Babits in his *Bloody, Long and Obstinate: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (BLO) has identified where by county the North Carolina militia participants came from, and to which work the reader is referred for further on the subject.
[2395] McQuire: "Major Joseph Winston's and Capt. John [or Martin] Armstrong's North Carolinian stayed for the battle and possibly a few with Colonel John Peasly of Guilford and Colonel Joseph Williams of Surry: perhaps 150 in all."
[2396] JLG1 p. 471.
[2397] Schenck: "It is as well established that Thomas Watkins, with a militia company of dragoons, from Prince Edward, Virginia, was present at this battle, as it is that Lee's Legion was there, and yet this troop of Watkins is nowhere mentioned by Lee or Campbell, or in Greene's official report. It is also well established that Watkins' dragoons did gallant service in the charge on the Guards, and remained to cover Greene's retreat after. Lee had, without orders, left the field." SNC p. 303.
[2398] CNS2 pp. 126-127.

McQuire: "Robert Lawson's brigade on the north was drawn mainly from Virginia's southside counties: Pittsylvania, Prince Edward, Cumberland, Amelia, etc. [2399] Edward Stevens' was composed in considerable part of men from the western Virginia 'rifle counties' Rockbridge, Augusta, Rockingham, and perhaps others. Their officers and many in the ranks were experienced soldiers who had fought in earlier campaigns, mostly against Indians."

* Virginia Rifle Corps, made up of Campbell's and Lynch's units

~ Campbell's Virginia Rifle Corps, Col. William Campbell

McQuire: "The rifle component was commanded by Colonel William Campbell, victor of King's Mountain. It included the sixty frontiersmen he had brought with him from the ridges and hollows of southwest Virginia…A few of Major Rowland's Botetourts remained. Of the riflemen from Augusta County, Virginia, who had recently come to the army, the companies of Thomas Smith, James Tate, and David Gwin to a total of about 130 men, all under Colonel George Moffett, were assigned to Campbell's command." McQuire also mentions that Col. Samuel McDowell's 150 militia from Rockbridge County should be included in the 340-350 total of Virginia Rifle Corps, see 9 March. It is not clear if these were with Campbell or Lynch.[2400]

Baker gives 250 for William Campell's force. [2401]

~ Lynch's Virginia Rifle Corps, Col. Charles Lynch

McQuire: "Colonel Charles Lynch had brought 360 men down from the mountain fastness of Bedford County, Virginia, all but 60 armed with rifles." See also (above) North Carolina Rifle corps listed with the North Carolina militia.

William Johnson gives 340 rank and file for the Virginia Rifle Corps, and 60 rank and file for the North Carolinians, or 200 under Campbell and 200 under Lynch. McQuire states that the Virginia Rifle Troops numbered 340-350 for Campbell and 360 for Lynch, with possibly 150 for the North Carolinians attached to Lynch.[2402]

TOTAL for all the Virginia militia combined, says William Johnson, was 1,693.[2403]

TOTAL STRENGTH OF GREENE'S ARMY

Greene: In a return of 13 March, two days before the battle, Greene listed his army's strength as 4,943. However, some number of these, probably militia, would have been detached to guard the baggage.[2404]

Gordon: "On the 14th he [Greene] marched his army to Guildford court-house, and took a position within eight miles of Cornwallis's encampment. His force consisted of Huger's brigade of Virginia continentals, 778 present and fit for duty, of Williams's Maryland brigade and Delawares, 630; and of the infantry of Lee's partizan legion, 82 total of continental regulars, 1490: besides these there were 1060 militia from North Carolina, and 1693 from Virginia, in all 2753. The whole army confided of 4243 foot, and of 161 cavalry, including Washington's light dragoons 86, and of Lee's legion 75. Before the engagement began, the marquis of Bretagney [Bretigney] joined the army with about 40 horse, very few accoutred as horsemen, but mounted as infantry. On the morning of the 15th the Americans were supplied with provisions, and a gill of rum per man; and orders were issued for the whole to be in perfect readiness for action."[2405]

Tarleton states Greene's army numbered 7,000.[2406]

Lee, adding up the numbers he gives, says Greene's army amounted to 4,449 total men. He states there were 1,670 Continentals, and, of these, 1,490 rank and file, plus (approximately and extracted from the 4,449 total) 2,779 militia. "Our field return, a few days before the action, rates Greene's army at four thousand four hundred and forty-nine, horse, foot and artillery, of which one thousand six hundred and seventy were Continental; the residue militia. The enemy rate us at upward of five thousand. He is mistaken: we did not reach that number, though some call us seven thousand…" Elsewhere he writes: "General Greene's veteran infantry being only the first regiment of Maryland, the company of Delaware, under Kirkwood (to whom none could be superior), and the Legion infantry; altogether making on that day not more than five hundred rank and file. The second regiment of Maryland and the two regiments of Virginia were composed of raw troops; but their officers were veteran, and the soldier is soon made fit for battle by experienced commanders. Uniting these corps to those recited, and the total (as per official return) amounted to one thousand four hundred and ninety..."[2407] If

[2399] Southside refers to area in Virginia generally south of the James River.
[2400] MGC
[2401] BAV p. 45.
[2402] JLG2 pp. 2-3, MGC.
[2403] JLG1 p. 471.
[2404] NGP7 p. 453.
[2405] GHA4 p. 54.
[2406] TCS p. 271.
[2407] LMS pp. 283n, 284.

we allow the numbers based on Greene's return, Johnson and Lumpkin, Lee is still technically correct that the army did not number 5,000, though it obviously wasn't that far distant either.

William Johnson, combining his totals of both effectives and rank and file present puts Greene's army at 4,468 total effectives and 4,090 rank and file. He says there were 1490 Continentals (rank and file) and 2753 militia (total effectives). Consecutively, and adding up the specific unit strengths he lists (see above), the total strength of the Continentals would be 1,715 (taking the 60 artillerymen mentioned as total effectives rather than rank and file.) But given the round numbers he uses for some of the units listed, this 1,715 figure is to be taken as an approximate total. Similarly, but reversed, the total rank and file for the consecutively summed militia would be 2,600 (out of 2,753.)[2408]

Lumpkin: 4,384-4,444

CASUALTIES

BRITISH
Cornwallis' return of losses suffered, contained in his dispatch to Lord Germain, of March 17, 1781, gives the total British casualties, both officers and rank and file as 93 killed (75 rank and file), 413 wounded (369 rank and file), 26 missing (25 rank and file.)[2409]

Tarleton: "On the part of the British, the honourable Lieutenant-colonel Stewart [James Stuart], of the guards, two lieutenants, two ensigns, thirteen serjeants, and seventy-five rank and file, were killed: Brigadier-generals O'Hara and Howard, Lieutenant-colonels Webster and Tarleton, nine captains, four lieutenants, five ensigns, two staff officers, fifteen serjeants, five drummers, and three hundred and sixty-nine rank and file, were wounded; and twenty-five rank and file were missing." Webster died from his wounds not many days later, as did Captains Maynard,[2410] Goodricke [or Goodricks, who was injured in the early morning skirmish on New Garden Meeting House road], and Captain Lord Dunglass, all of the Guards. Lieut. [Augustus] O'Hara, of the Royal artillery and nephew to the General was among those killed."[2411]

Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara, shortly after the battle, in a letter to a friend wrote: "nearly one Half of our best soldiers and Officers and Soldiers, were either killed or wounded, and what remains are so completely worn out."[2412]

Greene wrote to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, on March 30, 1781: "I have it from good authority that the Enemy suffered in the Battle of Guilford 633 exclusive of Officers, and most of their principal officers were killed or wounded...Since we have recrossed the Dan River we have taken at different times upwards of a hundred and twenty prisoners and several Officers."[2413]

64 of the most badly wounded had to be left behind at New Garden Quaker Meeting house and these became Greene's prisoners, though by April 6th 18 of these had died.[2414]

Annual Register: "(T)he loss on the British side, in any comparative estimate, drawn from the length, circumstances, and severity of the action, would appear very moderate; but if considered, either with respect to the number of the army, its ability to bear the loss, or the intrinsic value of the brave men who fell or were disabled, it was great indeed. In the whole it exceeded 500 men; of whom, though scarcely a fifth were killed on the spot, many died afterwards of their wounds; and undoubtedly a much greater number were disabled from all future service. At any rate, the army was deprived of about one-fourth in number and that by no means the least effective) of its present force."[2415]

AMERICAN
Taken from Otho Williams' return:[2416]

Continentals
Key: rank and file/total effectives

Brig. Gen Huger wounded slightly in the hand
Brigade of Virginia regulars: 23/29 killed, 35/39 wounded, 39/39 missing

Brigade of Maryland regulars: 11/15 killed, 36/42 wounded, 88/97 missing. [2417]

[2408] GHA4 p. 54, JLG2 pp. 2-3.
[2409] TCS p. 310, SAW2 pp. 345-348.
[2410] For an anecdote regarding Maynard, see SAW2 pp. 345n-346n.
[2411] TCS pp. 276, 310.
[2412] Quoted in NGP7 p. 440n.
[2413] NGP8 pp. 8-9.
[2414] WCO p. 314.
[2415] AR81 pp. 69-70.
[2416] Note numbers given in parenthesis are rank and file.

Delaware battalion: 7/7 killed, 11/13 wounded, 13/15 missing.

Washington's 1st and 3rd regiments of cavalry: 3/3 killed, 4/8 wounded (also accounted as prisoners of war), 3/3 missing.

Partizan Legion (Lee's Legion): 3/3 killed, 7/9 wounded, 7/7 missing.

Total Continental losses: 290/330 casualties.

Virginia Militia:
Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens wounded.
First brigade, Virginia militia (Stevens): 9/11 killed, 30/35 wounded, 133/141 missing.

Second brigade Virginia militia (Lawson): 1/1 killed, 13/16 wounded, 83/87 missing.[2418]

Rifle regiments, commanded by Colonels Campbell and Lynch: 1/3 killed, 13/16 wounded, 78/94 missing.

Total casualties for the Virginia militia: 361/415.

North Carolina Militia:
Two brigades commanded by Brigadier-generals Butler and Eaton: 6 killed (all rank and file), 5 (3) wounded, missing: 552/563.
Total casualties for North Carolina militia: 561/574.[2419]

Also:
North Carolina cavalry [militia] lost 1 man killed and 1 wounded.[2420]

Annual Register "The action was spread through so wide an extent of the country, and so thickly wooded, that the victors could form no estimate of the slain. But whatever that might be, their principal loss consisted in the desertion of that part of the militia who were within any reach of home; for they, according to established custom, seized the opportunity of being dispersed in the woods by an action, to make the best of their way, and without once looking back."[2421]

William Johnson: "The American killed and wounded could never be ascertained with any degree of precision. The returns of the day could furnish no correct ideas on the subject; for one half of the North Carolina militia, and a large number of the Virginians, never halted after separating from their officers, but pushed on to their own homes. Neither do those returns exhibit a correct view of the loss sustained by the regular troops, for they are dated on the 17th; and in a number of those who are marked missing, afterward rejoined their corps. This inference is drawn from a return now before us, made two days after, in which the Virginia brigade is set down at 752, and the Maryland brigade at 660. Admitting that those two corps went into battle with 1490 men, this will reduce their loss to 188, instead of 261, as represented in the returns of the 17th. This error was to be expected from the confusion in which the 2d Maryland regiment abandoned the field. Reducing the whole loss in the same proportion, it will barely exceed 200…The loss of the militia brigades and rifle corps, were surprisingly small, not exceeding in the whole eighty men, killed and wounded…But, these corps were reduced by desertion to one half the numbers they reckoned before the battle. The Virginians now amounted to only 1021, including Lynch's riflemen – and the North Carolinians to 556. The whole army, including men of all arms, amounted on the 19th to 3115."[2422]

CAPTURES

On 19 March, Maj. Charles Magill reported to Gov. Jefferson that Cornwallis had taken custody of 75 wounded Americans.[2423]

"Return of ordnance, ammunition, and arms, taken at the battle of Guildford, March 15, 1781.
Brass Ordnance
Mounted on travelling carriages, with limbers and boxes complete, 4 six-pounders. Shot, round, fixed with powder, 160 six-pounders. Case, fixed with ditto, 50 six-pounders; 2 ammunition waggons, 1300 stands of arms distributed among the militia, and destroyed in the field."[2424]

[2417] McQuire: "…Colonel Gunby was also disabled when his wounded horse fell on him. Command of the 1st Maryland was soon passed to John Eager Howard, who had capably commanded Morgan's line of Continentals and Virginia riflemen at the Cowpens." MGC
[2418] Stevens, returned to Virginia after the battle, and did not subsequently rejoin Greene, though he did serve with Lafayette in the latter part of the Virginia campaign.
[2419] During and after Guilford most of the N.C. deserted. NGP7 p. 444n.
[2420] TCS pp. 317-320.
[2421] AR81 p. 70.
[2422] JLG2 p. 18-19. See also GHA4 p. 57, SAW2 pp. 344-346, TCS pp. 276-277.
[2423] NGP7 p. 441.

Cornwallis to Lord Germain, dated from Guilford, March 17, 1781: "The neighborhood of the Fords of the Dan in their rear, and the extreme difficulty of subsisting my troops in that exhausted country putting it out of my power to force them, my resolution was to give our friends time to join us, by covering their country;...at the same time I was determined to fight the rebel army. With these views, I moved to the Quaker Meeting (house), in the forks of Deep River, on the 13th; and on the 14th I received the information which occasioned the movement which brought about the action at Guildford..."[2425]

Some 1300 muskets and rifles left on the field were destroyed by the British.[2426]

Kirkwood: "15th. This day commenced the Action at Guilford Court House between Genls. Green[e] and Cornwallis, in which many were Killed and wounded on both sides, Genl. Green Drew off his Army, with the loss of his artillery. Marched this day...16" [miles].[2427]

Pension statement of James Roper, of Caswell County, N.C. "In his 3rd campaign he served under Capt. Edward Dickerson and marched from the Court House to meet the brigade of Gen. [John] Butler and marched to Ravin Town to Gen. Green's army across the Haw River along with Gen. [Thomas] Eaton's brigade marched to Guilford Courthouse to engage the British Army under Lord Cornwallis. The first line up to battle consisted of the North Carolina Militia under Gen. Butler & Eaton. About the time Gen. Green[e] had his army arrayed for battle Cornwallis came up with his troops, and a desparate [sic] battle ensued. This affiant [sic] states as well as he can now recollect that it was about one or two oclock of the day P.M. when the battle began between Gen. Green[e] & Cornwallis. The battle lasted for some time with various success on both sides and at last Gen. Green had to retreat & leave the battle ground."

Davie (who was present at the battle): "[Gordon] speaks true to be sure of the No Carolina militia as they deserved, but it is justice to observe they were never so wretchedly officered as they were that day[2428] -- but he attributes the glory acquired by Stevens brigade to the whole Virginia Militia, when the truth is Lawson's brigade fought as illy as the No Carolinians The only difference was they did not run entirely home...the fact is the whole battle was fought by Stevens brigade and the first Maryland regiment.:." Referring, in a different writing, to the clash between the Guards and the 1st Maryland Regt., Davie says: "[Capt. John] Smith and his men were in a throng, killing the Guards and Grenadiers like so many Furies. Colonel Stewart [James Stuart], seeing the mischief Smith was doing, made a lunge at him with his small sword…It would have run through his body but for the haste of the Colonel, and happening to set his foot on the arm of the man Smith had just cut down, his unsteady step, his violent lunge, and missing his aim brought him down to one knee on the dead man. The Guards came rushing up very strong. Smith had no alternative but to wheel around and give Stewart a back-handed blow over or across the head, on which he fell."[2429]

William Seymour: "Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, in this action deserved the highest praise, who meeting with the Third Regiment of Foot Guards [Scots Guards], and charged them so furiously that they either killed or wounded almost every man in the regiment, charging through them and breaking their ranks three or four times. This action began about nine o'clock in the morning and continued about the space of an hour and a half, in which the enemy lost in killed and wounded fifteen hundred men, our loss not exceeding one hundred and fifty in killed and wounded, of which twenty-seven belonged to Col. Washington's Light Infantry, of which Captain Kirkwood had the command." [2430]

Otho Williams: "The contest was long and severe: but the British carried their point by superior discipline. They broke the second Maryland regiment, turned the American left flank, and got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, so that he thought it advisable to retreat. About this time Washington made a charge with the horse on a part of the brigade of the British guards, and the first regiment of Marylanders following the horse with their bayonets, near a whole of the party fell a sacrifice. Huger with the Virginia brigade was the last that engaged; and gave the enemy a check."[2431]

Tarleton: "The thickness of the woods where these conflicts happened prevented the cavalry making a charge upon the Americans on their retreat to the continentals, and impeded the British infantry moving forwards in a well-connected line. Some corps meeting with less opposition and embarrassment than others, arrived sooner in presence of the continentals, who received them with resolution and firmness.
"At this period the event of the action was doubtful, and victory alternately presided over each army. On the left of the British Colonel Webster carried on the yagers, the light company of the guards, and the 33d regiment, after two severe struggles, to the right of the continentals, whose superiority of numbers and weight of fire

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[2424] TCS p. 312.
[2425] CAC p. 32.
[2426] WCO pp. 308-309.
[2427] KJO p. 14.
[2428] Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell had argued that militia officers with seniority should command before N.C. Continental commanders, and this view, much to the disapproval of such as Davie, prevailed with the N.C. legislature.
[2429] DRS pp. 31-32, BAV p. 68.
[2430] SJS. Kirkwood's Delaware's were partnered with Washington's cavalry to form an ad hoc legion or partisan corps.
[2431] GHA4 p. 56.

obliged him to recross a ravine, and take ground upon the opposite bank. This manoeuvre was planned with great judgement, and, being executed with coolness and precision, gave Webster an excellent position till he could hear of the progress of the King's troops upon his right. In the center the 2d battalion of the guards, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Stewart [James Stuart], supported by the grenadiers, made a spirited and successful attack on the enemy's six pounders, which they took from the Delaware regiment; but the Maryland brigade, followed by Washington's cavalry, moving upon them before they could receive assistance, retook the cannon, and repulsed the guards with great slaughter. The ground being open, Colonel Washington's dragoons killed Colonel Stewart and several of his men, and pursued the remainder into the wood. General O'Hara, though wounded, rallied the remainder of the 2d battalion of the guards to the 23d and 71st regiments, who had inclined from the divisions on the right and left, and were now approaching the open ground. The grenadiers, after all their officers were wounded, attached themselves to the artillery and the cavalry, who were advancing upon the main road. At this crisis, the judicious use of the three pounders, the firm countenance of the British infantry, and the appearance of the cavalry, obliged the enemy to retreat, leaving their cannon and ammunition waggons behind them. Colonel Webster soon after connected his corps with the main body, and the action on the left and in the center was finished.
"Earl Cornwallis did not think it advisable for the British cavalry to charge the enemy, who were retreating in good order, but directed Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to proceed with a squadron of dragoons to the assistance of Major-general Leslie on the right, where, by the constant fire which was yet maintained, the affair seemed not to be determined. The right wing, from the thickness of the woods and a jealousy for its flank, had imperceptibly inclined to the right, by which movement it had a kind of separate action after the front line of the Americans gave way, and was now engaged with several bodies of militia and riflemen above a mile distant from the center of the British army. The 1st battalion of the guards, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Norton, and the regiment of [von] Bose, under Major De Buy [de Puis], had their share of the difficulties of the day, and, owing to the nature of the light troops opposed to them, could never make any decisive impression: As they advanced, the Americans gave ground in front, and inclined to their flanks: This sort of conflict had continued some time, when the British cavalry, on their way to join them, found officers and men of both corps wounded, and in possession of the enemy: The prisoners were quickly rescued from the hands of their captors, and the dragoons reached General Leslie without delay. As soon as the cavalry arrived, the guards and the Hessians were directed to fire a volley upon the largest party of the militia, and, under the cover of the smoke, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton doubled round the right flank of the guards, and charged the Americans with considerable effect. The enemy gave way on all sides, and were routed with confusion and loss. Thus ended a general, and, in the main, a well-contested action, which had lasted upwards of two hours. General Leslie soon afterwards joined Earl Cornwallis, who had advanced a short distance on the Reedy-fork road, with the 23d and 71st regiments, to support the other squadron of the British legion, who followed the rear of the continentals."[2432]

Col. William Campbell to Rev. Mr. Gumming (date of this letter is not clear but would otherwise appears to have been written sometime in April 1781]: "Our army, upon the evening of the 14th [Wednesday], got up to Guilford C. H., and encamped about a mile above it that night. Myself and Col. C. Lynch [Charles Lynch], having each of us the command of a corps of riflemen, with Lieut.-Colonels Lee and Washington, of the Light Dragoons, were that evening advanced about a mile in front of the army, and about seven miles from the enemy. Next morning early, we had intelligence of their being in motion, and marching towards us; upon which Col. Lee, with his legion, and about thirty of my riflemen, under the command of Capt. [James] Tate, of the Augusta militia, went out to meet them, while the rest of the riflemen, and Col. Washington's horse, formed at our encampment, to support them in their retreat back. They met with the enemy near two miles from our encampment, and immediately began to skirmish them, and continued fighting and retreating for about half-an-hour, which disconcerted and retarded the enemy very considerably. In the meantime, the main body of our army was formed about three-quarters of a mile in rear of us; and upon the legions rejoining us, we were ordered back, to take our position in the line of battle. We had not been formed there above ten minutes, before the cannonade began in the centre, which lasted about twenty minutes, in which time the enemy were forming their line of battle, by filing off to the right and left, and then immediately advanced upon our troops, upon which the firing of the small arms began. The Virginia regulars and militia, with the first Maryland regiment, behaved with the greatest bravery, and the riflemen who acted upon the wings, have done themselves honor; but, unhappily, a whole brigade of the North Carolina militia, of about 1,000 men, abandoned their party from the first onset. Many of them never fired their guns, and almost the whole of them threw away their arms, and fled with the greatest precipitation. To this misfortune is attributed our being obliged to quit the field, though the battle was maintained long and obstinately. All agree that it lasted two hours and a half, and I think myself it was considerably more. The enemy followed us no further than the heights just above Guilford C. H., and our army retreated in tolerable order to Speedwell Furnace, which is about ten miles below. There the most of the troops, who were dispersed in the action, assembled next day. The enemy lay at Guilford C. H. from Thursday [15 March] till Sunday [18 March], 12 o'clock, (being employed in burying their dead, and taking care of their wounded,) and that evening retreated to New Garden Court House, where they left a number of their wounded, and wrote to Gen. Greene, requesting that they might not be ill-treated by the Americans. The next day (Monday) they continued their retreat to Centre Meeting House, and next morning I left camp, and have not had any certain intelligence from them since, though I make no doubt but there has been another battle, as every person seems to believe that Gen. Greene intended a pursuit."[2433]

[2432] TCS pp. 273-276.
[2433] GDH3 pp. 139-140.

Henry Lee IV: "Greene's army united, was rather more than two to one to that of the enemy; and upon this numerical superiority he ventured to engage. By separating it into three insulated lines, it was attacked, with a force of about twenty-two to fifteen against each division, and Lord Cornwallis, instead of meeting an army of forty-five hundred men, defeated successively, three detachments of fifteen hundred; and in each action had a superiority or, at least, an equality of force."[2434]

Annual Register: "The news of this victory in England, for a while, produced the usual effects upon the minds of the people in general. A very little time and reflection gave rise to other thoughts; and a series of victories, caused, for the first time, the beginning of a general despair. The fact was that while the British army astonished both the old and the new world, by the greatness of its exertions and the rapidity of its marches, it had never advanced any nearer to the conquest of North Carolina. And such was the hard fate of the victors who had gained so much glory at Guildford, as, in the first place, to abandon a part of their wounded; and, in a second, to make a circuitous retreat of 200 miles, before they could find shelter or rest."[2435]

Roger Lamb: "At last the Americans [first line] gave way, and the brigade advanced, to the attack of their second line. Here the conflict became still more fierce. But it was completely routed, where I stood…I observed an American officer attempting to fly. I immediately darted after him, but he perceiving my intention to capture him, fled with the utmost speed. I pursued, and was gaining on him, when, hearing a confused noise on my left, I observed several bodies of Americans drawn up within the distance of a few yards. Whoever has been in an engagement well knows that, in such moments all fears of death are over. Seeing one of the guards among the slain, where I stood, I stopped and replenished my own pouch with the cartridges that remained in his; during the time I was thus employed, several shots were fired at me; but not one took effect. Glancing my eye the other way, I saw a company of the guards advancing to attack these parties. The Reader may perhaps be surprised at the bravery of the troops, thus with calm intrepidity attacking superior numbers, when formed into separate bodies, and all acting together; but I can assure him this instance was not peculiar; it frequently occurred in the British army, during the American war…"[2436]

Stedman: "The wounded of both armies were collected by the British as expeditiously as possible after the action: It was, however, a service that required both time and care, as from the nature of the action they lay dispersed over a great extent of ground. Every assistance was furnished to them, that in the present circumstances of the army could be afforded; but, unfortunately, the army was destitute of tents, nor was there a sufficient number of houses near the field of battle to receive the wounded. The British army had marched several miles on the morning of the day on which they came to action. They had no provisions of any species whatever on that day, nor until between three and four in the afternoon of the succeeding day, and then but a scanty allowance, not exceeding one quarter of a pound of flower, and the fame quantity of very lean beef. The night of the day on which the action happened was remarkable for its darkness, accompanied with rain, which fell in torrents. Near fifty of the wounded, it is said, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before the morning. The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of action during the night exceed all description. Such a complicated scene of horror and distress, it is hoped, for the fake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life."[2437]

15-16 March. Slowed by the rain while collecting stragglers, Greene withdrew towards Reedy Fork, crossing the ford there about three miles from the Guilford battlefield. By next morning, he had moved another seven miles distance to Speedwell's Iron works on Troublesome Creek; where he then camped for four days; hoping the British would advance. Cornwallis, however and meanwhile, remained at Guilford.[2438]
In his dispatch to President of Congress Samuel Huntington of 16 March, Greene wrote: "We retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork River, and crossed at the ford about 3 Miles from the field of Action, and there halted and drew up the Troops untill [sic] we collected most of our Stragglers."[2439]

Pension statement of John Chumbley of Amelia County, VA.: "The army halted 2 or 3 miles from the battleground to take refreshment, and called stragglers, which being done, the proceeded through muddy roads a day and night and cold driving rain 8 to 10 miles, to the draw works on what was called Cobblestone Creek. Declarant well recollects that the horrors of that night were equally appalling to him with the thunders of the recent battle."

William Johnson: "The depth of the road, and the precautions indispensable on a retreat, protracted the march until the approach of morning. The distance from the field of battle to the [Speedwell] iron works on Troublesome Creek, is estimated at ten miles, yet the army did not reach this place until near daylight…It happened that a corps of about three hundred militia, who had arrived [at Speedwell's Iron Works] in advance of the army, had established their camp, and kindled their fires in that quarter by which the legion [Lee's Legion] approached. Seeing these red cloaks through the woods, the militiamen thinking the whole British army was upon them, broke away and returned no more."[2440]

[2434] LCC p. 217.
[2435] AR81 pp. 71-72.
[2436] LJA pp. 348-362.
[2437] SAW2 p. 346.
[2438] NGP8 p. 435, AR81 pp. 70-71, MLW4A pp. 378-380, JLG2 pp. 22-23, 25-26, LFB2 p. 406, MGC.
[2439] NGP8 p. 435.
[2440] JLG2 pp. 22-23.

Sam Houston, [2441] of the Rockbridge VA. militia, wrote in his diary: "Friday, 16th -- As soon as day appeared (being wet) we decamped, and marched through the rain to Speedwell furnace, where Green had retreated from Guilfordtown, where the battle was fought, sixteen miles distant; there we met many of our company with great joy, in particular Colonel [Joseph] M'Dowell; where we learned that we lost four pieces of cannon after having retaken them, also the 71st regiment we had captured. After visiting the tents we eat and hung about in the tents and rain, when frequently we were rejoiced by men coming in we had given out for lost. In the evening we struck tents and encamped on the left, when the orders were read to draw provisions and ammunition, which order struck a panic in the minds of many. Our march five miles."[2442]

Mid March. [skirmish] Portsmouth (Portsmouth County, VA.) SQR pp. 184-185.

Mid March. [raid] Dutchman's Creek (Fairfield County, S.C.) Rawdon sent a detachment of mounted New York Volunteers to disperse a body of whig militia assembling at Dutchman's Creek, some (some 7 to 13 miles east of Winnsborough). The whig force was routed and lost 18 men killed and 18 captured.[2443]

Mid March. After a dispute in which Col. William Campbell claimed Lee, at Guilford, unnecessarily put the Virginia militia men in harm's way by failing to protect them from Tarleton's dragoons with the Legion cavalry, Campbell resigned his commission and left service with Greene. He was, however, back in the field in his home state by summer, having by then been commissioned by Virginia a Brigadier General of the militia.[2444]

Mid March. Cornwallis had Rawdon at Camden send Lieut. Col. John Watson to once again attempt to root out Marion. Watson by the 28th had left Blakely's (see Mount Hope Swamp, 10 March) and moved to Nelson's Ferry which Lee says he fortfied; then, leaving his baggage there, marched towards Georgetown in furtherance of these orders with the idea of luring forth to himself and or distracting Marion from Doyle who was advancing on Snow's Island (see 29 March.)[2445]

Mid March. Caruthers: "According to a tradition, which I am told is reliable, while the British were at, or not far from Bell's mill, Colonel [William] Washington went over on Back creek, for the purpose mainly, of suppressing or over-awing the Tories. When near the place now [1856] known as the Widow Moss's, he met some thirty or more Quakers, from Uwharie, Caraway, Back Creek, and other neighborhoods in that portion of Randolph county. The positing which he or they occupied being and elevated one, he descried them at a considerable distance, and not feeling certain, perhaps, of their character or intentions, he ordered his men to retire a little from the road, where they would be concealed by a thicket of bushes or undergrowth; but their broad brimmed hats and drab colored clothes soon satisfied him that they were Quakers, and he quietly awaited their approach. On coming up, they saluted him in their usual style, 'Well, how does thee do to-day friend?' and then went on to ask a number of questions pertaining to the business at hand. 'Is thee an officer?' 'Does thee belong to the army?' 'Where is friend Cornwallis?' To each of which in succession, he kindly and civilly replied--that he was an officer, and that he belonged to the army; that the army was at or near Bell's mill, and that Cornwallis would soon be along. These answers were rather equivocal; but, having no idea that an American officer would dare to show his face so near to the head-quarters of Cornwallis, they took it for granted that he was an officer in the British army; and disclosed their intentions without reserve or hesitation. They told him hat as Greene had been defeated and driven from the country, or obliged to retreat into Rockingham, the British were now completely triumphant, and that they were going to pay their respects to friend Cornwallis, and tell him they were peace-loving, sober, quiet people, having no enmity to him or the British government. Washington then informed them who he was, and assured them that General Greene had not left the State, nor had, in fact, been defeated, but would soon be along in pursuit of Lord Cornwallis. With his usual urbanity, he told them further, that they were not acting in accordance with to their own business. He now ordered his men to surround them; and having done so, some of them pointed out to him a man among the Quakers who was a noted Tory, and who was known to have been guilty, long before, of robbery and murder. He did not, of course, belong to the Quaker society; but, whether by accident or design, is not known, he had fallen in with them, and was going to pay his respects to Lord Cornwallis, and acknowledge his submission to British authority. Being satisfied of the facts, Washington ordered two of his men to take him and hang him to the limb of a large persimmon tree which was near, and on which Hartwell Hunter, my informant, says, had not long before been hung by the Tories. This was at Beckerdite's store, near the Widow Wood's, where the tree is yet standing.
"When the Tory was swung off so unceremoniously, there were two of the Quakers sitting on their horses not far from the tree and one said to the other, 'Well, don't that beat the devil?' Washington then marched the Quakers, half dead with fear, to a barn which stood at a short distance, where he made six of those who were most finely dressed, and six of his own men whose regimentals had become most shabby looking, go into the ban and exchange clothes from top to toe. When they came out so completely metamorphosed, and all, of both parties, making such a ludicrous appearance, he ordered them to make a similar exchange of horses, the Quakers giving their fine fat horses in exchange for the lean, war-worn horses of the others. At first, the Quakers objected mist strenuously to this whole proceeding, one alleging that his horse was borrowed of another, that

[2441] Houston was the father of the founder and first President of Texas (of the same name.) Whether this is the same Houston who fought at Ramseur's Mill is not clear.
[2442] MGC.
[2443] MSC2 p. 746, RBG p. 153, LSC p. 13.
[2444] NGP7 p. 445, JLG2 pp. 16-17, 16n, LCC pp. 194-203, DKM pp. 394-395
[2445] MMS2 pp. 224-230, LMS p. 331.

his hat or some part of his dress did not belong to him; and every one offering the most plausible reason he could; but it was all in vain. The Quakers had to go off with their poor horses and their old tattered cavalry dress; and the cavalrymen kept their fat horses, their drab suits and their broad brims. Before dismissing them, Washington gave them another friendly talk, and advised them to go home and stay there, attend to their own concerns in future, and live up to their professions of peace and good will to all men. The old Friend, my informant says, who gave him the above account, or rather confirmed it, for it had long been a tradition in the country, said he had often heard his father telling how he looked and felt when he returned to his family, riding on a broken down cavalry horse instead of the fine animal which he had taken from home, and wearing an old greasy looking horseman's cap and tattered regimentals, instead of his broad brimmed beaver and his fine drab suit of broad cloth. Before dismissing them, he laid his commands on them to keep quiet and not make it known that they had seen Col. Washington in those parts, or it might not be as well for them.
"I have been told by Jeremiah Yorke, and a man by the name of Morgan, both of whom lived on or near Deep River, were at this time, with Washington, and gave him the information about the Tory. How they came to be with him I have not learned; but when the Quakers left, York, Morgan, and several others were perhaps on their return home, or on a scout, when they fell in with some British, probably stragglers or a small foraging party, and had a little skirmish, in which Yorke was badly wounded, and one or two of the British army were killed; but of this affair I have no particulars, nor any very definite information, and give it only as I heard it in the country."[2446]

16 March. [naval battle] The First Battle of the Virginia Capes, also Cape Henry, Chesapeake Bay. The British fleet, under Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot, and the French fleet, under Admiral Charles Chevalier Destouches fought the first battle of the Virginia Capes. Although inconclusive tactically and no ships were lost by either side, the naval engagement prevented the French from landing Viomenil with 1,100 French chausseurs to support Lafayette in Virginia against Arnold, while reasserting British control of the Chesapeake. Despite this, Arbuthnot was severely criticized by some for not more soundly defeating the French. Destouches for his part returned to Rhode Island.[2447]
Ships Engaged:

BRITISH
Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot
London, 98 guns; *Royal Oak*, 74 guns; *Bedford*, 74 guns; *Robust*, 74 guns; *America*, 64 guns; *Prudent*, 64 guns; *Europe*, 64 guns; *Adamant*, 50 guns; *Europe*, 64 guns (all coppered)[2448]

FRENCH
Admiral Charles Chevalier Destouches
Duc de Bourgogne, coppered, 84 guns; *Le Neptune*, coppered, 74 guns; *Conquerant*, 74 guns; *Provence*, 64 guns
Ardent, 64 guns; *Jason*, 64 guns; *Eveillé*, coppered, 64 guns; *Romulus*, 44 guns

17 March. Cornwallis, still camped at Guilford Court House, wrote to Lord Germain: "This part of the country is so totally destitute of subsistence, that forage is not nearer than nine miles, and the soldiers have been two days without bread;[2449] the shall therefore leave about seventy of the worst wounded cases at the New-Garden Quaker meeting-house, with proper assistance, and move the remainder with the army to-morrow morning to Bell's-mill." By this time many of his men were without shoes and worn down with fatigue.[2450]

17 March. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara congregation): "Yesterday we heard that there had been a battle between the English and our army, and today we heard more about it from other men coming from the front, and a letter from Br. Marshall showed that it was true."[2451]

18 March. Col. Thomas Wade, at Haley's Ferry on the Peedee, received the additional detachment of North Carolina militia he had requested of Greene and, indirectly, Maj. Gen. Caswell. On 2 April, Wade wrote Greene that his orders to Caswell to send Wade some men to protect cattle and stores was not complied with till March 18th. As it turned out, most of the men sent were poor soldiers and did not meet Wade's expectations in a subsequent engagement. See 2 April.[2452]

18 March.[2453] Having camped two days at Guilford, Cornwallis retreated to Bell's Mill, sixteen miles south of Guilford, and on the south bank of the Deep River, where he gave his men two days rest. His troops having

[2446] CNS2 pp. 178-181. For a very similar anecdote but involving Lee with some Quakers, see GAR1 pp. 361-362.
[2447] NGP7 p. 468n, GHA4 pp. 61-62, RCO pp. 178-179, AR81 pp. 78-79, CAR 255n, GHA4 pp. 61-62, MLW4A pp. 422-423, LMS pp. 307-308, WAR2 p. 870, CGP p. liv.
[2448] "Coppered" refers to the ship having copper sheeting covering the hull below the waterline, and which increases a ship's speed and reduces the need for hull scraping and maintenence.
[2449] It would perhaps have been more accurate for Cornwallis to have added that American light parties regularly endangered his foraging parties so badly as almost to ensure losses among the British on their outings, and it was perhaps this as much or more so than lack of provisions *as such* that proscribed his sustaining his army adequately.
[2450] LOB part IV, TCS pp. 266-267, CAC p. 43.
[2451] FRM p. 1748. Note how, in making reference to the Guilford battle, it is not emphatically stated who won or lost, as was the case earlier with battle of Camden when the Moravians (of the Salem congregation) made mention of that battle in their minutes.
[2452] NGP8 p. 31.
[2453] The "Leslie" Orderly Book says that the army camped at Tesin's [Tison's?] Plantation on this date. LOB part IV.

suffered from lack of meal before the battle, they fared no better after. However, they remained at Bell's till the 20th tending to the wounded. Counting those taken at Guilford, Cornwallis' artillery now had 8 six-pounders and 2 three-pounders. Sometime this same day, Cornwallis issued a proclamation summoning all loyal servants of the crown to come forth in support of good government; and which was followed with no response except for a small handful of loyalists who came in to express their moral support.[2454]
Cornwallis' proclamation: "Whereas, by the blessing of Almighty God, His Majesty's arms have been crowned with signal success, by the complete victory obtained over the rebel forces on the 15th instant, I have thought proper to issue this proclamation to call upon all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring good order and government. And whereas it has been represented to me, that many persons in this province, who have taken a share in this unnatural rebellion, but having experienced the oppression and injustice of the rebel government, and having seen the errors into which they have been deluded by falsehoods and misrepresentations, are sincerely desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, I do hereby notify and promise persons, (murderers excepted) that if they will surrender themselves, with their arms and ammunition, at head quarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th day of April next, they shall be permitted to return to their homes, upon giving a military parole, and shall be protected in their persons and properties from all sort of violence from the British troops, and will be restored as soon as possible to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government."[2455]

"Scottish Travel Log": [18 Mar.] "Swain[']s Plantation"; [19 Mar.] "Clark[']s Plantation Deep River"; [20-21 Mar.] "Halt."

Annual Register: "Such was the penury and miserable state of the country, that the troops were without bread for two days that they continued at Guilford; nor could even forage be procured at a nearer distance than nine miles. And though this victory was gained at the entrance of the country in which the loyalists were supposed to be numerous, it does not appear, that it was capable of inducing any body of that people, deserving of name or consideration, to join the royal army."[2456]

18 March. [skirmish] Scott's Creek (Portsmouth County, VA.) SQR pp. 185-186.

19 March. The day before Greene began his pursuit of Cornwallis, Charles Magill, Jefferson's liason officer, wrote his Governor Jefferson: "...I am sorry to inform your Excellency that a number of the Virginia Militia have sully'd [sic] the Laurels reap'd in the Action by making one frivolous pretence and another to return home. A number have left the Army very precipitately. The best Men from Augusta and Rockbridge have been foremost on this occasion..."[2457]

19 March. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara congregation): "Yesterday and today many passed, coming from the camp with horses and wagons. Those who arrived today demanded cornmeal and brandy, and gave a Ticket instead of paying. Our wagon brought corn from Mr. Banner.
"March 21. Yesterday and today it has been beautifully quiet in the town a number of persons were here, but there was no commotion. Oats were sowed."[2458]

20 March. Cornwallis left Bell's Mill, moving east, and by the 22nd arrived at (possibly) Walcher's Plantation. (See 22 March.) On the same day he left Bell's Mill, Greene began following after. On April 18th, at Wilmington, Cornwallis wrote to Germain: "I marched from Guildford on the morning of the 18th of March, and the next day arrived at Bell's mill, where I gave the troops two days rest, and procured a small supply of provisions. From thence I proceeded slowly towards Cross-creek, attending to the convenience of subsistence, and the movement of our wounded. On my march I issued the enclosed proclamation, and took every means in my power to reconcile enemies, and to encourage our friends to join us." Along the way, the British occasionally took some prisoners, which they later paroled after arriving at Cross Creek.[2459]

20 March. Lieut. Col. Henry Lee, at "camp New Garden," wrote to the commanding officers of the militia of "Roan [Rowan], Surry, and Mecklenburgh" counties: "You have already heard of the general action between the two armies on the 15th instant. It is unnecessary to acquaint you with the effects of the engagement, as the retreat of Lord Cornwallis, and the pursuit of General Greene, best discover the real loss on each side. But a very small part of the regular troops engaged; some new raised troops behaved dastardly, which confused the regiments nearest them, and rendered it prudent to retire and postpone the decision to another day. Cornwallis is running with his broken army to some place of safety. His deluded friends, our unhappy brethren called tories, experience the imbecility of his pretenses to protect them. Come then, my friends, fly to yoru arms. Recollect

[2454] LOB part IV, STL, NGP7 pp. 456n, 461n, ATR81b p. 26, TCS pp. 279, 322, GHA4 pp. 57-58, CAC p. 44, JLG2 p. 26, WAR2 p. 796, WCO p. 312.
[2455] CNC17 pp. 1007-1008, TCS pp.312-313.
[2456] AR81 p. 71, and also p. 64.
[2457] Quoted in "Many Were Sore Chased And Some Cut Down Fighting Cornwallis with the Rockbridge Militia by Odell McGuire. Says McQuire in the same piece: "[Capt. James] Tate's Company [of Augusta County] was discharged generally some short time after that battle [of Guilford CH], in consequence as was supposed of its having suffered excessively in bringing on the genl. engagement at that place -- not more than 20 or 25 men having survived..."MGC.
[2458] FRM p. 1748.
[2459] NGP7 pp. 456n, 461n, AR81 p. 71, GHA4 pp. 57-58, MLW4A p. 382, CAC p. 44, CNS2 pp. 185-192.

your glorious exertion in the last campaign and let it not be said that you shrink from danger at this time of interesting crisis."[2460]

20 March. Following his return to South Carolina, Pickens reached the Catawba River (see 8 March.)[2461]

20 March. Clinton dispatched Maj. Gen. William Phillips to Virginia with 2,000-2,500 men to provide security for Arnold's force, and to support Cornwallis by interrupting supplies coming to Greene's army from Virginia. Transports carrying Phillips troops left New York March 20th and arrived at Portsmouth on March 26th. Taking in Arnold's command, Phillips now had some 3,500 men at his disposal; wih some time being spent to shore up Portsmouth's defenses and then proceed with land operations in Virginia. See 27 March.[2462]
Clinton's instructions to Major General William Phillips (and which, as Clinton after the war pointed out, Cornwallis later improperly read and interpreted as being directed to him): "You will be pleased to proceed with the troops embarked under your command to Chesapeak[e] Bay, and there form a junction as soon as possible with Brigadier-general Arnold, whom, and the corps with him, you will take under your orders.
"Should any unforeseen accident prevent your forming an immediate junction with Brigadier-general Arnold, you will, however, exert every endeavour [sic] to communicate with him. And as the principal object of your expedition is the security of him, the troops at present under his orders, and the posts he occupies on Elizabeth River, near the mouth of James River in Virginia, you will, of course, use every means to attain this very material purpose. -- the properest [sic] methods to be pursued on this occasion cannot be exactly pointed out to you, but must be left to your discretion.
"When you shall have formed your junction with Brigadier-general Arnold, if you find that General acting under the orders of Earl Cornwallis, you will, of course, endeavour to fulfil [sic] those orders. -- If this should not be the case; after receiving every information respecting his probable situation, you will make such movements with the corps then under your orders as can be made consistent with the security of the post on Elizabeth River, or you shall think will most effectually assist his Lordships operations, by destroying or taking any magazines the enemy may have on James River, or at Petersburg, on the Appamatox. After which, if it should be thought necessary, you will establish a post, or posts, at such stations on James River, as shall appear best calculated to open the way for, and secure the safety, as far as possible, of a rapid movement of troops to give jealousy for Upper James River, and to interrupt the course of supplies to the Carolinas.
"The object of co-operation with Lord Cornwallis being fulfilled, you are at liberty to carry on such desultory expeditions for the purpose of destroying the enemy's public stores and magazines in any part of the Chesapeak[e], as you shall judge proper.
"If the Admiral, disapproving of Portsmouth, and requiring a fortified station for large ships in the Chesapeak, should propose York Town or Old Point Comfort, if possession of either can be acquired and maintained without great risk or loss, you are at liberty to take possession thereof: but if the objections are such as you shall think forcible, you must, after stating those objections, decline it, till solid operations take place in the Chesapeak.
"As to whatever relates to the people of the country, their being received and armed, or being more for the King's service that they should remain quietly at their houses, or respecting the oaths that should be offered to them, or for your general conduct in matters of this kind, I refer you to my Instructions to Major-general Leslie, and Brigadier-general Arnold, copies of which will be given to you.
"And concerning your return to this place, you will receive either my orders or Lord Cornwallis's, as circumstances may make necessary.
"'Tis presumed your Lordship will be able to spare troops to station at Portsmouth, &c. but should that not be the case, you are at liberty to leave either the regiment of Prince Hereditaire [aka Erb Prinz] or the seventy-sixth, or both, for that purpose, under any officer, being a general officer, Lord Cornwallis may choose to appoint; but if it should be an officer of your own appointing, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel; I think Lieutenant-colonel Dundas, as being acquainted with the spot, should remain.
"It is probable, whenever the objects of this expedition are fulfilled, and that you have strengthened the present works, and added such others as you shall think necessary, that you may return to this place. -- In which case, you must bring with you Brigadier-general Arnold, the Light Infantry, Colonel Robinson's corps [the Loyal American Regt.], or the seventy-sixth, and, if it should be possible, the Queen's Rangers.
"The moment you have communicated with Lord Cornwallis, and heard from his Lordship, you are to consider yourself as under his Lordship's orders, until he, or you shall hear further from me."[2463]

21 March. Greene's army camped at Thom's Mill, on South Buffalo Creek. He wrote Lee that his men had been without bread for two days. He consequently, had to pause in order allow provisions to come up. The main army was also sorely lacking cartridges which, meanwhile, were being made "as fast as possible." When Greene was ready, he ordered Lee, and some Virginia riflemen to trail Cornwallis' rear guard. William Johnson, interestingly, likens Greene's follow-up on Cornwallis as a sort of reversal of roles seen the "Race to the Dan;" with here Greene being the pursuer and Cornwallis the pursued in what we ourselves might call the "Race to the Deep."[2464]

[2460] LLC Appendix xxx, TPY p. 237n. It has been conjectured that Lee and other American officers were under the mistaken impression that Cornwallis might retreat through these or nearby southwest N.C. counties; hence his writing the militia leaders there.
[2461] NGP8 p. 71n.
[2462] EHJ p. 294, NGP7 p. 459n, CAR pp. 254-255, 495-497, AR81 pp. 79-80, GHA4 p. 62, MLW4A pp. 425-426, LMS pp. 307-308, JLG2 p. 51, WAR2 p. 870.
[2463] COC pp. 61-64.
[2464] NGP7 pp. 456-457, MLW4A pp. 382-383, JLG2 pp. 26-30.

Lee: "Without money to purchase, the subsistence of the troops depended upon the compulsory collection from the country through which the army marched; and Colonel Davie could with difficulty procure within one day enough for that; so that the general would be often obliged to extend or contract his march to correspond with the fluctuating supply of provisions. To settlements which had from their distance escaped the British foraging parties, it became necessary for our commissary general to resort; and the conveyance of supply, when collected, devolved upon the quartermaster-general. [Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington.]"…[Such maneuvering to accommodate foraging] "sometimes menaced the necessity of temporary separation of his (Greene's) troops, by detaching them to different districts for the procurement of food."[2465]

22 March. Greene wrote Malmedy stating that he lacked 30 or 40 wagon horses, without which the army could not move. Malmedy therefore was directed to collect and forward horses as soon as possible. There had been efforts to secure additional mounts from Virginia by impressments about this time, and with the support of Gov. Jefferson; however, resistance from horse owners soon forced a halt to this. As William Johnson points out, it was with no small irony that in May Cornwallis seized numerous horses to mount his men when he invaded Virginia -- many of which animals might instead have been in service wih Greene.[2466]

22 March. Admiral François Joseph Paul, Marquis de Grasse Tilly, Comte de Grasse, whose fleet was to play a decisive role in subsequent events, debarked from Brest with 20 ships of the line. He reached Martinique by the close of April.[2467]

22-25 March. Cornwallis on he 22nd arrived at Walcher's Plantation,[2468] six miles west of the Haw River, and twenty-three miles southwest of Hillsborough (the "Scottish Travel Log" entry for this date has "Walker's Plantation.") From there he subsequently marched south along the Haw to Ramsey's Mill, on Rocky River which flows into the Deep River. From Walcher's, Cornwallis subsequently moved in the direction of Ramsey's Mill on the Deep River.[2469]
"Scottish Travel Log": [23 Mar.] "Dixon's Mill"; [24 Mar.] "Pile[']s Plantation"; [25 Mar.] "Chatham Court House."

23 March (also given as 21 March and 24 March). [battle] Beattie's Mill, also Little Hogskin Creek (Abbeville or McCormick County, S.C.) Col. Elijah Clark (who had only recently recovered from the wound he had received in December 1780) was retreating from Long Canes, where he had again apparently had been trying to enlist recruits. On the 23rd, with 180 he fought a skirmish at Beattie's Mill against 90 loyalists under Maj. James Dunlop who were out foraging.[2470] Both sides were mounted, though the loyalists had some regular cavalry.[2471] Even though Clark's force was twice as large as Dunlop's, many of his men were without arms. In any case, Dunlop's men were, notwithstanding, thoroughly defeated and himself captured. Pickens, who subsequently met up with Clark, reported loyalist casualties to Greene as 34 killed and 42 captured. A few days later, while being held prisoner in Gilbertown, Dunlop was murdered by a guard or someone connected with the person(s) guarding him. Genuinely infuriated, Pickens offered a reward for the apprehension of the perpetrator, but he was never found.[2472]
William Johnson: "Pickens very soon succeeded in breaking up the Tory settlements so effectually, that they were obliged to take refuge under the guns of Ninety-Six, and embody themselves for mutual protection under the command of [Brig.] General [Robert] Cunningham. Even here they were not permitted to rest, but were pursued and attacked by night; and but for the unfortunate mistake of a guide, would have been destroyed in the midst of fancied security. M'Call [Lieut. Col. James McCall], who possessed greatly the confidence of the Georgians, was joined by many of the Whigs from that state, and falling upon a party commanded by a Major Dunlap [Dunlop], a tory officer, who had rendered himself infamous by his barbarity, succeeded in capturing the whole party. [Elijah] Clark, [John] Twiggs, Jackson and a number of distinguished Georgians, now returned into action, and such a change was produced in the face of things, as to extort from Major [actually Lieut. Col. John Harris] Cruger the commander at Ninety-Six, in a letter to Colonel Balfour which was intercepted, the following exclamation: -- 'the exertions of the rebels have been very great -- they have stolen most of our new-made subjects in Long-Cane, and many to the southward of us, whose treachery exceeds every idea I ever had of the most faithless men. It will soon be a matter of little consequence who has this part of the country, as nothing is like to be planted this season, every man being either in arms or hid in the swamps, and a great consumption of last year's crops.'"[2473]

[2465] LMS pp. 288-289.
[2466] NGP7 p. 462, JLG2 pp. 40-42, 59, 114-115.
[2467] AR81 pp. 106-107, GHA4 p. 79, MLW4A p. 468, CGP p. lv.
[2468] According to the Von Bose *Journal*, p.53, cited in NGP7 p. 461n. Yet if so, it is something of a mystery why, on the 26th, Greene was approaching Cornwallis, at Ramsey's Mill, from Rigdon's Ford, on Rocky River (to the west of Cornwallis) rather than from up the Haw River (north of Cornwallis.) Also in terms of distance, by going by way of Walcher's to Ramsey's Mill from Bell's Mill, Cornwallis would have been taking a wide detour.
[2469] STL, CAC p. 44, NGP7 pp. 456n, 461n.
[2470] Sumter, in a letter to Greene of 28 March, speaks of the action taking place near the Savannah River, and that Dunlop had 80, of whom 70 were killed or wounded or taken prisoner, including Dunlop. BGC p. 143.
[2471] Dunlop himself, had also, not long before, just returned to the field after recovering from wounds which he (in his case), had received in September 1780.
[2472] NGP8 pp. 71-72, GDH2 p. 46, MHG p. 510, MSC2 pp. 119n-120n, 127-128, 746, BGC p. 143, RBG p. 153. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/beattiesmill.htm
[2473] JLG2 p. 107.

23 March. Von Steuben, at Williamsburg, wrote to Greene saying he was sending 4 six-pounders from Virginia to replace those Greene lost at Guilford Court House. Ammunition re-supply was not readily available however. Capt. Anthony Singleton, Greene's artillery commander, had been sent north after Guilford to Prince Edward Court House to obtain cartridges needed for the army. Although he apparently did not get much in the way of cartridges, Singleton did, even so, pick up the guns[2474] at "Hood's" [Point], near Williamsburg, which von Steuben spoken of. Also about this same time, Greene sent for two cannon that had been earlier removed from the army for repairs and stored at Oliphant's Mill, near Sherrald's Ford on the Catawba.[2475] These last two guns were with Greene by the time of Hobkirk's Hill, and one of them (subsequently commanded by Finley) was that which later in April was dispatched to assist Marion and Lee.[2476]

24-25 March. [raid] Road to Ramsey's Mill (Chatham County, N.C.) Since Greene was at Rigdon's Ford[2477] on the 26th, Cornwallis probably arrived at Ramsey's Mill, N.C., (situated on the north bank of the Deep River) on the 26th. On the day then previous to Cornwallis' halting at Ramsay's, some of his Jägers were surprised in their encampment by 20 of Col. Marquis de Malmedy's militia horsemen (probably his cavalry), and three of the Jägers taken prisoner. That Cornwallis felt the need to mention the incident in a letter to Clinton (of April 10th) speaks to the bravery and cleverness of the raid. The British remained at Ramsey's for a few days, during which time Cornwallis built an impressive bridge for his troops over the Deep River. An effort was made by an advanced party of Lee's Legion and some riflemen to destroy the it, but this expedition was called off when the detachment guarding the structure was reinforced.[2478]
Tarleton: "The day before the King's troops arrived at Ramsey's, the Americans insulted the yagers in their encampment: The royalists remained a few days at Ramsey's, for the benefit of the wounded, and to complete a bridge over Deep river, when the light troops of the Americans again disturbed the pickets, and the army were ordered under arms. "[2479]

Pension statement of John Chumbley of Amelia County, VA.: "We remained a few days in Green[e]'s army at the draw works [Speedwell's Iron Works] till the retreat of the enemy commenced, and Green began to hurry. He recollects that they overtook the enemy at the bridge at Ramsay's [Mill] by evening of a forced march, but they escaped without injury. He distinctly recollects the bridge the enemy had thrown across Deep River at [Ramsey's] Mills. At this place large rocks rise in several places in the river and the enemy had taken the trunks of the largest trees and placed them along on these rocks so as to form a bridge. He recollects he was astonished to conjecture how human strength could have placed so large trees in that position across the river."

25 March. [skirmish] Stewart's Creek, N.C. ONB3 pp. 164-165.

25 March. Hearing of the French naval defeat, and resultant loss of the anticipated reinforcements under de Viomenil, Lafayette returned from meeting von Steuben to Annapolis, and there, his men not very happy being situated so far south, contemplated marching back with his army to rejoin Washington, but later at Washington's behest decided against doing so.
On March 26, at Annapolis, he informed General Washington: "I have directed that Arnold [at Portsmouth] be circumscribed within his works on both sides of the Dismal Swamp. The water is still opened him, but every armed vessel in the rivers is getting ready to do what little service can be expected from them. The detachment at Annapolis is also ordered to be in the most perfect readiness."[2480]

26 March. On this date, Greene, "On the March to Regdon's [Rigdon's] Ford," N.C., wrote to Captain Pleasant Henderson of Granville County, N.C., and directed him to move with his mounted infantry to Cross Creek to remove public stores there in advance of Cornwallis. "The supply of provisions of provisions should be sent eight or ten miles into the country on the east side of the Cape Fear River if wagons are available. If wagons cannot be collected, the provisions should be left at different points along the river, and all boats within 15 or 20 miles of Cross Creek should be collected and put under guard." Most valuable stores should be secured first, and those which cannot move should be destroyed." The editor of the Nathanael Greene Papers, citing the *Journal of the Von Bose Regiment*, states: "Cornwallis's troops found '500 rebels' at Cross Creek, who 'withdrew' after having "partly burnt their stores and partly carried them off. The remaining stores of provisions was collected together and distributed amongst the [British] troops." (*Von Bose Journal*, p. 52.)[2481] Meanwhile, additional baggage and stores of Greene's army not already with him were being sent on via the Saura Towns and Shallow Ford to Charlotte.[2482]

Caruthers: "Stores of provisions for the American army had been collected at Cross creek, but when General Greene found that Cornwallis would go down on that side of the river, he dispatched couriers to General Lillington, who was stationed in that region with a body of militia, to remove these stores, and annoy them as

[2474] Ostensibly, there were four cannon sent from Virginia, yet in his ensuing battles Greene only had four and not six (i.e. adding the two already at Oliphant's), so that Singleton may have only returned with 2.
[2475] Regarding the site of Oliphant's Mill, see SNC p. 393.
[2476] NGP7 p. 468n, JLG2 pp. 67, 74, SNC pp. 393-394.
[2477] Rigdon's Ford (also "Rigden's Ford"), on Rocky Creek, was upriver, about twelve miles west-northwest of Ramsey's Mill.
[2478] STL, NGP7 p. 475, TCS pp. 278-280, LMS pp. 288-289, JLG2 pp. 26-30.
[2479] TCS p. 279.
[2480] GHA4 pp. 109-110, LLW p. 165.
[2481] NGP7 pp. 468-469, 469n, JLG2 pp. 28-30.
[2482] NGP7 pp. 481-482.

much as possible. The removal of the stores to a place where they were safe, or could easily be protected left the British army no resource, except the immediate neighborhood, and that, especially after it had been so much ravaged, could hardly afford one ration for fifteen hundred or two thousand men. They were obliged to leave; but they could not descend the river in boats; for Lillington had destroyed or removed them all for a number of miles; and there were many Whigs daring spirits and good riflemen, who would have made a descent on the river, if the boats had been at command, rather a hazardous business."[2483]

27 March (also given as 26 March, while Ewald's diary entry has the 31st.) British Maj. Gen. William Phillips, having left New York on the 20th, landed at Portsmouth, VA. with some 2,000-2,500 troops (2,200 being Ewald's figure); this was comprised of two battalions of light infantry (together at 1,000 men),[2484] the 76th Regt. (600), the Prince Hereditaire Regt. (i.e., Erb Prinz, 500), and a detachment of artillery (100). Before leaving New York, he had been instructed by Clinton to continue what Arnold started, namely destroying bases in Virginia (particularly Petersburg and those on the James River) and to support Cornwallis by interrupting the flow of supplies to Greene's army.[2485]

27 March (possibly 26 March). On the 27th, Greene had the opportunity to attack Cornwallis, who was camped at Ramsey's Mill (with William Johnson characterizing the Americans, despite their own fatgue and shortages of supply, as still animated and spoiling for a fight against Cornwallis' sore and weary column.) Though the British were encumbered with many wounded, Greene, nonetheless, declined to engage; probably because he was now without artillery, short of ammunition, and because most of his militia were gone as well. Having moved farther from his own supply sources, and with the British falling back toward theirs, the gamble in sum then was not worth hazarding. The next morning (the 28th), Cornwallis departed Ramsey's over the bridge he had constructed. Greene followed him and then occupied the mill. American accounts make it sound as if Cornwallis' fleeing prevented the battle, but this perhaps was reading too much into Cornwallis' retreat, while ignoring other factors present. The truth of the matter seems to be neither was in much of a condition to resume fighting.[2486]
In a letter to Samuel Huntington of March 30th, Greene reported: "I wrote your Excellency on the 23d from Buffalo Creek. Since which we have been in pursuit of the Enemy, and tho' without Cannon I was determined to bring them to Action again. As most of the Inhabitants between Pedee and Haw River are disaffected we found the greatest difficulty in procuring supplies and obtaining intelligence. Our reconnoitering parties were frequently shot down by the Tories, while they furnished the Enemy with a plenty of every thing, and doubtless gave them good intelligence. On the 27th we arrived at Rigdens [Rigdon's] ford twelve Miles above this, expecting the Enemy would have crossed the Day before and that we should have found the River fordable, and that we could have fallen in with the Enemy at the junction of the Roads 12 Miles beyond the ford. But on my arrival there I found the Enemy had not crossed but still lay at Ramsays [Ramsey's] Mill, from which I expected they meant to wait an attack. I left our Baggage on the ground and put the Army in motion without loss of time. But we found the Enemy had crossed some Hours before our arrival, and with such precipitation that they left their dead unburied on the ground. The want of provision and the greater part of the Virginia Militia's time of service being out prevented our further pursuit. Our Men had suffered so much for the want of provisions that many of them fainted on the march. The Enemy was on the route to Cross Creek, and Wilmington."[2487]

Tarleton: "Before the end of the month, the British crossed the river, and the same day General Greene reached Ramsey's with an intention to attack them. The halt of the King's troops at that place nearly occasioned an action, which would not probably have been advantageous to the royal forces, on account of the badness of the position, and the disheartening circumstance of their being encumbered with so many wounded officers and men since the action at Guildford. Deep river, over which the rear guard broke the bridge, the want of provisions, and the desert country through which the King's troops now commenced their march, impeded the immediate advance of General Greene, and Earl Cornwallis, without any material occurrence, entered Cross creek."[2488]
Otho Williams: "So great was the avidity of the Americans to renew the conflict with Cornwallis, that notwithstanding the weather was very wet and the roads deep, they marched almost constantly without any regular supply of provisions. On the morning of the 28th, they arrived at Ramsay's [Ramsey's] mills on Deep river, a strong position which his lordship evacuated a few hours before, by crossing the river on a bridge erected for that purpose. Evident signs of precipitation were found in and about his lordship's environment. Several of the dead were left on the ground unburied. Beef in quarters was found in the slaughter pen on which the hungry continentals set greedily; but that not being sufficient to allay their keen appetites, they eat without a murmur the garbage which was meant for the buzzards." [2489]

28 March. Greene set up headquarters at Ramsey's Mill where he remained till 6 April. Cornwallis in the meantime, and who had left Ramsey's that same morning, marched (along the west bank of the Cape Fear River) on to Cross Creek; which he reached by either March 30th or 31st.[2490]

[2483] CNS2 pp. 189-190.
[2484] These specific figures come from Ewald, EHJ p. 294.
[2485] EHJ p. 294, NGP7 p. 474n, SQR pp. 186-187, CAR pp. 254-255, JLG2 p. 51, CBA p. 566.
[2486] NGP7 pp. 472-473, 475, NGP8 pp. 7-8, TCS pp. 279-280, GHA4 pp. 58-59, MLW4A pp. 382-383, LMS p. 290, JLG2 pp. 26-30.
[2487] NGP8 pp. 7-8.
[2488] TCS pp. 279-280.
[2489] GHA4 p. 58.
[2490] KJO p. 15, GHA4 pp. 58-59, LMS p. 290.

Kirkwood: "28th Marched and Crossed Deep River at Ramsey[']s Mill, on the bridge the British made for themselves. This day we expected a Genl. Action to have commenced but his Lordship thought it most prudent to decline it, by a speedy march to Cross Creek...14 [miles]."[2491]

William Seymour: "On the twentieth March our army encamped on Deep River at Ramsey's Mill after a march of a hundred and twenty miles. On our march hither we came through a very barren part of the country, the inhabitants being for the most part Tories, which rendered our march the more unpleasant. Here the enemy built a bridge over the river, which they left standing, they not having time to pull it down, so close did we pursue them. From this place was Colonel Lee dispatched with his Horse and Infantry, Captain Oldham,of the Fourth Maryland regiment, with his company, and one six-pounder." [2492]

Pension statement of Benjamin Williams of Chatham County, N.C.: "(T)hey went in pursuit of Cornwallis, whom they followed, to...on Deep River, here they offered the British...and Cornwallis sent a reply that he would fight them in the morning, but during the night had built a bridge over the river and Col. Green [Nathanel Greene] now returned to [Ramsey's Mill?]...where the army stayed ..."

Lee: "Lord Cornwallis, conceiving it probable that the American army was not far in the rear, seeking battle, which his situation now made him anxious to avoid. At length he reached Ramsay's mill, on Deep river, where he halted a few days to renew his humane exertions for the comfort of his wounded, and to collect, if possible, provisions; the country between this place and Cross creek being sterile and sparsely settled. During this delay his lordship threw a bridge over the river, by which he might readily pass as he moved down on its northern bank. Nothing material occurred between the adverse van and rear corps; nor did the British general even make any serious attempt to drive from his neighborhood the corps of Lee; so sorely did he continue to feel the effects of his dear bought victory.
"General Greene lost a moment in moving from his camp on the Troublesome, after the arrival of his military stores; and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the deepness of the roads, he pressed forward from day to day by forced marches; but interruptions, unavoidable, occasionally delayed his progress. When the quarter master general assumed the duties of his station at Guilford court house, as has been before remarked, all that department of the army was entirely deranged; and such had been the rapid succession of keen and active service, that with all his laborious application, he had not been able to introduce into full operation his own system, although he had contrived to afford the means of prompt motion to the army. New duties became, from the necessity of the case, connected with his department. Without money to purchase, the subsistence of the troops depended upon compulsory collection form the country through which the army marched; and colonel Davie could with difficulty procure within one day enough for that day; so that the general would be often obliged to extend or contract his march to correspond with the fluctuating supply of provisions. Our difficulties in this line were considerably increased, as the British army had preceded us; and nothing but the gleanings of an exhausted country were left for our subsistence. To settlements which had form their distance escaped the British foraging parties, it became necessary for our commissary general to resort; and the conveyance to camp of supply when collected, devolved upon the quarter master general…Equally affectionate and equally provident, he [Greene] could not present to his much-loved troops refitments [sic] and refreshments so much wanted. No magazines were opened for our accommodation; rest to our weary limbs was the only boon within his grasp. The meager beef of the pine barrens, with corn-ash cake was our food, and water our drink; yet we were content; we were more than content -- we were happy."[2493]

28 March.[2494] Watson left Blakely's on the afternoon of the 28th and headed for Georgetown with Marion on his heels taking occasional stragglers. His passage was blocked by fallen trees at Ox Swamp, seven miles below Blakely's; the swamp itself an uninviting obstacle. He then turned south and crossing the pine barrens made for the Santee Road, some of Marion's men sniping at his column along the way. It was evidently Watson's purpose to refresh and restrengthen his detachment at Georgetown before having another go at Marion.[2495]
Bass: "Ox Swamp, not to be confused with Ox Swamp in Clarendon County, runs into the Black river about twelve miles below Kingstree."[2496]

29 March (or within a day or two). [skirmish] Sampit Bridge (Georgetown County, S.C.) Marion sent Peter Horry's horsemen ahead of Watson, and they destroyed the Sampit Bridge in Watson's path as the later continued down the road toward Georgetown. Horry's men set themselves in place to receive Watson, but the British drove forward with the bayonet. At the same time, however, Marion attacked Watson's rear. His own horse shot out from under him, Watson then opened up his cannon on the rebels and drove them back. Leaving twenty dead behind him, Watson then proceeded to Trapier's Plantation where he camped. The next day, with a reported two wagon loads of wounded, he finally made it to Georgetown. Although there is apparently no accurate count of his losses during his expedition against Marion during this month, the total was reportedly not inconsiderable -- 40 being both a reasonable and conservative estimate. Marion casualties, on the other hand, appear to have been negligible.[2497]

[2491] KJO p. 15.
[2492] SJS.
[2493] LMS pp. 288-289, 296.
[2494] Ripley gives the date as 18 March.
[2495] MMS2 pp. 224-230, BSF p. 154, RBG p. 151
[2496] BSF p. 259n. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/oxswamp2.htm
[2497] BSF pp. 154-155, RBG p. 151.

John Watson: "Over Sampit Creek was a bridge rising in pyramid form, so that till upon it, you could not see that the boards had been taken up on the opposite side. Ordering therefore a few Light Infantry to get over upon the rafters and make that examination, so suspicious a circumstance warranted. They soon discovered the enemy behind the thickets and railings of a house adjoining; who upon this came out and began firing upon the troops at the Bridge, whilst Mr. Marion at the same instant appeared formed to attack our rear. Having ordered one gun up with Major [Thomas] Barclay of the Light Infantry to face the Bridge, I formed the 64th to receive Mr. Marion. A better regiment than this never took the field.
"The spirit of these hardy veterans soon broke his [Marion's] line and put them in confusion. The enemy being driven by the Light Infantry and the Bridge secured, I ordered part of the 64th to pursue, whilst the commanding officer, with the remainder, followed in good order. But observing a little knot of them, who from eagerness to run different ways, had got huddled, they could not clear themselves. I led those twenty mounted men of Captain Harrison's [Maj. John Harrison of the S.C. Rangers], before mentioned, to charge them, when by one on those panics, which are never meant to be accounted for, in the very instant of charge, where each of the enemy were twisting how to avoid the stroke, every individual man, turned about, galloped off and would have rode over the 64th Regiment, if Captain [Dennis] Kelly, who commanded it, had not ordered his men to present their arms and swore he would fire upon them, calling out and pointing to where they had left me; for not feeling the destruction they expected, the enemy, turning their heads over their shoulders, saw me alone. Our surprise was mutual, but Parthian like, they fired a volley as they fled and shot my horse. On seeing him fall and me laying under him, one fellow more determined than the rest, separated himself to fire at me, but a black servant I had, who always carried a fowling piece of mine, seized by anxiety, at seeing my horse fall, ran up, stood over me and shot him. Providentially, I was not hurt and preserving in the pursuit, as far as could be any advantage to infantry, we continued our march, the Light Infantry having repaired the Bridge."[2498]

29 March (or 28 March) [raid] Snow's Island (Florence County, S.C.) While Marion had been sparring with Watson, Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, with the New York Volunteers, were sent from Camden by Rawdon as the second prong of the plan to catch Peedee guerilla. The date Doyle set out is not clear but sometime near the end of the month, "after crossing Lynch s Creek at McCallam's Ferry, he had moved down on the east of that river,"[2499] subsequently assailing Marion's base at Snow's Island. The island was defended by Col. Hugh Ervin and a small detachment. Of this latter force, 7 were killed and 15 were captured, most of these were reportedly too ill to flee, while a remainder escaped. Ervin's men did, however, have enough advanced notice to be able to throw supplies and ammunition in the river. Doyle liberated some prisoners including Cornet Merritt of the Queen's Rangers and 25 other men; while himself suffering 2 wounded in the action. The loss to Marion of his arms and ammunition was quite serious and afterward and for the rest of the year it was with some difficulty that he endeavored to make up for the shortfall; securing supplies when and where he could.[2500]
Capt. John Saunders, on the other hand, gives this version of what transpired: "They [Marion's men] crammed [Thomas] Merritt, with about twenty others, serjeants [sic] and privates of different British regiments, in a small, nasty, dark place, made of logs, called a bull-pen; but he was not long here before he determined to extricate himself and his fellow prisoners, which he thus effected: after having communicated his intention to them, and found them ready to support him, he pitched upon the strongest and most during soldier, and having waited some days for a favourable opportunity, he observed that his guards (militia) were much alarmed, which he found was occasioned by a party of British having come into that neighbourhood. He then ordered this soldier to seize the sentry, who was posted at a small square hole cut through the logs, and which singly served the double purposes of door and window, which he instantly executed, drawing the astonished sentry to this hole with one hand, and threatning [sic] to cut his throat with a large knife which beheld in the other, if he made the smallest resistance, or out-cry; then Cornet Merritt, and the whole party, crawled out the one after the other, undiscovered by the guard, though it was in the day time, until the whole had got out. He then drew them up, which the officer of the guard observing, got his men under arms, as fast as he could, and threatened to fire on them if they attempted to go off: Merritt replied, that if he dared to fire a single shot at him, that he would cut the whole of his guard to pieces, (having concerted with his men in such a case, to rush upon the enemy and tear their arms out of their hands,) which so intimidated him, that, although Merritt's party was armed only with the spoils of the sentry and with clubs, he yet permitted them to march off, unmolested, to a river at some distance, where Cornet Merritt knew, from conversation which he had had with the sentries, that there was a large rice-boat, in which he embarked and brought his party through a country of above fifty miles safe into George Town. To you the undaunted spirit and bravery of this young man, is not unknown: they obtained for him in his distress your friendship and protection. Col. Balfour was pleased to approve his conduct, and in a letter to me, dated Charles Town 2d April 1781, expresses it then 'I rejoice most sincerely that your Cornet has escaped, his conduct and resolution does him great credit, and I wish I had it in my power to show him my sense of it by more substantial marks than this testimony; but the only mode I have is by offering him a Lieutenancy of a provincial troop:' this Cornet Merritt declined."[2501]

29 March. Greene, at Ramsey's Mill, wrote to Gen. Washington: "In this critical and distressing situation I am determined to carry the War immediately into South Carolina. The Enemy will be obliged to follow us or give up the posts in that State. If the former takes place it will draw the War out of this State and give it an opportunity to raise its proportion of Men. If they leave their posts to fall they must lose more than they can gain here. If we

[2498] WNR.
[2499] MSC2 p. 118.
[2500] JFM pp. 43-44, MSC2 pp. 118-119, MSC2 p. 746, BSF pp. 156-157, RBG pp. 151-152.
[2501] SQR pp. 245-246.

continue in this State the Enemy will hold their possessions in both." By April 6th, Greene subsequently left Ramsey's Mill to head south towards Camden.[2502]
After the war, Cornwallis wrote: "The march of General Greene into South Carolina, and Lord Rawdon's danger, made my situation very critical. Having heard of the arrival of a pacquet [sic] from Europe, without any certain accounts of the failing of the reinforcements, I thought it too hazardous to remain inactive; and, as it was impossible to receive in any time any orders or opinions from Sir Henry Clinton to direct me, it became my duty to act from my own judgment and experience; I therefore upon mature deliberation, decided to march into Virginia, as the safest and most effectual means of employing the small corps, under my command, in contributing towards the general success of the war. I came to this resolution principally for the following reasons, -- I could not remain at Wilmington, lest General Greene should succeed against Lord Rawdon, and, by returning to North Carolina, have it in his power to cut off every means of saving my small corps, except that disgraceful one of an embarkation, with the loss of the cavalry and every horse of the army: From the shortness of Lord Rawdon's stock of provisions, and the great distance from Wilmington to Camden, it appeared impossible that any direct move of mine could afford him the least prospect of relief: in the attempt, in case of a misfortune to him, the safety of my own corps might have been endangered; or if he extricated himself, the force in South Carolina, when assembled, was, in my opinion, sufficient to secure what was valuable to us, and capable of defence in that province. I was likewise influenced by having just received an account from Charles-town of the arrival of a frigate with disptaches [sic] from the Commander in Chief, the substance of which, then transmitted to me, was, that General Phillips had been detached to the Chesapeake and put under my orders; which induced me to hope, that solid operations might be adopted in that quarter: and I was firmly persuaded that until Virginia was reduced, we could not hold the southern provinces; and that, after its reduction, they would fall without much resistance, and be retained without much difficulty." [2503]

Tarleton: "The aspect of public affairs at this juncture presented various and opposite designs to the noble earl at Wilmington. Upon the different investigations of the subject, it was too successfully described, that the country between Cape-fear river and Camden was barren, and intersected with creeks and rivers; that the road to George town was replete with the same difficulties; that an embarkation for Charles town was disgraceful, and would occasion delay whilst the transports were coming round; and that Virginia was more accessible, where General Phillips commanded a respectable force. Happy would it have been, as far as general probability can determine, had Earl Cornwallis directed his chief attention to the critical state of South Carolina, and commenced his return by any route to secure it: But it was represented, that the plan of carrying the war into so opulent a province as Virginia, would recall General Greene from the southward as soon as he had information of Lord Cornwallis's design; and that his Lordship would have the advantage of an early movement, to form a powerful army, by joining the corps at Wilmington to the troops under Major-general Phillips, on the banks of James river. This large scale of operations coinciding with Earl Cornwallis's present views, he determined to make an instant attempt upon Virginia. For this purpose, orders were given to the principal officers to prepare their troops as well as they could for a long march, and Lieutenant-colonel Balfour was directed to send transports from Charles town to Cape-fear river, to be in readiness to receive them, in case the expedition was frustrated."

30 March. At Ramsey's Mill, Greene formally discharged the vast majority of the North Carolina and Virginia militia; though most of these had already left (without their term of service having expired). He, in effect, was officially acknowledging then what was already pretty much an foregone fact. In defense of the militia, some have pointed out that it was planting season and many of them were very much needed at home. Virginia militia had been enlisted for six weeks, but many left sooner than this to help plant crops. A small body of North Carolina militia did, notwithstanding, remained with Greene; while other militia from that state stayed in the field elsewhere.[2504] After Greene had departed Ramsey's by the 7th, a corps of N.C. militia under Brig. Gen. Butler remained at the mill to recruit volunteers and gather supplies for the army; with the Virginia militia having been dismissed to their homes by Brig. Gen. Lawson on April 2nd. In a letter to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, of March 30th, Greene said: "Since we recrossed the Dan river we have taken at different times upwards of one hundred and twenty Prisoners and several Officers."[2505]
William Johnson: "The fatigues of the marches and the scantiness of the supplies, had overcome the constancy of the militia, and they demanded their discharge. The volunteers had engaged for six weeks, and the drafted militia had been called out for the same term…The cares of agriculture called the men to their farms. Every step of pursuit was a step further from their homes. A dreary country, affording but small quantities of the necessaries of life, was before them; and what it did afford would be consumed by the necessities of the enemy.

[2502] Lee suggests that he himself first proposed Greene's move south. Though vigorously disputed by some, such as William Johnson, or else explained by saying that Greene had come up with the idea simultaneous with Lee, there seems no compelling reason to dismiss Lee's version as fals or mistaken as some have. Lee, while with Marion, had already gone further south than Greene and to that extent was more familiar with the country. At the same time, a move south would have allowed the commander of the Partizan Corps to act again more independently; which, when Greene strategically moved south, Lee was soon able to do. Robert E. Lee's own defense of his father (not to mention that of the prolix Henry Lee IV) in this matter (LMS pp. 319n-320n), we need to add, is more vehement than this, but not, as some will feel, without strong evidence and justice to sustain it. Henry Lee IV's addressing of this issue on the other hand, is taken to such verbose length that, if we believe him, we are almost forced to conclude that the idea of returning south could *never even* have occurred to Greene himself. NGP7 p. 482n, NGP8 pp. 168, 173, 178-179, MLW4A pp. 383-384, LMS pp. 315-325, GAR1 pp. 63-67, JLG2 pp.32-39, LCC pp. 220-244, 288-290, 297-306, 399n-404n, and appendix pp. xxviii-xxx, TPY pp. 193-195.
[2503] NGP7 p. 481, TCS pp. 283-284, CAC pp. vi-viii, LMS pp. 315-325.
[2504] Many of both the North Carolina and Virginia militia were to have served six months, but ended up serving at most two.
[2505] NGP7 p. 472n, NGP8 p. 9, JLG2 p. 28, RNC pp. 311, 317.

Almost to a man they refused to proceed; and on the 30th, he [Greene] was under the necessity of granting them a discharge. His chagrin on the occasion, did not withhold from the Virginians a well merited compliment on their gallantry and zeal. Nor did the North Carolinians, who still adhered to him, depart without the warmest thanks for their perseverance in adhering to the army under many painful and discouraging circumstances."[2506]
William Seymour: "On the 30th Colonel Washington, with his Horse and Infantry [Kirkwood's Delware company], marched towards Wilcox's Iron Works, in order to have the troop horses shod, which at this time they stood in great need of."[2507]

30 March. Cornwallis reached Cross Creek (Fayetteville's previous name) apparently on the nigh of the 29th, and left that town by April 1st. There the local loyalists showed support for British army, and brought them many needed supplies. With these Cornwallis' troops were somewhat rejuvenated, and some wagons loaded with much needed provisions. He had earlier hoped to stay at Cross Creek, but the difficulty of receiving supplies from Wilmington due to the Cape Fear River's being too narrow at some points for certain crafts and the hostility of inhabitants along its course forbade it.[2508] And as far as actual recruits, Cornwallis was unable to get even a hundred of the Cross Creek loyalists to join him. In a letter to Germain of April 18th, dated Wilmington, he wrote: "For all my information I intended to have halted at Cross-Creek, as a proper place to refresh and refit the troops; and I was much disappointed, on my arrival there, to find it totally impossible: provisions were scarce, not four days forage within twenty miles, and to us the navigation of the Cape Fear river to Wilmington impracticable; for the distance of the water is upwards of one hundred miles, the bredth [sic] seldom above one hundred yards, the banks high, and the inhabitants on each side generally hostile..." [2509] Caruthers relates that on his way to Cross Creek Cornwallis encountered some resistance from isolated parties of whig sharpshooters under Cato Riddle and who attempted to impede and harass his march; regarding which see CNS2 pp. 189-192.
"Scottish Travel Log": [27 Mar.] "Halt [at Ramsey's]"; [28 Mar.] "Little River"; [29 Mar.] "Lower little River MackNeel[']s [MacNeil's?] Plantation"; [30 Mar.] "Cross Creek."

Stedman: "Upon the arrival of the British commander at Cross Creek, he found himself disappointed in all his expectations: Provisions were scarce: Four days forage not to be procured within twenty miles; and the communication expected to be opened between Cross Creek and Wilmington, by means of the river, was found to be impracticable, the river itself being narrow, its banks high, and the inhabitants, on both sides, for a considerable distance, inveterately in the hostile. Nothing therefore now remained to be done but to proceed with the army to Wilmington, in the vicinity of which it arrived on the seventh of April. The settlers upon Cross Creek, although they had undergone a variety of persecutions in consequence of their previous unfortunate insurrections, still retained a warm attachment to their mother-country, and during the short stay of the army amongst them, all the provisions and spirits that could be collected within a convenient distance, were readily brought in, and the sick and wounded plentifully supplied with useful and comfortable refreshments."[2510]

Roger Lamb: "On his [Cornwallis'] arrival at the Creek, every hope was disappointed. Four days forage could not be had in twenty miles, all communication, with Wilmington from the narrowness of the river, was impracticable, and the scattered inhabitants on its lofty banks were irreconcilably hostile."[2511]

31 March. Greene ordered Col. Malmedy and his mounted militia to join Gen. Alexander Lillington's force outside Wilmington. Capt. Pleasant Henderson's company was with Malmedy, and when Cornwallis evacuated Cross Creek (April 1), Malmedy left Henderson with Col. James Emmet at Stewart's Creek.[2512]

31 March. Having been reinforced with Innes' South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, on the 31st, with 300 Provincials and 200 loyalist militia marched to Harrison's Store on Fair Forest Creek to establish a garrison there. When Pickens collected some South Carolina and Georgia men to attack him, Cruger retreated to Ft. Williams. Even so, Pickens had a difficult time keeping his men together for lack of provisions, and wrote Sumter for assistance.[2513]

Late March. At this time upwards of 100 men were enlisted in William Washington's Continental cavalry for duration of war, with a number of them being from North with a few from South Carolina.[2514]

Late March. [ambush] Witherspoon's Ferry (Florence County, S.C.) After the raid on Snow's Island, Doyle retraced his steps six or seven miles to Witherspoon's Ferry where he camped on the north bank of Lynches River. When Marion returned from his pursuit of Watson he camped at Indiantown; at which time his active brigade had dropped down to about 70 men. Notwithstanding, he sent out Lieut. Col. Hugh Horry and Capt. William McCottry who ambushed some of Doyle's men foraging near the plantations on Lynches River, and then

[2506] JLG2 p. 28.
[2507] SJS.
[2508] Cross Creek and Wilmington, about a hundred miles separate from each other, are both situated on and therefore linked by the Cape Fear River.
[2509] AR81 pp. 71-72, STL, CAR pp. 268, 508, CAC p. 45, SAW2 pp. 351-352, CNS2 pp. 186-192, DRO pp. 166-168.
[2510] SAW2 p. 352.
[2511] LJA p. 357.
[2512] Stewart's Creek runs into Rockfish Creek, a tributary of the Cape Fear river. NGP8 pp. 11, 29-30.
[2513] NGP8 p. 71.
[2514] HWW p. 114.

attacked another party who were engaged in sinking the boat at the ferry. Doyle is said to have lost 9 killed or wounded, and 15 or 16 taken prisoner in the encounter. Either just before or after this event, Marion was joined by a reinforcement under Col. Able Kolb to assist against Doyle The latter, however, made haste to withdraw, and destroying his heavy baggage retired to Camden.[2515]
Henry Nase: "27th. March -- a Detachment of thirty Cavalry set off [from] Nelson[']s ferry, as an escort to a Number of wagons [sic].
28th. March. the [sic] Cavalry, of the N.Y. Vols. under Command of Majr. [John] Coffin, March'd for Lt. Colo. [Welbore] Doyle[']s Command [Volunteers of Ireland]--
"Apl. 1st. 1781 -- the whole Command, under Lt Colo. Doyle, Returns, with fourteen rebel Prisoners –"[2516]

Late March or early April. A "small detachment" of 1,000 reinforcements (Gordon states 1,800) for Phillips and Arnold was sent from New York to Portsmouth. This group was separate from that of Phillips which had earlier arrived in Virginia on March 27th. [2517]

[2515] NGP8 p. 32n, JFM p. 44, MSC2 p. 746, BSF pp. 157-158,162, RBG pp. 151-152.
[2516] NDI.
[2517] GHA4 pp. 111, CAR p. 276.

APRIL 1781

April. Col. Alured Clarke took a portion of the Savannah garrison to St. Augustine, FLA. to help shield that post from possible Spanish invasion; while Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Porbeck stayed in Savannah as the senior British officer in Georgia. Clarke returned with his detachment to Savannah by June 7th.[2518]

April. [skirmish] Hanging Tree (Randolph County?, N.C.) Sometime in the Spring of 1781, possibly April, and the location not clear, Capt. David Fanning and his men were surrounded at a house of a friend by 14 whig militia under a Capt. John Hinds, with both sides losing a man killed. Fanning and most of his men apparently were forced to retreat and made their escape. One of the his men, nonetheless, was captured by Hinds, and says Fanning in his *Narrative*, hanged "on the spot where we had killed the man [a whig] a few days before." For this, he says "we were determined to have satisfaction;" which on 11 May he did.[2519]
David Fanning: "Two days following [Fanning's meeting Cornwallis at Dixon's Mill on Cane Creek], I returned to the army at Chatham Court house, after being surprised and dispersed by the Rebel Dragoons; on my bringing in 70 Loyalists. I joined my company again and went with his Lordship [Cornwallis], to Cross Creek, and as we had lost most of our horses, we determined to return to Deep River, and join his Lordship when on his way to Hillsborough. General Green[e] followed his lordship as far as Little River, and then returned to Ramsey[']s Mills on his way to Camden; his men marched in small partiees [sic] and distressed the friends to Government, through the Deep Rivet settlement; I took 18 of them at different times, and paroled them, and after that we were not distressed by them for some little time; after a little while some of us had assembled at a friends house, where we were surrounded by a party of 14 Rebels under the command of Capt. John Hinds."[2520]

April. [skirmish] Cashua Ferry (Marlboro County, S.C.)[2521]

April. [skirmish] McPherson's Plantation (East side of the Peedee River in S.C.)[2522]

April. [skirmish] Bear Bluff, also "Capt. Daniel Morrall vs. Capt. Joshua Long" (Horry County, S.C.) See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/bearbluff.htm

Early April. After having received a commission and authorization from Marion, Col. William Harden, along with Colonel John Baker and Major George Cooper, rode with 75 to 100 "choice"[2523] men to carry out partisan activity in the Edisto (at the time called "Pon Pon") region roughly between Charlestown, Savannah, and Augusta; and where he and most of his men resided. Previously (ostensibly in January[2524]), Harden had endeavored to enlist men in this area, but with little success. Yet overtime, says William Johnson, his new command would gather up to two hundred men. This said, Harden's numbers would frequently fluctuate as his volunteers usually came and went as they pleased. In the ensuing months it became impossible for the British to entrap him, and he achieved many small successes.[2525]
Tarleton Brown: "On the 1st day of April, 1780 [sic], I left General Marion on the Big Peedee River, in company with eighty others, forming a detachment under the command of Colonel Harden and [John] Baker, and Major John [i.e. George] Cooper. The two last mentioned officers were from Midway settlement, Georgia. There were also several other brave and energetic men who rendered themselves conspicuous in the war in our detachment, Fountin Stewart, Robert Salley, the Sharpes and Goldings, from Georgia. Our route lay by the 'Four Holes.' Crossing the Edisto [i.e. Pon Pon] at Givham's Ferry, we fell in with a man who assisted Brown in hanging the five brace fellows at 'Wiggins' Hill.' We have him his due, and left his body at the disposal of the birds and wild beasts. Pursuing our march, we came to 'Red Hill,' within about two miles of Patterson's Bridge, Salkahachie, It was now in the night, but the moon being full strength, and not a cloud to darken her rays, it was most as bright as day. Near this place were stationed a body of Tories, commanded by Captain Baron [John Barton]. They were desperate fellows, killing, plundering and robbing the inhabitants without mercy or feeling, A company of men, commanded by Major Cooper, were now sent to see what they could do with those murders. In a few minutes after their departure we heard them fighting, which continued for nearly one hour, when Major Cooper returned and told us he bad killed the greater part of them, with but the loss of one man, John Steward, from Georgia."[2526]

Early April (or 13 May or thereabouts in May[2527]). [skirmish] Rockfish, also Legat's bridge, "Capt. Fletcher vs. Col. David Fanning" present day Parkton (Robeson County, N.C.) [2528]

[2518] CGA p. 137
[2519] FNA pp. 15-16.
[2520] FNA pp. 15-16.
[2521] LSC p. 14. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/cashuaferry.htm
[2522] LSC p. 14.
[2523] Marion's description. NGP8 p. 129.
[2524] See Wiggins' Hill, 13 Jan.1781.
[2525] NGP8 p. 129, JLG2 pp. 119-120, MSC pp. 129-136, BSF pp. 172-175, RBG p. 154.
[2526] Brown's chronology is rather confusing, and, at least in part, in error. A certain caution then is called for in accepting the sequence of the events as he gives them. Yet, needless to say, his value as an original, not to mention colorful and vivid, source outweighs such defects. BMS.
[2527] Conjectured May date is O'Kelley's.
[2528] CNS2 pp. 229-231, ONB3 pp. 235-237. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/rockfish.htm

Caruthers: "As the Tories began to rise and form into small parties, the Whigs began to rally for their suppression, and various little conflicts ensued, which were attended with success, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, but gradually increased in frequency and magnitude until the last. Captain Fletcher, from Fayetteville [Cross Creek, or Campbellton], with about twenty-five men, met a much larger body of Tories, who are said to have ben commanded by Colonel [David] Fanning, at Legat's now Davis' Bridge on Rockfish [Creek]. Fletcher gave them one fire and retreated. 'Big' Daniel Shaw, a whig was wounded in the shoulder. Daniel Campbell, a Tory, was mortally wounded and died on the third day. He had been a Lieutenant in the British army; and having been taken prisoner and exchanged, had joined this second rising of the loyalists now in its incipient stage. This is all that I have been able to learn, says Doctor Smith, as to the results of the skirmish on Rockfish, unless it gave rise to the unfortunate reencounter or 'meeting,' between Fletcher and [fellow whig officer] Colonel Armstrong which took place soon after [in which Armstrong accused Fletcher of cowardice]…"[2529]

On April 13, John Ramsey, at "Deep River," wrote to Gov. Thomas Burke (spelling left as in original): "Mr. Jones & my Self returned from Wilmington Last Thursday Evening, the Commander of the Enemeys force there permitted us into town to see our friends who we found all in Good helth the main body of the Enimy [sic] were advanced in the Country. We had no Certainty of their being higher advanced than Rockfish Bridge where they defeated our post there of which you must of had a particular acct. of before now & need only Observe to your Excellency that it seemed to be a finishing Stroke to the well Affected in the Lower Counties it Gives me pain to See them Go in, in bodies to Surrender & indeed I found when I Gott home much the Same Effect, from the daring Spirit of the Tories, almost all the whigs was gone to oppose Fanning & Last Saturday morning a body of Scotch Supposed to be 50 fell in below on Cape Fear within ten miles of Elizabethtown From the Spirit of the remaining few turning out against them, they Retreated with their plunder. I do assure you Sir we are Exceedingly distressed in this Quarter what few there is of us, is Oblidge[d] to be out Constantly or Lay in the woods, I am not able to inform you anything from our party against [David] Fanning, report says both Sides reinforced, its Certain that Edwards from Orrange [Orange] Sett of[f] with Sixty odd men…" [2530]

Early April (or perhaps earlier). A troop of dragoons (probably of from 50 to 60 men), under Maj. John Coffin, was formed out of the South Carolina Rangers, and into which were brought some South Carolina Royalists. Previously as well, Coffin commanded a small troop of mounted New York Volunteers in and around Camden. Also on 15 April, 60 officers and men from the three Hessian Regiments in Charlestown, i.e. von Dittfurth, von Huyne, and von d'Angelleli, were brought together for the formation of Lieut. Friedrich Starckloff's troop of light dragoons.

Early April (also 3 April for Hammond's Mill). [skirmishes] Horn's Creek and Hammond's Mill also (with respect to the first action) Horner's Corner, Horne's Creek, Horner's Creek, and Hammond's mill. (Edgefield County, S.C.) Capt. Thomas McKee[2531] defeated and took prisoner a group of loyalists under a Capt. Clark, who himself was killed in the encounter.[2532] Following the action at Horn's Creek, McKee further attacked and routed a company of loyalists at Hammond's Mill on the Savannah River. Some loyalists were taken prisoner. Hammond speaks of provisions being captured and the mill destroyed. However, if the mill belonged to the Hammond's own family, as it may have been, it seems somewhat strange why McKee would have destroyed it.[2533]
Samuel Hammond (pension statement): "Applicant halted on the South fork of Catawba river, several of his men taken with the Small Pox, he had the whole of command inoculated upwards of 100, which detained him sometime, after which [small pox inoculation of the troops under Clark's, McCall's and Hammond's command – [see *Late April*], he joined Genl. Pickens & was immediately ordered to prepare for the command of a detachment intended to pass into the District of 96 to cause the people friendly to the cause to join & give them aid to expel the Enemy from Carolina and Georgia -- selected for such service & with the assistance of support in Company with Major [James] Jackson of Georgia, an Officer of much popularity & superior military understanding, left Genl. Pickens, date not remembered & not material, passed through District of 96 with one hundred Citizen Soldiers & arrived safe on the margin of the Savannah river near Paces Ferry. Joined there by Capt. Thomas [Mc]Kee of Col. L. [LeRoy] Hammond[']s Regiment & Capt. Henry Graybill of the same with a considerable number of Volunteers, detached Capt. Kee to attack a British post on Horn's Creek commanded by a Capt. Clark. The British party were defeated, the Captain killed & the Company taken & paroled. Major [James] Jackson passed over to Georgia, joined Cols. [John] Baker, [John] Stark & Williamson, who had collected a considerable force of the Georgia militia & were near Augusta, the British outposts were driven in on both sides of the Savannah River & a Siege commenced." [2534]

Samuel Hammond as quoted in Joseph Johnson: "Soon after he [Samuel Hammond] rejoined General Pickens, he was ordered to march with about one hundred men to the district of Ninety-Six, to invite the citizens of that place to join their friends in arms and aid in expelling their enemies. Major James Jackson, of Georgia, joined S. Hammond, being charged to pass into Georgia for similar purposes. Passing through Ninety-Six District, they arrived on the Savannah river, near Pace's Ferry (the day and date not now remembered,) they were joined by Captain Thomas [Mc]Kee, of Colonel LeRoy Hammond's regiment, with a number of men, not now remembered. Next day, detached Captain Kee to attack a party of tories, assembled under Captain Clarke, at his residence,

[2529] CNS2 pp. 229-231.
[2530] CNC15 p. 437.
[2531] McCrady gives Samuel Hammond as whig commander, or else it may be that McKee was one of Hammond's lieutenants.
[2532] HMP, JTR p. 514, RBG p. 236, MSC2 p. 748,.
[2533] MSC2 p. 748, RBG p. 236. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hornscreek.htm and which gives McKee's name as "Key."
[2534] HMP.

on Horne's Creek. Clark was killed and the company all made prisoners; and [following Horne's Creek] they then marched to Colonel L. Hammond's mill on Savannah river, attacked a British fort there, broke up the mill, and took all the provisions belonging to the enemy. -- Joined by between two and three hundred men, from LeRoy Hammond's regiment, and, in a few days, that number was so far increased, as to justify Major. S. Hammond in detaching a part with Major [James] Jackson, to cross to Georgia, and acting in concert, they, in a few days after, commenced the siege of Fort Cornwallis and Grierson in Augusta. The Georgia militia to a considerable number, had been drawn near Augusta, by Colonels Baker, Starke and Williamson, but on Jackson's arrival it was unanimously agreed by officers and men, that he should take command until the arrival of Colonel E. Clarke, whose wounds yet detained him from service. Maj. S. Hammond remained with these detachments, all under General Pickens, aiding in the reduction of the forts under Colonel Thomas Browne, at Augusta; after which Hammond became a lieutenant-colonel."[2535]

1 April. On this date the North Carolina legislature enacted a law stating that those who were deemed deserters (with a mind to those that fled at Guilford Court House) were potentially subject to be drafted into the North Carolina Continentals.[2536] Collecting points for the draftees were established at Edenton, Smithfield, Duplin Court House, Halifax, Hillsborough and Salisbury. Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner for a time remained at Hillsborough gathering provisions to feed these prospective Continental troops; which he himself would be commanding. By this time, Brig. Gen. Butler, in his behalf, had already collected 240 of those who fled at Guilford for this twelve-month service. As Wiliam Johnson intimates, it was the fine quality of Norh Carolina's Coninental officer corps that offset the state's then weakness in both securing volunteers and making good soldiers out of coerced draftees. [2537]
Davie: "After the battle of Guilford Genl [Allen] Jones w[l]t[h] a board of officers turned over about 400 men into the Contal [Continental] service for 12 months for desertion from the army at and before the battle."[2538]

1 April. [skirmish] Bear Bluff (Horry County, S.C.)[2539]

1 April.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and file:

Brigade of Guards: 411
23rd Regt.: 182
33rd Regt.: 229
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt. : 161
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 245
German Jägers: 97
North Carolina Volunteers: 224
British Legion (cavalry only): 174

Total: 1,723.[2540]

1 April. Cornwallis quit Cross Creek, and started moving towards Wilmington (see 7 April), and sometime this same day reached "Gray's Mill." Along the march, Lieut. Col. James Webster, died of the wounds inflicted at Guilford. He was later interred at a location, now unknown, just south of Elizabethtown.[2541]
"Scottish Travel Log": [1 Apr.] "Gray' Mill"; [2 Apr.] "Cain's Plantation"; [3 Apr.] no entry ; [4 Apr.] "Two miles beyond Elizabethtown"; [5 Apr.] "Alston's Plantation"; [6 Apr.] "Halt."

Roger Lamb: "It was reported in the army, that when Lord Cornwallis received the news of colonel Webster's death, his lordship was struck with a pungent sorrow, that turning himself, he looked on his sword, and emphatically exclaimed, 'I have lost my scabbard.'"[2542]

1 April (possibly 31 March). [skirmish] Cole's Bridge (Scotland County, N.C.) In a letter of April 2nd, Col. Thomas Wade, at Haley's Ferry on the Peedee, wrote to Greene that he had conveyed stores from Cross Creek[2543] to

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[2535] JTR p. 514.
[2536] Regarding the North Carolina militia, Greene made a couple comments which are insightful of his own view of them:
"The back-country people are bold and daring in their make, but the people upon the sea-shore are sickly and but indifferent militia. The ruin of the State is inevitable if there are such large bodies of militia kept on foot." Greene to Adjutant General Joseph Reed, 9 January 1781. NGP7 pp. 84-85 (there paraphrased.)
In an unsent portion of a letter to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, of 4 May 1781, he wrote: "[The North Carolina have few militia in the field] and those the worst in the World for they have neither pride nor principle to bind them to any party or to discharge of their duty. There are some Counties where there is a good Militia such as the Counties of Rowan and Mecklenburg; but these people have been ruined by their last years exertions and the ravages of the enemy." NGP8 pp. 199-202.
[2537] JLG2 pp. 67-68, SNC pp. 394-398, RNC pp. 322-323.
[2538] DRS p. 35.
[2539] LSC p. 14.
[2540] CAC p. 53.
[2541] STL, TCS pp. 281, 322, NGP8 p. 25, SNC pp. 370-371, WCO p. 316. For the story of Webster's reported exhumation in the early 19th century, see CNS2 pp. 191-192.
[2542] LJA P. 360n.

Haley's Ferry down river. He had tried to move his men quickly by forced marches. Nevertheless, his 95 North Carolina militia were attacked near Cole's Bridge, on Drowning Creek, by 300 loyalists and 100 British soldiers (all of whom were presumably mounted) who had pursued them. Wade's column was routed. Some of his men, who were captured and paroled, reported that the N.C. militia losses were three killed, two wounded, and seven taken prisoner. Furthermore, slaves, wagons, and all of the horses were taken. This left Wade now with only 20 men. The British casualties were 4 killed. Some meal (though much of it damaged), and some of the boats Greene had Kosciuszko build earlier were at Haley's Ferry; where they were being guarded by some locals. In the same letter, he requested wagons to send the meal to Greene, which Greene sent on his approach to Camden. Wade later complained that the men Maj. Gen. Caswell had sent him (see 9 March) were inferior soldiers and he asked for better in future if the supplies and provisions in his charge were to be kept secure. See 18 April.[2544]

2 April. After collecting at Ramsey's Mill, the Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Lawson, and who hadn't already left on their own, were assembled and then dismissed to their homes. Elsewhere, 100 Virginia militia, at "Camp Wm Daniels," N.C.,[2545] previously under Col. Charles Lynch went for home without officers. Both states' militiamen had been enlisted for six weeks, and the time needed to get home was calculated by them as part of that same duration. At the same time, they left behind their muskets which were then sent to Greene. In a letter to Greene of this date, Lynch excused his men saying they were "Poor" and anxious to get home.[2546]

2 April [skirmish] Georgetown (Georgetown County, S.C.) 60 militia under Major Lemuel Benson of Marion's Brigade scrapped with 20 mounted Queen's Rangers, under Lt. John Wilson, and some loyalist militia out foraging. Benson lost a lieutenant killed, and a number wounded; the British 6 wounded including Wilson, and which latter subsequently receiving a commendation from Balfour.[2547]
Capt. John Saunders in Simcoe's *Journal*: "Lt. [John] Wilson was sent on the 2d of April, with twenty men, attended by a galley, to cover a party sent to load some flats with forage, at a plantation on Black river: he debarked and remained on shore several hours before he saw a single rebel; but when he had nearly completed his business, he was attacked by about sixty of them, under the command of a Major [Lemuel] Benson: he repulsed them in two attempts that they made to get within the place where he had posted himself; he then charged and drove them off.[2548]
Saunders: "Lt. Wilson was sent, on the 2d of April, with twenty men, attended by a galley, to cover a party sent to load some flats with forage, at a plantation on Black river: he debarked and remained on shore several hours before he saw a single rebel; but when he had nearly completed his business, he was attacked by above sixty of them, under the command of a Major Benson: he repulsed them in two attempts that they made to get within the place where he had posted himself; he then charged and drove them off. A rebel Lieutenant was mortally wounded, several others slightly: Lt. [John] Wilson and five of his men were wounded. Col. Balfour expressed his approbation of Wilson's conduct in this affair."[2549]

2-3 April. [siege] Fort Nashborough, TN. ONB3 pp. 174-176.

3 April. William Seymour: "On the third of April, 1781, we [Greene's army] encamped on one Mr. Cheek's plantation [not far from Wilcox's Iron Works],[2550] after a march of to thousand four hundred and fifty-six miles since we left our quarters at Morristown.
"General Greene finding it impracticable to follow Lord Cornwallis any farther, and seeing he could not come up with him, he therefore bent his course towards Campden [sic], marching over the same ground which our army went the last summer along with General Gates. This is a poor barren part of the country. The inhabitants are chiefly of Scottish extraction, living in mean cottages, and are much disaffected, being great enemies to their country."[2551]

3 April. Maj. Gen. William Phillips, at Portsmouth, to Clinton: "I have from the moment of my landing here, pursued the first object of your Excellency's instructions: 'The security of the post upon Elizabeth river, near the mouth of James river.'
"And your Excellency may be assured, I shall use every means to attain this very material purpose, so necessary, and which alone can enable me, with four thousand militia in our front and near us, to pursue the second part of your instructions: 'A move in force upon the enemy's communications between Virginia and North Carolina, at Petersburgh, in assistance to Lord Cornwallis.' And I shall do this the moment it may be possible, consistent with the security of the post on Elizabeth river.
"It is unlucky for us, that we know so little of Lord Cornwallis, in favour of whom, and his operations we are directed by your Excellency to exert our utmost attention. I shall do all in my power to assist and co-operate

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[2543] Greene had earlier ordered stores at Cross Creek removed. Malmedy's militia had also assisted in relocating the same stores prior to Cornwallis' arrival there. See 26 March.
[2544] NGP8 pp. 31-32.
[2545] Separate and distinct, obviously, from Greene's camp at Ramsey's Mill.
[2546] NGP8 p. 29. TPY pp. 191-192, RNC p. 317.
[2547] SQR pp. 246-247.
[2548] SQR p. 246.
[2549] SQR pp. 246-247.
[2550] Regarding Mr. Cheek's, see see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/thompson.htm
[2551] SJS.

with his Lordship, and shall from inclination, as well as in obedience to your Excellency's instructions, do all I can to effect this most desirable end.
"I apprehend from various rebel accounts that Lord Cornwallis, although he kept the field, has suffered very much after the action of the 15th ultimo, and to be fortifying to the west of the Haw river, near Guildford, which seems a good position, having that river in front of the communication quite down to Cross-Creek and Cape Fear.
"Should his Lordship want support, he must in course draw it from Charles-town to Cape Fear river, by directing Lord Rawdon to abandon the frontier, and keep only a garrison in Charles-town.
"I embrace your idea, Sir, that should La Fayette remain at Annapolis, which must proceed from the enemy's fear of being attacked in Maryland, it will be possible to carry him Annapolis and Baltimore; and if you will send me the British grenadiers and forty-second regiment, I will, with almost certain hopes of success, go upon the attempt; and will make an expedition in Virginia at the same instant, as shall effectually prevent any support from thence to Maryland.
"I come now to the particulars of this post [Portsmouth], and as it is not possible in so short a time, to go through the proper form of a regular report of the commanding engineer, who came with me, I will, until that can be done, very freely offer my opinion that it has not been, I should imagine, properly explained to your Excellency, by Generals Matthews and Leslie. The object of the post, from its situation, respecting James river and the Chesapeak[e], with its connection with the waters to and in Albemarle sound, and the consequent connections it may have with any army in the Carolinas, are subjects I do not think myself at liberty to touch upon. I mean to confine myself merely to the locality of the post itself; and under that description, I declare, I think the present situation not calculated for a post of force, or for one for a small number of troops. In the first idea, I think three points should be taken, as at Mill Point and Norfolk positively; the third must depend on more examination of the Elizabeth river, than I have yet been able to give. These points taken would mutually assist the navy stationed here, which might lay within, and be protected; and one point forced, a retreat is left by the other two: and your Excellency will immediately observe, that it must require a large force indeed, to attack the three points at once.
"Should it be required by your Excellency merely to keep a post here, without intending more than a station, I think Mill Point, where the old fort stood, well calculated for such a purpose; and it would require not more than a strong battalion equal to six hundred effective rank and file to be the garrison.
"In both instances the Chesapeak must be secure, for even allowing every exertion of defence against a fleet, it would be difficult to preserve the river under the first idea of an extensive plan. Under the latter, I consider it scarcely to be done. Old Point Comfort shall be explored, as it seems a point which a small force might defend, and the shipping have scope to act in, and by trying various methods of winds and tides, would be able possibly to escape from even a superior naval force; whereas, once blocked up in Elizabeth river, the ships must at last fall with the post.
"I come now to the Norfolk and Princess Ann counties, where we cannot much depend for assistance. They are timorous, cautious, at best, but half friends, and perhaps some, if not many, concealed enemies. Supposing them perfectly ours, we should not be able to arm more than five or six hundred men, who would become a charge to us while we remained, and being left, would be undone. At present, they act a sort of saving game, but are of no use to us. Upon the whole, Sir, it may be perceived that I lean in favour of a small post, where the army can assist the navy, and the latter have a chance of escaping, supposing a superior force to arrive in the bay; and where the post can be maintained with five or six hundred men, for some time, even perhaps till some reinforcement naval and land might be sent to raise a siege."[2552]

3 April. Following his personal visit with von Steuben (see 15 March), Lafayette rejoined his troops at Annapolis, and disappointed by the inability of Destouches to reinforce him, began marching them back north. Nevertheless, by April 8th, he had received instructions from Washington to return to Virginia; much to the disappointment of many of his men who, disgruntled and with some deserting, had hoped the move into south would be only temporary.

3 April. Brig. Gen. Butler was ordered by Greene to remain at Ramsey's Mill to collect militia, and to forward supplies to Greene's army which would soon to be heading south towards Camden. See 6 April.[2553]
Butler, at "Camp at Ramsey's Mill," to Sumner: "General Greene marched the main body from this place on Fryday last he went by the way of Wilcoxes [Wilcox's] Furnace on Tick Creek but his rout from thence I am not yet informed of. I am ordered to remain at this post with part of the Militia of this State to collect provision and with all to collect the scattered Militia and send them on to Headquarters. We have now in the field 240 men [N.C. militia] of those that fled from the battle on the 15th ulto. they are for one year and will in a few days join Headquarters. My orders were to inform you from time to time of their numbers in order that you might send on as many officers as were necessary to command them. Major P. [Pinkertham] Eaton, Capt. James Reed, Capt. Yarbrough, & Lieut. John Campbel are in service and mean to continue with your leave."[2554]

3 April. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara congregation): "The militia who gathered here yesterday went home today, as did their officers. The latter have called a General Muster for the 13th, when every fifteenth man will be called out, together with those already drafted…"[2555]

[2552] COC pp. 75-79, JLG2 p. 51.
[2553] CNC15 pp. 433-434, RNC p. 317.
[2554] CNC15 pp. 433-434.
[2555] FRN p. 1748.

5 April. Clinton to Maj. Gen. Phillips: "I need not say how important success in the [New York] Highlands would be. I beg you will without loss of time, consult General Arnold upon the subject. I beg I may have his [own] project, and your opinion, as well as his, respecting it, as soon as possible. When I have considered it, and if I determine to undertake it, I will send for him; and if operation should be at a stand in the Chesapeak[e] at the time, I will request you also to be of the party; the proportion of artillery I desired you to make, will of course be ready.
"P.S. If General Arnold does not think it expedient at this time to attempt it, which however, I should be sorry for, perhaps a combined move between us against Philadelphia, may take place. You, by landing at the head of Elk; I, at Newcastle, or Chester; -- if the first, General Arnold must let me have his plan as soon as possible, and be ready to follow it himself, or may bring it, if you can spare him."[2556]

5 April. Greene wrote Brig. Gen. Lillington, who had earlier been directed to remove what stores remained at Cross Creek to the east side of the Cape Fear River, and now ordered him to stay away from British troops at Cross Creek; so as to avoid being caught off guard and surprised (by Tarleton.)[2557]

5 April. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara congregation): "Ten men and something over twenty-five horses passed. On account of the battle at Guilford they had left their wagons at Dan River, loaded with Continental stores, and were now going after them. They were from South Carolina. They asked for corn today, and will want hay when they return."[2558]

6 April. Lee, with his Legion and a Maryland light company under Capt. Edward Oldham -- together totaling about 300 men -- left Ramsey's Mill to join Marion.[2559]
Lee: "Lee, in obedience to his orders, took the route toward Cross Creek, which, it was inferred, would very much conceal his real object, by inducing the British general to believe that Greene proposed to place himself in his neighborhood.
"After advancing in this course, as long as was compatible with a speedy union with Marion, the light corps turned to the right, and, by a very expeditious march, gained Drowning Creek, a branch of Little Pedee. In a large field, on the southern side of this stream, Lee encamped for the night, when a very extraordinary occurrence took place, worthy, from its singularity, of relation…[Here omitted, but the gist of which is that during the night Lee and his men, from hearing multiple shots fired by separated sentinels, apprehended an immiment attack by a strong detachment from Cornwallis. But when daylight came, it was discovered, to their own not little amusement, that the seeming threat was only a pack of roaming wolves.]"[2560]

6 April (also 7 April.) In furtherance of his grand strategy to take his operations southward (rather than follow after Cornwallis), Greene left his Ramsay's Mill encampment, and headed towards Camden. Camden and the area through which he would be marching was largely barren, "the produce of its soil scanty, and the inhabitants disaffected," but now especially so due to the devastation wrought by the war. Lee gives Greene's total strength at this time as 1,800 effectives, (including in this count militia present, Lee's Legion and Oldham's Maryland company.) Greene's own force (minus Lee, etc.) when he arrived just north of Camden (not counting Lee and Oldham) was about 1,500, exclusive of a small body of North Carolina militia. He hoped a substantial number of Virginia militia would be joining him, but these stayed in that state to contend with Phillips and later Cornwallis; despite Greene's continued wish and expectation that they be with him. [2561]

7 April (also, as per STL, 8 April.) Cornwallis attained Wilmington.[2562]
Tarleton: "Brigadier-general O'Hara, by great strength of constitution and the skill of his surgeons, surmounted two painful wounds, which he had borne with singular fortitude, and was restored to the command he had filled with such distinguished reputation: Many officers and men daily recovered and joined their regiments: Captains Lord Dunglass and [William] Maynard of the guards were unfortunately attacked by fevers, and died, sincerely lamented by their numerous friends throughout the army."[2563]
"Scottish Travel Log": [7 Apr.] "Encamp at Maclean[']s Bluff"; [8 Apr.] "Wilmingon."

7 April. Greene, moving west from Ramsey's Mill, reached Evans' Mill on Rocky River where he made additional supply preparations for his journey south.

7 April. Sumter, at his camp on the Catawba River, wrote to Greene explaining to him what was to informally to become known as "Sumter's Law." It was an edict Sumter himself promulgated which provided that slaves taken from loyalists were to be used as pay for those who served in his Brigade for ten months. He said he expected 500 men within the week, and 600 to 700 before the 20th. Pickens forces at this date were scattered, while Marion probably had 400 to 400. Marion, as his biographer has put it, refused to have anything to do with Sumter's Law. Pickens, on the other hand, raised a regiment of ten months men under its plan. Yet it was not

[2556] COC pp. 79-80.
[2557] NGP7 p. 469n, JLG2 pp. 28-29.
[2558] FRM p. 1749.
[2559] LMS pp. 325-327, 333, MSC2 pp. 170-171, WAR2 p. 799.
[2560] LMS pp. 326-330.
[2561] NGP8 pp. 60-61, AR81 p. 80, GHA4 pp. 80-81, LMS p. 333, JLG2 p. 44, WAR2 pp. 798-799.
[2562] TCS p. 322, DRO pp. 169-173.
[2563] TCS pp.284-285.

without some difficult, since, although a Brigadier General, he had to compete with Sumter's officers engaged in the same activity.

As outlined in Bass, the pay scale according to Sumter's law was as follows:
Colonel: three and one half slaves per annum
Captain: two
Lieutenant: one and a half
Private one slave per 10 month enlistment
In addition to pay each soldier would share two-thirds of plunder, except for slaves and military stores. Dragoons with family would receive a half-bushel of salt.[2564]

Although decried by many for various reasons, the plan did bring men out; and others felt that given this under the circumstances and as a temporary policy Sumter was justified. In March, Col. William Polk had begun recruiting in Rowan and other nearby North Carolina counties; Col. William Hill in New Acquisition; Col. John Thomas, Jr. at the headwaters of Enoree and the Pacelot Rivers; and Col. Charles Myddleton (with Richard Hampton as his Major) between Congaree and Wateree. Col. Henry Hampton dismissed his volunteer riflemen and began enlisting dragoons[2565] along the Broad River.[2566] At a later time, Pickens also used it to enlist more men. In the same letter to Greene of this same date, Sumter reported that the British had abandoned their "fort" at Belleville (Col. Thompson's Plantation). They did, however, even so establish a substitute at the Motte residence about a mile away. Sumter also wrote that he expected to have 600 or 700 men (ten months men) by the 20th, "(b)ut it at present appears that I Shall be Obliged to Move to the Westward for a few days…Genl Pickens Men are Much Scattered. He will have but few Out that is in any Short Time."[2567]
Joseph Graham: "It may be further remembered that the Brigade of State troops raised by the State of South Carolina in the Spring of 1781, when each man furnished his own horse and Military equipments -- the Regiments commanded by Colos. [William] Polk, [Wade] Hampton and Hill were mostly raised in the Counties aforesaid [i.e. the then counties of Mecklenburgh and Rowan]." [2568]

7 April. Having left Georgetown a day or so earlier, and crossed the Peedee at Britton's Ferry, Watson arrived on the 7th at "Widow Jenkins," where he bivouacked. With him were 500 men, including some Provincial Light Infantry, the 64th Regt., Harrison Provincials, some loyalist militia, and 2 field pieces.[2569]
William Dobein James: "Col. Watson, having refreshed and reinforced his party, and received a fresh supply of military stores and provisions at Georgetown, proceeded again towards the Pedee [Peedee]. On his march he had nothing to impede him but a few bridges broken down. He took the nearest route across Black river at Wragg's ferry, and crossing the Pedee at Euhany [Euhaney], and the little Pedee at Potato bed ferry, he halted at Catfish creek, a mile from where Marion court house now stands. -- Here Ganey's party flocked in to him in such numbers that he was soon nine hundred strong."[2570]

7 April. Balfour, at Charlestown, to Clinton: "I am honoured with your letters of the 2d of January, and 19th of last month; as also with one of the 14th ult. by your Excellency's directions, from Captain Smith.
"As Lord Cornwallis is in the greatest want of every supply, I have sent him to Cape Fear what can be procured here, and as he will have many calls on the Hospital, in consequence of the late marches and action, I have taken care to furnish a supply of officers and stores to that department at Wilmington; and shall by that way forward to his Lordship your Excellency's dispatches, whenever an occasion offers."[2571]

7-8 April. [ambush and a surrender] Four Holes and Barton's Post, also Red Hill (Colleton County, S.C) Harden, in the Four Holes Swamp area, with 70 (to possibly a 100) mounted men surprised and captured 26 loyalists under Capt. John Barton. The next day (the 8th), Harden's subordinate Major George Cooper (formerly one of Marion's men), surrounded and assaulted Barton's post. Some firing was exchanged, and Barton, having lost three men and himself mortally wounded, finally surrendered. McCrady lists the whig losses as 1 killed and 2 wounded. He gives the loyalist losses as 1 killed, 3 wounded and 3 prisoners.[2572]
Harden, at "Camp on Salketcher," on April 18th wrote to Marion: "This will be handed to you by Mr. Cannon, who will acquaint you of many particulars which I can't mention at this present. -- On Saturday [7 April], on the Four Holes, I came to a musterfield, where I took a Captain and 25 men, and paroled them, and on Sunday night got within six miles of Captain [John] Barton, and six men to guard him. I detached Major [George] Cooper and fifteen men who surrounded his houses and ordered him to surrender, but he refused; a smart fire commenced and Major Cooper soon got the better, wounding Barton, who is since dead, and one other, killed three and took

[2564] GDH2 pp. 47-48.
[2565] Where not supplied by the men themselves, both uniforms and accoutrements for Sumter's prospective dragoons came from supplies brought by wagons sent to Newbern by Sumter for that purpose in December. The convoy carrying them had to move around the northwest area of North Carolina in order to avoid Cornwallis It then moved south after the latter camped at Hillsborough, and only reached Sumter at New Acquisition about this time. BGC p. 145.
[2566] Regarding recruitment. See 8 March.
[2567] NGP8 pp. 65-68, GDH2 p. 47-48, BGC pp. 144-145.
[2568] GAM2 p. 214.
[2569] Balfour to German, 1 May, 1781, TCS p. 466, NGP8 p.78, JFM p. 44, BSF pp. 164-168, BGC p. 147, RBG pp. 151-152.
[2570] 900 seems rather high, so this number may fairly be considered open to question. JFM p. 44.
[2571] COC pp. 82-83.
[2572] GDH2 pp. 53-55, RSC2 p. 228, MMS2 p. 274, MSC2 pp. 134-135, 746, RBG p. 154.

two prisoners. The Major got slightly wounded and one of his men, and lost a fine youth, Stewart, who rushed up and was shot dead." [2573]

8 April. [skirmish] Pocotaligo Road, also Patterson's Bridge, Saltketcher Bridge. (Colleton County, S.C.) Lieut. Col. Edward Fenwick and 35 South Carolina Light Dragoons, a recently formed loyalist cavalry troop, repulsed an advance party of Harden's under Maj. George Cooper; in the latter's attempt to surprise the loyalists. The sabers apparently proved too much for Harden's mounted men, who were then scattered. Cooper lost 2 wounded and one taken prisoner. Harden reported Fenwick's losses as 1 killed and 7 wounded. In all three of these engagements with Barton and Fenwick, McCrady (in his appendix) lists the American commander as Cooper, rather than Harden. However, the latter was certainly in some measure overseeing the proceedings if not physically present at the instant of the fighting.[2574]
Tarleton Brown: "We then proceeded on for Pocataligo. Soon after we left Red Hill we entered upon a long, high causeway; a man came meeting us and told us Colonel Fenwick, with the British horse, were marching on just behind. We paid no attention to him not knowing who he was, but went ahead; however, we did not go many rods before the advance parties met and hailed each other -- a charge now ordered on both sides, and we directly came together on the causeway, so a fight was inevitable, and at it we went like bull dogs. The British at length made their way through, though they found it tough work in doing so. We put one of their men to his final sleep on the causeway, and wounded eight more badly, one of whom they had to leave on the road. They wounded one of our men, Captain James Moore, in thirteen places, though very slightly, and two others who never laid up for their wounds."

8 April. Lafayette, at Head of Elk, by this time received instructions from Gen. Washington directing him to return to Virginia. As many had expected Lafayette's southward expedition was to have been for a much shorter period, some desertion among his troops resulted; such that the Marquis was down from 1,200 to about 900 to 1,100 men, plus a company of artillery. For units specifically with him see 29 April.[2575]
Lafayette to Washington on this date: "The troops I have with me being taken from every northern regiment, have often (tho' without mentioning it to me) been very uneasy at the idea of joining the Southern Army. They want clothes, shoes particularly, they expect to receive cloathes [sic] and monney [sic] from their States. This would be a great disappointment for both officers and men. Both thought at first they were sent out for a few days and provided themselves accordingly. Both came chearfully [sic] to this expedition, but both have had already their fears on the idea of going to the south ward. They will certainly obey, but they will be unhappy and some will desert."[2576]

8 April. Greene's army, on its way south, halted briefly at Wilcox's Iron Works (aka Cox's and Coxe's Mill), N.C., situated just south of Rocky River, N.C. and along the Deep River.[2577]

8 April. Pickens camped at the Enoree River, after having just linked up with Col. Elijah Clark at Broad River. Clark had just retreated from the area of Beattie's Mill near the Savannah River.

