

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

*Revised*  
**Third Edition.**



**By William Thomas Sherman**

**2003, 2006, 2007.**



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

*Without such, there is no freedom,  
And without freedom is no life.*



**TABLE of CONTENTS**

**INTRODUCTION.....p. 7**

**The American Revolution and the Southern War in Perspective.....p. 11**

**Leaders and Units.....p. 22**

**I. AMERICAN LEADERS**

**The Continental Army.....p. 23**

**Virginia Militia and State Troops.....p. 30**

**North Carolina Militia and State Troops.....p. 32**

**Frontier Militia.....p. 37**

**South Carolina Militia and State Troops.....p. 37**

**Georgia Militia and State Troops.....p. 44**

**II. AMERICAN UNITS**

**The Continental Army.....p. 45**

**State Troops.....p. 48**

**III. BRITISH LEADERS**

**The British Army and Provincials.....p. 49**

**German.....p. 58**

**North Carolina Loyalists.....p. 58**

**South Carolina Loyalists.....p. 60**

**Georgia Loyalists.....p. 63**

**IV. BRITISH UNITS**

**The British Army.....p. 64**

**Provincials.....p. 65**

**Royal Militia.....p. 67**

**German.....p. 72**

V. CALENDAR AND RECORD.....	p. 75
December 1779.....	p. 75
1780	
January.....	p. 78
February.....	p. 78
March.....	p. 83
April.....	p. 91
May.....	p. 103
June.....	p. 116
July.....	p. 135
August.....	p. 149
September.....	p. 178
October.....	p. 193
November.....	p. 213
December.....	p. 230
1781	
January.....	p. 242
February.....	p. 265
March.....	p. 288
April.....	p. 322
May.....	p. 352
June.....	p. 376
July.....	p. 394
August.....	p. 421
September.....	p. 434
October.....	p. 456
<i>Appendix</i>	
A. Totals for Greene's Continentals in the South.....	p. 465
B. Totals for the British Army in the Carolinas and Georgia.....	p. 466
C. Loyalties and Population in the South in 1780.....	p. 467
Bibliography.....	p. 472

## INTRODUCTION

The work before you is the result of years of research, and been made possible by the hard work of individuals too numerous to name. However, thanks must be expressed here to:

Lawrence E. Babits; Marg Baskins with BanastreTarleton.org; Charles B. Baxley, of the Battle of Camden Project; 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 Callahan; Jo Church Dickerson; William Earl Finley; Charlie Frye; Don Gara; William T. Graves, Michael David Kennedy; Charles LeCount, Jim Legg; John Maass; 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, Michael C. Scoggins of Culture & Heritage Museums, Brattonsville, Don Londahl-Smidt of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association; Bruce W. Trogon; 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 I would observe in addition, that the direct and indirect contributions of most of these people have been truly tremendous and, in many instances, ground breaking. Were it possible to delete what they have provided, you would very much notice a major difference in the quality of the text. Ms. Baskins<sup>1</sup> site is a veritable library of rare books and documents, and is a Revolutionary War in the South reference source on the internet without peer, though Todd Braisted's "Online Institute of Loyalist Studies," John Robertson's "Battle of Camden.org," Phil Norfleet's "South Carolina Loyalists and Rebels"<sup>2</sup> and Charles B. Baxley's "Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution"<sup>3</sup> should be mentioned in this wise also. All have contributed enormously and generously in the way of facts, resources, and material for this project.

I would also like, as well, to express gratitude to hundreds of other genealogical and historical websites, such as those of state and county historical societies, which provided most of the pension extracts, and which often filled in small details which could not be found anywhere else. They are too many to list unfortunately. But I hope that this token expression of gratitude will give at least some of them a little satisfaction in knowing that their endeavors have been a substantial benefit to others.

### Calendar and Record

The purpose of this book is to record and provide precise information on the Revolutionary war in the south in 1780 and 1781. "Who?" "Where?" "When?" "How many?" It asks these questions as they pertain to the military situation existing in and from Georgia to Virginia during that period. In its earliest form, this work 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 and general coverage of the Virginia and Yorktown campaigns. Without wholly ignoring these topics, some scant consideration has also been given to the Spanish offensive in Florida; and the numerous frontier skirmishes with the British allied Indians in western Georgia, the then western portion of North Carolina (i.e. present day Tennessee), and southwestern Virginia.

Although military activity continued well into 1782, it was decided, 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 it as it is. The book's full title (i.e. with respect to "1780-1781") then is something of a misnomer, which it is hoped readers will, without too much trouble, indulge as a pardonable convenience, and perhaps "From Charleston to Yorktown" would have been more appropriate.

Given that there has been an effort to organize the data in specific categories, some identical passages and notes in this work are 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 retreat to Cross Creek after Guilford Court House. This information can then be viewed both as something affecting British military movement and morale, while also being pertinent to the British logistics: either of which might be a given person's particular concern or interest.

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<sup>1</sup> I have told Ms. Baskins that *even if* Tarleton were reproachable for things accused of him by some historians (and to which Ms. Baskins takes exasperated exception), he nonetheless certainly shows great merit in his admirers.

<sup>2</sup> At [http://sc\\_tories.tripod.com](http://sc_tories.tripod.com)

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.southerncampaign.org/>

## 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 another date which is related to the main event described, but the single date referred to at the frame heading is assumed to be the point of index for that main event.

{date}. X wrote Y, also X ordered Y:

Means on that given date X wrote or sent an order to Y. This does not necessarily mean, however, either that Y received it, or that he carried out the order sent 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.

The same is true of:

{date}. X wrote Y.

X wrote Y on the given date, but Y did not necessarily receive it on that date.

{date}. X arrived or reached a certain location (L), also X camped at certain location (L).

Though occasionally specific times of day are given, this phrase as used might have a fairly 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, and then arrived on the morning of the given date. Or they might have started out on the morning of that date and reached their destination by days end. If not elaborated specifically, sometimes context will give the time frame. Otherwise, it is assumed adequate to indicate at least roughly where the person or force was situated on the date given.

In keeping with age-old usage and practice, very 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 without difficulty be discerned by context or by worded specification.

Letters and correspondence quoted in the text, in the vast majority of cases, are selected *extracts*, and in the vast majority of instances therefore 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 measure is not intended to be a slight toward the loyalists (i.e. as if to say they are not "American"), but is merely adopted to make the presentation of battles and skirmishes to the point and less confused.

In the footnotes where reference source materials cited, three letter codes are used to designate a particular author and their work. The following gives the keys to those codes. Authors with names written out indicate that they are directly quoted within the text. Complete titles, author's names, publishers, etc. will be found in the bibliography. Unless noted otherwise, the name given in parenthesis is the author and or else person being quoted in a particular entry.

### Footnote Key.

ACG - The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales (A. Aspinall, editor)  
ADA - (Allaire) "Diary of Lieutenant Anthony Allaire" (see Draper's *King's Mountain & Its Heroes*)  
AJO - (Thomas Anderson) "Journal of Thomas Anderson's 1<sup>st</sup> Delaware Regiment"  
AR80 - *Annual Register* for 1780  
AR81 - *Annual Register* for 1781  
BAV - Baker's *Another Such Victory*  
BDW - (Babits) *Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*  
BEA - (Boatner) *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*  
BGC - (Bass) *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter*  
BGD - (Bass) *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson*  
BSF - (Bass) *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion*

BMS - (Tarleton Brown) *Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, A Captain in the Revolutionary Army*  
BRG - *Buchanan's Road to Guilford Court House*  
BSC - Borick's *A Gallant Defense: The Siege of Charleston, 1780*  
CAC - (Cornwallis) *An Answer to that Part of the Narrative of Lt. General Sir Henry Clinton, K.B.*  
CAR - (H. Clinton) *The American Rebellion* (William B. Wilcox, editor)  
CBA - *Carrington's Battles of the American Revolution 1775-1783*  
CDI - *Diary of Captain Alexander Chesney* (Samuel C. Williams, editor) from *Tennessee Historical Magazine*  
CGA - (Coleman) *The American Revolution in Georgia*  
CJO - (Chesney) *The Journal of Alexander Chesney, Adjutant to Maj. Patrick Ferguson*



CKR - Cashin's *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the southern frontier*

CLC - Caruther's *Life of Rev. David Caldwell*

CLS - M. J. Clark's *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War, vol. 1*

CNC - Walter Clark, editor, *The State Records of North Carolina*

CNS - (Rev. Eli W. Caruthers) *Revolutionary Incidents in the Old North State, vol. 1 (1854), vol. 2 (1856) (Guilford County [N.C.] Genealogical Society edition)*

COC - (H. Clinton) *Clinton's Observations on Earl Cornwallis's Answer*

CON - Cann's *Old Ninety Six in the South Carolina Backcountry 1700-1781*

CSR - *The State Records of North Carolina, vol. 15* (Walter Clark, editor)

DKM - (Draper) *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*

DME - Duffy's *Military Experience in the Age of Reason*

DRR - Dann's *The Revolution Remembered*

DRS - (Davie) *Revolutionary War Sketches of William R. Davie* (Blackwell P. Robinson, editor)

DSC - (DeSaussure) *An Account of the Siege of Charleston*

EHJ - (Johann Ewald) *Diary of the American War* (Joseph P. Tustin, editor and translator.)

EPY - Eanes' *Prelude to Yorktown: Tarleton's Southside Raid*

FNA - (Fanning) *The Narrative of David Fanning*

FRM - *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Vol. IV 1780-1783* (Adelaide L. Fries, editor)

FSN - (Foote) *Sketches of North Carolina*

FWI - (Fortescue) *The War of Independence (History of the British Army, vol. III)*

FWV - Flagg's and Waters' *Virginia's Soldiers in the Revolution*

GAH - "Letters of Major General Gates from 21st June to 31st August" from *Magazine of American History*, October 1880.

GAM - (Joseph Graham<sup>4</sup>) *Archibald Murphey Papers* (William Henry Hoyt, editor)

GDH - Gibbes' *Documentary History of the American Revolution*

GHA - (William Gordon, also Otho Williams who is quoted) *The history of the rise progress and establishment of the independence of the United States of America, Vol. IV*

GHC - Gregg's *History of the Old Cheraws*

GJW - Graves' *James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry*

GNC - (Joseph Graham) *General Joseph Graham and his Papers on North Carolina Revolutionary History* (William A. Graham<sup>5</sup>, editor)

GRA - (William A. Graham) "The Battle of Ramsaur's Mill" (article)

GWC - (Robert Gray) "Observations on the War in Carolina." (*South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XI, no.3)

HDM - Higginbotham's *Daniel Morgan, Revolutionary Rifleman*

HMS - (William Hill) *Col. William Hill's Memoirs of the Revolution* (A.S. Salley, Jr., editor)

HMP - (Samuel Hammond<sup>6</sup>) *Pension Application of Col. Samuel Hammond* (William T. Graves, editor, see SCAR vol. 2, no.1)

HRS - (Hanger) *Reply to MacKenzie's Strictures*

HSC - Hough's *Siege of Charleston 1780*

HWW - Haller's *William Washington: Cavalryman of the Revolution*

JFM - (William Dobein James) *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion*

JJA - (Stephen Jarvis) "Narrative" appearing in "Journal of American History," Vol.1, No.4

JHG - C. Jones' *The History of Georgia*

JKH - (Stephen Jarvis) *The King's Loyal Horseman, His Narrative, 1775-1783* (John T. Hayes, editor)

JLG - (William Johnson) *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*

JPM - (Joseph Plumb Martin) *Private Yankee Doodle* (George Scheer, editor)

JTR - (Joseph Johnson, also Samuel Hammond's "Notes" are quoted at great length) *Traditions and Reminiscences*

JYC - Johnston's *The Yorktown Campaign and Surrender of Cornwallis - 1781*

KJO - (Kirkwood) *Journal and Order Book* (Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, editor)

LCC - (Lee) *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas*

LFB - (Lossing) *Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, vol. II*

LOB - "Leslie" *Orderly Book* (A.R. Newsome, editor), Caruthers also, in the appendix of his *Old North State*, has a version of the same, and calls it the "Cornwallis Order Book," see CNS vol. 2, pp. 207-231.

LJA - (Roger Lamb) *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War*

LLW - *The Letters of Lafayette to Washington* (Louis Gottschalk, editor)

LMS - (Lee) *Lee's Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department* (1869 edition)

LSC - Lipscomb's *Battles, Skirmishes, and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina*

LSL - Lambert's *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*

LSY - Lumpkin's *From Savannah to Yorktown*

MDR - Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*

MGC - (McQuire) "And Some Were Sore Chased and Cut Down" (article series)

MHG - (McCall) *The History of Georgia*

MLL - Moore's *Life of General Edward Lacey*

MMS - (William Moultrie) *Memoirs of the American Revolution*

MSC - (McCrary) *History of South Carolina in the Revolution*

MST - (MacKenzie) *Strictures on Lieut. Col. Tarleton's History*

NGP - *The Nathanael Greene Papers* (Richard K. Showman, Dennis M. Conrad editors-in-chief)

ONB - O'Kelley's *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, vols. 2-3.

PRO. - British "Public Records Office"

RAR - (Ramsay) *The History of the American Revolution*

RSC - (Ramsay) *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*

RNC - (Rankin) *The North Carolina Continental*

RBG - Ripley's *Battleground: South Carolina in the Revolution*

SAW - (Stedman) *History of the Origins, Progress and Termination of the American War, Vol. II*

SCAR - *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (a both online and printed periodical)

SEU - (Simms) *Eutaw*, 1976 Reprint edition (Beverly Scafidel, editor)

<sup>4</sup> Graham is quoted extensively in this text.

<sup>5</sup> William A. Graham was the son of Joseph Graham, and not to be confused with Col. William Graham, one of the revolutionary soldiers.

<sup>6</sup> See JTR.

SFR - (Simms) *Forayers*, 1976 Reprint edition (G. Michael Richards, editor)  
 SJM - (Rev. James Hodge Saye, and also Joseph McJunkin who is quoted) *Memoirs of Joseph McJunkin*. For McJunkin's narrative proper (as opposed to Saye's version) see SCAR vol. 2, no.11, pp 37-47.  
 SJS - (Seymour) *Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780-1783*  
 SNA - Page Smith's *A New Age Now Begins: A People's History of the American Revolution*, vol. 2  
 SQR - (John Graves Simcoe, also Capt. John Saunders who is quoted) *Journal of the Queen's Rangers*  
 SRW - (Isaac Shelby) *Account of his Exploits During the Revolutionary War* (William T. Graves, editor, see SCAR vol. 2, no. 3)

TCS - (Tarleton) *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces*  
 WAR - (Ward) *The War of the American Revolution*  
 WCA - (Otho Williams) *Calendar of the Otho Williams Papers*  
 WDC - Ward's *The Delaware Continentals: 1776-1783*  
 WHG - (Thomas Brown) White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*  
 WNA - (Otho Williams) *Narrative of Col. Otho Williams*  
 WCO - Wickwires' *Cornwallis: The American Adventure*  
 WNO - (Richard Winn) *Col. Richard Winn's Notes* (Samuel C. Williams, editor)

### Some General Remarks on the Text

Some areas of this topic are filled out, some more and 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. Without attempting to include every last possible 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. However, insufficiency of time and resources prevented me from being completely exhaustive with respect to what would otherwise have been possible to include. Ewald's *Journal*, for example, makes reference to so many minor combats that it would have been too ambitious to attempt to have created a write-up for all of them. Similarly the works of John H. Wheeler, Joseph Johnson and Rev. Eli Caruthers are replete with numerous anecdotes of occurrences, which (perhaps stretching the definition a bit in a particular instance) could qualify as military actions. All this said, enough is contained here that the work should still be useful to serious scholars and researchers.

Some 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 have been to uncover further information on these events. For purposes of the present edition I have made an exception to requiring the county in the case of actions recorded by Patrick O'Kelley in his recently published *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 books,<sup>7</sup> and was able to uncover skirmishes that I had missed. Yet rather than attempt to catch up on all these, I have included them here as simple name and date entries accompanied by citations to the particular volume and page of his book where more can be found.

The movements of light troops such as those of Lee and Washington during the Guilford Court House and Ninety Six campaigns, are difficult, if not impossible, to record. There is often a similar problem with the movements of militia. Consequently, presentation of these is necessarily somewhat restricted. While a more specific recording of cavalry, small detachment, and militia movements is desirable, as a rule, it simply has not always been possible to provide as much as one might wish.

Similarly, 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 has been recorded here. And while a search through pension statements and contemporary periodicals may bring many more skirmishes to light, a full and accurate listing is probably impossible. 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 should not always be given full credit for accuracy. Yet many times it is all the information there is to go on with respect to the numbers in question, or for that matter data in general.

Much of the time, troop strengths do not necessarily include all effectives (that is all non-sick listed personnel including officers, non commissioned officers [NCOs], supernumeraries, musicians, as well as rank and file) and instead only count "Rank and File," that is privates and corporals.

To get 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 obtain the rank and file strength from the total force of effectives, subtract the 17.5 or 28. These percentages come from the work of Hoffman Nickerson, as cited in Boatner.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> And certainly no less impressive are his fine drawings included in his works. As well are John Robertson's very well done maps. Since this work in its present state, regrettably, is without maps, I would heartily recommend and refer you to O'Kelley's books, and, in addition, Borick's on the Charleston siege, and volumes 7, 8, and 9 of the Nathanael Greene Papers .

<sup>8</sup> BEA p. 916.

When compiling number strengths of a given unit for say a certain date or period, typically both a field commander (of the time) or a historian (writing years later) making their totals is often making a certain amount of judgment call as to what men could be considered effective and what were or were to be incapacitated, say because of illness or absence of some kind. As a result the number the officer originally arrived at may end up changing (or, for the historian, have changed) within in a few days due to soldiers recovering (from sickness), returning, or for even more soldiers becoming sick or missing. For this reason attempts at *exact* numbers for a particular unit on a given date should be 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 afterward. Sometimes also, for example, the sudden outbreak of illness or attrition on the march could affect the total significantly.

Promotions and the exact date they took place it was not always possible to find out. It is prudent then to be aware that ranks given for officers in histories do not always reflect the person's rank when they served 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 accurate, one has to be careful in not mixing up the two. With respect to militia officers, it is highly probable that someone listed as being 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 use "Lieut.," while "Lt." instead is usually employed for "light," as in light infantry.

There are occasionally lacunae in other points of data and reference, which for lack of available sources, it was not possible to fill. This does not mean that such missing information is nowhere available only that I did not know of or have access to it. Some information was deliberately omitted, perhaps unwisely, as being too trivial or else thought to be something which could be inferred from other information already presented. This was deemed necessary to avoid overload. Most of this more detailed and elaborate information in question usually was to be found in the sources cited, 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 thanks for clearing up much that was previously obscure or muddled.

## THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE SOUTHERN WAR IN PERSPECTIVE

In a work of this kind, 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, overlooked, or not properly appreciated in the course of reading the main text. Additional data of this kind is also found in many of the footnotes.

### *Some Odds and Ends*

To begin, the following are some fairly general and random points that deserve to be mentioned.

\* An astonishingly large proportion 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 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 authentic 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 who were by birth Virginians; and Daniel Plummer from Pennsylvania.

\* South Carolina historian, Joseph Johnson: "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."<sup>9</sup>

\* Many names of the cities and towns mentioned are spelled differently today, than they usually were in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Charleston, for example, was "Charles Town, or "Charlestown,"<sup>10</sup> Hillsboro "Hillsborough," Orangeburg "Orangeburgh," Charlotte "Charlotte Town," and Winnsboro "Winnsborough" or "Wynnesborough."

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<sup>9</sup> JTR p. 551.

<sup>10</sup> Charlestown was incorporated in 1783, and only then became "Charleston." In the *Calendar* itself, the old spelling is used.

Waxhaw (the correct name) is sometimes referred to as Waxhaws or Waxhaw's district. Most of the time, the older version will be used in this work. In some rare 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 is pronounced "Cheroys,"<sup>11</sup> while Catawba is "Cat -taw-buh."

\* 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."<sup>12</sup>

\* Soldiers could vary greatly in age. Typically they were teens. Yet sometimes one might find an old timer with more energy than some youths.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

\* 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.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, the Continentals and a small number of the whig militia were generally sparing of powder and lead, and thus were compelled to make more economical use of their shots. Lawrence E. Babits addresses the topic of overshooting more closely in his *Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*, pages 14-15.

\* Typically 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 of the same caliber) 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 guns could fire at both low and high angles, while mortars could fire at only high angles.

\* 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. Typically the harvests would draw 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, that area 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 in the course of 1780 are good illustrations of this problem.

\* Waterways were a very often sought after means of transport as typically wagons, horses and oxen, were usually scarce, and the roads difficult. However, the British were usually prohibited from using river transport to Camden or from Cross Creek (into the interior), due to interdiction by enemy militia and partisans. Loyalist Robert Gray, for example, states: "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."<sup>16</sup>

\* Weather played a very significant part throughout the war in the south, both in the way of heavy rains and excessive heat. 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 throughout 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 followed the battle of Guilford Court House.

On the occasion of such meteorological events, fords, and even ferries, could become difficult, highly dangerous, or 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, and sometimes supplies would have to wait before they could be sent on to their destination.

\* Men were sometimes sent out on detachments as much too feed themselves as to scout and act as sentries.

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<sup>11</sup> JTR p. 486.

<sup>12</sup> GRA.

<sup>13</sup> See for example EHJ, vol. iii, ch. 2, p. 231.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding height see CLS pp. 471-474.

<sup>15</sup> See LMS p. 275n.

<sup>16</sup> GWC p. 147.

\* Prior to an important march, troops would usually be doled out provisions, which they were sometimes instructed to cook in advance of that march.

\* It was not at all unusual for soldiers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to see a given war as a means of obtaining personal plunder. Though vehemently denounced and ordered against by their commanders, the British in particular gained a notorious reputation for this, even to the point of taking advantage of loyalists, which, not surprisingly, only ended up making it more difficult for them to secure support from the local populace.<sup>17</sup>

\* During the warmer times of the year, armies would often march during the evening, night, or very early morning to avoid the sweltering heat.

\* Generally speaking, the horses of the Continental cavalry, often being derived from Virginia thoroughbreds, were faster and heartier than those of the British; who had effectively lost (just about) all their horses in sailing south to Charleston in the early weeks of 1780.<sup>18</sup> The quality of horses made a significant 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, it was essentially impossible for Greene to obtain new horses for his army from there.<sup>19</sup> Somewhat conversely, swords of American cavalry were often noticeably inferior to those of the British.<sup>20</sup> "The horse is our greatest safeguard," said Greene, "and without them the militia could not keep the field in this country."<sup>21</sup>

\* 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 local areas, though the Americans could generally be said to have had the greater advantage in this.

\* American militia commonly wore pieces of paper in their hats to distinguish them from their opponents, while loyalist or tories wore green tree sprigs. Such was the case, for instance at King's Mountain.

\* With respect to movement rates we have 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 force, 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 1<sup>st</sup>, 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 Ramsour'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 23<sup>rd</sup> 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 strategy Greene was employing.

- 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.

- On the retreat from the battle at Guilford, Cornwallis's sore and weary men, and while bearing sick and wounded, did 90 miles in six days.

\* In the 18<sup>th</sup> 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 utilized in order to make moving through difficult terrain more easy and or due to the lack of men to fill the ranks.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> WCO p. 239.

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> HWW p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> HWW p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> Greene to Joseph Reed, 18 March, 1781, NGP vol. VII, p. 448.

<sup>22</sup> DME p. 110.

\* 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 18<sup>th</sup> century campaign.<sup>23</sup> In the war in the south, the effect of fevers, dysentery, and “fluxes” frequently had a devastating impact on army strengths, and their ability to carry out operations, particularly with the British.<sup>24</sup> For some of the Americans small pox at times could be a problem as well. In both cases high-ranking officers could become victims as much as the ordinary soldiers.

\* 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. One reason for this being the case is that men who would otherwise become Continentals would be drawn off into the militia first to meet the enemy threat.

\* The presence of either British or American regular forces, normally, would tend to encourage their respective militias significantly. Both large and small successes prompted local men to join an army as militia. While this was true of both sides, as the war in the south wore on it became more difficult for the British to make use of this advantage; since the number of southern loyalists willing to fight tended to decrease. In fact by the summer of 1781, some who had initially been loyalists ended up serving with the whigs. Continental army presence tended to increase whig militia activity. Correspondingly, when their absence became prolonged, as after Charlestown and Camden, the number of whig militia who would turn out dropped.

\* Both sides would usually try to recruit from among the prisoners they might take, and on some occasions, particularly that of a major victory, they succeeded. However, 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.

\* 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 sparing the conqueror the task of transporting, housing, and feeding them. Also if the prisoners were wounded, it spared them having to be moved unnecessarily. Though violations of parole did occur, what is perhaps 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 actual payment in hand.

\* 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 displayed themselves 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 their grants and bounties off to speculators in order to obtain much needed cash.<sup>25</sup> Even so, enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause and “the United States of America” understandably gave greater meaning to what they were doing; which enthusiasm we sometimes find expressed proudly in letters, private journals, or spoken exchanges that are reported.

\* 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.

“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

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<sup>23</sup> DME p. 173.

<sup>24</sup> WCO pp. 245.

<sup>25</sup> BSC pp. 88-91.

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!”<sup>26</sup>

\* 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.”<sup>27</sup>

\* From *Annual Register*, 1781 (author unknown): “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.”<sup>28</sup>

### ***Women and the War***

There were some exceptions, like Jane Black Thomas,<sup>29</sup> but very rarely do we hear of women being involved in the fighting.<sup>30</sup> 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, including 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. Sometimes they 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. Among the historical traditions, there are tales of young ladies in love with British officers. One in particular reportedly died of a broken heart when the officer was forced to leave the province. Yet South Carolina historian of the Revolution, David Ramsay, on the other hand, is most effusive in his depicting the ladies of Charlestown as almost universally showing support for the soldiers for Independence; though here his perspective is probably colored not a little with bias.<sup>31</sup>

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. Another favorite story is how when Greene was at Salisbury in early February 1781, he had stopped at an inn there. Without a dollar to the army chest, he was feeling especially overwrought with the responsibilities and cares that fell under his charge. Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie Steele, wife of the innkeeper, then handed him a bag of money that represented a substantial part of her savings. Greene, much moved 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. While we can’t vouch for the historicity of this anecdote, we can, on the other hand, safely say that the story about Nancy Hart, the Georgia woman, who, almost single-handedly, captured or killed a group of 6 Tories; who had invaded her home, probably didn’t happen. There was indeed a real Nancy Hart. However, modern scholarship tends to take the view that the tale itself was bit of early 19<sup>th</sup> century story-telling that became popular at that time.

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<sup>26</sup> EHJ pp. 339-341.

<sup>27</sup> DME p. 210.

<sup>28</sup> Unknown author, quoted in the *Annual Register* for 1781, but probably a British officer who had participated in the war. AR81 p. 83.

<sup>29</sup> See the entry for Col. John Thomas, Jr., S.C. Militia.

<sup>30</sup> 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.” CNS vol. 2, pp. 176.

<sup>31</sup> “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 public 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.” RSC p. 124. Worth mentioning also, 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.

## *Whigs and Rebels*

It is important to remember that at the outset of the conflict, 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 support or go against a given party until finally there was little or no room left for neutrality, with neither side very rarely or ever permitting it. By war's end one would not have had great difficulty finding or identifying soldiers in the rank and file who had served for both sides at one point or other.

Whig was the common term used to describe those militia and others supporting the American cause. Given the later important implications of the Revolutionary War, the name derived from an old political faction might sound rather odd. Yet for the Americans to characterize themselves as Whigs was a way to tap into a long standing division in British political and religious society, while at the same time permitting them to avoid seeming too unnecessarily radical or disloyal. In addition, many had originally come to America as religious dissenters, and this of itself would have qualified them as Whigs in some eyes.<sup>32</sup> But whatever the reason we might give or focus on, Whigs was the title they most used. Revolutionist was another title, though more rarely, sometimes adopted. However, towards early 1781, "American" or "republican," came to be gradually more adopted, where not specified otherwise. To the British, however, these militia were most all of the time "rebels."

William Johnson, Nathanael Greene's early biographer states, "(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."<sup>33</sup>

Terms of enlistment for militia might range from weeks to 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 at home. Since Georgia was without a state government 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, as the threat from Indians and their Tory allies, alone, gave them cause to serve regularly.

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, succinctly observed: "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."<sup>34</sup> Greene and a number of his officers did not want too many *mounted* militia because it made them harder to train, discipline, and organize, and gave them too easy an excuse to avoid combat if they felt like it. In addition, the presence of many horses could deplete foraging in an area severely. This said, though being mounted could make the militia's presence in a battle precarious, it did on occasion allow them to carry out effective raids.

The quality of the militia would often vary according to where they came from and who was leading them. Very frequently they would come and go as they pleased, and this could sometimes significantly delay, or interfere with, a commanders plans. As Tarleton observed of these troops: "(T)o keep undisciplined people together it is necessary to employ them." Yet some militia soldiers were very zealous and did not wait for government to supply them with arms, munitions, and other military supplies, but banded together equipped with materials

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<sup>32</sup> A good, if brief, history of the use of the terms Whig and Tory can be found in Caruthers, CNS vol. 1, p. 1, LFB vol. I, 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.)

Often in the text I spell, whig and tory, using 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 felt it was better to err on the side of minimizing it in order to avoid possible misunderstanding about how the Americans themselves viewed such titles. JLG vol. I, p. 392.

<sup>34</sup> HRS p. 82n.



gathered entirely (and sometimes resourcefully) on their own. It was not unusual for men serving in the militia to freely move from leader/unit to another leader/unit. Thus someone under Sumter might serve under James Williams and vice versa, thus possibly, and in some instances, creating rivalry between commanders.<sup>35</sup>

Many of the western militia acquired military experience from fighting with the Indians, which often stood them in good stead against the British. As well, many, both east and west served in earlier parts of the war. Not all militia then were green recruits or inexperienced civilians. Despite this, they still had their peculiar idiosyncrasies compared to regular soldiers, and leading them could be difficult. "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."<sup>36</sup> While their courage would sometimes surprise both British and Continentals alike, and though they were a necessary staple in the forces on both sides, the militia for the most part could not be relied upon for very much, or that for very long.

Though maybe not so much as Greene and other Continental officers appreciated, however, it was the militia winning battles such as Kettle Creek, Huck's Defeat, Second Cedar Springs, Ramsour's Mill, Musgrove's Mill, and King's Mountain, which decisively signaled the fall of loyalist support in the South, and to that extent contributed significantly to the war's outcome. Had these victories not occurred, let alone lost, the battle for the south might easily have turned out quite opposite to what it did.

The strategically important Moravian settlements in western North Carolina, at Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania, generally kept aloof from the fighting, and normally granted a neutrality denied most others. Though some historians have inclined to see the Moravians as tending toward the British sides, their records would seem to show the opposite to be 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.<sup>37</sup>

#### *The Catawbas and the Cherokees*

Their numbers were not great, perhaps anywhere from 60 to 200 warriors 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.<sup>38</sup> They served with Davie in July 1780 with Catawba chief General Newriver as their leader.

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. 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 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, they returned with joy to their own land."<sup>39</sup>

Robert Gray speaks of Sumter using the Catawbas to track loyalists in the swamps.<sup>40</sup> They were part of Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford's army on its way to Ramsour's Mill, and also participated in the retreat of Gates' army after Camden. They were at Pyle's Defeat, and later fought alongside Lee's Legion, and the Virginia riflemen at Clapp's Mill (the battle of Alamance, February 1781) against Tarleton's cavalry and the light infantry of the Guards. Joseph Graham describes how the Catawbas led the attack at Clapp's Mill when "one of the Indians 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 especially faulted for this than most any of the other militia who did the same.

The tribe fell on hard times about the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Yet in recent years they have made a comeback and thrive to this day.

The British had the Cherokee and Creek Indians with them, but this ended up having mixed benefits. While incursions by the Indians of the frontier took significant pressure off British forces, one modern genealogist, in writing of their revolutionary ancestor, correctly remarked, "It is interesting [to note] 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."<sup>41</sup> Yet it was Lord George German probably more than any military

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<sup>35</sup> See GJW p. 16.

<sup>36</sup> DRS p. 16, FNA p. 25.

<sup>37</sup> For more on the N.C. Moravians see CNS vol. 2, pp. 114-115.

<sup>38</sup> 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.

<sup>39</sup> WNO, part II, pp. 6-7.

<sup>40</sup> GWC p. 155.

<sup>41</sup> Biography of Joseph Chapman of Halifax, VA., and Guilford County, N.C., by Ira Chapman, Chapman Family Association.

officer who was most interested in using them militarily.<sup>42</sup> The Cherokees, a numerous and widely spread people, were most to be found in southwestern Virginia, eastern Tennessee, western Georgia, and far western South Carolina. Though we rarely hear of them in South Carolina, attacks by Indians (usually accompanied by some loyalists) into Georgia were not at all unusual.<sup>43</sup>

### *Loyalists and Tories*

In historical accounts, loyalists are commonly referred to as Tories. The word "Tory" has different meanings and associations. Yet generally (though not always, some loyalist used it) it was seen then as having a negative connotation, and became the American equivalent of "rebels," though with perhaps more mocking and derision to it. They were also called royalists, though in more modern histories the term is rarely used.

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 was the British confiscating rebel property and estates in large quantities. When this took place after the fall of Charlestown in May 1780, some men became loyalists in order to behave as thieves and plunderers. Hence there was this distinctly criminal element among otherwise legitimate loyalists, with some amount of shade in between. This of course 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 got it all started. Whig plundering of loyalist estates only became possible after King's Mountain. Cornwallis, in order to get a handle on unrestricted plundering, set up the system of sequestration and confiscation in which an administrator, John Cruden, was appointed to oversee property taken. While this took care of the problem at large, which is to say most of the time, it could do little to halt the illicit seeking of profit on the 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 neither persuasion who acted under the banner of loyalty or patriotism to excuse their criminal intent. Taking up one side or another became an excuse to commit a crime against another's person or property. It reached such a pitch that in late 1781 that 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 trouble to whig and loyalist indiscriminately.

The southern loyalist, Col. Thomas Brown, himself (erroneously or not) accused of wanton outrages, had this to say on the subject: "...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..."<sup>44</sup>

There was also among the loyalist people who were idealistic about their King and the mother country, and perhaps whose credulity and innocence may have caused them to unnecessarily suffer at Pyle's Massacre.

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

"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.

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<sup>42</sup> CKR p. 128.

<sup>43</sup> For more on the Creeks, Cherokees, and Native Americans generally in the Revolution see SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp. 24-25, and vol. 3, no. 6, pp. 27-31.

<sup>44</sup> WHG pp. 614-620.

"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."<sup>45</sup>

By contrast, Major Thomas Barclay, a Provincial officer, would have responded to such a characterization 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."<sup>46</sup>

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 out 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 inroads [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 certain of being treated as prisoners of war by the enemy, many more would have sided with the royal Standard."<sup>47</sup>

The loyalists were grouped militarily in two ways, as provincials who acted as regular soldiers, and as 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

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<sup>45</sup> SJM.

<sup>46</sup> Lorenzo Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. I, p. 207.

<sup>47</sup> GWC pp. 144-145.

Turnbull, of the New York Volunteers, asserted that his New York men ought to be fighting in New York.<sup>48</sup> 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 was not much better than militia.

The loyalist militia, in the vast majority of instances, was inferior in military skill and prowess to their 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. In letters, we find many high ranking British officers giving scathing assessments of such men; often accusing or blaming them of from everything from unreliability to perfidy.<sup>49</sup> Yet the excuse for many of the loyalist militia conducting themselves as they did was British haughtiness and insolence toward them.<sup>50</sup> Maj. Patrick Ferguson was one of the rare few among British officers who knew how to treat the loyalist militia men with proper encouragement and sympathy.

In terms of relations, strict British treatment and methods then, did not always sit well with even the 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. Stedman, the loyalist historian (from Pennsylvania), writes, "The militia of South Carolina were in general faithless, and altogether dissatisfied in the British Service." Another loyalist, Robert Gray after the war noted "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."<sup>51</sup>

To add to their hardships, towards 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 some of those who fought against them. While in retrospect this seems harsh, it must be recollected that many of the Rebels had their own estates confiscated during the British occupation. It then became, as it does so often in war, a rule of them or us. After the Revolution had ended, 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.

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, again roughly 5 percent of state's prewar population, and included slightly more blacks than whites.<sup>52</sup>

### ***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. The heaviest concentration of blacks was generally on the plantations along the coast and in the immediate hinterland. Beyond that slaves were not nearly so common by comparison. Not all farmers, particularly those in the backcountry and more remote areas, were slaveholders of perhaps more than a few slaves, and we often see references to the need for whites at planting and harvest.

Although reference is not frequently made to the fact, they fought on occasion as well. Marion is known to have had them in his ranks. Scholars, particularly Bobby Gilmer Moss,<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> We find 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 1<sup>st</sup> Rhode Island Regiment, which served at Yorktown, had a large proportion of black infantrymen. But raising such an organization in the deep south was 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.<sup>55</sup> The placement and predominance of the bugler

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<sup>48</sup> WCO pp. 188-189.

<sup>49</sup> WCO pp. 185-188

<sup>50</sup> LSL pp. 151-153, see also 4 March 1781 "Leslie" *Orderly Book* entry for 4 March 1781 found in the main text.

<sup>51</sup> SAW vol. II, pp. 204-215, RSC pp. 140-141, GWC p. 141. For the whig view of how loyalist prisoners were treated see CNS vol. 2, pp. 163-164.

<sup>52</sup> GWC p. 140, LSL pp. 120, 306.

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> JLG vol. II p. 242.

<sup>55</sup> See, for instance, JTR p. 104.

in the well-known folk painting<sup>56</sup> 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: "...the Negroes in general followed the British army."<sup>57</sup> 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<sup>58</sup> 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 soldiers. George Fenwick Jones, in an article for *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, describes blacks being recruited by the Hessians.<sup>59</sup> 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. However, 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 status in the Bahamas or Jamaica, after the war, many who had joined the British did finally obtain their long sought freedom.<sup>60</sup>

### ***The War and Its Purpose***

The war was very much a civil war as has been many times observed, but perhaps not sufficiently appreciated. The grievous nature of the strife between neighbors is brought out vividly in incidents that took place at and after the battle of Ramsour's Mill:

"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 Ford and buried it with his kindred."<sup>61</sup>

While Ramsour'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.

The British soldier while fighting for a dismally failed political policy, was fighting also for a solid tradition. For the Americans it was somewhat 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 exactly what perhaps makes the American Revolution one of the greatest of human achievements is that the principals and ideals of a few succeeded against the designs, selfishness, or incompetence of a number far greater than themselves. The British Army historian, Fortescue, believes that it was the ineptness of Lord George 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 endurance and self-sacrifice of so many who stuck to the cause at times when things seemed most bleak and resources were nil, staying the course when others jumped ship. In this lay the greatness of the American soldiery, which in turn lies as part of the legacy of the war.

Fortescue also maintains that the Provincial troops were generally better soldiers than the Continentals, while at the same time the loyalists believed more in what they were fighting for. The Americans, by comparison,

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<sup>56</sup> By William Tylee Ranney (1813-1857), and presently at the South Carolina State House, Columbia.

<sup>57</sup> SAW p. 241n.

<sup>58</sup> Samuel Burke, a free black, who served in the Prince of Wales American Volunteers.

<sup>59</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup> WCO p. 237, SNA, LSL pp. 307-308.

<sup>61</sup> GRA.

were generally less principled and more desirous of gain. Without denying that many of the Provincials did fight from principle, this is a rather odd argument seeing that the Provincials were invariably far better and regularly paid and supplied than the Continentals. The North Carolina Continentals were largely drafted troops, yet provided with proper leadership they became a very respectable combat brigade, fighting bravely and suffering more losses than any other American unit at the bloodier-than-usual battle of Eutaw Springs. The hardihood and resilience of the Maryland, Delaware and Virginia Regiments was oftentimes so extraordinary, given what they had to suffer in the course of long campaigning, that very few or no historian has yet been able to, or could, properly esteem it.

An anonymous British officer, in the *Annual Register* of 1781, 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, 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."<sup>62</sup>

Although the writer's impartiality is commendable, the Continentals, arguably, still had it worse. In addition to enduring exceedingly long marches, suffering extremes of weather and 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 (compared to their opponents.) In addition they were fighting the finest army in the world. Relatively little mention has been made of the remarkable achievement of these southern soldiers of the rank and file, whether serving for the British or American side. Yet that, in a sense, is perhaps only best, since it would seem in the final analysis that only Heaven could ever do them proper justice.

The Revolutionary War was a contest for self-determination, while at the same time a continuation of an effort to seek a new way of life that arose above the mistakes, injustice and blindness of the old world. It was an idealistic cause that began with the colonies earliest settlement, and which the higher-minded Revolutionaries continued. Yet there were, and always had been others, whose goals were less idealistic 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 the nation's history, and criticism by foreign nations of the American experiment. The history of the Revolution, like all other periods in American history, has been 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 it is to learn from both the successes and the failures as lights and warnings to guide us into our future, while insisting on our goal "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

During the time, and ever since, the war has been sometimes used, rightly or wrongly, to represent an act of emphatic defiance of the "New World" against the bad and corrupt ways of the "Old." Howsoever it is fair or appropriate or not to see the Revolutionary War in this light, the "American Revolution," in its truest sense, was, and is, a struggle for the realization of moral and civil ideals, transcending any geographical location, that carries on to this day. How successfully they were manifested in the conflict between America and Britain will, of course, be a subject of dispute. Yet that in the course of that conflict much significant ground was gained toward those goals, should not be. And even if the examples of endurance, long suffering and courage manifested in the struggle for freedom and equality were all the accomplishment the Revolutionary War as such provided, these, in their lasting way, remain encouraging examples which deserve the admiration, respect, and emulation of both ourselves and those who come after us.

## 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 the most significant and representative leaders. Most always the information given for a leader 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

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<sup>62</sup> 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.

have been included, and other officers not named due simply to lack of adequate historical information 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 list 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 well, there might be nominally known, yet unsung, soldiers, including the privates and sergeants, whose impact was much greater than history could ever take notice of. Such cases, for understandable reasons, we can only acknowledge the general possibility of. These comments made, the roster is sufficiently comprehensive to account for the vast majority of 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 included in this list, 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 should not be assumed to be complete, but, for practical purposes, a general summary. Additional details on these leaders, and others not listed here, can also be found in the main text.

## I. AMERICAN LEADERS

### The Continental Army

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln<sup>63</sup>  
(Age in 1780: 47 years old) Head of the Southern Department for the Continental army from 25 September 1778 to 13 June 1780, Lincoln oversaw the American forces at Charleston during its siege and surrender in early 1780. Far from being aloof, he was sometimes seen toiling among the ordinary soldiers and submitting to common duties.<sup>64</sup> Becoming one of city's prisoners, he was paroled; however, he was only able to return to Philadelphia a year later, being finally exchanged in July 1781 for British generals Phillips and Riedesel. Lincoln went on to lead a division, in the Yorktown Campaign, during which he also served as Washington's second in command. He 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.

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 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, and served out the remainder of his position till Greene arrived after the first of December. Although criticized by many, then and since, for his performance at 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 often clumsy leadership of the North Carolina militia -- even though the Virginia militia, it could be argued, 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 a brilliant leader, at least a conscientious and responsible one. 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 preservation of Greene's army that concluded the Race to the Dan.<sup>65</sup>

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene  
(38) After serving as the Quartermaster General for the Continental army (2 March 1778 to 5 August 1780), Greene (from Rhode Island) was selected by Congress to replace Gates on 30 October 1780, having been recommended by Washington. He arrived in Charlotte, North Carolina and took command in the first week of December 1780; serving there 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

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<sup>63</sup> 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 person who bestowed it on him was Greene -- though Washington, naturally, as Commander in Chief, had the final military say over all of them.

<sup>64</sup> BSC p. 88.

<sup>65</sup> LMS pp. 249-250.

House campaign; praised by British and American commanders alike. Nor was his holding together a rag-tag army that had been neglected and abandoned by just about everyone else, no small achievement. On occasion, his tactical judgment was highly questionable (such as in the wide separation of his lines at Guilford, 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 (as in his harsh treatment of Gunby after Hobkirk's Hill<sup>66</sup>) and sometimes 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, he possessed both a remarkable capacity for organization, and a penetrating grasp of the broad strategic picture.