9 April. Coming from Window Jenkins' earlier in the day, Watson halted at Rae's Hill[2578] across the Peedee from Snow's Island. On the 10th with Ganey having joined him,[2579] he marched to Wahee and camped on Catfish Creek.[2580] The move north was prompted as a contingency to protect Cornwallis and Tarleton should they return to South Carolina.[2581]
John Watson: "Going up the west side of the Great Peedee River [7 April] in order to cross through the heart of the country, which showed the strongest marks of disaffection, I received a deputation from the inhabitants of the Little Peedee, to say if I would only cross the Great One, to cover them whilst they assembled, they would join to a man. I did and the day following about 200 of them rode into our camp. The assembling of these people, Mr. Marion's latter ill success, and the showing ourselves in that quarter; together with the declarations we have out that, whenever Marion insists upon them turning out in arms, we only advise them to stay at home, cultivate their land and that every man found at home might rely upon protection, had reduced their Partisan numbers from 400 to less than 150, daily diminishing.
"Having now marched the eastern limits of the province, I trusted that our march, with a force that in militia was hourly increasing and of a kind too, who when collected, win by themselves, not the least afraid of Marion, would restore, if not quiet, our supremacy in that district. The boats were collected for our crossing the river at four the next morning and in three days I had promised, marching by the head of Lincho [Lynches] Creek and Black River, to have restored to his Lordship, the 64th at Camden.
"Judge of my astonishment at twelve that night [9 April] to be informed by one of those faithful men of the Peedee, that he had seen the militia of the Cheraw District assembling and heard the Major read there a letter he had received from Greene, directing him to order every man to take arms; that Lord Cornwallis had quitted

[2573] GDH2 pp. 53-55.
[2574] MMS2 p. 274, JFM p. 47, MSC2 pp. 134-135, 746, RBG p. 154.
[2575] NGP8 p. 107, TCS p. 292, MLW4A pp. 423-425.
[2576] LLW p. 171.
e[2577] NGP8 p. 69.
[2578] In his biography of Marion, Bass had said that on the 9th Watson camped at Catfish Creek. He corrected this in his later book on Sumter by giving the Rae's Hill location. BSF p. 165, BGC p. 147.
[2579] Ganey by this time had recovered from the severe wound he received near Georgetown on 28 Dec. 1780.
[2580] Respecting Watson's Catfish Creek campsite, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/catfishcreek.htm
[2581] JFM pp. 44-45, BSF p. 165, BGC p. 147.

the province, that he [Greene] himself was going against Camden, where his success might not be certain but at all events he might make sure of me. He directed they [the militia] should occupy all of the passes of the river and that to the support of the whole militia, he had attached Colonel Lee, with his cavalry, guns and some Continentals.
"To have heard nothing of this, neither from Lord Rawdon nor Georgetown, seemed strange. But the assembling the militia where we had even been successful, when in their neighborhood, and with our militia collecting, put it past doubt and I began to suggest what proved to be the fact: that our respective messenger to & from Camden, had been intercepted.
"This melancholy intelligence soon confirmed by accounts from one of our people; of Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton being at some place, they said, within forty miles of us, and as these precautions were said to be taken (by the enemy) respecting the passes of the river, our guides recommended our moving up to join Lord Cornwallis, as the ferries (being) secured, we could not reach Georgetown.
"Lord Rawdon's accumulated force, was, I know insufficient to oppose Greene, out of which he had lent the 64th Regiment, and as he had no cavalry, he could not easily move, unless I joined him. It was therefore of little import, in that great line of consequence, should I fail in attempting the junction; and whilst I made it, their detachments against me, and those I presumed they would make against our Post, must I knew summon the enemy's collective force less considerable. I moved within the hour, and marching fifty miles that day, fell back upon the Little Peedee. I had just thrown troops enough over, to secure the post on the other side, when the enemy came to possess themselves of it. I then crossed the Wacamaw [Waccamaw] River, as our own militia left us, whilst those of the enemy ever daily augmenting, and marched down to Georgetown.
"Here to my amazement, I found an order from Lieutentant Colonel Balfour to leave forty men to reinforce that post. I represented to the commanding officer [of the post], I conceived there must be some mistake as Lord Rawdon's situation called for more troops than I had to carry if I could get to join him. That when it was considered I was to attempt this, with Greene's whole army to intercept me upon the Congaree River, and Colonel Lee's detachment, with the aggregate militia of the province, now said to be 1,500, to oppose my crossing the Santee, one of which two (rivers) must be affected. If success crowned our endeavors, it surely could never be meant, but to strengthen_the party, who was to attempt what appeared next to be an improbability. I therefore presumed he was to give me the forty men [rather than vice versa] for if Lord Rawdon succeeded, his front was secure, if not, it must be evacuated. This sir, said he, is the order.
"I am not disposed to remember this gentleman's name [Capt. John Saunders of the Queen's Rangers], for upon his producing it, I said there was no disputing an order and picked out forty men, whom I left. As he told me (however) he thought it strange, I should leave only disabled men.
"This noble Corps, the 64th Regiment, were almost all grey headed men, but such men, that if they had no legs, they would have crawled upon their hand and knees to join Lord Rawdon. I therefore did not think it worth while to tell him, that in a march of fifty miles, not a man was left behind; nor that every poor fellow, independent of the distance he had marched, had each according to their respective strengths, carried sails for miles, as to reach this place. We had crossed two swamps, presumed impassible, one of which, Catfish Swamp, tradition reported, had never before been trod by human foot. With these sails we made platforms as we went without loss [of] our guns and men.
"We proceeded up the hither side of the Santee, to a point near the confluence of the two rivers, and which, being supposed impracticable, was left unguarded. Here we crossed [24 April] and after wading six creeks, which though deep, were fordable. We built a bridge of sixty feet over the seventh that was not so [fordable]; then cutting away for about a mile and a half, through the canes that grow in those swamps, we, the next morning, joined his Lordship without molestation."[2582]

Early to Mid April. [raid-ambush] Catfish Creek, also Rae's Hill (Marion County, S.C.) In a letter to Greene of 21 April, Marion reports an action Greene himself had inquired about; viz. sometime in about mid April, Marion had sent Col. Hugh Horry and 70 men over the Peedee to intercept loyalists heading to join Watson. Horry fell in with a party of 30 foragers "& as many more to cover them," and whom Horry attacked. 2 British were killed, while 13 British, 2 loyalists and 2 negroes were captured. Although Horry was forced to retreat under heavy fire, he withdrew without suffering any loss (see 9 April.)[2583]

9 April (or 10 April.) [raid] Waxhaws Church, also Waxhaws Meeting House (Lancaster County, S.C.): The Waxhaws settlement was raided, and the meeting house there, and several homes, set afire by a mounted party of 150 Provincials and loyalists under Capt. John Coffin. An unknown number of whigs were killed, wounded and 14 were captured. Sumter's men, under Col. Thomas Taylor and Col. Henry Hampton, were unable catch Coffin in pursuit. Sumter then later struck back by raiding the loyalists of the Mobley and Sandy Run settlements. See *Mid to Late April*.[2584]
On 13 April, and from his camp on the Catawba, Sumter wrote to Greene: "On Tuesday night a party of horse & foot to the Number of about one hundred & fifty men from Camden appeard [sic] in the Waxsaws [Waxhaws], they Marched with Great precipitation as far as the Meeting House, Which they burnt together with Some other houses Barns &C. They have Kild [sic] Wound[ed] & Taken Several persons Carried off all Kinds of horses, plundered the Settlement of as much as they Could Carry. As Soon as I Received Intelligence of Their approach, I Detached Cols Hampton [Wade or Henry?] and Taylor after them, but as they began to Retreat on Wednesday Night, Don't expect they will be overtaken. By accounts Just Received from Genl Pickens Who Wrote me about

[2582] WNR.
[2583] NGP8 p. 129.
[2584] NGP8 pp. 91-92, MSC2 p. 748, BGC p. 151, RBG p. 155.

ten days ago that he had Collected Men of his Brigade, and also a few Georgians, but was unable to attempt anything against the Enemy. I give orders to the Cols Commanding four Regemnts [sic] in My Brigade Westward of Broad River to Join Genl Pickens, Which has been Done accordingly. I Requested Genl Pickens to Move Down & Take a position upon Tyger River Near the Fish Dam Ford to indeavor [sic] to Cover the Country and Collect Provisions..."[2585]

Andrew Jackson biographer James Parton: "The next time[2586] the Jackson boys smelt powder, they were not so fortunate. The activity and zeal of the Waxhaw whigs coming to the ears of Lord Rawdon, whom Cornwallis had left in command, he dispatched a small body of dragoons to aid the tories of that infected neighborhood. The Waxhaw people hearing of the approach of this hostile force, resolved upon resisting it in open fight, and named the Waxhaw meeting-house as the rendezvous. Forty whigs assembled on the appointed day, mounted and armed; and among them were Robert and Andrew Jackson. In the grove about the old church, these forty were waiting for the arrival -- hourly expected -- of another company of whigs from a neighboring settlement. The British officer in command of the dragoons, apprised of the rendezvous by a tory of the neighborhood, determined to surprise the patriot party before the two companies had united. Before coming in sight of the church, he placed a body of tories, wearing the dress of the country, far in advance of his soldiers, and so marched upon the devoted band. The Waxhaw party saw a company of armed men approaching, but concluding them to be their expected friends, made no preparations for defense. Too late the error was discovered. Eleven of the forty were taken prisoners, and the rest sought safety in flight, fiercely pursued by the dragoons. The brothers were separated. Andrew found himself galloping for life and liberty by the side of his cousin, Lieutenant Thomas Crawford; a dragoon close behind them, and others coming rapidly on. They tore along the road awhile,and then took to a swampy field, where they came soon to a wide slough of water and mire, into which they plunged their horses. Andrew floundered across, and on reaching dry land again, looked round for his companion, whose horse had sunk into the mire and fallen. He saw him entangled, and trying vainly to ward off the blows of his pursuers with his sword. Before Andrew could turn to assist him, the lieutenant received a severe wound in the head, which compelled him to give up the contest and surrender. The youth put spurs to his horse and succeeded in eluding pursuit. Robert, too, escaped unhurt, and in the course of the day the brothers were reunited, and took refuge in a thicket, in which they passed a hungry and anxious night.
"The next morning, the pangs of hunger compelled them to leave their safe retreat and go in quest of food. The nearest house was that of Lieutenant Crawford. Leaving their horses and arms in the thicket, the lads crept toward the house, which they reached in safety. Meanwhile, a tory-traitor of the neighborhood had scented out their lurking- place, found their horses and weapons, and set a party of dragoons upon their track. Before the family had a suspicion of danger, the house was surrounded, the doors were secured, and the boys were prisoners." [2587]

9 April. Lillington camped at Rutherford's Mill, near modern Burgaw, after returning the not inconsiderable distance from Heron's Bridge (see 9 March) on the North East Cape Fear river, just to the north of Wilmington. He had sent "light horse" to run off cattle near Wilmington, they brought off 150 head, though lost 10 men when some of the enemy attacked. Lillington had 400-500, but could not keep them long due to scarce provisions. A pro-American observer described Lillington's force as a "confused rabble."[2588]

9 April. Marion deployed in the Wahees with some 500 men. With him were Col. Peter Horry, Lieut. Col. Hugh Horry, Col. John Ervin, Col. James Postell, Major John James, Major John Baxter, Major Alexander Swinton, Capt Gavin Witherspoon. He contemplated a withdrawal in the face of Watson's advance, but his officers voted against it. Their confidence was no doubt soon bolstered by the news of the approach of Lee and Oldham to reinforce them.[2589]
William Dobein James: "Gen. Marion returning from the pursuit of Doyle, and hearing of the approach of Watson, crossed the Pedee and encamped at the Warhees [Wahees], five miles from him. At this place he consulted with his field officers then in camp, and informed them that although his force was now recruited to five hundred men, that yet he had no more ammunition than about two rounds to each man, and asked them 'if he should retreat into the upper parts of North Carolina, or if necessary to the mountains, whether they would follow him.' With a firm and unanimous voice the resolution to follow him was adopted. These field officers, whose names should be engraved on tablets of brass, were Cols. Peter Horry, Hugh Horry, James Postell and John Ervin, and Majors John James, John Baxter and Alexander Swinton."[2590]

10 April. Lee, at the Peedee River on his way south to join Marion, reported to Greene that the British garrison at Georgetown had only 50 men;[2591] while the King's American Regiment posted there earlier had been moved to Camden. He also said Rawdon at Camden had 400 men, though William Johnson remarks that 500 was more like the correct figure.[2592]

[2585] NGP8 pp. 91-92.
[2586] For the earlier alluded to encounter, see March 1781 skirmish Capt. Sands' House.
[2587] *Life of Andrew Jackson* (1861), vol. I, by James Parton, pp. 86-88.
[2588] NGP8 pp. 75, 114, DRO pp. 157, 182.
[2589] JFM p. 44, BSF p. 165.
[2590] JFM p. 44.
[2591] On April 20th, Balfour wrote Cornwallis, prior to Watson's arrival, that the garrison at Georgetown was the "86 infy [infantry] with twenty mounted [men]." NGP8 p. 78n.
[2592] NGP8 pp. 77-78, JLG2 pp. 68-69.

10 April. Cornwallis, at Wilmington, wrote to Clinton: "With a third of my army sick and wounded, which I was obliged to carry in waggons or on horseback, the remainder without shoes and worn down with fatigue, I thought it was time to look for some place of rest and refitment [sic]; I, therefore, by easy marches, taking care to pass through all the settlements that had been described to me as most friendly, proceeded to Cross-Creek. On my arrival there, I found, to my great mortification, and contrary to all former accounts, that it was impossible to procure any considerable quantity of provisions, and that there was not four days forage within twenty miles. The navigation of Cape Fear, with the hopes of which I had been flattered, was totally impracticable, the distance from Wilmington by water being one hundred and fifty miles, the breadth of the river seldom exceeding one hundred yards, the banks generally high, and the inhabitants on each side almost universally hostile. Under these circumstances I determined to move immediately to Wilmington. By this measure the Highlanders have not had so much time as the people of the upper country, to prove the sincerity of their former professions of friendship. But, though appearances are rather more favourable among them, I confess they are not equal to my expectations.
"General Greene marched down as low as the mouth of Deep-River, where he remained four days ago; he never came within our reach after the action, nor has a shot been since fired, except at Ramsay's-Mill on Deep-River, where Colonel Malmedy, with about twenty of a gang of plunderers that are attached to him, galloped in among the centries and carried off three iagers...[see 24-25 March 1781]
"I am now employed in disposing of the sick and wounded, and in procuring supplies of all kinds, to put the troops into a proper state to take the field. I am, likewise, impatiently looking out for the expected reinforcement from Europe, part of which will be indispensably necessary to enable me either to act offensively, or even to maintain myself in the upper parts of the country, where alone I can hope to preserve the troops from the fatal sickness which so nearly ruined the army last autumn.
"I am very anxious to receive your Excellency's commands, being yet totally in the dark as to the intended operations of the summer. I cannot help expressing my wishes that the Chesapeake may become the seat of war, even (if necessary) at the expense of abandoning New York. Until Virginia is in a manner subdued, our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult if not precarious. The rivers in Virginia are advantageous to an invading army; but North Carolina is of all the provinces in America the most difficult to attack (unless material assistance could be got from the inhabitants, the contrary of which I have sufficiently experienced), on account of its great extent, of the numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of interior navigation."[2593]

The same day Cornwallis wrote Phillips: "Now my dear friend, what is your plan? Without one we cannot succeed and I assure you that I am quite tired of marching about the country in quest of adventures. If we mean an offensive war in America, we must abandon New York, and bring our whole force into Virginia; we then have a stake to fight for, and a successful battle may give us America. If our plan is defensive, mixed with desultory expeditions, let us quit the Carolinas (which cannot be held defensively while Virginia can be so easily armed against us) and stick to our salt pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco, etc." [2594]

10 April. Balfour, at Charlestown, to Maj. McArthur: "You wil be pleased to proceed this Evening with the British Troops under your Command from hence to Dorchester, and on your getting there, draw to you as soon as possible, if not already arrived, Colonel Fenwick's Troop of Dragoons, taking care by sheer Field Officers, to embody the Militia of that and the near Districts.
"Should you find that no inconsiderable numbers of the Enemy are in those parts, you will then proceeed to join Lieut. Col Small, at Monk's [Monck's] Corner & put yourself under his orders, sending me advice thereof --
"But in case you find that the Lieut. Colonel is moved onwards, and likely to be opposed by an equal or superior force, you will with all possible Disptach endeavor with your corps, to reinfocre him, avoiding, in this endeavor, by all means any Partial action, which would only weaken without answering and essential ends or forwarding the Chief Objects of this March."[2595]

10 April. Continuing en route to Camden by later way of Colston's, Green pitched camp at Kimbrough's on the north side of the Pee Dee.

10 April. [raid] Hulin's Mill, also Hulen's Mill (Dillon County, S.C.) At Hulin's Mill on Caftish Creek, Col. Abel Kolb with a group of his men under Maj. Lemuel Benson and Capt. Joseph Dabbs surprised some loyalists under John Deer and Osborne Lane; killing Deer and wounding Osborne who escaped into Catfish swamp. Another loyalist, Caleb Williams, Kolb hanged. Deer, Williams, and Lane were reputed to be notorious murderers and plunderers by their enemies, but, as is often the case in war, notorious is often a matter of the eyes of the beholder. Lane lived on for many years and was reportedly looked upon as a respected citizen in his community. It was forays like this which no doubt fomented Kolb's own murder, which took place on the night of 27 April. While this incident is of minimal military significance, it is nevertheless representative of numerous like occurrences, many unrecorded, which took place during the war in the south.[2596]

Early to Mid April. [capture] Elizabethtown (Bladen County, N.C)

[2593] CAC pp. 10-14, COC pp. 84-85, RCC pp. 86-87.
[2594] RCC p. 87, WCO p. 319. Yet, as Lee notes, tobacco was America's best substitute for ready money at the time, LMS p. 310.
[2595] BLB pp. 52-53.
[2596] NGP8 pp. 53, 54n, BSF p. 183. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hulinsmill.htm

On 13 April, Brig. Gen. John Butler, at "Camp at Ramsey's Mill," wrote to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell:"Yesterday Col. [Thomas] Robeson of Bladen County brought in fourteen prisoners to wit five British and nine Torys taken near Elisabeth Town [Elizabethtown]. The Col. informs that Cornwallace [sic] has taken the Road for Brunswick perhaps with design to cross in Boats at that place and march up on the North side to Wilmington but from some hints droped by the officer some think they mean to take shiping for Charles Town or Virginia, the party I sent out to discover them is not yet returned."[2597]

11 April. Greene's army encamped at the Little River (N.C.), a tributary of the Peedee. The location was only a few miles north of Mask's and Haley's Ferries on the Peedee.

11 April. Clinton to Phillips: "Your letter of the 3d instant, by Captain Chads, which I am this day favoured with, makes me apprehensive lest you may have misconceived my intentions with regard to the order in which I wished that the different objects recommended to you in my instructions should be attended to; and that your having in consequence proposed to commence with strengthening the works at Portsmouth, may occasion some delay of the operations desired to favour those of Lord Cornwallis, whose situation after the action of the 15th ult. might not only derive the greatest advantage from, but indeed might possibly be so critical as even to require a timely exertion of the troops under your command.
"You will, therefore, have the goodness to forgive me, if I request you to recollect, that at the time those instructions were drawn up, General Arnold was partly invested by a considerable body of militia, and threatened with an attack from the French armament from Rhode-island, and Fayette's corps then on their march to Virginia, which naturally pointed out the security of him, the troops under his orders, and the posts on Elizabeth-river, as the principal object of your expedition; which words were certainly intended to mean no more than relieving them from their supposed danger, by either forming a junction with General Arnold, or taking such measures against the enemies opposed to him as might most effectually enable you to throw into his lines an immediate supply of provisions and men; for how could I imagine that the post at Portsmouth, which General Arnold had but just informed me, in his letter of the 27th of February, he could defend against the force of the country, and two thousand French troops, until a reinforcement arrived from hence, would require additional works for its security, after you had joined him with so considerable a reinforcement, or was acting against the rebel stations in its neighbourhood? And I could not but suppose that you yourself comprehended what I intended to be the first object of my instructions, when you tell me in your letter, by Serjeant [sic] Coulter, that the proposed consultation would go, "in the first instance to the security of this post, and in the next to the fulfilling the first object of your Excellency's instructions." Which, (excuse me for repeating it) has been invariably in all my instructions to the General officers sent to the Chesapeak[e], operation in favour of Lord Cornwallis. But, if you will have the goodness to read those I gave you once more, I am sure you will perceive that what I have said about strengthening the present works on Elizabeth-river, and adding such others as you shall think necessary, is placed subsequent in order to most of the other objects recommended to you, and they were of course designed to have been taken into consideration after those had been accomplished, and you were upon the point of returning to me with part of your present force.
"I am always happy to receive your opinions respecting the different operations of the war in this country, particularly those immediately connected with your own station. I, therefore, of course, shall pay every attention to what you say about the post at Portsmouth, and feel myself greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to investigate its good and bad properties. My ideas of a post on Elizabeth-river have continued uniformly the same since I first took a view of it, having always considered it merely as a station to protect the King's ships, which might occasionally sail from thence to cruize in the waters of the Chesapeak[e], and command its entrance. I, therefore, only wished to have there such a number of troops as might be sufficient for its defence, and which, being occasionally reinforced, as circumstances should require and our abilities admit, might act offensively in distressing and embarrassing the measures of the enemy in its neighbourhood. -- For, God forbid I should think of burying the elite of my army in Nansemond and Princess Anne! These ideas I communicated to the General officers I sent on that service, and they each adopted such as appeared to them best calculated to answer the intended purpose. My own opinion indeed was that we should possess a close work at Mill Point, (which Fyers fortified by my order in 1776, as he will remember,) another at Norfolk, and a third somewhere on the opposite side of the river: but as I had been there only for a very short time, I could not of course but be influenced by the representations of the General officers and Engineers on the spot, who had more time, and better opportunity to examine all the different positions on that river. General Leslie therefore having informed me that he had, with the unanimous suffrage of the sea and land officers on the expedition, made choice of Portsmouth, (which probably he did with a view of putting our friends of Princess Anne, &c. under cover and protection, but, by your account, a small house, I fear, will be sufficient for them all,) and his Engineer, Captain Sutherland, having in consequence began a work there, which he was of opinion could in a few days be in a state to be perfectly secure with a small garrison; I was induced to recommend to General Arnold the occupying the same ground: and though I must do the justice to that General officer to acknowledge that he gave me, in his letter of the 23d of January, a very different representation of the post at Portsmouth, from the one given me by Major-general Leslie; circumstances became so critical at the time I received it, in consequence of the French preparations at Rhode-Island, and the numerous militia who were collecting in Virginia and North Carolina, that I thought it an improper time to change the station, because good or bad, such as it was, it must for the present be defended. I accordingly thought it right to defer, to some more proper occasion, the writing to General Arnold on the subject; and I was afterwards happy to find by his letter to me of the 27th of February, that his works there were in such forwardness; and that he was even preparing to send up James River, and

[2597] CNC15 p. 438.

expedition of five hundred men. All these circumstances considered, I was led to suppose that the post at Portsmouth, was now rendered an eligible one by the manner in which it was fortified. However, as I intimated before, it is by no means a position of my choice, and if you and General Arnold have such good reasons to condemn it, it may be right to return to our original object, a station to protect the King's ships, which is capable of being maintained by a garrison of about five or six hundred men; and if Mill-Point will answer these purposes without Norfolk, and the corresponding station on the opposite side of the river, I can have no objection; but leave it to you to act as you judge best for the King's service."[2598]

12 April. Major Pinkertham Eaton marched from Ramsey's Mill[2599] with 200 N.C. Continentals, to replace Col. James Read's North Carolina militia, numbering 400, already with Greene. Eaton's men though not well-armed or equipped were to take up the weapons of Read's men before the latter returned home. By the 17th, however, Eaton was down to 140 men. A number of the men having been forced to serve due to alleged cowardice at Guilford Court House, and not being given fair hearing with respect to their individual cases, deserted. Nonetheless, Eaton and those that remained with him later served with notable distinction.[2600]

12 April. Lafayette arrived at the Susquehanna Rive in his continued march into Virginia.[2601]

13 April. Clinton to Cornwallis: "As it appears, even from the Rebel account of the action, that your Lordship has gained a victory over Greene; and it is probable he may in consequence have repassed the Roanoke, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship, the propriety of your coming to Chesapeak[e] Bay in a frigate as soon as you have finished you[r] arrangements for the security of the Carolinas, and you judge that affairs there are in such a train as no longer to require your presence, directing at the same time such troops to follow you thither, as your Lordship is of opinion can be best spared.
"By Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce's arrival I am made acquainted that six British regiments are intended as an immediate reinforcement to the army under my command; should therefore any of these corps stop at Carolina your Lordship may probably direct them either to replace such troops as follow you, or to proceed immediately to the Chesapeak.
"Agreeable to what I have already said to your Lordship in my letters of the 1st of June and 6th of November, it is my wish that you should continue to conduct operations as they advance northerly: for, except as a visitor, I shall not probably move to Chesapeak, unless Washington goes thither in great force. The success which has hitherto attended your Lordship excites the fullest assurance of its continuance; and as it is my inclination to assist your operations to the utmost extent of my power, I am convinced, from your disinterestedness, that you will not ask from me a larger proportion of troops than I can possibly spare."[2602]

13 April. Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, at "Camp Chatham Court House," to Sumner: "I this day received of Lieut. Col. Wm. Linton one hundred and seventy men who are turned over into the Continental service but am without a single Officer to assist me. I shall by General Greene's orders march them immediately to Head Quarters and hope you will order some officers to come on to take charge of the companies. I am surprised to find the officers of the district know so little of their duty as to send off a party of Continental troops without first informing you of it, that you might have given the necessary orders for the attendance of the officers. I would not have moved a foot from this place until I had received your orders, had not General Greene left particular instructions respecting it. I shall be happy to see you, or receive your orders as soon as possible, and will send an express to this place, Capt. Ramsey will send it on to you immediately."[2603]

13 April (also 14 April). Lee, going by way of Port's Ferry on the Peedee,[2604] linked up with Marion at Benbow's Ferry on the Black River. By this time, Marion's band had dwindled to some 80 men. Yet when he received word of Greene's approach he was able to assemble a force of 380 to 400. By the afternoon of the 15th, he and Lee advanced their joint forces to invest Ft. Watson.[2605]
Lee: "Lieutenant-Colonel Lee was ordered to join Marion after Greene determined to turn the war back to South Carolina in 1781. An officer with a small party, preceded Lee a few days' march to find out Marion, who was known to vary his position in the swamps of Pedee; sometimes in South Carolina, sometimes in North Carolina, and sometimes on the Black River. With the greatest difficulty did this officer learn how to communicate with the brigadier; and that by the accident of hearing among our friends on the north side of the Pedee, of a small provision party of Marion's being on the same side of the river. Making himself known to this party, he was conveyed to the general, who had changed his ground since his party left him, which occasioned many hours' search even before his own men could find him."[2606]

William Dobein James: "As all the accounts of the movements of Greene and Col. Lee, into South Carolina, are confused, from a want of information of the local situation of the country, and the clashing of the names of

[2598] CAC pp 90-95. "Received by Earl Cornwallis, at Petersburg, May 24."
[2599] Where Brig. Gen. John Butler was with most of the North Carolina militia left over from Greene's army.
[2600] NGP8 p. 83.
[2601] TCS p. 192.
[2602] CAC pp. 18-20.
[2603] CNC15 p. 438.
[2604] In anticipation of his coming, Marion had collected boats for Lee's crossing at Port's.
[2605] NGP8 pp. 124-125, 128-129, 139, MLW4A p. 517, LMS pp. 174n, 330-331, JLG2 pp. 69-70, LCC pp. 290-291, 307-309, MSC2 pp. 170-171, BSF p. 169, BGC pp. 148-149, 154.
[2606] LMS p. 174n.

places; the present note has been subjoined to rectify misconceptions. From Ensign Johnson Baker's account we have seen Lee at the Long bluff, since called Greenville, now Society-hill. At that time, the marshes of Black creek, and the bogs of Black river, were impassable (except to Marion,) on any direct route to Camden, or Scott's lake, or Santee; but there was an Indian path, by the way of the present Darlington court house and Day's ferry, on Lynch's creek, to Kingstree; and from the latter place there was a road to Murray's ferry on Santee. From the necessity of the case, therefore, this must have been Lee's route, for he cannot explain it himself. Lee had been the principal adviser of Greene to return to South Carolina, for which the country can never be too grateful to him; and being now about to invest fort Watson, he sent Dr. Matthew Irvine, for whom both leaders had a great friendship, and who, from his persuasive powers was highly fitted for the mission, to inspire Greene with hope and confidence. Irvine obtained a guide and an escort from Col. Richardson, and proceeded by the route of the Piny lands, back of the Santee hills, then a pathless wilderness, now a thickly settled country, and -- on the first broad road -- he fell in with in this tract, he unexpectedly met with Greene, about fifteen miles from Camden. Irvine continued with him, until descending a range of Sand hills between little and great Pinetree creeks, about a mile from Camden, he crossed great Pinetree creek at the place now called M'Crae's mill. From the latter place, Greene proceeded about three miles to an old mill on Town creek, called English's; and here Irvine left him, and Cantey met with him as a general and his army emerging from the wilderness. This -- first broad road -- must again from the necessity of the case, for there was no other at that time, have been the road from Cheraw hill to Camden.
"Thus have the accounts of two respectable witnesses, Dr. Irvine and Gen. Cantey, been reconciled, which appeared at first sight impossible."[2607]

13-14 April. (The 13th, incidentally, was Good Friday.) Having arrived there on the evening of the 11th, Greene's army was camped on the north bank of the Pee Dee in the vicinity of Colston's (also Colson's) Mill (located on the south side of the Peedee and at the mouth of Rocky River, S.C.) Earlier on Colson's had been set up as a depot for provisons, and it was in part to feed his men there that the temporary halt in that location was made; as Colston's was *not* on the most direct and shortest route to Camden from Ramsey's. Greene apparently crossed over the Pee Dee at Colston's itself but was delayed in doing so due to a dearth of boats supposd to have been collected for that purpose, and therefore was not able to depart from Colston's till the 15th (or else the night of the 14th.)[2608]

14 April. On this date, Malmedy was with his North Carolina horsemen at Rutherford's Mill. He wrote Greene saying that his men would be discharged on April 26; adding further that he was unwilling to serve with a two-months corps again, and desired a command of 200 mounted troops raised "upon a regular Establishment" for nine months.[2609]

14 April. Captains John Howell and John McCleaur, as privateers, on the night of 14 April, surprised, boarded and captured the *Britannia* which lay at anchor in the mouth of the Great Ogeechee River, with rice loaded for the West Indies. Capt. Wade, the British captain, had been ashore at the time and thus escaped being taken. See 24 April. [2610]

15 April. A return of this date[2611] gives Cornwallis' strength in Wilmington as:
Officers, (also Chaplains and Surgeons)…..127
Sgts, Drummers, and Privates……..2059

TOTAL: 2186, Of these, Rank and File, 1829.

On command, in and out of the district... 544
Prisoners of war……..694
Sick…… 436[2612]
Wounded……..……... 397
Detached…… 214
Including Officers…… 2273

Bearing in mind that his army now included the regulars and loyalists that had been under Maj. James Craig already at Wilmington prior to his arrival. Stedman states that Cornwallis own original force that arrived at Wilmington itself numbered only 1,435.[2613]

15 April. Phillips, at Portsmouth, to Clinton: "I am free to declare Portsmouth to be a bad post, its locality not calculated for defence, the collateral points necessary to be taken up so many, that altogether it would require so great a number of troops as no general officer I imagine would venture to propose to the Commander-in-Chief

[2607] JFM p. 50n.
[2608] This is a different Rocky River than that which flows into the Haw-Cape Fear River. NGP8 p. 88, FRM p. 1750.
[2609] NGP8 p. 95.
[2610] JHG p. 499.
[2611] RCC pp. 87-89, 516-523.
[2612] See also NGP8 p. 115n.
[2613] SAW2 p. 354.

to leave here for mere defence -- A spot might be found, I apprehend, for a post for five hundred men, should it be necessary to have one in Elizabeth River."[2614]

15 April (Easter Sunday). Greene arrived at May's Mill, N.C. (in Anson County) on his march toward Camden. At this time he had 300-400 North Carolina militia with him led by Col. James Read. Yet these soon diminished from desertion to about 150.[2615] Guilford Dudley: "Lieutenant Colonel Webb's battalion of militia, which with my own constituted the command of Colonel Read, insisted on their discharge, alleging that their term of service had expired. This was at first refused and the allegation denied, when Webb[']s Btnn left ironworks and their subsequent training. My battalion, with Colonel Read still at its head, were now the only militia in the southern army, and they were soon to experience the reality of uncommon active service and hard fighting. There was General Greene, in a moment, and that one of danger and difficulty too, deprived of 250 of his efficient force -- men who, though but militia, he had considerable hopes from their services since the change of field officers [at Ramsey's Mill]…" [2616]

15 April (also possibly 16 April). [raid] Wolf's Den, also Big Glades, Riddle's Knob[2617] (Watauga County, N.C.) Tory Capt. William Riddle, Zachariah Wells and 5 or 7 others captured Col. Benjamin Cleavland with a view to taking him to Ninety Six to receive a reward. They already had a Capt. Ross, a whig militia officer, with them as captive for the same purpose. According to one version Cleavland was abducted at gun point while resting under a tree at Old Fields; which was twenty miles northwest of Wilkesboro, N.C.[2618] Another says that Riddle stole some horses with a view to setting a trap. Cleavland and a few others followed Riddle's trail, and were ambushed. His men ran and Cleavland himself was taken prisoner after attempting to seek shelter in a nearby house armed with only his pistol. Riddle took him up to New River, then to Wolf's Den or Elk Knob, on Elk Creek ten miles distant from Old Fields, where the tories kept their camp. Capt. Robert Cleavland and some of Cleavland's men from King's Mountain soon received word of what had transpired and formed a party of 20 to 30 to go free him. On April 15th or 16th(possibly in the night between the two days), 9 men in advance of the others, following the tories trail, surprised and dispersed Riddle's camp, rescuing Cleavland and Capt. Ross in the process.
"Shortly after this occurrence," says Draper, "Riddle and a band of followers captured two of Cleveland's soldiers, David and John Witherspoon prisoner at their home near King's Creek, several miles from Wilkesboro. The two were taken into the Watauga area many miles away and made to join the loyalists, to which they agreed. Possibly Riddle had reason, as he thought, to suspect their loyalty to the whigs, and despite the abduction had treated them otherwise in a friendly manner. When the Witherspoon brothers returned home, David Witherspoon contacted Col. Benjamin Herndon and reported what happened. Herndon soon gathered a party together. Guided by the Witherspoons, he and his men waylaid Riddle's camp, capturing Riddle and two others, while killing or routing the rest. Riddle and his two followers were taken back to Wilkesboro where they were subsequently hanged under the oversight of Cleveland."[2619]

15 April (also given as the 16th) to 23 April. [siege] Fort Watson (Clarendon County, S.C.) On the evening of the 15th (Bass has the 16th), Marion and Lee, the latter formally under the command of Marion,[2620] laid siege to Fort Watson. Earlier in the same day (or else the day before), Lee sent Capt. John Rudulph, with the Legion cavalry, down the Santee to watch Watson's movements.[2621] This left Lee with his Legion infantry and the Maryland company of 100 under Capt. Edward Oldham. Marion, during the Siege, was reinforced by a few men from Col. Abel Kolb, and by siege's end had 300. As well, Capt. Ebenezer Finley, with a six-pounder, and Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, with 140 N.C. Continentals, had been sent by Greene on the 24th to join Lee and Marion at Ft. Watson, but did not join up with Lee in time to participate. Ft. Watson itself was defended by Lieut. James McKay, of the King's American Regt., with 5 officers, 73 Provincials and 36 loyalists, with one cannon. One source speaks of some of the South Carolina Rangers and some of Lieut. Col. Watson's Provincial Light infantry as being present. Marion cut off the forts water supply, but McKay was able to dig a well in the fort on the 18th. Smallpox broke out among some of Marion's men, and a number deserted. By means of a Maham tower, an oblong tower of logs, suggested by one of Marion's lieutenants, Maj. Hezekiah Maham, Marion's sharpshooters, under Capt. William McCottry, were able to fire down into the fort. After a siege of seven or eight days McKay was forced to capitulate on the 23rd. The editor to the Greene Papers notes: "According to a journal that one of the posts British officer's kept during the siege, it was 'the cowardly and mutinous behavior of a majority of men, having grounded their arms and refused to defend the post any longer' that forced the surrender. The officers and

[2614] COC p. 81.
[2615] NGP8 p. 97.
[2616] DRR pp. 218-219, DSK.
[2617] This entry also includes the separate engagement of "Riddle's Camp" referred to at the end of this paragraph.
[2618] Old Fields situated near the present day Ashe and Watauga County border. Daniel Barefoot, *Touring North Carolina's Revolutionary War Battle Sites*, p. 215.
[2619] WNC pp. 444-445, DKM pp. 437-443.
[2620] As well as being a Brig. Gen. of the militia, Marion's commission as a Lieut. Col. In the Continental army antedated Lee's. Nonetheless, as McCrady remarks, Lee made it sound as if his subordinating himself was merely something brought about by his own request, and indeed the highly educated Lee evidently viewed the semi-literate Marion as a bit of a rustic. Henry Lee IV, notwithstanding such arguments, insists that as a practical matter it was joint command. MSC2 pp. 177, 208, JLG2 pp. 69-70, LCC pp. 72, 290-291, 307.
[2621] William Johnson questions whether there was enough time for Rudulph to have taken watch of Watson's movements, and hence discounts such as taking place, JLG2 pp. 103-104, LCC pp. 314-315.

Provincials soldiers were paroled, while the "irregulars" (loyalist militia) were taken prisoner.[2622] A large quantity of stores and ammunition were captured also. The ammunition was particularly welcome to Marion who was frequently short of it. He himself reported losing 2 killed, with Lee suffering 2 wounded. Lossing says the Americans lost 2 killed, three Continentals and 3 militia wounded, while McCrady gives the total casualties as 2 killed and 6 wounded. After the surrender, the fort was dismantled.[2623]

"Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake":

"Sunday [April] 15th

"At four in the Afternoon, a party of the Enemy's Horse & foot appeared in the Skirts of the Wood on our front. A party Sallied out, when as Skirmish ensued, in which we had One Private of the Infantry mortally wounded. At the same time they appeared in Force on our Left, the Party was recalled & the Works Manned. A Flag was sent to Summons the Post to surrender at Discretion but was returned with the following Reply 'That A British Officer Commanded, & they timidly never surrendered Posts, -- if they wanted it, they must come and take it.' A Firing ensued, in which we had A Corporal of the 64th wounded, the loss of the Enemy cannot be ascertained but several were seen to fall -- at night they set Fire to the Hospital having taken out the Wounded, & made the Nurse Prisoner -- A Private of the 64th deserted.

"Monday [April] 16th

"Some Shots were exchanged, in which we had Two Privates wounded the one of the 64th, the other of the Infantry, the latter of -- some of the Enemy were seen carried off wounded, no Provision or Water in the Works.

"Tuesday [April] 17th

"The Enemy fired a few Shot, & killed A Private of Mr. Harrison's Rangers at night[.] A party was employed in getting up Provisions and Sinking A Well.

"Wednesday [April] 18th

"Some Shot as usual from the Enemy, & as opportunity offered were returned, through the Day the Enemy had One Man killed at Night to Our Satisfaction had it in our power to relieve, in some measure Our Distressed Troops -- with an half Pint of Water per Man -- having been since the first Appearance of the Enemy without Provisions or Water. Under cover of the Darkness, the Enemy broke ground within one hundred Yards of our Works & retook part of the Baggage of the 63rd & 64th Baggage, but in the attempt lost several Men killed & Wounded.

"Thursday [April] 19th

"The Enemy as usual kept Firing but without effect, in the Course of the Day we sunk our Well deeper our Water threatening to fail us. Two Militia Men went privately through the Enemys Centinels [sic] to Nelson's Ferry for Express, employed A Party as usual to fetch up Provision & Water, the Enemy at Work at their Entrenchments -- took the remainder of the 63rd & 64th Baggage, but in the attempt lost several Men killed & Wounded.

"Friday [April] 20th

"Some Firing as usual from the Enemy, when we lost Corpl Shanks of the Infantry -- in the course of the day a covered Passage was made to the Wall. The last night we brought 3 barrels of Pork & 4 do. [ditto] Of Flour likewise deserted Sergt Brown of the Infantry, with the Provision Returns of the Garrison.

"Saturday [April] 21st

"Some Firing as wounded in the Face by a Splinter, & a Negro in the hand. The Enemy ask'd permission to bury their Dead -- but they refusing to desert Firing during the time, their request was denied, they likewise in the Afternoon brought down a Wooden Machine which they had built, & were busy in raising a Scaffold made of Rails & Mold, nearly level with the top of our Works for their Marksmen to pick off our Centinels, this Night employed in getting up Rum & Water & raising a Traverse to counteract the Enemy's Scaffold -- & sinking in our Ditches.

"Sunday [April] 22nd

"Some firing as usual from the Enemy but without Effect -- at night they broke fresh ground opposite our Well, with an intent to cut us off from our Water -- employed in getting up Rum & Water. Evacuated the Store, & placed a Guard over the Well.

"Monday [April] 23rd

"Some firing as usual from the Enemy in which Lt. McKay was wounded & Two Men killed. Mr. Cru of the Militia, died of a Putrid Fever [Typhus], & the Private of the 64th died of his Wound. The Enemy having finished their Entrenchments under cover of their Fire made a lodgment under our Works, with the intention to Undermine us. A Flag was a second time sent to Summons the Post, when we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of Capitulating, by the Cowardly & Mutinous behavior of A Majority of the Men having grounded their Arms & refused to defend the Post any longer, notwithstanding every Exertion made by the Officers to encourage & force them to their Duty.

"[Signed] James Mackay, Lt., P.L. Iy. [Provincial Light Infantry]
Robt Robinson, Ensign, P. Lt Infy.
Thom. B. Campbell, Surgeon, Provl. Lt Infy." [2624]

[2622] According to the terms of surrender, as printed in Tarleton, there are two clauses, which state the officers were to be paroled, and a third which states the "irregulars" were to be made prisoner. No mention is made of the regular soldiers. This may be a printing error and perhaps one of the clauses referring to "British officers" is meant to read "British soldiers", and that the regular soldiers were to be paroled along with the officers, as the separate and isolated clause specifically speaking of the Tories being made prisoner seems to imply. In a letter to Marion of 26 April, Greene spoke of his approving the articles of capitulation, perhaps suggesting that, liberal as the terms were, they needed approving (as Sumter later complained.) Lee was later criticized by some for granting parole to Maxwell's garrison at Fort Granby when it surrendered, yet we see here he had (except for the smaller group of irregulars) done the same thing at Fort Watson.

[2623] NGP8 pp. 134n, 139-141, 143, GDH2 pp. 57-58, GHA4 p. 81, RSC2 p. 229, TCS pp. 471-473, SAW2 pp. 359-361, MLW4A pp. 517-518, LMS pp. 331-332, JLG2 pp. 70-71, LCC p. 253, JFM pp. 45-46, LFB2 pp. 501-502, MSC2 pp. 172-175, WAR2 pp. 799-800, BSF pp. 170-171, BGC pp. 154-157, SCAR vol. 4, nos. 4-5-6, pp. 52 –53.

[2624] "Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake," [S.C.], 15-23 April 1781, British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers, TNA 30/55/9915.

Marion on the day of Watson's surrender (the 23rd), wrote Greene: "Lieutenant-colonel Lee joined me on the Santee the 14th instant, after a rapid march from Ramsey's mills on Deep river, which he finished in eight days. The 15th we marched to this place, and invested it: Our chief hope was to cut off the water: Some riflemen and continentals were, for this purpose, posted between the fort and the lake. The fort lies on a rising ground, about forty feet high, surrounded by three rows of abbatis. There were no trees near enough to cover us from the enemy's fire. The third day after we had begun the siege, we perceived that the enemy had dug a well near the abbatis without meeting with any opposition from us, which was for want of several very necessary implements, without which we could not make trenches in order to make our approach to the fort; we therefore resolved immediately to erect a work as high as the fort, and it was finished this morning by Major [Hezekiah] Maham; we then made a lodgement on the side of the eminence near the abbatis; this was accomplished with great spirit and address by Ensign Robinson and Mr. R. Lee, a volunteer in Colonel Lee's regiment, who, surmounting every difficulty, got up to the abbatis, and pulled it away: By this the commander of the fort found himself obliged to hoist a white flag. I enclose the capitulation, which I hope will meet with your approbation. Our loss was only two militiamen killed, and three continentals wounded. I shall demolish the fort without loss of time, and then proceed to the heights of Santee, and shall halt at Captain Richardson's plantation to wait for farther orders."

"Petition to Lieut Colonel Isaac Allen, 3d Btn, New Jersey Volunteers, Commandant of Charlestown, SC from Robert and James Bowman, Camden District, SC, who both had a lieutenant's commission in the militia": "They lived on the north side of the Santee River. They crossed the river and raised a company of 25 volunteers, who were lost in Fort Watson, near Wright's Bluff. Their house at Manigault's Ferry was plundered and burned. They then left for Florida, but were captured and carried to Georgetown, where they were paroled."[2625]

"[Back pay] Petition of [Sgt.] Absolom Shirley": "He joined Captain Nutwell's Company, Jackson Creek Militia, and did duty under him from 13 Jun 1780 until the Congaree Fort surrendered, at which time he was made prisoner and sent to Charlestown. He afterwards joined Lord Rawdon and went with him to Ninety-Six; he has kept constantly with the army doing his duty until they came to the Quarter House. His captain is now dead…[dated] 9 Feb 1782."[2626]

16 April. [siege] Second Siege of Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) Numbering in all some 600 Georgia militia[2627] Colonels Elijah Clark and Micajah Williamson's detachments assembled at an appointed rendezvous on Little River (of the Savannah River), and marched to Augusta, where he was joined by Colonel John Baker, and also by captains Dunn and Irwin with a few men from Burke county. They initially posted themselves about 1200 yards from the town, initiating a siege that would last into June. Colonel Samuel Hammond and Major James Jackson were employed in embodying the militia of Carolina, near Augusta, and joined them a few days later. Not long after the siege began (though it is possible he wasn't at the siege even then), Clark fell ill with small pox but returned with some additional men by 15 May. Defending Augusta was Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown with 330 Provincials and loyalist militia, and 300 Cherokees. Pickens, in the meantime and sending out detachments under Colonels Brandon and Hayes, positioned himself so as to prevent reinforcements and supplies from Ninety Six reaching Augusta. [2628]
Samuel Hammond (pension statement): "Major [James] Jackson passed over to Georgia, joined Cols. [John] Baker, Stark & Williamson, who had collected a considerable force of the Georgia militia & were near Augusta, the British outposts were driven in on both sides of the Savannah River & a Siege commenced. The Georgians under Col. Jackson [Maj. James Jackson] raided a Battery near Fort Greyonson [Grierson] & the Applicant simultaneously erected a Battery opposite Fort Cornwallis on the North side of Savannah River, & held the Enemy within, cut off from all communication with the Country with the arrival of Genl. Pickens, Col. Clark & Col. Lee. Applicant continued with Genl. Pickens aiding in the reduction of the British Garrisons in Augusta until Col. Brown surrendered when he was detached towards Orangeburgh Co. & then other Troops under Pickens and Lee marched to & joined Genl. Greene at 96. While in front of the British under Lord Rawdon, advancing toward 96, Rec'd by express, ordered to retreat & joined Gent. Pickens west of that place & with him retreated towards the North & rejoined Genl. Greene on the Congaree River below Broad River."[2629]

16 April. Moultrie, in Charlestown a captive, to Marion: "[H]ave this day received information from Lieut. Col. Balfour in Charles Town, that your troops have been guilty of many cruelties upon the people in the country, particularly in the murders of Mr. John Inglis, Capt. Clark, and John Frazee (Mr. Maxwell s over seer). As I know you are well acquainted with the customs of war, and that your disposition will not countenance such cruelties, especially as it cannot answer any good purpose, I am therefore to request the favour, you will give such orders as will prevent private animosities from taking revenge at this time by such unwarrantable practices, as can only serve to disgrace the generous and the brave. I dare say the people that have been guilty of these outrages will be called to a proper account."[2630]

SCAR vol. 4, nos. 4-5-6, pp. 52 –53.
[2625] CLS p. 151.
[2626] There was a Capt. Nutwell's Co. in Phillip's Camden Regiment. CLS p. 155.
[2627] BEA p. 50.
[2628] NGP8 p. 150n, GDH2 p. 50, LCC pp. 389, HMP, MHG p. 514, WHG pp. 609-614, JTR pp. 532-533, LFB2 pp. 510-511, MSC2 p. 263, BEA p. 50. See Briar Creek, *Late April*.
[2629] HMP.
[2630] GDH2 p. 52.

17 April (also given as 12 and 18 April). [ambush-surrender] Fort Balfour, also Vanbibber's Tavern, Pocotaligo (Beaufort County, S.C.) Ft. Balfour, which was situated above a bridge on the Pocotaligo River, was garrisoned by about 100 men, comprised of some loyalist militia under Col. Fletcher Kelsell, and about 25 to 30 of the South Carolina Light Dragoons under Col. Edward Fenwick. Col. William Harden with about 100 (possibly up to 200) managed to surprise and capture Fenwick, Col. Nicholas Lechmere and 7 dragoons when the latter were outside the fort visiting an adjacent hospital. Kelsell then became the fort's commander, replacing Lechmere. Kelsell, when threatened with being stormed, after a brief refusal, was warned a second time, and then gave in. Ramsay states that the British lost 32 regular dragoons and 56 privates of royal militia who surrendered as captives. McCrady gives the loyalists losses as 91 captured. Ripley states "one colonel, a major, three captains, three lieutenants, 60 privates of the regular garrison, plus a lieutenant and 22 dragoons…" were taken and paroled. The dragoon horses and supplies in the fort were also taken; the supplies being transported from the area during the night or else destroyed. Charlestown area loyalist Lieut. Col. Robert Ballingall with 130 Provincials (70 of these mounted), plus 40 militia, who was some sixty miles away, attempted to pursue Harden, who lingered in the area momentarily, but Harden escaped. Bass gives the date as being the 17th or 18th, and states the loyalist lost 8 officers and 82 men captured. On the 18th, Harden wrote Marion requesting commissions from him as an incentive to keep his (i.e. Harden's) men with him. [2631]
Harden, at "Camp on Salketcher," on April 18th wrote to Marion: "…I then heard Col. [Edward] Fenwick and his corps of horse Dragoons was at Pocotaligo, 35 in number, I proceeded on my march to surprise them, but the Colonel had heard I was coming, and he attempted the like on me. Our advance party met and hailed, when I ordered my men to turn out in the woods, but unluckily, went too far from the road. I fired a few shots when they retreated; I rushed out, but they charged and my men gave way; I had one man taken, and two wounded, we shot one of his men dead, and wounded seven; next morning took two of his Dragoons and retreated back about ten miles, and stayed two days, when I marched on again and got within sight of Fort Balfour, at Pocotaligo, at 12 o'clock in the day. I placed my men and sent ten of the best horses to draw them out, but luckily, Colonels Fenwick and Letchmere [Nicholas Lechmere] were at Vanbiber's and were taken, with seven of the Dragoons, and brought to me, the rest of them were in the fort. I then sent Captain Harden [William Jr., Harden's son] with a flag to demand a surrender of the fort and the men in it; they sent for answer they would not give it up; I sent the second time, and told them that if I was obliged to storm it, that I would give no quarter. Col. [Fletcher] Kelsell then desired half an hour to consider, I gave him twenty minutes; they then agreed to give up the fort on terms which I granted, and in two hours the fort with one Militia Colonel, one major, three Captains, three Lieutenants, and sixty privates of Col. Fenwick's, one Lieutenant and 22 dragoons and their horses gave up to me, and they marched out and piled their arms without the abbatis, and I marched in and took possession of it, and that night and the next day had it destroyed, as I had intelligence of a party coming from Town which did the day after. Col. [Robert] Ballingall with one hundred of the Seventy-first, thirty Highlanders mounted, and about forty militia mounted came, but I could not give them battle, as I had sent a party up the Savannah River with Captain Barton and McKoy [Rannal McKay] in pursuit of seven boats going to Augusta, and they have not yet returned; but hope they will join me to-morrow at farthest. The enemy left Pocotaligo and is now lying at Blake's Plantation, I imagine for some of the Tories to join them; however, I hope but few will join, as I have been about them, and they all took the swamp. I am obliged to haul off southwardly to collect all the men I can in those parts, and ma in hopes the most of the men near the Okaties will join me…"[2632]

Joseph Johnson: "When Colonel Harden captured Fort Balfour, near Pocataligo, Tarleton Brown, late of Barnwell District, was an officer under his command. Mr. Brown, informs us that the commanding officer of that fort, with one or two next to him in rank, were, at the time of the Americans' advance, visiting their sick and wounded, outside the fort; that these officers having been captured by the Americans, De Veaux was the highest in command of the garrison, and surrendered the fort without firing a gun. This is more probable, as Colonel Lechmere, De Veaux's brother-in-law, late in command of the fort, was then a prisoner. Colonel Fenwick was also captured outside the fort."[2633]

Tarleton Brown: "We now lay by for two or three days, and then marched for the fort at Pocataligo. When we came in sight of it, I took thirteen of the best mounted men to survey the premise, and to lead them out if possible. When we had got within about two hundred yards of Bambifer's [Vanbibber's] house, where the British had deposited their wounded, I saw a negro run in the house, and immediately I saw several men running for the fort; we struck spurs to our horses, and soon came up with them and took them prisoners. When we had gotten them to our company, we found them to be Colonels Fennick [Edward Fenwick] and Leachmore [Nicholas Lechmere], who had been out to see their wounded. When we arrived at the fort, we had not the smallest hope of taking it, but now finding we had two of their most efficient officers, (Major Andrew Devo the only one in the fort), Colonels Harden and [John] Baker sent a flag in form them to give up the fort. When the flag was passing by Colonel Fennick, he asked what that meant. On being told it was for them to surrender the fort, he ripped and swore, and hoped 'that if they did surrender it, they might all be in hell before the morrow,' After deliberation in the fort for the space of two hours, they all marched out, well armed, tied their horses to what was then called 'Abatis,' advanced some little distance from the fort, and formed a line. We then marched between them and the fort and took them prisoners -- they having one hundred and ten men and we eighty. If all the men in the fort had been brace and true to their cause, I don't think one thousand men could have taken

[2631] NGP7 p. 129n, RSC2 p. 228, JLG2 pp. 119-120, JFM p. 47, MSC2 pp. 135-136, 748, BSF p. 176, RBG p. 157.
[2632] GDH2 pp. 53-55.
[2633] JTR p. 178.

them, for the fort was advantageously located and well fortified, approachable only at three points, all of which were well guarded by a deep creek and cannons. Part of the men in the fort were as good Whigs as we had -- Colonel Stafford, Colonel Davis, Captains Felts and Green, whose son was with us, also others. We now paroled the prisoners and sent them to Charlestown, then burnt the house and leveled the fort with the ground…"

Paul Hamilton of the South Carolina militia: "In two days we were again collected and retorted this defeat [see 8 April, Pocotaligo Road] by surprising and making prisoners of part of this cavalry at Pocataligo, among them their Colonel Fenwicke and other officers.
"This success led to the surrender of the British Fort Balfour, at the above place, under the ramparts almost of which this surprise was made. I must, as I am writing of myself, be allowed to be somewhat particular as to this little, but handsome military exploit. Colonel Harden, knowing that we had some staunch friends who had been compelled to enter and garrison the fort, thought that if he could destroy the cavalry, he might induce a surrender of the remainder of the garrison, which were militia, and perhaps one half of them friendly to the American cause; some of whom were men of considerable influence and weight. He therefore drew near the fort and with the effective force he had remaining formed an ambuscade. Twelve well-mounted young men, of whom I was one, named as Light Horsemen, were selected and ordered to decoy the cavalry out.
"With this view we moved on briskly and openly toward Von Bitter's [sic] Tavern, which stood almost a quarter of a mile from the fort and in full view. While approaching we discovered that some of the enemy were at the tavern, on which we darted forward and captured as follows: Col Fenwicke, Lieut. Bond, a sergeant and 1 5 privates of the cavalry with Lieut. Col. Lechmere of the British militia. Lechmere was taken as he ran within 100 yards of the fort, and brought off by one of our young men named Green. Our prisoners had come out on foot to the tavern to regale themselves [and], having only their swords, made no attempt to resist. They were hurried off to the ambuscade and delivered. After which, reinforced by eight more swordsmen, we returned, 20 in number, to the tavern, drew up in the adjoining pasture, offered battle to the British cavalry whose number we had reduced now to about our standard, a part of their force having been previously detached to Charleston immediately after we had been defeated by them at Saltketchie. The cavalry made a show of advancing to the charge, but finding us firm they turned about and were insulted by us as they retired to the fort.
"Col. Harden now came up with the remainder of his force. Leaving the servants and baggage just partly in view to keep up the appearance of a reserve, Major Harden, the brother of the colonel, was now sent to summon the fort to surrender with threats of an assault if refused. I accompanied the major. We were met by Major De Veaux (after Col DeVeaux who took the Bahamas from Spain) at so short a distance from the fort that we could recognize countenances and exchanged an occasional nod with some of the garrison.
"At first the answer through Major DeVeaux was a refusal from CoL Kitsall [sic], who commanded the fort, to surrender, on which I was desired by Major Harden to communicate to his brother this answer. The colonel inquired of me if we could distinguish any of our friends in the fort. I replied that Major Harden had recognized Cols. Stafford and Davis and Mr. Thomas Hutson [Hudson?], with none of whom I had any acquaintance, but that I thought that I discovered some confusion and clamour in the fort. On which the colonel, his countenance brightening, formed his men in column and ordered them to prepare for immediate action.
"This done, he turned to me and said, 'Go to Major Harden and say to him that I allowed ten minutes to Col. Kitsall to consider of a surrender, after which, if he refuses, you are both to return immediately to me and, by God, I will be in the fort!'
"The major communicated this to Major De Veaux with whom he had been chatting with great familiarity, being acquaintances and closely related by blood. The latter went in and delivered this last message to Col. Kitsall, who, having discovered a division among his militia, agreed to lay down his arms.
"Thus was Fort Balfour, which had for some months completely bridled that part of the country, surrendered without a shot. The garrison consisted of 92 militia, about 25 regulars, cavalry well mounted and equipped and uniformed as Light Dragoons. In the fort we found an abundance of provisions, some muskets and a six-pound cannon, with a good supply of ammunition for it." [2634]

17 April. Greene camped at "Widow Shoemakers" close by Lynches Creek.[2635]

17 April. Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, at Little River, N.C. having marched from Chatham Court House, with 180 North Carolina Continentals (twelve months men, mostly from Halifax County), wrote to Greene saying he was on his way to join him. Eaton had only one officer with him, Lt. John Campbell, though another Capt. Robert Smith (of the old 4th N.C. Regt.) was sent later. By the time Eaton reached Greene, his forced numbered only 140.[2636]

17 April. Col. Thomas Wade wrote Greene from Haley's Ferry saying that Lieut. Col. Watson was stationed on the east side of the Peedee River, and about thirty miles below Cheraw, with 200 Loyalists. He also mentioned that two large companies of Col. Kolb's regiment were serving with Marion.[2637]

17 April. [skirmish] Brown's Mill, also Muddy Creek, "Capt. Malachi Murphey vs. Micajah Ganey and David Fanning" (Marlboro County, S.C.) See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/brownsmill.htm

[2634] "Extracts from a Private Manuscript," *Charleston Year Book*, 1898, pp. 315-320, CSS p. 1171-1173.
[2635] NGP8 p. 117.
[2636] NGP8 p. 106, RNC p. 329.
[2637] NGP8 p.111, GHA4 pp. 109-110.

17-18 April. Lafayette and his troops arrived at Baltimore. He had with him three battalions of New Jersey and Massachusetts light infantry, numbering 1,100-1,200. Using is own private credit, he was able to purchase "shoes, linen, spirits ,and other articles of immediate necessity" (quoting Marshall) to placate his dissatisfied men, and which thus made it possible to resume his march to Virginia.[2638]

18 April. Cornwallis, still at Wilmington, wrote to Lord Germain, stating that after all this while in North Carolina, not more than 200 loyalists "have been prevailed upon to follow us, either as provincials or militia." He further noted, "…the immense extent of this country, cut with numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of internal navigation, which renders it impossible for our army to remain long in the heart of the country, will make it very difficult to reduce this province to obedience by a direct attack upon it." [2639]

18-21 April. [raids] Burwell's Ferry (Charles City County, VA.), Wiliamsburg (James City County, VA.) and Yorktown. Having completed the fortifications at Portsmouth, which Leslie and Arnold had begun, Maj. Gen. William Phillips embarked on the 18th with about 2,300 rank and file troops (leaving 1,200 to man Portsmouth), and sailed up the James River, first to Hampton Road, then as far as Burwell's ferry, which he reached on the 20th. A brief skirmish took place at that location with some rebel militia on the 21st; while Simcoe the same day probed Yorktown dispersing some of the same.[2640]
On the 19th, Phillips, at Hampton Road, wrote to Clinton: "The face of affairs seems changed, and the Carolinas, like all America, are lost in rebellion. My letters of the 15th, 16th, and yesterday, will go now in the *Amphitrite*, for I stopped the express boat last night. -- I have nothing farther to add, than that I conceive Lord Cornwallis will not have it in his power to bring with him many troops, it will depend on your Excellency from his Lordship's letters, and from those of Brigadier-general Arnold and me, whether you shall think it proper to have an operation in force in Chesapeak[e] -- if yes, the troops here are too few -- if no, too many.
"I hope to hear from your Excellency directly, and perhaps it may not be so well to trust such a serious dispatch, as your next, Sir, will probably be, to an unarmed vessel, but that a frigate will be sent.
"The operations I had proposed against Williamsburg, shall take place to-morrow morning, but I think it my duty to call a council of war, circumstanced as Lord Cornwallis is, to judge whether an attempt on Petersburg may now be proper."[2641]

Arnold, at Petersburg, wrote to Clinton on May 12th: "On the 18th of April, the light infantry, part of the 76th and 80th regiments, the Queen's rangers, yagers, and American legion, embarked at Portsmouth, and fell down to Hampton road [Hampton Roads]: on the 19th, proceeded up James river to Burwell's ferry; on the 20th, Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie [Robert Abercromby], with the light infantry, proceeded up the Chickahomany in boats; Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with a detachment, to York; Lieutenant-colonel [Thomas] Dundass, with another detachment, landed at the mouth of the Chickahomany; and Major-general Phillips and myself landed with part of the army at Williamsburg, VA. where about five hundred militia were posted, who retired upon our approach. The militia at York crossed the river before the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who made a few prisoners, spiked and destroyed some cannon, and next day returned to Williamsburgh."[2642]

19 April. Leaving behind his heavy cannon, baggage and sick to follow when they could, Lafayette left Baltimore, and proceeded by forced marches to Richmond.[2643]

19 April. Watson, who had been in a position to threaten Haley's Ferry, where an American provision magazine was located, fell back in the direction of Georgetown when he learned of the approach of Lee, and, for all he knew, the approach of Greene's entire army. In the retreat, many of his militia under Ganey either deserted or were discharged. So precipitate was Watson's movement that, along the way, he burned his heavy baggage and abandoned his artillery in the swamp.[2644]
William Dobein James: "About the same time, Capt. John Brockington, of the tories, had been up to his plantation at Cashway, and hearing the same news with Baker Johnson [concerning the appearance of Lee in the region], pushed over the river, and gave Watson the like information. He [Watson] lost no time, but immediately rolled his two field pieces into Catfish creek, destroyed all his heavy baggage, re-crossed the little Pedee, and not venturing by Euhany [Euhaney], he passed the Waccamaw at Greene's ferry, and retreating through the neck, between that river and the sea, crossed Winyaw bay, three miles wide, and thus arrived in Georgetown." [2645]

19-20 April. [skirmish-raid] Logtown (Kershaw County, S.C.) On the 19th, Greene's army marched to "Sand Hills, four miles from Camden," (Hobkirk's Hill), within a two miles, of Camden where he camped.[2646] By evening, his

[2638] NGP8 p. 197, GHA4 pp. 109-110, MLW4A pp. 423-425, JLG2 pp. 46-51.
[2639] TCS p. 324, RCC p. 98.
[2640] TCS p. 334, SQR pp. 189-192, LMS p.309.
[2641] COC pp. 81-82.
[2642] TCS p. 334.
[2643] JYC p. 34.
[2644] NGP8 pp. 121, 121n-122n, JFM p. 45, RBG p. 152.
[2645] JFM p. 45.
[2646] Greene's own letters and others sources give his camp as two or else four miles from Camden. Hobkirk's Hill is actually about 2 miles from Camden, so this is assumed to be the correct distance, rather than four miles as Greene gives in his "Orders" for 19 April, NGP8 p. 117. It isn't known, even so, how much if at all Greene shifted his camp in that area (north of Camden) between 19 April to 22 April, as well as when he returned on the 24th. His correspondence during this period, even after he shifted on the 22nd, is dated "Camp near Camden." Conceivably then his encampment, after the skirmishes at LogTown was actually four miles

light troops then engaged some of Rawdon's forces (whom and which specifically is not clear) outside the Camden fortifications (i.e. Logtown) for the next couple days. See also Wateree, 21 April.[2647]
Greene wrote to Lee on this date: "We are within two Miles of Camden and shall march to LogTown in the morning which is within half a mile of their advance works." On the 24th, He wrote Huntington: "We began our march from Deep River the 7th, and arrived in the neighborhood of Camden the 19th. All the Country through which we past is disaffected, and the same Guides and escorts were necessary to collect Provisions and forage, as if in an open and avowed Enemies Country. On our arrival at Camden we took post at Logtown, about half a mile, in front of their Works, which upon reconnoitering were found to be much stronger that had been represented, and the garrison much larger…Our force was too small either to invest or storm the Works, which obliged us to take a position a little distance from it."[2648]

Stedman: "Upon the approach of the American army, a very general spirit of revolt shewed itself amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina, particularly in the district of Ninety-Six on the western frontier, and on the North-east in that tract of the country which lies between the two great rivers Peedee and Santee."[2649]

20 April. Lieut. Col. John Small commanded a British detachment at Monck's Corner of 250 men (or possibly only 100-150), which probably consisted of troops from Small's own Regiment, the 84th, plus some militia. Lee, in a letter to Greene of April 20, speaks of Small and Watson's potential combined force as numbering 600.[2650]

20 April. Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, at Prince Edward Court House, wrote Greene saying that he expected to come south with a force of Virginia militia to reinforce the Southern army. Despite this, about May 18, Lafayette countermanded the earier order and Lawson remained with the militia in Virginia.[2651]

20 April. Balfour at Charlestown, wrote to Cornwallis, stating that [Edmund] Fanning's Corps (the King's American Regt.) was at Camden, and that the Provincial Light infantry were with Watson who was unable to arrive at Camden. He also said that Major Archibald McArthur[2652] had been moved, with "the debris of the British to Pocotaligo, in order to cover that country" (see 10 April.) Nevertheless, Balfour intended to have him move to Dorchester to establish a post to protect Charlestown. In consequence, after Fenwick's defeat at Fort Balfour, McArthur was sent to Dorchester where he and his men assisted in the erecting of fortifications there.[2653]
The same day Balfour wrote to Clinton: "I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that by the letters from Lord Rawdon of the 12th, 13th, and 15th instant, there is the fullest information, that General Greene with his army is advancing into this province, and that his light troops have actually passed the Pedee [Peedee]. The object of this movement there is every reason to believe is Camden, which at present is but weak, Lord Rawdon having detached Lieutenant-colonel Watson, with two battalions from that post; so that in the end it may be expedient for combining our force, to relinquish every thing on the other side Santee -- a measure, however, which your Excellency may be assured will not be taken but in case of the utmost necessity.
"As this movement of Greene's may considerably change Lord Cornwallis's views, (who is now at Wilmington) I have judged it fit to lay before your Excellency as soon as possible this intelligence, which is likewise forwarded to Lord Cornwallis by an express boat."[2654]

20 April. O'Hara, at "camp near Wilmington," to the Duke of Grafton: "A report prevails this morning that Green[e] with his Army has march'd into South Carolina, if that should prove true a general Revolt will take place and we shall certanly loose the Carolina's forever -- it will be impossible for Lord Cornwallis to return by Land to South Carolina and equally impracticable for us to remain here. I believe we shall endeavor to join Major General Phillips who is said to be at Petersbourg [sic] at the head of the James River in Virginia."[2655]

Mid to late April. [raid] Mobley and Sandy Run Settlements (Fairfield County, S.C.) Sumter retaliated for Coffin's raid of the Waxhaws (see 9 April) by sending men to set aflame the Mobley and Sandy Run settlements. About this same time, he sent Pickens Col. Flagg's regiment to help suppress the loyalists around Ninety Six.[2656]
On April 25th, Sumter, from Davis' on the Broad River, wrote to Greene: "As I found some delay unavoidable, I marched into Mobley's and Sandy River [Chester County] settlements, with a view to harass the enemy, which has been effectually done, and will, I hope, in a great Measure relieve our friends in that part of the country from the unnatural cruelties that were daily exercised over them. Some small skirmishes have happened, I have lost no men. Several of the enemy have fallen; and many others taken prisoners...Genl Pickens joined me to-day. He has none of his brigade with him. Many men belonging to mine gone after Col. [James] McCall, who is in the neighborhood of Ninety-Six with a considerable number of men with him. Genl Pickens will set off to-morrow with Col. Hay's [Joseph Hayes'] regiment of my Brigade to take command of the troops in that quarter. The

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from the battlefield, but when he returned he moved closer and lay at Hobkirk's Hill. On the other hand, Seymour speaks of returning to the "same ground from whence we came." See 23 April.
[2647] NGP8 pp. 64, 117, LMS pp. 333-334, JLG2 p. 45, HWW p. 128.
[2648] NGP8 p. 131.
[2649] SAW2 p. 399.
[2650] NGP8 p. 125, JLG2 p. 71, BSF p. 168.
[2651] NGP8 pp. 124, 466.
[2652] McArthur, of the 71st Regt., captured at Cowpens, had recently been exchanged.
[2653] PRO. 30/11/5, 231-4), NGP8 p.118n.
[2654] COC pp. 90-91.
[2655] RCO p. 179.
[2656] BGC pp. 151, 153.

Georgians have gone into that State, and are joined, I am informed, by almost every man in the Upper Country. The enemy have burnt what works they had at Williams' [i.e. Williams' Fort], and moving toward the Congarees. Numbers of Tories hiding out until they Know what terms may be offered. I find the country stripped very bare of provision, and stripped of chief of the Negroes and horses."[2657]

Mid to late April. [defense of a domestic dwelling] Downes Home (Kershaw County, S.C.)
Lambert: "Just before battle at Hobkirk's Hill Maj. William Downes, formerly of Royal Irish artillery and who held a commission in vicinity of Camden, a large party of Whigs surrounded his house and demanded his surrender. He and the overseer defended the home, killing several of the attackers with firearms, loaded by his wife and children. His wife testified that after he'd surrendered they fired nine balls into him."[2658]

21 April. In a letter to Greene, Marion estimated the enemy detachments and garrisons around Charlestown to number fewer than 500 men.[2659]

21 April. Greene wrote Brig. Gen. John Butler, who was at Ramsey's Mill, saying he should join his N.C. militia forces with those of Lillington outside of Wilmington; which Butler then did.[2660]

21 April. Marion, at Fort Watson, reported himself to Greene as having 300 men. He expected, at this time, reinforcements, but was in want of ammunition. He also mentioned capturing a boat-load of corn destined for Camden.[2661]

21 April. Having passed the Potomac River, Lafayette entered Alexandria, VA.

21 April. Lieut. [raid] Wateree (Kershaw County, S.C.) Col. Washington and Capt. Kirkwood launched an intrepid raid on around the western side of Camden where they burned a fortified house and redoubt near the Wateree. Haller gives the date for this raid as 21 April and says Washington and Kirkwood, as well as setting fire to the fortified house and redoubt, seized 50 cattle and 40 horses.
Kirkwood: "19 [April] Marched within 4 miles of Camden, took Eleven of the Enemy prisoners...15 [miles]
"This evening Genl. Green gave me orders if possible to take possession of Logtown, which was in full view of Camden & if I could take it, to mentain [sic] it until [sic] further orders, Leaving Camp about 8 at night, arrived before the town between 9 & 10 and about 12 Oclock got full possession of the place, A scattered firing was kept up all night, And at sun rise next morning, had a sharp schirmage [scrimmage], Beat in the Enemy, About two hours afterwards had the Very agreeable Sight of the advance of the Army
"20th. This day Col. Washington with my Infantry went Westerly round Camden, Burnt a house in one of the Enemys Redoubts on the Wateree River; took 40 horses and fifty Head of cattle and returned to Camp...4 [miles]."[2662]

Seymour: "On the nineteenth April, 1781, we encamped before Campden [Camden], after a march of one hundred and sixty-four miles. We took this day eleven of the enemy prisoners, who were straggling through the country. The same night Captain Kirkwood, being detached off with his infantry, in order to take post before Campden, accordingly having arrived there about ten o'clock, drove in their picquets and took his post near the town till morning.
"(T)the twentieth, General Greene with the main army arrived, and encamped before Camden.
"On the twenty-first the horse and infantry under Colonel Washington marched to the Wateree, there destroying a house and fortification, marched towards camp and brought away three hundred and fifty horses and cattle belonging to the enemy." [2663]

21 April (or 22 April.) A detachment of the South Carolina Royalists, under Major Thomas Fraser, probably mounted, managed to reach Camden from Ninety Six to reinforce Rawdon; in spite of efforts by Sumter to intercept them. Earlier, Fraser, to fill the ranks of his dragoons, had recruited from settlements between Broad and Saluda from Robert Cunningham's loyalist militia, and survivors of Ferguson corps. Bass says he arrived on the 21st. The Greene Papers editor says the 22nd; basing this apparently on Greene's saying in a letter (to Sumter) that it was on the 22nd that he learned of the fact. About or shortly before this same time, Rawdon abandoned the British post at Nelson's ferry. [2664]
Henry Nase: "21st. Captn. Gray, N.Y. Vols. under Command of Majr. Coffin, Charg'd the Rebel Regt. & Kill'd four & took the Same Number [of] Prisoners without the least Damage, the Same evening Majr. Frazer [Thomas Fraser], with the South Carolina Regt. Arrives from Ninety Six –"[2665]

22 April. [skirmish] Camden Mill (Kershaw County, S.C.) Apprehensive of Watson's entering Camden and combining wih Rawdon to attack him, Greene relocated his camp from two miles north of Camden to a few miles

[2657] NGP8 pp. 149-150.
[2658] LSL pp. 201-202.
[2659] NGP8 pp. 128-129.
[2660] NGP8 p.126.
[2661] NGP8 pp. 128-129.
[2662] KJO p. 16.
[2663] SJS.
[2664] NGP8 pp. 135, 136n, AR81 p. 81, BGC p. 153.
[2665] NDI.

east of it. In the interim, he directed Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington with the baggage and artillery "to the strong country north of Lynch's [Lynches] Creek." The next day, however, Greene himself returned to his former camp ground, ostensibly Hobkirk's Hill. While there, he had ordered that Sumter come and join him (William Johnson disputes actually Greene did this[2666]), but the latter refused. Greene later blamed the defeat at Hobkirk's Hill on him, and indeed was so indignant at the latter's thinly disguised disobedience that he would have had Sumter arrested "but [says Davie] from considerations arising from the state of the country at the time" did not do so. Greene's officers and Davie tended in their respective memoirs and post war reminiscences to blame Sumter for being to independent and not willing to suffer the command of any. Yet his absence at Hobkirk may have been due to a circumstances beyond his control; others, including William Johnson, maintain he had been given no such orders by Greene to begin with. So that Greene's *assumption* he would be there, and the disappointment of which caused him such acute vexation, may have been unfairly presuming, unfamiliar as Greene must have been, *at that time*, with Sumter's men and the peculiarities of drawing in, arming, and actuating them. Some also have called into question whether Sumter actually received explicit instructions from Greene to be with him at Hobkirk.[2667]
Henry Nase: "Apl. 22d. 1781 -- About 6 oClock evening, the Rebels Attackd. the Mill, where only an Offr. [Officer] & Eighteen men were Posted, with some Militia, the Lt. Infy. Compy. of the Voluns. of Ireland was sent down, who soon repulsed them -- "[2668]

Seymour: "On the twenty-second we moved our encampment quite round Campden [Camden], the horse and infantry being sent about three miles down the Wateree there to procure forage, which having done, we returned to camp without anything of consequence happening. The same day happened a skirmish between a detachment of Colonel [Richard] Campbell's [Virginia] Regiment and a picquet of the enemy's at a mill near Campden, in which the enemy were obliged to abandon their post. Of our men were slightly wounded one Lieutenant and one private. Of the enemy were four killed and five wounded." [2669]

22 April. [raid] Chickahominy (Charles City County, VA.) As part of his newly launched raiding expedition, Phillips and Arnold sent Simcoe with a detachment was sent to the Chickahominy shipyard where Simcoe set alight the *Thetis* and other smaller craft. Thereafter, Phillips and Simcoe again re-embarked and continued their advance up the James River towards their main objective, Petersburg.[2670]
Arnold in his letter to Clinton of May 12th: "On the 22d, the troops marched to Chickahomany. We were met on the road, five miles from the mouth of the river, by Lieutenant-colonel [Thomas] Dundass with his detachment: This evening the troops, cavalry, artillery, &c. were re-embarked." [2671]

22 April. In expectation of Phillips and Arnold's raids, the Americans evacuated their munitions and stores from Petersburg to Point of Fork, which latter already contained the state's principal munitions laboratory.

23 April. On this date, Lafayette, at Alexandria, VA. wrote to Washington: "With the help of some waggons and horses we got in two days from the camp near Baltimore to this place. We halted yesterday, and having made a small bargain for a few shoes [Lafayette on his own personal credit had purchased them for his men] are marching to Fredreksburg. No official account from Phil[l]ips, but I am told they are removing stores from Richmond and Petersburg. I am surprised no body writes to me, and hope soon to receive intelligences.
"Our men are in high spirits. Their honor having been interested in this affair, they have made it a point to come with us, and discontents as well as desertion are entirely out of fashion."[2672]

23 April. Cornwallis, at Wilmington, to Clinton: "I have the honour to inclose [sic] to you a duplicate of my letter of the 10th, sent by the *Amphitrite*, and copies of all my letters to the Secretary of State [Lord Germain]; as they contain the most exact account of every transaction of the campaign, of the present state of things in this district, of my great apprehensions from the movement of General Greene towards Camden, and my resolutions in consequence of it, I have nothing to add to it for your Excellency's satisfaction. Neither my cavalry or infantry are in readiness to move; the former are in want of every thing, the latter of every necessary but shoes, of which we have received an ample supply; I must however begin my march to-morrow. It is very disagreeable to me to decide upon measures so very important, and of such consequence to the general conduct of the war, without an opportunity of procuring your Excellency's directions or approbation; but the delay and difficulty of conveying letters, and the impossibility of waiting for answers, render it indispensibly [sic] necessary. My present undertaking sits heavy on my mind; I have experienced the distresses and dangers of marching some hundreds of miles, in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend; without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country. The situation in which I leave South Carolina adds much to my anxiety; yet I am under the necessity of adopting this hazardous enterprise hastily, and with the appearance of precipitation, as I find there is no prospect of speedy reinforcement from Europe, and that the return of

[2666] JLG2 p. 109, and also the same at pp. 105-111.
[2667] NGP8 p. 133, DRS pp. 44-45, MLW4A pp. 508-509, LMS pp. 333-334, JLG2 pp. 44, 105-106, LCC pp. 275-276, 298, 338-341, BGC pp. 158-161.
[2668] NDI.
[2669] SJS.
[2670] NGP7 p. 474n, SQR pp. 194-195, CBA p. 589.
[2671] TCS p. 334.
[2672] GHA4 p. 110, MLW4A pp. 424-425, LLW pp. 188, m.

General Greene to North Carolina, either with or without success, would put a junction with General Phillips out of my power."[2673]

23 April. Greene, suffering from lack of provisons in the quarter south east of Camden he had posted himself to (for purposes of catching or forestalling Watson), scrapped his plan of acting as an unencumbered light corps, and returned to a position north of Camden, camping at Hobkirk's Hill. In the meantime, Carrington was resummoned with the artillery and baggage (see 22 April.)[2674]
Seymour: "The twenty-third we moved our encampment to the same ground from whence we came the day before." [2675]

23 April. Fort Watson surrendered (See 15 April.) The prisoners were sent across Black River towards Greene's depot at Rugeley's. The same day (the 23rd) Marion and Lee withdrew to Richardson's plantation in the High Hills of the Santee. By the 25th, Lee's cavalry under Capt. John Rudulph, which had been keeping an eye on Watson, had re-joined Marion and Lee at Richardson's plantation. While at Richardson's, Marion, whose corps had been augmented with two strong companies sent by Col. Abel Kolb during the siege, ordered Col. Hugh Ervin and 80 men to Rafting Creek to prevent the loyalists from driving off cattle.[2676]

24 April. Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, with the army baggage at Upton's Mill (located eight miles north of Little Lynches Creek Bridge), wrote to Greene saying that Maj. Pinkertham Eaton's North Carolina, and Capt. [probably Robert] Smith's[2677] detachments had arrived there and totaled 220 men. Carrington said they would march with the artillery to Greene. Both the artillery and Smith were with Greene at the time of Hobkirk's Hill. Ironically, it was a deserter's reporting to the British the absence of the guns that help prompt Rawdon to attack; and yet at the time of Hobkirk they had returned to Greene.[2678]

24 April. Cornwallis, at Wilmington, wrote to Maj. Gen. William Phillips: "My situation here is very distressing, Greene took the advantage of my being obliged to come to this place, and has marched to South Carolina. My expresses to Lord Rawdon on my leaving Cross Creek, warning him of the possibility of such a movement, have all failed; mountaineers and militia have poured into the back part of that province, and I much fear that Lord Rawdon's posts will be so distance from each other, and his troops so scattered, as to put him in danger of being beat in detail; and that the worst of consequences may happen to most of the troops out of Charles-town.
"By a direct move toward Camden I cannot get enough time to relieve Lord Rawdon. And, should he have fallen, my army would be exposed to the utmost danger from the great rivers. I should have to pass, the exhausted state of the country, the numerous militia, the almost universal spirit of revolt which prevails in South Carolina, and the strength of Green[e]'s army (whose Continentals alone are at least as numerous as I am); and I could be of no use on my arrival at Charlestown, there being nothing to apprehend for that post. I shall, therefore, immediately march up the country by Duplin Court House, pointing toward Hillsborough, in hopes to withdraw Greene."[2679]
Robert Gray believes Cornwallis *should* have returned to Carolina, and that by doing so, he with Rawdon's help, could have defeated Greene. And even as late as Yorktown, Johann Ewald also maintains a move south would have worked in Cornwallis' favor.[2680]

Tarleton: "The aspect of public affairs at this juncture presented various and opposite designs to the noble earl at Wilmington. Upon the different investigations of the subject, it was too successfully described, that the country between Cape-fear river and Camden was barren, and intersected with creeks and rivers; that the road to George town was replete with the same difficulties; that an embarkation for Charles town was disgraceful, and would occasion delay whilst the transports were coming round; and that Virginia was more accessible, where General Phillips commanded a respectable force. Happy would it have been, as far as general probability can determine, had Earl Cornwallis directed his chief attention to the critical state of South Carolina, and commenced his return by any route to secure it: But it was represented, that the plan of carrying the war into so opulent a province as Virginia, would recall General Greene from the southward as soon as he had information of Lord Cornwallis's design; and that his Lordship would have the advantage of an early movement, to form a powerful army, by joining the corps at Wilmington to the troops under Major-general Phillips, on the banks of James river. This large scale of operations coinciding with Earl Cornwallis's present views, he determined to make an instant attempt upon Virginia. For this purpose, orders were given to the principal officers to prepare their troops as well as they could for a long march, and Lieutenant-colonel Balfour was directed to send transports from Charles town to Cape-fear river, to be in readiness to receive them, in case the expedition was frustrated."[2681]

[2673] CAC pp. 20-21.
[2674] LMS pp. 333-335, JLG2 pp. 72-75, LCC pp. 275-276.
[2675] SJS.
[2676] NGP8 p. 163, LMS p. 342, JLG2 pp. 70-72, 99-105, LCC pp. 313-326, BSF pp. 179-180.
[2677] If Eaton's detachment numbered 140, this would put Smith's at 80. The editor to the Greene Papers suggests that Smith had been detached possibly to escort supplies. It is not clear if this is Capt. Robert Smith of the North Carolina line, or Capt. John Smith of the Maryland line: as indicated, I surmise it was more likely the former.
[2678] NGP8 p. 145, JLG2 pp. 72-75, LCC pp. 267-271, 275.
[2679] TCS pp. 324-329, CAR p. 513, COC pp. 95-96, AR81 p.89, SAW2 pp. 353-355, LMS p. 236.
[2680] GWC pp. 157-158, EHJ p. 338.
[2681] 283-284.

Stedman: "At this time colonel Tarleton proposed to lord Cornwallis that he might be permitted to march back through the country to Charlestown with his cavalry; which proposition his lord-ship very judiciously rejected. Colonel Tarleton, in his publication, has thought proper to ensure lord Cornwallis for not returning to South Carolina, instead of going to Virginia. But Colonel Tarleton, throughout his whole History, betrays great impatience to get rid of that burden of gratitude which was due to his lordship for past benefits conferred on him without any extraordinary degree of merit.[2682]

24 April. Greene, at Hobkirk's Hill, to Lee: "Last night I got intelligence that Watson had gone to George town, the moment I received it, I sent an Express to Col. [Edward] Carrington who is with the baggage, to send you a field piece, and 100 wt [weight] powder & 400 wt lead for the use of General Marian's [Marion's] Corps."[2683]
McCrady: "The meanwhile Greene lay beyond Pine Tree Creek, southeast of Camden, at a place called the South Quarter, until the 24th, when, learning of the approach of the body of North Carolina levies under Major Eaton, and despairing of tempting Lord Rawdon from his stronghold, he sent orders to Marion to march up as soon as he should have gained the fort and to assist him to invest Camden."[2684]

24 April. On the 24th of April 1781 H.M.S. *Cormorant*, under Capt. McEvoy gave chase to the captured *Britannia*, which after running and some resistance near Blackbeard Island was run aground and burnt by Capt. Howell, his prisoners were paroled, after which he made his escape. See 14 April.[2685]

25 April. [battle] HOBKIRK'S HILL, also Hobkirk Hill, Camden, Hobkick's Hill (Kershaw County, S.C.) Sometime after 9 am, Rawdon marched with his 800 to 950 man Camden garrison (arming everyone who "could carry a firelock," including musicians), and taking an indirect route, moved to attack Greene's 1,200 to 1,400 army camped on an eminence some two miles north of Camden called Hobkirk's Hill.[2686] While the degree to which Greene's main army was surprised may by chroniclers have been somewhat exaggerated, it is nevertheless fair to say that it did not have that much time to prepare to receive the Loyalist assault -- for in point of fact almost all of Rawdon's troops were Loyalist Provicials. The American pickets under Capt. Simon Morgan of Virginia and Captain Perry Benson of Maryland, and reinforced by Kirkwood, managed to stay Rawdon for a space; while the rest of Greene's army quickly left their breakfasts to form up.
The battle commenced about 11 am, with the two sides keeping up a steady fire. Rawdon having come up on a narrow front was for the most part engaged with Greene's left made up of the Maryland Regiment, while to Greene's right the 2nd Maryland, under Col. Benjamin Ford, and the two Virginia Regiments maneuvered forward to attempt a flanking movement. In response, Rawdon extended his lines to meet the threat of envelopment. The 1st Maryland Regiment came forward to deliver a bayonet charge, but due to the sudden fall of Capt. William Beatty who had been encouraging his men, and perhaps also at fault an ill-advised order by Col. John Gunby to fall back and reform, the line soon became unraveled and disorganized. The confusion became panic, and the 1st Maryland fled, followed by the 2nd Maryland Regiment; whose leader, Benjamin Ford, had fallen mortally wounded at or about the same time the 1st Maryland found itself in disarray. The Volunteers of Ireland then moved forward in chase. The Virginians in turn became disrupted in reaction to the flight of the Marylanders and were able to rally, "but not," wrote Greene afterward, "in such spirit as to recover the fortunes of the day," or as Marshall puts it "The Maryland brigade was in part rallied; but Lord Rawdon had gained the hill, and it was thought too late to retrieve the fortune of the day." Elsewhere, Washington's dragoons, sent by Greene, had swooped behind Rawdon's lines and took some prisoners. Yet his absence from the main action may have cost the Continentals the battle. But for the gallant exertions of Capt. John Smith and the men under him, followed up by some of Washington's late arriving cavalry, the British would have taken the artillery. "The action," Lossing writes, "continued at intervals until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Americans had retreated four or five miles, closely pursued by parties of the enemy. Washington, with cavalry and infantry, then turned upon the pursuers, and charging the mounted New York Volunteers with great intrepidity, killed nine and dispersed the rest." Later that afternoon, Greene retreated and crossed Saunders Creek, about four miles northwest of the battlefield, and there stayed the night. Guilford Dudley states that initially only the American left wing moved to Saunder's Creek, and that the troops on the right, including the

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[2682] SAW2 p. 354n.
[2683] NGP8 p. 143.
[2684] MSC2 pp. 189-190.
[2685] JHG p. 499.
[2686] Revolutionary War researcher Jane Semple: "Sergeant (Drum Major) William Jones of the 1st Maryland Regiment was captured by the British at the Battle of Camden on 16 August1780, and recaptured by Francis Marion at Fort Watson on 23 April 1781 along with three of his friends. They joined Greene on 24 April, claiming they had joined the British after their capture because they thought that would be the quickest way to rejoin the Americans. They were allowed back into the ranks. Jones was then able to assess the American situation. Late that night, Jones sneaked out of camp and went to the British at Camden. He informed them that the Americans had no artillery, were low on provisions, and that Sumter had not joined Greene. He also informed the British of American troop positions. With this information, combined with the knowledge that Marion and Lee were on their way to join Greene, Rawdon decided to attack the next morning 25 April 1781. Unbeknownst to Rawdon or Jones, the artillery and provisions arrived in camp shortly before the battle. Upon hearing the American artillery fire, Rawdon believed Jones had intentionally led him (Rawdon) into a trap and ordered Jones to be hanged. After the battle, this order was rescinded when Rawdon inquired of the American prisoners (probably Capt. John Smith) as to the arrival time of the artillery. It is assumed that Jones went with the British when they left Camden." See also MLW4A p. 509, LMS p. 335, Samuel Mathis' account of Hobkirk's Hill in the *American Historical Record* (1872-1874); Mar. 1873; 2, 15; pp. 103-110; *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 18. Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution 1775-1783. pp. 127, 357, GJG pp. 228-229; Kirkland, Thomas J. and Robert M. Kennedy. *Historic Camden: Part One, Colonial and Revolutionary* (1905) by Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, pp. 228-229; and BEA p. 504.

North Carolina militia, did not know what had happened to them. The right wing, however, found out soon enough and followed.

While perhaps not of pronounced strategic importance (both sides taking about equal losses),[2687] Hobkirk's Hill stands (though, upon closer consideration, probably wrongly) as one of the most embarrassing American defeats of the war. For a brief time afterward, so dejected was Greene by it that he seriously contemplated removing his army from South Carolina to Virginia, but was dissuaded by his subordinates (such as Lee and Williams) and Rawdon's later abandonment of Camden from doing so.[2688] Rawdon and the Loyalists, for their part, cannot be too highly commended for their conduct on the field; though Greene's pickets who held them off for some time, and the efforts of Capt. Smith and his men to save the guns are also deserving of high praise. Yet despite the failure overall, Greene did not come away completely empty-handed either. He did manage to take a large number of prisoners. Further it should be noted, the reason Greene was without Lee's Legion and 100 Marylanders -- troops who would have proven decisive in the fight -- was because, along with Marion, they were elsewhere making significant inroads on the British defenses in South Carolina. Had they been present also, Rawdon's gamble would have proved far greater than it turned out to be.[2689]

BRITISH FORCES AT HOBKIRK HILL[2690]

Col. Francis Lord Rawdon
63rd Regt., probably Maj. Alexander Campbell
King's American Regiment, Lieut. Col. George Campbell
New York Volunteers, Capt. Bernard Kane
Volunteers of Ireland, Maj. John Doyle
South Carolina Royalists, Maj. Thomas Fraser[2691]

South Carolina Loyalist dragoons or "New York Dragoons": 60,[2692] Brevet Maj. John Coffin
Some histories have referred to this unit as the New York Dragoons (or dragoons created form the New York Volunteers), but this may (or may not) be amended to include some South Carolina Royalists; for Coffin after this battle commanded a troop of cavalry made up of South Carolina Royalists, i.e. the re-formed South Carolina Rangers. It is correct, on the other hand also, that he had operated earlier with a mounted detachment of the N.Y. Volunteers. So apparently that detachment was converted to cavalry -- and, given Coffin's subsequent command, may have had some S.C. Royalists and or S.C. Rangers (Harrisons') incorporated into it; such that the British cavalry unit at Hobkirk's were then these same "New York" or "York" dragoons. In any case, we don't afterward hear of Coffin riding with New York Volunteers as cavalry, and instead is spoken of as leading S.C. Royalists and or S.C. Rangers as cavalry (both names are found used, but by mid-1781 "Rangers" would seem the one most agreed to for this corps.)

Royal Artillery: 40-50, Lieut. Francis Laye, 2 six-pounders

Note. Rawdon had some loyalist riflemen, who operated effectively on his flanks.[2693]

TOTAL STRENGTH OF RAWDON'S ARMY

Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour in a letter to Lord Germain dated 1 May, Charlestown speaks of Rawdon's strength at Camden as "about 800;" to which Fortescue and Boatner concur.[2694]

Gordon, William Johnson, Lossing and Ward give Rawdon's strength as 900, presumably rank and file.[2695]

[2687] Henry Clinton was emphatic, notwithstanding, in taking an opposite view: "But this [Hobkirk's Hill] was perhaps the most important victory of the whole war, for defeat would have occasioned the loss of Charleston, in the then open state of the works of that capitol, the Carolinas and Georgia." CAR p. 295.
[2688] MSC2 pp. 222-224.
[2689] NGP8 pp. 155-160, 159n, 168-189, RCC p. 97, ATR81b p. 27, AR81 pp. 80-83, GHA4 pp. 80-86, CSS pp. 1173-1178, SAW2 pp. 355-359, TCS pp. 459-467, MMS2 pp. 275-278, MLW4A pp. 504-516, MLW4 pp. 5-8 (which account of Hobkirk materially differs and improves on the earlier MLW4A version), LMS pp. 335-340, DRS pp. 43-46, JFM p. 48, JLG2 pp. 75-95, LCC pp. 259-297, DRR pp. 219-221, *American Historical Record*, Mar. 1873, pp. 103-110, LFB2 pp. 472-474, GLG3 pp. 239-353, FWI pp. 236-238, GJG, WAR2 pp. 802-808, BGC pp. 159-160, LSY pp. 176-185, 298-300, DRR pp. 195-196, 211, 219-221, BEA pp. 503-508, SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp. 16-23, SCAR vol. 3, no.4, pp. 13-19.
[2690] Rawdon in his report to Cornwallis of 26 April 1781 names the proceeding officers as being with him: Lieut. Col. Campbell, Major [Alexander?] Campbell, Major Fraser, Major Coffin, Capt. St. Leger, Captain Kane, Capt. Robinson. The Royal Artillery was command by Lieutenant Laye. Regarding the possible role and identity of "Capt. Robinson," Johnson states the following: "Lord Rawdon's line was composed of the 63d regiment on the right, the New York Volunteers in the center, and the king's American regiment on the left. The right was supported by the volunteers of Ireland, and the left by a detachment under Captain Robertson [Robinson?]. The regiment posted with the cavalry, was that raised in South Carolina, so that on this bloody day, the number of European troops engaged was comparatively small." Rawdon to Cornwallis, Apr. 26, 1781, CAR p. 525, JLG2 p. 79.
[2691] Lee mentions "Robertson's Corps" as among Rawdon's units, and by which (as best as I can surmise) he means the South Carolina Royalists. Boatner speaks of Maj. "Simon Fraser" of the 71st as being the Fraser, mentioned by Rawdon in his post battle letter to Cornwallis, as the officer of that last name present at Hobkirk Hill. However Maj. Thomas Fraser seems the more obvious individual referred to given the presence of the "South Carolina Provincial Regt." (i.e. S.C. Royalists), i.e. Thomas Frasers' regiment. BEA p. 397, CAR p. 515.
[2692] Clinton refers to "60" dragoons. CAR p. 295.
[2693] JLG2 p. 79.
[2694] TCS p. 465.

Carrington gives Rawdon with 950, Lumpkin 900 to 950.[2696]

AMERICAN FORCES AT HOBKIRK'S HILL

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene
Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, second in command

CONTINENTALS
* Maryland Brigade, Col. Otho Williams
1st Maryland Regt., Col. John Gunby, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
2nd Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford

A detachment of Maryland troops under Capt. John Smith was serving with the artillery; while another with Capt. Oldham was away with Lee and Marion.[2697]

* Virginia Brigade, Brig. Gen Isaac Huger
1st Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell
2nd Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes
William Johnson: "The Virginia line then under Greene, numbered about seven hundred, and there were about five hundred recruits in the depot at Chesterfield. Baron Steuben had written to General Greene that he could calculate on no more re-enforcements in that quarter: and no more ever joined him, not even the recruits then in depot, with the exception of about two hundred near the close of the war."[2698]

Delaware Company: [est.] 60-70, Capt. Robert Kirkwood

1st and 3rd Continental Light Dragoons: 87 (only 56 mounted however), Lieut. Col. William Washington

Apparently the reason not all of Col. Washington's men were mounted was the suddenness of Rawdon's attack, which did not allow of all the horses being saddled in time for battle.[2699] William Johnson, on the other hand, speaks at length about Greene lacking horses. He also states: "(O)ne half of Washington's cavalry consisted of recruits lately taken from the Virginia line."[2700]

1st Continental Artillery: 40, Col. Charles Harrison, Capt. Anthony Singleton[2701]
3 six-pounders

William Johnson: The whole regular infantry of the American army, at the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, was eight hundred and forty-three present fit for duty.[2702]

MILITIA
North Carolina militia: 250 to 254, Col. James Read

150 of these "under Col. Reid [Read], had joined Greene soon after he crossed the Dan, and had faithfully adhered to him from that time." The remainder of the N.C. militia were men who had escorted supplies and were sent to Greene by Davie. According to Seymour, Singleton was at Camden; therefore Eaton with his 140 N.C. Continentals must have been with Greene as well, so that these were included in the 254 figure. The militia did not engage and acted as a reserve.[2703]

TOTAL STRENGTH OF GREENE'S ARMY

William Johnson: 1,220, evidently rank and file. That is: 843 Continental infantry fit for duty, with the approach towards Camden having increased desertions. 87 in Washington's Cavalry (only 56 mounted), 250 with the N.C. militia, and 40 artillerymen. Lumpkin similarly gives 1,200-1,224.

Lossing: 1,500.[2704]

Carrington: 1,446. He also notes that the after battle return of 26 April had Greene with 1,184 men fit for duty.[2705]

[2695] JLG2 p. 78, LFB2 p. 472, WAR2 p. 809.
[2696] CBA p. 577, LSY p. 300.
[2697] JLG2 pp. 77-78
[2698] JLG2 pp. 56.
[2699] LFB2 p. 472.
[2700] JLG2 pp. 78, 112-116.
[2701] NGP8 p. 156.
[2702] JLG2 p. 77.
[2703] JLG2 pp. 77-78, SJS, WAR2 p. 803, LSY pp. 298-299.
[2704] LFB2 p. 471.
[2705] CBA pp. 573, 577.

Ward: 1,551, that is 1,174 Continentals, 87 in Washington's Cavalry (only 56 mounted), 250 with the N.C. militia, and 40 artillerymen.

CASULATIES AND CAPTURES

BRITISH
In his report to Cornwallis of April 26, Rawdon said he lost 220, of which at least 38 were killed. His official return lists 258 total casualties.[2706]

Balfour in his letter to Germain of 1 May wrote: "[Rawdon's casualties did not exceed] one hundred, in which is included one officer killed and eleven wounded."[2707]

Tarleton: "The loss on the British side, however moderate in other respects, was much greater than they could afford, and exceeded one fourth of their whole number: It amounted, in killed, and wounded, and missing to two hundred and fifty-eight: Of these, only thirty-eight were slain; but the wounded were equally a detraction from immediate strength, and in the present circumstances, a very heavy incumbrance [sic]. Only one officer fell; but twelve were wounded, and most of them were discharged upon parole. The spirit and judgement shewn [sic] by the young commander of the British forces, deserves great commendation. He was most gallantly seconded by his officers and troops."[2708]

The *Annual Register* for 1781 states Rawdon lost 238 killed, wounded, missing, of these only 38 were slain, of which only 1 was an officer. Other officer casualties (included in the 238 total) were 12 wounded.[2709]

AMERICAN
Otho Williams reported 270 casualties after the battle, nearly half of whom were listed as missing. "Many of these," according to Williams, "had not understood the order to rally at Saunders Creek;" a third of the missing had since "been heard of" and would soon rejoin the army, he hoped...It is not known how many returned, but Rawdon reported that a large number, whose retreat had been cut off, went into Camden and "claimed protection as Deserters."[2710]

Tarleton: "The enemy's killed and wounded were scattered over such an extent of ground, that their loss could not be ascertained. Lord Rawdon thinks the estimate would be low if it were rated at five hundred; Greene's account makes it too low to be credited. About an hundred prisoners were taken; besides that, a number of men, finding their retreat cut off, went into Camden, and claimed protection, under pretence of being deserters."[2711]

Balfour in his letter to Germain of 1 May wrote: "My Lord Rawdon states the loss of the enemy on this occasion as upwards of one hundred made prisoners, and four hundred killed and wounded; his own not exceeding one hundred, in which is included one officer killed and eleven wounded."[2712]

Lossing: "The dead, alone, occupied the battle-field. So well was the retreat conducted, that most of the American wounded (including six commissioned officers), and all of their artillery and baggage, with Washington's fifty prisoners, were carried off. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and missing, according to Greene's return to the Board of War, was two hundred and sixty-six; that of the enemy, according to Rawdon's statement, two hundred and fifty-eight. The killed were not very numerous. Greene estimates his number at eighteen, among whom were Ford and Beatty, of the Maryland line."[2713]

McCrady: "The Americans lost in this action 19 killed, 113 wounded, and 136 missing, in all 268. 1 The British lost 258, of which about 38 were killed. 2 The loss to the Americans in officers was severe. Lieutenant-Colonel Ford's wound proved mortal, and, as has been seen, Captain [William] Beatty was killed. The British lost no officers of prominence. One only was slain and 11 wounded. The respective losses on the two sides were thus as nearly equal as was the strength of the contending armies." [2714]

Col. Benjamin Ford was so badly wounded that his arm had to be amputated, and he died within a few days.[2715]
Capt. John ("Jack") Smith of the 1st Maryland Regt. was wounded and taken prisoner, but was left on parole at Camden when Rawdon evacuated the town.[2716]

[2706] NGP8 p. 160n, TCS p. 464, CAR p. 525.
[2707] BLB pp. 57-59, TCS p. 466.
[2708] TCS pp. 464-465.
[2709] AR81 p. 83.
[2710] NGP8 p. 160n.
[2711] TCS pp. 464-465.
[2712] TCS p. 466.
[2713] LFB2 p. 474.
[2714] MSC p. 197.
[2715] NGP8 p. 151n.
[2716] JLG2 pp. 96-97.

Henry Nase: "Apl. 25th. 1781 Lord Rawdon, march'd with 900 men, from the Garrison, & Attackd. Mr. Green [sic] at Log Town, who had About 5000, the fight was Obstinate for Some Minutes, when the Rebels were Charg'd, with Such Spirit, by our little Army, that, a total Rout ensued, which was followed by our Troops, for Near Two Miles, when Excessive heat & fatigue Obliged them to give up the Pursuit, the number Kill'd of the Rebels is not Known, tho from there own Accou[n]ts over 300, About 120 Prisrs. Were Taken -- Our loss was inconsiderable."[2717]

Kirkwood: "25th. The Enemy sallied out and drove us back...7 [miles]."

Greene to Joseph Reed, 4 May: "The event was the most unfortunate that can be imagined, not fom the injury we received, but the loss of the opportunity to take the place. Camden seems to have some evil genius about it. Whatever is attempted near that place is unfortunate. War is a critical business, and best concerted plans, subject to disappointments, from the most trifling incidents."[2718]

The same to Sumter, on May 5th, wrote: "Nothing can be more unfortunate than our repulse the other day, which was owing entirely to an order of Col Gunbies [Gunby's], ordering the first Maryland Regiment to take a new position in the rear. This impressed the Regiment with the idea of retreat, and drew off the second regiment with it. The Enemy were all in confusion and retiring at the same time. Victory was ours if the troops had stood their ground one Minute longer, and the defeat would have given us full possession of Camden, as the enemy would not have got back into town."[2719]

Otho Williams, writing to his brother Elie Williams, from "Camp before Camden," 27 April: "We have been here ever since the 19th instant, and have made several manoeuvres, upon different quarters of the town, but have neither been able to discover advantages, that promised success by a storm, nor to completely invest the place. The town is flanked on the West by the Wateree, and on the East by two deep creeks; the other quarters are strongly fortified. A villain of a drummer went in to the enemy on the 24th, when we were encamped within a mile of the town, and gave them such information of our circumstances, position and numbers, as induced Lord Rawdon to sally with all his best troops the next morning, about eleven o'clock.
"This was what we wished, and the only hope we had of a speedy reduction of the post. Lieut. Col. Washington was ordered to pass the right flank of the enemy with his cavalry, which he did, and threw himself in their rear. Capt. Kirkwood, with two small companies of light infantry, was behaving bravely in front, and the picquets were doing their duty upon the flanks, when the line was ordered to advance, and the artillery to play upon the enemy. The first Maryland regiment particularly, was ordered to charge bayonets, without firing, but for some cause not yet clearly ascertained, the regiment received orders to retire and then broke. The second regiment retired in consequence. The second Virginia regiment was ordered off, and the first broke. The unfavorable consequences were, that the army lost a glorious opportunity of gaining a complete victory, taking the town, and biasing the beam of fortune greatly in favor of our cause.
"The action was at no time very warm, but it was durable, and our troops by the gallant exertions of our officers, were rallied frequently, but always fought at long shot. A convincing testimony that this was generally the case, is that none or very few of our men were wounded with buck shot or bayonet. The baggage of our army was sent off to Rugely's [Rugeley's], and the troops halted at Saunder's [sic] Creek, about two miles South of where we fought last year, and about five miles from Camden. The loss was nearly equal on both sides, if we do not consider the loss of opportunity. We lost about 130 killed and wounded, and from every account the enemy were not more lucky.
"The cavalry, the light infantry, and the guards, acquired all the honor, and the infantry of the battalions all the disgrace that fell upon our shoulders. The cavalry, led on by Washington, behaved in a manner truly heroic. He charged the British army in the rear, took a great number of prisoners, sent many of them off with small detachments, and when he saw we were turning our backs upon victory in front, by a circuitous manoeuvre, he threw his dragoons into our rear, passed the line and 'charged the York volunteers, (a fine corps of cavalry ,) killed a number and drove the rest out of the field. Washington is an elegant officer; his reputation is deservedly great. Many of our officers are mortally mortified at our late inglorious retreat. I say mortally, because I cannot doubt that some of us must fall, in endeavoring the next opportunity, to re-establish our reputation. Dear Reputation, what trouble do you not occasion, what danger do you not expose us to! Who but for it, would patiently persevere in prosecuting a war, with the mere remnant of a fugitive army, in a country made desolate by repeated ravages, and rendered sterile by streams of blood. Who but for reputation would sustain the varied evils that daily attend the life of a soldier, and expose him to jeopardy every hour. Liberty, thou basis of reputation, suffer me not to forget the cause of my country, nor to murmur at my fate."[2720]

Moultrie: "So little did the Americans expect the British out of their lines, that the second in command, General [Isaac] Huger, told me that they had just come to their ground, and that a number of officers with himself were washing their feet, and a number of soldiers were washing their kettles in a small rivulet that run by their camp, when their picket was engaged with the enemy. They ran to camp as fast as they could, and the British was soon after them, when a general action took place, and it would probably hare been a serious surprise upon General Greene, had it not been for Washington's cavalry, which were saddled, and only the bits of their bridles out of

[2717] NDI.
[2718] NGP8 p. 201.
[2719] NGP8 p. 208.
[2720] TOW pp. 19-20.

their mouths; they were soon got ready, and General Greene ordered them to charge the enemy's right flank, which they did, and soon got in their rear; this threw them into the greatest confusion, and gave General Greene time to make a good retreat to Gun-swamp, about five miles. Colonel Washington paroled a number of officers upon the field, and amongst them eleven surgeons who were dressing their wounded. General Greene immediately sent them in to Lord Rawdon, (knowing they would be wanted for the wounded) who was so pleased with General Greene's liberal conduct, that he immediately sent to the commandant in Charleston to allow General Moultrie to exchange the like number of his medical line, such as he pleased, and that they should be conducted to any American post that he required."[2721]

Davie: "I conversed with Colonel [Benjamin] Ford [leading the 2nd Maryland Regt. at the battle], who was my intimate friend, soon after the action. He told me he was in front of his regiment, endeavoring to execute the maneuver ordered by the general [Greene], when he received his wound; that at that moment they were exposed only to a loose, scattering fire from some flank or light companies, which, however, drew a fire from his regiment, and which altogether with his wound, prevented the execution of the order."[2722]

Samuel Mathis, of Camden, to William R, Davie, written on 26 June 1813: "[Greene] galloped up to Capt. John ["Jack"] Smith and ordered him to fall into the rear and save the cannon. Smith instantly came and found the artillery men hauling off the pieces with the drag-ropes; he and his men laid hold and off they went in a trot, but had not gone far until he discovered that the British cavalry were in pursuit. He formed his men across the road, gave them a full fire at a short distance and fled with the guns as before. The volley checked the horses and threw many of the riders; but they after some time remounted and pushed on again. Smith formed his men, gave them another fire with the same effect, and proceeded as before. This he repeated several times until they had got two or three miles from the field of action. Here one of Smith's men fired or his gun went off by accident before the word was given, which produced a scattering fire, on which the cavalry rushed in among them and cut all to pieces. They fought like-bulldogs and all were killed or taken. This took up some time, during which the artillery escaped."[2723]

Balfour in his letter to Germain of 1 May: "For some days General Greene kept varying his Position, waiting as is supposed, to be reinforced by the corps under Brigadier Marian [sic] and Colonel Lee, which were on their way, being ordered to join him.
"Judging it necessary to strike a blow before this junction could take place, and learning that General Greene had detached to bring up his baggage and provisions, Lord Rawdon, with the most marked decision, on the morning of the 25th, marched with the greater part of his force to meet him, and about ten o'clock attak'd [sic] the rebels in their camp at Hobkirk's with that spirit, which, prevailing over superior numbers and an obstinate resistance, compelled them to give way, and the pursuit was continued for three miles. To accident only they were indebted for saving their guns, which being drawn into a hollow, out of the road, were overlooked by our troops in the flush of victory and pursuit, so that their cavalry, in which they greatly exceeded us, had an opportunity of taking them off
"My Lord Rawdon states the loss of the Enemy, on tis occasion, as upwards of an hundred made Prisoners, & four hundred killed & wounded; his own not exceeding an hundreed in which is included one Officer kille'd & Eleven wounded ---
"After this defeat, General Greene retired to Rugeley's mills, twelve miles from Camden, in order to call in his troops, and receive the reinforcements; but as Lieutenant-colonel Watson, of the guards, who had been for some time detached by Lord Rawdon, with a corps of five hundred men, to cover the eastern frontiers of the province, is directed by me to join his lordship, I am in hopes he will be able speedily to accomplish this; & Lord Rawdon be placed in such a Situation, as will empower him, eiher to make head against the Enemy, should they attempt anything further or retire with security, on this side [of] the Santee, as Circumstances may require--"[2724]

25 April. Lafayette reached Fredericksburg, VA.

25-26 April. [raid-skirmish] Petersburg, also City Point (Petersburg City County, VA.) Phillips, with Arnold and Simcoe, on the 24th landed at City Point, Virginia. The next day he marched for Petersburg, where Steuben and Muhlenberg were posted with 1,000 militia. The two sides skirmished briefly at Blandford, about a mile east of Petersburg. Then von Steuben, having lost only 20 killed and wounded, skillfully withdrew and managed to re-cross the river and avoid a direct engagement with the British. Arnold, on the other hand, reported Steuben's casualties as 100 men killed and wounded with the British only losing one killed and ten wounded. He further reported 4,000 hogsheads of tobacco, one ships, and several smaller vessels on the stocks and in the river destroyed. By the 27th, Phillip, divding his force in two detachments, proceeded on to Chesterfield Court House and Osborne's.[2725]
Arnold to Clinton, May 12th: "The next morning [the 23rd] we were joined by Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie [Robert Abercromby] with the light infantry, who had been ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany, and destroyed several armed ships, the state ship yards, warehouses, &c. &c. At ten o'clock the fleet weighed, and proceeded up the James river within four miles of Westover. The 24th, weighed anchor at eleven o'clock, and

[2721] MMS2 pp. 276-277.
[2722] JLG2 p. 94.
[2723] *American Historical Record*, Mar. 1873, pp. 103-110, CSS pp. 1177-1178.
[2724] BLB pp. 57-59, TCS pp. 465-466.
[2725] ATR81b pp. 60-63, SQR pp. 195-198, TCS pp. 334-335, CAR pp. 280-281, GHA4 pp. 107-108, SQR pp. 226-228, MLW4A pp. 426-427, LMS pp. 309-310, CBA p. 590, WAR2 p. 871.

run up to City points [sic], where the troops, &c. were all landed at six o'clock in the evening. The 25th, marched at ten o'clock for Petersburg, where we arrived about five o'clock P.M. We were opposed about one mile from town by a body of militia, under the orders of Brigadier-general Muhlenburg [Peter Muhlenberg], supposed to be about one thousand men, who were soon obliged to retire over the bridge with the loss of near one hundred men killed and wounded, as we have since been informed; our loss only one man killed, and ten wounded. The enemy took up the bridge, which prevented our pursuing them. 26th, destroyed at Petersburg four thousand hogsheads of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the river."[2726]

25-26 April. With 1,435 rank and file, Cornwallis left Wilmington and marched north to Virginia; hoping, vainly, that he might draw Greene afer him.[2727] It took a few days before his army and baggage had fully departed the N.C. seaport. Craig then was left at Wilmington with a garrison of about 394 rank and file regulars, which included the Hesse Cassel jaegers whom were left with Craig's garrison.[2728]
On April 23rd, Cornwallis wrote to Lord Germain: "The distance from hence to Camden, the want of forage and subsistence on the greatest part of the road, and the difficulty of passing the Pedee when opposed by an enemy, render it utterly impossible for me to give immediate assistance, and I apprehend a possibility of the utmost hazard to this little corps, without the chance of a benefit in the attempt; for if we are so unlucky as to suffer a severe blow in South Carolina, the spirit of revolt in that province would become very general, and the numerous rebels in this province be encouraged to be more than ever active and violent. This might enable General Greene to hem me in among the great rivers, and by cutting off our subsistence, render our arms useless; and to remain here for transports to carry us off, would be a work of time, would lose our cavalry, and be otherwise as ruinous and disgraceful to Britain as most events could be. I have, therefore, under so many embarrassing circumstances, (but looking upon Charles town as safe from any immediate attack from the rebels) resolved to take advantage of General Greene's having left the back part of Virginia open, and march immediately into that province, to attempt a junction with General Phillips. I have more readily decided upon this measure, because if General Greene fails in the object of his march, his retreat will relieve South Carolina; and my force being very insufficient for offensive operations in this province, may be employed usefully in Virginia, in conjunction with the corps under the command of General Phillips."[2729]

Robert Gray: "[Previously] I have only mentioned such circumstances of the ill fortune that attended our exertions, exclusive of Cornwallis' fall. The want of a sufficient concurrence on the part of the people compelled Ld Rawdon to leave the back country after having missed of crushing Green's army. To that & to Genl Greene invading the province when we had not a sufficient force to meet him in the field & at the same [time] to persevere our outposts, we are to attribute the loss of the country. Had Ld Cornwallis followed Greene to the Southward or had the reinforcements from Ireland arrived a month sooner, in either of these cases, we should have had an army in the field superior to Greene & all our posts would have been safe, w[hic]h would have soon crushed any internal insurrection that took place; & we should have been in the same situation as we were before Ld Cornwallis marched into N. Ca. -- when he lay at Winnsboro & obliged Green[e] to keep a respectful distance at Waexhaws [sic]. But not having a sufficient army in the field enabled Greene to reduce our outposts especially as Ld Rawdon had not sufficient warning of Ld Cornwallis going into Virginia, w[hic]h prevented him from withdrawing his posts in time to form a sufficient army -- but even if he could have effected this issue the measure would have been ruinous because removing the posts would have laid open the whole country to the enemy.
"The re-inforcements [sic] not having arrived until the posts were broke up rendered their re-establishment impossible without crushing the enemy's army."[2730]

Tarleton: "Before the end of April, Earl Cornwallis prepared to leave Wilmington, having decided upon his plan of operation, and given his orders to Major Craig, to embark his garrison and the sick for Charles town as soon as he heard that the King's troops had passed the Roanoke. A corps of about one thousand six hundred men, consisting of a detachment of royal artillery, with four pieces of cannon, the brigade of guards, the 23d, the 33d, the second battalion of the 71st, the regiment of Bose, a company of pioneers, the British legion, and the 82d and Hamilton's light companies [i.e. of the Royal N.C. Regt.] , received orders to be in readiness to march as soon as the quarter-master-general's waggons were loaded with an ample supply of rum, salt, and flour. This being ably and expeditiously completed under the inspection of Major [Robert] England, deputy quarter-master general, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the advanced guard, was directed to seize as many boats as possible on the north-east branch of Cape-fear river, and collect them at a place about fifteen miles above Wilmington. Some boats were secured, and Captain Ingles, of the royal navy, dispatched others from the King's ships, to protect and expedite the passage of the army. The advanced guard crossed without loss of time, and took post on the opposite bank, till the stores, waggons, cannon, and troops, were brought over. As many rivers and creeks intersected the country between this place and Virginia, it was thought expedient to mount two boats upon carriages, which could proceed with the army, and might facilitate the passage of any waters."[2731]

[2726] ATR81b pp. 60-63, TCS pp. 334-335.
[2727] In a letter of May 4th to Greene, Sumter reported that some of Cornwallis' wounded from Wilmington had arrived in Charlestown, where the fortifications were being improved. NGP8 p. 204.
[2728] NGP8 p. 119, AR81 pp.89-90, TCS pp. 283-284, JLG2 pp. 57-58, WCO pp. 321, 326, DRO pp. 169-175.
[2729] TCS pp. 326-327.
[2730] GWC pp. 157-158.
[2731] TCS p. 286.

MacKenzie: "[Despite statements made by Tarleton] it is from the most careful inquiry, and the best information that I am enabled to declare, that General Leslie's health, however bad, prevented him not from a zealous performance of his duty, as second in command, during the whole of this very fatiguing march; nor was he all that time nearer to the sea than Wilmington, and in general upwards of one hundred miles from it, though so much benefited by the visionary voyage which our author represents him to have made."[2732] While Leslie did not then go to New York from Wilmington, he did sail there, however, about mid August, but from Virginia, after having been with Cornwallis' forces up to that time. By December 1781, he came back to Charlestown to command British forces in the southern department in December 1781.

26 April. [skirmish] Ambush of Coffin (Kershaw County, S.C.) Rawdon having withdrawn into Camden with most of his army, Col. William Washington was sent to inspect the area. Before long he descried and lured Maj. John Coffin and a force of 40 mounted infantry and dragoons into an ambush; in which the loyalists lost 20 men killed, wounded and or taken. Coffin was then compelled to retire into to Camden. Rawdon, meanwhile, was making plans to jettison Camden to the enemy.[2733]
Seymour: "On the 26th Colonel Washington's horse and a detachment from line went to reconnoiter the lines."[2734]

Rawdon, in his letter of 24 May, wrote to Cornwallis: "After the action of the 25th of April, (an account of which I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship) Major General Greene remained for some days behind the farthest branch of Granby's Quarter Creek. A second attempt upon his army could not, in that situation, be undertaken upon the principle which advised the former. In the first instance, I made so short an excursion from my works, that I could venture, without hazard, to leave them very slightly guarded; and I had the confidence, that, had fortune proved unfavorable, we should easily have made good our retreat, and our loss, in all probability, would not have disabled us from the farther defence of the place. To get at General Greene in his retired situation, I must have made a very extensive circuit, in order to head the creek, which would have presented to him the fairest opportunity of slipping by me to Camden; and he was still so superior to me in numbers, that, had I left such a garrison at my post as might enable it to stand an assault, my force in the field would have been totally unequal to cope with the enemy's army. I had much to hope from the arrival of reinforcements to me, and little to fear from any probable addition to my antagonist's force."[2735]

Moultrie: "The next day [following Hobkirk's Hill] Colonel Washington went down with fifty men, to reconnoitre the British lines; he showed but a few of his men, and kept his main body concealed in the bushes. His scheme answered very well; his intention was to draw out their cavalry. As soon as they saw this small party, Major Coffin sallied out in pursuit of them, with forty Irish volunteers [New York Volunteers is perhaps or apparently meant]: they immediately rode off and drew him into an ambuscade, and as they passed, the Americans rushed out from the bushes, and attacked them in the rear, and killed about twenty of them."[2736]

26 April. Clinton to Phillips (received by Cornwallis, at Petersburg, May 24): "Lord Cornwallis's arrival at Wilmington has considerably changed the complexion of our affairs to the southward, and all operations to the northward must probably give place to those in favour of his Lordship [Cornwallis], which at present appear to require our more immediate attention. I know nothing of his Lordship's situation but what I have learnt from his letter to me of the 10th, which you have read, and as I have the strongest reason to believe that he had above three thousand men (exclusive of cavalry and militia) when he entered North Carolina, I am totally at a loss to conjecture how his numbers came to be reduced before the day of action to one thousand three hundred and sixty infantry, except by supposing (as you have done) that he had previously weakened his army by detachments. Of this however, I shall probably be informed when I receive the copy of his Lordship's letter to the Minister; and I shall most likely be at the same time informed what prospects he may still have of arming the numerous friends we were taught to expect his finding in the districts he has visited in his march to, and retreat from, Guildford [sic]; without whose assistance we shall, I fear, hold those provinces by a very precarious tenure.
"I had great hopes before I received Lord Cornwallis's letter, that his Lordship would have been in a condition to have spared a considerable part of his army from Carolina for the operations in Chesapeak[e], but you will observe from it that, instead of sending any part of his present force thither, he proposes to detain a part of the reinforcement coming from Europe for his more southern operations, even though they should be defensive. I shall therefore take the opinions of the General officers near me upon the present state of our affairs, and I propose afterwards to send you such a further detachment from this army as we may judge can be done with tolerable security to this post, at least while we remain superior at sea.
"With so large a force as you will then have, I flatter myself that you will be able to make the most effectual exertions either directly or indirectly in Lord Cornwallis's favour, as far as your efforts on the shores of the Chesapeak can co-operate with what he may be doing in Carolina. What these, however, may be, you, as being upon the spot, must certainly be the best judge, until you either hear further from or see his Lordship.
"In yours and Brigadier General Arnold's joint letter, you mention that from one thousand six hundred to two thousand more men, would enable you to take a post in force at Petersburg; from whence you might break up Mr. Greene's communications with Virginia, and in co-operation with Lord Cornwallis, probably disperse the

[2732] MST pp. 121-122.
[2733] NGP8 p. 160n, LMS p. 339n, JLG2 p. 34, HWW p. 133.
[2734] SJS.
[2735] Rawdon to Cornwallis, 24 May 1781, ATR81b pp. 151-153, TCS pp. 475-479.
[2736] MMS2 p. 278.

Rebel army. And that you could moreover, with this increased strength, attempt Fayette's corps, Baltimore, and Annapolis, with great probability of success, and finally attempt Philadelphia, and take post in the lower counties of Delaware, for which you apprehend your force would then be sufficient.
"The security of the two Carolinas is certainly an object of the greatest importance, and should at all events be first attended to. Success also against any considerable corps of the enemy, which may be collected any where within reach, and the taking or destroying their public stores, magazines, &c. are undoubtedly very important advantages. But there is in my humble opinion still another operation, which if successful would be most solidly decisive in its consequences, and is therefore well worth our consideration. It is the trying the same experiment (which has hitherto unfortunately not succeeded to the southward) in other districts, which have been represented as most friendly to the King's interests. Virginia has been in general looked upon as universally hostile; Maryland has not been as yet tried, but is supposed to be not quite so much so: but the inhabitants of Pennsylvania on both sides of the Susquehannah, York, Lancaster, Chester, and the Peninsula between Chesapeak and Delaware, are represented to me to be friendly. There or thereabouts, I think this experiment should now be tried, but it cannot be done fairly until we have a force sufficient not only to go there, but to retain a respectable hold of the country afterwards, should it be judged necessary. I wish that our numbers were competent to the occupying two corresponding stations at Baltimore and Elk river. Agreeable to what I mentioned to you in the conversations we have had together on this subject, to which that you may be able on occasion to refer, I have committed the substance of them to writing, and send them to you inclosed [sic]. This I should have done sooner, had I had a safe opportunity before. I have now the greater reason to be convinced that the opinions I then gave you were right, from a conversation I have since had with a very intelligent friend of ours from the country, known to Colonel Simcoe, who goes to you by this opportunity, and will be able to give you the fullest information thereon."[2737]

26 April. From Saunders Creek, Greene marched rapidly and bivouacked at a location a mile and a half above Rugeley's Mill.[2738]
Pension statement of Guilford Dudley of Halifax County, N.C.: "On the twenty-sixth (the day after the battle), Colonel [James] Read of the militia (who was a Continental major) was sent back into North Carolina to attend to some matters there, when I became commandant of the remaining militia and continued so until expiration of our tour, as may be seen by my discharge from the southern army. On the twenty-sixth also, General Greene fell back from Saunders Creek and by a rapid march passed by Rugeley's Mill and took post that night about one and a half miles higher up the Waxhaw Road, thirteen miles above Camden."[2739]

27 April. From Richardson's, Marion wrote to Greene on this date that Watson, now moving south, had crossed the Santee on the 24th Monck's Corner where Lieut. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle[2740] was with 300 men. Within a few days, Watson, refreshed and refitted, began a march back towards Camden, though ostensibly without Small. Marion also stated that Balfour 'came out' of Charlestown with 200. This detachment, under McArthur, later moved to Dorchester,[2741] and was comprised of about 100 to 200 infantry, and 100 cavalry. The infantry was made up of men left behind by assorted British, Provincial (such as the Prince of Wales Regt.) and loyalist detachments, recruits and invalids. The cavalry, which included Starkloff's dragoons, had been created from drafts from the Hessian regiments and local loyalists.[2742]

27 April. At Greene's camp just north of Rugeley's a trial was held for 20 to 25 men captured in the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, and who were accused of desertion.[2743]
Dudley: "(O)n the twenty-seventh, General Greene directed a court-martial to convene near headquarters for the trial of twenty or twenty-five deserters whom we had taken in battle on Hobkirk's Hill on the twenty-fifth. They were all equally guilty as to matter of fact, but some of them were more notorious offenders than the rest. The general therefore was pleased to order the execution of five of them only. The rest were pardoned and returned to their duty in their respective companies in the Maryland line."
Seymour: "The 27th were parties sent to bury our dead. Same day the enemy marched and encamped at Rugeley's mill. Ten miles." [2744]

27 April. [raid] Chesterfield Court House (Chesterfield County, VA.) Phillips marched to Chesterfield Court House burned barracks for 2,000 men and destroyed 300 barrels of flour.[2745]
Arnold to Clinton, May 12th: "27th, Major-general Phillips, with the light infantry, part of the cavalry of the Queen's rangers, and part of the yagers, marched to Chesterfield court house, where they burnt a range of barracks for two thousand men, and three hundred barrels of flour, &c."[2746]

[2737] CAC pp. 95-100.
[2738] NGP8 pp. 159n, 160, LMS p. 339, JLG2 p. 84, DRR p. 221.
[2739] DRR p. 221, DSK.
[2740] Evidently the force identified by Marion as Doyle's was Col. John Small's, though Doyle, who commanded the N.Y. Volunteers, may have been present as well. See 20 April.
[2741] Bass, drawing on a letter of Sumter's, speaks of McArthur being at Monck's Corner rather than Dorchester. It may be that McArthur went to Monck's Corner then Dorchester, or else Sumter's identified Small's detachment as McArthur's. In a letter to Greene of May 2nd, Sumter wrote: "I am Not Well informed Where Majr McArthur is at This time but have No apprehensions that he Can Git [sic] to Camden Without My Knowing it is Time to prevent his Design." NGP8 p. 193, BGC p. 163.
[2742] NGP8 p. 163, GHA4 p. 108, JLG2 pp. 70-72, 99-105, MSC2 pp. 213-213.
[2743] JLG2 pp. 97-99.
[2744] SJS.
[2745] SQR pp. 198-201, TCS p. 335, LMS p. 310, WAR2 p. 871.
[2746] ATR81b pp. 60-63, TCS p. 335, LMS p. 310.

27 April. [raid] Osborne's (Chesterfield County, VA.) Arnold's separate detachment, as directed by Phillips, moved on Osborne's, situated below the James River and some fifteen miles south of Richmond. After routing some militia, he set to the torch and sunk two ships, five brigantines, five sloops. One schooner loaded with tobacco, cordage flour, etcs., fell into British hands. On board the whole fleet were 2,000 hogsheads of tobacco most of which was also destroyed. Arnold afterward rendezvoused wih Phillips on the route to Manchester, with more tobacco being set ablaze at Warwick. Lafayette, in the interim, had reached Hanover Court House on his way to Richmond.[2747]
Arnold to Clinton, May 12th: "The same day I marched to Osborn[e]'s, with the 76th and 80th regiments, Queen's rangers, part of the yagers, and American legion, where we arrived about noon. Finding the enemy had very considerable force of ships four miles above Osborn's, drawn up in a line to oppose us, I sent a flag to the commodore, proposing to treat with him for the surrender of his fleet, which he refused, with this answer, 'That he was determined to defend it to the last extremity.' I immediately ordered down two six and two three-pounders, brass field pieces, to a bank of the river, nearly level with the water, and within one hundred yards of the *Tempest*, a twenty-gun state ship, which began immediately to fire upon us, as did the *Renown*, of twenty-six guns, the *Jefferson*, a state brigantine of fourteen guns, and several other armed ships and brigantines; about two or three hundred militia on the opposite shore at the same time kept up a heavy fire of musketry upon us: Notwithstanding which, the fire of the artillery, under the direction of Captain Fage and Lieutenant Rogers, took such place, that the ships were soon obliged to strike their colours, and the militia drove from the opposite shore. Want of boats, and the wind blowing hard, prevented our capturing many of the seamen, who took to their boats, and escaped on shore; but not without first scuttling and setting fire to some of their ships, which could not be saved. Two ships, three brigantines, five sloops, and two schooners, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. fell into our hands. Four ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels, were sunk and burnt: On board the whole fleet (none of which escaped) were taken and destroyed about two thousand hogsheads of tobacco, &c. &c., and very fortunately we had not a man killed or wounded this day; but have reason to believe the enemy suffered considerably. About five o'clock we were joined by Major-general Phillips with the light infantry. 28th, the troops remained at Osborn's, waiting for boats from the fleet; part of them were employed in securing the prizes, and carrying them to Osborn's as a place of safety."[2748]

27 April. Sumter, at "Boyley's" Ferry on the Broad River, wrote to Greene: "I am just informed that the Tories which have fled from above are embodying West of Saluda River. I have prepaired [sic] a proper party to Send after them, Which if Dispersed will leave all the Back Country open and Secoure [sic], quite to 96. So that the Inhabitants Can have No Good excuse for Not Turning out. Genl Pickens set out yesterday for 96 Where there is a Number of men emboyed [embodied] under Col. [James] McCall." As it turned out, the Loyalists retreated into Ninety Six before Pickens could attack them.[2749]

27 April. Their movement having been interrupted by the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, Eaton and Finley had now marched to join Marion and Lee, and by this date were at the Black River. However, they soon reversed their march, thus causing a delay in forming a junction with Marion and Lee. See 29 April.[2750]

27 April. Henry Nase at Camden with the King's American Regt.: "The Rebels Seam [sic] to be Collecting at Rudgleys Mills, 8 Miles from Camden; we remain'd in our battle Positions, the Troops were every Night on the field, lying on their Arms -- "[2751]

27-28 April. [raid] The Death of Abel Kolb (Marlboro County, S.C.) On the night of 27-28 April, South Carolina militia leader Col. Abel Kolb, known for his relentless suppression of the loyalists around Drowning Creek and the upper Peedee, was captured at his home by 50 North Carolina loyalists. The latter had gathered on Catfish Creek and were led by Capt. Joseph Jones. In the course of what took place, Kolb was shot by one of the loyalists and his home burned down. The action was probably in direct retaliation for Kolb's killing of John Deer and hanging of Caleb Williams at Hulin's Mill some days earlier. Afterward, Kolb's death seemed to have emboldened many of the loyalists in the Drowning Creek region. Although Kolb may correctly be seen to have been at times ruthless himself in his methods, nevertheless, he was a formidable militia leader who was of significant assistance in reinforcing Marion after Doyle's raid on Snow's Island, sending men to Marion when the latter was before Fort Watson, and in keeping down the loyalists to the north of Marion's operations generally. Following Kolb death, says Alexander Gregg, Kolb's command devolved upon Maj. Lemuel Benson.[2752]
Mr. Pugh's Journal: "Saturday, 28th. Went to the Mill. Col. Kolb is killed, and 6 or 7 men by the Tories." [To which Alexander Gregg adds:] The report of six or seven men killed, besides Col. Kolb, if it was true, must have included others who were murdered by the Tory party on their return down the river." [2753]

[2747] ATR81b pp. 60-63, SQR pp. 198-201, TCS pp. 336-337, GHA4 pp. 108-109, MLW4A p. 427, CBA p. 590, SCAR vol. 3, no.4, pp. 37-41.
[2748] ATR81b pp. 60-63, AR81 p. 88, TCS pp. 336-337.
[2749] NGP8 p. 164.
[2750] NGP8 p. 16, JLG2 pp. 72-75, 104-105.
[2751] NDI.
[2752] NGP8 p. 53n, LMS p. 563n, GHC pp. 359-367, BSF p. 183.
[2753] GHC p. 372.

28 April. Greene, crossing the Wateree River, about nine miles above, Camden marched down river to the ferry opposite and just below it. It was in a letter to Chevalier de La Luzerne on this date that he declared: "We fight get beat rise and fight again. The whole Country is one continued scene of blood and slaughter."[2754]
Pension statement of Guilford Dudley of Halifax, N.C.: "This [the trial execution of the deserters on the 27th) and some other transaction which took place in our camp above Rugeley's being finished, and General Sumter not yet joining as was expected when we first sat down before Camden on the nineteenth, General Greene became restless for want of employment and from his too-remote position from the garrison in Camden. He therefore determined to change his position once more, from the eastern to the western side of the Wateree, and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth, broke up from that camp, and passing down by Rugeley's a mile or two, filed off from the Camden Road to the right, and soon reached the Wateree at a very rocky ford about nine miles above that town, four or five hundred yards wide, which we forded, horse, foot, and artillery, as we had done before at Colson's on Big Peedee, and, keeping out from the river a mile or two until we entered the main road leading down from Rocky Mount, etc., to the ferry below Camden, pitched our tents opposite to that village, in an open plain covered with pine about two miles from us and with the river interposed. This movement was made for the double purpose of more effectually cutting off the supplies coming down on that side or from Ninety-Six, if that should be attempted, as well as to intercept Colonel Watson on his return to the garrison, should he evade Marion and Lee on Santee and then, crossing Congaree at Fort Motte [aka Buckhead] or elsewhere, force his way to Camden on the upper road, on the west side of the Wateree..."[2755]

28 April. By this date, Marion and Lee had left Richardson's and moved to Long Branch, a tributary of the Pocotaglio River located in present day Sumter County. Henry Lee IV speculates that on the 26th Lee, who was otherwise engaged or preparing to obstruct Watson, received orders to return to Greene's army. But while on his way back on the 27th, he received communications from Greene revoking the previous instructions; so that he returned to Marion and who on that same day had "plunged…into the swamps of Black river," somewhat imperiled and distressed by his absence. It is then surmised that the delay caused by Lee's being called back by Greene, only to then have to return to Marion, contributed to Watson's not being halted on his march to Rawdon. See 7 May.[2756]

28 April (also 29 April). [skirmish] Barbeque Church, also Barbeque Presbyterian Church, "Capt. Daniel Buie vs. Lt. Col. Tarleton" (Harnett County, N.C.) ONB3 pp. 214-215 and DRO p. 166.
And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/barbeque.htm

29 April. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara congregation): "Sunday. Just as service was beginning fourteen wagons arrived from Rowan County, going to Virginia for Continental stores. They wanted corn and brandy and tar, which made a disturbance."[2757]

29 April. Lafayette with a full total of 900-1,100 rank and file Continental light infantry (3 battalions), made up of New England and New Jersey troops, reached Richmond, where Brig. General Thomas Nelson was with a small force of militia. With Lafayette were: Col. Joseph Vose's Battalion of 8 Massachusetts light companies; Col. Jean-Joseph Sourbader de Gimat's[2758] battalion of the 5th Connecticut Regt., the 2nd Massachusetts Regt., a light company of the 1st Rhode Island Regt., five Connecticut light companies; and Lieut. Col. Francis Barber's battalion made up of light companies from New Hampshire, New Jersey regiments, and one light company from the 1st Canadian regiments. Added to these were (at this time) under 100 Virginia riflemen, plus a company of artillery with 6 small guns. As well, the remnants of Armand's Legion and the 1st Continental Lt. Dragoons would soon reinforce him. Continental officers Muhlenberg and Weedon, who subsequently joined Lafayette, were already in the field in Virginia commanding contingents of Virginia militia, (together numbering 1,200 to 2,000) as was Brig. General Thomas Nelson. Von Steuben, who was with Muhlenberg and who had led the American forces in the state prior to Lafayette's taking charge, continued collecting and forming 18 month Virginia Continental regiments, originally intended for Greene's army.[2759]

29 April. Seymour: "On the 29th, at night, happened an alarm occasioned by a wagon coming our of Campden [sic] with one of our captains, wounded, which our light horse took for cannon; upon which our infantry and a party of horse were sent to observe their motion, when, meeting with said wagon, we discovered the mistake and returned to camp. Six miles." [2760]

29 April. Due either to Greene changing orders or Capt. James Conyers getting lost in reaching their combined party, Pinkertham Eaton and Finley had made a retrograde movement from Black River, and were within five miles south of Rugeley's on this date. This caused a delay in the detachment's reaching Marion and Lee; which cunctation William Johnson blames for the escape of Watson. Henry Lee IV, on the other hand, suggests that

[2754] NGP8 p. 168. On May 1st, Greene wrote to Washington, in a somewhat different tone: "My public letters to Congress will inform your Excellency of our situation in this quarter. We fight get beat and fight again. We have so much to do and so little to do it with, that I am much afraid these States must fall never to rise again; and what is more I am perswaded [sic] they will lay a train to sap the rest of the foundation." NGP8 p. 185. See also to Lafayette NGP8 pp. 182-183.
[2755] DRR pp. 221-222, DSK.
[2756] NGP8 p. 171n, JLG2 pp. 70-72, 99-105, LCC pp. 318-326.
[2757] FRM p. 1751.
[2758] Gimat was a French Continental officer, and who'd previously served as an aide to Lafayette.
[2759] GHA4 pp. 111-112, CBA pp. 585-586, JYC p. 34-35, WAR2 p. 872.
[2760] SJS.

Greene's ordering Lee back to camp, only to the next day rescind that directive (see 28 April), is actually (as much as any reason) what prevented Lee and Marion from thwarting Watson. Respecting Eaton and Finley, they afterward resumed their march south to join Marion and Lee and were with them by the evening of May 2nd. See 2-3 and 7 May.[2761]

30 April. Clinton to Cornwallis: "With regard to the operations of the summer, which your Lordship is anxious to receive my directions about, you cannot but be sensible that they must in a great measure depend on your Lordship's successes in Carolina, the certainty and numbers of the expected reinforcement from Europe, and likewise your Lordship's sending back to me the corps I had spared to you under Major-general Leslie (which Lord Rawdon in his letter of the 31st of October told me you could return in the spring) for until I am informed of the particulars of your Lordship's march through North Carolina, the effective strength of your moving army, your plan of operations for carrying those objects you had or may have in view into execution, as well by the corps acting under your immediate orders, as those acting in co-operation under Major-general Phillips, it must be obviously impossible for me to determine finally upon a plan of operations for the campaign.
"I was indeed in great hopes that your successes in North Carolina would have been such as to have put it in my power to avail myself of a large portion of your Lordship's army, the whole Chesapeak[e] corps, and the reinforcements from Europe, for this campaign's operations to the northward of Carolina; but I observe with concern from your Lordship's letter, that so far from being in a condition to spare me any part of your present force, you are of opinion that part of the European reinforcement will be indispensably [sic] necessary to enable you to act offensively, or even to maintain yourself in the upper parts of the country.
"Had I known what your Lordship's further offensive measures were intended to be for the remaining part of the season, I might now have given an opinion upon them, as well as on the probable co-operation of the corps in Chesapeak; without having which it will be scarcely possible for me to form any. For as I said before, I fear no solid operation can be carried on to the northward of Chesapeak, before those to the southward of it are entirely at an end, either from success or the season; and my letter to your Lordship of the 6th of November will have informed you what were my ideas of the operations proper to be pursued in Chesapeak, and my expectations from them, had circumstances admitted of my pursuing the plan to its full extent. But I must now defer the fixing ultimately on a plan for the campaign, until I am made acquainted with the final success of your Lordship's operations, your prospects and sentiments, and I can judge what force I can collect for such measures as I can then determine upon."[2762]

30 April. Clinton to Maj. Gen. Phillips (Received by Cornwallis at Petersburg): "I cannot judge from Lord Cornwallis's letter, whether he proposes any further operations in the Carolinas -- what they may be -- and how far you can operate in his favour. If I was to give a private opinion from reading his letter -- I would say, I cannot conceive from it that he has any offensive object in view. He says, that North-Carolina is a country, in which it is impossible for an army to act or move without the assistance of friends: he does not seem to think we have any there -- nor do you. I shall give no opinion respecting that at present, or until I receive his Lordship's account of the state of the province, and of his winter campaign.
"His Lordship tells me that he wants reinforcement. -- With nine British battalions, and detachments from seven more, (besides those from the Artillery and seventeenth Dragoons) -- five Hessian battalions, and a detachment of Yagers -- and eleven Provincial battalions, exclusive of the cavalry and infantry of the Legion, and the Provincial Light Infantry; -- I would ask, -- How can that be possible? And if it is, what hopes can I have of a force sufficient to undertake any solid operation?
"To be brief -- If his Lordship proposes no operation to you soon, and you see none that will operate for him directly -- (that is, before the first of June,) -- I think the best indirect one in his favour will be, what you and General Arnold proposed to me in No. 10. of your joint letter of the 18th instant, beginning with the attempt on Philadelphia. The only risk you run is from a temporary superiority of the enemy at sea. -- Land and naval reinforcements from France are talked of -- If they come immediately from Europe, we must have some information of them, and they will, I hope, be followed; -- if from the West-Indies, I hope the same. It is however an important move, and ought (in my opinion) to be tried, even with some risk. If our friends are as numerous and hearty as Colonel Rankin represents them to be, with their assistance added to what you carry thither, you will be able to maintain yourself. But if, after having given the experiment a fair trial, you find it will not do; you may either retire to Portsmouth, or by transports and boats in Delaware pass to Jersey -- where, in all events, I must pick you up, by receiving you at, or near, Mount Holly. Give me timely notice of your intended move, and, if possible, I will follow you into Delaware with such a small reinforcement as I can at the time spare."[2763]

30 April. Having come down to the Congaree from the Broad River, Sumter, with 500 men (300 of which were ten months men), camped at Ancrum's Plantation, which lay north just across the river from Granby.[2764]

30 April. Marion and Lee by this date had relocated to Salem, S.C,. or what Lee refers to in his letters to as "Swamps of the Black River." Their movement to this area was in order to remove the prisoners taken at Fort Watson to safety and to help quell the agitation arising from renewed loyalist activity on Drowning Creek. Watson, in the meantime, with 500 to 600 men and four field pieces, remained at Monck's Corner; while a

[2761] NGP8 p. 174, JLG2 pp. 104-111, LCC pp. 318-326.
[2762] COC pp. 88-90.
[2763] CAC pp. 107-109.
[2764] BGC pp. 162, 170.

separate British force of some 200, under Maj. Archibald McArthur, occupied Dorchester. Col. John Small's detachment of 100 at Monck's Corner, which included some of the 84th, was reported by reports as being with Watson at this time, but did not in actual fact join him on the ensuing march to Camden.[2765]

30 April. Greene, at the camp north of Rugeley's, wrote to Sumter, asking him to send information regarding Watson's and McArthur's movements, "the latter of whom with Hessian horse, I fear got into Camden last evening. However, this is not certain." On May 2nd, Sumter, at Ancrum's ("Camp at Congrees"), said he would keep an eye on McArthur and believed he could keep him from reaching Camden. Watson, however, in May, did pass into Camden safely. In order to create a cavalry force, the British, earlier in the month, drafted men from the three Hessian Regiments stationed in South Carolina. Some of these were with the ones mentioned as being with McArthur. The latter did not go to Camden, but about this time or somewhat earlier end up leaving Dorchester and moving towards Nelson's Ferry. From the south side of Nelson's Ferry where he acted as a screen to Watson, and where also he again was engaged in establishing minor fortifications, as he had at Dorchester the previously. These fortifications were intended to facilitate Rawdon's retreat, while giving his own men protection. Sumter, in a letter to Greene, reported McArthur's presence at Nelson's Ferry on May 4th, while making reference to McArthur having already been there a few days. McArthur's corps, originally reported as 200 by Marion (see 27 April) apparently was augmented by 100 men from Lieut. Col. John Small's detachment (and or the garrison at Dorchester) and some Hessian dragoons because McArthur is later spoken of by Balfour, on 17 May in a letter to Clinton, as having 300 infantry and 100 cavalry.[2766] One source states that about the time of McArthur's being in the vicinity of Dorchester there was already a garrison of 150 infantry and 60 cavalry there. Whether this was separate, or to some extent added, to McArthur's own force is not clear. If they were added than this would explain how McArthur's original 200 became 400. This would seem to assume, even so, that Dorchester was thereby abandoned, or at least left much diminished in srength. See 21 May. Also should be noted, Nelson's Ferry (on the south side) already had a small garrison, which included some Hessians. See *Early May* and 21 May.[2767]
Chesney: "I then returned to Charles Town [May] and at the wish of Col. Balfour, raised a troop of horse and was stationed at Dorchester, a strong British post, and moved my wife and child thither." [2768]

30 April. [raid] Manchester (Chesterfield County, VA.) Phillips, in an advance on Richmond, marched to Manchester and there destroyed 1,200 hogsheads of tobacco; as well as having forced the destruction by the Americans of a flotilla of the Virginia navy on the James River. Believing, however, that Lafayette, across the river in Richmond, would be reinforced by von Steuben and Muhlenberg (who were just upriver), he withdrew to Osborne's by nightfall. Lafayette, in the mean time, moved Brig. Gen. Nelson and his militia to Williamsburg, while ordering Brig. Gen. Weedon with his corps of militia corps to Fredericksburg.[2769]
Arnold to Clinton, May 12th: "29th, the boats having arrived, the troops were put in motion. Major-general Phillips marched with the main body; at the same time I proceeded up the river with a detachment in boats, and met him between Cary's mills and Warwick. 30th, the troops marched to Manchester, and destroyed twelve hundred hogsheads of tobacco. The Marquis de la Fayette having arrived with his army at Richmond, opposite to Manchester, the day before, and being joined by the militia drove from Petersburg and Williamsburgh, they were spectators of the conflagration without attempting to molest us. The same evening we returned to Warwick, where we destroyed a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, and Colonel [James] Cary's fine mills were destroyed in burning the magazine of flour. We also burnt several warehouses, with one hundred and fifty hogsheads of tobacco, a large ship and a brigantine afloat, and three vessels on the stocks, a large range of public rope walks and storehouses, and some tan and bark houses full of hides and bark."[2770]

Late April (18 April and sometime thereafter) [raids] Alexandria, VA., Cedar, MD. A small detachment of troops carried by a flotilla of six frigates and brigs, and the same number of smaller craft, were sent by Phillips raiding up the Chesapeake Bay to the Potomac River and Tidewater area. Their mission was also to interfere with or prevent reinforcements and supplies reaching Lafayette. They briefly took Alexandria, and moved on to destroyed tobacco and free plantation slaves in Cedar Maryland. At one point Capt. Graves of the *Acteon* menaced Washington's home Mount Vernon with burning (though his orders actually forbade it.) Washington's nephew, Lund Washington, in order to save the estate paid a ransom and even went so far as serving up drinks and refreshments to the British officers on one of their ships. Washington was afterward indignant at his nephew's appeasement and wrote him saying "he would rather have had the buildings destroyed, than saved by such "a pernicious example."[2771]

Late April. North Carolina militia serving in eastern the eastern part of the state at the time of Cornwallis' thrust toward Virginia, are listed by Davie as: 200 under Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington, 200 under Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, 150 under Brig. Gen. Allen Jones.

[2765] NGP8 p. 124-125, 139n, 163, 179. LMS pp. 341-343, JLG2 pp. 70-72, 99-105.
[2766] McCrady speaks of Rawdon being subsequently joined with 300 foot and 80 (Hessian) dragoons under McArthur. MSC2 pp. 212-213, 250.
[2767] NGP8 pp. 163n, 177, 194n, 204, BGC p. 163.
[2768] CDI.
[2769] ATR81b pp. 60-63, AR81 p. 88, TCS p. 337, SQR pp. 201-202, GHA4 pp. 108-109, MLW4A p. 427, LMS pp. 310-312, CBA pp. 590-591.
[2770] ATR81b pp. 60-63, TCS p. 337.
[2771] NGP7 p. 474n, GHA4 p. 118, CSS p. 1199-1200, MLW4A pp. 437n-438n, MLW3 p. 137n, CBA p. 589, LFB2 p. 229n.

Davie: "These troops never made a junction and were too feeble to oppose the progress of the Enemy."[2772]

Late April. Caruthers: "Cornwallis reached Wilmington on the 17th of April, and while he had his head-quarters in town, the army was encamped in the immediate vicinity. He left on the 25th, I believe, and about the middle of May entered Virginia. They met with no serious opposition on their march across the eastern end of the State, but were, all the time, under apprehensions of an attack, and were harassed occasionally by individuals, who would lie in ambush about the swamps and shoot down stragglers, or by small parties of Whigs who would attack their foraging parties and diminish their number. Tarleton, with about a thousand men, quartered himself for a day and night on the plantation of Col. Slocum, he himself with his principal officers, occupying the house while the army was encamped in the orchard, some two or three hundred yards distant. Mrs. Elliot, in her book entitled *The Women of the Revolution*, gives an entertaining account of what passed between Col. Tarleton and the courageous and ready-witted Mrs. Slocum, when he took possession of the house; and also of a daring feat of her husband, Col. Slocum, and a few of his neighbors. Soon after arriving at the place, Tarleton sent out a Tory captain with his company of Tories to scour the country for two or three miles round, and, while thus engaged, Col. Slocum with his little Whig band came upon them. A terrible onslaught followed, and half the Tories were killed or wounded. The Captain was wounded and fled with four or five of his men towards head-quarters; and the Colonel, with about the same number of Whigs, went in hot pursuit. So great was their eagerness to kill the captain or take him prisoner that they were in the midst of a thousand British, most of them mounted, before they thought of any danger, or were even aware that the enemy was on the plantation, but by great presence of mind and an act of most daring courage, they dashed through and made their escape. Col. Slocum with a few intrepid and patriotic men like himself, hung on the rear of the British army, cutting off stragglers and sometimes attacking their foraging parties all the way into Virginia, when they made their way to Yorktown and were present at the surrender."[2773]

Late April or *first week of May*. Lieut. Col. James McCall expired from smallpox. See Pickens to Greene 3 May.[2774] About 12 April both Clark and McCall had come down with the illness, very likely after an attempt at inoculation which Samuel Hammond mentions. While Clark was recuperating, his command went to Micajah Williamson. McCall had also left to recuperate, but did not recover.[2775]

Samuel Hammond (pension statement): "…the Battle of the 17th of March [Guilford] as memory now serves him -- continued with the Army until the pursuit of Cornwallis was given over. He was there ordered to join Genl. Pickens previously detached to the Western part of North Carolina, to rally the friends of South Carolina & Georgia with those of North Carolina with the view of recovering all the South from the Enemy. Applicant halted on the South fork of Catawba river, several of his men taken with the Small Pox, he had the whole of command inoculated upwards of 100, which detained him sometime…"[2776]

[2772] DRS p. 35. Davie made the above list of N.C. leaders and their strengths years after the war ended.
[2773] Due to the paucity of information on this purported occurrence, it is not been included as a formal skirmish entry. CNS2 pp. 194-195.
[2774] NGP8 pp. 197, 198n.
[2775] HMP, MHG p. 510.
[2776] HMP.

May. Admiral de Destouches, in Newport, R.I., was succeeded by Admiral de Barras as head of the French squadron anchored there, and who would subsequently play a key role in the Allied victory at Yorktown.[2777]

May. [skirmish] St. Mathews County, S.C. ONB3 p. 268.

Early May. Watson left Monck's Corner and marched towards Nelson's Ferry on his way to Camden. He, however (see 5 May), ended up passing the Santee at the lesser known and used crossing, Buchanan's Ferry, not very distant from Nelson's. Lee believes he could have fallen upon Watson before the latter was in a position to complete the crossing, but that Greene's summoning him back to camp forestalled this. See Watson entries for 9 April and 5 May.[2778]

Early May. Capt. William Cunningham, later known as "Bloody Bill," and who succeeded Maj. James Dunlop, was operating with a small detachment of mounted loyalists around Ninety Six. At variance with this report found in Lossing (see 10 May), Lambert states that Cunningham was listed as a private in Patrick Cunningham's Regt. when Cruger escorted loyalists to Orangeburgh. Yet see also McJunkin's Capture, 7 May.[2779]

1 May. [raid] Douglass' Raid (Wilkes County?, GA.) Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, at Augusta reported to Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Porbeck, commanding in Savannah, that Maj. James Jackson was hovering about nearby with 80 mounted militia on the Carolina side of the Savannah River, and that 400 to 500 "cavalry" (mounted militia) besieged Augusta from the Georgia side.
Edward Cashin: "He [Brown] sent John Douglass on a daring raid with a detachment of royal militia. Brown later testified that Douglass surprised a group of rebels guarding horses. The guards were bayoneted, and Douglass captured four hundred horses. What Brown did with four hundred horses is not clear. Ranger officers were sent out to seek help from the Indians. Captain Alexander Wylly went among the Cherokees with instructions to bring that nation into action, but the Cherokees were discouraged by the incursions of the mountain militia of Virginia and North Carolina. Brown hoped to receive assistance from the Creeks also, but most of them were away on the Pensacola campaign."[2780]
With Von Porbeck having at his disposal 500 troops in Savannah and about 350 militia in the neighboring countryside, Royal Gov. James Wright, Sr. and his council entreated him to reinforce Augusta with 100 regulars, but he refused. In retrospect this refusal may have proved decisive, for two likely things might have occurred had the 100 regulars been sent, either a) they would have been lost at Augusta, or else b) the Rebels would have been repulsed. Porbeck's choice would seem to reflect a greater fear of the former than hope for the latter, and shows again the tendency, whether forced or chosen, by British commanders in late Spring of 1781 to relinquish any idea of going on the offensive; and this perhaps due in no small part due to the split, and therefore indecisive, nature of the command structure -- with Cornwallis away in Virginia -- Clinton in New York -- Rawdon in South Carolina -- and Balfour in Charlestown.[2781]
Cornwallis left the state of the defenses in S.C. and GA. confused and in abeyance. Indeed, there was little or no planning in the Deep South at this time, and the British essentially found themselves reacting to the Americans, while not having enough of a punch left of their own (due to aforesaid divided leadership and lack of numbers) to cause the Americans to have to react much. It is interesting that, aside from some in N.C., Greene received the regular cooperation of the militia leadership, and his taking exception, for example to Sumter's failing to assist him at Hobkirk, shows an assumption of Greene's authority that left little or no room to question who was actually in charge. At the same time, and in fairness to Sumter, and despite Greene's just or unjust blame of him, he never for once attempted to assert either superiority or equality to Greene as commander. Rawdon, on the other hand and when all was said and done, found himself having to waiting on Clinton or Cornwallis[2782] since they alone as 'commanders" in chief had the men and material to make a counter offensive in S.C. possible. Greene with help of the locals and partisans, by contrast, had the advantage -- along with the disadvantage -- of having to rely on his own powers and resources, and if they failed there was no one really to fall back on to shore up or make up for any serious loss he might incur -- hence the pronounced caution he displayed in almost all his engagements. Although there were still many loyalists in S.C. at the time, the whigs were by and large far more aggressive and enterprising, and it was this finally which gave the Greene the momentum to continue on the attack (such as Rawdon could not do.) And as undisputed southern chief he could coordinate an offensive with much greater freedom and flexibility than had it been necessary for him, as it was for Rawdon, to answer to and rely on a superior far away for greater strength than he himself had.
The *Annual Register*: "The war was now parcelled out in a strange manner, and the British force broken into small divisions, and placed in such distant situations, as to be little capable of concert and mutual support. We have have seen that it raged pretty equally in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia; while the force seems every where to be sufficient for destroying confiderable tracts of country, and accumulating a great deal of spoil, but wholly inadequate to the main purpose; and incapable of bringing matters to any decisive conclusion. Thus numbers of brave men were continually lost without any equivalent effect; and the veteran

[2777] BEA p. 329.
[2778] LMS pp. 341-343, JLG2 pp. 70-72, 99-111, MSC2 pp. 205-206, BGC p. 164.
[2779] LSL p. 207.
[2780] CKR p. 130.
[2781] CKR p. 130.
[2782] Not counting Balfour in Charlestown who was formally his superior.

battalions were worn down and consumed, by incredible but fruitless exertions of valour, and by a series of the most brilliant successes, which produced no permanent advantage."[2783]

1 May. [skirmish] Friday's Ferry, also (and more correctly) Fridig's Ferry (Lexington County, S.C.) Some provincial soldiers guarding Friday's Ferry, near Ft. Granby, were surprised by a group of dragoons under Col. Wade Hampton. Bass says it was *Henry* Hampton, while Sumter's report to Greene of May 2nd states merely "Col Hampton." 13 Prince of Wales Volunteers were killed. As well, Hampton waylaid another small detachment on their way to Granby with another 5 of the enemy killed. Numbers of men involved on both sides is not recorded but probably they were relativey few; say 50 or less. Before openly taking side with the whigs, Wade Hampton owned and ran a "store" in the Congaree area; which the British subsequently confiscated. In the same letter reporting this skirmish, Sumter said: "The Hessian horse is Gone Downwards [i.e. headed south] Except Twenty five that Crosed [sic] from the fort at Motts [Fort Motte] & Went in to Camden With Majr Doyl [John Doyle]." See William Johnson quoted at 7 May"[2784]

1 May. [ambush] Bush River (Newberry County, S.C.) Col. John Thomas, Jr. acting for Sumter, ambuscaded a group of loyalists. The whigs slew 3, while taking 12 prisoners and capturing 4 wagons.[2785]

1 May.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

Guards: 387
23rd Regt.: 194
33rd Regt.: 209
82nd Regt., Light Company: 36
2nd Bttn, 71st Regt.: 175
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 228
Lt. Company of North Carolina Volunteers: 33
British Legion (cavalry only): 173
Total: 1,435.[2786]
Cornwallis had departed Wilmington on April 25th (ferrying his troops across the Cape Fear River; with Heron's Bridge by that time being in disrepair), and by evening of the same camped at Swan's Plantation. Subsequently moving up the Duplin Road (with much reported foraging and looting of whig plantations en route), he next made stops at Thunder Swamp Brigde (in modern Wayne County), by May 3rd at William Reeve's Plantation on Brooks' Swamp (situated above Mount Olive, says historian Robert M. Dunkerly); over Gray's Ford on the Neuse River; then by May 5th, Nahunta Creek and Cobbs' Mill, camping at the former location, again states Dunkerly, "about two and a half miles southeast of present Fremont."[2787]

1 May. Greene, at Rugeley's, directed Lafayette to take charge of military operations in Virginia. Before Lafayette had arrived in the state, von Steuben had been in command of the Continental army there; though there were very, very few Continental forces operating actively in the state during that period. Yet despite an most admirable job in getting the local Continental forces organized, disciplined, and on a needed proper footing, he incurred the displeasure of some state officials for what was seen as his too strenuous and abrupt demands and recommendations. Also, Lafayette, both in his person and as a symbol of the French alliance, was a more well known and popular figure by comparison, and to that extent could more easily generate support and secure the Virginia's cooperation.[2788]

2 May. Court martial proceedings were held for Col. John Gunby, at Gunby's own solicitation, for consideration of whether he gave an improper order at Hobkirk's Hill. The tribunal, made up of Greene's highest ranking officers, wound up ruling in Gunby's favor. The day before (i.e. the 1st), five men, taken prisoner at Hobkirk, were executed this day at Greene's camp for desertion. Sometime no later than July, Gunby came down with dysentery, and was placed in Charlotte to oversee the hospital there. By late August he was so ill that Greene, with humble kindness and expressions of regret at his departure, granted him leave to go home to Maryland.[2789]

2 May. From Osborne's, Phillips embarked for Westover, which latter he reached on the 3rd. Following him, Lafayette (from Richmond) moved across the Chickahominy River, at Bottom's Bridge (16 miles from Richmond), to a position in the vicinity of Jamestown; where, within a few days on the heels of Phillips, he halted. On the 7th, near Hog's Island, Phillips received instructions from Cornwallis to meet him at Petersburg.[2790]
Arnold to Clinton, May 12th: "May 1st, marched to Osborn[e]'s, and dispatched our prizes and boats down the river; and in the evening marched to Bermuda hundreds, opposite City point. May 2d, embarked the troops, &c.

[2783] AR81 pp. 88-89.
[2784] NGP8 p. 193, MSC2 p. 748, RBG p. 166, BGC p. 162.
[2785] NGP8 p. 193, MSC2 p. 748, RBG p. 166.
[2786] CAC p. 77. DRO p. 175.
[2787] TCS p. 286 DRO pp. 173-179.
[2788] NGP8 pp. 182-185, JLG1 pp. 354-355.
[2789] NGP8 p. 187, NGP9 pp. 21n, 234, JLG2 p. 85.
[2790] ATR81b pp. 60-63, SQR pp. 201-203, TCS pp. 337-338, MLW4A pp. 428-429, CBA p.591.

&c. May 3d, fell down the river to Westover. May 4th, proceeded down to Tappahannock. 5th and 6th, part of the fleet fell down to Hog island."[2791]

2-3 May. Maj. Pinkertham Eaton with 140 North Carolina Continentals, and Capt. Ebenezer Finley with a six-pounder[2792] formed a junction with Marion and Lee at Benbow's Ferry, on the Black River, and that took place after nightfall on May 2nd. Marion, who was formally in charge of the whole body of men, moved the next day to attempt intercepting Watson's force dashing toward Camden. The effort, however, proved unsuccessful. Respecting others matters, Marion's brigade, at the time, suffered from desertion. Also, 25 of Eaton's N.C. Continentals were detached to Lee's Legion infantry; with whom they served the remainder of their enlistments and under the supervision Lieut. Laurence Manning of the Legion. Eaton was short of officers and the measure ostensibly was adopted both to augment the Legion while training some of the North Carolina men.[2793]
William Johnson: "The time of the year, (being the height of planting,) the unfortunate affair of the 25th [Hobkirk's Hill], the rising of the tories on the Peedee, and the detaching of eighty men, under Colonel John Ervin, to Rafting Creek, to cut off supplies from Camden, all had combined to cause a great reduction of Marion's force."[2794]

2-14 May (also 3 May is given as starting date). [siege] Initial siege of Fort Granby, also Congaree Fort (Lexington County, S.C.) With about 400 to 500 men, Sumter laid siege to Ft. Granby,[2795] commanded by Maj. Maxwell, of the Prince of Wales Regt., and whose garrison numbered 340 men, including 60 regulars (mostly Provincials, including soldiers from Maxwell's own regiment, the Prince of Wales Volunteers). As well with him were some local loyalists, including a militia unit from the Orangeburgh area, under Capt. Samuel Tolless; with the artillery at the fort consisting of 2 twelve-pounders, and 3 or 4 smaller cannon. Sumter had written Greene on May 2nd asking for a field piece and ammunition. He himself sent Greene 10 wagons of meal, and in a few days received back ammunition in those same wagons, plus a six- pounder cannon. Sumter then took his main force, along with the cannon, and moved against Orangeburgh; while, at the same time, leaving a detachment, under Col. Thomas Taylor, to besiege Granby.[2796]

3 May. Pickens, at "Camp Near McEl[roees?] Mill," wrote to Greene saying that after the Tories escaped into Ninety-Six, he had crossed the Saluda River and rendezvoused with Col. Robert Anderson and a corps of men that Anderson and the late Lieut. Col. James McCall[2797] had organized and collected. Learning that the Georgians were besieging Augusta, Pickens sent Maj. Samuel Hammond[2798] to assist them on the north side of the Savannah River (Augusta itself, of course, being on the south bank.) Sumter added there was a general disposition of people to join "us," but a lack of arms prevented it.[2799]
The Indians had re-commenced hostilities on the frontier of Georgia and South-Carolina; which obliged Pickens to weaken his force by detachments

3-4 May. On May 3rd, Greene's army left its camp north of Rugeley's and crossed over to the west side of the Wateree River; in part with the intention of depriving surrounded and stricken Camden of supplies coming from an area which hitherto the garrison had been receiving some from. They then moved north to Sawney Creek, where they halted briefly. The next day, they marched further down river and camped at Twenty Five Mile Creek, "7 Miles above Camden." It is not quite clear what crossing Greene took in making it over the Wateree. "The river Wateree," Tarleton remarks "…abounded with public ferrys and private boats, besides being fordable in many places." Rawdon, meanwhile, had ensconced himself in Camden.[2800]
Kirkwood: "3rd. Marched and crossed the Wateree…11 [miles]
"4th. March'd to the Ferry and took the Redoubt, and burn'd the Block House on the South side of the Wateree, then Return'd to the Army at the 25 mile Creek…9 [miles]."[2801]

Seymour; "On the third we marched from this place and crossed the Wateree without anything of consequence happening. Marched this day eleven miles.
"On the fourth we marched six miles from this place. The horse and infantry marched to the Wateree, there destroyed a house and fortification, and returned to camp. Sixteen miles." [2802]

4 May. Tarleton, at "Davis's Mill" (7 p.m.), to Cornwallis: "I left Gray's Plantation at four this Morng. [Morning] The Inhabitants in general at Home except the rich & leading Men who are fled -- Burke's Mill about 8 Miles distant from Grays is now employ'd. all the other Mills between this Place & the Nuse [Neuse River] except the

[2791] ATR81b pp. 60-63, TCS pp. 337-338.
[2792] This may have been a four-pounder, or else, as Boatner states, a three-pounder.
[2793] NGP8 pp. 178-179, 192, 199n, LMS pp. 342-343, JLG2 pp. 101, 104-105, MSC2 pp. 205-206, BSF p. 187, RNC p. 329.
[2794] JLG2 p. 105.
[2795] In his letter of May 4th to Greene, Sumter said he expected to have 500 men with him by next week, with parties en route to join him. See 6 May. NGP8 p. 204.
[2796] NGP8 pp. 193, 204, 205n, 245n, JLG2 p. 121, BSF p. 192.
[2797] McCall had died a short while, perhaps even a day or a few days before.
[2798] Hammond had moved toward Augusta by the 16th, either with Clark or on his own initiative. See Pickens to Greene 8 May.
[2799] NGP8 pp.198-198.
[2800] See Greene to Marion 7 May 1781, NGP8 p. 219. It may have been possible for Greene to have used the Wateree Ferry, and Kirkwood's and Seymor's *Journals* seem to suggest this was the Ferry used. KJO p. 17, NGP8 pp. 195, 205, 219, TCS p. 111, GHA4 p. 87.
[2801] KJO p. 17.
[2802] SJS.

two named last Night want Water. Cobb[']s Mill the best in the Country and well supply'd with Corn I have dispatched a Patrole to. It lyes [sic] on the Coteckney 15 Miles above Peacock[']s Bridge & from hence.
"The Country is alarm'd but the Militia will not turn out -- They were very near [?] their Leaders -- Many People have this Day apply'd for Paroles. They all mention a Detachment of British Troops being lately at Halifax [North Carolina] -- some say that Philips [William Phillips] & Arnold are pointing towards Roanoke -- I have dispatch'd two good People to ascertain the News in that Quarter which I shall gladly communicate to your Lordship -- No News this Day from any Place beside -- I shall collect all the Provisions possible to morrow & move but not over the Coteckney till I receive Your Lordship's Instructions -- I wish to hear from you, but if any Account worth attending to, occurs before that Honor I will instantly inform your Lordship If Accounts are confirmed no time is to be lost…tomorrow to Cobbs Mills"[2803]

5 May. Tarleton, at "Cobbs [Mill]," to Cornwallis: "Here you will find 4000 Weight of Flour – Cobb[']s Lambs Viveretts [Mill?] & another Mill are all busily imploy'd [sic] & will furnish any Supplies I write to day by one Vicars -- Intelligence still the same -- I march in six hours by Lemond's -- Rixes Mill is near the Ford.
"The Cypher to General Philips [Phillips] I understand -- I shall reach Halifax on the 7th -- Prudence and exertion shall be my guides Notes in Cypher shall be often sent -- support I wish as soon as I get the Boats --" [2804]

Cornwallis, at "Nahunta Creek," wrote Tarleton (though it is not per se clear which dispatch preceeded the other): "If Cob's mill can grind fifteen hundred weight in twenty-four hours, and if it appears by your information that General Phillips is certainly within reach of joining, you may go on to Halifax to secure a passage, reporting to me the state of things, to direct the movements of the infantry: Forward the enclosed by different hands."[2805]

5 May. Watson, coming from the direction of Nelson's Ferry, crossed the Santee at Buchanan's (referred to by Sumter as "Buckenhams") Ferry, a small ferry "about ten miles below the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers."[2806] Although it was rough going, having to pass a number of creeks and swamps, Watson made it to Camden on the 7th. On May 4th, Marion with Lee, coming from the Black River, and passing Wright's Bluff, tried without success to stop him, but had been deceived as to his crossing point and or else, as Lee explains, Greene's temporary (and quickly rescinded) recall of Lee to camp, prevented it. Subsequently, there was dispute and blame, carried on at considerable lengeh, by later historians as to whether they could have intercepted Watson. In a letter of the 6th to Greene, Marion reported the crossing at Buchanan's Ferry, and said Watson numbered 200 men with 2 cannon; though we know from a letter of Balfour's to Germain of 1 May, he actually had 500.[2807]

6 May. Sumter, still at Granby, wrote to Greene, stating that he now had 500, men and officers included, 150 of whom came from Mecklenburg County, N.C. In all, 300 of his force had enlisted as 10 months men. At this point, he expected to have 800 by the end of the week. "But this number may not be lasting as the Distresses of the people Generally are excessive..." In a letter of 9 May to Greene, Col. Thomas Polk, at Charlotte, also reported that 150 Mecklenburg men were with Sumter.[2808]

6 May. Doctor James Brown, at the General Hospital located at Col. Perkins in Pittsylvania, Virginia, wrote to Greene saying that since the establishment of the hospital more than 200 soldiers have returned to Greene's army. Brown said he anticipated sending 60 or 70 more, many of whom were wounded at Guilford Court House. Even though it had been difficult to acquire provisions, only three men died of their wounds. Also, in compliance with Greene's order, 3 doctors had been sent to Charlotte.[2809]

6 May. [skirmish] Peacock's Bridge (Wilson County, N.C.) After passing the Neuse River, Tarleton advance column came upon a force of 400 Pitt County, N.C. militia under a Col. James Gorham awaiting him at Peacock's Bridge. The bridge passed over Contentnea Creek near Stantonsburg. Tarleton dispersed the militia, but reportedly not without receiving losses himself. There is relatively little documentation on this engagement; so it may actually be the same engagement as Tarboro, 6 May (though this, at present, is purely speculation on my part.) For more, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/peacocksbr.htm[2810]
Tarleton, on this date, to Cornwallis: "My Lord, I am now at Williams's on Tar -- a Ford half a Mile above Lemon's.
"I rec[eive]d your Lordship's Letter this Morn[in]g[']s date – Vivaret[']s Mill is the best in the Country & would suit the advanced corps -- the Lt Infantry Gds here.
"An officer shall be sent from Halifax [N.C.] -- Jackson was at Lemon's. His son went to Halifax & brought account that Philips was at Petersburg. La Fayette at Richmond.
"Dawson came over Roanoke & says that the advanced Party of the British were at Meherin -- Crawford's Bridge Monday last --"[2811]

[2803] PRO. 30/11/6/41-42, TCS pp. 286-287.
[2804] PRO. 30/11/6/48-49.
[2805] TCS pp. 330-331.
[2806] BSF p. 260n.
[2807] NGP8 pp. 214, 215n, TCS p. 466, LMS pp. 341-343, JLG2 pp. 99-111, LCC pp. 318-326, BSF pp. 187, 260n, BGC p. 164.
[2808] NGP8 pp. 218, 233; for further regarding Sumter at this time, see JLG2 pp. 105-111.
[2809] NGP8 pp. 212-213.
[2810] TCS pp. 286-287, DRO p. 178.
[2811] PRO. 30/11/6/56.

6 May (also possibly 5 May). [skirmish] Tarboro (Edgecombe County, N.C.) Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, at Halifax, N.C., wrote to Greene on May 6th saying that by the best accounts the British were near Tarboro. Their cavalry routed a party of militia near that place before the main body of Lord Cornwallis' army "was in view." Sumner expected that most of the stores at Halifax would be removed before they arrived. As it turned out, while some were retrieved, much was subsequently captured or destroyed. Sumner added he had been able to arm only a 100 of the N. C. Continental draftees. Brig. Gen. Allen Jones, meanwhile, was with him at Halifax with 80 N.C. militiamen, and expected another 200 from Edgecomb County.[2812]
Tarleton: "In the beginning of May, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, and the light companies of the 82d and of Hamilton's [Royal] North-Carolina regiment, both mounted on horses, advanced in front of the army, crossed the Nahunta and Coteckney creeks, and soon reached the Tarr river. On his route he ordered the inhabitants to collect great quantities of provisions for the King's troops, whose numbers he magnified in order to awe the militia, and secure a retreat for his detachment, in case the Roanoke could not be passed. When Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had proceeded over the Tarr, he received instructions, if the country beyond that river could afford a tolerable supply of flour and meal for the army, to make every possible effort to procure information of General Phillips: Upon finding the districts more fruitful as he advanced, he determined, by a rapid march, to make an attempt upon Halifax, where the militia were assembling, and by that measure open a passage across the Roanoke, for some of the emissaries, who had been dispatched into Virginia, to return to the King's troops in North Carolina."[2813]

6 May. Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour, in Charlestown to Clinton: "In my letters of the 20th and 23d ultimo, I had the honour to inform your Excellency, that our post at Wright's bluff [Fort Watson] was invested by the enemy, and the apprehensions I was then under of Camden being in the same situation.
"I am now to inform you that the former has since been surrendered. The circumstances which led to this cannot be more fully explained, or with more honour to himself than by Lieutenant Mackay's journal of the siege; which together with the articles of capitulation, I therefore inclose [sic] for your Excellency's inspection.
"By to-morrow I am in hopes Lord Rawdon will be re-inforced by Lieutenant-colonel Watson, with his corps and the sixty-fourth regiment.
"But notwithstanding Lord Rawdon's brilliant success, I must inform Your Excellency that the general state of the country is most distressing [and] that the enemy's parties are everywhere. The communication by land with Savannah no longer exists; Col. [Thomas] Brown is invested at Augusta, and Colonel Cruger in the most critical situation at Ninety-Six. Indeed, I should betray the duty I owe Your Excellency did I not represent the defection of this province [as] so universal that I know of no mode short of depopulation to retain it. This spirit of revolt is in a great measure kept up by the many officers prisoners of war here; and I should therefore think it advisable to remove them, as well as to make the most striking examples of such, as having taken protection, snatch every occasion to rise in arms against us."[2814]

6-7 May[2815] [skirmishes] Swift Creek, Fishing Creek,[2816] and Halifax [three separate actions], (Nash County, and Halifax County, N.C.) Cornwallis in making his way from Wilmington toward Virginia found the middle and eastern districts of North Carolina more barren than earlier described, and provisions very difficult to obtain. Since his leaving Wilmington on the 25th or 26th of April, some of the Bladen County militia dismantled some bridges over the creeks ahead of him in order to retard his progress. Otherwise, he encountered no opposition till the 7th (possibly the 6th) when his advance parties of cavalry and light troops skirmished some N.C. militia at Swift Creek, and afterward the same day at Fishing Creek. In both instances, the N.C. militia were routed. Later in the day (presumably), the advance guard entered Halifax, N.C. in which the British lost 3 wounded and a few horses killed, but again the Americans were send fleeing, and 15 of Sumner's draftees were taken. Some Continental supplies, including provisions and clothing were captured in the town; which had been the site of a relatively important American depot for the southern army. Active efforts to remove the supplies had not taken place till the 5th, and by then it was too late. Cornwallis himself did not reach Halifax till the 10th, and the rear of his column not till the 12th.[2817]
Tarleton: "On this move the Americans at Swift creek, and afterwards at Fishing creek, attempted to stop the progress of the advanced guard; but their efforts were baffled, and they were dispersed with some loss. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, to prevent the militia receiving reinforcements, and recovering from the consternation probably diffused throughout that place by the fugitives from the creeks. The event answered the expectation: The Americans were charge and defeated in detached parties, in the environs and in the town, before they had settled any regular plan of operation: The ground about half a mile in front of Halifax afforded a strong position, of which they did not avail themselves; but they were surprised whilst assembling on the wrong side of the bridge over a deep ravine, and were routed with confusion and loss: The only useful expedient which they had adopted was the securing a number of the boats belonging to the inhabitants of the place on the other side of the river, where a party began to intrench [sic] themselves, and from whence they fired upon the

[2812] NGP8 p. 224, TCS pp. 286-287.
[2813] TCS pp. 286-287.
[2814] CAR p. 520, COC pp. 97-98.
[2815] Malmedy, in a letter to Greene of 11 May, makes mention of the confusion caused when the British came in site of Halifax, N.C. on the *morning* of the 7th. Also Butler speaks of the British having possession of the town by 10 am in a letter of the same day. Therefore Swift Creek and Fishing Creek may in fact have occurred on the 6th, and the action at Halifax on the 7th. NGP8 pp. 240-241. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/halifax.htm
[2816] Both Swift Creek and Fishing Creek are in Nash County.
[2817] NGP8 pp. 240-243, TCS pp. 287-288, LMS p. 412.

British when they approached the bank: This circumstance, however, could only be a temporary inconvenience to the King's troops, because the Americans would be obliged to abandon that post on the arrival of the cannon, the eminence on the side of Halifax so perfectly commanded the opposite shore.
"The damage sustained by the light troops in taking possession of Halifax amounted only to three men wounded, and a few horses killed and wounded. Some stores of continental cloathing [sic] and other supplies were found in the place. Without loss of time, guards were placed on all the avenues to the post, and spies were dispatched over the river above and below the town, to gain intelligence of General Phillips. These precautions and necessary proceedings were speedily completed, owing to the assistance of Lieutenant-colonel [John] Hamilton, who had formerly been connected with that quarter of North Carolina, and was a volunteer on this expedition."[2818]

6-12 May. (also given as 8 May) [siege] Fort Motte, also Buckhead, Buckhead Hill (Calhoun County, S.C.) In March 1781, Ft. Motte (also known as "Buckhead") was established as a post after the British abandoned Thompson's Plantation, at Belleville, about a mile from Motte's.[2819] Like Thompson's, Motte's served as a sanctuary for convoys of supplies coming from Charlestown on their way to Camden and Ninety Six. Defending the post was Lieut. Donald McPherson, of the 71st Regt., with 140 men -- 120 of which were Provincials (Greene states British) and Hessians, plus 7 or 8 officers. In his letter to Huntington of 14 May, Greene reported that a carronade was taken at the fort. Despite this, a footnote by the editor of the Greene papers states that the fort was defended with an enlarged firelock mounted as a swivel, but had no artillery. Possibly then the carronade was not in actual use.
Marion and Lee arrived before the fort on the 6th. Initially, there was some uncertainty whether Lee would continue with Marion, but by the 8th it had been decided that he would do so. Marion had 150 men, while Lee had 300 regulars, including the Legion infantry, Oldham's Maryland Company, and 140 North Carolina Continentals under Maj. Pinkertham Eaton. The Legion cavalry was elsewhere keeping an eye on Watson. With them also was a six-pounder (or possibly a four-pounder) under Capt. Ebenezer Finley. After a stalemate of almost a week, the besiegers hit upon the idea of setting fire to the roof of the house; the house occupying most of the area within the fortifications. This was done with an incendiary sent by a projectile. Moultrie and Lee state that the projectile was a bow shot arrow; which arrow and bow had been provided by Mrs. Motte, owner of the residence (see LMS p. 347.) According to William Dobein James account, the roof was set alight by one of Marion's men using a ball of rosin and brimstone thrown by a sling. Bass suggests it was both. McCrady, drawing on testimony, asserts the arrows were shot from rifles -- not bows.[2820] In any case, the tactic succeeded, and when McPherson men tried to climb on the roof to put out the fire, they were shot at by Marion's riflemen. Evidently, McPherson surrendered the same day (the 12th) the fire was put out. He and his garrison then were made prisoners, and 140 stand of arms, a quantity of salt, provisions and other stores were taken. The editor to the Greene papers notes that the regulars surrendered to Lee, and the loyalist militia to Marion suggesting there may have been some friction between the two officers. On the other hand, the measure may have been devised to spare McPherson having to report that he ignominiously surrendered to militia; even though Marion did actually have overall command of the Americans. In terms of casualties, Marion lost 2 killed at Fort Motte, the British none. While Marion was away with Lee against Ft. Motte, Ganey, who had been called out again by Balfour, rose up with his men at Drowning Creek.[2821]

Lossing: "The prisoners were treated with great humanity, notwithstanding some of them were Tories of a most obnoxious stamp. As soon as paroled, they were sent off to Lord Rawdon, then crossing the Santee at Nelson's Ferry, near Eutaw Springs. The fall of Fort Motte greatly alarmed that officer, and two days afterward [May 14.], he blew up the fortifications at Nelson's Ferry, and hastened toward Charlestown. During the day of the capitulation, Greene arrived with a small troop of cavalry, being anxious to know the result of the siege, for he was aware Rawdon was hastening to the relief of the garrison. Finding every thing secure, he returned to his camp, then on the north side of the Congaree, after ordering Marion to proceed against Georgetown, toward the head of Winyaw Bay, near the coast, and directing Lee with his legion, and Captain Finley with his six pounder, to attack Fort Granby, thirty-two miles above Fort Motte, near the present city of Columbia."[2822]

William Dobein James: "On the night of the 10th, the fires of Lord Rawdon's camp were seen on the Santee hills, in his retreat from Camden, and encouraged the garrison for a while; but on the 12th the house was set on fire, and the commander Lieut. M'Pherson, and one hundred and sixty-five men, surrendered. This deed of Mrs. Motte has been deservedly celebrated. Her intention to sacrifice her valuable property was patriotic; but the house was not burnt, as is stated by historians, nor was it fired by an arrow from an African bow, as sung by the poet. -- Nathan Savage, a private in Marion's brigade, made up a ball of rosin and brimstone, to which he set fire, slung it on the roof of the house. The British surrendered before much mischief was done to it, and Marion had the fire put out."[2823]

[2818] TCS pp. 287-288.
[2819] Rawdon, in a letter written to Lee many years after the war, referred to Motte and Granby as "two redoubts pompously denominated [Fort];" at the same time noting that the two posts, and without operable cannon, were Camden's *only* magazines. See Marquis of Hasting, and then Earl Moira, to Henry Lee 24 June 1813, LMS p. 613.
[2820] MSC2 pp. 236n-237n.
[2821] NGP8 pp. 68n, 110, 205n, 214-215, 251, 292, ATR81b p. 148, GHA4 pp. 89-90, MMS2 pp. 280-281, MLW4A pp. 520-521, LMS pp. 345-348, JFM p. 51, JLG2 p.116, LFB2 p. 481, MSC2 pp. 231-327, 748, WAR2 p. 812, BSF p. 169, 183, 189, BGC p. 166-167, 173, SCAR vol. 2, no. 1, p. 4.
[2822] LFB2 p. 481.
[2823] JFM p. 51.

Joseph Johnson: "Most of the loyalists taken at Fort Motte came from German or Dutch immigrants who had built Orangeburg."[2824]

Roger Lamb: "These disasters [Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Augusta] to the royal cause were in a great measure ascribable to the British officers, commanding at the different posts, being ignorant of each others operations, by the vigilance of the disaffected inhabitants, who intercepted almost all their letters, dispatches, &c. Thus the orders sent from Charlestown, and also by lord Rawdon, for the evacuation of Ninety-Six, never reached lieutenant colonel Cruger, and he acted on local circumstances only, and accordingly fortified the place instead of evacuating it."[2825]

Balfour, a Charlestown, on 27 June wrote Lord German: "On the corps under Lord Rawdon falling back towards this town, the enemy, by detachments, invested the posts at Mott[e]'s House, Congarees, and Augusta, having previously taken that at Wright's Bluff; these. posts, my Lord, had been established for controuling [sic] the country, and preserving its communications. Unfortunately, from the superiority of the enemy, and the impossibility of immediate relief, as asfairs were then circumstanced, these garrisons were obliged to surrender, though gallantly defended: however, I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that the stores in them were but inconsiderable, and the troops have since been exchanged, under a cartel which has lately taken place between my Lord Cornwallis and Major-general Greene, for the release lease of all prisoners of war in the southern district."[2826]

7 May. Letter from Tarleton, at Halifax (N.C.), to Cornwallis: "[2 p.m.] I have cut up several this Bank command One Gun woud [sic] have all the Boats I have got one large one the rest are gone down adrift -- I have sent after them. The Enemy have a work opposite with a 4 Pounder. Three [?] letters I have sent to Philips. -- I have sent out for two Men & shall Dispatch an Officer's party to night as soon as I know circumstantially about Philips --"
"8 o'clock p.m.
"Mr. Elbech -- a friend says that on [La]Fayettes arrival at Richmond Philips went either on board or across James River from Petersburg -- I leave your Lordship to Judge. I have taken every [step?] --
"I have wrote Philips 4 times. The Country I have passed is most plentiful I must have support."[2827]

7 May (also 6 May.) Watson, his force "much reduced through casualties, sickness, and a reinforcement which he had left to increase the garrison at Georgetown," now totaled some 500 men,[2828] and two to four cannon. The units likely to have been included in Watson's detachment were the 64th Regt. and his own Provincial Light Infantry, and he linked up with Rawdon in Camden on the 7th (Wm. Johnson states the 6th.) It has been said Col. John Small's detachment may have accompanied him, but this seems incorrect. While there were (and aside from) additional mounted men with Marion and Sumter, Rawdon's cavalry now outnumbered Greene's. The same day, early in the evening, Greene moved upriver from his Twenty Five Mile Creek position to Sawney Creek.[2829]
William Johnson: "...Watson managed to elude all this preparation to cut him off. Major M'Arthur appears on this occasion, to have exhibited the character of an active and intelligent soldier. He commanded a corps of indifferent cavalry, formed on a drafty from the Hessian troops, at this time in Charlestown. Scouring the country in front of Watson, he appears to have completely masked his advance; and after throwing a detachment of twenty-five of his command under Colonel [John] Doyle into Camden, to have returned down to Motte, and succeeded in throwing into that place a wall-piece with stores belonging to it."[2830]

7 May. [raid] McJunkin's Capture (Union County, S.C.)
Saye (with Joseph McJunkin): "[See 2 March for narrative leading up to.] On May 7 he [McJunkin] returned to his father's house. The Tories, hearing that night of his arrival, a party came next morning and made him prisoner. The party was commanded by one Bud Anderson. This party, immediately after his capture, set out toward the iron works on Lawson's Fork. These works have sometimes been called Wofford's, at others, Berwick's.
"On this march other prisoners were taken, some of whom were killed on their knees begging for quarter. Being arrived at or near the works, a kind of trial was gone through to decide what should be done with him. The sentence of the court was that he should be hanged in five minutes from the reading of the verdict. A rope was tied around his neck, he was set upon some kind of scaffolding under the limb of a tree and the rope fastened to it.
"At this moment a party was seen approaching on horseback at full speed. The commander of those having him in charge ordered the execution stopped until the object of the approaching party was ascertained. One of them came up and whispered something in the ear of the leader. The leader ordered the execution suspended for the present and the whole party to mount. They hurried away, and after beating about the country for a short time set off in the direction of the British garrison at Ninety-Six. The motive of the delay of his execution was the approach of a party of Whigs, as he afterward learned.

[2824] JTR p. 101.
[2825] LJA p. 364.
[2826] ATR81b pp. 172-173.
[2827] PRO. 30/11/6/60-61.
[2828] Marion on the 6th, however, reported it was 200 and two field pieces. The editor of the Greene papers, even so, prefers the 500 figure. NGP8 pp. 214-215.
[2829] NGP8 pp. 212, 214-215, 227n, ATR81b pp. 151-153, AR81 pp. 83-84, TCS p. 475-477, GHA4 pp. 88-89, MLW4A p. 508, 519-522, LMS pp. 342-344, JLG2 p. 110-112, LCC pp. 318-338.
[2830] JLG2 p. 110.

"While in the custody of this party of Tories no epithets were too abusive or insulting to be applied to him with the greatest freedom and frequency. When arrived within a mile of the British post the party halted some time for consultation or some other purpose. While here he lay on the ground, with his wounded arm resting on his forehead. Another party of Tories came up, their leader believed to have been the famous William Cunningham. As soon as he cast his eyes on Major McJunkin he rushed upon him with his sword drawn.
"Just as the major expected to receive its descending point he suddenly wheeled off and said, 'I was mistaken in the man.'
"Thence he was carried into Ninety-Six. A court martial was summoned to investigate his case. The forms observed were somewhat honorable. He was charged with killing one of His Majesty's subjects -- the man that broke his arm. He showed them his arm, told them where they met the Tories and where the man was killed, and asked if it was possible that a man whose sword arm was broken to pursue a man a mile and kill him. Gen. [Robert] Cunningham, the president of the court, said it was impossible, and the whole court concurred. He was therefore acquitted of the charge, but sentenced to close confinement as a prisoner of war. He remained in jail at this place from that time, about the 12th or 14th of May, until a few days before Gen. Greene lay siege to the place, the 23d of the same month. He was paroled, with some others, and allowed to return home."[2831]

8 May. Having earlier left Westover by boat, Phillips disembarked on the 7th at Brandon; from there he moved up to nearby Petersburg. The general was, by this time, very sick with fever, so that Arnold then began taking over many of his duties.[2832]
Arnold to Clinton, wrote on 12 May: "[On the] 7th, Major-general Phillips having received a letter from Lord Cornwallis, orders were given for the fleet to return up the river again. We arrived at Brandon about five o'clock, and most of the troops, cavalry, &c. were landed this evening, though it blew a gale of wind. May 8th, remained at Brandon. Major-general Phillips being very ill, and unable to travel on horseback, a postchaise [sic] was procured for him."[2833]

8 May. [Skirmish] Fair Forest Creek, also Mud Bridge, "Col. Joseph Hayes vs. Loyalist militia" (Union County, S.C.) Historian Patrick O'Kelley: "General Pickens sent Colonel Joseph Hayes out to attack a large force of Loyalists on Fair Forest Creek. Colonel Hayes was defeated and withdrew."
For more see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/fairforestcr.htm

8 May. Cornwallis reached the Tar River.[2834]
Cornwallis, at "Crowell's plantation, near Tarr river," to Tarleton: "I cannot venture to pass the Roanoke without some certain information of Phillips, or of the state of things in Virginia. You will read and forward the enclosed letter: Not having been able to mount the light company of the guards, I think they would only embarrass you. You may stay two or three days at Halifax, if you think it safe: If in that time you hear any certain or favourable news of Phillips, let me know it, and I will move forward immediately; if not, return by whatever route you please, and join me near Cob's or Vivaret's mill, fixing every possible channel of intelligence at any price.
"I understand that General [John] Butler is at Wake court house with a few militia. Our accounts of Lord Rawdon's success continue to be confirmed."[2835]

Tarleton, "Near Halifax," on this date, to Cornwallis: "I have got 900 Stand of arms one Pr [pair] Colours, 20 Hogsheads of Rum Boats enough Meal without. The Enemy are gone. I have sent a Flag after them to exchange prisoners. I have sent to Philips again & again -- I hear nothing new."[2836]

Despite the British seizures at Halifax, the depot was to some extent once more up and in operation again by June, as witnessed by this invoice made by Joshua Potts, "A.D.Q.M." [Assistant Deputy Quarter Master], on 16 June 1781, and which provides us with some idea of the kinds of stores it, and such like it, contained:
"7 large Barrels Gun Powder (the size of a common Pork Barrel.)
1 smaller do.
11 large Keggs [sic] ditto
38 smaller ditto
2 large Pigs Lead. amt. 500 lbs.
A Quantity Cartridge Paper.
4 large flat Bars Iron.
29 small ditto
8 Sheets Iron.
13 Pair large Iron Boxes for Waggons.
15 ditto small ditto
2 Barrels Salt—each about 3½ Bushels.
1½ Bushels ditto
1 Hhd. [hogshead] Sugar 10 Inches out.
2 Barrels Wine.

[2831] SJM.
[2832] ATR81b pp. 60-63, SQR pp. 203-207, TCS p. 338, MLW4A pp. 428-429.
[2833] ATR81b pp. 60-63, TCS p. 338.
[2834] TCS pp. 286-287, BGD p. 176.
[2835] TCS p. 321.
[2836] PRO. 30/11/6/69.

1 ditto Six inches out.
5 Hhds. Rum, a small Ullage in each.
2 Barrels Coffee.
1 ditto some used.
1 ditto with Buttons, Cartridge Paper, &c.
40 Dozen Pair Coarse Woolen milled Stockings.
5 Soldiers' Woolen Jackets.
18 ditto Oznabrigs ditto.
52 Pair ditto Spatterdashes.
36 Pair Over-alls, made of light Duck.
10 Dozen Soldiers black Stocks.
34 Bundles, containing 72 Papers, Various Coloured sewing Silk.
3 Paper Buttons.
385 Pair Soldiers Shoes.
68 Pieces Coarse white Frieze.
18 ditto ditto Blue ditto.
7 ditto ditto Red ditto.
3 ditto White Shaloon.
18 Pieces light Duck.
10 ditto Russia Drill."[2837]

8 May. [skirmish][2838] Sawney's Creek, also Sandy Creek (Kershaw County, S.C.) On the night of the 7th, Rawdon crossed the Wateree Ferry and moved to attack what he thought was the main American force at Sawney Creek, but which, as it turned out, was only the American light infantry and cavalry pickets, with Greene himself and the main army having withdrawn a further four miles up to Colonel's Creek. Finding Greene's position overall too strong, Rawdon retired to Camden.[2839]
Kirkwood: "7th. Marched this day…9 [miles]
"8th. The Enemy moved over the River and was within two miles of us before we knew them being out when our Vadet Came in and inform'd us. We then Drew up in order of battle and lay their in Sight of [each] other until Evening when both Armys Drew off and we marched…4 [miles]."

Seymour: "On the seventh we moved our encampment nine miles. On the eighth the enemy made a movement out of Campden [sic] and were within a little distance of us before discovered, when immediately our horse and infantry was formed in front and waited their motion, the main army having retreated to an advantageous piece of ground [i.e. Colonel's Creek], but the enemy not advancing, we kept our own ground." [2840]

Henry Nase: "8th. May -- Lord Rawdon marchd. About 1400 men to Camden, Crossd. the fery [sic], in hopes of bringing Mr. Greene to Renew the Action; but as he had Posted himself in Such an Advantagious [sic] manner, his Lordship did not think it Practicable to Attack him, he however made Several Maneovres [sic], in order to Draw him from his Advantagious [sic] Position, but to no Purpose, the 25th. [Hobkirk's Hill] being fresh in their Memory, they declin'd having any confrontation with his Lordship -- The whole Return'd the Same Evening; Lt. Colo. [George] Campbell, with the Ks. A. [King's American] Regt. Remain'd in Camden."[2841]

Rawdon, in his letter of May 24th to Cornwallis wrote: "Whilst, upon that principle, I waited for my expected succours, Gen. Greene retired from our front, and, crossing the Wateree, took a position behind Twenty-five Mile Creek. On the 7th of May, Lieutenant-colonel Watson joined me with his detachment, much reduced in number through casualties, sickness, and a reinforcement which he had left to strengthen the garrison at George Town. He had crossed the Santee near its mouth, and had recrossed it a little below the entrance of the Congaree. On the night of the 7th, I crossed the Wateree at Camden ferry, proposing to turn the flank and attack the rear of Greene's army, where the ground was not strong, though it was very much so in front. The troops had scarcely crossed the river, when I received notice that Greene had moved early in the evening, upon getting information of my being reinforced, I followed him by the direct road, and found him posted behind Sawney's creek. Having driven in his pickets, I examined every point of his situation; I found it every where so strong, that I could not hope to force it without suffering such loss as must have crippled my force for any future enterprise; and the retreat lay so open for him, I could not hope that victory would give us any advantage sufficiently decisive to counterbalance the loss. The creek (though slightly marked in the maps) runs very high into the country. Had I attempted to get round him, he would have evaded me with ease; for, as his numbers still exceeded mine, I could not separate my force to fix him in any point, and time (at this juncture most important to me) would have been thus unprofitably wasted. I therefore returned to Camden the same afternoon, after having in vain attempted to decoy the enemy into action, by affecting to conceal our retreat."[2842]

[2837] CNC15 pp. 484-485. Similar June 1781 returns for stores at Hillsborough and Harrisburg can be found respectively at CNC15 p. 479 and CNC15 pp. 485-486.
[2838] I am assuming here, based on Rawdon's account, there was apparently *some* firing that went on between Rawdon's probes and the corps of observation left by Greene.
[2839] NGP8 pp. 212, 214-215, 221, 227n, ATR81b pp. 151-153, AR81 pp. 84-85, TCS pp. 475-479, GHA4 pp. 88-89, MLW4A pp. 519-520, LMS pp. 342-344, JLG2 pp. 110-112, LCC pp. 342-345, 355-358, MSC2 pp. 215-216, BGC p. 171.
[2840] SJS.
[2841] NDI.
[2842] ATR81b pp. 151-153, TCS pp. 475-479.

8 May. Lafayette passed the James River on his way towards Petersburg.[2843]

8 May. Pickens, from "Cuffy Town" (about 11 or 12 miles south of Ninety Six), wrote Greene stating that he'd failed surprising the remnants of Maj. Dunlop's dragoons, now under Capt. William Cunningham. Except for those around Ninety-Six, he said the people in the area were unanimously in favor of the American cause; though he was unable to arm them. He had just learned that the post at Augusta has been blockaded by the Georgians, and some South Carolinians under Maj. Samuel Hammond. The annual present to the Indians, of ammunition and clothing, had made it safely to Fort Galphin. Pickens said he himself would go to Augusta, but would leave Col. Robert Anderson and Col. Joseph Hayes near Ninety Six.[2844]
Lambert states that in September (1781) it was reported by Wells' *Royal Gazette* that Cunningham had retired to Cane Creek, a branch of the Seneca, before Ninety-Six was evacuated. He had managed to collect about 60 loyalists between Enoree and Saluda. The same paper subsequently paper said that he and his men had captured several rebel blockhouses along the Reedy River; then dispersed a party of rebels south of the Saluda. British pay records show him to have been in Charlestown by Oct. 23rd when he received pay for his militia service in 1780. See also 10 May.[2845]

9 May. Leaving the night of the 8th, Greene retired further up river from Sawney Creek to Colonel's Creek, where he remained till the 10th.[2846] On the evening of this day, William Richardson Davie (who was present with the army at this time) was reportedly given a broad perspective and outline of Greene's strategic views and feelings by that same general, and which is related at JLG2 pp. 116-117; but the accuracy of which as recounted Henry Lee IV, at length, reasonably questions, LCC pp. 349-362.
He wrote to Lee on this date: "We moved our camp night before last from Twenty Five Miles Creek to Sandy Creek [Sawney Creek], five miles higher up the river. Lord Rawdon came out yesterday morning [8 May] as I expected he would, and I suppose, with an expectation of finding us at the old encampment. I did not like our position to risk an action in, and ordered the troops to take a new position at this place, four miles still higher up river, leaving on the ground the horse, the pickets, and the light infantry. The enemy came up in front of our encampment , and drew up in order of battle, but did not dare to attempt to cross the creek; and after waiting an hour or two retired suddenly towards Camden."[2847]

9 May. [surrender] PENSACOLA (Escambia County, FLA.) After a siege lasting two months, the Spanish under General (also Governor) Bernardo de Galvez compelled the British at Fort George in Pensacola, Florida to capitualte; in consequence of which, control of West Florida passed over to the Spanish. See 8-9 March 1781.[2848]

9 May. Phillips' forces arrived at Petersburg, as instructed by Cornwallis. There they surprised a small militia detachment, including some Continental officers, and took some prisoners. By the 10th, Lafayette learned of Phillips already being in Petersburg in advance of himself, and retreated to Osborne's, and after that, to an area just outside Richmond, on the north side of the Kingsland Ferry.[2849]
Arnold to Clinton, May 12th: "May 9th, the light infantry, and part of the Queen's rangers, in boats, were ordered, with the *Formidable* and *Spitfire*, to proceed to City point, and land there. The rest of the army were put in motion for Petersburg, where they arrived late in the night, having marched near thirty miles this day. On our leaving Bermuda hundred, and going down the river, the Marquis de la Fayette with his army moved towards Williamsburgh, and, by forced marches, had crossed the Chickahomany at Long bridge, when our fleet returned to Brandon; which retrograde motion of ours occasioned him to return as rapidly, by forced marches, to Osborn[e]'s, where he arrived the 8th, and was preparing to cross the river to Petersburg when we arrived there, which was so unexpected, that we surprised and took two majors, (one of them aid-de-camp to Baron Steubens [Von Steuben], the other to General Smallwood); one captain and three lieutenants of dragoons; two lieutenants of foot; a commissary, and a surgeon: Some of these gentlemen arrived only two hours before us, with an intention of collecting the boats for the marquis to cross his army. On the 10th, the marquis made his appearance on the opposite side of the river with a strong escort, and, having staid [sic] some time to reconnoitre [sic] our army, returned to his camp at Osborn's; and we are this day informed he is marched to Richmond, where it is said Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, has arrived: This is, however, uncertain; but he is certainly expected there."[2850]

10 May. Comte de Barras, who had been named to replace De Ternay, arrived to take command of the French squadron at Newport.[2851]

10 May. [skirmish] William Cunningham at Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) See also Ninety Six, 18 June.
Lossing: "Among the most active of these parties was the "Bloody Scout," under the notorious Bill Cunningham. They hovered around the American camp like vultures, and picked off the patriots in detail. The most active

[2843] ATR81b pp. 60-63.
[2844] See 16 April. NGP8 p. 223.
[2845] LSL p. 207.
[2846] NGP8 pp. 221, 227n, JLG2 pp. 110-112, 116-117, WAR2 p. 811.
[2847] NGP8 p. 221, ATR81b pp. 151-153.
[2848] ATR81b pp. 168-172, 250-252, 277-282, AR81 pp. 24-25, 98-100, FWI pp. 208-209, BEA pp. 410, 853-854.
[2849] ATR81b pp. 60-63, SQR pp. 204-210, TCS pp. 338-339, GHA4 pp. 110, MLW4A pp. 427-430, CAR p. 281.
[2850] ATR81b pp. 60-63, TCS pp. 338-339.
[2851] CGP p. lv.

opponent of this scoundrel was William Beale, of Ninety-Six. He formed a scouting party of Whigs, and soon they became a terror to the Tories. On one occasion, Cunningham and his party plundered the house of Beale's mother, during his absence. On his return, Beale went in pursuit, and approaching Cunningham, that marauder wheeled and fled. The race continued for almost three miles, when Cunningham turned, and with a pistol, shot Beale's horse dead. Beale retreated backward, daring the Tory to follow. The latter, fearing a Whig ambush, rode off. On another occasion, Cunningham and his party surrounded a house where Beale and a Whig were stopping. They heard the approach of the Tories, when, rushing to their horses and rattling their swords, Beale gave command as if to a troop. It was dark, and Cunningham, who had thirteen men with him, fled in great haste. Cunningham was so mortified, when he learned that they had been frightened away by a couple of Whigs, that he swore vengeance against Beale. -- Letter of James M. M'Cracken, Esq., to the Author." [2852]

10 May. Advance detachments of Cornwallis' army began its ingress into Virginia, heading towards Petersburg to rendevous with Phillips.[2853]
Tarleton: "As soon as Earl Cornwallis reached the Roanoke, he ordered Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to cross it with the cavalry and two companies of mounted infantry, to explore the country and find out the convenient places for passing the rivers Meherrin and Nottoway, which lay between his army and Petersburg, the place of rendezvous proposed in his lordship's letters to General Phillips. The light troops had not proceeded above four miles beyond the Roanoke, when his lordship, attended by six dragoons of his guard, overtook them, and halted their march. On the arrival of some country people, Earl Cornwallis directed Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to dismount his dragoons and mounted infantry, and to form them into a rank entire, for the convenient inspection of the inhabitants, and to facilitate the discovery of the villains who had committed atrocious outrages the previous evening [11 May]. A serjeant and one private dragoon were pointed out, and accused of rape and robbery: They were conducted to Halifax, where they were condemned to death by martial law. The immediate infliction of the sentence exhibited to the army and manifested to the country the discipline and justice of the British general.
"The light troops reached and passed the river Meherren at Armstead's bridge on the 14th of May: The next day they proceeded to the Nottoway, which they found Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe had crossed higher up, on his march towards Earl Cornwallis, who, in the mean time, had arrived at Jones' house on the northward of the Roanoke. The light troops of the two corps having removed all impediments between their respective armies, and discovered fords in lieu of bridges, which the Americans had destroyed, Brigadier-general Arnold, who had for a few days commanded the King's troops in Virginia, with an escort left his own camp to meet Earl Cornwallis."[2854]

10 May. Rawdon abandoned Camden, destroying stores and baggage he could not take with him. As well, he damaged cannon so they would not be usable while also setting fire to many of the buildings. He thereafter headed in the direction of Nelson's Ferry with the hope of relieving Fort Motte. McCrady, as does Lee, attributes Rawdon's retrograde move to interruptions to his lines of communications by Marion, Lee and Sumter -- not Greene's advance per se. When Greene retook Camden he reported on 14 May to Samuel Huntington that Rawdon "left all our men, wounded on the 25th [Hobkirk's Hill], amounting to Thirty one and fifty eight of their own and three Officers who were all too badly wounded to be moved." Greene first sent a detachment into the town and moved with his army toward Friday's Ferry. Later, with a small escort of dragoons, he went to meet Lee and Marion at Fort Motte after the fort surrendered. At the same time, he had the army make camp at Widow Weston's near McCord's Ferry.[2855]
Rawdon in his May 24th letter to Cornwallis wrote: "On the 9th I published to the troops, and to the militia, my design of evacuating Camden, offering to such of the latter as chose to accompany me every assistance that we could afford them. During the ensuing night I sent off all our baggage, &c., under a strong escort, and destroyed the works remaining at Camden, with the rest of the troops, till ten o'clock the next day, in order to cover the march."[2856]

Kirkwood: "10th. At Night was sent out with a party of the Horse to Surprise a party of Tories and Marched 18 miles, but not Coming up with, we altered our Rout and March'd for Camden hearing it was evacuated, and Reached there the next day being in all…29 [miles]."[2857]

Seymour: "On the 10th our infantry and a detachment from the Maryland Line, with some horse, were sent to surprise some Tories, and, marching twenty-six miles without meeting them, the infantry went to Campden [Camden], which the enemy had evacuated. Eleven miles.
"We marched from Campden the 12th, leaving a guard to destroy the works, and proceeded on our march for Ninety-Six, marching the first day to Reynold's [sic] Mills. Thirteenth, marched about eighteen miles. Fifteenth, marched eighteen miles. Sixteenth, marched six miles and encamped at Captain Howell's. On the seventeenth were executed five of our deserters who were taken in Fort Friday [Granby] by Colonel Lee."[2858]

[2852] LFB2 p. 486.
[2853] ATR81b pp. 60-63, AR81 p. 90, SQR pp. 206-210, TCS pp. 289-290, MLW4A pp. 427-430, LMS pp. 413, BEA p. 1152.
[2854] TCS pp. 289-290.
[2855] NGP8 p. 250, RSC2 pp. 232-232, ATR81b pp. 151-153, AR81 p. 85, TCS pp. 474-479, GHA4 pp. 88-89, SAW2 pp. 361-362, MMS2 p. 279, MLW4A p. 521, LMS pp. 344-345, JLG2 pp. 118-119, LCC pp. 364-465, JFM pp. 49-50, MSC2 pp. 222-228, RBG p. 166.
[2856] ATR81b pp. 151-153, TCS pp. 475-479.
[2857] KJO p. 17.
[2858] SJS.

Ramsay: "Several families nevertheless accompanied his lordship. These were cruelly neglected after their arrival in Charlestown. They built themselves huts without the works. Their settlement was called Rawdon-Town, which from its poverty and wretchedness, became a term of reproach. Many women and children, who lived comfortably on their farms near Camden, soon died of want in these new habitations."[2859]

Henry Nase (with Rawdon): "May 10th. 1781 -- The Town [Camden] was Evacuated; the Ks. A. Regt. [King's American Regt.] being Detachd. in front. with the Sick & Baggage. we continued our March, to Moore's Plantation, without being molested.
"May 11th. -- the [sic] whole Army got as far as James Plantation who was a Majr. in the Rebel Service, he was Taken, in Charles Town & permitted to go to his Plantation, on Parole.
"May 12th. -- the whole Army came to Nelson[']s Ferry 5
"13th. -- we Marchd. to the Utaw Springs [sic]
"14th. -- Marchd. About fifteen Miles Towards Thompson['s] and return'd to the Springs Again the same evening, this was thought to be done to favor the Evacuation of the Post at Nelsons ferry --
"May 16th. 1781 -- Marchd. from the Utaw [Eutaw] Springs, to Monks [Monck's] Corner.
"May 19th. -- We Marchd. from Monks Corner, to Dorchester. Here we Arrived About 12 o Clock, on the 20th. Dorchester is a very Pleasant place, lying on Ashley River leading to Charles Town, Distant from that last 16 Miles -- those who lived there, were Chiefly followers of the [British] Army -- "[2860]

10-11 May. [surrender] Orangeburgh (Orangeburg County, S.C) On the night of the 10th, Orangeburgh was placed under siege by Sumter's advanced forces, under Col. Wade Hampton. When by next morning Sumter with his six-pounder arrived, the garrison under loyalist Col. John Fisher surrendered by 7 am. 6 officers and 83 men (28 of them provincials), and many military stores and provisions, were taken as a result, and neither side apparently suffered any casualties. Sumter found Orangeburgh well stock with supplies, and after examining the fortifications wrote that he considered them extremely strong; adding that he believed the post could have put up a stout defense had the garrison been so inclined. The prisoners were sent to Greene on May 12, but militia guards reportedly murdered a number of them along the way. After taking Orangeburgh, Sumter moved up toward Ft. Motte, but which he found Marion and Lee had already taken. He then turned to putting the loyalist in the vicinity in awe, seizing slaves, and horses[2861] and other means of transportation (which the British had directed, along with provisions, to be removed), and generally taking or moving supplies out of the region stretching from Wassamasaw to Dorchester -- all of which helped to supply the army and hinder Rawdon's retreat. After doing this for two days he returned to Orangeburgh, and following which retired to the Congaree (presumably Ancrum's.)[2862]
Thomas Young: "Soon after this I joined a detachment of Whigs under Col. [Thomas] Brandon, and scouted through the country till we reached the siege at Fort Motte. There I remained for several days, when we joined a detachment under command of Col. Hampton, to take Orangeburgh. The state troops, under Col. [Wade] Hampton, outmarched us, for we had a piece of artillery to manage. We arrived the morning after them. The Tories were lodged in a brick house, and kept up a monstrous shouting and firing to very little purpose. As soon as the piece of artillery was brought to bear upon the house, a breach was made through the gable end; then another, a little lower; then about the center, and they surrendered." [2863]

11 May. Malmedy, at Williamsboro in Granville County, N.C., wrote Greene stating that North Carolina was in an unfortunate situation. It had 150 men at Taylor's Ferry on the Roanoke River, including the new levees; another 150 were expected in Williamsboro "this day." These men, together with 40 dragoons protecting the governor, were all the troops North Carolina now had in the field. Malmedy's own regiment's term of service had expired on April 26.
The same day, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, also at Williamsboro, wrote Greene stating that the Continental draftees were coming in slowly, and few had muskets. The Marquis de Lafayette has ordered that 400 stand of arms and 20,000 cartridges be sent to Sumner as soon as possible. Sumner intended to move the Continental recruits back to Hillsborough, and later that day (the 11th) said he would set off to join Gen. Allen Jones, who had collected 200 militiamen and was marching to Taylor's ferry. By 12 June, Sumner had moved his encampment to Harrisburg, N.C.[2864]

11-12 May [raids] Fanning's First Coxe's Mill Raid, also Cox's Mill, Wilcox's Mill, Wilcox's Iron Works [the proper name of the site] (Lee County, N.C.)[2865] A small group of whigs were raided by Capt. David Fanning's and 17 tories some three miles from Coxe's Mill (below modern Moncure, N.C.) The rebels lost 2 killed, 7 wounded, and had 18 horses taken. The following day (the 12th) a similar raid took place and 4 whigs were killed, 3 wounded, 1 captured, and a number of their horses taken. Fanning then returned to his base at Coxe's Mill. Sometime later the same month, in a similar foray, Fanning captured 3 more men and 9 more horses. See 8 June.
David Fanning: "We were exasperated at this [see "Hanging Tree" skirmish, *Early April*], that we determined to have satisfaction, and in a few days I collected 17 men well armed, and formed an ambuscade on Deep River at

[2859] RSC2 pp. 232-233.
[2860] NDI.
[2861] These horses were subsquenly used to mount Sumter's cavalry, JLG2 p. 125.
[2862] NGP8 p. 244, GHA4 p. 89, MLW4A p. 522, JLG2 pp. 121-122, LCC pp. 368-370, BGC p. 172, RBG p. 166.
[2863] JTR pp. 446-454, SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.
[2864] NGP8 pp. 24, 243.
[2865] John Robertson gives the situs of Wilcox's Mill as Randolph County, N.C.; which may, rather than Lee County, very well be correct only I have as yet been unable to confirm this myself. See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/coxsmill.htm

Coxe's Mills, and sent out spies. In the course of two hours, one of my spies gave me information of a party of Rebels plundering his house, which was about three miles off. I instantly marched to the place and discovered them in a field near the house. I attacked them immediately, and kept up a smart fire for half an hour, during which time, we killed their Captain, and one private, on the spot -- wounded three of them, and took two prisoners besides, eight of their horses well appointed, and several swords. This happened on the 11th of May, 1781. The same day, we persued [sic] another party of Rebels, and came up with them the morning following; we attacked them smartly and killed 4 of them on the spot, wounded 3 dangerously and took one prisoner with all their horses, and appointments. In about an hour after that, we took two men of the same party, and killed one more of them; the same evening we had intelligence of another party of Rebels, which were assembling about 30 miles off in order for to attack us; as I thought it best to surprise them where they were collecting, I marched all night and about 10 o'clock next morning, we came up with them; we commenced a fire upon each other, which continued for about 10 minutes when they retreated; we killed two of them, and wounded 7, and took 18 horses well appointed; we then returned to Deep River again -- I still kept the company together, and waited for another opportunity, during which time, I took two Rebel soldiers and parolled [sic] them, who gave me information of a Col. [Guilford] Dudley coming from Gen'l Greens [Greene's] camp at Camden, with baggage.
"I mounted my men and set forward in search of them; and I concealed my men by the side of the road; and I thought the time long; according to information I had from the soldiers -- I took one man with me, and went to see if I could make any discovery. I rode a mile and a half, when I saw Col. Dudley with his baggage -- I then wheeled my horse and returned to my men; where I came within a hundred yards of them, Dudley and his Dragoons was nose and tail and snap[p]ed their pistols several times. I, then ordered a march after them, and after marching 2 ½ miles I discovered them, and immediately took three of them prisoners, with all the baggage and nine Horses. The baggage I divided among my Men, which agreeably to Col. Dudley's report was valued at £1,000 sterling."[2866]

11-12 May. Leaving his camp at Stoney Creek, four miles west of Camden, Greene, apparently, withdrew to and camped at "Jumping Gully Creek," a tributary of Lynches Creek, and located about 26 miles north-northeast of Camden.[2867] Camden was completely devastated at this time, and the move it would seem was prompted by a desire to find a location more suitable for supplying his troops; now made all the more easier by the support from locals they might get following Rawdon's evacuation of Camden. Though Greene's army itself evidently did not itself enter Camden, a detachment was sent, and found there were 31 Americans who had been wounded at Hobkirk, plus, plus 58 British soldiers and 3 officers too wounded to have been removed. Greene also directed local militia to collect black slaves and have them dismantle what was left of the Camden fortifications. The next day (the 12th) Greene was en route to a mill twelve miles southeast of Camden, in order to better support Marion and Lee's operations at Fort Motte.[2868]
Kirkwood: "12th. March'd to Randels [sic] Mill…12[miles]."

Seymour: "We marched from Campden [sic] the 12th, leaving a guard to destroy the works, and proceeded on our march for Ninety-Six, marching the first day to Reynold's Mills." [2869]

11 and 13 May. [skirmishes] Coharie Swamp and Myhand's Bridge, also Cohera, and Mayhand's Bridge and "Col. James Kenan vs. Col. Middleton Mobley" (Sampson County, N.C.) Coharie Swamp took place on the 11th and Myhand's on the 13th. See ONB3 pp. 233-234, 237-238, DRO pp. 182-187;
and http://gaz.jrshelby.com/myhandsbridge.htm

12 May. The rear of Cornwallis' column reached Halifax, N.C.[2870]
Stedman: "At Halifax some enormities were committed by the British that were a disgrace to the name of man."[2871]

12 May. Fort Motte fell to Marion and Lee. See 6 May.
William Dobein James: "Gen. Marion soon after taking Fort Motte, re-crossed the Santee, and encamped at Cantey's plantation, a little more than midway from Nelson's to Murry's Ferry, and here he reposed his men for some time and collected reinforcements. In consequence of the evacuation of Camden, and recent successes, the militia turned out well and in high spirits."[2872]

12 May. Sumter, at Orangeburgh, and following the "siege" there, wrote to Greene: "…if Lord Rawden [Rawdon] Should Pass the river or take up post at Nileson [Nelson's] ferry, there is every reason to believe the Country will be Striped of everything that is Valuable. I Wish to Deprive them of as Many horses as possible & prevent the Inhabitants from Moving & Carrying off great quantities of Stock Which are Now Collecting." Sumter was so

[2866] FNA pp. 15-17.
[2867] Greene's movements on the 10th and 11th are somewhat obscure, and the Jumping Gully location is taken from the heading of an 11 May letter, which reads "Camp Jumping Gully Creek."
[2868] KJO p. 17, NGP8 pp. 238, 246n, 250, ATR81b pp. 151-153.
[2869] SJS.
[2870] NGP8 p. 268.
[2871] SAW2 p. 385n, TCS p. 290, and Lee: "After reaching Halifax, the British army halted. Here the restrained licentiousness of the unprincipled burst out, and shocking outrages were committed upon our unprotected fellow-citizens—disgraceful to British arms, and degrading to the name of man…[Note.] These enormities being discovered by Lord Cornwallis, he halted the light troops about four miles beyond the Roanoke." LMS p. 412.
[2872] JFM p. 51.

successful in cowing the loyalists that Rawdon later reported that he had been five days within the Santee before a single one came near his army. He afterward raided Royal governor William Bull's plantation, took 160 slaves from there whom he distributed among his men, and took as well 6,500 bushels of corn and all of Bull's horses, cattle and wagons. These actions were "regretted" by Brig. Gen. Huger, who communicated them to Greene in a letter of May 22.[2873] Sumter stayed at Orangeburgh till the 15th and on the 16th moved his camp to "Arthur's."[2874]

13 May. Greene crossed the Wateree and then moved his main army south along its west bank, and then camped on the north side of McCord's Ferry on the Congaree River. This same day, according to Lee and Bass, Greene personally met with Marion and Lee at Fort Motte, apprising them of his general strategy, while directing them to take Fort Granby. The Greene Papers neither in the letters or the notes makes reference to such a visit. However, there is a letter from Greene to Lee of this date, written from McCord's, directing him to take Granby.[2875]
Kirkwood: "13th March'd to Mr. Westons…18 [miles]."[2876]

Seymour: "Thirteenth, marched about eighteen miles."[2877]

13 May. Phillips died of fever, and was interred in Blandford churchyard at Petersburg. Arnold took temporary command of the British force in Virginia. But when he tried to write Lafayette, the latter refused to receive his correspondence. Clinton upon receiving word of Phillips' death started making arrangements to have Maj. Gen. James Robertson sent to replace Phillips (rather than leave Arnold in command),[2878] but cancelled doing so when he learned that Cornwallis was moving into Virginia to take charge there.[2879]
Ewald: "The general [Phillips] drove everyone zealously to his duty, which the majority of the men who had served under Arnold up to now did not feel, because everything had been done in the American fashion. All the officers had to be on duy, and the regular troops had to make use of the short rest period for drilling. But he [Phillips] was the most pleasant, unselfish, and courteous man in he world. For example, he was hardly on shore when he visited all the wounded and sick, addressing the one wih encouraging words and favoring the other with money or good food from his own kitchen. He had twenty officers daily at his table, wihout distinction of rank. But despite all his, he was called a 'very hard man,' as well as a 'very hard fellow,' by the lazy and worthless element of the men. However, the long faces did not help, and everyman had to do his duy. The quartermaster general department, the commissary, and the servants were watched so closely by him that they soon had to drink water instead of wine. In short, he was a man just as a man should be."[2880]

Garden: "During his late visit to America, he [Lafayette] was approaching the town of Petersburg, accompanied by Judge Peter Johnston, and B. W. Leigh, Esq. Addressing himself to these gentlemen, he said, 'General Greene had made repeated applications to me, for certain supplies, which (the means being in my power) I was anxious to forward to him. But the frequent detachments sent out by the enemy, for the purpose of Scouring the country, made the attempt extremely hazardous.
"'The British General Philips was in possession of the town of Petersburg, and had his head quarters in a situation very conspicuous from the opposite side of the river Appomattox, near which lay the army under my command. To gain my end, I resolved to make a movement, indicating an intention to attack his post, which compelled the General to call in all detachments, and out posts, the more effectually to resist me. I accordingly approached the river, and erected a battery, which I ordered to play incessantly on the house occupied by the British Commander. At the very period that my orders were executed, General Philips, who had been long sick, expired.
"'I mention this as a remarkable circumstance, since, at a subsequent period, referring to historical documents, it appears that on the day on which the celebrated battle of Minden was fought [1 Aug. 1759], my father fell by a cannon shot, fired from a battery commanded by the very General Philips, who now expired, while opposing the son of the man, who had been destroyed by him.'"[2881]

[2873] Sometime by early May, Huger at the time was away from the army ill, and seeing to his home Mount Necessity, which was some seventeen miles north of Belleville, and on the west side of the Wateree River. On the 6th, he wrote Greene saying he would return in about a day or two. However, by the 19th he had either come back to his home or else had not left it, as in a letter to Greene of that date he stated that he was very ill. Though not present then at the siege of Ninety-Six, Huger did rejoin Greene by early July. NGP8 pp. 293n, 316, 355, 415, 502, 511.
[2874] NGP8 pp. 249, 274, 293, TCS p. 483.
[2875] NGP8 p. 249, LMS p. 350, BSF p. 196.
[2876] KJO p. 17.
[2877] SJS.
[2878] Regarding Clinton's distrust of Arnold, see SQR p. 325.
[2879] AR81 p. 90, LMS p. 413.
[2880] EHJ p. 296.
[2881] TCS pp. 334, 340, GAR2 pp. 182-183, JLG2 pp. 51-52. As there is no record of it elsewhere (that I am aware of), Lafayette's bombarding or even staying to approach occupied Petersburg seems to be an invention, and as likely as not, is inpart something of a piece of giddy moralizing (the Marquis, when revisiting America in the early 19th century, evidently liked to joke when among old friends and comrades); with the point presumably being made that Phillips had mystically received his just deserts for slaying Lafayette's father.

13 May (or 14 May). A reinforcement of 1,700 to 2,000 British and German troops under Col. August de Voit sailed from New York for Virginia in support of Cornwallis' operations there. They arrived and anchored at City Point, VA. on the 22nd.[2882]

13-15 May. Rawdon began passing the Santee at Nelson's Ferry, and by the evening of the 14th, was safely across. McArthur met him there with his indifferent corps of 300 foot and 80 dragoons; and which may have included Col. John Small's detachment. Rawdon afterwards, as Marion described it, "blew up" the fort on the south side of Nelson's.[2883]
Rawdon, at Monck's Corner, on the 24th reported to Cornwallis: "Lieutenant-colonel Balfour was so good as to meet me at Nelson's. He took this measure that he might represent his circumstances to me. He stated that the revolt was universal, that from the little reason to apprehend this serious invasion, the old works of Charles-town had been in part leveled [sic], to make way for new ones, which were not yet constructed; that its garrison was inadequate to oppose any force of consequence, and that the defection of the town's people shewed [sic] itself in a thousand instances. I agree with him in the conclusion to be drawn from thence, that any misfortune happening to my corps might entail the loss of the province…
"On the night of the 13th, I began to pass the river at Nelson's ferry, and by the evening of the 14th, every thing was safely across. Some mounted militia had attempted to harass our rear guard on the march; but a party of them having fallen into an ambuscade, the rest of them gave us no farther trouble. We brought off all the sick and wounded, excepting about thirty, who were too ill to be moved, and for them I left an equal number of continental prisoners in exchange. We brought off all the stores of any kind of value, destroying the rest; and we brought off not only the militia who had been with us at Camden, but also all the well-affected neighbors on our route, together with the wives, children, negroes and baggage, of almost all of them.
"My first news, upon landing at Nelson's, was that the post at Motte's house had fallen. It was a simple redoubt, and had been attacked formally by sap. Lieutenant M'Pherson had maintained it gallantly till the house in the centre of it was set in flames by fire arrows, which obliged his men to throw themselves into the ditch, and surrender at discretion.
"But as Major M'Arthur had joined me with near three hundred foot and eighty dragoons, I conceived I might, without hazarding too far, endeavor to check the enemy's operations on the Congaree. On the 14th, at night, I marched from Nelson's, and on the evening of the 15th I reached the point where the roads from Congarees and M'Coard's [McCord's] ferry unite. Various information was brought to me thither, that Greene had passed the Congaree, at M'Coard's ferry, and had pushed down the Orangeburgh road. The accounts though none of them positive or singly satisfactory, corresponded so much, that I was led to believe them, and the matter was of such moment, that it would not admit of my pausing for more certain information; therefore, after giving the troops a little rest, I moved back to Eutaws the same night, but hearing nothing there, I pursued my march hither.
'By my present situation, I cover those districts from which Charles town draws its present supplies. I am in readiness to improve any favourable occurrence, and guard against any untoward event. It is a secondary, but not a trifling advantage, that I have been able to supply the troops with necessaries; for the want of which, occasioned by the long interruption of our communication, they suffered serious distress.
"I am using every effort to augment our cavalry, in hopes that the arrival of some force will speedily enable us to adopt a more active conduct." [2884]

14-15 May. [surrender] Fort Granby (Lexington County, S.C.) Marion and Lee, with 400 to 500 infantry,[2885] arrived at Granby on the evening of the 14th.; with Capt. Armsrong and a troop of legion cavalry having been detached by Lee for purposes of keeping watch on Rawdon's anticipated approach. Already besieging the post when they arrived was a small contingent of Sumter's under Col. Thomas Taylor. A morning's fog concealed the construction of Finley's battery, but when it finally lifted his cannon was ready to open upon Maxwell; who cowed by the prospect of bombardment, surrendered on condition that his men be paroled to Charlestown (until later exchanged.)[2886] Lee, apprehensive of the arrival of Rawdon (who on the 14th was on the south side of Nelson's Ferry), was in a hurry; so he agreed. This was at noon of May 15. The British garrison contained 60 British regulars (including some Hessians and men from Prince of Wales Regiment), 280 Loyalists, two artillery pieces,[2887] and numerous wagons. Lee gives the garrison's strength as 360, and that most of these were loyalists

[2882] EHJ p. 299, NGP8 p. 215n-216n, AR81 p. 90, CAR p. 280, MLW4A pp. 430-431, JLG2 p. 58, FWI p. 244.
[2883] NGP8 p. 274, ATR81b pp. 151-153, AR81 pp. 85-86, TCS p. 328, 475-479, 482-484, GHA4 p. 90, MLW4A pp. 521-522, LMS pp. 615-616, JLG2 p. 124, LCC pp. 365-366, MSC pp. 253-255.
[2884] ATR81b pp. 151-153, COC pp. 91-92.
[2885] On Marion and Lee's strength see Fort Motte, 6 May. Though not clear, the Legion cavalry under Armstrong, which had been watching Watson, may have rejoined them by this time. After Granby, Oldham and his detachment left Lee to join the main army. Rankin says that Eaton and "the artillery" arrived at Granby to join Lee just after the fort fell. When Eaton separated from Lee he does not say, nor does he give a source. On the other hand, Lee does not mention Eaton in his report to Greene of the 15th. Rankin says Eaton's men were fitted out as light infantry, so according to this version they joined Greene's army after Motte's for this purpose, and then re-joined Lee just after the fall of Granby. In either case, Finley and the six-pounder certainly remained with Lee. NGP8 pp. 263-264, RNC p. 331.
[2886] Further, during the parley between Eggleston (representing the Americans) and Maxwell, Lee's troopers had crept up in the fog and interposed themselves between Maxwell's pickets outside the fort; for which reasons the latter were cut off and left stranded before they had time to regain the fort after the truce was suspended. LMS pp. 350-351.
[2887] In his letter to Greene of May 4th, Sumter had said the fort had 2 twelve pounders and 3 or 4 smaller cannon. Aside from two smaller pieces, these may have been dummy cannon. NGP8 p. 204.

(60 regulars and 290-300 loyalists states McCrady.)[2888] These taken were to march to Charlestown as prisoners of war on parole. Lee, concerned about the possible approach of Rawdon to relieve the fort, allowed horses belonging as private property to individuals of the garrison to be kept by them; [2889] while officers were granted their side arms as well. Maxwell himself was permitted to retain two wagons of private baggage. The fort was found to be well stocked with stores; which under terms of the capitulation, were left for the Americans.[2890] Sumter, angered at the terms Lee gave and by having the prize of Granby taken from him, for about the next month offered his resignation; saying that his old wound troubled him. Greene, each time, respectfully refused it, while giving him a sizable share of some of the munitions and stores captured at Granby. He also gave Sumter some of the slaves taken from loyalists there; which then Sumter used as pay for his 10 months men. After the surrender, Lee moved to besiege Augusta. Marion, meanwhile, headed back to his base of operations above the Santee with a mind to taking Georgetown. The *Annual Register* remarks that British forces (in the region) were exceedingly weakened by the cumulative losses brought about by the reductions of Motte, Orangeburgh and Granby.[2891]
William Johnson: "It is due to the just claims of the many respectable citizens who composed his body of militia [serving with Marion and Lee] to state that they deny the correctness of Colonel Lee, in assigning the cause of their discontent. They assert, that they never murmured at the terms of the capitulation, although they well knew that the covered wagons of the enemy, then moving off before their eyes, drawn by heir own horses, were crammed wih plunder from their farms, and even conveyd away some of the slaves. But when on the next morning, they saw Colonel Lee's men paraded, equipped in new clothing, while the rest of the army were left to prosecute the war in rags, that they blamed his motives for precipitating the surrender. There cannnot be a doubt, the the surrender of the fort was unnecessarily hurried through…"[2892]

15 May. Col. Elijah Clark, having sufficiently recovered from smallpox, and with 100 more men, rejoined the American forces besieging Augusta. Meanwhile, Pickens with 40 men of Anderson's regiment was maneuvering between Augusta and Ninety Six to prevent Cruger from reinforcing Brown. [2893]
Hugh McCall: "Clarke was unfurnished with cannon, but had picked up an old four pounder in the field which had been thrown away by the British; believing it might be converted for use, he had it mounted, and employed a black-smith to form pieces of iron into the shape of balls; and commenced his approaches. Powder however was scarce and cannon used only when sword could not."

15 May (also given as 1 May). [skirmish] Beech Island, also Beach Island (Aiken County, S.C.) McCrady records a skirmish between men under Col. Elijah Clark and men under Col. Thomas Brown, in which Clark is known to have lost 6 killed and an unknown number wounded; while Brown's losses are not known. Possibly Brown made a foray against his besiegers, or else went to the aid of a relief or supply column (or river flotilla) on its way to Augusta.[2894]

15 May. Col. Thomas Polk wrote Greene saying Col. Francis Lock had been chosen commander of the Salisbury militia by N.C. state officials, despite Greene's wishes that the appointment go to Polk.[2895]

15 May. From *Records of the Moravians* (Bethabara congregation): "Eight Continental wagons came from the south, going to Virginia for the army."[2896]

15 May. Col. James Read wrote to Greene from Salisbury reporting that there were about 80 North Carolina draftees and 300 militia at Salisbury. He almost mentioned having employed four gunsmiths to repair damaged weapons stored there, and that he had sent to Guilford Court House for 300 stand of arms that had been left there. Although, said Read, there would not be enough cartridge boxes, Col. Thomas Polk had, meanwhile, supplied fifty sides of leather.[2897]

15 May. Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, at Williamsboro, N.C. wrote Greene stating that the rear of Cornwallis' army arrived at Halifax, N.C. on May 12. Cornwallis' cavalry and a large part of the infantry crossed the Roanoke on May 13, and was busy constructing "works" on the north bank. His force was said to number 1,600 to 1,800 men, including 240 to 400 badly mounted cavalry. Boats on the Roanoke River have reportedly either been destroyed

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[2888] In a peculiar letter in that it is *addressed* to "General Marion" (and found in Gibbes' *Documentary History*), we find a missive from Greene's aide, Maj. Ichabod Burnet written 18 May in which it is reported that at Fort Granby five pieces of ordnance, 19 officers, and 329 privates "fell into our hands." GDH2 p. 74.
[2889] Lee was later criticized by some for too readily acquiescing to the demands of Hessian officers (who were "not to be overruled by Maxwell") in retaining their personal horses, and granting the garrison at Granby too easy terms of surrender generally. Yet as can be seen from Rawdon's letter to Cornwallis, had he not done so, Granby and its stores, or Augusta and its stores for that matter, might very well not have been taken.
[2890] After the surrender, Granby was later dismantled and finally demolished by May 22.
[2891] NGP8 pp. 204, 262-266, 273n-274n, 278, 379, 385, GDH2 p. 74, AR81 pp. 85-86, GHA4 p. 90, MLW4A pp. 522-523, LMS pp. 349-352, JLG2 pp. 120-125, LCC pp. 366-378, LFB2 p. 482, MSC2 pp. 236-246, WAR2 p. 813, BGC pp. 174-178.
[2892] Johnson's source for this is ostensibly Thomas Taylor, JLG2 p. 123n. Henry Lee IV, not surprisingly, rejects the conclusion drawn by Johnson, LCC pp. 366-378.
[2893] MHG pp. 514-515.
[2894] MSC2 p. 748. See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/beachisland.htm
[2895] NGP8 p. 266.
[2896] FRM p. 1752.
[2897] NGP8 pp. 266-267.

to prevent capture, or else taken to Taylor's ferry. The few stores saved from Halifax and Kingston had been moved to Prince Edward Court House in Virginia.[2898]

15 May. Greene camped on the north side of Friday's Ferry (on the Congaree and adjacent to Granby), and the next day (the 16th) moved a short distance to Ancrum's Plantation.[2899]

15 May. Leaving Halifax, N.C., Cornwallis with the main body of his army crossed the Roanoke River and entered Virginia. Streams had by now become so dry that mills in the region could not grind.[2900]
Cornwallis, at "Jones' plantation," to Tarleton: "I am making all possible expedition, and hope to be at Nottoway on Friday evening. I would have you proceed to-morrow to the Nottoway, and remain near Simcoe's infantry. Arnold is ordered to march immediately to meet me on the Nottoway. Wayne's having joined La Fayette, makes me rather uneasy for Arnold until we join. If you should hear of any movement of the enemy in force to disturb Arnold's march, you will give him every assistance in your power."[2901]

Mid May. [raids] Richard Hampton's Raiding Expedition (Berkeley, Dorchester, and Colleton counties, S.C.) Col. Richard Hampton carried out a series of mounted raids, which took him to Dorchester, Ashley River and Round O, killing at least 1 and taking a number prisoners. Reference is also made to his having destroyed a boat, probably containing supplies. In all, he reportedly covered some two hundred and fifty miles in the course of these forays.[2902]

Mid to late May. William Dobein James: "About this period, Gen. Marion sent Col. Peter Horry with a force to negociate [sic] a treaty with Major Ganey and his party. As he could not well turn his arms against him, and the Whig settlements on Pedee were left exposed to his depredations, it was good policy to awe him, and to endeavour to keep him quiet. After a little time Horry negociated [sic] a treaty, humiliating enough to Ganey; by which, among other matters, he and his officers agreed to lay down their arms and remain neutral, to deliver up all those who refused to comply with the treaty and all deserters from the Americans, and also to restore all negroes and other plundered property. This treaty was ratified on the 17th of June, but was not strictly complied with until Marion afterwards found leisure to enforce it…" See 17 June.[2903]

Mid to Late May.[2904] [skirmishes] Briar Creek and Bugg's Plantation, also known as (with respect to Briar Creek) Walker's Bridge, and (with respect to Bugg's Planation) New Savannah (Screven County, GA.) A loyalist relief force under Maj. Dill, on its way to relieve Augusta (under siege), was defeated at Walker's Bridge on Briar Creek (a southern tributary of the Savannah River) by a whig force comprised of over-mountain men under Capt. Moses (also given as Isaac) Shelby[2905] and Georgians under Patrick (or Paddy) Carr; who had been sent by Lieut. Col. Elijah Clark. Dill's losses were reported as 40 killed while McCrady speaks of half of the loyalist force being killed -- though these seem absurdly high estimates. This engagement was followed by a subsequent action at Bugg's Plantation at New Savannah where Shelby and Carr ambushed some of Brown's men.[2906]

Hugh McCall: "About the time of Clarke's arrival, major Dill collected a party of loyalists, with intention of joining [loyalist, Thomas] Brown and forcing the Americans to raise the siege. Clarke detached captains Shelby and Carr, with a party of mountaineers and Georgians, to advance on Dill; whom they attacked by surprise, at Walker's bridge, on Brier creek; killed and wounded a number, and dispersed the rest, without sustaining any loss…When Clarke believed himself secure against the necessity of a retreat, he sent the horses of his troops, with a guard of six men, to Beech island, below Augusta, where there was plenty of forage to be had: Brown was informed of this circumstance, and sent a detachment of regular troops, militia, and Indians, down on the river bank, and in canoes, to cut off the guard and bring off the horses. Clarke was apprised of the detachment, and ordered Shelby and Carr in pursuit of it. Brown's detachment succeeded in the enterprise, murdered the guard, and were returning with the booty; when Shelby and Carr, informed of the result, lay wait[ing] in a thicket, near Mrs. Bugg's plantation, and attacked them; and following the example which had just been set before them by the enemy, they spared the life of none who fell into their hands: nearly half of the detachment of the enemy were killed and the rest ran away, and the property recovered without loss."[2907]

Lossing: "The British remained in possession of Augusta until the spring and summer of 1781, when their repose was disturbed. After the battle at Guilford Court House, and when the determination of Greene to march into South Carolina was made known, Clark and M'Call proceeded to co-operate with him by annoying the British posts in Georgia. M'Call soon afterward died of the small-pox, and Clark suffered from the same disease. After his recovery, he, with several other partisans, was actively engaged at various points between Savannah and Augusta, and had frequent skirmishes with the British and Tory scouts. In an engagement near Coosawhatchie, in Beaufort District, South Carolina, where Colonel Brown then commanded, the Americans were defeated; and

[2898] NGP8 p. 268.
[2899] NGP8 pp. 259, 271, LMS p. 352.
[2900] NGP8 p. 284n.
[2901] TCS p. 333.
[2902] NGP8 p. 297, BGC p. 179.
[2903] JFM p. 52, LMS p. 553.
[2904] The Bugg's Plantation skirmish is given as 2 May by one account; for more, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/newsavannah.htm
[2905] Brother of Isaac Shelby. DKM pp. 171, 417, MSC p. 264n.
[2906] MHG pp. 514-515, LFB2 p.510-511, MSC2 pp. 263-264, CGA p. 135, BEA p. 50, CKR p. 131.
[2907] MHG p. 515.

several who were taken prisoners were hanged, and their bodies given to the Indians to scalp and otherwise mutilate. This was Brown's common practice, and made his name as hateful at the South as that of 'Bloody Bill Cunningham.'
"On the sixteenth of April [1781], the Georgia militia, under Colonels Williams [Micajah Williamson], [John] Baker, and [Samuel] Hammond, Major James Jackson (afterward governor of the state), and other officers, assembled near Augusta, and placed the garrison in a state of siege. Williams, who had the general command during Clark's sickness, encamped within twelve hundred yards of Forts Cornwallis and Grierson, and fortified his camp. Colonel Brown, who was again in command at Augusta, deceived respecting the numbers of the Americans, dared not attack them; and in this position the respective forces remained until the middle of May, when Clark came with one hundred new recruits and resumed the command. About that time, Major Dill approached Augusta with a party of Loyalists to force the Americans to raise the siege. A detachment of Carolina mountaineers and Georgians, under Shelby and Carr, sent by Clark, met them at Walker's bridge, on Brier Creek [sic], killed and wounded several, and dispersed the rest. Other little successes made the Americans at Augusta feel so strong that Clark determined to attempt an assault. An old iron five pounder, which he had picked up, was mounted within four hundred yards of Fort Grierson, and other dispositions for an attack were made. Powder was scarce, and he sent a message to Colonel Pickens, 18 who was maneuvering between Augusta and Fort Ninety-Six, asking for a supply, and also a re-enforcement of men."[2908]

15-16 May. On the 15th, Rawdon marched to "the point where the roads from Congarees and McCord's ferry unite," hoping to relieve Granby, but after learning of its fall he resumed his march toward Charlestown. Sumter reported that by evening, Rawdon was twenty miles below Thompson's. He arrived the next day at Monck's Corner.[2909]

16 May. [skirmish] Portevent's Mill, N.C., also "Col. James Kenan vs. Col. Middleton Mobley" (Sampson County, N.C.) ONB3 pp.239-242, and see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/portevent.htm

16 May. Marion to Greene wrote from Ferguson's Swamp, S.C., saying he would try to catch Rawdon's baggage, which had taken a route separate route from Rawdon's main column. He mentioned also he had sent orders to Col. William Harden, who was operating in the area east and south east of Charlestown, to join him. As it turned out, Marion's raid had only limited success, and Harden was not able to comply, instead assisting in the siege at Augusta. Also, it was about and shortly after this time that Marion, after being insulted by some insinuations of Lee and Greene that he could provided the army with much needed horses but was withholding them, tendered his resignation. This Greene refused and Marion was persuaded to continue.[2910]

16 May. Lee received orders from Greene to unite wih Pickens and advance on Augusta; in part to prevent Cruger's escaping to Georgia and uniting with Brown. He had requested he be permitted to take Oldham's company with him, but Greene decided against it. Then, with his Legion and, Lee moved with all celerity (marching a full 13 miles in the evening and within a few hours of Granby's surrender) on his way to Augusta; which had already been under siege by Clark and the Georgians since mid-April. En route, he paused very briefly to send Capt. Rudulph to scout the state of things in and around Ninety Six itself; with Rudolph finding that Cruger and the garrison were busy fortifying themselves. Lee meanwhile also sent Cap. Ferdinand O'Neale of the Legion wih a small group in advance of Lee's main force to reconnoiter Augusta and what was taking place there.
At Grandby, Eaton with his 140 North Carolina Continentals, Finley and his six-pounder, plus 2 two-inch pieces, captured at Granby (and artillerymen necessary to man the three guns) were to follow Lee in his wake and arrive a Augusta when they could. In cavalry, Lee probably had around 90. In a letter to Greene of 24 May, he said he had 110 Legion infantry.[2911]

17 May. Seymour: "On the seventeenth were executed five of our deserters who were taken in Fort Friday [Granby] by Colonel Lee."[2912]

17 May. In a return sent by Greene's aide, Maj. Ichabod Burnet, to Brig. Gen. Lawson, it is stated that from the reduction of Motte, Orangeburgh and Granby, that the Americans had captured "2 cannon, 10 British officers, 205 privates, 22 tory officers plus 375 tories." In letters to Sumner and Gen. Butler, written on the 23rd, Greene said that near 800 prisoner and 50 officers had been taken in the past month. Although we are often reminded of how Greene so often failed on the field, these numbers, and the ground he recovered, shows his gains to have been as material as any pitched engagement could have been; while of course acknowledging the spirited efforts of Marion, Sumter, and Lee in support of him.[2913]
Tarleton: "The first intelligence Lord Rawdon received on passing the Santee, was the unwelcome news, that the post at Motte's house, after a gallant defence, had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was a heavy stroke, as that place had been made a deposit for all the provisions that were intended for the supply of Camden: Things were, however, worse than he yet knew, for the strong post at Orangeburgh was already taken, and fort Granby not long after. Thus the British force in the province was exceedingly weakened, by the number

[2908] LFB2 pp. 510-511.
[2909] NGP8 pp. 269, 274, ATR81b pp. 151-153, AR81 p. 86, TCS pp. 475-479, 482, LMS pp. 615-616.
[2910] NGP8 p. 274, JLG2 pp. 114-116, LCC pp. 345-348.
[2911] NGP8 pp. 272-273, 293, 309, 311, LMS pp. 352-354, JLG2 pp. 125-126, MSC2 p. 264., WAR2 pp. 814-815.
[2912] SJS.
[2913] NGP8 pp. 275, 302, 305.

of brave officers and soldiers who fell into the hands of the enemy, through this sudden and unexpected attack upon their detached posts in every part of the country."[2914]

17 May. Balfour wrote the following letter to prisoners being held aboard the Charlestown prison ships: "Many have been the representations which the outrages committed by the American troops, and their violations of all the humaner principles of war, have compelled me to make to such of their officers as commanded parties in this province; but more particularly have I been obliged to remonstrate against the rigorous treatment, in many cases extending to death, which the loyal militia, when made prisoners, most invariably experience.
"These representations, gentlemen, having been grounded on the truest principles of benevolence, and which it beho[o]ves each side equally to have advanced, I was as much surprised as I was mortified, to find them in all cases practically disregarded, and in many, wholly neglected. It is therefore become my duty, however irksome to myself, to try how far a more decided line of conduct will prevail, and whether the safety of avowed adherents to their cause, may not induce the American troops to extend a proper clemency to those whose principles arm them in defence of British government.
"Induced by these motives, I have conceived it an act of expediency to seize on your persons, and retain them as hostages for the good usage of all the loyal militia who are, or may be made prisoners of war, resolving to regulate, in the full extent, your treatment by the measure of theirs, and which my feelings make me hope hereafter be most lenient.
"And as I have thought it necessary that those persons, who some time since were sent from thence to St. Augustine, should, in this respect, be considered in the same point of view as yourselves, I shall send notice there, that they be likewise held as sureties for a future propriety of conduct towards our militia prisoners. Reasons, so cogent, and which have only the most humane purposes for their objects, will, I doubt not, be considered by every reasonable person as a sufficient justification of this most necessary measure, even in those points where it may militate with the capitulation of Charlestown; though indeed the daily infractions of it, by the breach of paroles, would alone well warrant this procedure.
"Having been this candid in stating to you the causes for this conduct, I can have no objections to your making any proper use of this letter you may judge to your advantage, and will therefore, should you deem it expedient, grant what flags of truce may be necessary to carry out copies of it to any officer commanding American troops in these parts, and in the mean time the fullest directions will be given, that your present situation be rendered as eligible as the nature of circumstances will admit."[2915]

On the 19th, from the "*Torbay* Prison-Ship, off Charlestown," Lieut. Col. Stephen Moore, "and others," wrote back in reply: "Yesterday we transmitted to you a letter, enclosing a copy of yours, with a list of one hundred and twenty-nine prisoners of war, confined on board this ship, which we hope is forwarded to Major Genl Greene, agreeably to your promise, and make no doubt but that your feelings as a gentleman will, upon this occasion, induce you to do every thing in your power to liberate, from a most injurious and disagreeable confinement, those against whom there can exist no charge of dishonor, and whose only crime, if such it can possibly be termed by men of liberal ideas, is an inflexible attachment to what they conceive to be the rights of their country, and who have scorned to deceive you by unmeaning professions. In justice to ourselves we must say, that if the Americas have at any time so far divested themselves of that character of humanity and generosity, which ever distinguished them, we feel ourselves most sensibly mortified, but are induced, from the generous treatment of Cols. [Nicholas] Lechmere, Rugely [Henry Rugeley], [Edward] Fenwick and [Fletcher] Kelsell, and their parties, and from a number of other instances which might be easily adduced, to believe, that the outrages which you complain of, must be the effect of private resentment (subsisting between British subjects and those who, after having availed themselves of the royal proclamation, have resumed their arms, in opposition to that government) and totally unsanctioned by any American officer, and which we are well convinced they would reprobate and would punish in the most exemplary manner, could the perpetrators of such horrid acts be detected.
"In a war, circumstanced as the present, there will be some instances of enormities on both sides. We would not wish to particularize [sic], but doubt not there are acts of cruelty frequently committed by the irregulars of your army, and are convinced, that on your part, as well as our own, they are generally to be attributed to an ignorance of the rules of warfare, and a want of discipline; but the idea of detaining in close custody as hostages a number of men fairly taken in arms, and entitled to the benefits of a solemn capitulation, is so repugnant to the laws of war, and the usage of civilized nations, that we apprehend it will rather be the means of increasing its horrors, than answering those purposes of humanity you expect.
"As a most strict adherence to the terms of our paroles, and a firm reliance on your honor, have been the only reasons of our being in your power at present, we trust, that upon equitable proposals being made for our exchange by Gen. Greene, no objections will be raised, but every thing done to bring the matter to the most speedy issue.
"As you have thought proper to publish your reasons for seizing upon our persons, we request our answer may also be inserted in the next *Gazette*."[2916]

18 May. Lee's advance party, en route to Augusta, reached Pickens camp not very distant from Ninety Six. Eaton (with his North Carolinians) and Finley arrived there the next morning (the 19th.)[2917] It was agreed by Lee and

[2914] TCS p. 482.
[2915] ATR82a pp. 288-289.
[2916] ATR82a pp. 289-291, GDH2 pp. 72-73, 76-77. For more regarding the *Torbay*, see DRO p.100.
[2917] Lee was able to hurry his movement by having his cavalrymen walk, and then mounting the infantry, then vice versa, etc.