Maj. Gen. Johannes de Kalb<sup>67</sup>

(59) De Kalb, a native of German Alsace who had once served in the French army, 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 to cooperate with him. He was second in command to Gates at Camden in August. His performance at that battle, in which, according to at least one version, helmet clad, sword in hand fighting like a lion, he only submitted after suffering eleven sword, bayonet and bullet wounds, stands as one of the war's most memorable moments.<sup>68</sup>

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, and on his return northward briefly stopped at Greene's camp on the Pee Dee 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.

Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist, *3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Regiment*

(32) Gist commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Brigade at the battle of Camden, for which his efforts there received praise. He afterwards left the southern army and returned to Maryland where he helped in recruiting. After serving at Yorktown, he returned to join Greene in 1782, and led the Americans to victory at Combahee Ferry on August 26<sup>th</sup> of that year.

Brig. Gen. James Hogun, *7<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment*

Hogun was an officer of the North Carolina line, who brought reinforcements to Charleston in February 1780, and was among those captured when the town capitulated. He refused parole and remained at Haddrel's Point, to care for the suffering prisoners there, and to encourage them to resist British offers of enlistment. Hogun died of natural causes while serving in this manner on January 4<sup>th</sup> 1781.

Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, *5<sup>th</sup> South Carolina Continentals (1<sup>st</sup> South Carolina Rifles)*

(38) Huger participated in the defense of Charleston, and was badly defeated by Lieut. Col. James Webster's forces at Monck's Corner in April 1780. He was, nonetheless, able to avoid being taken when Charleston fell. Though he would not have actually had a command there, it is likely he was present at Camden. When Greene arrived in December 1780, Huger was appointed his 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. He led 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.

Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, *1<sup>st</sup> Georgia Regiment*

(55) McIntosh commanded South Carolina militia at Charleston in 1780, where he was taken prisoner. 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. Boatner says he was probably paroled soon after, and was finally exchanged for Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara (taken at Yorktown) in February 1782.

Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, *11<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment*

(45) Morgan joined Gates' army (at Charlotte) in late September 1780, where he was appointed to head a corps of light troops. On Gates' recommendation, he was raised in rank from Colonel to Brigadier General by Congress, and received his commission on October 25<sup>th</sup>. 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 adroit tactical triumphs of the conflict. Yet on the other hand, he could have been said to be 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.

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<sup>66</sup> After all, even if Gunby gave the wrong order, it hardly accounts for the flight of half of an army.

<sup>67</sup> Johann-Henry-Jules-Alexandre von Robaii, Baron de Kalb

<sup>68</sup> 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 attempt to evade capture. Even if correct, there seems to be 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 SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 3-4.



Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, *2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina Regiment*

(50) Moultrie was one taken prisoner at the surrender of Charleston, at which he was second in command of the American forces. He was paroled, though he remained in there and, without formal authorization, acted as head and representative of the other American prisoners. The British attempted to bribe and get him to change sides; an offer he understandably scorned. Lossing states that he later went to Philadelphia, and was ultimately exchanged in February 1782, at which time he returned to South Carolina.

Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, *2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regiment*

(41) Scott, a veteran of the French and Indian War 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 the war's end. 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]." <sup>69</sup> Though he definitely was 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 speculated capture, he was on parole.

Brig. Gen. William Smallwood, *Maryland Continentals*

(48) Smallwood, a veteran of the French and Indian War, commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Brigade at Camden. Though he is not said to have particularly distinguished himself in that battle, he did play a significant role in regrouping and reorganizing the army afterward. He became Gates' second in command and in late September 1780, he was appointed 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 involved in recruiting men for the southern army, while engaged in some political wrangling over lack of promotion.

Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, *3<sup>rd</sup> North Carolina Regiment*

(47) Sumner was generally recognized as North Carolina's pre-eminent Continental officer, having served with merit in Washington's army earlier in the war. For a time in late 1780 he assumed a high-ranking command in the North Carolina militia, when Davidson replaced Smallwood in October. After Greene's arrival, he was put in charge of forming and re-organizing the state's Continental Regiments; which task he performed with resolute dedication and great professionalism. When enough men had been collected and armed to form the newly created North Carolina Continentals, he returned actively to the field in August 1781, commanding those troops with honor and merit at Eutaw Springs.

Brig. Gen. William Woodford, *Virginia Continentals*

(46) Woodford 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 in Trinity Church Yard.

Col. Charles Armand, *1<sup>st</sup> 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 had remained of Pulaski's Legion (which numerically wasn't much) became part of Armand's. Armand was at Camden with Gates army, though his troops behaved badly in and following that engagement. 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.

Col. Abraham Buford, *11<sup>th</sup> 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, came down with an illness, 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 Yarborough. He received leave of absence to go home to Virginia to recuperate on March 5, 1781, and there stayed till the war's end.

Col. John Gunby *2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Battalion* (of 1781)

(35) Gunby was at Camden where he commanded the 7<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiment (not his own, the 2<sup>nd</sup>.) After Greene arrived to the army in December, Gunby was commanding 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 left Prince Edward to rejoin Greene on March 12<sup>th</sup>. He received most fame at the battle of Hobkirk's Hill when he ordered the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment (of 1781) to fall back in the face of Rawdon's advancing force. This purportedly resulted in the retreat of that unit and the subsequent route of the entire army. Greene angrily blamed the battle's defeat on him, and arranged to have him court-

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<sup>69</sup> TCS p. 297.

martialed; but the colonel was mercifully acquitted. Not long following this, Gunby became ill from dysentery and was appointed to Charlotte to oversee that post and the hospital there. In August, still very sick, he requested leave to go home to Maryland, which Greene reluctantly granted. He did not subsequently return, however, in 1783.

Col. Charles Harrison, *1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery* (Virginia)

Harrison came to North Carolina with de Kalb, and took command of Continental artillery. However, just prior to Camden he injured his leg; as a result of a kick from a horse,<sup>70</sup> 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 and Ninety Six, at least in name. In August of 1781, Greene sent him into North Carolina to report on military stores at Oliphant's Mill, Charlotte and Salisbury, and the possibility of creating a munitions laboratory at Salisbury. While dutifully applying himself to this task, Harrison became ill and by the 28<sup>th</sup>, went to Salem, N.C. to recuperate. After this he went to Virginia, where he ended up remaining, working to obtain supplies and support for Greene's army. He only returned to the southern army in late spring of 1782. Despite his being at the famous battles named, Harrison does not seem to have been very much, if at all, involved in the actual working of the guns, perhaps due to his injury, but served more as a supervisor, staff officer, and logistical administrator.

Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *1<sup>st</sup> South Carolina of 1780*

(34) Pinckney was at Charleston where he was 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 had actually said was "It is No, No! Not a sixpence!"

Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Engineer

(34) Kosciuszko, of Lithuanian origin (which was then a part of Poland), joined the southern army after Gates defeat, and following the arrival of Greene became the latter's chief engineer. He was busily employed in various projects, including building boats and establishing fortifications (such as those on the Dan River). His presence in the southern campaigns was most conspicuous at the siege of Ninety Six in 1781. Lee 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. 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 the consummate expert he has perhaps sometimes implied to have been, he was, nonetheless, a competent, dedicated and energetic officer indispensable to Greene.

Col. Otho Holland Williams, *6<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Battalion* (of 1780)

(31) At Camden, Williams came south with de Kalb and acted as Gates' Assistant Adjutant General. He figured significantly in the reorganization of the Maryland Regiments after that action, and became commander of 1<sup>st</sup> 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 Weitzell's Mill, and for giving, at a crucial moment, an ill-advised order to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland at Guilford Court House (somewhat like Gunby at Hobkirk's Hill.) The quality of writing in Williams' own *Narrative* (arguably the best literary work by an American observer of the war in the south), on the other hand, shows him to have been a highly cultivated and intelligent individual of broad experience, gifted with keen powers of observation and discernment; it is a great pity he did not write a lengthier account of his war experience.

Lieut. Col. Peter Adams, *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment*

Adams commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> 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, *6<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment* and *1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)

(32) Ashe commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Regiment of 1781, leading his unit in battle at Eutaw Springs. See SCAR vol. 3, nos. 10-11 [joint issue], p. 29.

Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell, *13<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment* and *1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment* (of 1781)

(35) Campbell came south with (what would become) Samuel Hawes' Virginia Continentals and served at Guilford Court House. He assumed command of John Green's 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment after Green's departure in early April 1781, and led one of the two brave, but ill fated, American assaults at the siege of Ninety Six. On July 19<sup>th</sup>, Campbell was given command of the Virginia brigade (replacing Huger), which combined the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia regiments, while Capt. Thomas Edmunds took his place as head of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment. He was mortally wounded at Eutaw Springs, surviving till some hours after the battle.

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<sup>70</sup> See Gates to Jefferson, August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1780. GAH p. 297.

Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, *1<sup>st</sup> Continental artillery (Virginia)*, Quartermaster General for the Southern Army (31) Carrington, with the *1<sup>st</sup> 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, Carrington 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 the Dan River. Greene appointed Carrington 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 securing 200 horses from North Carolina for Greene. In July he went into Virginia for the purposes of obtaining more supplies, but ended up serving with Washington's army at Yorktown. After that he returned south and resumed his duties as Greene's quartermaster.

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford (also Foard), *5<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment (of 1781)*  
Ford commanded the *5<sup>th</sup>* (or, says one good source, the *6<sup>th</sup>*) *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 *2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment*. It was at the latter battle that he received a death wound. According to one source, he survived long enough to return to Maryland where he arranged his estate before expiring.

Lieut. Col. John Green, *6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> 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 left the southern army for Virginia, on or before April 4<sup>th</sup> due to rheumatism, and to recruit for the regiment.

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

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

Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard, *5<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment (of 1781)*  
(28) Howard commanded *2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment* at Camden, and subsequently the *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and, in a detached capacity, the *Maryland-Delaware light battalion* at Cowpens. He saw as much battle field service in the southern campaigns as almost any of the higher ranking officers in the southern campaigns, being present at Camden, Cowpens, the Race to the Dan, Weitzell's Mill, Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill, Ninety Six and Eutaw Springs (where he was wounded in the left shoulder.) The valor and gallantry of the *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment* under his command in these engagements (Hobkirk's Hill perhaps excepted) speaks more highly of him than any panegyric could.

Lieut. Col. John Laurens, *3<sup>rd</sup> Light Infantry Battalion*, Hazen's Division  
(26) Laurens, previously 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 joined the troops defending Charleston and served under Moultrie as volunteer; his troops 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. When in August he successfully returned in August, he re-joined Washington's army and commanded a battalion of light infantry at Yorktown, participating in the assault on Redoubt number 10. He later returned to fight in South Carolina and was tragically killed just months before the war's end at Combahee Ferry on 27 August 1782. Laurens was the son of Henry Laurens, the one time President of Congress and U.S. ambassador. 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.)

Lieut. Col. Henry Lee, *2<sup>nd</sup> 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 went to Virginia to be present at the siege of Yorktown, and was possibly present at the fighting on Gloucester Point. By November, he returned to Greene's army, but in February 1782 he left for Virginia where he remained till after the war ended. Though ambitious for glory, sometimes brash, and not always easy for some to get along with, Lee was the American response to Tarleton, ever active and aggressive. Yet in fairness to Lee, his daring capture of Paulus Hook 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.<sup>71</sup> Though criticized for his 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

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<sup>71</sup> 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.

the Guilford Court House campaigns, and his running successes while assisting at the reductions of Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, and Augusta more than demonstrate his extraordinary effectiveness 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.

Lieut. Col. Richard Parker, *1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment*

Parker died in May, 1780, from wounds received at the siege of Charleston on April 24<sup>th</sup>.

Lieut. Col. David Vaughn, *Delaware Regiment*

Vaughn commanded the Delaware Regiment at Camden where he was taken prisoner.

Lieut. Col. William Washington, *3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons*, and later the combined *1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Lieut. Col. Washington; beginning with his conspicuous present at the defense of Charleston in 1780. Leading raids just outside of the 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. Not released till the war's end, he subsequently remained and settled in South Carolina. As well as being a highly successful cavalry and partisan officer, Washington was evidently a both affable and straightforward individual, as (unlike say Lee) one never encounters a bad word spoken of him.<sup>72</sup>

Lieut. Col. Anthony White, *1<sup>st</sup> 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 Lenuud's Ferry<sup>73</sup> in the spring of 1780. His and William 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, and there remained.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Woolford, *4<sup>th</sup> 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. Otho Williams speaks of him as leading the Continental detachment that reinforced Sumter. He was later wounded and taken prisoner at Sumter's defeat at Fishing Creek just a few days later.

Maj. Archibald Anderson, *3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment* (of 1781)

Anderson fought at Camden, and 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 killed.

Maj. John Armstrong, *4<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup>* and shortly afterward, *2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)

Armstrong commanded the N.C. light infantry at Camden in August 1780. A reference to him is made in the Records of the Moravians as a colonel.<sup>74</sup> This perhaps was his rank while involved with the militia. Later he was part of Ashe's newly formed *1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Continental Regiment* (of 1781.) However, within the month prior to Eutaw Springs, he was put in charge of *2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina*.

Maj. Reading Blount, *5<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment*, and *3<sup>rd</sup> North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)

(23) Blount commanded the *3<sup>rd</sup> North Carolina Regiment* at Eutaw Springs. See SCAR vol. 3, no. 9, p. 24.

Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, *5<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment*, and Light detachment of the *North Carolina Continentals* (1781)

Greene first appointed Eaton to command at Hillsborough, N.C. on January 31, 1781, to replace Gunby who was needed in Greene's camp, and who had been commanding there. Gunby, however, ended up remaining in Hillsborough. Eaton later commanded the very first detachment of Sumner's newly formed *North Carolina Continentals* sent to Greene, serving at Fort Motte, and the siege of Augusta. He was killed on 21 May 1781 during (possibly immediately after) the fighting at Fort Grierson, one of the two posts at Augusta.

Major Henry Hardman, *3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *2<sup>nd</sup> 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 *2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment* on the death of Col. Ford after Hobkirk's Hill.

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<sup>72</sup> In pension statements, veterans sometimes make reference to him as "Billy Washington." For more see Stephen Haller's biography as well as SCAR vol. 3, no.4, pp. 21-31.

<sup>73</sup> 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.

<sup>74</sup> FRM p. 1747.

Maj. John Jameson, *1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons*

Jameson<sup>75</sup> was at Rantowle's Bridge, and Monck's Corner in the spring of 1780. He afterwards joined Sheldon's 2<sup>nd</sup> Continental Dragoons in Westchester, New York, and played a part in the events immediately preceding the discovery of Arnold's treason.

Major John Rudolph (also Rudolph), *Lee's Legion Cavalry*

Rudolph, "Fighting Jack," and brother of Michael, was one of Lee's regularly active cavalry officers. He was sent to Virginia in August 1781 to get horses for the Legion, but was unsuccessful because the horses collected ended up being used at Yorktown,<sup>76</sup> and by late September 1781 was promoted to major.

Maj. Smith Snead, *2nd Virginia Regiment*

On 19 June 1781, Smith took command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regiment, when Lieut. Col. Hawes was so ill as to be unable to continue in that position.

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 "provoked [Maj. Patrick] Ferguson to such wrath," says Fortescue, "that he was hardly restrained from shooting some of Tarleton's dragoons on the spot."<sup>77</sup> Vernier died from his wounds shortly afterward.

Capt. James Armstrong, *Lee's Legion Cavalry*

The name of Capt. Armstrong, as a dutiful and intrepid officer, 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. 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 it, Armstrong, with his small troop, charged over the precarious and flimsy bridge span, and for a while, with additional help from the legion and Marion's men, scattered the majority of a regiment.<sup>78</sup>

Capt. Patrick Carnes (also Carns), *Lee's Legion Infantry*

Capt. Joseph Eggleston, *Lee's Legion Cavalry*

In Joseph Graham's account of Pyle's Massacre, it was Eggleston who set the slaughter going when he delivered the first blow against an unsuspecting loyalist. Elsewhere, he made a name for himself in early July 1781, by laying a successful ambush later referred to as "Eggleston's capture," which, although only a skirmish, the *Annual Register* thought necessary to mention.

Capt. Thomas Edmunds, *1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment (of 1781)*

Edmunds was given command of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment on 19 July 1781, when Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell left that spot to take command of the Virginia battalion. Edmunds was wounded at Eutaw Springs.

Capt. Griffin Faunt le Roy (also Fauntleroy), *1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons*

(26) Faunt Le Roy commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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, at which battles site there is today a small monument commemorating him.

Capt. Ebenezer Finley, *1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery*

(26) Finley first saw action with the Southern army at Guilford Court House. He was present with Lee at most of the latter's sieges.

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.

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<sup>75</sup> Incorrectly referred to by Tarleton in his *Campaigns* as a lieutenant colonel, though this was his later rank.

<sup>76</sup> The editor to the Greene papers say it was Michael Rudolph 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.

<sup>77</sup> SAW p. 183n, FWI p. 166.

<sup>78</sup> This story 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 both Lee and Johnson's accounts are 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 unnecessarily risking their lives in order to protect those of the legion. JTR pp. 541-542.

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. In addition, his Delaware company was distinguished as *elite*.

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, *5<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> 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 Rudolph] of the Legion infantry, he was probably entitled to more credit than any officer of his rank in Greene's army."<sup>79</sup>

Capt. Michael Rudolph (also Rudolph), *Lee's Legion Infantry*

See Lee's quote contained in the entry for Capt. Edward Oldham.

Capt. Anthony Singleton, *1<sup>st</sup> 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, *3<sup>rd</sup> 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, 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 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 would have had no time to have taken him prisoner.<sup>80</sup> 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 *6<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiment*, and it may have been he, not "Jack," who did the survey.<sup>81</sup> If so 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, Smith was taken prisoner, but was left in Camden on parole when Rawdon evacuated the town (May 10<sup>th</sup>).<sup>82</sup> He shortly afterward (on May 21<sup>st</sup>) went voluntarily to Charleston as a prisoner in order to be exchanged. Johnson tells the story of how on his subsequent return from there, he was waylaid by a band of Tories, masquerading as Whigs, who gave him a good flogging.<sup>83</sup> 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.

Capt. Robert Smith, *4<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment*, and *1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Regiment* (of 1781)

Smith, formerly of the *4<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment*, took command of the North Carolina light infantry detachment at Augusta from Maj. Pinkertham Eaton, who was killed following the assault on Fort Grierson in May 1781.

### Virginia Militia and State Troops

Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, from Prince Edward County

Lawson led the Virginia militia at Guilford Court House, Lafayette's Virginia Campaign and Yorktown. While not thought of as one of the military "greats," Lawson was a loyal, dedicated and hard working officer.

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<sup>79</sup> LMS p. 362.

<sup>80</sup> Historian, Thomas Baker: "Stuart's orderly sergeant next attacked Smith, but was struck down by a Marylander. Smith then killed one more guardsman before he was finally shot in the back of his head by a redcoat. The wounded American officer was carried off the field by his men. Remarkably, he recovered from his injury." BAV p. 68.

<sup>81</sup> Lee makes note of the fact that there were two Capt. Smiths in the Maryland Line, see LCC pp. 116-117.

<sup>82</sup> 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 encounter; 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 stairs; and as he did not resent it, he [the lieutenant] was soon after cashiered." JFM ch. 3. See also WCO p. 207, and DRR p. 224.

<sup>83</sup> JLG vol. II pp. 96-97.

Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, from Culpepper County

(35) Formerly of the 10<sup>th</sup> 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 to his home state, and was one of the Virginia state officials and officers who avoided 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 commander and inspirer of men. At Guilford Court House, it was his troops, along with the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 among his own command, told them to make a path for the North Carolinians, since their retreat had been arranged in advance. In fact, no such thing had been planned. This event was followed by his homespun rifle and musket men (most without bayonets) manfully withstanding (for a crucial while) the oncoming British Guards. He afterward served at the siege of Yorktown.

Brig. Gen. William Campbell, from Washington County,<sup>84</sup> 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. In February 1781, he 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, fighting at Weitzell's Mill, the Road from New Garden Meeting House, and Guilford Court House. A few days after Guilford, he resigned his commission in disgust over Lee's carelessly exposing his Virginia militia to harm in the latter phase of that battle. Returning to Virginia, it was not long before Campbell's services were soon much wanted. 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, which he died, thirty-six years of age, while at Rocky Hills, in Hanover County, in August 1781.

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. However, in Lynch's case, whatever the actual basis of the charge, 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 the collecting of Virginia men who served 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, Preston joined Pickens' and Lee's forces with a corps of riflemen about the time of Pyle's defeat, and fought alongside those detachments at Weitzell's mill. However, despite his requests that they remain, most of his men went home after that heated skirmish. Possibly he and few of his men might have been at Guilford. If so, they would have been only a handful. He subsequently acted as one of the negotiators with the Cherokees, and on July 20<sup>th</sup> 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. He fell ill, however, 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.<sup>85</sup>

Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield, *Garrison Regiment* (Virginia State Line)

(30) Porterfield, from Frederick County VA., commanded the Virginia State Troops, which acted as light infantry in the battle of Camden. He was one of the few American units to have come out of that action with any credit, and himself mortally wounded, with (according to David Fanning) Guilford Dudley carrying him from the battlefield. 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 Porterfield was paroled, but on January 10, 1781 finally succumbed to the effects of his wound while still in South Carolina.

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<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> See *William Preston & the Allegheny Patriot*, by Patricia G. Johnson, Walpa Publishing, 1976.

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. Rockbridge County historian, Odell McGuire, believes Rowland and some of his remaining men may have been with Lee at Guilford Court House, including the New Garden Meeting House fighting just prior to it.

Maj. Francis Triplett, from Fauquier County

Triplett commanded the Virginia militia at Cowpens. He and his men returned home not long afterward.

Captain James Tate (also Taite), from Augusta County

(38) Tate led a company of Virginia militia at Cowpens. Although like Triplett, he returned home after that action, he and his men were able to rejoin Greene's army on March 7<sup>th</sup>, the day after Weitzell'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 preceding Guilford, from which wound he died shortly afterward.

### North Carolina Militia and State Troops<sup>86</sup>

*Note.* Next to the name of each 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) what the contemporary region 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 Rutherford (the western half) and Lincoln (the eastern half) counties. 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, who had earlier been the governor of the state, was the head of the North Carolina militia, up until the time just after Camden, when the North Carolina government appointed Brig. Gen. William Smallwood to replace him. Being deprived of his command, he resigned his commission. By January 1781, however, Caswell returned to take part in re-establishing the militia forces in the state, and became 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, for which he was better suited than a field commander.

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. To what extent these occurrences were a comment on his military abilities is not easy to say. Like Robert Lawson of Virginia he was a committed and hardworking soldier, if not a stirring leader. Butler had more success in late 1781 when fighting the loyalists in the eastern part of the state. He lost narrowly at the long drawn out battle of Lindley's Mill on 12 September 1781. Afterward, he pursued Fanning and the loyalists back into Wilmington in an unsuccessful effort to retake Fanning's prisoners.

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, and William Caswell's name does not come further in any of the regular histories of the war. On the other hand, we should not assume from this that he was without

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<sup>86</sup> 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.*



ability. When Greene passed through North Carolina in August 1783 on his way north to Rhode Island, the he was one of the North Carolina leaders he visited.

Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, from Rowan County

(34) Along with Griffith Rutherford, Davidson was no doubt the best of the higher-ranking North Carolina militia leaders. He first acquired fame as a 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 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 left to go 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. Later, Davidson lost his life at Cowan's Ford, in the effort to prevent Cornwallis' crossing of the Catawba River. 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.

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.

Brig. General Isaac Gregory, from Edenton 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, Gregory was exchanged and commanded 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 very few losses in the attack, and was able to resume his position guarding the entry into North Carolina immediately after the British left.<sup>87</sup>

Brig. Gen. Henry William Harrington,<sup>88</sup> from Cumberland County

(33) Beginning at the time just prior to Camden, Harrington led a command primarily in upper Peedee and Cheraw areas combating the loyalists. His headquarters were chiefly at Cross Creek, though before that he was at Haley's Ferry near Cheraw. He continued to lead effectively in this general area, and, for a brief period acted as Marion's superior. In about mid-December 1780, Harrington removed north to Grassy Creek on the Roanoke River, after which time his name does not appear to arise. For a sketch of him see CNS vol. 2, p. 172.

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.<sup>89</sup> In February, he marched with Butler to reinforce Greene prior to Guilford. However, soon falling ill, he was unable to continue in his command, 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 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 was active in both civil and military matters.

Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington, from Brunswick County

(55) In January 1781, Lillington was occupied with suppressing 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 contained there. On March 9<sup>th</sup>, 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 occupied Cross Creek and for the most part managed to keep Craig in check. 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 apparently involved in further fighting. Lossing speaks of him as being known for his "uniform kindness to all," and observes how 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.

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<sup>87</sup> "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.

<sup>88</sup> He is also sometimes referred to as simply "William Harrington," and is also spoken of as being from Richmond County where he is buried.

<sup>89</sup> See NGP vol. VII, 349n.

Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford, from Rowan County  
(59)<sup>90</sup> It was Rutherford, born in Ireland, who called out the men and officers who won the victory at Ramsour's Mill, and it was from his force that Davidson was detached to defeat the loyalists at Colson's Mill. He commanded one of the North Carolina brigades at Camden, at which he was badly wounded (shot through the leg and suffering a saber wound) and captured. He was 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 northwest of Wilmington (including defeating them at Raft Swamp), until the British finally evacuated that town in December.

Col. Philip Alston, from Cumberland County  
Alston, who led the Cumberland County militia, and headed 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 his own estate.

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

Col. Benjamin Cleveland, from Wilkes County  
(42) As Campbell and Preston in much of 1780 were busy regularly putting down the "tories" and loyalists in southwest Virginia, Cleveland was doing the same in northwest North Carolina. He played a conspicuous 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 policing or chasing tories below the mountains. In the fall, they served a three-month tour of duty under Brig. Gen. Rutherford in southeastern North Carolina. Cleveland had the somewhat unusual distinction of weighing some 300 pounds.

Col. William Richardson Davie, from Mecklenburg County  
(24) Davie was raised 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, Maj. Davie was in the field with a partisan corps carrying out raids weeks prior to Sumter's being active, 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. In many ways he resembles Lee, being (at least in his education and social standing) something of an aristocrat, 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. Perhaps the high point of Davie's military career was 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. At the time Morgan was operating with his corps of light troops in late December 1780, he 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 necessary. Appointed to the position on January 16<sup>th</sup> 1781 by the state of North Carolina, he acted in that capacity till about the time of the siege of Ninety Six. After that he does not seem to have been directly engaged in military service, but instead became involved in North Carolina politics, ultimately settling in Halifax. Well educated and licensed to practice law, Davie was one of the founders of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Col. Henry Dixon, from Caswell County  
(40) Dixon was a lieutenant colonel in the North Carolina line and commanded a militia regiment at Camden. While all the rest of the Virginia and North Carolina fled in that battle, Dixon's regiment, whom he had trained closely, put up a fight as dauntless in its way as that of the Continentals. At one point in the action they charged the British regulars with the bayonet and drove them back. Later, he and his men served for a period with Pickens light troops in the Guilford Court House campaign, and after that at Weitzell'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, 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. By 1782, he was back serving with the 2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regiment, and on 17 July was mortally wounded in fighting near Round O in Colleton County, S.C. Said 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."

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<sup>90</sup> Some sources give his birth date as 1731.

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 Cowen's Ford. It's very likely he served in the Guilford Court House campaign, including the battle itself. He commanded a militia regiment at Eutaw Springs under Col. Francis Malmady, though his men reportedly performed with less than great distinction there.

Col. William Graham, from Lincoln (now Cleveland) County

(35) Graham served with Rutherford's army on its way to Ramsour's Mill, and fought 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 afterward became known as "Graham's Fort." He led 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 given to Lieut. Col. Frederick Hambright. Graham does not appear to have been directly related to Joseph Graham.

Col. Robert Irwin (also Irvin, Irvine), from Mecklenburg County

(42) Irwin, a justice of the peace, 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 commanded a militia regiment under General Rutherford. A veteran of Irwin's corps referred to it as the "Riflemen Rangers."<sup>91</sup> 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.

Col. Francis Lock (also Locke), from Rowan County

(58) Lock commanded the Whig forces at Ramsour's mill, and later served under Pickens in the Guilford Court House campaign, temporarily holding up the British at Grant's Creek. In the spring of 1781, 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.

Col. François Lellorquis Marquis de Malmady (also Malmady, Malmèdy)

Malmady, a Continental officer, was at the siege of Charleston and, in the eyes of many, disgraced himself there by his withdrawing from the strategically important post of Lampriers 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, Malmady 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 Darton) of Washington County, VA., he was also present at King's Mountain. Malmady was seen with a corps of light horse and mounted militia in the Guilford Courthouse campaign, and successfully ambushed 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 his previous one had expired. He subsequently led the North Carolina militia at Eutaw Springs. Jonas Hill, originally from Granville County, and who later settled in Tennessee, remarks 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 [Malmady?]. 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 by an American officer named Sneed [Maj. Smith Sneed?], and Col. Locke [Francis Lock] became commander, marching the prisoners to Salisbury."

Col. Joseph McDowell, Jr. ("Quaker Meadows Joe"<sup>92</sup>), from Burke County

(24) McDowell was part of Rutherford's command at the time of Ramsour's Mill, and fought at Second Cedar Spring, Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain, and Cowpens, playing important roles in the latter two engagements. 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 something of a mystery what exactly he was doing during this time, but it is a safe bet that he was serving alongside (or near) Cleveland both in the Guilford campaign, and in keeping down the Tories in northwest North Carolina. That McDowell was very capable combat leader his record gives ample testimony.

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. He was not, however, a strong military leader which ironically may have worked to the Americans' advantage. His repulse at Cane Creek in September 1780 may have led Ferguson into thinking the Whig militia had little fighting left in them, thus encouraging him to take unnecessary risks. When the King's Mountain leaders voted who would lead them, William Campbell was chosen rather than McDowell, who was seen as a not sufficiently energetic commander. He then was given the task of going to Gates to secure a Continental army

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<sup>91</sup> Pension statement of Francis Miller of Mecklenburg County, N.C.

<sup>92</sup> To be distinguished from his cousin Capt. Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Garden, "Pleasant Garden Joe."

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.

Col. Thomas Polk, from Mecklenburg County

(50) Polk was a wealthy and eminent citizen of Rowan County, and one of the early leaders in the cause for Independence. He acted as commissary in Salisbury for both Gates and Greene. In the spring of 1781, Greene worked to have him made head of the Salisbury militia, but Col. Francis Lock was appointed instead. He was uncle to President James Polk.<sup>93</sup>

Col. William Polk, from Mecklenburg County, *South Carolina State Troops*

(22) William Polk, son of Thomas, and was with Davie at Flat Rock and Beaver Creek in July 1780. He later commanded one of Sumter's regiments of "10 months men," and served at Eutaw Springs as an officer in the South Carolina State Troops.

Col. James Read (also Reade), *2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regiment*

Read was a captain in the Continental army, who, acted as Colonel in the N.C. militia, and had served at 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 along by David Fanning in September 1781. Fellow colonel Guilford Dudley spoke of Read as a dutiful and dependable officer.

Col. Thomas Robeson, from Bladen County

(41) Robeson scored a surprising victory against the loyalists at Elizabethtown in August 1781. He served as part of Rutherford's command in the campaign against the loyalist of Drowning Creek, and is reported as one of the victors at Raft Swamp in mid October.

Col. Thomas Wade, from Anson County

In late December 1780, Wade became 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 supplies 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 one of the negotiators with the Cherokees.

Lieut. Col. Frederick Hambright, from Lincoln County

(53) Hambright, 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 sick.

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Herndon, from Wilkes County

(31) Herndon was one of Cleveland'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 slain.

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, and in 1781 served under Pickens in the Guilford Court House campaign, being later promoted to colonel that same year. Joseph Graham, who was with him under Pickens, makes mention of Dickson a few times in his reminiscences.

Maj. Joseph Graham, from Rowan County

(21) Capt. Graham was with Davie in the defense of Charlotte in late September 1780, commanding a troop of mounted riflemen. He won honor for himself in that engagement, and received multiple wounds in the fighting, both by sabers and bullets. This laid him up in the hospital for two months. He later commanded a troop of

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<sup>93</sup> 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.

dragoons in the Guilford Court House campaign, where he served under Pickens. He was present at Cowan's Ford, Hart's Mill, Pyle's Massacre, Clapp's Mill (Alamance) and Weitzell's Mill. The term of service for his men lapsed a few days before Weitzell'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 Ramsour'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.

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 loyalists in February 1781. At Guilford Court House, he led the North Carolina riflemen who served under Col. Charles Lynch.

Capt. Marquis de Bretigny (also Britigny)

A French volunteer, Bretigny 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 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.

Capt. Joseph McDowell ("Pleasant Garden Joe"), from Burke County

This Joseph McDowell served under his cousin, "Quaker Meadows Joe" (McDowell), at King's Mountain.

#### **Frontier Militia**

These officers lived in what is now Tennessee, but what was then considered 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 led an expedition against the Cherokees and their allies, while 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 settlement, south of the Holston River, and acted as both a civil administrator and military leader for that district. His most famous military contribution to the war was at King's Mountain where he led one of the main forces of over-mountain men. In addition, Sevier was involved in a number of battles with the Indians. In February 1781, Greene appointed him one of the representatives in peace negotiations 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. Fittingly, after Shelby became the first Governor of Kentucky in 1792, Sevier, in 1796, became the same for Tennessee.

Col. Isaac Shelby, from Sullivan County, TN.

(30) Shelby, who was from the Holston settlement, played a major part 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 he took his men to assist others in need of help elsewhere. He is said to have fought at Briar Creek in faraway Georgia in late April of 1781. It is not likely he is the same Shelby who led there, since he was supposedly occupied protecting the frontier against the Indians at that time. Yet even if not the same, it is just the kind of thing one might expect he would do. This high 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.

#### **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 is made to modern County names, however, in order to help better locate where an engagement took place, or where an individual had his residence.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, from Berkeley County

(48) Originally a lieutenant colonel with the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina Regiment, Marion was absent from Charleston when the city 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 Pee Dee), 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. Marion 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. He had insubordination problems on more than one occasion. True, it was difficult for any militia leader to keep men together for very long, but for him it at times seemed worse than for others.<sup>94</sup> His refusal to go along with Sumter's "Law" caused him to lose men, and it may have been the desire for discipline, and higher-than-usual standards among 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, Marion understandably riled 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 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.

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 finally 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, Pickens 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 willingly 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. His military ability is difficult to assess because he really did not achieve dramatic success as an independent commander and was usually acting as a subordinate. Yet in the vacuum left by the expulsion of the loyalists from Ninety Six in the summer of 1781, he played a crucial role in helping to restore law and order to that area. Later, at Eutaw Springs, leading what were mostly Sumter's men, Pickens once more, as at Cowpens, showed himself a trustworthy officer on the battlefield.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter (also Sumpter<sup>95</sup>), from Clarendon County

(46) Although Sumter had been an officer in the 6<sup>th</sup> South Carolina Regiment (also denoted the 2<sup>nd</sup> S.C. Rifle Regiment), he was not serving 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 attempting to round him up. It would have been well for them if they had succeeded because for a time Sumter was South Carolina. He was the one leader, working in cooperation with the Georgians and North Carolinians, who was able to bring together fairly large bodies of militia and take on the regulars. While it is true that much of the credit for the successes he knew goes to many of his subordinates, it was Sumter who united them.<sup>96</sup> As well as being a good politician, Sumter had a sharp sense for strategy. 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 almost a comical quality to them. 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. Sumter incurred the scorn 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 believe that Marion could not have withdrawn his own men himself after Taylor retired. Probably the key to understanding Sumter lies in the fact that when he did act ill advisedly, or showed poor judgment, it was more out of foolishness than bad character. For all his faults and foibles he, more than anyone else, kept the

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<sup>94</sup> 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.

<sup>95</sup> In this work we adopt "Sumter" as the standard spelling, yet his family name was originally "Sumpter;" and this latter version is found about as frequently as the former in contemporary papers and correspondence.

<sup>96</sup> His influence was so great that it doesn't seem at all farfetched to conclude that William Johnson's antipathy toward Henry Lee may have originated with Sumter, and or some of his former comrades.

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."<sup>97</sup>

Brig. Gen. James Williams, from Laurens County

(40) Williams, and who at one time headed the Little River<sup>98</sup> regiment, was one of the main leaders 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.<sup>99</sup> In fairness then to Williams, the story of his 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. 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 courageously alongside Elijah Clark, Samuel Hammond and Isaac Shelby. 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, and was buried not far from the field of his glory."<sup>100</sup>

Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson, from Greenwood County

(50) Williamson was head of the Ninety Six militia at the time Charleston surrendered. 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 some others of note accepted protection as well. What made Williamson unusual was that when both the Americans and British pressed the point, he removed to Charleston and 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, afterward, who 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.<sup>101</sup> Yet it is not hard to see that such would have been poor consolation for the (fair or unfair odium) he subsequently endured for having behaved so timidly in the time of crisis.

Col. Robert Anderson, from Abbeville County, *Pickens' brigade*

Anderson was at Cowpens, the second siege of Augusta and Ninety Six. Very likely he was also at Eutaw Springs.

Col. Thomas Brandon, from Union County

(39) Brandon was among the first who immediately 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 Ramsour's Mill, Blackstocks, Cowpens, and Ninety Six. His name does not seem to come up further with respect to the fighting, though this 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 [Benjamin] Cleveland, a bitter enemy of the Tories, who received little mercy at his hands."

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 arise in any of the known descriptions of battles and skirmishes, and is listed here merely to distinguish him from his more conspicuous brother, Thomas.

Col. William Bratton, from York County, *Sumter's brigade*

(38) Bratton was originally from Northern Ireland and moved with his family first to Pennsylvania, then Virginia, and finally, in 1774, to what is now York County. Along with Capt. Richard Winn and Capt. John McClure, he

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<sup>97</sup> GWC p. 144.

<sup>98</sup> Located in the adjoining areas of present day Newberry and Laurens counties.

<sup>99</sup> 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 Carolina, Sumter the middle, Marion the lower. Pickens then replaced Williams according to this view. JTR p. 522.

<sup>100</sup> Williams' eighteen year old son, Capt. Daniel Williams (and Joseph also, according to Young's account), was killed by "Bloody Bill" Cunningham's men at Hayes' Station in November 1781. For Thomas Young's Narrative see SCAR vol. 1, no. 3.

<sup>101</sup> Joseph Johnson, on the other hand, speaks of him dying in poverty. JTR. p. 152.

brought about one of the very first acts of rebel defiance following Charleston's surrender, at Mobley's Meeting House in late May 1780. He went on to become one of Sumter's regimental commanders, fighting at Huck's defeat (Williamson's Plantation), Fish Dam Ford, Blackstocks, and Sumter's "Rounds" (February 1781). It is also likely he participated in the Dog Days Expedition of July 1781.

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*  
Although Hammond, originally one of the state regimental militia commanders prior to the fall of Charleston, had originally taken protection, in 1781, he participated at the second siege of Augusta, and Ninety Six. Even so, he apparently took on a more secondary role and did not command with 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.) He was the uncle of Maj. Samuel Hammond.

Col. Henry Hampton, from Richland County, *Sumter's brigade*  
Along with Richard and Wade, Henry was one of the three Hampton brothers. Originally a loyalist, he was one of 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, Blackstocks, and the Dog Days Expedition of July 1781. By the time of the last, his regiment was fully mounted and included some cavalry, as did those of his brothers.

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 ambushade."

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 Friday's Ferry. Yet coming to suspect his sincerity, in November they confiscated some goods from his stock. By 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 become one of his most successful field officers of mounted troops. He fought at Friday's Ferry and Orangeburgh in May 1781, 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, Hampton led stunning raids on Goose Creek 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, Hampton assumed command of the cavalry. After the war, he became extremely rich through his plantation holdings and produce, having for a spell served 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, serving under Henry Lee's son, Robert Edward.

Col. William Harden, probably 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 in 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 force 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. Nonetheless, Harden was very successful operating in the heart of what was then enemy country, and in a number of skirmishes 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 Harden's men was fairly loose.

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, was unnecessary and tragic, it was also counter-productive to British interests. The temporary intimidation they achieved hardly was worth the censure and criticism that was subsequently leveled at them. Further, he, 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 than they did in making him a martyr.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> See LSL p. 204-205.



Col. William Hill, from York County, *Sumter's brigade*

(39) Hill was one of those who first 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 Blackstocks. 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 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."<sup>103</sup> After the war, Hill wrote reminiscences of his experiences, which, if not always trustworthy, are still of value and interest.

Col. Daniel Horry, from Georgetown County, *Daniel Horry's Regiment of Light Dragoons*

Horry served with the state cavalry prior to and later at the siege of Charleston, after which he took the British oath of allegiance and did not serve thereafter. 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 than Peter was. In January of 1781, he became the commander of Marion's infantry. 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, Horry 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. 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 fact Marion wrote him after the battle reporting what had happened.

Col. Abel Kolb, from Marlboro County

Kolb 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 28<sup>th</sup>, 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 activity. Though perhaps more famous for his death, Kolb was a usually reliable officer who often assisted Marion, and was successful at combating the loyalists in what was typically a volatile area.<sup>104</sup>

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 liked and respected officers. 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, Blackstocks, 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."<sup>105</sup>

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.

Col. Charles Myddleton, from Orangeburgh 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 sorely defeated by Coffin's cavalry in what McCrady has denoted "Myddleton's Ambuscade."

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<sup>103</sup> In his account of Blackstocks, Hill states that Sumter had no more than 600, while Tarleton had "1200 horse and Infantry together with a field piece." HMS p. 14.

<sup>104</sup> For more on Kolb see SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 27-29.

<sup>105</sup> MLL pp. 1, 20.

Col. Andrew Neale (or Neal),<sup>106</sup> *Sumter's brigade*

Neale, spoken of by his contemporaries as a leader of great promise, was killed leading one of the assaults on Rocky Mount in late July 1780. Historian Patrick O'Kelley 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. Samuel Tate, from Orangeburgh County, *Sumter's brigade*

Tate, was one of Lacey's officers, fought at King's Mountain, and probably participated 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 the better of Sumter's commanders, 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, Blackstocks, 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 carelessly risking his men's lives.

Col. Richard Winn, from Fairfield County, *Sumter's brigade*

Originally a Major, 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 Blackstocks. 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 very valuable resource on many of the southern war's battles and military figures.

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, Blackstocks, 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, as an officer in the 6<sup>th</sup> South Carolina Regiment, 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. He shortly after was at Blackstocks, 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 Troops, which were created largely from Sumter's now much diminished brigade, leading them at Eutaw Springs 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.

Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes, from Laurens County, *Sumter's brigade*<sup>107</sup>

Hayes was Col. (later Brig. Gen.) James Williams' chief lieutenant, serving under him at Hanging Rock, Musgrove's Mill, and King's Mountain where he succeeded him. He also commanded at Blackstocks, 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.

Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Maham, from Berkeley County, *Marion's brigade*, and *State S.C. Troops*

(41) Maham, an officer in the 5<sup>th</sup> S.C. Regiment, acted as cavalry leader during the siege of Charleston. Later in the spring of 1781 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. Later that year he 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 served in the Dog Days Expedition, Quinby Bridge, and Eutaw Springs and its aftermath. Near the end of 1781, he was taken prisoner while at his home in St. Stephen's parish and paroled, and was not released till the war's end.

Lieut. Col. James McCall,<sup>108</sup> *Pickens' brigade*

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<sup>106</sup> 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.

<sup>107</sup> Sumter in a letter to Greene of April 25<sup>th</sup>, 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.

<sup>108</sup> 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.

McCall, as a result of previous ties he had with them in fighting the Indians, had close ties with Clark and Pickens, and often served under or alongside those commanders in the war with the British. He saw much action in the course of 1780 and early 1781, and was present at Musgrove's Mill, the first siege of Augusta, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstocks, 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 on McCall see SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp. 11-13, and vol. 3, nos. 10-11 [joint issue], pp. 22-23.

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 a number of raids for Marion and was one his regular lieutenants, serving in that brigade's cavalry.

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

Lieut. Col. Benjamin Roebuck, from Spartanburg County

Roebuck was at Hanging Rock, Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain, (after which 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 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1781, at Mud Lick, in Newberry County, he led a militia force of 150 militia against some loyalists. There he was wounded and captured. Roebuck was taken prisoner to Ninety Six, then Charleston, and was finally exchanged in August. He, and his companion officer Lieut. Col. Henry White, are spoken of at length and in a praiseworthy fashion by Rev. James Hodge Saye's in Saye's *Memoirs of Joseph McJunkin*.