Pickens that Lee should take Fort Galphin, located downriver from Augusta a few miles. Eaton and the artillery in the meantime would begin deploying before Augusta.
Although this is what Lee later reported to Greene, it is not entirely clear that this is what actually took place. According to William Johnson it was Pickens who went to Galphin while Lee moved to Augusta. In his letter to Greene, Lee did not state where he joined Pickens, but it would probably have been in modern Aiken County, at a location to the southeast of Ninety Six.[2918]

18 May. Lafayette received the letter from Greene formally assigning him commander of military operations in Virginia. On this same date, he took up a position between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Rivers, thereby being a better situated to protect Richmond and the surrounding area. General Thomas Nelson, meanwhile, was sent with the militia toward Williamsburg.[2919]

18 May. Having now ample ammunition available to him as a result of the capitulations of Watson, Motte, and Granby, Greene left Ancrum's and began his march for Ninety Six, passing up the Saluda River. By day's end he had crossed the Broad River. Before leaving he directed Marion to be ready to cooperate with his army. Sumter, in turn, was ordered by Greene to "continue at this post [Ancrum's] to command and organize the militia." To this Sumter acquiesced, writing Greene from there on the 22nd. Before the decision to besiege Ninety Six had been decided on, Sumter had earlier recommended combining American forces and attacking Rawdon instead -- a move, argues McCrady, which had it been adopted at that time (and before the reinforcements from Ireland had arrived), would likely have resulted in success.[2920]
Kirkwood: "Marched and crossed the Broad River…15 [miles]."[2921]

Seymour: "On the eighteenth marched and crossed Broad River and encamped on the other side, fifteen miles.
"[19-20 May.] On the nineteenth marched twenty-five miles. This day were executed three more of our deserters, who were taken in the late fort [Granby]. Next day, being the twentieth, we marched seventeen miles." [2922]

19 May. Lafayette moved to Wilton, some ten miles below Richmond, VA. His force at this time numbered less than 2,800 (including militia) and less than 100 regular cavalry. Ward, on the other hand, states he had 3,000 total with which to face Cornwallis' soon to be 7,200.[2923]

19 May. Deserters captured at Fort Granby were executed during a halt on Greene's march to Ninety Six.[2924]
Seymour: "On the nineteenth marched twenty-five miles. This day were executed three more of our deserters, who were taken in the late fort. Next day, being the twentieth, we marched seventeen miles." [2925]

19 May. Marion, near St. Stephen's, captured four boats of Rawdon's coming down the Santee; however, they were carrying few stores and were lightly manned. On the 20th he wrote that most of his militia have gone home for a few days, but when they returned he expected to be stronger than ever.[2926]

19 May. Rawdon remained at Monck's corner. On the 19th, a detachment of 200 from his army left there and arrived at Dorchester the next day (the 20th.)[2927]

19 May. Georgetown had at this time 80 British in the garrison, plus a few loyalists. Marion gave a total of "about" 100 for the whole. Many, if not all of the Queen's Rangers seemed to have been already evacuated from the town. Loyalist activity was up between the Peedee and Waccamaw rivers, and Marion believed that taking Georgetown would quiet them.[2928]

19 May. [sortie] Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) The day prior to Lee's arrival at Augusta, Brown led a sally out of the fort and scattered the Georgia and South Carolina militia. Loyalist Alexander McLean carried a report back to Savannah claiming the (King's) Rangers killed upwards of ninety and at least eighty horses (many of the American militia being mounted.) Another attack was planned for the 20th but this was postponed.[2929]

20 May. Cornwallis arrived in Petersburg, and effected a junction with Arnold's (previously Phillips') forces. Phillips had died of fever just a few days before. With Cornwallis, just prior to Petersburg, were the 23rd Regt., the 33rd Regt., the 71st Regt., the von Bose Regt., British Legion Cavalry, Hamilton's Corps (Royal North Carolina Regt.), 200 loyalists, some light infantry and the Guards. About this same time Lafayette, near Richmond, reorganized his corps. His strength is estimated to have been about 1,000-1,200 rank and file Continental light

[2918] NGP8 p. 293, GHA4 pp. 90-91, JLG2 pp. 129-131, WAR2 pp. 814-815.
[2919] CBA p. 594.
[2920] KJO p. 17, NGP8 pp. 279, 297, AR81 p. 91, JLG2 pp. 125-126, MSC2 pp. 251-252, BSF p. 198, BGC p. 178.
[2921] KJO p. 17.
[2922] SJS.
[2923] LMS pp. 414-415, CBA pp. 594, 598.
[2924] KJO p. 18. NGP8 p. 279.
[2925] SJS.
[2926] NGP8 p. 285.
[2927] NGP8 pp. 285, 293, 294n.
[2928] NGP8 pp. 285, 287.
[2929] CKR p. 132.

infantry, plus 2 brigades of Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg and Brig. Gen. Thomas Nelson (numbering between 1,200 and 2,000), about 40 cavalrymen (dragoons that remained of Armand's Legion, and some volunteer horsemen under Lieut. Colonels John Francis Mercer and Nicholas Moore), and 6 pieces of artillery. The militia presented a serious problem as many were constantly coming and going.[2930]

20 May. Clinton to Cornwallis: "When I first heard of your Lordship's retreat from Cross Creek to Wilmington, I confess that I was in hopes you had reason to consider Greene so totally *hors de combat* as to be perfectly at ease for Lord Rawdon's safety. And after your arrival at Wilmington I flattered myself that, if any change of circumstances should make it necessary, you could always have been able to march to the Walkamaw [Waccamaw], where I imagined vessels might have passed you over to George-town. I cannot therefore conceal from your Lordship the apprehensions I felt on reading your letter to me of the 24th ult. wherein you inform me of the critical situation which you supposed the Carolinas to be in, and that you should probably attempt to effect a junction with Major-general Phillips.
"Lord Rawdon's officer-like and spirited exertions, in taking advantage of Greene's having detached from his army, have indeed eased me of my apprehensions for the present. But in the disordered state of Carolina and Georgia, as represented to me by Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, I shall dread what may be the consequence of your Lordship's move, unless a reinforcement arrives very soon in South Carolina, and such instructions are sent to the officer commanding there, as may induce him to exert himself in restoring tranquility in that province at least. These I make no doubt your Lordship has already sent to Lord Rawdon, and that every necessary measure for this purpose will be taken by your Lordship in consequence of them, should he remain in the command. But as there are many officers in the regiments coming out who are older than Lord Rawdon, I have to lament the probability of his being superseded in it, as I can scarce flatter myself that any of them will be possessed of the knowledge requisite for conducting operations in Carolina without having ever served in that country, or be so competent to the command there as officers of more local experience. I therefore beg leave to submit to your Lordship the propriety of sending either Major-general Leslie or Brigadier-general O'Hara to Charles-town, to take the command of the troops in that district; which in the present critical situation of affairs in the Southern Colonies, will certainly require an officer of experience, and a perfect knowledge of the country. Had it been possible for your Lordship in your letter to me of the 10th ult. to have intimated the probability of your intention to form a junction with General Phillips, I should certainly have endeavoured to have stopped you, as I did then, as well as now, consider such a move as likely to be dangerous to our interests in the Southern Colonies. And this, my Lord, was not my only fear; for I will be free to own, that I was apprehensive for the corps under your Lordship's immediate orders, as well as for that under Lord Rawdon: and I should not have thought even the one under Major-general Phillips in safety at Petersburg, at least for so long a time, had I not fortunately on hearing of your being at Wilmington sent another detachment from this army to reinforce him.
"I am persuaded your Lordship will have the goodness to excuse my saying thus much; but what is done, cannot now be altered: and as your Lordship has thought proper to make this decision, I shall most gladly avail myself of your very able assistance in carrying on such operations as you shall judge best in Virginia, until we are compelled, as I fear we must be, by the climate, to bring them more northward. Your Lordship will have been informed of my ideas respecting operations to the northward of the Carolinas, by my instructions to the different General officers detached to the Chesapeak[e]; and the substance of some conversations with General Phillips on that subject, which I committed to writing and sent to him with my last dispatch, with directions to communicate it to your Lordship. By these your Lordship will observe that my first object has ever been a co-operation with your measures; but your Lordship's situation at different periods, made it necessary for me occasionally to vary my instructions to those General officers according to circumstances. They were originally directed to assist your Lordship's operations in securing South and recovering North Carolina; their attention was afterwards pointed to the saving South Carolina; and now your Lordship may possibly think it necessary to employ your force in recovering both or either of those provinces, by either a direct or indirect operation. With respect to the first, your Lordship must be the sole judge; with respect to the last, you have my opinions, which may however probably give way to yours, should they differ from them, as they will have the advantage of being formed on the spot, and upon circumstances, which at this distance I cannot of course judge of: I shall therefore leave them totally to your Lordship to decide upon, until you either hear from me or we meet."[2931]

20 May. Major John Armstrong, of the N.C. Continentals, wrote Greene from Salisbury that about 300 tories have embodied on the Deep River and "done some damage," and had obliged certain local whigs to flee to Salisbury for protection. By June 13, however, Armstrong wrote Sumner saying that "The tories in the Country is all surrendered their selves and glad of the opportunity."[2932]

20 May. Greene, at "Camp on the East side of the Saluda," wrote to Pickens: "We are on our march for Ninety-Six and shall be within ten miles of that place tonight."[2933]

21 May. Balfour wrote Cornwallis that he had sent 150 men to a fortified church in Dorchester. These, it would appear, were sent there to replace the garrison which apparently had been attached or mostly attached to McArthur (see 30 April.) In a separate letter of this same day to Royal Governor Wright, he also stated: "…such is

[2930] AR81 pp. 90-91, SQR p. 210, SAW2 p. 385, CAC p. viii, GHA4 pp. 110-111, MLW4A pp. 429-430, LMS p. 413, JLG2 p. 58, JYC p. 38n.
[2931] COC pp. 99-104. Clinton with between 10 an 11,000 at New York was apprehensive of attack. CGP p. lv.
[2932] NGP8 pp. 286, 287n.
[2933] NGP8 p. 286, JLG2 p. 126.

the state of this Province as to require, rather than afford assistance; The Posts at Wright's Bluff [Fort Watson], Buckhead [Fort Motte] and the Congarees [Fort Granby] being all taken by the Enemy, & Lord Rawdon fallen back to Monk's [Monck's] Corner -- Nor thus circumstaned is it in our power to succour the Garrison of ninety Six [sic] & Augusta, which are therefore directed to retreat to Ebenezer, or some safe situation, where they may cover the lower partrs of Georgia, & be enabled, on occasion, to reinforce Savannah --"[2934]

21 May. [skirmish] The March to Ninety Six, also Saluda River (Newberry County, S.C.) On 21 May, Greene camped on Bush River, arriving the next day at Ninety Six. Along the way, some of his light troops skirmished with some loyalists as described by Kirkwood and Seymour below.[2935]
Kirkwood: "21st. Was ordered with Col. Washington's Horse to Surprise a party of tories under command of Col. Young; Coming up to the place found it evacuated, the Horse left me, with expectation to Come up with them, when I moved on at Leisure. The Tories taking us for some of them selves come out of a Swamp in our rear; & being undeceived took one of my men prisoners [sic]; upon which A firing Commenced, but they being on horse back pushed off with the Loss of one man Killed & one Horse taken, A Short time Afterwards the Horse joined me, and before Dark killed 4 more taking 6 Prisoners; Marched this day...23 [miles]."[2936]
Seymour: "On the twenty-first of May we took and killed about twelve Tories. Marched sixteen miles." [2937]

21 May (also given as the 19th). [surrender] Fort Galphin, also Fort Dreadnought, and Silver Bluff (Aiken County, S.C.) Ft. Galphin, or as it was also known Ft. Dreadnought, was the fortified plantation house of George Galphin, a veteran Indian trader. It was situated about twelve miles down river from Augusta on the northern bank of the Savannah. The post was commanded by Capt. Samuel Rowarth and contained 70 King's Rangers (to which unit Rowarth belonged), 42 Georgia loyalist militia, and 61 Blacks many of them armed. While the siege of Augusta had been going on, Col. Elijah Clark initially invested Fort Galphin. Then on the morning of the 21st of May (which Lee describes as being "sultry beyond measure."), Clark was joined by Pickens with Maj. Samuel Hammond and his regiment minus one company, Col. William Harden, and the infantry of Lee's Legion, under Capt. Michael Rudulph -- coming from Augusta. The fort had recently received the presents which the British made annually to the Indians (and that, for reasons of the war, had been substantially increased); made up of powder ball liquor salt, blankets, sundry small articles, including some fowling pieces and small arms. Despite the account he gives, Lee himself, as William Johnson reasonably demonstrates was not actually with the Ft. Galphin expedition, but remained with his cavalry, Eaton's North Carolina light infantry, and the remainder of Pickens and Clark's men at Augusta itself. Also according to Lee, British were tricked out of their fort into an ambush, which then allowed the Americans to enter the fort. Again Johnson disputes Lee's claim saying that he possessed documents showing that Galphin had been surrendered after some negotiations between the besiegers and besieged. However, what may have happened was that a party was captured using the ruse described by Lee, but either this of itself did not take the fort, or was preliminary to the fort's formal surrender, which, incidentally took place in the evening. The Americans lost one from the heat, loyalist 3 or 4 from the skirmish. Not counting the Blacks, 126 were made prisoners, about 70 of them Provincial regulars. The presents to the Indians, as well as the fort's stores, were captured. Both Lee and Pickens requested Greene to use some of the stores taken at Fort Dreadnought for the benefit of the militia serving with them; which request Greene granted. Lee, incidentally, later asserted the prizes taken were not all that considerable in quantity. Although it may be reasonable to dispute Lee's actual presence at Fort Galphin, nevertheless, what is clear is that his swiftness in moving on Augusta made the surprise at Galphin possible, and thus hastened the fall of the main Augusta forts, Cornwallis and Grierson.[2938]
Tarleton Brown (who was with Col. William Harden): "…we marched[2939] for the siege of Augusta. On our way up, we learned that Colonel Brown's (a Tory) boats were going up the Savannah River. We went in pursuit of them, and attacked them about opposite the place of the late Stephen Smith, of Savannah River, but they got on the Georgia side, and we could do nothing with them. From this we marched to Augusta, where we met Generals Pickens and [Benjamin] Twiggs, and commenced the work of extermination. The first attack that we made was on the fort at Silver Bluff, now the property of Governor Hammond, of South Carolina. Brown's boats had now arrived, and stowed away their goods in the fort. The British not being willing to yield without a struggle, we stove a cannon ball through the brick house in the fort, and they immediately marched out and surrendered, for fear we would serve them the like trick."

Gordon: "On the 21st, the British post at Silver Bluff, called fort Dreadnought, with six commissioned officers and 70 staff, non-commissioned and privates, beside a field piece and a large quantity of stores, surrendered to a detachment of the legion under capt. Rudolph [Michael Rudulph]."[2940]

21 May to 5 June. [siege] Augusta, which here includes overviews of Forts Cornwallis[2941] and Grierson. (Richmond County, GA.) See also Fort Grierson, 24 May, and Fort Cornwallis Sorties, 28-30 May, and Augusta, 5 June. Some

[2934] BLB p. 69, NGP8 p. 246.
[2935] GNS p. 121.
[2936] KJO p. 18.
[2937] SJS.
[2938] NGP8 pp. 293, 294n, GHA4 pp. 90-91, MLW4A pp. 525-526, LMS pp. 353-355, MHG pp. 516-517, JLG2 pp. 129-133, LCC pp. 389-391, LFB2 p. 511-512, MSC2 pp. 264-265, RBG p. 173-174, SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 22-26.
[2939] See 8 April
[2940] GHA4 p. 91.
[2941] Fort Cornwallis was situated around Mckay's Trading post -- see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/fortcornwallis.htm

of their men having arrived in advance on the 21st, Pickens and Lee[2942] united the full body of their forces with the Georgians under Col. Elijah Clark; who had already been before Augusta since mid April. With Clark were Col. Micajah Williamson, Col. John Baker, Maj. Samuel Jackson and Maj. James Jackson. Augusta was made up of two forts within a half mile of each other, a smaller one at Fort Grierson, and the main defenses at Fort Cornwallis (see Fort Grierson, 24 May.) In Fort Cornwallis,[2943] the larger of the two posts, was Col. Thomas Brown with 240 men, including the King's Rangers, and an additional 200 blacks, some of whom may have been armed. Fort Grierson was defended by Lieut. Col. James Grierson with two pieces of artillery and about 80 Georgia loyalists. The ground around Augusta was fairly flat and level, so there was no terrain overlooking the town, though there were some houses situated not far outside Cornwallis.

In making their approaches to Fort Cornwallis, the Americans dug trenches, and later used a Maham tower. Erected on the night of 30-31 May, the structure was thirty feet high, constructed of logs and filled with dirt and rocks. It mounted a six-pounder; which disabled Brown's own six-pounder (or else two cannon, one of which was a six-pounder.)[2944] Brown had tried unsuccessfully, by means of sorties, to sabotage both the trench (when it was being worked on) and the tower. In the case of one of the towers, subterfuge, in the form of British soldier masquerading as a deserter from Brown, was attempted also. At one point in the siege, Brown also had set explosives in a nearby house used by Rebel sharpshooters, hoping to catch them there. Nonetheless, the explosives were detonated at a time when the house was empty. Compared to earlier sieges of the British outposts, Augusta was especially long and trying, and involved ongoing shelling, and sniping between the besiegers and the garrison. Two of Brown's field pieces were subsequently dismounted on June 2nd. By the 5th, after some exchanges in correspondence between both sides, he decided he could no longer hold out against the artillery and riflemen mounted in the towers. Despite what had been vigorous and valiant defense on the part of himself and his provincials, Brown was then compelled to surrender the fort to Pickens and Lee: to the former as ranking American officer, and the latter as representing the Continental Army.

British casualties, based on immediate after siege reports were 52 killed, and 334 captured, i.e. Brown plus, 7 officers, 7 loyalist officers, 162 Provincials, and 130 Tory militia and "about" 200 Blacks. Lossing says the "Americans had sixteen killed and thirty-five wounded. The loss of the British was fifty-two killed; and three hundred and thirty-four, including the wounded, were made prisoners of war." The officers taken were paroled to Savannah, while the rank and file were sent north as prisoners. These latter were escorted to Ninety-Six by Maj. Samuel Hammond's regiment, and the detachment of N.C. Continentals, which were now under the command of Capt. Robert Smith. Smith had replaced Maj. Pinkertham Eaton; after Eaton's death on the 24th. during the fighting at Fort Grierson. No mention is made of the Creek Indians who were present in April, but who apparently were able to escape homeward some weeks before the surrender.[2945]

Tarleton Brown: "We now commanded the siege of [Thomas] Brown of Brown's fort [Fort Cornwallis]. In taking this fort, we had great difficulty. We raised a platform fifteen or twenty feet high, and mounted a cannon upon it, and from thence fired at them in the fort. In this way we destroyed a good many of them, but finding we were too hard for them in this way, and to screen themselves from the thunder and lightning of our platform, they dug several caves in the sides of the walls of the fort and crawled into them, We then continued the entrenchment, and as we entrenched, we rolled up cowhides and placed them on the embankment for portholes to shoot through. One morning I was standing next to young Stafford, who was about to shoot through one of our portholes, and there came a ball from the fort and killed him dead. Young Stafford was [earlier] with me in General Marion's Army, and he was, indeed, a brave and patriotic fellow, and dying in freedom's cause, his memory should never fade from our recollection. Before Brown would surrender, we entrenched so near his fort that I ran a hoe-halve from the entrenchment into the fort. On finding we were so near upon him, he marched out and surrendered with all his force and goods. Brown had been such a desperate fellow, there existed great anxiety to kill him; but as he came under capitulation, we had not chance to do so at this time, but I determined to do so on his way down the river. I took a few brave fellows, and slipped down the river to carry into execution my determination, but he made his escape, through the shades of the night, in a small canoe."

22 May. A reinforcement for Cornwallis of some 1,700 to possibly 2,000 -- Clinton says "about 1800" -- British and German troops, under Col. August de Voit, and sailed in to City Point, located at the juncture of the James and Appomattox Rivers, where he lay at anchor and later, apparently sailed on to Portsmouth be disembarked by th 29th. Todd Braisted states: "This [de Voit's reinforcement] was the 17th & 43rd Regiments of Foot, with the 1st & 2nd Anspach, and some convalescents;" with Donald M. Londahl-Smidt confirming the same :"Colonel August von Voit's command consisted of the 17th and 43rd Regiments of Foot, Colonel von Voit's 1st or Anspach Regiment, Colonel von Seybothen's 2nd or Bayreuth Regiment, the Ansbach artillery attached to these two regiments,and detachments of the British light infantry, 76th and 80th Regiments, Erbprinz Regiment, Queens's Rangers and the Loyal American Regiment." The convalescents then mentioned by Mr. Braisted are the detachments to which Mr. Londal-Smidt refers.[2946]

[2942] On the Legion's numbers at this time, see 16 May. Based on his strength shortly after the siege, Pickens probably had from 200 to 400. Boatner said Clark had "an old iron 5 pdr." Following Lossing, he also states that the six-pounder used in the Maham tower came from Fort Grierson. BEA p. 51.

[2943] Fort Cornwallis was located at the present day intersection of Eighth and Reynold's streets in Augusta.

[2944] Cashin says the tower was completed by June 1st, and the six-pounder mounted in it on the 2nd. CKR p. 134.

[2945] NGP8 pp. 352n, 354, 355, 357n, ATR81b p. 153-154, TCS pp. 487-495, GHA4 pp. 90-91, MHG pp. 516-524, MLW4A pp. 525-526, LMS pp. 355-358, 360-370, JLG2 pp. 132-137, LFB2 pp. 511-513, JTR pp. 354-361 532-533, FWI pp. 238-239, MSC2 pp. 264-277, BEA p. 51, CKR pp. 130-138.

[2946] EHJ pp. 299, 302 NGP8 p. 215n-216n, AR81 p. 90, CAR p. 280, MLW4A pp. 430-431, JLG2 p. 58, FWI p. 244.

22 May. Rochambeau and Washington met to at Wethersfield, Connecticut to plan and discuss upcoming operations. They decided to make New York their primary target, but to possibly make a movement south if an advantageous circumstance arose.[2947]
Marshall: "The prospect of expelling the enemy from New York, roused the northern states from that apathy into which they appeared to have been sinking; and vigorous measures were immediately taken to fill their regiments. Yet those measures were far from being entirely successful. When, in the month of June, the army moved out of winter quarters, and encamped at Peeks kill, six thousand five hundred and ten rank and file were wanted to complete the regiments under the immediate command of general Washington. The total of every description including the garrison at West Point, and those on command in Virginia and elsewhere, amounted to seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-four men. Of these, four thousand five hundred and forty-one were fit for action, and might be brought into the field. In this estimate, however, was not comprehended a detachment from the line of New York under the command of general Clinton, which had garrisoned the posts on the northern frontier of that state, and had not yet joined the grand army.
"Such was the American force with which the campaign of 1781 was opened…"[2948]

22 May. Maj. Henry Dixon[2949] at Hillsborough, to Sumner: "I came from Caswell yesterday and expect the troops from that County on Thursday next. They are pretty well clothed; There is but very few imbodied in this County, the Chatham and Wake troops were expected yesterday but have not heard from them yet. We are very scarce of arms and what we have are bad. The Tories are very mischievous between this and Deep River; the day before yesterday they were plundering within five or six miles of this. Yesterday there was a man found within three miles that had been murdered by them a few days before them as he was hauling wood. Provision is like to be scarce without it is sent from other counties, there is a plenty in Wake. I shall be glad to know if it will be agreeable to send there for what provision we want until we can get the men collected. I cannot hear of any flints but what is in the public store in Petersburg, Virginia. I shall be glad to receive your orders whether I am to wait here any time to get the men paid their bounty, and to collect such as fail to appear. Gen. Butler will immediately order a draught of the militia and says that he will give orders that any man that will bring in a deserter or delinquent shall be clear of a tower [tour] of militia duty."[2950]

22 May. [siege] Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) On a day that was dark and rainy, Greene arrived at and began the formal investiture of Ninety Six. Prior to that some of his advanced parties and militia skirmished with the loyalists and started the process of keeping the garrison *in* and further assistance to the *out*. At the time, Greene had little more than 1,000 men, not counting local militia and his detachments at Augusta. Tarleton states the works at Ninety Six were completed by this time; a claim MacKenzie disputes. Prior to Greene's arrival Cruger had taken pains to lay in an abundance of supplies, in which he was only partially successful; as obtaining them was rather difficult. Simultaneously, he had removed or destroyed provisions from the area, making it subsequently necessary for Greene to supply his men from outlying locations. Rawdon had originally intended to evacuate Ninety Six but Greene's advance had prevented dispatches with such instructions from reaching the fort. For specific troops strengths present at siege of Ninety Six see 18 June.[2951]
Kirkwood: "22nd [May] This Day Crossed the Saluda. Surprised a party of Tories within sight of Ninety-Six, Killed four, Spent the day in reconnoitering the Garrison, which was commanded by Col. Cruger. Marched …9 [miles].
"At Night were employed in raising a three Gun Battery, about 130 yards from their works and under a Scatering [sic] Fire from the Enemy all night." [2952]

Seymour. "Next day, being the twenty-second, we crossed at Island Ford, and encamped before Ninety-Six. Nine miles. This day we took and killed eleven of the Tories in their encampment. We were employed this night and the next day in making breast-works and batteries before the town." [2953]

23 May. 400 South Carolina militia joined Greene at Ninety Six. Bass states that without consulting Sumter, Greene had called out the regiments of Brandon, Hayes, Thomas and Lyle.[2954] On June 7th, Sumter, at Ancrum's, wrote Greene that the summoning of his troops, in addition to lessening his own strength, had prevented him from inquiring into their state and order. "(B)ut as you have had a Call for them, I am Glad they Was in the way of being Servicable." He also said "the men are turning out very well," even though the harvest was pending.[2955]

23 May. [sortie] Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) On the advisement of Kosciuszko, a sap was begun within seventy paces (that is according to Stedman, or hundred and fifty yards according to Moultrie) of the Star fort portion of the Ninety Six, which position was commanded by Maj. Joseph Greene with 150 men from his own regiment, the 1st Bttn. Delancey, plus 50 loyalist militia. Greene's and Kosciuszko's belief was that if the Star Fort could be taken that the rest of Ninety Six would fall. Cruger erected a platform on which he placed his artillery; from which, along with some musketry, he fired down on the American approach. Then a sortie was

[2947] LMS pp. 481-484, WFK p. 236.
[2948] MLW4A pp. 455-456.
[2949] As a Continental Dixon ranked a major, though when he commanded the militia he was a colonel.
[2950] CNC15 p. 464.
[2951] KJO p. 18, TCS p. 485, GHA4 pp. 92-96, AR81 p. 91, CSS pp. 1181-1185, MHG pp. 518-519, MLW4A pp. 523-525, LMS pp. 358-359, MST pp. 147-148, MLW4A pp. 9-10, JLG2 p. 141, JTR pp. 471-473, LSY pp. 192-196, GNS, CKR pp. 132-133.
[2952] KJO p. 18.
[2953] SJS.
[2954] M. A. Moore says that Lacey also subsequently joined Greene, though I have not seen this elsewhere. MLL p. 19.
[2955] NGP8 p. 304, BGC pp. 179-180.

sent out under Lt. John Roney, of the 1st Bttn. Delancey, and which bayoneted a number of American sappers before assistance could arrive. Although Roney himself was killed, Cruger suffered no other loss. The next day, Greene withdrew to a safer distance to begin new approaches.[2956]
MacKenzie: "By eleven o'clock in the morning of the 22d of May, the platform in the salient angle of the Star, nearest to the Americans, was completed, and mounted with guns, to fire en barbet. These, with incessant platoons of musquetry [musketry], played on the works constructed by the enemy the preceding night, under cover of which, thirty men, marching in Indian-file, entered them, and put every man they could reach to the bayonet. This party was immediately followed by another of the loyal militia, who, in an instant, levelled [sic] those works, and loaded a number of negroes with the entrenching tools of the Americans. Though General Greene put his whole army in motion to support the advanced corps, they were intirely [sic] routed before he could effect his design. The handful of brave men that performed this service, retired into the Star, without any loss, excepting that of the officer who led them, Lieutenant Roney. He was mortally wounded, and died the following night, much esteemed, and justly lamented."[2957]

24 May. [surrender] Fort Grierson, also Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) On the 23rd of May (William Johnson says the 24th), Fort Grierson, was surrounded by Pickens, Lee and Maj. Eaton, with a battery opening up against it. Maintaining the siege and keeping watch on Fort Cornwallis simultaneously were the Legion cavalry under Major Eggleston, and some of the militia. Brown tried to make a sortie to thwart the effort, but was himself driven back into Fort Cornwallis; where he cannonaded the besiegers instead. A while after, Lieut. Col. Grierson issued from the fort that bore his name, in an effort to escape to Fort Cornwallis. A sharp skirmish ensued, and upwards of 40 of Grierson's men were captured; while Grierson with a handful of others, by moving under the cover of the river bank, were able to reach Fort Cornwallis in safety. In addition, the loyalists lost 30 killed. Pickens and Lee captured two cannon from Grierson, which they then proceeded to deploy against Fort Cornwallis. The Americans lost two wounded, and Maj. Pinkertham Eaton killed. Some accounts claim that in the shuffle of what transpired Eaton was taken prisoner and his death occurred moments after the fighting had already ceased. Capt. Robert Smith subsequently replaced him in command of the North Carolina Continental detachment.[2958]
Lee, in his memoirs, praises the effort of a Capt. Handy who led the "Marylanders" against one of Brown's forays. Evidently this was Capt. George Handy, from Maryland, of the Legion Infantry, and it was that unit (not a detachment from the Maryland Regiment as might otherwise seem to have been implied) which took part in the skirmish with Brown.[2959]
On 5 May, Pickens wrote Greene: "The Lt. Col and forty odd are prisoners and a Major and About thirty others were found dead on the field (Without any loss on our side but Two men slightly Wounded,) Some few of the enemy escaped in the Woods, and the Colonel [Grierson] with a few followers were So fortunate as to escape our fire and reach Brown's fort [Fort Cornwallis] in Safety. Two field pieces fell into our hands on this occasion and the Troops took possession of the upper fort without any resistance. During the Action, Capt. [James] Armstrong of the Legion drove the enemy[']s outposts from the town, and took possession of their redoubts, thus we are fully masters of the Country and Town and have Circumscribed Colonel Brown to one fort."[2960]
Kirkwood: "Received express from Col. Lee that he had taken two redoubts [Ft. Grierson, and apparently making reference to Ft. Galphin as well] at Augusta in Georgia, making 70 of them prisoners & Killed about 40, taking a Quantity of stores, Rum, etcs."[2961]

Tarleton Brown: "The next fort we attacked [after Fort Balfour, see 17 April] was that commanded by the wretched Grason [Grierson], at the upper end of town. This we soon stormed and took -- Captain Alexander shooting Grason for his villainous conduct in the country. Some made their escape from us by fleeing to [loyalist, Thomas] Brown's fort [Fort Cornwallis], near the river. Before we laid siege to Brown's fort, a fellow by the name of Rutherford (a villain withal) took a company and slipped out in the night down the river, opposite Beach Island, and just at the break of day surprised our horse guard. It being in the bend of the river, the British and Tories got round them, and having a superior force, our men took to the river, but they killed several of our brave fellows while they were swimming, some making their escape -- my brother Bartlett Brown, was one among that number. We heard of their trip after our guard, and pushed to cut them off, but were too late by a few momentarily, for as we got within one hundred and fifty yards on the lane, we saw them enter. A few moments sooner, and we would have fixed them smugly."

24 May. Public statement by Lord Rawdon addressed to the loyalists of South Carolina, and which appeared in the *Royal Gazette of South Carolina*: "Although attention to the general security of the province has obliged his Majesty's troops, for the present, to relinquish some of the upper parts of it; we trust, that it is unnecessary for us to exhort the loyal inhabitants of those districts to stand firm in their duty and principles; or to caution them against the insidious artifices of an enemy, who must shortly abandon to their fate, those unfortunate people whom they have deluded into revolt.
"But being well informed that many persons sincerely attached to his Majesty's cause, have, notwithstanding,. been forced to join the enemy, as the only means of preserving themselves and their families from the savage cruelty of the rebel militia, until escape should be practicable; we desire all such to be confident, that they run

[2956] SAW2 p. 367, LMS pp. 359-360, MMS2 pp. 285-286, CSS pp. 1181-1185.
[2957] MST pp. 147-148.
[2958] KJO p. 19, NGP8 pp. 309, 311, LMS pp. 356-357, JLG2 pp. 133-134, RNC p. 333.
[2959] Regarding Handy see LMS pp. 362, 382.
[2960] NGP8 p. 311.
[2961] KJO p. 19.

no risque of suffering from us, through indiscriminate vengeance; reminding them, that the British government never extends its hand to blood, without the most convincing proofs of intentional guilt.
"And we advise all persons in: the above predicament (as likewise those who, from the oppressions of the enemy, have been obliged, to quit their possessions) to take the earliest opportunity of coming in, with their arms, to any post or detachment of the royal army. We give them assurances of every support, and of every endeavour on our part, to mitigate their present sufferings: Further declaring to them, that we shall feel ourselves no less bound to reward the fidelity of those who have remained unshaken in their allegiance, than to inflict the punishment due to reiterated perfidy. Nor would we give them this invitation, were we not certain that, in conjunction with the army, (daily expecting powersul reinforcement) their exertions will very shortly reinstate them in the full and peaceable possession of that property, which they will thus have only yielded for a time, to receive again with confirmed security.
"Given under cur bands in camp, at Mon[c]k's Corner, the twenty fourth day of May, 1781, and in the twenty-first year of his Majesty's reign."[2962]

24 May. At 300 yards (or 400 per Stedman) distance from the Star fort two single gun batteries were erected by the Americans in renewal of siege approaches against Ninety Six.[2963]
Kirkwood: "24 [May] This Day opened our first Battery on the Enemy's Star Redoubt [at Ninety Six]."[2964]

24 May. Col. Robert Anderson, of Pickens' brigade, wrote to Greene, from "Puddens quarter" (near Ninety Six), saying he had sent some of his men to the frontier to protect against a party of Cherokee raiders. A minority of Indians, despite peace negotiations then going on, continued making war sporadic war against the settlers. When Anderson learned of Greene's arrival at Ninety Six, he sent some men to get what wagons he could, and to collect and drive cattle to the army. Even so, the local people had suffered so greatly in loss of horses, wagons, and provisions, Anderson expected there would belittle he could supply Greene's army with.[2965]

24 May. Cornwallis, having added Arnold's-Phillips' force to his own; as well as some 1,700-2,000 reinforcements that had arrivedon 14th, marched from St. Petersburg to Maycox to commence his advance on Lafayette and Richmond; making arrangements to pass the James River, he thence went from Meads to Westover. With the use of boats previously constructed by Arnold, and by swimming horses, his entire army completed the passage in three days (by the 26th and 27th.) At Westover, he made his headquarters at Byrd's Plantation; with his sundry foraging parties (and as they would continue to do in succeeding monhs) seizing and gathering swift and sturdy Virginia horses with which to mount soon to be utilized mobile detachments. About this same time, Arnold left Cornwallis, embarking from Westover, and returned to New York. Also it was here that reinforcements (see 22 May) arrived.
His lordship originally came from North Carolina with 1,500 to 1,800; and there may have been 5,305 under Phillips/Arnold. Additional reinforcements -- including the 17th and 43rd Regts., and 2 Anspach Battns., plus additional recruits for the Guards -- sent by Clinton brought this total strength then to about 7,200 to 7,500. It must be borne in mind however, that Cornwallis suffered attrition all this while due to a high rate of illness. Lee writes "Sir Henry Clinton states the force in Virginia, previous to the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, to be five thousand three hundred and four. Since his Lordship's assumption of command, General Leslie...joined with three regiments from New York, of which the forty-third was added to the Army." Cornwallis retained the 43rd with him at Westover, Va. as a field force and sent Maj. Gen. Leslie with the 17th regiment and the two Anspach battalions to garrison Portsmouth. See Cornwallis to Clinton, dated Byrd's Plantation (Westover), May 26, 1781. Leslie as Mackenzie makes clear, did not arrive with the reinforcements from New York as asserted by Tarleton, but rather had remained with Cornwallis since first joining up with him at Winnsborough in January. See 22 and 29 May the for reinforcements Cornwallis received from New York.[2966]

24 May. Lafayette, at Richmond, to Gen. Washington: "Had the Pennsylvanians arrived before Lord Cornwallis I was determined to attack the ennemy [sic] and have no doubt but what we would have been successful [sic]. Their unaccountable delay cannot be too much lamented, and will make an immense difference to the fate of this compaign. Should they have arrived time enough to support me in the reception of Lord Cornwallis's first stroke, I would still have thought it well enough. But from an answer of General Waine [Wayne] received this day and dated the 19th I am afraid that in this moment they have hardly left York town.
"Public stores and private property being removed from Richmond [mostly to Albemarle County Court House], this place is a less important object. I don't believe it would be prudent to expose the troops for the sake of a few houses most of which are empty. But I am wavering betwen two inconveniences. Was I to fight a battle, I'll be cut to pieces, the militia dispersed, and the arms lost. Was I to decline fighting, the country would think herself given up. I am therefore determined to scarmish, but not to engage too far, and particularly to take care against their immense and excellent body of horse whom the militia fears like they would so many wild beasts…
"Was I any ways equal to the enemy, I would be extremely happy in my present command. But I am not strong enough even to get beaten. Governement [sic] in this state has no energy, and laws have no force. But I hope this assembly will put matters up on a better footing. I had great deal of trouble to put the departements in a tolerable train. Our expenses were enormous, and yet we can get nothing. Arrangements for the present seem

[2962] ATR81b pp. 188-189.
[2963] KJO p. 19, LSY pp. 197-198.
[2964] KJO p. 19, MMS2 p. 285.
[2965] NGP8 p. 308.
[2966] SQR p. 210, TCS pp. 291-293, SAW2 p. 386, MLW4A pp. 430-431, MST pp. 121-122, LMS pp. 415-416, CBA p. 600, JYC p. 38.

to put on a better face but for this superiority of the ennemy which will chase us where they please. They can over run the country, and untill the Pennsylvanians arrive we are next to nothing in point of opposition to so large a force. This country begins to be as familiar to rne as Tappan and Bergen. Our soldiers are hitherto very healthy and I have turned doctor to regulate their diet." [2967]

25 May. Rawdon fell back from Monck's Corner to Goose Creek Bridge, due to a false report that the French fleet was approaching the area.[2968]

25 May. Greene appointed Lieut. Col. William Henderson to arrange and command the militia of Ninety Six until further orders.[2969]

26 May. William Dobein James: "On the night of the 26th of May, the celebrated Kosciusko [Kosciuszko], who acted at that time as an engineer for Greene, raised two block batteries within three hundred and fifty yards of the besieged [at Ninety Six.] Soon after a third and a fourth were erected, and lastly a rifle battery within thirty yards of the ditch of the fort. The abbatis was turned, and two trenches and a mine were extended within six feet of the ditch."[2970]

26 May. Von Steuben, at Albemarle Court House, where most of the stores removed from Richmond had been sent, wrote Greene saying he intended to march south to join Greene with 560 Virginia Continental recruits and 30 to 40 of Armand's Legion. He had hope to march by June 5th or 6th. Nonetheless, events in Virginia later prevented such a move.[2971]

26 May. Lafayette, camped at Richmond, wrote to von Steuben: "Our baggage and stores were sent off yesterday by the route of Brook's Bridge; and should the enemy's movements [Cornwallis'] be rapid toward Richmond, I must trust to you for giving direction relative to the removing of stores and securing the remainder of the boats at Tuckahoe. I have detained De Contun with twelve of Armand's corps, which I could not possibly do without; the remainder of them you will order as you please. There are fifty men of [Anthony] White's dragoons at Staunton, which I wish most earnestly to have mounted and equipped. Our want of cavalry is most sensibly felt. Most of the militia horse are gone, and the times of the remainder will be out next week." Lafayette then did what he could to evacuate stores from Richmond, then marched northward toward the Rappahannock in order to more speedily effect a junction with Brig. Gen. Wayne's forces coming south.)[2972]

26 May. Cornwallis, at "Bird's [Byrd's] Plantation, North of James-river," to Clinton: "The arrival of the reinforcement has made me easy about Portsmouth for the present. I have sent General Leslie thither with the seventeenth regiment, and the two battalions of Anspach, keeping the forty-third regiment with the army.
"I shall now proceed to dislodge La Fayette from Richmond, and with my light troops to destroy any magazines or stores in the neighbourhood [sic], which may have been collected either for his use, or for General Greene's army. From thence I purpose to move to the neck at Williamsburg, which is represented as healthy, and where some subsistence may be procured; and keep myself unengaged from operations, which might interfere with your plan for the campaign, until I have the satisfaction of hearing from you. I hope I shall then have an opportunity to receive better information than has hitherto been in my power to procure, relative to a proper harbour and place of arms. At present I am inclined to thick well of York. The objections to Portsmouth are, that it cannot be made strong without an army to defend it; that it is remarkably unhealthy; and can give no protection to a ship of the line. [Anthony] Wayne has not yet joined La Fayette, nor can I positively learn where he is, or what is his force. Greene's cavalry are said to be coming this way; but I have no certain accounts of it.
"Your Excellency desires Generals Phillips and Arnold to give you their opinions relative to Mr. --'s proposal. As General Arnold goes to New-York by the first safe conveyance, you will have an opportunity of hearing his sentiments in person. Experience has made me less sanguine, and more arrangements seem to me necessary for so important an expedition than appears to occur to General Arnold.
"Mr. --'s conversations bear too great a resemblance to those of the emissaries from North Carolina, to give me much confidence; and from the experience I have had, and the dangers I have undergone, one maxim appears to me to be absolutely necessary for the safe and honourable conduct of this war; which is, that we should have as few posts as possible; and that wherever the King's troops are, they should be in respectable force. By the vigorous exertions of the present governors of America, large bodies of men are soon collect[e]d, and I have too often observed, that when a storm threatens, our friends disappear.
"In regard to taking possession of Philadelphia by an incursion (even if practicable) without an intention of keeping or burning it, (neither of which appear to be advisable) I should apprehend it would do more harm than good to the cause of Britain.
"I shall take the liberty of repeating, that if offensive war is intended, Virginia appears to me to be the only province in which it can be carried on; and in which there is a stake. But to reduce the province and keep possession of the country, a considerable army would be necessary; for with a small force, the business would probably terminate unfavourably, though the beginning might be successful. In case it is thought expedient, and

[2967] LLW pp. 197-199, CSS p. 1204.
[2968] NGP8 p. 316n.
[2969] NGP8 p. 310.
[2970] JFM p. 52.
[2971] NGP8 p. 351.
[2972] CBA p. 599, MLW4A pp. 434-435, JYC p. 38n.

a proper army for the attempt can be formed; I hope your Excellency will do me the justice to believe, that I neither wish nor expect to have the command of it, leaving you at New York on the defensive. Such sentiments are so far from my heart, that I can with great truth assure you, that few things could give me greater pleasure, than being relieved by your preference, from a situation of so much anxiety and responsibility.
"By my letter of the 20th, your Excellency will observe, that instead of thinking it possible to do any thing in North Carolina, I am of opinion that it is doubtful whether we can keep the posts in the back parts of South Carolina. And I believe I have stated in former letters, the infinite difficulty of protecting a frontier of three hundred miles, against a persevering enemy, in a country where we have no water communication, and where few of the inhabitants are active or useful friends.
"In enumerating the corps employed in the southern district, your Excellency will recollect that they are all very weak; and that some of the British as well as Provincial regiments, retain nothing but the name. Our weakness at Guildford was not owing to any detachment, unless that with the baggage, but to losses by action, sickness, &c. during the winter's campaign."[2973]
In a separate letter of the same date, Cornwallis wrote to Clinton: "I have consented to the request of Brigadier-general Arnold to go to New York; he conceives that your Excellency wishes him to attend you there, and his present indisposition renders him unequal to the fatigue of service. He will represent the horrid enormities which are committed by our privateers in Chesapeak[e] Bay; and I must join my earnest wish, that some remedy may be applied to an evil which is a [illegible] very prejudicial to his Majesty's service."[2974]

27 May. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, at "Congaree, Point Necessity," S.C., reported to Greene that Rawdon had retreated to Goose Creek Bridge, which was just a few miles north of Charlestown. 400 of Rawdon's men were sent to Dorchester where they were "entrenching." Marion, Huger also, said, had gone to Georgetown leaving Major Maham on the enemy lines near Monck's Corner.
Stephen Jarvis: "…I was with the Troops stationed on the road leading to Monk's [Monck's] Corner, near Goose Creek…I remained here until the memorable battle of Camden [Hobkirk's Hill] when I was ordered to escort the Commandant [Balfour] to the Santee where we met Lord Rawdon and his army who had retreated to Camden. After having an interview with his Lordship we returned to Charlestown and his Lordship, after sending the sick and wounded to Charlestown, took the route to Mablyse [sic] to relieve some posts at Thompson's Plantations.
"We were soon ordered to Dorchester. On our arrival at this place we were joined by Captain Sandford's Troop of Buck's County Dragoons who were afterward incorporated with the British Legion. Captain [John] Saunders Troop also joined us and soon after the South Carolina Regiment [South Carolina Royalists] who had been made a Regiment of Cavalry for their good conduct at the battle of Camden joined."[2975]

27 May. Marion marched from Cantey's Plantation, just northwest of Murry's Ferry on the Santee), and moved to Georgetown which he arrived on the 28th. His re-appearance in the Georgetown area encouraged more militia to turn out and join him.[2976]

27 May. Rawdon arranged to send the King's American Regt., over the water and without convoy, to reinforce Savannah, as requested by Royal Governor James Wright, since; as Wright claimed, the garrison there was very much reduced.[2977] As no transports were available, they were embarked on the privateer *Tartar* and some small sloops on the 31st arriving at Savannah in two days. Earlier the King's American Regt. had been stationed at Dorchester and then moved to just outside Charlestown (see 25 May); so that by the 27th they were in the city to be embarked. [2978]
Henry Nase, of the King's Am. Regt.: "May 25th 1781 -- The Detacht. at the above Place was Reliev'd by us, March'd this day, under Capt. Willett, to Join His Lordship, at, or, near Abercorn --
"26th May. About 11 oClock P.M. Recd. Orders to March
"27th. we [sic] Marchd. to the Suburbs of Charles Town; where we remain'd till the 28th. & 29th being much fatigued by the Many Marches we had Perform'd.
"May 30th. 1781 -- The Regt. Marchd. into Town; & to Eveley's Wharf, where they immediately Embark'd On Board the *Tartar* Privateer & Other Small Sloops. --
"31st May -- I Came on Shore, with Two Sailors in Order to Carry Captn. Leverick, On Board. I with himself & Two Sailors were left on Shore & the fleet Sail'd; Charles Town was then the Place of Residence for me [Nase, it would seem, was left behind when his regiment sailed to Savannah and himself with a few others did not leave Charlestown till 16 June]…
"16th June 1781. We Set Sail & Nothing happened on Our Passage, we Arrived Safe in Tybee, the 20th after a Pleasant Passage; we waited till 21st. for a Pilot, he Came but too late to Proceed up the river.
"Tybee 22nd June 1781 -- About 3 oClock P.M. Came on the Most frightful & terrible Storm, Attended with wind, hail, rain, Thunder & Lightning that I ever beheld, in all the Course of my life. The *Amazon*, on board of which we were lying at Anchor within the Bar & had but little ballast, She was thrown, in the Starboard Side, till the water Poured in, at the Port holes, like a Torrent. The wind at the same time, increasd [sic.] to that degree,

[2973] COC pp. 105-108, SCV1 pp. 488-490.
[2974] CAC pp. 79-90, MLW4A pp. 430-431.
[2975] JKH pp. 64-65.
[2976] JLG2 p. 128, BSF p. 199.
[2977] Regarding some of the forces available to Wright, Coleman writes: "Early in 1781 Wright and the council authorized three patrols of twenty mounted militiamen each, and two months later raised a troop of horsemen to protect the back country…Two troops of horsemen were actually raised and put into the field, and British officers tried to recruit dragoons for service in Georgia." CGA p. 130.
[2978] NDI, ATR81b p. 153-154, AR81 pp. 91-92, TCS pp. 480, 486, NGP8 p. 333n.

that the waves Dashd. Over the Ship, mast high; it is impossible for me, to Express the Anxiety I was in, I intirely [sic] Dispair'd [sic] of any Relief, I therefore Could only recommend my Soul to God & Commit my Body to Seas, but it Pleased the Almighty, of his infinite mercy, in the moment of extream [sic] Danger & Distress, Delerious [sic] beyond our expectation; the Ship, which was tossd. [sic] Mountains high, tho lying at Double Anchor. The one Cable broke like a Twine Thread & the other Dragd. [sic] Anchor, so that She Run on Shore near the Light House, the Soldiers (of whom there were 20 on board) cut away the Shrouds, the Main & Mizzen Masts cut Overboard; & thanks be to God, our lives were happily Saved.
"June 25th. 1781 -- A large boat came from Savannah & Took us from on board the Wreck & Arrived in Town About 9 oClock the same Evening. --"[2979]

27 May. The first parallel at Ninety Six was completed, 220 yards from Star fort. The same day, a 20 foot high tower was erected within 140 yards of the same. Though Cruger attempted to set these towers alight with hot shot, their construction from green logs and earth prevented their catching fire.[2980]

27-28 May. Coming from Westover, Cornwallis, with Simcoe and Tarleton acting as advance forces (which they would continue to do in the Richmond campaign) and destroying rebel stores where they could, reached White Oak Swamp. There he received word that Lafayette had abandoned Richmond and where supplies now had been sufficiently evacuated to Albemarle County Court House and neighboring locales. The next day (the 28th) Cornwallis was at Bottom's Bridge on the Chickahominy River, with Lafayette now twenty miles west of him and eight miles above Richmond at Winston's Bridge also on the Chickahominy.[2981]
Reminiscences of Lieut. Col. John Francis Mercer who was serving with Lafayette's army: "The delay at Bottom[']s bridge decided the fate of this campaign. The destruction of the Marquis's corps & the position at Frederick were relinquished in favor of a Quixotic expedition against the members of the legislature at Charlottesville, who with great facility mov'd their quarters & who had been taken cou'd only have prov'd an incumberance & another as trifling, which terminated in the destruction of a few rusty musquits [sic] at the point of fear."[2982]

28 May. Lafayette withdrew northward in the face of Cornwallis advance and towards a location better suited to effect a junction with Wayne presently on his way south with 1,300 Pennsylvania Continentals and 6 cannon.[2983]

28 May. Cornwallis, moving toward the Pamunkey River, with a mind to cutting off Lafayette's line of communications, reached New Castle (present day Old Church.)[2984]

28-29 May (also given as 20-21 May). [evacuation] Georgetown (Georgetown County, S.C.) Marion, with 400 mounted men, briefly laid siege to Georgetown. The town at this time had a garrison of about 80 provincials and some few loyalists militia. After the first night Marion started to dig. Then leaving a small detachment of militia as guard, he marched the rest of his brigade upstate to other operations. The British evacuated the town the next night (the 29th), leaving the 3 nine-pounders and carronade spiked, with their trunnions "knocked off." After taking Georgetown, Marion set about breaking up its fortifications. On 5 June, he reported the ships (a galley, 2 gun boats and an armed schooner) containing the garrison, were still outside the harbor; though, as it turned out, no subsequent effort was made to re-take the city; which was fortunate for Marion, who had few men left and little ammunition.[2985]

28-30 May. [sorties] Fort Cornwallis Sorties, also Augusta sortie (Richmond County, GA.) On the night of May 28th, Brown's Rangers and Indians launched a disruptive surprise attack on militia in the west entrenchments facing Fort Cornwallis. Lee's infantry under Capt. George Handy[2986] rallied and regained the works at bayonet point. On the 29th, they sallied out once more and there was a fierce hand-to-hand melee in the trenches. Capt. Michael Rudulph's (presumably dismounted) cavalry resorted to the bayonet to drive back attackers. Pickens and Lee, meanwhile, continied work on a Maham tower that was being erected, and upon which a cannon was to be mounted aimed at the fort. Then once more on the 30th, the loyalists came out again; on this occasion attacking both the front and rear works. And once more again also, Handy's men threw Brown back into the fort after some fighting.[2987]

29 May. Lafayette moved to Dandridge's at the confluence of Goldmine Creek and South Anna trying to position himself where he could both link up with Wayne coming from Frederick, Maryland, and or receive possible support from von Steuben who was at Point of Fork. About this same time, Weedon was removing stores kept at

[2979] NDI.
[2980] JLG2 p. 147, LSY p. 198.
[2981] AR81 p. 119, SQR pp. 210-211, GHA4 p. 111, LMS p. 416, CBA p. 600, JYC p. 38.
[2982] HFR pp. 40-41. Lee expresses the same opinion, and says Cornwallis should have mounted 2,000 of his infantry and forced march to catch Lafayette before the latter had the opportunity to unite with Wayne, or else impelled Lafayette's retreat away from Wayne, LMS pp. 418-421.
[2983] JLG2 pp. 53-54.
[2984] JYC p. 38.
[2985] JLG2 p. 128, BSF p. 200, RBG p. 181.
[2986] Cashin, in error, gives him as "Samuel" Handy.
[2987] LMS pp. 361-363, CKR p. 134.

Fredericksburg and Falmouth the latter, as was Point of Fork, the site of an important State arms manufactory.[2988]

29 May. Ewald: "The 29th. Today General Leslie arrived at Portsmouth by water with the Anspach brigade and the 17th Regiment from Lord Cornwallis's army. They were disembarked at once, and the general immediately took over command of the city." This reinforcement ostensibly was de Voit's reinforcement (earlier anchored at City Point, see 22 May) and also included the Drafts for the Guards and other recruits and replacements mentioned by Clinton in *The American Rebellion* p. 307; if not, which seems unlikely, these latter then came in a separate convoy a few days later. The delay of landing a Portsmouth till the 29th may have been owing to Clinton's trepidation (after learning Phillips was very ill) of leaving so many troops under Arnold's command; and so de Voit was made to sit at City Point till Leslie had come in and taken charge at Portsmouth.[2989]

30 May. [raid] Hanover Court House (Hanover County, VA.) After leaving Newcastle on the 29th, Cornwallis arrived at Hanover Court House where he captured some French twenty four-pounders; which he spiked or threw into the river. He also destroyed a considerable quantity of tobacco.[2990]

30 May. Wayne with 3 Pennsylvania battalions and a detachment of Continental artillery reached Frederick, Maryland.[2991]

30 May. The second parallel at Ninety Six was completed at a 100 yards distance from the Star fort. Technically though it was not a parallel but a fleche, that is two trenches coming together at a slight angle, pointed away from the fort. From the fleche, work was started on a mine or tunnel directed toward the fort. [2992]

31 May. On his way to join Lafayette, Wayne crossed the Potomac River at Noland's Ferry.[2993]

Late May. Rawdon very sick with illness removed himself to Charlestown to recuperate. Lieut. Col. John Watson then commanded his force, situated just north of the city, estimated at being 1,340 infantry and 100 cavalry.[2994]

Late May. Guilford Dudley: "Here (at Hillsboro) I was met by Brigadier General [John] Butler of that district and solicited to take the command, as colonel of a regiment of volunteer mounted infantry and cavalry that he was then raising, which office I accepted on the twenty-second of May, 1781, and in a few days thereafter took the field in the prosecution of my duty against the infamously celebrated Col. David Fanning already mentioned, who had free ingress and egress into the British garrison at Wilmington with his plunder and prisoners at all times. Having, after various marches and countermarches, obtained the object for which this regiment was sent into the field, to wit, either to defeat Fanning or compel him to disband his forces and quit the country, the latter alternative was his choice when he could no longer avoid coming to action and retired to Wilmington with such of his followers as chose to adhere to his fortunes, whereby peace and safety for a time at least was restored to that part of the country, and the legislature, which had convened early in June at Wake Courthouse (now the city of Raleigh), protected from certain captivity or dispersion, when I received a letter of thanks and discharge from General Butler and returned home after an absence of five months in the unintermittent and active service of my country."[2995]

Late May.[skirmish] Warwick Court House (Chesterfield Conty, VA.) Tarleton: "The light troops and spies were directed to find out the situation and strength of the Marquis de la Fayette: A patrole under Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton being pushed to Warwick court house, fell in with a party of four hundred militia in that neighbourhood, who were routed with great loss to the Americans, and a trifling detriment to the British, the former being surprised, and the latter considerably shielded by a heavy fall of rain, which prevented the militia from using their fire arms: Fifty Americans were conducted to Petersburg: From the prisoners and by emissaries it was clearly discovered that about one thousand continental troops were posted between Wiltown and Richmond, waiting the junction of General Wayne with the Pennsylvania line, and the expected reinforcements of militia."[2996]

[2988] LMS pp. 414-416, JYC p. 39.
[2989] EHJ p. 302, CAR p. 307.
[2990] SQR p. 211, JYC p. 39.
[2991] JYC p. 45.
[2992] LSY p. 199.
[2993] JYC p.45.
[2994] NGP8 p. 355n.
[2995] DRR pp. 226-227, DSK.
[2996] TCS p. 292, GHA4 p. 114.

JUNE 1781

June. Having (as he at this time incorrectly assumed) recovered from his illness, Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan returned to the field in early June. By sometime later in the month, and at the request of the Virginia assembly, had raised a corps of Virginia Riflemen. With these he subsequently joined Lafayette no later than early July.[2997]

June. About the time of the siege of Ninety Six, Rawdon sent orders disarming a portion of the Charlestown loyal militia. The reason for this move was reports of treachery; according to which some of the militia planned to cooperate in opening the city gates to Greene's army.[2998]

June. [skirmish] Backcountry, S.C. ONB3 p. 274.

June. [raid] Edenton Bay (ChowanCounty, N.C.) See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/edentonbay.htm

Early June. [raids] Richard Hampton's "Second" Raiding Expedition[2999] (Berkeley County, S.C.) Sumter, at Ancrum's wrote Greene on the 7th that Col. Richard Hampton had taken his force of "disaffected Orangeburghers"[3000] on an extensive tour southward. They surprised two enemy parties, killed the commander of one; and as well as taking prisoners, captured a number of slaves and horses. The British around Monck's Corner were reported as plundering and laying waste the country, collecting livestock of every kind and destroying crops. There were also British parties at Twenty Three Mile House, Wassamassaw, and Dorchester. Sumter added that he had recently directed that several regiments of his were to assist Maj. Hezekiah Maham in combating both these outpost and from which the aforesaid looters ostensibly sprang.[3001]

Early June. Hugh McCall: "Before Brown surrendered Ft. Cornwallis [on June 5th], [Thomas] Waters, [James] Tillet, and several others had penetrated the frontiers with parties of Indians. Anticipating this event, capt. George Barber had been ordered to cover the forts, and watch and disperse such parties as might be found on their route. Barber was an active officer, and executed the duties assigned him with success and honour."[3002]

1 June.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

BRITISH
1st Bttn., Light Infantry: 465
2nd Bttn., Light infantry: 417
Brigade of Guards: 338
7th Regt.: 180
23rd Regt.: 165
33rd Regt.: 186
43rd Regt.: 285
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 164
76th Regt.: 320
80th Regt.: 377

GERMAN
Anspach:
1st Anspach Bttn.: 435
2nd Anspach Bttn.: 427

Hessian:
Prince Hereditaire: 383
Regt. von Bose:205

PROVINCIAL
Queen's Rangers: 317
British Legion (cavalry only): 173

Total: 4,837
Detachments not included above:

[2997] HDM p. 161
[2998] LMS p. 618.
[2999] The editor to the Green papers notes that it is not clear if the raids described here are different from those carried out by Hampton in May. See *Mid May*.
[3000] In a footnote, Bass states that Hampton's force included "repentant Tories" serving six months required for rehabilitation. BGC p. 271n.
[3001] NGP8 p. 360, BGC pp. 179. Regarding a mass tory grave found near Cedar Ponds (Lexington County, S.C.) and which it is speculated may be linked to Hampton's June 1781 raid, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/cedarcreek.htm
[3002] MHG p. 523.

Royal Artillery: 220
German artillery: 50
17th Light Dragoons: 25
82nd Light Company: 36
Jägers: 57
North Carolina Volunteers: 33
Guides and Pioneers: 54

Total for detachments, etc.: 475

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5312[3003]

Wickwire notes that after more reinforcements arrived, Cornwallis had 7000 effectives, and of these 5000 present fit for duty. As a result, his lordship had to focus more on raids and a naval station than an offensive proper -- which if, true, was all the more compelling reason for him to have left the province while leaving a much smaller naval garrison and or raiding force there in place of his army.[3004]

1 June. Cornwallis moved to Tile's Ordinary having crosssed the North Anna River a Cook's Ford.[3005]

1 June. Maj. Hezekiah Maham, at Stephen, S.C., wrote to Greene reporting that Rawdon had fallen back to Monck's Corner, and was sending out strong parties to collect livestock.[3006]

1 June. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, near McCord's ferry, wrote to Greene saying Maj. Hezekiah Maham was to be reinforced by part of Col. Charles Myddleton's regiment and by Marion; who should have joined Maham "this morning."[3007]

1-2 June. The Maham tower at Augusta had been completed despite efforts by Brown to destroy it, including an unsuccessful attempt using artillery to set a house adjacent to the tower on fire. A cannon was then mounted in the tower on the 2nd. Even so, Brown tried a further stratagem of sending in a saboteur masquerading as a deserter, but which clever scheme failed also. In the night following the 2nd, Brown burned down some houses outside the fort to prevent their being used by American marksmen. Nonetheless, two structures remained unscathed with hope by the Americans of later manning one of them with riflemen come the time of assault. Yet Brown had deliberately not burned those houses intending to lure some of the besiegers into a trap there, regarding which see 4 June.
Also on the 2nd, Pickens wrote to Greene that a force of the enemy which had collected at Ebenezer, GA. was too small to threaten the siege still taking place at Augusta.[3008]

2 June. Lafayette arrived at Mattapony church in Spottsylvania County, VA. a few miles north of Mount Pleasant. Tarleton followed to a point nearby shortly after, but being so far from Cornwallis and the main army could not pursue.[3009]

2-4 June. [raids] Charlottesville (Albemarle County, VA.) Tarleton, with 180 dragoons of his Legion, and 70 mounted infantry under Capt. Champagne of the 23rd Regt. [with the 70 themselves presumably from the same regiment; though this isn't certain], carried out a series of raids into the interior of the state. His men were now mounted on some fine steeds which had just recently been confiscated. In attacks then on Louisa Court House and Charlottesville, he captured 12 wagonloads of clothing headed for Greene's army, setting them to the torch. 1,000 firelocks were also taken and broken up; and 400 barrels of powder, some Continental clothing and several hogsheads of tobacco were destroyed. Seven members of the Virginia assembly and other leaders were, says Tarleton, "killed, wounded or taken."[3010] But owing to the determination and endurance of Jack Jouett riding to bring timely warning on the 3rd and 4th, most, including Governor Jefferson and Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, managed to narrowly escape to Staunton, where a temporary state capital was then established. A detachment of Tarleton's, under Lieut. Donald MacLeod, had actually ridden to Jefferson's home at Monticello, where, not finding the Governor, they enjoyed themselves with the governor's fine wines and food. Charlottesville had been a depot for some of the prisoners taken at Saratoga, and in view of the British invasion most had been moved earlier to Winchester. Yet 20 of these "Convention" (i.e. Saratoga) prisoners,[3011] were released by Tarleton. "Many more," he writes "would probably have joined[3012] their countrymen, if Lieutenant colonel Tarleton had

[3003] Taken from CAC p. 236, insert: "Troops serving under Cornwallis in Virginia."
[3004] WCO p. 326.
[3005] SQR pp. 211-212.
[3006] NGP8 p. 334.
[3007] NGP8 p. 333.
[3008] NGP8 p. 337, LMS pp. 263-266, 270.
[3009] LMS p. 419, JYC pp. 39-40.
[3010] One of those "killed, wounded or taken," was Brig. Gen. Charles Scott. Though he certainly was not killed, it has not been established (to this writer at least) in which other group he fell.
[3011] There were an estimated 2,800 remaining Convention prisoners in Virginia, though at the time of Leslie's invasion in October-November at least 800 of these had been moved to Frederick, Maryland.
[3012] "Would *probably* have joined" seems imply that some of the prisoners chose *not* to join him.

been at liberty to remain at Charlottesville a few days; but his duty pointed out the propriety of returning the same afternoon, with his corps and prisoners, down the Rivanna, towards the Point of Fork."[3013]
Tarleton: "Upon the arrival of the main body at [Thomas] Jefferson's plantation, in the neighbourhood of Point of Fork, Earl Cornwallis gave directions for carriages to be provided for the conveyance of the brass artillery and other stores, captured at Point of Fork. The prisoners of note brought down the country were, in general, dismissed, on giving their paroles. Immediately afterwards, the 76th regiment, commanded by Major [Francis] Needham, were attached to the British legion, who were directed to supply them with horses for an expedition. This business was almost completed, when Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton received a copy of his instructions, which guided his march first to Albemarle court house, to destroy the magazine at that place, and from thence across the Fluvanna, to attempt General Steuben: It was strongly recommended to defeat and disperse his corps, as they were the foundation of a large body of eighteen-months men, lately voted by the province. Tarleton was likewise enjoined to do his utmost to intercept any light troops that might be on their way from South Carolina, and to destroy all the stores and provisions between the Dan and Fluvanna, that the continental armies might receive no assistance from such supplies. These services being performed, the British light troops were to return, with all their prisoners, both civil and military, to Manchester, where boats would be in readiness to receive and convey them to the royal army at Richmond. Before Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton left his camp to proceed upon this enterprize, reports reached head quarters, that the stores were removed from Albemarle court house, and that the Baron Steuben had made a circuitous move, in order to form a junction with the American army, which had now crossed the North Anna; the expedition, therefore, was countermanded, and the royal forces commenced their march towards Westham."[3014]

3 June. [raid] Goochland (Goochland County, VA.) Cornwallis sent Simcoe's loyalist legion, the Queen's Rangers (300 men), to attack Point of Fork. His lordship himself, meanwhile, marched to Goochland Court House where he destroyed stores there.[3015]

3 June. At a distance of less than sixty yards from the Star fort, work now began on third parallel at Ninety Six; with Cruger's men, for their part, firing at digging and labor parties. Greene then had a Maham tower built 30 yards of the Star fort, and in which riflemen were placed to protect the sappers and diggers. Cruger responded by placing sandbags above the Star fort's parapets to protect against fire from the tower.[3016]

3 June. Lafayette moved to Corbin's Bridge on the Po River in Spotsylvania County.[3017]

3 June (also given as the 6th). [raid] Snipes' Plantation (Colleton County, S.C.) Maj. William Clay Snipes[3018] was surprised after sunrise, and all but 3 of his twenty men were killed or taken prisoner by a detachment out of Dorchester, led by Capt. John Saunders, with a troop of Queen's Rangers, and Capt. Alexander Chesney, with some South Carolina loyalists. Notwithstanding, in a letter to Greene of the 7th Sumter stated that although all but 4 were captured Snipes[3019] and three others escaped.[3020]
Chesney: "We [i.e. Chesney with his troop of Charlestown cavalry] had not been at this place long before I ascertained that Major Snipes, Col. Haynes [Isaac Hayne] and Marion had returned, crossed Pond-Pond [Pon Pon] River and were embodying troops [June, 1781] which intelligence I communicated to Lord Rawdon and His Lordship immediately ordered out a detachment of which I was one. We crossed Pond-Pond [Pon Pon] River at Parker's Ferry, and the boats having been removed to impede our march, I swam my horse over accompanied by others and procured feather-beds to transport those who could not swim across the River; we then proceeded rapidly and reached Snipe's plantation by daylight. We soon cleared him and his party, driving them out with loss; on this occasion I was wounded in the thigh with a spear by a man concealed in a Ha-Ha [sic] whilst in the act of leaping my horse over it. But I made him prisoner and took him with the others taken on this occasion to Dorchester."[3021]

Stephen Jarvis: "Only one man was taken prisoner and he was ordered to be killed by Captain Saunders, the most disgraceful thing I ever heard of a British Officer. The poor fellow was severely hacked, but whether he died of his wounds or not I do not know. I once pulled out my pistol to put the poor fellow out of his misery but I had not the power to discharge, and said to myself 'This blood shall not be charged to me.' I do not know but

[3013] TCS pp. 295-297, GHA4 pp. 114-115, SAW2 pp. 387-388, MLW4A pp. 432-434, LMS pp. 422-425, JLG2 p. 60, CBA pp. 600-601, WAR2 p. 874, BGD p. 178, LBT, SCAR vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 5-9.
[3014] TCS pp. 298-299.
[3015] TCS p. 297, LMS pp. 422-425.
[3016] SAW2 p. 367, LSY p. 199.
[3017] JYC p. 40.
[3018] Snipes, because of his desire to act independently, was at times a nuisance to Marion the strict disciplinarian, and was seen by some as more of a plunderer than a conscientious officer. Nonetheless, under Col. Peter Horry direction, Snipes had acquitted himself well and was honored for his prowess as a fighter by being made reference to British dispatches -- not to mention being the target of a special raid such as that described aboved. In February, he received a commissions from both Gov. Rutledge and Greene to lead an independent command. Later, Snipes, using Sumter's law as an enticement, tried to recruit from Marion, when the latter was before Fort Watson. When Snipes claimed he was acting under authorization from Sumter, Sumter denied it. With relatively small force, he subsequently operated in the Beaufort area, to some extent with Harden, though retaining a separate command. NGP7 p. 208n, GDH2 pp. 52-53, GHC pp. 354-357, BSF p. 172, BGC pp. 154-155.
[3019] Tradition tells how Snipes hid nearby, and his Black servant, although threatened with hanging, refused to inform the British of his whereabouts. *The Life of Francis Marion* by William Gilmore Simms, pp. 246-248, LSC p.16.
[3020] SQR pp. 247-248, JKH p. 66, NGP8 p. 360.
[3021] CDI.

have reason to believe that as many as twenty were killed. At first it was supposed that Snipe himself was amongst the slain but it was not so for he made his escape on the first shot being fired."[3022]

Saunders "I shall conclude this detail with mentioning one more instance of the gallant behaviour of [Thomas] Merritt[t], which it would be injustice to omit: being obliged in an attack I made on the rebel partisan Snipe [Snipes] to approach the house in which he had his party, through a narrow lane, terminated within half musket shot of the house by a strong gate, which, I expected, would detain us some time to open; when it was probable their guard would fire on us; and, as I was particularly anxious to prevent any kind of check with the troops I then had with me, I picked out Merritt, Corporal Franks, and four men of my troop to proceed and make an opening for the detachment, which he effected with such readiness and spirit, that the passage was cleared by the time that the detachment, could get up, although, for that purpose, he had been obliged to dismount his party under the fire from their guard, and that the gate and fence, on each side of it, had been secured and strengthened, with an unexpected degree of care and attention."[3023]

3 June (or 2 June). A squadron with 17 transports from Cork, Ireland disembarked at Charlestown; from which were landed the 3rd Regt., the 19th Regt., and 30th Regt., a detachment of Guards, and a 100 recruits, totaling about 2,000 men, collectively under the command of Col. Paston Gould. Gould thereafter formally became commander in charge of British forces in Carolina and Georgia superceding Balfour. Stephen Jarvis in his memoirs amusingly describes some of the newly arriving officers as carrying umbrellas (to protect aginst the heat.)[3024]
Stephen Jarvis: "In the meantime, a re-inforcement of three Regiments arrived from England, the 3rd, 19th and 30th Regiments. The 19th Regiment, Captain Saunders' Troop, which had been removed from Georgetown, and Captain Campbell's Troop were ordered to Monks' [Monck's] Corner to relieve the Garrison there, who went on to join Lord Rawden [sic]."[3025]

Fortescue: "(M)atters would have gone hardly with them [i.e. the Ninety Six garrison] but for a strange accident. This was nothing less than the arrival of the six regiments which had been sent to reinforce Clinton from England, and which, but for the interception of Cornwallis's orders by an American privateer, would have sailed straight to New York."[3026]

3 June. Rawdon transformed the South Carolina Royalists Regt. into cavalry (very possibly incorporating them into remnants of Harrison's S.C. Rangers so as to form a new unit) after Charlestown inhabitants raised 3,000 guineas by way of a subscription for horses and cavalry equipment. It numbered 150 men, and was placed under the command of Maj. John Coffin. In addition, Rawdon also had 200 "indifferent" cavalry.[3027]

4 June. Pickens wrote to Greene informing him that about 150 enemy regulars and militia have collected at "the Two Sisters," a bluff near Ebenezer on the Savannah river. A party of this force crossed the river and "killed two men in Carolina."[3028]

4 June. Lafayette crossed the Rapidan River at Ely's Ford, twenty miles north of Fredericksburg; just in time before flooding, caused by heavy rains, prevented its further crossing at that location.

4 June. Wayne arrived at Cook's Mills on Goose Creek. The ensuing day, he left his baggage there, and marched to Red House near Thoroughfare Gap. Heavy rains detained his movement.[3029]

4 June. Capt. John Howell, with the crew of his privateer, surprised a group of British officers at dinner and captured and paroled them. Among those taken was Colonel Roger Kelsell (ostensibly a possible relation to loyalist Col. Fletcher Kelsell.)[3030]

4 June. Lee and Pickens decided to launch grand assault on Fort Cornwallis in the early hours of June 4th. However, and to their surpise, at 3 a.m. a violent explosion rent a nearby house Brown had planted with explosives, and which it was expected the Americans would occupy as a protected shooting position. Although the building had been inspected earlier by the Americans, it was unoccupied at the time of the fuse set detonation. By about 9 a.m., Lee and Pickens organized their forces again and sent Brown a summons. Terms were agreed upon and 8 a.m. the next day was designated as the hour of surrender. Officers would be sent to Savannah on parole; while the rank and file were to be prisoners of war.[3031]

[3022] JKH p. 66.
[3023] SQR pp. 247-248.
[3024] NGP8 p. 369n, ATR81b p. 153-154, 189, AR81 p. 91, TCS pp. 479-480, GHA4 p. 93, SAW2 p. 371, JLG2 p. 63, 146-147, LFB2 p. 486, FWI pp. 239-240, MSC2 pp. 287-288, BGC p. 182.
[3025] JJA.
[3026] FWI pp. 239-240.
[3027] NGP8 p. 405, ATR81b p. 189, AR81 p. 87, TCS pp. 480-481, MLW4A p. 531, MSC2 pp. 291-292.
[3028] NGP8 p. 347.
[3029] JYC p. 45.
[3030] JHG pp. 499-500.
[3031] LMS pp. 365-366, CKR pp. 135-136.

5 June. [surrender] Augusta, surrender of Fort Cornwallis (Richmond County, GA.) Fort Cornwallis at Augusta surrendered to Pickens and Lee (see Augusta, 22 May.) Brown, who was exchanged by October, years afterward blamed the fall of Augusta on his inability to rally the Indians previously within his garrison; while some 1500 warriors were reported to have reached the Ogeechee River, forty miles west of Augusta, the day it surrendered. Also around or shortly after this time, the Upper Creek Indians were actively opposing the Spaniards in Pensacola and Mobile in the South, and were harassing rebel settlements on the Ohio River much further north. See "21 May to 5 June" for additional citations and reference.
Following Augusta's fall, Lee returned to Greene at Ninety Six. Pickens remained at Augusta removing stores taken there, but by the 17th had likewise joined Greene. After Pickens left, previously Major and now Lieut. Col. James Jackson assumed command of the capitulated post. The liberation of the Georgia upcountry from British occupation, made possible the revival of more normal state government. Among the legislators first measures was to form militia and state troops to cooperate with the Continentals.[3032] Although a Georgia State Legion was subsequently raised under [James] Jackson, the state had no funds to pay them. Instead land, slaves, horses, clothing, provisions, salt, usually confiscated from tories, were used. Former loyalists were given the opportunity to prove their new American allegiance by serving in the militia or state troops. "But for the need of many to prove their loyalty to the United States, it is doubtful if there would have been any state troops worth mentioning." The goods taken at Augusta were intended to distributed equally among Georgia militia. Yet after being collected for that purpose, they were absconded with by a local named John Burnett who carried them past the frontier, and deep into the wilderness interior.[3033]
Kirkwood: "5th This Day Augusta was Captured by Col. Lee making all the garrison prisoners of war consisting of 165 British and the like number of Tories."[3034]

5 June. Rawdon wrote Cornwallis, saying he would at present leave the newly arrived regiments (i.e. 3rd, 19th, 30th) in Charlestown and "may march on the 7th towards Ninety-Six having been reinforced by the flank companies of the three regiments." Rawdon at this particular time was ill, and the army in the field was commanded by Watson. [3035]

5-6 June. [raid] Point of Fork (Fluvanna County, VA.) About this same time as Tarleton's forays in the Charlottesville area, a second raiding column under Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe, with 100 cavalry and 200-300 mounted infantry, consisting of the infantry and hussars of Queens Rangers, and the Jägers were sent to Point of Fork (down the Rivanna River from Charlottesville); where von Steuben, with about 500 recruits and militia, was posted guarding an ammunition laboratory and a magazine. Steuben managed to retreat to safety, but most of the arms and stores were taken or destroyed; including 2,500 stand of arms, quantities of gunpowder, saltpeter, rum, brandy, carpenter's tools, entrenching tools, wagons, cloth, a 13 inch mortar and 5 howitzers, 4 nine-pounders; all of which Cornwallis later found use for at Yorktown. Some days later, however, some ten cannon the British had dumped in the river were retrieved by the Americans (and thereby saved.) Cornwallis followed Tarleton and Simcoe in their wake; and on the 7th camped at Elk Hill, a plantation of Jefferson's, near Byrd Creek, and where Tarleton and Simcoe later reunited with him that same day.[3036]

6 June. Lafayette crossed to the south bank of the Rapidan River at Raccoon Ford.

6 June. Lieut. Col. James Grierson taken prisoner at the siege of Augusta, was murdered by an unknown assailant (probably a local or someone in the whig militia); though both Thomas Brown and Tarleton Brown speak of a James Alexander as being the known culprit.[3037] Just before, Grierson was being held in temporary custody awaiting removal to Savannah. Brown himself was assaulted, and another one of his officer's wounded, but in those instances the perpetrator was caught and put in confinement. Greene offered an award of 100 guineas for the capture of Grierson's murderer, but the latter was never found or brought to justice.[3038]
Thomas Brown (in reply to Ramsay's *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*): "…The port of Augusta being invested and besieged near three months, was surrendered by capitulation. From Colonel Lee, who commanded the Continental Legion, a gentleman of the most honourable and liberal sentiments, and from his officers, the King's troops experienced every security and attention; from the militia under a General Pickens, every species of abuse and insult. Colonel Lee and his officers exerted themselves in an uncommon degree and took every possible precaution to protect the prisoners from violence. The King's Rangers were paroled, and quartered at a gentleman's house, with a guard of Continental dragoons, under the command of Captain [James] Armstrong. The militia prisoners were confined to a stockade fort, where General Pickens and his militia were quartered.

[3032] Coleman: "At the time of the fall of Augusta there were militia reported present who had been in the field for a year, but who had received little pay or subsistence. Such long term militia men in many ways were more like partisans than militia." CGA p. 140.
[3033] KJO p. 19, NGP8 p. 404, GHA4 pp. 90-91, MLW4A pp. 525-526, LMS pp. 366-371, GAR2 pp. 122-123, JLG2 pp. 132-137, 145-146, 155, 209, MHG pp. 494-495, 523-524, LFB2 p. 533, CGA p. 140, CKR pp. 130-137, 141, 145.
[3034] KJO p. 19.
[3035] NGP8 pp. 355, 369, AR81 p. 91.
[3036] SQR pp. 212-223, TCS pp. 295-298, MLW4A pp. 434-436, LMS pp. 422-425, JLG2 p. 60, CBA pp. 600-602, JYC p. 43, WAR2 p. 873, WCO p. 333.
[3037] Rev. George White: "Tarleton Brown, a respectable inhabitant of Barnwell District, says Dr. Johnson, in his 'Traditions and Reminiscences of the American Revolution,' published in 1843, gives the first direct information on this subject. He confirms McCall's intimidation in the following words -- 'Captain Alexander shooting Grierson for his villainous conduct in the country.' He had exposed his prisoners, among whom was the father of Captain James Alexander, to the fire of their relatives and friends, for the purpose of screening his men from the besiegers." WHG pp. 614-620.
[3038] NGP8 p. 359, MMS2 pp. 283-284, LMS pp. 369-370, JLG2 pp. 132-137.

After Colonel Lee marched from Augusta, Colonel [James] Grierson, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the enemy by his spirited and unwearied exertions in the cause of his country, was under the custody of the main guard, about ten paces from General Pickens' quarters. His spirit and unshaken loyalty in every change of fortune, marked him out as a proper victim to sacrifice to their savage resentment. One of General Pickens' men, named James Alexander, entered the room where he was confined with his three children, shot him through the body, and returned unmolested by the sentinel posted at the door, or the main guard. He was afterwards stripped, and his clothes divided among the soldiers, who, having exercised upon his dead body all the rage of the most horrid brutality, threw it into a ditch without the fort. Thus fell the brave, unfortunate Colonel Grierson, a man high in the estimation of his country, valued by his acquaintances, beloved by his friends -- not by the shot of an unseen marksman, but under the eye of General Pickens, by the hand of a bloody, sanctioned, and protected villain, in shameful violation of a solemn capitulation.
"After the murder of Colonel Grierson, another execrable villain named Shields (an unseen marksman,) the same day, in the same fort, under the eye of General Pickens, in the presence of his officers, without interruption from the sentries or guards, called Major Williams, of the Georgia militia, to the door of the prison, and shot him through the body. These outrages served only as a prelude to a concerted plan for murdering all the prisoners. To execute this diabolical design, a hundred of General Pickens' unseen marksmen, accompanied by three colonels, marched with drawn swords towards the quarters of the King's Rangers. Captain [James] Armstrong being informed of their intention, threatened, and ordered his guards to oppose them if they advanced. Then addressing himself to the King's Rangers, he told them, that if attacked, to consider themselves released from their paroles and defend themselves. The determined spirit of Captain Armstrong and Major Washington[3039] who were present, struck such terror into these ruffians, that apprehending an obstinate resistance, they instantly retired.
"Enraged at the repetition of such abominable outrages by this band of assassins, not yet satisfied with blood, I wrote General Pickens, reproaching him with a violation of the articles of capitulation, in defense of every principle of honour and good faith, and informed him, that the officers and men, having acted by my orders, ought to be exempt from violence; and if it was his determination that I should share the fate of Colonel Grierson, he would at least find that a man, conscious of having faithfully discharged his duty to his king and country, would meet his fate with indifference.
"The prisoners shortly afterwards embarked for Savannah, under the charge of Major Washington, who, apprehending the commission of further outrages, distributed the guards among the different boats. By this precaution, the different detachments from General Pickens' camp, who had taken post on the banks of the river, were prevented, after repeated attempts, from firing into the boats.
"Your account of a skirmish[3040] between General [Anthony] Wayne's army and a party of militia and dragoons, consisting of fifty men, who composed the advance of a small detachment I had the honour to command, I presume is taken from General Wayne's hyperbolical report to the Congress. As this buckram feat is altogether a fancy piece, it does not merit a comment.[3041]
"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient, humble servant,
"Thomas Browne
"Nassau, Bahamas, Dec. 25, 1786" [3042]

6 June. In a letter to Greene from Brig. Gen. Huger, at his home "Mount Necessity," S.C., Huger attached a report from Col. Charles Myddleton, in turn obtained from two deserters, which gave Rawdon's strength (at the moment under Watson's command) as 1,340 infantry and 100 cavalry.[3043]

7 June. By this date, Col. Alured Clarke returned to Savannah from St. Augustine after having gone to the Florida post to temporarily to reinforce the garrison there sometime in April 1781. Clarke remained in command at Savavannah till 11 July 1782 when the British evacuated the town.[3044]

7 June. Rawdon having sufficiently recovered from a bout of malaria, returned to the field. He marched from Charlestown to relieve Ninety Six on this date, having with him 1,850 men.[3045] Among the units contained in his army were flank companies from the 3rd, the 19th and the 30th regiments; the 64th Regt.,; the Provincial light Infantry; small detachments of the 63rd Regt., the 7th Regt., the New York Volunteers, the Prince of Wales Volunteers, and the Hessian garrison regiments. Among the cavalry were the mounted South Carolina Royalists,

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[3039] *Not* Col. William Washington, and probably Capt. Robert Smith of the North Carolina line is meant.
[3040] LMS pp. 554-555.
[3041] Regarding the encounter between Wayne and Brown in 1782, see LMS pp. 554-555.
[3042] WHG pp. 614-620.
[3043] NGP8 p. 355.
[3044] CGA p. 137.
[3045] In a letter to Lee written in 1813, Rawdon insisted that at that time he was "furnished with but barely seventeen hundred men. Even of that force, a principal portion was composed of Hessians, or [else] troops just landed from Ireland..." In the same letter, he states that one of the main reasons he went to relieve Ninety-Six, was because he feared the possibility of a French invasion. Presumably, what he actually intends to say is that the potential French threat spurred him on to *greater than usual* action; since the possible alternative of his having done nothing, and simply abandoned the Ninety Six garrison would otherwise seem inexplicable. LMS p. 618. *Vide's Register* gave his army as 1700 infantry and 50 horse. Tarleton's notes, "it seems more probable that Lord Rawdon's whole force did not exceed two thousand men; viz. the garrison withdrawn from Camden, Lieutenant-colonel Watson's corps, Major M'Arthur's reinforcement, and the flank companies from Colonel Gould's brigade: But perhaps the 3d and 19th regiments might move from Charles town, towards Dorchester or Mon[c]k's corner, at the same time that Lord Rawdon left it, though not intended for the expedition to Ninety-Six." TCS p. 486n, *Vide's Register*, p. 85.

the South Carolina Light Dragoons, and mounted troops of Hessians (apparenty including Starckloff's). Another 200 under Maj. John Doyle later joined him coming from Monck's Corner; bringing his total to at least 2,000. According to Sumter, in a letter of June 18th, Rawdon had Watson and McArthur's command with him, and otherwise described Rawdon's command as including 250 Hessians, 6 companies of new levies, 40 N.Y. Volunteers, 4 troops of horse (40 to 60 per troop), 5 pieces of artillery and a number of "Tories -- Several hundred but I don't know anything near their number."
Rawdon approached Ninety Six from Charlestown by way of the road running along the north fork of the Edisto, and then by way of the Ridge Road. He allowed the baggage to fall behind with an escort, and to follow him as they could. Although at one point en route an effort was made by Lee's cavalry to seize it, the baggage reached the fort in safety. See also 18 June.[3046]
Annual Register: "For relief of the relief of Ninety-Six, Rawdon left Charles-Town with something more than 1700 foot and 150 horse, he was joined on the way by Col. Doyle with troops he had left at Monck's [Monck's] corner."[3047]

Henry Nase: "June 7th. 1781 -- The Third Regt. Marched from the Barracks into the Country; & they made a Genteel and Soldier like Appearance."[3048]

8 June. Clinton to Cornwallis: "My Lord, I inclose to your Lordship copies of some intercepted letters; by these your Lordship will see that we are threatened with a siege [at New York.] The enemy have had bad information respecting my force; it is not, however, as your Lordship knows, what it ought to be. Your Lordship will see by Fayette's letter, that you have little more opposed to you than his corps and an unarmed militia; for, we are told here, that the Pennsylvania troops have revolted a second at York-town. Your Lordship can therefore certainly spare two thousand [men], and the sooner they come the better; without it should be your intention to adopt my ideas of a move to Baltimore or the Delaware Neck, and put yourself in nearer co-operation with us; but even in that case you can spare us something, I suppose.
"I am naturally to expect reinforcement from Europe, but not having heard from thence since February, I can say nothing positive as to when it sailed. It is rumoured here (from what authority I cannot learn) that the three battalions from Corke are arrived at Charles-town, and that your Lordship has ordered them to Chesapeak[e]. Should that have been the case, I have by this opportunity directed them not to disembark, but to join me here as soon as a convoy can be obained for them; in the first place because I want them, and in the next, because it would be death to them to act in Chesapeak in July.
"From all the letters I have seen, I am of opinion, if circumstances of provisions, stores, &c. turn out as they wish, that the enemy will certainly attack this post. As for men, for such an object as this (circumstanced as they suppose it to be) it cannot be doubted that they can raise a sufficient number. By a commissary of provision's intercepted letter, he now feeds (at West-point only) eight thousand, and they are coming in very fast. My dispatches for your Lordship, and the stores, &c. you sent for, have been waiting for a convoy these ten days. I hope it will sail immediately, but I dispatch this runner in the mean time, referring your Lordship to the bearer, Lieutenant Nairne, for particulars...
"I am persuaded that I need not say to your Lordship how necessary it is that I shoud be informed without delay of every change of position in your Lordship's army; and I am sure you will excuse me for observing that had it been possible upon the arrival of the last reinforcement from hence (which I am told joined you the day after the date of your letter of the 20th ult.) for your Lordship to have let me know your views and intentions, I should not now be at a loss to judge of the force you might want for your operations. Ignorant therefore as I am of them, I can only trust, that as your Lordship will see by the inclosed letters, my call for a reinforcement is not a wanton one, you will send me what you can spare as soon as it may be expedient; for should your Lordship be engaged in a move of such importance as to require the employment of your whole force, I would by no means wish to starve or obstruct it; but in that case would rather endeavour to wait a little longer, until my occasions grow more urgent, or your situation can admit of your detaching; of which, however, I request to be informed with all possible dispatch. But with respect to the European reinforcement [i.e. the 3rd, 19th, and 30th Regts. that ended up landing in Charlestown, see 3 June], I must request, that should it arrive in the Chesapeak, it may be sent to me without delay, agreeable to the orders I have sent to the officer commanding at Portsmouth, and the requisition I make by this opportunity to Captain Hudson, or officer commanding the King's ships.
"Should your Lordship not propose to send Major-general Leslie to command in South Carolina, I beg leave to mention that his assistance may probably be wanted here, if he can be spared from your army." See also Clinton's letter to Cornwallis 11 June.[3049]

8 June. Prisoners brought from Augusta were paraded before fort at Ninety Six by their escort. According to MacKenzie this was done for purposes of deliberate mockery. Lee, on the other hand, ascribes it to accidental carelessness on the part of the officer in charge of conveying them to Ninety Six, and who afterward was severely reprimanded. Though not then present with them when the incident took place, Lee himself had arrived at Ninety Six about this same time, or a day or two earlier.[3050]

[3046] NGP8 pp. 379n, 403, 408, 412-413, 451, ATR81b p. 153-154, AR81 p. 92, TCS p. 486n, 496, GHA4 pp. 93-96, LMS pp. 372-373, JLG2 pp. 152-153, MSC p. 292, BGC pp. 184-185.
[3047] AR81 p. 92.
[3048] NDI.
[3049] SCV2 pp. 14-17 and for the 11 June letter pp. 18-23. JLG2 pp. 62-64.
[3050] MST p. 153, SAW2 p. 369, CSS pp. 1181-1185, MLW4A p. 526, LMS p. 371, JLG2 p. 135, LCC pp. 391-393 MSC2 pp. 274-275, RNC p. 337.

Otho Williams: "The additional force of Lee's legion after the surrender of fort Cornwallis, was highly seasonable; as most of the American militia had withdrawn, either to carry home their plunder, or to secure their families from the ravages of the royalists, who began to get rid of their apprehensions, on a report that a large reinforcement from Europe had arrived at Charlestown, and that lord Rawdon was marching to the relief of Ninety-Six."[3051]

8 June. [raids] Fanning's Second Coxe's Mill Raid, also Buffalo Ford, Cox's Mill, Wilcox's Mill, Wilcox's Iron Works (Lee County, N.C.)[3052] Also see 11-12 May, and http://gaz.jrshelby.com/buffaloford.htm
Fanning: "I returned to Coxe's Mill and remained there till the 8th June; when the Rebels embodied 10 men to attack me, under the command of Cols. Collyer [Colllier] and [Andrew] Balfour.[3053] I determined to get the advantage by attacking them, which I did with 49 men in the night, after marching 10 miles to their encampment. They took one of my guides, which gave them notice of my approach: I proceeded within thirty steps of them; but being unacquainted with the grounds, advanced very cautiously. The sentinel, however, discovered my party, and firing upon us retreated. They secured themselves under cover of the houses, and fences; the firing then began; and continued on both sides for the space of four hours; being very cloudy and dark -- during which time I had one man killed, and six wounded; and the guide, before mentioned, taken prisoner; whom they killed next morning in cold blood. What injury they suffered I could not learn; As the morning appeared, we retreated, and returned again to Deep River; leaving our wounded men at a friend's house, privately.
"The Rebels then kept a constant scouting, and their numbers was so great, that we had to lay still for sometime; and when Collier and Balfour left the settlement, he the said Colonel [Guilford] Dudley, before mentioned, took a Negro man from me and sold him at public auction for 110 pounds; the said Negro was sent over the mountains, and I never saw him since. At length they all began to scatter; and we to embody. William Elwood being jealous of my taking too much command of the men, and in my absence, one day, he persuaded them that I was going to make them regular[s]…[in Hamilton's Royal N.C. Regt., etc.]"[3054]

9 June: [sorties] Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) Two sorties were made in the evening by the Ninety-Six garrison against the mine being dug leading into the Star fort. During this encounter, a number of Americans were wounded, including Kosciuszko slightly (in the posterior.) MacKenzie reports that an American officer was captured. There was not any significant damage done to the work going on itself, however.[3055]
MacKenzie: "On the evening of the 9th of June, in the apprehension that something extraordinary was carrying on in the enemy's works, two sallies, with strong parties, were made. One of these entering their trenches upon the right, and penetrating to a battery of four guns, were prevented from destroying them for want of spikes and hammers. They here discovered the mount of a mine, designed to be carried under a curtain of the Star, upon springing of which the breach was to be entered by the American army, sword in hand. The other division that marched upon the left fell in with the covering party of the besiegers, a number of whom were put to the bayonet, and the officer who commanded them, Capt. Bentley of the Virginia line, brought in prisoner. Both divisions returned to the garrison with little loss, though it was impossible for that of the enemy not to have been considerable."[3056]

Lee: "The enemy's left had been entirely neglected, although in that quarter was procured the chief supply of water. As soon as the corps of Lee entered camp, that officer was directed to take post opposite to the enemy's left, and to commence regular approaches against the stockade. Very soon Lee pushed his ditch to the ground designated for the erection of the battery, under the cover of which the subsequent approaches would be made. In the course of the next day [the 9th] this battery was erected, and Lieutenant Finn [Ebenezer Finley], with a six-pounder, took possession of it. The besiegers advancing closer and closer, with caution and safety, both on the right and left, Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger foresaw his inevitable destruction, unless averted by the approach of Rawdon. To give time for the desired event, he determined, by nocturnal sallies, to attempt to carry our trenches; and to destroy with the spade whatever he might gain by the bayonet. These recounters were fierce and frequent, directed sometimes upon one quarter and sometimes upon another; but so judicious had been the arrangements of the American general to counteract these expected attempts, that in no one instance did the British commandant succeed. The mode adopted was nevertheless pursued without intermission; and although failing to effect the chief object contemplated, became extremely harassing to the American army, whose repose during the night was incessantly disturbed, and whose labor in the day was incessantly pressed."[3057]

9-13 June. Simcoe: "Lieut. Col. Simcoe, on the 9th of June, was detached [from Cornwallis] with his cavalry to destroy some tobacco in the warehouses, on the northern bank of the Fluvanna:[3058] he passed at the lowest ford,

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[3051] GHA4 p. 93.
[3052] John Robertson's gives Randolph, rather than Lee County; which again (see 11-12 May, Fanning's first Coxe's Mill raid) may possibly be correct, but I have yet to confirm this myself. See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/buffaloford.htm
[3053] A brief sketch of Lieut. Col. Andrew Balfour of the Randolph County, N.C. militia, who was involved wih many scrapes and skirmishes against Fanning (and, in March 1782, ultimately killed by Fanning), is given in the appendix to Fanning's *Narrative*, and another sketch, but considerably longer, is found in Caruthers' *Revolutionary Incidents in the Old North State*, see CNS1 pp. 297-343. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/balfoursplantation.htm
[3054] FNA pp. 17-18, WRM p. 380.
[3055] MST p. 154, LMS p. 371-372, LSY p. 200.
[3056] MST p.154, SAW2 pp. 369-370.
[3057] LMS pp. 371-372.
[3058] Regarding the Fluvannah, see LMS p. 422n.

and proceeding to the Seven islands, destroyed one hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, and burnt all the tobacco in the warehouses on the river side, returning with some rebel militia whom he had surprised and made prisoners. The army [of Cornwallis] remained in this district [of Elk Hill] till the 13th of June; and the cavalry of the Queen's Rangers made several patroles, particularly one to Bird's ordinary, at midnight, where, it was understood, the Marquis de la Fayette, with his forces, had arrived. It appeared, however, that they were at a great distance, so that the army moved towards Richmond, the Queen's Rangers forming the rear guard." See 13 June.[3059]

10 June (also 7 and 9 June.) Wayne with 800-900 (ostensibly rank and file) Continentals, joined Lafayette about twelve miles south of Raccoon Ford (some sources say *at* the ford) on the Rapidan River, the south branch of the Rappahannock. Wayne, by himself and some staff, however, had reached Lafayette by the 7th. His force included 3 Pennsylvania regiments: the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. Walter Stewart; 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. Richard Butler; Craig's Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. Richard Humpton, plus 90 artillerymen, with 6 cannon (at least 2 of these being four pounders) of Proctor's 4th Continental Artillery. The same day Lafayette, now with Wayne, recrossed the Rapidan and advanced on Cornwallis at Elk Hill, reaching Brock's Bridge on the North Anna River. Ward states that Lafayette's corps at this hour numbered some 4,500.[3060]

11 June. Royal Governor James Wright, Sr., at Savannah, to Balfour: "Our distresses our many, and how to furnish the militia on actual duty with rations I can't tell, for there is not a single barrel of beef or pork to be purchased here, even if I had the money to buy it. I trust therefore, Sir, that circumstanced as we are you will think it for his Majesty's service and really necessary to order some of the King's provisions here for support of the militia on actual service, the number of which, I think, will be at least what is mentioned in the Minute of Council, besides those and about town which, I suppose, amount to 300."[3061]

11 June. Lafayette camped near Boswell's Tavern (in the proximity of later Munford Bridge) on the South Anna River.[3062]

11 June. Sumter, at "Congarees" [Ancrum's Plantation], to Greene wrote saying he was on the point of moving, yet even so his troops were still not in good order. He also remarked that Marion was about to return from Georgetown but had few men.[3063]

12 June. Having started his march in the evening of the 11th, and taking a little used track, Lafayette camped near "Allegre's," at an "impregnable position" with much overgrowth. The site was located behind Mechunck (also "Mechunk" and "Meechunk") Creek, thirteen miles east of Charlottesville. Here he was augmented shortly afterward by 600 western and southern county Virginia militia under recently promoted Brig. Gen. William Campbell, who had commanded at King's Mountain. There were occasional skirmishes in the area with Cornwallis scouting parties sent out under Tarleton.[3064]

12 June. Maj. John Armstrong, at Salisbury wrote Greene stating that he had with him about 200 N.C. Continentals, and would be ready to leave Salisbury on June 20th. He reached Greene on June 25th.[3065]

12 June. General Thomas Nelson was elected Governor of Virginia, replacing Thomas Jefferson, whose term of office had ended June 4th.[3066]

12 June. [siege approach] Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) Under the cover of a violent, yet rainless storm, Lee sent a party to sneak up on a stockade or hornwork (denoted Fort Holmes), protecting the garrison's water supply at Ninety Six.[3067] The idea had been to set the stockade on fire, but his men were discovered by a sentry before it could be effected; with 5 killed and 4 wounded in the process. Lee, in the meantime, set up a six-pounder battery and a party of sharpshooters to prevent access to the stockade, and by the night of the 17th Cruger was compelled to abandon it. The Loyalists subsequently sent out naked black slaves at nighttime to retrieve water from a nearby creek. Carrying pails, they were able to crawl on the ground to the creek undetected. McCrady observes it was very odd that Greene and Kosciusko did not earlier appreciate Cruger's water situation; when Cruger when had gone to the trouble to construct *and* defend covered ways to the rivulet.[3068] William Johnson had argued in Greene's behalf that the American general believed Cruger could dig for water from within the fort (based on the 1775 siege there; though in 1781 this proved not to be the case.)

[3059] SQR pp. 223-224.
[3060] GHA4 p. 115, MLW4A pp. 434-435, LMS pp. 419, 425-426, CBA p. 603, JYC pp. 45-47, WAR2 p. 874.
[3061] JHG p. 495.
[3062] JYC p. 47.
[3063] NGP8 p. 378.
[3064] LMS pp.425-427, JLG2 p. 61, JYC p. 49.
[3065] NGP8 p. 383.
[3066] CBA p. 601.
[3067] The reason no attempt had hitherto been made, till Lee's arrived from Augusta and suggested it, to attack Cruger's water supply (protected by Fort Holmes) is that it was believed erroneously by Greene and Kosciuszko that he would be able, if need be, to dig wells from within the fort. Although a well *was* reported to have been dug in Ninety-Six during the brief siege there in 1775 (this being the basis for Greene and Kosciusko's decision), Cruger himself in 1781 was not able to effect this. LCC pp. 406-410.
[3068] MSC2 pp. 282-283.

Even so and granting such, says McCrady in response, Greene had carelessly commenced his operations on the reverse side of the fort from where Cruger's water supply was situated. [3069]

MacKenzie: "Colonel Lee continued his approaches to the stockade upon the left, before which his corps suffered greatly. On the 12th of June, in a paroxysm of temerity and folly, he directed a serjeant and six men, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to advance with lighted combustibles, and set fire to the abbatis of the work which he had invested. Not one of them returned to upbraid him with his rashness, and he was the first to solicit a truce to bury the bodies of the men he had so scandalously sacrificed. Having now redoubled his efforts, and mounted a number of cannon, which followed him from Augusta, he completely enfiladed this work, by a triangular fire, and by the 17th of June rendered it untenable. It was evacuated in the night without loss, and taken possession of by the enemy. The sufferings of the garrison were now extreme. With infinite labour [sic] a well was dug in the Star, but water was not to be obtained, and the only means of precuring [sic] this necessary element in a torrid climate in the month of June, was to send out naked negroes, who brought a scanty supply from within pistol shot of the American pickets, their bodies not being distinguishable in the night from the fallen trees, with which the place abounded."[3070]

Thomas Young: "Col. [Thomas] Brandon, Major Jolly and myself, resolved to make an excursion to 96 where the siege were then going on. Here I remained during the siege. As we every day got our parallels nearer the garrison, we could see them very plain when they went out to a brook or spring for water. The Americans had constructed a sort of moving battery, but as the cannon of the fort were brought to bear upon it, they were forced to abandon the use of it. It had not been used for some time, when an idea struck old Squire Kennedy, (who was an excellent marksman) that he could pick off a man now and then as they went to the spring. He and I took our rifles and went into the woods to practice at 200 years. We were arrested and taken before an officer, to whom we gave our excuse and design. He laughed, and told us to practice no more, but to try our luck from the battery if we wanted to, so we took our position, and as a fellow came down to the spring. Kennedy fired and he fell; several ran out and gathered round him, and among them I noticed a man raise his head, and look round as if he wondered where that shot could have come from. I touched my trigger and he fell, and we made off, for fear it might be our time to fall next." [3071]

12 June. Rawdon crossed Four Holes Creek at Holes Bridge at noon on this date, and later in the day arrived at Orangeburgh. In a letter to Greene on the 15th, Sumter reported that Rawdon's movement was slow, and that there were still dragoons at Orangeburgh, and some more infantry a few miles behind them. One of these detachments was apparently that escorting Rawdon's baggage.[3072]

13 June. Sumter, still at Ancrum's, wrote Greene, in response to a report regarding Rawdon's march to relieve Ninety Six; suggesting Greene call out Colonels William Brandon (Thomas Brandon's brother), Joseph Kershaw and John Thomas: "it is likely a parcel of Good Riflemen might be got out in time." The following day, he reported his own strength as 600 horse and 200 foot.[3073]

13 June. Cornwallis departed Elk Hill on this date and marched to Westham on his way back to Richmond, which he reached by the 16th (some sources state the 15th), with Tarleton and Simcoe guarding his flanks. The move signaled a withdrawal by the British and was interpreted as such by the Americans. Cornwallis, for his part, made the move in furtherance of fulfilling Clinton's directives of June 8 and 11 to return 2,000 of his army, and available siege artillery, to New York (the safety for which town Clinton feared given the expected joint coordination of Washington and Rochambeau.) Units intended for removal were the Queen's Rangers, the remnants of the 17th dragoons, two battalions of light infantry, two of Anspach, the 43d, and the 76th or else 80th regiments.[3074]

14 June. Not having much to do while the siege of Ninety Six continued, Lieut. Col. Washington's cavalry and the legion cavalry under Capt. John Rudulph were sent by Greene to join Sumter at Ancrum's, and to assist the latter in scouting, harassing the enemy, and impeding their marches. "Sumter," says Bass, subsequently, "assigned some mounted militia and State Troops to Washington, augmenting his force to three hundred men, and rushed him off to operate ahead of Rawdon. He then sent Myddleton and Richard Hampton with their State Troops to hang upon the flank and rear of the British." Lee's cavalry under Rudulph, meantime and operating in the same manner as Washington's, on the 16th were located near the fork of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. See 16 June. [3075]

14 June. Lafayette left his naturally fortified position at Mechunck and moved forward, through largely uninhabited country, to trail Cornwallis, and came within about 20 miles distance of the British forces.[3076]

[3069] MST pp. 155-156, SAW2 p. 370, LMS pp. 373-374, JLG pp. 147-148, MSC2 p. 294, BSF p. 203.
[3070] MST pp. 155-156.
[3071] JTR pp. 446-454, SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.
[3072] NGP8 pp. 388-389, 393.
[3073] NGP8 pp. 388, 390, JLG2 pp. 153-154.
[3074] SQR pp.223-224, MLW4A pp. 434-436, LMS pp. 427-428, 431, 442-443, JLG2 pp. 62-64, SCV2 pp. 14-23, CBA p. 603, JYC p. 52.
[3075] NGP8 pp. 389, 403, 408, JLG2 pp. 146-147, 153-154, BGC p. 185.
[3076] JLG2 pp. 63-64, JYC p. 52.

15 June. Sumter, at Palmer's near the Congaree, informed Greene that Marion was north of the Santee River trying to collect more men to bolster his small force, and was in need of ammunition; though Sumter himself had none to spare. He then asked Greene if he could send Marion a supply. On June 14th, in a separate letter to Greene, Sumter reported his force as amounting to 800.[3077]

16 June. Marion, at "Rocks Plant, St. Johns," S.C., wrote to Greene, saying he had advanced thus far, as per Sumter's orders, on his way to join Sumter, having only with him his mounted troops. He feared that if he left the part of the country he was then in, the enemy would destroy all the provisions south of the Santee River; which was the only available supply until the new crops were harvested. He sent Col. Peter Horry to quell the loyalists on the Peedee, and would be sending Maj. Hezekiah Maham to disperse some loyalists collecting at Four Holes. Maham was also to push down to the Quarter House and Goose Creek Bridges and attack the small guards there. The enemy, Marion stated, had 400 "new raised" troops at Monck's Corner. He added that If he could remain where he was, and receive ammunition, he would be able to keep the enemy party closed in at Monck's Corner. At that time, the British had to bring in provisions to there from Charlestown because Marion had driven all the cattle away, and was currently doing the same in St. Thomas' Parish and the area near Haddrell's Point. The editor to the Nathanael Greene paper notes, the detachment at Monck's Corner Marion refers to was the 3rd Regt., which had been left behind when Rawdon moved with his main force, and the flank companies of the newly arrived regiments to raise the siege at Ninety Six.[3078]

16 June (also 17 June.) Cornwallis re-entered Richmond where he remained till the 20th.[3079]

16 June. Sumter wrote to Greene that Rawdon's army was twelve miles above Orangeburgh "last night" (the 15th) on their way to Ninety Six. His scouts reported Rawdon's strength was most probably near 1,500, with about 400 cavalry and 8 field pieces. Sumter had been detained waiting for some men to come from "down below," but would do what he could to retard Rawdon's march. The next day (the 17th), he reported that Rawdon, on the 16th, had camped at "Seaders Ponds," halfway between Ft. Granby and Ninety Six. He believed Rawdon's force numbered some 1,500 men, with 150 good horse, and another 200 horse of indifferent quality, three to nine field pieces, their teams "very sorry;" and that the British seemed to subsist chiefly upon beef. He also added that he sent 100 cavalry and 100 mounted infantry to join Col. William Washington, who would then have 330 men to slow Rawdon's advance. As well, Sumter had dispatched a party of 200 mounted men under Col. Myddleton to harass Rawdon's rear (see Myddleton's Ambuscade, 18 June.) Provisions and forage have been stockpiled for Marion, who Sumter expected would be with him in three days. He had left ammunition for Marion, but none for those who might further join Marion's force. Although there were some skirmishes, Washington's success in slowing Rawdon was slight. Sumter was later criticized for sending out only a small blocking force under Myddleton, and, in addition, waiting till Rawdon had come up to a point below the Congaree before attempting to delay him. Nevertheless, in his defense, his brigade was suffering from organizational and discipline problems which Sumter soon after was seeking to remedy.[3080]

16 June. By nightfall, Rawdon camped at Cedar Ponds.[3081]

17 June. Greene wrote to Sumter: "Captain Rudolph [John Rudulph] who commands the cavalry of Lee's Legion was only thirty miles from this [Ninety Six] this last Evening, having delayed his march through a mistake of his orders. He is now ordered to march and join [Lieut. Col. William] Washington with all possible dispatch." On the 18th, Rudulph wrote back saying he had captured 15 loyalists on their way to join Rawdon, and that he would cross over to the Saluda Road, which ran between Ninety Six and the Congaree, and attempt to get between Rawdon and Ninety Six. He had made forays into Rawdon's rear, but had not yet, however, been able to make contact with Washington's cavalry. Rudulph did, notwithstanding, finally manage to form a junction with Washington by the 19th. [3082]

17 June. Lafayette, close following Cornwallis, camped at Dandridge's on the South Anna River in Hanover County just northwest of Richmond.[3083]

17 June (or 12 June.) A courier, a local farmer Hugh Aiken (or according to another account, if not the same person, someone disguised as a loitering local), made a successful dash into the garrison at Ninety Six, and informed Cruger of Rawdon's approach. The news dramatically bolstered the garrison's resolve to continue defending the fort.[3084]
Moultrie: "General Greene had carried his works so near the British garrison, as almost to insure success; and the moment when he expected them to surrender, intelligence was received that Lord Rawdon was near at hand with two thousand men. The wife of a British officer (an American) then in the garrison of Ninety-six, received a large bribe to convey a letter to Colonel Cruger, to inform him of their near approach, which she did: as she was well known to all the American officers, she rode about their camp, unsuspected of any ill design, and her

[3077] NGP8 p. 393, JLG2 pp. 153-154.
[3078] NGP8 p. 394n.
[3079] GHA4 p. 116, LMS p. 428, JYC pp.52-53.
[3080] NGP8 pp. 403, 408n, BGC pp. 184-165.
[3081] NGP8 p. 408. Respecting Cedar Ponds, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/cedarcreek.htm
[3082] NGP8 pp. 404, 412, 418, MSC2 pp. 317-318.
[3083] JYC p. 53.
[3084] SAW2 p. 371, MMS2 p. 287, LMS p. 374, JLG2 pp.. 148-149.

servant with her, conversing with one and then with another, until she found an opportunity; gave a signal to the fort, it is said, by holding up a letter, upon which a man was sent out from the fort upon horseback, who got the letter, and galloped back into the fort with it: he had several shot fired at him, but without effect."[3085]

17 June. After negotiations between the two parties for a few weeks, Maj. Micajah Ganey, on behalf of the local Drowning Creek and Peedee loyalists signed a truce with Col. Peter Horry, who represented Marion. The truce, nonetheless, was not permanent. Robert Gray says it came about because the loyalists could no longer receive support from Georgetown (see "Georgetown Evacuation," 28-29 May.) Ganey later accused some of the whigs of not holding up their end of the agreement, and it wasn't long before he and his followers again became active; some of whom went to Wilmington to join Craig and Fanning.[3086]
Ganey, at "Pedee," later on 8 September wrote Marion: "Your answer of the 5th of September came to hand this day, and in perusing the same, I understand that your honor wrote to the North Carolinians concerning our truce, which I never received or heard of before; it has miscarried by some means or other. My full desire, Sir, is to be at peace with all parties, if they will with me. I am very sorry, Sir, to acquaint your honor that I am under the disagreeable necessity of complaining to you of Colonel Murphy [Maurice Murfee] I wrote several orders to him to restore their plunder, which they refused to do, except such as is of no service to themselves; all that is of value they keep, so that I found there a stumbling block. The way, just about the time that Murphy first broke out and ruined me, and broke me up, for which reason, I first revolted my constancy to my country, was he took some horses from me, one of which he has yet in his possession; then I wrote an order, and sent to him for said horse, which he refused to send, without I would hunt up and get all his horses which he has lost, which was six or seven head, he says; and I don't know his horses; I never saw them ; and in like manner, they detain several horses and negroes, and a number of cows.
"I have no reason to complain of any of your men, save that same regiment of Murphy's. The list you wrote to me about, you shall faithfully have given up very shortly to Colonel Irvin's order."[3087]

17 June. The third parallel at Ninety Six was completed. Also, by this date, Pickens had arrived to reinforce Greene's besieging army.[3088]
Lossing: "They [the Americans] completed their parallels, and commenced the erection of a Mayham [Maham] Tower, from which to fire into the star redoubt. To guard against this advantage of height, Major [Joseph] Greene, the commander of the redoubt, piled bags of sand upon the parapets. On the morning of the seventeenth, a general fire was opened upon the works, and so effectual was it upon the stockade and its vicinity, that the garrison was deprived of water from the rivulet. Had this advantage been maintained, and Rawdon been delayed thirty hours longer, Cruger must have surrendered."[3089]

18 June. [ambush] Myddleton's Ambuscade, also Juniper Springs (Lexington County, S.C.) Sumter sent out Col. Charles Myddleton and Col. Richard Hampton with 200 men to prey on Rawdon's column and foraging parties. The British, apprised of their presence, on the 18th, set a trap at the fork of the Augusta and Ninety Six Roads, near Juniper Springs. At 10 am, Myddleton and his men were then ambushed by Maj. John Coffin's cavalry. 105 of Myddleton's men were lost, most dispersed, with some killed and some captured. Afterward, only 45 of the original force could be collected; Myddleton and Hampton themselves having escaped.[3090]
Tarleton: "[Rawdon] passed the Saluda near its junction with the greater river of that name. This route, however, enabled a Colonel Middleton [sic], who was on his way from the Congarees with about three hundred cavalry and mounted militia, to endeavor to harass his rear, and particularly to obstruct the parties which were necessarily engaged in collecting cattle for the support of the army. After giving some trouble of this nature, Middleton being trained into a well-laid ambush, was spiritedly charged by Major Coffin, at the head of the royal cavalry, and his party was so completely routed and dispersed, as never to appear again during the march."[3091]

Garden: "An instance of intrepidity in an individual belonging to the Brigade commanded by General Sumter, deserves to be recorded. A detachment of mounted militia, had been sent out by the General to watch the movements of the enemy, hastening, under the command of Lord Rawdon, to the relief of Ninety-Six, and came up with their rear guard at a place called the Juniper Springs, about fifteen miles distant from Granby. The British cavalry, who composed it, were of much superior force, and being in every respect better prepared for action, quickly disconcerted the American detachment, and put them to flight. A poor German, named Loaster, belonging to the American party, mounted on a sorry poney, with a rope bridle, and corresponding equipments, with no other arms than a musket, which he had already fired off, was assailed by a British dragoon, who aimed several desperate blows at him with his sabre, which were warded off with extraordinary dexterity, Loaster calling out alter every parry, 'Huzza for America.' While in this perilous situation, a Mr. Fitzpatrick, determining, if possible, to save him, rode up, and with the butt end of his pistol, which had been previously discharged, struck the dragoon so violent a blow in the face as to fell him to the ground. Loaster, thus happily

[3085] MMS2 p. 287, JLG2 p. 63.
[3086] GDH2 pp. 98-99, 135-136, LMS p. 553, GWC pp. 155-156, GHC pp. 374-376.
[3087] GHC pp. 374-375.
[3088] NGP8 p. 389n, SAW2 p. 372, LMS pp. 374-375.
[3089] LFB2 p. 487.
[3090] NGP8 pp. 406, 416, 417n, AR81 p. 92, TCS pp. 486-487, JLG2 pp. 153-154, MSC2 pp. 297-298, 748, BGC p. 186. For more and regarding the specific site of Juniper Springs, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/junipersprings.htm
[3091] AR81 p. 92, TCS pp. 486-487.

rescued, rode off and escaped, vowing most earnestly never again to go into action Without a cutting iron, his musket being nearly severed in two, in five different places."[3092]

18 June. [skirmish] Rogers' Plantation, also "Capt. Thomas Harvey (a subordinate of Col. Samuel Hammond) vs. Col. John Cotton" (Edgefield County, S.C.)[3093]

18 June. Tarleton, coming from Meadow Bridge on the Chickahominy, maneuvered in an effort to attack Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg's force of 400 Virginia militia. Muhlenberg, however, having received advanced notice, managed to elude him. When Wayne with the Pennsylvania light infantry, marching 13 miles came up, Tarleton himself retreated. About his same time, Mercer's Virginia state cavalry managed to capture "a patrol" of Tarleton's horse.[3094]
Tarleton: "The Marquis de la Fayette, who had hitherto practised defensive manoeuvres with skill and security, being now reinforced by General Wayne, with about eight hundred continentals, and some detachments of militia, followed the British as they proceeded down James river. This design being judiciously arranged, and executed with extreme caution, allowed opportunity for the junction of General Steuben, confined the small detachments of the King's troops, and both saved the property, and animated the drooping spirits, of the Virginians. While the royal army marched, the rear and left flank were covered by the British legion and the 76th regiment on horseback; and on its arrival at Richmond, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with his corps, was posted at Westham, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at Meadow bridge. During these operations, the Marquis de la Fayette continued to approach with the main body, and he advanced his light troops to harass the patroles. On the 18th, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton made a forced march, to attempt General Muhlenberg's detachment, who evaded the blow by an early retreat, and the British legion returned to the royal army."[3095]

18 June. Sumter had finally moved from Ancrum's on the Congaree and was "6 miles from Wrights Nearly opposite Miller[']s Ferry," S.C. He wrote to Greene on this date and reported "...I shall have With me but about three hundred Militia, or little upwards about 400 the Whole Chiefly Now Detached...I have ordered out all the Militia of My brigade except the Four Fork[s] Regemt [sic] which you wrote was ordered out." About 400 of his men were actively employed, mostly in the way of attempting to delay Rawdon. At the same time, he was compelled to send a detachment back to Granby to put down some loyalists in the neighborhood who had broken their paroles.[3096]

18 June. [siege assault] NINETY SIX (Greenwood County, S.C.) Faced with the impending arrival of Lord Rawdon's relief column, Greene, with some reluctance and owing to entreaties by some of "his soldiers" to vindicate themselves after what had happened at Hobkirk's, attempted a two-pronged assault of the Star fort at Ninety Six. Although conducted with exceptional heroism and gallantry, the effort failed. American losses in the assault were 40; with most of these suffered by the some 50 who constituted the forlorn hope. Of this number, few were killed, though among them was Capt. George Armstrong of the Maryland Line.[3097] His baggage having already been removed from the area by Pickens, Greene by the next evening (the 19th) lifted the siege entirely and marched toward the Saluda River. The courageous and very professional performance of Cruger and his men under his command during the siege has at times been rightly praised. Yet being all loyalists,[3098] their feat, has been as or more often quickly passed over by historians from both sides. At the same time, also unknown or forgotton is that had Rawdon arrived just a few days late, Cruger might well have been obliged to capitulate due to dearth of water and supplies.[3099]

BRITISH FORCES AT NINETY SIX

Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger
1st Bttn., De Lancey's New York Brigade: 150, (Cruger), Major Joseph Greene
2nd Bttn., New Jersey Volunteers[3100]: 200, Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen
South Carolina Loyalist militia from Ninety Six District: 200, Col. Richard King

3 three-pounders mounted on wheeled carriages, and a number of swivel guns.

[3092] GAR1 pp. 403-404.
[3093] LSC p. 16, ONB3 p. 274, and see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/rogersplantation.htm
[3094] TCSpp. 347-348, LMS pp. 428-429, JYC p. 53.
[3095] TCS pp. 299-300.
[3096] NGP8 p. 413, AR81 p. 92.
[3097] One source curiously gives the officer's name as "Mark Armstrong," see *Records of the Revolutionary War*, by W.T. L. Saffell, p. 412, Charles C. Saffell, Baltimore: 1894.
[3098] There was but a single British soldier present, Lieutenant Thomas Barrete' of the 23rd Regt.; the rest were all Americans.
[3099] NGP8 pp. 419-426, BLB pp. 80-86, ATR81b pp. 172-173 AR81 pp. 92-94, TCS pp. 497-502, GHA4 p. 92-96, SAW2 pp. 364-373, MST pp. 139-163, MLW4A pp. 523-531, LMS pp. 358-360, 371-378, JLG2 pp. 138-155, LCC pp. 395-417, SJM, MLL p. 19, JTR pp. 471-473, FWI pp. 239-240, MSC2 pp. 278-284, 292-300, WAR2 pp. 816-822, LSY pp. 192-205, 300-302, GNS, BEA pp. 804-807.
[3100] The 3rd Battalion New Jersey Volunteers had been re-designated the 2nd Battalion, due to the accumulated losses of the regiment, and the subsequent condensation of the battalions. See New Jersey Volunteers.

TOTAL UNDER CRUGER

MacKenzie: 550. "The garrison consisted of about one hundred and fifty men of the first battalion of Delancey's, with two hundred of the second battalion of New Jersey Volunteers. These corps having been raised in the year 1776, were well disciplined, and, from the active services in which they had been engaged, ever since their first landing in Georgia, had become equal to any troops. To these were added about two hundred loyal militia, under Colonel King. Motives of policy, as well as humanity, induced Lieutenant Colonel Cruger to advise the latter to quit the garrison, and, as they were provided with good horses, to effect their retreat, either to Charlestown or to Georgia, for he apprehended, that in case of a long siege, their numbers might cause a want of provisions; and he knew, that no capitulation, for securing to those unfortunate men the rights of war, observed by civilised [sic] nations, could be depended upon; but these Loyalists, though in a manner fighting with halters around their necks, were not to be dismayed; they turned their horses into the woods, made a point of remaining with the garrison and abiding by its fate."[3101]

Historian Jerome A. Greene states that Cruger's total military force was about 550 but the number under his tacit command probably exceeded 700.[3102]

In addition, a force of 200 mounted loyalist under Capt. William Cunningham were dispersed and concealed in small groups in the area, and would waylay small parties and messengers, thus interrupting the flow of supplies and communications to and from Greene. Though not mentioned during the siege, Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, head of the Ninety Six district militia, was apparently present, since in a letter from Col. Otho Williams, at Rice Creek, S.C., to Greene of July 5th, it is related that General Cunningham left the post at the same time Rawdon did. In general, the Ninety Six area at that time was heavily and actively loyalist, though Cruger at one point expressed disgust with their fidelity and reliability.[3103]

AMERICAN FORCES AT NINETY SIX

Maj. General Nathanael Greene
Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, not well and attending to some business at his South Carolina plantation,[3104] was not present at Ninety Six. Col. Otho Williams then would have been Greene's second in command.
Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, chief Engineer

CONTINENTALS
These numbers, except for those given for militia, are apparently rank and file and based on a return made up by Otho Williams. [3105]

* *Maryland Brigade*: 427, Col. Otho Williams
1st Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard[3106]
2nd Maryland Regt., Major Henry Hardman

* *Virginia Brigade*: 431, presumably Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell
1st Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell
2nd Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Maj. Smith Snead[3107]

* Delaware Regt.: 60, Captain Robert Kirkwood
* North Carolina Continentals[3108]: 66, Capt. Robert Smith

* Partizan Corps (Lee's Legion): 150 to 180 total, for combined cavalry and infantry, Lieut. Col. Henry Lee

However, like Washington's corps, the Legion cavalry was away from the main army at this time scouting and making efforts to arrest Rawdon's approach. This would then have left about 100 to 110 legion infantry at Ninety Six.

* 1st Continental Artillery: 80-100, Col. Charles Harrison, Capt. Ebenezer Finley, Lieut. Finn, 4 six-pounders[3109]

[3101] MST pp. 144-145.
[3102] GNS p. 113.
[3103] NGP8 pp. 365n, 500, JLG2 p. 141.
[3104] Huger's home, "Mount Necessity," was located in the Congaree area. NGP8 p. 415n.
[3105] GHA4 p. 92.
[3106] Command of the 1st Maryland was given later in the day to Major Henry Hardman, Howard apparently being sick or otherwise indisposed. NGP8 p.409.
[3107] Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes being still ill, command of the 2nd Virginia Regiment was given to Maj. Smith Snead. NGP8 pp. 410-411.
[3108] Lumpkin lists a North Carolina militia detachment of 66 men, which apparently refers to the North Carolina Continentals. Some of this unit's men had been assigned to deliver up the paroled British officers taken at Augusta to Savannah. The missing escort then may account for why Eaton's originally 140 man detachment now numbered 66. Regarding the detachment to Savannah, see pension statement of George Anderson, of Edgecomb County, N.C.
[3109] Greene began siege with 3 guns, but Lee brought up the fourth when he returned from Augusta.

MILITIA
South Carolina militia: 300 to 400, Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens[3110]

TOTAL of Greene's Forces:

Total rank and file for the Continentals present: 984, including Lee 1,224.
Adding Pickens then would give Greene around 1,400 to 1,600 rank and file.[3111]

CASUALTIES

BRITISH
Mackenzie: "Lieutenant [Thomas] Barreté, of the 23d regiment, acted as engineer with great zeal. In one word, every officer received the warmest approbation of his conduct from Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant Colonel Cruger, nor did he aspire to a more honourable testimony of their merit. Lieutenant [John] Roney, of Delancey's, with three serjeants, and twenty-three rank and file, were killed. Captains French and Smith of Delancey's, Captain Barbarie and Lieut. Hatton, of the New Jersey Volunteers, with five serjeants [sic] and forty-nine rank and file, were wounded. The enemy acknowledged the loss of one Colonel, three Captains, five Lieutenants, and one hundred and fifty-seven privates, killed and wounded; but as their returns did not include the militia, who on this occasion bore the proportion of three of one to the troops in the pay of Congress, there can be no doubt but their loss amounted to treble that number in this memorable siege, -- a siege, which, however imperfectly known in Britain hitherto, will be remembered in America, whilst a vestige of the war in that country shall remain.[3112]

Ward gives British losses as 27 killed and 58 wounded for the entire siege.[3113]

AMERICAN
A return of American casualties at Ninety Six, written by Col. Otho Williams, and attached to a letter from Greene, dated June 20, 1781, lists:
"Virginia brigade. Killed, 41; wounded 33; missing, 16.
Maryland brigade. Killed, 12, wounded, 24; missing, 3.
Light infantry. Killed, 1; wounded, 9, missing 1.
Legion infantry, Killed 2; wounded, 2.
Virginia militia. Killed, 1; wounded 2.
Total. Killed, 57; wounded, 70; missing, 20
"Captain [George] Armstrong of Maryland line, killed; Captain [Perry] Benson and Lieutenant Duvall [Isaac Duval] wounded.[3114] Captain Bentley of the Virginia line, prisoner; Lieutenants Evans, Miller, and [Samuel] Selden, wounded. Colonel Koscuilzko [Thaddeus Kosciuszko], chief engineer, was slightly wounded."[3115]

Lee gives American losses as 185, both killed and wounded, which subtracting the 134 given in Williams' return above would suggest the remaining 51 were losses among the militia.[3116]

Kirkwood: "18th. [June] This Day the Garrison of 96 was attacked on two Quarters Viz: -- the Star Redoubt by the main army, and Home's by Col. Lee's Infantry, with mine, with the assistance of three 6 pounders commanded by Col. [Charles] Harrison. Our Redoubt held out about an hour, then left it in our full possession; the other being so verry [sic] strong, & the officers who commanded in their Ditch being wounded with the greatest part of the men Killed and wounded, were obliged to give over the attempt."[3117]

Otho Williams to his brother Elie, from "Bush River" 23 June: "The circumstances of the war, in this part of the world, have had a material alteration since I had the pleasure to write you. After Lord Rawdon's retreat from Camden, Gen. Greene pushed his operations southwardly, and has obliged the enemy to abandon or surrender all their posts in South Carolina, except Charleston and Ninety six. On the 22d ult. our little army invested the last mentioned place, and continued the siege with infinite labor and alacrity till the 20th inst., when we were obliged to relinquish an object, which, if attained, would not only have given peace to this distracted country, but would have added a lustre to our former services, sufficiently brilliant to have thrown a proper light upon the character of our excellent General, and reflected a ray of glory upon the reputation of each inferior officer. Though we have been greatly disappointed, no troops ever deserved more credit for their exertions.
"The operations were prosecuted with indefatigable zeal and bravery, and the place was defended with spirit and address. Our loss is Capt. [George] Armstrong, of the Maryland Line, killed: Capt. [Perry] Benson, dangerously wounded, and Lieut. [Isaac] Duvall, also wounded. Besides officers, we lost fifty-eight men killed,

[3110] Within a day of this date, Pickens was not with Greene, but was escorting the army's baggage to safety. A number of these with Pickens were Sumter's men, though many of those who were with Greene earlier probably wandered off as was typical with Sumter's command at this time.
[3111] LFB2 p. 485n, WAR2 p. 817, LSY pp. 298-299, BEA p. 805.
[3112] MST pp. 163-164.
[3113] LMS p. 377, WAR2 p. 822.
[3114] Duvall later lost his life at Eutaw Springs.
[3115] TCS pp. 501-502.
[3116] LMS p. 377.
[3117] KJO p. 19.

sixty-nine wounded, and twenty missing. From this account you will conclude that a day seldom passed without execution, and I can assure you that each night rather promoted than diminished the mischief. We succeeded so far as to take one of the enemy's redoubts, and in ail probability a few days more would have happily concluded the business. But Lord Rawdon had received a strong reinforcement, and by making forced marches, arrived in time to avert the impending fate of the garrison. I cannot ascertain the loss the enemy may have sustained, but judging by our own, it cannot be inconsiderable. Our approaches were carried by two trenches and a mine to within a few feet of the ditch of their strongest fort, and our troops once took possession of it, but their works were too strong to be escaladed. Instances of consummate bravery were exhibited, but their fire was too fatal for our people to remain in their fosse, and we were obliged to leave it with loss."[3118]

MacKenzie: "Two parties under Captain Campbell of the New Jersey Volunteers, and Captain French of Delancey's, issued from the sally port in the rear of the Star, they entered the ditch, divided their men, and advanced, pushing their bayonets till they met each other. This was an effort of gallantry that the Americans could not have expected. General Greene, from one of the advanced batteries, with astonishment beheld two parties, consisting only of thirty men each, sallying into a ditch, charging and carrying every thing before them, though exposed to the fire of a whole army."[3119]

Lee: "Orders were issued to prepare for storming; and the hour of twelve, on the next day (18th of June), was appointed for the assailing columns to advance by signal from the center battery.
"Lieutenant-Colonel [Richard] Campbell, of the first Virginia regiment, with a detachment from the Maryland and Virginia brigades was charged with the attack on the left; and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with the Legion infantry and Kirkwood's Delawares, with that on the right. Lieutenants [Isaac] Duval, of Maryland, and Seldon [Samuel Selden] of Virginia,[3120] commanded the forlorn hope of Campbell and Captain Rudolph [Michael Rudulph], of the Legion, that of Lee. Fascines[3121] were prepared to fill up the enemy's ditch, long poles with iron hooks were furnished to facilitate the progress of the assailant. At eleven the third parallel was manned, and our sharp-shooters took their station in the tower. The first signal was announced from the center battery, upon which the assailing columns entered the trenches, manifesting delight in the expectation of carrying by their courage the great prize in view.
"At the second cannon which was discharged at the hour of twelve, Campbell and Lee rushed to the assault. Cruger, always prepared, received them with his accustomed firmness. The parapets were manned with spike and bayonet, and the riflemen, fixed at the sand bag apertures, maintained a steady and destructive fire. Duval and Sheldon entered the enemy's ditch, and began to apply the hook. Uncovering the parapet now would have given us victory; and such was the vigorous afforded by the musketry from the third parallel, from the riflemen in the tower, and from the artillery mounted in the battery, that sanguine expectations of this happy issue were universally indulged. The moment the bags in front were pulled down, Campbell would have mounted the parapet, where the struggle could not have been long maintained. Cruger had prepared an intermediate battery with his three pieces, which he occasionally applied to the right and left. At first it was directed against Lee's left, but very soon every piece was applied upon Campbell's right, which was very injurious to his column.
"Major [Joseph] Green[e], commanding in the star redoubt, sensible of the danger to which he was exposed if the attempted lodgment upon his front curtain succeeded, determined to try the bayonet in his ditch as well as on his parapet. To Captains Campbell and French was committed this bold effort. Entering into the ditch through a sally-port in the rear of the star, they took opposite directions, and soon came in contact, the one with Duval, the other with Seldon. Here ensued a desperate conflict. The Americans, not only fighting with the enemy in front, but with the enemy overhead, sustained gallantly the unequal contest, until Duval and Seldon became disabled by wounds, when they yielded, and were driven back, with great loss to the point of entry. The few survivors escaped with the hookmen to our trenches, where yet remained Campbell, the sand-bags not being removed. On the left the issue was very different. Rudolph gained the enemy's ditch, and followed by the column, soon opened his way into the fort, from which the enemy, giving their last fire, precipitately retreated…The adverse fortune experienced by our left column made the mind of Greene return to his cardinal policy, the preservation of adequate force to keep the field."[3122]

Henry Lee, at the High Hills of the Santee on 24 July, wrote Richard Henry Lee: "….[y]ou will find Ninety-Six especially valuable to the enemy, as it is centrical to a rich and populous back country, and commands the settlements between the Saluda and Broad rivers. At the same time it renders the possession of the Country on the Congaree more secure and communicates with Charlestown without the intervention of nay considerable river. To possess Camden the Santee or the Congaree must be passed: to possess Augusta the Savannah must be passed…
"…Previous to which, our works being far advanced, the General attempted a storm. This decision was taken on the wisest principles, and the operation was exceutedd with the most brilliant gallantry. Our success was partial; and the ensuing morning our troops crossed the Saluda. Lord Rawdon was within fifteen miles and followed us rapidly. The pursuit was vain, and his Lordship after two days advance retired to Ninety-Six. General

[3118] TOW pp. 21-22.
[3119] MST pp. 159-160, MLW4A p. 530n, LMS pp.376-377. This reported last minute sortie by the Loyalists William Johnson characterizes as being not fully substantiated, and is thus disinclined to believe it even occurred. JLG2 pp. 149-150.
[3120] For an anecdote involving Selden, see GAR1 p. 408.
[3121] A fascine is a cylindrical bundle of sticks bound together for use in construction, as of fortresses and earthworks.
[3122] LMS pp. 375-377.

Greene, having received a small reinforcement and gathered some militia, made a forward movment. The Legion was directed to lay close to the enemy."[3123]

Lossing: "Greene then sent a flag to Cruger, proposing a cessation of hostilities for the purpose of burying the dead. Cruger refused, claiming that service for the victor, whoever he might be. Believing the reduction of the post to be doubtful before the arrival of Rawdon, and unwilling to encounter that general's superior force, Greene withdrew the detachment from the stockade, and prepared for a general retreat. Thus ended the siege of Ninety-Six, which continued twenty-seven days."[3124]

Letter of Balfour, written on 20 July, 1781, to Clinton: "Lord Rawdon having by the *Warwick* transmitted a State of this Country, & Account of his Movements to the Arrival of the Reinforcement, I do now do myself the honor to lay before your Excelleny a summary of Events so far as they have come within my knowledge, since that period.
"No sooner were the necessary Arrangements made, than Lord Rawdon proceeded with a Corps of about Two Thousand Men, to the relief of Ninety-Six, on his near approach to which Post, General Greene took the Resolution, rather than Risque an Action with Lord Rawdon, of storming the Garrison, in which, however, he was repulsed by the Exertions of lieut. Colonel Cruger, & the very spirited Conduct of the Troops under him, with the loss, as acknowledged of at least Seventy five killed, & one hundred & fifty wounded, ours being truly inconsiderable both on this Occasion & during the Siege, which was closely pressed by the Enemy.
"This Event, so fortunate in itself & Creditable to Colonel Cruger & his small Garrison took place the 19th Ultimo, on the succeeding Day the Enemy's Army retired over the Saluda, & on the 21st [June] Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety Six.
"At this place His Lordship did not rest long, but by forced Marches followed General Greene to a Ford of the Enoree, where he was within a few hours of coming up with him, but the uncommon fatigues the Troops had undergone (& the Direction of General Greene's March, over the Tyger & Broad Rivers, then Pointing at Virginia) not allowing the Pursuit to be continued further, Lord Rawdon returned to Ninety Six & from thenece, having a part of his Force with Colonel Cruger, proceeded to the Congarees. [3125]

Edward Hooker, a resident and school teacher of Cambridge, S.C. (built near to then "old" Ninety Six), in 1806 wrote: "The siege of Ninety Six is a favorite topic with the people in this vicinity. It is a pleasure to witness the animation that sparkles in their countenances, when in compliance with my request, they narrate the minute incidents of those trying times. Some of the striking particulars are these -- the blockading of the British troops I the fort -- the extension of a mine under the British works -- the sallying out of a British force which in spite of a desperate resistance drove the Carolinains from the mine and surprised unawares the heroic fellows that were ready, under ground, to blow up the whole garrison to destruction -- the marching up of a pick'd company of valiants to haul down with hooks the bags of sand which lay on the top of the entrenchment, whiel muskets were incessantly blazng from behnd them -- the act of a courageous tory who notwithstanding the surroundng crowd of besiegers, galloped through and gained admittance at the gate [with] advices of an approaching reinforcement."[3126]

19 June(also 18 June.) Maj. Gen. Lafayette, at Richmond, was joined by von Steuben with 425 to 450 (Lee states "about 600") newly raised Virginia Continentals (i.e. eighteen months men.) The additional reinforcement brought Lafayette's strength to 2,000 Continentals and 3,200 Virginia militia and riflemen.[3127]

Lafayette's force at this time was as follows:
Maj. Gen. Baron von Steuben, second in command
3 Battalions of New England Light Infantry: 800 to 900, placed now under Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg
3 Pennsylvania Battalions: 450 to 750, under Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne,
Virginia Continental Regiment: 425 to 450, under Col. Christian Febiger and Lieut. Col. Thomas Gaskins

3 Virginia militia brigades: [3128]
780 riflemen, Brig. General William Campbell
750, Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson[3129]
650, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens

2nd and 4th Regiments of Continental artillery, 200 matrosses with 8 to 10 guns, 6 of these being smaller field guns, such as three-pounders and four-pounders.

Cavalry: Maj. William McPherson (of Pennsylvania)
Armand's Cavalry and the 1st Continental Light Dragoons: 60
Volunteer Dragoons from Virginia: 60, Lieut. Col. John Mercer,[3130] Nicholas Moore

[3123] *Historical Magazine*, September 1865, vol. IX, no. 9, p. 282.
[3124] LFB2 p. 487.
[3125] BLB pp. 80-86.
[3126] GNS pp. 186-187.
[3127] TCS pp. 347-348, 397-398, MLW4A pp. 436-437, LMS p. 429, JLG2 p. 63, CBA p. 604, JYC pp. 53, 55.
[3128] As was usual, the militia numbers tended to fluctuate as many came and went as they chose.
[3129] Included in Lawson's command was future U.S. President, at this juncture a Lieut. Col. of the VA. militia, James Monroe, LMS p. 417.

Advance detachments:

Virginia riflemen: 100, Major Richard Call.
Virginia riflemen: 100, Major John Willis
Detachment of Vose's light infantry: 60, Major Galvin, a French officer

In the course of subsequent campaigning, Lafayette rarely if ever kept his force concentrated and tended to move his collective force in separated divisions and detachments; though in a manner that permitted them to regroup with relative swiftness as necessary. This made it easier to supply his men while concealing his true strength.

Cornwallis, at Williamsburg, wrote to Clinton on June 30th: "La Fayette's continentals, I believe, consist of about seventeen or eighteen hundred men, exclusive of some twelvemonths-men collected by Steuben. He has received considerable reinforcements of militia, and about eight hundred mountain riflemen under [William] Campbell. He keeps with his main body about eighteen or twenty miles from us; his advanced corps about ten or twelve, probably with an intention of insulting our rear guard when we pass James river. I hope, however, to put that out of his power, by crossing at James-city island; if I can get a favourable opportunity of striking a blow at him without loss of time, I will certainly try it. I will likewise attempt water expeditions, if proper objects present themselves after my arrival at Portsmouth."[3131]

19 June. Sumter, from the "Dutch Settlement Near Wrights," S.C., wrote to Greene saying he had 300 men, many of which were new recruits. Another 300 had been left in the Fort Granby-Ancrum's area, but many of these were unarmed. Col Samuel Tate, with 2 regiments was to have joined Sumter, but had not yet come up due to the activities of loyalist in his area.[3132] He was having a difficult time keeping his men together, and already 150 had deserted him. "I have Several Waggonloads of Corn Meal I Can furnish with if you are in Want for the army." He further mentioned not knowing Marion's whereabouts. The latter, rather than serve under Sumter (if he could help it), kept his force distant and did not report to Greene till June 24th. In a separate letter of this same date, Sumter reported to Greene that he would detach what men he could to "Ly [sic] near the Enemy &c" but his infantry were being troublesome and often complaining. An entire regiment had "gone back [home]" due to parties of loyalists "Coming up the Country." Col. Thomas Taylor, at the Congarees, was very apprehensive and believed he would be forced to move the stores there.[3133]

19 June. Lieut. Col. Washington, at "Samuel Savages," wrote to Greene saying that he expected Rawdon to reach Saluda Old Town by that evening. He also stated that Capt. Rudolph [John Rudulph], with Lee's Legion cavalry, had joined him.[3134]

19 June. Col. Elijah Clark, at Wilkes County, GA., wrote to Greene thanking him for having delivered safely the clothing sent by Georgia's representatives in Congress. He said he would move at the shortest notice, but requested permission to leave troops behind to guard the public stores (which, untended, would draw enemy attention), and to man strong scouting parties to protect against possible "Outliers" and Indian incursions. Clark also mentioned his men were short of arms. As it turned out, Clark never joined Greene, ostensibly due to the outliers and Indians.[3135]

19 June. Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart, with 250 to 300 men of the 3rd Regt., left Monck's Corner for Dorchester en route to Orangeburg, with the intention of meeting up with Rawdon, at the latter's behest, at Fort Granby on July 3rd. Before he had marched very far, Gould in Charlestown recalled him, but then changed his mind and rescinded the order to fall back. Stewart then continued toward Orangeburgh, but the mixup caused him a four days delay (see 29 June.) Marion, writing to Greene from Ancrum's on the 25th, also reported the British as having 300 infantry and 50 dragoons[3136] at St. John's or Biggin's Church.[3137]

20 June (also 21 June.) In the early morning hours (Johnson says the evening of the 19th)the siege of Ninety Six was lifted. The same day, Greene camped at Little River and Williams' fort near Ninety Six. Washington and Capt. John Rudulph having rejoined the army, Lee was detached with his Legion to protect Greene's retreat and keep watch of Rawdon. The following day (the 21st) Kirkwood's Delaware company was attached to Washington's cavalry to form a small light corps or legion and who were was assigned to act similarly to Lee.[3138]

[3130] Mercer, who had been one of Charles Lee's aides, had disagreed with the verdict against Lee for his conduct at Monmouth, and had therefore resigned his commission, when he was earnestly called out by Lafayette; responding to which Mercer raised a sorely needed troop of state dragoons, LMS p.417.
[3131] TCS pp. 397-398.
[3132] Though Sumter doesn't give a location of the loyalist activity, Tate was from Orangeburgh area, which may then have been where the troubles with the loyalists were occurring.
[3133] NGP8 pp. 417n, 418.
[3134] NGP8 p. 418.
[3135] NGP8 p. 414.
[3136] These it would appear were Lieut. Col. James Coates and the 19th Regt.
[3137] NGP8 p. 459, JLG2 pp. 155-158.
[3138] KJO p. 19, NGP8 pp. 426, 432, GHA4 p. 96, MLW4A p. 530, LMS pp. 378-379.

Kirkwood: "20th Raised the siege from Ninety-Six; Lord Rodden [sic] being within 25 miles of us, with 2000 men this Day marched toward Charlotte...14 [miles]."
"When the siege of Ninety-Six was raised," writes John A. Chapman in his *History of Edgefield County*, "the LeRoy and Samuel Hammonds were sent westwardly and northwestwardly to protect Greene on his retreat, by preventing annoyance from the Tories. From the mountains they were instructed to proceed eastwardly to the Congaree. Proceeding eastwardly they fell in with the rear of the British army under Colonel Cruger retreating from Ninety-Six to Orangeburgh, and captured some baggage and made several prisoners."
William Johnson: "But before the morrow evening had arrived the event of the assault and the news from below, had renderd retreat indispensable. Lord Rawdon was at Little Saluda; Sumpter, with all the cavalry of Washington and Lee, and even the light troops of the legion, too far on Rawdon's right to make a junction with Greene either certain or secure. Reluctantly, therefore, he resolved to abandon the siege, and in the night of the 19th moved across the Saluda, on the track of his baggage; having first issued orders to Sumpter to march up within the fork of the Broad and Saluda, so as to fall into his track and join him.
"But little was the aid to be expected at this time from such a junction. The influence of retreat and misfortune, upon the fluctuating spirits of the militia began to show itself; and both Sumpter and Marion wrote that they were almost abandoned by those who had been with them, and found I next to impossible to call forth othes. Every man of his four regiments, general Sumper mentions, had abandoned him one day, and scarcely any troops remained wih him except his brigade of ten month's men…"[3139]

20 June. Following orders he had received earlier from Clinton, Cornwallis retreated from Richmond and marched south for Portsmouth; via Wiliamsburg which last he attained on the 25th. Clinton's instructions directed that he return some of the troops in Virginia with him to aid in the defense of New York. However, Clinton subsequently countermanded these instructions (See 11, 15 and 20 July referring to Clinton and Cornwallis.) Lafayette, now with both Wayne, von Steuben present, plus a reinforced militia, followed in his wake.[3140]
Simcoe: "On the 17th, Lt. Col. Simcoe was detached with some infantry and his cavalry, to pass the James river, near Henrico Court-house; which he did the next morning, to facilitate the passage of the boats with convalescents up to Richmond, and to clear the southern banks of the James river of any parties of militia who might be stationed to annoy them. The detachment recrossed the river on the night of the 19th, from Manchester to Richmond, and Captain Ewald, with the Yagers, joined the Queen's Rangers. On the 20th it being reported that the enemy had a flying corps, all mounted, under Gen. Muhlenberg, and consisting of twelve hundred men, Lt. Col. Simcoe was directed to patrole for intelligence: he marched with forty cavalry (but considering this a service of particular danger) with the utmost caution. He quitted the road and marched through the woods, as nearly parallel to it as the enclosures, which had been cleared, would admit. After a march of a few miles, to his great satisfaction, he discovered a flag of truce, of the enemy; and he was certain, that according to their custom, some of them would be found in its rear. Lt. Spencer was therefore detached with a small party to get beyond them upon the road, which he effected, and found himself in the rear of a party of twenty men; but the woods on his right being open, though Lt. Lawler supported him in front, one officer and two or three men only were taken. Lt. Col. Simcoe immediately returned, having procured from the prisoners every requisite intelligence. The army [of Cornwallis] marched, on the 21st of June, to Bottom-bridge, and on the 22d to New Kent Court-house…"[3141]

20 June. Maj. James Craig, at Wilmington to Gov. Thomas Burke: "I cannot let pass this opportunity of addressing myself to you on a subject which I expect will meet with more attention than I suppose would be paid to it by the perpetrator of the actions I am forced to complain of -- the inhuman treatment imposed on the King's friends on every occasion and by every party of militia now in arms, obliges me to adopt some serious resolution to put, if possible, an end to it -- the deliberate and wanton murders daily committed on them call, I should imagine, as much for your attention as they do for vengeance on my part. It is now my business to assure you, sir, that the former alone can prevent the latter.
"Had I listened only to the first emotions excited by the account of Mr. Caswell's conduct in Murdering five men at Kingstown who were carried to him from New River; Mr. Saml. Ashe and his comrades who were put in irons for the purpose would have become the immediate victims to his unwarrantable cruelty -- fortunately for them I am a Soldier and have been taught to look on the deliberate & unnecessary shedding of blood to be repugnant to my principles as such, as the sparing the Enemies of my King in the field. I therefore determined to adopt every method I could think of to prevent the necessity which could alone justify to my own mind that extremity, to the world I am sure I should have been fully justified by the cause alone -- several instances which have happened since both in that quarter and in Duplin county, have very nearly forced me to have recourse to the expedient I wish to avoid, even without previous representation, which I was at a loss how to make, as I knew not where to address you, and was determined never to have any communication with people capable of ordering such actions, & whose inhumanity gave me every reason to suppose, their answer would be the immediate occasion of the extremity I wished to avoid.
"I now, Sir, call on you to use your efforts to put a stop to a proceeding which promises such additional misery to the people over whom you now preside. I fully discharge my duty in this address and shall think myself perfectly unanswerable for the consequences of its being disregarded. After allowing a reasonable time for the interposition of your authority I shall think myself called on by Justice, Duty, & I may add ultimately by every

[3139] JLG2 p. 154.
[3140] SQR pp. 224-226, TCS p. 300, 347-350, 396, MLW4A pp. 436-440, CBA p. 604, JYC p. 53.
[3141] SQR pp. 224-225.

consideration of humanity, to give the people who from the most laudable principles of loyalty take arms in the King's favour, ample revenge & satisfaction for every instance of murdercommitted by any party of Militia on one of them, and for this purpose I shall not hesitate to deliver over to them those Prisoners who from character or situation are most likely to gratify them in those sentiments, and produce the effect I ardently wish for, of preventing a repition of those barbarities, however I persuade myself there will be no necessity for having recourse to these means as it will be with the utmost regret I shall aggravate the miseries to which all countries are liable when the seat of war. My wish ever is to soften them as much as is consistent with my duty & in this I know my own wishes to coincide with the intentions of my superiors."[3142]

21 June. (possibly 20 June) Lafayette entered Richmond some twenty hours after Cornwallis had left it.[3143]

21 June. Much to the relief and joy of the hard-pressed garrison, Rawdon arrived at Ninety Six; though many of his own men were fatigued and sickly. His relief force numbered probably around 2,000, having been variously reported by American scouts as 1,500 to 2,500, and which included (according to British accounts) at least 150 cavalry. Lee, keeping watch of him, wrote to Greene the following day (the 22nd) that Rawdon had arrived yesterday at Ninety Six, with his baggage a few miles following behind him. "The Tories join fast. The troops have little or no meal. The hand mills are at work. This will be but a scanty supply. I do not believe his lordship has more than 2000 horse foot & artillery including the garrison under Col. Cruger, & encluding [sic] the inhabitants who have or may join him." In an accompanying letter of the same day, Lee writes: "Invalids and Militia are left at Ninety Six. Very few Torys with the army. They have neither blankets, knapsacks nor wagons with them, nor have they a change of shirts. Not a single wagon in the artillery have tumblers for ammunition. They move tomorrow at day break. They have no provision but flesh, they do not Cook meal nor have they any liquer [sic]..." Rawdon's "provision train, military stores, &c" are on their way to Charlestown. He further stated that reports taken from prisoners put Rawdon's force at 2,450; nevertheless, his own personal estimate was 1,880.[3144]
Tarleton: "During renewed successions of forced marches, under the rage of a burning sun, and in a climate, at that season, peculiarly inimical to man, they [Rawdon's soldiers] were frequently, when sinking under the most excessive fatigue, not only destitute of every comfort, but almost of every necessary which seems essential to his existence. During the greater part of the time, they were totally destitute of bread, and the country afforded no vegetables for a substitute. Salt at length failed; and their only resources were water, and the wild cattle which they found in the woods. Above fifty men, in this last expedition, sunk under the vigor of their exertions, and perished through mere fatigue." [3145]

22 June. Maj. Hezekiah Maham was appointed Lieut. Col. Commandant of a Battalion of Light Dragoons for the State of South Carolina. He already had a contingent in the field as cavalry, and which at the present time was situated below the Santee River (at a site probably above Monck's Corner.) Peter Horry was similarly commissioned a few days later. See 28 June.[3146]

22 June. Greene camped at Bush River, S.C. Johnsons speaks of Greene being for a time with Lee and or Washington cavalry and ligh troops and who were acting as the American rear guard and discouraging British foraging while the main army itself withdrew before Rawdon's advance under Col. Otho Williams' command.[3147]

23 June. The American forces in Virginia had, with additional militia reinforcements, reached 6,000 men, 1,500 of which were Continentals.[3148]

23 June. Greene wrote Pickens to assemble his men and join him as soon as possible at Fish Dam Ford. Pickens had been entrusted with taking Greene's baggage to safety while Greene made his retreat from Ninety Six. Greene moreover directed the baggage to be sent to Fish Dam Ford by a safe route. That evening he crossed the Enoree with his army heading toward the Broad River. See 30 June.[3149]
Kirkwood: "23rd. Marched this Night and Crossed the Innoree [Enoree] River…15 [miles]."[3150]

23 June. Cornwallis halted his march towards Williamsburg, making a movement to possibly attack Lafayette. The latter's advance corps under Wayne formed up in preparation to receive them, but Cornwallis changed his mind and resumed his march.[3151]

23 June. On 2 August, Rawdon wrote Cornwallis regarding the events of this period. He stated that he had no intention at that time of pursing Greene's army as his own troops were so worn out and weary from the trek to Ninety Six. But when he learned that Greene had halted 16 miles from Ninety Six at Bush River, and that Greene

[3142] CNC22 pp. 1023-1025.
[3143] JYC p. 53.
[3144] NGP8 pp. 379, 388n, 408, 442-443, AR81 p. 93, SAW p. 373, MLW4A p. 531, LMS pp. 378-379, MSC2 pp. 300-302.
[3145] TCS p. 507.
[3146] NGP8 p. 438, JLG2 pp. 146, 155.
[3147] NGP8 pp. 436, 449, JLG2 pp. 155-156.
[3148] CBA p. 617.
[3149] KJO p. 20, NGP8 p. 448.
[3150] KJO p. 20.
[3151] TCS pp. 300-301, 347-348, JYC p. 55.

had wagons with him, he resolved to bring the Americans to action. On the morning of the 23rd then,[3152] the British left Ninety Six and moved to Duncan's Creek, or "Fords of the Enoree," some 40 miles from Ninety Six. Despite this, Rawdon stopped his advance because of his troop's fatigue, Coffin's horses as well being of a generally poor sort as mounts, and saw no prospect of reaching Greene. He then turned back toward Ninety Six on the 25th and arrived, there, probably, on the 26th. [3153]

24 June. Greene, at "Broad River," S.C., wrote to Lee: "Our army is on the march for Sandy Run towards the Cross Roads on the route to the Catawba Nation. At the ford on Broad River I have left your infantry, Kirkwood's infantry and a hundred picked Virginia militia under Maj. [Alexander] Rose." Rose's troops were riflemen from Bedford County, Virginia and they operated with Kirkwood and Lee's Legion apparently as light troops.[3154]
Kirkwood: "Marched this Day Crossed the Tiger [Tyger] and Broad River…21 [miles]."[3155]

24 June. Cornwallis, en route to Williamsburg, stopped at Bird's Tavern, not far from New Kent Court House; and which Lafayette occupied after he subsequently left.[3156]

25 June. Cornwallis reached Williamsburg while Lafayette came up to Bird's Tavern, and Col. Richard Butler with part of his advance guard occupied Spencer's Ordinary (i.e. Tavern.) Lafayette thereafter moved to Tyre's Plantation 20 miles from Williamsburg.[3157]

25 June. Marion, at Ancrum's, S.C., wrote to Greene saying that he had a few men, but expected more "tomorrow." Maham with a mounted detachment was left to watch enemy movements. Marion also reported on Stewart's movement from Monck's Corner (see 19 June) and mentioned that Charlestown was lacking fresh provisions.[3158]

25 June. Greene halted and camped at Tim's Ordinary[3159] on "Sandy Run," S.C., near Fish Dam Ford. There he was joined by Maj. John Armstrong, coming from Salisbury, with about 200 N.C. Continentals. Upon learning of Rawdon's turning back on the 24th to Ninety-Six, he sent Lee with his legion to follow on his heels for reconnaissance purposes.[3160]

25 June. Back on May 5th, and later on June 23rd, Greene had asked Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, who was at Harrisburg in Cabarrus county, N.C., to join army with the North Carolina Continentals as soon as possible. On the 25th, Sumner, from "Camp Harrisburg," wrote back: "[T]hat when the draftees from New Bern arrived," he would form a second N.C. Continental regiment. He also remarked that a British party of about 120 were making regular raids as far as 30 and 40 miles out of Wilmington. A mere 200 N.C. militiamen were serving in the region as protection. Though Sumner had 500 troops, only 200 had weapons. Despite this, his N.C. Continentals did finally march July 1st by way of Hillsborough to Salisbury, where they remained till July 10. Much time was spent foraging and patching uniforms. By July 14, enough arms and cartridge boxes had been collected to equip 300 men, only they did not have bayonets.[3161]

25 June. Sumter, at "Davis' 5 Miles below Lyles Ford," S.C., wrote to Greene: "We have no better prospect of Making a Stand. Every Man of Col [Thomas] Taylor[']s regemts [Richard] Winn[']s [Samuel] Tate[']s & R. [Richard] Hampton have absetd [absented] themselves except a few Who are upon Command."[3162]

26 June. On this date Cornwallis (at Williamsburg) received the following missives from Clinton's (with extracts given here) of 11 and 15 June directing him to return 3,000 of his force in Virginia to New York.
Letter from Clinton of June 11th: "The detachments I have made from this army [in New York] into Chesapeake since General Leslie's expedition in October last, inclusive, have amounted to 7724 effectives; and at the time Your lordship made the junction with the corps there, there were under Major General Phillips' orders 5304 -- a force I should have hoped would be sufficient of itself to carry on operation in any of the southern provinces in America...My [own] present effective force is only 10,931. With respect to that, the enemy may collect for such an object, it is probable they may amount to at least twenty thousand, besides reinforcement to the French, (which, from pretty good authority, I have reason to expect) and the numerous militia of the five neighbouring provinces. Thus circumstanced, I am persuaded your lordship will be of opinion, that the sooner I concentrate my force the better. Therefore (unless your lordship, after the receipt of my letter of the 29th of May, and 8th instant, should incline to agree with me in opinion, and judge it right to adopt my ideas respecting the move to Baltimore, or the Delaware neck, &c.) I beg leave to recommend it to you, as soon as you have finished the

[3152] William Johnson has Rawdon's leaving to pursue Greene on the 24th; while other sources have this taking place on the night of the 21st. TCS p. 498, SAW2 p. 373, MLW4A p. 531, JLG2 p. 155, LCC pp. 417-418.
[3153] See Rawdon to Cornwallis, 2 August, NGP8 p. 453n, AR81 pp. 93-94, GHA4 p. 96, MLW4A p. 531, LMS pp. 379-380, JLG2 pp. 155-156.
[3154] NGP8 pp. 351n, 452.
[3155] KJO p. 20.
[3156] TCS pp. 300-301, LMS p.429, JYC pp. 54-55.
[3157] SQR pp. 224-226, GHA4 p. 116, LMS p. 429, WCO p. 325.
[3158] NGP8 p. 459, GHA4 p. 116.
[3159] LMS p. 279, Tim's Ordinary is also described as being 11 miles beyond Lisle's (or Lyle's) Ford, on Broad River. JLG2 p. 155.
[3160] NGP8 pp. 454n. 455, 458, JLG2 pp. 155-156, LCC pp. 417-419.
[3161] NGP8 pp. 207, 284, 302, 384, 460, RNC p. 344.
[3162] NGP8 pp. 460-461.

active operations you may now be engaged in, to take a defensive station, in any healthy situation you chuse, (be it at Williamsburgh or York town); and I would wish, in that case, that, after reserving to yourself such troops as you may judge necessary for an ample defensive, and desultory movements by water, for the purpose of annoying the enemy's communications, destroying magazines, &c., the following corps may be sent to me in succession as you can spare them: Two battalions of light infantry; 43d regiment; 76th or 80th regiment; two battalions of Anspach; Queen's rangers, cavalry and infantry; remains of the detachment of 17th light dragoons; and such proportion of artillery as can be spared, particularly men." [3163]

Letter from Clinton of June 15th: "(A)s I am led to suppose from your Lordship's letter of the 26th ultimo, that you may not think it expedient to adopt the operations I had recommended in the Chesapeak[e], and will by this time probably have finished those you were engaged in; I request you will immediately embark a part of the troops, stated in the letter inclosed [sic]; beginning with the light infantry; and send them to me with all possible dispatch; for which purpose Captain [Charles] Hudson, or officer commanding the king's ships, will, I presume, upon your Lordship's application appoint a proper convoy. I shall likewise, in proper time, solicit the admiral to send some more transports to the Chesapeak; in which your Lordship will please to send hither the remaining troops you judge can be spared from the defence of the posts you may occupy, as I do not think it adviseable [sic] to leave more troops in that unhealthy climate, at this season of the year, than what are absolutely wanted for a defensive, and desultory water excursions."[3164]

Wickwire: "Cornwallis personally questioned the wisdom of insisting on a post in the Chesapeake which experience had shown would be of limited use in defending the Carolinas and which was easily open to French attack."[3165]

26 June. [skirmish] Spencer's Ordinary, also Spencer's Tavern (James City County, VA.) Wayne, leading Lafayette's van, received word of Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers foraging and destroying boats and stores on the Chickahominy River. On the night of the 25th, he sent most of the advanced parties under Col. Richard Butler (whom Lee charcterizes as an "excellent officer [who] passed through the war with distinction."), with McPherson, McCall, and Willis, to intercept them. A forward party of about 50 dragoons and 50 light infantry under McPherson then caught up at Spencer's Ordinary (about six miles north of Williamsburg) with Simcoe's then retiring forces. A skirmish ensued, in which both sides lost about 30 men each, with the British in addition taking 31 prisoners. Simcoe after throwing back the Americans (thanks in no small part to the unexpected and timely arrival of a previously foraging troop of the British Legion under Capt.Ogilvie that surprised the American left flank) broke off the action, and brought word to Cornwallis of the American's approach. Cornwallis then moved his army up in response, but there was no further fighting. Simcoe later returned to the field of action to recover the wounded. The Americans then retired to Tyre's Plantation; while Cornwallis continued his march to Williamsburg. There he found some recruits which had lately arrived for his Guards. For the next week, the two opposing forces remained roughly in these locations about sixteen to twenty miles from each other, at the same time enduring weather that was scathingly hot. On June 30th, Cornwallis reported to Clinton his losses at that date as 33 killed and wounded, and that 31 Americans were taken prisoner (the latter in the recent raids in and around Richmond and Charlottesville.) Lee avers that once more Cornwallis by retiring after this action relinquished yet anoher opportunity to bring Lafayette to battle.[3166]
Lafayette, at Mr. Tyre's plantation, twenty miles from Williamsburgh," on the 27th wrote Greene: "Having followed the enemy, our light parties fell in with them near New-Kent court house. The army was still at a distance, and Lord Cornwallis continued his march towards Williamsburgh. His rear and right flank were followed by a large detachment under Colonel [Richard] Butler; but notwithstanding the most fatiguing march, the colonel reports, that he could not have overtaken them had not Major Macpherson mounted fifty light infantry behind an equal number of dragoons, which coming up with the enemy, charged them within six miles of Williamsburgh. Such of the advanced corps as could arrive, composed of riflemen, under Major Call and Major Willis, began a smart action. Inclosed is a return of our loss; that of the enemy is sixty killed, including several officers, and one hundred wounded, a disproportion which the skill of our riflemen easily explains. I am under great obligations to Colonel Butler, and the officers, and the officers and men of the detachment, for their ardour in the pursuit, and their conduct in the action.
"General Wayne, who marched to the support of Butler, sent down some troops, under Major Hamilton. The whole British army came out to save Simcoe, and on the arrival of our army on this ground, returned to Williamsburgh. The post they now occupy is strong under the protection of their shipping, but upwards of one hundred miles from the Point of Fork."[3167]

Simcoe: "Every division, every officer, every soldier had his share in the merit of the action (at Spencer's Ordinary): mistake in the one might have brought on cowardice in the other, and a single panick strucken [sic] soldier would have probably have infected a platoon, and led to the utmost confusion and ruin; so that Lt. Col. Simcoe has ever considered this action as the climax of a campaign of five years, as the result of true discipline

[3163] COC pp. 108-110, CAR pp. 529-530, TCS pp. 396-397. .
[3164] COC pp. 111-112, WCO pp. 336, 340.
[3165] WCO p. 340.
[3166] EHJ pp. 308-313, AR81 p. 119, SQR pp. 226-239, 325-327, TCS pp. 301-302, 350, GHA4 pp. 116-117, MLW4A p. 437, LMS pp. 429-430, JYC pp. 55-56, HFR pp. 42-43, CBA pp. 604-605, WAR2 p. 875, BEA pp. 1044-1045.
[3167] TCS pp. 347-348.

acquired in that space by unremitted diligence, toil and danger, as a honorable victory earned by veteran intrepidity."[3168]

27 June. Greene reached his destination near the Cross Roads between the Broad River and the Catawba, and north of Winnsborough, where he camped. Bass states that Sumter, shortly after this date, *may* have joined Greene with state troops and some militia at this location; though, as he further points out, it is not certain that this junction took place. Nevertheless, he adds correspondence would seem to suggest it did. By the evening of the 28th, according to this account, Sumter returned to Ancrum's to bring in more militia. Somewhat strangely, Bass also remarks that William Johnson makes reference to such a meeting, but Johnson, in fact, speaks of Sumter reinforcing Greene rather on July 8th. Johnson *does* make a statement which seems to support what Bass tentatively asserts, but the wording is rather vague. See 24 June.[3169]

28 June. Col. Wade Hampton's detachment of mounted men and cavalry joined Lee who was keeping watch on Rawdon.[3170]

28 June. Colonel Peter Horry, at High Hills, S.C. wrote Greene thanking him for sending his new commission as lieutenant colonel in the State Troops, authorized by Gov. Rutledge. In his letter, he discussed the preparations for the arming and equipping of a corps of State dragoons similar to that which Maham (see 22 June) was instructed to form.[3171]
William Johnson: "The present state of things left no room to doubt the utter impolicy of carrying on the war any further through the fluctuating aid of the miliia. Measures were immediately adopted for re-establishing the South Carolina line; and the execution of the cartel having furnished some excellent materials in the discharge of the prisoners from the prison-shiips, different rendezvous were opened, and Mayhem [Maham] and Horry's corps began to fill up; but still slowly, for they had to be raised upon promises, and state promises were at that time far below par."

28 June. On the evening if this date, a British deserter from Dorchester informed Greene that a convoy of 300 hundred men, was moving up the Edisto to Orangeburgh intended to meet up with Rawdon when he arrived there (as planned.) Greene then directed Washington and Lee to meet at Ancrum's, and from there attempt to seize the convoy. Then on the 29th he also wrote Sumter directing him to send Middleton's cavalry to repair to Ancrum's and join Washington; Middlton, however and due to some delay, did not arrive to effect this juncture.[3172]
William Johnson: "Lee with his legion was ordered to hover about the post of Ninety-Six, to follow the enemy's movements, strike where an opportunity offered, and keep the general constantly informed of the minutest occurrences. While Washington with his cavalry and Kirkwood's infantry, was directd to move down between the broad and Wateree Rivers to Granby, and throwing himself between that post and Oarngeburgh, to pursue the same course pointed out to Lee. General Sumpter, at the same time, was instructed to penerate lower down the country, and communicate with Marion in measures of cooperation in that quarer. The American army then recommencd its march by the right, and quieted the apprehensions of the country by advancing a day's journey on the route to Grandby. Here it halted, as wll to ascrtan the ultimate views to the enemy, as to await the arrival of a detachment of two hundrdd North Carolina levies, advancing under Major John Armstrong."[3173]

28 June. Marion, at "Singletons Mills High Hills Santee," S.C., wrote to Greene reporting that he had 400 men with him and expected more to join him in a day or two.[3174]

29 June. Malmedy, at Salisbury, wrote to Greene saying Col. Francis Lock, commander of the Salisbury militia, had furloughed his militia at home having received no instructions from the governor. At Greene's "request," Lock had now ordered them out again and promised to have 800 men at Charlotte in seven days. Earlier, Greene had sent Malmedy to hurry a detachment of Salisbury militia to his army.[3175]

29 June. Lee wrote a letter to Greene giving his location as "Camp between the Enoree & Bush Rivers on the old Saluda Road," stating that on 27 June he dispatched Capt. Joseph Eggleston to Ninety Six with a party of dragoons, hoping that Eggleston would "find the enemy in a dispersed position..." Those left with him were "shoing [shoeing horses] & refreshing;" and doing well for provision, but lacked rum and salt. It is not clear if Wade Hampton's cavalry and mounted militia stayed with Lee or accompanied Eggleston, probably the former. See 28 June.[3176]

29 June. Rawdon, with 900 men,[3177] left Ninety Six and headed toward Orangeburgh, hoping to form a junction with Alexander Stewart who had moved from Monck's Corner a few days earlier. The remainder of Rawdon's

[3168] SQR pp. 234-235, WCO p. 335.
[3169] NGP8 p. 463, JLG2 pp. 161-162. BGC pp. 189-190, 272n.
[3170] NGP8 pp. 451, 452n.
[3171] NGP8 p. 471, JLG2 pp. 146, 155.
[3172] JLG2 pp. 161-162, BGC p. 190.
[3173] JLG2 pp. 158-159.
[3174] NGP8 p. 472.
[3175] NGP8 p. 476.
[3176] NGP8 pp. 475-476.
[3177] In a letter to Cornwallis of Aug. 2, Rawdon gave his force strength on this occasion as "800 foot & 60 horse." NGP8 p. 478n.

army stayed with Cruger, who made preparations for the evacuation of the loyalists from the area. It was intended that Stewart, who had a force of 250 to 300 men of the 3rd Regt. and possibly some mounted troops as well, was to have met up with him by July 3rd. However, Stewart had been halted on his march and recalled to Dorchester by Col. Gould (apparently due to belief of a French invasion), which directive Gould shortly after had revoked. When Stewart had resumed his march, Lee and Washington tried to ambush him, but without success. Marion sought to do the same, but only managed to capture a few wagons. Rawdon and Stewart then were able to unite at Orangeburgh on June 7th. Cruger, for the time being remained at Ninety Six with the greater part of the army, some 1,100 to 1,400 rank and file. He sent a substantial part of his Ninety Six force to raid the Long Canes area, evidently to make it easier for any loyalists there to join him.[3178]
Greene, near the Broad and Catawba Crossroads, S.C., wrote to Lee on this date: "From a deserter who came into Camp last evening, I learn the enemy have 16 Waggon loads of stores of different kinds moving up from Charles town upon the Orangeburgh road under an escort of 400 Men & forty horse for the use of Lord Rawden's [sic] Army. He left them at Four Holes about five and thirty miles below Orangeburgh on Sunday last, and says they could not march more than eight or ten Miles a day; and adds they were sickly and very much dissatisfied. I have directed Col Washington to move down to Ancrum's Plantation on the Congaree and Col Middleton [Charles Myddleton] to join them at that place."[3179]

William Johnson: "Orders of the 29th had been transmitted to General Sumpter, to detach Colonel Middleton [Charles Myddleton] with his regiment to reinforce [Lieut. Col. William] Washington, at Ancrum's on the Congaree; and to Lee to hasten up and form a junction with Washington on his assigned position, or appoint some other place where it could be effected with more expedition or perform the enterprise himself, if strong enough to attempt it. Washington was ordered to repair to Ancrum's, and immediately on being joined by these reinforcements to hasten on and intercept Stewart. But, as it was uncertain whether Lee could be found promptly or what his difficulties might be in forming a junction with Washington, the latter was ordered, on being joined by Middleton, to proceed without halting for Lee. And as it was not certain that General Sumpter was present with his command under Middleton, direct orders were sent to Middleton, to put himself under the orders of Washington at Ancrum's Ferry, and proceed to the execution of the blow intended against Stewart."[3180]

Chesney: "In the beginning of July[,] I joined the Army under Lord Rawdon then marching towards Ninety-Six to relieve the place. On our approach the Americans who were besieging it broke up, crossed Broad River, and proceeded along the left bank towards Charles Town. Lord Rawdon finding that the country must be abandoned, detached his light troops towards Long Canes (a branch of Savanna[h] River) to bring away the Loyalists and their families; taking himself with the main body along the route to Charles Town as far as Congaree. The Americans recrossed the river & made a fruitless effort to oppose his march by preventing our crossing the creek, which we did without difficulty and proceeded to Orangeburgh, where we expected to meet reinforcements from Charles Town and be joined by the light troops and Loyalists. But we were disappointed in both and soon after surrounded by the Americans who pressed us so closely that we had nothing but 1 pound of wheat in the straw served out to each man every 24 hours. The parties going out daily to forage had constant skirmishes with the enemy. One day Major [John] Doyle sent out with what mounted men he could muster (about 20 or 30) to cover the foraging; which he did effectually, driving off the Americans with some loss; on this occasion Lord Edward Fitzgerald [more properly "Edward Lord Fitzgerald" of the 19th Regt.], having broken his sword on the back of an American, I supplied him with another to continue the attack for which he felt greatly obliged." [3181]

29 June. Stewart camped next to Four Holes Bridge.[3182]

30 June. Cornwallis, at Williamsburgh, to Clinton: "…Upon viewing York [Yorktown], I was clearly of [the] opinion that it far exceeds our power, consistent with your plans, to make, safe defensive posts there and at Gloucester, both of which would be necessary for the protection of shipping…When I see Portsmouth [Virginia], I shall give my opinion of the number of men necessary for its defence, or of any other post that may be thought more proper. But as magazines, &c, may be to destroyed by occasional expeditions from New York, and there is little chance of being able to establish a post capable of giving effectual protection to ships of war, I submit it to your Excellency's consideration, whether it is worth while to hold a sickly defensive post in this bay [the Chespaeak which will always be exposed to a sudden French attack, and which experience has shown makes no diversion in favour of the southern army.
"Tarleton was lucky enough to intercept an express with letters from Greene to La Fayette, of which the inclosed [sic] are copies. By them you will see General Greene's intention of coming to the northward, and that part of the reinforcements, destined for his army, was stopped in consequence of my arrival here. As soon as it is evident that our plan is nearly defensive here, there can be little doubt of his returning to the southward, and of the reinforcements proceeding to join his army.
"I still continue in the most painful anxiety for the situation of South Carolina. Your Excellency will have received accounts of Lord Rawdon's proceedings previous to his arrival at Monk's [Monck's] Corner, and of his intended operations. My last account from him is in a note to Lieutenant Colonel Balfour, dated the 9th instant at Four Hole Bridge, and he was then in great hopes of being in time to save Cruger. I have ordered Colonel

[3178] NGP8 pp. 474n, 476n, 478, 484, 485n, AR81 p. 94, TCS pp. 503-504, SAW2 pp. 373-374, MLW4A pp. 531-532, LMS pp. 378-379, JLG2 pp. 156-163, LCC pp. 419-421.
[3179] NGP8 p. 473, JLG2 pp. 161-162.
[3180] JLG2 p. 161.
[3181] CDI.
[3182] NGP8 p. 483, TCS pp. 503-504.

[Paston] Gould to proceed, as soon as convoy could be procured, with the nineteenth and thirtieth regiments to New York, leaving the third regiment and the flank companies in South Carolina, till your pleasure is known. I named the flank companies, because they might be distant at the time of the arrival of the order, and as a corps capable of exertion is much wanted on that service.
"Your Excellency well knows my opinion of a defensive war on the frontiers of South Carolina. From the state of Lord Rawdon's health, it is impossible that he can remain; for which reason, although the command in that quarter can only be attended with mortification and disappointment, yet, as I came to America with no other view than to endeavour to be useful to my country, and as I do not think it possible to render any service in a defensive situation here, I am willing to repair to Charles-town if you approve of it; and in the mean time, I shall do every thing in my power to arrange matters here till I have your answer.
"Major [James] Craig represented so strongly to Lord Rawdon his regret at leaving the distressed Loyalists in the neighbourhood of Wilmington, and his hopes of a considerable insurrection in the lower part of North Carolina, where the enemy have no force, that his Lordship gave him a conditional permission to postpone the evacuation of Wilmington; but I have not yet learned whether he has availed himself of it.
"La Fayette's continentals, I believe, consist of about seventeen or eighteen hundred men, exclusive of some twelvemonth's men, collected by Steuben. He has received considerable reinforcements of mi[l]itia, and about eight hundred mountain rifle-men under [William] Campbell. He keeps with his main body about eighteen or twenty miles from us; his advanced corps about ten or twelve; probably with an intention of insulting our rear guard when we pass James River. I hope, however, to put that out of his power, by crossing at James City Island; and if I can get a favourable opportunity of striking a blow at him without loss of time, I will certainly try it. I will likewise attempt water expeditions, if proper objects present themselves after my arrival at Portsmouth."[3183]

30 June. A few days earlier, Pickens, as directed (see 23 June), had taken charge of Greene's wagons after the army retreated from Ninety Six. On June 30th, at Grindall's Shoals on the on Pacolet River, he found it necessary to leave the wagons behind, but, now with some 400 to 500 men, was returning to Greene with the wagon horses. He joined up with the Continentals by July 6th.[3184]

Late June. Since Governor Abner Nash had chosen not (most likely for health reasons than for political ones as has sometimes perhaps been too quickly assumed -- see entry at *September* 1780) to serve a second term (and that began after 25 June), the N.C. Assembly had selected Thomas Burke as his replacement and who then had succeeded to the office by this time.

"Summer" 1781. [skirmish] South River. Some skirmishes took place in Duplin and Sampson counties, N.C., including one recounted by N.C. militiaman Joseph Williams, also related in Dunkerly, see DRO pp. 186-187.

[3183] COC pp. 123-126.
[3184] NGP8 pp. 478-479, 483n, RCC p. 102.

JULY 1781

July. Georgia leaders, including Nathan Brownson (and who at this time was made governor[3185]) and Col. John Twiggs (later Brigadier General by the state in August) met in Augusta to make arrangements for restoration of the government, and the re-organization of the state troops and militia.[3186]

July. Some Continental draftees from the Edenton and Wilmingtons districts, originally destined for Sumner's N.C. Continental brigade, remained in their respective areas to assist militia already fending off or protecting against raids by Lieut. Col. David Fanning arising from Wilmington.
Pension statement of William White, of Anson County: "Again, while living at the same place, in the month of July, 1781, he was drafted for a three months tour against the British under Captain John Degarnett in Colonel Thomas Waid's [Wade's] Regiment of Militia (rendezvoused) at the Grassy Islands. Marched to Black River. There we met Generals [John] Butler and [Griffith] Rutherford. We were commanded by General Rutherford.[3187] Then we marched into the neighborhood of Wilmington...then to the plantation of Major Waddle [Wadell]. Lay there about a week...then back to near Wilmington...lay there about a week...then on to the waters of Cross Creek...then back to Major Waddles plantation...then to near Wilmington. We lay in that neighborhood till our time was out and was honorably discharged in October of 1781."

July. Hugh McCall: "In July, two small forts on Broad river were attacked and taken by James Tillet, with a party of loyalists and Indians. Eighteen men, women and children were murdered. Such the women as were able to bear the fatigues of a rapid march were carried into captivity and compelled to endure all the difficulties of savage life." [3188]

July. [raid] Wyanoke Ferry, also "Loyalists burned settlement (in Great Dismal Swamp, N.C.)" (Gates County, N.C. ONB3 p. 276. aAd see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/wyanokefy.htm

July. [skirmish] Dreher Plantation, also "Godfrey Dreher vs. (British?) regulars" (Lexington County, S.C.) ONB3 p. 276. See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/dreherspl.htm

July. [skirmish] Sandy River, S.C. ONB3 pp. 281-292.

July. [skirmish] Bloody Savannah, also "Maj. John Singleton [one of Sumter's officers] vs. Loyalists" (Sumter County. S.C.) ONB3 p. 299. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/bloodysavannah.htm

July. [skirmish] Tugaloo, S.C. ONB3 p. 300.

July. [skirmish] Ray's Mill Creek, also "Col. Philip Alston vs. Thomas Taylor" (Moore County, N.C.)
See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/raysmillcr.htm

Early July or late June. By early July, Lieut. Col. John Watson had gone home to England. Command of the Provincial Light Infantry battalion then went to Maj. Thomas Barclay. Since Watson's corps was with Rawdon, it may have been that Watson either had not accompanied it, or else, if he had, he shortly after left it and Rawdon sometime in late June.

Early July. Lafayette force totaled some 4,000 men and stood roughly had as follows:
3 contingents of Continentals, namely:
800 New England and N.J. soldiers, under Muhlenberg
50 Pennsylvanians, under Wayne
450 new Virginia levies, under, Christian Febiger
50 Continental Dragoons
300 artillerymen,

3 militia brigades of about 2180 men, under William Campbell, Edward Stevens, and Robert Lawson; with 60 militia cavalry[3189]

1 July.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

BRITISH
1st Bttn., Light Infantry: 472
2nd Bttn., Light infantry: 404
Brigade of Guards: 337

[3185] For a sketch of Brownson, see WHG pp. 213-214.
[3186] NGP9 pp. 34-35.
[3187] Rutherford, who had been captured at Camden, had been exchanged in June.[3187]
[3188] MHG p. 525.
[3189] WCO pp. 341-342, GYT p. 8.

7th Regt.: 174
23rd Regt.: 165
33rd Regt.: 186
43rd Regt.: 280
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 161
76th Regt.: 312
80th Regt.: 356

GERMAN
Anspach:
1st Anspach Bttn.: 418
2nd Anspach Bttn.: 400

Hessian:
Prince Hereditaire: 405
Regt. von Bose: 204

PROVINCIAL
Queen's Rangers: 315
British Legion (cavalry only): 173

Total: 4,762

Detachments not included above:
Royal Artillery: 233
German artillery: 50
17th Light Dragoons: 35
82nd Light Company: 36
Jägers: 57
North Carolina Volunteers: 33
Guides and Pioneers: 54

Total for detachments, etcs.: 488

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5,250[3190]

1-2 July. By 11 pm on this date, Rawdon arrived at the now defunct and dismantled Fort Granby. Sometime the next day, he proceeded towards Orangeburgh. On the 2nd, Lee, writing from the "Broad River West Side," S.C., reported (to Greene) Rawdon's reaching Granby. He mentioned that the British force included a detachment of 150 Hessians, and that the enemy cavalry was partly with Rawdon, and partly with Cruger. "Its dragoon horses are all ruined, the troops sickly and starved." At this date, Lee was within 12 miles of Granby and intended to join Lt. Col. Washington that evening to harass, and, if possible, fight the British column. Washington, meanwhile was at "Col. Tailor's." Greene with the main army, meanwhile, rested (these?) two days at Big Spring on Rocky Creek in modern Fairfield County.[3191]
William Gilmore Simms, in his historical novel *Eutaw* (1856): "It is to be remembered that the British were feeble in cavalry. Their real strength lay in their light and heavy-armed infantry, and their artillery; their numbers at this moment in the colony estimated at three thousand men -- all regulars. Add to this three thousand irregular troops, loyal militia, rangers, and refugees from other colonies. Their chief forces lay in Charles town and Orangeburgh; their minor posts, more or less strongly garrisoned, according to their size, and the difficulties of the country they were meant to over awe, were now limited to Dorchester, Monck's Corner, Wantoot, Watboo [Wadboo], Fairlawn, and Biggin. At the latter place, the garrison numbered five hundred good troops; at Dorchester there may have been two hundred; the other posts were of inferior importance, and held by detachments varying from fifty to hundred men. Small roving commands, employed chiefly in foraging, plied between the several stations, and thus contributed to their security. The British cavalry was feeble, consisting of Coffin's, and a few other bodies, not well equipped, badly manned, badly mounted; not capable of resisting the American cavalry...The most efficient of the British mounted men were the loyalists, who had descended from the regions of Ninety-Six, with Cruger, on the abandonment of that fortress. But the large number of these had pressed onto the city, as not equal to the encounter with the troops of Marion and Sumter, and as liable to something more than the penalties of the soldier, in the event of defeat. Most of them were outlawed, and fought, they well knew, with halters about theirs necks."[3192]

1-2 July. Prior to the arrival of Rochambeau with the main French army marching to join him, General Washington launched a night assault on British outposts protecting New York City. While the effort proved abortive, it did heighten Clinton's concern for that city, and consequently averted his attention from operations

[3190] CAC p. 236, insert.
[3191] NGP8 pp. 481, 483, 484, JLG2 pp. 158-159, LCC pp. 419-424, BGC p. 191-192.
[3192] SEU p. 191.

in Virginia. In the meantime, he started forming plans for an attack of his own (later cancelled) on Newport, R.I.[3193]

2 July. Admiral Arbuthnot departed for England, leaving Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves in command of British naval forces in New York.[3194]

2 July. Col. Isaac Shelby, from Sullivan County, N.C., wrote to Greene saying he has not been able to join Greene with the backcountry militia because to have done so would have left the frontier too weak to protect against Indian raids, and which were still a potential threat despite peace negotiations with the Cherokee still in progress. In addition, the harvest needed attending to. He added that he would have to wait till a treaty was signed, and gave 20 July as a likely date when that might happen. On 3 August, he wrote again stating the negotiations with the Cherokees had been completed and that he was on his way to Greene with 700 men. Despite this, it was well into the fall of 1781 (and after Eutaw Springs) before Shelby actually arrived with his men. As far back as December, Greene had been hoping to get the backcountry militia to join him, but with little success. It was about that time (Nov.-Dec. 1780) that British agents had incited the Cherokees to war, thus keeping many of the King's Mountain warriors out of Carolina military affairs in 1781.[3195]

2 July. Brig. Gen. William caswell, at Kingston, to Gov. Thomas Burke: "I returned last Night from New River, where it was said the British Troops had taken post. This account was confirmed by several and by a Capt. Powers, who had command of Hawkin's Horse; but on my arrival at the No. Wt. of New River I found Col. Mitchell posted there and the Enemy at Rutherford's Mill, reaping wheat and collecting Cattle. Their Number when they left Wilmington was about Two Hundred British and Twenty Five Tories, under the Command of Major Manson. Some Few Tories have joined them. Major Craike [Craig] was in Wilmington with about 150 (suppose not above 100). When I found their situation and that the Party commanded by Manson had no cannon, had Determined to attack them or Wilmington instantly, and with that intent left New River to forward on the Troops, but on my return to this Place found your Excellency's orders (thro' Gen'l Butler) to move up towards Wake, which orders I am now Executing and the Troops on their Way. Have no expectation of the British moving nearer this Way, unless the movement of the Troops from this Place should occasion it. Hope to have the pleasure of seeing your Excellency in a few Days, as I intend to set out To-morrow for the Assembly."[3196]

3 July. Greene camped at Winnsborough, and on this same day wrote Lieut. Col. Washington stating that Sumter's force was about thirty miles in the army's rear, and had been asked to join up with him as soon as possible. Pickens was also expected. When these contingents were all collected, Greene intended to "push" Rawdon. Sumter at this time was in Camden, and the area above it, working to collect, arm, and organize his men. In a letter dated July 2nd, at "Col [Samuel] Watson['s] 15 mile from X [Cross] Roads," S.C., he reported to Greene that four of his regiments were ready to march. In spite of this, many were in want of "arms" (apparently referring to swords for his cavalry.) He therefore set a number of artificers to work, but material to make them with was hard to come by. He intended to return to Camden itself, by way of the Waxhaws to expedite the manufacture of the weapons and on Friday (i.e. July 6th) he was to meet with his troops at a location betwixt the Wateree and Congaree. In the same letter, he also mentioned British detachments being at Twenty-Three Mile House and Ten Mile House.[3197]

3 July. (also given as 8 July) [ambush] Armstrong's Capture, also "Eggleston's Capture" (as per McCrady), Congaree Creek (Lexington County, S.C.) While he with the main body of the Legion moved south along the west side of the Broad River, Lee on July 2nd sent Capt. Joseph Eggleston with a detachment of Legion dragoons (the *Annual Register* says 40) to "gain the forage country and seek an opportunity to strike at the enemy foragers," and to join Capt. James Armstrong who was already out reconnoitering.[3198] Rawdon was in the vicinity of Granby, which was one of the only settlements south of Friday's Ferry that still contained food to be had. Armstrong (or incorrectly by some accounts Eggleston) followed watching his movements; when, early on the morning of the 3rd, he learned of a party of Rawdon's troops with some wagons, escorted by some cavalry, out gathering provisions. He then set an ambush for the detachment on their way to a local farm. Catching them completely unprepared, Armstrong took 2 officers and 45 privates, as well as their horses, arms and accoutrements, while routing the rest. Of the horses taken, some thirty, as well as their equipment, were afterward given to Col. Hezekiah Maham to help mount his newly forming State cavalry troop. In contrast to the more familiar versions of this action, Alexander Garden in his *Anecdotes* -- Second Series (1828) p. 133, makes it plain, and based on the testimony of Eggleston himself, that it was actually Armstrong rather than Eggleston who devised and carried out the stratagem (and consequently deserved the greater credit for its success.)[3199]

Letter of Balfour, written on July 20th, 1781, to Clinton: "…For this place [the Congarees] General Greene's having changed the course of his Route, likewise Push'd, & by passing over the River a Corps of Cavalry,

[3193] LMS pp. 481-484, JYC p. 82, WAR2 pp. 880-881.
[3194] CGP p. lxv.
[3195] NGP8 p. 482.
[3196] CNC22 pp. 538-539.
[3197] NGP8 pp. 482-484, 486, JLG2 pp. 159-160.
[3198] Lee was within about 13 miles of Rawdon who subsequently moved in the direction of Orangeburgh. See Lee to Greene, 3 July 1781.
[3199] NGP8 pp. 487, 488n, BLB pp. 80-86, AR81 pp. 95-96, TCS pp. 504-505, GHA4 p. 96, GHA4 p. 96, SAW2 p. 375, LMS p. 381, GAR2 pp. 133-134, JLG2 p. 160, MSC2 pp. 309-310.

surprised a Foraging Party of Ours, of which an Officer & three or four were killed & wounded, & about forty, with their Horses, are taken." [3200]

Henry Lee, at the High Hills of the Santee on 24 July, wrote Richard Henry Lee: "While Lord Rawdon lay on the Congaree a squadron of the Legion cavalry obtained a complete victory over the British horse, made fifty prisoners, and destroyed the whole body, five only escaped. Captain Eggleston has the honour of this enterprise.."[3201]

Tarleton: "Lord Rawdon, by forced marches, in order to surprise [sic] a body of militia, of which he had received some intelligence, arrived at the Congarees on the 1st of July, two days before the appointed time; a rapidity of movement which probably had no small effect upon the issue of Greene's scheme. He soon discovered that the enemy's light troops were in the neighbourhood, and took the necessary precautions on that account; but his cavalry, regardless of express orders to the contrary, went out by themselves to forage on the morning of the very day upon which Colonel Stuart [Alexander Stewart] was expected: They were soon surrounded by Lee's legion; and two officers, with forty dragoons, and their horses, were all taken without a blow. This, which in other circumstances would not have been much thought of, was, in the present, a most grievous stroke; and more particularly so, as the means of procuring intelligence in this crisis of so much danger was thereby cut off almost entirely. This loss, with the unexpected assemblance [sic] of the enemy, which had already been discovered in the neighbourhood, and the unexpected failure on Stuart's side, happily laid open at once to Lord Rawdon, all the danger of his own situation: He accordingly determined instantly to begin his march towards Orangeburgh, and to meet, or find Stuart wherever he was.
"The route lay across Congaree creek, at about three miles distance; a broad piece of water, in most parts deep, and enclosed by difficult banks. Colonel Lee, who had been appointed to the guard of this passage, having destroyed the bridge, and felled trees to render the ford impracticable, had then posted himself behind the creek, with a considerable body of cavalry, and some infantry of his legion. The intense head of the sun about noon, which seemed almost to disable every sort of motion, and in every species of animal, had thrown the Americans off their guard; and the unexpected arrival of the British forces in that critical period, served much to facilitate the passage. After the exchange of only a few ineffectual shots, a body of infantry were thrown over, who having dispersed the enemy without trouble, the troops soon cleared the fords, and passed them without interruption."[3202]

Garden: "I have erred too in another respect [i.e. in the earlier 1822 edition of his *Anecdotes*.] I have attributed to him Eggleston] the capture of an entire foraging party of the British, on the retreat of their army from Ninety Six. Now I have no right to force upon him an honour that he never claimed. The act was [James] Armstrong's, and Eggleston, with the frankness and generous feeling of a soldier, never failed to acknowledge it. Lee, knowing that the rich settlements south of Fridig's [also "Friday's"] Ferry could alone supply the enemy with the forage which they would require, detached Eggleston, having Armstrong under his command, to the probable scene of action. An advantageous position was immediately taken, and their approach expected with anxious solicitude. A party of dragoons very speedily appeared, but from the mistiness of the day, their numbers could not be ascertained, and Eggleston immediately countermanded the order to charge, which had been given to Armstrong, till it could be satisfactorily discovered. Armstrong, however, who was one of the best and most intrepid soldiers that ever existed, either did not, or pretended not to hear the order of his commander, and dashed forward with irresistible impetuosity. Disarmed the leader of the British party, and so completely put them to route, that forty-five prisoners, together with all the foraging wagons, were taken without the loss of a single man. Congratulated on the importance of so brilliant an achievement, Eggleston, with great modesty, acknowledged that the credit of it was altogether due to his gallant companion, 'for had my orders been obeyed,' he said, 'our triumph, in all probability, would not have been so perfect -- a greater number of the enemy might have eluded pursuit and escaped.'"

Annual Register: "This, which in other circumstances would not have been much thought of, was in the present a most grievous stroke; and more particularly so, as the means of procuring intelligence in this crisis of so much danger, was thereby cut off almost entirely. This loss ["Armstrong's Capture"], with the unexpected assemblage of the enemy, which had already been disposed in the neighborhood, and the unexpected failure on Stuart's side, happily laid open at once to Lord Rawdon, all the danger of his own situation. He accordingly determined instantly to begin his march toward Orangeburgh; and to meet or find Stuart wherever he was."[3203]

3 July. Pickens, at "Turkey Creek," S.C., wrote to Greene saying he was on his way to be with Greene's army with "all possible Expedition," and was bringing "the Waggon horses" with him.[3204]

4 July. In orders for the day, Greene wrote the troops were to receive 30 rounds of cartridges per man[3205] and ordered to be ready to march at 4 o'clock p.m; with the North Carolina and Virginia militia charged with escorting the "non-Effectives," the "Women and children," and "heavy baggage." In a letter to Maj. John Armstrong of the N.C. Continentals, on the same day, Greene told Armstrong he was to command the troops left

[3200] BLB pp. 80-86. For the earlier portion of this same leter, see entry at 18 June. [siege assault] NINETY-SIX.
[3201] *Historical Magazine*, September 1865, vol. IX, no. 9, p. 282.
[3202] TCS pp. 504-505.
[3203] AR81 pp. 95-96.
[3204] NGP8 p. 488.
[3205] Compare to an average British soldier who might be carrying 40 to 60 rounds.

to guard the baggage and stores and to move by slow and easy marches to Camden. While handing immediate command of the army over to Huger, Greene himself remained in Winnsborough, with some staff, sending orders, receiving information, and otherwise attending to administrative matters. On the 4th or the 5th, Huger moved with the army toward Friday's Ferry, near Granby. Lee and Washington, in the interim, were working to catch Stewart off guard, though in vain. William Johnson states that about this same time Greene rode to personally join Lieut. Col. Washington's cavalry which was scouting Rawdon's position.[3206]

4 July. Lafayette's army celebrated Independence Day while encamped around Bird's Ordinary some sixteen miles from Williamsburg, with firings, parades and martial music. His advance guard was ahead of the main army, some twelve miles from Williamsburg.[3207]

4 July. Cornwallis, in furtherance of orders received earlier from Clinton (viz., Clinton to Cornwallis 8, 11, 15 and 19 June), continuing on his way to Portsmouth, reached Jamestown; where he intended to cross with his army.[3208] However, due to delays moving his baggage, he was not able to march quite all of his army from Jamestown (where he'd camped) till the 9th. In the aforesaid instructions, Clinton had directed that 3,000 of Cornwallis' troops be returned to New York.[3209] Cornwallis for his part had requested he be allowed to return with the remainder of his army to Charlestown. The culmination of this exchange was that Clinton, as of his letters of 11 July (received by Cornwallis on the 20th)[3210] decided (owing to reinforcements from Europe received at New York on 11 July; which date see) to keep both the 3,000 troops *and* Cornwallis in Virginia (letter of 15 July). See entries for 15 and 20 July respecting Clinton and Cornwallis.[3211]

4 July. Col. Thomas Wade, at "Peedee," wrote Greene asking him to send paper and flints in view of the loyalists towards Cape Fear River and Drowning Creek being very troublesome. On June 30th, half of his regiment marched against the loyalists; which latter had defeated a detachment of Bladen and Cumberland County militia a few days earlier. Eight days following, i.e. on July 12, it was reported to Brig. Gen. William Caswell that between 200 and 500 Loyalists were gathered at Raft Swamp (see 15 October 1781.) Wade subsequently sent out 150 horsemen to join in attacking them, but the local whig militia had not assembled as ordered; so the plan was postponed for a later time.[3212]

4 July. Lieut. Col. Washington, at Howell's Ferry ("Capt Howells"), S.C., reported to Greene that Stewart was marching to link up with Rawdon. Washington further stated he would pass the Congaree at Howell's Ferry and rendezvous with Lee who was "eight or ten Miles below the enemy." Marion also had written Col. Washington earlier saying he would cross at McCord's Ferry tomorrow [the 5th] and would be with Lee and Washington with 400 mounted men. Washington lastly mentioned asking Col. Henry Hampton, who was left to "Guard the Fords," to provide Greene with the earliest information of enemy movements.[3213] Although Stewart, with some of the reinforcements from Ireland, did attempt to reach Rawdon at this time, upon the (false) rumor of the arrival of a French fleet he withdrew to Monck's Corner, being summoned back to Charlestown by Balfour. Within a couple days, notwithstanding, he was back on the march and reached Rawdon by the 7th.[3214]
Lee: "Lord Rawdon was not inattentive to the changing condition of affairs. The daring measure executed in his view was truly interpreted. Not joined by Stewart, and unacquainted with the cause of his delay, he determined not to risk the approach of Greene. He accordingly put his army in motion, and dispatched his light troops to the river shore, where the creek in his front emptied into the river, and where the meeting of the waters formed a bar. As soon as the light troops made good their passage, the American guards were driven in and the bridge [at Congaree Creek [destroyed earlier by Lee] replaced, over which the main body and baggage of the enemy proceeded, forcing Lee before them.
"The whole evening was spent in rapid movement; the corps of Lee falling back upon Beaver Creek, in the confident expectation of being immediately joined by Sumter, Marion, and Washington, when a serious combined effort would have been made to stop the progress of the enemy. In this expectation, founded on Greene's dispatch, Lee was disappointed: neither Sumter, Marion, nor Washington appeared, nor was any communication received from either. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, not doubting that the wished-for junction would be effected the next morning, determined, if practicable, to establish his night quarters near Beaver Creek, on the south side of which the road by the Eutaws and Motte's Post from Charleston intersected that from Charleston by the way of Orangeburgh. This spot too, gave advantages favorable to that effort which it was presumed would follow the union of the three corps.
"Rawdon, still uninformed as to Stewart, and feeling his own inferiority, persevered in his determination to avoid any exposure; not doubting that the American general was pressing forward to bring him to action before he could be re-enforced. He continued to advance until nine p.m., when he halted for the night: Lee, moving a few miles in his front, took up also his night position. With the dawn of day the British van appeared, and the

[3206] NGP8 pp. 488-489, 502, 510n, JLG2 pp.159-162.
[3207] JYC p. 56.
[3208] Lee maintains that Cornwallis ought rather to have had Portsmouth evacuated at that time and embarked the troops Clinton requested directly from Williamsburg instead. LMS p. 431.
[3209] For a list of the 3,000 originally intended to be retuned to New York (but which, as it turned out of course, were not actually sent), see CNC15 pp. 537-538, SCV1 pp. 151-152.
[3210] SCV1 p. 115.
[3211] SQR pp. 239, CAR p. 309, LMS p. 432, SCV1 pp. 150-155, SCV2 pp. 14-23, CBA p. 607, WCO p. 343.
[3212] NGP8 p. 494n.
[3213] NGP8 p. 494.
[3214] AR81 pp. 95-96, JLG2 pp. 161-163, MSC2 p. 310.

corps of Lee retired. Repeating their rapid movement this day, this day passed like the preceding, till at length the American corps reached Beaver Creek, and took post hehind it."[3215]

Henry Lee IV: "From Lee's account of this affair, it appears, that in conformity with Greene's letter of the 29th of June, he gained the front of Lord Rawdon in the neighbourhood of Ancram's, in order to co-operate with Washington and Sumpter, in the desired attempt upon Stewart -- at the same time continuing his incessant annoyance of the British army. As neither Sumpter nor Middleton ever joined Washington, it is fair to infer that he waited for them too long to render the proposed junction with Lee practicable, or as judicious as that he effected with Marion, and as Lee in compliance with the general's request, did repair to the most favourable point for meeting with Washington, it is evident he conducted himself with the strictest propriety. Yet Mr. [William] Johnson confounds him with Sumpter, who, he says, ([JLG2] p. 162,) 'was found, after three day's search, at the Hanging Rock, on the Catawba river," pursuing some trivial independent object. He previously observes, 'Neither Middleton nor Lee ever joined Washington, and the latter, (Lee,) instead of directing his views against Stewart, thought proper to throw himself in front of Rawdon, in prosecution of afeeble and fatal effort to embarrass his march.' The efforts of this learned person, to defame Colonel Lee, with a perverseness which might discompose the complacency even of a salaried officer, always furnish reason to extol the colonel, and to contemn the judge. When Lee received the letter of the 29th, communicating intelligence of the advance of Stewart toward Orangeburg, and the project of cutting him off, he was, in obedience to orders, as Mr. Johnson himself declares, hanging on the rear, darting at the flanks, impeding and reporting the progress of Lord Rawdon; who, moving in a direction opposite to the approach of Stewart, was proceeding to meet him at Orangeburg. In order to execute the object of General Greene, it obviously became necessary that he should gain the front of Lord Rawdon, or in other words, should place himself between his Lordship and Colonel Stewart, so as to be able to move against the latter, as soon as he should be joined by Sumpter and Washington; at the same time he appears, in compliance with his previous orders, to have meditated a combined effort, to check the advance of Lord Rawdon; an attempt, which, if successful, exclusive of its direct effects, would have facilitated the execution of the special enterprize against Stewart. So that what our author is pleased to term a 'feeble and fatal effort to embarrass Lord Rawdon's march,' and 'throwing himself in his front, instead of directing his views against Stewart,' turns out to have been a prompt and zealous effort to accomplish the objects of General Greene, viz. to retard the advance of the British army, and to intercept the detachment coming up to its relief. In the vicinity of Orangeburg General Greene offered the enemy battle, which being declined, he returned to summer quarters on the High Hills of Santee; having previously formed a detachment of one thousand men, (militia chiefly,) under Sumpter, Marion, and Lee."[3216]

5 July. Lieut. Col. Washington, at Howell's Ferry, S.C.,[3217] wrote to Greene saying Rawdon was retreating from Fort Granby, and passing Beaver Creek on his (Rawdon's) march from Ft. Granby to Orangeburgh. Washington added again that he himself was going to cross McCord's Ferry and fall in with Marion and Lee.[3218]

5 July (also 6 July.) [raid] Great Dismal Swamp (probably Gates County, N.C.) Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory and some militia were surprised by a detachment of British out of Portsmouth, VA. They managed to escape, nevertheless, with few losses. After the British withdrew, Gregory returned to the post from whence he had retreated; which was located near the Great Dismal Swamp and somewhere on the road between Portsmouth and North Carolina.[3219]

5 July. In Wilmington, David Fanning was formally appointed Colonel of the Loyal Militia of Chatham and Randolph Counties, N.C. In June, a dispute had arisen as to who would head the loyalists of Randolph and Chatham adjacent counties. The two contenders were Fanning and William Elwood. When a vote was taken Fanning won, but there was still some disagreement among the men and their leaders. Fanning then, with a number of his followers removed to Wilmington in order to obtain formal recognition of his election. This then was granted by Maj. Craig. On the 12th, Fanning then departed Wilmington and presented officer commissions to various men in his command.[3220]

5 July. [raid] The Capture of Williamson (Charleston County, S.C.) After collecting some men at William Harden's camp (with whom he was acting in renewed cooperation) at Horseshoe on the Ashepoo River, Col. Isaac Hayne led a force of mounted militiamen in a successful attempt to capture Gen. Andrew Williamson -- the former patriot leader of Ninety Six; who, having accepted British protection, had taken refuge on a plantation near Charlestown. This advantage was reversed, however, on 7 July when Capt. Archibald Campbell (under the command of Maj. Thomas Fraser), with some mounted South Carolina Light dragoons, as well rescuing Williamson, captured Hayne himself while killing (or wounding) fourteen other whigs.[3221]

5 July. [raid] Walls of Charlestown (Charleston County, S.C.) Col. Otho Williams, at Rice Creek, S.C., (and evidently at this time away from the army) wrote to Greene saying he had received a report that the garrison in

[3215] LMS pp.283-284.
[3216] LCC pp. 395-417.
[3217] Howell's Ferry was located on the Congaree River roughly mid-way between the locations of forts Granby and Motte.
[3218] NGP8 p. 499, JLG2 pp. 161-163.
[3219] NGP8 p. 492, EHJ.
[3220] FNA pp. 17-20.
[3221] NGP9 p. 251n, GHA4 pp. 104-105, JTR pp. 361-364, MSC2 pp. 318-321, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, p. 159.

Charlestown was living upon boiled corn, which was very scarce, and fresh beef. Also Williams' learned that "(O)ur militia have pursued theirs to the Walls of their fortifications. Capt[ai]n Stone intercepted a Convoy of Provisions, routed the party & cut their Horses out of the Waggons. Lord Rawdon made a Detachment to Georgia with which most of our Deserters were sent."[3222]

5 July. Upon learning that Cornwallis was withdrawing from Williamsburg, Lafayette collected his troops and marched to Bird's Tavern in pursuit, his advanced parties reaching Norrell's Mills, 8 miles from Jamestown.[3223]

6 July. Col. James Kenan, at Duplin [Court House?], to N.C. Gov. Thomas Burke: "From the Best information we are able to git [sic], there is about two hundred & fifty foot and forty light horse of the British [acting out of Wilmington, and possibly those under David Fanning] that is up the river at Rutherford[']s Mills they say to take Duplin and Onslow Counties, and drive off the Stockes. Genl. Lillington had Call'd upon this County for all the men that Can be raised to march to the rich land Chapple in Onslow County about one Hundred foot has marched and we have fifty more ready to march. I hope Your Excellency will order assistance to this part of the Country other wise Good people here will be under the Necessity of Giving up in order to Save their property if possible but this will be the last Step taken. We Keep about 50 light horse near their lines to watch their Movements."[3224]

6 July. While Greene was himself away at Winnsborough (see 4 July), Huger taking charge of the army camped about half a mile from Friday's Ferry. Greene and his staff apparently rejoined him on the 8th and by which date all were at Howell's Ferry on the Congaree.[3225]

6 July. [battle] Green Spring Farm, also Green Spring Plantation, Jamestown Ford (James City County, VA.) In an effort to interrupt Cornwallis' crossing the James River at Jamestown en route to Portsmouth, Lafayette sent Wayne forward to probe the British position. Wayne had with him his three Pennsylvania battalions, Maj. Call's Virginia riflemen, Lieut. Col. Mercer's volunteer cavalry, the 1st Continental light dragoons and Armand's cavalry (all three cavalry under Major McPherson), Galvin's and Willis' light detachments, and 2 or 3 four-pounders, under Capt. Savage. The Americans under Wayne moved to Green Spring Farm about a half mile from the British, with Lafayette main force, including Gimat's, von Bose's and Barber's light battalions, following up as a reserve. Febiger's Continentals and the vast majority of the militia, under von Steuben, however, were kept 12 miles distant at Bird's Tavern. Cornwallis adroitly anticipated Lafayette's move, and had succeeded in luring Wayne into thinking he was only up against the rear guard. Far from having effectively completed the crossing, most of Cornwallis' army was still on the north side of the river; Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, the Royal N.C. Regt., and the baggage being all that had already made the passage. There was some heated skirmishing between the American advanced parties and the British rear about 3 pm, yet the main forces involved did not become engaged till about 5 pm. Wayne vigorously attacked Cornwallis' left under Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundas' brigade, which included the 43rd Regt., the 76th Regt., and the 80th Regt. Cornwallis then with the right under Lieut. Col. John Yorke, consisting of the 2 Light Infantry battalions, the Guards, the 23rd Regt., 33rd Regt., and the British Legion cavalry, proceeded to encircle the Continentals. In response, Wayne made a last counterattack, and retreated. However, because of the onset of darkness the British did not pursue and follow up their victory.
Cornwallis here easily showed himself the better strategist. Yet Wayne and his men, by ably disentangling themselves in the face of superior forces, deserve praise otherwise for preventing defeat from becoming a disaster. Col. John Francis Mercer, who was present and commanded some horsemen, found fault with Lafayette's (strategic) handling of the action and presents Green Spring as a near catastrophe for the Americans, see HFR pp. 45-54. Of troops which actually participated (and therefore not counting those in reserve), Wayne had some 1,570 while the British around 2,950. At Camden by comparison, Cornwallis had won with considerably less and against far more. The American's lost in the fighting 28 killed, 99 wounded, 12 missing and two cannon, with further losses to their militia riflemen undetermined; the British 75 killed and wounded. Lafayette remained at Green Spring for most of the night, and before dawn removed to Chickahominy Church. Cornwallis afterward continued unmolested on his way to Cobham on the south side of the James and ultimately Portsmouth.[3226]
From the "Yorktown Diary" of an Anonymous Continental Soldier: "July 6th March'd to a large plain or Corn Field where Col. Butler had the Skermish [sic] 4 Miles from James Town where we halted but had nothing to Eat Col. [Walter] Stewart[']s Regt. was sent to Reconnoiter the Enemy the other two Pennsylvania Battns. marched Back two Miles in the Mean time the Advance had driven the Enemy Piquets [i.e., pickets] as fat as the Green Springs Orders Came for us to March Immediately we made a forc'd march to Green Spring halted about 5 Minutes got water then march Cross a Defile and formed a Column and Displayed on the right of the whole 100 yards from the Enemy we Advanced in front some Distance the Enemy Commenced the fire which was Immediately return'd with vigour but on Account of their Great Superiority in numbers they Gained Our Flanks which Obliged us to Retire. our loss was Idled twenty four Noncommissioned Officers & Privates Wounded Eleven Officers Ninty [sic]

[3222] NGP8 pp. 500-501.
[3223] JYC p. 60.
[3224] CNC15 p. 514.
[3225] NGP8 pp. 504, 509-510, JLG2 pp.159-162.
[3226] ATR81b pp. 191-192, 262-264, AR81 pp. 121-122, SQR p. 239, TCS pp. 352-358, GHA4 pp. 117-118, SAW2 pp. 394-395, MLW4A pp. 440-444, LMS pp. 433-436, CSS pp. 1208-1209, LFB2 pp. 259-262, CBA pp. 609, 617, HFR pp. 45-54, JYC pp. 60-68, WAR2 pp. 876-877.

Six Commissioned Officers and Privates two six Pounders fell into the hands of the Enemy owing to our having no horses we marched Back to Chickahomany Church Much fatigued in all 24 Miles."[3227]

"Extract of a letter from an officer of rank in the American army, dated July 11th, 1781": "The British officers, we are informed, are much displeased at the issue, and acknowledged they were out-generalled [sic]; otherwise they must have cut to pieces our small detachment, aided as they were by five hundred horse and a considerable body of infantry, mounted.
"We could not possibly have extricated ourselves from the difficulties we were in, but by the manoeuvre [sic] we adopted, which, though it may have the appearance of temerity to those unacquainted with circumstances, yet was founded on the truest military principles, and was one of those necessary, though daring, measures, which seldom fail of producing the desired effect, that is, confusing the enemy, and opening a way to retreat in sight of a much superior army."[3228]

Lafayette, at "Amblers plantation," on July 8th, wrote to Gen. Washington: "It has been a great secret that our enemy was not superior and was most generally inferior to the enemy's numbers, our returns were swelled up as generally militia returns are but we had very few under arms particularly lately and to conceal the lesning [sic] of our numbers I was obliged to push on as one who heartily wish'd [sic] a general engagement. Our regulars did not exceed 1500 the enemy had 4000 regulars 800 of whom mounted. They thought we had 8000 men I never encamped in a line and there was great difficulty to come at our numbers."[3229]

Cornwallis, at Cobham, wrote to Clinton on July 8th: "The boats and naval assistance having been sent to me by Captain Hudson, I marched on the 4th from Williamsburgh to a camp which covered a ford into the island of James town. The Queen's rangers passed the river that evening. On the 5th, I sent over all the wheel carriages, and on the 6th, the bat horses, and baggage of every kind, intending to pass with the army on the 7th. About noon, on the 6th, information was brought me of the approach of the enemy, and about four in the afternoon a large body attacked our out posts. Concluding that the enemy would not bring a considerable force within our reach, unless they supposed that nothing was left but a rear guard, I took every means to convince them of my weakness, and suffered my pickets to be insulted and driven back; nothing, however, appeared near us but riflemen and militia till near sunset, when a body of continentals, with artillery, began to form in the front of our camp. I then put the troops under arms, and ordered the army to advance in two lines. The attack was began by the first line with great spirit. There being nothing but militia opposed to the light infantry, the action was soon over on the right: But Lieutenant-colonel Dundas' brigade, consisting of the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, which formed the left wing, meeting the Pennsylvania line, and a detachment of the Marquis de la Fayette's continentals, with two six-pounders, a smart action ensued for some minutes, when the enemy gave way and abandoned their cannon. The cavalry were perfectly ready to pursue; but the darkness of the evening prevented my being able to make use of them. I cannot sufficiently commend the spirit and good behaviour of the officers and soldiers of the whole army; but the 76th and 80th regiments, on whom the brunt of the action fell, had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves particularly, and Lieutenant colonel Dundas' conduct and gallantry deserve the highest praise. The force of the enemy in the field was about two thousand, and their loss, I believe, between two and three hundred. Half an hour more of daylight would have probably given us the greatest part of the corps.
"I have enclosed a list of our killed and wounded. We finished our passage yesterday, which has been an operation of great labour [sic] and difficulty, as the river is three miles wide at this place. I have great obligations to Captain Aplin and the officers of the navy and seamen for their great exertions and attentions on this occasion.
"I have not received the letters your excellency alludes to, of the 29th of May, or 8th and 19th of June."[3230]

Cornwallis, at Cobham, to Maj. Gen. Leslie, 8 July: "The Marquis' intended to attack our rear-guard, and luckily stumbled on our army. It was near dark, but the 76th and 80th gave the Pennsylvanian Line a trimming, and took two 6 pounders -- all they had with them; one is marked '*Taken at Bennington.*' A little more daylight would have given us the whole corps."[3231]

Tarleton: "The events of this day were particularly important, and claimed more attention than they obtained. The Marquis de la Fayette had made a long march, in very sultry weather, with about fifteen hundred continentals and one thousand militia, to strike at the rear of the British before they passed to James island: Too great ardour, or false intelligence, which is most probable, for it is the only instance of this officer committing himself during a very difficult campaign, prompted him to cross a morass to attack Earl Cornwallis, who routed him, took his cannon, and must inevitably have destroyed his army, if night had not intervened. His lordship might certainly have derived more advantage from his victory. If the two battalions of light infantry, the guards, and Colonel Yorke's brigade, who had all been slightly engaged, or any other corps, and the cavalry, had been detached, without knapsacks, before dawn of day, to pursue the Americans, and push them to the utmost, the army of the Marquis de la Fayette must have been annihilated. Such an exploit would have been easy, fortunate, and glorious, and would have prevented the combination which produced the fall of York town

[3227] "Yorktown Diary" provided courtesy of The Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Inc. See http://www.connecticutsar.org/articles/diary.htm
[3228] TCS pp. 401-402.
[3229] LLW p. 204.
[3230] TCS pp. 399-401.
[3231] RCC p. 105.

and Gloucester. It was suggested to Earl Cornwallis, in opposition to the plan of pursuing the victory, that Sir Henry Clinton's requisition for troops was a circumstance of greater consequence, and more worthy of attention. This was allowed to be a strong and forcible reason; but at the same time it was represented, that the exertion of half, or two thirds of the British army, in pursuit of the Americans, would not occasion delay, or in the least derange the original design of proceeding to Portsmouth. Experience fully evinced and justified the propriety of this opinion.
"When the cavalry and mounted infantry returned to camp, the army were ordered to cross to James island. On their arrival at that place, a considerable part of the baggage, bat horses, and stores, were not transported to Cobham, and the rear guard did not embark till twenty-four hours after the action; which circumstances incontestibly prove, that a temporary pursuit of the enemy, with a powerful detachment, would not have retarded the main operation of passing James river: Or, supposing the march to Portsmouth had been put off for twenty-four hours, would not the public service have been sufficiently benefited by the destruction of La Fayette's corps, to justify the delay? No demand of Sir Henry Clinton for troops could be deemed pressing before the dispatch Earl Cornwallis received on the 8th at Cobham; and in his lordship's answer to that letter, he mentions, that the corps will proceed to Portsmouth, to wait the arrival of the transports; no time, therefore, would have been lost by pursuing the enemy. In few words: Is it judicious to halt with a superior army, and not prosecute a victory? The solution of this question leads to others relative to the mode of proceeding proper to have been followed in this instance. It would surely have been more judicious to have adopted a change of measures at this critical junction; to have countermanded the expedition to Portsmouth; to have prepared to push the enemy before daybreak; to have pursued the Marquis de la Fayette till his corps was exterminated; and to have exercised discretionary powers for the advantage of the troops, and the benefit of the nation, by ordering the transports from Portsmouth, and the stores and baggage from Cobham, to meet the victorious army at Williamsburgh; who, after their successes, might have detached to New York, with little or no loss of time, and have maintained their post and their reputation.[3232]

6 July. Lieut. Col. William Henderson, writing to Greene from "Pacelot," said he had used "Every Exertion" to call in men since arriving in this quarter, and hoped to have 200 by tomorrow night. "If the Spirit of plundring [sic] Ware held Up; they Would Turn out with Alacrity but finding that to be Discountenancd [sic] makes them Act with Reluctance." The British around Ninety Six and Long Canes were destroying grain and corn, while gathering all the livestock they could, including all the horses. They had also, meanwhile, leveled nearly all of the works at Ninety Six. Henderson could not leave the area at this time since it was so threatened, and had become "almost depopulated." He asked Greene for powder, lead, and salt.[3233]

6 July. Pickens with 300 men, linked up with Greene's army near Friday's Ferry. His horses, nonetheless, were extremely weary, unfed, and, for the time being, unfit for service. Sometime before his arrival, he had sent 100 of his men to cover the country around Ninety Six, and requested Col. Elijah Clark's assistance in this. Shortly thereafter, he with his men were sent by Greene back to the Ninety Six area to watch and follow Cruger movements -- something which, being made closer to home by the move, they probably preferred to do.[3234]

6 July. Rochambeau (coming from Newport, RI.) and Washington's main forces were finally united at Dobb's Ferry, near White Plains, on the east side of the Hudson River, and totaled some 11,000 exclusive of militia (roughly some 6,000 French and 5,000 Continentals.) [3235]

6 July. Lillington, at "Mr. Shine's, on Trent," wrote to Gov. Burke at "Wayne Court House": "Your Excellency will excuse me for taking the Liberty of addressing myself to you on this Distressing Occasion. I am to acquaint you, Sir, that it is not my Own Opinion, but the principal part of the People of the District of Wilmington, is by every other part of the State, Intended to fall a sacrifice to the Enemy, which is now almost the Case, by being lately Destitute of every Assistance from the other Districts, this is too visible not to be seen by the Conduct of some of the neighboring Counties, where early notice was given to Col. Avery that the Enemy was up at Holley Shetter, and said to be on their March for Newberne [sic]. After some Days, he at last Collected A Body of Men together and then basely discharged them. Altho' I had informed him that the Onslow Men were Imbodied and were waiting for the Jones Men to join them, and that the Duplin Militia were coming on. The Troops from Craven Gen'l [William] Caswell wrote me he had ordered on, and the next day he sent orders to have them Discharged, on a bare supposition of Col. Avery that the British were gone back to Town, which to this Moment it is well known that they are not returned, but is now at Wishart Mill, sending out parties Collecting all the cattle that is between Holley Shetter and New River, and it is not known how far they Intend into the Country. I am sorry to say that I see nothing to hinder them from going where they please. I have lost great part of property, and I see I am in a fair way to lose all; but if that should be the Case I should not regard it, or at least as little as most Men, provided we had that Justice shewn us from other Parts of the State, which protection we have an undoubted Claim to. But since that Justice has not been given us, and no likely hood of ever having any Assistance, and it being entirely out of my power and many others who is in the same situation, having no money and in great want, and my Country not paying me for them. Impressed now over twelve Months, and no wages paid, but Five thousand Dollars, puts it out of my power to remove what little is left Any further out of the way of the Enemy. Had it not been for the want of Money, I should have done myself the pleasure to have waited on

[3232] TCS pp. 355-358.
[3233] NGP8 p. 501.
[3234] NGP8 pp. 483n, 502-503, JLG2 pp. 163-164.
[3235] AR81 p. 124, SVC p. 15, LMS pp. 480-483, JYC p. 83.

Your Excellency, as I see that there is no Prospect of Driving the Enemy back into Town so that we might get to our homes. I cannot see with what Justice our Country can blame us to make the best terms we can."[3236]

7 July. Huger, with Greene's army under him, bivouacked at the south side of Howell's Ferry on the Congaree.[3237]

7 July. Cornwallis ferried the main body of his troops across the James River from Jamesown to Cobham, in Surry County, VA. on his way to Portsmouth.Lafayette meantime retired to the forks of the York River and dismissed all his militia while receiving as reinforcement a squadron of "handsome" dragoons (Lee description) from Baltimore under Capt. Moore.[3238]

7 July. (also given as the 8th) [raid] The Capture of Isaac Hayne, also Horse Shoe, Ford's Plantation (Colleton County, S.C.) Col. Isaac Hayne was captured and fourteen whigs killed, just outside Charlestown, by Maj. Thomas Fraser and some mounted South Carolina Royalists (also spoken of as S.C. Rangers), and some Queen's Rangers. Gen. Andrew Williamson, whom Hayne had captured just a few days before, was rescued by Fraser.[3239]
Letter of Balfour, dated 21 July 1781, to Clinton: "I omitted in my Letter of yesterday's date to inform your Excellency, that Andrew Williamson, Esq., formerly a Brigadier General in the Rebel Service, was on the night of the 5th inst. [July] taken at his plantation about seven miles from this [sic], by a small party of the Enemy's militia detached for that purpose --
"On receiving this Intelligence, Major Frazer [sic], with the mounted men of the South Carolina Rangers [or South Carolina Royalists], was ordered to pursue, as it was feared his having reverted to British Government might subject him [Williamson] to the worst treatment.
"By avoiding the Main Roads Major Frazer was enabled to surprise Col. Hayne's Camp of Colleton County militia, where he was informed General Williamson then was, & coming upon it suddenly, kill'd a Lieut. Col. MLaughlan with ten or twelve officers, made Col. Hayne a prisoner and retook General Williamson."[3240]

Chesney. "About this time a detachment was sent and succeeded in taking Col. Haynes [sic], who soon after deservedly suffered for Treason; as it was discovered that he had communicated with the rebels whilst a British commissary. There were daily skirmishes at this period, the Americans constantly contracting our posts in every direction." [3241]

7 July. Rawdon and Stewart's forces (the latter's included some of the reinforcements from Ireland) united at Orangeburgh -- four days later than had at first been planned. Their combined strength totaled some 1,200 to 1,500 men.[3242] Rawdon had made night marches due to the extreme heat. In spite of this, some 50 of his men expired from heat exhaustion. On July 6th, Marion had circled eastward of Rawdon's army with 400 horsemen. He tried, on the 7th, to ambush Stewart, who had (according to Marion) 300 infantry and 50 cavalry, but Stewart took a different road than expected and got through to Orangeburgh safely. A detachment under Col. Peter Horry did, however, capture 3 sutlers' wagons containing rum and wine.
In some ways, Rawdon's escaping Greene can, arguably, be seen as almost the equivalent of one of Greene's battlefield defeats, such as Hobkirk's Hill (at least from a tactical standpoint); for a number of opportunties had presented themselves that might have resulted in the destruction of Rawdon's corps, but for a combination of unforeseeable mishaps and the lack of coordination between his detachments and their respective commanders; with the weakened state of Rawdon's column, due to heat exhaustion and lack of adequate provisions, rendering Rawdon all the more vulnerable to a concerted attack by the Americans prior to his junction with Stewart. And had Greene kept focused on one rather several objectives (Rawdon, Stewart, Stewart's wagons, Cruger), the American general might have better collected and thereby utilized his forces more efficaciously. With Rawdon himself scattered as he was, in retrospect it would have probably served Greene better to have all the more concentrated his own before the former had time to better consolidate his defense. In Greene's behalf it, it may be said that his light detachments suffered communications and intelligence lapses, and this may have compelled him then to subsequently advance with caution after having them out and away from the main army. Even so and assuming the above and other setbacks, the American retained a strong military position and continue to view their fortunes and prospects of success optimistically, e.g. see LMS pp. 385n-386n, 394.[3243]
Tarleton: "Lord Rawdon was joined on the day after his arrival at Orangeburgh by Colonel Stuart [Alexander Stewart], with his own regiment [i.e. the 3d]; but was greatly disappointed at finding that he was unaccompanied by a body of cavalry which had been promised, and which were so particularly wanted."[3244]

7 July. Maj. John Armstrong, with his N.C. Continentals, was "on the Waterees 16 miles Above Camden," guarding the army's commanded baggage. With him were about 100 Virginia militia under Maj. Alexander Rose and Maj. John Ward, as well as some of South Carolina militia. He wrote Greene on this date saying that two-

[3236] CNC22 pp. 540-541.
[3237] NGP8 pp. 506, 509.
[3238] SQR p. 239, LMS pp. 436-437, JYC p. 68.
[3239] NGP9 pp. 82n, 251n, GHA4 pp. 104-105, LMS pp. 449-462, BLB p. 88, MSC2 pp. 318-321, 748.
[3240] BLB p. 88.
[3241] CDI.
[3242] Ward says the combined total was 1,600, and that Cruger was on the way from Ninety-Six with 1,400. WAR2 p. 824.
[3243] NGP8 pp. 494n, 508-509, 513, AR81 pp. 94-95, TCS pp. 505-506, GHA4 p. 96, MLW4A pp. 532-533, LMS pp. 384-385, 386n, JLG2 pp. 161-163, WAR2 p. 824, BSF pp. 204-205.
[3244] TCS p. 506.

thirds of his men were sick, and the rest were needed to take care of the baggage. The Virginia militia with him were either sick or else proving very difficult to manage, claiming their time of service was up. This said they were, nonetheless, willing to escort prisoners north, but otherwise refused to do camp duty. Bread was scarce and Armstrong had to send men out to thresh wheat. 38 prisoners who had been taken earlier by Capt. Eggleston had just arrived in Armstrong's camped. Rations were being drawn for 450 men, though Armstrong had only 150 fit for duty. On the 8th, Major John Ward, of the Virginia militia, and who was with Armstrong, wrote to Greene saying his men unanimously assert that their time was up, and would do no further service. They were, however, willing to escort prisoners to any part of Virginia that Greene desired. Greene apparently accepted Ward's offer, and Major Alexander Rose subsequently led the militia, along with the prisoners back to Virginia. On the 8th, Greene, from his temporary headquarters at Beaver Creek, ordered Armstrong to move toward the High Hills of the Santee, while being directed to use every precaution to guard against surprise.[3245]

7 July. Marion wrote to Greene, from "Sabbs" Plantation[3246] saying he had taken some prisoners, some of whom claimed that three of Rawdon's regiments were "going to Lay down their Arms & they believe they will today if they are ordered to March." Marion intended to follow Rawdon to Dorchester, with an eye to taking more prisoners. Later that same day, he moved his troops down to Four Holes, thirteen miles east of Orangeburgh, in order to better feed his tired horses. On the 8th, while at Whiteman's, near Four Holes, he sent another second party report to Greene (which report he believed dependable) that some of the British troops at Dorchester mutinied and that 30 men were killed and 60 wounded. While there is no known British record of this alleged mutiny, it is not unreasonable to conclude that give the number of deaths suffered on Rawdon's marches that there was some amount of dissension within the ranks.[3247]

8 July. The following letter from Clinton (written on June 28th) was received by Cornwallis on this date: "Having for very essential reasons come to a resolution of endeavouring by a rapid move to seize the stores, &c. collected at Philadelphia, and afterwards to bring the troops employed on that service to reinforce this post, I am to request, that if your Lordship has not already embarked the reinforcement I called for in my letters of the 8th, 11th, 15th, and 19th instant, and should not be engaged in some very important move, either of your own, or in consequence of my ideas respecting operation in the Upper-Chesapeak[e], you will be pleased, as soon as possible, to order an embarkation of the troops specified below, and of the stores, &c. &c. stated in the enclosed paper; -- or in as full a manner as your Lordship can with propriety comply; -- recollecting, that whatever may have been taken too great a proportion of, will be immediately returned to you the moment the expedition is over.
"As it is possible that your Lordship may have sent Major-general Leslie to Charles-town, in consequence of what I said to you in my letter of the 29th ult. I have thought proper to appoint General Robertson to the command of the troops on this service, which I should not have judged necessary, could I have been certain of his being named by you to accompany the troops coming hither. Should that have been the case, your Lordship will be pleased, nevertheless, to direct him to proceed with the expedition.
"List of Cannon, Stores, &c. to be sent from Virginia.

"ARTILLERY, &c.
"Two eight-inch howitzes, light,
Two five and a half-inch ditto,
Two medium brass twelve-pounders,
Four brass six-pounders, field pieces,
Twelve waggons, without the bodies, for transporting boats, &c. &c.
A proportion of carcasses.

VESSELS.
"The sloop *Formidable*,
Brigantine *Spitfire*,
Brigantine *Rambler*,
The prize-ship *Tempest*, if she can be unloaded and fitted without delaying the transports.

"As many horses as are necessary for the artillery and waggons.
"As many of the first twenty-four new boats as can be spared. -- Those with platforms, to have cannon mounted in them, and compleatly [sic] fitted, if it can be done without delaying the embarkation. -- The cannon to be brought in the transports, and the boats towed by them.
"Lieutenant Sutherland, of the Engineers, with intrenching [sic] tools, &c. &c. for five hundred men. "[3248]

Cornwallis' reply, of July 8th from Cobham, to Clinton: "I was this morning honoured with your dispatch of the 28th ult. [ultimo] The troops are perfectly ready, and will proceed to Portsmouth to wait the arrival of the transports. I will give immediate orders about the artillery, stores, &c.
"The transports now at Portsmouth are sufficient to carry the light infantry; I had prepared them to receive that

[3245] NGP8 pp. 504, 506, 511, NGP9 pp. 65, 96.
[3246] Sabb's was roughly in the vicinity of the site of Fort Motte, while Whiteman's was about 13 miles due east of Orangeburgh.
[3247] NGP8 pp. 505, 508-509, JLG2 p. 162.
[3248] COC pp. 126-128.

corps, and should have sent them to you in a few days, if your last order had not arrived. In your cyphered dispatch, the 2d battalion of light infantry only is mentioned; but I conclude that to be a mistake, and shall keep both ready to embark. I take for granted that General [Archibald] Robertson will come with the transports to take the command of the expedition. General Leslie is still here; but as it was not my intention to have sent him with the troops to New York, and as he will be the properest [sic] person to command here, in case you should approve of my returning to Charles town, I shall not send him on the expedition, unless it shall then appear to be your excellency's desire that he should accompany General Robertson.
"I must again take the liberty of calling your excellency's serious attention to the question of the utility of a defensive post in this country, which cannot have the smallest influence on the war in Carolina, and which only gives us some acres of an unhealthy swamp, and is for ever liable to become a prey to a foreign enemy, with a temporary superiority at sea. Desultory expeditions in the Chesapeak[e] may be undertaken from New York with as much ease and more safety, whenever there is reason to suppose that our naval force is likely to be superior for two or three months." [3249]

8 July. While Cornwallis had reached Cobham's, Lafayette, in his wake, stationed troops on James Island near Williamsburg.[3250]

8 July. [skirmish] New Bern (Craven County, N.C.) ONB3 p. 282 and DRO p. 194.

8 July. Though Sumter had intended to leave Camden on the 6th, heavy rains proscribed it. However, by the 8th, he had arrived near Russell's Ferry on the Congaree. There he wrote to Greene saying that Col. Henry Hampton and the state troops would "pass the River after & will Move on with Genl [Isaac] Huger" as Greene directed. Sumter intended to remain where he was until the regiments of Col. William Hill and William Bratton had arrived, as he hoped they would "this Day." Sumter then would immediately follow the army. Some of the troops in the regiments commanded by Colonels Edward Lacey and Richard Winn had already joined him.[3251]

8 July. Cornwallis, at Cobham, to Tarleton: "I would have you begin your march to-morrow with the corps of cavalry and mounted infantry under your command to Prince-Edward court house, and from thence to New London in Bedford county, making the strictest inquiry in every part of the country through which you pass, for ammunition, cloathing [sic], or stores of any kind, intended for the public; and as there is no pressing service for your corps in this province, I must desire you will be in no haste to return; but do every thing in your power to destroy the supplies destined for the rebel army.
"All public stores of corn and provisions are to be burnt, and if there should be a quantity of provisions or corn collected at a private house, I would have you destroy it, even although there should be no proof of its being intended for the public service, leaving enough for the support of the family, as there is the greatest reason to apprehend that such provisions will be ultimately appropriated by the enemy to the use of General Greene's army, which, from the present state of the Carolinas, must depend on this province for its supplies.
"As it is very probable that some of the light troops of General Greene's army may be on their return to this country, you will do all you can to procure intelligence of their route; I need not tell you of what importance it will be to intercept them, or any prisoners of ours from South Carolina. I would have all persons of consequence, either civil or military, brought to me before they are paroled.
"I will leave a detachment at Suffolk to receive you on your return. Three light waggons, with good horses, and a puncheon of rum, will be delivered to you on application to the quarter-master general.
"You will publish that you are the advanced guard of my army, and order, under pain of military execution, the people of the country to provide waggons, &c., to expedite the movements of my army." [3252]

8-24 July. [raids] Amelia Court House and Prince Edward Court House (Amelia and Prince Edward Counties, VA.) On July 8th (or 9th), Tarleton with 300 men, leaving Cobham,[3253] started on a move westward to raid Prince Edward Court House; with a munitions and supply collecting points being his intended objects. In the course of this 15 day expedition, he moved through Amelia, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Powhatan, Cumberland, Goochland and Prince Edward counties, and as far west as New London in Bedford County. In advance of him, supplies throughout the Southside counties were transported south into to North Carolina, west to the mountains, or hidden in the local area. He did prevail in destroying quantities of tobacco and various mills, but there is no mention of a munitions operation falling into his hands. The stores ultimately destroyed or captured then were relatively few; most having been removed in time to escape capture and destruction. Despite Tarleton own expressed dissatisfaction with the expedition, author-historian Greg Eanes points out that as reported by Col. R. Wooding, of Halifax, VA., 100 fresh militia slated as relief for Greene were not sent south due Tarleton's movements.[3254] In addition, 1,300 under Wayne were tied up a Goode's bridge, as were 500 militia at Bedford, about 100 from Halifax busy keeping watch on him. Hundreds of people were distracted moving stores and guarding river crossings, including militia mobilized in upper N.C. by the states governor. The raid also disrupted manufacture of foodstuffs, at least 2 mills were recorded destroyed, including Daniel Jones' Mill in Amelia and Craig's Mill at Flat Rock Creek in Lunenberg. Granaries in Mannboro, Lunenberg, and Dinwiddie also were destroyed along with an estimated 600-700 bushels of wheat in Amelia. On his return, Tarleton moved through

[3249] TCS pp. 399-401.
[3250] SQR p. 239, NGP8 p. 507.
[3251] NGP8 pp. 503, 511, BGC p. 193.
[3252] SQR p. 239, TCS pp. 402-403.
[3253] Present day Scotland at the Jamestown Ferry.
[3254] Wooding to Col. Davies, Haifax, July 21, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. 2 p. 234.

Dinwiddie County and Petersburg, having possibly lost in this time, it is believed, 40 men, and some number of horses. Eanes, on the other hand, states that Tarleton may have lost 5 killed, 2 wounded, and one made prisoner, while Americans losses otherwise from the incursions were 4 or 5 killed.[3255]

9 July. Col. James Kenan, at Duplin [Court House?], to Gov. Thomas Burke: "The enemy [apparently David Fanning] that moved up to the richlands [sic] of new river have returned to Rutherford Mills again. I have Ordered a Draft to be made from this County of two Hundred men which Shall be Collected immediately, But have no Powder nor lead. I have not one round. I sent to Kingstown But got None. What to do in this I cannot tell. I hope Your Excellency will order some Ammunition to this County as we Cannot take the Field until we are supplied. I am much afraid the Enemy will penetrate into this County before we Shall receive any reinforcement as I am told that Col. Linton is Ordered to the Westward. I hope Your Excellency will be mindful of this distressed Part of the Country…[P.S.] Our 12 months Drafts will march from this place to-morrow morning."[3256]

9 July. Marion, at "Holmans," about nineteen miles north-northeast of Orangeburgh, wrote to Greene saying his men and horses had earlier been so fatigued that he was not able to proceed as Greene ordered until that morning (the 9th). Meanwhile, Marion directed Maj. Hezekiah Maham with 100 men to watch enemy movements. Later the same day, he sent Greene a separate report from two prisoners who "appear intelligent" stating that Rawdon's corps, exclusive of Stewart's regiment (the 3rd Regt.), numbered some 1,150 men.[3257]

9 July. Greene's army camped at Beaver Creek, S.C., approximately 10 miles north of Orangeburgh.[3258]

10 July (or shortly after). Wayne and Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, who had lately reinforced Lafayette's camp with some Virginia militia, marched towards Petersburg and Amelia County in pursuit of Tarleton. Without cavalry, however, there was not much that he could do. By late July, Morgan's impaired health continued to plague him, and by the end of the month he was again obliged to return home. According to one of his early biographers, Morgan joined Lafayette the night of Green Spring; then the following night was hit with sciatica, and which for a few days he tried presumably, without success, to ignore or suppress.[3259]

10 July. Maj. John Armstrong, at "Camp Wateree 8 Miles above Camden," wrote to Greene reporting that the men in his camp were acting disorderly, and asked for advice. He feared that the Virginia militia would desert en masse, and that he could not use Lacey's men to watch prisoners because "they will not be Confind to Camp." Armstrong was using his North Carolina troops to forage, thresh wheat, and serve as guards and pickets. He also mentions sending twelve of his own sick and ten British sick and wounded to Camden "this day."[3260]

10 July (also 8 July.) Cruger evacuated Ninety Six taking with him many local families for resettlement; which they chose rather than stay and face anticipated persecution by rebel forces. These included 800 Loyalist militiamen, not counting their families which accompanied them. Before leaving on his way to Orangeburgh, Cruger had the fort destroyed. On the same day (the 10th, Johnson gives the 8th) that Cruger left, Pickens, from "Camp at Bear Creek," Dutch Forks, S.C., wrote Greene stating he'd received reports that Cruger was loading his baggage, and gathering together the loyalists to move from Ninety Six, with the loyalists themselves having collected all the wagons, horses, and provisions they could. Some of them have reportedly "burn'd manny [sic] houses in Long Cains [Long Cane settlement] & Drove off the Cattle Sheep hogs &c." They were now chiefly out preparing their families to move. Pickens intended to harass Cruger's march, but his horses are "Reduced by heat" and in want of forage. He followed Cruger for a distance. But, not being able to attack or hinder him, withdrew to deal with the problem of tories, such as William Cunningham, raiding the frontier settlements. A number of these loyalist raiders were at times assisted by some of the Cherokee and Creek Indians. Cruger at a subsequent point, and near to Charlestown, along his Edisto route left the loyalists, including those armed and mounted, to continue on to the capital on their own; while he then proceeded with what remained of his own military force to link up with and assist Rawdon at Orangeburg; and which he did on the evening of the 13th.[3261]
Petition of loyalist Samuel Wilson: "Samuel Wilson was a lieutenant in a company of militia [belonging to Richard King's Long Cane Regiment of the Ninety-Six Brigade.] He served in the siege of Ninety-Six. He went up the country with a party of militia and did not know when that place was evacuated and was constrained to fly to the Cherokee Nation to save his life when he learned of the evacuation. The persons mentioned above were also forced to flee either to the Indians or to the province of Georgia [specifically Savannah.] Several have had relatives of one kind or another who were killed by the enemy."[3262]
Lee: "Cruger was ordered to hasten the preparations necessary for the removal of the loyalists, then to abandon the theatre of his glory, and, by taking a route considerably to his lordship's right, to interpose the river Edisto between himself and his enemy, moving down its southern banks to Orangeburgh, where the road from Friday's Ferry to Charleston crossed that river. This disposition was advantageous to the column of Cruger, which was the most vulnerable, being heavily encumbered with property of the loyalists, as well as with public stores. But it

[3255] TCS pp. 358-359, 402-403, LMS pp. 436-437, 442-443, JLG2 pp. 64-65, 443, EPY, and for additional material which makes reference to Tarleton's excursion in south Virginia, see CNC15 pp. 550, 556-557.
[3256] CNC15 p. 520.
[3257] NGP8 p. 513.
[3258] NGP8 p. 512.
[3259] GDM pp. 388-401, JYC p. 68, HDM p. 166.
[3260] NGP8 p. 515.
[3261] NGP8 pp. 454n, 457, 519, NGP9 p. 31n, GHA4 p. 97, MSC2 pp. 305-306, 314-315, LMS pp. 379-380, JLG2 pp. 163-165.
[3262] CLS p. 295.

would not have availed, had not the distance from Cruger been too great for Greene to overtake him, without much good fortune, before he should place himself behind the Edisto; after which, the course of Crnger's route would expose Greene to.the sudden and co-operative attack of Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. When the determination of the British general to abandon Ninety-six, and with it all the upper country yet held by him, was communicated to Greene, he immediately drew near to the enemy, in order to seize any advantage which might present itself; previously directing his hospital and heavy baggage at Winnsborough to be removed to Camden. As soon as the preparations for the evacuation of Ninety-six and the removal of the loyalists had advanced to their desired maturity, Rawdon separated himself from Cruger, and marched to Friday's Ferry; inviting, in appearance, the American general to strike Cruger."[3263]

William Johnson: "The route[,] which Cruger had taken, is that which leads to Orangeburg, between the great forks of the Edisto,crossing into that place at a bridge, to the west of the own, thrown across the northern branch. For a great distance above and below that point, the river is impassable, so that he proceeded in security, from attack by the troops to the east of the river. And Pickens, with all the exertions he could make, could to collect together a force sufficient to retard him in his march. The loyalists, acting as mounted infanry, were too formidable for his party, mounted, as he expresses himself, 'on horses so exhausted by service, that they could neither get up with the enemy, nor get away from him.'"[3264]

10 July. Malmedy, at Salisbury, wrote to Greene that when the North Carolina legislature voted to reinforce Greene with 500 North Carolina militia from the Hillsborough district there was an objection raised as to lack of muskets to arm them with. Malmedy had answered this by promising 400 stand of arms and cartridge boxes; thinking he could take the arms at Salisbury and Charlotte, as well as those of Virginia militiamen (at Charlotte) who were soon to be discharged. In realizing this though, he was "Very Much disappointed." There were only 285 muskets at Salisbury, of which only 120 were fit for use. He was therefore making efforts to correct the situation. He made mention further of Col. Lock's failure to join Greene on July 4, as Lock had promised he would. Malmedy himself intended to march 300 men to Greene; but, pending Greene' permission, he wished to collect them first and set up a temporary post and store for that purpose in Waxhaws; which he believed was best situated for the purpose. On the 9th, that is the day before, Malmedy had been with Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner who had 500 with him at Guilford Court House.[3265]

10 July. Greene, from his camp at Beaver Creek,[3266] wrote Marion and expressed annoyance at the delay, or else "the unfaithfulness of the expresses," and wanted him to join up with army as soon as possible; otherwise the advance on Rawdon would be further detained. "I was obliged to postpone the march until tomorrow morning when we shall march for Orrangburg [sic] on the bridle road, and I wish you to join us without fail at Colston[']s [S.C.][3267] on the bridle road to which place we shall march. But should the enemy advance this way you will form a junction with us between this place [Beaver Creek] and that [Colston's], or at our Camp here, according as the movements of the enemy permit.' He also requested that Marion's men have "eighteen or twenty rounds a man."[3268]

10 July. Marion, at Colston's, S.C., wrote to Greene saying he could not comply with the latter's order (of the previous day) to be with Greene's army because he had received the the same when he was 40 miles from Beaver Creek and his horses were too exhausted from being two days without grass or forage. Also, his men had only six rounds each of ammunition left.[3269]

11 July. Clinton received at New York 2,500-3,000 Hessians sent from Europe as reinforcements. According to Ward this brought his total in New York to The 17,000, but which is excessive; while Boatner's 15,000, on the other hand, seems more accurate. Clinton himself refers to 12,000 effectives (though of these not above 9,300 fit for duty) to which then was added the 2,500-3,000 German recruits arriving on 11 August, and which latter permitted Clinton's countermanding his original request for troops from Cornwallis and leaving the Earl with most of his troops in Virginia, though subsequently a few small units, including a detachment of the of 82nd Regt. did return to New York.[3270]

11 July. Both Greene's main army, coming from Beaver Creek, and Marion's brigade leaving Colston's, S.C. marched to Orangeburgh. It is not clear whether the main army awaited Marion's arrival before marching, or whether the two reached Orangeburgh at separate hours. It seems likely that Greene went personally to Colston's to meet Marion, while writing orders from there for the main army at Beaver Creek. In any case, by later in the day or next morning, Marion did merge with the army; which by then was on the march to Orangeburgh. Greene's General Orders for July 11th, for this date issued at "Camp Colsons Farm," S.C. reads: "The troops are to be furnished with one days Provisions and a jill of rum per man. AFTER ORDERS 5 Oclock [pm] The Army will march in ten minutes by the right to take a new position." On July 17th, Greene summed up the

[3263] LMS p. 380.
[3264] JLG2 pp. 164-165.
[3265] NGP8 pp. 517-518.
[3266] Beaver Creek is a southern tributary of the north Fork of the Edisto, about five miles east of Orangeburgh.
[3267] Colston's, S.C. (not to be confused with Colston's, N.C.) was roughly ten miles north of Beaver Creek, and around twelve miles north-northwest of Orangeburgh.
[3268] NGP8 p. 514.
[3269] NGP8 p. 518.
[3270] AR81 p. 124, SVC p. 15, MLW4A p. 464, LMS pp. 480-483, JYC p. 83, WAR2 p. 883, BEA p. 1,235.

day's movements to Thomas McKean, the then newly elected President of Congress: "General Pickens was detached to watch the Motions of the Enemy at Ninety-Six. With the rest of our force having been joined by Generals Sumter and Marion with about 1000 Men composed of State Troops and Militia we began our march on the 11th to attack the Enemy at Orangeburgh, and arrived before the place on the 12th."[3271]

Kirkwood: "10th Marched this day and joined the army at Beaver Creek...7 [miles]
"11th Marched this day toward Orangebourgh [sic]...10 [miles]."[3272]

11 July. Tarleton arrived at Petersburg.[3273]

12 July. Rear Admiral Thomas Graves, on board the *London*, off Sandy Hook, to Cornwallis: "I need only say to your lordship, that there is no place for the great ships during the freezing months, on this side the Chesapeak[e], where the great ships will be in security, and at the same time capable of acting; and in my opinion, they had better go to the West Indies than be laid up in Halifax during the winter. If the squadron is necessary to the operations of the army, Hampton road [Hampton Roads] appears to be the place where they can be anchored with the greatest security, and at the same time be capable of acting with most effect against any attempts of the enemy. To this end, Old-point Comfort seems necessary to be occupied by us, as commanding the entrance to the road; and if York can be secured, it will give the command of the lower, or Elizabeth country, and deprive the rebels of the use of the two best settled rivers of the Chesapeak, and deter an enemy from entering the Chesapeak whilst we command the access to it, for we should have all his convoys and detachments exposed to our attempts."[3274]

12 July. Cornwallis reached Suffolk on his way to Portsmouth -- for purposes of sending by sea the troops and materials Clinton requested -- and which he arrived at on the 17th; with some light detachments arriving in advance of his main army a few days prior.[3275]

12 July. [escape] Ward's Tavern (Amelia County, VA.) Peter Francisco, a man or Herculean strength, and one of the heroes of Guilford Courthouse,[3276] was alone and captured by troopers serving with Tarleton at Ward's Tavern, along West Creek (present day Crewe) in Nottaway Parish, Amelia County. However, he managed to fight his way out, and make his escape, while killing two of his guards in the process. The incident is believed to have occurred July 11 or 12 before the British moved on through Jennings Ordinary, and subsequently camping at Burke's Tavern, near present day Burkeville. Other "snipings" or brief "bushwhackings" occurred at Brierly's Creek and Taylor's ferry (at modern Finneywood). On this same date, Tarleton reached Amelia Courthouse (near modern Mannboro) where he set fire to a granary. Also on this date, or else the following day, he arrived at Prince Edward Courthouse (now called Worshon.) Unfortunately for him, the American munitions laboratory located there previously was moved to safety before he could reach it. See 13-14 July. [3277]

12 July. Maj. John Armstrong, at "Camp 4 Miles Below Camden," informed Greene that the militiamen in his "command have a better Notion of Camp since a few of them were flogged." He arranged camp so as to protect against surprise; so that as he put it, even an enemy force of 300 could not capture the baggage. He said he would send Greene wagons as instructed only he had to remove some of the baggage from them. Armstrong added that 15 of the militiamen have deserted, and that many of the draft horses were broke down.[3278]

12 July. With most of the major South Carolina forces with him, including those of Sumter and Marion, Greene reached Turkey Hill Creek, a small branch of the North Edisto about four miles above Orangeburgh. Marion and Sumter personally accompanying him, and escorted by Lee and Washington's dragoons, he then went to examine for himself the British ground at Orangeburgh. Rawdon was deployed around a brick courthouse: one wing resting against the jail and the other against the bridge over the Edisto. Greene therefore decided not to attack. However, in his pension statement, Richard Bearden, of Spartanburg, S.C., states, "Some Canonading [sic] passed between the armies." Greene remained at Turkey Hill until 6 pm, and then marched to Myddleton's plantation where he held council of war among his generals and higher-ranking officers. From this location the army and its detachments subsequently separated.[3279]
Kirkwood: "12th Marched to the Enemy Lines, and within 4 miles of Orangeburgh [sic] sent out parties to draw them out; but all to no purpose, Col. Cruger being within one day's march of Lord Rodden [Rawdon], Genl. Green[e] thought it prudent to withdraw his army, and march towards McCord[']s Ferry...15 [miles]"[3280]

12 July. On this date, having fallen back from his earlier position, Lafayette was camped at Holt's Forge on the Chickahominy.[3281]

[3271] KJO p. 20, NGP9 pp. 3, 29, GHA4 pp. 96-97.
[3272] KJO p. 20.
[3273] EPY p. 24.
[3274] TCS p. 409.
[3275] SQR p. 239.
[3276] He is, by the way, believed to have been Portugese by birth and or ancestry.
[3277] EPY pp. 14-17. For a sketch by Garden of Francisco, see GAR2 p. 209.
[3278] NGP9 p.3.
[3279] KJO p. 20, NGP9 p. 3, GDH2 pp. 105-106, GHA4 pp. 96-97, MLW4A pp. 533-534, LMS pp. 384-386, JLG2 pp. 165-166, MSC2 pp. 316-317, BGC p. 195.
[3280] KJO p. 20.