Lieut. Col. Alexander Swinton, from Georgetown County, *Marion's brigade*

With the initial rank of Major, Swinton appeared as one of Marion's main officers in the spring of 1781, and served in that role 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,<sup>109</sup> 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 clear what actions he served with Sumter in, though it is likely that he was at most of the main engagements. 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.<sup>110</sup> 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."<sup>111</sup>

Maj. Samuel Hammond, from Edgefield County, *Pickens brigade*, and *S.C. State Troops*

Hammond, originally from Richmond County, VA,<sup>112</sup> was another one of those ubiquitous figures in the fighting in the south. After refusing to submit to British protection after the fall of Charleston, he led men at Second Cedar Spring, Musgrove's Mill (after which he was promoted to Major), King's Mountain (serving under James Williams), Blackstocks, Long Canes, Cowpens (following which he was promoted to Major), Augusta 1781, Ninety Six, and finally Eutaw Springs, where he was wounded. Such a record needs no ornamenting by the historian. 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.

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 commanders 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."<sup>113</sup> 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, Blackstocks, Hammond's Store, Cowpens, Mudlick Creek, and the siege of Ninety

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<sup>109</sup> A tributary of the Tyger River.

<sup>110</sup> 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.

<sup>111</sup> SJM. For more on Thomas and the Thomas family see SCAR vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 15-22.

<sup>112</sup> 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.

<sup>113</sup> *History of South Carolina*, p. 259.

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 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, "The Memoirs of Joseph McJunkin," although containing many valuable reminiscences of his own, were actually compiled by 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 helped lead the raids at 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.

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. John Postell, from Georgetown County, *Marion's brigade*

Postell, a captain in Marion's infantry, who like his brother James, carried out independent raids for 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. The excuse given was that he had violated the parole he received as one of the Charleston garrison. He thereafter remained in captivity for the duration of the war.

Capt. Jacob Rumph, from Orangeburgh County

Rumph led a company of militia cavalry, or else mounted infantry from the Orangeburgh area. His command was attacked and scattered at Fork of the Edisto on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1781.

### Georgia Militia and State Troops

Brig. Gen. John Twiggs, from Burke County

As a colonel, Twiggs commanded the Georgians at Fish Dam Ford and Blackstocks. 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 Clark was, he seems to have spent much of his time acting as a headquarters leader in Georgia, though all the 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 leaders. See SCAR vol. 3, no. 12, p. 16.

Col. Elijah Clark (also Clarke), from Wilkes County<sup>114</sup>

(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 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, Blackstocks (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 seriously 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.<sup>115</sup> His wife, Hannah Harrington

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<sup>114</sup> 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 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1780.

<sup>115</sup> Clark's biographer, Louise Frederick Hays, 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

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.

Col. John Dooly, from Wilkes County

(40) Dooly was Colonel in the Continental army, and was one of Georgia most important officers. But in August 1780, he was, in the presence of his family, murdered by some Tories, who had 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."<sup>116</sup> He and his men fought alongside Pickens and Clark in the important victory over the loyalists at Kettle Creek, Georgia, in February 1779.<sup>117</sup>

Col. Benjamin Few, from Richmond County

Few was at Fishdam Ford and Blackstocks. He had seniority over Clark, and commanded the Georgians at Long Canes in December 1780, but showed poor leadership in that battle. 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, Blackstocks, 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 Lieut. Col., 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 Senator and Governor of Georgia.

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 fought at Fish Dam Ford and Blackstocks. 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.

## II. AMERICAN UNITS

This list 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, more detailed information about these units 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. After Camden (16 August 1780) many were taken, including Lieut. Col. David Vaughn. This was followed by Great Savannah (21 August), where a number of these were liberated and escaped, so that the net loss ended up being only 70. 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 acted as a light infantry company, sometimes being coupled with Washington's cavalry to form a legion, while Jacquett's company was informally organized into one of the two Maryland Battalions. While it occasionally received a few replacements, the companies normally did not 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

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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.

<sup>116</sup> WHG p. 617n.

<sup>117</sup> For more on Dooly see SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 30-32.

when it consisted of four companies. These were integrated into Col. Laurens' Light Infantry Corps on June 13, 1782.<sup>118</sup>

\* Maryland Brigade

At Camden were present the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Maryland regiments. Following that action their numbers were so reduced that in October 1780 what remained of them was consolidated into two battalions or "regiments."

They were grouped as follows:

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Battalion, under Maj. Archibald Anderson:  
Made up of the remnants of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> regiments.

2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Battalion, under Maj. Henry Hardman:  
Made up of remnants of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, regiments, plus Jacquet's Delaware company.  
Informally, these battalions were thereafter known as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiments (of 1781), though these were designations of convenience and not formal regiments as such. The officers, for example, would continue to be listed in official records according to the regiments they originally belonged to. The 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. 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, as replacements came in to Greene, 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup>, 1781, he wrote Gov. Reade 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."<sup>119</sup> 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 and Virginians, and 80 for the Delawares.<sup>120</sup>

\* 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.<sup>121</sup> Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner was appointed by Greene the task of collecting, training and arming the units. However, with Cornwallis' invasion of the number of recruits coming 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. 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 1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Regiment (of 1781), the 2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regiment (of 1781), and the 3<sup>rd</sup> North Carolina Regiment (of 1781.)

\* Virginia Brigade<sup>122</sup>

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. But by the time Greene came to take command 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 3<sup>rd</sup>, to William Davies

<sup>118</sup> WDC pp. 351-354, 363, NGP VOL. IX p. 224n, JLG vol. I, p. 443.

<sup>119</sup> JLG vol. II p. 88.

<sup>120</sup> JLG vol. I, 443.

<sup>121</sup> 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.

<sup>122</sup> Virginia regiments generally were at various times reduced in overall number, recombined, some disbanded, so that their organization went through considerable fluctuation during the course of the war. So that though a regiment might not be active in reality, it was still in existence on paper, while the men went to serve in the units where they were 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 formally to a new unit.

(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 4<sup>th</sup>, the Virginians were divided into two equal corps, Green's became the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment (of 1781) and Hawes' the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup>. Hawes as well later became ill sometime before the end of May, and command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> was given to Major Smith Snead. On July 19<sup>th</sup>, Campbell was appointed head of the Virginia brigade, and Capt. Thomas Edmunds took his place commanding the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment.<sup>123</sup>

\* 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, also 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Regiment of Cavalry, "Bland's"<sup>124</sup>

\* 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, also 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Regiment of Cavalry, "Baylor's"

\* the Combined 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Cavalry, also Washington's cavalry, and Virginia Cavalry

Commanded by Lieut. Col. Anthony White, the 1<sup>st</sup> Dragoons fought alongside the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dragoons, under Lieut. Col. William Washington, during the siege of Charleston.<sup>125</sup> Both managed ultimately to escape the British, but not without having suffered significant losses beforehand. Gates had White's removed to 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Greene's forces collecting around Sherrald's ford. Greene partially countermanded the order, and directed that those of White's dragoons "who are fit for duty" to unite with Washington's unit. So about 10 to 15 of White's dragoons, that is those "fit for duty," subsequently left Salem on February 4<sup>th</sup> 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. Along the way, 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 the unit's men were scattered. This resulted in the corps' permanent disbanding.<sup>126</sup>

#### Artillery

\* 1<sup>st</sup> 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<sup>127</sup>

\* 1<sup>st</sup> Partizan Corps, Armand's Legion.

Armand's was at Camden. In early September they were sent to seek provisions and make cantonments in Warren County, N.C. In November 1780 it was reorganized, then in December it was sent by Greene to Virginia as unfit for duty.<sup>128</sup> 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 by spring 1781, he brought his men back to the field, where they served in Lafayette's Virginia campaign and Yorktown.

\* 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 Rudolph and George Handy

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<sup>123</sup> NGP vol. VIII 44, 55, 330, 410n, vol. IX p. 43.

<sup>124</sup> Dragoons were originally mounted infantrymen. Yet by the time of the 18<sup>th</sup> century they could be characterized as regular cavalry, yet cavalry armed with typically a carbine and pistol.

<sup>125</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> was mostly made up of men from Virginia, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> contained a number from Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

<sup>126</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 70n, 119n, 205n, 221, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 15-33.

<sup>127</sup> These contained one element 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.

<sup>128</sup> 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."

They joined Greene's army in the first week of January 1781, and remained with it 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 28<sup>th</sup>, 25 from the 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

#### \* 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 scattered 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.

### State Units

#### \* 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 active 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.<sup>129</sup>

#### \* 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: Davie's mounted troops, of summer and autumn of 1780, and Malmady's corps, which operated in the spring of 1781, being perhaps somewhat exceptions. Babits mentions another state unit being at Cowpens. While there is no doubt much to be found out further and explained about the state troops of North Carolina, unfortunately these too brief marks will have to suffice here. 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. However, 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 unit was at Quinby Bridge and Eutaw Springs. Horry's, on the other hand, was still not quite ready by the time of those engagements. In September a third was created commanded by then Lieut. Col. Samuel Hammond.

#### \* Virginia State Troops

The Virginia State Troops under Porterfield, in this case the Virginia Garrison Regiment, came south to assist the besieged Charleston garrison. However, 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 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental dragoons, and probably for similar reasons, i.e. lack of supplies and equipment. When Greene arrived to take command in December, he sent them back to Virginia as not fit for duty. They appeared, however, in Lafayette's 1781 campaign in Virginia and were present at Yorktown. After that engagement the remnants of the corps appear to have been consolidated with other state troops, which were then 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

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<sup>129</sup> 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.



in North Carolina when Greene arrived to take command of the southern army in Dec. 1780. After that it appears to have been withdrawn to Virginia presumably due to lack of supplies and or expiration of enlistments.<sup>130</sup>

### III. BRITISH LEADERS<sup>131</sup>

#### The British Army, Provincials, and Royal Militia

Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, commander-in-chief, *12<sup>th</sup> Regiment*  
(Age in 1780: 50 years old) Among the 19<sup>th</sup> century historians, there was an inclination to blame Clinton for the failure of the British effort in 1780-1781, while excusing Cornwallis. In later years, 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,<sup>132</sup> 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. Moreover the primary reason for a Virginia port was to provide a berth for ships. Clinton himself said that 600 to 800 in Portsmouth would have been sufficient for defending that post as naval station.<sup>133</sup> 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. In his sometimes vacillating between choices, or in his communicating in a confusing manner, one almost senses that Clinton almost expected the war to take care of itself. Yet with the political maneuvering and game-playing going on behind between commanders and the ministry, it was difficult for him, or for almost any man in his position, to have done much otherwise. Germain favored Cornwallis, 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 encourage loyalist support among the lukewarm and uncommitted who were simply told they *had* to support the British. For this reason, rather than any failure as a military strategist, he might well be faulted as much as anyone for final defeat.

Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis, *33<sup>rd</sup> 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 far too obvious. Here is a list of some (and only *some*) that might be mentioned:

He did not better support his detachments, namely Ferguson's<sup>134</sup> and Tarleton's.

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.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> FWV pp. 853-854.

<sup>131</sup> 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), while a Lieutenant Colonel in the regular army. Similarly Tarleton was a Major in regular army, and a Lieut. Col. of Provincials. On the other hand, Major Patrick Ferguson was a Major in the regular British army but officered a corps of Provincials, yet without a Provincial rank.

<sup>132</sup> The contemporary spelling of Hampton Roads is more frequently given as "Hampton road."

<sup>133</sup> Clinton to Maj. Gen. William Phillips, dated New York, April 13, 1781. COC p. 80.

<sup>134</sup> 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 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 Ramsour'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 much 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.

<sup>135</sup> 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. 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 Clinton doubted the wisdom of the idea.

He allowed Greene time to reinforce his army, rather than continuing on the attack after Weitzell's Mill. He chose to make a stand at Yorktown, when he might have informed Clinton of the inadequacy of Old Point Comfort before making such a final move.

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 confused? Did he not really care about winning, while believing the cause 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 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. Yet his inability to accomplish these things adequately was perhaps his greatest failure. Was there really more he could have done than he did? Such a what-if one is hard put to answer. 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.<sup>136</sup>

Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, *64<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

(49) Tarleton says that Leslie left the army due to illness when it was in Wilmington in May 1781. Actually, Leslie accompanied Cornwallis to Virginia, and it was from there, in August, that he returned to New York. By December, he was in Charleston where he then took charge of the British forces remaining in the south. Leslie 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 he would have stayed put and avoided North Carolina -- something Clinton, no doubt, would have preferred to what Cornwallis ended up doing.

Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost, *60<sup>th</sup> 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, *30<sup>th</sup> 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 supreme commander in the Carolinas and Georgia. He remained in 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 (2<sup>nd</sup> 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 did recover, however, 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

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<sup>136</sup> Cornwallis: "The disaster of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

1782. A man of good sense who understood the nature of what was going on, O'Hara, like many others whom he served with, steadfastly continued to do his duty even when things had become most difficult.

Brig. Gen. James Paterson, *64<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

Paterson came south with Clinton's expedition and served at the siege of Savannah. For a period he served as commandant of Charleston, but by early September had fallen ill. He then went home, and Balfour took his place.

Col. Nisbit Balfour (also Nisbet), *23<sup>d</sup> Regiment*

(36) Balfour was the first commander of Ninety Six before Cruger came to take his place. Thereafter he was commandant of Charleston, and nominally commanded the British forces in South Carolina and Georgia after Cornwallis' departure. When Gould came in June to take charge, he continued as commandant of Charleston till the city's evacuation in 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, sometimes annoyed by this or that going, but rarely seeming to be actually part of it.

Col. Alured Clarke, *7<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

(35) Clarke, was part of the Charleston expedition, and in the early part of the siege there led a brigade consisting of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup> regiments, 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 Savannah in early June.

Col. Edmund Fanning, *Kings American Regiment*

(43) Fanning, 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 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 had played a prominent part in that state's politics.

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. At no time, was he head of the British army in South Carolina. Yet after Cornwallis left served under Balfour and then Paston Gould. Rawdon commanded the British left wing at Camden, and later when Cornwallis moved into North Carolina, he was entrusted with the troops on the frontier. This then was how Greene found him when the latter entered South Carolina in April 1781. Having suffered from bouts of malaria, on Aug. 21<sup>st</sup>, he 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 at the time, Rawdon handled his 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 nevertheless an astounding victory. When the countryside subsequently flamed about him in rebellion, he kept a cool head, and ("Eggleston's capture" excepted) was able to protect his forces, despite being probed and assaulted from all sides by Greene and his detachments. A less sharp and vigilant commander might more easily have been "found out" and incurred disaster. Rawdon, however, 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.

Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, *3<sup>d</sup> 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 gained honor for themselves.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown (also Browne), *Kings Carolina Rangers*

(30) Early in the war Brown, who had a talent of for sarcasm, had been tarred and feathered by some violent whig extremists for not supporting the cause of American liberty.<sup>137</sup> 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 Kings Carolina Rangers.<sup>138</sup> He and his unit served at 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 post, acting as a go-between for the Creeks, Cherokees and 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 while considered having him removed from Augusta and replaced with Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen.<sup>139</sup> However, perhaps unfortunately for the British, 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 subsequently became quite brutal and bitter. Speaking in

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<sup>137</sup> FNA p. 2.

<sup>138</sup> Brown's King's Rangers company had a chaplain - a somewhat unusual distinction for a regiment.

<sup>139</sup> LSL p. 135.

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 the town 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. Brown put up a quite determined and, while it lasted, shrewd defense, but was finally undone by Lee's cannon posted in a Maham tower. 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.)

Lieut. Col. George Campbell, *King's American Regiment*

While Edmund Fanning was the regimental head of the King's American Regiment, Campbell 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, Campbell was taken prisoner and paroled. He was exchanged by the time of Hobkirk's Hill, and led his regiment successfully at that battle.

Lieut. Col. James Coates, *19<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

Coates' 19<sup>th</sup> 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, Coates managed to extricate himself from a ticklish situation at Biggin Church and Quinby Bridge, and fought off the partisans at Shubrick's Plantation; thereby causing them to withdraw the next day.

Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, *1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade*

(42) Like the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, Cruger's 1<sup>st</sup> 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, 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 18<sup>th</sup>, and in his Memorial he had the temerity to claim that the American army numbered 4,000 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.

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 successful raid of Marion's long inviolable Snow's Island, and in August was sent on an armed expedition to collect rice along the Edisto. For some unknown reason, Doyle was not at Hobkirk's Hill, possibly because he was ill, or else was placed in charge of the Camden garrison. Also, at Eutaw Springs it was Maj. Henry Sheridan, not Doyle, who commanded the New York Volunteers.

Lieut. Col. James Grierson, *King's Carolina 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.

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.<sup>140</sup> Lee, who apparently was in some way acquainted with Hamilton before the war, states that his "goodness, hospitality, and urbanity had attracted universal esteem." Cornwallis, on the other hand, apparently did not hold so high an opinion of him, at least militarily, and at one point referred to him as an "obstinate blockhead."<sup>141</sup>

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 does not seem to have been involved in further fighting.

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<sup>140</sup> Another source says Halifax, Virginia. For more on Hamilton see SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 32-34.

<sup>141</sup> LMS p. 412, LSL p. 127. SCAR vol. 3, No. 5, p. 32. It is possible Hamilton was somehow connected with the premature Loyalist uprising in Tryon County, N.C., just prior to the tory disaster there at Ramseur's Mill in June 1780.

Lieut. Col. Daniel McGirtt (also McGirth), *King's Carolina Rangers*

McGirtt, evidently a rather self-willed and temperamental young man from the Camden area, at one time served with the whigs. Yet when in Satilla, Georgia, sometime before 1779, an 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 be brought up on charges, and he was flogged and imprisoned. Angered at the disgrace and humiliation, he made his escape and joined the loyalists, who gave him a commission.<sup>142</sup> Although we rarely if ever hear of him being involved in any of the more well known engagements, he acted, along with some other mounted loyalists, as a kind of partisan ranger, who gained a notorious reputation (justified or not) 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, and a militia force was raised to capture or else chase him from the area. Not long after this, he gave up his life as an outlaw and returned to Sumter County, S.C. to live with his brother-in-law.<sup>143</sup>

Lieut. Col. Chapel Norton, *Coldstream Guards (2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Guards)*

Norton commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> Guards battalion at Guilford Court House, presumably 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, apparently for attempting to make money selling and trading supplies. About the same time he became ill. He remained in Charleston till June 1781 when he returned to New York, and was subsequently retired on half pay in August.

Lieut. Col. John Small, *84<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

Small commanded the 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment which came south with Leslie in December 1780.

Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart, *3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*

Stewart, who arrived in Charleston with his own 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 shown himself to be reasonably competent, but not much beyond that. He was wounded in the elbow during the fighting. Stewart was promoted to full Colonel on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1782.

Lieut. Col. James Stuart, *1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Guards*

Stuart immediately succeeded O'Hara when the latter was seriously wounded in the fighting at Guilford Court House, but was himself soon after killed in a melee with the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 bloody results. While it would be extravagant to label him a butcher for what happened at Monck's Corner, Waxhaws, and Fishing Creek, it would be equally wrong to think that the brutality his men often showed was entirely unrelated to his own character as commanding officer. Yet this said, he would 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. Although soundly defeated 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* runs a very close second, his *Campaigns*, for all the criticisms it has received, much of them justified, is otherwise the single most valuable book on the War in the South 1780-1781 by a contemporary.<sup>144</sup>

Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, *New York Volunteers*

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<sup>142</sup> It is said by a rural history as a lieutenant colonel but this seems very unlikely. Even so, to give him the benefit of the doubt we have him listed here as such.

<sup>143</sup> JTR pp. 172-174.

<sup>144</sup> 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 simply expects accounts of how well the American soldiers fought or else patriotic sermons from an apologist of the Revolution. 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, granted, far from being always dependable 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.

Turnbull was present at both the defense of Savannah and the siege of Charleston. In a letter of June 30<sup>th</sup>, 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, Turnbull 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), *3<sup>rd</sup> 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 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 in rescue of Cornwallis at Yorktown.<sup>145</sup>

Lieut. Col. James Webster, *33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*

(40) Webster led detachments of the army at Charleston, Monck's Corner, Lenud's Ferry, Camden, Weitzell's Mill, and Guilford Court House, and each time victoriously. Both liked and revered by his soldiers and fellow officers, and respected by his foes, he was mortally wounded at Guilford Court House, and 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."<sup>146</sup>

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 left 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, 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, Carden took his place. He commanded the British forces at Hanging Rock in August 1780, and was badly wounded there. He 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 1<sup>st</sup>, 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) In November and December, 1780, Capt. John Coffin was 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 commanded a unit of dragoons created out of the S.C. Royalists Regiment, which he led at Hobkirk's Hill. Some sources give this unit as his mounted cavalry of the N.Y. Volunteers, but it seems more likely that, as cavalry, they were the S.C. Royalists. It was in his report of Hobkirk's Hill that we find Rawdon referring to him as Major, but at Eutaw Springs he was only Brevet Major and not full Major till December 25<sup>th</sup>, 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."

Maj. James Craig, *82<sup>nd</sup> Regiment*

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, Craig sailed up the coast with a small force to New Bern, and carried out a successful raid on that town.

Maj. Thomas Dawson, *3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*

Dawson led the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, "the Buffs," at Eutaw Springs.

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<sup>145</sup> At one time he 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. BGD p. 140.

<sup>146</sup> SAW p. 234.

Maj. John Doyle, *Volunteers of Ireland*

(24, or 30 according to another source) Brother of Welbore Doyle, John had earlier been a lieutenant in the 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment. He was Brigade Major of the Volunteers of Ireland at Hobkirk's Hill, and later acted as Adjutant General to 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 at Earle's Ford, and Prince's Fort in July 1780, and later also at Second Cedar Springs. On September 12<sup>th</sup>, 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. In March, Dunlop was defeated and himself captured by Elijah Clark at Beattie's Mill. Afterward, while being held prisoner in Gilbertown, he was murdered by a guard, or someone connected with those guarding him. The motive presumably was one of revenge. His unit was formally disbanded in July 1781.

Maj. Patrick Ferguson, *71<sup>st</sup> Regiment*, and *Ferguson's Corps*

(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 perhaps took the British cause more to heart than most others who were simply doing their duty. While this in a way made him admirable, it also seems to have isolated him from some of his fellow officers. In a poetical sense, his death at King's Mountain, in retrospect, symbolized the end of the loyalist military effort in America: a courageous and charming, yet rather proud and brash, commander leading his men headlong to their doom. 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."<sup>147</sup>

Maj. Simon Fraser, *71<sup>st</sup> Regiment*

Fraser may possibly have commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment at Guilford Court House.<sup>148</sup>

Maj. Thomas Fraser, *New York Volunteers*, and *South Carolina Royalists*

Born in Scotland, Fraser had been a Virginia merchant before the war.<sup>149</sup> 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 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.) His unit was involved in scouting the rebel defenses, and was permitted to 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's cavalry. Hanger 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. Hanger afterward became very ill with malaria and returned to Charleston, and only rejoined his unit following the surrender at Yorktown.

Maj. John Marjoribanks,<sup>150</sup> *19<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

(23) Marjoribanks with the flank companies of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 30<sup>th</sup>, joined Rawdon's march to relieve Ninety Six. He led the flank companies with great valor and distinction at Eutaw Springs, and was mortally wounded. After the battle, Marjoribanks was removed to a not too distant home and died by the end of the month following.

Maj. Andrew Maxwell, *Prince of Wales American Volunteers*

In January 1781, Maxwell 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 Orangeburgh, he left a detachment under Col. Thomas Taylor to continue the siege. On May 15<sup>th</sup>, Lee and Marion arrived and with cannon persuaded his surrender. It was said he could have held out much longer, but was more concerned with saving his personal property. It was this, consequently, that brought about the quick capitulation. Maxwell and his officers, being able to retain their

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<sup>147</sup> GWC p. 144.

<sup>148</sup> Boatner, following Wilcox (editor of Clinton's *The American Rebellion*), suggests this is the same "Major Fraser" mentioned by Rawdon in his dispatch reporting Hobkirk's Hill. BEA p. 397, CAR p. 515. However, the Fraser Rawdon speaks of is actually Thomas Fraser of the South Carolina Royalists.

<sup>149</sup> Lambert speaks of him as being from New Jersey. LSL p. 151.

<sup>150</sup> McCrady notes that the name is pronounced "Marshbanks."

private belongings (which reportedly included some plunder), were then paroled along with the garrison to Charleston.

**Maj. Archibald McArthur (sometimes given as MacArthur) 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment**

In June 1780, McArthur was posted with the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment at 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. In August, he was put in charge of Camden, at the time of Cornwallis' move north to attack Gates. At Cowpens, McArthur led the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup>, and ended up being one of those captured. He was exchanged by May 1781, and commanded a corps made of 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 reliable and worthy officer who had a good sense of what needed to be done. Some later criticized Tarleton for not having sought his advice prior to Cowpens.

**Maj. Robert McLeroth (also M'Ilraith or McLraith), 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment**

McLeroth led the 64<sup>th</sup> 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 unduly timid in dealing with Marion. After receiving permission to return to Charleston from Rawdon, he, reportedly, was later cashiered.

**Maj. James Montcrief, Engineer**

Montcrief 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. Ewald speaks amusingly, if disparagingly, of his skill in carrying on a siege.

**Maj. Timothy Newmarsh, 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment**

Newmarsh led the 7<sup>th</sup> 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, 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment**

Charles Stewart is apparently the "Major Stewart" mentioned in Stewart's after-action report of Eutaw Springs, and presumably commanded the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment at that engagement.

**Maj. James Wemyss, 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment**

(32) Although only a major, Wemyss (pronounced "Weems") was the acting commander of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment since it's Lieut. Col., Patterson, was serving as a General Officer in America. Wemyss led the mounted 63<sup>rd</sup> 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 the encounter, he was taken prisoner, but was immediately paroled. He retired to Charleston, his injuries preventing him from serving further in the southern campaign. In the 1790's, Wemyss 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 Carolina 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.

**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, 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 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.<sup>151</sup>

**Capt. Robert Campbell, 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment**

Campbell commanded the detachment of the 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment at Eutaw Springs,<sup>152</sup> and was wounded there.

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<sup>151</sup> For more see William Gilmore Simms' *Katherine Walton*, ch. XXXV, and JTR p. 68.

<sup>152</sup> There was also a Capt. Daniel Campbell and a Capt. Neil Campbell in the 84<sup>th</sup>, but upon looking into the matter the consensus seems to be that the one commanding the detachment at Eutaw was Robert.



Capt. Alexander Chesney, *Loyal American Volunteers*, and *Ferguson's Corps*

(25) Chesney was present at a number of encounters, 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 better known for his *Journal*, which in Chesney's case, gives a rare view of the war from the perspective of a *southern* loyalist.

Capt. Christian Huik (also Huck, Houk, and Hook), *British Legion Cavalry*

(32) At one time a Philadelphia attorney, Huik (usually referred to by historians as Huck) was active in cowing the rebels north of Ninety Six after the fall of Charleston. His detachment, however, was surrounded at Williamson's Plantation on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1780, himself killed and his force completely defeated. This 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 12<sup>th</sup> 1780; a signature of his; and the fact that contemporaries often speak of him as "Hook."

Capt. Dennis Kelly, *64<sup>th</sup> Regiment*

Kelly led the 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment at Eutaw Springs.

Capt. David Ogelvey (also Ogilvie), *British Legion Cavalry*

Formerly a Cornet of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

Capt. Abraham DePeyster, *Kings American Regiment*,<sup>153</sup> and *Ferguson's Corps*

DePeyster was present at Musgrove's Mill, and was Ferguson's second in command at Kings Mountain, where he was taken prisoner. In February 1781, he was paroled to Charleston and exchanged.

Capt. -Lieut. James DePeyster, *King's American Regiment*

In February 1781, DePeyster and 28 others surrendered and were taken prisoner by Capt. John Postell and a numerically comparable force of Marion's militia. Regarding DePeyster afterward, a regimental historian writes, "(w)hether he resigned under a cloud or was cashiered cannot now be determined."

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 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

Capt. Samuel Rowarth (also Roworth), *Kings Carolina 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, *New Jersey Volunteers*, and *Ferguson's Corps*

Ryerson was one of Ferguson's captains, and though wounded, survived the battle at King's Mountain.

Capt. John Saunders, *Queen's Rangers*

(26) Saunders, originally from Princess Anne County, Virginia, commanded 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, Saunders viciously hacked a prisoner with his saber.<sup>154</sup>

Lieut. Anthony Allaire, *Loyal American Volunteers*, and *Ferguson's Corps*

Served under Ferguson at Kings Mountain, was taken prisoner, but not long afterward was able to make his escape back to Charleston. Allaire, however, is more 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 is also a very personal portrait of a loyalist soldier in the conflict, and at times displays a both perspicacious and humorous viewpoint.

Lieut. Stephen Guyon, *23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*

Guyon, with a small detachment of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, repulsed a much larger rebel force at Polk's mill near Charlotte on October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1780. He survived the Guilford Court House campaign only to be killed at Yorktown.

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<sup>153</sup> Draper says DePeyster was originally in the New York Volunteers, but it was his brother Frederick who actually served in that unit.

<sup>154</sup> SQR p. 248, JKH p. 66.

Lieut. Henry Haldane, Engineer

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*

McKay, described as a brave and able officer, commanded Ft. Watson at its siege in April 1781.

Lieut. John McLeod (pronounced "McCloud"), *Royal Artillery*

McLeod directed Cornwallis' artillery at Camden and Guilford Court House.

Lieut. Donald McPherson, *71<sup>st</sup> 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 a blaze by hurled incendiaries.

Lieut. John Money, *63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment*

An aide de camp and favorite of Cornwallis, Money led the outnumbered 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment at Blackstocks in a gallant and successful counterattack on Sumter's troops, and was mortally wounded. 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 17<sup>th</sup>, 1780 reinforcement to Charleston, which included Lord Rawdon.

Lieut. Col. Friederich von Benning, *Regiment von Huyne*

Benning was with his regiment when it arrived with Clinton's 1779 expedition. Benning stayed in Charleston, and later took part in the action at nearby Parker's Ferry in August 1780.

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 it performed as well as its dauntless British counterparts, fighting alongside the 1<sup>st</sup> Guards battalion. 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."<sup>155</sup> 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 as second in command. When Col. Alured Clarke became commandant of that post, Porbeck continued as second, and was actually in charge of the garrison 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."<sup>156</sup> Ewald's *Journal*, warmly praised 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.

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, Bryan had received a lieutenant colonelcy in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. When word became known of Moore's gathering at Ramsour's, in June 1780, pressure came down on the loyalists elsewhere in western North Carolina. It was this that prompted Bryan to call out his own men in the area at 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. Out of his force was subsequently formed the North Carolina Volunteers. Although formally a Provincial Regiment, in terms of training and discipline they were really only militia. They served at Hanging Rock, Camden, Wahab's Plantation, and the Guilford Court House

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<sup>155</sup> TCS p. 330.

<sup>156</sup> SQR p. 232, EHJ p. 428n (62).

campaign, finally ending up in Wilmington when Cornwallis came there in April 1781. Of the two actions they are known to have actually “fought” at, their performance was extremely 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 peaceably settled there.

Col. Faithful Graham

Graham commanded a N.C. militia regiment and which came to Charleston with Major Craig in Dec. 1781. What specific location 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 prominent and influential of the southeastern North Carolina loyalists, commanding those in the Drowning Creek area whom one encounters so frequently in the history of this period. We know of him taking the field as early as September, 1780, and from that point on was regularly active in combating the whigs nearby. 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 12<sup>th</sup>, 1781. He lost his life, however, the next day in the battle at Lindley’s Mill.

Col. Archibald McDougald

McDougald was one of loyalist officers who accompanied Fanning’s successful expedition in the capturing of rebel Gov. Burke, and says Caruthers, succeeded Hector Mc Neil after the latter fell at Lindley’s Mill. McDougald afterward was one of the loyalist officers dispersed at Raft Swamp. Like Faithful Graham, although we can’t at present say which county, it is safe to assume he came from a location in the southeast portion of the state.

Col. Ambrose Mills, from Rutherford County<sup>157</sup>

Mills fought under Ferguson at Earle’s Ford and Kings Mountain, and was among those condemned and executed at Biggestaff’s. His was among the most lamentable deaths there, as by both whig and tory accounts he was an honorable and decent man.

Col. John Pyle, from Chatham County

Pyle was the loyalist commander at the tragic Defeat or Massacre bearing his name. Fortunately, though wounded, he managed to escape the slaughter. Himself a doctor by trade, he tended to the wounded of both sides after Lindley’s Mill (not far from where he lived.) Three days later he was paroled by Col. William O’Neal.

Lieut. Col. David Fanning, from Randolph County<sup>158</sup>

(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. To make a long story brief, he was captured, but then eventually pardoned by Gov. John Rutledge in 1779, and served in a Whig militia. When the British returned to the Ninety Six area in July 1780, he then served for a while under loyalist William Cunningham. Following this, with his own independent band of followers he then acted as a partisan in South Carolina against the whigs. 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 capture 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. Fanning himself has been described as unprincipled, and a malignant freebooter. Even the British, some years after the war ended, almost ended up hanging him. Yet if only scoundrel and villain, a savage murderer of the helpless,<sup>159</sup> we are hard pressed to understand how he could have been such a genuinely valiant and ingenious military leader at the same time. But then that is the riddle of David Fanning. His *Narrative* shows wit and intelligence, and is one of the prime examples of Revolutionary War

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<sup>157</sup> Mills is said to have lived near the Green River, which runs through both Rutherford and Polk counties.

<sup>158</sup> 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.

<sup>159</sup> There are not a few pension statements in which he is emphatically cursed and denounced, accompanied by stories of his cruelty.

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 CNS vol. 1, pp. 33-69.

Lieut. Col. John Moore, 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, Cornwallis sent Moore out from Charleston to help organize the loyalists in his home area of Tryon (also Lincoln) County in 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 Ramsour's Mill in June 1780, and the loyalist cause in that region, as a result, utterly vanquished. He managed to escape to Camden with about 30 men. Although court-martialed, Moore 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.<sup>160</sup>

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 loyalist's defeated 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 Ramsour'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 defeated. Though we won't hear of him further involved militarily as such, he is listed on the loyalist payrolls for 1782.<sup>161</sup>

#### South Carolina Loyalists

Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, from Newberry County, *Ninety Six Brigade*

(39) Cunningham became a lieutenant colonel in the local loyalists in May of 1780 when Ferguson came to Ninety Six. A prominent citizen of that district, by mid September, Cornwallis had commissioned him a Brigadier General of the militia. Hewas supposed to have formed a provincial regiment, but this was decided against by Cornwallis and in September he was given a Brigadier of the royal militia's commission instead.<sup>162</sup> 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 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 accumulated 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 vigor and activity.

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 on dispersing the rebels in his area.

Col. William Bannatine (also Bannatyne), from Kershaw County

Bannatine commanded the Second Regiment of Camden militia.

Col. James Cary, 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, within a few days Tarleton came to his and his men's rescue and liberated them at Fishing Creek.

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<sup>160</sup> Moore is listed on loyalist payrolls as late as June 1781. CLS p. 410.

<sup>161</sup> CLS p. 421.

<sup>162</sup> His starting pay date at that rank is 1 October 1780. See CLS p. 221.

Col. Daniel Clary, from Newberry County, *Ninety Six Brigade*

It would appear from Samuel Hammond's pension statement that before the fall of Charleston Clary commanded the whig militia from Georgia which acted under Andrew Williamson.<sup>163</sup> Thereafter he was one of heads of loyalist militia in the in the Ninety Six region, serving at 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 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 close by 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 given protection.<sup>164</sup>

Col. John Fisher, from Orangeburgh County

Fisher had served at defense the of Savannah in 1779, and after the fall of Charleston, he was sent ahead by Balfour to organize the Orangeburgh militia, of which he was made head. He established a fort at Orangeburgh following the battle of Camden. Both he and his fort were taken by Sumter on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1781.

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.

Col. Richard King, (possibly from Greenwood or McCormick County), *Ninety Six Brigade*

King led the Long Cane militia regiment which had formerly been under Pickens' command. He later oversaw the loyalist militia under Cruger at the siege of Ninety Six.

Col. Moses Kirkland, from Kershaw County, *Ninety Six Brigade*

(50) Kirkland had very early in the war been an officer who serving with the rebels, but disgruntled over a dispute over rank, he 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 Kirkland was 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. He later 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." Following the war he moved to Jamaica, and was lost at sea while en route to England in 1787.

Col. Nicholas Lechmere, from Beaufort County

Lechmere commanded the Granville County Militia. He was taken captive and paroled along with Col. Edward Fenwick at the Fort Balfour surprise in mid April 1781.

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 regiments. Lambert characterizes him as one of the more dutiful and effective of the loyalist militia officers, and was helpful in providing Cornwallis with much needed wagons when Cornwallis was in Winnsborough in January 1781.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> See HMP.

<sup>164</sup> JTR p. 183.

<sup>165</sup> LSL p. 119.

Col. Henry Richbourg, from Clarendon County

Richbourg was of a respected and prosperous family which owned a Mill in modern Clarendon County. He commanded a troop of his own loyalist dragoons, and briefly fought Marion as part of Watson's command 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, when Rutledge was on his way out of 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, and did not subsequently serve. One can't help but wonder however (as did Tarleton and Cornwallis subsequently), if this acquired neutrality might not have been in some way a result intended design.

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. For reasons unknown he was later replaced with Lieut. Col. Robert Gray.<sup>166</sup>

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" are less a memoir than what would appear a formal report written in late 1781 advising how the British could still win the war in the Carolinas. It reveals both great military and political acumen on his part, as well as a bitter, and, as he feels, justified resentment toward the rebel army and government.

Lieut. Col. Samuel Tynes, from Sumter County

A well meaning, but not terribly inspiring leader, Tynes was trounced 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 attempted to collect a new force of loyalists for the purposes of defending a small redoubt south of Camden. But for 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.

Maj. William Cunningham, from Laurens County, *Ninety Six Brigade*

Early in the war Capt. Cunningham had served with the whigs. He afterward had a falling out with them, and joined with 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.<sup>167</sup> 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 majority of loyalists left Ninety Six 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, though he was apparently made a major beforehand. Cunningham was incensed by the loyalists being forced from their homes, while forbade 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. He died in 1787, died while living in Nassau. Perhaps not so strangely, Cunningham has been viewed both by some British historians as a kind of hearty hero, and by the American as a veritable monster. Like Fanning, he was evidently a more complex personality, and there is probably truth to both points of view.<sup>168</sup>

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 was a solid leader for the loyalists in what are now Marion and Dillon counties, 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

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<sup>166</sup> LSL p. 120.

<sup>167</sup> LSL p. 207.

<sup>168</sup> 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.

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. However, the peace did not last long. He accused the whigs of violating the agreement, and fighting for a while resumed in the area. After the war, Ganey remained in his home state and became a well-regarded citizen, recognized for character and integrity.

Maj. Zacharias Gibbs (also Gibbes), from Spartanburg County, *Ninety Six Brigade*

(39) Gibbs fought at Kettle Creek in 1779 where he was captured. He was released on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 main loyalist militia leaders of the frontier region, setting up camp at a home on the Pacelot River, at a point 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, 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 there. 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 great 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 Kings Rangers (to be distinguished from Brown's King's 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. Following the Revolution, Harrison made his home in the Bahamas.

Maj. Samuel Harrison, from Charleston County, *South Carolina Rangers*

Brother of John, Samuel was killed at Widoo Swamp on March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1780.

Maj. Daniel Plummer, from Spartanburg County, *Ninety Six Brigade*

As best we know, Plummer commanded the South Carolina loyalists at Kings Mountain. Chesney further states that he was wounded at that action. Although he survived the war, it is not known what other role, if any, he played in what remained of the conflict.

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, yet is listed on the payrolls as serving as late as March 1781.<sup>169</sup>

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 fought stubbornly in a number of small raids and skirmishes against Marion, the Murfees and Col. Thomas Brown of Bladen County, N.C. On a couple 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, probably of small pox, later that same year. Barfield was a worthy opponent and an officer who knew his business. Author William Gilmore Simms used him as the basis for a central character in his historical novel *Mellichampe: A Legend of the Santee* (1836).

### 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 border settlements. See SCAR vol. 3, No. 5, p. 20.

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<sup>169</sup> CLS p. 183.

## BRITISH UNITS

### The British Army

#### \* Brigade of Guards

Two battalions of Guards 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 1<sup>st</sup> Guards Regiment, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Guards Regiment (the Coldstream Guards), and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Guards Regiment (Scots Guards, though they evidently did not go by this title at that time.) However, the regiments were intermingled to form what we today might describe as a generic whole, although the component companies of these Guards battalions, individually, retained their regimental distinctness and unity. So, for example, a given battalion might be made up of companies of the 1<sup>st</sup> Guards Regiment, and end up being called the 1<sup>st</sup> Guards Battalion. While a second battalion made up of companies from all three Guards regiments might be called the 2<sup>nd</sup> Guards Battalion. In the course of the war, composition then of what were called the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup> While this might make things confusing to scholars, the system had the advantage of allowing army organizers to form a Guards brigade with what effective companies from the regiments were available; 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.

#### \* 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, also Royal Fusiliers

The 7<sup>th</sup> came south with Clinton in January 1780, although it was not full strength. A battalion of 200 recruits arrived in Charleston in December (separately from Leslie's reinforcement.) 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. The 7<sup>th</sup> ended up leaving Charleston in August 1782.

#### \* 16<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot

The 16<sup>th</sup> 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 of the 16<sup>th</sup> departed Charleston in March 1782.

#### \* 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot

The 19<sup>th</sup> arrived as part of the June 1781 reinforcement to Charleston. They departed in December 1782.

#### \* 23d Regiment of Foot, also Royal Welch Fusiliers

The 23<sup>d</sup> were with Clinton when he came south in January 1780. They subsequently became one of the standard units for Cornwallis' army, ending up with him at Yorktown. One authority, however, says a detachment of the 23<sup>rd</sup> remained in Charleston, as did one of the 33<sup>rd</sup>. These reportedly stayed in Charleston up till November 1782.

#### \* 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot

The 30<sup>th</sup> arrived in Charleston in June 1781. It left there in December 1782.

#### \* 33d Regiment of Foot

The 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment's history is identical to the 23<sup>rd</sup>'s.

#### \* 63d Regiment of Foot

Arrived with Clinton, the 63<sup>rd</sup> remained in South Carolina as part of that province's defenses. They left Charleston by October-December 1782.

#### \* 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot

Arrived with Clinton, the 64<sup>th</sup> 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, at which time the latter were placed on prison ships, and the regiment therefore no longer required to act in that capacity.<sup>171</sup> They left Charleston by October 1782.

#### \* 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot, also 71<sup>st</sup> Highland Regiment

The 71<sup>st</sup> 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

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<sup>170</sup> A similar approach was used in creating grenadier and light infantry battalions, which 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.

<sup>171</sup> See Cornwallis to Clinton, Dec. 3<sup>d</sup>, 1780.



the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion departed from Charleston in November 1782. Originally formed in Glasgow, Scotland in 1775 as a result of the war, it was finally disbanded in 1783.<sup>172</sup>

\* 82d Regiment of Foot

A detachment of the 82<sup>nd</sup> accompanied Leslie to Charleston in December 1780. They were subsequently posted to Wilmington, N.C. After Guilford Court House, light companies marched with Cornwallis into Virginia and were with him at Yorktown. After Wilmington, what had been left there were evacuated to Charleston in December 1781. They finally left Charleston in April 1782.

\*2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, also Royal Highland Emigrants

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the 84<sup>th</sup> 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 some of the 84<sup>th</sup> served 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 84<sup>th</sup> had the honorable distinction of being a Provincial regiment promoted to the regular army establishment.

\* 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment Light Dragoons

One troop of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

\* 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, while some were left to service the Charleston garrison and Cornwallis' army. Gunners and matrosses (or artillery laborers) would be made available as circumstances required and allowed. After Tarleton captured two brass cannon from Sumter at Fishing Creek in August 1780, a command was formed using them. In this case, the particular detachment 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 2 more guns with him than he had men to man them with, not counting the additional 2 he subsequently captured in the battle 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.

## 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 units is very sparse.

\* British Legion, also 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.