12 July. On the night of 12 July 12th, a Capt. Antony with 20 men from his privateer attempted to seize a schooner laden with rice in the Savannah River. Though at first successful, he had to give up his prize after being intercepted by a galley commanded by a Capt. Scallan. Antony took to his boats and escaped but not after one of his men were killed and two wounded, and rejoined his privateer.[3282]

13 July. In the evening, Capt. John McCleaur, within full view of British armed vessels lying in Charlestown took the sloop *Brier*, Capt. William Roberts master, filled with West Indian produced and carried her safely into a N.C. port.[3283]

13 July. In early morning hours of the 13th, Greene broke up his camp before Rawdon's position at Orangeburgh.[3284] At the same time, he placed Sumter at nominal head of a force of 1,000 to 1,100 men, including Lee's Legion, Marion's, Sumter's own troops, and one field piece. He and the others were assigned the task of attacking British forces at Dorchester and Monck's Corner. Lee, along with Colonels Henry and Wade Hampton (Sumter's cavalry), went with one detachment in the direction of Dorchester. Sumter himself moved down the Congaree road toward Eutaw Springs; while Marion took another route but also headed in the direction toward Monck's Corner. The three separate groups concealed their marches while Greene with the main army retired to McCord's Ferry, adjacent to Thompson's, on the Congaree River; which he reached by the 14th. Afterward Greene, preceded by his baggage, moved to the High Hills of the Santee where he remained encamped for about a month, resting and recuperating his men, in light of increased heat and increased levels of sickness owing to the former; while continuing to train and keep disciplined that part of his army which was well. Pickens, in the interim, had kept a watch on and followed Cruger, but with horses and men too weak and exhausted to pose any really threat, soon fell back to the Ninety Six area to protect against loyalist and Indians raider on the frontiers. Cruger himself was headed toward Rawdon at Orangeburgh and met up with the latter by the 14th. It is perhaps odd why Greene, while taking the main (or most of the main) army with him, did not lead this expedition himself (and with Rawdon so far distant no less); for had he done so the "Dog Days" foray might conceivably, and easily, have proved more successful than it did. The answer may be that the idea was Sumter's or Marion's (the latter had earlier proposed something very like it , see 16 June) such that Greene was obliged, in fairness to their conceiving the idea, to let them carry it out on their own (and thus avoid depriving them due credit, and perhaps also, as far as Sumter's men went, the plunder that might come from it .) [3285]

13 July. Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Graves arrived in New York with a naval reinforcement for Arbuthnot's fleet. It wasn't long after this Graves superceded Arbuthnot as naval commander in chief.[3286]

13 July (14 July.) Cruger, according to a report from Pickens to Greene, joined Rawdon at Orangeburgh apparently on the evening of the 13th; though some accounts have this junction occurring on the 14th itself (which may possibly be correct.) On the 15th, Stewart was placed in charge of Rawdon's troops as well as those of Cruger. On the 16th, Rawdon returned with a strong detachment, to Charlestown. See 16 July.[3287]

13-14 July. On the 13th or 14th, Tarleton reached Bedford (New London), and confiscated some horses there. See 15 July.[3288]

14 July. Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner wrote to Greene saying he had come to Salisbury with 500 poorly equipped North Carolina Continentals. He had obtained arms and cartridge boxes for 300 of his men who would march to Greene's army tomorrow under the command of Col. John Ashe. The extended time it had taken to collect these troops was the fault of colonels in the various counties who were tardy in holding their drafts and obtaining the clothing to which the men were entitled. Many counties had not even yet delivered their clothing. For the time being then, he intended to stay in Salisbury to outfit the rest of his troops. By July 30th, he was en route from Salisbury to the army with the remaining N. C. Continentals; except for draftees from Edenton and Wilmington districts who remained to fight loyalists raids emanating from Wilmington.[3289]
Rankin: "Once with Greene, [Lieut. Col. John] Ashe [who had been given orders to march from Salisbury] was to combine his group with the draftees from the Salisbury district who had marched earlier with John Armstrong and the remnants of [Pinkertham] Eaton's command into the First Regiment of the North Carolina Line, to be the first of the four regiments recently authorized for the state by the Continental Congress. Sumner remained at Salisbury to from incoming draftees into the Second Regiment."[3290]

[3281] NGP9 p.4.
[3282] JHG p. 500.
[3283] JHG p. 500.
[3284] Lee gives the departure of Greene and his lieutenants as the 13th. Johnson speaks of it taking place on the night of the 13th, perhaps having intended to say the dark hours of the morning, rather than "night." Be this as it may, by sometime in the day on the 13th Greene was at Thompson's Mill Creek. See NGP9 p. 7.
[3285] NGP9 pp. 11, 27, AR81 pp. 96-97, GHA4 pp. 96-97, MLW4A pp. 535-536, LMS p. 387, JLG2 pp. 178-179.
[3286] FWI p. 183.
[3287] NGP8 pp. 512n, NGP9 pp. 8-9, 38n, GHA4 p. 97, MLW4A p. 534, JLG2 pp. 166-167.
[3288] LMS p. 437, EPY 42.
[3289] NGP9 p. 10.
[3290] RNC p. 345.

14 July. Apprised of Sumter's approach. Lieut. Col. James Coates, with his own 19th Regt. and some mounted South Carolina loyalists, and some Queen's Rangers in addition, under Maj. Thomas Fraser, removed from their position at Monck's Corner to Biggin Church (Church of St. John) about a mile to the northeast. Although there was a small redoubt nearby, this was not used and Coates instead occupied the brick church there (and that had walls a reported three feet thick) to house and fortify his men and supplies. The location permitted him greater access to the roads east of the Cooper River should he need to retreat toward Charlestown. At the same time, he posted a detachment at Biggin Bridge (which crossed Biggin Creek, the head waters or tributary of the Cooper River) to guard access back to Monck's Corner. William Johnson gives Coates strength as at least 500 to 600 for the 19th Regt., 150 for Fraser's South Carolina Royalists (some texts refer to them erroneously as the South Carolina Rangers), which acted as cavalry, plus one field howitzer. Many of the 19th were new recruits who had not yet seen combat. Lee says Fraser's dragoons amounted to not more than a troop.[3291] William Dobein James mentions Coates' force as numbering 500 infantry and 100 cavalry. In his letter to Greene of the 17th, Sumter reported that a captured return stated that Coates' force drew 900 rations, and forage for 250 horses -- bearing in mind that the British in S.C. at the time were having to economize in feeding their troops as their sources for local and other food supplies began to dwindle (as they did.)[3292]

Mid July. Washington and Rochambeau received about this time news from Admiral Barras that de Grasse would be sailing from Cape Français Haiti on his way to the Chesapeake with 25 to 29 sail of the line (the number ended up being 28) along with some frigates, and 3,200 French soldiers, and with de Grasse having been further ordered to return to his station in the West Indies by mid-October.[3293]
Timothy Pickering to Henry Lee written on 6 April 1810: "When General Washington informed me of the destination of the French fleet for the Chesapeake, instead of New York; and gave me orders to provide for the march of the troops to York, he strongly expressed his disappointment. 'I wish to the Lord (said he) they would either not raise our expectations of maritime co-operation, or would fulfil them. There is now no enterprize remaining but to attempt the capture of the army of Cornwallis in Virginia, and in that I am not sanguine of success.' -- Such precisely were the sentiments he expressed, and substantially his words."[3294]

Mid July (probably 14 or 15 July). [skirmish] Jarvis' Patrol (Berkeley County. S.C.)
Stephen Jarvis: "General Coats [Lieut. Col. James Coates] had received intelligence that the enemy intended an attack upon our position at two places at the same time, and in a very short period. I was sent for by the General, who directed me to take four Dragoons and a few Militia and proceed on the road that lead to Charlestown, and go until I should fall in with the enemy, if they were between Monks' [Monck's] Corner and Goose Creek. I set off a little before sunset in a heavy shower of rain, and before I had proceeded far found that my Militia men had left me, and I was reduced to my four Dragoons, but as my object was intelligence more than fighting I proceeded on. I soon discovered six or eight men advancing towards me, and when they came to a certain distance, challenged me. I said a friend. 'What friend?' To the King. At this declaration one of them dismounted and placed his rifle across his horse. I charged. his rifle missed fire. He mounted and with his comrades clashed into the woods. I soon came up with him, and by a well directed stroke laid him in the dust. I ordered my man to secure him, and push forward after the rest. I had nearly overtaken another, when my horse, unfortunately, got entangled in a grape vine, and the man escaped; as the day was so far spent, I could not see to pursue the enemy any further." See "Wadboo Bridge," 16 July.[3295]

15 July. THE DOG DAYS EXPEDITION[3296]

Note. Dates for these Dog Days actions are given in italics in order to better group them in this section.
During weather that was especially hot, Sumter moved along Congaree road, past Eutaw Springs, to a plantation called the "The Rocks" where he camped on his advance toward Monck's Corner. Hearing of an enemy force at Murry's Ferry on the Santee River (and probably to shield his flank and rear), he dispatched a detachment of possibly 300 men against them, while at the same time arranging to collect boats along the river should such be needed later withdrawing from the region.[3297] As it turned out, the report of the British being at Murry's Ferry was a mistake, or else such British parties withdrew before Sumter's men came up. As a result, in the ensuing the days fighting, Sumter was, very regrettably for the Americans, without this detachment, which significantly diminished his force. On the same day he was marching to "The Rocks," there were four separate raids being carried out in conjunction with the plan against Coates at Monck's Corner and Biggin Church: Dorchester, Four Holes Bridge, Goose Creek and Wadboo (or Watboo) Bridge. The basic purpose of these raids was to cut off Coates retreat from Monck's Corner (the Americans hadn't learned as yet that he had moved to Biggin Church nearby.) Also, the reason why these various bridges were so crucial is that the creeks they passed over tended to

[3291] Formally a British cavalry troop numbered 38 rank and file, or upwards of 40 total. An American cavalry troop on paper was 54, with upwards of 60 total. Lee probably had 50-60 in mind when he spoke of Fraser having a troop.
[3292] NGP9 p. 51, JLG2 p. 169, 174, LSY pp. 302-303.
[3293] MLW4A pp. 466-468.
[3294] LCC pp. 457n-458n.
[3295] JJA pp. 462-463.
[3296] Here refers to the four separate raids coordinated together against the various posts centered on Monck's Corner and Biggin Church, the main targets. The title is adopted following the editor of the Greene papers, who in turn derives it from William Gilmore Simms' 19th century historical novel *The Forayers*. See also NGP9 p.13. For the main body of citations pertaining to the Dog Days Expedition generally, see the entry for Quinby Brigde, 17 July.
[3297] However, the sending of this force to Murry's Ferry is may have taken place the next day on the 16th rather than the 15th.

be extremely marshy and muddy; which made it impossible for even horses to get across them without a bridge or ferry.[3298]

15 July. [raids] Dorchester and Four Holes Bridge (Dorchester County. S.C.) Lee with his Legion was assigned to take Dorchester; while Col. Henry Hampton was sent to seize Four Holes Bridge on the north fork of the Edisto. Col. Wade Hampton, belonging to the same initial group, was sent in the direction of Goose Creek Bridge (which outing see below.) It would appear from a letter of Clinton's to Balfour written on the 20th that these raids were preceded on the 14th by advanced detachments; which were then followed up on the 15th by the main bodies. Advance parties of Hampton's causing alarm on the 14th may also have been why Dorchester was so quickly evacuated; and which was how Lee found it when he arrived. Lee did though manage to capture one ammunition wagon, and three other wagons which were empty. In addition, he took an estimated 50 to 300 horses, which also had not yet been removed by the British.[3299]
Meanwhile, Col. Henry Hampton succeeded in seizing Four Holes Bridge, which was unoccupied. He remained there for a short time. Yet impatient of being idle, he rode on to join his brother Col. Wade Hampton who was riding down toward Goose Creek and the outskirts of Charlestown.

William Johnson: "Contrary to expectation, Colonel Lee encountered no resistance at Dorchester. The garrison was at that time greatly reduced by the draft made on it by Stewart, and recently by a very serious mutiny, in which it was said one hundred men were killed and wounded before it was quelled."[3300]

Chesney: "On reaching Dorchester I found to my grief that the Americans had visited that place during my short absence and taken away my horse with 300 others out of Major Wright's pasture." [3301]

15 July. [raid] Goose Creek, and the Quarter House Tavern[3302] (Berkeley and Charlestown counties, S.C. respectively) Col. Wade Hampton (one Charlestown newspaper account of the day says Henry), with his detachment of Sumter's cavalry rode toward Goose Creek, where there was a small settlement and a bridge which passed over the creek (which is a western tributary of the Cooper River.) The 15th being a Sunday, Hampton surprised a congregation at church services, and took a number of loyalists present prisoners, apparently then paroling them. He then "thundered" toward the gates of Charlestown. His advance party of 12 men under Capt. Read met up with a group of 12 South Carolina Royalists who they skirmished near the Quarter House tavern, a short distance outside the city. The loyalist leader, Lieut. Waugh, was slain, and the rest taken prisoner.[3303] Read himself lost a Capt. Wright killed and a few others wounded. Hampton, following up, managed to captured 30 more or so others, for a total of around 45-50 prisoners, all of whom were paroled. As Hampton had approached, Charlestown bells were rung and alarms were sounded, causing great fear and consternation among some of the inhabitants. [3304]
Balfour, at Charlestown, wrote to Clinton on July 20th: "(O)n the 14th instant; and the next day a party of them came within four miles of this town, having taken near Dorchester several horses in the Quartermaster General's employment and, at the Quarter House, some dragoon ones belonging to the South Carolina Rangers, with a few invalids of that regiment who were left in charge of them and unable to make their escape." [3305]

Captain Ferdinand O'Neale to Henry Lee, dated "Georgia, M'Intosh county, March 1st, 1810": "I received your letters of the 4th and 13th December, on the 20th of February. I recollect when you went to Dorchester with our legion, to attack the fort at Dorchester, that Colonel Hampton went down what they call the Goose creek road, and took a few horses from some tories, about the Quarter House. I do not recollect any men being taken except a few tories, but no British soldiers. To refresh your memory, it was the time I borrowed Mrs. Wright's coach to bring up some sick soldiers, which coach, General Sumpter demanded, and sold at Camden. Respecting the attack we made at Shubrick[']s, Colonel Wade Hampton was in the rear seven or eight miles, with General Sumpter. Colonel Richard Hampton was a volunteer with us at Shubricks."[3306]

15 July. [raid] Wadboo, also Watboo (Berkeley County, S.C.) The fourth main target of the plan to trap Coates at Monck's Corner was Wadboo Bridge; which was the only crossing available over Wadboo Creek just south of Biggin Church. The creek runs from the east into the Cooper River. Maj. Hezekiah Maham, with his recently formed state cavalry of about 40 men, was sent to take the bridge and destroy it. He circled round the British coming from the east, and upon reaching the bridge either destroyed or only partially destroyed it -- it not being subsequently clear which. He also set afire two British schooners, containing stores, moored nearby on the

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[3298] JLG2 pp. 168-169.
[3299] GHA4 p. 97, JLG2 pp. 167-168, MSC2 pp. 327-328.
[3300] JLG2 p. 167.
[3301] CDI.
[3302] Reference is made at John Robertson's "Global Gazetteer of the American Revolution" of a raid by Hampton, on "11-14 July," at "10 Mile House" or "15 Mile House. Whether this (or both) is the same as or separate from the Quarter House Tavern is not (yet by me at any rate) fully clear.
See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/10mile.htm and also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/goosecrbr.htm
[3303] Lieut. Waugh was killed by friends of Wright after Waugh had surrendered to Hampton at Goose Creek. The reason for the slaying was that Waugh had killed Wright in the fighting. The Americans, Bass states, afterward reported what had happened and apologized to the British. BGC p. 273n.
[3304] GHA4 p. 97, LMS p. 387, JLG2 pp. 167-168, LCC pp. 425-426, MSC2 pp. 327-328, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVII, Oct. 1916, pp. 159-160.
[3305] CAR p. 551.
[3306] LCC p. 426n.

creek. Bass and Lumpkin state that after destroying the bridge, Maham returned the next day (the 16th) to re-join Sumter. William Johnson, by contrast, makes it sound as if he remained at the bridge awaiting the follow-up forces under Horry and Lacey subsequently dispatched by Sumter (see Wadoo Bridge, 16 July.)[3307]

15 July. Clinton, at Suffolk, to Cornwallis: "Until I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 8th instant, I had flattered myself, that upon re-considering the general purport of our correspondence, and General Phillips's papers in your possession, you would at least have waited for a line from me in answer to your letter of the 30th ult. before you finally determined upon so serious and mortifying a move as the re-passing James river, and retiring with your army to Portsmouth. And I was the more induced to hope that this would have been the case, as we both seemed to agree in our opinion of the propriety of taking a healthy station on the Neck, between York and James rivers, for the purpose of covering a proper harbour for our line-of-battle ships. And I am persuaded your Lordship will be sensible, that in all my letters I clearly leave you at full liberty to detain any part, or even the whole of the troops I solicited you to send me, should your Lordship have determined on any solid operation of your own in Virginia, or elsewhere; or should you have adopted the one I had recommended in the Upper Chesapeak[e]; or even should you have judged their continuance with you necessary until the stations you might think proper to take were rendered respectably defensive.
"Your letter of the 30th ult. in which your Lordship was pleased to intimate this intention, did not leave the Chesapeak before the 5th instant: and as soon as I consulted the Admiral [Graves] at the Hook upon its contents, I lost no time in dispatching my answer to your Lordship, both by ship of war and one of my runners; but as I now find your Lordship has decided, I shall say no more upon the subject: and I sincerely congratulate you upon the success of your well concerted plan against the Marquis de la Fayette, hoping that amongst other good effects which may be expected from it, it will prevent his giving you disturbance in the execution of what I recommended to your Lordship in my letter of the 11th instant, a duplicate of which accompanies this. I likewise request your Lordship will be pleased to communicate to Lieutenant-colonels Dundas, Simcoe, and Tarleton (whom you have particularized [sic], the first for his conduct and gallantry in the action of James-town, and the two others for their active services on your march through Virginia) and to all the other officers and soldiers under your command, the high sense I have of their spirit and good behaviour, for which I desire their acceptance of my thanks.
"As your Lordship is again pleased to recall my serious attention to the question of the utility of a defensive post in Virginia, which you say cannot have the smallest influence on the war in Carolina, and which only gives us some acres of an unhealthy swamp, I must in answer beg leave again to repeat to your Lordship, that it never was my intention to continue a post on Elizabeth River any longer than until the commencement of solid operation in the Chesapeak, nor to have there more troops than what might be capable of defending a small work on that river; and that all the general officers who have commanded in the Chesapeak have had my consent to change that station for one more healthy, if they judged it proper to do so. To which I will moreover add, it ever has been, is, and ever will be, my firm and unalterable opinion, that it is of the first consequence to his Majesty's affairs on this continent, that we take possession of the Chesapeak, and that we do not afterwards relinquish it. I beg leave also, my Lord, to dissent from the opinion you have given me of a defensive post in Chesapeak, and that desultory expeditions there may be undertaken from New-York with as much ease and more safety; for I cannot but suppose, that a defensive station in the Chesapeak, with a corps of at least four thousand regular troops, for its protection and desultory water movements during the summer months, wherein land operation may be impracticable, would have the most beneficial effects on more distant districts, for the reasons I have already had the honour to give your Lordship. Nor do I recollect, that in any of my letters to your Lordship I have suggested an idea, that there was a probability of the enemy's having a naval superiority in these seas for any length of time, much less for so long a one as two or three months. But with respect to the unhealthiness of the station at Portsmouth, my letters to General Phillips on that subject, (wherein I say, God forbid I should wish to bury the elite of my army in Nansemond and Princess Anne) will satisfy your Lordship that we are both of one opinion.
"With regard to your Lordship's returning to Charles-town, for which you say you wait my approbation, though I allow your Lordship to be the best judge where your presence may be most required, yet, as I cannot conceive that offensive operation will be carried on in Carolina for some months, I must beg leave to recommend it to you to remain in Chesapeak, at least until the stations I have proposed are occupied and established, and your Lordship favours me with your opinion of the number of men you can afterwards spare from their defence until the first week in October; about which time it is my intention, as I have before told your Lordship, to recommence operation in the Chesapeak: but whether in Virginia, according to your Lordship's plan, or in the Upper Chesapeak, according to my own, I shall then determine. If in the first, I shall request the favour of your Lordship to conduct it, as you must be a better judge than I can, from the local knowledge you have acquired in your march through great part of the country, and your being from thence capable of judging how far it is connected with the southern provinces. If in the last, I shall probably assume the direction of it myself; and I shall in that case be glad to have your Lordship's assistance: but if you should prefer returning to Carolina, I shall after that no longer restrain your Lordship from following your inclinations.
"Now, my Lord, I have only to repeat, what I have already said in all my letters, that you are at full liberty to employ all the troops under your immediate command in the Chesapeak, if you are of opinion they may be wanted for the defence of the stations you shall think proper to occupy, securing to us at least a healthy one, from whence we may start at the proper time for beginning operation, and for the carrying on in the interim such desultory water expeditions as you may think of any utility. I should, indeed, have hoped, that even in the season for active operation, seven thousand men would have been quite sufficient, considering the force which

[3307] NGP9 pp. 17n, 52, 80, LMS pp. 387-387, JLG2 pp. 167-169, BGC pp. 196-197, LSY pp. 206-207.

the enemy can bring against you; in this, however, your Lordship seems to think differently. Should nothing, therefore, happen to induce you to alter your opinion, or should any object cast up of importance enough to be undertaken at this inclement season, you are at liberty to keep the whole. But before you finally decide, I request your Lordship will recollect the very bare defensive I am reduced to in this post; whilst I have opposed to me Washington's army, which is already eight or ten thousand men, the French four thousand, besides the large reinforcements expected to them: and I scarce need mention to your Lordship, who is so well acquainted with their disposition, the effect which such an appearance will have on the numerous and warlike militia of the five neighbouring provinces."[3308]

15 July. Tarleton reached Moore's Ordinary, where he learned of Wayne being at Goode's Bridge in Amelia. He then burned three wagons and took a more southerly route toward Petersburg. Wayne did at some point make a movement in Amelia County toward Tarleton, but because the latter had rode out of reach, he deployed his force instead, and as ordered by Lafayette, on the south (Amelia County) side of Goode's Bridge.[3309] Lee asserts that Lafayette ought to have sent his cavalry and a mounted detachment in pursuit of Tarleton instead of relying on Wayne's slow moving infantry to intercept him.[3310] See 9-24 July.[3311]

15 July. Col. James Kenan, at Duplin [Court House?], to Gov. Thomas Burke: "The enemy [evidently Fanning] have moved out of Wilmington up to The long [sic] Bridge and are rebuilding it is said by Several Gentlemen who have left the town. Their intention is to Give no more parols but will sell every man's property who will not Join them and become British Subjects; they have about 100 light horse well Equipt and about 470 foot and are Determined to be at Duplin Court on Monday Next. We have no Ammunition nor do I know where to get Some. We have no Account of Any Assistance Coming as Yet. Your Excellency will be so kind as to inform me if any be ordered on."[3312]

On this same date, Col. Thomas Robeson himself, ostensibly writing from his home in Bladen County, wrote Gov. Burke: "I arrived home yesterday and found what few men that is stanch for their Country, in Arms to defend themselves, which is not over Fifty to oppose, by the best accounts that I can get, to the amount of Four Hundred or near that Number under the Command of Hector McNeil, and [Duncan] Ray and McLaurin Calvil is appointed [loyalist] Cols. of Bladen County, and is ordering a General Muster on either Monday or Tuesday next, as I am informed by one of our Men who was talking with the said Col. Calvil yesterday, and told him that McNeil had four Hundred Men, and that he should have Three Hundred with him in the lower Part of the County, and that One Hundred was to join him from Brunswick County, and is desiring all the Men to come in or they will be distressed, or if they do not comply by the First Day of August next, they will be destroyed, which was the Time Limited by General Clinton and Aberthnot's [Arbuthnot's] proclamation that has been Industriously Spread amongst the People. McNeil is encamped at a Place Called McFall's Mill, between Drowning Creek and the Raft Swamp, and Parties going about robbing, and Calvil is ordering his General Muster at Elizabeth Town, which is at our Court House, and I expect will embody his Men in the lower Part of the County, and without it is in Your Excellency's Power to send us Speedy assistance we shall be destroyed and over run, or be obliged to submit to all the Distresses that will come. They are appointing Captains and under Officers in every District in the County. I have not seen Col. [Thomas] Brown [of Bladen] since I got home, who is the Commanding Officer of Bladen, but am told he is coming up to us where our Men is embodied or will be with us to-day, but it is impossible to get Men to join us without Assistance."[3313]

16 July. It is believed on this date Tarleton burned Craig's Mill, and also Edmondson's Ordinary in modern Morgansville. He paroled some prisoners he took before returning north. It is also surmised that at about this time he passed through modern Blackstone, on his way to Edmondson's Ordinary. Later he rode through Brunswick and Smokey Ordinary. Lafayette reported him on this date as being 32 miles southwest of Petersburg at Walker's Mill.[3314]

16 July. Rawdon with a detachment of 500, including the Volunteers of Ireland and Maj. Archibald McArthur's corps, along with 50 wagons left Orangeburgh for Charlestown, leaving Alexander Stewart in charge at Orangeburgh with the main army.[3315]
Chesney: "As soon as we [Chesney was with Cruger's force] joined Lord Rawdon [at Orangeburgh], he found himself strong enough to force his way through the enemy which he did immediately, marching towards Charles Town, and encamped without opposition near Monk's [Monck's] corner; where we had some trifling skirmishes without any event of importance." [3316]

16 July. Greene's main army encamped at Midway Plantation in the High Hills of the Santee; where they were to remain till August 23rd.[3317]

[3308] CAC pp. 146-151.
[3309] EPY p. 29, Wayne to Gen. Thomas Nelson, 24 July 1781.
[3310] LMS p. 443.
[3311] EPY p.42.
[3312] CNC15 p. 535.
[3313] CNC22 pp. 546-547.
[3314] EPY p.42.
[3315] NGP9 p. 54.
[3316] CDI.
[3317] NGP9 p.18, GHA4 p. 98.

16 July (also given as 17 July). [raid] Pittsboro, also Old Chatham Court House (Chatham County, N.C.) In a raid on Chatham Court House (only after the war named Pittsboro), N.C., Col. David Fanning surprised and captured a reported 53 whigs, including several county officers and officials, a number of whom were sitting in session in a court room, after their being separately ambushed on a road leading to the court house. All but 14 were paroled with Fanning keeping as prisoner those he thought most dangerous. He apparently also released a number of loyalists who were being held as prisoner.[3318]
Fanning: "On my return to Deep River I immediately caused a general Muster of the Loyalists, which I collected to the amount of 150 men, but finding them deficient in arms I discharged all of them except 53, which I appointed fully; out of which, I collected from the whole, and ordered the rest, to be ready to join me when I called for them…
"I continued acting in the interior parts of North Carolina, and was like to obtain a truce with the Rebels in the heart of the country. Those people have been induced to brave every danger and difficulty during the late war, rather than render ant service to the Rebels -- their properties real and personal taken to support their enemies -- the fatherless and widows stripped, and every means of support taken from them -- their houses and lands and all personal property taken, and no resting place, could be found for them. As to place them in their former possessions, is impossible -- stripped of their property, driven from their Houses; deprived of their wives and children -- robbed of a free and mild government -- betrayed and deserted by their friends, what can repay them, for the misery! Dragging out a wretched life of obscurity and want, heaven, only, which smooths the rugged paths, can reconcile them to misfortune…
"The Rebels on the same day held a general muster at Chatham Court House, about twenty-five miles, [from] where I had assembled, and the day following were to call a court-martial for the trial of several Loyalists, who had refused to bear arms, in opposition to government. Upon receiving this intelligence I proceeded, towards the Court House, 17 miles, that night, with the men I had named; and the morning following, by 7 o'clock, I arrived there. I surrounded the place where they were. I expected to find members of the Court Martial, but they had dispersed the evening before, and were for to meet at 8 o'clock. I then posted pickets on every road, and within the space of two hours, took 5 prisoners -- among them, the Colonel, Major and all the militia officers of the county, except two, who had not attended; and also one Continental Captain, with three of their delegates of the General Assembly. I immediately marched them to Coxe's Mill, and parolled all except 14, who I knew were violent against the government. Those I conducted to Wilmington and delivered to Major Craigg [Craig]."[3319]

16 July. [skirmishes] Wadboo Bridge, also Watboo Bridge (Berkeley County, S.C.) On the 16th, Sumter moved toward Monck's Corner, where Marion joined him. Discovering Coates' new position, the two camped just north of Biggin Church. Lee, in the interim, rode down toward Charlestown on the same road taken by Col. Wade Hampton the day previous, hoping to acquire additional prisoners, but without success. Later in the evening, he and the Hamptons arrived to reinforce Sumter and Marion. Lee was rather displeased that Biggin Bridge connecting Monck's Corner with Biggin Church had not been taken, and as a result he and Hampton had had to take a circuitous route over hot sands around Biggin Creek in order to reach Sumter. The cunctation also prevented an earlier attempt on Coates. Lumpkin mentions that there was an effort on the 16th by some partisans, probably Sumter's, to seize Biggin Bridge, but it had been fought off by some companies of the 19th Regt. that Coates had posted there. Be this as it might, Sumter did dispatch Col. Peter Horry, and Horry's cavalry, and Col. Edward Lacey with some mounted riflemen to hold the position south of Wadboo Bridge (a little over two miles south of Biggin Church); which bridge Maham was supposed to have destroyed the day previous (see Wadboo Bride, 15 July.) In furtherance of this, Horry and Lacey then proceeded to camp there. At about 5 pm, Maj. Thomas Fraser with his South Carolina Royalist dragoons surprised Horry's troops who were cooking and otherwise resting. Either Wadboo Bridge been somehow repaired during the night, or else was not quite destroyed as Maham reported; thus allowing Fraser to get across the otherwise impassable stream to attack. Horry's men were routed, but Col. Lacey's riflemen coming up charged the dragoons, forcing Fraser to retreat. In all likelihood Fraser's being on the south side of the creek put him in a cut-off and precarious position, as well as one ill suited to cavalry, thus compelling his withdrawal. Bass, drawing from Sumter's letter to Greene of 17 July, asserts that Coates later came up with his infantry and drove Horry and Lacey off. By nighttime, Horry and Lacey had left their position below the bridge, and reunited with Sumter.[3320]

Stephen Jarvis: "I set to camp with my prisoner, and gave him up to the General [Paston Gould?]. He confirmed the information before received. It was my turn for duty that night, and my orders were to patrol on the road leading to the Santee, and I did so, but discovered none of the enemy during the night, but in the morning about sunrise I discovered that a large body of men had approached near the Garrison, and had taken off the road to gain our right flank. I galloped back as fast as I could but before I reached the Camp the enemy had drove in our Sentinels, and were destroying the bridge to prevent our retreat on that route, and then they retraced their steps and took up their position on the road that lead to the Santee. We remained idle during the fore part of the day, but hearing that the American Horse were at a plantation, and their horses were running loose about the field, Major [Thomas] Fraser, of the South Carolina Dragoons, was ordered with the whole Cavalry to proceed and reconnoiter the Troop. I commanded (for Captain Campbell was absent) led, except the advance guard commanded by an Officer. We soon came in sight of the enemy and charged. The Officer with the advance

[3318] DRO pp. 190-191.
[3319] FNA pp. 22-24. See also CNS1 pp. 161-171.
[3320] NGP9 pp. 50-51, GHA4 pp. 97-98, LMS pp. 387-388, JLG2 pp. 169-170, MSC2 pp. 331-332, BCG p. 197, LSY p. 207.

-- his horse fell and threw his rider -- I said to Major Fraser, I'll take charge of the advance, did not wait to hear any reply, but set off. I rode a very fleet horse and soon gained the advance, and pressed hard on the enemy, who left the road and took the woods. I soon came up with one, and my Corporal on the other side, and we both made a blow at the same time and gave the fellow his quarters. I heard a shout in my rear, looked round, and found myself in the rear of a large body of the enemy. In wheeling my horse round I broke my stirrup leather and came to the ground.
"However I recovered my seat and then pressed to regain the front of the enemy, or I must be taken prisoner, and I was indebted to the fleetness of my horse for my escape. I had nearly gained the front of the enemy before they discovered me, and they called me to surrender; not yet, thinks I, a little more running first. I found I gained fast upon our Troops, who were retreating in good order. I recovered the roads a few rods in front of the enemy. They fired several shots after me without injury. We met our Infantry with a piece of ordnance. We wheeled about and checked the enemy, and then retired to Camp." [3321]

17 July. [skirmish and assault] Quinby Bridge and Shubrick's Plantation, also Quimby Bridge (Berkeley County, S.C.)

Lumpkin presents Sumter's forces for this date as follows:

CONTINENTALS
Lee's Legion: 150, both horse and foot, Lieut. Col. Henry Lee

SOUTH CAROLINA MILITIA
Sumter's Brigade: 225, [Sumter's five regiments] Col. Thomas Taylor, Col. Edward Lacey, Col. Wade Hampton, Col. Thomas Polk [North Carolina][3322], Col. Charles Myddleton

Marion's Brigade: 180, Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, Col. Peter Horry, Col. Hezekiah Maham, Maj. Alexander Swinton, Capt. John Baxter
1 six-pounder, Capt. Anthony Singleton

Allowing 40-50 artillerymen for Singleton, this gives a round total of about 600. Despite Lumpkin's list, some of Sumter's commanders were probably not with the main body of troops, but instead with the 300 dispatched to Murry's Ferry on the 15th or 16th. McCrady, for his part, gives Sumter's strength as 700.

For the strength and composition of Coates' British force, see 14 July.

At about 3 am on the 17th, Sumter's camp was awakened by the sight of Biggin Church on fire in the distance.[3323] Coates realizing the dangerous situation he was now placed in, and in a hurry to retreat to Charlestown, burned most of his stores and ammunition which he had placed in the building. Then, gathering his men, he proceeded across Wadboo Bridge on his way south. He had three possible avenues of retreat as follows: over Biggin Bridge down the west side of the Cooper River towards Goose Creek; or over Wadboo Bridge down the east side of the Cooper River toward Strawberry Ferry[3324] or, again down the east side of the Cooper River but toward Quniby Bridge. With his 19th Regt. he decided to march toward Quinby Bridge, yet his cavalry under Fraser he sent toward Charlestown by way of Strawberry Ferry; while under the impression that it was Greene himself whom he faced. Before leaving Biggin, he left behind a note at the church addressed to the latter, along with some sick and wounded, saying there was at present a balance of prisoners in favor of Great Britain, and asked that the invalids be "treated in that Light," with humanity, and that they be sent to Charlestown.
His troops roused, Sumter went in pursuit of Coates with the cavalry of his brigade racing ahead of his infantry. In his hurry to catch up with Coates, he left behind his six-pounder under Capt. Anthony Singleton, a decision he would regret later in the day. With regard to the American reaction to Coates' sudden evacuation, Lee, years later wrote: "To our surprise and mortification, no opposition at the bridge [Wadboo Bridge] had taken place; and indeed our inquiries terminated in the conviction that the detachment destined to occupy the post [Horry's] had abandoned it a few hours after they had been sent to possess it. Hence arose our ignorance of Coates' movement, which could not have occurred had the militia party continued at their post, and to which ignorance the foe owed his escape."
Lee and Hampton led chase, crossing over Wadboo bridge which had either not been fully destroyed or had been repaired in the night. Seeing that Coates had divided his forces, Wade Hampton rode in the direction of Strawberry Ferry. Yet by the time he reached there, Fraser had already crossed; the flats being in his possession on the opposite side. Lee and Maham's cavalry, with Marion's infantry in their wake, in the meantime followed Coates' trail in the direction of Quinby. Somewhere about a mile north of the bridge, they overtook the British rear guard and baggage under the command of Capt. Colin Campbell. When Lee and Marion deployed against them, in their front and on their flank, the inexperienced enemy prepared to receive them. Yet when the order was given to fire, the recruits did not discharge their muskets, but instead fell into disorder; intimidated as they

[3321] JJA pp. 462-464.
[3322] Col. Thomas Polk, and his son William's, regiment were mostly from Mecklenburg and Rowan counties, N.C. Lumpkin gives Thomas, but may have only been William who was present.
[3323] After the battle on the 17th, Sumter had what remained of the fortifications at Biggin leveled, so the church itself was presumably a ruins by this time.
[3324] Or else, as is sometimes given, Bonneau's which was on Quinby Creek but much closer to the Cooper than Quinby Bridge.

were by the presence of the American cavalry. In a matter of moments, they surrendered upon being summoned to do so. About 100 were taken prisoner, as well as the baggage.
The American then continued their advance, and when Capt. James Armstrong of the Legion cavalry reached Quinby Bridge he found that Coates' main body had already crossed. Not certain whether he should continue over the bridge, which the British had already begun dismantling, Armstrong sent back to Lee asking whether he should attack, yet without mentioning that the bridge stood as an obstacle to his doing so. Lee, in a huff, replied by messenger that the orders of the day were to attack all before them. Armstrong with the first section of the Legion cavalry galloped over the bridge, with the second under Lieut. George Carrington following behind, both knocking off some of the loosened planks of the bridge as they did so. Coates had prepared his howitzer to receive them, but so sudden and unexpected was the charge that the men manning the gun, as well as the work party at the bridge, fled before them. The rest of Coates men who were in a disorganized state along a restricting causeway, were for a while helpless to organize themselves to face the attack, and many ran off. Coates himself and a few of his officers (including Capt. Edward Lord Fitzgerald), separated from their men, took a position behind some wagons from where they parried sabers with the Legion dragoons. The third section of Lee's cavalry under Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal halted at the bridge. Maham and his cavalry then attempted to get over the now flimsy structure to support Armstrong and Carrington. Yet having his horse shot out from under him, he and his men were checked from proceeding. Capt. James McCauley and some of Marion's infantry, however, were able to continue on and made it over to assist Armstrong's isolated dragoons. Lee (now coming up from the rear) and Maham tried to repair the bridge, but with little success. Coates men, meanwhile, began forming up to counterattack. Armstrong, Carrington, and McCauley, after some close quarters fighting in which they already lost at least two killed and a number wounded; seeing themselves in risk of being surrounded broke through the gathering British ranks and made their escape through some woods.[3325] Moving down and circling round the end of the creek, they finally rejoined the rest of Lee and Marion's contingents, and who were coming to approach Coates from that quarter. "Lee frustrated in his attempt to repair the bridge adequately and give immediate support to Armstrong, etc. marched the remainder of the cavalry up Quinby Creek where Francis Marion joined him with his infantry and the Legion infantry." While this was happening, Coates had his howitzer and his men withdrawn to Shubrick's plantation nearby where they fortified themselves and awaited the American assault.
Lee and Marion, having forded the stream, moved up through the woods, and advanced to the edge of the open fields lying around the plantation. There they halted and surveyed Coates' position. The Shubrick home was a two story building situated on a rising ground, with numerous outbuildings making it impregnable to cavalry and very formidable to infantry; Lee and Marion consequently decided to stay put. They then paused and awaited Sumter, who came up about 3 pm. Despite Lee and Marion's objections, and the fact that the artillery would be a long time in arriving, Sumter decided to attack. At 4 pm the fighting began, with Sumter having deployed his men in the nearby slave buildings while placing his cavalry and the Legion infantry in reserve. A steady ongoing fire between Coates' and Sumter's men ensued without doing significant harm to either.
Sumter then ordered Col. Thomas Taylor with 45 men to take a strategically situated fence. Taylor's men approaching this came under heavy fire, and were driven back by a bayonet charge led by Capt. Scerett. Marion's musket and riflemen rushed up to aid Taylor and took position at the fence themselves, lying low on the ground for protection as they fired. There they remained taking many casualties till finally having run out of ammunition they were obliged to fall back. The battle having run for about two or three hours, Sumter fell back across Quinby Bridge (by this time repaired) and camped some three miles from Shubrick's, after leaving the cavalry to collect the dead and wounded. Singleton with the six-pounder and more ammunition having arrived, Sumter intended to resume the action on the morrow, but was met with unconcealed ire from his lieutenants, particularly Taylor who was very angry at having his men needlessly exposed and made to suffer so many losses; with Marion's men feeling similarly. By the next day, all of he latter had gone home except for one company of about 100 men. Lee, as well displeased with how things were going, departed with his legion to rejoin Greene's army in the High Hills of the Santee. In consequence of all of which, Sumter decided against resuming the battle, and the next day withdrew across the Santee having earlier secured boats for such a crossing. Meanwhile, Col. Paston Gould arrived from Charlestown with 200 men (Boatner says 700) to support Coates, but by that time Sumter and the rest were gone.

Although the Dogs Days Expedition has been declared a failure, due to the escape of Coates and Fraser, the fact remains that though both sides' losses in killed and wounded appear to have been about the same, the British as a result of the expedition were dislodged from their posts as Dorchester and Monck's Corner; the Americans took some 140 prisoners, the British none; and the Americans captured around 200-300 horses, an ammunition wagon, plus some of Coates' baggage, including a paymaster's chest of 720 guineas (taken along with Coates rear guard.) The money was afterward given out by Sumter to his men as payment, each man receiving a guinea. Marion's men, however, not operating under Sumter's law, did not receive any.[3326]

[3325] Joseph Johnson's account of Quinby Bridge (see JTR pp. 541-542), as reportedly taken from Thomas Taylor, is significantly different from John Marshall's and Lee's, which latter we use here. There, "Taylor" roundly censures Lee's cavalry for not crossing the bridge at all, and bestows credit for the advance rather on Marion's mounted militia.
[3326] *Note*. These citations refer to the Dog Days Expedition generally and not only the actions at Quinby and Shubrick's. NGP9 pp. 13-17, 33, 47-48, 50-51, 62-62, 80-82, CNC15 p. 566, BLB pp. 80-86, Lee to Richard Henry Lee, 24 July, 1781 (found in *Historical Magazine*, September 1865, vol. IX, no. 9, p. 283), GHA4 pp. 96-98, AR81 p. 96, MLW4A pp. 534-535, MLW4 pp. 11-13, MMS2 pp. 289-291, LMS pp. 388-394, JLG2 pp. 167-177, LCC pp. 424-438, JFM pp. 52-53, JJA pp. 462-464, JTR pp. 541-542, MSC2 pp. 325-343, BGC pp. 196-200, LSY pp. 205-211, RBG pp. 190-191, BEA pp. 909-910.

CASUALTIES

AMERICAN
Sumter, in a letter to Greene of 25 July wrote: "At the Quarter House on the 15th Instt [Instant] We lost one man and offr Kild, at the Church on the 17th one Wounded, at Shoebricks [Shubrick's] the 18th Twelve Kild [sic] & Twenty two wounded." These numbers do not appear to have included Marion's losses.[3327]

On the 19th, Marion reported his own losses to Greene as: "Lt Col [Alexander] Swinton Maj [John] Baxter and ten men wounded and five killed; on the Left with Lt Col. Hugh Horry[,] one Captn Killed & three privates; woud [wounded] one Captn and five wounded." Swinton and Baxter were so severely wounded that they were subsequently forced to retire from the service.[3328]

BRITISH
Sumter, in his letter to Greene of 25 July wrote: "The Loss of the enemy Certain, is one offr & 9 privates Kild [sic], one Capt, 8 Subs, 1 Conductor of Artiy [Artillery], 5 Sergts [sergants], 4 Master of Vessels, and 123 privates british [sic], and 8 Tories.
This Exclusive of their loss Kild [sic] at Shoebricks [Shubrick's], Which undoubtedly was Very Considerable & by best accounts was upwards of 70 men Kild." Yet, oddly, according to his letters to Greene of 17 and 19 July, British casualties at Shubrick's were *not* "considerable."[3329]

CAPTURES

On July 23rd, Greene wrote Gen, Sumner: "In our late movements towards Chs [Charles] Town we took 140 Prisoners and killed and Wounded near 100 more, and destroyed a prodigious quantity of Baggage and Stores, and took upwards of 200 Horses. Our Militia fought valiantly, and we lost but few Men notwithstanding." [3330]
In a letter to Lafayette of July 24, he wrote similarly: "There was taken in the expedition about 140 prisoners and enemies loss in killed and wounded is thought to be little short [of 140] as the firing lasted upwards of two hours at not more than from forty to Eighty yards distance. We destroyed four vessel loads of Stores upwards of 70 hogsheads of rum and many other Stores. At biggins [sic] Church took 200 horses and several Waggons and one loaded with ammunition...Our loss in the different attacks was...not more than 20 killed and about forty wounded, among which are several officers." Among the stores Sumter captured was the pay chest of 720 guineas, which Sumter had distributed among his own men (only.) Also Lee and his Legion received some of the money.[3331]

McCrady: "Allowing for the ordinary deductions of details and sick, between 500 and 600 would probably be the strength of the regiment under Coates. On the other side, Sumter, having all his own brigade, with the exception of Henry Hampton s regiment, and all of Marion's, it would be supposed that he must have had more than that number. He appears to have had five regiments of his own, Mydelton's [or Myddleton's], Polk's, Taylor's, Lacey's, and Wade Hampton's, and Marion to have had four, Horry's, Maham's, Swinton's, and Baxter's; but these regiments, as they were called, were not usually even good-sized companies. If we take Colonel Taylor's as the average, 45, he had little over 450 exclusive of Lee's Legion, 150 strong. And, indeed, no doubt overestimating the British force, Sumter asserts that their infantry alone was superior to his whole force; and that he attacked them with half of their number. From these insufficient data it is perhaps safe to conclude that in the fight at Shubrick's house there was no great disparity in the forces engaged. We may assume that, on the morning of this day, British and American forces numbered each about 600 or 700 men. The losses on the American side fell upon Lee's Legion, Maham's regiment at the bridge, and upon Marion s infantry and Taylor's regiment at the house. Marion's and Taylor's men together lost more than 50 killed and wounded. 1 Two of Lee's Legion were killed at the bridge and several wounded. 2 The American loss was therefore probably at least 60 killed and wounded. Sumter, however, reported but 38 killed and wounded. 3 In the account of this battle published in *The Royal Gazette* "by authority," the British loss is admitted to have been 6 men killed, with an officer and 38 wounded. No mention is made of the loss of their rear guard, which numbered 100 men.
"If these figures are at all correct, it is a mistake to say, as does Johnson, that even after the departure of a part of his troops and the retirement of the Legion, Sumter still had a sufficient number to have held the enemy in a state of investment whilst he tried the effect of his artillery. Could he have induced Coates to come out and meet him in the field, he might well have counted upon a favorable result; but he was in no position for an investment."[3332]

Lee, at the High Hills of the Santee on 24 July, to Richard Henry Lee: "The full execution of this enterprise ensured to us all our wishes. The troops moved off in high spirits, and the Enemy, was we have experienced, were totally in the dark as to our intentions..."[3333]

[3327] NGP9 p. 80.
[3328] NGP9 pp. 47-48.
[3329] NGP9 pp. 80, 123n.
[3330] NGP9 p. 72.
[3331] In vol. 2, no. 4 of SCAR, one of Sumter's account books is reprinted. Among the ledger entries is one for July 27th stating that he paid 67 guineas to "Lee's Legion: 5 officers and 77 men." See also NGP9 p. 52.
[3332] MSC2 pp. 340-341.
[3333] *Historical Magazine*, September 1865, vol. IX, no. 9, p. 283.

Lee (in his *Memoirs*): "[Capt. James] Armstrong of Lee's cavalry, with the most far advanced of the American troops] Seeing the enemy with the bridge interposed, which he knew to be contrary to the commandant's expectation's, this gallant officer drew u, and sent back for orders -- never communicating the fact that the bridge intervened. Lee, sending his adjutant to the captain, warmly reminded him of the order of the day, which was to fall upon the foe without respect to consequences. Stung with this answer, the brave Armstrong put spur to his horse at the head of his section, and threw himself over the bridge upon the guard stationed there with the howitzer. So sudden was this charge that he drove all before him -- the soldiers abandoning their piece. Some of the loose planks were dashed off by Armstrong's section, which forming a chasm in the bridge presented a dangerous obstacle. Nevertheless, the section [of the Legion cavalry], headed by Lieutenant [George] Carrington, took the leap and closed with Armstrong, then engaged in a personal combat with Lieutenant-Colonel Coates, who placing himself on the side of a wagon which with a few others had kept up with the main body, effectually parried the many saber strokes, aimed at his head. Most of his soldiers, appalled at the sudden and daring attack, had abandoned their colonel, and were running through the field, some with, some without arms, to take shelter in the farm house."[3334]

Stephen Jarvis: "By this time our piquet [sic] at the bridge leading to Charlestown were attacked, and I was ordered to direct Captain Bell, who commanded, to retire, which he did with no other loss than one of his Officers slightly wounded in the arm, which he was very fond of carrying in a sling for a long time after. We remained until night, when we burned our stores, and commenced our retreat through a bye road that the enemy had no knowledge of. During the night the Troops got separated, and the waggons which were heavily loaded broke down one after the other. Captain [Colin] Campbell, Paymaster of the 19th Regiment, with the Military chest fell into the enemy's hands, with all the heavy baggage of the Regiment. We proceeded on until daylight, when we took up a position at a plantation flanked by a navigable stream, over which there was a bridge which we passed, and placed a piece of cannon to guard the bridge. The Cavalry had unbridled their horses at the plantation, and the Infantry began to cook their breakfast. The enemy charged over the bridge and cut the sentry at the cannon down, and then dashed into the wood. The 19th fell in, some without their coats; great confusion ensued, and they began to give ground. The Cavalry mounted and really forced them to face the enemy. Major Fraser then had some consultation with General Coats [Lieut. Col. James Coates], took advantage of a high field of corn, and set off and left the 19th to their fate, and pushed for Charlestown, got a re-inforcement [sic] and returned to look after the 19th Regiment, who after we left them General Coats drew up his men in the open field, and waited for the enemy, who came on and were repulsed several times, and at last retreated over the bridge, and sent a flag of truce for leave to bury their dead. Had the Cavalry been with the General, on the retreat of the enemy, we might no doubt have made a glorious day of it, but so it was -- they lost all their baggage, but had gained their credit, which in some measure they had tarnished in the morning. I had made up my mind that they would all have been taken prisoners." See "Wadboo Bridge," 16 July.[3335]

Joseph Johnson: "At the battle of Quimby [Quinby] Bridge, near Shubrick's house, where Sumter's command was united to those of Lee and Marion, Colonel [Thomas] Taylor was engaged, and repeatedly made the following statement: That his command was *the only portion* of Sumter's division engaged on that day, and this was confirmed by several of the most respectable men and officers of that division, who had been present on that occasion. That the British could not have maintained the position held by them, at the bridge and causeway, had Lee been not so fearful of losing some of his dragoons. If Maham, at the head of Marion's mounted men, had been there when the British first engaged the Americans, instead of Lee and his Legion, Colonel Coates would not have been permitted to occupy that defile. The few infantry who did cross the bridge, were hurried over it by Lee, with a promise of speedy support from his cavalry. This support was so tardy, that but for the gallant and impetuous charge of Colonel Maham and Captain [James] McCaul[e]y, they would have been poorly sustained by Armstrong and [George] Carrington, of Lee's legion, whose *men had failed to cross the bridge*. Colonel Lee was at or near the bridge all the time, and the testimony of every Carolinian who was present, on that occasion, has stamped his conduct as unmilitary and unfeeling towards the State troops under his command. Colonel Taylor's division marched up through an open field to the fence, which the British had placed round Shubrick's negro houses, to protect themselves from Lee's cavalry. The fire was tremendous from the British but not effective. Colonel Taylor's ammunition soon gave out; and the British discovering this from his slackening fire, rushed from the houses, threw down the fence and charged, with fixed bayonets on Taylor's retreating division. At this crisis, a detachment of Marion's brigade rushed to their rescue, and by a well directed fire checked the British advance, and drove them back. Colonel Taylor's men gave Marion's a loud cheer, when they were advancing, and three times three, when they saw the effect of their gallantry.
"Colonel Taylor wore, as most officers did, at that time, a pair of large pistols, tied to a belt, and generally stuck into the belt, called slung pistols. In retreating, on this occasion, one of the pistols got out of the belt, and struck on a nerve at the knee joint, giving him such acute pain that he fell in the high grass—was unable to move for some time, and then very slowly…
"On this occasion, Colonel Taylor lost some of his best men, and complained loudly in person, both to Colonel Lee and General Sumter, of their not sending him aid and ammunition, when they both saw that he was in much want of support and relief."[3336]

[3334] LMS p. 390.
[3335] JJA pp. 462-464.
[3336] JTR pp. 541-542, and see LCC pp. 427-432.

William Dobein James: "The enemy had time to recover from their panic, and to post themselves in Col. Shubrick's house and out houses, which were near. After some delay, Sumter arrived and ordered an attack, which was led on by Marion, whose men, and a regiment of Sumter's, under Col. Thomas Taylor, marched up in open ground, with a view of gaining a fence near the houses; and were exposed to a most galling fire, from riflemen aiming at them from behind cover. More than fifty were killed and wounded, generally of Marion's men, who were most exposed. Capt. Perry and Lieut. June, of his brigade, were killed; and Lieut. Col. John Baxter, who was very conspicuous, from his gigantic size and full uniform, received five wounds; Major [Alexander] Swinton was also severely wounded. A retreat was ordered. The attack was made against Marion's opinion, who blamed Sumter afterwards for wasting the lives of his men. But, with such a force, Sumter had not the disposition to be idle, and wanted only a field piece to have ensured success. Col. Coates had now the command of boats, and a wide river before him, and could easily have effected his retreat in that way to Charlestown; but Sumter did not attack him again; because, it was said, a reinforcement was coming to his assistance. After this, Gen. Marion retired to the Santee, and took post at Cordes', and afterwards at Peyre's plantation, near the mouth of the present Santee canal, where he reposed his men and horses, until about the 25th of August."[3337]
Letter from Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, at Charlotte dated July 25th, to Maj. Hogg: "[I] just received from genl green [sic] Major Rose [Alexander Rose] is charged with a flag(?) and the prisoners from the Southerners(?), He is also to take forward those at Salisbury, which will ease you of a great deal of trouble, you will therefore not concern with them, general green writes, in our late movements towards Charles Town we took about 140 prisoners, and killed, and wounded, near 100, more, and destroyed a prodigious quantity of baggage and stores, and took upwards of 200 horses, our militia fought valiantly and we lost but few men notwithstanding."[3338]

Balfour, on 20 July, wrote Clinton: "Since the Sailing of the *Warwick* no Opportunity has offered of communicating with Your Excellency, & I am now obliged to trust this to a private & unarmed Schooner, Captain Barclay with the *Blonde*, having been for sometime on a Cruise, & no Ship of War in this Harbour…After this General Greene, with his Main body passed over, with the view of striking at Lord Rawdon, then at Orangeburgh, or cutting off the 19th Regiment, which was proceeding under Lt. Colonel Stewart, to join him, but His Lordship's Vigilance & Skill frustrating these intentions, On his being reinforced by the Corps under Lieut. Col.o Stewart, who accomplished his Junction by a March of twenty Seven Miles in one Day, & the Troops under Lt. Col.o Cruger, General Greene found it necessary to fall back, with the greater part of his Infantry, over the Santee, he, however, Detached the Chief of his Cavalry, & some mounted Infantry, against the post at Monk's [Monck's] Corner, where the 19th regiment, & the Mounted Men of the South Carolina rangers were stationed.
"Before this place the Enemy's under Colonels Lee, Washington, Marian [sic] and Sumpter, appeared in Force on the 14th. Instant, & the next day a party of them came within four Miles of this Town, Having taken near Dorchester several Horses in the Quarter Master General's Employment, & at the Quarter house some Dragoon ones [sic] belonging to the South Carolina Rangers, who were left in charge of them, & unable to make their escape.
"Lt. Colonel Coates finding himself nearly surrounded by the Enemy, & that their Numbers were greatly superior to his, on the 16th Instant destroyed the Posts & Stores at Monk's [Monck's] Corner, & retretaed on the East side of the Cooper, towards this, but in his March being closely pressed by the Enemy's Cavalry, which were numerous, was oblig'd to relinquish his Baggage & Sick, which fell into their hands. The 19th regiment, however, repulsed in the Handsomest manner, a Charge which was made on it, & compell'd the Enemy's Cavalry to give way.
"Thus circumstanced Colonel Coates put his regiment in a strong Position at Shubrick's House, near Huggee's Brige [Huger's Bridge], & sent information to this place of is situation, from which the Enmey twice endeavored to force him, but were driven back with Loss.
"On receiving this Intelligence Colonel Gould, with about Seven hundred Men, marched from hence to sustain the 19th Regiment, and on his approach the Enemy retired, but as Lord Rawdon is come down with a small part of his Corps (Col.o Stewart being left in command of the rest) to Goose-Creek, I have some hopes he may be able to intercept any Parties of them, that may attempt to get off that way.
"At present it is impossible to Ascertain our loss on this Occasion, tho' I fear, it will prove rather considerable. These Events, the great force of the Enemy, especially of Cavalry, in which we are vastly Deficient, and the general Revolt of the Province, will, I conceive, even with the present force, much circumscribe any future Position we may take.
"They will likewise, by throwing on us a great weight of Unprovided for Militia & Refugees ad considerably in these respects, to our expence both of Money & Provisions.
"When a free comunication with Lord Rawdon is opened, I shall do myself the honor to inform his Lordship of Your Excellency's desire to receive from himself, an account of the late Action near Camden."[3339]

Mid July. Rear Admiral Graves took his fleet out to search for an enemy convoy supposedly bringing supplies to the French in Rhode Island. After cruising off Boston he returned to New York on August 16 with two ships so badly damaged he had to lay them up for repairs.[3340]

17 July. Cornwallis with the main army reached Portsmouth.[3341]

[3337] JFM p. 53.
[3338] This letter is from a private collection and reprinted here with permission of the owner.
[3339] BLB pp. 80-86.
[3340] WCO p. 357.

Cornwallis to Clinton: "I am glad to hear from Portsmouth that the expedition is almost ready to sail; and having given General Leslie full powers relating to the equipment of it, I hope it will be to your satisfaction. I have detained six infantry boats and four horse boats for the service here, and have directed all the others to go, if they can be carried. The twenty-third Light Company has done duty for some time past with the Legion, which is not yet returned from an excursion to the upper part of the country; I have, therefore, in place of the twenty-third, sent the Light Company of the eightieth.
"The enemy's army having come so low down the country, and we having, by the destruction of their craft, rendered it difficult for them to pass James river below Tuckahoe, and the militia of the upper counties of this side of the river being with them, I thought it a good opportunity to endeavour to destroy the magazines between James river and the Dan that are destined for the use of their southern army. I accordingly detached Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with the Legion cavalry, and something upwards of one hundred mounted infantry, on the 9th instant, from Cobham, with orders to call, among other places, at Prince Edward and Bedford court houses, where I was informed their principal military stores had been collected. This will be a fatiguing expedition; but I shall be able to give them rest upon their return, as I see little appearance of cavalry being much wanted in this quarter for some time to come. In the mean time I shall remain at, or near, this place till he comes back, which I hope will be in a few days. I have detached Lieutenant-colonel [Thomas] Dundas with part of the eightieth, to destroy the shipping and stores at South Quay; and, if possible, I shall send a detachment to Edenton for the same purpose, before I fall back to Portsmouth.
"Colonel [Paston] Gould has not received my order for sending two of the late-arrived regiments to New-York, the express vessel with my dispatches having been taken by a rebel privateer. And as it appears by your Excellency's dispatch to me of the 19th of June, that you approve of the three regiments remaining in South Carolina, I have notified this to Colonel Gould by the *Amphitrite*, which retook the express vessel, and called here two days ago, in her way to Charles-town."[3342]

17 July. Lafayette's intelligence reported Tarleton at Petersburg on this date. Also the latter's men probably burned Prince George Court House about this time. See 24 July.[3343]

19 July. Lieut. Col. Washington, at "Simons Wateree," S.C., wrote to Greene saying that his men were keeping watch on Stewart at Orangeburgh, and had received a report, not yet confirmed, that the British had sent a large party towards Charlestown. Washington also mentioned having ordered a militia officer at Howell's ferry to collect and scuttle all the flats and vessels in that area.[3344]

Mid July. [skirmish] Pursuit of Cunningham by Purdue (Abbeville County, S.C.) Subsequent to the evacuation of Ninety Six, Lieut. Col. William Cunningham and 40 mounted loyalists established a partisan base in the Blue Ridge Mountains. His force shortly grew to about 100; with which he then raided the whig settlements between the Enoree and the Saluda. In one raid near Long Canes, however, he was defeated and chased by one of Pickens' officers, Maj. Fields Purdue. Despite this setback, he was soon able to resume his operations.[3345]
From his camp at Long Canes, Pickens wrote to Greene on the 19th saying he recently learned of strong parties of "Indians and Tories" murdering the frontier inhabitants, and not thinking he could do much to engage Cruger, Pickens marched to the relief of the frontier settlements. "The Enemy had been in & done some Damage but was gone. About seventy in one party Tories and Indians and one Hundred said to have been in another, however they were under such Restrictions that they murdered neither Women or Children. When I arriv'd I found the settlements of Long Cain [Long Cane] not so much Dammag'd by the British and Tories as I had Reason to Expect from Report. They burn'd but few houses in the Country, the Tories plundered, but was much kep't in by some Officers and men who Exerted themselves for that purpose. I have order[e]d Colonels [Le Roy] Hammond & [Robert] Anderson to Review their respective regiments, officer and arrange them properly, and Raise one Hundred men in each Regiment, under good Officers to be on Constant Duty, for the purpose of suppressing Enemies of Every kind, Detecting and Regulating plundering parties of Every Denomination within their respective Regiments and settlements Adjacent, the Rest to be Ready at a moments warning...The settlements are much allarm'd [sic] as a number of Tories have lately gone into the Indian Country, Majr [Fields] Purdue Commanded the pursueing [sic] party. Bill Cunningham & about forty men in one party which was pursued by our people, five kil'd & some Negroes and Horses retaken. Georgia is very peaceable only the Indians and Tories are Troublesome on the Frontiers, as on this side. I have heard Colonel [William] Henderson had Imbodied [sic] the men beyond Saludy [Saluda], but have not heard particularly from him."[3346]

19 July. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell became commander of the Virginia battalion, while Capt. Thomas Edmunds superceded him as head of the 1st Virginia Regt.[3347]

19 July. Col. Malmedy at Waxhaws wrote to Greene, apologizing for the misunderstanding about arms at Charlotte and Salisbury. He said there were 281 muskets in Salisbury and 227 at Oliphant's Mill. Sumner had taken about 100 of these for his troops, and ordered that the others be saved and repaired for the North Carolina Brigade. Malmedy daily expected a detachment of militia from Salisbury to help collect provisions and

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[3341] SQR p. 239, MLW4A pp. 436-440, CBA p. 604, JYC p. 53.
[3342] CAC pp. 142-145.
[3343] EPY p. 42.
[3344] NGP9 p. 43.
[3345] NGP9 p. 50n.
[3346] NGP9 pp. 49-50, LSC p. 17.
[3347] NGP9 p. 43.

prevent any disruptions. Earlier, the Waxhaws settlement had been proposed by Malmedy as a rendezvous point for the Salisbury militia, and as a supply collection site for the N.C. Continentals. See 10 July.[3348]

20 July. Lafayette, at "Malvan (Malvern) Hill," to Gen. Washington: "General Waine's [Anthony Wayne's] Pennsylvanians never exceeded about 700 -- fighting and desertion have much reduced them. I have sent them to Goode's Bridge upon Appamatox. The three Pennsylvania battalions have been reduced to two -- about 250 each fit for duty. To this I have added 300 Virginia New levies -- General [Daniel] Morgan and 500 riflemen and some dragoons is also at Goode's Bridge to support Waine. But the moment the embarkation sails Morgan will return and others proceed to Carolina. I have obtained from the executive that 2000 militia be ordered to Boyd's Ferry upon Dan River. This force will give General Greene a decided superiority. I am determined to reinforce him at my own risks -- it is important for the treaty that Carolina be reconquered."[3349]

20 July. Lafayette, at Malvern Hill, to Gen. Washington: "A correspondent of mine servant to Lord Cornwallis [James Armistead][3350] writes on the 26th July at Portsmouth, and says his master, Tarleton, and Simcoe are still in town but expect to move. The greatest part of the army is embarked. There is in Hampton Road [Hampton Roads] one 50 guns ship, and two six and thirty guns frigats [sic] etc. 18 sloops loaded with horses. There remain but nine vessels in Portsmouth who appear to be getting ready."[3351]

20 July. Lafayette, with about 2,200, was camped at Malvern Hill, located about halfway between Richmond and Williamsburg.[3352]

20 July. Just as he was embarking the regiments Clinton previously requested for the defense of New York, Cornwallis, in Portsmouth, on this date received a dispatch from the former (written July 11th) countermanding those earlier directives; Clinon's reason for the change was the arrival of 2,500-3,000 Hessian reinforcements received on 11 July at New York. At the same time, Cornwallis was ordered to fortify Old Point Comfort at Hampton Roads, for purposes of establishing a naval station there. Cornwallis' engineers, however, deemed Hampton Roads not suitable; and the Earl chose instead to use Yorktown as the place for the naval station. Ward says his lordship at this time had remained in Suffolk, but had moved the 3,000 requested by Clinton to Portsmouth when the new instructions arrived.[3353]
Clinton to Cornwallis, dated July 11th: "I have received your lordship's letter of the 30th of June, and the admiral has dispatched a frigate with his and my opinions in answer to it. I cannot be more explicit by this opportunity than to desire, that, if you have not already passed the James river, you will continue on the Williamsburgh neck until she arrives with my dispatches by Captain Stapleton. If you have passed, and find it expedient to recover that station, you will please to do it, and keep possession until you hear from me. Whatever troops may have been embarked by you for this place, are likewise to remain until farther orders; and if they should have been sailed, and within your call, you will be pleased to stop them. It is the admiral's and my wish, at all events, to hold Old-point Comfort, which secures Hampton road [Hampton Roads]."[3354]

20 July, William Loftin, at a site in eastern N.C. unknown, to Sumner: "After my best respects to you Do inform you that the Tories is embodied on Deep River and doing very much mischief. [David] Fanning is their Commander who is about 400 strong. Col. [Andrew] Balfour marched against them on Wednesday last with 75 men, but finding their number superior to his was obliged to retreat without attachment. We are raising our men fast as posable both in this County and Randolph But arms and ammunition is very scarce, especially lead. Capt. Hill and Capt. Williams came to my house last night from Col. [Andrew] Balfour[']s Camp who says they marched within half a mile of the Tory Camp & by the best accounts they can gather they are at least 400 strong. On Tuesday last the Tory captains in Chatham called a general muster & ordered every man out to join Fanning without delay, & the Tories from the several counties are marching to him very fast. They are distressing the people very much near where they lay. So that the inhabitants in those parts will without immediate assistance be obliged to remove or fall into the hands of the villins. We hope Sir that your Honour will take it to consideration & send us assistance as soon as possible. If you can send us 200 men I think we shall be able then to attack them. You may send your men to Randolph Court House which is the place we shall gather at. Pray Sir if possible furnish us with some lead."[3355]

[3348] NGP9 p. 47.
[3349] LLW pp. 208-209.
[3350] James Armistead, (c.1759-1830) was the slave of William Armistead of New Kent County. With his master's permission, he attempted to get a position as Lafayette's servant, when the latter was in Annapolis. Lafayette, however, came up with the idea of using him as a spy. Armistead was ultimately able to infiltrate Cornwallis' household and became one of his servants, in which position he subsequently obtained much valuable information for the Americans.
[3351] LLW p. 213.
[3352] JYC p. 68.
[3353] MLW4A 466, CBA p. 610, WAR2 p. 878.
[3354] Cornwallis rejected Portsmouth as being too sandy for defensive works, their upkeep requiring 400 men every day. Wickwire states that Old Comfort (Hampton Road) was ultimately rejected (and York and Gloucester chosen by Cornwallis in its place) because it was deemed unsuitable for creating port defenses which would protect both the garrison and vessels. Soil would have had to be transported over great distances to correct the problem. Although the British Naval captains present unanimously disapproved it as a naval station, Wickwire further points out that Old Point Comfort would have given the navy much room to maneuver, and army posted there could have escaped or been reinforced by water in and from several directions. WCO pp. 327-328, 358-359.
[3355] CNC15 p. 555.

20 July. Maj. Absalom Tatom [Tatum?], at Hillsborough, to Gov. Thomas Burke: "This day I received certain Intelligence that on Tuesday last the Tories under the Command of Fanning had taken Colo. Ramsey, together with about 40 others, chiefly Officers of the Chatham Militia, who were assembled at the Court House to hold a Court Martial. This information came by a Note from Capt. Cage to General Butler, requesting his assistance to relieve the Prisoners, which note I sent to Colo. [Thomas] Taylor [of N.C.], who has set out with a few men in order to Join the Chatham Militia.
"Capt. Douglas this moment arrived in Town who says that Fanning had about 100 men, that they marched with the prisoners in order to carry them to Wilmington, but it is generally believed they intend to carry them to the Raft Swamp and deliver them to McNeal. That on Wednesday morning about 140 of the Chatham Militia were Collected, and determined to relieve the prisoners if possible. Inclosed you have a return of the Ammunition at this Port."[3356]

21 July (or very close to this date.) Winyah Bar, also "Captain Mansen, privateer schooner Peggy vs. unknown British (or allied) cdr, sloop chased ashore" (Georgetown County, S.C.)
See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/winyah-bar.htm

21 July. Greene, at High Hills of the Santee, wrote to Sumter that he wanted Gen. Marion to take position at Nelson's Ferry on the Santee, and Sumter Friday's Ferry on the Congaree; with both being directed to take charge of the boats at those respective locations. At the time, Sumter had moved his troops to Nelson's Ferry on July 20, and reported that most of Marion's men had gone home. He did not relocate to Friday's Ferry until July 27, and then only after one of Greene's aides re-sent the order. His brigade at this time consisted of mounted regiments under Col. Henry Hampton, and Col. William Henderson, and Col. Charles Myddleton. Myddleton's detachment alone numbered 280.[3357]

21 July. Cornwallis received the following letter from Clinton, dated July 8th: "By your Lordship's answer to my letters of the 11th and 15th ultimo, (which are the only ones you acknowledge the receipt of, and in which I made a requisition for some of the corps serving in the Chesapeak[e], if you could spare them,) I am to understand that your Lordship does not think, that with the remainder (which would have amounted to at least four thousand, supposing even that you sent me three thousand,) you could maintain the posts I had proposed to be occupied at York-town, &c. so necessary in every respect to cover our fleet, and give us entire command over the entrance of that bay. I therefore think proper to mention to your Lordship, that whatever my ideas may have been of the force sufficient to maintain that station, and the corresponding one on the Gloucester side, your Lordship was left the sole judge of that sufficiency to the whole amount of the corps under your immediate orders in Virginia; nor did I mean to draw a single man from you until you had provided for a respectable defensive, and retained a small corps for desultory water expeditions; for my requisition was made after the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 26th of May; from which I apprehend that you had no immediate operation of your own to propose, and did not think it expedient to adopt the one I had recommended to General Phillips. But I confess I could not conceive you would require above four thousand in a station wherein General Arnold had represented to me (upon report of Colonel Simcoe) that two thousand men would be amply sufficient; and being strongly impressed with the necessity of our holding a naval station for large ships as well as small, and judging that York-town was of importance for securing such a one, I cannot but be concerned that your Lordship should so suddenly lose sight of it, pass James-river, and retire with your army to the sickly post of Portsmouth, where your horses will, I fear, be starved, and a hundred other inconveniences will attend you: and this, my Lord, as you are pleased to say, because you were of opinion that it exceeded your power, consistent with my plans, to make safe defensive posts there and at Gloucester. My plans, my Lord, were to draw from Chesapeak, as well for the sake of their health, as for a necessary defensive in this important post, such troops as your Lordship could spare from a respectable defensive of York, Gloucester, or such other station as was proper to cover line of battle ships, and all the other services I had recommended; but I could not possibly mean that your Lordship should, for this, give up the hold of a station so important for the purposes I designed, and which I think La Fayette will immediately seize and fortify the moment he hears you have repassed James-river; for though I am to suppose the enemy will be as little able to defend it with five thousand as your Lordship judges yourself to be, and of course may be for the same reasons dispossessed, I should be sorry to begin with a siege the operations I am determined to carry on in Chesapeak whenever the season will admit of it; I will therefore consult Rear-admiral Graves on this subject, and let your Lordship have our joint opinion in consequence.
"With regard to Portsmouth, your Lordship will have seen by my former letters and the papers in your possession, that when I sent General Leslie to the Chesapeak, I only wished for a station to cover our cruising frigates and other small ships; that General officer thought proper to make choice of Portsmouth, and had, I doubt not, good reasons for so doing. But it has ever been my opinion that if a better could be found, especially for covering line of battle ships, it ought to have the preference; and I think, if Old Point Comfort will secure Hampton-Road, that is the station we ought to choose; for if Elizabeth-River is at all kept, a small post for about three hundred men at Mill-Point, would be my opinion answer. But as to quitting the Chesapeak entirely, I cannot entertain a thought of such a measure, but shall most probably on the contrary send there, as soon as the season returns for acting in that climate, all the troops which can possibly be spared from the different posts under my command. I therefore flatter myself, that even although your Lordship may have quitted York

[3356] CNC15 pp. 557-558.
[3357] NGP9 p. 56.

and detached troops to me, that you will have a sufficiency to re-occupy it, or that you will at least hold Old Point Comfort, if it is possible to do it without York."[3358]

The same day, Cornwallis also received a second letter of Clinton's dated the 11th: "I am just returned from having a conference with Rear-admiral [Thomas] Graves, in consequence of your Lordship's letter of the 30th ultimo, and we are both clearly of opinion that it is absolutely necessary we should hold a station in Chesapeak[e] for ships of the line, as well as frigates; and the Admiral seems to think that should the enemy possess themselves of Old Point Comfort, Elizabeth River would no longer be of any use to us as a station for the frigates, therefore judges that Hampton-road is the fittest station for all ships, in which your Lordship will see by the papers in your possession, I likewise agree with him. It was moreover my opinion that the possession of York-town, even though we did not possess Gloucester, might give security to the works we might have at Old Point Comfort, which I understand secures Hampton-road.
"I had flattered myself that after giving me as nearly three thousand men as you could spare, your Lordship might have had a sufficiency not only to maintain them, but to spare for desultory expeditions; for I had no other plans in view than to draw for the defence of this post, and operation in its neighbourhood, such troops as could be spared from your army, after leaving an ample defensive to such stations as your Lordship might judge proper to occupy; and a small moving corps for desultory water expeditions during the summer months, in which no other might be proper in that unhealthy climate. But as your Lordship seems to think that you can in no degree comply with my requisition for troops, and at the same time establish a post capable of giving protection to ships of war, and it is probable, from what you write me, that you may have repassed [sic] James-river and retired to Portsmouth; I beg leave to request that you will without loss of time examine Old Point Comfort, and fortify it; detaining such troops as you may think necessary for that purpose, and garrisoning it afterwards. But if it should be your Lordship's opinion that Old Point Comfort cannot be held without having possession of York, for in this case Gloucester may perhaps be not so material, and that the whole cannot be done with less than seven thousand men, you are at full liberty to detain all the troops now in the Chesapeak, which I believe amount to somewhat more than that number: which very liberal concession will, I am persuaded, convince your Lordship of the high estimation in which I hold a naval station in Chesapeak, especially when you consider that my whole force in this very extensive and important post, is not quite eleven thousand effectives; and how far I may be justified in leaving it to so reduced a garrison, time will show."[3359]

22 July. Lieut. Col. Hardy Murfree[3360] of the N.C.militia, at "Hertford County, Murfree's Landing," N.C., to Sumner: "A party of the enemy came from Suffolk to South Key, 16th Instant destroyed the ware houses, Rum, tobacco, &c., at that place, the day next marched to Wineoak & Manny's ferry, which is within 12 miles of this place, Burnt Mr. Manney's dwelling house, with upwards 100 Blls. Sugar, a large quantity Rum, Rigging, Coffee, &c. They also destroyed a large quantity Rum, Sugar, Coffee, Wine, &c., at Wine-Oak, took all the horses, plundered the inhabitants in a most cruel manner. They were expected at the Pitch Landing, which is four miles above this & a place of considerable trade. I turned out and raised between 60 & 70 men & took post at Skinner's Bridge on Meherin River, an advantageous post, which is generally supposed prevented their coming this far. The 19th they retreated towards Suffolk. There has a number of Tories joined the Enemy in Nansemond County near South Key, and is embodied in that neighbourhood, which is only 18 or 20 miles from this place. I should be much oblige to you, if I am not greatly wanted in Camp, to let me stay in this part of the Country while the enemy continues so near. As we have no army near us and liable to be plundered, &c., by those Tories who has done more mischief than the British Army.
"I have and can raise in a few hours, 70 or 80 men in this part of the Country. Please to favour me with a line as soon as convenient.
"Col. Lamb is on his way to join you with a party of Troops from this district, who can inform you of the success of collecting the drafts, &c.
"All the stores was not sent from this neighbourhood when we expected the enemy among us. I put a part of it on board of a vessel, and the remainder I secured as well as I could. Among the articles impressed, there was a few pss. of light canvass & 1 pss. Rushe Drill. If you want it, it is very good for Breeches and Overalls. I will keep two or three ps. [pairs] and bring out with me, as I make no doubt but the Officers are in want. Lord Cornwallis is at Jericho, a few miles below Suffolk. He has burnt all the vessels in that part of the Country. I am informed by good authority that 2,000 men had embarked from his army for New York. I am told the Marquis is on the other side of James River, and that General [Anthony] Wayne has come over on this side, six days ago, with upwards of 1,000 men.
"I saw Capt. Edwd. Webb, a gentleman that is to be depended on, yesterday, directly from Boston, Informs me that he overtook in Hertford town in Connecticut five Thousand French troops with a number of large cannons, some 42-pounders, on their way to join His Excellency, Genl. Washington, at the white plains [White Plains, N.Y.]."[3361]

23 July. Cornwallis, at Portsmouth, VA., to Rawdon: "I dare not be so sanguine as to hope that you can or ought to stay in Carolina. I have not time to explain to you my situation. Suffice it to say that the C. is determined to

[3358] CAC pp. 162-165.
[3359] CAC pp. 167-169.
[3360] Hardy Murfree (1752-1809), like a number of other N.C. militia officers of note, was in the Continental army (in his case with the rank of Major) and had earlier served with Washington's army; indeed had played a prominent part in Anthony Wayne's famous storming of Stony Point (N.Y.), July 16, 1779. As well, he founded the town of Murfreesboro, N.C. and for which he is named. For more, see SNC pp. 268, 393, 436, WAR2 pp. 599-602.
[3361] CNC15 pp. 560-561.

throw all blame on me, and to disapprove of all I have done, and that nothing but the consciousness that my going home in apparent disgust, would essentially hurt our affairs in this country could possibly induce me to remain. I offered to return to Carolina, but it was not approved of, and it became absolutely necessary to send Leslie, lest the command should have devolved on ------ [Balfour?]"[3362]

23 July. Col. Edward Carrington, in North Carolina, wrote Sumner a letter in which he listed the names of the officers in charge of the supply depots at Oliphant's Mill -- Maj. James Wallace, Charlotte -- Mr. William Alexander (and with whom was present Col. John Gunby till 28 July), and Salisbury -- Capt. Gamble.[3363]

24 July. Marion, at St. Stephen's, reported to Greene that he had been having difficulty getting the militia to stay in the field longer than one month. His troops were much reduced in number, but he expected reinforcements, and hoped in two days to have half of his brigade in the field. Most of his men, Marion said, were entirely without ammunition.[3364]

24 July (and days immediately leading up to). After crossing the rivers Nottoway and Blackwater, Tarleton and his detachment met up at Suffolk with a raiding detachment from South Quay, sent by Cornwallis. The two together then reached Cornwallis by the 24th.[3365]

25 July (also possibly 24 July). [skirmish] Orangeburgh (Orangeburg County, S.C.) Greene writing on August 2 informed Gov. Thomas Burke of North Carolina that "a few Days ago," Capt. [John] Watts of Washington's dragoons met up with 20 of "the enemy," some distance from Orangeburgh and charged them, killed two, "wounded some and brought off six, with a force exactly equal with his antagonist."[3366]
Haller (William Washington's biographer):"In two engagements before returning to the main army, [William] Washington's cavalry captured 50 prisoners and disrupted most British and Tory communications around Charleston. One of his raids took him along the banks of the Cooper Rover, and his cavalry and Kirkwood's infantry frustrated a British foray out of Orangeburg towards McCord's Ferry [near Thompson's Plantation] on the Congaree River by moving all boats to the opposite bank." [3367]
Exactly which *second* action Haller is referring to (and aside from this of the 25th) is not clear. However, he does cite this passage from a letter of Greene's, dated August 6th, at High Hills of the Santee Camp, to Gen. Washington: "The Cavalry of lt Col [William] Washington Corp[s] have taken, killed and wounded near forty of the enemies [sic] Cavalry since my last, the most considerable attack was made by Capt. Watts. He charged a party of twenty odd of the enemy with an inferior force[,] took Six[,] killed three and wounded eight or nine more."[3368]

William Johnson: "At length, Colonel Stewart advancd on the route to M'Cord's ferry, and took post on the south side, amidst the Hills near the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree. Here the two armies lay in sight of each other's fires, sharpening their swords for future conflicts. The heat of the weather was excessive -- both armies had felt it (one very severely) in the movements of June and July; and, as if by mutual consent, military operations were, for a while suspended. Two large rivers intervening, secured each from sudden attack; and all their views of annoyance were confined to watching convoys, forgaing parties, and detachments. In this service, [William] Washington, after having observed the enemy until his views became developed, was detached down the country across the Santee, and Lee upwards along the north bank of the Congaree; the latter to operate with Colonel [William] Henderson then in command of Sumpter's brigade at Fridig's Ferry; and the former to strike at the communication between the enemy and Charleston, and co-operate wih Marion and Mayhem [Maham] in covering the country on the lower Santee. Colonel Harden at the same time, wih a body of mounted militia, collected beyond Edisto, had it in charge to straiten the enemy in that quarter.
"General Greene, in speaking of the efforts of his cavalry in these expeditions, asserts wih confidence, 'that their character for entrprise was never excelled in the world.'
"Washington succeeded in falling with with two parties of the enemy's horse, and making fifty prisoners. Lee, crossing the Congaree with his cavalry, penetrated between the main body of the enemy and Orangeburgh, and in sight of the latter place drove in, dispersed, or captured a number of their communicating parties. Their confidence in their own prowess was such that to see and to attack were inseparable; and their audacity compelled the enemy to greatly fatigue his troops by the large detachments made necessary to his convoys."[3369]

25 July. Pickens, at "Camp Long Cain [Cane]," wrote to Greene: "I have one hundred men of Colo [Robert] Anderson[']s Regiment raised for the purpose of Defending the Frontiers, & the same quantity of Colonel [LeRoy] Hammond's Regiment below, least the Tories from Orrangeburgh [sic] should attemp [sic] Distressing the lower settlements on this side Saluda. The rest are ready at a moments warning to Support them in that position we wait your further Orders. The Regiments N: of Saluda apply to me for Orders, but they Belong to General

[3362] RCC p. 106.
[3363] NGP9 p. 66n.
[3364] NGP9 p. 75, CNC15 p. 568.
[3365] LMS p. 437, BGD p. 182, EPY p. 42.
[3366] NGP9 pp. 82, 127, 141, AR81 p. 96, HWW p. 139.
[3367] HWW p. 139.
[3368] NGP9 p. 141.
[3369] JLG2 p. 207.

Sumpter[']s Brigade, I would not Interfere tho' I have advised them to keep a number of men under Arms for the purpose of suppressing any Enemy, or Irregularity that may be among them."[3370]

25 July. Sumter, at Great Savannah, S.C., wrote to Greene: "The Georgians are Neglectfull [sic] of their Lower Settlements. They Suffer parties to Come from Savannah forty Mile up the River & even pass it, and Carry off Stock of every Kind in abundance."[3371]

25 July. Upon orders originating with Sumter, Captain William Ransom Davis came to Georgetown and removed slaves, also horses, indigo, salt and medical supplies of "the Tories." The British retaliated on 2 August by setting Georgetown to the torch.[3372]

26 July. Cornwallis, at Portsmouth, to Clinton: "As a subordinate officer, I think it my duty to obey positive orders, or in exercising discretionary powers, to act as much as possible conformable to the apparent wishes of my superior officer, combined with the evident good of the service; and in my late conduct I hope I have not deviated from those principles; for, permit me to remark, that I cannot discover in the instructions to General Phillips, and the substance of private conversations with him, (extracts of which I take the liberty to enclose) to which I am referred, nor in our former correspondence, any trace of the extreme earnestness that now appears, to secure a harbour for ships of the line, and your assent to my engaging in operations in the Upper Chesapeak[e], if I could have brought myself to think them expedient, would, if I had doubted before, have convinced me that securing a harbour for line of battle ships was not with you a primary and immediate object. In my letter of the 26th of May, I informed your Excellency, that after destroying the stores at Richmond and the adjoining country, I should move back to Williamsburg, keeping the army in readiness to comply with your further instructions. I arrived at that place on the 25th, and on the 26th of June I received from Ensign Amiel your dispatches of the 11th and 15th of the same month, being the first letters that I had received from you since my arrival in Virginia. In the first you tell me, that New-York is threatened to be attacked by a very numerous enemy, and, therefore, wishing to concentrate your force, you recommend to me to send a body of troops to you, as I can spare them, in the order mentioned in a list, unless I have engaged in operations in the Upper-Chesapeak; and in the dispatch of the 15th, taking for granted that I have not engaged in those operations, you require the embarkation of those troops may begin with the greatest dispatch. After a full compliance with this requisition, the force left under my command would have been about two thousand and four hundred rank and file, fit for duty, as will appear by the returns, which in a post adapted to that number, I hoped would be sufficient for a defensive, and desultory water expeditions. You mention Williamsburg and York in your letter of the 11th, as defensive stations, but only as being supposed healthy, without deciding on their safety, -- Williamsburg having no harbour, and requiring an army to occupy the position, would not have suited us. I saw that it would require a great deal of time and labour to fortify York and Gloucester, both of which are necessary to secure a harbour for vessels of any burthen; and to effect it, assistance would have been wanted from some of the troops then under embarkation orders, which, when New-York was in danger, I did not think myself at liberty to detain for any other purpose than operations in the Upper Chesapeak, and supposing both places fortified, I thought they would have been dangerous defensive posts, either of them being easily accessible to the whole force of this province, and from their situation they would not have commanded an acre of country. I, therefore, under these circumstances, with the most earnest desire to comply with what I thought were your present wishes, and to facilitate your intended future operations in Pennsylvania, did not hesitate in deciding to pass James-river, and to retire to Portsmouth, that I might be able to send you the troops required. And I was confirmed in the propriety of the measure, when upon passing James-river, I received your dispatch, informing me that for essential reasons you had resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia, and directing me to embark with the greatest expedition the same body of troops, with stores, &c. for that purpose. Having likewise executed this order with the utmost exertion and alacrity, I must acknowledge I was not prepared to receive in the next dispatch from your Excellency a severe censure of my conduct.
"Immediately on the receipt of your cyphered letter, I gave orders to the engineer to examine and survey Point Comfort, and the channels adjoining to it. I have likewise visited it with the Captains of the King's ships now lying in Hampton road [Hampton Roads]. I have the honour to inclose to you copies of the report of the Engineer, and of opinions of the Captains of the navy on that subject, with which my own entirely concurs. And I likewise transmit a survey of the peninsula, made by Lieutenants Sutherland and Stratton. From all which, your Excellency will see, that a work on Point Comfort, would neither command the entrance, nor secure his Majesty's ships at anchor in Hampton road. This being the case, I shall in obedience to the spirit of your Excellency's orders, take measures with as much dispatch as possible, to seize and fortify York and Gloucester, being the only harbour in which we can hope to be able to give effectual protection to line of battle ships. I shall, likewise, use all the expedition in my power to evacuate Portsmouth and the posts belonging to it, but until that is accomplished, it will be impossible for me to spare troops. For York and Gloucester, from their situation, command no country; and a superiority in the field will not only be necessary to enable us to draw forage and other supplies from the country, but likewise to carry on our works without interruption.
"Your Excellency having been pleased to disapprove of my going to South Carolina, I have sent General Leslie, who sailed on the 25th instant, in the *Carysfort*, to take the command there."[3373]

[3370] NGP9 p. 77.
[3371] NGP9 p. 82.
[3372] NGP9 p. 102, JLG2 pp. 215-216, BSF p. 209.
[3373] CAC pp. 171-174. "Extract of the Substance of several Conversations that his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton had with Major-general Phillips, on the Subject of Operations in the Chesapeak, before his Embarkation on his Expedition thither, dated April 26, 1781." "With regard to a station for the protection of the King's ships, I know of no place so proper as York-town, if it could be

26 July. [skirmish] Stuart's Creek, also Rockfish Creek (Cumberland County, N.C) DRO pp. 195-197.

27 July. After being examined by a board presided over by loyalist Major Andrew MacKenzie, and though otherwise without counsel or an impartial trial, Isaac Hayne was sentenced to be executed for allegedly violating his parole and oath of loyalty.[3374]
On the 29th, Hayne wrote the following letter addressed to Rawdon and Balfour: "On Thursday morning I had the honor of receiving a letter from Major Frazer, by which he informed me, that a council of general officers would be assembled the next day for my trial; and on the evening of the same day, I received another letter from the same officer, acquainting me, that instead of that, a court of inquiry would sit for the purpose of deciding under what point of view I ought to be considered. I was also told, that any person whom I should appoint, would be permitted to accompany me as my counsel. Having never entertained any other idea of a court of inquiry, or heard of any other being formed of it, than of its serving merely to precede a council of war, or some other tribunal, for examining the circumstances more fully, except in the case of a spy; and Mr. Jarvis, lieutenant marshal to the provost, not having succeeded in finding the person who had been named for my counsel, I did not take the pains to summon any witnesses, though it would have been in my power to have produced many; and I presented myself before the court without any assistance whatever. When I was before that assembly, I was further convinced that I had not been deceived in my conjectures. I found that the members of it were not sworn, and the witnesses were not examined upon oath; and all the members, as well as every person present, might easily have perceived, by the questions which I asked, and by the whole tenor of my conduct, that I had not the last notion that I was tried or examined under an affair on which my life or death depended.
"In the case of spies, a court of inquiry is all that can be necessary, because the simple fact whether a person is or is not a spy, is all that can be the object of their researches; and his having entered the lines of the enemy's camp or garrison, subjects him to military execution. As that accusation neither is nor can be made against me, I humbly conceive that the information I received, that the court would make inquiry concerning what point of view I ought to be considered under, could not be taken as a sufficient notice of their having an intention to try me then; but could only be thought to signify, that they were to take into consideration whether I ought to be looked upon as a British subject or as an American: that in the first case I should undergo a legal and impartial trial; in the second, I should be set at liberty on my parole. Judge then, my lord and air, of the astonishment I must have been in, when I found they had drawn me by surprise into a proceeding tending to judgment, without my knowing it to be such; and deprived me of the ability of making a legal defence, which it would have been very easy for me to have done, founded both in law and in fact; when I saw myself destitute of the assistance of counsel and of witnesses; and when they abruptly informed me, that after the procedure of the court I was condemned to die, and that in a very few days immediately upon receiving this notice, I sent for the lawyer whom I had originally chosen for my counsel. I here inclose [sic] his opinion concerning the legality of the process held against me; and I beg that I may be permitted to refer myself to him. I can assume you with the utmost truth, that I had and have many reasons to urge in my defence, if you will grant me the favor of a regular trial; if not, which I cannot however suppose from your justice and humanity, I earnestly intreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare for the dreadful change. I hope you will return me a speedy answer; and am, with respect, Isaac Hayne."[3375]

27 July. [skirmish] Hudson's Ferry, also "Shelby vs. Georgia Loyalists" (Screven County, GA.) For more on this action, see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hudsonsferry.htm Note, however, at this web entry (at the time of this writing), Col. Isaac Shelby is given as the whig leader when more certainly the leader in question was actually Capt. Moses Shelby.

28 July. A forward detachment of the North Carolina Continentals, under Col. John B. Ashe, joined Greene's army. 25 men from Ashe's force (which had arrived in advance of Sumner) were assigned to Lee's Legion, apparently the same (or a similar) 25 that had been attached in May. This brought the strength of the Legion Infantry up to 100.
Greene, at the High Hills of the Santee, on this same date, wrote to General Washington: "It is true we have the Aid of a few Militia but they can only be got out for a short time; and what distresses us most, is, we are obliged to detach so largely in support of the Qr [Quarter] Master General, Commissary General. Hospital and Ordnance departments, and for Guards and extra service of different kinds as leaves but a shadow of a force to operate with. And our want of Arms and Ammunition still encreases [sic] our difficulties." Greene's return for the army

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taken possession of, fortified, and garrisoned with one thousand men, as by having one thousand more at a post somewhere in Elizabeth-river, York and James rivers would be ours, and our cruizers might command the waters of the Chesapeak. Troops might likewise be spared from these posts to carry on expeditions during the summer months, when, probably, nothing can be risked in that climate but water movements. But if the heights of York, and those on Gloucester side, cannot be so well and so soon fortified as to render that post hors d' insult before the enemy can move a force, &c. against it, it may not be adviseable to attempt it. In that case, something may possibly be done at Old Point Comfort, to cover large ships lying in Hampton-road (which is reckoned a good one, and not so liable to injury from gales at N.E. as that of York, particularly in winter.) If neither can be secured, we must content ourselves with keeping the Chesapeak with frigates and other armed vessels, which will always find security against a superior naval force in Elizabeth river. As our operations in proper season may re-commence in the Upper-James; perhaps a station might be found at the entrance of the narrows of that river that may be of use in future day, and held with a small force. James-town seems a proper spot for such a station, as does the place where the narrows and windings begin." CAC pp. 175-176.
[3374] ATR82a pp. 121-125, GHA4 pp. 102-107, 164-167, LMS pp. 449-462, JLG2 pp. 189-202, LCC pp. 439-451, JFM pp. 55-56, BSF p. 212. See also James Thacher's *Military Journal of the American Revolutionary War*.
[3375] GDH2 pp. 109-111.

on the 26th, records 1,198 rank and file soldiers as present and fit for duty. This total included the newly arriving North Carolina Continentals. 169-179 troops, apparently counted in the 1,198 total, were on extra service referred to in the above letter to Washington, bringing Greene's full total here to 1,467. On August 5th, the Maryland line was reported by Otho Williams with 950 effectives, and 454 present and fit for duty. 473 were listed as being non-effectives, that is those promoted, resigned, reduced, transferred, discharged, deserted, dead.[3376]

28 July (possibly 27 or 29 July).[3377] Despite the departure of Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart's army from Orangeburgh on this date, a force commanded by Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, of the N.J. Volunteers, remained there of 300 soldiers. These were reportedly mostly sick and wounded. One the primary reasons for Stewart's leaving Orangeburgh was lack of provisions and the destruction of the mills in the area. On July 28th, Sumter wrote to Greene: "The enemy are not very strong at Orangeburgh. The Tories constitute their principal force there; and by them all the damage has hitherto been done. Since Cruger came from Ninety-Six, there is a strong party at Dorchester; one hundred Infantry at Quarter House; Fraser's horse upon the Neck below them."[3378]

29 July. The Cherokee and Chickasaw nations signed a peace treaty with the United States, which was represented by local military leaders and officials of western North Carolina and Virginia. On July 31st, a letter was sent to Greene from William Christian, Joseph Martin, and Evan Shelby reporting the successful conclusion of the peace negotiations. See 20 February 1781.[3379]

29 July (also given as 5 August). [skirmish] House in the Horseshoe, also Alston House (Moore County, N.C.) Col. David Fanning defeated N.C. militia under Col. Phillip Alston who attempted to defend themselves in Alston's house until Fanning attempted to set it on fire; at which point they submitted. The Americans lost 4 killed and many wounded. The rest were taken prisoner, including Alston, and were paroled. Fanning suffered 2 killed and 4 wounded.[3380]
David Fanning: "I then returned to the head of Little River, on my way to Coxe's Mill: where I was met by two men, who informed me that the Rebels had separated into two small parties; thinking I should never return from Wilmington: I passed on and got intelligence of Col. Alstine [Phillip Alston] lying on the banks of Deep River, with a party of 25 men. We marched all that day and night following; and just as the day dawned, we advanced in three divisions, up to a house, they had thrown themselves into. On our approach, we fired upon the house, as I was determined to make examples of them, for behaving in a manner that had done, to one of my pilots, by name, Kenneth Black. They returned our fire, and the action continued upwards of 3 hours, when after killing four of them, and wounding all the rest, except three, they sent out a flag of surrender. Col. Al[s]tine's lady begging their lives. On her solicitation, I concluded to grant her request; and after the capitulation I gave the following paroles to Col. Philip Alstine and his men.
"[Here is given Alston's parole signed July 29th, 1781, Cumberland County, Deep River]
"In the course of this affair, we had two men killed, and four wounded, who afterwards recovered. A party of Rebels appeared in sight a little time after the firing began; but they did not approach to afford Col. Alstone [Philip Alston] any support. When the action was over, they ran off; and our horses being quite fatigued, rendered it impossible for me, to persue [sic] them. I then persued [sic] my route to Cox[e]'s Mill, where on my arrival I gave twelve hours leave to the men; after detaching a sufficient number for the necessary guards, to go to their respective homes. Immediately after that, I heard that a wagon loaded with salt for the use of the rebel army had passed about 12 hours. I took eight men with me, and after a chace [sic] of 1 miles I overtook her, and conducted it back to Coxe's Mill. On my return I found that Major Rains, had been attacked by a party of 150 rebels; who had attempted to secure the fort of Deep River, at Coxe's Mill; however it was without success. He had one man wounded and several horses in the attack. On my approach, they retreated. They then sent a flag with offers of peace. I returned for answer, 'I was determined to make peace with the sword -- or otherwise till they should become subjects of Great Britain.' My men now being collected to the amount of 140, who by this time were well armed, and hearing nothing further from them, the next morning, we marched to the place, where I had been informed they were; but found them gone off. I discovered some of their scouts, but on firing on them, they took to the woods. I heard, that they had marched and joined another party of 250 men, commanded by Colonels Paisely [John Peasly] and [Andrew] Balfour. Upon which I returned to Coxe's Mill; I sent out spies that night, who returned before morning and informed me that the two rebel parties had joined, being about 400 in number and encamped at Brown's plantation, about two miles up the River on the opposite side. I dispatched a flag to them, acquainting them, as before, of my determination, in support of Government, and proposed a meeting of both parties to determine the matter by force of arms; at the same time acquainting them, that the ill treatment of some prisoners they had taken a little time before, had determined me to retaliate in case, an end was not put to it; I directed the flag to Major Cage, who commanded at the time before, and I received the following answer.
"'Sir, I received yours by a flag, and can assure you that I should be sorry as any person living to misuse a prisoner; but at the same time, I think it is my duty to oppose my enemies, and if any of your men should fall into my hands I shall endeavor to use what influence I can to have them treated as prisoners; and I hope you will do the same. I must also inform you, that I am not the commanding officer; if I was, I should immediately return

[3376] NGP9 pp. 93, 98n, 133, MLW4A p. 539n.
[3377] The editor to the Greene papers gives the 29th, but Sumter's letter of the 28th seems to suggest that it may even have been a day or two earlier when Stewart left. NGP9 p. 69n.
[3378] NGP9 pp. 69n, 100, 114.
[3379] NGP9 pp. 119, 129.
[3380] CNS1 pp. 180-190, DRO pp. 196-198.

you, an answer; As your letter was not directed to the commanding officer, he will not undertake it. You will direct to him, Col. O'neal [William O'Neal] is Commander at present.
I m Yours, &c. &c. Wm. Cage. Aug. 2d, 1781'"[3381]

Caruthers: "The fact is that the very name of Fanning was at this time quite appalling, and he was regarded by all in that region, Whigs and Tories, as almost invincible. So far as my recollection serves me, I do not recollect to have heard of an instance, during the summer of 1781, in which the Whigs showed a willingness to meet him with an equal, or anything like an equal number of men; but within the entire range of his operations an effective resistance was made, and the country was really in his power. I have always understood that, during this period, the summer and fall of 1781, he had about eighty men who were either constantly with him or at his bidding, and whom he could at any time summon to his presence in a case of emergency; that he seldom had less than thirty or forty, and that when Colonels McNeil [Hector MacNeil] and McDougal [Archibald McDougald] united with him, they could muster from three to five hundred strong."[3382]

30 July. Sumner, with the N.C. Continentals and draftees remaining, left Salisbury to join Greene on July 30th. When he reached the main army by the first week of August, he formed the men under Maj. John Armstrong into the Second North Carolina Regiment (of 1781), and those with Col. John Ashe into the First North Carolina Continental Regt. (of 1781). Together the two battalions totaled 359 and became the North Carolina Brigade.[3383]

30 July. Lafayette, at Malvern Hill, to Gen. Washington: "There are in Hampton Road [Hampton Roads] thirty transport ships full of troops -- most of them Red Coats. There are eight or ten brigs which have cavalry on board. They had excellent winds and yet they are not gone. Some say they had received advices from Newyork [New York] in a row boat. The escort, as I mentioned before, is *Charon* and several frigat[e]s -- the last account says seven."[3384]

31 July. Col. James Emmet, at "Cumberland, Camp 10 Miles Above X Creek on the N. E. Side of Cape Fear," to Gov. Burke: "I have just time, by Col. Owins [sic], to drop your Excellency a sketch of the unhappy situation of this County. On Sunday Evening a Party, upwards of 100 Tories, Commanded by one Col. [Duncan] Ray, came to Sproules's, made him, with some others prisoners, and killed a certain Andrew Beard. Our Town was alarmed with this information about midnight. We then embodied all in our power, which was a number much too small to pursue; we therefore retreated to this side of the River, where we are endeavouring to collect our Men, but they appear so dispirited, that I fear our County will fall without your Excellency's timely assistance. It is currently reported here that the English are on their march to Duplin, and 4 or 500 Tories are embodied at McFalls' Mill on Drowning Creek 35 Miles from X Creek. I wrote by Capt. Vernon, about ten days since, but have not heard of its getting to you."[3385]

Late July. Some of Capt. Edward Fenwick's dragoons, who had recently been released from their paroles as a result of a prisoner exchange, were back in service for the British. The Americans later protested that this took place weeks earlier than the terms for exchange specifically allowed.[3386]

Late July through early August. Civil disorder in the form of rampant plundering, and related crimes including murder, and which actually had been going on in some degree for the past year in diverse parts the Carolinas and Georgia generally, reached a heightened pitch in west Georgia and the southwestern part of South Carolina.[3387]
In a letter to Greene of 25 July, Pickens reported that the Tories in the Ninety Six area were "giving up very fast." However that "spirit of Plunder, so general among our own people, seem to be the greatest Difficulty we Labour under at present. I almost Dispair [sic] of totally suppressing it notwithstanding my best Endeavors...People who have removed their Families to the Remote parts of N: Carolina and Virginia, at least many of them seem to make a Trade of Carrying off Every thing Valluable [sic] out of this Contry [sic]. Either the property of a friend or enemy. The Loss of our Horses Distress us in a particular manner."[3388]
On 29 July, Lee wrote to Greene: "[I]f our friends in Georgia could be persuaded to relinquish the ways of murder and robbery, & by a vigorous exertion create a powerful diversion in their country, I am confident that the close of October would bring about decisive advantages in favor of America..."[3389]
On the same date, Col. Wade Hampton, from "Fryday's [Friday's] Ferry," wrote to Greene: "Almost every person that remain'd in this Settlement after the army marched, seems to have been combin'd in committing Robberies the most base & inhuman that ever disgraced man kind. Col. [Thomas] Taylor who arrived here a few days before me, had apprehended a few of the most notorious of those offenders; whilst the most Timid of those that remained were busily imployed [sic] in collecting & carrying to NoCa [North Carolina] & Virga [Virginia] the very considerable Booty they had so unjustly acquired...the more daring, but equally guilty part of this Banditti... 'seem to'...threaten immediately distruction [sic] by murder &c." With "a few of the State Troops and those of

[3381] FNA pp. 28-30.
[3382] CNS1 pp. 191-192.
[3383] MLW4A p. 539, RNC p. 347.
[3384] LLW p. 211.
[3385] CNC15 pp. 589-590.
[3386] NGP9 p. 123n.
[3387] GHA4 pp. 98-100, JLG2 pp. 185-188.
[3388] NGP9 p. 77.
[3389] NGP9 p. 101.

the militia who had spirit, or inclination enough to engage them in this Business, we have secured all those wretches that can be found," but a number of them escaped north.[3390]

[3390] NGP9 p. 105.

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August. Clinton: "[T]he whole country [of South Carolina and Georgia] [was] against us except some helpless militia, with a number of officers, women, children, Negroes, etc.; and the expense of supporting the multitude of ruined refugees that were daily driven into his lines [had] become almost intolerable."[3391]

August. [skirmish] Cypress Swamp (Dorchester County, S.C.)[3392]

August. [skirmish] Bass' Mill (border of Marion and Dillon Counties, S.C.) Capt. Jesse Barfield and some loyalists attacked and routed Capt. Malachi Murfee and some whigs at Bass' Mill, between the Big and little Peedee Rivers and about twenty three miles east of Amis' Mill on Drowning Creek. Murfee was wounded, but no other losses were recorded.[3393]
Alexander Gregg: "In August of this year, Colonel Murphy [Maurice Murfee] was stationed, with a small force, near the mouth of Black Creek. He sent word to old Moses Bass, who kept a noted public-house at the mill on Naked Creek, across the river and about four miles distant, that he would be there with his men on a certain day, and to have a good dinner, with plenty of cider, in readiness. By some means, the Tories in the neighbourhood were informed of the expected visit, and made preparations for attacking Murphy at Bass's. The house stood on a small island, made by a sudden bend of the creek, forming almost a circle, and a canal cut across the neck of land leading out to the main road near by.
"On the appointed day, Murphy and his party went over, suspecting no danger.
"While at dinner, they were suddenly surprised by the enemy's approach. Two men came rapidly up on horseback, and were in the act of crossing the creek by a causeway when first discovered. They were followed by the main body, under Major [Jesse] Barfield.
"Some of the Whigs, who happened to be on the piazza, were fired upon, and for a moment all was confusion. By this time, the Tories had approached within fighting distance, and the conflict began.
"The Whigs having the benefit of a cover, soon gained a decided advantage, killing several of the enemy, with the loss, however, of two of their own number, Harper and Nixon. Giving way under the effective fire from the house, the Tories were in the act of retreating, when one of Murphy's men, named Daniel, who had a stentorian voice, cried out, 'Good Heavens! what shall we do? The powder is out.'
"Upon hearing this, the Tories returned to the fight; and the Whigs, no longer able to keep up an equal fire, were forced to escape in every direction across the creek, to the cover of the thick timber beyond. It ran but a short distance in the rear of the dwelling. Reaching it by a few bounds, they tumbled down the steep bank, and got off without further loss.
"One of their number, a man named Thompson, from the Poke Swamp settlement, on the west side of the river, as he jumped the fence near the creek, found a large and powerful mulatto, Shoemaker by name, pressing closely upon him, with his rifle aimed and in the act of firing. Happily for Thompson, the rifle missed fire, and before it could be readjusted, he made his escape. Twenty years after, Thompson heard of Shoemaker's going to Camden, caught him on his return, and inflicted severe punishment. Peter Bozeman, a valiant soldier of liberty, who afterwards settled and died in Darlington District, was one of Murphy's party.
"Malachi Murphy [Murfee] was another, and received a wound in the shoulder as he reached the creek, which disabled him for the time. He fell down the bank, and crawling under a large log, remained there undiscovered, though the Tories several times passed near him. Daniel, whose unfortunate exclamation led to the disaster, was a man of powerful frame, and carried Murphy on his shoulders to Black Creek, making some amends thereby for his untimely blunder.
"Thus ended their day's frolic for the Whigs, teaching them the lesson which so many have learned too late, that vigilance is the price of liberty."[3394]

Early August. Greene made arrangements for a possible expedition to take Wilmington; as a result Capt. Michael Rudulph with a small party of Legion infantry was sent that way to scout the area in advance for this purpose. Yet this proposed expedition was in disguise a move to take north some of the elite of Greene's army, including (states Lee) Lee's Legion, Handy's "Marylanders" (meaning Lee's Legion infantry?), and Kirkwood's Delawares, to join Lafayette and face Cornwallis again in Virgina. Notwithstanding, he subsequently changed his mind and cancelled the plan, in part due to a report from Gen. Washington of the possibility of a French landing in the deep south; such as had occurred in 1779. Since there was no such intention or actual likelihood of De Grasse operating so far south as the Carolinas, Washington presumably desired that Greene stay put so as to not possibly jeopardize or complicate his own and Rochambeau's potenial move to Virginia. While we should not say Washington lied to Greene, it was apparently necessary for him to dissemble or equivocate a little in order to keep his own strategy and the movements of the French a secret.[3395]

Early August. [skirmishes] Orangeburgh (Orangeburg County, S.C.) On 8 August, Lee, near Howell's ferry, wrote to Greene describing two recent skirmishes his troops fought in. In the first, Lee with 60 men attacked a British convoy of 32 wagons with a 300 man escort. They overwhelmed the cavalry part of the escort, but were forced to retreat when the main body came up. In a second action, Cornet George Carrington and twelve dragoons were

[3391] CAR p. 356.
[3392] LSC p. 18.
[3393] GHC p. 372, LSC p. 18. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/bassmill.htm
[3394] GHC pp. 372-373.
[3395] LMS pp. 446-447.

attacked by a party of 60 Loyalists; who then released 17 of 20 prisoners Carrington was escorting. The location of these two encounters is not very clear, but from the description given in Lee's letter they apparently took place near Orangeburgh; which at the time was garrisoned by about 300, including the N.J. Volunteers, a large number of loyalists, and a corps of invalids, under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen. Lee, in the same letter, reported Stewart was at Thompson's plantation with 1,500.[3396]

1 August. [raid] Cunningham's Raids, also "Enoree River, Saluda River, between" (Laurens County, S.C.) Lieut. Col. William Cunningham continued his raids begun in early July. In an action, which took place on 1 August, he was more successful than hitherto. The whigs lost 8 killed and wounded. His own losses, if any are not known. One result of the action was that Cunningham was shortly afterward able to recruit 60 more men. He continued to raid frontier areas in September and October; after which he made his way back to Charlestown.[3397]

1 August. [skirmish] Fork of the Edisto (Orangeburg County and or possibly Calhoun County, S.C.) Whigs under Capt. Jacob Rumph were attacked at Four Mile Creek, a few miles west of Orangeburgh by a Capt. Connaway. Rumph lost 18 killed and wounded; the rest were dispersed.[3398]

1 August. The British send 11 armed vessels from Charlestown to collect rice which was abundant on the eastern Santee. The foraging expedition was commanded by Col. Welbore Doyle, of the New York Volunteers, and remained in the area till August 8th; and afterward continued their foraging on the Pon Pon (see 16 August.) [3399]

1 August.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:
BRITISH
Light Infantry, First battalion: 446
Light infantry, Second battalion: 351
Brigade of Guards: 331
7th Regt.: 142
23rd Regt.: 166
33rd Regt.: 188
43rd Regt.: 292
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 167
76th Regt.: 477
80th Regt.: 448

GERMAN
Anspach:
1st Anspach Bttn.: 436
2nd Anspach Bttn.: 419
Hessian:
Prince Hereditaire: 386
Regt. von Bose: 272

PROVINCIAL
Queen's Rangers: 347
British Legion (cavalry): 183

Total: 5,051
Detachments not included above:
Royal Artillery: 217
German artillery: 50
17th Light Dragoons: 22
23rd Light Company: --
82nd Light Company: 32
Jägers: 76
North Carolina Volunteers: 78
Guides and Pioneers: 54
Total for detachments, etcs.: 529
COMPLETE TOTAL: 5,580[3400]

1-2 August. Cornwallis's army began moving to occupy Yorktown and Gloucester, having been transported to these locations by boat from Portsmouth. Part of his force landed at Hampton and which then marched north, while the rest went directly by water. With respect to Gloucester, Cornwallis initially dispatched Lieut. Col.

[3396] NGP9 p. 150.
[3397] NGP9 p. 50n, MSC p. 748. See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/enoreeriver.htm
[3398] MSC2 p. 748, RBG p. 236.
[3399] NGP9 p. 124n.
[3400] Taken from CAC p. 236, insert.

Thomas Dundas with the Queen's Rangers, a detachment of the 80th Regt., light companies, including some from the 23rd and 82d regts, the jägers, and the N.C. Volunteers, and who work began there on a line of entrenchments and four redoubts, with 3 batteries mounting nineteen guns. Stedman states the move of Cornwallis' entire forces, including the dismantling of the works at Portsmouth, was accomplished by August 22nd; though Lafayette on 6 August reported only the N.C. Loyalists (Royal N.C. Regt.) being present. While Cornwallis concerned himself with fortifying Yorktown and Gloucester,[3401] Lafayette posted his army at West Point at the confluence of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers. Simultaneously, Wayne's detachment occupied a location south of James hoping soon to join Greene (which, of course, he did not end up doing till after Yorktown.)[3402]
Cornwallis, at Yorktown, on this date wrote to Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara (at Portsmouth): "...After a passage of four days we landed here and at Gloucester without opposition. The position is bad, and of course we want more troops, and you know that every senior general takes without remorse from a junior, and tells him that he has nothing to fear..."

Cornwallis, at Yorktown, to Tarleton, dated August 4th wrote: "We had a passage of four days, but made good our landing without opposition on either side. I have no positive accounts of the enemy. [La]Fayette is said to be marching towards Pamunkey, and I am not quite easy about our post at Gloucester. [Anthony] Wayne had certainly advanced to Goode's bridge; but I suppose he will now be recalled. Simcoe himself is ill, and his horses, by being so long on board, are in a wretched condition. According to the present appearance of things, it will certainly be much the best way for you to land at Old-point Comfort, and march by Hampton to this place, which will nearly insure your not being above one day on board. You must in that case make your horses leap out in deep water, and swim on shore; we practised [sic] that method here without any accident. I do not at present see any thing that can endanger your march from Hampton hither; nor do I think it probable, that Fayette can come near us with a superior force before your arrival: You must, however, see, that I cannot well march out from hence, as I must leave at Gloucester and this place such a force as would render me too weak to wish to fight.
"They assure me that there is no carriage road from Williamsburgh to Hampton that does not pass within five miles of us: Should circumstances alter, I think I could inform you in time by an express boat. After having said this, I leave it to your discretion; and if you see difficulty and danger in joining me by the short way of Point Comfort, I would have you go round; but if you prefer the short passage, it should be kept very secret. Your baggage should come round; and what you are most in want of, you may by my authority put into any of the quarter-master-general's armed vessels, and send round immediately. You will communicated the contents of this to General O'Hara, to whom I write by this opportunity."[3403]

On the 11th, Cornwallis also wrote Clinton: "I embarked the eightieth regiment in boats, and went myself on board the *Richmond* very early in the morning of the 29th; but we were so unfortunate in winds as to be four days on our passage. The eightieth landed on the night of the 1st at Gloucester; and the troops which were in transports on the morning of the 2d at this place. I have since brought the seventy-first and the Legion hither, and sent the regiment du Prince Hereditaire to Gloucester. The works on the Gloucester side [under Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundas] are in some forwardness, and I hope in a situation to resist a sudden attack. Brigadier-general O'Hara is hastening as much as possible the evacuation of Portsmouth: as soon as he arrives here, I will send to New-York every man that I can spare, consistent with the safety and subsistence of the force in this country."[3404]

1 August. From George Washington's diary: "By this date all my Boats were ready, viz. one hundred New ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Gen. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the Quarter Master General; besides old ones which have been repaired. My heavy Ordnance and Stores from the Eastward had also come on to the North River and every thing would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the States had furnished their quotas of men agreeably to my requisitions; but so far have they been from complying with these that of the first not more than half the number asked of them have joined the Army, and of 6200 of the latter pointedly and continuously called for to be with the army by the 15th of last Month, only 176 had arrived from Connecticut, independant of about 300 State Troops under the Command of Gen. Waterbury, which had been on the lines before we took the field, and two Companies of York levies (about 80 Man) under similar circumstances."[3405]

2 August. [skirmish] Rockfish Creek (Duplin County, N.C.) Maj. James Craig with 250 British regulars, mostly of the 84th Regt., and including some cavalry, plus some 80 loyalists had marched against a Duplin County militia force of 330 under Col. James Kenan at Rockfish Creek Bridge, and by taking their flank by surprise defeated them. The Americans lost 20-30 captured, the British 2 killed or wounded. Craig remained in Duplin for ten days gathering in loyalists and runaway slaves, and which increased the size of his force considerably; after which he went on to attack New Bern. See Kingston and Webber, 16 and 17 August respectively, and New Bern, 19 August.[3406]

[3401] Although the British defenses at Gloucester were by late September in a reasonably completed state, those at York required ongoing, labor intensive work; such that even by siege's ended they were never properly finished. TCS pp. 371-372, LMS p. 494.
[3402] RCC pp. 111-112, SQR p. 239, TCS pp. 412-413, EHJ pp. 319-321, SAW2 p. 396-397, LMS pp. 444-445, CBA p. 611, WCO p. 372, TBY pp. 13-14.
[3403] TCS pp. 411-412.
[3404] CAC pp. 182-183.
[3405] CSS p. 1213.
[3406] NGP9 p. 155n, DRO pp. 199-202. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/rockfish2.htm

Lee: "Craig's garrison consisted only of three hundred men, many of them in the hospital, and the whole inadequate to man his extensive works."[3407]
Col. James Kenan, at Dupin [Court House?], on August 2nd to Gov. Burke: "I imbodied [sic] all the Militia I Could in this County to the Amount of about 150 men & was reinforced by Genl. Caswell with about 180 and took past at a place Called rockfish [sic]. The British this day Came against me and the Militia again after a few rounds Broak [sic], and it was out of my power and all my Officers to rally them. They have all Dispersed. Before the men Broak we lost non[e], But the light horse pursued and I am afraid have Taken about 20 or 30 men. I Cannot Give You a full acct. [account.] But the Bearer Capt. James who was in the Action Can inform your Excellency of any Particular. He acted with Becoming Bravery during the whole action. I am now Convinced this County with Several others will be Overrun with the British & Tories. Your Excellency will Excuse as I cannot Give a more full accot."[3408]

Pension statement of Daniel Merrit: "In July or August 1781 he was drafted and entered service again under the command of Captain Jonathan Parker, Naaman Carter Ensign, in a regiment commanded by Col Charles Ward, the other officers he forgets and served two months; that he was in a skirmish at Rockfish bridge just above South Washington in New Hanover County, where the Americans were defeated and put to route, being attacked in front by the enemy infantry and in rear by their cavalry about at the same time; that he embodied at Rockfish and remained there the two months employed in making entrenchment; that there was a considerable American force at Rockfish, that he has no documentary evidence, but can prove this service by Arthur Matthis of Duplin County whose affidavit is hereunto affixed..."[3409]

2 August. A Captain Manson, and ostensibly on the basis of orders from Balfour or Rawdon, came by sea from Charlestown and burned Georgetown, and afterward shelled the city to prevent efforts to put out the fire. The action was probably done in retaliation for Sumter's having earlier sent some of his men to confiscate the property of loyalists in the town. See 25 July.[3410]

2-4 August. [raids] Myddleton's Plantation and Congaree River (Orangeburgh and Calhoun counties, S.C.) Colonels Charles Myddleton and Wade Hampton, with mounted South Carolina State Troops, carried out two separate raids to destroy provisions from falling into British hands. Myddleton's force met with some resistance, and was driven off before being able to properly complete the task. Both operations were otherwise successful.
On the 4th, Myddleton, under orders to remove corn below the Santee River, wrote Greene stating it would be impossible to transport all of it due to the enemy's (i.e. Stewart's) move towards Thompson's Plantation. All that he could not remove then was burned or dumped in the river as Greene had instructed. Myddleton added he had "all the Negroes in the Neighborhood" removed, while mentioning that Lieut. Col. Washington had advised that all boats and flats upon the river should be wrested and secured (and which suggestion was ostensibly carried out.)[3411]
Col. Wade Hampton at Howell's Ferry, on the 5th, wrote Greene: "A party that that was Sent to secure the Boats on the river from McCord[']s to Howell's Ferry, and another party that was sent to distroy [sic] the Corn at Myddleton's plantation have both returned and effected the Business. The latter were attacked by the Enemy's Cavalry before the Corn was entirely consumed, however they think it was effectually destroyed as the House burnt down."[3412]
Seymour: "On the second of August a party of Colonel [Wade] Hampton's men had a skirmish with a party of the enemy, killing thirteen of them.[3413] Of Colonel Hampton's was slightly wounded one man. On the fourth we marched and crossed the Wateree at Symmond's. Marched this day thirteen miles." [3414]

3 August. [skirmish] Piney Bottom Creek, also Piney Bottom Massacre, N.C. CNS1 pp. 382-397, ONB3 pp. 308-309, and DRO pp. 187-189. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/piney.htm

3 August. [skirmish] McCord's Ferry, also McCant's ferry (Orangeburg County, S.C.) [3415]
Kirkwood: "This day the Enemy's Horse took possession of McCord's Ferry with one Large Boat and Negro, on the News of which our Horse, and foot, marched down to the Ferry, and remained there until Evening; and marched back to the ground we left in the morning…12 [miles]."[3416]

On August 12th, Greene, at "Head Quarters on the high Hills of Santee," wrote Gov. Thomas Burke: "Nothing material has happened in this Army since my last. The Enemy are still at McCord's ferry. Lieut. Col. Lee crossed the Santee a few days ago and took 15 Dragoons, and would have brought off near 20 more, which one of his Parties had taken had it not been for a Party of Tories who fired upon them before they had time to secure their

[3407] LMS p. 447.
[3408] CNC15 p. 593.
[3409] Daniel Merrit, W6817. See http://southerncampaign.org/pen/w6817.pdf
[3410] JLG2 p. 216, BSF p. 209, RBG p.181.
[3411] NGP9 pp. 116, 130-131.
[3412] NGP9 p.132.
[3413] If and whether this skirmish was connected with the raid as such is not clear. The Delaware company, to which Seymour belonged, was often attached to Washington's cavalry so that the two together would, unofficially, form a "Legion."
[3414] SJS.
[3415] KJO p. 21, NGP9 pp. 165-168, CNC15 pp. 603-607, ONB3 p. 309. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/mccordsfy.htm
[3416] KJO p. 21.

Prisoners, and while they were charging the Tories the Prisoners all made their escape except three. There were only 15 of the Dragoons, and upwards of 60 of the Tories."[3417]

3 August. [skirmish] Near Orangeburgh, S.C. ONB3 p. 309.

3 August. Col. Isaac Shelby, from "Wattango, Washington County," N.C., wrote to Greene saying that he could not come to Greene with his 700 mounted rifle men until peace negotiations with the Cherokees and Chicksaws were completed. Due to the excessive heat of that time of year, and the reluctance of Shelby to move his men under those conditions, he did not reach Greene then till October. The treaty actually had been signed in late July, though evidently Shelby on this date did not know it. See 29 July.[3418]

4 August. Col. Isaac Hayne was executed for having broken his oath of protection, and taken up arms against Royal authority (regarding his capture, see 7 July.) The reputedly uncalled for and unnecessary act was denounced and sparked outrage and protest from both Americans and some British as well. Balfour and Rawdon, who authorized the execution, believed Hayne to be guilty and that he ought to have been made an example. In any case, the execution put many of the whigs in awe, and bolstered loyalist recruiting near and around Charlestown.[3419]

4 August. Lafayette marched to Newcastle on the Pamunkey River.

5 August. Governor Rutledge,[3420] having recently returned to South Carolina to re-establish state government, issued a proclamation against unauthorized pillaging and plundering, and in general against the civil disorder which had arisen in the wake of the war. The unauthorized pillaging and plundering apparently included or implied "Sumter's Law." It is then probably no coincidence that Sumter relinquished command of his brigade at the time of this denouncement. Yet exactly how Sumter took the proclamation otherwise is not known. Possibly he was informed in advance of what Rutledge was going to say, given what havoc the nullification of his "Law" would wreak upon his command. This in addition to his old wound and disagreements with other leaders, prompted him to divest himself of leadership of his brigade; with Lieut. Col. William Henderson[3421] being subsequently appointed by Rutledge to take his place. In a letter from Greene to Henderson of 12 August, Greene assumes Sumter's temporarily retiring as an already known fact. Henderson's first reply to Greene came on August 14th. Sumter did, notwithstanding, return briefly to command in early 1782.[3422]

5 August. Embarking with 3,100-3,200 troops under Maj. Gen. Marquis de St. Simon, and carrying 1,500 livres, 28 ships of the line and 6 frigates under Rear Admiral François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse sailed from Le Cap Français (also "François," now Cape Haytien) on the north coast of Haiti (then considered part of Saint-Dominique or Santa Domingo), on their way to the Chesapeake; which they arrived at on the 30th. See 3-5 September. The troops de Grasse was transporting included the Gatenois, Agenois, and Touraine regiments, plus 100 dragoons, 100 artillerymen, 10 field pieces and a number of siege cannon and mortars.
When Vice Admiral George Rodney, in the West Indies, learned de Grasse was at Le Cap Français, he sent a dispatch to Rear Admiral Thomas Graves[3423] reporting the presence of the French fleet. Despite this, the ship carrying the message ended up being run aground by American privateers off Long Island, and never reached its destination. At the time, Graves, out of New York, had sailed eastward into the Atlantic in a futile search for the French fleet. Rodney, meanwhile, temporarily returned home for reasons of health and sent Rear Admiral Samuel Hood's squadron in the West Indies in his stead to join Graves and assist against de Grasse.[3424]
From the journal of the operations of the fleet under Count de Grasse: "The 5th of August the fleet weighed anchor from St. Domingo, and on the 30th arrived in the bay of Chesapeak. The dispatches of Generals Washington and Rochambeau, received by the Count de Grasse, informed him of the situation of their army, and the success which the British arms had obtained in Virginia and Maryland. The frigate *Concorde*, by which this intelligence had been conveyed, was sent back to acquaint the above generals that the French fleet was arrived off Cape Henry."[3425]

Jerome A. Greene: "On learning of de Grasse's departure, Rodney [whose responsibility it was to contain and distract] directed Admiral Samuel Hood with fourteen ships of the line to the American coast to prevent his [De Grasse's] union with the Allies. But de Grasse predicted this action; instead of taking the direct route east of the Bahamas, he steered through the Old Bahama Channel, skirting Cuba, and pressed on with the Gulf Stream between the Bahamas and the Florida Peninsula. Rodney subsequently dispatched six more warships from

[3417] NGP9 pp. 165-168, CNC15 pp. 603-607.
[3418] NGP9 p. 129.
[3419] JLG2 p. 190, GAR1 pp. 250-255, 278-280, MSC2 pp. 382-412.
[3420] Rutledge was at Camden on Augusts 1st, and afterward joined Greene's army in the High Hills of the Santee. BGC p. 203.
[3421] Henderson had been made prisoner at the fall of Charlestown and had been exchanged in November 1780. After joining Sumter, he assumed temporary command of the latter's brigade after Blackstock's, and later on May 25th was appointed to organize and command the militia of Ninety-Six. NGP9 p. 25n, JLG2 pp. 210-216.
[3422] NGP9 pp. 169, 203n, LMS pp. 540-544, JLG2 p. 187, 210-216, BGC pp. 203-204.
[3423] Graves had succeeded Arbuthnot, sometime shortly after March 1781.
[3424] AR81 pp. 116-118, GHA4 pp. 180-181, SAW2 pp. 398-401, MLW4A pp. 467-470, JYC pp. 98-99, WAR2 p. 882, WFK p. 237.
[3425] TCS p. 445.