\* Delancey's Brigade, also Delancey's New York Brigade

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

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<sup>172</sup> It was reported some of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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 71<sup>st</sup> "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.

\* 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 or 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 Kings Rangers. Its maximum strength did not exceed 200, and its normal effective strength closer to 100.<sup>173</sup>

\* Kings American Regiment, also 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. 1<sup>st</sup> 1781 its strength had been reduced to 271. Like the South Carolina Royalists and Kings Rangers, the Kings American Regiment at one point had a cavalry troop formed from its ranks. It ultimately left Charleston in late 1782.

\* Kings Rangers, also Kings Carolina Rangers, East Florida Rangers

The East Florida Rangers were first raised by Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown in St. Augustine Florida in 1776. The King's Carolina Rangers was created out of the reorganized East Florida Rangers in June 1779 while still in Florida, or, according to another source, after the siege of Savannah in October 1779, at which they were present. The Rangers subsequently were present at 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 Kings American Regiment, at some point had a troop of cavalry, which were often sent out on patrols into the 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 believed a detachment 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.

\* Loyal American Volunteers

This Provincial unit served at the siege of Charleston in 1780.

\* New Jersey Volunteers (brigade)

The 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> ended up being re-designated the 2<sup>nd</sup> New Jersey Battalion. Though it may have been earlier, they left Charleston no later than December 1782.

\* New York Volunteers

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, about 30 then later 140 men of New York Volunteers. Thereafter they served as part of the South Carolina defenses, finally 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 they were removed to Charleston where they served at 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

The North Carolina Volunteers should really be classed as militia rather than a regular Provincial regiment, Bryan's Refugees being perhaps their more suitable title, yet they marched alongside the regular armies in some of the major campaigns. They were formally formed on 24 June 1780,<sup>174</sup> and were present at Camden. They accompanied Cornwallis on both his first and second invasions of North Carolina, and stayed in Wilmington when

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<sup>173</sup> See CLS pp. 434-435, 440, 444-445, 451.

<sup>174</sup> Bryan's initial pay date, and that of his chief officers is given in the records as 24 June 1780. CLS p. 361.

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: far lower in strength than the original 800 they were back in 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, while a light detachment was 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, came 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>175</sup> A number of these subsequently served most of their time as part of the Georgetown garrison, though 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

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 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 was reportedly raised along the way, and was commanded by Capt. William Chandler. Both were at Yorktown. The main regiment remained part of Wilmington's town's garrison till December when it was removed with the rest to Charleston. According to one source, it was removed from Charleston to St. Augustine in October 1782.

\* South Carolina Rangers, also Harrison's Corps, King's Rangers

The Rangers (different from Brown's King's Carolina Rangers, and though sometimes spoken of as the Kings Rangers, this name should be ignored in order to avoid confusion with Brown's corps) were formed and raised in June 1780 following the fall of Charleston. Thereafter they served 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. 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.

\* South Carolina Royalists, also South Carolina Loyalists

The Royalists, originally formed in East Florida, were at the defense of Savannah, and later participated in the siege of Charleston. They were sorely defeated at Musgrove's Mill in August 1780, having been sent west to join the frontier defenses. By April of 1781, when they served alongside some mounted New York Volunteers at Hobkirk's Hill, Maj. Thomas Fraser had brought together a revived unit, including some of Ferguson's former corps and new recruits. Within a month afterward they were mounted as cavalry,<sup>176</sup> and served in this role through 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 the Royalists left by the end of 1781.

\* Volunteers of Ireland

The Volunteers of Ireland arrived in Charleston in April 1780. Thereafter they served in the defense of South Carolina. They remained in the south till at least the latter part of 1781, at which time they may have left for New York.

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<sup>175</sup> Though Queens Rangers historian, Don Gara, however, is inclined to think this is too high an estimate. See Marion's letter to Greene, 3 Sept. 1781, NGP vol. IX pp. 289, 291.

<sup>176</sup> 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.

## 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<sup>177</sup>

In the two months succeeding Charleston's fall to in May 1780, the British command had succeeded in authorizing 2,500 officers and men in south and North Carolina. However, after King's Mountain in October Carolina, as well as other 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' remarks quoted above, they were seen more as conservators of the peace, or police forces, than active military or guerilla units, as was the case with their rebel counterparts.

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 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.) Effectives incidentally does not include those dead, missing, or captured. Now this figure can be very misleading with respect to how many men the unit consisted of at its greatest strength, and should not be taken as such. Despite this, it is being included here to perhaps give 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 potential insufficiency of present records, and historical factors. 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 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<sup>178</sup>

These were mostly indifferent troops, with, says Lambert, “only Phillip's [Jackson's Creek] men demonstrating consistent zeal for the cause.”<sup>179</sup> 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,<sup>180</sup> Camden Militia  
Effective date: 14 July 1780  
Last known pay date: 13 January 1781

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<sup>177</sup> CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268.

<sup>178</sup> Although records do not denote a Camden Brigade, I use this title to organize these regiments.

<sup>179</sup> LSL p. 119.

<sup>180</sup> Situated near the present day community of Lugoff, S.C.

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<sup>181</sup> 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 royal militia units.

Effective date: 13 June 1780

Last known pay date: 7 February 1782

4 companies: 81/95

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\* 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.<sup>182</sup>

Effective date: 1 August 1780

Last known pay date: July 1782

165/204

\* Col. William Henry Mills, Cheraws Regiment of Militia, later led by Lieut. Col. Robert Gray

As things became too hot for the British in the Cheraws area this unit finally disbanded or removed to Georgetown and became part of the Georgetown Regiment.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>

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.<sup>185</sup>

Effective date: 16 June 1780

Last known pay date: 13 December 1780

17/25

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<sup>181</sup> Near Winnsborough.

<sup>182</sup> CLS p. 169.

<sup>183</sup> CLS p. 187-190.

<sup>184</sup> CLS p. 120.

<sup>185</sup> LSL p. 117.

\* Col. Hezekiah Williams' Regiment<sup>186</sup>

This unit was organized as a regiment at least as early as 12 Oct 1781.<sup>187</sup>

\* 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.<sup>188</sup> Perhaps 1,500 enlisted in 7 Ninety Six regts. And saw service with them until Dec. 1780,

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)

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 seem to have played any specially significant role in battles or skirmishes.

- Col. Joseph Cotton's Regt, Steven's Creek regiment (modern Edgefield County)

- Col. Richard King's Regt., Long Cane Creek Regiment, (modern Greenwood and or McCormick Counties)<sup>189</sup>

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., (2<sup>nd</sup>) 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.<sup>190</sup>

- Major William Cunningham's Corps, Little River (of the Saluda) Regt.,<sup>191</sup> 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<sup>192</sup>  
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.<sup>193</sup>

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

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<sup>186</sup> CLS pp. 224-225.

<sup>187</sup> CLS pp. 224-225.

<sup>188</sup> LSL p. 112.

<sup>189</sup> This was formerly Andrew Pickens' regiment.

<sup>190</sup> CLS p. 223.

<sup>191</sup> CLS pp. 269, 271.

<sup>192</sup> CLS p. 269.

<sup>193</sup> CLS p. 343.

22/30

### **North Carolina**

#### **\* Col. David Fanning's Regiment**

The effective date of this unit was 15 Feb. 1781. After that Fanning recruited along the way of his excursions (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.<sup>194</sup>

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 December 1781.<sup>195</sup>

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 led by a Lieut. Col. Hector MacNeil, a relative of the original commander and with the same name.<sup>196</sup>

Effective date: ?

Last known pay date: 17 Jan. 1782

6/14

#### **\* 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 Ramsour's Mill.<sup>197</sup>

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 NC Volunteers

40/44

- Capt. Eli Branson's Co. of NC Independents, captured at Yorktown

11/14

- Capt. Thornton's Co. of NC Independents, Detached corps under the charge of Lieut. John de Beck, N.Y. Volunteers<sup>198</sup>

19/22

- Capt. \_\_\_ Hamilton's Co. of NC Independents, Detached corps under the charge of Lieut. John de Beck, NY Volunteers

28/32

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<sup>194</sup> CLS p. 361.

<sup>195</sup> CLS p. 348.

<sup>196</sup> CLS pp. 353, 411.

<sup>197</sup> CLS p. 410.

<sup>198</sup> CLS pp. 414-416

## **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 than 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 Mississippi, Louisiana.

## **German**

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 Hesse Cassel Jägers, the Germans (who in this case all happen to be Hessians) were normally kept as garrison troops while in the south due to their tendency to desert.

### **\* d'Angelleli, also Regiment von d'Angelleli**

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**

Von Bose came south to Charleston with Leslie in December 1780, and thereafter became a permanent part of Cornwallis' army.

### **\* von Dittfurth, also Regiment von Dittfurth, and von Dittfurth**

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 Huynes, also Regiment von Huynes, and von Huyn**

Von Huynes came south with Clinton in January 1780 where it stayed as garrison regiment until leaving Charleston in November. 1782.

### **\* von Knoblauch, also Regiment von Knoblauch**

Von Knoblauch served at the defense of Savannah, and left there in August 1782.

## **German Detachments**

### **\* Hesse Cassel artillery company**

There were up to three companies of Hessian artillerymen that arrived at Charleston with Leslie in December. 1780.

### **\* Hesse Cassel Jägers, also Jaegers**

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 through Yorktown.

### **\* Starckloff's Troop of Light Dragoons**

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.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> 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<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> CAR p. 293.



## DECEMBER 1779

1 December. According to Clinton, 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.<sup>201</sup>

Stationed at Savannah, Georgia at this same time were the following:

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

\* Key (i.e. #/#): Rank and file/Full total including officers, with NCOs, supernumeraries, musicians or full total effectives. These numbers are fit for duty, and do not include sick, missing etc.

### BRITISH

16<sup>th</sup> Regt.  
71<sup>st</sup> Regt. (2 battalions)

### GERMAN

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

### PROVINCIALS AND LOYALIST MILITIA

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. Delancey's Brigade, Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger  
3<sup>rd</sup> Bttn. New Jersey Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen  
New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull  
South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes, 205/259<sup>202</sup>  
King's Carolina Rangers, Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, 99/125<sup>203</sup>  
Royal North Carolina Regt., Lieut. Col. John Hamilton  
Georgia Loyalists, Maj. James Wright, Jr., 98/138<sup>204</sup>  
South Carolina Loyalist Militia, Capt. Samuel Rowarth, Capt. Alexander Wylly<sup>205</sup>  
Second Troop of Georgia Light Dragoons, Capt. Archibald Campbell, 24/31<sup>206</sup>

At time of the siege of Savannah in October 1779 there were 2,350 British, German and Provincial troops in Georgia. British casualties at the siege were so relatively light that this number by December would not have been less than 2,250-2,300, if that low.<sup>207</sup>

With respect to American forces at or around this time, Washington had, exclusive of militia that could be called up nearby, about 18,000 total Continentals in and around New York, not counting 828 N.C. Continentals (both officers and men) and 2,500 Virginia Continentals Troops which were on the march way south to Charlestown at this time. 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 (i.e. the 3<sup>rd</sup> Cont. Light dragoons under William Washington), with some 125, had been sent south also.<sup>208</sup>

In the deep south, most American forces were situated in Charlestown, under the command of Maj. Benjamin Lincoln. His army was comprised of ten "weak" Continental and State regiments from Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia for a total effective force of about 4,000 (or 3,600 rank and file), which included 1,000 South Carolina and 1,000 North Carolina militia.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> CAR p. 152n.

<sup>202</sup> 1 Dec. 1779

<sup>203</sup> For 29 Nov. 1779, CLS p. 51.

<sup>204</sup> Abercorn, GA, 6 Dec. 1779, CLS pp. 435-436. In Feb. 1780 the Wright's Georgia loyalists numbers were 73/99.

<sup>205</sup> Both Rowarth and Wylly were officers in the King's Rangers.

<sup>206</sup> 30 Nov 1779, CLS p. 453.

<sup>207</sup> CGA p. 137, LSY p. 286.

<sup>208</sup> Although the 1<sup>st</sup> 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, after Gen. Washington transferred him from the 4<sup>th</sup> Dragoons. Under Lt. Col. Benjamin Temple, the 1<sup>st</sup> 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. HWW pp. 51, 52. BSC pp. 36-37. On the strength of Washington's army see also Fred Anderson Berg's *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units*, p. 143.

<sup>209</sup> TCS p. 13, BEA p. 208.

By the end of January Lincoln reported to Congress he had only 1,400 Continental infantry and cavalry fit for duty along with 1,000 NC militia. The Continentals at that time were primarily from South Carolina, with also two Virginia detachments and another from North Carolina. By February 1, 248 N.C. militia had reached city.<sup>210</sup> His navy, under Commodore Abraham Whipple, with Capt. Hoysted Hacker, second in command, 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* 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.<sup>211</sup>

26 December. Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton's expedition to take Charlestown left Sandy Hook, New York<sup>212</sup> on a voyage that would end up lasting (for most of the ships) around 38 days. Among the highest ranking officers Clinton had with were Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, Maj. Gen. Henry Julian Kospoth, Maj. Gen. J. C. von Huyme, 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.<sup>213</sup>

The expedition's force and convoy consisted of:

#### BRITISH

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry Battalions: 800  
1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier Bttns.: 900  
7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 400  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 400  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 450,  
63<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 400  
64<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 350

detachment of 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons  
Guides and Pioneers: 150  
Royal Artillery: 200

#### GERMAN

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

Regt. v. Huyme: 800, Col. Friedrich von Benning

Jägers: 200, including  
2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

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 42<sup>nd</sup> 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

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<sup>210</sup> BSC p. 38. See 17 April 1780 for more details on specific units, artillery, and American and French naval forces present.

<sup>211</sup> The S.C. Navy had obtained the *Bricole* and *Truite* (both former transports), and *L'Adventure* from the French.

BSC pp. 39, 45, 47, 73.

<sup>212</sup> For a large fleet, Sandy Hook was usually two days out of New York City, with perhaps a stop at Staten Island in between.

<sup>213</sup> WAR vol. II, pp. 695-696.

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 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. Boatner and Borick, on the other hand, give the total of Clinton's expedition (not counting sailors and marines) as 8,700 effectives.<sup>214</sup>

Ewald: "On 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of December the following embarked in the East River at New York. Under Generals Cornwallis, Huyn, 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 7<sup>th</sup>, 23d, 33d, 63d, and 64<sup>th</sup> English regiments.
6. The Hessian Regiment Huyn.
7. The British Legion under Colonel Tarleton.
8. A company of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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.
11. The Scottish corps [Loyal American Volunteers] under Major 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."<sup>215</sup>

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 90 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.<sup>216</sup>

#### NAVAL STRENGTH OF CLINTON'S EXPEDITION:

Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot

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 transports 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<sup>217</sup>

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."<sup>218</sup>

16 December. The British started boarding in the East River. They were supposed to have departed on the 19<sup>th</sup> but excessive cold and ice delayed loading, and not all vessels could reach the embarkation point until 21 December. When they did leave, 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 sea journey.<sup>219</sup>

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

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<sup>214</sup> CAR pp. 152n, 167n, CBA pp. 493-494, BEA p. 206, LSY pp. 288-289.

<sup>215</sup> EHJ p. 190. There is good reason to believe that Ewald's Journal 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 usually will place a passage of Ewald's according to the date he gives. See for example EHJ p. 335.

<sup>216</sup> BSC p. 23

<sup>217</sup> EHJ p. 192, CBA p. 494.

<sup>218</sup> EHJ p. 192.

<sup>219</sup> BSC p. 24.

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...' <sup>220</sup>

26-29 December. Admiral Arbuthnot gave signal to weigh anchor and the fleet finally left the coast of New York bound for South Carolina. On the 27<sup>th</sup> they were struck by a severe storm which continued till the 29<sup>th</sup>. <sup>221</sup>  
Ewald: "On the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup>. The wind turned SE and the fleet had to tack about." <sup>222</sup>

## JANUARY 1780

1-6 January. A second storm, this time combining rain, hail and snow took place. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, yet another tempest blew, and a week later turbulent weather wracked the fleet once more. Gale winds dismasted many ships, some developed serious leaks, while others were completely lost. Both convoy and transport ships, 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, England. As well, a few disabled ships were captured 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 were lost with the captured ships. At least two ships lost their supply of rum, which only made the sea journey more difficult. Much of the fleet was pushed into Gulf Stream thus lengthening the duration of voyage. <sup>223</sup>

*Late January.* Due to the heavy damage the ships suffered at sea from the storm, 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 becoming scattered. The rest of the scattered convoy and transport ships arrived at Tybee in different groups a number of days later (into February.) From Tybee they all removed to Savannah where the troops were finally disembarked, and the ships repaired and refitted. <sup>224</sup>

## 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, and directed that a battalion of Georgia and South Carolina militia take their place. The Virginians gave Lincoln a further 350 rank and file to add to the garrison's strength.

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<sup>225</sup> protected the whole. Fort Moultrie, the redoubts at Haddrell's Point and Hobcaw (Lampriers), 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." <sup>226</sup>

1 February. All but 12 vessels of the British expedition had reached Tybee. Along the way, the ordnance ship *Russia Merchant* foundered and sank, taking with her much of the artillery and shot, while the *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 make up for those lost at sea, which request was complied with. <sup>227</sup>

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

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<sup>220</sup> EHJ pp. 190, 193.

<sup>221</sup> TCS p. 4, CAR p. 159-160, WAR vol. II, pp. 695-696, LSY p. 42.

<sup>222</sup> EHJ pp. 190, 193.

<sup>223</sup> BSC p. 25.

<sup>224</sup> TCS p. 4, CAR p. 159, FWI p. 164, BEA p. 207.

<sup>225</sup> An abatis is a defensive obstacle made by laying felled trees on top of each other with branches, sometimes sharpened, facing the enemy.

<sup>226</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 558.

<sup>227</sup> CAR pp. 160, 172, LSL p. 121, BSC p. 69.

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."<sup>228</sup>

2 February. From Tybee Clinton sent Brig. Gen. James Paterson ashore with a detachment of to head via Savannah towards Augusta. He took with him replacements for the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Delancey's Brigade and the German regiments already part of the Savannah garrison. Included in Paterson's force were: the Loyal American Volunteers, Ferguson's Corps, a detachment of the dismounted British Legion, 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons and Cathcart's Legion. These latter cavalry units were directed to collect horses where they could find them.<sup>229</sup>

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, proceeded by sea to lay siege to Charlestown."<sup>230</sup>

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 keeping it from sinking into chaos. Among Rutledge's 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 slave holders, 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.<sup>231</sup>

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."<sup>232</sup>

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 on the Mississippi in Florida had been taken by the Spanish...[this was garrisoned by the Waldeck regiment.]"

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 Island (now Seabrook) and Tuckers Island, whose mouth lies twenty five miles south of Charlestown. Continued rain and winds, however, slowed their progress. By the 11<sup>th</sup>, the British had captured 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 overcome by the informed expertise and assistance of Capt. Keith Elphinstone of the Royal Navy.<sup>233</sup>

De Brahm,<sup>234</sup> 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."

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 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

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<sup>228</sup> EHJ pp. 194-195.

<sup>229</sup> BSC 26-28.

<sup>230</sup> Clinton misspeaks here 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.

<sup>231</sup> JFM ch. 3, WAR vol. II, p. 698, BEA p. 955, SFR p. 591n, BSC pp. 42-53, 58.

<sup>232</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>233</sup> BSC pp. 28-29.

<sup>234</sup> 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 he records (as indicated by context.) GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

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 10<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>235</sup>

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 20<sup>th</sup> of March before we had the satisfaction to see the Admiral's flag flying on board the *Roebuck* in Five Fathom Hole."<sup>236</sup>

Ewald: "Early on the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> and 23d regiments under Brigadier [Lieut. Col. Alured] Clarke. The 63d, 64<sup>th</sup>, and the Hessian Garrison Regiment Huyn under General Huyn."<sup>237</sup>

*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 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons to link up with Maj. Jameson's 1<sup>st</sup> Light Dragoons at a location above Charleston. See early March 1780.<sup>238</sup>

11-12 February. Having landed his whole force at the southwest end of 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. However he intended to move via James Island rather than inland from Stono in order that he could be more easily supplied by water. After the seizure of Stono Ferry, Capt. Elphinstone provisioned the British troops on Johns Island by dispatching boats from the North Edisto up through Wadmalaw Creek to the Stono River.<sup>239</sup>

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 fifty."<sup>240</sup>

14 February. On John's Island, Clinton ordered the 33<sup>rd</sup> 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

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<sup>235</sup> TCS, p. 5.

<sup>236</sup> Five Fathom Hole was where the British ships anchored just outside Charlestown harbor. CAR p. 162.

<sup>237</sup> DSC, TCS pp. 5-6, CAR pp. 160-162. EHJ pp. 195-196.

<sup>238</sup> HWW p. 52.

<sup>239</sup> BEA p. 206, BSC pp. 52-53.

<sup>240</sup> DSC.



from Sheldon on the Saltketcher River about this same time.<sup>241</sup> But these offered no resistance and withdrew. Clinton himself reconnoitered the ferry the next day. Elsewhere among the Americans, Horry was to join Gen. William Moultrie at Bacon's Bridge, the main Bridge over the Ashley, close to present day Summerville.<sup>242</sup>

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.

"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]<sup>243</sup>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..."<sup>244</sup>

14-16 February. Clinton sent Hessian Grenadiers to occupy Fort Johnson on James Island, which had been blown up and abandoned on the 14<sup>th</sup> by Continental Marines dispatched for that purpose by Commodore Whipple, and in turn from orders received by Governor John Rutledge.<sup>245</sup>

15 February. The S.C. Assembly ordered all boats and watercraft removed within two miles of seacoast and brought into Charlestown. The absence of these help to slowed the British approach.<sup>246</sup>

18 February. [capture] Charleston Ambush (Charleston County, S.C.) Cavalry under Maj. John Jameson captured 3 British soldiers of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.<sup>247</sup>

19 February. Royal Navy Captain Keith Elphinstone sailed 2 schooners, and a flat boat into the Stono River in advance of the transports.

20 February. 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 now present to supply them, the British now securely controlled John's Island as an expeditionary base.<sup>248</sup>

21 February. Hurricane like whether delayed Clinton's crossing over to James Island, supplied as we 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. Moultrie reported to Lincoln that rain made it difficult if not impossible for the British army to move their supplies and equipment.

22 February. [capture] Stono Ferry (Charleston, S.C.) Major Hezekiah Maham's cavalry on patrol took an officer and eight privates prisoner who were attempting to retrieve a grindstone for grinding grain from a farm just north of Stono Ferry.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Lincoln's cavalry consisted of 379, including the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.

<sup>242</sup> BSC p. 50.

<sup>243</sup> At this time the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light dragoons were under Maj. John Jameson's command. White did not arrive in S.C. till April 23<sup>rd</sup>.

<sup>244</sup> MDR pp. 410-411. The extract of this letter printed in Tarleton gives the date at February 25<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>245</sup> BSC pp. 44, 63-64.

<sup>246</sup> BSC p. 52.

<sup>247</sup> BSC p. 56.

<sup>248</sup> BSC p. 53.

<sup>249</sup> BSC p. 56.

22 February. General Moultrie, at Bacon's Bridge with 379 cavalry, wrote 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 Jameson [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."

24 February. Weather cleared so as to allow crossing 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.<sup>250</sup>

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."<sup>251</sup>

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 galleys 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."<sup>252</sup>

26 February. Ewald: "Since several officers of the 7<sup>th</sup> 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.

"The Chevalier 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."<sup>253</sup>

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 71<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>254</sup>

28 February. Commodore Whipple requested captain of *L'Aventure* to fall down near Fort Johnson and fire upon enemy encampment there. Ensuing cannon fire from the ship killed two Hessian grenadiers and one British Soldier. Clinton, in reaction, personally rode up and told Kospoth to retire.

DeSaussure: "On this date 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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. On 1<sup>st</sup> March, Captain Philip Neyle writes: 'I this moment received intelligence from Major Vernier, that all enemy have crossed Wappoo, and are approaching this way' (Bacon Bridge). On 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> BSC pp. 62-63.

<sup>251</sup> EHJ p. 202-203.

<sup>252</sup> 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.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

March, he again writes: 'By accounts received from Major Vernier, and a prisoner taken this morning, the enemy crossed Wappoo last night at eight o'clock, with one thousand grenadiers and light infantry: the last accounts we had of them they were about three miles from Ashley Ferry; we cannot learn what their intentions were, unless they designed to surprise Major Vernier's post.'<sup>255</sup>

29 February. Ewald: "On the 29<sup>th</sup>, 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 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."<sup>256</sup>

*Late February.* In the face of the British invasion, Lincoln removed Continental troops from Georgia. Georgia then asked South Carolina to send troops to help defend its western borders. They dispatched Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson from the Ninety Six district with about 300 militia to Augusta (some of these were from Georgia and presumably already present there) in late February. Williamson remained there till May 29.<sup>257</sup>

*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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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. However, these horses were largely unsuited for military service. The juncture with Paterson mentioned above by Clinton took place in March.<sup>258</sup>

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, near Wappoo cut."<sup>259</sup>

## MARCH 1780

*Early March.* From Feb. 29 thru March 7, William Washington and John Jameson'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 large army advanced toward Charlestown.<sup>260</sup>

*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.<sup>261</sup>

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.<sup>262</sup>

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."<sup>263</sup>

4 March. General Lincoln wrote General Washington: "Sir Harry 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."<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> DSC, BSC pp. 63-64.

<sup>256</sup> EHJ p. 203.

<sup>257</sup> CGA p. 131.

<sup>258</sup> TCS pp. 9, 6-7, CAR p. 165, WAR vol. II, p. 701.

<sup>259</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>260</sup> HWW p. 52.

<sup>261</sup> BSC p. 64.

<sup>262</sup> BEA p. 209.

<sup>263</sup> BSC p. 57.

<sup>264</sup> DSC.

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 arrived from them on this date.

5 March. Col. Francis Marion, posted with 200 men posted at Bacon's Bridge on the Ashley River, wrote Lincoln on the date that he and 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 regiments to cover the landing at the ferry lower down that same river. About the same time, the 1<sup>st</sup> S.C. Regt. under Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and which occupied Fort Moultrie, had dispatched to them a number of blacks to help improve that post.<sup>265</sup>

5-6 March. [skirmishes] Stono River (Charleston County, S.C.) Ewald: "On the 4<sup>th</sup> [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 shovels to repair the works and strengthen the abatis surrounding them. Toward evening Monsieur Vernier appeared with foot and horse, and again on the 5<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>266</sup>

5 March. To help replace that lost at sea on the voyage from New York in December, Clinton borrowed artillery from the Royal Navy. After first obtaining 8 thirty-two pounders with ammunition, on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>267</sup>

5 March. Brig. Gen. James Paterson's detachment at Savannah, having had much of the Savannah garrison added to its strength, 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<sup>268</sup>: "Sunday, March 5<sup>th</sup>. 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. Cochrane; one company of Georgia Dragoons, Capt. [Archibald] Campbell, and the First Battalion of the Seventy-first regiment, Maj. 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."

6 March. Paterson marched to Ebenezer, GA. located on the south bank of the Savannah River.

7 March. Ewald: "On the 7<sup>th</sup> at three o'clock in the morning Colonel Webster marched with the jager detachment, the 33d Regiment, and the 71<sup>st</sup> Scottish Regiment to Mathew's Ferry, where they would be ready to cross over to James Island at a moment's notice."<sup>269</sup>

8 March. A mixed force of British light infantry, and possibly some cavalry, under Capt. Nash attempted to surprise attack the 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Dragoons at Wambaw (Bull's plantation.) On alert, Washington extricated himself. By the 10<sup>th</sup> he had moved his dragoons north to Bacon's Bridge.<sup>270</sup>

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...."<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> BSC p. 67.

<sup>266</sup> EHJ pp. 204-205.

<sup>267</sup> CAR p. 439.

<sup>268</sup> Lieut. Anthony Allaire, who kept a diary from which this and subsequently quoted extracts are taken, was an officer in Ferguson's Corps.

<sup>269</sup> EHJ p. 204.

<sup>270</sup> HWW p. 52.

<sup>271</sup> EHJ p. 204.

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."<sup>272</sup>

10 March. Allaire (with Paterson's detachment): "Friday, 10<sup>th</sup>. 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 7<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, and 33<sup>rd</sup> regiments crossed the Wappoo Cut.<sup>273</sup>

Ewald: "On the 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 jägers 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 Clarke Brigade [i.e. 7<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> regiments] were posted at Fenwick's Point. The two Hessian grenadier battalions Linsing and Lengerke occupied the bridge over the Wappoo."<sup>274</sup>

11 March. Paterson crossed the Savannah River near Two Sisters.<sup>275</sup>

11 March. Ewald: "On the 11<sup>th</sup> 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 jägers had almost nothing left on our bodies and on our feet."<sup>276</sup>

12 March. [skirmish] Hammond's Plantation, also Savage's Planation (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, however, 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.

Ewald: "At daybreak on the 12<sup>th</sup>, [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 jäger 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 jäger 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 jägers were wounded. Afterward, they left us and moved against the chain of Colonel Abercromby, whereupon the jägers 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 jägers and lie in ambush along the road. But the enemy did not follow further than rifle-shot range of the ambush. 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."<sup>277</sup>

12 March. In a move south, Lieut. Col. Washington and Jameson led a scouting party near Drayton's Hall.<sup>278</sup>

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. In addition there were 200 artillery pieces defending the city. Over 700 more Virginia Continentals under Brig. Gen. William Woodford were expected daily to reinforce the garrison. See 17 April for full totals of both American and British forces by that date.<sup>279</sup>

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."<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>273</sup> BSC p. 93.

<sup>274</sup> EHJ p. 205.

<sup>275</sup> ADI, 11 March

<sup>276</sup> EHJ p. 205.

<sup>277</sup> EHJ p. 208.

<sup>278</sup> HWW p. 52.

<sup>279</sup> BSC pp. 66, 118-119.

<sup>280</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

14 March. [surrender] Fort Charlotte (Mobile County, AL.) Fort Charlotte (located in modern day Mobile, Alabama) and its 300 man British garrison were captured by Spanish forces under General, also Governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez.<sup>281</sup>

14 March. Lieut. Col. 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 11<sup>th</sup> inst., and a battery of six embrasures. 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."<sup>282</sup>

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."<sup>283</sup>

16 March. Allaire (with Paterson's detachment): "Thursday, 16<sup>th</sup>. Remained at 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 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 17<sup>th</sup>.<sup>284</sup>

Paterson accordingly began moving in the direction of Charlestown. In advance of him, Washington, Jameson and the Continental 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 the Ladson at Salkehatchie Bridge (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.<sup>285</sup>

Allaire: "Saturday, 18<sup>th</sup>. 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 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' 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. 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 18<sup>th</sup> March, he surprised a party of 80 militia, at Saltketcher bridge, killed and wounded several, and dispersed the rest."<sup>286</sup>

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. (31<sup>st</sup> Jan.) No troops were to be left in the field but two hundred light infantry, and the horse under Col. Washington. Marion repaired

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<sup>281</sup> FWI p. 198, BEA p. 710.

<sup>282</sup> DSC.

<sup>283</sup> EHJ p. 209.

<sup>284</sup> CAR p. 162, CBA p. 495, BAR p. 208.

<sup>285</sup> MSC p. 744. BGD p. 73, BSC pp. 97-98.

<sup>286</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

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 mention the circumstances in which he suffered the injury. Yet even *if* (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.<sup>287</sup>

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 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. 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. Some of the ships had been lightened of guns and stores in order to effect the crossing. These were then brought in by transports and placed back on the ships afterward. 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. Andrews parish west of the Ashley.<sup>288</sup>  
De Brahm [entry for 21 March]: "The English fleet passed the bar, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole."<sup>289</sup>

20 March. [skirmish] Salkehatchie River (Colleton County, S.C.) Allaire: "Monday, 20<sup>th</sup>. 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>290</sup>  
Allaire: "Tuesday, 21<sup>st</sup>. 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 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 Jacksonsburch, a village containing about sixty houses, situated on Pon Pon, or Edisto river."

22 March. [skirmish] St. Andrew's Church (Charleston County, S.C.)<sup>291</sup>

23 March. [skirmish] Bee's Plantation, also Pon Pon. (Colleton County, S.C.)  
Moving in advance of Paterson, Tarleton came upon a party of militia infantry and dragoons at Bee's Plantation, home of Lieut. Gov. Thos. Bee, killing 10 and taking 4 prisoners (according to Allaire.)<sup>292</sup>  
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."<sup>293</sup>

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

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<sup>287</sup> JFM, ch. 2. LFB vol. II, p. 769n, BSF p. 29.

<sup>288</sup> DSC, BSC pp. 78-79, 81-82, 96.

<sup>289</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>290</sup> BGD p. 73.

<sup>291</sup> EHJ p. 211.

<sup>292</sup> BGD p. 73.

<sup>293</sup> TCS p. 8.

militia dragoons, soon after crossing the river at Gov. Bee's plantation. He killed ten, and took four prisoners. Gov. 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."<sup>294</sup>

24 March. Being transported by boat from Savannah, the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt. Was brought in to reinforce Clinton's army, and by this date were with the main army.<sup>295</sup>

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 could be persuaded to remain. What others else there still were, some 100, were set to expire by 6 April.<sup>296</sup>

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."<sup>297</sup>

25 March. Paterson joined Clinton's forces, arriving just a few miles outside and southwest of Charlestown.

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."<sup>298</sup>

25 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."<sup>299</sup>

25 March. [skirmish] Stono Ferry (Charleston County, S.C.) A detachment of horse under Vernier ambushed a foraging party that was returning to Stono Ferry which had brought together some livestock. Vernier's men would have cut detachment to pieces but forages coming to their rescue. Some British were wounded.<sup>300</sup>

26 March. Brig. Gen. William Woodford's Virginia Continentals, had reached the Peedee River on their way to Charlestown.<sup>301</sup>

26 March. [skirmish] Rutledge's Plantation (Charleston County, S.C.) Washington's, Vernier's and Jameson's dragoons managed ambush a party of British, capturing 2 officers and 7 cavalymen. He was pursued afterward by additional British horsemen at 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 make their escape.<sup>302</sup>

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."<sup>303</sup>

26 March. Following the action at Rutledge's Plantation on this same day, Paterson crossed Rantowle's Creek, and was now within fifteen miles of the advanced 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.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>295</sup> BSC p. 98.

<sup>296</sup> BSC p. 119.

<sup>297</sup> RSC p. 52.

<sup>298</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>299</sup> EHJ p. 214.

<sup>300</sup> BSC p. 56.

<sup>301</sup> BSC p. 107. Brig. Gen. Scott was with them but had no troops under his own command with him.

<sup>302</sup> HWW p. 57, BSC p. 102.

<sup>303</sup> Taken from *Diary of Baylor Hill*, Vol. 3, Hayes, (editor), 48-56; Eben, *Dragoon Sketchbook*, 9. p. 71, and quoted in HWW p. 57.

<sup>304</sup> BSC p. 102.



27 March. [skirmish] Rantowle's Bridge, also Rantol's Bridge (Charleston County, S.C.) 300 American cavalry, consisting of Lieut. Col. William Washington's 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, under Lieut. Col. Anthony White, Pulaski's Legion cavalry under Major Pierre-François Vernier, and probably as well Col. Peter Horry's South Carolina light horse, defeated the British Legion and 17<sup>th</sup> 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 withdrawing to Bacon's Bridge, and with otherwise equally small loss to both parties.<sup>305</sup>

Tarleton: "This affair [at Bee's Plantation] was nearly counterbalanced in the neighbourhood of Rantol's 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."<sup>306</sup>

Allaire: "Monday, 27<sup>th</sup>. 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 24<sup>th</sup>, 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 27<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>307</sup>

27 March (or 25 March). [skirmish] Savannah, GA. (Chatham County, GA.) A detachment of Delancey's 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion engaged a force of (reportedly) 300 whigs, which had maneuvered near to Savannah. The British lost 3 killed and 5 wounded. American losses are not known.

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. The army moved slowly down the Neck, and on Sunday morning, the first of April, broke ground within eleven hundred yards of the American works, then defended by about eighty cannons and mortars. They were annoyed all the way (see 29 March) by a party of light horsemen under Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, and lost between twenty and thirty men in the skirmishes."<sup>308</sup>

28 March. The 7<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 71<sup>st</sup>, regiments, the British and Hessian grenadier battalions moved to Drayton Hall where the light infantry, jägers and 33<sup>rd</sup> had already been encamped a few days. The 63<sup>rd</sup> and 64<sup>th</sup> regiments, with the bulk of Paterson's forces, remained west of the Ashley to secure communications between army on Charlestown Neck and the Navy.<sup>309</sup>

Allaire: "Tuesday, 28<sup>th</sup>. 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 28<sup>th</sup> of March they [the British] crossed Ashley river, near the ferry, and made a lodgement in Charlestown neck."<sup>310</sup>

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 River. By 3 pm, having encountered no opposition, most of his army was across. They advanced 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> S.C. regiments, and which numbered 200. These stationed themselves in advance of the British, and kept watch of their movements.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> TCS p. 8, JFM, ch. 2, MDR p. 413-414, CBA p. 496, MSC p. 744, HWW p. 54.

<sup>306</sup> TCS p. 8.

<sup>307</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>308</sup> LSF vol. II, p. 558.

<sup>309</sup> BSC pp. 102-103.

<sup>310</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>311</sup> EHJ pp. 216-218, DSC, BGD p. 73, BSC pp. 103-104.

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 jägers skirmished constantly with a party which observed 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<sup>312</sup> 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."<sup>313</sup>

Allaire: "Wednesday, 29<sup>th</sup>. 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<sup>314</sup> rivers form a bay exactly like East and North river at New York."

30 March. [skirmishes] Fuller's Plantation (opposite from Drayton's house), and Road to Charlestown. (Charleston County, S.C.) With the light troops leading the advance, the British moved down the Dorchester road headed for 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 artillery arrived to Laurens' 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. However, 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 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.<sup>315</sup>

Allaire: "Thursday, 30<sup>th</sup>. 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 30<sup>th</sup>] "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."<sup>316</sup>

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 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."<sup>317</sup>

Ewald: [entry for the 39<sup>th</sup>] Toward noon the vanguard encountered an enemy party of about one thousand men at the Governor's House, a good German mile from Charlestown.<sup>318</sup>

Lieut. Col. John Laurens: "On the 29<sup>th</sup> ulto. They crossed Ashley River in force, one mile above the ferry. The next day they advanced to Gibbes', 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 seriously, but skirmish with advanced parties, retiring slowly and orderly towards town,

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<sup>312</sup> There are seven English miles to one German mile. E.H.J. p. 204.

<sup>313</sup> E.H.J. p. 218.

<sup>314</sup> Boom or barrier had been constructed and placed across the mouth of the Cooper River which prevented the Royal Navy from entering it. B.S.C. p. 80.

<sup>315</sup> D.S.C., B.G.D. p. 73, B.S.C. pp. 104-106.

<sup>316</sup> G.D.H. vol. 2, p. 124. See also J.F.M., ch. 2.

<sup>317</sup> M.D.R. p. 414.

<sup>318</sup> E.H.J. p. 218.

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.”<sup>319</sup>

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.<sup>320</sup> De Brahm: “At day-break we observed that the enemy had opened his trenches in three places.”

## APRIL 1780

1 April. 1,500 laborers, escorted by the equivalent amount of British soldiers, marched toward Charlestown from the Gibbes’s Plantation encampment to construct redoubts, batteries, and dig the first parallel. By 8 April the whole first parallel was completed. Artillery lost in the voyage had been replaced 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.<sup>321</sup>

De Brahm: “April 1 and 2, 1780. The enemy’s [British] works were a little extended, and ours augmented.”<sup>322</sup>

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.”<sup>323</sup>

3 April. Lincoln brought most of his artillery up to his forward batteries. Continuous firing was kept up on the British, yet with relatively little effect due to inexperienced handling of the guns.<sup>324</sup>

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.”

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.

De Brahm: “This morning, daylight discovered to us the enemy’s [the British] battery very much injured.”

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.<sup>325</sup>

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.”<sup>326</sup>

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 American, on alert, foiled the attempt, with Washington withdrawing to 23 Mile House. When the following morning the British retired, Washington’s men returned. Attacking Tarleton’s rear detachment, they took several prisoners.<sup>327</sup>

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 joined the Charlestown garrison with 700-750 Virginia Continentals, or 737 fit for duty according to Borick. By 2 pm, with a crowd cheering, bells ringing, and cannons fired in salute, he landed at Gadsden’s Wharf. Brig. Gen. Charles Scott was also with Woodford, but without any command of his own.<sup>328</sup>

Ramsay: “Seven hundred continentals, commanded by general 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

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<sup>319</sup> Quoted in DSC.

<sup>320</sup> Borick speaks of it as being 800 to 1,000 yards from the Charleston lines. CAR p. 163, WAR vol. II, p. 700, BSC p. 121.

<sup>321</sup> JLG vol. I p.285, DSC, BSC pp. 121-122.

<sup>322</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>323</sup> DSC.

<sup>324</sup> BSC p. 123.

<sup>325</sup> BSC p. 125.

<sup>326</sup> EHJ p. 224.

<sup>327</sup> BGD p. 74, HWW p. 57.

<sup>328</sup> BEA p. 209, BSC pp. 119, 129.

garrison received during the siege, though the communication between town and country was open until the middle of April.”<sup>329</sup>

De Brahm: “The fire of the batteries and the works continued as before. To-day the reinforcement under General Woodford arrived.”

[Entry for the 7<sup>th</sup>]: “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.”<sup>330</sup>

7 April. [coastal battle] Fort Moultrie, also Sullivan’s Island (Charleston County, S.C.) At around sunset, 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 Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and 200 of the 1<sup>st</sup> S.C. Regt, with barely enough to man its guns. The British lost only 27 men killed and wounded, as well as the *Arteus*, an ordnance ship, which went aground and was burned later that night by a British landing party. *Richmond’s* 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. The *Bricole*, *Truite*, and *Queen of France* were subsequently scuttled in the river,<sup>331</sup> and this added 1,100 seaman and 150 pieces of artillery to the city’s defenses.<sup>332</sup>

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, was relieved in consequence of illness, and on 9<sup>th</sup> March returned to Charlestown, and Gen. Isaac Huger took his place.”<sup>333</sup>

Allaire: “Saturday, 8<sup>th</sup>. 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 flay 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.”

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, 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.’”<sup>334</sup>

8 April. DeSaussure: “During the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> 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 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.”<sup>335</sup>

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.”<sup>336</sup>

9 April. Allaire: “Sunday, 9<sup>th</sup>. 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.” See 7 April.

10 April. The British completed their first parallel, and by afternoon Clinton summoned the town to surrender. Lincoln asked for a temporary truce, which was granted. By the end of the day he replied to the British ultimatum:

[Lincoln to Major General Sir Henry Clinton and Vice Admiral Arbuthnot: ]

“Charles town, April 10, 1780

“Gentlemen,

“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.

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<sup>329</sup> RSC p. 52, CBA p. 495.

<sup>330</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>331</sup> BSC p. 132.

<sup>332</sup> 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. CBA p. 495, FWI p. 166, WAR vol. II, pp. 702-703, BSC pp. 132, 134-135.

<sup>333</sup> DSC.

<sup>334</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>336</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

"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 the countryside. Nevertheless, 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.<sup>337</sup>

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 10<sup>th</sup>] a parley was received from the enemy, demanding the surrender of the town; it was refused."<sup>338</sup>

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."<sup>339</sup>

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 Americans.<sup>340</sup>

11 April. 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<sup>341</sup> was accidentally killed, making some experiments with shells."

11 April. Allaire: "Tuesday, 11<sup>th</sup>. 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, 12<sup>th</sup>. 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 passed Fort Moultrie, and joined the fleet, although fired upon all the time by the Fort."

13 April. By this date, 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.

Lincoln 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, in order to keep Civil authority alive. Among those who left with the Governor on this same date was Col. Marion, still suffering from his ankle injury he suffered on 19 March. Lieut. Gov. Christopher Gadsden, and five members of the council remained behind. Lincoln still had free access out of and into Charlestown by way of the Wando and Cooper Rivers. In an effort to keep them secure, he sent Col. François Malmady 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. As well, he directed Malmady to fortify Lampriers Point (also called Hobcaw), a small point which overlooked the Cooper, just below its confluence with the Wando. Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger who had replaced Moultrie commanding the American forces (including Washington's, Jameson's, Vernier's, and Daniel Horry's cavalry), at Biggin's Bridge near Monck's Corner continued at his post keeping communications open while protecting the more distant northern approaches to the town.<sup>342</sup>

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 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."<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> TCS pp. 56-67, LFB vol. II, p. 560, MDR p. 415, WAR vol. II, p. 700, BSC pp. 136-137.

<sup>338</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>339</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>340</sup> RSC p. 58.

<sup>341</sup> Gilbank was Lincoln's artillery munitions expert and was skilled at making fuses for shells. BSC p. 175.

<sup>342</sup> BSC pp. 138, 140-141, 146.

<sup>343</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

13 April. [raid-skirmish] Monck's Corner, also Biggin Bridge, Biggin's Bridge, Biggin Church (Berkeley County, S.C.) Moving out from Middleton's Plantation, the corps of Tarleton (with the British Legion and a detachment of the 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons) and Ferguson (with his corps and the American Volunteers), supported by Webster with the 33<sup>rd</sup>, 64<sup>th</sup>, and Royal N.C. Regiments -- together totaling some 1,400-1,500 men<sup>344</sup> -- maneuvered to seize the American positions north of Charleston. The attack was two pronged with Webster's detachment being sent by Clinton to Strawberry Ferry on the west branch of the Cooper, with Tarleton and Ferguson launching 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 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. Most of Huger's cavalry, however, made good their escape. The success of the British was later attributed in part to failure of the American to post a proper picket above the bridge which guarded the approach to the American camp. As well their 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 gives 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.<sup>345</sup> Maj. Pierre-François Vernier of Pulaski's Legion, however, was taken, and so badly wounded that he died shortly afterward. His loss resulted 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.<sup>346</sup>

Tarleton: "On the 12<sup>th</sup> 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 same place, with the 33<sup>d</sup> and 64<sup>th</sup> 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 [Pierre-François] Vernier, of Pulaski's legion, and some other officers and men who attempted to defend themselves, were killed or wounded; General 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 patrols 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."<sup>347</sup>

<sup>344</sup> Webster formally commanded the whole.

<sup>345</sup> Lossing gives 300 horses as captured, Tarleton 400.

<sup>346</sup> RSC p. 53, TCS pp. 15-17, JLG vol. I p. 285, JFM, ch. 2, LFB vol. II, p. 559, MSC p. 744, FWI p. 166, WAR vol. II, pp. 701-702, BEA pp. 710-711, HWW pp. 58-59. BSC pp. 147-150, SCAR vol. 2, no.5, pp. 3-5.

<sup>347</sup> TCS pp. 15-17.

Allaire: "Thursday, 13<sup>th</sup>. 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 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 14<sup>th</sup>] 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."

William Dobein James: "On the 13<sup>th</sup> 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 33<sup>d</sup> and 64<sup>th</sup> 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 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 [François] 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 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 [sic] corner, then a village, were afterwards deserted, and long bore the marks of deadly thrust, and much bloodshed."<sup>348</sup>

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."<sup>349</sup>

14 April. In the wake of the defeat at Biggin's bridge, Lincoln ordered all remaining infantry east of the Cooper to retreat to Lampriers 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.<sup>350</sup>

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. Cannonade and bombardments continued into the day and the night from both sides, with firing becoming more intense the closer they got to the city.<sup>351</sup>

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."<sup>352</sup>

*Mid April.* Despite pleas for additional men, only 300 N.C. militia were at this time en route to join Lincoln.<sup>353</sup>

16 April. Maj. Gen. Johannes Baron de Kalb with near 1,400 Maryland and Delaware Continentals left Morristown, New Jersey on their way south with the hope of assisting Charlestown.<sup>354</sup>

16 April. Lincoln summoned a council of officers, and it was decided not to attack the British detachment, under Cornwallis (formerly under Webster) at Wappetaw.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>349</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>350</sup> HWW p. 59.

<sup>351</sup> DSC, BSC pp. 161-162.

<sup>352</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>353</sup> BSC pp. 166-167.

<sup>354</sup> WNA, CBA p. 509.

<sup>355</sup> RSC p. 53.

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."<sup>356</sup>

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 Lamprieres, 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."<sup>357</sup>

17 April. St. Thomas Parish, north of Charlestown, was occupied by the British thus all but completing the encirclement of Charlestown by land.

Allaire. "Monday, 17<sup>th</sup>. 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 considerable body of troops, under Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen (von Dittfurth Regt.), and which had sailed from New York City on 1 April, sailed up the Stono River and were landed outside Charlestown to reinforce Clinton. The reinforcement numbered 2,566 rank and file effectives, of which 1,863 were fit for duty. It included the 42<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>358</sup>

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."<sup>359</sup>

#### BRITISH

Maj. Gen. Sir. Henry Clinton, Commander in Chief

Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis

Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie

Maj. Gen. Henry Julian Kospoth

Maj. Gen. J. C. von Huyne,

Brig. Gen James Paterson

1<sup>st</sup> Grenadier Battalion: 611, Lieut. Col. Henry Hope

2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier Battalion: 526, Lieut. Col. John Yorke

1<sup>st</sup> Light Infantry Battalion: 640, Lieut. Col. Robert Abercromby

2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry Battalion: 637, Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundas

7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 463, Lieut. Col. Alured Clarke

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 400, Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour

33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 450, Lieut. Col. James Webster

42<sup>nd</sup> Regt.: 700, Lieutennat Col. Duncan McPherson

63<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 400, Maj. James Wemyss

64<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 350, Major Robert McLeroth

Royal Artillery: 200, Maj. Peter Traille

Guides and Pioneers: 150

#### GERMAN

Hessian Grenadiers: 1000, including

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. Grenadiere von Linsingen, Lieut. Col. Otto Christian W. von Linsingen

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn. Grenadiere von Lengerke, Lieut. Col. George Emmanuel von Lengerke

3<sup>rd</sup> Bttn. Grenadiere von Minnigerode, Col. Frederich Henry von Schuler<sup>360</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> Bttn. Grenadiere von Graff, Lieut. Col. von Graff

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

Regt. von Dittfurth, Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen

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<sup>356</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>358</sup> TCS p. 18, CAR p. 167n, MDR p. 415, BRG p. 63, BSC p. 159.

<sup>359</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>360</sup> Schuler was from the von Dittfurth regiment, but while in the south was temporarily commanding the Minnigerode battalion.



Jägers: 224, *including*:  
2<sup>nd</sup> Company, Anspach-Bayreuth Jägers  
Hesse Cassel Jagers (1 company)

Hesse-Cassel chasseur company,<sup>361</sup> Capt. George Hanger

Hessian artillery detachment

TOTAL Germans (including Hessian Grenadiers): 2,264 rank and file.<sup>362</sup>

#### 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:*

71<sup>st</sup> Regt. , Lieut. Col. Alexander McDonald  
1<sup>st</sup> Battalion: 378, Maj. Archibald McArthur  
2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion: 491  
Light Infantry  
A detachment of 17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>363</sup>

TOTAL Strength of Paterson's detachment: 1,400 to 1,500<sup>364</sup>

TOTAL LAND FORCES UNDER CLINTON: (approx.) 12,000

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 71<sup>st</sup> 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. This figure, 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.<sup>365</sup> Borick, on the other hand, states that by 18 April Clinton could count approximately, 8,300 under his command, obviously not accounting seamen and marines.<sup>366</sup>

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 moved into N.C. in the fall of 1780. Artillery would also have been removed from Savannah to assist in the siege at Charlestown.<sup>367</sup>

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 41<sup>st</sup> 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

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<sup>361</sup> 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.

<sup>362</sup> 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.

<sup>363</sup> Lieut. Col. John Hamilton was captured at Rantowle's Bridge on March 27<sup>th</sup>, but was liberated after the fall of the city.

<sup>364</sup> 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. ONB vol. 2, p. 49

<sup>365</sup> CAR p. 152n, 167n, CBA pp. 493-494, LSY pp. 288-290, BEA p. 213.

<sup>366</sup> BSC p. 167.

<sup>367</sup> CGA p. 131.

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.<sup>368</sup>

#### 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

Lt. Col. Louis Antoine Jean Baptiste, the Chevalier de Cambray-Digny<sup>369</sup>

#### CONTINENTALS

\* South Carolina Brigade, Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney

1<sup>st</sup> South Carolina Regt.: 231, Lieut. Col. William Scott

2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina Regt.: 246, Lieut. Col. Francis Marion (absent)

3<sup>rd</sup> South Carolina Regt.: 259, Lieut. Col. William Henderson

\* North Carolina Brigade, Brig. Gen. James Hogun

1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Regt.: 287, Col. Thomas Clark

2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regt.: 301, Col. John Patten

3<sup>rd</sup> North Carolina Regt.: 162, Lieut. Col. Robert Mebane

\* 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Brigade, Brig. Gen. William Woodford

1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regt.: 336, Col. William Russell

2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regt.: 306, Col. John Neville

3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Regt.: 252, Col. Nathaniel Gist

\* 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Brigade, Colonel Richard Parker

1<sup>st</sup> Detachment of Virginians: 258, Lieut. Col. Samuel Hopkins

2<sup>nd</sup> Detachment of Virginians: 232, Lieut. Col. Gustavus Wallace

Continental Light Infantry: Lieut. Col. John Laurens:

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 guns in battery

#### 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 sC militia participated in defense of city.<sup>370</sup>

\* Brigade of Charlestown Militia, Col. Maurice Simons

1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Charles town militia: 352,

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<sup>368</sup> DSC.

<sup>369</sup> DuPortail did not arrive till April 25<sup>th</sup>, and Laumoy and Cambray-Digny were Lincoln's chief engineers before that date.

<sup>370</sup> BSC p. 119.

2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of Charles town militia: 485

South Carolina and North Carolina militia: 1,231 [total]

French company: 43, Marquis de Bretigny.

American and French sailors serving with city: 1,000

TOTAL OF AMERICAN LAND AND NAVAL FORCES: 6,662-6,684<sup>371</sup>

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.<sup>372</sup> Borick, however states that ) by mid April Lincoln had only 4,200 present and fit for duty in Charlestown, Fort Moultrie, and Lampriers Point.<sup>373</sup>

#### AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES

Commodore Abraham Whipple

##### American Ships

The *Bricole*,<sup>374</sup> 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*, 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'Avanture*, 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."<sup>375</sup> The *Bricole*, *Truite*, and *Queen of France* had been scuttled earlier. See 7 April.<sup>376</sup>

18 April. Webster's detachment, situated to the east side of the Cooper River at Cainhoy (which Lincoln had abandoned<sup>377</sup>) was dispatched reinforcements consisting of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt. (under Balfour), Volunteers of Ireland, N.Y. Volunteers, S.C. Royalists as soon as some of the replacements from Westerhagen's force made it possible. Cornwallis was then appointed to Webster's command, which by then, with the aforementioned reinforcement, numbered 2,300 men.

18 April. With some cannon brought over from Fort Moultrie, Malmady occupied Lampriers 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 Lampriers. However, mounting pressure from the British siege lines forced Lincoln to recall Laurens, and instead he sent Malmady 75 additional N.C. militia to replace them.<sup>378</sup>

18 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as heretofore, and a shower of musketry all day; this day like last night very rainy."

Moultrie's Diary: "Tuesday, 18<sup>th</sup>. 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, 19<sup>th</sup>. The enemy began an approach from the left battery, towards our advanced redoubt; and moved some mortars into the former."<sup>379</sup>

19 April. British second parallel completed at a distance of 300 yards from the American forward line. Ramsay gives the date as the 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> This number includes sailors present. Boatner gives 3,600 Continentals and 2,000 South and North Carolina militia. For a more complete American order of battle see O'Kelley's work, ONB vol. 2, p. 35

<sup>372</sup> MSC p. 746, LSY pp. 287-288, BEA p. 208.

<sup>373</sup> BSC pp. 119, 166-167.

<sup>374</sup> 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.

<sup>375</sup> Arbuthnot's return given in Tarleton. TCS pp. 52-53.

<sup>376</sup> DBJ, TCS p. 10.

<sup>377</sup> What was left of Malmady's force which had occupied Cainhoy, had been withdrawn to Lampriers Point.

<sup>378</sup> BSC p. 183.

<sup>379</sup> DSC.

19 April. Allaire: "Wednesday, 19<sup>th</sup>. 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 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 April. De Brahm: "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."<sup>381</sup>

20 April. [raid] Wando River (Charleston County, S.C.)

Allaire: "Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup>. 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 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as ordinary. This evening the Ravelin commenced in front of the horn work."<sup>382</sup>

20-21 April. Lincoln once again called a war council to decide what should be done at this juncture. Present were Brig. Generals Moultrie, McIntosh, Woodford, Scott, Hogun, Colonels Laumoy, Barnard, Beekman, and Maurice Simons. He reported having provisions on hand for only eight to ten days, more provisions were brought within a few days (passage to and from Charlestown had still not yet being completely obstructed.) Escape was still viable, with Lampriers still permitting an open route through Christ Church parish, and if they left at night. As well, Lincoln had sufficient boats to make the attempt. He then requested their opinion. 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, and treated the officers rudely. It was then determined to remain and defend city. The next day 21 April, Lincoln again convened the council of war. Following this he sent Clinton terms of surrender, which would permit he Americans to march out with their army intact. Clinton rejected this as unacceptable.<sup>383</sup>

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."<sup>384</sup>

21 April. While under now constant fore, the British commenced work on the third parallel.<sup>385</sup>

21 April. Allaire: "Friday, 21<sup>st</sup>. 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 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."

21 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as ordinary. This morning the enemy had commenced [work on] two batteries, near his second parallel."<sup>386</sup>

22 April. Capt. Charles Hudson onboard the *Richmond* reported the Americans were constructing 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 there their heavy guns they would endanger his ships under Fort Johnson; as well preventing him from sending ships in the direction of the Cooper River (which Clinton desired in order to complete the town's encirclement.)<sup>387</sup>

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."

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<sup>380</sup> Ibid, RSC p. 53.

<sup>381</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>382</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>383</sup> RSC p. 53, BSC pp. 167-171.

<sup>384</sup> DSC.

<sup>385</sup> BSC p. 176.

<sup>386</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>387</sup> BSC p. 157.

23 April. Clinton ordered Cornwallis to cut off northern approaches to the city. On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis, camped near St. Thomas ' church, and was further reinforced with the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt. and the Volunteers of Ireland.<sup>388</sup> 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 made an effective sally against British besiegers. The British losing 8 prisoners and some 60 killed and wounded. Americans lost at least 2 killed. Borick 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. 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.<sup>389</sup>

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."<sup>390</sup>

Allaire: "Monday, 24<sup>th</sup>. 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."

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."<sup>391</sup>

Moultrie's Diary: "Monday, 24<sup>th</sup>. 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."<sup>392</sup>

25 April. Still smarting from Henderson's sortie earlier in the morning (of the 24<sup>th</sup>), the British anticipated a second. That night, about 1 a.m. of the 25<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>393</sup>

Moultrie's Diary: "Tuesday, 25<sup>th</sup>. 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 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, 25<sup>th</sup>. 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 [Wappetau] 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."

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 recommended evacuation.<sup>394</sup>

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."<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> CAR. p.167.

<sup>389</sup> RSC pp. 54-55, LFB vol. II, p. 559n, DSC, WAR vol. II, p. 702, BSC p. 177.

<sup>390</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 559n.

<sup>391</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>392</sup> DSC.

<sup>393</sup> BSC p. 179.

<sup>394</sup> DSC, BSC p. 181.

<sup>395</sup> MMS p. 80.

26 April. Moultrie's Diary: "Wednesday, 26<sup>th</sup>. 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. DuPortail 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."<sup>396</sup>

26 April. Concluding that Lampriers was too strong to assault, about 2 a.m. Cornwallis moved a small detachment Wappetaw toward Haddrell's Point, on Mount Pleasant, fortified with a 3 gun battery which was obstructing British water movement into Hog Island Channel, and consequently also the Cooper River.<sup>397</sup>

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."<sup>398</sup>

27 April, Arbuthnot sent Capt. Charles Hudson with 500 marines and seamen to take post in the environs of Haddrell's Point on Mount Pleasant. By this time Col. Pinckney and most of the 1<sup>st</sup> S.C. Regt. had been removed from Moultrie, leaving Lieut. Col. William Scott in the fort with 118 Continentals and 100 militia.<sup>399</sup>

27 April. Fearing, wrongly, that Cornwallis would attack, Malmady, on the night of 27 April abandoned Lampriers 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.<sup>400</sup>

Moultrie's Diary: "Thursday, 27<sup>th</sup>. 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 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 Lampriers, thus decisively containing the besieged Charlestown garrison.

De Brahm: "As ordinary. Last night our Fort at Lampriers 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, Lamprieres, and Haddrell's Point; and his fleet anchored in the Road-stead before the town."<sup>401</sup>

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 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 29<sup>th</sup>, at mount Pleasant; where receiving information that the rebels were abandoning their redoubt at Lamprie'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."<sup>402</sup>

28 April. Allaire: "Friday, 28<sup>th</sup>. 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 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."

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 them) sunk the vessel.

28-29 April. Moultrie's Diary: "Friday, 28<sup>th</sup>. The enemy busy in throwing up their third parallel, within a few yards of the canal."

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<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>397</sup> DSC, BSC p. 185.

<sup>398</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>399</sup> BSC p. 205.

<sup>400</sup> DSC, BSC p. 189.

<sup>401</sup> CAR p. 169, CBA p. 496.

<sup>402</sup> TCS pp. 49-50.

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."

30 April. Allaire: "Sunday, 30<sup>th</sup>. Got in motion at three o'clock in the morning, in company with the [New] York Volunteers, and marched to Lempriere'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."

*Late April.* By the end of the month, Brig. Gen. William Caswell (the young son of Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell) was at the north side of Lenuid'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 thought it best to remain at 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 1<sup>st</sup> dragoons. They succeeded in locating new horses for the 250 cavalymen who remained from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Dragoons, and a few also from Pulaski's Legion, and Daniel Horry's South Carolina troop (Jameson now commanding these last two.) The 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 detachment of 100 Virginia Continentals present, headed toward Georgetown to rest for a few days. Yet by May 3, White decided to move west and north of Charlestown.<sup>403</sup>

## MAY 1780

May. Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost was replaced by Col. Alured Clarke as commander at Savannah, which position Clarke retained (with a brief intermission in April 1781) till that town's evacuation in July 1782.<sup>404</sup>

1-3 May. On the night of May 1<sup>st</sup>, the British finished a sap running from their third parallel to the wet ditch, suffering 6 killed and wounded in the process.<sup>405</sup>

Moultrie's Diary: "May 1<sup>st</sup>. 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: "1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>. As ordinary. Our hospital ship taken by the English and carried higher up the river."<sup>406</sup>

2 May. [skirmish] Haddrell's Point, also Mount Pleasant (Charleston County, S.C.) Coming by land from the north, Maj. Patrick Ferguson led an attack on Haddrell's point, part of the Charlestown fortifications (located across the Cooper River and to about the north and east of the city), capturing it.<sup>407</sup>

Allaire: "Tuesday, 2<sup>nd</sup>. Began to fortify Lempriere'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."

3 May. De Kalb, continuing his journey southward, reached the Head of Elk (modern Elkton, Maryland.)<sup>408</sup>

3 May. Edward Rutledge, and a few other officers, including Col. Malmady (who was instructed to do so by Lincoln) left the city. On reaching the east bank of the Cooper River, however, Rutledge and officers were taken. Malmady, however, was able to escape into some nearby woods.<sup>409</sup>

4-6 May. De Brahm: "4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup>.--The enemy employed in making three batteries upon his third parallel. And we to make two redoubts."

4 May. Allaire: "Thursday, 4<sup>th</sup>. Continued fortifying the Point. Rode from Lempriere'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

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<sup>403</sup> JFM, ch. 2., RNC p. 237. HWW pp. 59-60.

<sup>404</sup> CGA p. 137.

<sup>405</sup> BSC pp. 195-196, 199-200.

<sup>406</sup> GDH vol. 2, p. 124.

<sup>407</sup> BSC pp. 187-188, 191.

<sup>408</sup> WNA, CBA p. 509.

<sup>409</sup> BSC pp. 191, 194.

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 covering approaches to the fort.<sup>410</sup>

5 May. [ambush] Wambaw'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 and captured by Lieut. Col. Anthony White and 100-200 dragoons at Wambaw's Plantation near Strawberry Ferry. White then removed to Lenud's Ferry to join the American forces collecting there. Lossing says this raid took place on the morning of the 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>411</sup>

6 May. Cornwallis camped at Manigault's between the east branch of the Cooper and the West branch of the Wando.<sup>412</sup>

6 May. Clinton's third and final parallel was finished.

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."<sup>413</sup>

6 May. [raid-battle] 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 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<sup>414</sup>, Maj. John Jameson, and Col. Peter Horry were gathering. Despite pleas from Washington, White fed and rested his men before crossing the river. Tarleton, with 150 British Legion cavalry, after a long, hard ride (in which 20 horses were lost on the way), at 3 pm caught up with, surprised, and completely routed the group. What Americans which were not killed or wounded, were scattered or made prisoner. Many rebels drowned in Hell Hole Swamp where they fled before the charge began. A number escaped, including Washington, White, Jameson, and Horry, by abandoning their horses and swimming the river. The Americans lost all their horses, arms, and accoutrements. In casualties, the Americans lost 41 men killed<sup>415</sup> 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 men. The British light infantry who had been taken prisoner were rescued. 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 effectives remaining, and which had been across the river with Buford. Washington himself took the 75 dismounted troopers left to Wilmington. It was about this time that he purchased a mare from Sumter to replace the one he had lost, while elsewhere he commandeering 16 horses for his men.<sup>416</sup>

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 corner; he was soon after joined by a detachment from George town, and by Colonel [Daniel] Horry's regiment of light horse. On the 5<sup>th</sup> 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 [sic]: 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

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<sup>410</sup> BSC p. 206.

<sup>411</sup> JFM ch. 2, LFB vol. II, p. 559, BEA p. 616, BSC p. 193.

<sup>412</sup> Also situated between Quinby and Huger's Bridge. BSC p. 192.

<sup>413</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>414</sup> Haller, Washington's biographer, suggests Washington may actually have been in Wilmington at the time.

<sup>415</sup> Borick speaks of 20 to 30 men cut down.

<sup>416</sup> RSC pp. 65-66, TCS pp. 19-20, JFM, ch. 2, CSR p. 169, BGC p. 150, BEA pp. 616-617, HWW pp. 60-61, BSC p. 193



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."<sup>417</sup>

Allaire: "Saturday, 6<sup>th</sup>. Very disagreeable, windy day. Still at Lempriere'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 5<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>418</sup>

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."<sup>419</sup>

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 summoned Fort Moultrie to surrender. Lieut. Col. William Scott responded that he would defend to utmost. Yet after negotiations, the Americans agreed to capitulate, being given honors of war, with officers retain side arms, and militia counted as paroled prisoners. The next morning (the 7<sup>th</sup>), 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.<sup>420</sup> Moultrie's Diary: "Saturday, 6<sup>th</sup>. 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 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 7<sup>th</sup> of May; and by capitulation, surrendered themselves prisoners of war."<sup>421</sup>

Allaire. "Sunday, 7<sup>th</sup>. 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

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<sup>417</sup> TCS pp. 19-20.

<sup>418</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>419</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 559n-560n.

<sup>420</sup> TCS pp. 20-21, 55-56, CAR p. 169, LFB vol. II, p. 560n, FWI p. 166, WAR vol. II, pp. 702-703, BSC p. 350.

<sup>421</sup> 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, 7<sup>th</sup>. Our principal magazine near being destroyed by a 13-inch shell bursting within ten yards of it<sup>422</sup>...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 for Petersburg, Virginia which they arrived at on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May. About the 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.<sup>423</sup>

8-10 May. Clinton submitted a second ultimatum to Lincoln, with this and the following day spent in unsuccessful negotiations. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, at about 9 pm, the American's unleashed a thunderous barrage to mark the failure of the talks. It continued into the evening of the next day, with 469 rounds of solid shot and 345 shells being fired. It was the largest single bombardment in entire siege, says Borick, and did more damage than any other. Even so, it was otherwise of little or no avail.<sup>424</sup>

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 8<sup>th</sup> of May. From that until the 10<sup>th</sup>, the negotiation was continued. On the 11<sup>th</sup>, the capitulation was agreed to, and, on the next day, the Americans marched out and grounded their arms."<sup>425</sup>

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, 8<sup>th</sup>. 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 carcasses [sic] 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 refused 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 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 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

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<sup>422</sup> 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."

<sup>423</sup> KJO p. 9, MMS p. 213.

<sup>424</sup> BSC pp. 206-208, 213-214.

<sup>425</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

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.”<sup>426</sup>

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 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 11<sup>th</sup> of May we capitulated, and on the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> we marched out and gave up the town.”

11 May. Lincoln convened his officers once again, and this time it was agreed by all except DuPortail to capitulate.<sup>427</sup>

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, 11<sup>th</sup>. The town set on fire by a carcass [sic], 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.”

11-12 May. [surrender] CHARLESTOWN, also Charleston (Charleston County, S.C.) On the 11<sup>th</sup>, 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 captured,<sup>428</sup> and was the worst defeat suffered by an American army in the course of the entire war (a fact sometimes overlooked by Clinton’s detractors.)

Allaire: “Friday, 12<sup>th</sup>. 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.”

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 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 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 11<sup>th</sup> of May, and on the 12<sup>th</sup>, 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

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<sup>426</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 560.

<sup>427</sup> BSC p. 217.

<sup>428</sup> NGP vol. V p. 558n, vol. VIII p. 402., TCS pp. 21-23, CAR pp. 170-172, RHA Vol. II, Ch. XIX, p. 481, JFM ch. 2, LFB vol. II, pp. 560-561, MDR pp. 411-417, CBA p. 497, DRR pp. 174-175, BEA pp. 211-213, BSC99. 218-220.

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."<sup>429</sup>

#### CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES<sup>430</sup>

##### 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 11<sup>th</sup> of February, to the surrender of Charles town the 12<sup>th</sup> of May.

Royal artillery. 5 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.

1<sup>st</sup> 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.

1<sup>st</sup> 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.

7<sup>th</sup>. 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.

64<sup>th</sup>. 1 rank and file wounded.

71<sup>st</sup>. 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.

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.

2 ensigns, 1 serjeant, 73 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 179 rank and file, wounded."<sup>431</sup>

GRAND TOTAL Based on Clinton's Return: 76 killed, 189 wounded

In his memoirs, Clinton states the British lost 268 killed and wounded.<sup>432</sup>

Arbuthnot: "Our [the Royal Navy'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."<sup>433</sup>

##### AMERICAN

Return of John Andre, Deputy adjutant general: "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."<sup>434</sup>

<sup>429</sup> TCS pp. 21-23.

<sup>430</sup> For troop strengths present at the siege see 17 April 1780.

<sup>431</sup> TCS pp. 45-46.

<sup>432</sup> CAR p. 171.

<sup>433</sup> TCS p. 52.

<sup>434</sup> TCS p. 64.

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."<sup>435</sup>  
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.<sup>436</sup>

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 29<sup>th</sup> of March to the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, amounted to only 20."<sup>437</sup>

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."<sup>438</sup>

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."<sup>439</sup>

Carl P. Borick states that many claimed 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.<sup>440</sup>

Arbutnot'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*, 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."<sup>441</sup>

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 [Lampriers], Mount Pleasant, and on board the vessels, amounting in the whole to eighty or ninety pieces; and one ten-inch mortar."<sup>442</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> TCS p. 23.

<sup>436</sup> TCS p. 22, CAR p. 171.

<sup>437</sup> HSC pp. 175-176.

<sup>438</sup> RHA Vol. II, Ch. XIX, 481.

<sup>439</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>440</sup> BSC pp. 221-223.

<sup>441</sup> TCS pp. 52-53.

<sup>442</sup> TCS p. 55-56, 65-67.

Moultrie's Diary: "About 11 o'clock A. M. on the 12<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>443</sup>

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."<sup>444</sup>

\* *Some Remarks on the Charleston 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."<sup>445</sup>

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 in Charlestown's harbor in order to free up troops (specifically the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt.) who had been guarding them. The subsequent mortality on board the ships was, according to one British observer, "truly shocking." Yet Cornwallis lacked adequate medical supplies and staff even for his own men. 373 to 500 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 forced and coerced into joining the British.<sup>446</sup>

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. Not long before a force 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, in the direction of Salisbury. According to James, at some point Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger took command of Buford's force. Then a day or two

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<sup>443</sup> DSC.

<sup>444</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 561, 561n.

<sup>445</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 562.

<sup>446</sup> WCO p. 146, CLS pp. 480-483, LSL p. 203, BSC p. 223. See also 17 May 1781.

before Waxhaws on the 29<sup>th</sup>, he relinquished it to Buford, taking in his charge instead the task of escorting Governor Rutledge and his council members to safety.<sup>447</sup>

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 Nelsons 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 Fayetteville [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.”

15 May. A major ammunition magazine in Charlestown exploded, burning a number of houses in the city and killing at least 33 British soldiers. 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 great shortage of weapons with which to arm the royal militia.<sup>448</sup>

Allaire: “Monday, 15<sup>th</sup>. 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.

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<sup>447</sup> TCS p. 27, JLG v. 1 p. 286, JFM ch. 2, RNC p. 237.

<sup>448</sup> LSL p. 121.

Think, that if it is an outrage,  
It is the last you will receive.”<sup>449</sup>

16 May. Allaire. “Tuesday, 16<sup>th</sup>. 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.<sup>450</sup> Arbuthnot meanwhile feared the possible approach of the French fleet under Admiral Charles Louis d’Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay and was eager to leave Charlestown as soon as possible.<sup>451</sup> 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 to keep the 17<sup>th</sup> dragoons, you are heartily welcome to them during this move.” Cornwallis in his reply of the 18<sup>th</sup> said the 42<sup>nd</sup> Regt., the Light Infantry, would not be needed, and declined the extra temporary support. However, he retained the 17<sup>th</sup> dragoons which he already had with him. These did nevertheless end up returning to New York with Clinton.<sup>452</sup>

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 Charlestown 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.”<sup>453</sup>

18 May. Cornwallis left his ground near Huger’s Bridge on the 18<sup>th</sup> 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. 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.”<sup>454</sup>

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 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.”<sup>455</sup>

21 May. Cornwallis on the south side of Lenud’s ferry resumed his march toward Nelson’s Ferry, ultimately heading toward Camden.<sup>456</sup> Cornwallis to Clinton on this date: “The march of the light infantry and 42d to Monk’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.”<sup>457</sup>

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, and protection to those loyal to the crown.<sup>458</sup>

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,

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<sup>449</sup> Ewald’s entry is for 18 May. EHJ pp. 239-240.

<sup>450</sup> DKM p. 68.

<sup>451</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 561.

<sup>452</sup> TCS pp. 76-77, 97.

<sup>453</sup> 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.

<sup>454</sup> TCS p. 26-27, BGD p. 78.

<sup>455</sup> COC p. 5.

<sup>456</sup> TCS p. 27.

<sup>457</sup> COC p. 6.

<sup>458</sup> TCS p. 68-70.



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. Fanning also participated for a brief time in this enterprise 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.<sup>459</sup>

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."<sup>460</sup>

24 May. Allaire: "Wednesday, 24<sup>th</sup>. Lay at Fort Moultrie."

25 May. Allaire. "Thursday, 25<sup>th</sup>. 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 Point to the Ship Yard, which is about two miles from the town."

26 May. Allaire. "Friday, 26<sup>th</sup>. 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. 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 left Rugeley's Mills and resumed his retreat northward. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger meanwhile, 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 proceed northward till the 28<sup>th</sup>. This, however, this seems unlikely given the distance from Rugeley's to Waxhaws and the heavy baggage Buford was carrying (see below Waxhaws 29 May.)<sup>461</sup>

27 May. From Nelson's ferry on this date, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton with 40 cavalry of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 force retreating northward. The same day Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger and the South Carolina officials at Rugeleys' 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 29<sup>th</sup>.<sup>462</sup>

28 May. Tarleton's force arrived at Camden, arriving at Rugeley's at dawn on the 29<sup>th</sup>.<sup>463</sup>

28 May. Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour, with some of the Light Infantry, 3 companies of the 7<sup>th</sup> Regt., and the Prince of Wales Volunteers, and S.C. Royalists,<sup>464</sup> 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. 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.<sup>465</sup>

28 May. Sumter left his family and civilian life, riding to Salisbury, North Carolina, to help raise troops to fight the British; North Carolina leaders busying themselves as well about this time 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 burnt down by Tarleton's men under Capt. Charles Campbell after an effort to

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<sup>459</sup> 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.

<sup>460</sup> FNA p. 12.

<sup>461</sup> TCS pp. 28, 66, JFM ch. 2.

<sup>462</sup> TCS pp. 27-28, JLG vol. I, p. 286.

<sup>463</sup> TCS p. 28.

<sup>464</sup> Lambert speaks of the S.C. Royalists being present, though Allaire doesn't mention them.

<sup>465</sup> LSL p. 104.

apprehend him.<sup>466</sup> He ended up in Charlotte and then removed to New Acquisition (west of Waxhaws), where he was joined by compatriots.<sup>467</sup>

29 May. [battle] WAXHAWS (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, in the meantime, 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. These were recruits and furloughed men on their way to replenish the Virginia regiments and detachments in Charlestown.<sup>468</sup> In addition, accompanying Buford were a detachment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 force consisted of 130 Legion dragoons, 40 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons and 100 mounted British Legion infantry, under Maj. Charles Cochrane, and a three pounder. However, it was only his advanced detachment of which participated in the main attack. This consisted of 60 dragoons from the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 reserve 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 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 was later 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. Tarleton stated that his own horse had been shot out from under him after the single volley from the Continentals. His men thinking their leader killed, acted out of retaliation, while it then took him that much more time to bring them back under control. Buford later maintained that the rampant butchery commenced after a white flag had already been lifted. 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.<sup>469</sup>

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 Kinlock were directed, with the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 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

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<sup>466</sup> This information comes from Bass. However, Capt. Charles Campbell was a commander of the British light infantry, so that it may have been these troops, rather than Tarleton's Legionnaires, who were present.

<sup>467</sup> Campbell, ironically, was later killed at Sumter's ignominious defeat at Fishing Creek in Aug. 1780. RSC p. 130, BGD p. 102, BGC p. 53-54.

<sup>468</sup> Historian, Patrick O'Kelley: "Buford was an officer of the 14<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment. However that unit at the Waxhaws was not the 14<sup>th</sup>, the 10<sup>th</sup> or the 11<sup>th</sup>. Some historians mistakenly state that the men with Buford were the 3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Regiment, or the 14<sup>th</sup> Virginia. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Regiment had been captured in Charlestown, and the only member of the 14<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment at the Waxhaws was Colonel Buford. His 350 recruits were the 3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Detachment of Scott's 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup>, this was disbanded in later Continental reorganization. Consequently, he was actually in the 11<sup>th</sup> at this time, which earlier had been incorporated into the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia detachments in Charlestown. FWV p. 842.

<sup>469</sup> RSC pp. 109-110, TCS pp. 29-32, 77-79, SAW vol. II, p. 193, LMS pp. 164-157, JLG vol. I, pp. 285-286, JFM, ch. 2, LFB vol. II, p. 458, FWI pp. 165-167, WAR vol. II, pp. 705-706, BGD pp. 79-83, BEA pp. 1173-1174.

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."<sup>470</sup>

Allaire: "Thursday, June 1<sup>st</sup>. 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 29<sup>th</sup>, 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 Quarter-Master, 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."

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."<sup>471</sup>

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 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 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

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<sup>470</sup> TCS pp. 29-31.

<sup>471</sup> RSC pp. 109-110.

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.<sup>472</sup>

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. 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. 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 29<sup>th</sup>, with most, but not all, of the S.C. and Georgia militia at Augusta, and who were otherwise disbanded about this time.

Most 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."<sup>473</sup>

30 May. The Delaware and Maryland Regiments, under de Kalb, left Petersburg on their way to N.C.<sup>474</sup>

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 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."<sup>475</sup>

*Late May.* Lieut. Colonels White and Washington stayed in Wilmington thru the rest of May and early June. Their dragoons were in a very poor shape, suffering from nakedness, hunger, too few horses fit for service, and losses in men. 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.<sup>476</sup>

## JUNE 1780

*June.* Sometime in the month, Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield with 300 Virginia State Troops arrived to join or deploy near to William Caswell's N.C. militia above the Peedee. Although Otho Williams speaks of Porterfield's arriving in South Carolina in the spring, too late to help the garrison at Charlestown, strangely Porterfield is not mentioned being in the vicinity at the time of Waxhaws in late May. He was, however, in South Carolina by at least early July, which is when we find our first (known) reference of his actually being present. These facts then would seem to indicate that he came to South Carolina probably in June. This at least seems a reasonable conclusion until more information on this point is brought to light.<sup>477</sup>

*June.* [skirmish] Caldwell's Place, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, p. 172.

*June.* [skirmish] Gaither's Old Field, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, p. 173.

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<sup>472</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>473</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 506n.

<sup>474</sup> KJO pp. 9-10, WNA, CBA p. 509.

<sup>475</sup> Public Records Office, PRO. 30/11/72/15.

<sup>476</sup> HWW p. 63.

<sup>477</sup> WNA, JLG vol. I, p. 295.

June. [skirmish] Love's Plantation, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, 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 coastal regions. Specifically these were Camden, Cheraws, Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, Ninety Six and Georgetown. Some loyalists soon began gathering in bands threatening whigs with horse stealing, cattle rustling, 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.)

#### *Camden*

After Cornwallis arrived at Camden on June 1<sup>st</sup>, Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon, with a detachment which included the Volunteers of Ireland and the detachment of legion cavalry, 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.<sup>478</sup> Writes Tarleton: "The sentiments of the inhabitants did not correspond with his lordship'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." Rawdon then withdrew to Camden, during which time Cornwallis was transforming that town into a fortified base of operations, and launching ground for an 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 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 71<sup>st</sup> 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 artillery.<sup>479</sup>

#### *Cheraws*

Not long after occupying Camden, Cornwallis dispatched Maj. Archibald McArthur with 71<sup>st</sup> 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 McArthur's own men suffered from heat and fevers, which significantly weakened his detachment.<sup>480</sup>

#### *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 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. Turnbull, however, does not seem to have been with Cornwallis when the latter first reached Camden, and was probably moved up to that location shortly afterward, and *then* moved from Camden to Rocky Mount.<sup>481</sup>

#### *Ninety Six*

The town of Ninety Six was occupied, and without resistance, by Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour with detachments of light infantry and the South Carolina Royalists, coming from Charlestown, on 19 June (which date see.) 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 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 evidently there was some amount of settlement there at the time.<sup>482</sup>

#### *Georgetown*

Clinton had early on wanted to seize Georgetown, which was still occupied by some rebel militia, but the trouble of securing galleys for this purpose, given the departure of Arbuthnot prevented a sea borne attack and which he preferred. Since moving by land would only succeed in dispersing the militia in Georgetown (rather than capturing them), it was decided to put off taking the town till a later time. See 1 July.<sup>483</sup>

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."<sup>484</sup>

*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

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<sup>478</sup> Rawdon offered 10 guineas for each Volunteer of Ireland brought in dead, 5 for those brought in alive. MMS pp. 215-216.

<sup>479</sup> TCS p. 87-89, BSF p. 33.

<sup>480</sup> TCS p. 87, LSL p. 205.

<sup>481</sup> TCS pp. 86-87, CAR pp. 174-176, DRS p. 5.

<sup>482</sup> CAR pp. 174-176, JLG vol. II, p. 138, WAR vol. II, p. 816.

<sup>483</sup> TCS pp. 77, 80, 87, CAR p. 174-176, BSF pp. 35, 62.

<sup>484</sup> MMS pp. 208-209.

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.”<sup>485</sup>

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.”<sup>486</sup>

*Early June.* Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown and Lieut. Col. James Grierson, with the King’s Carolina Rangers, and some Georgia and South Carolina loyalists under Daniel and James McGirtt then moved from Savannah to occupy Augusta. At this same time, or else not long after (this latter appears far more likely), Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger with his 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Delancey, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, a detachment of the 16<sup>th</sup> Regt.,<sup>487</sup> 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,<sup>488</sup> William Few, and James Jackson. Col. John Dooly, who had actively fought the British in 1779, would ostensibly have been one of 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 wrote 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.”<sup>489</sup>

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.<sup>490</sup> 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.”<sup>491</sup>

*Early June.* A commissioner was sent (according to William Hill) 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 disappointed, 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 in his memoirs 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.<sup>492</sup>

1 June. Cornwallis reached Camden.<sup>493</sup>

1 June. Clinton and Arbuthnot issued a second proclamation which stated that all previous resisters to the crown who accepted allegiance, except the most egregious violent offenders and murderers, would be offered pardon. They also invited all inhabitants to assist in the restoration of British rule. Arbuthnot and the commissioners who accompanied the expedition desired to reinstate the civil government. Clinton, however, felt that given the then current state of things such a measure would be premature and imprudent.<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>485</sup> AR80 pp. 229-230.

<sup>486</sup> 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.

RSC pp. 157-159, MHG p. 481.

<sup>487</sup> 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.

<sup>488</sup> In the first quarters of 1781, Few served as a delegate to Congress from Georgia.

<sup>489</sup> TCS p. 87, CGA pp. 132-133, BGC p 51. Memorial of Andrew Cumming, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Volume 126, folios 563-564.

<sup>490</sup> Innes with the South Carolina Royalists may have been with Cruger also, but he probably arrived at Ninety Six with Balfour on 19 June instead.

<sup>491</sup> Dated 9 February, 1784, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 20, folios 142-145.

<sup>492</sup> HMS pp. 6-8.

<sup>493</sup> BSF p. 33.

<sup>494</sup> TCS p. 74-76, CAR pp. 181-182.

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 the males of age were potentially liable for military service, either in the loyal militia of the regular army, all previously paroled militia must 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, however, 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. It outraged many, and thereby emboldened many to take up arms or otherwise resume resistance against the British. At the same time some loyalists resented it as privileging and putting on the same level as themselves persons who earlier had rejected or were indifferent to royal authority. 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 Lynchers Rivers under Lieut. Col. Hugh Giles, and another regiment on Britton's Neck under Col. John Ervin.<sup>495</sup>

Stedman: "[Abrogating paroles] 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 of attachment, became entitled to the same privileges as themselves."<sup>496</sup>

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."<sup>497</sup>

6 June. Lieut. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis, at Camden, assumed command of the British Army in the South as Sir Henry Clinton prepared to sail back to New York. His instructions were to pacify South and North Carolina, maintain order in Georgia and the Floridas and then move north and take Virginia.

*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 5<sup>th</sup>] 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."<sup>498</sup>

Cornwallis wrote Lord German, on August 20<sup>th</sup>: "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

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<sup>495</sup> RSC pp. 116-117, SAW pp. 220-221, CAR p. 181-182, TCS p. 73-74, MHG p. 480, CBA p. 498, BSF p.33, WCO pp. 182-183.

<sup>496</sup> SAW p. 221.

<sup>497</sup> RSC p. 117.

<sup>498</sup> AR80 pp. 223-224.

employed myself in fixing posts of Troops from the Pedee to the Savannah rivers, to awe the disaffected and encourage the loyal Inhabitants...”<sup>499</sup>

Wickwire: “Clinton asserted he left Cornwallis with 11,306 effectives. Effectives is misleading for the only troops that [really] counted. ‘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.”<sup>500</sup>

Regarding Cornwallis’s prospective supply situation, Wickwire later points out that while he had to live off countryside, he was short of both wagons and cash. At the same time he had to find food without leaving the country a desert. This was all in addition to needing to protect lines of supply and communications from enemy partisans. Supplies rarely 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 supplies being sent to the city. A week later a ship did arrive with stores and men, but the transport sent to bring them in was “taken just off the bar by two twenty gun ships.”<sup>501</sup>

6 June. Allaire. “Tuesday, 6<sup>th</sup>. Got in motion at three o’clock in the morning, and marched thirteen miles to Col. Thomson’s [Thompson’s Plantation],<sup>502</sup> and halted on the march...”