Jamaica to join Hood, but their commander disobeyed instructions and stayed behind. Rodney himself fell ill and in mid August sailed home to England."[3426]

6 August. Greene, in a letter to General Washington of this date, stated that the British in his department as having: 4000 infantry, 400 horse of regular troops, 1000 tory militia, 1000 sailors, and 400 to 500 negroes. The "militia Tories from their being such exceeding good marksman, will not be the least useful." The British "have erected two new large works in front of the old Lines that mount from twenty to thirty pieces of cannon each. These works have great command of the Town as well as the rivers. One other new work is nearly completed on a marsh called Shute's Folly on the harbour side of the town and intended to defend the place against Shipping." In December of 1781, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, who, at that time, then commander of British forces in South Carolina and Georgia, gave as the strength in his department as 4,515 rank and file fit for duty. In the same letter mentioned above to Washington, Greene reported himself as having upwards of 1500 Continentals, 400 to 500 "state troops." He also mentioned that a possible 1,500 to 2,000 N.C. militia could be raised.[3427]

6 August. [skirmish] Turkey Hill, also Salley's Cowpens, "Capt. Joseph Vince vs. Loyalists" (Orangeburg County, S.C.) ONB3 p. 310. See also http://gaz.jrshelby.com/turkeyhill.htm

6 August. Lafayette, at New Castle, to Gen. Washington: "The [British] embarkation which I thought and I do still think to have been destined to Newyork [sic] was reported to have sailed up the Bay, and to be bound in Baltimore -- in consequence of which I wrote to Your Excellency, and as I had not indulged myself too near Portsmouth I was able to cut across towards Frederiksburg [Fredericksburg]. But instead of continuing his voyage up the Bay[,] My Lord entered York River and landed at York and Glocester [Gloucester] to the former vessels were added a number of flatt [sic] bottomed boats...
"Had not your attention been turned to Newyork [sic] some thing might be done in this quarter. But I see Newyork is the object and consequently I attend to your instructions by Captain Olney."[3428]

7 August. [skirmish] Parson's Plantation, also "Maj. John Cooper vs. Maj. Thomas Fraser" (Colleton County, S.C.)[3429]

8 August. (or 4 or 7 August) [skirmish] Bette's Bridge, also Beattie's, Beatti's, Beatty's Bridge, Drowning Creek (Hoke County, N.C.) Col. Thomas Wade with 170 N.C. militia, in a four hour engagement, defeated 150 Loyalists under Col. Duncan Ray at Bette's Bridge (Drowning Creek). One report gave the American casualties as 4 killed and wounded, and the loyalists 25 to 30 killed or wounded.[3430]

8 August. Lee, near Howell's Ferry on the Congaree, reported Stewart being at Thompson's plantation near McCord's Ferry, with an estimated 1,500 men. A later count put Stewart's strength at about 1,600, while another from Marion gave 2,000. Stewart reportedly suffered from desertions. About this time, Henderson, with what remained of Sumter's former troops, joined Lee, who was operating between Orangeburg and Stewart's army, in watching Stewart while interdicting enemy foraging and communications.[3431]

8 August. In a letter to Greene, Marion reported that the Charlestown garrison was small, as were those at Wappetaw Meeting house (16 miles northeast of Charlestown), Jacksonborough, and Dorchester. Marion believed the core force of the British army was at Brown's Mill (halfway between Orangeburgh and McCord's Ferry) except for the troops at Thompson's Plantation. He added that the British destroyed all provisions both "Dry & Green and not a field of Corn Standing," and "do not stay two Days in one place."[3432]

9-12 August. [skirmishes] Richmond and Cumberland County, N.C. ONB3 pp. 312-313.

10 August. Col. Francis Lock, at Salisbury, wrote to Greene saying a large number of militia were marching to join Greene, with the exception of men from, Anson, Montgomery, and Richmond counties who were "chiefly upon Duties against the Tories," and therefore could not assist Greene at present.[3433]

11 August. Col. Marquis de Malmedy, at either Waxhaws or Salisbury (it is not clear), reported to Greene he had 200 N.C. militia ready to join Greene's army. By 25 August, he was at Camden. The force of Salisbury militia he had with him was to be divided in command between Malmedy and Col. Francis Lock. But by the time of Eutaw Springs, Lock had not arrived so that Malmedy commanded the entire corps.[3434]

[3426] GYT p. 13.
[3427] NGP9 pp. 139, 140, 142n.
[3428] LLW pp. 215-216. For Lafayette's own subsequent reflections on his strategic situation vis-à-vis Cornwallis at this time, see CSS pp. 12071208.
[3429] LSC p. 16, ONB3 p. 311. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/parsonspl.htm
[3430] NGP9 p. 156, ONB3 p. 310, DRO pp. 198-199.
[3431] NGP9 pp. 150, 177.
[3432] NGP9 p. 151.
[3433] NGP9 p. 162.
[3434] NGP9 pp.164, 185n.

11 August (or 12 August). 2,500-3,000 German mercenaries, Clinton speaks of them as "recruits," were landed at New York as British reinforcements. According to Clinton himself, this brought his total force in New York to almost 12,000 effectives, but of regulars and provincials fit for duty there were only 9,300.[3435]

11-15 August. In addition to the expedition up the Santee, the British had sent foraging parties upon the Pon Pon (later called the Edisto) River to get rice. Col William Harden, who was keeping watch on them wrote to Greene on August 15th (in a letter which was captured): "enemy still at Combahee Ferry waiting for boats (schooners) to arrive for rice. What rice they can't take with them, they say they will burn." Marion would have assisted Harden at this time but was kept in check by McArthur's corps blocking the way at Fairlawn, a mansion near to Monck's Corner.[3436]

12 August. Greene ordered Col. William. Henderson to reduce the size of the South Carolina State Troops (formerly Sumter's brigade) and organize them into 2 (no more than 3) battalions. This was a radical change from Sumter's partisan approach and was aimed at providing South Carolina with more reliable, and professionally trained and equipped soldiers; the sort all the more needed to help restore civil government in South Carolina. Similarly, two other bodies of State troops were being formed under former Marion's men Lieut. Col. Peter Horry and (previously Major) Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Maham, and another of Georgia troops, for that state, under Lieut. Col. James Jackson.[3437] On 25 August, Greene wrote to President of Congress, Thomas McKean: "As General Sumters Corps was raised only for ten months I commissioned Lt[.] Colonel Mayhem [Hezekiah Maham], and Lt Col [Peter] Horry to raise two Corps of Horse 200 each. Their bounty and pay will be high; but as they are so essential in support of the cause of heading the Militaia [sic], Governor [John] Rutledge thinks it highly necessary that they should be encouraged. Those not being entitled by contract to any share in plunder I am in hopes will be brought under better discipline. Governor Rutledge proposes to reduce Sumter[']s Brigade from four Regiments to two, which I have recommended as the whole don't amount to more than 400 Men, and by lessening the number of Regiments, dismissing a great number of useless Officers, and calling into the ranks their Waiters I am in hopes to encrease [sic] their force. I also appointed Lieut. Col. [James] Jackson of Georgia to raise a Corps for that State; and which I am happy to find is much approved of by the Delegates of that State in Congress." Also on this same date, Greene wrote Col. Charles Harrison, who commanded the Continental artillery in the southern department, to proceed to Charlotte, Salisbury and Oliphant's Mill and make an inspection of the military stores there and as well as the armory at Salisbury. Harrison was to arrange to have arms repaired and set up a laboratory in Salisbury, however, the latter scheme did not subsequently prove possible to carry out.[3438]

12 August. Letter of Greene, at "Head Quarters on the high Hills of Santee," to Gov. Thomas Burke: "Your good opinion of me is flattering to my feelings, and altho' conscious of endeavoring to deserve the public esteem, I am not vain enough to think myself entitled to the compliment or favorable sentiments you say they entertain of me. Whatever may be my abilities, knowledge, or experience in the art of War they can only be made useful as the wise and prudent at the Head of the Civil Department shall concur with me in measures necessary for the safety of the good People of these United States. And it affords me a peculiar pleasure to find your views are directed to those objects which alone can lay a foundation for permanent security. However I do not fully comprehend your plan for establishing a Body of Militia by Monthly drafts to form an efficient force of 2000 Men out of three that are to be drafted for this purpose. The Law to be sure must govern your conduct, but if the Legislature could be brought to draft for a longer time they would feel the inconvenience less, and the benefit more. When the Militia are frequently called into service they get sickly and disgusted with it, much more than when they serve longer periods. The frequent contrasts made by the people between the pleasures and freedom of private life, and the hardships and restraints of the life of a Soldier render it more odious than it really is. The waste of Stores, and the expence as well as depredations committed by the People coming out & returning home, are other objections to short terms of service. These are inconveniences that I dare say have not escaped you. But the Magistrate can no more alter the Laws than a politician can suddenly change the manners and genius of a People. It is our duty to work with such materials as we have, and wait favorable opportunities for removing ill attachments and old prejudices. We cannot force People to think with us. All we can do is to offer reasons to bring about reformations. It is from the impossibility of effecting sudden changes where evils have grown obstinate by long indulgence, that I apprehend you will meet with great difficulty in putting things in a proper train agreeable to your wishes. It is the true interest of all the States to bury as much as possible the lines of partition between each in a military point of view, for if each State should confine its force to its own internal security the Enemy would conquer the whole one after another; whereas if the whole force of the several States could be collected to a point the Enemy might be successfully opposed. It is on this account that I wish your Council may leave you at liberty to act upon that extensive scale which appears to be the object of your preparations.
"I perfectly agree with you in opinion that the best way of silencing the Tories is by routing the Enemy from Wilmington; for while they have footing there the Tories will receive such encouragement as to keep their hopes and expectations alive; and their incursions will be continued. Nor will it be in your power to crush them with all the force you can raise, as they act in small Parties, and appear in so many different shapes, and have so many hiding places and secret springs of intelligence that you may wear out an Army, and still be unable to subdue

[3435] GHA4 p. 146, SCV1 p. 15, 15n.
[3436] NGP9 pp. 169n-170n.
[3437] Jackson's legion was largely made up of "former" loyalists and British deserters. MHG p. 526.
[3438] NGP9 pp. 151, 157, 243, JLG2 pp. 210-216.

them. Strike at the root of the evil by removing the British, and offer these poor deluded Wretches some hopes of forgiveness, and you will feel little injury from this class of People. I have long had it in contemplation to attempt something against Wilmington; but my force and situation has put it out of my power. I shall be happy to aid you in advice or in any other way which may serve to give success to your plan. And it will afford me more pleasure to see the place reduced by an effort of the State than in any other way as it will more effectually damp the hopes of the Enemy, and increase the importance of the natural strength of the Country than any other mode. But in my opinion to render a Militia truly formidable the Laws must oblige every Man to keep a good firelock and accoutrements of every kind fit for Action with a sufficient stock of Ammunition for a severe engagement.

"It is from an apprehension of meeting an Enemy in every direction and from great Bodies being suddenly collected that they become formidable to a regular force. Two reasons concur to induce me to wish to see the Militia of America well armed; one is that the Enemy can never conquer the Country whilst we can keep the shadow of a regular force in the field, provided the Militia are well armed, and no general Action can prove totally ruinous, tho' it may bring upon us many misfortunes; the other is that should any Officer prompted by ambition ignorantly attempt any thing against the liberties of the Country, the People may be prepared to crush him immediately; and the best security against such a misfortune is to be armed against it; for tho' I am confident no Man will ever be mad enough to attempt anything of the kind yet it would be best to remove the temptation. I have ever considered distinctions between Citizens and Soldiers in free Governments very impolitick and invidious as they lay the latter under a sort of necessity of setting up a separate interest, which may possibly in time lead to some thing disagreeable, whereas by leaving the door open to all in common for honor and emoluments the Soldier is lost in the Citizen, and the Citizen ever ready to become the Soldier when the interest or safety of his Country requires it. This policy produces the two great objects of Government, peace at home, and security from abroad.

"Colo. [James] Read has my ready consent to afford your Excellency every assistance in his power; and I will send to your assistance Colo. Koscusiesko [Kosciuszko], our principal Engineer who is Master of his profession, and will afford you every aid you can wish. But was I to advise in this matter I would recommend very small fortifications, just sufficient to secure the Stores against Parties of Horse who can perform rapid marches. Large Works will be expensive in erecting, expensive to Garrison and if large quantities of Stores are collected in them, they become objects to the Enemy; and if the Country is not able to succour them in time, the Garrison and Stores are lost, and it throws a damp upon the spirits of all the surrounding Country, and affords a great triumph to the Enemy here, and affects our interest in Europe. A number of small Posts judiciously dispersed in different parts of the State will accommodate the service more effectually than one or two larger Posts. This has been thought by the Commander in chief to be the most eligible mode for securing the Stores of the Country; and experience and observation in the progress of the War convinces me his observations were well grounded. I am not for laying in large Magazines, but drawing from the People according as the service may require, the resources of the Country are safest in their hands. It is true this may prove a little oppressive to Individuals at times, but it puts it out of the power of the Enemy to destroy our Resources at one blow, which we have often felt the disagreeable effects of. At Posts, and upon lines of communication there must be small Magazines. And where an Army is of sufficient force to cover a Country considerable Magazines may be formed in its rear. But while the Enemy have a superior force great Magazines only put it in the power of the Enemy to subsist their Troops at our expence. The scarcity of Salt will put it out of our power to form large Magazines of Meat if there was no other objection. But the difficulty and expense of transportation render it necessary to subsist the Troops principally upon fresh Provisions; and this mode is not only far less expensive, but it enables an Army to move with more facility; and removes the great inconvenience of a multitude of Carriages, which are necessary for transportation when an Army is subsisted upon salted Provisions. For this purpose it will be necessary to have a great number of Beeves put up to be stall fed after the grass season is over, which may be forwarded to Camp Weekly in droves, according to the consumption of the Troops. This will be found to be by far the cheapest and least oppressive mode of subsisting an Army, and at the same time much better accomodated to the nature of the service of this Country than any other that can be adopted.

"I remark with freedom, and submit my observations to your Excellency's consideration with pleasure, being perfectly desirous that you should adopt only such as you may find useful."[3439]

13 August. Pickens, at Long Cane, wrote, to Lieut. Col. (formerly Major) Samuel Hammond: "I expect by this you have your men property equipt [sic] and your horses in good order and fit for Service -- I have ordered Col. Leroy Hammond to meet me at Perkins's Mills on Saludy [Saluda River] with part of his Regiment on Thursday the 1st Inst. -- you will please, likewise to meet me there on that day, with the whole of your Regiment properly mounted -- you will get a wagon and bring with you as much provision as will serve your men to the Congaree -- here was sent and some other things went in Col. Hammond's wagon when we parted at Kirkland[']s -- you will please have them brought on with you."[3440]

13 August. Marion, at St. Stephens, to Greene wrote that an enemy party of unknown size had recently moved up from Fair Lawn (the name of an estate near Monck's Corner.) Another party, reportedly of 500 infantry and 100 cavalry, had moved to Eutaw Springs from Thompson's. They were said to be invalids en route to Charlestown, but Marion believed they have come to gather cattle and destroy provisions. He had intended to

[3439] NGP9 pp. 165-168, CNC15 pp. 603-607.
[3440] HMP appendix.

move close, but excessive rains prevented him. As soon as the rains abated, he intended to advance toward the latter party and try to harass and inhibit their movements and activity.[3441]

13 August. Lafayette established camp at the junction of the Pamunkey and Mattaponey rivers. He detached a light force to cover Gloucester, while sending Wayne south of the James River to check any possible move by Cornwallis to re-enter North Carolina. Some skirmishes took place with the British as they fortified Yorktown and Gloucester.[3442]

Mid August. [skirmish] Chiswell's Ordinary (New Kent County Virginia)
Tarleton: "While the infantry of the line were employed in constructing the defences of York town and Gloucester, the Queen's rangers and the legion were equally active in collecting forage and cattle from the country for the use of the army. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe managed his detachments in front of Gloucester with great dexterity, and met, in consequence, with trifling interruption. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton made several expeditions to Williamsburgh, and by such moves covered all the country for the foraging parties between that place and Hampton. One excursion was pushed farther with success: Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie with the light infantry proceeded to Williamsburgh, whilst the legion cavalry advanced and defeated, with very little loss, about three hundred militia, at Chiswell's ordinary, on the Newcastle road. The unexpected appearance of the British dragoons struck the Americans with such astonishment, that they in general abandoned their arms without firing, and retreated with great precipitation."[3443]

14 August. Being informed of de Grasse's move northward, Washington and Rochambeau decided to switch the focus of their operations from the New York to Virginia -- indeed were essentially compelled to do so or else forfeit the advantage de Grasse's presence afforded. On the 15th, Washington wrote Lafayette with general instructions directed at keeping Cornwallis occupied in Virginia (with de Grasse acting to control the Chesapeake.) More specific plans were outlined in a letter to the Marquis on the 21st.[3444]

14 August. [raid] Cross Creek, also Campbellton, Fayetteville (Cumberland County, N.C.) Following the "House in the Horseshoe" (see 29 July), Fanning carried out a raid on Cross Creek (Caruthers refers to it as Campbelton) taking Col. James Emmet [also Emmett], Capt. Winslow, and some other leaders prisoner -- and at least of these Emmet was paroled. According to a whig report of August 14th, Fanning had some 180 men with him at the time. Historian Robert M. Dunkerly speaks of Cross Creek being first seized by some loyalists under Col. John Slingsby with Fanning temporarily joining him afterwards before proceeding on further raids on whig planations; with the latter, by the 24th, triumphantly returning to Wilmington with prisoners and booty. [3445]
Col. James Emmet, at "Campelton" (Cross Cree), on 19 Aug. to Gov. Burke. "I am under the disagreeable necessity of informing your Excellency that, on Thursday last, the 14th inst., between nine and ten oclock in the morning, this town was, in the most sudden manner imaginable, surprised by a party of the enemy, under the command of Colonels [John] Slingsby, [Duncan] Ray and [Hector] McNeill. They entered the town in so sudden and secret a manner that it was out of the power of any man who was in it to make his escape. I was at a plantation I have about a mile off, when I was alarmed by a party of about twenty horse. The noise of their horses' feet just gave me time to slip into a swamp, where I lay until the party left the plantation, which they did as soon as they had deprived me of my horses. I then got over the river, when I learned their numbers to be about three hundred. I was likewise informed the same evening, that McNeill, with one hundred men, had gone up the river on the west side, and, not being able to judge where they might intend to cross the river, thought it my best way to keep where I was. Had I done so, I might have kept clear of them, but at such times so many reports are flying, that there is no such thing as distinguishing the true one. At midnight, between the 16th and 17th, word was brought me that a Col. [David] Fanning came down the country with one hundred and eighty men, made a short stay at Cross creek, had crossed the river at lower Campbleton late in the evening, and at that time was encamped, with an intention in the morning to pursue his march up the river, and so join McNeill on the east side. On this information, I unfortunately crossed the river, early in the morning, and about nine o'clock was taken a prisoner by McNeill, on his return to town.
"It was not my intention to trouble your Excellency with this tedious relation, by way of intelligence. I am sure you do not expect it from one in my situation, but as I have many private enemies in this county who would be glad to lay hold on any circumstances to vilify my conduct and blacken my name, I have taken the liberty to trouble you with this, by way of vindication."[3446]

14 August. Col. William Henderson had fewer than 200 S.C. state troops (remnants of Sumter's command) fit for duty at the "Camp at Lord's Plantation." He wrote Greene saying he had moved his troops to Lord's to rendezvous with some militia, and to collect boats on the Saluda. He now had four good "flats," as well as canoes, which will be sufficient to transport troops in a few hours. He sent Greene a return of corn on this (the north) "side of the [Congaree] River," from Ancrum's to McCord's Ferry. The quantity was not as large as expected. There was, he expected, probably an equal amount on the other side of the river, "from Beaver Creek upwards." "With expectations of Seeing at least four or five hundred men fit for the field, I came to take command of a *Brigade* of *State* Troops, but I find Gnl [sic] Sumter has played the *old Soldier* with me, for I have

[3441] NGP9 p. 179.
[3442] CBA p. 611, CSS pp. 12071208.
[3443] TCS p. 363, LMS p. 445.
[3444] AR81 p. 124, GYT p. 14.
[3445] CNS1 pp. 191-192, DRO pp. 205-206.
[3446] CNS1 pp. 192-193.

not been to Collect quite Two hundred fit for action, and they in a most Shatter'd condition." The horses Henderson had were recovering fast from hard use, and should be ready in ten days or a fortnight, by which time "the river will be down." He included with his letter a memorandum from Sumter which, in effect, called for the disbanding of most of Sumter's brigade, which directive amazed and startled both Henderson and Greene.[3447]
In a letter to Henderson of 16 August, Greene remarked: "I received your favor of the 14th inclosing General Sumter[']s orders for disbanding his brigade for I can consider it in no other light...I can by no means give my consent to it, and therefore you will not furlough a man or officer unless for some particular reasons and you will give orders to have the whole collected as fast as possible...It is the Governors intention and my wish to have the Corps reduce[e]d into a less number...It would be little less than madness to grant the indulgences General Sumpter requires when the enemy are in motion in every part of the State..." [3448]

14-15 August. A British force of 300 infantry and 1 field piece was detached from Stewart's army, at Thompson's Plantation, and moved to Fairlawn (right outside and northwest of Monck's Corner) for the purpose of escorting a convoy bringing up rum, flour and salt to Stewart. These supplies were previously transported up as far as Fairlawn in a sloop. At Fairlawn itself were McArthur's troops, in size 300 to 400 in strength and with one cannon, and who were erecting a redoubt there for temporary defense.[3449]

15 August. Col. William Harden wrote Marion requesting assistance for his forces acting to the south east of Charlestown: "the People this way seems to be discouraged as we do not have force Enough to do any good." After requesting and receiving Greene's permission to aid Harden, Marion with his militia forces rode south to join him.[3450]

15 August. [skirmish] Four Mile Branch (Orangeburg County, S.C.)[3451]

15 August. Abstract of Cornwallis' return for the troops with him at Yorktown and Gloucester give him as having: "Present it for duty, 4847 rank and file; within the district, 543; artillerymen, etc., 568; total fit for duty, 5958. Sick, 1222; wounded, 323; (total,) 1545. Total effectives, 7503 -- [Clinton's note: besides marines of the ships of war and sailors and armed refugees, not less than 1500.] (Grand total,) 9003."[3452]

16 August. On the 11th, Clinton, in New York, wrote to Cornwallis, at Yorktown, who received it on the 16th: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that the fleet from Bremer-lehe is this day arrived with two thousand five hundred German recruits.
"I hope before this meets your Lordship you will so far have established yourself on the Williamsburg Neck, as to have been able to embark the troops you can spare me for operation here -- In which case I have no doubt Captain [Charles] Hudson will have given every assistance to forward them to us as soon as possible. And if they are not already sailed, I beg that the Queen's Rangers may be the second corps you send me; and that your Lordship will please to recollect my wish to have such a proportion of General Arnold's boats, and artillery men and stores as you can spare. And as you have three engineers, I beg that Lieutenant Sutherland may be sent to this place, as also Captain Fage of the artillery. The French and rebels shewed [sic] themselves the other day in front of our lines to the amount of eleven thousand."

Cornwallis the same date replied: "I did not imagine that my letter of the 26th July would have given your Excellency reason to be so sanguine as to hope, that by this time any detachment could have been made from hence. The evacuation of Portsmouth has employed one engineer, and a number of labourers and artificers; and with every exertion by land and water, I do not expect that business to be completed before the 21st or 22d instant. Since our arrival we have bestowed our whole labour on the Gloucester side; but I do not think the works there (after great fatigue to the troops) are at present, or will be for some time to come, safe against a coup de main with less than one thousand men.
'After our experience of the labour and difficulty of constructing works at this season of the year, and the plan for fortifying this side not being entirely settled, I cannot at present say whether I can spare any troops, or if any, how soon. But when the garrison of Portsmouth arrives, and the engineer's plan is completed, I shall apply to Captain Hudson for a frigate to carry my report of the state of things here, and to bring your Excellency's commands upon it. I have received your Excellency's dispatches of the 15th and 26th ult. which I shall answer by the first safe opportunity." [3453]

16 August. Greene, from the High Hills of the Santee, wrote to Col. William Henderson and reports that Marion had recently captured 4 officers, some important dispatches, and some 200 guineas near Eutaw Springs. The dispatches indicated that General Leslie was coming from Virginia to take command in South Carolina, which he did in December.[3454] Maj. Archibald McArthur was at Fairlawn with 400 men.[3455] Greene also reported: "they have

[3447] NGP9 pp. 169, 182.
[3448] NGP9 pp. 181-182, 188-189, BGC pp. 204-205.
[3449] NGP9 pp. 190-191.
[3450] NGP9 p. 204n, JLG2 pp. 217-218.
[3451] ONB3 pp. 315-316.
[3452] CAR pp. 556-557.
[3453] CAC pp. 183-186.
[3454] For reasons of poor health, Leslie actually left Cornwallis' army in Virginia about this same time. By 27 August, he was spoken of, in a letter from Clinton to Cornwallis, as having just been in New York a few days. CAR p. 562.

another party [Lieut. Col. Welbore Doyle's] near Pon Pon collecting rice in that quarter." In a letter of 16 August, Marion to Greene said: "The party mentioned in my last went only so far as Martin[']s where they met with a party from Fairlawn & remained yesterday, in Each party was about three hundred men and one field piece."[3456]

16 August. [skirmish] Santee River, S.C. ONB3 p. 316.

16 August. Letter from Lieut. Col. Hardy Sanders of the N.C. militia, at "Wake Court House," to Gov. Burke: "I receiv'd information on yesterday from Mr. John Ramsey & others of Chatham County that the Tory Army commanded by one Wray [Duncan Ray], consisting of about 300 horse & 100 foot, was then on their march toward the ford of Deep river near his Brother's mill and that Fanning's party of about 300 was also near there & wou'd in a little time form a junction & this moment I am informed by persons of veracity flying from Cape Fear that Hector McNeil with about four or five hundred took possession of Cross Creek on yesterday morning, that the highlanders in general are joining them from which it is conjectured their force altogether will be little short of 2000 men. These circumstances are truly alarming & in particular to this and the neighbouring County[']s as being exposed to their ravages. We have a general muster this day to draft every 30 men & I have tried to raise volunteers to assist the Chatham People but to little purpose. The want of Arms and the Approach of the enemy without any apparent relief at hand I believe are circumstances very encouraging to them. We are told that 2000 men are detached from Virginia to the relief of this State; if they arrive in time & possess themselves of the banks of Cape Fear (on which I think the salvation of many depend) I flatter myself we shall be able to give them limits & bounds & by so suddenly checking their career, spirit up our own people who are now desponding. Your Excellency will pardon these few hints. They flow from a heart zealously concerned for the public good & whatever your operations may be we shall have the fullest confidence in them & none will be more ready to carry them into execution…[P.S.] I am told your Excelly. [i.e. Gov. Burke] is Fanning's object.."[3457]

16 and 17 August. [skirmishes] Kingston [present day "Kinston," 16th] and Webber's Bridge [17th] (Lenoir County, N.C.) ONB3 p. 316 and DRO p. 203.

17 August. [raid] Robeson's Plantation, Cape Fear, N.C. ONB3 p. 317.

19 August. Washington and Rochambeau, the former with 2,500 and the latter with 4,000, began a disguised march southward, beginning from their encampment at Dobb's Ferry on the east side of the Hudson (and above New York), then to King's Ferry (near Stony Point), now called Verplanck, up river where the actual crossing was made (see 20 August.) Rochambeau's force included the Bourbonnois, Soissonais, Saintonge and Royal Deux-Ponts regiments, Lauzun's Legion, artillerymen and engineers. The march was conducted initially in a manner to make it seem like New York City was to be attacked from the New Jersey side -- and this was how American soldiers (those, of course, not privy to to the plans of their high command) interpreted the move. To guard the American position along the Hudson, Washington left 10 Massachusetts regiments, 5 Connecticut regiments, 2 New Hampshire regiments, Crane's Third artillery, Sheldon's Dragoons, and some militia. The force left combined amounted to about 4,000 and were left under the command of Maj. Gen. William Heath. In addition, troops were posted under Maj. Gen. William Alexander (Lord Stirling) at Saratoga; with some New York Continentals, and militia from various nearby states, under Lieut. Col. Martinus Willet placed along the Mohawk River to guard the northern frontier.[3458]

19 August. [raid] New Bern (Craven County, N.C.) Marching north out of Wilmington and after being joined by a force of 300 tories, and perhaps as many as 500 escaped slaves, over a week earlier in Duplin County (see Rockfish Creek, 2 August), Maj. James Craig with 250 regulars led a raid on New Bern, N.C., but which was empty of defenders. En route they destroyed several whig plantations, and when they came to New Bern itself they burned ships and supplies before leaving two days later. On the return journey to Wilmington, additional rebel plantations were put to fire; although some resistance was then encountered as described below.[3459]
On August 27th, Brig. Gen. William Caswell wrote Gov. Burke: "After the Enemy [Maj. James Craig's raiding expedition] were in possession of New Bern Two Days they evacuated it & came up Neuse road to our post at Bryan Mills, and was very near surprising the party there, which I had just left under the command of Col. Gorham, owing to the Horse not taking post on our right flank so soon by two hours as directed, which was attributed to their finding some Liquor & most of them got intoxicated. Col. [James] Gorham finding them advancing in front made every disposition to skirmish with them thinking his right flank and rear well covered with Horse but on their approach in front the picquets on his right flank began to skirmish. He then found that the Horse had not taken post as directed and ordered a retreat which he very well effected two miles across Neuse. The Enemy lay but one night there, burnt Genl. Bryan's, Mr. Wm. Herritage's, Mr. Wm. Coxe's & Mr. Longfield Coxe's houses and much distressed and abused their families then moved across the Country to Trent and have gone towards the Rich Lands of New River, the night before last encamped at the Lewis Williams[']

[3455] McArthur's detachment of 300 to 400 at Fairlawn was not with Stewart at Eutaw Springs. However, the day following the battle, Stewart did form a junction with McArthur.
[3456] NGP9 pp. 188-189, 191.
[3457] His "Excelly." Governor Burke was, of course, actually captured by Fanning at Hillsborough on Sept. 12. The raid of Pittsboro on 16 July by Fanning should (in addition to this letter from Sanders) also have served as a warning to the N.C. officials. CNC15 p. 610.
[3458] AR81 p. 124, GHA4 pp. 126-127, CSS pp. 1214-1216, MLW4A pp. 472-474, JYC p. 88, WAR2 p. 881.
[3459] NGP9 p. 238, BEA p. 780, ONB3 p. 317, DRO pp. 203.

place, and they gave out that they intend going down the Sound road and destroying all the Salt works they have taken with the Inhabitants and those under arms about fifteen prisoners, their loss is near the same killed and taken & about the same number wounded. Their loss should have been much greater, but the great Scarcity of Ammunition prevented my Skirmishing much, the Militia being quite fatigued, I have dismissed them & ordered the three & Twelve months drafts immediately Completed. Genl. Bryan Herritage & the Coxes have raised a party & burnt up all the Houses of the Tories near them. I am exceedingly sorry for the event & Dread the consequences, Have given them orders to stop it, but fear I cannot put an end to it.
"A No. [number] of those people who have been & are with the British, would come in on some terms. Should your Excellency think proper to give them any indulgence think it would answer a Good purpose. Upwards of two hundred are with them from this District & from the Counties of Craven & Dobbs.
"…I am exceedingly happy to find that Gen. Wayne is so near but as the Enemy have moved off think he will not find them nearer than Wilmington. What force we could raise in Duplin, Wayne & Onslow were to fall in their rear & have not heard from them since the Enemy passed the Rich Lands of New River. Should your Excellency think proper to order out the Militia immediately Genl. Wayne can have them all that can be armed very shortly embodied, and I am satisfied they will turn out with the greatest cheerfulness. If Genl. Wayne should move this way, Mr. John Tillery a Quarter Master with Col. Long is an Exceeding good hand as a pilot & is acquainted with the Country and inhabitants."[3460]

20 August. Lee, in a report to Greene on this day, estimated Stewart's army (at Thompson's Plantation) at 1,700 "effective" infantry and 100 "effective" cavalry, including 30 fresh dragoons who arrived with a convoy from Charlestown.[3461] According to some later scholars, Stewart's army was figured at 1,800 to 2,000.[3462]
In a second letter dated "Congaree river, south of Howell's ferry, 20th August," Lee wrote Greene: "Since my despatch of this date, I have received your letter of the 19th. Not being near Colonel [William] Henderson, it is not in my power to consult with him concerning the relief of our friends below. I have no doubt of its practicability, and will take Colonel Henderson's opinion without loss of time; though I consider no attempt so easy and so ready as the ruining Stewart's army, provided you can get a force, in your opinion, adequate to the effort.
"A division will delay this important operation. Was you at your old ground on Beaver creek, you would be in an abundant country, you would be convenient for action, and would weaken your enemy by their desertion. Indeed were you here, Colonel Stewart must fight or retire. I am inclined to believe he would do the last. As it is almost reduced to a certainty that General Leslie[3463] has brought no infantry with him, I would not allow his arrival and the reports of the reinforcement to delay any movement. It is more than probable the horses have been thrown overboard in the hurricane, if the fleet should be safe. General Marion might easily join you, and leave a small party to watch M'Arthur [McArthur]; and on your getting here, it will be very convenient to prevent Leslie, M'Arthur, or any other party from joining Stewart.
"I am decidedly of opinion that it is both justice and good policy to retaliate in the case of our murdered colonel [Isaac Hayne], and J ansiver for myself and my officers, that the measure meets our approbation, and will receive our firmest support in the field. It would be well to confine the retaliation to these armies, as, for aught you know, a measure beneficial in this country, may be the very reverse in the other states where the enemy are operating. They may have a number of officers prisoners on Long Island, and perhaps Sir Henry Clinton might take vengeance on them.
"If Balfour has committed an outrage on the cartel, Lord Cornwallis will, no doubt, conceive his honour obligated to give you satisfaction. I would, nevertheless, retaliate in the present instance, and act afterwards as his lordship's decision on your remonstrance and communication may render necessary. I would not condescend to write Mr. Balfour, but rather hang first; then inform General Leslie with what you have done, making some remarks on General Washington's politeness to Sir Henry Clinton, in an execution justified by the usage of nations, and the conduct of Mr. Balfour in the hanging an officer where he cannot produce colour of justice or precedent for it. A victory on the plains of Colonel Thompson will put all right, and will be more important, if possible, than the glory of Saratoga. You cannot be defeated, if your troops will fight; and if you are defeated, your loss will be partial only; indeed your loss will ultimately be a gain. I intend, if you approve, to burn the jail at Orangeburg, and destroy the bridge over Edisto. This shall be deferred to a proper moment. Should Colonel Stuart incline to run, he may seek that strong post; this dismantling will render it weak.
"Such has been the management of the state troops, that they are really injurious. They are not a whit better disciplined than the militia, and you get no aid from either class. The militia conceiving the state brigade adequate to your purposes, have got dispersed and languid. The policy of General Sumpter has sent three-fourths of the state troops out of the field in the heat of a campaign; thus you lose greatly.
"If the governor would adopt the troops, promise that the compact made with the soldiers should be honestly performed, arrange them into two other regiments, and put them under Henderson, they would become respectable and useful.
"The exigency of the hour will apologize for any innovation, and the consequences which will be experienced, will amply defend his excellency's conduct.

[3460] CNC15 pp. 626-628.
[3461] See 8 August.
[3462] NGP9 pp. 214n, 214-216, BEA p.351.
[3463] The report or rumor that Leslie had arrived back at Charlestown at ths time was unfounded.

"General Sumpter is become almost universally odious, as far as I can discover. I lament that a man of his turu was ever useful, or being once deservingly great, should want the wisdom necessary to continue so, and to preserve his reputatation."[3464]

20 August. Greene in a letter to Col. Francis Lock spoke of his own army having been divided between High Hills of the Santee and Friday's [or Fridig's] Ferry. At the latter were Lee, Henderson, Washington and Kirkwood. Elsewhere, Col. Charles Harrison, while working to put the army's military stores in order, remained in Charlotte due to illness (writing Greene from there on this date.) By the 28th, Harrison was in Salem, and thereafter went to Virginia to secure more arms and munitions for Greene. Though illness continued to plaque him he endeavored while at home to work to help supply Greene's army.[3465]

20 August. Marion wrote to Greene from St. Stephen's saying that with Greene's permission he would take Col. Maham's and Col. Horry's cavalry with him to assist Harden only it was necessary that Greene send orders to those officers, "as they will not go without." Maham had 20 dragoons, well equipped, and Horry 15, not equipped. Marion could furnish swords for Horry's men and further said he would leave his infantry with Maham, and a force to deceive the enemy about his (i.e. Marion's) absence. Neither Maham or Horry were with Marion in his foray to assist Harden, as neither are mentioned in his dispatch reporting the action at Parker's Ferry on the 30th. Horry, at the time, was apparently still not quite ready and remained in Georgetown recruiting for and equipping his troop, while Maham may have been likewise occupied.[3466]

20 August. Rochambeau and Washington passed the Hudson at King's Ferry. However, both forces with artillery and baggage were not completely across till 26 August; at which time began their march from New York towards Virginia; with only the two commanders and their immediate staff having any inkling as to the ultimate objective of these movements.[3467]

21 August (also 22 August.) Greene decamped from the High Hills of the Santee en route to bring Stewart to battle. As Johnson states, he called in his detachments, "except those under Mayhem [Maham], Horry and Marion, and appointed them to a rendezvous at Fridig's Ferry." Greene wrote Lee on his same date "[T]he swamp is so full of water [near the High Hills] we cannot cross the Wateree here." In order then to pass that river, it became necessary for him to move northward to Camden, before heading south against Stewart.[3468]

21 August. Pickens and force assembled at Perkin's Mill on the Saluda River, and had been assigned to keep watch on Orangeburg prior to being summoned by Greene, as Picken along wih Henderson later was on 28 Aug., to join operations with the main army.[3469]

21 August. The newly re-established government of Georgia confirmed Greene's appointment of James Jackson to Lieut. Col. while directing him to raise a Georgia State Legion, a corps of 200 men.[3470]
William Johnson: "Colonel Jackson had succeeded in raising in Georgia one hundred and fifty men, under the powers granted him while the army lay before Ninety-Six...The whole [however] were taken down with small-pox nearly at the same time; full fifty of them fell a sacrifice to it, and the survivors were still too much reduced by the consequences of that disease, to be in a state for service."[3471]

21 August. Having left overall command in the hands of Gould (and the field army with Stewart, see 16 July), Rawdon, accompanied by Lieut. Col. Welbore Doyle, departed Charlestown for England.[3472] Writes Lee, "The ship in which Lord Rawdon embarked for England, was captured by some of the French cruisers, and brought into the Chesapeake. Soon afterward the propitious termination of the siege of York placed in our hands Lord Cornwallis." In letter from Lafayette to Greene, dated 2 September 1781, Lafayette makes mention of Rawdon's being held on board de Grasse's flagship the *Ville de Paris*, then in the Chesapeake. Command of the army in South Carolina continued with Col. Paston Gould, who had been Rawdon's superior. Yet due to apprehension of a possible French invasion Gould himself remained in Charlestown while Stewart commanded the army in the field until after Eutaw Springs, at which point Gould then took charge of it. On 30 September, Gould, in Charlestown, wrote Clinton: "I would have immediately taken the command of the army in person but that, as Lieutenant General Leslie was hourly expected to arrive at Charlestown, I remained there to receive his instructions, which I had reason to believe would have ordered me to the northward..." [3473]

[3464] NGP9 pp. 214n, 214-216, LCC pp. 447-450.
[3465] NGP9 pp. 207, 214, 265. 411.
[3466] NGP9 p. 217, JLG2 pp. 217-218.
[3467] MLW4A pp. 472-474, JYC p. 88, CSS pp. 1214-1216.
[3468] NGP9 pp. 218, 219n, SAW2 p. 377, LMS pp. 448-449, JLG2 pp. 216-217.
[3469] NGP9 p. 245n, JLG2 pp. 217, 219.
[3470] NGP8 p. 325n.
[3471] JLG2 p. 209.
[3472] Boatner states Rawdon left on 20 July and was captured by a French privateer and brought to Brest where he remained imprisoned until a year later. BEA p. 920. Boatner apparently is, at least in part, in error since Rawdon wrote Cornwallis from Charlestown on 2 August 1781 stating he was returning to England for reasons of health. PRO. 30/11/6. For the 21 August return date see Balfour to Cornwallis, 2 October 1781, PRO. 30/11/109, and BLB p.100. Special thanks to Todd Braisted for clearing this up, and providing the references.
[3473] NGP9 pp. 151n, 280, ATR81b pp. 271-272 (which includes an address by some citizens of Charlestown to Rawdon upon his departure), CAR pp. 354n, 579, SAW2 p. 377, LMS p. 461, CBA p. 577, MSC2 pp. 384n.

21 August. [skirmish] Kingston, N.C. (Lenoir County, N.C.) ONB3 p. 318 and DRO pp. 203-204.

21 August. Lieut. Col. Hardy Sanders of the N.C. militia, at "Camp Middle Creek, Near Woodward's Mill, Wake County," to Sumner: "The Tories have taken Possession of Cross Creek & are ravaging the Inhabitants of Capefare [Cape Fear] on Both sides, for a Considerable Distance up it. We are Now informed that they are within Twenty Miles of us. The Number Uncertain.
"I Received Orders from His Excellency, the Gov'nor [Burke], to Raise as many of the Militia as I Could Arm. No Mode Addopted. I thought It Advisable to Raise Mounted Infantry Two Months for a Tower to find their Own Horses & Guns, as I had no Other way to Collect Arms. We have upwards of Sixty Men Out on Them Terms & have Ordered a General Muster on Thursday when I Expect to Collect a few more Arms as the men is Reddy [sic] to use them.
"Colo. Smith from Johnston is Indeavoring to Collect and Wishes to act in Conjunction with us. We shall have a few of the Cumberland men with us Likewise. We Shall endeavour to keep the Enemy from Ravaging any further, Till we Receive Your Orders."[3474]

22 August. Cornwallis, at Yorktown, to Clinton: "Portsmouth having been completely evacuated without any interruption from the enemy, General O'Hara arrived here this day with the stores and troops; and a great number of refugees have accompanied him from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Princess Anne.
"The engineer has finish his survey and examination of this place, and has proposed his plan for fortifying it; which appearing judicious, I have approved of, and directed to be executed.
"The works at Gloucester are now in such forwardness, that a smaller detachment than the present garrison would be in safety against a sudden attack; but I make no alteration there, as I cannot hope that the labour of the whole will complete that post in less than five or six weeks.
"My experience there of the fatigue and difficulty of constructing works in this warm season, convinces me, that all the labour that the troops here will be capable of, without ruining their health, will be required at least for six weeks to put the intended works at this place in a tolerable state of defence. And as your Excellency has been pleased to communicate to me your intention of re-commencing operations in the Chesapeak[e] about the beginning of October, I will not venture to take any step that might retard the establishing of this post: but I request that your Excellency will be pleased to decide whether it is more important for your plans that a detachment of a thousand or twelve hundred men, which I think I can spare from every other purpose but that of labour, should be sent to you from hence, or that the whole of the troops here should be employed in expediting the works.
"My last accounts of the enemy were, that the Marquis de la Fayette was encamped in the fork of the Pamunky and Matapony [Mattapony] with his own detachment of Continentals, a considerable body of eighteen-months men, and two brigades of militia under [Edward] Stevens and [Robert] Lawson; that he had armed four hundred of the seven hundred Virginia prisoners lately arrived from Charles-town, and expected to be joined in a short time by General Smallwood with seven hundred eighteen-months men from Maryland; and that Generals Wayne and Morgan having returned from the other side of James river, were likewise on their march to join him.
"There being only four eighteens and one twenty-four pounder here, more heavy guns will be wanted for the sea batteries at this place, and we are likewise in want of many other artillery and engineer's stores, the returns of which I take the liberty to inclose [sic].
"It is proper to mention to your Excellency, that you may make your arrangements accordingly, that there are only about six hundred stand of spare arms in the Chesapeak; and that our consumption of provisions is considerably increased by a number of refugees lately come to us, and by negroes that are employed in different branches of the public service."[3475]

Tarleton: "…the whole Virginia army [of Cornwallis] was assembled on the 22d [of Aug.] at York town and Gloucester."[3476]

22 August. Maj. Reading Blount of Sumner's N.C. brigade arrived in Charlotte with 300 stand of arms with which to help arm the newly formed and organized battalions of the North Carolina line.[3477]

22 August. Marion rode south from the Santee to join Harden. At the same time he left a party just north of Charlestown, under Capt. Samuel Cooper, to act as a diversionary force.

22 August. Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory, at "Virginia, Norfolk County, Edmunds' Hill," to Gov. NashYour Two Favours recd. & was very Happy in your Excellency's advice respecting the maintaince of the post I Commanded and of the assurance you gave me of the Train that measures was in for the equipment of the Halifax Militia, but Since this a favorable event has taken place, of the enemy's Evacuation of Portsmouth and Proceeding to the town of York in Virginia which makes it unnecessary in my Opinion for the militia to Continue merely a few days to Co-operate with Col. Parker in Reducing such who may be disaffected or putting into execution any measures which may tend to the benefit of the United States, after which I shall think it my duty to discharge the militia unless some incident Should happen, which might make it necessary to alter my present Resolutions. The Small pox is violently raging in and about Portsmouth and induces me to dismiss the Militia, thinking them not altogether

[3474] CNC15 pp. 612-613.
[3475] CAC pp. 186-188,
[3476] TCS p. 361.
[3477] NGP9 p. 225.

Safe. Various are the reasons which have been offered in respect to the Manouver of the enemy in evacuating Portsmouth. None seems to be more Probable than that they Conceived themselves unsafe from a Superior army as it Could annoy them both in their land and Naval force.
"The enemy have left a great number of Negroes and Horses, tho' they have destroyed from the best accounts, about Two hundred of the Horse. The Negroes are down with the Small pox, and are left in a most inhuman manner and in such a Situation as tends to disgrace the Character of a Civilized nation, as they were Left without Sustenance & would be altogether without Support if they did not Receive it through the Sanction of Colo. Parker and my self. Your orders I shall be glad to receive as to the disposal of any negroes or horses that may Come under my direction."[3478]

23 August. Ewald: "On the 23d Colonel Simcoe conducted a foraging with the Ranger Corps in the parish and vicinity of Abingdon Church. I had to ambuscade myself with the jägers and one hundred men of the Erb Prinz Regiment to protect him, two English miles toward Gloucester Court House. At midday a party of the enemy appeared, but they did not come near enough so that I could harm them. Captain Murray, who also lay ambuscaded with fifty rangers at a defile to the right of Abingdon Church, would have caught a party of American dragoons had he not been betrayed by a servant of a thoughtless officer, who had sent him out to pillage.
"One perceives from this that a leader of light infantry cannot be severe enough in establishing a strict discipline, since otherwise the best planned strokes will miscarry. -- For how many well-devised strokes have been spoiled by a marauder? And yet, I have never seen such a bad mistake punished severely. There are situations in war where indulgence, indeed sympathy itself, is an offense."[3479]

24 August. Capt. Walker Muse was appointed to replace Col. John Gunby as commander of the post and hospital at Charlotte. Gunby returned to Maryland having for the past month or so been suffering from dysentery.[3480]

24 August. Greene camped at Camden. In orders for the day stated that the sick and those unable to march were to remain at Camden; "a Sufficient number of women, particularly those that have Children must be left as Nurses."[3481]

24 August. Lafayette, at "Mattapony River," to Gen. Washington: "The Light Infantry are 850 -- the Pennsylvanians about 600 -- Virginia exchangd [sic] soldiers and new levies 400 the Marylanders will be 600. We have 120 dragoons and a chance to obtain 60 more. Had we accoutrements we could have 200 excellent horses 60 of which I hope to equip by dismounting volunteers. As to militia we may in a few days have 3000. A demand from you upon the State of Maryland will procure 1000 well armed militia. The conduct of some people in that State appears to me very injurious to public interests. The new levies have every day been detained, every petty pretence employed to prevent their joining either General Greene or this army...[the militia had been called out because of a rumor Baltimore was to be invaded.]
"Portsmouth is evacuated with some precipitation I wait for more particular account before I write officially. Yesterday Mr de Camus a French officer of the navy has reconnoitered the shipping in York River. There are 60 sail 10 of which armed vessels the largest a 50 gun ship, their situation much exposed. The enemy are not yet fortifying at York. What is doing at Glocester [sic] is rather upon a contracted scale. They do not appear very much alarmed…Col. Dundas was heard to say that an English and French fleet had sailed in the same time.[3482] The intelligence respecting Count de Grasse has been kept a profound secret. My coming in this country has attracted this side a large part of the enemys [sic] force. In the mean while General Wayne was filing of[f] towards Westover and the remainder of the army to Ruffin[']s Ferry. Should the enemy move southerly we shall be at Westover before Wayne has done crossing as the cavalry will be hurried on. The moment Count de Grasse arrives I will collect our forces about Soan[']s Bridge and wait for intelligences from him."[3483]
On the 25th he further wrote: "The ennemy [sic] have 60 sails of vessels into York River -- the largest a 50 gun ship two 36 frigat[e]s -- about seven other armed vessels -- The remainder are transports some of them still loaded and a part of them very small vessels -- It appears they have in that number merchant men some of whom Dutch prizes -- The men of war are very thinly manned -- On board the other vessels there are almost no sailors."[3484]

24 August (also given as 25 August). [skirmish] Well's Plantation, also Bull Head, "Captain William Bennett vs. detachments of Prince of Wales American Rgt, South Carolina Militia" (Berkeley County, S.C.) [3485]

25 August. Pickens coming from the Ninety Six region joined up with Henderson's men, at "Brown's Old Field," S.C., On the 28th they together reached Greene's army at Howell's Ferry on the Santee River. On this same date, Henderson, at "Brown's old Field," S.C., informed Greene that (including Pickens) he had 370 men, counting officers, one third of whom are unarmed. "Not a man of three Regiments have yet come in, but suppose them on

[3478] CNC15 pp. 618-619.
[3479] EHJ p. 324.
[3480] NGP9 pp. 234-235.
[3481] NGP9 p. 233.
[3482] This was information apparently procured by James Armistead, a black acting as a servant in Cornwallis' household headquarters, while in service as a spy for Lafayette. See footnote accompanying Lafayette to Washington, 20 August.
[3483] LLW pp. 221-222.
[3484] LLW p. 223.
[3485] LSC p. 18. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/wells-pl.htm

their way." He doubted these troops would have any weapons to spare. Many of his troops were "very Sickly." Henderson himself had been "exceedingly ill of the fever" for the past three days, but believed "it is about leaving me."[3486]

25 August. Commissioner Lieut. Col. John Laurens landed in Boston from France with clothing, ammunition, and half a million dollars aid from France.[3487]

25 August. Rear Admiral Jacques-Melchior Saint Laurent, Comte de Barras' naval squadron of 8 ships of the line and some transports carrying a siege train departed Newport, R.I., on its way to Virginia. Upon receiving word of this, Clinton dropped plans for a naval and land expedition he had planned against the Rhode Island capital.[3488]

25-26 August. Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood with 14 ships of the line, 6 frigates, and 1 fire-ship, coming from the West Indies, stopped at the Chesapeake on 25 August in search of the French. Not finding de Grasse, he continued on to New York where, on the 28th, he joined Graves who only then was informed of de Grasse's move from the Caribbean. About the same time, it was also learned that de Barras' squadron had left Newport, Rhode Island; it being rightly inferred with the intention of linking up with de Grasse. Hood and Graves then set out after de Grasse who anchored in the Chesapeake before them on 30 August.[3489]

25-26 August. With the last of their forces having crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry and then encamping in the neighborhood of Paramus, N.J. (and with other preparations finalized), Rochambeau and Washington readied themselves to cooperate with DeGrasse for a prospective attack on Staten Island, preliminary to an advance on New York itself -- though ever prepared to strike south at Cornwallis as circumstances warranted.[3490]

25-26 August. Marion arrived at "Round O,"[3491] at Ferguson's Plantation, and found Harden very sick, and Harden's troops (for the moment under the command of Harden's son, William Jr.) not yet assembled. "I halted the 24th, next day marched to the Horse Shoe; the twenty sixth at night I was joined by Colo [William] Stafford with one hundred fifty men & Major [William] Harden[Jr.] with eighty which made me four hundred men."[3492]

25-26 August. On the 25th, Greene left Camden, crossing the Wateree at Wright's (or the Camden) Ferry in his advance toward Howell's Ferry on the Congaree River. It took more than a day to get all the army and baggage over the river and organized. Greene crossed at the Wateree rather than move directly south from Camden to the Santee area, due to heavy flooding of that region caused by recent rains. Elsewhere, Lee, and Washington (with Kirkwood), away from the main army acting as scouts, were already at the Congaree.[3493]

26 August. Colonel Peter Horry, at Georgetown, wrote to Greene saying he was having difficulty clothing and equipping his men, particularly since the burning of Georgetown on Aug. 2. Horry made reference to the practice of some militia draftees getting out of service either by finding substitutes or paying money; and further suggested that this approach would be a good way of enlisting more men and raising needed funds.[3494]

27 August. Greene camped at McGirth's [McGirtt's] Mill, S.C., or "on the road from Camden to Howels Mill." Greene expected to camp at Howell's Mill the morrow morning (the 28th.)[3495]

27 August. Brig. Gen. John Twiggs was with 150 Georgia militia at Spirit Creek about 15 miles south of Augusta. Col. Elijah Clark, meanwhile, was collecting others. They expected to have 500 to 600, though they were deficient in ammunition. Jonathon Bryan, at Augusta, wrote to Greene: "We are Infested hourly with Banditees [sic] of Thieves and Plunderers. The British are driving out of their lines all the women with their familys [sic], which they Suspect to be disaffected to their measures and destroying their Houses. The Creek Indian seem well effected to us (except a few of the Cussata town). A Party of the Cherokees with some of the British at their Head have lately surprised and killed a few of Col. [Elijah] Clark's Regiment who were on a scout."[3496]

27 August. Marion crossed the Ashepoo (also Ashpo) River and camped within five miles of the "Enemy" (presumably the force under Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Benning) at Middleton's Plantation, located south of the Ashepoo and Godfrey Savannah. On September 3, Marion, at St. Stephen's, wrote to Greene: "The day before [the 26th] I Detached Col Hugh Horry to Chehaw where I was informed was three schooners taking in rice with a Guard of thirty men but unluckily they heard of my Approach & went down the river the day before. I sent out parties to recon[o]iter the Enemy who found them in post too strong to make any Attempt on them. Their force by All the Intelligence I could get consist of One hundred & Eighty Hessians & one hundred and fifty British; one

[3486] NGP9 p. 245, JLG2 pp. 217, 219.
[3487] CBA p. 623.
[3488] AR81 pp. 126-127, GHA4 p. 181, MLW4A pp. 469, LMS pp. 484-485, SCV1 pp. 18-21.
[3489] AR81 pp. 126-127, LMS pp. 485-486, MLW4A pp. 469-470, JYC p. 99, WFK p. 242, WCO pp. 357-358.
[3490] LMS pp. 483-484, LMS p. 485, JYC p. 88.
[3491] Bass says Round O is on alternative U.S. Highway 17 between Summerville and Walterboro. BGC p. 271n.
[3492] NGP9 p. 289.
[3493] NGP9 pp. 233, 236 JLG2 p. 217.
[3494] NGP9 p. 259.
[3495] NGP9 pp. 259-260.
[3496] NGP9 p. 260.

hundred & thirty Toreys [sic] and Eighty horse under Majr Frazier [Thomas Fraser] all of the Queen[']s Rangers."[3497]

28 August. Greene camped at Howell's Ferry where Pickens and Henderson formed a junction with him the same day.[3498]
Seymour: "Twenty-eighth; this day joined Colonel Washington's horse, five miles, at Mr. Culpeper's [Culpepper's] on the bank of the [Congaree] river. In the evening were informed, the enemy this morning left Colonel Thompson's [Belleville] on their way to Charlestown." [3499]

28 August. Rochambeau's and Washington's armies camped in Chatham, New Jersey.[3500]

29 August. Rochambeau and Washington resumed their march southward, still maneuvering their armies as if still inclining toward on attack on New York City. On August 30th, however, the effort at deception was dispensed with, and they proceeded on to their true goal, Cornwallis in the Chesapeake. The American advance guard passed through Princeton on the 30th, and was in Trenton on the 31st. All this previous while, the real destination had been kept as a secret from even Rochambeau and Washington's high-ranking commanders, many of whom were not apprised of what was going on till the 28th and 29th.[3501]
Despite the resolve to proceed after Cornwallis, Washington still lacked confirmation of De Grasse and the French West Indies fleet's heading for the Chesapeake, and even by Sept. 2 found it necessary to write Lafayette urgently requesting such (and which by then was soon forthcoming.)[3502]

30 August (also given as 27 August and 29 August). [skirmish] Elizabethtown, also Tory Hole, Slingsby's camp (Bladen County, N.C) Col. Thomas Robeson, or as Robert M. Dunkerly prefers (his brother) Peter Robeson, with 70 N.C. militia, many armed and expert with rifles, surprised an encampment of a reported 400 Tories, largely comprised of former Highlanders, under Colonels John Slingsby (himself from Bladen) and Godden. Robeson arranged his men and had them fire in such a way as to suggest greater numbers than he actually possessed. Simultaneously, Robeson's men specifically targeted the loyalist officers, many of whom (including Godden), as result, were killed or wounded. The result was full-scale confusion, with many of the loyalist retreating into a ravine later denoted "Tory Hole." Loyalist losses are given as 17 killed with many more wounded. The rest, leaderless, were scattered.[3503]
David Fanning: "I also received a message from Col. O'neal [William O'Neal] that whenever they met, they would fight me, but not by an immediate appointment; I directly ordered a march and proceeded to the place where I was informed by the Bearer of the flag they lay encamped; but on my arrival there, they had marched off; and from intelligence I had procured, I had reason to suppose they was gone to Salesbury [Salisbury] to get reinforced, by General [Griffith] Rutherford. I then concluded, to go, to Wilmington for a supply of ammunition; finding my stock began to grow low. I got to Cross Creek on the 11th of August; and early in the morning following crossed the cape Fear River, when Maj. Samuel Andrews joined me with his company and scouted through all the rebel settlements, on the north side of the River; and took a number of prisoners, arms and horses. I also discovered where 25 barrels of Salt was concealed; designed for the rebel army. I destroyed it; and then marched down the side; and came to a plantation belonging to a Capt. Robertson -- which I burned; From thence I marched to his brother's Col. Robertson, which served in the same manner. On my march, I took several prisoners, whom I parolled [sic], except 20; those I delivered to Capt. [John] Legett [of the Royal N.C. Regt.], then commanding at Wilmington; where I arrived on the 24th. Having got supplied with ammunition, I proceeded up the country on the 26th. -- On my arrival at Elizabethtown, I found Col. Slingsbee [John Slingsby], of the Loyal Militia of Bladen county, with a number of parolled rebels, in his camp. I disapproved of keeping them, there, and told him I thought it imprudent, and unsafe. The event proved so; for that night, they, having arms concealed, fired upon his camp, and wounded him mortally. Five Captains also were wounded, some of whom died afterward of their wounds. The day following I arrived at McFall[']s mills about 60 miles, where I dispatched 90 of my men back, to render assistance, on receiving the unfortunate accounts of Col. Slingsbee's misfortune; but it was too late; as the rebels had taken to the woods and got off."[3504]
Sabine's entry for Slingsby: "SLINGSBY, Of North Carolina. Colonel of a Loyalist corps. At the head of three hundred men, in 1781, he took post at Elizabethtown, North Carolina, and was attacked in the darkness of night by a party of Whigs. The Loyalist officer was a gallant man, and made a desperate effort to produce order, to form his lines, and maintain his position. But he was mortally wounded, and his force was totally routed. He was a man of fine talents, and left an amiable and helpless family. Even foes lamented his fall."[3505]

30 August (also given as 13 August). [ambush] Parker's Ferry (Colleton County, S.C.) Col. Patrick Cunningham and over 100 loyalists from Dorchester lay at Parker's Ferry awaiting Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Benning and Maj. Thomas Fraser, with 180 Hessians, 150 British (possibly Provincials), 130 loyalist militia, and 80 Queen's Rangers

[3497] NGP9 p. 289.
[3498] NGP9 pp. 240n, 264, JLG2 pp. 217, 219.
[3499] SJS.
[3500] JYC p. 89.
[3501] MLW4A pp. 472-474, JYC p. 90.
[3502] CSS pp. 1214-1216.
[3503] WNC pp. 36-43, CNS1 pp. 397-419, DRO pp. 206-209.
[3504] FNA pp. 30-31.
[3505] SLA2 pp. 309-310.

cavalry, under Maj. Thomas Fraser at Hayne's Plantation.[3506] Marion, with 400, minus an unknown number detached under Col. Hugh Horry, prepared an ambush within a wood about a mile from Parker's Ferry, and forty yards of a road where Benning and Fraser were expected to pass on their way to join Cunningham. He arranged his men in three groups, one with 80 men on his left (at about one hundred yards distance from the center), under Maj. William Harden, Jr. (his father, at this time, was ill), were to come out from a concealed position when the British came up to the American center. Another group, Marion's "Swordsmen of Sixty horse" under Maj. George Cooper, were to keep watch and to fall on the enemy's rear after the firing became general. Marion was to lead the attack with his main force from a middle location. Yet when the action began neither Harden nor Cooper followed their instructions. In spite of this, Marion was able to surprise Benning and Fraser who reportedly lost 20 killed, and upwards of 80 wounded, including Fraser and Capt. Archibald Campbell. 42 horses were also killed or captured. The whigs apparently incurred no casualties. After forcing the British to withdraw, Marion remained on the battlefield three hours afterwards; then retreated two miles to refresh his men. He returned to the site of the fighting on the 31st; at which time he was able to arrive at an estimate of casualties. While not given much coverage in histories, Parker's Ferry was arguably Marion's greatest pitched-battle victory, showing his resourcefulness as a partisan commander, while demonstrating his ability to succeed in spite of some uncooperative subordinates.

On September 3rd, Marion, from St. Stephen's, wrote to Greene: "(H)ave the pleasure of informing you that Colo Stafford who sustained fire & Colo [John] Ervin & [Hugh] Horry behaved Like the Sons [of] Liberty, & Had Mjr Harden with his Div[ision] & Majr [George] Cooper with the Cavalry Obey'd Orders, It is probable the Greatest part if not the whole must have been Destroy'd or taken, but [the] first never fired a Gun & the Second was not in sight by which means I Lost above one third of my force [i.e. for fighting] & in the two most material points."[3507]

Stephen Jarvis: "Soon after this Captain Campbell's [Queen's Rangers] Troop was joined to the South Carolinas [South Carolina Royalists], a Captain Gillis Troop also and the Light Infantry Company of the [New] York Volunteers under the Command of Major [John] Coffin also joined us as Mounted Infantry. They, with one Troop of the South Carolina Regiment joined Lord Rawdon and the rest of the Regiment at Dorchester, for an Expedition, which took place in a few days toward Georgia. The Troop consisted of a Regiment of Cavalry and some Militia while as yet had adhered to our Standard. We quartered at Colonel Haines [Isaac Haynes'] Plantation the day he was executed near Charlestown as a Traitor taken in arms. We proceeded to a place called Cumbake [Combahee], a navigable stream, where we loaded several vessels with Rice and some cattle for the use of our Hospitals and on our return we again halted a night and during the heat of the day at Haines Plantation. I saw his grave in his garden. His body had been delivered to his friends and taken to his Farm and buried. We left this about the middle of the afternoon. We joined the line of March, the Infantry in front with two pieces of artillery. When we came within a mile of Parker's Ferry a few of our Militia had forded the river and fell into the left of an ambuscade which the Enemy had formed on the side of the Road, a thick Swamp. A few shots were fired. It was between sundown and dark. Hearing the firing Major [Thomas] Fraser pushed forward with the Cavalry and as he came in front of the Enemy he discovered the Militia which he took to be the Enemy, Charged, when we received a most tremendous fire from the Enemy and it was so well directed that we were obliged to run the Gauntlet for a mile, receiving the fire of the Enemy as we passed without seeing one of the others. We lost a great many men killed and wounded. Every man of the Artillery were either killed or wounded, before they could bring the artillery to bear upon the Enemy who immediately retired without the least injury. We halted at the ferry that night and after collecting our Dead the next morning and burying them, 25 Dragoons besides Infantry, we crossed the River and proceeded to Dorchester without any other Interruption from the Enemy."[3508]

30-31 August. Comte de Grasse arrived in Chesapeake Bay, with 26 ships of the line, and several frigates and transports, sailing into Lynnhaven Bay just outside Hampton Roads; while dispatching a few ships to block up the York River. The British frigate *Guadaloupe* en route with dispatches from Cornwallis to Clinton had to turn back; while the 20 gun ship *Loyalist* stationed in the bay was captured by the French.[3509]

31 August. [raids] Cypress Swamp and Charlestown Road, also Ashley River Church (Charleston County, S.C.) As a diversionary ploy to assist Marion's operations, Capt. Samuel Cooper attacked and dispersed a group of loyalists at Cypress Swamp, some ten to fifteen miles southwest of Monck's Corner. Later the same day, he made toward Charlestown and again ambushed another band of loyalists about twelve miles from the city; routing them as well. Some loyalists were captured, with no losses being reported for the Americans.[3510]

William Dobein James: "In the mean time, Capt. [Samuel] Cooper passed on to the Cypress, and there routed a party of tories, and then proceeding down the road, he drove off the cattle from before the enemy's fort at Dorchester. He next moved on down the Charlestown road; a body of tories lay in a brick church, which stood then twelve miles from town; he charged and drove them before him. Next, passing into Goose creek road, he proceeded to the ten mile house, returned and passed over Goose creek bridge, took a circuitous route around the British at Monk's [Monck's] corner and arrived in camp at Peyre's plantation near the canal, where Gen. Marion now lay, with many prisoners, and without the loss of a man."[3511]

[3506] Benning had evidently moved from Middleton's Plantation, see 24 August.
[3507] NGP9 pp. 289-290, 298, RSC2 p. 251, JFM p. 54, JJA, JKH pp. 74-75, MSC2 pp. 438-440, 748, BSF p. 214.
[3508] JKH pp. 74-75.
[3509] SQR p. 250, CAR p. 336, LFB2 p. 305, CBA p. 612, JYC p. 98, WCO pp. 357-358.
[3510] JFM pp. 53-54, MSC2 pp. 340, 748, LSC p. 18, RBG p. 236.
And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/cypresssw.htm and http://gaz.jrshelby.com/ashleyriverchurch.htm
[3511] JFM p. 54.

31 August. Seymour: "Thirty-first, marched to Howell's Ferry on the Congaree River, thirty-five miles, where our army had crossed. This day the General received information that the enemy had marched from the Centre Swamp on their route for town, which occasioned the horse and Captain Kirkwood's infantry to return to the place they left in the morning. Twelve miles."[3512]

31 August. Stewart's marched his army from Thompson's Plantation to Eutaw Springs.

Late August. Lafayette was at Holt's Forge on the Pamunkey River, while Wayne was at Harrison's on the James River, Cornwallis continued fortifying Yorktown, and to some extent Gloucester, the work at the latter being soon mostly completed.[3513]

Late August. Rankin: "Some [N.C.] Continental officers still worked to recruit men. By the end of August Thomas Hogg (who had been exchanged in March, 1781) and James Armstrong had managed to raise seventy men [N.C. Continentals] between them but were unable to clothe their recruits. Other officers were in the field attempting to secure boats at the ferries should Cornwallis decide to march south. Still others were preparing to supply the Pennsylvania Line, which had been ordered south to join Greene, and some were seeking commands in the militia."[3514]

[3512] SJS.
[3513] JYC p. 97.
[3514] RNC p. 363.

SEPTEMBER 1781

September. [skirmish] Hood's Creek, N.C. ONB3 p. 328 and DRO pp. 213-214.

September. [skirmish] Beck's Ford, N.C. ONB3 p. 332.

Early September. [skirmish] Duplin County. DRO p. 205.

1 September.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

BRITISH
1st Bttn., Light Infantry: 447
2nd Bttn., Light infantry: 334
Brigade of Guards: 354
7th Regt.: 124
23rd Regt.: 147
33rd Regt.: 163
43rd Regt.: 192
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 162
76th Regt.: 446
80th Regt.: 460

GERMAN
Anspach:
1st Anspach Bttn.: 404
2nd Anspach Bttn.: 394

Hessian:
Prince Hereditaire: 384
Regt. von Bose: 250

PROVINCIAL
Queen's Rangers: 307
British Legion (cavalry only): 168

Total: 4,736

Detachments not included above:
Royal Artillery: 218
German artillery: 50
17th Light Dragoons: 21
23rd Light Company: 51
82nd Light Company: 36
Jägers: 73
North Carolina Volunteers: 79
Guides and Pioneers: 52

Total for detachments, etcs.: 580

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5,316[3515]

1 September. [skirmish] McPhaul's Mill, also (2nd) Beattie's Bridge, Beatty's Bridge, McFall's Mill (Hoke County, N.C.) By Sept. 1. Col. Thomas Wade, with a force of 450 N.C. militia, was attacked at Beattie's Bridge on Drowning Creek, N.C. by 225 N.C. loyalists led by Col. David Fanning and Col. Hector MacNeil, and defeated. Fanning reported Wade's losses as 23 dead, and 54 captured, while Fanning had 5 wounded. Fanning later recalled, he and MacNeil also seized 250 horses, most of which were loaded with "plunder" taken from other loyalists. Dunaway describes this acion as two battles, an assault by Fanning at Beatti's and an ambush by MacNeil of Wade's then retreating forces at Kirk's Farm.[3516]
David Fanning: "I had information of the rebel, Col'n [Thomas] Wade with 450 militia, was, then, on his march to attack Col. McNeal [Hector MacNeil], who had assembled 70 of the loyal militia of Bladen [county], and then lay on the side of Drowning Creek. I instantly dispatched, an express, to know his situation, and offering assistance; in three hours, I received for answer, he would be glad to see me and my party. I marched directly, and by day light, arrived with 155 men. Our pickets was fired upon; and retreated into camp, having exchanged

[3515] CAC p. 236, insert.
[3516] NGP9 p. 386n, CNS1 pp. 171-180, DRO pp. 209-213, DBL p. 19.

several shots with those of the Rebels. We had information they were crossing a bridge on Drowning Creek, about three miles off, when the pickets was fired on them; and that there was 420 men crossed that bridge. I immediately ordered all my men to arms, and counted them; which in number was 225, horse and foot; I then marched immediately to attack them; when I formed my little party I left great vacancies in order to appear as numerous as possible, and to prevent their turning my flanks. We attacked them at 11 o'clock; and engaged them an hour and a half; on my ordering a charge; they retreated. We persued [sic] them 7 miles and took 54 prisoners; 4 of which died that night. On our return we found 19 dead; and the next day, several came in and surrendered, all of whom were wounded, and we had reason to suppose that several died in the swamps, by accounts, we received from those who came in afterwards. Our loss was only 5 men wounded; one of which died; and 5 Horses killed; besides a few wounded. We took 250 horses; most of which were loaded with effects they had plundered from the friends of Government; and as I had formerly ordered that whoever found concealed goods, of any kind should keep them; I also now ordered that every man should keep that he had taken that day, after mounting and equipping those 50; who were not mounted in the action. I then parolled [sic] the prisoners, except 30, which I sent to Wilmington, under a guard of Col. McNeal's [Hector MacNeil's] men. Then with my party, I marched that evening to Little River, 1 miles from mcFalls [McFall's] mill; where the party returned, which had gone to Col'n [Colonel John] Slingsby's assistance…"[3517]

1 September. Lee, camped six miles below Thompson's Plantation, reported to Greene Stewart's move of the previous night (August 31st) from Thompson's (on the south bank of the Congaree River.) Stewart had left there, and retreated by "slow marches," towards Eutaw Springs. Along his route, he stopped at Nelson's Ferry. Stewart himself stated later that his reason for falling back was lack of supplies combined with a desire to unite with convoys bringing up provisions.[3518]
Stewart wrote to Cornwallis, on September 9th: "The army under my command being much in want of necessaries, and there being at the same time a convoy with provisions on the march from Charles town, which would have necessarily obliged me to make a detachment of, at least, four hundred men (which at that time I could ill afford, the army being much weakened by sickness) to meet the convoy at Martin's, fifty-six miles from the camp: The distance being so great, a smaller escort was liable to fall by the enemy's cavalry, which are very numerous. I therefore thought it adviseable [sic] to retire by slow marches to the Eutaws, where I might have an opportunity of receiving my supplies, and disencumber myself from the sick, without risking my escorts, or suffer myself to be attacked at a disadvantage, should the enemy have crossed the Congaree. Notwithstanding every exertion being made to gain intelligence of the enemy's situation, they rendered it impossible, by way-laying the bye paths and passes through the different swamps; and even detained different flags of truce which I had sent on public business on both sides."

1 September. Lafayette, at "Holt's Forge," to Gen. Washington: "I am happy to inform Your Excellency that Count de Grasse's Fleet is safely arrived in this [Chesapeake] Bay -- it consists of 28 ships of the line with several frigates [sic], and convoys a considerable body of troops under Marquis de St. Simon -- Previous to their Arrival such positions had been taken by our Army as to prevent the ennemy's [sic] retreating towards Carolina."[3519]

1 September. Greene camped at Beaver Creek, evidently positioning himself as to be strategically situated between Stewart (at Eutaw Springs) and Orangeburgh. Possibly he contemplated an attack on the latter; though it was strongly fortified.[3520]

2-3 September. Maj. Gen. Claude-Anne de Rouvroy, the Marquis de Saint-Simon-Montbleru and 3,100-3,200 French Marines from the West Indies (all brought by de Grasse) landed at Jamestown Island, south of Williamsburg, and united with Lafayette at Williamsburg the same day. Lafayette had recently marched south from Pamunkey River. Among the units St. Simon had with him were the Agenois, Gatenois, and Touraine regiments. Prior then to the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau, the combined American and French force under Lafayette numbered 5,500 regulars and 3,000 militia, with another 3,000 militia expected. On 30 August 1781, St. Simon had sent Lafayette a return of his men which gave his strength as 3, 470. This figure ostensibly included the officers as well as rank and file.[3521]

2-4 September. Gen. Washington, with 2,000 Continentals passed, through Philadelphia en route to Virginia. Rochambeau with 4,000 French troops, following behind him, did the same on the 3rd. Neither commander knew with certainty that De Grasse was as yet anywhere near the Chesapeake, and therefore found themselves embarked on a gamble of sorts that assumed he was or soon would be. Clinton, for his part, had only just learned of what the allies were doing by the 2nd; on which date he wrote Cornwallis reporting the same.[3522]

3 September. Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, at Halifax, N.C., writing to Greene said that after speaking to state officials, North Carolina would provide 40 cavalry horses, which had already been collected, and 160 draft horses for Greene's army. Carrington at this time was on his way from the southern Army to Virginia, and was later was present at Yorktown.[3523]

[3517] FNA pp. 31-32.
[3518] NGP9 pp. 278, 299, TCS pp. 508-509.
[3519] LLW p. 225, CSS pp. 1217-1218.
[3520] NGP9 p. 274, LMS p. 463.
[3521] NGP9 pp. 280n., CAR p. 336, CBA p. 612.
[3522] AR81 p. 124, GHA4 pp. 126-127, MLW3 p. 145n, CBA p. 623, JYC p. 91.
[3523] NGP9 p. 286.

3 September. Governor Thomas Burke, at Halifax, N.C., wrote to Greene and said he had ordered crossings on the Roanoke fortified in case Cornwallis attempted to move south, and was regularly keeping scouts out. He sent militia of the "adjacent Counties" (i.e. adjacent to the Roanoke River) to the most convenient posts for acting as circumstances might require. To keep in check forces from Wilmington, and what loyalists the British could "put in motion," Burke had ordered the New Bern militia westward to form a line of protection. Further, he dispatched militia from the southern part of the Salisbury District to threaten their western flank.[3524]

3 September (also given as 5 September). [skirmish] Ridgeway's Fort, also Reedy River, Dirty Creek, King's Chapel Church, "Capt. John Ridgeway vs. Maj. William Cunningham" (Laurens or Greenville County, S.C.)[3525]

4 September. Cornwallis to Clinton [written in cipher]: "Compte [Comte] de Grasse's fleet is within the capes of the Chesapeak[e]. Forty boats with troops went up James river yesterday, and four ships lie at the entrance of this river." [3526]

4 September. Col. Peter Horry, at Georgetown, reported to Greene that he had enlisted 70 men and was endeavoring to clothe, mount and equip them. He understood Greene was obtaining horses from North Carolina, and would welcome it if his newly forming troop could receive some of them, as he was much in need.[3527]

4 September. Marion bivouacked at Peyre's[3528] and by the next day camped at Lauren's Plantation, seventeen miles above Eutaw Springs.[3529]

4 September. [skirmish] O'Neal's Capture, Motte's (Calhoun County, S.C.) Greene army camped at Motte's.[3530]
Seymour: "On the fourth of September crossed the Congaree River at Culpeper and encamped on Mr. Johnston's farm, fifteen miles." [3531]
Lee: "Greene continued to pursue his march with unvarying attention to the ease and comfort of his troops; preserving unimpaired their strength by witholding them from exposure to the midday sun, which continued to be keen and morbid.
"As the van approached Motte's, the exploring cavalry under Captain O'Neal fell in with a light party of the enemy detached for the purpose of procuring intelligence. These were all killed or taken. From the prisoners we learned that Colonel Stewart, when informed of Greene's passage of the Wateree and movement toward Friday's Ferry, broke up from his position, and retired down the Santee for the purpose of meeting a convoy from Charleston, and of establishing himself near Nelson's Ferry on that river, which information was forthwith communicated to the general. Persevering in his plan of forcing the enemy to confine himself to the region bordering on the sea, after a few days' halt in the vicinity of Motte's, waiting for the junction of Brigadier Marion, then on his return from the Edisto, he again advanced. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, still preceding the army, soon found that Stewart had sat down at the Eutaw Springs, forty miles below his late position, where the convoy from Charleston had arrived."[3532]

4 September. Brig. Gen. William Caswell, at "Kingston," to Gov. Burke: "I recd. your Excellency's favour of the 31st Aug. & one without date, late in the Day Yesterday at New River where I was waiting for the arrival of Genl. Wayne. I had made every preparation for hard Skirmishing with the Enemy should the Guard mov'd forward. Have since ordered Captn. Coleman & the other Militia to Assemble at New Bern to take post, and shall in every respect comply with your Excellcy's. orders. The River Neuse above Longfield Coxes is passable at every Three Miles distant, and I think it will be impossible for us to Guard the passes should He attempt to pass above, However shall endeavor to Harrass him in front, rear and flank Should He move this way. Shall this day send out parties to collect the Sheep & Cattle of the People who are in actual Service against us, the collection will be at this place. Should the Commissy. send orders He will find them in possession of Mr. Wm. Howard. The Militia ordered out on tour for one Month will be regularly reliev'd should there be a necessity. I find it would be very inconvenient to get those large numbers out for a longer time, and they go with much lighter
Baggage, and with more cheerfulness.
"The Horses and Waggons I think to order to Pollock's Mill on Trent River, which I think will be the safest place, if the Enemy should not move from the So.ward. Genl. Lillington will meet with much difficulty in collecting his Troops. Much confusion & contention in Comd. in Onslow and in Duplin & the whole District, they have not that Confidence in their Officers as men going into service ought to have, and when that happens Your Excellcy. well knows with what diffidence the men turn out."[3533]

5 September. Greene was at "Stoutemires Plantation," S.C. where his army apparently halted if not camped.[3534]

[3524] NGP9 p. 285.
[3525] LSC p. 18, ONB3 p. 332 and see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/ridgeway.htm
[3526] TCS p. 415.
[3527] NGP9 294.
[3528] See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/gaillard.htm
[3529] JLG2 pp. 218-219, BSF p. 215.
[3530] NGP9 p. 291.
[3531] SJS.
[3532] LMS pp. 463-464.
[3533] CNC15 p. 632.
[3534] NGP9 p. 298, SJS, LMS pp. 464-465.

Seymour: "The fifth [of the month we] marched, and encamped with the main army at Everett's Creek, six miles below Colonel Thompson's, fourteen miles." [3535]

5 September. [naval battle] The Second Battle of the VIRGINIA CAPES, also Chesapeake Bay. Comte de Grasse's fleet of 24 ships of the line, for five days, engaged that of the British under Rear Admiral Graves, with 19 ships of the line, in the second Battle of the Capes. Though tactically indecisive, strategically the battle resulted in the eventual trapping of Cornwallis' army in Virginia. The main engagement took place on the 5th, beginning at 4:15 pm and ending about 6:30 pm. In the course of these two hours, much harm was done to vessels of both sides. Due to confusion regarding signals, Rear Admiral Samuel Hood's wing of the British fleet did not participate, and, as a result, arguably ruined Graves' chance for victory.[3536] Although Hood claimed he was only following what he thought were orders, his behavior in the action would hardly have characterized Nelson.[3537] At the same time, de Grasse's calm and intelligent handling of the situation should not be overlooked, particularly when we keep mind that his fleet was facing the usually invincible Royal Navy. For a few days following the 5th, the two fleets maneuvered before each other trying to get the more favorable position. When Admiral de Barras' squadron of 8 ships of the line and 14 transports, coming from Rhode Island, approached on the 8th, the combined French fleet then totaled 36 ships of the line. Graves, having already incurred much damage, therefore retreated north to repair and refit. A few years later he would write: "It is the British naval administration that is to be charged with the Yorktown catastrophe. The blunders of Clinton and Cornwallis contributed only in a minor degree." The British lost 90 dead, 246 wounded, 16 guns, 2 or 3 ships badly damaged including the *Terrible*, 74 guns, which was shortly afterward scuttled. The French lost 226 killed and wounded. For Rodney's interesting critical reaction to Graves strategic and tactical handling of the battle, see CGP pp. 133-136.[3538]
It was later argued, by such as Tarleton and Clinton, that Cornwallis ought to have immediately attacked Lafayette upon learning of the British naval defeat. The response of Cornwallis was that he, in effect, deemed it more prudent (not unlike how Burgoyne did) to await and hope for Clinton's promised reinforcements.

FRENCH
Rear Admiral Comte de Grasse[3539]

Pluton, 74 guns; *Marseilles*, 74 guns; *Bourgogne*, 74 guns; *Diademe*, 74 guns; *Refleche*, 64 guns; *Auguste*, 80 guns; *Saint-Esprit*, 80 guns; *Canton*, 64 guns; *Cesar*, 74 guns; *Destin*, 74 guns; *Ville de Paris*, 110 guns, Flagship of Rear Admiral Comte de Grasse; *Victoire*, 74 guns; *Sceptre*, 74 guns; *Northumberland*, 74 guns; *Palmier*, 74 guns; *Solitaire*, 64 guns; *Citoyen*, 74 guns; *Scipione*, 74 guns; *Hercule*, 74 guns; *Magnanime*, 74 guns; *Languedoc*, 80 guns, Flagship of Rear Admiral Chevalier de Monteil; *Souverain*, 74 guns; *Zele*, 74 guns; *Hector*, 74 guns; *Andromaque*, frigate, 32 guns; *Rayeuse*, frigate, 32 guns; *Surveillante*, brig, 16 guns; *Concord*, frigate, 36 guns; *Gentille*, frigate, 32 guns; *Diligente*, frigate, 26 guns; *Aigrette*, frigate, 34 guns

Unengaged: [3540]
Glorieux, 74 guns; *Triton*, 74 guns; *Vaillant*, 64 guns; *Experiment*, 50 guns

Unengaged (de Barras)
Duc de Bourgogne, 80 guns; *Neptune*, 74 guns; *Conquerant*, 74 guns; *Ardent*, 64 guns; *Eveillé*, 64 guns; *Jason*, 64 guns; *Provence*, 64 guns; *Sagittaire*, 50 guns

BRITISH
Rear Admiral Thomas Graves

Invincible, 74 guns; *Barfleur*, 98 guns, Flag of Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood; *Monarch*, 74 guns; *Centaur*, 74 guns; *America*, 64 guns; *Resolution*, 74 guns; *Bedford*, 74 guns; *London*, 90 guns, Flagship of Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Graves; *Royal Oak*, 74 guns; *Montagu*, 74 guns; *Europe*, 64 guns; *Terrible*, 74 guns scuttled; *Ajax*, 74 guns; *Princessa*, 70 guns, Flagship of Rear Admiral Sir Francis Samuel Drake; *Alcide*, 74 guns; *Intrepid*, 64 guns; *Shrewsbury*, 74 guns; *Adamant*, 50 guns; *La Fortunee*, frigate, 38 guns; *La Neptune*, frigate, 36 guns; *Santa Monica*, frigate, 32 guns; *Richmond*, frigate, 32 guns; *Solebay*, frigate, 28 guns; *Sybil*, frigate, 28 guns; *Salamander*, fireship, 8 guns

Frederick MacKenzie: "Major [Thomas] Barclay, who was prisoner on board M: Bougainville's ship, *L'Auguste*, in the late action, says…[the French] would have attacked the British fleet on the Second day after the action, had

[3535] SJS.
[3536] The following exchange was published in a contemporary periodical: "Admiral Graves asked Admiral Hood why he did not bear down and engage? The answer was: 'You had up the signal for the line." Admiral Graves then turned to Admiral Drake, and asked him how he came to bear down? He replied: 'On account of the signal for action.' Admiral Graves then said: 'What say you to this, Admiral Hood?' Sir Samuel answered: 'The signal for the line was enough for me.'" SNA2 p. 1684.
[3537] Hood was far more successful, however, when on 12 April 1782, serving under Rodney in the Battle of the Saintes, he captured de Grasse and his flagship the *Ville de Paris*.
[3538] CAR p. 336n, ATR81b pp. 283-285, ATR82a pp. 32 45, 58, 118, 233, 237 246, AR81 pp. 126-129, GHA4 pp. 182-184, CSS pp. 1217-1221, SAW2 pp. 398-401, MLW4A pp. 469-472, LMS pp. 486-488, LFB2 pp. 305-307, CBA p. 613, JYC p. 101, FWI pp. 249-250, WAR2 p. 885, WFK pp. 241-246, CGP pp. lxviii-lxxv.
[3539] Johnston mentions a main divison of the French fleet under de Grasse as being commanded by Le Sieur de Bougainville.
[3540] The *Glorieux*, 74 guns, *Triton*, 64 guns, and *Experiment*, 50 guns were left to guard the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

not the arrival of a frigate with the account of M. de Barras' having arrived in the Chesapeake from Rhode Island induced them to decline it in order to secure a junction with that Squadron, as they were very apprehensive the British would have pushed for the Chesapeake, and thereby destroyed it."[3541]

Wertenbaker: "Arriving at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay on the morning of September 5, the British sighted de Grasse's fleet of twenty-eight great ships anchored off Cape Henry. A few hours later the French fleet got under way and headed out to sea. This was Graves' chance. Had he circled past the head of the French line as it emreged, he might have concentrated his fire on de Grasse's vesssels one by one and disabled them all in turn. But he waited until the enemy were abreast of his fleet before pouring in his broadsides."[3542]

6 September. In a far fetched effort ostensibly intended to distract Washington and Rochambeau, yet at the same time to destroy some shipping there, Clinton sent Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold with 3,000 men on a sea borne raid against fortified New London, Connecticut. and which Arnold carried out on this date. Not surprisingly, the Allies were not in the least diverted from their plans directed at Cornwallis by this feint and punitive expedition, and which, due to the burning of the town and some unnecessary killing (including the last minute slaying of unarmed Lieut. Col. William Ledyard with the very sword he had surrendered Fort Griswold with), served only, as Boatner states, to further blacken Arnold's name. From a larger military view, the amphibious foray evinced the confusion of the British strategic position, and at this juncture the real blame must fall with Clinton. For here in the crucial weeks anterior to Yorktown he in no little way occupied himself with what was an idle and deluded, not to mention in its way tragic, excursion.[3543]
Wertenbaker: "[The raid] did not turn the French and Americans back from the southern expedition, and it deprived Clinton of several thousand men at a critical juncture and made it impossible for him to follow behind to delay Washington's movements."[3544]

6 September (also given as 5 September). [skirmish] Turkey Creek (Edgefield County, S.C.) ONB3 p. 332.

6 September (also given as 5 September and 5 October). [skirmish] Stevens Creek (Edgefield County, S.C.) Col. Hezekiah Williams with 35 mounted loyalists left Orangeburgh to raid the Ninety Six area. Maj. Hugh Middleton, with about 70 men, receiving word of Williams, attempted to ambush him. Yet, at Stevens Creek north of the Savannah River (fifteen miles southwest of modern Edgefield), Middleton was himself instead repulsed and dispersed, losing 8 killed, and 17 badly wounded, with some others more slightly wounded. There being another Whig force close by, Williams retreated from the area. McCrady gives the whig commander in this encounter as "Hammond."[3545]

6 September. Seymour: "Sixth, marched to Medway Swamp, six miles." [3546]

7 September. Seymour: "Seventh, marched within seven miles of the Eutaw Springs, twenty miles."

7 September. Lafayette's full combined force, with Wayne and the French reinforcements under St. Simon, camped at Williamsburg.[3547]

7 September. Greene camped at "Camptons," S.C. and was joined there the same day by Marion's brigade.[3548]
Lee: "The same uninterrupted quietude [between Stewart's and Greene's armies] continuing during the seventh, Lee became convinced, strange as it appeared, that the British commander was uninformed of our proximity ; and therefore determined to retain the flags. This was accordingly done, and Greene having first halted at Laurens's farm, encamped for the night at Burdell's plantation, within seven miles of the enemy, determining to advance at an early hour the ensuing morning. It was well ascertained that the British troops were forced to forage at a distance, and that occasionally parties were detached for the collection of vegetables as well as of forage; Lee consequently determined to take every precaution to prevent any communication during the night, believing it probable that he might in the morning fall in with some of the detachments employed in procuring supplies. The same dead calm continued: nobody was seen moving in any direction—a state of quiet never before experienced in similar circumstances. While Stewart spent the night perfectly at ease, from his ignorance of passing events, the American general was preparing for battle."[3549]

8 September. Brig. Gen. William Caswell, at "Kingston," to Gov. Burke: "Agreeable to Your Excellency's orders have sent an Express to you daily since I recd. your last by Capn. Hearon, have not had the pleasure of hearing from these Six Days past, and militia are collecting at New Bern, and in Dobbs. In Pitt I have ordered them to collect the whole of the militia in that County & Skirmish in their front to Neuse where they are to join me. Should they not cross through that County they will be on their left flank & be at Neuse before them, where we shall make some little opposition. I doubt it will be little as I have but little expectation of the militia fighting

[3541] MacKenzie, Frederick, *The Diary of Frederick MacKenzie*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1930, p. 653.
[3542] WFK p. 242.
[3543] ATR82a p. 53, AR81 pp. 125-126, MLW4A pp. 475-477, LMS pp. 489n-490n, WAR2 pp. 626-628, WFK pp. 239-240, BEA pp. 787-788.
[3544] WFK p. 240.
[3545] MSC2 p. 748, RBG p. 207.
[3546] SJS.
[3547] JYC p. 98.
[3548] NGP9 p. 305.
[3549] LMS pp. 464-465.

unless it is across the river. The British parties to the So. ward remain where they were when I wrote to you last. Genl. Lillington has kept Captn. Coleman with the men under his Comd. in the Wilmington District, tho' I had given him orders to go to New Bern. Last Wednesday was heard a very heavy firing to the No. ward [i.e. toward Yorktown, Virginia], Shall be glad to hear where it was If Your Excellency can inform me."[3550]

8 September. De Barras' squadron, carrying siege artillery, entered Chesapeake Bay, and sailed up the James River. Washington, who had arrived at Head of Elk, Maryland on the 6th, was joined there by Rochambeau on the 8th. Advanced American detachments then were subsequently moved from Maryland by water using frigates (dispatched by de Grasse for that purpose) and landed at Jamestown (just south of Williamsburg.)[3551]

8 September. Cornwallis to Clinton [written in cipher]: "I have made several attempts to inform your excellency, that the French West-India fleet, under Monsieur de Grasse, entered the capes the 29th ult. I could not exactly learn the number; they report twenty-five or twenty-six sail of the line. One of seventy-four and two of sixty-four, and one frigate, lie at the mouth of this river. On the 6th, the seventy-four and frigate turned down with a contrary wind, and yesterday the two others followed. My report, dated last evening, from a point below, which commands a view of the capes and bay, says, that there were within the capes only seven ships, two of which were certainly ships of the line, and two frigates. Firing was said to be heard off the capes the night of the 4th, morning and night of the 5th, and morning of the 6th.
"The French troops landed at James town are said to be three thousand eight hundred men. Washington is said to be shortly expected; and his troops are intended to be brought by water from the head of Elk, under protection of the French ships. The Marquis de la Fayette is at or near Williamsburgh: The French troops are expected there, but were not arrived last night. As my works were not in a state of defence, I have taken a strong position out of the town. I am now working hard at the redoubts of the place. Provisions for six weeks: I will be very careful of it."[3552]

8 September. [battle] EUTAW SPRINGS[3553] (Orangeburg County, S.C.) Leaving the area of Motte's, Greene's army set forth before daybreak to purposely bring to battle Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart's army camped at Eutaw Springs.[3554] Stewart for his part, lackadaisically (perhaps because of the weather) not expecting imminent action (even though he knew or at least had reason to know Greene was in the vicinity), had sent out a rooting party, made up of troops from the 3rd Regt. and the flank companies, and escorted by Coffin's cavalry. There being no mills in the vicinity, he was having a difficult time keeping his army provided for, and it was the rooting party's assigned task to collect wildly growing sweet potatoes. The strength of the rooting party, which was unarmed, has been variously estimated from 310 to 400,[3555] not including the 50 cavalry under Coffin. Accounts also differ somewhat as to exactly what happened when the two opposing forces first made contact, but Lee gives the following. Coffin and the rooting party were four miles from Stewart's camp. Maj. John Armstrong, with some of the N. C. Continentals learned of Coffin's presence and reported it to Lieut. Col. William Henderson with the S.C. State Troops. A successful ambush was laid for Coffin by Henderson's infantry and the Legion cavalry under Maj. Eggleston. Coffin lost a number killed and wounded, and 40 captured, but was able to escape with most of his men to inform Stewart of Greene's approach.[3556] Lee reports 149 of the rooting party, not counting Coffin, were taken prisoner. At the same time, Stewart later said that those of the party that did get away did not join him in time for the battle, so that when it commenced, he was 300 to 400 men less in strength than he would have been otherwise. Greene with the main army soon came up, and it was shortly before 9 am that both sides had deployed for battle.
Many were the advances and retreats, on both sides, in a three to four hour-long (Stewart reported it to Cornwallis as "near two hours"), evenly matched action; which Greene later described as by far the most obstinately fought battle he ever witnessed. It will do for our purposes to mention some of the main highlights. The battle began with a cannonade by both sides; though one of the British guns was disabled, the American's were somewhat worsted and had 2 of their three-pounders knocked off their carriages. These three-pounders, however, were carried away to safety. About the same time, the American front line consisting of Marion's and Pickens' militia kept up a steady fire on the British, and did not retire till after having fired at least 17 rounds -- a truly extraordinary performance for militia. Despite this gallant effort, they were soon force to give way in the face of a bayonet charge by the 64th Regt. and the de Lancey battalion. Sumner's North Carolinians moved up and gallantly held back the assault for some time, but they also suffering very severe losses were forced to give way. When the British, now somewhat disordered, then surged forward again, Greene threw in the Marylanders and Virginians who sent the British and Loyalists routing into their Eutaw Springs encampment. Elsewhere, Lee's Legion was busy with the 63rd Regt. on the British left, while on the British right warm firing was kept up between Maj. Marjoribanks' flank companies (which latter included some grenadiers as well as light infantry),

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[3550] CNC15 p. 639.
[3551] AR81 pp. 124, 126,129, MLW4A p. 472, LMS pp. 492-493, JYC pp. 94, 101, WFK p. 241.
[3552] Yet in a later letter on the 14th to the same he stated similarly: "My provisions will last at least six weeks from this day." TCS pp. 415-416, CAR p. 570.
[3553] The site of the battlefield is today underwater, as the result of a modern dam project. Even so, there is a park and memorial site situated, three miles east of modern Eutawville, and very close to the battle's actual location.
[3554] Greene's heavy baggage had been left at Motte's while only the tumbrels, the artillery, and two wagons containing a hogshead of rum and hospital stores accompanied the army JLG2 p. 219.
[3555] Kirkwood in his Journal gives the strength of the rooting party as 60 men, most of whom were killed, wounded or taken. Williams said it numbered 100. Neither seems to be including Coffin's escort as such. Stedman says it was 400, and these were a third of Stewart's army. SAW2 p. 378. Also regarding the strength of the rooting party see NGP9 p. 333n and LMS p. 466.
[3556] The editor of the Greene papers is inclined to discount Lee's story of the ambush.

and Henderson's state troops. Washington's cavalry attempted to charge Marjoribanks' men, but were slowed down and then entangled in a black jack thicket. In the close quarters fighting that immediately followed, Washington himself was unhorsed and taken prisoner. At least half of his command was killed or taken prisoner; which effectively destroyed the unit. Kirkwood came up and was able to force the British to withdraw, but from there on Marjoribank's light infantrymen and grenadiers stubbornly maintained their ground. In the center of the fighting, Stewart's forces had largely expended themselves in attacking the Americans and were forced to fall back and regroup behind their encampment.

At the northeast corner of the campsite was a brick house complemented by a walled garden, occupied by a detachment of New York Volunteers. Greene, believing that by taking the house he could win the battle, brought up his own artillery, and guns he had captured from the British to fire on the building. Meanwhile, the weather being extremely hot, many of his men took to looting the British camp and, opening casks of rum, and becoming intoxicated. Stewart then was able to reform his ranks, and in a counterattack drove back the Americans while capturing their six-pounders. His forces in disarray and suffering badly from heat and thirst, and with many of his best officers wounded or killed, Greene ordered a withdrawal, though leaving a small detachment overlooking the field; which Stewart then, by the onset of evening, retained possession of. But as had happened previously, the British losses were so great that the next day they were forced to fall back from their position, with Greene returning to follow on their heals. Except for a brief advance by Gould that took place a few days later, from that point on the British never pressed further into South Carolina than the outlying areas of Charlestown.

Eutaw Springs was the only *pitch battle* in the South *initiated* by the Continentals and militia against the British in 1780 or 1781. Though Hanging Rock and King's Mountain could be considered pitched battles, there were few or no actual British regulars present there, the combatants being essentially all American; while Parker's Ferry, 30 August 1781, began as an ambush rather than an advancing assault. [3557]

BRITISH FORCES AT EUTAW SPRINGS

Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart
Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, second in command

* 3rd Regt., Maj. Thomas Dawson
* 63rd Regt., Maj. Charles Stewart
* 64th Regt., Capt. Dennis Kelly[3558]
* 84th Regt. detachment, Capt. Robert Campbell
* Six flank companies, light infantry and grenadiers, of the 3rd, 19th, and 30th Regiments, Maj. John Marjoribanks

* Provincial Light Infantry Battalion (one company)[3559]
* 1st Bttn., De Lancey's Brigade, (Cruger)
* 2nd Bttn., New Jersey Volunteers,[3560] Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen
* New York Volunteers, Maj. Henry Sheridan
* South Carolina Royalists (one troop of cavalry): Brevet Maj. John Coffin.
* *Artillery*

3 six-pounders
1 four-pounder (and possibly as well a three-pounder and a swivel gun)

William Johnson states that Stewart definitely had two six pounders and one four pounder. In spite of this, it is possible they actually had five guns rather than just three -- though this is not confirmed conclusively.[3561] According to the endnotes contained in a modern reprint edition of W. Gilmore Simms "Eutaw," the editor, G. Michael Richards, states that the British at Eutaw had two 6 pounders, one 4 pounder, one 3 pounder, and one swivel gun.

TOTAL UNDER STEWART

Stewart: A return of Stewart's dated 8 September reports a total of 3,048. But in a letter from Stewart to Cornwallis of 26 September, he said because of illness he had only 1,200 in the battle, which presumably does not include the captured or missing rooting party, variously estimated at 310, and 400. Stewart listed his casualties as 692, excluding the 149 captured from rooting party. Using this figure, and similarly Frederick

[3557] KJO pp. 23-25, NGP9 pp. 306-307, 310, 333-338n, GDH2 pp. 136-139, 141-158, GDH3 pp. 147-157 (the same also at CSS pp. 1187-1193), *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. July 1917, pp. 138-142, CNC15 pp. 637-638, ATR82a p. 175, RSC2 pp. 251-255, SAW2 pp. 377-381, TCS pp. 508-518, CAR p. 355, MLW4A pp. 539-553, MLW4 pp. 15-18, LMS pp. 463-475, JLG2 pp. 205-206 219-237, LCC pp. 453-461, 465-500, JFM pp. 56-59, LFB2 pp. 494-499, TOW pp. 22-27, FWI pp. 240-243, WAR2 pp. 825-834, LSY pp. 212-221, 303-305, BEA pp. 350-356, MacKenzie, Frederick, *The Diary of Frederick MacKenzie*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1930, pp. 650-653, "Memorial of Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger," 9 February 1784, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 20, folios 142-145, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 15-33, vol. 3, no. 9, pp. 25-39.

[3558] Stedman speaks of the "remains" of the 63rd and 64th regiments.

[3559] Formerly under Lieut. Col. John Watson, they were possibly part of Majoribanks command along with the flank companies, or else were part of Stewart's reserve.

[3560] Formerly named the 3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.

[3561] JLG2 p. 220.

MacKenzie's, would make his casualty rate almost 50%, suggesting that the 1,200 number he gave is overly conservative. In a letter, Gov. Rutledge quoted a captured British officer who said Stewart's force totaled 2,000, a number more commonly accepted. Rutledge to South Carolina Delegates, 9 Sept. 1781. A return for the morning of September 8th, included in the correspondence of Clinton to Germain, and dated 11 December 1781, gives Stewart's army as Officers, 86. Staff, 18., NCOs, 142. Rank and file, 2772.[3562]

Frederick MacKenzie: 1,396 total effectives. Yet he writes: "…Mr. Greene had passed the Santee with about 8000 men on the 8th September, and attacked Lieut. Col. Stewart of the Buffs, and Lieut. Col. Cruger who commanded about 2000 British and Provincials, at a place called Eutaw Springs in South Carolina. That the right of each Army was defeated; but the action ended in Mr. Greene's defeat, with the loss of 200 killed and 500 taken, with 2, 6 prs. [pounders]" The 2,000 figure he gives here is probably meant to be the 1,640 plus the captured or missing rooting party; if so then 1,396-1,640 for the battle itself.

Taken from Frederick Mackenzie's Diary:[3563]
"Strength of the (British) Army,...at Eutaws."

Key: rank and file/total effectives[3564]

	Initial total.
Cavalry	47/70
Flank Comps of 3rd, 19th, 30th	239/281
3rd Regt.	306/349
63rd Regt.	79/96
64th Regt.	151/180
84th Regt. Detachment	69/82
NY Volunteers. Infantry.	36/47
NJ Volunteers	50/66
1st Bttn., Delancey's	55/73
Provincial Light Infantry	99/108
Artillery, with Additionals	47/53
Totals:	1160/1396

Items listed in correspondence from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Germain, December. 11, 1781[3565]
*ii 1 December 1781, Lieut. Gen. Alexander Leslie to Clinton.
*iii. Return of rooting party sent out by Lieut. Col. Stewart on 8 Sept. 1781 before action at Eutaw. Total, 310 officers and men, of whom 149 officers and men are supposed to be prisoners.
*iv. Return of army under Lieut. Col. Stewart on 8 Sept. 1781 before action at Eutaws. Officers, 86. Staff, 18., NCOs, 142. Rank and file, 2772.
*v. Return of troops under Lieut. Col. Stewart in action at Eutaw Springs on 8 Sept. 1781. Officers, 85. NCOs, 142. Rank and file, 1169

Lee on 8 and 20 August sent reconnaissance reports to Greene estimating Stewart's force at 1700 infantry and 100 cavalry, or 1800 total. Yet in his *Memoirs* he gives the British strength as roughly equal to the Americans, that is at "about" 2,300.[3566]

William Johnson estimates Stewart's force as at least 2,300, which allowing for the rooting party would be 2,000. "The British regular force at that time in South Carolina, was estimated at four thousand, besides one thousand loyalists under arms, and four hundred cavalry. The garrison at Charlestown was composed of loyalists and five hundred regulars; and after making allowance for the garrison at Orangeburgh and Dorchester, and for the sick and detached, it is not probable, that the force under Colonel Stewart could have been less than two thousand three hundred."[3567]

AMERICAN FORCES AT EUTAW SPRINGS

Numbers given here are rank and file.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene
Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, second in command

Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, present as a volunteer.

[3562] NGP9 p. 333n, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1779-1780*, vol. 19, edited by K.G. Davies.
[3563] Frederick MacKenzie, *The Diary of Frederick MacKenzie*, pp. 650-653. Mackenzie was Major in the 23rd Regiment, and deputy adjutant general under Clinton.
[3564] The original contains more specific information as to officers and supernumeraries present.
[3565] *Documents of the American Revolution, 1779-1780*, vol. 19, edited by K.G. Davies.
[3566] NGP9 pp. 150, 177, 214, LMS pp. 465-466.
[3567] JLG2 p. 220.

CONTINENTALS
* Maryland Brigade: 250, Col. Otho Williams
1st Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard
2nd Maryland Regt., Major Henry Hardman

* Delaware Regt.: 60 to 80, Capt. Robert Kirkwood

* Virginia Brigade: 250, Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell
1st Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Major Smith Snead
2nd Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Capt. Thomas Edmunds

* North Carolina Brigade: 350, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner
1st N.C. Regt. [of 1781], Lieut. Col. John B. Ashe
2nd N.C. Regt. [of 1781], Major John Armstrong
3rd N.C. Regt. [of 1781], Major Reading Blount

* Partizan Corps (Lee's Legion): 60 cavalry, 100 infantry, Lieut. Col. Henry Lee, with the cavalry under Capt. Joseph Eggleston, and infantry under Capt. Michael Rudulph

* Virginia Cavalry: 80, Lieut. Col. William Washington

* *Artillery*
2 three-pounders, Capt. William Gaines
2 six-pounders, Capt. William Brown
Total muster for artillery: 80 to 100

STATE TROOPS
South Carolina State Troops
Col. William Henderson

Infantry: 73, Col. Charles Myddleton, Col. William Polk,[3568] Maj. Samuel Hammond
Cavalry: 72, (Henderson), Col. Wade Hampton succeeded Henderson after the latter was wounded.

MILITIA
* *North Carolina Militia*: 150, Col. François Malmedy[3569], Col. Thomas Farmer

South Carolina Militia
* Pickens' Brigade[3570]: 307, Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens
* Marion's Brigade[3571]: 40 cavalry, 200 infantry, Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Additional:
A Force of 200 Continentals was left behind to guard Greene's baggage, though many of these would likely have been invalids.

TOTAL FOR GREENE'S ARMY

Ramsay: Greene had "about two thousand men"[3572]

Lee: Greene numbered "about" 2,300 of which 1,600 were Continetals.[3573]

William Johnson: "Greene's whole force could not have exceeded 2,00 combatants [i.e. rank and file.]"[3574]
Lumpkin: 2,082-2,100, but actually 1,900 after subtracting the 200 left as camp guard.[3575]

According to the editor of the Nathanael Greene papers, Greene's force at Eutaw was 2,076 rank and file, i.e. 1056 Continentals,[3576] not counting 200 guarding the baggage, and 1020 Militia of South Carolina and North Carolina. See also 28 July.[3577]

[3568]Col. William Polk was from North Carolina, and not a few men in the South Carolina state troops were North Carolinians.
[3569] These men came from Rowan, Mecklenburg and Orange counties.
[3570] Consisting of what was formerly Sumter's Brigade, in addition to Pickens' own brigade.
[3571] In the battle, Marion and Pickens fired 17 rounds per man. Letter of Gov. John Rutledge to the South Carolina Delegates, Sept. 9, letter cited in NGP9 p. 333. Also Marion's militia cavalry listed here may have been Maham's state troops, since Lee was reported to be with Maham on the 9th. Col. Peter Horry and his state troops, on the other hand, were *not* at the battle.
[3572] RSC2 pp.251-252.
[3573] LMS pp. 465-466.
[3574] JLG2 p. 219.
[3575] LSY p. 304.
[3576] A September 4th return of the rank and file of Greene's Continentals fit for duty numbers them at 1,256. JLG2 p. 219.
[3577] NGP9 p. 333.

Gov. Rutledge to the S.C. delegates, from "Mrs. Motte's[,] Congaree," on Sept. 9th wrote: "The force was pretty nearly equal, on both sides -- If any Superiority the enemey [sic] had it -- A British officer, Prisoner, tells me, they had 2000 -- all regulars-- a considerable part of ours were Militia -- about 180 of them No. Carolinians, under Colo. Malmady [Malmedy], 360 under Marion, 280 under Pickens, & ab[ou]t 200 State Troops (in the Action) under Colo. Henderson..."[3578]

CASUALTIES

BRITISH
Stewart: "Return of killed, wounded, and missing.
Three commissioned officers, 6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 75 rank and file, killed; 16 commissioned officers, 20 serjeants, 2 drummers, 313 rank and file, wounded; 10 commissioned officers, 15 serjeants, 8 drummers, 224 rank and file, missing."[3579]
In number of effectives lost this is: 84 killed, 351 wounded, 257 missing, or 692. That total may not include the rooting party, which was listed in a separate return as having 149 men missing and presumed captured.[3580]

Frederick MacKenzie:
Key: rank and file/total effectives

	lost in battle (killed, wounded, missing)
Cavalry	28/30
Flank Comps of 3rd, 19th, 30th	93/106
3rd Regt.	171/182
63rd Regt.	59/67
64th Regt.	104/120
84th Detachment	30/31
NY Volunteers. Infantry.	7/10
NJ Volunteers	26/31
1st Bttn., Delancey's	40/49
Provincial Light Infantry	36/48
Artillery, with Additionals	18/18
Totals:	612/692

Stedman: The British loss was 85 killed, 351 wounded, 257 missing, in all 693 men, including 29 officers, 3 of whom were killed, 16 wounded and ten missing. They lost one field piece, and took two from the Americans.[3581]

Rankin: "Greene reported he had taken 500 prisoners, 70 of whom were wounded. If Greene's claims were accurate, Stewart's losses could have run as high as 936."[3582]

Maj. John Marjoribanks was seriously wounded, and died about a month later.

AMERICAN
Greene: Return of his losses taken from his report to the President of Congress, 11 September 1781:
Key: rank and file/total effectives

Continentals, killed: 98/114, wounded: 209/282
State and militia losses:
Killed: 16/25, wounded: 91/113, missing: 8/8
Total of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Continental troops of the state militia:
114/139 Killed, 300/395 wounded, 8/8 missing, or 422/542 men.[3583]

Kirkwood: "Return of Killed, Wounded & Missing in the Action of the 8th. Sept'r. at Eutaw Springs"
Continentals:
Killed: 94/109
Wounded: 202/254
Missing: 31/32
Total: 327/395

South Carolina State Troops
Killed: 6/13
Wounded: 26/42
Missing: none

[3578] *The South Carolina Historical And Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XVIII. July 1917, p. 139.
[3579] TCS p. 513.
[3580] From return of Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart, attached to letter of Stewart to Cornwallis, 9 September 1781, TCS p. 513, NGP9 p. 338n.
[3581] SAW2 pp. 423, 425.
[3582] RNC p. 360.
[3583] CNC15 pp. 637-638.

Total: 32/56

South Carolina Militia:
Killed: 2/2
Wounded: 24/27
Total: 26/29

North Carolina Militia
Killed: 6/6
Wounded: 31/31
Missing: 8/8
Total: 45/45

Total in the Army: 430/525.[3584]

Stewart: In a letter to Cornwallis of 9 September 1781, Stewart gave American losses as 200 killed and 60 prisoners, including Col. Washington (who was also wounded, though not seriously.)

Rankin: Based on a count made on 25 September 1781, Rankin gives the American losses as 119 killed, 382 wounded, and 78 missing, or 574 total.[3585]

Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell died from his wounds sometime later in the afternoon (and after the battle had ended.)

Stedman: The whole American loss was 700 men, including 60 commissioned officers, of whom 17 were killed and 43 wounded. 60 were taken prisoner[3586]

In Gibbes' *Documentary History*, also reproduced in McCrady, is a detailed list of American officers slain and wounded. See GDH3 pp. 157-158, CNC15 pp. 637-638, MSC2 pp. 460-462.

CAPTURES
The Americans ended up taking home one three-pounder from the British; while the the latter took home 2 six-pounders.

On September 11th, Greene wrote Thomas McKean, the new President of Congress: "On the Evening of the 9th the Enemy retired, leaving upwards of 70 of their Wounded behind them, and not less than 1000 stand of Arms that were picked up on the field, and found broke and concealed in the Eutaw Springs. They stove between 20 and 30 puncheons of Rum, and destroyed a great variety of other Stores which they had not carriages to carry off...We have taken 500 Prisoners, including the Wounded the Enemy left behind; and I think they cannot have suffered less than 600 more in killed and Wounded. The Fugitives that fled from the field of Battle spread such an alarm that the Enemy burnt their stores at Dorchester and abandoned the post at Fair Lawn, and a great number of Negroes and others were employed in falling Trees across the Road for some Miles without the Gates of Charles town."[3587]

In a letter of 9 September to Greene, Stewart said he was leaving 54 wounded men behind under the care of a surgeon under a flag of truce.[3588]

Kirkwood: "7th. Marched this Day within seven miles of the Eutaw Springs, where Lay Col. Stewart with the British Army Consisting of 2,000 men...20 [miles]
"8th. This morning our Army was in motion before Daybreak, with a determination of Fighting the British Army.
"We marced in the following order of Battle Viz. The South and North Carolina Militia in front, Commanded by Genls. Marion & Pickens, having Col. Lee[']s horse, & Infantry on their right Flank, and the State Horse, and mounted infantry on their left. The Second line was Composed of North Carolina regulars, Virginians, and Marylanders, having two three Pounders, between the N. Carolinians, & Virginians & Marylanders. Col. Washington's Horse, with my infantry were the Corps De Reserve. In this order we marched Down to Action, Coming within 3 miles of the Enemy's Encampment, we overtook a Rooting party of 60 men Coming in with Potatoes, most of whom were either Killed, wounded or taken. We met with no further opposition, until [sic] we arrived within one mile of their Encampment, where we met their first line, which soon brought the Action general, we Drove their first, and Second Lines, took upwards of 500 prisoners. The Enemy took shelter in a large Brick House, and a hollowway [sic] in rear of the House. At this time our men were so far spent for want of water, and our Continental Officers suffering much in the Action, rendered it advisable to Genl. Green to Draw off his Army, with the Loss of two 6 pounders, Majr. [Thomas] Edmunds of the Virginians, with a Small party of men joined me in the British Encampment, keeping up the fire for A small space of time. Found our Army had

[3584] Note this is not an exact transcription. In the original, casualties among officers are itemized by rank. KJO p. 24.
[3585] RNC p. 360.
[3586] SAW2 pp. 378-380.
[3587] NGP9 p. 332.
[3588] NGP9 p. 310.

withdrawn from the field, made it necessary for us Likewise to withdrawn (sic). We brought off one of the Enemys three Pounders, which with much difficulty was performed through a thick wood for near four miles, without the assistance of but one Horse, We got to the encamping Ground which we left in the morning about two in the evening...14 [miles]."[3589]

Seymour: "Eighth; this day our army was in motion before daybreak, resolved to fight the British Army. We marched in the following order of battle, viz: the South and North Carolina Militia in front and commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, having Colonel Lee's horse and infantry on their left. The second line was composed of and infantry on their left. The second line was composed of North Carolina Regulars, Virginians and Marylanders, with two three-pounders and two six-pounders. Colonel Washington's horse and infantry were the corps-de-reserve. In this order we marched down to action. Coming within three miles of the enemy's encampment, we fell in with a foraging party of sixty men, loaded with [sweet] potatoes, most of whom we either killed, wounded or took prisoners. We met with no farther opposition till we came within one mile of their encampment before discovered, and with their front line began the action, which soon brought the action general. We drove their first and second lines, and took upwards of five hundred prisoners. They took shelter in a large brick house and a hollow way in the rear of the house. At this time our men were so far spent for want of water, and our Continental officers suffering much in the action, rendered it advisable for General Greene to draw off his troops, with the loss of two six-pounders. Major [Thomas] Edmunds with a small party of men joined our infantry in the British encampment, keeping up fire for a small space of time; found our army had withdrawn from field made it necessary for us likewise to withdraw. We brought off one of their three-pounders, which was with much difficulty performed through a thick wood for four miles, without the assistance of but one horse. We got to the encamping ground, where we left in the morning, about two in the evening." [3590]

Stewart: "Finding the enemy in force so near me, I determined to fight them, as from their numerous cavalry, seemed to me to be attended with dangerous consequences. I immediately formed the line of battle, with the right of the army to Eutaw branch, and its left crossing the road leading to Roache's plantation, leaving a corps on a commanding situation to cover the Charles-town road, and to act occasionally as a reserve. About nine o'clock the action began on the right, and soon after became general.
"Knowing that the enemy were much superior in numbers, and at the same time finding that they attacked with their militia in front, induced me not to alter my position, unless I saw a certain advantage to be gained by it; for by moving forwards, I exposed both flanks of the army to the enemy's cavalry, which I saw ready formed to take that advantage, particularly on the left, which obliged me to move the reserve to support it.
"By an unknown mistake, the left of the line advanced, and drove their militia and North Carolinians before them; but unexpectedly finding the Virginia and Maryland lines ready formed, and at the same time receiving a heavy fire, occasioned some confusion: It was therefore necessary to retire a little distance to an open field, in order to form, which was instantly done, under cover of a heavy well-directed fire from a detachment of New-York volunteers, under command of Major [Henry] Sheridan, whom I had previously ordered to take post in the house, to check the enemy, should they attempt to pass it.
"The action was renewed with great spirit; but I was sorry to find that a three-pounder, posted on the road leading to Roache's, had been disabled, and could not be brought off when the left of the line retired.
"The right wing of the army being composed of the flank battalion, under the command of Major Majoribanks [John Marjoribanks], having repulsed and drove every thing that attacked them, made a rapid move to their left, and attacked the enemy in flank: Upon which they gave way in all quarters, leaving behind them two brass six-pounders, and upwards of two hundred killed on the field of action, and sixty taken prisoners, amongst which is Colonel Washington, and from every information, about eight hundred wounded, although they contrived to carry them off during the action. The enemy retired with great precipitation to a strong situation, about seven miles from the field of action, leaving their cavalry to cover their retreat. The glory of the day would have been more complete, had not the want of cavalry prevented me from taking the advantage which the gallantry of my infantry threw in my way."[3591]

Ramsay: "Though major [Archibald] M'Arthur, with a large reinforcement, formed a junction with lieutenant-colonel Stewart fourteen miles below the Eutaw, yet the action was not renewed. The success of the American army in the first part of this engagement spread such an alarm, that the British burned their stores at Dorchester, and evacuated their posts near Monck's Corner. The gates of the town were shut, and a number of Negroes employed in felling trees across the road on Charlestown Neck."[3592]

Stephen Jarvis: "The day after our arrival at Dorchester, Major Fraser went to Charlestown, South Carolina, to make a report of our sad disaster, and he returned at midnight with the news of the battle at the Eretan Springs [Eutaw Springs], and we were ordered immediately to mount and march. We passed Monks' [Monck's] Corner during the day, and after marching all night came up with the Army, where they had made a halt after burrying [sic] their dead at the Eretans. The Army retired as far as Monks' corner for some time sending out patrols far beyond the Eretans. The Americans, after the British retired from the field of battle, came and buried their dead and then retired to invest one other outpost, but our people had abandoned it, and joined the Army, which became so reduced that we were obliged to retreat, and in moving from Monks' Corner and crossing Goose Creek

[3589] KJO pp. 23-25.
[3590] SJS.
[3591] Extract of a letter from Stewart to Cornwallis, dated Eutaw, September 9, 1781. TCS pp. 509-511.
[3592] RSC2 p. 254.

we took the route to Dorchester, and encamped at Sir James Wright's Plantation, a few miles this side of Dorchester. We had a few Militia quartered in Dorchester. We had hardy taken up our ground before some of our Militia from Dorchester came running into Camp, some of them much wounded. A large body of the enemy had charged into Dorchester and surprised the Militia and retired again some miles from Dorchester."[3593]

Otho Williams writing to brother, Elie, some days following the battle: "The British army, being reinforced by the 3d regiment, contrary to my expectations, advanced from Orangeburgh to Congaree, and encamped at Col. Thompson's [Belleville, near former Fort Granby], about one mile from Fort Mott [Motte], which we had reduced some time before. It is said they exultingly gave three cheers upon regaining that position. The two armies remained neighbors, and were separated by the Santee, from early in August till the 23d of that month, when Gen. Greene took the resolution to remove Col. Stewart, (who succeeded Gen. Rawdon in command,) or give him battle.

"It was impossible to pass the rivers Wateree and Congaree immediately in front, and as their confluence is but a little to our left, it was not considered eligible to cross the Santee below the enemy for obvious reasons: we had a junction to form with the State troops and militia, whose numbers were not ascertained, and without them we were greatly inferior in force to the enemy. Therefore the General ordered us to march by the right, and we passed the rivers above, which induced the British army to retire to Eutaw Springs, about thirty-five miles from Thompson's and about two from Nelson's Ferry over the Santee. Gen. Greene did not approve of their holding that post, and as his forces were now collected, he determined to prosecute his plan of giving battle or removing them to a more peaceful distance. By easy marches we arrived at Burdell's, seven miles from Eutaw, in the afternoon of the 7th inst., and orders were given for marching again next morning, at four o'clock, to attack the enemy.

"At four o'clock next morning we were under arms, and moved in order of battle about three miles, when we halted, and took a little of that liquid which is not unnecessary to exhilarate the animal spirits upon such occasions. Again we advanced, and soon afterwards our light troops met the van of the enemy, who were marching out to meet us.

"Very serious, very important reflections began to obtrude. But liberty or death; peace and independence; or glory and a grave. The enemy's van was soon driven to their line, and our troops displayed. Our militia, which composed the front line, seconded the attack, and behaved better than usual. The North Carolina brigade of Continentals were next engaged, and acquired honor by their firmness. The Virginians advanced with impetuosity, and beat their foes wherever they found them. And the little remnant of Maryland troops, with an intrepidity which was particularly noticed by our gallant commander, advanced in good order, with trailed arms, and without regarding or returning the enemy's fire, charged and broke their best troops. Then, indeed, we fired and followed them into their camp, near which is a thick wood, very unfavorable to cavalry. But Col. Washington, impatient perhaps for a more favorable opportunity, charged upon the enemy's right, where unluckily their flank companies were posted. He received a very galling fire, by which his horse fell in front of his dragoons. In an instant his breast was pierced by a bayonet, which however wounded him but slightly. His cavalry was repulsed, and that excellent officer became a captive.

"Our loss in officers killed and wounded was very considerable, and the eagerness of the pursuit had thrown most of the troops into disorder, which could not now be remedied. Some were taking prisoners, and others plundering the enemy's camp, while they in despair sought refuge in and about a strong brick house which stood in the midst of it, and from whence their fire began to gall us exceedingly. About this time General Greene had brought our two six pounders within one hundred yards of the house, and I believe by accident or mistake, two others which we had taken were brought to the same place. At this critical juncture the enemy made a conclusive effort, which not only did them great honor, but, in my opinion, was the salvation of their whole army. Major Majoribanks sallied briskly from behind a picket garden, charged our artillery, and carried the pieces, which they immediately secured under the walls of their citadel.

"As our two three pounders and one which we had taken in the field, were all dismounted, it was useless to attempt any thing further with the small arms. The General, therefore, ordered the troops to retire, which was done gradually, the enemy not presuming to follow. The cavalry of the legion kept that of the enemy in awe, but found no good opportunity to cut them.

"The Delaware battalion and legion infantry acted with their usual vivacity, and were among those who did the most execution. As the Eutaw Spring was within fifty yards of the house, and there was no other water nearer than Burdell's, we retired in the afternoon to that place, which gave the enemy an opportunity of burying as many of their dead as their stay would admit. They abandoned the post early on the night of the 9th, leaving upwards of sixty of their dead unburied, and sixty or seventy wounded that could not be carried off. We pursued them about thirty-five miles, and though their army was reinforced by Major McArthur's detachment of 300 or 400 men from Monks' [Monck's] Corner, they thought proper to retire to a strong position on the south side of Ferguson's swamp, in the night of the 10th, when we lay at the Trout Spring, within five miles of them.

"They retired to Fair Lawn, below Monks', and on the morning of the 13th the General ordered the army to return to its former position at the high hills of Santee. This expedition was made in the season of the year which is most sickly in this country; and you cannot conceive how much more lamentable it is to lose an officer in sick quarters, than to see him fall in the field. There, there is no duration of that toilsome anxiety which we suffer for a languishing friend, besides his exit is glorious and, we believe, happy.