7 June, De Kalb camped at “Genl. Parsons” in Granville County, N.C. where he remained till June 21<sup>st</sup>.<sup>503</sup>

8 June. Clinton, along with Arbuthnot’s squadron, sailed for New York. He took back with him “British Grenadiers<sup>504</sup> and light infantry, Hessian Grenadiers, German Chasseurs,<sup>505</sup> Forty-second Regiment, Queen’s Rangers, and a detachment of British artillery, amounting in the whole to about 4500.” Although not mentioned he also carried on his return the detachment of the 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons. His return expedition reached New York by June 18<sup>th</sup>. Charlestown was left with the 7<sup>th</sup> Regt., the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt., 2 battalions of Hessians from the von Huynes, 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. 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 Loyalist units left by Clinton (5,400 effectives in South Carolina, 1,000 in Georgia) gave Cornwallis 10,000 men.<sup>506</sup>

6 June. (possibly 29 May, or else 7 June) [skirmish] Alexander’s Old Field, also, Beckhamville, Beckham’s Old Field (Chester County, S.C.) About 200 loyalists, collecting under a leader named Houseman, 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.<sup>507</sup>

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 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 McClure, 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...”<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>499</sup> CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268.

<sup>500</sup> WCO p. 135.

<sup>501</sup> Balfour to Cornwallis, Sept. 20 and Sept. 27, 1780, PRO. 30/11/64, ff. 83-88, 112-113.

<sup>502</sup> Thompson’s Plantation, Belleville, was situated just south and east of the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree rivers.

<sup>503</sup> KJO p. 10.

<sup>504</sup> Relatively few grenadiers were left with Cornwallis.

<sup>505</sup> Maj. George Hanger, who commanded the chasseurs company remained, and, at his own request, had been transferred to the British Legion.

<sup>506</sup> TCS pp. 85-86, 87, CAR p. 191n, BDW pp. 46-47.

<sup>507</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 451, MSC p. 744, RBG p. 72, BRG p. 111, SCAR vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 2-5.

<sup>508</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 451.



8 June. Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford, hearing of Rawdon's advance into the Waxhaws settlement, issued orders for the militia of the Salisbury District, and Rowan, Mecklenburg and Lincoln (or Tryon) counties to meet on the 10<sup>th</sup> at Rees' (or Reese's) Plantation eighteen miles northeast of Charlotte.<sup>509</sup> 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."<sup>510</sup>

8 June. (also possibly 26 or 29 May, or 3 June)<sup>511</sup> [raid] Mobley's Meeting House, also Moberley's and Gibson's Meeting House, Briery'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 Charles Coleman, at Mobley's [Baptist] Meeting House (or else possibly at the not too distant Gibson's Meeting house) in Winnsborough. Despite British successes at this time, Lacey, Winn and some others had themselves been collecting men at New Acquisition.<sup>512</sup> Bratton, Winn, and McClure subsequently surprised and routed the loyalists at Mobley's. Bass speaks of this event as two separate actions, followed by a third where another group of loyalist at Briery's were sent retreating into the Dutch Fork.<sup>513</sup> The Dutch Fork (a corruption 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. Lossing: "Already Whigs between the Catawba and Broad Rivers, led by Bratton, McClure, 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 McClure fell upon and dispersed them."<sup>514</sup>

Richard Winn: "About the middle of June the British took a strong post at Shiroes [Shirar's or Briery'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 Meeting House in Moberley[']s settlement where we found a large body of Tories strongly posted under the command of Col. Ch. 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 Hamptons 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."<sup>515</sup>

10 June (also 8 or 30 June<sup>516</sup>). [skirmish] Brandon's Defeat (Union County, S.C.) After Ramsour's Mill, Col. Thomas Brandon and his men returned to South Carolina to collect more men and keep the loyalists at bay. While doing so, he was himself, with 70 or 80 men, routed by a much larger force of loyalists. Elsewhere, most of the resistance to British occupation in South Carolina around this time was grouped under Sumter, or else retreated

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<sup>509</sup> GNC pp. 213, GAM vol. II, p. 217.

<sup>510</sup> RSC p. 127.

<sup>511</sup> Lossing has Beckhamville taking place prior to Mobley's Meeting House, in contradiction to McCrady, Bass and Ripley, though he may be correct.

<sup>512</sup> Bass: "The New Acquisition was in general the present York County." BSF p. 254n.

<sup>513</sup> MSC p. 744, BGC p. 54, RBG p. 72, BRG p. 111, SCAR vol. 2, no.7, pp. 16-25.

<sup>514</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 452-453.

<sup>515</sup> WNO, part I, p. 202.

<sup>516</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup>] 1781 as above stated..." Rev. War Pension Claim W. File No. 21, 714 (filed in Union District, S.C.)

into North Carolina from where they made occasional forays back into the state. Otherwise things remained relatively quiet.<sup>517</sup>

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."

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.

"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 8<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>518</sup>

10 June. Having collected 294 men in the Orangeburgh district to serve either in six months militia or domestic militia, 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, Samuel Rowe had previously served with the whigs. Leaving 100 regulars behind at Orangeburgh, on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 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. This is taken from Lambert. 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 August.<sup>519</sup>

10 June. Although Williamson, now at Whitehall, had effectively disbanded the S.C. and GA. Militia at Augusta, he still retained 3 three companies of state troops, and Pickens had some more not far distant. Capt. Richard Pearis 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, near Ninety Six. Many came to the gathering with a view to making plans to retire with military forces at hand into North Carolina, including Capt. Samuel Hammond, Maj. Bennett Crafton (also Crofton), Capt. James McCall, and Capt. Moses Liddle. Colonels John Dooly and Elijah Clark of Georgia had retreated into Wilkes County, apparently under the impression that the Whitehall council would decide to continue fighting, and awaited arrangements for cooperation. However, Williamson and most of the other militia leaders including Col. John Thomas, Sr., Col. Andrew Pickens, Maj. John Purvis decided to submit to the Charlestown articles of surrender. Only one officer of

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<sup>517</sup> DKM p.77, MSC p. 744, BRG p. 104.

<sup>518</sup> SJM

<sup>519</sup> CKR p. 113, LSL p. 105.

the staff, one field officer, and four or five captains, at the Whitehall conference voted against an immediate 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, and people south of the Saluda accepted 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 replace it. A number of the troops, however, 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 had expressed a desire to resume the fighting, but submitted only when it became the clear consensus to do so. About this same time, Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown at Augusta was also allotting protection on similar terms, most conspicuously to Lt. Col. LeRoy Hammond.<sup>520</sup>

Elsewhere in South Carolina, the same question was also decided on by individual officers and smaller units. Of 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 who did not accept British terms at the outset were Col. Thomas Sumter, Col. James Williams, Col. Samuel Watson, Col. William Hill, Col. John Thomas, Jr., Col. William Bratton, Col. Andrew Neal, Col. Francis Marion, Col. John Twiggs, Maj. John James, Maj. William Harden, Major Richard Winn, Capt. Edward Lacey, and Capt. John McClure.<sup>521</sup>

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."<sup>522</sup>

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 Taylor, 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, of North-Carolina soon enabled them to commence active measures."<sup>523</sup>

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 to 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 or 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."<sup>524</sup>

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."<sup>525</sup>

"We now found ourselves growing strong, and numbers flocking daily to us.

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<sup>520</sup> LSL p. 106-107.

<sup>521</sup> CAR pp. 174-176, JLG vol. I, p. 284, JTR pp. 149-154, HMP, DKM p. 47, CGA pp. 131-132.

<sup>522</sup> HMS p. 6.

<sup>523</sup> JTR pp. 536-537.

<sup>524</sup> RSC p. 112.

<sup>525</sup> 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 them in early June 1780. GJW p. 25.

"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."<sup>526</sup>

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 Mcleans' 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 cooperate with him in any plan that should be adopted by the council at Whitehall, *for the defence [sic] of the 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

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<sup>526</sup> FNA pp. 11-12.

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."<sup>527</sup>

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. Edward Hampton, Col. James Williams & Col. Thomas Brannon [Brandon]."<sup>528</sup>

"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"<sup>529</sup>

10 June. Rutherford's militia collected at Rees' (or Reese's) Plantation and numbered 700 to 800.<sup>530</sup>

10 June. Allaire: "Saturday, 10<sup>th</sup>. Got in motion and left Thomson's at twelve o'clock at night, and marched eighteen miles to Beaver creek, where we halted. Maj. 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..."<sup>531</sup>

10 June. [skirmish] Moore's First Gathering. (Lincoln County, N.C.) Col. John Moore,<sup>532</sup> a Lieut. Col. in the Royal North Carolina Regiment acting (without formal approval) as an agent for Cornwallis, arranged for meeting among the loyalists of Tryon County, North Carolina at Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramsour's Mill.<sup>533</sup> 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.<sup>534</sup>

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. Colonel Moore returned to the vicinity and appointed a meeting for June 10<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> of the month..."<sup>535</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> JTR pp. 149-154.

<sup>528</sup> HMP

<sup>529</sup> 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.

<sup>530</sup> GNC p. 213, GAM p. 217.

<sup>531</sup> "Came in with their arms" probably means these former "rebel" militia were coming in and accepting British amnesty and protection.

<sup>532</sup> Moore himself was from the area, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> had returned a commissioned officer in the Royal North Carolina Regt. GNC p. 214, GAM vol. II, p. 218.

<sup>533</sup> 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.

<sup>534</sup> GNC pp. 214-215, GAM vol. II, pp. 218.

<sup>535</sup> GRA.

11 June. [raid] Fishing Creek Church, also Simpson's Meeting House. (Chester County, S.C.) For purposes of rounding up rebels and putting in awe sympathizers, Capt. Christian Huik set fire to the home of Rev. Burning of Simpson's home which served as a meeting house.

Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, at Rocky Mount, in a letter to Lord Cornwallis of June 15<sup>th</sup> wrote: "Captain Hook [Christian Huik] and His Party Returned yesterday having made a circular Tour of about Forty miles to the Westward. The Rebels [sic] who were Embodied [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 were Discovered running through a field of Wheat. The Militia fired upon them, Killed one and Wounded the other.

"Cols. Patten, 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 Rebels 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 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 Runaways [sic], a Forge for casting Ball and making Rifle Guns &c. I woud [sic] Propose with your Lordships 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 to Camden and that there is a Body of Rebell Militia still in arms Between Charlottburg [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 Rebels 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 Lordships 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."<sup>536</sup>

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 law suit 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, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, p. 175.

12 June. Ferguson marched to the "'Congarees" or Congaree Stores, near (just south east of) what would later be Fort Granby, south of the confluence of Congaree (i.e. Broad/Congaree river) and Saluda Rivers, or modern Cayce, South Carolina.

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<sup>536</sup> PRO. 30/11/2/158-159. My sincerely warm thanks and appreciation to historian Michael Scoggins for providing this letter, as well as accompanying comments.

Allaire: "Monday, 12<sup>th</sup>. 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 [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 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."<sup>537</sup>

13 June. Congress elected Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates head of the Southern Army to replace Lincoln.

13-18 June. Moore's Second Gathering (Lincoln County, N.C.) Col. John Moore and Maj. Nicholas Welch prematurely called out the loyalist to Ramsour's Mill, contrary to Cornwallis' instructions, and by the 18<sup>th</sup>, on which 200 more joined him, Moore had assembled 1,300 men. Many, however, were without weapons or ammunition. Col. Hugh Brevard and Maj. Joseph McDowell with a small company again attempted to disrupt Moore's gathering, and was again chased off.<sup>538</sup>

14 June. Allaire: "Wednesday, 14<sup>th</sup>. Lay at Congaree Stores. Capt. Peacock and the three companies of Royal Fusileers [23<sup>rd</sup> 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."<sup>539</sup>

14 June. On the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>, Rutherford, his force now organized, learned of the gathering of Moore and the loyalists at Ramsour's Mill, forty miles to the northwest of him. He ordered Col. Francis Lock, based in Salisbury, to bring together an additional force to assist in going after Moore.<sup>540</sup>

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']"<sup>541</sup>

15 June. Ferguson continued his march towards Ninety Six. At the same time, 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, 15<sup>th</sup>. Got in motion at twelve o'clock at night, and marched twelve miles to Saluda Ferry; crossed the river and halted."

15 June. Coming from Salisbury, Col. Thomas Sumter camped at Tuckasegee Ford on the Catawba. Here he assembled a force of some comrades from his old 6<sup>th</sup> Regt. and 200 Catawba Indians. He then moved down the river and joined with other South Carolina militia leaders and their men at King Hagler's Branch in the land of the Indians. A convention was formed, and on the 15<sup>th</sup>, he was elected on the vote of Col. William Bratton, Maj. Richard Winn (president of the "convention"), Col. William Hill, Capt. Edward Lacey to be brigade commander. At the same time, the convention leaders all agreed to serve till the end of the war. This meeting took place at Hagler's Branch near present Fort Mill, S.C. Sumter and his troops then moved on to join Rutherford gathering men for the expedition against Ramsour's Mill.<sup>542</sup> Despite the election, Sumter would not formally become a Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia until October 1780.

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.

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<sup>537</sup> SJM.

<sup>538</sup> DRS p. 7, GRA.

<sup>539</sup> TCS p. 89, CAR p. 177-179.

<sup>540</sup> DRS p. 7, GNC p. 213.

<sup>541</sup> DRS p. 7.

<sup>542</sup> BGC pp. 55-56, BRG p. 121.

"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 until [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 enlist [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.)"<sup>543</sup>

*Mid June.* By this time efforts had already been underway for the forming of the royal militia. This was, in part, brought about initially by local loyalist leaders themselves, without any or much initial direct British involvement. Some units were formed out of existing, and previously, whig militias. Others were created entirely new.

On June 14<sup>th</sup> (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 Majors 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 and Wateree." This unit in time became the South Carolina Rangers, or Harrison's Corps. The unit, however, 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.<sup>544</sup> It was about mid June then that a the effective pay date for much of the loyal militia in South Carolina starts, including the following units:

\* South Carolina Rangers, or Harrison's Rangers, Maj. John Harrison (Provincial Corps, and technically not militia, modern Kershaw county)

\* [Lieut.] Col. John Fisher's Orangeburg Regiment of Militia<sup>545</sup>

\* *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

Lieut. Col. Robert Cunningham's (later Maj. Patrick Cunningham's) Regt. (Little River of the Saluda Regt., modern Laurens county)  
145 privates/169 total<sup>546</sup>

[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<sup>547</sup>

Maj. Zachariah Gibbs' Regt. (modern Chester county, also York possibly)  
50 privates/63 total

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<sup>543</sup> WNO part I, p. 207.

<sup>544</sup> TCS p. 120, BSF p. 35.

<sup>545</sup> SFR p. 574n.

<sup>546</sup> 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.

<sup>547</sup> LSL p. 110



Lieut. Col. Moses Kirkland's Regt. (or Fifth regiment of Militia), Lower Ninety Six Brigade<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>549</sup>

Also, but not included in the above list was Col. Thomas Pearson's Regiment or (2<sup>nd</sup>) Little River (of the Saluda) Regt.

Cornwallis later wrote to Lord German, on August 20<sup>th</sup>, 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 Majr 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 & Black River, I posted Major McArthur with the 71<sup>st</sup> 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 I could march to their relief." <sup>550</sup>

*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 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." <sup>551</sup>

15 June. Rutherford and the (mostly) N.C. militia advanced to two miles south of Charlotte. <sup>552</sup>

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 to the area in what is now York County, S.C. for the purpose of encouraging and recruiting loyalists, and intimidating the rebels.

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<sup>548</sup> CLS p. 221.

<sup>549</sup> CLS p. 228.

<sup>550</sup> CNC vol. XV, pp. 263-268.

<sup>551</sup> AR80 pp. 223-224.

<sup>552</sup> GAM vol. II, p.214.

Although by July a fair number had joined Huik, William Bratton was offering pardons to men who would desert loyal militia and join him. So many then subsequently left Huck that that by 11 July he was reduced to probably not much more than his original strength of around 115.

17 June. Encountering strong rebel sympathy, and with some of his own troops deserting while in the area, Rawdon withdrew from Waxhaws to Hanging Rock.<sup>553</sup>

18 June. [skirmish] Hill's Iron Works (York County, S.C.) Huik's detachment of the British Legion defeated a whig militia force, and burned the iron works. The iron works or foundry, located on Allison Creek, had been established by Col. William Hill and Isaac Hayne in the South Carolina backcountry in anticipation of the war, and were specifically targeted by Turnbull, who had dispatched Huck for that purpose.<sup>554</sup>

Lossing: "This disaster, following closely upon the other, [i.e. Beckhamville 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 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 Ennoree. Against this monster, John McClure 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."<sup>555</sup>

Cornwallis, at Charlestown, wrote to Clinton on June 30<sup>th</sup>: "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."<sup>556</sup>

18-19 June. Rutherford moved to Tuckesegee Ford on the Catawba River, from his camp south of Charlotte. The next day (the 19<sup>th</sup>) he moved to Dickson's place,<sup>557</sup> sixteen miles from Ramsour'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 Ramsour's Mill. They were camped at Mountain Creek or "the Glades," some 16 miles from Ramsour's. Included in Lock's force was 270 men under Major Joseph McDowell ("Quaker Meadows Joe") and Col. Thomas Brandon with a small force of mounted South Carolina militia. On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Lock crossed Sherrill's (also Sherrill's) Ford on the Catawba on his way to Ramsour'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 during the night, Lock and his officers decided to attack Moore the next day. Col. James Johnston of Lincoln County was sent to Rutherford to inform him of their resolution.<sup>558</sup>

William A. Graham: "On the 18<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 had collected most of this force as he proceeded up the river and had crossed with them at Sherrill's [Sherrill'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."<sup>559</sup>

Joseph Graham: "In the evening of that day (the 18<sup>th</sup>), 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 19<sup>th</sup> in the evening, or on the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> was wet and the arms of gen. Rutherford's men

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<sup>553</sup> MMS pp. 215-216, GAM vol. II, p214.

<sup>554</sup> TCS p. 85, LFB vol. II, p. 453, BGC p. 59.

<sup>555</sup> HMS p. 8, LFB vol. II, p. 453.

<sup>556</sup> BGC p. 59.

<sup>557</sup> 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.*

<sup>558</sup> DRS p. 7, GNC pp. 217-218, GAM vol. II, p. 219-220, GRA.

<sup>559</sup> GRA

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 Ramsour's."<sup>560</sup>

Davie: "It was agreed [by Rutherford, Lock, and their officers] to attack Moore's camp at Ramsour's as the most dangerous body of the Enemy, on the 22<sup>nd</sup><sup>561</sup> following, for this purpose Col. Lock marched to cross the river at Sherrills & Beatie'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 to meet 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..."<sup>562</sup>

19 June. The town of Ninety Six was taken by detachments of light infantry under Lt. Colonel Nisbit Balfour. At the time there was no fort at Ninety Six as such, though the town had what has been variously described as a primitive stockade or else a simple ditch with a palisade used to protect against Indian attacks.<sup>563</sup>

19 June. On June 19, Congress recommended that N.C. and Virginia remount and equip and provide new recruits for both the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 from May thru July on the two regiments. At this time, however, De Kalb informed Gates that they were not ready for service.<sup>564</sup>

20 June. [battle] RAMSOUR'S MILL, also Ramsour's Mill, Ramseur's Mill. (Lincoln County, N.C.) In the morning hours of 20 June, Col. Francis Lock, Maj. Joseph McDowell, and Capt. William Falls<sup>565</sup> (to name some of the more prominent leaders) with 300 to 400 men (mostly from North Carolina, but with some from South Carolina as well) charged Col. Moore and the 1,100 to 1,300 loyalists at Ramsour's Mill.<sup>566</sup> According to Joseph Graham, only about three fourths of the loyalists, however, had been yet armed, giving them an estimated effective militia force of approximately 825 to 975. They were deployed on a wooded ridge with little underbrush. While the loyalists at first delivered a well-executed fire, they were quickly 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 engagement perhaps might 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 the battle was conducted more by bands of men, and commanders leading by example, rather than by more usual military formations and tactics. 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 taken prisoner. Loyalists, who were not wounded or killed, either fled into South Carolina, or went into hiding at their homes. The significance of Ramsour'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 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 grown relatively quiet in June, became a hot-bed of rebel activity in July.<sup>567</sup>

#### NORTH CAROLINA AND SOUTH CAROLINA MILITIA AT RAMSOUR'S MILL

Col. Francis Lock (Rowan County)

North Carolina Militia

Maj. Wilson (Mecklenburg County)

Capt. William Alexander (Rowan County)

Capt. Armstrong, killed

Capt. Joshua Bowman, killed

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<sup>560</sup> GAM vol. II, pp. 219-220.

<sup>561</sup> Davie's dates differ from other accounts, yet if Davie's 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.

<sup>562</sup> DRS p. 7.

<sup>563</sup> Letters from Balfour to Lord Cornwallis, 15-22 June 1780, CAR pp. 174-176.

<sup>564</sup> De Kalb to Gates, July 16, 1780, in Clark (ed.), Records of NC, XIV, 503. HWW p. 63.

<sup>565</sup> See DRS p. 51n. Some sources mention a "Capt. Gillefall," a "Capt. Gilley Falls" and a Galbraith Falls anyone of whom may actually have been the slain leader, or was the same person as "William", or else a different, but possibly related, person(s). See pensions statements of William Armstrong of Lincoln County, N.C. and John Ross of Mecklenburg County, N.C.

<sup>566</sup> Ramsay notes, that the greater part of loyalists at Ramsour's mill had taken an oath to N.C. and had served in that state's militia. RSC p. 128.

<sup>567</sup> RSC pp. 127-128, DRS p. 5-7, HMS p. 8, LFB vol. II, p.391n, GNC pp 219-226, GAM vol. II, pp. 222-226, WAR vol. II, pp. 706-708, RNC p. 239, DRR pp. 174-175, BEA pp. 913-914, BRG pp. 106-110.

Capt. Dobson (Burke County), killed  
Capt. Houston, wounded  
Capt. Patrick Knox (Mecklenburg County)  
Capt. [Daniel] McKissick, wounded  
Capt. Murray, killed  
Capt. Smith, killed

Mounted infantry:<sup>568</sup>

Maj. Joseph McDowell (Burke County, N.C.)  
Capt. William Falls (Rowan County), killed

South Carolina Militia  
Col. Thomas Brandon (Union County, S.C.)

Total of Lock's force: 300-400  
Not present at the actual engagement, though involved in the after-battle pursuit:

Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford (Rowan County, N.C.)<sup>569</sup>

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<sup>570</sup>

Catawba Indians, General Newriver

TOTAL of Rutherford's column: 700 men

#### NORTH CAROLINA LOYALIST MILITIA AT RAMSOUR'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.

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]

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<sup>568</sup> Some of these may have been armed as cavalry.

<sup>569</sup> Rutherford's column was en route to the battle, but did not actually participate, except in the pursuit and follow-up.

<sup>570</sup> HMP.

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."<sup>571</sup>

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 force] 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 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 Ramsour'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 & 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 Ramsour'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."

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."<sup>572</sup>

21 June. Leaving Rawdon<sup>573</sup> in charge of the garrison, Cornwallis departed Camden and began his return journey to Charlestown. On August 20<sup>th</sup> he wrote Germain: "I set out on the 21<sup>st</sup> 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."

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<sup>571</sup> DRS p. 7-8.

<sup>572</sup> GAM vol. II, pp. 225-226. Graham's full account of the fighting at Ramsour's Mill is also found in *The Spirit of Seventy Six*, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris: Harper and Row, New York, 1958. pp. 1117-1120.

<sup>573</sup> Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour, in Charlestown, actually preceded Rawdon on the Army Lists and thus had seniority over Rawdon.

21-22 June. Rutherford remained at Ramsour's Mill for two days following the battle, having send Davie and other mounted troops to pursue and round up any remaining loyalist resistance in the area. Word came in on the 22<sup>nd</sup> 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 Rutherford's North Carolina (mostly) and South Carolina militia force of about 1200 had dwindled to a mere 200. Bryan consequently fled with 800 loyalists to Cheraws, though as with Moore's men, many of these were not armed. What was left then of Rutherford's men at the same time dispersed temporarily with his permission, while Davie and small groups of others continued in the field.<sup>574</sup>

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."<sup>575</sup>

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..."<sup>576</sup>

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.<sup>577</sup>

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 relieved."

22 June. Balfour crossed the Saluda Ferry on his way to Ninety Six. Shortly after he reached that place and found friends not "so numerous as expected." Lambert also mentions that he distrusted Capt. Richard Pearis who had gotten the rebels of the area to lay down their arms earlier in the month.<sup>578</sup>

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.<sup>579</sup>

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 [sic], 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."<sup>580</sup>

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<sup>574</sup> GAM vol. II, p. 227.

<sup>575</sup> CLS p. 421.

<sup>576</sup> CLS p. 422.

<sup>577</sup> BRG p. 137.

<sup>578</sup> LSL p. 107.

<sup>579</sup> KJO pp. 10, WNA, JLG vol. I, p. 295, CBA p. 509.

<sup>580</sup> COC pp. 12-13.

*Late June.* Just after Ramsour's Mill, Sumter received authorization from North Carolina officials to seize and impress wagons, horses, and provisions of loyalist to supply his own troops, 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, later moving further east of the Catawba to Clem's Branch of Sugar Creek some 14 miles below Charlotte. In two weeks of training, some of it involving activities like wrestling, contests of strength, and marksmanship, he had 500 men well organized and officered. Given how they later fought at Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock and Blackstocks, Sumter can be considered to have trained his men well. On 4 July he then emerged from hiding and camped at Old Nation Ford<sup>581</sup> 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.<sup>582</sup>

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."<sup>583</sup>

*Late June.* [skirmish] Bullock's Creek (Chester or York County, S.C.) Chesney<sup>584</sup>: "(A) number of loyalists assembled at Sugar Creek and the waters of Fair Forest<sup>585</sup> under the command of Col. Balfour, I took protection the 25<sup>th</sup> 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 Ferguson succeeded to the command under the title of Colonel and Inspector General of Militia."

*Late June.* In the Wake of Ramsour'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. They were subsequently posted to Hanging Rock. Cornwallis wrote to Lord Germain, on 20 August 1780: "And about the same time [as Ramsour'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."<sup>586</sup>

*Late June.* Near the end of the month, provisions were so scarce around Hillsborough that de Kalb marched his troops towards the Peedee country. However, he went no farther than Coxe's Mill near Buffalo Ford on the Deep River; where he arrived early July. There much of the time was spent having his men collect food, while making an effort to establish a small magazine. He unsuccessfully tried to get Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell with the North Carolina militia in advance of him to fall back and join him. Caswell claimed his own lack of provisions prevented such a move. Along with the Maryland and Delaware troops, with de Kalb was Lieut. Col. Carrington's detachment of three companies of artillery, including five cannon; that had joined the general on his way through Virginia.<sup>587</sup>

*Late June.* Men 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.

## JULY 1780

*July.* [skirmish] Big Glades (Ashe County, N.C.) Despite Ramsour's Mill, there were still areas in western North Carolina where the loyalists and Tories were active. It should be observed that 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 scattered pension statements of former militia men. One such was Big Glades, which North Carolina historian, John Arthur Preston, among other similar events, records thus: "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 declarant [sic] was engaged against the Torys at a special court first held on Toms 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

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<sup>581</sup> Old Nation Ford was near where U.S. Highway 21 crosses Catawba River at Fort Mill.

<sup>582</sup> HMS p. 8, BGC p. 57-58, GJW p. 29.

<sup>583</sup> RSC p. 130, RAR II, ch. XIX, p. 487.

<sup>584</sup> Chesney was one among a number of South Carolinians responding to Sir Henry Clinton's call for recruits.

<sup>585</sup> Fair Forest is just north of the Tyger River.

<sup>586</sup> TCS p. 91.

<sup>587</sup> WNA, RSC p. 138-139, RNC p. 240.

the New River, and another, afterwards, whom they captured in Guilford.' This activity may explain the presence of the mysterious battle ground in Alleghany [sic] County."<sup>588</sup>

July. [skirmish] Lawson's Fork (Spartanburg, S.C.)<sup>589</sup>

July. At some time in the month the Hessian Regt. von d'Angelleli was sent from Savannah to Charlestown. This made it the third Hessian regiment present there, along with von Huyme and von Dittfurth.

1 July. Coming by sea, the British occupied Georgetown. Not long after, Maj. James Wemyss with the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt. arrived there and initiated formation of the local loyal militia.<sup>590</sup>

2 July. De Kalb marched to Chatham Court House, N.C., where he stayed for two days after, leaving on the 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>591</sup>

3 July. Cornwallis to Balfour (then at Ninety Six): "*Entre Nous* I am afraid of his [Ferguson's] getting to the frontier of N. Carolina & playing some cussed trick."<sup>592</sup>

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, and upon Morgan's request, asked that that Col. Daniel Morgan be promoted to Brigadier General, which petition was shortly after granted. Gates also wrote to Lincoln on this date: "The series of Misfortunes you have experienced, since you were doomed [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 increases [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. 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 your 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."<sup>593</sup>

5 July. The Maryland and Delaware regiments under de Kalb crossed the Deep River, reaching Hollinsworth's farm on the Deep River July 19.<sup>594</sup>

6 July. De Kalb halted at Coxe's (or Wilcox's) mill on the Deep River to collect provisions. The North Carolina Militia force, now under Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, enroute to Camden, was ahead 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 direct move towards Camden.<sup>595</sup>

9 July. Allaire: "Sunday, 9<sup>th</sup>. 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. Johnson 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, as the first division of 12,000 men being sent by France.<sup>596</sup>

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<sup>588</sup> John Preston Arthur, *History of Western North Carolina* (1914), ch. 5.

<sup>589</sup> LSC p. 7, ONB vol. 2, p. 190.

<sup>590</sup> LSL p. 119.

<sup>591</sup> KJO p. 10.

<sup>592</sup> WCO p. 205, PRO. 30/11/78, ff. 3-4.

<sup>593</sup> GAH p. 283.

<sup>594</sup> KJO p. 10.

<sup>595</sup> WNA.

<sup>596</sup> FWI p. 183.



10 July. By this date, the 1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. DeLancey's under Col. John Harris Cruger, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bttn., New Jersey Volunteers under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, and a detachment of the 16<sup>th</sup> Regt. were directed to move by way of Augusta, where they stayed a short while,<sup>597</sup> to Ninety Six where Balfour and Ferguson were situated. During their subsequent year-long stay at Ninety Six, Cruger's and Allen's men were involved in many small skirmishes in the area, most of them unrecorded: Ninety Six being by far the most populous and powerful area in western South Carolina. Cornwallis in letter to the ministry of 20 August 1780 wrote: "[The area 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 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."<sup>598</sup>

11 July. Col. Elijah Clark with a 145 mounted men from the upper region of Georgia (Wilkes County) crossed the Savannah with the intent of joining McDowell's force gathering in North Carolina. When Clark learned a strong force of loyalists barred his passage, he and his men decide it was more prudent to return to Georgia and disperse until they could collect a more sizable force. Despite this, Col. John Jones with 35 of Clark's men decided to continue the march. They passed themselves off as a group of loyalists; by which means they were able to traverse the country.<sup>599</sup>

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 force at Williamson's Plantation. Huik having previously left White's Mill<sup>600</sup> in modern Chester County went in search of rebels. He then made his camp at Williamson's plantation in modern Brattonsville, S.C. He had posted handbills calling inhabitants to renew allegiance to the King, while carrying out a policy of violence and intimidation that outraged the local whigs. Bratton and McClure first moved to attack Huik, and then were joined by men from Sumter's camp, who were situated on Clem's Branch east of the Catawba in Lancaster County. The force when collected was made up 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 Moffet). At time, Sumter was in Salisbury with a few men seek more money, arms, and recruits. When first collecting to go after Huik, 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. Lacey as subsequently spoken of as the commander 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 present in Bratton and Lacey's force were Col. Samuel Watson, Maj. Richard Winn, and Capt. Andrew Love.<sup>601</sup> 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 force ranged anywhere between about 70 to 125. 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, stealthily approaching from opposite sides, and surprised their sleeping camp in two groups. 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 to the same British practice following the fall of Charlestown. Whig losses were said to have been very few. This particular significance of this battle lay in it being the first victory of militia against regulars, thereby encouraging the former to more ambitious feats; which soon followed at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock.<sup>602</sup>

On August 6<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis reported to Clinton: "The affair of Captain. Houck 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."<sup>603</sup>

Allaire: "Wednesday, 12<sup>th</sup>. 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.

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<sup>597</sup> It is not quite clear exactly when Cruger arrived at Augusta (from Savannah) or how long he remained, Brown ostensibly having been in place there in advance of him.

<sup>598</sup> "Destroying the country" refers to the large quantity of grain or else grazing required to feed horses. DKM p. 142.

<sup>599</sup> DKM p. 78-79.

<sup>600</sup> White's Mill was on Fishing Creek about ten miles west of Land's Ford across the Catawba River

<sup>601</sup> William T. Graves notes that whig leader James Williams 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. 6<sup>th</sup>. 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." RSC p. 137, JTR p. 486-487.

<sup>602</sup> RSC pp. 135-136, HMS p. 9-10, LFB vol. II, p. 453, MLL pp. 3-7, BGC p. 60, BEA p. 1211. recently (as of this writing), Michael C. Scoggins has come out with an indepth, book length treatment of the action, *The Day it Rained Militia*.

<sup>603</sup> CSR vol. XV pp. 258-262,

"Thursday, 13<sup>th</sup>. 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>, who were in amongst them, and had possession of every pass before they were 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."<sup>604</sup>

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 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. Huick is the only Person who was killed Dead on the Spot.

"My Militia are so alarmed [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 Rebels will send down Lt. Adamson and our wounded men Tomorrow

"By what I can Learn the only [Bait?] which Led Huick to Camp at this cursed unlucky spot was an [oat?] field that was near. But by every account the Position was very unfavourable."<sup>605</sup>

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 Rebels 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 should [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.

"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 Rebels [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. McGrigor 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."<sup>606</sup>

13 July (also given as the 12<sup>th</sup>). [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. Casualties were apparently slight, but the loyalists were routed. Earlier, Thomas'

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<sup>604</sup> James Collins, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier*, Reprint--Ayer Company Publishers, North Stratford, N.H., 1989.

<sup>605</sup> PRO. 30/11/2/277-278.

<sup>606</sup> PRO. 30/11/2/285-286.

father, John Sr., had taken protection, and was described as too advanced in age to take part in the resistance.<sup>607</sup>

Joseph Johnson: "About half an hour before day, a woman<sup>608</sup> came in full gallop to one of the videts [sic], 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."<sup>609</sup>

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 loyalists found out the location of a sleeping loyalist force of 40 militia. With 21 of his party, Jones surprised the camp, killing 1, wounding 3, and taking 32 prisoners (including the three wounded) who were paroled. Jones confiscated the loyalist's best horses and guns; damaging those weapons he could not take. The next day (14<sup>th</sup>), he united with Col. Charles McDowell's 300 men at Earle's Ford on the east side of the North Pacelot River.<sup>610</sup>

13 July. Allaire: "Thursday, 13<sup>th</sup>...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."

14 July. Allaire: "Friday, 14<sup>th</sup>. 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 [i.e. the Kings 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."<sup>611</sup>

15 July (also given as 14 or 16 July) [skirmish] Earle's Ford, also McDowell's Camp (Polk County, N.C.) Col. John Jones following his Gowen's Old Fort attack, retreated east and joined, Col. Charles McDowell, who had 300 to 400 men in a camp on the North Pacelot River (most likely on the south bank.) 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 Mills -- all mounted and seeking revenge for Gowen's Old Fort (see 13 July) -- caught up at night with Jones near 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, Col. Andrew Hampton<sup>612</sup> of McDowell's force; till finally the rest of McDowell's force joined in. Dunlop was subsequently chased back to Prince's Fort. Loyalist losses were two killed, 2 wounded, and one captured.<sup>613</sup>

Allaire: "Saturday, 15<sup>th</sup>...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

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<sup>607</sup> SJM, JTR pp. 516-518, DKM p.74, RBG p. 75, BRG 112, MSC p. 746.

<sup>608</sup> 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.

<sup>609</sup> JTR pp. 517-518.

<sup>610</sup> DKM p. 79-80, RBG p. 234.

<sup>611</sup> COC p. 13-14.

<sup>612</sup> Andrew Hampton was from North Carolina, and not apparently related to Wade, Richard or Henry Hampton -- at least not directly.

<sup>613</sup> DKM p. 79-80, RBG p. 234.

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. 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.

"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."<sup>614</sup>

*Mid July.* Col. Abraham Buford, and what was left of his Virginia Continentals, made a temporarily return to Virginia due to lack of clothing, equipment and supplies -- despite de Kalb's protest. Gates, at Hillsborough, then summoned Buford back. Notwithstanding, the latter was not able to return south until after the battle at Camden.

Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote to Buford on 20 July 1780: "In a Letter from Baron de Kalb of the 16<sup>th</sup> 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."

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), Maj. James Dunlop retreated to his base at Prince's Fort, seven miles northwest of present day Spartanburg. Before day break the next morning (the 16<sup>th</sup>) Jones' remaining men under Freeman, and some of McDowell's men under Captain Edward Hampton, all mounted and numbering 52, went in pursuit of Dunlop and in two hours caught up with him not far from Princes Fort. 8 of Dunlop's men were killed on the first fire, following which his force was routed, and a number more killed and wounded. This, of course, is the American version of what happened, such that it is well to bear in mind in other like instances that it is more than likely the loyalists would have given a different or somewhat different account of exactly what took place.<sup>615</sup>

17 July. In a letter to de Kalb of this date, Sumter reported that the British troops occupying posts outside Charlestown numbered 3,482.<sup>616</sup>

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

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<sup>614</sup> SJM

<sup>615</sup> DKM pp. 81-83, RBG p. 234.

<sup>616</sup> BGC p. 62.

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 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."<sup>617</sup>

20 July. Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote Lieut. Col. Anthony White (at Richmond, VA.), of White's 1<sup>st</sup> 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 Petersburg, and march the whole from thence to Halifax [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 Halifax 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 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."

On July 22<sup>nd</sup>, Maj. Richard Call, who had become William Washington's cavalry recruiter wrote Gates saying that it would take Washington and White six weeks before they could bring a respectable force of cavalry to the field.<sup>618</sup>

20 July. [ambush] Flat Rock. (Kershaw County, S.C.) Brig. Gen. Rutherford marched down the Yadkin, and sent Maj. William Richardson Davie to a position opposite Hanging Rock and near the South Carolina border to prevent the loyalists from foraging in the Waxhaws area. 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, and some Mecklenburg militia under Lieut. Col. Heaggins [or Haggins, Huggins], 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 who were as a result driven into the British line at Hanging Rock. At the time, the British occupying 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 20<sup>th</sup>, 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 21<sup>st</sup>, 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.<sup>619</sup>

21 July. [skirmish] Colson's Mill, also Colston's Mill,<sup>620</sup> 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 not far from the confluence

<sup>617</sup> GAH pp. 285-286.

<sup>618</sup> GAH pp. 286-287, HWW p. 65.

<sup>619</sup> DRS pp. 8-10, RBG p. 235.

<sup>620</sup> The correct name is Colston's, but the engagement is known more familiarly as "Colson's."

of Rocky and Peedee Rivers. The loyalist lost 3 killed 4 or 5 wounded, and 10 captured. Davidson had two wounded, including himself. Davidson subsequently reunited with Rutherford, and the latter commenced his march to join Gates.<sup>621</sup>

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."

21 July. Allaire: "Friday, 21<sup>st</sup>. 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 22<sup>nd</sup>, Davie's force 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, 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. Unable to regroup and fight back, Davie 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 skirmish 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.<sup>622</sup>

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 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."<sup>623</sup>

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."<sup>624</sup>

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 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., under Maj. Archibald McArthur, which had hitherto occupied Cheraw, had become so "exceedingly Sickly" that they removed to the east branch of Lynch's Creek. By this time, Gates was still on Deep River and Rutherford advanced no further than Rocky River (of the Peedee).<sup>625</sup>

25 July. Gates took command of the army from de Kalb at or Cox's (i.e. Wilcox's) Mill on Deep River. A few days before de Kalb had been joined by Armand's Legion with about 60 infantry and 60 cavalry.<sup>626</sup>

25 July. Allaire: "Tuesday, 25<sup>th</sup>. Col. Balfour with the Light Infantry got in motion at two o'clock in the morning, and marched towards Ninety Six."<sup>627</sup>

25 July. Col. Charles McDowell camped at Cherokee Ford on the Broad River sent 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

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<sup>621</sup> LMS p. 586, GAM vol. I, p. 189.

<sup>622</sup> DRS pp. 8-10, RBG p. 235.

<sup>623</sup> CDI.

<sup>624</sup> GAH p. 290.

<sup>625</sup> CSR vol. XV pp. 258-262.

<sup>626</sup> WNA, RNC p. 241.

<sup>627</sup> BRG p. 138.

regiment of his men (mounted) under Major Charles Robertson; these then joined McDowell. A few days after Robertson's arrival in McDowell's camp, Shelby (who had to travel a greater distance) joined them with another 250 mounted riflemen.<sup>628</sup>

*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 their 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 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. Despite their efforts at concealment, these latter were captured by the British shortly afterward. Hammond and the 32 that remained then maneuvered 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. Hammond's group then went on, and as they passed the Saluda and Bush Rivers met up with a detachment of 70 to 80 of Clark's men under Capt. Edward Hampton. The two groups then united with Clark's main body, bringing Clark's force to a total of over 200 men. Clark, not long afterwards, joined his force to Col. Charles McDowell's at Cherokee Ford.<sup>629</sup>

*Mid to Late July.* The larger part of a formerly whig but now "loyal" militia regiment, organized between the Enoree and Tyger Rivers, and nominally commanded by a Col. Mathew Floyd, once armed and accoutered were marched by their second in command, "one [Lieut. Col. John] Lisle (or Lyles)<sup>630</sup> off to join Col. Andrew Neal (the unit's previous whig commander) who was with Sumter in the Catawba. They also took with them new arms and supplies, and subsequently participated under Neal at Rocky Mount on 30 July. The incident, understandably embarrassing to the British, was reported by Cornwallis in a letter to Clinton of 6 August 1780.<sup>631</sup>

26 July (also possibly 25 July or 1 August). [skirmish] Hunt's Bluff, also Mars Bluff (Darlington and Marlboro counties, S.C.) Because of the new threat from Gates' army, in late July the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., which had been stationed at Cheraws, was ordered to withdraw. They subsequently took up a position on the east branch of Lynches Creek (modern Lynches River.) Maj. Archibald McArthur, commanding the 71<sup>st</sup>, departed with his men on the 24<sup>th</sup> leaving 100-106 sick of the 71<sup>st</sup>, under Lord Nairne, at Cheraws to the care of Col. Robert Mills<sup>632</sup> and some "loyalist" militia; who were to escort the invalids to Georgetown. 2 days later these same "loyalists" (not counting 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 loyalist having escaped. 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 he forced them to surrender. In a subsequent encounter, Thomas captured a supply detachment on its way up the Peedee River from Georgetown.<sup>633</sup> Cornwallis wrote to Germain on 20 August 1780: "Our Cheraw Militia, having seized & bound their field officers, attacked & took some boats on the 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."

27 July. After first gathering all available men at Coxe's Mill on the Deep River, Gates' army marched through the barrens on his way towards Mask's ferry on the Peedee River.<sup>634</sup>

Otho Williams: "All were in motion, however, early in the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>628</sup> DKM p. 84.

<sup>629</sup> DKM p. 85, John A. Chapman's *A History of Edgefield County, S.C.*

<sup>630</sup> Or else possibly "James," with his last name also being spelled "Liles," as well as "Lyles" and "Lisle." *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 448-449; *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, p. 149. "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]," Cornwallis to Clinton, Aug. 6, CSR vol. XV pp. 258-262.

<sup>631</sup> TCS p. 93, SAW p. 223.

<sup>632</sup> Ripley says William Henry Mills.

<sup>633</sup> RSC pp. 139-130, TCS pp. 127-128, BSF pp. 34-35, RBG pp. 80-81.

<sup>634</sup> WNA.

might remain out of his way. On the other hand, the colonel represented that a route about north west would cross the Pee Dee 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 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 Pee Dee 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."<sup>635</sup> 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 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."<sup>636</sup>

30 July. [surrender] Fort Anderson, also Thicketty Fort. (Spartanburg County, S.C.) Whig militia under Colonel Charles McDowell, Col. Andrew 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 (or 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 returned to their camp at Cherokee Ford.<sup>637</sup> 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."<sup>638</sup>

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<sup>639</sup>-- The American detachment consisted of six hundred men who appeared before the British garrison & instantly surrounded it on the morning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> July, 1780,<sup>640</sup> just at day light. Capt. William Cocke,<sup>641</sup> 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 abetees [abatis] well constructed around it. Our men took one hundred prisoners of the enemy & two hundred stand of

<sup>635</sup> WNA.

<sup>636</sup> GAH p. 292.

<sup>637</sup> DKM p. 88.

<sup>638</sup> CDI.

<sup>639</sup> 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."

<sup>640</sup> 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."

<sup>641</sup> William T. Graves: "William Cocke (1748-1828), one of the officers in Sevier's regiment."



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.”<sup>642</sup>

Saye (drawing 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.

“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.”<sup>643</sup>

29 July. Gates, at “Camp Kimborough,” to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: “Your favor of the 26<sup>th</sup> from Moor’s Ferry I received the 27<sup>th</sup> in the evening at Spinks’s 12 Miles West of Deep River. - The 28<sup>th</sup> I marchd [sic] to Cottons 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 as I conceive you must be finding from your Letter to General de Kalb dated 23d July last (which however did not receive until the 25<sup>th</sup> 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 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment arrived in my Camp at Cottons; 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. This supply is also extended to the Troops here, or I know not how we should 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.”<sup>644</sup>

30 July. Cornwallis, at Charlestown, to Maj. James Wemyss, at Georgetown: “I received this morning your Letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>642</sup> SRW.

<sup>643</sup> SJM.

<sup>644</sup> GAH pp. 292-293.

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 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 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, & 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. 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."<sup>645</sup>

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, Neal, and Irwin, with their combined force of about 500-600 men,<sup>646</sup> would assault Rocky Mount on the west side of the Wateree. Davie, meanwhile, with about 40 militia cavalry and mounted infantry, was to make a diversionary attack on Hanging Rock about fifteen miles eastward.

Tarleton speaks of the fortifications at Rocky Mount consisted of two log houses and a loop hole building surround by a "strong" abbatiss; on an elevation which was clear all around. Bass, on the other hand, 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 about 6 am, and lasted some eight hours. Sumter's men made a few forays to assail the position and kept up a heavy fire. But without cannon to dislodge them little could be effected against the loyalists.<sup>647</sup> The whigs tried setting 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 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 Neal, considered a leader of great promise, and who was killed during one of the assaults. Historian Henry Carrington gives Sumter's losses thirteen men killed or wounded. Tarleton gives British losses as 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<sup>648</sup> returning to camp. 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 loyalists surrounded were, as Davie 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 retreat without loss.<sup>649</sup>

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<sup>645</sup> PRO. 30/11/78/61-64.

<sup>646</sup> 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. 6<sup>th</sup> speaks of 1,200. TCS pp. 93-93, CSR vol. XV pp. 258-262, MSC p. 746.

<sup>647</sup> Col. William Hil'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.

<sup>648</sup> Probably numbering 120 Ripley estimates.

<sup>649</sup> RSC p. 136, TCS pp. 93-94, LMS p. 176, DRS p. 11-12, HMS p. 12-13, LFB vol. II, pp. 453-454, CBA p. 507, MSC p. 746, FWI pp. 172-173, WAR vol. II, p. 709, BGC pp. 63-67, RBG p. 64.

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."<sup>650</sup>

Richard Winn: "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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 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, 31<sup>st</sup> 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 abbatis [sic] and sustained a heavy fire for some time from the blockhouse, which was returned. Here Col. Neil was killed, Col. Winn, being in a clear old field and finding his men much exposed, ordered a retirement for a small distance. In the meantime, Cols. Bratton, Lacey and 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.

"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."<sup>651</sup>

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] Sumpters 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,

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<sup>650</sup> RSC pp. 136-137, SAW pp. 224-225, TCS p. 94.

<sup>651</sup> WNO, part I, pp. 207-210.

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.”

*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 Gates' camp. In an oft quoted description, 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 14<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>652</sup>

30 July. Gates, at “Camp Kimborough,” 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 Desert [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.”<sup>653</sup>

The same day from Kimborough, Gates wrote Maj. Gen. Caswell: “I am honored by the Receipt of yours by Genl 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 Andersons 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.”<sup>654</sup>

31 July. Maj. James Wemyss, at Georgetown to Cornwallis: “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 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> from hence, & shall direct the Commanding Officer to remain at Nelson's Ferry, on this Side 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.”<sup>655</sup>

*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 men.<sup>656</sup>

*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 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., were sick in the town at time of the battle. Earlier in August, Maj. James Weymss, commanding the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt., reported from Georgetown that “within three days men had died of putrid fevers. 4 sgts and 28 men are now ill.”<sup>657</sup>

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<sup>652</sup> WNA, JFM ch. 3, BSF pp. 36-37, 40.

<sup>653</sup> GAH pp. 294.

<sup>654</sup> GAH p. 295.

<sup>655</sup> PRO. 30/11/78/61-64.

<sup>656</sup> BSF pp. 35-36, 38.

<sup>657</sup> WCO p. 245, Cornwallis to Balfour, 13 Sept. 1780, PRO. 30/11/80, ff. 20-21, and PRO. 30/11/63, ff. 17-18.

## 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. In Virginia, this included Botetourt, Bedford, Henry, Montgomery, Washington, Pittsylvania counties, and possibly Culpepper as well. After Ramsour's Mill and King's Mountain most of this sympathy 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., who, shall we say, 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], 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, led the fight against the Tories, with the aid of Holston and Watauga leaders. In mid July, Preston 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 8<sup>th</sup>, Col. Walter Crockett<sup>658</sup> wrote to Preston saying, in response to a murder and some horse stealing, he was marching with 250 men against the Tories there. 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, which were of critical importance to the Continental army's munitions supplies. There being many loyalist in his own county, or at least a reluctance there to assist the whigs, Preston sent Col. William Campbell to put down the threat, which Campbell managed successfully to do.<sup>659</sup>

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..."<sup>660</sup> See also 1 September.

Col. William Preston wrote to Col. William Campbell on 21 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."<sup>661</sup>

*August.* Sometime in this month, Col Abel Kolb commanded a group of South Carolina militia in the Long Bluff area on the Upper Peedee River, primarily for defense against local "Tories."

1 August. Richard Winn: "August 1<sup>st</sup>, 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."<sup>662</sup>

2 August. Richard Winn: "On Tuesday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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

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<sup>658</sup> 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, paraphrased here and possibly as well Hugh Crocket (who later became conspicuous in the Guilford Court House campaign), more than likely were John's cousins or uncles.

<sup>659</sup> GDH vol. II, p. 137, DKM p. 171. For more indepth 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.)

<sup>660</sup> DKM p. 387-388.

<sup>661</sup> GDH vol. II, p. 137.

<sup>662</sup> WNO, part I, p.209.

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, stripped [sic] naked and immediately hung up by the side of the road. Col. Winn, finding the enemy on retreat back to the Mount, pursued [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."<sup>663</sup>

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 entered South Carolina sometime probably in June (i.e. ostensibly after the debacle at Waxhaws in late May) as a reinforcement intended for Charlestown. But arriving after 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 Gates for a short while, by this time had taken his men to Cross Creek to protect Gates against the loyalists coming out of that area. Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, with the Virginia militia, was on his way to add his men to Gates' army, but was halted 50 miles in Gates' rear at Buffalo Creek for lack of provisions, while Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell continued at his position south of Gates and the Continentals.<sup>664</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> 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 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."<sup>666</sup>

Kirkwood: "Augst. 3<sup>rd</sup>. Marched to Thompson's Creek The line at this place divides North & South Carolina...18 [miles]."<sup>667</sup>

4 August. Gates issued a proclamation, exhorting support for the American cause, denouncing British policy of forcing allegiance to the Crown on American citizens, and threatening punishments for those found guilty of plundering.<sup>668</sup>

5 August. Otho Williams: "On the 5<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>669</sup>

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 5<sup>th</sup>, 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, Sumter and Davie reunited at Land's Ford on the Catawba River in preparation and consultation for a prospective attack on Carden's position.<sup>670</sup>

5 August. Tarleton, at Lenud's ferry, to Cornwallis: "I have the Honor to inform you of my reaching this Place this Morn[ing]. The incessant Rains having raised the Water & destroyed the small Bridges rendered the Journey I think tedious --

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<sup>663</sup> WNO, part I, pp.209-210.

<sup>664</sup> WNA

<sup>665</sup> Rutherford was with Caswell's army by this time.

<sup>666</sup> GAH pp. 295-296.

<sup>667</sup> KJO p. 10.

<sup>668</sup> TCS p. 140.

<sup>669</sup> WNA.

<sup>670</sup> DRS p. 13, *History of the Prince of Wales American Regiment*, Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies.

"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."<sup>671</sup>

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, 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 71<sup>st</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup>, 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, 71<sup>st</sup>, Volunteers of Ireland, Hamilton's, Harrison's new raised Legion Cavalry & Infantry, & North Carolina Refugees [North Carolina Volunteers]. I intend to leave on the Frontiers from Pedee 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, & some of the Militia of the Camden district, who are commanded by Colonel. 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. Allen's Corps, and for a time the Florida Rangers [i.e. Kings 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] Wemyss[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."<sup>672</sup>

6 August. [battle] HANGING ROCK (Kershaw-Lancaster County border, S.C.) After making plans and arrangements on the 5<sup>th</sup>, 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 (mostly Mecklenburg) militia under Col. Robert

<sup>671</sup> PRO. 30/11/63/19-21.

<sup>672</sup> CSR vol. XV pp. 258-262.

Irwin, which included some 80 cavalry and mounted militia<sup>673</sup> under Maj. William Richardson Davie, moved to attack the British post at Hanging Rock. According to Richard Winn, Davie's men were under his command though Davie in his own record of the battle makes no indication of this. Sumter did not yet have formal rank as Brigadier General, but was selected the senior officer among the group. Hanging Rock, 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,<sup>674</sup> a detachment of the King's Carolina 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 main by a creek with a deep ravine. Sumter decided on a plan of attack 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 consequent on dismounting under fire and the certainty of losing the suddenness and certainty of attack." He was, however, over ruled.

The American and British versions differ 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. McCulloch himself was killed, which possibly accounts for their flight. The Prince of Wales Regt. also came under heavy fire and suffered very severe losses, 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.<sup>675</sup> According to another version, 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,<sup>676</sup> 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, after arraying themselves to appear as if greater in number than they actually were, successfully charged Sumter's militia. Although initially 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, out of ammunition, and finding Rousselet's position now 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 lost 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 Carolina 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 casualties. Boatner gives Carden's losses 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 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., under Major Mekan, from Rugeley's to Hanging rock. This allowed 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.<sup>677</sup>

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 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 manœuvre [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

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<sup>673</sup> William Hill's figure. HMS pp. 12-13.

<sup>674</sup> The Royal North Carolina Regt. probably arrived with Carden on the 6<sup>th</sup>. How and when the detachment of King's Carolina Rangers came to Hanging Rock remains to be determined (at least by this writer), but they may have accompanied Carden. Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, their head, was not present.

<sup>675</sup> 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.

<sup>676</sup> Tarleton's number. Davie speaks of them as cavalry, so some of these may have been present also.

<sup>677</sup> TCS pp. 95, 100, MST p. 26, HRS pp. 28-30, DRS pp. 13-16, LMS pp.178, 188, HMS pp. 12-13, FWI pp. 172-173, WAR vol. II, 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.



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 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; 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."<sup>678</sup>

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 [Kenneth] McCulloch [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."<sup>679</sup>

Allaire: "Thursday, 10<sup>th</sup>...By the express heard that Sumter had attacked Hanging Rock the 6<sup>th</sup> instant. The North Carolinians were first attacked; they gave way. Brown's corps 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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 Brown's regiment 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] McCulloch, who command the legion infantry with so much distinction, was killed, with two other officers, and twenty men: Upwards of thirty of the same

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<sup>678</sup> DRS pp. 14-15.

<sup>679</sup> LMS p. 178.

corps were wounded. The detachment of Colonel Brown's regiment [King's Rangers] 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."<sup>680</sup>

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 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."<sup>681</sup>

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 McCulloch, 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."<sup>682</sup>

Richard Winn: "On Saturday the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, crossed at Landsford, Catawba River; marched all night; about two hours of daylight halted for the coming of two spies [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 tremendous [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<sup>683</sup> 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

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<sup>680</sup> TCS pp. 94-96.

<sup>681</sup> MST p. 26.

<sup>682</sup> HRS pp. 28-30.

<sup>683</sup> Ancestor of the "rebel yell," and in turn probably derived from an Indian battle cry.

commenced firing [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 firing [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 firing 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 firing 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 wound, 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 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 8<sup>th</sup> for each to bury their dead and take off the wounded."<sup>684</sup>

6 August. Gates, at the "West Side [of] Mask's Ferry," 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 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."<sup>685</sup>

Harrington, with his North Carolina militia, had left Gates a few days before, and was probably at Cross Creek by this time. Yet as per Gates instructions he did subsequently move to the Cheraw District. Thereafter he operated primarily in upper Peedee and Cheraw areas, and for a period Marion looked to him as superior when not in direct consultation with Gates. Initially Harrington kept headquarters near Cheraw, and later at Haley's Ferry and Cross Creek. He continued to command in this area until about mid-December. 1780, when he moved up river and shortly thereafter commanded at Grassy Creek on the Roanoke River.

7 August. Gates' army united 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."<sup>686</sup>

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 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."<sup>687</sup>

<sup>684</sup> WNO, part I, pp. 210-212.

<sup>685</sup> GAH p. 299.

<sup>686</sup> WNA, RNC p. 242.

<sup>687</sup> GAH pp.299-300. In light of later events there, Gates proposal to seize Georgetown with militia sounds very 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 Pedée and the Santée 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."

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 form'd [sic] a junction with Major Genl [Richard] Caswell whose numerous Division is well found well arm'd [sic] and accounted [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."<sup>688</sup>

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."<sup>689</sup>

8 August. [battle] Second Cedar Spring, also Wofford's Iron Works, Buffington, Green's Spring, the Peach Orchard. (Spartanburg County S.C.) Col. Charles McDowell was camped at Cherokee Ford with not more than a thousand men (according to Draper), and had sent out an advance force of an estimated 600 mounted men 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, on Lawson's Fork of the Pacelot. On the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 the main force however, Clark, Shelby and Graham's men were forced to make a hasty retreat. Ferguson then pursued them some four or five miles. But after the backcountry men had posted themselves on some high ground called, he 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. However, 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 took any. Draper presents and examines the various versions of the battle at considerable length in his *Kings 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.<sup>690</sup>

Allaire: "Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup>. 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 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,

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<sup>688</sup> GAH p. 300.

<sup>689</sup> 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, to be harassing the enemy's rear.

<sup>690</sup> HMP, SJM, DKM p. 92-102, RBG p. 76, BRG p. 139.

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 accidentally [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 re take, 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 Mc Junkin, 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."<sup>691</sup>

Chesney: "On the 9<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>692</sup>

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 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."<sup>693</sup>

8 August. Major James Wemyss left Georgetown with a mounted detachment of the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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. He was 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 11<sup>th</sup>: "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."<sup>694</sup>

9 August. Rawdon advanced to a position on the west branch of Big Lynch's Creek, fourteen miles from Camden. With him were the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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 Lynch's creek. A guide led Stewart to the outpost of Gates' army where Stewart learned his mistake in just the nick of time with Armand's cavalry and Porterfield pursuing him till he reached Rawdon at Lynch's. Turnbull and the force at Rocky Mount made up of the New York Volunteers were also subsequently removed to Camden.<sup>695</sup>

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<sup>691</sup> S.J.M.

<sup>692</sup> C.D.I.

<sup>693</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 424.

<sup>694</sup> BSF p. 38.

<sup>695</sup> Cornwallis to German, 21 August, 1780, TCS pp. 99-100, 128, SAW vol. II, pp. 204-205, BSF p. 38.

Moultrie: "Lord Rawdon on the report of the American army [DeKalb] 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."<sup>696</sup>

Rawdon, in a letter to Colonel McMahon, Donington, written on 19 Jan. 1801: "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."<sup>697</sup>

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. Tarleton at this time, in Charlestown, had been suffering from a fever; then having recovered, he collected all the dragoons he could find and 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 6<sup>th</sup>. Along the way, near the Black River, he deceived some whig militia under an officer named Bradley into thinking he was a rebel; very much in a manner that Henry Lee later fooled Pyle (see 25 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, he went to reinforce Rawdon on 10 August at Lynches Creek (also spoken of as Lynches River.) Bass records that Tarleton passed through the 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 the Kingtree (Francis Marion's country) as a means of connecting with Camden unless the moving force of theirs in question was specifically designated for action in the area.<sup>698</sup>

10 August. On the evening of the 10<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis left Charlestown to take command of the army in the field at Camden.<sup>699</sup>

10 August. Allaire: "Thursday, 10<sup>th</sup>. 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. Express arrived from Col. [George] Turnbull [of the New York Volunteers] at Rocky Mount, with orders to join him..."

11 August. On the approach of Gates, Rawdon left his position on Little Lynches Creek and moved speedily toward Camden.<sup>700</sup>

11 August. Allaire: "Friday 11<sup>th</sup>. [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."

12 August. Cornwallis stopped at Nelson's Ferry, on his way to Camden, and met with Maj. Wemyss there whose "small" detachment of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment then followed Cornwallis to Camden.<sup>701</sup>

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<sup>696</sup> MMS p. 217.

<sup>697</sup> ACG pp. 193-194.

<sup>698</sup> TCS p. 101, BSF p. 37-38.

<sup>699</sup> SAW vol. II, p. 205.

<sup>700</sup> WNA.

<sup>701</sup> BSF p. 39.

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. [skirmish] Brown's Creek, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, p. 246.

12 August. Allaire: "Saturday, 12<sup>th</sup>. 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. "

Chesney: Our next route [August 12] was down towards the Fish Dam Ford on Broad River, where there was a fight near the mouth of Brown's Creek with Neale's<sup>702</sup> Militia where we, made many prisoners amongst the rest Esaw Smith; who had taken me so recently; after this we crossed that River and formed a junction with the troops under the command of Col. Turnbull and the Militia under Col. [John] Phillips and having received authentic accounts that Sumter had cut off our retreat to Lord Cornwallis's Army at Camden, we had it in contemplation to cross Broad River and retreat to Charles Town. At this time the half-way men (as those not hearty in the cause were called) left us; we then marched to the Rebel Col. Winns and encamped there waiting for more authentic accounts."<sup>703</sup>

13 August. Allaire: "Sunday, 13<sup>th</sup>. 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.<sup>704</sup>

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 severe punishments.<sup>705</sup>

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. By August 13<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>706</sup>

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 received reinforcements, under Lieut. Col. Thomas Woolford, which Gates had dispatched on August 13<sup>th</sup>.

15 August. Allaire: "Tuesday, 15<sup>th</sup>. 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. [skirmish] Cary's Fort, also Carey's Fort. (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 captured Ft. Cary, a redoubt on the west bank of the Wateree Ferry, commanded by Col. James Cary, a South Carolina loyalist. In the same operation, Col.

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<sup>702</sup> Col. Andrew Neal had been killed at Rocky Mount on 30 June.

<sup>703</sup> CDI.

<sup>704</sup> Cornwallis to Germain, 12 August, 1780, TCS p. 103.

<sup>705</sup> DKM pp. 142-143.

<sup>706</sup> KJO p. 11, WNA, CBA p. 511, BGC p. 78.



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 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, states that Taylor *both* surprised the fort and captured the convoy.<sup>707</sup> From the Wateree Ferry on the same day, Sumter wrote Gates: "I have just time to inform you, that early this morning I took possession of all the passways [sic] over the Wateree river, from Elkins' ford to Mr. Whitear's ferry, five miles below Camden. The enemy had guards at many different places upon the river, all of which were evacuated last night or this morning, and the guards ordered into Camden, except those at Wateree ferry, which was continued on both sides of the river, of which the guard upon the west side was surprised by a party of my men, who killed seven, and took about thirty prisoners, among which was Colonel [James] Cary, the commander, together with thirty-eight waggons, loaded with corn, rum, &c. also a number of horses: The boats are all upon the opposite side of the river; the ground upon this side is very bad; the enemy keep up a constant fire, but I have received no damage yet. I intend to keep possession if I can, until I am honoured with your excellency's farther command. I should not have been so precipitate in my movements, but foresaw the excessive disadvantage that would result from their having the communication open, whereby they were constantly receiving both men and provisions...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."

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.<sup>708</sup> In the evening he left Rugeley's and advanced toward Camden, not aware that Cornwallis was immediately advancing toward him.<sup>709</sup> His orderly book entry for the day reads as follows:

"CAMP CLERMONT,

"15<sup>th</sup> 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 Masters 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 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 Porterfields 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.<sup>710</sup> 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 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

<sup>707</sup> WNA, JLG vol. I, p, 298, BGC 79-80, RBG p. 96.

<sup>708</sup> The order, however, for reasons unknown, was not carried out.

<sup>709</sup> WNA, JLG vol. I, p. 301.

<sup>710</sup> These apparently were N.C. light infantry under Maj. John Armstrong.

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.”<sup>711</sup>

15-16 August. [skirmish] Saunder’s Creek, also Gum Swamp (Kershaw County, S.C.) At 10 pm, Cornwallis marched out of Camden on the road toward Rugeley’s with the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 71<sup>st</sup> 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 advancing in the torrid 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 from the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt. According to Stedman the number of sick in Camden had numbered 800; which total also acted as the garrison there under McArthur. A part of the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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,<sup>712</sup> 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, Gates’ advance troops withdrew, and the two armies then made preparations for battle on the morrow.<sup>713</sup>

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.”<sup>714</sup>

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.”<sup>715</sup>

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.”<sup>716</sup>

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 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.”<sup>717</sup>

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<sup>711</sup> GAH pp. 319-20.

<sup>712</sup> 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.

<sup>713</sup> TCS p. 104, SAW pp. 205-208, WNA, LMS p. 180, FWI p. 173.

<sup>714</sup> LMS p. 180.

<sup>715</sup> TCS p. 104.

<sup>716</sup> SAW vol. II, pp. 207-208.

<sup>717</sup> From *John Robert Shaw: An Autobiography of Thirty Years, 1777-1807*, edited by Oressa Teagarden. Chapter 2, pp. 30-32.

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. As American skirmishers moved forward, Webster advanced to attack. In a mere matter of minutes, Cornwallis managed to effectively route Gates' entire left flank, the vast bulk of which was formed from these troops. 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 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, and then attacked 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.

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.),<sup>718</sup> and no doubt later served as inspiration to Cornwallis just prior to the battle at Guilford Court House (15 March 1781.) Camden also had its more than usual dark side. 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 this way is difficult to ascertain. Sometime in the evening, Cornwallis ordered Turnbull, with the New York Volunteers and Ferguson's corps, who were at Little River, to move instantly after Sumter.<sup>719</sup> 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.<sup>720</sup>

#### BRITISH FORCES AT CAMDEN<sup>721</sup>

Key: Rank and file/Officers, with NCOs, supernumeraries, musicians or full total effectives. Otherwise troop strength given is Rank and File total.

Lt. 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*

71<sup>st</sup> Regt., Lieut. Col. Alexander McDonald

1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 114/144, Lieut. Archibald Campbell

2d Battalion, 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 94/110

##### \* *Rawdon's Division*

Royal North Carolina regiment: 233/267, Lieut. Col. John Hamilton

Volunteers of Ireland: 253/303, Col. Lord Francis 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 the 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 majors, 31 captains, 46 lieutenants, 23 ensigns, 6 adjutants, 2 quarter masters, 3 surgeons, 3 mates, 133 serjeants, 40 drummers, 1944 rank and file.

<sup>718</sup> Drowning Creek is now called Lumber River.

<sup>719</sup> Turnbull may have already separated from Ferguson and started his move toward Camden where he soon arrived.

<sup>720</sup> Cornwallis to Germain 9 October 1781, RSC pp. 145-152, TCS pp. 103-110, 134, SAW pp. 226-234, RHA II, ch. XIX p. 494, LMS pp. 179-186, LFB vol. II pp. 465-469, JLG vol. I, pp. 296-302, FWI pp. 173-176, WAR vol. II, pp. 722-730, BGD pp. 95-100, DRR pp. 193-194, 215-216, SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 3-4.

<sup>721</sup> TCS p. 136-137.

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  
\* *1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Brigade* (Consisting of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiments)  
1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Peter Adams  
3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Nathaniel Ramsey  
5<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regt., Col. William Richardson  
7<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regt., Col. John Gunby

Total for the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Brigade: 300-400 Rank and File

Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist  
\* *2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Brigade* (Consisting of the Delaware Regt. and the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regiments)  
Delaware Regt., Lieut. Col. David (Joseph) Vaughan  
2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regt, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard  
4<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regt., Col. Josiah Carvel Hall  
6<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford<sup>722</sup>

Total for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland: 300-400 Rank and File

TOTAL for the combined 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Brigade: 1,052/781

\* N.C. Light Infantry, Maj. John Armstrong<sup>723</sup>

\* Armand's Legion: 60 cavalry, 60 infantry, Col. Charles Armand

\* 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery [Virginia]: 100, Capt. Anthony Singleton,<sup>724</sup> 7 six-pounders.

\* Virginia State Troops,  
Virginia Garrison regiment [acting as light infantry]: 100, Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield  
Virginia State Cavalry Regiment, Maj. John Nelson<sup>725</sup>  
Virginia State Artillery, Lieut. Col. Elias Edmonds

#### MILITIA<sup>726</sup>

##### 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, Lunenburg, Goochland, Chesterfield, Caroline, Northumberland, Montgomery, Culpepper.

One troop of South Carolina volunteer mounted infantry: 70, Maj. Thomas Pinckney

TOTAL AMERICAN STRENGTH: 4,100/3,052<sup>727</sup>

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<sup>722</sup> While one would think Col. Otho Williams, of the 6<sup>th</sup> Regt., would have commanded that unit at Camden, it seems to be understood among historians that he was acting as an aide to Gates instead. Fred Anderson Berg's remarks on the subject suggest that Ford commanded the 6<sup>th</sup> at Camden.

<sup>723</sup> See Gates' orders for 15 August.

<sup>724</sup> Col. Charles Harrison who would otherwise have commanded the artillery had broken a leg bone in consequence of a horse kicking him.

<sup>725</sup> FWV p. 853-854.

<sup>726</sup> These totals are approximations and are tentatively given as Rank and File.

According to Ramsay, Gates army prior to Camden was 3663, of which 900 were contl, infantry w/70 cavalry the rest militia.<sup>728</sup>

#### CASUALTIES 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.)<sup>729</sup>  
AMERICAN

Tarleton: Americans lost 2,070 men (70 officers and 2,000 rank and file.)<sup>730</sup>

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.<sup>731</sup>

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."<sup>732</sup>

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 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."<sup>733</sup>

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.<sup>734</sup>

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.<sup>735</sup>

American officer casualties of note:

Maj. Gen. de Kalb mortally wounded.

Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford wounded and taken prisoner.

Brig. Gen. Isaac Gregory wounded twice, taken prisoner.

Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield killed.

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":

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<sup>727</sup> WNA, LSY pp. 290-291, DRS p. 34.

<sup>728</sup> RSC p. 146.

<sup>729</sup> TCS pp. 137-139.

<sup>730</sup> TCS p. 109.

<sup>731</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 302

<sup>732</sup> RHA vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 492.

<sup>733</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 468n.

<sup>734</sup> 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.)

<sup>735</sup> RNC p. 244.

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.<sup>736</sup>

Tarleton summarizes the captures as 20 ammunition wagons, 150 carriages containing baggage, stores, camp equipage.<sup>737</sup>

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 until [sic] after the orders of the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 Rutherfords 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."<sup>738</sup>

Allaire: "Saturday, 19<sup>th</sup>. 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 16<sup>th</sup>; 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 wagoners 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..."<sup>739</sup>

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."<sup>740</sup>

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,

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<sup>736</sup> TCS p. 139-140.

<sup>737</sup> TCS p. 109.

<sup>738</sup> DRS p. 18.

<sup>739</sup> WNA.

<sup>740</sup> LMS p. 188.

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.”<sup>741</sup>

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.”<sup>742</sup>

16 August. After the action near Wofford’s Iron Works, Col. Charles McDowell moved his camp from Cherokee Ford on the Broad River to Smith’s Ford downriver. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Col. James Williams, with a South Carolina militia force with units Col. Thomas Brandon, Col. James Steen, and Major Joseph McJunkin, joined McDowell’s force at Smith’s Ford.<sup>743</sup> 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 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, it is very possible that Williams, ostensibly the highest ranking South Carolina leader in the fight, had equal if not greater command status in the expedition as Clark and Shelby.<sup>744</sup>

*Mid to late August.* Just following Camden, Col. John Fisher, commanding the Orangeburgh militia, established the small fort at Orangeburgh.<sup>745</sup>

17 August. Sumter made camp at Rocky Mount on his way north. Early in the morning this same day, Tarleton left Cornwallis to go in pursuit of him with 350 British Legion and one artillery piece. En route he picked up 20 Continental stragglers left over from the Camden battle. His scouts 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 18<sup>th</sup> and feeling himself safe camped there.<sup>746</sup>

17 August. Based on his credentials as a Continental officer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina Regiment, rather than any formal, state authority, Col. Francis Marion 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 Lenu’s Ferry and to prevent anyone crossing the river in that region.<sup>747</sup>

17 August. The principal part of British army fell back to Camden while Cornwallis with the light Infantry, the Legion infantry and the 23<sup>rd</sup> 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, etc., from Cross Creek - in short to engage in solid operations in North Carolina in support of them.”<sup>748</sup>

Cornwallis to German, on August 21<sup>st</sup> wrote: “On the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, 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

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<sup>741</sup> SAW vol. II, pp. 209-210, 214.

<sup>742</sup> GWC p. 142.

<sup>743</sup> 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.

<sup>744</sup> DKM p. 103-104.

<sup>745</sup> SFR p. 416n.

<sup>746</sup> TCS pp. 111-113, BGC p. 82.

<sup>747</sup> BSF p. 41.

<sup>748</sup> CAR p. 225.

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.”<sup>749</sup>

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. Many Catawba Indians, who were allied with the Americans, both against the British and the Cherokees, retreated with the American army to Charlotte.<sup>750</sup>

Otho Williams: “General Gates and [Richard] Caswell arrived at Charlotte on the night of the action. The ensuing morning presented nothing to them but an 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 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 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.”<sup>751</sup>

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 letter from Govr 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 Sumpters 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 30<sup>th</sup> repeats this falsehood.”<sup>752</sup>

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.”<sup>753</sup>

17 August. Sumter camped at Rocky Mount on his march north.

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 Militia [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 Genl Gates defea[t] [text missing] Camp [text missing] So. Carolina disappointed us -- we joined col. 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 dispersion [sic] of Gates army regularly discharged from service in Halifax County, North Carolina...”

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<sup>749</sup> COC p. 21.

<sup>750</sup> TCS p. 149, WNA.

<sup>751</sup> WNA.

<sup>752</sup> DRS p. 20.

<sup>753</sup> RSC p. 151.



William Rose of Granville County, N.C.:“(W)e staid here some little time -- thence we marched to Salisbery [Salisbury] -- thence down to Pedee 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 gathered additional men, Marion moved with his force to Lenuid's ferry to assist Horry in destroying boats.<sup>754</sup>

18 August (also given as 19 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<sup>755</sup>) mounted men (from Georgia, the over-mountain settlements, and South Carolina respectively) rode from Col. Charles McDowell's camp on Smith's Ford to attack the loyalists gathered at Musgrove's Mill on the Enoree River. On the morning of the 18<sup>th</sup>, some of Clark's, Shelby's, and Williams' men skirmished with an outlying party of the loyalists at Musgrove's Mill, 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 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 (also mentioned with the N.J. Volunteers at his engagement are lieutenants William Chew and John Champ), a company from 1<sup>st</sup> Btn. Delancey, under Captain James Kerr, plus 100 mounted men of Innes' own South Carolina Royalists. Some accounts speak of some New York Volunteers also being present, but this seems unlikely. The initial garrison at the mill was under the command of Maj. Thomas Fraser of the South Carolina Royalists. Present with Fraser also were Capt. Abraham DePeyster of Ferguson's corps, and Capt. David Fanning, and Col. Daniel Clary,<sup>756</sup> head of the loyalists of that region. Another hundred, apparently all or mostly loyalist militia, were out patrolling. As well, Maj. Patrick Ferguson with a sizable force was not many miles away to the east. The rebel's presence being known, a 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 attack the rebels immediately, who meanwhile had moved to a wooded ridge about a half mile from the mill. Innes left 100 of his men (apparently the recruits for Ferguson) to guard his camp, and with the remainder went to attack Shelby and Clark.<sup>757</sup>

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. The Provincials and loyalists attempted to take 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. Inman, however, was killed. 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 avoided the roads and moving as quickly as possible, were thus able to reach the safety 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. Ferguson pursued, but was unable to catch up with the partisans. The prisoners taken at Musgrove's were subsequently sent to Hillsborough. Clark with his men, later (see 20 August) separated from Williams and Shelby and returned to Georgia; secreting himself in the woods of Wilkes County; where he was supplied with food from friends. Shelby, meanwhile, returned to the Holston and Watauga 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 60 killed while taking 70 prisoners. 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.<sup>758</sup>

Allaire: “Saturday, 19<sup>th</sup>. 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

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<sup>754</sup> BSF p. 42.

<sup>755</sup> SJM, GJW p. 32.

<sup>756</sup> Clary's militia regiment represented the area north of the Saluda River, in present day Newberry county.

<sup>757</sup> Williams after battle report gives Am number as 200 marched on 17<sup>th</sup> August in order to attack 200 Tories, but on night of the 18<sup>th</sup> the Tories were reinforced by Innis 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.

<sup>758</sup> RSC p. 137-138, SRW, HMP, HMS pp. 24-27, FNA pp. 12-13, SJM, LFB vol. II, pp. 444-445, JTR p. 487-488, DKM p. 104-122, BGC pp. 76-77, RBG pp. 99-102, BRG p. 177, GJW pp. 32-36, SCAR vol. 3, no.1, pp 28-37.

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, 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."<sup>759</sup>

Samuel Hammond (who at the time was a captain with James Williams' force): "We had one captain--S. Inman-- a brave man and a good officer, with four men killed and eleven men wounded. The British lost Major Fraser, and eighty-five men killed; Captain Innis [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--were taken prisoners... Our [the whig's] numbers continued to increase from that time, and all seemed to have more confidence in themselves."<sup>760</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>761</sup> --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 bloody & 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 with a letter to him from Governor [Richard] Caswell informing of the defeat on the 16<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>759</sup> CDI.

<sup>760</sup> JTR p. 521-522.

<sup>761</sup> Innes actually commanded the South Carolina Royalists, though some New Jersey Volunteers were present at the battle.

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.”<sup>762</sup>

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 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. Innes [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. Innes 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

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<sup>762</sup> SRW.

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."<sup>763</sup>

18 Aug. [raid-battle] FISHING CREEK,<sup>764</sup> also Sumter's Defeat, Catawba Fords (Chester County, S.C.) On the night of 17<sup>th</sup>, Sumter, 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 18<sup>th</sup>, he retreated along the west bank of the Wateree; then halted about noon on the north side of Fishing Creek. Believing himself safe for the moment, he then made camp at Fishing Creek; 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 completely surprise his camp. An advanced American picket had fired his gun in alarm when Tarleton approached, but the shot was ignored, and thought to be only one of the idle militia shooting cattle. In consequence Tarleton with 100 Legion dragoons and 60 mounted Legion infantry rushed on the camp, 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. In addition, 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.<sup>765</sup> 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 force.<sup>766</sup>

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. 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 waggons, 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

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<sup>763</sup> SJM.

<sup>764</sup> The area of the fighting is understood today to be mostly underwater due to a reservoir project.

<sup>765</sup> 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.

<sup>766</sup> RSC p. 153, TCS pp. 112-115, SAW pp. 234-236, DRS pp. 18-21, WNO, part I, SJM, JLG vol. I, pp. 299-300, LFB vol. II, p. 454, JTR pp. 537-538, FWI pp. 177-178, WAR vol. II, pp. 733-734, BGD pp. 100-103, BGC pp. 82-85, BRG p. 175, SCAR vol. 2, no.8, pp. 20-23.

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."<sup>767</sup>

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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 'O'clock 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.

"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 Cambel [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 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."<sup>768</sup>

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

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<sup>767</sup> TCS pp. 113-115.

<sup>768</sup> DRS pp. 19-20.

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 [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 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. 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."<sup>769</sup>

Joseph Johnson: "On this occasion [Fishing Creek], both the Taylors [Thomas and his brother James] were captured, and Colonel 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."<sup>770</sup>

18-20 August. Smallwood, with his aides and a few other soldiers mounted, arrived at Charlotte the 18<sup>th</sup>; where remnants of Continentals from Camden were gathering. About 770 Maryland, 175 Delaware troops and 50 Virginians were collected. Smallwood then directed their march towards Salisbury; which they reached on the 21<sup>st</sup>. 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 meantime, posted himself at Hillsborough to regroup the Virginia militia.<sup>771</sup>

20 August. Clark, Shelby and Williams 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 unite against Ferguson. However, the time of service for Col. Shelby's and Maj. Charles Robertson's riflemen of Holston and Watauga having expired, that force returned home. The prisoners taken at Musgrove's Mill were escorted by Clark. After an unspecified distance, Clark then turned them over to Col. James Williams and Captain Samuel Hammond, who then took 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

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<sup>769</sup> SJM.

<sup>770</sup> JTR pp. 537-538.

<sup>771</sup> WNA, RNC p. 245.

the Broad River, stayed in the Gilbertown area with no more than 200 men, the rest having gone home at that time (as was the wont of militia.) It was understood that Ferguson would attempt to go after the numerous cattle around Gilbertown, which was one reason for the militia's continued presence there.<sup>772</sup>

21 August (also given as 20 August). [ambush] Great Savannah, also Nelson's ferry, (Clarendon County, S.C.) On the 20<sup>th</sup>, 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 River. Past midnight (thus making the action take place on the 21<sup>st</sup>), 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, liberated 147 Maryland and Delaware Continentals. The loyalists had been mostly asleep with their arms stacked in front yard. Marion killed or captured 22 of the 38 man British force; which consisted of soldiers of the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>773</sup> Marion then took the rest of those released, along with the British prisoners he had taken, towards Kingstree. On the 26<sup>th</sup>, he crossed Lynches River at Witherspoon's ferry. The Continentals who had come with him subsequently moved up towards Wilmington, and most were ultimately reunited with their units. Col. Otho Williams wrote Gov. John Rutledge on October 6<sup>th</sup>: "Of the 150 men retaken by Marion only about 60 rejoined their corps<sup>774</sup> -- some were sick but most of them just departed."<sup>775</sup>

Cornwallis in a letter to Clinton (cited by Bass) wrote: "I therefore [fearing smallpox would break out among the American prisoners] 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 63<sup>rd</sup> and Prince of Wales Regiment, 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 63<sup>rd</sup> at the High Hills of Santee, and I sent Lieut. Tarleton with a detachment of the Legion & Lieut. Col. Hamilton's Corps & some Militia to Radcliffes Bridge on Linches [Lynches] Creek, which I thought would effectively awe the lower Country."<sup>776</sup>

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 neck. On the 20<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>777</sup>

21 August. Smallwood and remains 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 Smallwood did going by way of Guilford. At Guilford there were plenty of provisions and so he halted his men there for refreshment; arriving later at Hillsborough by early September.<sup>778</sup>

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 21<sup>st</sup>."<sup>779</sup>

22 August. Records of Moravians (Salem) "Toward noon Colonel [John] Armstrong<sup>780</sup> 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..."<sup>781</sup>

22 August. Gates, at Hillsborough," to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell: "Upon my Arrival at Charlotte the Night of the 16<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>772</sup> DKM p. 118-119.

<sup>773</sup> 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, so that the number 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.

<sup>774</sup> Those troops that returned met up with Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford at Wilmington. WNA, JLG vol. II p. 87n.

<sup>775</sup> WNA, JFM, ch. 2, BSF p. 44-46, BGC pp. 88-89, RBG p. 103.

<sup>776</sup> BSF p. 44.

<sup>777</sup> JFM, Appendix.

<sup>778</sup> WNA.

<sup>779</sup> KJO p. 11.

<sup>780</sup> This apparently is 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 speculation on my part.

<sup>781</sup> FRM p. 1560.

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 Waggon[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 jealousy by remaining there, than he can possibly do by joining you, for in that Case they would have only one Object to attend to.<sup>782</sup>

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 to Clinton, 23 Aug. 1780: "Our [army's] sickness is great and truly alarming."<sup>783</sup>

24 August. Smallwood arrived in Hillsborough.<sup>784</sup>

26 August. From Records of the Moravians (Salem congregation): "This morning Col. 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."<sup>785</sup>

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-Ermet 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 these men were made prisoner without trial.<sup>786</sup>

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 Wemyss were his own 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt. totaling about 300 (one account says 500.) Upon hearing of the incident at Nelson's Ferry, Cornwallis had ordered Wemyss from Camden to get rid of Marion. Many of the 63<sup>rd</sup>, 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.<sup>787</sup> While in the area, Wemyss had been burning houses and confiscating horses from the rebels. Marion sent Maj. John James to scout ahead. In a night attack, James subsequently waylaid Wemyss' stragglers, capturing 30 of the enemy; then beat a hasty 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 28<sup>th</sup>) he 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 greatly exaggerated.<sup>788</sup>

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 concealment of Arms and ammunition with total demolition of the plantation."<sup>789</sup>

William Dobein James: "By the exertions of Gen. Marion and his officers, the spirits of the drooping militia began to revive. But about the 27<sup>th</sup> 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,

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<sup>782</sup> GAH pp.304-305

<sup>783</sup> BGD p. 104.

<sup>784</sup> KJO p. 11.

<sup>785</sup> FRM p. 1561.

<sup>786</sup> TCS p. 185, LFB vol. II, p. 562n.

<sup>787</sup> Radcliffe's Bridge was about 21 miles east of Camden, near modern Bishopville.

<sup>788</sup> RHA II, ch. XIX, pp. 497-498, JFM, ch. 2, MSC p. 746, BSF pp. 52-55, RBG pp.n103-104.

<sup>789</sup> BGC p. 89.



under Maj. Harrison. Maj. James was instantly dispatched [sic], at the head of a company of volunteers, with orders to reconnoitre, 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 Tories in the rear, had always been estimated at five hundred men. In such a crisis, a retreat was deemed prudent."<sup>790</sup>

29 August. Cornwallis, at Camden, to Clinton: "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 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 against him.

"I most sincerely hope that nothing can happen to prevent your Excellency's intended diversion in the Chesapeake[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."<sup>791</sup>

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*. Ma the Lord mercifully turn this aside from us."<sup>792</sup>

29 August. Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens marched from Hillsborough with what was left of his militia and returned to Virginia.

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..."

30 August. On this date, New York Volunteers, under Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, remnants of the Prince of Wales' Regiment, and some loyalist militia from Camden under Col. John Phillips were sent to Rocky Mount to patrol the area. Not encountering any resistance, Turnbull then returned to Camden.<sup>793</sup>

30 August. Gates, at Hillsborough, to General Washington: "My public Letter to Congress has surely been transmitted to yr Exclly - 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 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 Ld 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 the 15<sup>th</sup>. 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

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<sup>790</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>791</sup> COC pp. 21-22.

<sup>792</sup> FRM p. 1561.

<sup>793</sup> "Memorandum Book of Captain John Money," 30 August 1780. Cornwallis Papers, PRO. 30/11/3, folios 88-109.

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." <sup>794</sup>

## 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 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." <sup>795</sup>

*September.* The North Carolina Legislature passed the act for establishing a Board of War with full powers to call out the militia and appoint 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[r]andates]. Davis who knew nothing but the game of Whist composed the rest of the Board." <sup>796</sup>

*September.* [skirmish] Graham's Fort (Cleveland County, N.C.) Col. William Graham, with only three men, successfully fought off a group of 23 marauding Tories, at his home "Graham's Fort." <sup>797</sup>

*September.* [skirmish] Rouse's Ferry (Dillon County, S.C.) <sup>798</sup>

*September,* possibly June or late September. <sup>799</sup> [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 taken erroneously 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. <sup>800</sup>

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."

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<sup>794</sup> GAH pp. 308-309.

<sup>795</sup> CDI.

<sup>796</sup> DRS p. 34.

<sup>797</sup> DKM p. 145.

<sup>798</sup> LSC p. 9.

<sup>799</sup> Lipscomb gives the action at Stalling's as taking place in June. LSC p. 7.

<sup>800</sup> SJM, RBG p. 74, BRG pp. 104-105, SCAR vol. 2, no.10, pp. 10-16.