"Upon re-perusal of this circumstantial sheet, I do not think I have said enough of the bravery of the American troops. To have an idea of their vivacity and intrepidity, you must have shared their danger and seen their charge, which exceeded any thing of the sort I ever saw before.

[3593] JJA.

"The battle of Eutaw, was an example of what I conceive to be obstinate fair field fighting, and it is worthy of remark, that it happened on the same spot of ground where, according to the tradition of this country, a very bloody, desperate battle was fought about a century ago, between the savage natives and the barbarous Europeans who came to dispossess them of their property, which, in soil, is as rich as any upon the continent, or can be any where else. On the spot where the conflict of bayonets decided the victory, is a monument or mound of earth, said to have been erected over the bodies of the brave Indians who fell in defence of their country. Will any such honorable testimony be erected to the memory of our departed heroes?" [3594]

Henry Nase: "Septr. 8th. 1781 -- This day is Remarkable, for a Battle fought Between the Rebel Genl. Green [sic] & Colo. Stewart, of the Royal Army, at the Utaw [sic] Springs, in South Carolina. In which, the former lost Two pieces of Cannon & their Colo. Washington, taken Prisoner, it is also said that a Colo. [Richard] Campbell, of the Rebels, was Kill'd in the Action; this day an Officer & thirty men, Came to Town from Ebenezer, with 15 of Knoblauch's Regt. Prisoners, for Mutiny Against Major Gobell, Commanding His Majesty's Forces at that Post; for which they Ran the Gauntlet some days after."[3595]

Marshall: "Nor can the claim of either to the victory be pronounced unequivocal. The pretensions of general Greene are supported by having driven the British army off the ground on which it was originally drawn up; having pursued them into a house which he attacked; and having afterwards drawn off his army without being followed.
"Those of lieutenant colonel Stuart are founded on his having rallied his broken troops, and brought them back into the action; after which his adversary gave up the contest, and withdrew from the field.
"The truth seems to be, that unconnected with its consequences, the fortune of the day was nearly balanced. The advantages gained by the Americans in the field, were wrested from them at the house in which major Sheridan was posted; and the slaughter sustained in the attempt to dislodge the adversary from that post, and from the neighbouring gardens, thicket, and hedges, compensated for the previous losses of the British army. But if the consequences be taken into the account, the victory unquestionably belonged to Greene. In this, as in the two preceding battles fought by him in the Carolinas, the result was the expulsion of the hostile army from the territory which was the immediate object of contest."[3596]

9 September. Greene camped at Burdell's Plantation, six miles west of Eutaw Springs. Marion, meanwhile, dismissed most of his militia; their having fought remarkably well in a stand up fight against regulars at Eutaw Springs.[3597]
Garden: "At the battle of Eutaw, when General Marion's Brigade was displaying in face of the enemy. Captain Gee, who commanded the front platoon, was shot down, and supposed to be mortally wounded. The ball passed through the cock of a handsome hat, that he had recently procured, tearing the crown very much, and in its progress, the head also. He lay for a considerable time insensible; the greater part of the day had passed without a favourable symptom; when, suddenly reviving, his first inquiry was after his beaver, which being brought him, a friend, at the same time, lamenting the mangled state of the head, he exclaimed -- 'O, never think of the head; time and the Doctor will put that to rights; but it grieves me to hink, that the rascals have ruined my hat for ever!'"[3598]

9 September.[3599] [skirmish] Monck's Corner Road (probably western Berkeley County, S.C.) Lee and Maham's dragoons, the van of the former commanded by Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal, attacked and captured a party of British and loyalists (possibly stragglers or foragers) from Stewart's army. Having earlier dismissed most of his men after Eutaw Springs, Marion, at "Spring Porchers Plantation," S.C., wrote to Greene later this same day that Maj. McArthur's detachment of 300 joined Stewart's army "this morning two miles above Ferguson[']s Swamp. They Immediately turn'd down the road & Cross[e]d that Swamp, & is now there halted." He added: "We have taken 24 British & 4 toreys prisoners, 14 of them dragoons captured by six men of Lee's and Maham's. Lee and Maham have gone to the enemy's front."[3600]

9 September. Temporarily absenting himself from his army, General Washington, with Rochambeau and a number of other higher ranking American and French officers, stopped for a private visit at Mount Vernon. There he entertained his guests, remaining till the 12th. On the 14th, he and Rochambeau, arriving ahead of their respective troops, greeted Lafayette at Williamsburg.[3601]

9 September. Fanning arrived at Coxe's Mill to gather his forces in preparation for his attack on Hillsborough, and that was launched on the 12th.[3602]

10 September. Col. Malmedy, at Howell's Ferry on the Congaree, wrote to Greene stating he got the prisoners taken at Eutaw across the Congaree River by yesterday evening. He asked for further orders because he could

[3594] TOW pp. 22-26. For a separate letter by Williams that also recounts Eutaw, see GDH3 pp. 147-157 (or CSS pp. 1187-1193.)
[3595] NDI.
[3596] MLW4 pp. 551-552.
[3597] NGP9 p. 308.
[3598] GAR1 pp. 385-386.
[3599] Lee gives the date as the 10th.
[3600] NGP9 p. 309, MLW4A pp. 553-554, LMS pp. 475-476.
[3601] JYC p. 101.
[3602] DLB p. 19.

not obtain supplies where he was and had to move towards Camden. The tour of duty of eighty militiamen from the Salisbury district was to end on October 6, and another fifty from the Hillsborough district "pretend" that 16 Sept. was their last day of service. These two detachments would be able to escort the 246 prisoners. The rest of the North Carolina militia force, numbering some 204 men, could be combined and "be of some service." Many of the latter had been guarding the baggage during the battle of Eutaw Springs.[3603]

10 September. Stewart, retreating, and McArthur, moving up, mutually met up (according to Lee) just below Martin's Tavern. They then withdrew to Fair Lawn, near Monck's Corner. The editor to the Greene papers says the rendezvous took place at Fairlawn, and perhaps this is what Lee meant as well. In any case, there, on the 12th, he was joined by additional reinforcements from Charlestown under his superior Col. Paston Gould. Gould then took command of the army, and Stewart, who had been wounded in the elbow during the battle, retired to Charlestown.[3604]

10 September. Greene encamped at Martin's Tavern near Ferguson's Swamp.[3605]
Kirkwood: "10th. Received information that the Enemy had left the Eutaw Springs the Evening before, on the Road to Monks Corner, the Genl. Persued [sic] them to Mr. Martins, within 12 miles of the Corner...20 [miles]."[3606]

11 September. [skirmish] Moccasin Creek, TN. ONB3 p. 358

12 September. [skirmish] Kirk's Farm, N.C. ONB3 p. 362.

12 September. Greene, retiring in the face of Stewart's, now Gould's, reinforced army, crossed the Santee at Nelson's Ferry and by the 15th was once made camp in the High Hills of the Santee. Pickens, Marion and Hampton resumed partisan operations, and Greene's army was reduced to less than 1,000 men fit for duty. One reason for this withdrawal, William Johnson argues, was to safeguard against a possible move south by Cornwallis, in view of the forces then pressing against him in Virginia; in addition to Greene's supplies running low, men falling sick, and militia going home to help at harvest.[3607]

12 September. [raid] Hillsborough (Orange County, N.C.) 600 N.C. loyalists from Randolph and Chatham counties, under Col. David Fanning and Hector MacNeil[3608] carried out a surprise attack on Hillsborough; seizing as captive 150-200 men (30 of these state and local officials and staffs), including Gov. Thomas Burke, his council, and two Continental officers. Some nearby militia attempted an impromtu counterattack on Fanning, but outnumbered were all killed, taken or fled. Sometime shortly after Fanning left the town, another 100 whigs went out in pursuit only to subsequently find themselves lost tracking his trail. The whigs also lost 15 killed and 20 wounded (though these latter should probably be included with the prisoner total.) MacNeil and his column also released 60 loyalist prisoners, though Rankin gives the number as 30. Interestingly, in a 16 August letter (for which date entry see), Lieut. Col. Hardy Sanders of the N.C. militia informed Burke that Fanning had made the Governor "his object"[3609] -- so that clearly the governor (in addition to Fanning's taking of court house and civil officials at Pittsboro on July 16th) had prior intimation and signals to specifically fear for his own safety. Shortly afer Burke's capture, Alexander Martin was made acting governor in his absence.[3610]
Pension statement of William Allen, of Orange County, N.C.: "(W)hile at Hillsborough preparing to go on this expedition [south to join Greene], the Torries [sic] under the command of Tony Fannon [David Fanning], and the British under Col. McDougan [Archibald McDougald] came upon us and took three hundred of us prisoner among whom was Governor Burk [Thomas Burke]. He saw Col. Lytte [Allen's regimental officer] wounded by a sword in the head by Tony Fannon, this transaction took place at Hillsborough as above stated on the 4th of September 1781."

David Fanning: "On the 9th of Sept. I was joined by Col'n McDugald [Archibald McDougald] of the Loyal Militia of Cumberland County, with 200 men; and Col. Hector McNiel [McNeil], with his party from Bladen of 70 men; and in consequence of my advertisement I had also 435, who came in; and many found me afterwards.
"I had previously determined within myself to take the Rebel, Governor [Thomas] Burke of North Carolina and I had a conversation with Maj. Craigg [James Craig], on the subject. I now thought it, a favourable [sic] opportunity, as I found myself at the head of 950 men of my own Regiment; exclusive of McDugald [McDougald] and McNiel's [McNeil's] regiments. I acquainted Major [John] Raines [also Rains or Reins], of my resolution, who approved of it. The rebel General John Butler, and Col. Robert Maybin [Mebane] of the Continental line, lay with 40 miles of our encampment, on the Cape Fear River. It was supposed by my officers, that I intended to attack them. After marching 16 miles to Rocky River, I went a little distance, out of my road, to a friends house, for intelligence, of the situation of the Rebels; during which time, the guide led my little army about two miles out of the way, towards General Butler. On my return, I was under the necessity of making my intentions known; and immediately directed my march to Hillsborough; I pushed all that day and the following night; At 7 o'clock

[3603] NGP9 p. 313.
[3604] NGP9 pp. 310, 338, MLW4A pp. 553-554, LMS pp. 475-476.
[3605] KJO p. 25, NGP9 p. 328.
[3606] KJO p. 25.
[3607] MLW4A pp. 553-554, JLG2 pp. 238-239, CBA p. 583.
[3608] Stedman speaks of MacNeil as commander and doesn't mention Fanning at all.
[3609] CNC15 p. 610.
[3610] NGP9 p. 114, SAW2 p. 406, CNS1 pp. 195-210, RNC pp. 363-364, DRO pp. 214-215, BEA pp. 502-503, DBL pp. 19-27, 49-59.

on the morning of the 12th we entered the town in three divisions, and received several shots from different houses; -- however, we lost none and suffered no damage, except one man wounded. We killed fifteen of the Rebels, and wounded twenty; and took upwards of two hundred prisoners; amongst them was the Governor, his Council, and part of the Continental Colonels, several captains and subalterns, and seventy one continental soldiers out of a church. We proceeded to the Gaol [jail], and released thirty Loyalists, and british [sic] soldiers; one of which, was to have been hanged on that day. "[3611]

Fanning, in an appendix, also includes the following:
"The names of the Officers of Cumberland county who acted under Col. McDugald [Archibald McDougald], who were at the taking of rebel Gov Burke at Hillsborough.
Archibald McDugald [McDougald], Colo.
Archibald McKay; Lt. Col.
Names of Bladen county who acted under Lt. Col. Hector McNeal [MacNeil]
Major John Watson"
[Other officers who were also at the Hillsborough capture:]
"Capt. Alexander McCraw, Governer. Alexander Martin's Regt.
Lieut. Daniel McDonald, Govr. Martin's Regt."[3612]

13 September (also given as 12 September). [battle] Lindley's Mill, also Lindley's Mills, Cane Creek (Alamance County, N.C.) Some nineteen miles from Hillsborough near Lindley's Mill, Brig. Gen. John Butler, with militia of Orange and Chatham counties, set a trap for Hector MacNeil's loyalists. MacNeil fell with three bullets killing him, and his men routed until Fanning, coming up, regrouped them. Fanning then sent a force to take Butler's men from behind. At first, the whigs were dispersed in the initial attack but then rallied. There followed an engagement that reportedly lasted some four hours (understood by historian Dunaway to have been punctuated by extended lulls); until Butler finally retreated, leaving behind 24 killed, 90 wounded, and 10 taken prisoners. It would have turned into a full scale routé but for the efforts of former Continental army officer Col. Robert Mebane to rally the remaining remnants. Fanning lost 27 killed and 60 so badly wounded they were left on the field. 30 others also wounded, but who were able to leave when the loyalists left the battleground. Fanning, himself badly injured in his left arm, was met not far from Wilmington by a support column, under Capt. Rains, sent out by Craig. Gov. Burke, still captive, was brought into Wilmington; while Butler following after the British (not unlike Greene after Eutaw), took position at Cross Creek.[3613]
Pension statement of William Allen, of Orange County, N.C.: "That night we remained near Hillsborough and were carried next morning by the British and Tories on to a place called Lindley's Mill, when a pretty severe and well fought battle took place between a force of the Republicans and the British and Torries [sic], during which engagement the prisoners were kept in a close place with a strong guard around them. He recollects well of seeing there killed celebrated Tory Col. McNeil [MacNeil] that night after the battle at Lindley's Mill we were forced off by our captors and taken by Wilson's Iron works to Wilmington, where we were put on board of British ships which steered toward the West India Islands and then taken and disembarked us at Charlestown, where the greater part remained until peace…"

Pension statement of Isaac Brewer of Chatham County, N.C.: "(A) battle came on at Lindley[']s Mills on Cane Creek in Orange County N. Carolina. In this engagement [Col.] Mayburn [Mebane] had, or was said to have had between 4 & 500 men & the Tories was said to have over 900, the battle lasted some 3 or 4 hours, and the Tories were commanded by old Hector MacNeil and David Fannin [sic] or so they were called. They ultimately proved too hard for our men and were slaying our ranks down by scores. Col. Mayburn thought it best to order a retreat instead of being taken and did so. The result of which was that they mowed us down more rapidly than before."

David Fanning: "About 12 o'clock, I left Hillsborough; and proceeded Eighteen miles further, to Lindsey's [Lindley's] Mill on Cane Creek; where Gen'l Butler and a party of rebels had concealed themselves. Col'n McNeal [Hector MacNeil], who had the advanced guard, had neglected to take the necessary precautions for our safety, and by information of Capt. McLain Cumberland county, Little River; and as soon as I had discovered the situation, we were in, and having so great a number of prisoners, I left my situation, and pushed for the advanced guard; on my coming up with Col'n Mcneal [sic], I inquired the reason of his neglect; and before he could answer, we were fired upon by the rebels. They killed Eight men, among them was Col'n McNeal, who received three balls through him, and five through his horse. I then ordered a retreat back to where I left the prisoners, and after securing them, I made the necessary preparations to attack the enemy; and after engaging them four hours they retreated. I lost twenty seven men killed, and sixty, so badly wounded, that they could not be moved; besides thirty slightly, but so, that they could keep up with our main body. At the conclusion of this action, I received a shot in my left arm, which broke the bone in several pieces; my loss of blood was so great, that I was taken off my horse, and led to a secret place in the woods. I then sent Lieut. Woleston, to my little army, for Col'n Arch McDugald [Archibald McDougald], and Major John Rains [or Reins] and Lu Col'n [Lieut. Col.] Arch[ibald] McKay, to take command; to send to Wilmington for assistance, as I was not able to take any

[3611] FNA pp. 32-35
[3612] FNA p. 37.
[3613] FNA pp. 32-35, CNS1 pp. 208-228, RNC pp. 364-365, DRO pp. 215-217, BEA pp. 502-503, DBL.

command. I also desired that Major Rains should return as soon as he could leave Col. McDugald; as I thought he might be the means of saving me from the hand of my enemies. These gentlemen conducted themselves in such a manner, I think they deserve the applause of every loyal subject, both for their valour and good conduct, as Col'n Maybin [Mebane] and Gen'l Butler persued [sic] them all the way until they met Major Craigg [James Craig] coming to their assistance. They made their march god for 160 miles and never lost one prisoner, but introduced Thos. Burk[e], their Governor, and his regiment of rebels, to Major Craigg; who very well accepted them; and Major Craigg introduced his Excellency, and Regiment, to the Provost Master. I am informed by letters from Col. Arch McDugal, dated 6th Aug, 1789 that no provision has been made for him yet. Also, Major Rains, the 2nd of Oct'r 1789….
"Major John Rains, was the first man, that took up arms within North Carolina; and the last man with me, and took an active part in command in six and thirty skirmishes in N.C. (also Capt. George Rains.)
"At the departure of my little army, I was left with three men; and in four days 17 more came to my assistance. I made enquiry respecting the loss of the Rebels, in the late action; and found that the inhabitants had buried 24, and that the wounded they had left were 90, besides those that went off and that my party had taken 10 prisoners. Of the number of the Killed was Col'o Guttrell [John Luttrell], and Major Knowles, who were inveterate enemies to the Loyalists.
"The party we had engaged I found to have consisted of four hundred Continentals under the command of Col'o Maybin and Gen'l Butler. In twenty four days, I found myself able to set up, and then dispateched [sic], four of my Captains Hooker, Rains, Knight, and Lindly, to Wilmington for a supply of ammunition; and before their return I had set out and embodied 140 men, during which time I heard of a quantity of leather, which was prepared for the use of the rebel army, and was ordered for Gen'l Green's quarters at Camden. I went to the place, and finding the leather agreeable to my information, I took enough thereof to equip the company completely, and ordered the rest to be destroyed. On my return to Brush Creek, near where I had been secreted during my illness, occasioned by my wounds, I sent out spies for discovery. Two of them returned, in less than an hour, with information of six hundred rebels, who were advancing for to attack me. But they proved no more than 170. Their accounts disheartened a number of my men. From my being is so weak a state, they apprehended I would not be able to command them. However they lifted me, on my horse, and I formed my men there in two ranks and showed two fronts, as they appeared both in my front and rear; the fire continued for near an hour. I lost three men killed, and three badly wounded. The rebels had one killed, and several wounded. Then they retreated; and rallied and attacked again, after retreating, about a mile, which was so unexpected, that I concluded they had been reinforced. I then retreated; but without loss, except my baggage. I, then, separated my men into small parties, until the arrival of the four officers, I had dispatched for ammunition, to Wilmington, who brought the following letter from Maj'r Craigg [Craig], with 5000 cartridges; [the letter is dated 13 October 1781 and quoted by Fanning, but not included here.]"[3614]

14 September. [skirmish] Rocky Mountain, also "Patriots vs. Col. Archibald McDugald" (Chatham County, N.C.)
And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/lindleysmill.htm

14 September. On September 30th, Gould, then in Charlestown, wrote to Clinton: "On the 14th instant [of September] I received intelligence that General Greene had taken post at Martin's Tavern, twelve miles distant from our camp, and had secured with his light troops the difficult pass at Ferguson's Swamp, four miles in his front, from whence he had in person reconnoitered our position. I moved forward on the evening of the 16th, with design to bring the enemy to action or force them to cross the Santee. Upon the first intelligence of our movement, Greene quitted his position and retired hastily to the Santee, where, dividing his force into three parts, he passed the whole at different ferries nearly at one tome, destroying or carefully concealing on the opposite side all his boats to impede our pursuit. Having crossed the reviver, General Greene moved to the high hills of Santee and took post on very strong ground at Singleton's Mills, which he occupied before the action [at Eutaw Springs.] As I found it impracticable to get up with the enemy before they had crossed the river; and as it was not possible to pass the army over for the want of boats, I took the resolution of falling down the banks of the Santee toward Murry's Ferry, where alone I could subsist my army without drawing upon the King's stores at Charlestown, the upper country being totally exhausted." Gould goes on to remark that the threat of a possible French attack of Charlestown by sea demanded that he be at not too great a distance from Charlestown."[3615]

14 September. From "the journal of the operations of the French corps under the command of the Count de Rochambeau: "On the 14th of September, General Washington, myself, and the Chevalier de Chastellux, arrived at Williamsburgh, where we found the Marquis de la Fayette, in conjunction with the Count de St. Simon, who had taken an excellent position, waiting for us. After all the most inquieting [sic] news we had received on the route, of the appearance of the enemy's fleet, the departure of that of Count de Grasse, of an engagement on the 5th of September, the appearance of two English frigates in the bay, we at length received, on the night of the 14th, by a letter from Count de Grasse, a circumstantial account of the following facts: Admiral [Samuel] Hood had joined, on the 28th of August, Admiral Graves' squadron before New York; they both sailed the 31st to Chesapeak[e] bay, at the instant our movement by land towards Philadelphia had been discovered. The English squadron, consisting of twenty ships, arrived the 5th at Cape Charles, intending to get the start of Count de Grasse; the latter, having then fifteen hundred men in his chaloups [shallops or sloop], which had debarked the troops of Count de St. Simon, and were not returned, without hesitation cut his cables, and went to engage the enemy with twenty-four ships, leaving the rest to blockade Lord Cornwallis in the rivers of York and James: The

[3614] FNA pp. 32-35
[3615] CAR p. 579.

Count de Grasse having pursued some time, returned on the 11th into the bay, where he found the squadron of Count de Barras, which sailed the 25th of August from Newport, with ten transports, having on board our siege artillery, and entered the bay on the 10th of September in good condition. The two English frigates, being between the two squadrons, were taken. Immediately the ten transports of the Count de Barras, the frigates, and the prizes of Count de Grasse, were detached to carry our troops to Annapolis, under the orders of the Sieur de Willebrune, commander of the *Romulus*, who, with the Baron Viomenil, used such expedition, that they arrived on the 25th. in Williamsburgh creek, where they disembarked the army on the 26th and 27th. On the 28th the allied army marched from Williamsburgh at break of day for York town, and the French corps of seven thousand men began the investment from the head of York river to the morass near Colonel [Brig. Gen. Thomas] Nelson's house, taking advantage of the woods, creeks, &c., in such a manner, as to block up the enemy within pistol shot of their works; the three French brigades marked out the ground, and encamped securely from the enemy's cannon. The Baron de Viomenil commanded the grenadiers and chasseurs of the army as the van guard. On the 29th the American army passed the morass, and the investment of York town became complete, and was quite blocked up. The infantry of Lauzun being debarked on the 23d, marched under the Duke de Lauzun to rejoin their cavalry, which had marched by land into Gloucester county, under Brigadier-general de Wieden, who commanded there a body of twelve hundred American militia. The whole legion was joined there on the 28th, the day of the investment of York town. On the night between the 29th and 30th, the enemy, fearing to be insulted in the confined position which they had fortified, abandoned all their posts.
"We employed the 30th in lodging ourselves in the abandoned works, which enabled us to block up the enemy in a circle of very little extent, and gave us great advantage. On the 3d of October the Sieur de Choisy marched to block up Gloucester, and take a position at three miles distance from that place."[3616]

Ewald: [Entry for 15 September.] "Yesterday [the 14th] the Allied army was moved in transports from head of Elk into the James River. The [debarking] army has joined the troops under Lafayette at Williamsburg where General Washington has assumed the command over the entire army."[3617]

Mid September. [skirmish] Levingstone's Bridge and Brown Marsh (Bladen County, N.C.) Following Lindley's Mill on the 12th, Butler and Mebane continued their chase afer Fanning, but were checked outside Wilmington at Levingstone's Bridge by Fanning reinforced with Craig's Briish regulars. Afterward, Butler fell back up river to Brown Marsh, where the Americans put up another stand, and owing once again to the heroic efforts of Col. Robert Mebane (and after some especially heated fighting), they finally repulsed Fanning and compelled him to retire to Wilmington. ONB3 pp. 368-370, DRO pp. 218-219, DLM pp. 42-47, DLB pp. 41-47, and see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/brownmarsh.htm

15 September. Colonel St. George Tucker, at Williamsburg, wrote his wife on this date: "I wrote you yesterday that General Washington had not yet arrived. About four o'clock in the afternoon his approach was announced. He had passed our camp which is now in the rear of the whole army before we had time to parade the militia. The French line had just time to form. The Continentals had more leisure. He approached without any pomp or parade, attended only by a few horsemen and his own servants. The Count de Rochambeau and Gen. Hand, with one or two more officers, were with him. I met him as I was endeavoring to get to camp from town in order to parade the brigade; but he had already passed it. To my great surprise he recognized my features and spoke to me immediately by name. Gen. Nelson, the Marquis, etc., rode up immediately after. Never was more joy painted in any countenances than theirs. The Marquis rode up with precipitation, clasped the General in his arms and embraced him with an ardor not easily described.
"The whole army and all the town were presently in motion. The General at the request of the Marquis de St. Simon rode through the French lines. The troops were paraded for the purpose and cut a most splendid figure. He then visited the Continental line. As he entered the camp the cannon from the park of artillery and from every brigade announced the happy event. His train by this time was much increased; and men, women and children seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of joy and eagerness to see their beloved countryman. His quarters are at Mr. [George] Wythe's house. Aunt Betty has the honor of the Count de Rochambeau to lodge at her house.
"We are all alive and so sanguine in our hopes that nothing can be conceived more different than the countenances of the same men at this time and on the first of June.
"The troops which were to attend the General are coming down the bay; a part if not all being already embarked at the Head of Elk."[3618]

16 September. It was expressed to Cornwallis by his staff officers on this date their considered estimation that the present British forces at Yorktown and Gloucester could hold out for three weeks against an army numbering 20,000 men and artillery.[3619]
The following two letters from Clinton to Cornwallis, and written on September 2nd and 6th, were received by the Earl on the 16th.
September 2nd: "By intelligence which I have this day received, it would seem that Mr. Washington is moving an army to the southward, with an appearance of haste, and gives out that he expects the co-operation of a considerable French armament: Your lordship, however, may be assured, that if this should be the case, I shall

[3616] TCS pp. 442-444, MLW4A pp. 477-478.
[3617] EHJ p. 327.
[3618] CSS p. 1224.
[3619] SCV1 p. 31, CAR pp. 337-340.

either endeavour to reinforce the army under your command by all the means within the compass of my power, or make every possible diversion in your favour.
"Captain Stanhope, of His Majesty's ship the *Pegasus*, who has just arrived from the West Indies, says, that on Friday last, in lat. 38 deg. about sixty leagues from the coast, he was chased by eight ships of the line, which he took to be French, and that one of the victuallers he had under his convoy had counted upwards of forty sail more: However, as Rear-admiral Graves, after being joined by Sir Samuel Hood with fourteen coppered ships of the line, sailed from hence on the 31st ult. with a fleet of nineteen sail, besides some fifty-gun ships, I flatter myself you will have little to apprehend from that of the French.
"P. S. Washington, it is said, was to be at Trenton this day, and means to go in vessels to Christian creek; from thence, by head of Elk, down Chesapeak[e], in vessels also. If that navigation is not interrupted, he should go by land from Baltimore. Your lordship can best judge what time it will require. I should suppose, at least, three weeks from Trenton. Washington has about four thousand French and two thousand rebel troops with him."

September 16th: "As I find by your letters that De Grasse has got into the Chesapeak, and I can have no doubt that Washington is moving with at least six thousand French and rebel troops against you, I think the best way to relieve you is to join you, as soon as possible, with all the force that can be spared from hence, which is about four thousand men. They are already embarked, and will proceed the instant I receive information from the admiral that we may venture, or that from other intelligence the commodore and I shall judge sufficient to move upon.
"By accounts from Europe, we have every reason to expect Admiral Digby hourly on the coast.
"Commodore Johnstone has beat a superior French fleet at St. Jago, and proceeded the day after for the place of his destination.
"I beg your lordship will let me know, as soon as possible, your ideas how the troops embarked for the Chesapeak may be best employed for your relief, according to the state of circumstance when you receive this letter. I shall not, however, wait to receive your answer, should I hear in the mean time that the passage is open."[3620]

On the 16th, Cornwallis replied [written in cipher]: "I have received your letters of the 2d and 6th. The enemy's fleet has returned. Two line-of-battle ships and one frigate lie at the mouth of this river, and three or four line-of-battle ships, several frigates and transports, went up the bay the 12th and 14th. I hear Washington arrived at Williamsburgh on the 14th. Some of his troops embarked at head of Elk, and the others arrived at Baltimore on the 12th.
"If I had no hopes of relief, I would rather risk an action than defend my half-finished works; but as you say Digby is hourly expected, and promise every exertion to assist me, I do not think myself justified in putting the fate of the war on so desperate an attempt. By examining the transports with care, and turning out useless mouths, my provisions will last at least six weeks from this day, if we can preserve them from accidents. The cavalry must, I fear, be all lost. I am of opinion that you can do me no effectual service but by coming directly to this place.
"Lieutenant Conway, of the *Cormorant*, is just exchanged. He assures me, that, since the Rhode-island squadron has joined, they have thirty-six sail of the line. This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst."[3621]
In a postscript dated the 17th, Cornwallis wrote further: "I am informed that since the Rhode Island squadron had joined, they have thirty-six sail of the line. This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst."[3622]

17 September. Lieut. Col. Samuel Hammond (who had served in Henderson's cavalry at Eutaw Springs) was appointed to the command of the regiment of S.C. state troop cavalry by Gov. John Rutledge, and instructed to raise and equip it immediately, like Maham's and Horry's, with members of the corps serving for three years or till the war's termination -- which ever came first. Some of the men who had been with Hammond early on joined his new command and the unit served with Greene's army till war's end.[3623]

18 September. Greene's army, much of them still sick from fever and heat exhaustion, had, by "easy marches," returned by this date to its High Hills of the Santee encampment.[3624]

18 September. On and about this date, the main French and American Armies under Rochambeau and Washington, were transported (aboard frigates sent for that purpose by de Grasse) down the Bay from Baltimore and Annapolis to landings on the James River south of Williamsburg. Meanwhile, Rochambeau, Washington and some of their chief officers including Chastellux, Duportail and Knox, met with de Grasse aboard his flagship the *Ville de Paris*. Lafayette, however, was not present.[3625]

18 September. The British brigantine *Dunmore*, Capt. Caldeleugh, with 12 guns sailed from Sunbury, Georgia for Jamaica, after crossing the bar she was assailed by two American galleys, one under Capt. Braddock. A four hour

[3620] TCS pp. 416-417.
[3621] TCS pp. 419-420.
[3622] RCC p. 119.
[3623] JTR p. 515.
[3624] LMS p. 477.
[3625] JYC p. 101.

combat ensued after which the brigantine escaped; though she was forced into Savannah to seek repairs. Braddock attempted capture again when she later left, but also again the *Dunmore* evaded him.[3626]

23 September. [skirmish] Livingston's Creek, also Hammond's Creek bridge, "Patriot militia vs. Col. McDugal[d]" (Bladen County, N.C.) ONB3 p. 367 and DRO p. 217.
And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hammondscrbr.htm and http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hammondscrbr.htm

25-26 September. Remaining American and French reinforcements arrived at Williamsburg from Annapolis; with Washington's and Rochambeau's combined forces then totaling 16,000-18,000 regulars troops, plus an further 4,000-5,000 militia. Washington on the 25th, and sending Lafayette as intermediary, earnestly entreated de Grasse to remain in the Chesapeake and not depart in October as earlier scheduled; which request, happily for the allies, de Grasse acceded to.[3627]

Tarleton: "Every day advanced the state of the British works, and forwarded the combination of the Americans and French. Before General Washington and Count Rochambeau, with a small train, arrived at Williamsburgh, the defences of Gloucester were nearly completed. At York, the labour of the infantry made a considerable progress, both in the fortifications of the town, and in forming field works for an outward position. The parts of the country lying between York and the American outpost, and thence to Point Comfort, were foraged by the cavalry of the legion. The pickets of militia at the mill dam, on the Hampton road [Hampton Roads] to Williamsburgh, were often insulted and drove in by the British dragoons, that Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton might confer with a spy, who resided beyond them. By this means, and by sending boats in the night up York river, constant intelligence was obtained. On the 26th, Earl Cornwallis was informed that a large body of troops had arrived in James river from the head of Elk and Baltimore, and that the forces of France and America were assembling at Williamsburgh.
"At this period, the labour which had been bestowed on the outward position at York town, had improved its natural advantages, and rendered it in every respect convenient for the King's troops. The right rested on the swamp which covered the right of the town: A large redoubt was constructed beyond it, close to the river road from Williamsburgh, and completed with fraizing and abbatis. The *Charon*, *Guadaloupe*, and other armed vessels, were moored opposite to the swamp; and the town batteries commanded all the roads and causeways which approached it. On the right, at the head of the morass, two redoubts were placed, one on each side of the main Williamsburgh road. The center was protected by a thin wood, whose front was cut down, with the branches facing outwards. A field work, mounted with cannon, was erected on the left of the center, to command the Hampton road. A deep ravine, and a creek, which increased till it reached York river, covered the left. Trees were felled, fleches were thrown up, and batteries were constructed, at the points which were deemed most vulnerable. The distance between the heads of the swamp and creek, which embraced the flanks of the town, did not exceed half a mile. The face of the country, in front of this line, was cut near the center by a morass, and, excepting this break, the ground was plain and open for near two thousand yards. An excellent field artillery was placed to the greatest advantage by Captain Rochefort, who commanded in that department."[3628]

26 September. Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, having become ill, went back to North Carolina to recuperate. There he assisted in collecting supplies at Charlotte, with Lieut. Col. John Ashe being left in command of the North Carolina Brigade.[3629]

27 September. In a proclamation of this date, Governor Rutledge Offers offered pardon those who had taken protection under the British, including those who have borne arms, saying that since the British failed to protect them and their property they were not bound to the oaths of loyalty they took. In order to qualify for the pardon, however, adult males were to surrender themselves to a Brigadier of the State and serve for six months in the militia. Those who would not swear allegiance to the United States were expected to withdraw into British lines. There were, nevertheless, exceptions to those who could receive pardon: "…I do except from the pardon hereby offered and from every benefit of this proclamation, all such persons, as having gone over to or joined the enemy, were called upon by me in and by two several proclamations, to surrender themselves to a magistrate within forty days after the respective dates of those proclamations, in pursuance of an Ordinance, entitled an Ordinance to prevent persons withdrawing from the defence of this State to join the enemy thereof: All such as were sent off or obliged to quit the State for refusing to take the oath required of them by law, who have returned to this country: All those who subscribed a congratulatory address, bearing date on or about the 5th day of June, 1780, to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton and Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, or another address bearing date on or about the 19th day of September, 1780, to Lieut. Gen. Earl Cornwallis: All such as hold or have held any commission civil or military under the British government, and are now with the enemy, and all those whose conduct has been so infamous, as that they cannot (consistently with justice or policy) be admitted to partake of the privileges of America; notwithstanding which last mentioned exception, such persons if they be deemed by me, or the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, (for the time being) inadmissible to the rights and privileges of subjects, will not be detained as prisoners, but shall have full and free liberty and a pass or permit to return: At a juncture when the force of the enemy in this State, though lately considerable is nearly reduced, by the many

[3626] JHG p. 500.
[3627] AR81 pp. 129-130, CSS pp. 1225-1226, TCS pp. 371-372, GHA p. 187, MLW4A pp. 479-481, CBA p. 635, JYC p. 102.
[3628] TCS pp. 371-372.
[3629] RNC p. 365.

defeats which they have suffered, and particularly in the late important action at Eutaw, when they are dispossessed of every post except Charles Town garrison: When the formidable fleet of his most Christian Majesty in Chesapeake Bay, and the combined armies of the King of France and of the United States under the command of his Excellency Gen. Washington, in Virginia, afford a well grounded hope that by the joint efforts of these armies, this campaign will be happily terminated and the British power in every part of the confederated States soon totally annihilated…"[3630]

28 September. The Allied defenses at Gloucester Point, which had been earlier manned by 1,500 Virgina militia under Weedon, (which included a small but effective corps of militia "grenadiers" under Lieut. Col. John Mercer), were augmented with French troops under Brig. Gen. Marquis de Choisy, and who assumed command of the post from Weedon. Choisy's reinforcement included Lauzun's Legion (300 infantry and 300 cavalry). An additional 800 Marines from the French fleet were landed on October 1st.[3631]

28 September. [siege] YORKTOWN (York County, VA.) Washington and Rochambeau's armies converged within two miles on the British position at Yorktown; with De Grasse having assented (despite earlier arrangements) to remain on station in the Chesapeake till November 1. In round totals, the Franco-American force numbered 18,000-22,000, while the British had 7,500, not counting some 800 Marines each on both sides.[3632] Jerome A. Greene, for his part, arrives at the following more specific numbers with respect to the Allies: 8,280 Continentals, 5,535 militia, 8,600 French for a grand total nominal strength of 22,415. He then adds "Estimating about 1,500 of the American force and about 600 of the French absent because of sickness, the aggregate effective strength under General Washngton at Williamsburg was approximately 20,300."[3633]

AMERICAN FORCES PRESENT BEFORE YORKTOWN[3634]
Key: rank and file/total effectives

CONTINENTALS
General George Washington, Commander-in-Chief[3635]
Brig. Gen. Louis Le Begne de Presle Duportail, Chief Engineer

Lafayette's Division, Maj. Gen. Gibert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette
* *First Brigade*, Brevet Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, Virginia
1st Light Infantry Bttn., (eight Mass. companies): 247/309, Col. Joseph Vose, Mass.
2nd Light Infantry Bttn., (five Conn. companies, two Mass. companies, one R.I. co.).: 241/300, Lieut. Col. John Joseph Gimat
3rd Light Infantry Bttn., (five N.H. companies, one from N.J., "etc."): 300/357, Lieut. Col. Francis Barber, New Jersey[3636]

* *Second Brigade*, Brevet Brig. Gen. Moses Hazen, Canada
1st Light Infantry Bttn. (four Mass. companies, one from Conn.): .200/, Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Huntington, Conn.
2nd Light Infantry Bttn. (two N.Y. companies, two from Conn.): 205/247, Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton, New York
3rd Light Infantry Bttn. (four N.H. companies, one from Mass., one from Conn.): 200/?, Lieut. Col. John Laurens, South Carolina
2nd Canadian Regt.: 204/267, Lieut. Col. Edward Antill (Hazen)

The return separately includes with Hazen:
Scammell's Light Infantry Bttn. (Mass.), 328/378, Lieut. Col. Alexander Scammell, Mass. [3637]
Included as part of Lafayette's van guard along with Armand, and the 4th Continental Light Dragoons
Pennsylvania Volunteer Riflemen, Major William Parr

[3630] GDH2 pp. 175-178, LMS pp. 540-544.
[3631] MLW4A pp. 481-483, LMS pp. 496-499, JYC p. 128.
[3632] CSS pp. 1227-1228, TCS pp. 372-373, SAW2 p. 408, LFB2 pp. 309-310, CBA pp. 635, 636, JYC p. 111-116.
[3633] GYT pp. 111-115.
[3634] Information below taken from "Return of the Continental and Virginia State Troops under the Immediate Command of His Excellency General Washington, September 26, 1781, Record Group 93, National Archives." This document was made out just before Washington marched from Williamsburg and laid siege at Yorktown. Numbers given here represent: rank and file/full total. "Full total" includes officers, non-commissioned officers, and supernumeraries -- though not those unfit for duty or otherwise away. The manuscript notes that 34 men of the 2d New York regiment, about 50 men from New Jersey, and nearly two companies of the detachments had not yet arrived and were omitted in the return. It also mentions that 22 men from the New York line on extra service and 30 men with the French army are omitted as well, making about 216 men omitted in the totals. Finally, Johnston pages 112-116, was also used to construct this roster.
[3635] Lincoln acted as second in command.
[3636] At somewhat variance with Johnston, Yorktown National Historic Park gives as the composition of the Continental light battalions the following:
First Battalion: (1 Connecticut and 4 Massachusetts Companies): Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Huntington
Second Battalion: (2 New York and 5 Connecticut Companies): Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton
Third Battalion: (1 Massachusetts, 1 Connecticut and 4 New Hampshire Companies): Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens; plus the Second Canadian Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Edward Antill
[3637] Upon Scammell's being mortally wounded on September 30th, his command was divided into two light infantry battalions, one under Laurens; the other Huntington. Thanks to researcher Charlie Frye, and also the Yorktown National Historic Park for this clarification.

NOTE regarding light infantry battalions or, as referred to in the Return, light infantry "detachments": "Light Infantry companies and other companies had been detached from the New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire Continentals Lines to form special temporary light infantry battalions. These figures are for those temporary battalions. The battalion under Colonel Gimat consisted of two light infantry companies from Massachusetts regiments, plus detached light infantry companies from Connecticut and Rhode Island. The battalion under Alexander Scammell consisted of two New Hampshire companies, three Massachusetts companies, and three Connecticut companies. That under Hamilton consisted of the light infantry companies of the 1st and 2nd New York regiments plus two companies of New York levies and two additional detached Connecticut companies. There were also two Delaware companies which Washington ordered annexed to the 3rd Maryland regiment on September 27. They may or may not be included in these figures."

Lincoln's Division, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln
* *Clinton's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. James Clinton, New York
1st New York Regt. 321/391, Col. Goose Von Schaik, New York
2nd New York Regt.: 344/421, Col. Phillip Van Cortlandt, New York

* *Dayton's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Elias Dayton, New Jersey
1st and 2nd New Jersey Regiments combined: 130/165, Col. Matthias Ogden, New Jersey
Rhode Island Regt.: 291/359, Lieut. Col. Commandant Jeremiah Olney, Rhode Island

Steuben's Division, Major General Baron von Steuben
* *Wayne's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, Pennsylvania
1st Pennsylvania Bttn.: 231/286, Col. Walter Stewart
2nd Pennsylvania Bttn: 254/310, Col. Richard Butler
Virginia Bttn: 302/375, Lieut. Col. Thomas Gaskins

* *Gist's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist, Maryland
3rd Maryland Regt.: 344/431, Lieut. Col. Commandant Peter Adams
4th Maryland Regt.: 450[3638] [?/?], Major Alexander Roxburg
Delaware Recruits: 60, Capt. William McKennan

Sappers and Miners: 50, Capt. James Gilliland, N.Y., Capt. David Bushnell, Conn., Capt.-Lieut. David Kirkpatrick

* *Artillery Brigade*, Maj. Gen. Henry Knox, Mass.
2nd Regt. of Artillery (from N.Y. and Conn.): 225, Col. John Lamb
1st Regt. of Artillery, detachment: 25, Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, Virginia
4th Regt. of Artillery, detachment: 60, Capt. Patrick Duffy, Capt. William Ferguson, Capt. James Smith

Cavalry
4th Regiment of Dragoons: .60, Col. Stephen Moylan, Pennsylvania
Armand's Legion (cavalry only): 40, Colonel Charles Armand

VIRGINIA MILITIA
General Thomas Nelson, Governor of Virginia
* *Weedon's Brigade*: 1,500, Brig. Gen. George Weedon
* *Lawson's Brigade*: 750, Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson
* *Steven's Brigade*: 750, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens
Virginia State Regiment[3639]: 182/200, Lieut. Col. Charles Dabney
Lewis' Rifle Corps, Colonel William I. Lewis

TOTAL for Washington's Army: 4,045/4,955
Grand Total, including Rank and File Sick, or on Furlough, etc.: 6,087[3640]

Jerome A. Greene: 8,200 Continetals and 5,535 militia minus 1,500 absent due to sickness, etc. for a nominal combined total of 12,235.[3641]

[3638] Johnston has this unit's strength as 450
[3639] Made up of the remnants of various Virginia state regiments.
[3640] Totals for Washington's Infantry, October 1781 [not counting those unfit for duty or otherwise away]
Muhlenberg's Brigade: 716/872
Hazen's Brigade: 633/778
N.J. & R.I. Brigade (Dayton): 592/738
N.Y. Brigade (Clinton): 623/766
Pa. & Va. Brigade (Wayne): 702/868
Md. Brigade (Gist): 568/687
Officers present on duty: 22
TOTAL of Washington's Infantry: 3,834/4,731
GRAND TOTAL including Rank and File Sick, On Furlough, etc.: 6,993
[3641] GYT pp. 111-115.

AMERICAN ORDNANCE: as grouped in batteries[3642]
3 eighteen-pounders, 3 twenty-four-pounders, 2 howitzers, 2 ten-inch mortars
4 eighteen-pounders
4 ten-inch mortars
2 eight-inch howitzers, 2 eighteen-pounders
2 ten-inch mortars
4 eighteen-pounders
7 eighteen pounders, 3 twenty-four pounders
4 howitzers, 8 ten-inch mortars
10 5.5-inch royal mortars

FRENCH FORCES PRESENT AT YORKTOWN[3643]
Lieut. Gen. Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, commander of the King's Forces in America[3644]

Maj. Gen. Claude Anne, Marquis de Saint- Simon Montblern
Maj. Gen. Francois-Jean de Beauvoir, Chevalier de Chastellux
Brig. Gen. Claude-Gabriel, Duc de Choisy
Colonel Commandant Desandrouins, Chief Engineer

Numbers are rank and file.

* *Brigade Borbonnois*, Maj. Gen. Antoine-Charles de Houx, Baron de Viomenil
Regt. de Bourbonnois: 900, Col.Anne-Alexander-Marie-Sulpice-Joseph de Montmorency, Marquis de Laval
Regt. de Royal Deux Ponts: 900, Col. Comte Guillaume des Deux-Ponts

* *Brigade Soissonais*, Maj. Gen. Charles-Joseph-Hyacinthe du Houx, Vicomte de Viomenil[3645]
Regt. de Soissonais: 900, Col. Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Philippe de Felix d'Olieres, Count de Saint-Maisme
Regt. de Saintonge: 900, Col. Adam-Philippe, Count de Custine de Sarreck

* *Brigade Agenois*, Maj. Gen. Claude-Ann, Marquis de Saint-Simon Montbleru
Regt. Agenois: 1,000, Col. Antoine-Joseph-Eulalie, Comte de Beaumont d'Autichamp
Regt. Gatenois: 1,000, Col. Juste-Antoine-Henry-Marie-Germaine, Marquis de Rostaing

Regt. Touraine (not brigaded): 1,000, Col. Mestre-de-Camp Henry-Francois Liamont, Viscount de Pondeux

French Artllery, Col. Commandant d'Abovillle
Auxonne Regt. 600
Metz regt.: 70

Cavalry
Lauzun's Legion: 300 infantry, 300 cavalry, Brigadier General Armand-Louis de Goutant Biron, Duc de Lauzun

Jerome A. Greene gives the French as having 8,600 (i.e. 4,000 with Rochambeau plus 3,800 with St. Simon and 800 de Choisy [these last listed as being from de Grasse's fleet]) minus 600 sick, etc. for a round total of 8,000.[3646]

FRENCH ORDNANCE: as grouped in batteries
4 twelve-pounders
6 mortars
1 nine-inch howitzer
8 eighteen-pounders
8 twenty-four pounders[3647]
6 thirteen-inch mortars
8 eighteen-pounders
8 twenty-four pounders[3648]
10 thirteen-inch mortars

TOTAL AMERICAN AND FRENCH STRENGTH BEFORE YORKTOWN: approx. 20,300[3649]

[3642] Most all of these guns were on loan from the French. American, French and British Ordnance figures are taken from a late 18th century map-print of the siege at Yorktown, a version of which can be found in the Stokes collection, N. Y. Public Library.
[3643] For an additional listing of French forces under Rochambeau and St. Simon, see GYT p. 107.
[3644] Among Rochambeau's immediate aides was engineer trained, Col. Louis-Alexandre Berthier; years later, of course, Napoleon's own indispensable chief of staff.
[3645] The Vicomte was the younger brother of Maj. Gen. Baron de Viomenil.
[3646] GYT pp. 111-115.
[3647] Both these 8 eighteen-pounders and 8 twenty-four pounders were grouped together in 3 batteries.
[3648] As before, both these 8 eighteen-pounders and 8 twenty-four pounders were also together in 3 batteries.

MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM HEATH'S ARMY IN THE EASTERN DEPARTMENT for October 1781[3650]

CONTINENTALS
* *Huntington's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington
1st Conn.: 196/230, Col. John Durkee
5th Conn.: 238/280, Lieut. Col. Isaac Sherman
3rd Conn.: 203/240, Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb

* *Swift's Brigade*, Col. Herman Swift
2nd Conn.: 197/243, (Swift)
4th Conn.: 171/209, Col. Zebulon Butler

* *Glover's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. John Glover
1st Mass.: 199/239[3651]
4th Mass.: 179/225, Col. William Shepard
7th Mass.: 208/246, Lieut. Col. John Brooks

* *Paterson's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. John Paterson
2nd Mass.: 215/260, Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Sprout
5th Mass.: 218/269, Col. Rufus Putnam
8th Mass.: 234/280, Col. Michael Jackson

* *Greaton's Brigade*, Col. John Greaton
3rd Mass.: 185/225, (Greaton)
6th Mass.: 200/242, Lieut. Col. Calvin Smith
9th Mass.: 198/244, Col. Henry Jackson

TOTAL Continentals (not including artillery and cavalry): 2,841/3,556

MILITIA and STATE TROOPS: 1,956/2,332
* *Brigade of Conn.* Levies: 876/1,033, Brig. Gen. David Waterbury
Mass. Militia: 313/390, Lieut. Col. Joseph Webb
Mass. and Conn. Militia: 767/909, Mass: Lieut. Col. Luke Drury, Lieut. Col. Enoch Putnam
Conn.: Lieut. Col. Samuel Canfield
N.J. Levies: ?/?, Col. Sylvanus Seely

Continental Artillery
3rd Continental Artillery: 280/456, Col. John Crane

Continental Calvary
2nd Continental Light Dragoons: 101/128, Col. Elisha Sheldon

Invalid Corps: 185/243, Col. Lewis Nicola

TOTAL for Heath's Army (Infantry, Cavalry, artillery) in the Eastern Department: 9,197/11,446 [3652]
GRAND TOTAL including Sick, or on Furlough, etc.: 16,769

Except for the New Jersey militia posted in New Jersey, and the Invalid Corps at West Point, all units under Heath are listed as being stationed in the Highlands, though this designation included units in western and northern New York -- and not just those immediately near the Hudson River.

29-30 September. The night of the 29th, Cornwallis abandoned Yorktown's extrinsic fortifications. Early in the day he had received an express from Clinton stating that Admiral Digby had arrived in New York with 3 ships of the line, and that a 5,000 strong reinforcement would soon be (it was hoped October 5th), headed by Graves and himself, on their way to the Chesapeake. The Americans and French, meantime, moved up the next day and continued deploying their forces around the British positions. Fortescue, like Tarleton, believes that had Cornwallis' held onto those outer works longer, he might have bought the time necessary to have permitted the success of Clinton's rescue effort.[3653]

[3649] GYT pp. 111-124.
[3650] "Return of the Troops of the United States of North America under the Command of the Honble. Majr. Heath, October 29, 1781, Record Group 93, National Archives." This is included to aid in providing the broader strategic picture at this particular time; see also MLW4A pp. 472-473.
[3651] Col. Joseph Vose is named, but this would seem to be in error.
[3652] Not counting those unfit for duty or otherwise away.
[3653] AR81 pp. 130-131, CSS pp. 1227-1228, TCS p. 373, CAR pp. 337-340, MLW4A pp. 479, 482n, FWI p. 253, WFK p. 243, WCO p. 369.

Tarleton: "The next morning (the 29th) the continental infantry marched in columns to the right of the combined forces, causeways being constructed in the night over the morass. A few cannon shot were fired from the British work on the Hampton road [Hampton Roads], and some riflemen skirmished with the pickets of the Anspach battalions on the left. The two armies observed each other with cautious attention, and nothing material occurred within or without the lines till evening, when an express boat reached York town, with a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Earl Cornwallis. The commander in chief advised his lordship of the arrival of Admiral Digby with three ships from Europe, and communicated the determination of the general and flag officers at New York, to embark a considerable corps in the British fleet, which would probably sail from that place on the 5th of October towards the Chesapeak[e]. To this letter is attributed the order for the British troops to quit the outward, and retire to the inner position, which was accomplished before daybreak."[3654]

30 September. The French and Americans, with their main camp two miles distant from the British, broke ground and began the digging of trenches and the installation of gun batteries around Yorktown. By next morning two redoubts had been completed within 1,100 yards of the British lines.[3655]
Private Joseph Plumb Martin: "I do not remember, exactly, the number of days we were employed before we got or batteries in readiness to open upon the enemy, but think it was not more than two or three. The French, who were upon our left, had completed their batteries a few hours before us, but were not allowed to discharge their pieces till the American batteries were ready. Our commanding battery was on the near bank of the [York] river and contained ten heavy guns; the next was a bomb battery of three large mortars; and so on through the whole line. The whole number, American and French, was ninety-two cannon, mortars, and howitzers."[3656]

30 September. [skirmish] Scammel's Capture (York County, VA.) While out reconnoitering the British lines with a few staff, Lieut. Col. Alexander Scammell, from Massachusetts, was severely wounded, and taken prisoner by two or three Hessian horsemen. This reportedly took place in the early morning of the 30th. It was claimed that in the hurry of the fighting he was wounded after having been taken prisoner. Tarleton, on the other hand, asserts he was injured while attempting to retreat. Wahteer the case, the next day Scammel was sent out on parole to the American lines, but expired a few days later on the 6th. While not as such of direct military consequence, the incident was considered a more notable than usual loss and particularly lamented by his American contemporaries because of Scammell's popularity and long years of service in the Continental army spanning back to the war's beginning, including participation at the siege of Boston, the Invasion of Canada, Long Island, Trenton, Princeton, Saratoga, the Sullivan Expedition, and Monmouth.[3657]

30 September. Clinton to Cornwallis, which the latter received on the 10th: "Your lordship may be assured that I am doing every thing in my power to relieve you by a direct move, and I have reason to hope, from the assurances given me this day by Admiral Graves, that we may pass the bar by the 12th of October, if the winds permit, and no unforeseen accident happens; this, however, is subject to disappointment; wherefore, if I hear from you, your wishes will of course direct me, and I shall persist in my idea of a direct move even to the middle of November, should it be your lordship's opinion that you can hold out so long; but if, when I hear from you, you tell me that you cannot, and I am without hopes of arriving in time to succour [sic] you by a direct move, I will immediately make an attempt upon Philadelphia by land, giving you notice, if possible, of my intention. If this should draw any part of Washington's force from you, it may possibly give you an opportunity of doing something to save your army; of which, however, you can best judge, from being upon the spot."[3658]

[3654] TCS p. 373.
[3655] CSS p. 1228, TCS pp. 423-424, LFB2 p. 309.
[3656] *Private Yankee Doodle: Being a Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*, ch. 7, p. 233, (edited by George Scheer), Eastern Acorn Press, Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1962.
[3657] TCS p. 375, GHA4 p. 188, LMS p. 496, LFB2 p. 309, GYT p. 148-150, BEA p. 988-989.
[3658] TCS pp. 424-425.

OCTOBER 1781

October. [skirmish] Hilton Head, S.C. (Beaufort County, S.C.)[3659]

October.[3660] [skirmish] Wappetaw Meeting House (Charlestown, S.C.) [3661]

October. [skirmish] Hartley's Creek, S.C. ONB3 p. 371.

October. [skirmish] Bear Creek, also "Captain Charles Gholson vs. Col. David Fanning" (Chatham County, N.C.) ONB3 p. 378. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/bearcreek.htm

October. [skirmish] Vince's Fort (separate from the 28 October action of the same name), S.C. ONB3 p. 371.

October. [skirmish] Hell Hole Creek, also "Patriots vs. Maj. Bill Cunningham" (Lexington County, S.C.) See http://gaz.jrshelby.com/hellholecr.htm

1 October.
Forces under Cornwallis.
Rank and File:

BRITISH
1st Bttn., Light Infantry: 429, Lieut. Col. Robert Abercromby, Maj. Thomas Armstrong
2nd Bttn., Light infantry: 326 " " " "

* *Brigade of Guards*: 365, Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara, Lieut. Col. Lake

* *Yorke's Brigade*, Lieut. Col. John Yorke
17th Regt.: 128, Lieut. Col. Henry Johnson
23rd Regt.: 123, Capt. Charles Apthorpe
33rd Regt.: 162, (Yorke)
43rd Regt.: 185, Major George Hewitt
2nd Bttn., 71st Regt.: 160, Lieut. Col. Duncan McPherson

* *Dundas' Brigade*, Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundas
76th Regt.: 313, Major Francis Needham
80th Regt.: 455, (Dundas), Maj. James Gordon

GERMAN
Anspach:
1st Anspach Bttn.: 385, Col. Augustus de Voit
2nd Anspach Bttn.: 369, Col. F.J. H. C. William de Seybothen
Hessian:
Prince Hereditaire (Erb Prinz): 337, Lieut. Col. Matthew de Fuchs
Regt. von Bose: 230, Major O'Reilly

PROVINCIAL
Queen's Rangers: 282, Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe
British Legion (cavalry only): 168, Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

Total: 4,417

Detachments not included above:
Royal Artillery: 218, Capt. George Rochfort
German artillery: 49
17th Light Dragoons: 21
23rd Light Company: 45
82nd Light Company: 35
Jägers: 71, Captain Johann Ewald
North Carolina Volunteers: 79
Guides and Pioneers: 52
Total for detachments, etcs.: 570

COMPLETE TOTAL: 4,987[3662]

[3659] LSC p. 19.
[3660] Lipscomb lists this date as probable but not certain.
[3661] LSC p. 19
[3662] CAC p. 236, insert, TBY pp. 23-26, GYT pp. 78-80.

BRITISH ORDNANCE: *grouped by batteries, and includes those at Gloucester*
2 six-pounders, 1 5.5-inch howitzer
3 eighteen-pounders, 5 nine-pounders
5 eighteen-pounders, 1 nine-pounder, 2 six-pounders
1 eighteen-pounder, 3 nine-pounders
1 eighteen pounder, 4 nine-pounders
2 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders
2 eighteen pounders, 1 nine-pounder
2 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders
3 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders, 1 six-pounder, 1 16-inch mortar
1 twenty-four pounder, 2 nine-pounders
2 twelve-pounders, 2 eight-inch howitzers
2 eighteen-pounders, 1 twelve-pounder
5 nine-pounders
8 guns in two batteries: three-pounders, six-pounders, eight-pounders

Some 500 to 600, Cowpens prisoners, were added to Cornwallis strength before the French blockade, and which came in as part of a prisoner exchange.[3663]

In a letter to Greene of 24 October, Washington wrote: "The number of [British, German and Provincial] prisoners is not accurately ascertained, but from the best estimate, will amount to 7,000, exclusive of seamen, 74 brass and 140 iron cannon, with 7,320 muskets which are already returned. The number of seamen exclusive of those on board the private ships, will amount to 8 or 900."[3664]

Wickwire states that when the siege began Cornwallis had 5129 men. In addition to the infantry and cavalry, the army had 632 officers and men from various small units, including guides and pioneers, artillery, and N.C. Volunteers. Further as well, possibly 800 marines from the British warships could be called in.[3665]

CLINTON'S ARMY IN NEW YORK[3666]
Disposition of New York Garrison November 1781 (No. of men fit for duty, effectives)

New York City
Royal Artillery: 390
40th Regt.:245
Regt. von Linsing: 295
Regt. von Lengercke: 342
Regt. von Lowenstein: 311
Musketeer Regt. Landgraf: 298
Regt. von Knyphausen: 265
Regt. von Bunau: 409
Hessian Combined Bttn.: 245

Hampstead
17th Dragoons: 286

Jamiaca
1st Bttn., Grenadiers: 506
2nd Bttn., Grenadiers: 424

Paulus Hook
22nd Regt.: 378
Light Infantry Detachments: 115

Kingsbridge
37th Regt. :373
Regt. von Lossburg: 407
Hesse Hanau Frie Corps: 444

Flushing
38th Regt.:366
54th Regt.:332
Loyal American Regt.:123

[3663] TBY p. 27n.
[3664] NGP9 pp. 479-481.
[3665] WCO pp. 366-367.
[3666] Taken from Katcher, *British, Provincial and German Army Units 1775-1783*, pp. 137-139.

North River Shore
42nd Regt.: 626

Flagstaff
57th Regt.:352
3rd Bttn. N.J. Volunteers: 209[3667]

Flatlands
British detachments: 141

Herricks, Jericho, Westbury
Hesian Jaegars 787

Yellow Hook
Regt. Prinz Carl: 484

Guannas
Lieb Infantry Regt.: 448

McGowan's
Regt. von Donop: 414

Denyces
Hesse-Hanau detachments: 47
Brunswick recruist: 153

Herricks
Anspach: 104

Flatbush
1st Bttn., Delancey's Brigade: 247[3668]

Richmond
1st Bttn., N.J. Volunteers: 245

Horn's Hook
Guides and Pioneers: 89
Fresh Meadows
American Legion: 172

Utrecht
King's American Dragoons: 140

Brooklyn
Garrison Battalion: ?

Hallets Cove
Queen's Rangers

Springfield
British Legion (?)

Newtown
Pennsylvania Loyalists combined total of 173 for the three regiments at Newtown.
Maryland Loyalists
Waldeck regt.

Clinton: The total forces he had in and around New York was nearly 12,000 effectives, but of these only 9,300 were regular troops and provincials fit for duty. In addition, there were 2,500-3,000 German recruits that came in on 11 August, giving the British in and around New York City a rough complete total of 15,000.[3669]

[3667] A new 3rd battalion of New Jersey Volunteers was formed in 1781, while the prior formation of that name, still active in South Carolina, had been re-designated the 2nd Battalion.
[3668] This 1st Bttn. Delancey is presumably an administrative or headquarters unit intended to serve as organizational base and source of replacements for its counterpart active in the field.
[3669] SCV1 p. 15.

2 October. Tarleton crossed over the York River with his Legion to reinforce Dundas in charge at Gloucester; and whom he shortly thereafter replaced in command; Dundas (and Simcoe as well whose unit been posted there) having fallen ill.[3670]
Ewald: "[Entry for 2 October] General Choisy, who commanded fifteen hundred men from the fleet, together with the Legion under the Duc de Lauzun, had joined the American corps under General [George] Weedon, who had advanced to Burwell's Mill. Since yesterday Choisy had pushed forward to Gloucester Court House and sent his patrols to our outposts, whereupon a continual crackling noise arose…
"[3 October]. Last night [the 2nd?] Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton arrived at Gloucester with the cavalry of the Legion, numbering 250 horse, since there is no forage or room for the horses at York and they were useless there. Colonel Dundas also came over with part of the 80th Regiment, and the Erb Prinz regiment under Colonel Fuchs went to York [Yorktown] to replace it."[3671]

3 October. [skirmish] Gloucester (Gloucester County, VA.) Tarleton's troops stationed on Gloucester Point, while out foraging, were attacked by a combined corps of French and Virginia militia, under Brig Gen. Duc de Choisy. After some brief fighting in which the Duc de Lauzun, for a while against superior numbers, distinquished himself, Tarleton withdrew into his lines. This skirmish was succeeded by the allies' investment of Gloucester itself. The British lost 13 killed and wounded, French lost 3 killed and 16 wounded. American losses are not known.[3672] In the encounter and in which he and the Duc almost personally clashed, Tarleton himself suffered injuries which prevented him from fighting further in the war.[3673] For an at length personal account by Col. John Francis Mercer of activity in and around Gloucester at this time, see HFR pp. 54-62.

3 October. [raid] Pratt's Mill, also "Capt. John Norwood vs. Lt. Col. Bill Cunningham" (Abbeville County, S.C.) A force of 30 whigs were surprised and routed by mounted loyalists, under Lieut. Col. William Cunningham, and who afterward set fire to the mill.

5 October. [skirmish] Stevens Creek, S.C. ONB3 p. 372.

6-7 October. French and American heavy siege guns having been unloaded the previous days were readied and with work being commenced on the first parallel.[3674]

8-9 October. By the 8th, and despite British efforts to suppress such with sporadic battery fire, much had been finished with respect to digging and fortifying the besieger's trenches in the first parallel at Yorktown, with the installation of allied gun batteries all but completed.[3675]
Col. Richard Butler, commanding the 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion: "October 8th, 1781. The division of Steuben for the trenches to-day. This is composed of the Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania troops.
"The enemy continued to cannonade, mounted at 12 o'clock. The enemy kept hard at work, and fired incessantly on our fatigue parties, who really wrought hard and completed one large battery on our extreme right, on the bank of the river, on which three 29-pounders, three i8-pounders, two 10-inch mortars and two 8-inch howitzers were mounted. The Marquis de St. Simon had a battery completed on the extreme left, of eight 18 and 12-pounders, two 10-inch mortars and two 8-inch howitzers, both which batteries were made ready to open at the same instant. A very fine battery of twelve 32, 24, and 18-pounders, six 10-inch mortars and six 8-inch howitzers was forwarded, with small batteries on the right and left of this grand centre battery. The enemy seem embarrassed, confused and indeterminate; their fire seems feeble to what might be expected; their works, too, are not formed on any regular plan, but thrown up in a hurry occasionally, and although we have not as yet fired one shot from a piece of artillery, they are as cautious as if the heaviest fire was kept up.
"October 9th. Relieved by Major General Lincoln's division. This day, at 3 o'clock, P.M., the batteries of Lamb and the Marquis de St. Simon opened with great elegance and were quickly followed. The Commander-in-Chief paid the allies the compliment of firing first. The shot and shells flew incessantly through the night, dismounted the guns of the enemy and destroyed many of their embrasures."[3676]

Lossing: "On the afternoon of the ninth, several batteries and redoubts were completed, and a general discharge of twenty-four and eighteen pounders was commenced by the Americans on the right. The cannonade was kept up without intermission during the night and early the next morning the French opened up their batteries upon the enemy. For nearly eight hours there was an incessant roar of cannons and mortars; and hundreds of bombs and round shot poured upon the British works. So tremendous was the bombardment, that the besieged soon withdrew their cannon from the embrasures, and fired very few shots in return."[3677]

10 October. The British *Charon* (44 guns), and two or three transports were set on fire by guns from a French battery; while another British ship, the *Guadaloupe* was forced to retreat out of range. In the channel at

[3670] SQR pp. 248-254, MLW4A pp. 481-483, LMS pp. 496-499, 513-514, WCO p. 373.
[3671] EHJ p. 329.
[3672] TCS pp. 376-378, LMS p. 497, JYC pp. 128-129, WAR2 p. 888, BGD p. 184, BEA pp. 437-438.
[3673] AR81 p. 130, EHJ pp. 329-330, CSS p. 1227, SQR pp. 248-254, MLW4A pp. 481-483, HFR pp. 54-62, LMS pp. 496-499, GYT pp. 174-176.
[3674] AR81 p. 130, CBA p. 636, GHA4 p. 191, SAW2 p. 409, MLW4A pp. 483-484, LMS pp. 499-500, JYC p. 131, WCO p. 376, GYT pp. 185-190.
[3675] CSS pp. 1228-1230, TCS pp. 425-426, MLW4A p. 483, LMS pp. 499-500, JYC p. 135.
[3676] *Historical Magazine*, vol. VIII, pp. 107-108, CSS pp. 1229-1230.
[3677] LFB2 p. 311.

Yorktown, Cornwallis had previously sank several vessels in the river just outside the town to prevent any Allied landings from the rear.[3678]

11-12 October. Beginning the night of the 11th, the Allies began work on the second parallel, which was completed by next morning. In the interim, another British ship was set on fire by heated shot from the French batteries.[3679]
On the 11th, Cornwallis wrote Clinton [in cipher]: "I have only to repeat what I said in my letter of the 3d, that nothing but a direct move to York river, which includes a successful naval action, can save me. The enemy made their first parallel on the night of the 6th, at the distance of six hundred yards, and have perfected it, and constructed places of arms and batteries with great regularity and caution. On the evening of the 9th their batteries opened, and have since continued firing without intermission, with about forty pieces of cannon, mostly heavy, and sixteen mortars, from eight to sixteen inches. We have lost about seventy men, and many of our works are considerably damaged: With such works on disadvantageous ground, against so powerful an attack, we cannot hope to make a very long resistance.
"P. S. Oct. 11, five P. M. -- Since my last letter was written we have lost thirty men.
"Oct. 12, seven P. M. -- Last night the enemy made their second parallel at the distance of three hundred yards. We continue to lose men very fast."[3680]

Lee: "The slender defences opposed to us began to tumble under the demolishing fire…
"Surprised at the unexpected condition in which he [Cornwallis] found himself, he urged with redoubled vigor the repairs wherever requisite, and strengthened his advanced works. This was the morning of the seventh day since Sir Henry Clinton was to 'start' with his relief 'navy and army.' Cornwallis continued to believe in the assurance, and with unappalled courage determined to maintain his lines. His battery and his two front redoubts opened, and during this day his fire most injured us. Many of our soldiers were killed and wounded. Nevertheless our parallel advanced, and our batteries began to show themselves, yet his two redoubts continued their fire with severe effect."[3681]

Historian Jerome A. Greene: "But the bark of the artillery died suddenly as Cornwallis's soldiers witnessed a most unaccountable happening. Young Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, commanding the Second Battalion of Hazen's Brigade[3682] suddenly ordered his unit to mount the epaulement and -- fully exposed to whatever guns the enemy might open on them -- to execute the manual of arms from Steuben's *Regulations*. Incredulous at the development, the British held their fire. 'Although I esteem him one of the finest officers in the American army,' said one man [James Duncan of the Pennsylvania Line] of Hamilton, ''[I] must beg leave in this instance to think he wantonly exposed the lives of his men.' The incident, however impetuous, sparked repeated emulation through the siege. Later, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt paraded his Second New York Regiment, with unfurled banners and beating drums, dangerously close to the British main lines. Baron Steuben diverted the enemy from bombarding Van Cortlandt's men with shot and shell by directing an attack in another quarter. And Steuben himself ultimately fell victim to bravado, directing his own troops through a similar escapade in the face of Cornwallis's artillery."[3683]

14 October. Clinton to Cornwallis: "At a council of war of the General Officers, held on the 10th instant, it was resolved I should submit the three following plans to your Lordship's consideration. They occurred to us as secondary objects only, (in case we should find it absolutely impracticable to go directly up to York; or, by landing at Monday's point, effect a junction with you by the Gloucester side) and be thereby obliged to try James river.
"FIRST. To land at Newport-News, and the troops to advance from thence on the James river road to some favourable position, in communication with that river, where we are to wait until we hear from your Lordship, or circumstances may make it proper for us to co-operate with you in effecting a junction of the two armies, which we at present think will be best done without your lines, in preference to an attempt of doing it within, for reasons we think obvious.
"SECOND. To attempt a junction with you by a combined move, -- we moving up James river to James town, and your Lordship up the York river to either Queen's creek or Cappahosick ferry, and effect the junction as near Williamsburg as we can; thereby putting ourselves in a situation to attack the enemy, should it be thought adviseable.
"THIRD. To save as great a part of your Lordship's corps as possible, by bringing them off to James town, and a naval force will be ready to protect them. This we think may be done by our giving jealousy to the enemy from Newport News or Mulberry island, whilst your Lordship moving up the river with as many troops as your boats will carry, or marching up the Gloucester side, crosses the river, and lands either at Queen's creek or Cappahosick, and makes the best of your way to James town…
"By this your Lordship will perceive, our wishes are to effect the junction first by York, -- next by Gloucester, -- and, in case either of those are absolutely impracticable, by the James river. -- First landing at Newport News, and taking a position ready to co-operate with your Lordship, in case you should recommend a combined effort

[3678] TCS p. 327, LFB2 p. 311, JYC p. 140, WAR2 p. 890.
[3679] GHA4 pp. 191-192, SAW2 p. 410, MLW4A pp. 483-485, LMS pp. 499-500, LFB2 p. 312, JYC p. 167.
[3680] TCS pp. 425-426.
[3681] LMS pp. 499-500.
[3682] Hamilton's battalion was made up of 4 companies of Massachusettes light infantry, 3 from Connecticut, and 2 from New York.
[3683] CSS pp. 1228-1230, GYT pp. 197-198.

to effect a junction that way; or to endeavour [sic] to effect it near Williamsburg, the two armies moving up the James and York rivers about the same time, we landing at James town, and your Lordship where you judge best; and when our junction is formed, bring on a general action with the enemy, should that on consultation be thought adviseable [sic]. But in case all these should fail, our last object will be to save as many of your Lordship's troops as we can, and leave the post at York afterwards to make the best terms they can for themselves.
"The *Torbay* and *Prince William* having arrived on the 11th, our fleet at present consists of twenty-five sail of the line and two fifties, with a large number of frigates. They are now ready, and I expect we shall certainly sail in a day or two. [3684]
"P. S. Oct. 15. -- Had the wind been fair to day, the fleet would have fallen down to the Hook, but I expect the whole will sail to-morrow."[3685]

14 October. [siege assaults] Redoubts No. 9 and No. 10 (York County, VA.) On the artillery lit night of 14 October, the French and Americans launched separate night assaults on British forward redoubts No. 9 and No. 10 at Yorktown. The French under Maj. Gen. Baron de Viomenil were given orders to breach the larger redoubt No. 9; while the American contingent under Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton were assigned redoubt No. 10. while Awaiting their pioneers' methodically disposing of the fraises and abatis, Viomenil's men were forced to endure prolonged heavy fire from the German gunners. When the pioneers were finally done, the French then rushed valiantly forward, shouting "Vivé le Roi," and successfuly seized their objective. The American light infantry for its part carried out their task with an intrepidity and discipline that has been cited as the high water mark of Continental army professionalism. Unlike the French, however, the Americans did not wait on the engineers; but (more or less) carried out the bayonet assault and hacked and dismantled the works simultaneously. Certainly the outnumbered British and Germans defenders deserve much credit for their spirited defense. With some last moment, albeit futile, gallantry of some British officers sword in hand and (so it is reported) a few privates cowering and begging for mercy, both redoubts were taken.[3686]

**** Assault on Redoubt No. 9***[3687]

FRENCH:
Maj. Gen. Baron de Viomenil

Col. Comte Guillame des Deux-Ponts,
Royal Deuxponts Regt.: 400, (Deux-Ponts), Lieut. Col. Baron de l'Estrade

In addition, the 2nd Regt. Gatenois, under Comte de Rostaing, was placed in reserve, but did not engage.

BRITISH defending Redoubt No. 9:
Combined British and Hesse-Cassel detatchment (Erb Prinz Regt.): 120, Lieut. Col. Duncan McPherson of the 71st Regt.[3688]

The French lost 15 killed, 77 wounded; the British 18 killed and 50 prisoners, including the wounded.

**** Assault on Redoubt No. 10***

AMERICAN:
Maj. Gen. Marquis de Lafayette

Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton
2nd Light Infantry Bttn., Lafayette Division, Lieut. Col. John Joseph Gimat
2nd Light Infantry Bttn., Hazen Division, (Hamilton)
half of the 3rd Light Infantry Bttn., Hazen Division, Lieut. Col. John Laurens

Detachment of sappers and miners

Total American Troops: 400, plus the sappers and miners

[3684] Other than this mention of the Royal Navy ships present as his escort, no reference or suggestion is made with respect to any opposition de Grasse's fleet might pose; so that given the urgency of the situation it was evidently more or less assumed that the French would be beaten if a further round of naval fighting took place. Lee for his part characterizes Clinton's rescue scheme as chimerical, and a decisive naval victory and a repulse of the allied land forces required by the British as most unlikely. LMS pp 515-516.
[3685] CAC pp. 257-260.
[3686] Among those present with Hamilton were -- Col. John Laurens; who, as well as being one of those noted by Tarleton for his gallantry in the assault on no. 10, had earlier been among the officers surrendered at Charlestown; and Col. Charles Armand, veteran of Camden. The light infantry of the 1st Rhode Island Regt., also incidentally and which was comprised of a large number of Black soldiers, participated in the attack. EHJ p. 335, CSS p. 1233, AR81 pp. 131-132, TCS pp. 385-386, GHA4 pp. 192-193, MLW4A pp. 484-488, LMS pp. 500-503, LFB2 pp. 312-313, JYC pp. 142-145, WAR2 p. 892, BEA pp. 1244-1245, GYT pp. 277-286.
[3687] Numbers given below are rank and file.
[3688] WCO pp. 380-381, GYT pp. 276-277.

2 Pennsylvania Battalions, under Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, were held in reserve, but did not engage.

BRITISH defending redoubt No. 10:
50-70 men, Major James Campbell of the 71st Regt.

Jerome A. Greene: "[The redoubts 9 and 10] were manned by details from the 33rd, 43rd, 71st, 80th, von Bose, and Prince Hereditaire regiments…According to to the British orderly book for the 43rd Foot, 208 men held the redoubts. Probably 60-70 men manned Redoubt 10, with the balance holding the larger structure…The most difficult assignemnet fell to Baron de Viomenil, whose objective was Redoubt 9 -- by far the strongest of the two outposts…Lafayette's objective was Redoubt 10. The strike force selected for that honor was composed of light infantry pulled from three regiments: Lieutenant Colonel de Gimat's mixed battalion of men from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island (the latter were taken from Olney's 1st Rhode Island and included a large number -- perhaps a majority -- of black troops); Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton's New York and Connecticut battalion; and soldiers from Lieutenat Colonel John Laurens's New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts battalion. The American column numbered about the ame as the French: 400 men, plus a party of sappers and mners who would advance and clear a path for the attacking column."[3689]

Americans lost 9 killed and 25-31 wounded. Wickwyre states the two actions cost Cornwallis 6 officers, 67 men captured, 26 killed. Johnson, commanding redoubt No. 9, escaped.[3690]

Earl Cornwallis to Clinton on the 15th wrote (in cipher): "Last evening the enemy carried two advanced redoubts on the left by storm, and during the night have included them in their second parallel, which they are at present busy in perfecting. My situation now becomes very critical; we dare not shew [sic] a gun to their old batteries, and I expect that their new ones will open to-morrow morning: Experience has shewn, that our fresh earthen works do not resist their powerful artillery; so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers. The safety of the place is, therefore, so precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavouring to save us."[3691]

In a report to Washington, dated October 16th, "Camp before York," Lafayette briefed: "Colonel Gimat's battalion led the van, and was followed by that of Colonel Hamilton's, who commanded the whole advanced corps, at the same time a party of eighty men, under Col. Laurens, turned the redoubt. I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the report I have received from Col. [Alexander] Hamilton, whose well known talents and gallantry, were on this occasion most conspicuous and serviceable. Our obligations to him, to Col. Gimat to Col. Laurens, and to each and all the officers and men above expression. Not one gun was fired; and the ardor of the troops did not give time for the sappers to derange the abattis; and owing to the conduct of the commanders, and the bravery of the men, the redoubt was stormed with uncommon rapidity.
"Colonel [Francis] Barbers batallion [sic] which was the first in the supporting column being detached to the aid of the advance arrived at the moment they were getting over the works, and executed their orders with the utmost alacrity. The colonel was slightly wounded. The rest of the column under Gen Mullemberg [Peter Muhlenberg] and [Moses] Hazen advanced with admirable firmness and discipline to the left, a part of the division successively dressing by him, whilst a kind of second line was forming columns in the rear. It adds greatly to the character of the troops, that under the fire of the enemy [sic], they displayed and took their ranks with perfect silence and order."[3692]

Ewald: "Toward evening on the 15th [actually the 14th] …About eight o'clock General Baron Vioménil attacked the detached redoubt on the left with French troops, and the Marquis de Lafayette attacked the adjacent one with the Americans. Both redoubts were taken with the bayonet after a fight of an hour. The Hessian Lieutenant Anderson of the Erb Prinz Regiment and the English Captain Tailor [Taylor?] were seized with swords in hand by the enemy. Both officers were wounded by bayonets or swords and won the praise of the enemy. Most of the garrison is said to have saved itself too soon."[3693]

Sous-lieutenant Wilhelm Graf von Schwerin in a letter to his uncle in France, written on 21 October, from York, Virginia: "On 14 October our company of grenadiers, where I have the honor of still serving, received orders to march into our redoubts. Our chasseurs, the grenadiers of the Gatenois regiment and their chasseurs joined us at nightfall. Our colonel-en-second, chevalier de Deux-Ponts, received command of this battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs; [Charles du Houx, Baron] de Viomenil, maréchal-de-camp, had the overall command. At 8 o'clock at night we approached the redoubts, always hidden behind our entrenchments. At 8 ¼ we were ordered to march in attack step up to the enemy redoubt and ascend it in an assault, our colonel-en-second at the head. There was a lively fire from all sides for about ¼ of an hour, after which the enemy offered to surrender. The garrison of the fort consisted of 160 men, of which we took no more than 40 prisoners without counting the dead; the others saved themselves as best they could. On our side we lost 80 men killed or wounded. Two officers of the French regiment were killed…The enemy maintained a continuous fire from his forts on our redoubts which we had taken, they also had the skill to throw during the night five or six bombs in our redoubt which exploded and

[3689] Jerome A. Greene, *The Guns of Independence: The Siege of Yorktown, 1781* pp. 236-237.
[3690] WCO pp. 380-381.
[3691] TCS p. 426.
[3692] LLW pp. 235-236.
[3693] EHJ p. 335.

which killed a few grenadiers and chasseurs. I assure you, my very dear uncle, that one had to crouch on the ground all night to avoid the cannons and the bombs."[3694]

Lossing: "Rochambeau, in his *Memoirs*, mentions an interesting circumstance connected with the attack upon this redoubt. The grenadiers of the regiment of Gatenois, which had been formed out of that of Auvergne, called *Sans Tache* ['without stain'], were led to the attack. When informed that they were to be engaged in this perilous enterprise, they declared their willingness 'to be killed, even to the last man,' if their original name, which they so much revered, would be restored to them. Rochambeau promised them it should be done. They fought like tigers, and one third of their number were killed. When Rochambeau reported this affair to the king, Louis signed the order, restoring to the regiment the name of Royal Auvergne."[3695]

15 October. Work on the Allied second parallel at Yorktown was all but finished. On this date De Grasse was supposed to have left the Chesapake and return to the West Indies, but had been urgently dissuaded from this by Lafayette, Rochambeau, and Washington, and so remained in the bay till Nov. 5. After the siege ended Washington had tried (perhaps at the suggestion of Greene's then present aide and emissary, Henry Lee) to get de Grasse to sail some of his Continentals troops south to assist Greene, yet to this de Grasse felt he could not comply.[3696]

15 October. [skirmish] Raft Swamp (Robeson County, N.C.) North Carolina militia under Colonel Robert Smith, and Major Joseph Graham (other accounts also include Col. Thomas Robeson though Caruthers makes no mention of him) routed and dispersed some loyalists near Raft Swamp, which had been an active center of loyalist activity for quite some time. This action occurred during Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford's campaign, carried on into December, to extirpate the loyalists in and around Drowning Creek and Wilmington. Rutherford spent some time training his men at a location where Drowning Creek (now Lumber Creek) flows into Montgomery County. At one point, he reportedly had 1,200 N.C. militia men assembled.[3697]
Joseph Graham: "…[T]he Enemy having marched to Wilmington & left a garrison there, but no militia services were called for in the west until the month of August 1781, though the Tories, under protection of the British, had possession of the Country South of Cape Fear [River] until above Fayetteville & Col. [David] Fanning of the Tories surprised Hillsboro & took Governor Burke prisoner. General Rutherford returned about this time. He had been exchanged (he was taken prisoner at Gates' defeat and with other distinguished Citizens had been confined in the Castle at St. Augustine). [Rutherford] sent this deponent orders to raise a troop of Dragoons in Mecklenburg [County, NC], many of those who had served the preceding winter joined. There were but 4 married men in the Troop. [We] joined Head Quarters near P. Dee [Peedee River], did not receive the Commission herewith sent until several days after application was made to the Genl. on the ground that several officers who had formerly acted under verbal appointments who had been taken prisoners and they had not been Respected as officers but treated as common Soldiers, when all the drafts were assembled a Legionary Corps were formed under the command of Col. Robert Smith who had been a Captain in the North Carolina line. It consisted of 3 troops of Dragoons about 96 troopers and 200 mounted Infantry. This Deponent was appointed Major as will appear by the commission and other papers herewith -- Two days after the General, having information the Tories embodied on Raft Swamp upwards of 600 were about to retreat before him towards Wilmington, detached this deponent with the Dragoons & 40 mounted men with orders to endeavor to hold them at bay or impede their march so as he might follow and overtake them -- when they [the Tories] were overtaken, the ground appearing favorable they were charged by the Dragoons and entirely defeated and dispersed 20 or 30 being killed and wounded entirely with saber.
"This Deponent was detached by Col. Smith with one troop of dragoons and two companies of mounted men at Alfred Moore's Plantation a mile below the ferry at Wilmington where we surprised and defeated about 100 Tories; killed & wounded 12.
"The next day we were in an unsuccessful attack on a British Garrison in a brick house that covered the ferry opposite Wilmington. In this engagement, we had one of our party killed.
"This deponent was afterwards detached by order of General Rutherford with three companies (one of which was dragoons) by Brunswick over Lockwood's folly and Waccamaw River at a place called Seven Creeks near the South Carolina line. We were attacked about midnight by the noted Col Ganey of So. Carolina who was then under a truce with Genl Marion but it appears Ganey did not consider it binding in North Carolina. We had one of our party killed & 2 wounded & 4 horses killed. The Cavalry charged & defeated them & killed one of Ganey's party -- for the further evidence of this service see Genl. [Griffith] Rutherford's order to this deponent (after the British had left Wilmington) dated Wilmington Nov. 18th 1781 and the orders this deponent gave to those under his Command when acting in pursuance of said order, the whole of which service was something over 3 months. During this service, we lost two men killed and two wounded and were in 4 battles."[3698]

Caruthers: "The Tories had never dispersed since the capture of Gove. Burke and about six hundred of them were now embodied on the Raft Swamp, under [Colonels] Ray [Duncan Ray], McDougal [Archibald McDougald] and McNeil [Hector MacNeil], ('one-eyed Hector.') Gen. [Joseph] Graham says, they were informed that Col.

[3694] Quoted in "Eyewitness to Yorktown,"(letters to home from Sous-lieutenant Wilhelm Graf von Schwerin), edited with an article by Robert A. Selig, *Military History* (magazine), Feb. 2003, pp 58-64.
[3695] LFB2 p. 313n.
[3696] TCS p. 386, GHA4 p. 199, LMS pp. 500, 518.
[3697] CNC22 pp. 125-126, CNS2 pp. 368-380, DRO pp. 224-227. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/littleraftsw.htm Dunkerly speaks of some of Rutherford's force being ambushed the day following Raft Swamp, see DRO p. 227.
[3698] GPS.

Fanning was not with them. The tradition of the neighborhood says he was there, but was one of the first that fled. When the reinforcements were received, Major [Robert] Smith was raised to the rank of colonel, and Captain Graham to that of major. These light troops scoured the country, and being in advance of the infantry, did all the fighting. As soon as the cavalry approached, they [the loyalists] fled in every direction, and made no organized general resistance, for they had neither the discipline nor the firmness necessary to face such men under such officers.
"The Whigs came upon them on the causeway of the Raft Swamps [sic], each of them two or three hundred yards wide, and rode over them, cut them with their sabers, and tumbled the riders and their sand hill ponies off the causeway into the water, where probably some of them drowned. At a certain point, they had taken their stand on the rising ground, intending to give the Whigs 'Jesse,' as they came out of the Swamp; but as soon as they saw them, on their big western horses, rushing through like a torrent, they were frightened out of their wits and fled in utter confusion. [Based on Joseph Graham's account] sixteen of them were known to have been killed, John McAdoo, who was greatly lamented as a man of tried firmness and dauntless courage. Some of the Tories fled to the 'Neutral Ground,' and some left the country; but most of them gave in their submission…
"…he [David Fanning]'' would not have had command of more than his own men, if he had been there, as the Scotch were unwilling to be commanded by him; but, if he had been the commanding officer, he had more sense than to encounter a superior force of western men, commanded by such officers as Rutherford, Smith, Graham and others, whose character for skill and bravery was well known all over the State. He knew well what would be the result; and, rather than witness the destruction, or entire discomfiture of his friends, he very prudently left when he found that the enemy was nearly within striking distance.
"Before Fanning and Elrod joined them with the men they had collected, Col. McNeil, 'One-eyed Hector,' as he was afterwards called, had marched his army down about five miles below McFalls [McPhaul's] mill, and encamped in the woods at the mouth of Brown's, now McDougal's branch, on the south-west side of the Little Raft Swamp, and about a mile above the Lowry road, where they were joined by Fanning and Elrod. At the battle on Cane Creek, as before stated, where old Col. Hector MacNeil was killed, McDougal [McDougald] was put in his place; but that was intended to be only a temporary appointment. When the danger was over, according to tradition, another Hector MacNeil was put in the place, to conceal the death of the old Colonel, and he continued in office. Still McDougal may also have been permitted to retain his appointment in honor of his services on that occasion; but be this as it may, none of them having much to do, he left head-quarters and went on a visit to his old Whig friend, Neill Brown., Esq., who lived some four or five miles south, on the south-west side of Richland swamp, where he stayed a day or two. Next morning [the second morning of this visit, I presume,) word came to the army that Gen. Rutherford had arrived at McFall's mill; and they just supposed that, in a day or two, he might come down, or perhaps send a forward detachment to reconnoitre [sic] their camp, and perhaps 'beat up their quarters,' a little…." [Caruthers goes on to describe the engagement in greater details, accompanied with his usual remarks and observations.][3699]

16 October. [skirmish] Monck's Corner (Berkeley County) Boatner: "According to [Newton A.] Strait, a Col. Malone (not identified in Heitman) attacked the British camp and took 80 prisoners."[3700]

16 October. [sortie] Yorktown (York County, VA.) At 3 am on the 16th, the British carried out a sortie on the Allied second parallel in order to delay its opening. The essaying party, about 350-400, headed by Lieut. Col. Robert Abercromby, was comprised of Light Infantry under Maj. Armstrong, Grenadiers of the Foot Guards, and a company of the 80th under Lieut. Col. Lake. Somehwat successful at first, they were at last driven off by a larger force of grenadiers under Col. Louis-Marte Vicomte de Noailles, of the Regt. de Soissonnois. Though the British acquitted themselves honorably by the bold gesture, spiking 7 French guns and taking a few prisoners in the process, the overall effect was slight; the spiked guns being repaired within a few hours. British killed 8 and captured 12 prisoners mostly French and one American; they themselves lost 20, officers and men killed and wounded.[3701]

16-17 October. During the night Cornwallis began ferrying troops over to Gloucester in an effort to permit his army's escape. Although a first group (including the greater part of the light infantry, Guards and the 23rd Regt.) was able to cross and disembark, a storm arose endangering any further such efforts and the attempt was halted.
At ten o'clock then on the morning of the 17th, a drummer appeared on a parapet of the British works, beating a parley. Cornwallis therafter relayed a message to Washington and Rochambeau requesting a suspension of hostilities. Ewald comments with some persuasiveness that a move *south* across the James River toward the Carolinas (with one navigable river to cross), rather than *north* (with three navigable rivers to pass) would have been a more prudent escape strategy for Cornwallis.[3702]

17 October. The allied second parallel was completed.[3703]

18 October. Negotiations for surrender were carried on between Cornwallis and the Allies at Yorktown.[3704]

[3699] CNS2 pp. 368-373.
[3700] Newton A. Strait, *Alphabetical List of Battles, 1754-1900,* Washington, 1900, BEA p. 711.
[3701] EHJ p. 336, AR81 pp. 132-133, CSS p. 1237, TCS pp. 386-387, GHA4 pp. 193-194, SAW2 pp. 410-411, MLW4A pp. 488-489, LMS p. 503, JYC p. 149, WAR2 p. 893.
[3702] EHJ pp. 336-338, AR81 p. 133, TCS pp. 387-388, CSS pp. 1234-1238, SAW2 p. 412, MLW4A pp. 389-390, LMS pp. 503-506, LFB2 p. 315, JYC p. 149, WAR2 pp. 893-894.
[3703] MLW4A pp. 488-489, LMS p. 506.

19 October. Clinton and Graves with 7,000 troops embarked from New York to aid Cornwallis. They had been ready to go on the 15th, but bad weather had caused a three day cunctation.[3705]

19 October. [surrender] YORKTOWN (York County, VA) Receiving an ultimatum from Washington and Rochambeau, Cornwallis, cut off from any support and his men suffering alarming losses, finally surrendered at Yorktown with a reported 7,247 (6,602 rank and file) and 840 seaman being given up to the Americans and French. Cornwallis' casualties otherwise during the siege were 156 killed and 326 wounded, and 70 missing. Of these, the German losses were 53 killed, 131 wounded, and 27 missing. As well, over 1,500 (Cornwallis' return says 1,900) were reported sick or unfit for duty on day of the surrender. The American casualties were 26 killed, 56 wounded; those of French 52 killed, and 134 wounded. Based on an unofficial statement the number of sick and unfit for duty among the allies combined was 1,430.
The British were granted the same humiliating terms of surrender as the Charlestown garrison of 1780. Although the war would continue to drag on for more than a year, Yorktown loudly signaled the beginning of the end; with joy, relief, and grief being some of the emotions commonly expressed by those present.
Clinton sailed from New York on this same day of the surrender, with 25 ships of the line, 2 fifty-gun ships, and 8 frigates and 7,000 troops. He arrived off the Virginia Capes on the 24th (which see), and stayed waiting in the Chesapeake till the 29th. But by then, having fully ascertained what had happened, he returned to New York. De Grasse and the French fleet, for their part, departed the Chesapeake en route to the West Indies on 5 November (he originally had been under orders to have left by Oct. 15th.)
Prisoners taken by the Allies at Yorktown were subsequently marched to Winchester, Virginia, and Frederickstown, Maryland, Cornwallis and his principal officers sailed for New York on parole. St. Simon embarked on the last of October, and de Grasse left on 4 November. Rochambeau and his troops remained in Williamsburg till the spring (Lossing says summer), after which they moved north to camp on the Hudson (to which location Washington as well had returned to not long after the siege.) In Autumn 1782, they moved to a New England location, and by early December had embarked from Boston for the West Indies.[3706]
Lee: "The author was present at this ceremony; and certainly no spectacle could be more impressive than the one now exhibited. Valiant troops yielding up their arms after fightingin defence of a cause dear to them (because the cause of their country), under a leader who, throughout the war, in every grade and in every situation to which he had been called, appeared the Hector of his host. Battle after battle had he fought; climate after climate had he endured; towns had yielded to his mandate, posts were abandoned at his approach; armies were conquered by his prowess; one nearly exterminated, another chased from the confines of South Carolina beyond the Dan into Virginia, and a third severely chastised in that State on the shores of James River. But here even he, in the midst of his splendid career, found his conqueror.
"The road through which they marched was lined with spectators, French and American. On one side the commander-in-chief, surrounded by his suite and the American staff, took his station; on the other side, opposite to him, was the Count de Rochambeau in like manner attended. The captive army approached, moving slowly in column with grace and precision. Universal silence was observed amidst the vast concourse, and the utmost decency prevailed; exhibiting in demeanor an awful sense of the vicissitudes of human fortune, mingled with commiseration for the unhappy. The head of the column approached the commander-in-chief; -- O'Hara, mistaking the circle, turned to that on his left for the purpose of paying his respects to the commander-in-chief, and requesting further orders; when quickly discovering his error, with much embarrassment in his countenance, he flew across the road, and advancing up to Washington, asked pardon for his mistake, apologized for the absence of Lord CornMrallis, and begged to know his further pleasure. The general feeling his embarrassment, relieved it by referring him to General Lincoln for his government. Returning to the head of the column, it moved under the guidance of Lincoln to the field selected for the conclusion of the ceremony.
"Every eye was turned, searching for the British commander-in-chief, anxious to look at that man, heretofore so much the object of their dread. All were disappointed. Cornwallie held himself back from the humiliating scene; obeying emotions which his great character ought to have stifled. He had been unfortunate, not from any false step or deficiency of exertion on his part, but from the infatuated policy of his superior, and the united power of his enemy, brought to bear upon him alone. There was nothing with which he could reproach himself; there was nothing with which he could reproach his brave and faithful army; why not then appear at its head in the day of misfortune, as he had always done in the day of triumph? The British general in this instance deviated from his usual line of conduct, dimming the splendor of his long and brilliant career."[3707]

"Lord Cornwallis' deputy Adjutant General's Return of the troops surrendered at York and Gloucester:
Surrendered at York: 385 sergeants, 165 drummers, 5014 rank and file
Gloucester 91 sergeants, 39 drummers, 936 rank and file
Total: 476 sergeants, 204 drummers, 5950 rank and file
Of which 1900 rank and file were sick."[3708]

General Return of British Troops Surrendered Prisoners of War on the 19th of October, 1781[3709]

[3704] LFB2 pp. 317-318.
[3705] CAC pp. 257-260, CGP pp. 116-118, MLW4A pp. 479, 482n, 496, WFK p. 244.
[3706] ATR82a pp. 34, 35, 37, 40, 42, 46, 59, 140, AR81 pp. 133-135, TCS pp. 365-393, CAR p. 587, GHA4 pp. 194-200, CSS pp. 1236-1243, MLW4A pp. 490-503, LMS pp. 507-514, LFB2 pp. 303-320, CBA p. 643, JYC p. 158, FWI pp. 251-252, WAR2 pp. 886-896.
[3707] LMS pp. 512-513.
[3708] CAR p. 587. At the time of the surrender Cornwallis had 4,017 fit for duty. RCC p. 132.
[3709] From the U.S. Army Center for Military History.

Organization	Officers	Men	Other personnel	Total
General and staff	31		46	77
Royal Artillery	13	198	31	242
Guards	23	504		527
Light Infantry	31	640		671
Seventeenth Regiment	17	227		244
Twenty-third Regiment	12	221		233
Thirty-third Regiment	11	259		270
Forty-third Regiment	14	345		359
Seventy-first Regiment	22	272		294
Seventy-sixth Regiment	31	684		715
Eightieth Regiment	32	657		689
Two battalions Anspach	69	1005	2	1086
Prince Hereditaire	22	455	7	484
Regiment de Bose	15	333	1	349
Yagers	5	69		74
British Legion	25	216		241
Queen's Rangers	43	277		320
North Carolina vol.	21	121		142
Pioneers	5	37		42
Small detachments	14	10		24
Taken on 14th & 16th Oct.	6	72		78
Camp followers			80	80
TOTAL	462	6602	177	7241

Lossing: "The loss of the British on this occasion was one hundred and fifty-six killed, three hundred and twenty-six wounded, and seventy missing. The whole number surrendered by capitulation was a little more than seven thousand, according to the most reliable authorities, making the total loss between seventy-five and seventy-eight hundred. The combined army employed in the siege consisted of about seven thousand regular American troops, more than five thousand French, and four thousand militia; a total of over sixteen thousand men. Their loss during the siege, of killed and wounded, was only about three hundred. The artillery, and military stores and provisions surrendered, were very considerable. There were seventy-five brass, and one hundred and sixty iron cannons; seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-four muskets; twenty-eight regimental standards (ten of them English, and eighteen German); a large quantity of cannon and musket-balls, bombs, carriages, &c., &c. The military chest contained nearly eleven thousand dollars in specie."[3710]

Return of British Military Stores and Provisions Captured[3711]
Brass Cannon: 75
Iron Cannon: 160
Muskets: 7794
Regimental Standards: 28 (10 British, 18 German)

Historian Robert Selig estimates that the French casualties at Yorktown were less than 200 killed or wounded. The Americans lost half as many. British casualties totaled about 600 killed, wounded, or missing.[3712]

The *Annual Register*: "Such was the very hard fate of the remains of that conquering and gallant army, which had been so highly distinguished in the southern war! We shall say nothing of the share which their noble commander bore in the common misfortune, as he lives in an age which knows how to distinguish the want qf success from the want of merit. Neither himself nor his army forfeited any part of their former character. Their position was in many respects a very bad one, and probably would have continued so in any state of fortification; but in its present, it was no more than an entrenched camp, and subject to be enfiladed in different parts; while their new half-formed works, were much less capable of withstanding the powerful artillery of the enemy, than they would themselves of opposing their vast superiority of force in the open field. It was pitched upon in one of those unfavourable conjunctures which allow of no good expedient, and where inconveniences must be balanced rather than advantages sought. The troops made the best amends for the difficulties of their situation, by the patience with which they endured an unremitting duty and the greatest fatigues, as well as by the firmness and intrepidity with which they stood a fire of shot and shells, which has seldom been exceeded in magnitude. The French expended 16,000 shot and shells in the siege, 3000 of the latter being of the first dimensions; and the fire of the Americans was not less…
"Such was the issue of the Virginian war. The loss of Lord Cornwallis's army was too heavy a blow to be soon or easily recovered. It was evident, that it must entirely change the nature of the war on the side of Great Britain; and that it could no longer be carried on offensively by land, at least to any considerable extent. Indeed the surrender at York Town, may be considered as the closing scene of the whole continental war in America. There

[3710] LFB2 p. 320.
[3711] TBY pp. 133-134.
[3712] *Military History* (magazine), Feb. 2003, p. 62. Respecting Allied losses at Yorktown see also GYT pp. 341-342; for British and German see GYT pp. 342-343.

are few periods in history more capable of rousing attention and exciting reflections; whether we consider the original policy, and the discussions which ensued; its various events, and sudden changes of fortune; on one fide the magnitude of the preparations, and distance of operation from the feat of power, and on the other, the difficulties, pertinacy, and final success of the resistance; or whether we consider the effect this revolution may in future operate on the political state of the whole human race, we shall in every respect find it extraordinary. Undoubtedly a new scene is opened."[3713]

20 October. Sumner, at "Halifax," N.C., to Gen. Washington: "I rejoice to hear of your approaches against the fortified holds of the Enemy about York, and flatter our expectations that they will soon fall under yr. [your] Power. The Situation of the Southern Camp, about the 27th of September on the High Hills of Santee, were under some apprehensions of the Enemy's Crossing the river Santee upon receiving some reinforcements, which had not jointed them before the affair, at the Eutaw Springs. Genl. Rutherford & Butler with about eighteen Hundred Militia were last Tuesday, within twenty five miles West of Campbleton [Campbellton, also Cross Creek and present day Fayetteville] on Cross Creek on Cape Fear, that the disaffected were imbodyed [sic] on the head waters of the Wocomaw [Waccamaw] River South of Campbleton (1200) [sic]. Major Craig who commands in Wilmington about Four Hundred British troops has fortified redoubts and [lacuna] this post has recovered much of the neighboring country and have [Unifinished letter in General Sumner's hand writing.]"[3714]

20 October. [skirmish] Hilton Head Island (Beaufort County, S.C.)[3715]

23 October. Following his victory at Raft Swamp (15 October), Rutherford (numbering some 1,500, and which included some cavalry) advanced on Wilmington (in two prongs, one under himself; the other a much smaller detachment of 200 mounted infantry and 100 cavalry under Capt. Robert Smith) thereby compelling Craig to abandon Heron's Bridge and withdraw into the city. The British ultimately removed from Wilmington itself on November 18th (Rankin give the 14th.)[3716]

24 October. Escorted by 25 ships of the line, 2 fifty gun ships, and several frigates headed by Graves, 7,000 British reinforcements from New York (which had left there on the 19th) under Clinton entered the Chesapeake Bay, but soon turned back from proceeding to Yorktown upon learning of its surrender. They actually left the Bay itself on the 29th, after being completely assured that further exertion to assist the post would be futile. De Grasse, meanwhile, remained at anchorage while make preparations for his later departure, and which ulimately transpired on Nov. 5th.[3717]

24 October. Colonels John Sevier and Isaac Shelby, riding in two separate groups, moved to assist Greene's army with about 700 of their mounted frontier militia. By October 24th Sevier arrived to join Greene; while Shelby reached Marion, with whom he had been assigned to cooperate, by November 2nd.[3718]

27 October. St. Simon's troops began embarking for the West Indies in preparation for De Grasse's leaving the Chesapeake on Nov. 5th.
Kirkwood, at Greene's camp in the High Hills of the Santee, on this date entered in his Order Book: "Received Intelligence of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallaces [sic] whole Army to his Excellency Genl. Washington in York Town Virginia on the 17th Inst."[3719]

28 October. [raid] Vince's Fort. (Barnwell County) Loyalist partisan Col. Hezekiah Williams, set out to attack Vince's Fort (just west of present day Barnwell.) Its garrison of 80 men having retreated, apparently on his approach, he took a few stragglers prisoner, set the fort ablaze, and retired to his camp 15 miles south of Orangeburgh.[3720]

Late October. [battle] Brush Creek (Chatham County, N.C.) According to his own account Col. David Fanning, despite the wound he received at Lindley's Mills, with 140 loyalists fought off 170 N.C. militia, then disbanded his men. [3721]
Pension statement of John Patterson of Orange County, N.C.: "This deponent was not in the battle at Lindley's Mill because he was absent as above stated. Capt. Christmas was wounded a few days after ---home, when acting as a spy & returned home. After the battle at Lindley's Mill, Col. [William] O'Neil ordered the men to furnish them-selves with horses, that their efforts might be more efficient against the Tories, against whom the Militia in that district was directed. This deponent furnished his own horse, saddle, bridle, etc., & set out again from home again the middle of September, as near as he can recollect, under Capt. Schoby & Col. O'Neil who was still under Genl John Butler. The forces were directed against the Scotch Tories from Cross Creek, Wilminton [Wilmington] and who were very bad & who annoyed the inhabitants very much.

[3713] AR81 pp. 135-136.
[3714] CNC15 p. 655.
[3715] LSC p. 19, ONB3 pp. 378-379.
[3716] RNC p. 367, DRO p. 228.
[3717] AR81 p. 136, GHA4 pp. 198-199, SAW2 p. 414, MLW4A pp. 496, LMS pp. 514-515, GYT pp. 317-318, 353, WFK p. 244.
[3718] NGP9 pp. 277n, 521-522.
[3719] GHA4 p. 199, KJO p. 26.
[3720] MSC2 p. 748, RBG p. 208. And see http://gaz.jrshelby.com/vincesfort.htm
[3721] See Fanning text quoted in entry for 13 September, Lindley's Mill. FNA pp. 32-35, and http://gaz.jrshelby.com/uwharriemtn.htm

"The time the deponent was out, the Americans under Col. O'Neil and the Tories under Col. Fannin [Fanning] had a battle at Brush Creek, in Chatham County North Carolina, in which the Americans were victorious. This deponent, however, was again absent at his own house, by leave of his commanding officer, & was not in the battle; -- the troops having camped within two or three miles of his own house, he obtained leave of absence to go home that night, & return next morning; & soon after this deponent left the Camp that night, as he afterward learned, the troops marched all night & came up with the Tories where they had the battle on Brush Creek.
"A short time after the Battle of Brush Creek, the news of the Surrendering of Cornwallis came, but the Tories were so bad, & kept such a plundering of the inhabitants of Orange & Chatham, that the troops were not discharged, but kept in the service, until late in the fall of the next year, & after the corn had been gathered, when he was discharged."

TOTALS FOR GREENE'S CONTINENTALS IN THE SOUTH

Totals given, unless noted otherwise, are rank and file and unless stated does not include in cavalry or artillerymen; or else the number for which last are given separately.

1780

Early December. 1482, plus 90 cavalry, 60 artillerymen, and 128 Continentals extra service.[3722]

1781

Mid January. About 1,400, plus about 80 for Washington's dragoons and 240 for Lee's Legion cavalry and infantry. Lieut. Col. John Green had arrived about this time bringing 400 Virginia Continentals; so that the drop otherwise from December is attributable to desertions rampant at that time, plus expired enlistments and men unfit for duty (due to lackof clothing, etc.) sent home to Virginia.[3723]

Early February. 1,426, plus 47 artillerists, 230-240 cavalry.[3724]

Mid February. 1,535, plus 176 cavalry and 64 artillerymen.[3725]

Mid March. 1,670-1,715 (estimates vary somewhat), 161-180 cavalry.[3726]

Mid April. 1,143-1,174 and which *includes* 87 with Washington's cavalry and 40 artillery men. In addition to this total were 300 men, including Lee's cavalry, detached under Lee and Oldham.[3727]

Mid June. 1,224[3728]

Late July. 1,198, plus 179 on extra service, 178 cavalry, and 58 artilerymen.[3729]
This includes the 350 man North Carolina Continentals who had sufficiently collected by this time.

Early September. 1,256, plus 140 cavalry and 80-100 artillery which includes matrosses.[3730]
The 1,256 figure includes an unspecified number not fit for duty.

Continental Unit Strengths

* Delaware Regiment
Strength at Guilford: 80
At Eutaw Springs: 60 to 80
Difference between Guilford and Eutaw: -20

A June 1781 return gives the strength of the Delawares as 121 rank and file. Exactly why this higher number is not reflected in the Eutaw Springs estimate is not clear.[3731]

* Maryland Brigade
Strength at Guilford: 632
Strength at Eutaw Springs: 250
Difference between Guilford and Eutaw: -382

* Virginia Brigade
Strength at Guilford: 778
Strength at Eutaw Springs: 250
Difference between Guilford and Eutaw: -528

* Lee's Legion
At Guilford: Infantry: 82, Cavalry: 62
At Eutaw Springs: 100 infantry, 60 cavalry.
Difference between Guilford and Eutaw: +18 infantry, -2 cavalry

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[3722] GHA4 pp.26-27, 42-43, JLG1 pp. 312-314, 338-342.
[3723] NGP7 pp. 110, 162.
[3724] NGP7 pp. 261, 268, GHA4 pp. 42-43, LMS pp. 235-238, JLG1 pp. 392.
[3725] William Johnson: "On the 17th of this month, there were no less than 345 of the Maryland line thus employed [on detached service and foraging]; and, on that day, every man in camp, fit for duty, is stated at, infantry, 1078 -- artillery, 64 -- cavalry, 176 -- legionary infantry, 112."JLG1 p. 435.
[3726] MLW4 pp. 364-365, LMS pp. 283n, 284. GHA4 p. 54, JLG2 pp. 2-3.
[3727] GHA4 pp. 80-81, LMS p. 333, JLG2 p. 44, WAR2 pp. 798-799.
[3728] LFB2 p. 485n, WAR2 p. 817, and see entry for Hobkirk's Hill, 25 April 1781.
[3729] NGP9 pp. 93, 98n, 133, MLW4A p. 539n.
[3730] NGP9 p. 333, LMS pp. 465-466, JLG2 p. 219.
[3731] NGP9 p. 224n.

Note. 25 North Carolina Continentals had been attached to the Legion infantry in July.

* Washington's cavalry
Strength at Guilford: 90
At Eutaw Springs: 80
Difference between Guilford and Eutaw: -10

Both Lee's Legion and Washington's cavalry would occasionally recruit from locals, as a number of pensioners from North and South Carolina testified to having served with them, giving specific details of their service, and who it was that discharged them. See pension statements of Isaac Brewer of Chatham County, N.C., John Chaney of Randolph County, N.C., George Deatherage of Surry County, N.C., Jesse and John Johnson of Bladen County, N.C.

TOTALS FOR THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

The Public Record Office figures in a given instance, due to misreporting, may be off by anywhere from a 100 to a thousand or more men and should be viewed with caution. Also these estimates were made long after the given date. These particular figures then are best used to give a general view, or else as a supplement to other troop lists. The numbers are total effectives, and refer to British, Hessian, Provincial troops and sailors only, and not local militia or blacks.

Page Smith provides the following:
On May 1, 1780, British army strength was as follows:
In New York 7,711 British soldiers, 7, 451 Hessians, and 2, 162 Provincials for a total of 17, 324
In South Carolina there were 7,041 British
3,018 Hessians
2,788 Provincials for a total of 12,847
In Nova Scotia 3,500, mostly Br., 536 in East Florida Garrison
1,453 in West Florida
862 Hessians and 1,016 Provincials in Georgia
Grand total of 37,500, 31,00 of which were British (regulars) and Hessian.[3732]

British Record Office Returns for South Carolina

	British	German	Provincials	Total
May 1, 1780	7,041	3,018	2,788	12, 847

August 1, 1780 6,589
The lower total, of course, reflects the troops Clinton took back with him to New York. The number of regulars (British, Hessian, Provincial) in South Carolina in June, according to Tarleton, was 5,400 effectives, with Georgia having 1,000. Added to this, he further states, were 4,000 (local) loyalists.[3733]

December 1, 1780 7,384
This obviously includes Leslie's reinforcement in mid December, the return having been made afterward.

A return for 31 December 1780, from Clinton's memoirs, and which includes the loyalist militia, gives:
Troops under Cornwallis: 13,382, of these 9107 were fit for duty.
5500 in field, of these 2,000 were under Cornwallis, and 1,500 under Leslie. Camden, Ninety Six and other posts, Clinton reports at 2000 to 3000[3734]

In a letter to Washington of August 6th, Greene, reported the British in his department as having: 4000 infantry, 400 horse of regular troops, 1000 tory militia, 1000 sailors, and 400 to 500 negroes.[3735]

Sept. 1, 1781	5,024	1,596	3,155	9,775

British Record Office Returns for Georgia

	British	German	Provincials	Total
May 1, 1780		862	1,016	1,878
August 1, 1780				1,756
December. 1, 1780		968		
May 1, 1780		887		
September 1		486	598	1,084

British Record Office Returns for East Florida:

[3732] SNA2 p. 1392. See also AR81 pp. 264-266, CAR p. 152n, MSC1 p. 426.
[3733] TCS p. 85.
[3734] CAR p. 237n.
[3735] NGP9 pp.139-141.

	Total
May 1, 1780	536
August 1, 1780	1,261
December 1, 1780	1,261
Sept. 1, 1780	546

Total British forces in the southern theater, including Virginia: May 1, 1781

Under Leslie....2,278
Under Arnold....1,553
Under Phillips....2,116
South Carolina..7,254
East Florida…….....438
Georgia……887

German Mercenaries present in South Carolina

1 May, 1780: 2,559 total effectives, 2,264 rank and file fit for duty[3736]
1 September, 1781: 1,444 total effectives, 1,196 rank and file fit for duty[3737]

LOYALTIES AND POPULATION IN THE SOUTH IN 1780

Using modern counties as *approximate* locations, below is a list of areas showing a pronounced tendency toward one side or other in the early part of 1780. That a given county is listed does not mean that there wasn't an opposition present there in it as well. All that is being said is that such opposition would have been significantly less. Other areas may have had majority leaning in one direction or the other, but not such as to qualify them for this list. It should then be understood that the characterizations as to loyalty are provided to give an overall sense of where the most whigs and loyalists were located, with the understanding that as a result of warfare going on in that particular area, sympathies for the losing side might be neutralized, as for example with Lincoln-Rutherford Counties (i.e. Tryon County), N.C. after Ramseur's Mill in June 1780, or similarly a decrease on loyalist support in Kershaw County, S.C. after the evacuation of Camden in May 1781.

Areas of predominantly American Loyalty

Virginia

All of Virginia generally could be said to have been of American loyalty. However, there were substantial populations of loyalists in southwest Virginia, namely Botetourt, Bedford, Henry, Montgomery, Washington, Pittsylvania (and possibly Culpepper) counties. As well, more than usual numbers of loyalist were to be found in the area of Portsmouth and Norfolk.

Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* gives a county by county accounting of militia available between 1780-1781; arriving at a grand total of 49, 971. He further notes: "It should be remembered that the militia system of the state was been continually upset by the volunteering and drafting from it into the various armies of the Continental and state regular service."

North Carolina

Granville
Halifax
Mecklenburg
Rowan

Though not as intensely as in the above listed counties, the eastern part of North Carolina was generally pro-American, that is, except towards the southeast, which was loyalist. The far-western part of the state, in what is now eastern Tennessee, was heavily pro-American.

South Carolina

Calhoun
Lancaster
Marion
McCormick
Williamsburg

[3736] A "State of the Troops under the Command of his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, 1st. May 1780" in Colonial Office, class 5, v. 99, pp. 514-515. Special Thanks to Don Londahl-Smidt for providing these figures.
[3737] A "State of the Army under the Command of His Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton. New York 1st. September 1781" in CO 5/103, p. 321.

York

Georgia

Richmond
Wilkes

Western Georgia generally was pro-American.

Areas of predominantly British Loyalty

North Carolina

Anson
Brunswick
northern Burke County
Chatham
Cumberland
Forsyth
Guilford
Orange
Lincoln (Tryon)
Montgomery
Randolph
Robeson
Rowan
Rutherford (Tryon)
Scotland
Surry

Not counting Wilmington, the southeast part of the state was mostly loyalist in leaning.

South Carolina

Dillon
northern Georgetown County
Greenwood(?)
Horry
Kershaw
Laurens
Newberry
Parts of Lexington and Richland counties adjacent to Newberry. These along with Newberry itself, all between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, made up the "Dutch Fork," which was largely loyalist.

Georgia

There were no pronounced areas of loyalist sympathy in Georgia.

Population estimates for 1780 based on the 1790 United States Census

In 1790 the population of the United States was calculated at being around 4 million people, including slaves. It has been estimated that in 1780 the number was around 2.8 million. This is a 30% difference between the population of 1780 and 1790, and suggests that we can, at least in theory, extrapolate 1780 populations by subtracting 30% from the 1790 figure. This assumes that the populations remained in the same place in that ten year period, when, of course, in reality there were significant geographical shifts in population groups, for example in the tendency of many to move westward. It assumes that the rate of population growth for the deep south was similar to the United States at large, which is obviously open to question. Nevertheless, allowing for and taking into account such variations, we can at least get a good rough idea of the 1780 population situation using the 1790 census. Finally, it needs to be noted also, that many of the counties listed were not formed till after the war.

Total population in 1790:
Virginia: 747,550
North Carolina: 395,005
South Carolina: 249,073
Georgia: 82,548

Total number of white males over 16 in 1790:

Virginia: 110,936
North Carolina: 70,172
South Carolina: 35,576
Georgia: 13,103

Total number of slaves (all ages) in 1790:
Virginia: 292,627
North Carolina: 100,783
South Carolina: 107,094
Georgia: 29,264

Populations by County in 1790

Virginia

	County TOTAL	*White males over 16*	*Slaves*
ACCOMACK :	13,959	2,297	4,262
ALBEMARLE :	12,585	1,703	5,579
AMELIA :	18,097	1,709	11,307
AMHERST :	13,703	2,056	5,296
AUGUSTA :	10,886	2,599	1,567
BEDFORD :	10,531	1,785	2,754
BERKELEY :	19,713	4,253	2,932
BOTETOURT :	10,524	2,247	1,259
BRUNSWICK :	12,827	1,472	6,776
BUCKINGHAM :	9,779	1,274	4,168
CAMPBELL :	7,685	1,236	2,488
CAROLINE :	17,489	1,799	10,292
CHARLES CITY :	5,588	532	3,141
CHARLOTTE :	10,078	1,285	4,816
CHESTERFIELD :	14,214	1,652	7,487
CULPEPER :	22,105	3,372	8,226
CUMBERLAND :	8,153	885	4,434
DINWIDDIE :	13,934	1,790	7,334
ELIZABETH CITY :	3,450	390	1,876
ESSEX :	9,122	908	5,440
FAIRFAX :	12,320	2,138	4,574
FAUQUIER :	17,892	2,674	6,642
FLUVANNA :	3,921	589	1,466
FRANKLIN :	6,842	1,266	1,073
FREDERICK :	19,681	3,835	4,250
GLOUCESTER :	13,498	1,597	7,063
GOOCHLAND :	9,053	1,028	4,656
GREENBRIER :	6,015	1,463	319
GREENSVILLE :	6,362	669	3,620
HALIFAX :	14,722	2,214	5,565
HAMPSHIRE :	7,346	1,662	454
HANOVER :	14,754	1,637	8,223
HARDY :	7,336	1,108	369
HARRISON :	2,080	487	67
HENRICO :	12,000	1,823	5,819
HENRY :	8,479	1,523	1,551
ISLE OF WIGHT :	9,028	1,208	3,867
JAMES CITY :	4,070	395	2,405
KING AND QUEEN :	9,377	995	5,143
KING GEORGE :	7,366	757	4,157
KING WILLIAM :	8,128	723	5,151
LANCASTER :	5,638	535	3,236
LOUDOUN :	18,962	3,677	4,030
LOUISA :	8,467	957	4,573
LUNENBURG :	8,959	1,110	4,332
MECKLENBURG :	14,733	1,857	6,762
MIDDLESEX :	4,140	407	2,558
MONONGALIA :	4,768	1,089	154
MONTGOMERY :	13,228	2,846	828
NANSEMOND :	9,010	1,215	3,817
NEW KENT :	6,239	605	3,700
NORFOLK :	14,524	2,650	5,345
NORTHAMPTON :	6,889	857	3,244

NORTHUMBERLAND :	9,103	1,046	4,460
OHIO :	5,212	1,222	281
ORANGE :	9,921	1,317	4,421
PENDLETON :	2,452	568	73
PITTSYLVANIA :	11,579	2,008	2,979
POWHATAN :	6,822	623	4,325
PRINCE EDWARD :	8,100	1,044	3,986
PRINCE GEORGE :	8,173	965	4,519
PRINCE WILLIAM :	11,615	1,644	4,704
PRINCESS ANNE :	7,793	1,169	3,202
RANDOLPH :	951	221	19
RICHMOND :	6,985	704	3,984
ROCKBRIDGE :	6,548	1,517	682
ROCKINGHAM :	7,449	1,816	772
RUSSELL :	3,338	734	190
SHENANDOAH :	10,510	2,409	512
SOUTHAMPTON :	12,864	1,632	5,993
SPOTSYLVANIA :	11,252	1,361	5,933
STAFFORD :	9,588	1,341	4,036
SURRY :	6,227	732	3,097
SUSSEX :	10,549	1,215	5,387
WARWICK :	1,690	176	990
WASHINGTON :	5,625	1,287	450
WESTMORELAND :	7,722	815	4,425
WILLIAMSBURG :	NA	NA	NA
YORK :	5,233	530	2,760

North Carolina

	County TOTAL	*White males over 16*	*Slaves*
ANSON :	5,235	1,035	829
BEAUFORT :	5,405	910	1,622
BERTIE :	12,462	1,719	5,121
BLADEN :	5,100	837	1,686
BRUNSWICK :	3,070	380	1,511
BURKE :	8,106	1,705	600
CAMDEN :	4,022	725	1,038
CARTERET :	3,734	718	709
CASWELL :	10,096	1,801	2,736
CHATHAM :	9,161	1,761	1,558
CHOWAN :	4,988	638	2,587
CRAVEN :	10,474	1,710	3,663
CUMBERLAND :	8,730	1,852	2,180
CURRITUCK :	5,220	1,018	1,103
DOBBS :	6,994	1,164	2,012
DUPLIN :	5,663	1,035	1,386
EDGECOMBE :	10,265	1,663	3,167
FRANKLIN :	7,502	1,076	2,701
GATES :	5,386	790	2,217
GRANVILLE :	10,982	1,581	4,163
GUILFORD :	7,300	1,615	616
HALIFAX :	14,310	1,873	6,697
HERTFORD :	5,949	813	2,448
HYDE :	4,204	792	1,143
IREDELL :	5,430	1,118	868
JOHNSTON :	5,691	1,040	1,328
JONES :	4,796	736	1,655
LINCOLN :	9,246	2,057	855
MARTIN :	6,010	1,067	1,829
MECKLENBURG :	11,360	2,364	1,608
MONTGOMERY :	5,039	942	837
MOORE :	3,870	850	371
NASH :	7,390	1,134	2,008
NEW HANOVER :	6,837	834	3,737
NORTHAMPTON :	9,992	1,335	4,414
ONSLOW :	5,427	867	1,747
ORANGE :	12,216	2,433	2,060
PASQUOTANK :	5,477	951	1,600
PERQUIMANS :	5,439	884	1,883

PITT :	8,270	1,461	2,364
RANDOLPH :	7,318	1,590	460
RICHMOND :	5,053	1,096	583
ROBESON :	5,343	1,132	533
ROCKINGHAM :	6,211	1,188	1,113
ROWAN :	15,972	3,399	1,741
RUTHERFORD :	7,808	1,576	609
SAMPSON :	6,162	1,146	1,177
STOKES :	8,423	1,846	778
SURRY :	7,192	1,531	692
TYRRELL :	4,826	867	1,156
WAKE :	10,198	1,771	2,472
WARREN :	9,379	1,067	4,713
WAYNE :	6,115	1,064	1,546
WILKES :	8,157	1,615	553

South Carolina

	County TOTAL	*White males over 16*	*Slaves*
ABBEVILLE :	9,197	1,904	1,665
BEAUFORT :	18,753	1,266	14,236
CHARLESTOWN :	66,985	5,060	50,633
CHESTER :	6,866	1,446	938
CLAREMONT :	4,548	517	2,110
CLARENDON :	2,392	444	602
EDGEFIELD :	13,289	2,333	3,619
FAIRFIELD :	7,623	1,335	1,485
GEORGETOWN :	22,122	2,356	13,131
GREENVILLE :	6,503	1,400	606
LANCASTER :	6,302	1,253	1,370
LAURENS :	9,337	1,969	1,120
NEWBERRY :	9,342	1,992	1,144
PENDLETON :	9,568	2,007	834
RICHLAND :	3,930	596	1,437
SPARTANBURG :	8,800	1,868	866
UNION :	7,693	1,500	1,215
YORK :	6,604	1,350	923

Georgia

	TOTAL	*White males over 16*	*Slaves*
BURKE:	9,467	1,808	2,392
CAMDEN:	305	81	70
CHATHAM:	10,769	846	8,201
EFFINGHAM:	2,424	627	750
FRANKLIN:	1,041	225	156
GLYNN:	413	70	215
GREENE:	5,405	1,027	1,377
LIBERTY:	5,355	426	4,025
RICHMOND:	11,317	1,894	4,116
WASHINGTON:	4,552	947	694
WILKES:	31,500	5,152	7,268

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[3739] For McJunkin's narrative proper (as opposed to Saye's version) see SCAR vol. 2, no.11, pp 37-47.
[3740] This work includes "Colonel Thomas Brown's reply to David Ramsay's *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*," pp. 614-620.

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For additional, and sometimes more scarce and out of the way, material, see
"A United Empire Loyalist's Bibliography of the American Revolution," Compiled by Lieut. Col. William A. Smy at: http://www.uelac.org/bibcon.htm
"Sources for the American Revolution at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History," Compiled by Charles H. Lesser at: http://www.state.sc.us/scdah/exhibits/revolution/revsources.htm
For an ongoing and in-progress online archive of pension statements for veterans of the Revolutionary War in the South: http://southerncampaign.org/pen/