*Early September.* Starting in September and through into mid-November, Cruger worked to improve the relatively sparse fortifications at Ninety Six. At the time it had had two light guns, and he asked Cornwallis for more artillery, and an engineer. See 23 November regarding Cornwallis' reply.<sup>801</sup>

*Early September.* While Caswell continued as nominal head of the N.C. militia, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, a North Carolina Continental officer and veteran, accepted command of the North Carolina militia in Hillsborough. Initially, there were some 900-1000 there at this time, most badly clothed and equipped. 60 or 70 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 the force in supply. Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, also a N.C. Continental officer was appointed to replace Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford (taken at Camden), and to command the Salisbury militia. Davidson joined Sumner in Rowan County with 20 privates fit for duty. Many of the militia, contrary to orders deserted their units, and went home to fight resurgent loyalists; whom had been encouraged by Cornwallis' victory at Camden. Others of them left to join the force then assembling against Ferguson. At one point during this period, Sumner sent a force of 300 men to stop some loyalists on their way to join up with the British.<sup>802</sup>

*Early September.* Brig. Gen James Paterson having fallen ill, command of Charlestown went to Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour. Brig. Gen Paterson then left Charlestown in early September, while Balfour (probably in late August) was recalled from Ninety Six. Shortly after taking command, Balfour sent Maj. James Montcrief, and a battalion of 7<sup>th</sup> Regt. and some recruits for the Provincials to fortify Georgetown. The 7<sup>th</sup> and the recruits were subsequently marched to Camden. Before moving the 7<sup>th</sup> to Georgetown, Balfour had issued a call to the Loyalist militia along the Peedee, and ordered the regiment of Col. John Coming Ball from St. James Parish and Col. John Wigfall's regiment from St. Stephens to Georgetown. After being in Georgetown a while, Montcrief later 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.<sup>803</sup>

*Early September.* The 7<sup>th</sup> Regt., some recruits for Cornwallis' Provincial regiments, and some supplies arrived at Camden from Charlestown.

1 September. Col. Elijah Clark collected men in Wilkes and Richmond Counties, GA. for an attack on Augusta, Lieut. Col. James McCall did 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.<sup>804</sup>

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."<sup>805</sup>

*1 September.* By September 1<sup>st</sup>, Cornwallis had made his defensive arrangements for South Carolina, and 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 1<sup>st</sup>. Still remained at Culbertson's. Maj. Ferguson [who by himself and presumably 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

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<sup>801</sup> CON p. 21.

<sup>802</sup> RNC pp. 247-248.

<sup>803</sup> TCS pp. 157-158, CBA p, 518, BSF pp. 52, 62.

<sup>804</sup> MHG p. 482.

<sup>805</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 509.

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 returned from that service when Col. Shelby's letter [asking him to join in the effort against Ferguson] arrived."<sup>806</sup>

4 September (also given as 12 or 15 August)<sup>807</sup>. [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 63<sup>rd</sup> 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 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment) attempted to attack 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 fled into Little Peedee Swamp. Marion lost four men wounded, two horses killed. The next day, the 5<sup>th</sup>, about 60 volunteers joined Marion, bringing his force strength up to about 110. On the 7<sup>th</sup>, he then 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.<sup>808</sup>

William Dobein James: "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. "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."<sup>809</sup>

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."<sup>810</sup>

5 September. Having confiscated some horses from whig planters of High Hills of Santee, Wemyss mounted his 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment and Harrison's Provincials. On Sept. 5 he set off on his expedition to get Marion. Many disgruntled farmers then joined Marion after losing horses. He subsequently arrived at Kingstree, and was later reinforced there with a detachment of Hamilton's North Carolina troops, 50 New York volunteers under Capt. Fredrick DePeyster, and another 50 militia. Though afterwards he sent the detachment of N. Y. Volunteers back to the High Hills to cover the post there. By then he possessed a force of over 400 (minus DePeyster). In addition, Wemyss 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, Wemyss proceeded to destroy fifty houses and plantations stretching from Kingstree to Cheraw. Afterward he and Harrison took position at Cheraw.<sup>811</sup>

7 September. On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Ferguson set up his base of operations at Gilbertown (in present day Rutherford County, N.C.), but withdrew on the 10<sup>th</sup> in an effort to help contain and catch Colonel Elijah Clark who was leading a force against Augusta, Georgia. Before he had left on the 10<sup>th</sup>, he had 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 he fell back from Gilbertown, he was joined by 500 loyal N.C. militia from Tryon county.<sup>812</sup>

Allaire: "Thursday, 7<sup>th</sup>. 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, 8<sup>th</sup>. 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.

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<sup>806</sup> DKM p. 171.

<sup>807</sup> August date given by James and Ripley.

<sup>808</sup> JFM ch. 2, MSC p. 744, BSF pp. 49-51, RBG p. 235.

<sup>809</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>810</sup> FRM p. 1563.

<sup>811</sup> BSF pp. 51-55, 58, BGD p. 105.

<sup>812</sup> LSL p. 139.

“Saturday, 9<sup>th</sup>. 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 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.”

7-8 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, Marion retreated back to Port's Ferry, dismantled the fort, and withdrew the field pieces there. In the days which followed, he crossed the Little Peedee River, spiked his two cannon; abandoning them in the swamp. He then proceeded to Amis Mill on the south side of Drowning Creek where he halted. After sending out Maj. John James on a scouting mission, Marion 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. Henry William Harrington at Cross Creek. Not a few of his men at this time were suffering from malaria and ague, including Col. Peter Horry.<sup>813</sup>

Marion, from White Marsh in Bladen County, N.C., wrote Gates on 15 September 1780: “On the 7<sup>th</sup> I crossed PD [Peedee River] & Lynch's 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 me to return to my camp which I did that Day. On the 8<sup>th</sup> I had Intelligence that Maj. Whimes had crossed Black River & Uhaney [Euhaney]<sup>814</sup> 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...”<sup>815</sup>

8 September. Armand's Legion was sent from Hillsborough to forage and make cantonments in Warren County, North Carolina, “from whence,” states Williams, “Armand went to Philadelphia and never returned.”<sup>816</sup>

8 September (or 7 September). Cornwallis, with his main army, consisting of the “7<sup>th</sup>, 23d, 33d, and 71<sup>st</sup> 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. At the same time, he left the New York Volunteers, under Turnbull, at Camden, and the 63rd 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.<sup>817</sup>

8 September. Gov. Abner Nash authorized Col. James Williams to raise 100 horsemen in North Carolina after Williams brought news of Musgroves. 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 subordinate, Capt. Samuel Hammond recruited. Shortly after Rutledge made Williams a Brigadier General.<sup>818</sup>

From attachment to Samuel Hammond's pension application marked “A”:

“ Call to Arms: Beef, Bread & Potatoes

“Higgins' Plantation 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept. 1780

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<sup>813</sup> BSF pp. 53, 55, 61-62.

<sup>814</sup> Marion-Dillon County historian Jo Church Dickerson states: “Yauhannah/Euhaney/etc is a small creek, a tributary of Great Pee Dee River. It was also a ferry and site of an early Indian trading post on lower Great Pee Dee 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 Pee Dee 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.”

<sup>815</sup> BSF pp. 60-61.

<sup>816</sup> WNA. Although Armand's Legion did not return to rejoin the southern army, it did later serve in Virginia with Lafayette and at Yorktown.

<sup>817</sup> TCS p. 158, LMS p. 194, JLG vol. I, p. 304, BGC p. 86.

<sup>818</sup> BGC p. 77, GJW pp. 38-39.

"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 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."<sup>819</sup>

12 September. [skirmish] Cane Creek<sup>820</sup> (McDowell County, N.C.) Ferguson led a group of his men in an attempt to attack Col. Charles McDowell's force of about 160 to 200 men. McDowell, however, at Bedford Hill and Cane 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. According to Draper, the latter, though outnumbered at least more than two to one, nonetheless regrouped and continued firing at Ferguson's column and then finally continued on its way unmolested to Gilberttown. Having followed him at distance in this manner, McDowell's force, which was mounted, retreated over the mountains toward the Watauga settlement. 200 of his men went to Gilberttown; the rest (about a 100 or more) dispersed further back over the mountains. Alternatively, he had only 160, with approximately 40 having dispersed. 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. By March 1781, he had recovered and returned to the field only to be later murdered by a vengeful whig who surprised him. A short while after the action, McDowell later proposed they remain at Gilberttown 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.<sup>821</sup>

Allaire: "Tuesday, 12<sup>th</sup>. 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 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

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<sup>819</sup> HMP.

<sup>820</sup> 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. However, Daniel Barefoot, in 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."

<sup>821</sup> DKM pp. 147-150, BEA pp. 180-181.

before he had been released, as was usual at this time with prisoners. At this period the North Carolina men joined us fast.”<sup>822</sup>

12-18 September. [siege] First Siege of Augusta, also McKay’s Trading Post, Relief of Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) Sometime in early September, about September 12<sup>th</sup>, Col. Elijah Clark and Lieut. Col. James McCall assembled a corps of Backwoodsman, some 400 to 700,<sup>823</sup> depending on the account, in upper Georgia. With these they he marched to attack the British post at Augusta. On the morning of September 14<sup>th</sup>, 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. The center column approached the town by the middle road; and the right and left by the lower and upper roads, that is at Augusta’s eastern and western extremities respectively. 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 allies. Taylor pressed on to try to get possession of the McKay trading house, or “White House,” and situated about eighty yards from the Savannah River. While awaiting Brown at the house, Capt. Andrew Johnston, an officer with the Kings Rangers, and some Indians repulsed Taylor. A few Indians took cover in nearby woods and by the rivers bank; which afforded them some protection. The attack gave Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown, at Fort Grierson, first intimation of the Americans. He and Lieut. Col. Grierson then went to reinforce Johnston with the main body of Kings Rangers. 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 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, under Major Robert Drummond (or Drumond.)<sup>824</sup> Fort Cornwallis’ 70 prisoners and all the Indian presents were put under a guard, and Clark marched with the residue to assist Taylor attacking the trading post. Fighting around the trading post went 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 and shore up the house’s defenses, including cutting loopholes to fire through. In the fighting, a “great part of the Indians behaved with order and bravery.” 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; which rendered them ineffective. 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 and guns were made even more useless.

At the same time Clark had first attacked, Brown had sent Sir Patrick Houstoun to Cruger at Ninety Six seeking relief. Houstoun arrived the next day (the 15<sup>th</sup>); and Cruger then moved to relieve Brown, leaving behind 100 militia under Lieut. Col. Moses Kirkland to guard Ninety Six. On the 17<sup>th</sup> Col. Clark sent Brown a summons, but this was rejected. The same night, Clark’s spies informed him of Cruger’s approach, with 500 regulars, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, DeLancey’s Regiment; the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 or actuated 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 18<sup>th</sup>, 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 states 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. Says Georgia historian 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.”<sup>825</sup> In addition, Brown, under orders from Cruger, sent 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.<sup>826</sup>

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<sup>822</sup> CDI.

<sup>823</sup> 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.

<sup>824</sup> “A Return of killed wounded missing and prisoners of the 3d Batt. New Jersey Volunteers in the Action with the Rebels at Augusta, 14<sup>th</sup>. 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.)

<sup>825</sup> MHG pp. 486-487.

<sup>826</sup> 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 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.

The British losses of 70, McCall further states, 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. British losses were inconsiderable and fell mostly on the Indians. Tarleton states that Clark lost of 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 11<sup>th</sup> day of October they reached Wattauga and Nolachuckie 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 then began the series of events which directly lead up to the battle of King's Mountain.<sup>827</sup>

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."<sup>828</sup>

Letter from Lieut. William Stevenson, with Ferguson at Gilberttown, to Lieut. Col. Barton, Staten Island, New York, dated 25 September 1780 : "... The rebels rose in Georgia, and the 12<sup>th</sup> 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..."<sup>829</sup>

Allaire: "Sunday, 24<sup>th</sup>...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 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. 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 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

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<sup>827</sup> TCS pp. 161-162, MHG pp. 485-491, LFB vol. II, pp. 509-510, DKM p. 200, CGA pp. 134, BEA pp. 49-50, CKR pp. 115-120, SCAR vol. 2, no 9, pp. 1-15.

<sup>828</sup> CGA p. 139.

<sup>829</sup> State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Draper Manuscript Collection, Sumter Papers, 4VV268-269. (courtesy of Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist studies.)



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."<sup>830</sup>

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 Rebels [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 pursuit [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 from 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."<sup>831</sup>

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."<sup>832</sup>

14 September. Allaire: "Thursday, 14<sup>th</sup>. 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."

*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 1<sup>st</sup>.<sup>833</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup>, 50 remaining Virginia State Troops, under Capt. Thomas Drew (previously under Porterfield), also joined Gates. 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 16<sup>th</sup> of August. It is extremely probable, that

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<sup>830</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 509-510.

<sup>831</sup> Dated 9 February 9, 1784, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 20, folios 142-145.

<sup>832</sup> CKR pp. 121-122.

<sup>833</sup> LSL pp. 152-153.

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 commanded by Capt. Anthony Singleton, Harrison having returned to Virginia.<sup>834</sup> Two brass cannon which Gates 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.<sup>835</sup>

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 these several corps gave to General Gates about one thousand four hundred Continentals..."<sup>836</sup>

16 September. Cornwallis issued a proclamation concerning the sequestration of Rebel estates, and appointed John Cruden as the commissioner 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, Cruden's efforts to make the plantation holding 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 he took in as profit.<sup>837</sup>

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. Andrews 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."<sup>838</sup>

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.<sup>839</sup>

18 September. Cornwallis, at "Camp at Waxhaw," to Lord Germain: "I had the honour to inform your lordship in my letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>840</sup>

20 September. Allaire: "Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup>. 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."<sup>841</sup>

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 Waggon. 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

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<sup>834</sup> Harrison had broken his leg and removed to Virginia for rest. He rejoined Greene by March 4<sup>th</sup> 1781. NGP vol. VII, p. 25.

<sup>835</sup> WNA, JLG vol. I, pp. 312-314.

<sup>836</sup> LMS p. 208.

<sup>837</sup> TCS pp. 157, 186-191, WCO p. 143.

<sup>838</sup> New York State Library, AT 7003, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box 2, Item No. 154. (Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies.)

<sup>839</sup> DKM p. 170.

<sup>840</sup> COC p. 30.

<sup>841</sup> CDI.

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 71<sup>st</sup> 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 Crops 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."<sup>842</sup>

20 September. Clinton, in New York, to Cornwallis: "I have always thought operation in the Chesapeake of the greatest importance, and have often mentioned to Admiral 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 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."<sup>843</sup>

20-21 September. [raid-skirmish] Wahab's Plantation, also Wauchope's Plantation (Union County,<sup>844</sup> S.C.) When about September 8<sup>th</sup> 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 were completely deserted, and a large number of the inhabitants killed, captured or made refugees. Davie had recently been appointed Col. Commandant of all cavalry of North Carolina. He had 70 dragoons and two companies of riflemen commanded by Maj. George Davidson, he was posted twenty-five miles above the British camp at Providence, and fourteen miles south of Charlotte. The 71<sup>st</sup> Regt. was posted about a half mile in Cornwallis rear, Cornwallis on the north side of Waxhaws Creek. To the east of the 71<sup>st</sup> were some loyalist light troops and militia, who had been spreading "havoc and destruction." Davie finding out about this, "formed a design to attack them." Early morning of 20 September he circled Cornwallis position, coming from the east.<sup>845</sup> 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 71<sup>st</sup>. 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 21<sup>st</sup>, 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 and Davie's cavalry cut them down; the whigs being unable to take prisoners due to the proximity of the 71<sup>st</sup>. He did, however, capture some arms (120 stand) and 96 horses, and with the horses Maj. Davidson's men were mounted. The British lost 15 to 20 killed, and 40 wounded, while only one of the "Americans" was wounded. The late arriving British, in retaliation, burned the home of Capt. James Wahab [Wauchope],<sup>846</sup> 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.<sup>847</sup>

Davie: "Generals [Jethro] Sumner and [William Lee] Davidson had arrived that day [the 21<sup>st</sup>] at camp 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."<sup>848</sup>

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<sup>842</sup> PRO. 30/11/80/31-32.

<sup>843</sup> COC pp. 22-23.

<sup>844</sup> Some sources, such as McCrady, suggest Lancaster county, but current scholarship indicates Union to be the area in question.

<sup>845</sup> Lee says from Cornwallis' left, or from the west, which Davie points out is incorrect.

<sup>846</sup> His actual name was apparently spelled "Wauchope." DRS. p. 55n.

<sup>847</sup> LMS p. 195, DRS pp. 21-23.

<sup>848</sup> DRS p. 21-23, LMS p. 195.

21 September. Cornwallis, at Camp at Waxhaw, 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."<sup>849</sup> On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, however, he dispatched Major McArthur and the 71<sup>st</sup> regiment to protect Tarleton and the other ill and convalescent at Blair's Mill. He then placed Major George Hanger in command of the British Legion, ordered Hanger to cross the Catawba at Blair's ferry, and form the advance guard for the march to Charlotte - *instead* of sending him to help Ferguson.<sup>850</sup>

23 September. Cornwallis to Ferguson: "Tarleton is better, and was moved today in a litter." This same day Ferguson had written him: "I am on my march toward you, by a road leading from the 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 latter missive, however, was intercepted by the rebels.<sup>851</sup>

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."<sup>852</sup>

22 September. Having been one of those who had received Ferguson's ultimatum (see 7 September), Col. Isaac Shelby<sup>853</sup> after conferring with Col., John Sevier, urged a proposal to Col Arthur Campbell, Shelby's county superior, to organize a force to combat him. Campbell agreed and on 22 September, messages were sent out to various leaders in South Carolina, western North Carolina, and Virginia. At the same time, September 25<sup>th</sup> was set as a date when the militia from the over-mountain settlements were to meet 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.<sup>854</sup>

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 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 Blairs 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 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, 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 Wemy[s] or Moncrief, & I dread hearing of their sickness; I wish I

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<sup>849</sup> BGD p. 106.

<sup>850</sup> BGD p. 106.

<sup>851</sup> BGD pp. 107-108.

<sup>852</sup> COC pp. 29-30.

<sup>853</sup> 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.

<sup>854</sup> DKM pp. 170-171.

could say that we found any material amendment. The 71<sup>st</sup> 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 tried [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.”<sup>855</sup>

24 September. Allaire: “Sunday, 24<sup>th</sup>. 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 reached on the 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>856</sup>

24 September. Cornwallis leaves Waxhaws, which had become exhausted of provisions, and began his march toward Charlotte.

Tarleton: “Several convalescent men of the army having relapsed, the 71<sup>st</sup> 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.”<sup>857</sup>

25 September. Having received reports of Cornwallis' advance, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner with his N.C. militia left his position at Providence and marched himself to Charlotte. He collected what stores and provisions he could and moved them to Salisbury, leaving Col. Davie to cover his withdrawal.<sup>858</sup>

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 British army, Colonel Davie took several prisoners during the evening, and reached Charlotte about midnight.”<sup>859</sup>

26 September. Colonels William Campbell's, Charles McDowell, Shelby's and Sevier's men began their march from Sycamore Shoals. They had taken some cattle with them to feed the men, but on the 27<sup>th</sup> they spent much of the day slaughtering a number and feeding the men. Having in this way disencumbered their march, they proceed to through the gap between Yellow and Roan Mountains.<sup>860</sup>

24-25 September. Col. William Campbell, Col. Isaac Shelby, Lieut. Lieut. Col. John Sevier and their men each met 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 the settlement. Most were mounted and armed with Dickert long rifles (later commonly, though incorrectly, called “Deckard” rifles.<sup>861</sup>) About this same time, Col. Benjamin Cleveland and his officers from Wilkes and Surry counties were collecting men in those areas. The congregating force at Quaker meadows 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. Cleveland would join them with 350 men. As well, Sumter's men under Hill and Lacey were camped within creeks of Salisbury, while Clark was fleeing north in their direction after the siege of Augusta.<sup>862</sup>

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 24<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>863</sup> 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 [Benjamin] Cleveland 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

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<sup>855</sup> PRO. 30/11/80/39-40.

<sup>856</sup> BSF p. 63.

<sup>857</sup> TCS p. 159.

<sup>858</sup> DRS p. 24, LMS p. 196, RNC p. 249.

<sup>859</sup> LMS p. 196.

<sup>860</sup> DKM p. 177.

<sup>861</sup> See BEA pp. 329-330.

<sup>862</sup> DKM p. 175.

<sup>863</sup> 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.”

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<sup>864</sup> 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."<sup>865</sup>

26 September. [skirmish] Biggers's Ferry (York County, S.C.)<sup>866</sup>

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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>867</sup>

26 September. [skirmish] Charlotte (Mecklenburg County, N.C.) On the 24<sup>th</sup> Davie's patrols had learned Cornwallis was in motion on the Steele Creek road to Charlotte. Sumner and Davidson, meanwhile, left Charlotte, and retreated on Phifers road marching towards Salisbury. Davie with 150 dragoons and mounted infantry, with some volunteers under Maj. Joseph Graham, skirmished in Cornwallis' front, and on the night of the 25<sup>th</sup> captured some prisoners. By midnight he had taken post at Charlotte, 7 miles 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. Hangers 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 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 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., began to turn Davie's flank, and the Americans were forced to pull back. 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. British lost 14 wounded according to Tarleton, including Hanger. Rankin states the British lost 20 killed and wounded a number more.<sup>868</sup> 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

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<sup>864</sup> Modern day Rutherfordton, North Carolina.

<sup>865</sup> SRW.

<sup>866</sup> WNO, part II, pp. 1-2, HMS pp. 17-1, BGC p. 88, SCAR vol. 2, no. 10, pp. 15-16.

<sup>867</sup> WNO, part II, pp. 1-2.

<sup>868</sup> TCS pp. 158-159, SAW 239-240, HRS pp. 55-59, DRS pp. 24-26, LMS pp. 196-197, RNC p. 250.

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 71<sup>st</sup>, 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."<sup>869</sup>

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, 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."

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."<sup>870</sup>

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<sup>869</sup> TCS pp. 158-159.

<sup>870</sup> HSR pp. 55-59.

Stedman: "...the whole British army was actually kept at bay, for some minutes, by a few mounted Americans, not exceeding twenty in number."<sup>871</sup>

27 September. Sumner and Davidson continued their retreat away from Cornwallis moving north beyond the Yadkin. The day after the action at Charlotte, Davie 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 Charlotte enemy 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 were cut with Camden, and dispatch riders captured.<sup>872</sup>

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 their failed siege of Augusta.

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 camp for the night.<sup>873</sup>

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. That evening just before midnight, having gone another 12 miles, he 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 alerted Ball 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 Captain's John James and 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. which actually fought, 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 and Lieutenant John Scott who were so badly hurt they had to retire from service. 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 force. One of the horse's taken was Ball's own, a very fine mount, which Marion took for himself and named "Ball." Col. Ball himself retired from 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 29<sup>th</sup>), 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.<sup>874</sup>

29 September. The Frontier and Virginia militia under William Campbell, Charles McDowell, Sevier, and Shelby moved 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" at Turkey Cove; the rest to North Cove, on the North Fork of the Catawba.<sup>875</sup>

30 September. After reuniting, the frontier militia under Campbell, C. McDowell, Sevier, and Shelby marched to Quaker Meadows in Burke County, N.C., where they camped. Here the same day, they were joined by 350 North Carolina militia from Surry and Wilkes counties under Col. Benjamin Cleveland and Maj. Joseph Winston. Prior to receiving word to join the expedition, Cleveland and Shelby's men had been suppressing loyalist movements in their respective districts.<sup>876</sup>

30 September. Ferguson, camped 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. However, 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.<sup>877</sup>

*Late September.* Brig. Gen. William Smallwood was appointed by the state of North Carolina to replace Richard Caswell as head of the North Carolina militia. Col. Otho Williams then succeeded Smallwood as the commander of the Maryland Brigade. Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard was placed second in command to Williams. About or

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<sup>871</sup> SAW p. 240.

<sup>872</sup> DRS p. 26.

<sup>873</sup> DKM p. 179.

<sup>874</sup> JFM, ch. 2, MSC p. 746, BSF p. 66-67, RBG pp. 104-105, ONB vol. 2, 316-318.

<sup>875</sup> DKM p. 179-180.

<sup>876</sup> DKM p. 184.

<sup>877</sup> DKM p. 199-201.



before this time the Maryland brigade 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:

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt.: (Made up of men from the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, MD Regiments), Maj. Archibald Anderson

2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regt. (Made up of men from the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, MD. Regts., plus the Delaware Regt.), Maj. Henry Hardman<sup>878</sup>

*Late September.* Col. Maurice Murfee with a force of mounted men from Sandy Bluff on the Little Peedee, on his own initiative, raided loyalists settlements in the Little Peedee area, in retaliation for that done by Wemyss and others earlier in the month.<sup>879</sup>

*Late September.* On 31 August, Lieut. Col. Anthony White had written Gates stating that the light dragoons (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>) 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, 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.<sup>880</sup>

*Late September.* In June 1780 Congress had ordered Daniel Morgan back into service. Yet because of lack of promotion, he ignored them. However, Gates petitioned for his obtaining a Brigadier's commission; which Morgan received after the battle at Camden. The latter subsequently joined Gates at Hillsborough, arriving there in late Sept.<sup>881</sup>

## OCTOBER 1780

*October.* During the month, 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 fortifying Ninety Six.<sup>882</sup>

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,<sup>883</sup> 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."<sup>884</sup>

*October:* Sometime in October, the North Carolina Board of War removed Richard Caswell as commanding general of the North Carolina militia and gave the position to Brig. Gen. William Smallwood. Simultaneously, a small number of North Carolina Continentals were placed by Gates under Smallwood's command. Caswell as a result of the dismissal resigned his commission, although he later returned to command in early 1781. In addition, Sumner and other N.C. officers gave up their commands at what they felt was poor treatment of them by the Board of War. Smallwood was delayed in Hillsborough from assuming leadership of the North Carolina militia. Although he did take charge of them for a while, he later went north in late December, and the command was then passed on to Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson.<sup>885</sup>

*October.* A list made by in November 1780<sup>886</sup> by Royal Lieut. Gov. John Graham of Georgia, reported some "723" males from Wilkes County area, divided in the following groups:

255 loyal men were formed into a militia regiment

140 (as rebels) departed the province to go north with Elijah Clark

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<sup>878</sup> WNA, WAR vol. II, p. 733, RNC p. 255.

<sup>879</sup> BSF p.68-70.

<sup>880</sup> HWW p. 66.

<sup>881</sup> WDC p. 357, HDM p. 107.

<sup>882</sup> TCS pp. 169-170.

<sup>883</sup> 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 these dates, the smaller works at Thompson's and Nelson's Ferry served the purpose Motte and Watson did later.

<sup>884</sup> TCS pp. 169-170.

<sup>885</sup> WNA, RNC pp. 255-257.

<sup>886</sup> Although completed in November the list would have reflected October numbers or earlier.

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.<sup>887</sup>

*Early October.* Before and during King's Mountain Capt. David Fanning with his fourteen men under his command was going the rounds and sending notice to soldiers on leave to join their regiments. 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."<sup>888</sup>

*Early October.* Cornwallis moves Wemyss and the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt., and the Royal North Carolina Regiment from Cheraw to Camden. Harrison's Corps 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.<sup>889</sup>

*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.<sup>890</sup>

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."<sup>891</sup>

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."<sup>892</sup>

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."<sup>893</sup>

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 [Lincoln] County.<sup>894</sup> There he camped. Having by this time heard of the over-mountain men's approach, he sent out an appeal for local loyalists to join him to defend against them.<sup>895</sup>

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 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>896</sup>

2 October. Col. William Campbell was voted by the commanders of the expedition 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 of 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 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 officers towards Sumter being an unusual exception.<sup>897</sup>

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 General Davidson's North Carolina militia. Additional South Carolina militia joined them that day, including Captain Benjamin Roebuck's company, about 20 or 30, which joined Williams's group, and Col. William Graham's and Col. Frederick Hambright's party 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;<sup>898</sup> consequently, Williams is usually later been referred to as a Colonel,

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<sup>887</sup> CGA pp. 134-135.

<sup>888</sup> FNA p. 13.

<sup>889</sup> BSF p. 71.

<sup>890</sup> TCS p. 160, HSR pp. 70-71.

<sup>891</sup> TCS p. 160.

<sup>892</sup> SAW p. 240. In an extended footnote Stedman gives kind and quantity of provisions army consumed while in Charlotte area. SAW pp. 240n-241n.

<sup>893</sup> HSR pp. 70.

<sup>894</sup> Tryon county was named Lincoln County by the state of North Carolina in 1779, in honor of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

<sup>895</sup> DKM p. 203.

<sup>896</sup> DKM p. 186.

<sup>897</sup> DKM pp. 187-189.

<sup>898</sup> DKM pp. 167-168, BCG p. 88.

rather than a Brigadier General. The collected force was then, for command purposes, divided three ways; Hill and Lacey's force, Graham and Hambricht's Force, and that under Williams. Between the three of them they had about 420 to 430 men.<sup>899</sup>

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, 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 [Joseph McDowell?] and Shelby: They were on their march, near Burk 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."<sup>900</sup>

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. He hoped they would hurry back in time to join him, and also expected reinforcements from Cruger and Cornwallis. But by the time he realized his reinforcements were not going to appear, it was too late.<sup>901</sup>

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 force (one source gives it as 450 infantry, 60 cavalry, and 40 wagons) under Major John Doyle was sent out from Charlotte in search of provisions in the direction of Hopewell, N.C. 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, were 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 collect themselves. Bradley then retreated and the British went after them in a hot, extended pursuit, but were unable finally to catch up with him. Over a month later, however, on 14 November, Bradley was ambushed in his own home and killed by four Tories.<sup>902</sup>

3 October. Ferguson arrived Tate's Plantation where he camped for two days.<sup>903</sup>  
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, and William's men marched by way of Ramsour'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, however, of joining Campbell.<sup>904</sup>

3 (and 8) October. [raids] Richmond, also Old Surry Court House (Forsyth County, N.C.) At the same time as Campbell, Shelby and Cleveland'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 3<sup>rd</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, they attacked whig inhabitants in and around Richmond, N.C.,<sup>905</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 Kings Mountain, though troops of his under

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<sup>899</sup> DKM pp. 192-194.

<sup>900</sup> 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. TCS p. 196, GJW pp. 41, 46-47.

<sup>901</sup> DKM p. 206.

<sup>902</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 420.

<sup>903</sup> DKM p. 207.

<sup>904</sup> DKM p. 194.

<sup>905</sup> Richmond, at that time the county seat of Surry, was located near modern day Donnoha in Forsyth County.

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.<sup>906</sup>

4 October. Marion, at Amis' Mill on Drowning Creek, S.C., wrote to Gates: "The British marched from Georgetown to Camden the 29 Sept; it is s[aid]d 220 men, part of them Marines -- Major Whimes [Wemyss] is at the Cheraw with about 90 men of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt. Burning and plundering Negroes & everything in their way; the Tories are so affrighted with my Little Excursion that Manys [sic] moving off to Georgia with their Effects, Others are rund [sic] into Swamps. If I could raise one hundred men, I shou'd certainly pay a visit to Georgetown, my whole party has not been more than sixty men of all ranks. I expect Gen. [Henry William] Harrington will be by this near Cheraw, where I mean to join him with Col. [Thomas] Brown [of Bladen, N.C.] ([with] abt. [about] 100 [men]) who is eight miles of me, & remove Major Whimes [Wemyss] from his Post." 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 a number of swivels and coehorn guns<sup>907</sup> to defend itself, while containing considerable supplies of value, such as ammunition, clothing and salt.<sup>908</sup>

4 October. Resuming their 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.<sup>909</sup>

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."<sup>910</sup>

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."<sup>911</sup>

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<sup>906</sup> DKM pp. 167-168, MLL p. 10, BCG p. 88.

<sup>907</sup> 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.

<sup>908</sup> BSF pp. 70, 91-92.

<sup>909</sup> DKM pp. 196-197, 214.

<sup>910</sup> SJM.

<sup>911</sup> WDC p. 364.

5 October. Campbell's force, crossed the Broad River, and reached the ford of the Green River. Because of the slowness of their movement, due in part to the cattle they had brought, around 690 of the best men and horses were selected to continue hunting down Ferguson. The slower part of Campbell's force that remained was left in charge of Major Joseph Herndon, from Cleveland'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, and before the 900-940 man selected detachment<sup>912</sup> was actually sent out to attack Ferguson. Draper believes the number to have been 1,800, apparently including the men under Hill, Lacey, Williams, Cleveland and Candler. 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. 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.<sup>913</sup>

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<sup>914</sup> of Cowpens at Zecharias Gibbs' residence on the Pacelot.<sup>915</sup>

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."<sup>916</sup>

6 October. Campbell, after receiving word from Lacey (who on the 5<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>917</sup>

6 October. Sumter, in Hillsborough, was promoted to Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia by Governor John Rutledge.<sup>918</sup>

6 October: Marching from Tate's Plantation, Ferguson occupied Kings Mountain on the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup>. This same day some loyalists, reportedly around 600 men, were collecting in several groups at [Zecharias] Gibbs' about four miles east of Cowpens, with the intention of joining Ferguson, but apparently dispersed after King's Mountain. Awaiting the arrival of these loyalists was probably one of the reasons Ferguson remained on King's Mountain on the 7<sup>th</sup>. On King's Mountain, he made preparations for a defense, while sending a last urgent appeal to Cornwallis for assistance. By this time an unknown number of his furloughed men and some additional loyalist had joined him. He could easily have escaped to Charlotte in time, but instead lingered 2 days at Tate's and 1 day at King's Mountain hoping for the arrival of these various militia, and perhaps also because he didn't want to seem to be in such haste to "run away." He may then have fought the over-mountain men and whig militia, when he could have escaped, because he saw them as a challenge to his courage and honor as a military officer.<sup>919</sup> Allaire: "Friday, 6<sup>th</sup>. 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 Carolina 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 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--"<sup>920</sup>

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<sup>912</sup> William T. Graves gives the number as 933. GJW p. 45.

<sup>913</sup> See DKM pp. 61n, 214-215, 222.

<sup>914</sup> 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.

<sup>915</sup> DKM pp. 222-223.

<sup>916</sup> BGD p. 108.

<sup>917</sup> MLL pp. 12-13.

<sup>918</sup> BSF p. 73.

<sup>919</sup> DKM pp. 207, 209, 223.

<sup>920</sup> SRW.

7 October. [battle] KING'S MOUNTAIN. (York County, S.C.) Campbell's force, crossed Broad River at Tate's Ferry (adjacent to Tate's Plantation) and Cherokee Ford, about sunrise then, marched a distance then 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 the Carolina whigs, Virginians, a few Georgians, and "overmountain men" moved to the east side of Kings Creek, above Quarry Road, where, around 3 pm, they dismounted, left some men in charge of the horses, and proceeded on foot to encircle Ferguson's encampment. 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 Ferguson's provincials drove the whigs back a few times, but in vain; for as the battle progressed the deadly rifle fire took its toll on the loyalists. Ferguson himself was killed attempting to lead another charge, and it wasn't long before the battle, which continued for about an hour, was over. Among its effects King's Mountain caused many Americans to violate their oaths of 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 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.<sup>921</sup>

The full and true story of King's Mountain has probably yet to be told. Draper's is, in this writer's opinion, 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. In the events leading up to, 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 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 Cleveland'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?<sup>922</sup> What took place when the battle ended? Did certain rivalries among the Patriot leaders affect subsequent history? And there are others. 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 account of what happened a certain 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.<sup>923</sup>

Make reference to "Rear Guard of the Revolution"

#### AMERICAN FORCES AT KING'S MOUNTAIN

Col. William Campbell<sup>924</sup>

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 Cleveland

North Carolina militia: 90, Major Joseph McDowell

North Carolina militia: 60, Maj. Joseph Winston

North Carolina militia: 50, Lieut. Col. Frederick Hambright,<sup>925</sup> Maj. William Chronicle

South Carolina militia: 100, Col. Edward Lacey, Lieut. Col. James Hawthorn<sup>926</sup>

South Carolina and Georgia militia: 60, Brig. Gen. James Williams, Maj. William Candler

TOTAL (not including officers): 910 to 940

<sup>921</sup> 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.

<sup>922</sup> See HMS pp. 23-24.

<sup>923</sup> TCS pp. 164-167, 171, HMS pp. 15-24, MLL pp. 10-155, LFB vol. pp. 426-429, DKM pp. 222-229, 235, FWI pp. 179-180, WAR vol. II, pp. 737-745, BGC p. 92, BEA pp. 575-583.

<sup>924</sup> 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.

<sup>925</sup> Hambright had succeeded Col. William Graham, who for urgent family reasons had to leave the morning of the battle.

<sup>926</sup> 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.

Campbell's, Cleveland's 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.<sup>927</sup>

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.<sup>928</sup>

#### BRITISH FORCES AT KING'S MOUNTAIN

Maj. Patrick Ferguson

Capt. Abraham DePeyster, second in command

Ferguson's Corps: 100, (Ferguson)

North Carolina loyalist militia: 430 to 450, Col. Ambrose Mills, Col. Vezev 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.<sup>929</sup>

TOTAL: 850-902

The numbers above for Ferguson's force are taken from Lumpkin.<sup>930</sup> Campbell's report gives Ferguson strength as 1,103. Allaire says the number was 800. Tarleton speaks of 100 Rangers (Ferguson's Corps) and 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.<sup>931</sup>

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.<sup>932</sup>

Ferguson's militia force included detachments from the following Ninety Six Brigade regiments: John Cotton's, Patrick Cunningham's, Richard King's, Zechariah Gibbs', Thomas Pearson's, and Daniel Plummer's.

#### CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES

##### AMERICAN

Virginia militia man, Ensign John McCorkle, on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>933</sup>

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<sup>927</sup> DKM p. 227, LSY pp.292-293

<sup>928</sup> GJW p. 50.

<sup>929</sup> DKM p. 276.

<sup>930</sup> LSY p. 293.

<sup>931</sup> TCS p. 156, DKM p. 238.

<sup>932</sup> DKM p. 294.

<sup>933</sup> Quoted in Odell McQuire's "Many Were Sore Chased And Some Cut Down: Fighting Cornwallis with the Rockbridge Militia," October 1995.

American losses according to Campbell's, Shelby's and Cleveland's report were 28 killed, 62 wounded.<sup>934</sup> Shelby in 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's, Shelby's, and Cleveland'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.<sup>935</sup>

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.<sup>936</sup>

Page Smith gives British losses as 157 killed, 163 too badly wounded to be evacuated, and 689 made prisoner.<sup>937</sup>

Lambert makes reference to the fact that Robert Henry and David Vance counted 247 dead loyalists.<sup>938</sup>

See also Allaire's Letter 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'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 Malmady] 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 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."

Campbell, Shelby, and Cleveland post-battle report to Gates, 25 September 1780: "Campbell, Shelby, and Cleveland post-battle report to Gates: "...We began our march on the 26<sup>th</sup>, and on the 30<sup>th</sup>, 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> October, who informed us that the enemy lay encamped somewhere near the Cherokee Ford of Broad River, about thirty miles distant from 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 7<sup>th</sup>, 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

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<sup>934</sup> DKM p. 302.

<sup>935</sup> DKM p. 300-302.

<sup>936</sup> DKM pp. 316-318.

<sup>937</sup> SNA vol. II, p. 1432.

<sup>938</sup> LSL p. 132, 144.



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 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."<sup>939</sup>

Allaire: "Saturday, 7<sup>th</sup>. 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 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 a 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 McGinnis of [Isaac] Allen's regiment [i.e. the New Jersey Volunteers], Skinner's brigade, 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

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<sup>939</sup> DKM pp. 522-524.

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 [Kings 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." <sup>940</sup>

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 Kings 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 Kings 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]." <sup>941</sup>

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." <sup>942</sup>

Cornwallis, at "Wynnesborough," on Dec. 3<sup>rd</sup> to Clinton wrote: "I am honoured with your letters of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of last month. Lord Rawdon, during my illness, informed your Excellency, in his letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> 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

<sup>940</sup> CDI.

<sup>941</sup> SRW.

<sup>942</sup> (dated Charlestown, 1 Aug 1782), CLS p. 252.

joining me at Charlotte-town, he was attacked by a very superior force, and totally defeated on King's mountain."<sup>943</sup>

7 October. Cornwallis ordered Maj. James Wemyss with the 63<sup>rd</sup> from Camden to combine with Harrison's Corps to 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."<sup>944</sup>

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 4 companies of light infantry drafted from the Maryland and Delaware Regiments. According to Christopher Ward), it included Marylanders, Delawares and some Virginians left over from Buford's detachment. It was formed into three companies of light infantry. Those drafted from Buford made up the 1<sup>st</sup> Co. under Capt. Peter Bruin of Virginia. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Company was of Marylanders and commanded by Capt. Benjamin Brookes of that state. The 3<sup>rd</sup> was chiefly composed of Delaware men with a few Marylanders and was commanded by Kirkwood. Added to this were Washington's cavalry, numbering 70, and Maj. Rose's 60 Virginia riflemen. The State of N.C. had recently provided Gates with some clothing, most which went to Morgan's corps. Each man 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.

By the next day (the 8<sup>th</sup>), Morgan's corps began its march and reached Salisbury on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Gates with the main army remained in Hillsborough. The North Carolina militia under Smallwood, meanwhile, subsequently posted themselves at Providence, about fourteen miles south of Charlotte.<sup>945</sup>

Kirkwood's 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 Hillsborough [sic] under Command of Col. Morgan, and arrived at Salsbury [sic] the 15<sup>th</sup> Inst."<sup>946</sup>

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 captured. 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 force 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 Col. Williams.<sup>947</sup>

9 October. [skirmish] Polk's Mill (Mecklenburg County, N.C.) As part of his effort to keep his army supplied, Cornwallis occupied a number of local mills and farms around Charlotte, including Polk's Mill. On 9 October Maj. Joseph Dickson, 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 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt. barricaded themselves in a loop-holed stockade.<sup>948</sup> There, out numbered four or six to one, they successfully fought off Dickson. 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.<sup>949</sup>

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."<sup>950</sup>

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..."<sup>951</sup>

Hanger: [after quoting the above from MacKenzie, and making some comments on the roads around Charlotte]

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<sup>943</sup> COC pp. 45-46.

<sup>944</sup> BSF p. 72.

<sup>945</sup> KJO pp. 11-12, WNA, JLG vol. I, p. 313, WDC pp. 357-358, RNC p. 258.

<sup>946</sup> KJO pp. 11-12.

<sup>947</sup> DKM 316-318.

<sup>948</sup> 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.

<sup>949</sup> TCS p. 160-161, MST pp. 54-55, HRS pp. 68-69.

<sup>950</sup> TCS pp. 160-161.

<sup>951</sup> MST pp. 54-55.

"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 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..."<sup>952</sup>

9 October. Campbell's force marched two and a half miles up the Broad River on its northern bank. Much of the day having been spent burying their dead, tending to the wounded, and generally resting.<sup>953</sup>

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 below Charlotte on 7 November.

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 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1780 under Cpt James Gilmore, then of sd County, now dead, Lieutenant John Caruthers, then of sd County, now dead, and Ensign John McCorkle, also of sd County... The company rendezvoused [sic] in the Town of Lexington, in sd County of Rockbridge--marched to New London in Bedford Cty, 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,<sup>954</sup> stationed about 16 or 18 miles below Charlotte, toward Camden [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..."<sup>955</sup>

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."<sup>956</sup>

10 October. Campbell's force continued its march in a north-westerly direction along the Broad River towards Gilbertown, covering this day about twenty miles.<sup>957</sup>

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 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 as soon as possible to communicate, and afterwards to follow all such orders and directions you shall from time to time receive from his Lordship."<sup>958</sup>

10-11 October. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis pleaded with Tarleton to locate Ferguson, but the latter continued to refuse still claiming to be weak from yellow fever.<sup>959</sup> The next day, Cornwallis then ordered him, with the light infantry, the British Legion and a three-pounder to reinforce Ferguson. Tarleton proceeded then to march to Smith's Ford below the forks of the Catawba only to learn of Ferguson's defeat.<sup>960</sup> While in Charlotte, Cornwallis

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<sup>952</sup> HRS pp. 68-69.

<sup>953</sup> DKM p. 324.

<sup>954</sup> Smallwood at that time was placed in command of the North Carolina militia.

<sup>955</sup> MGC

<sup>956</sup> FRM p. 1571.

<sup>957</sup> DKM p. 324.

<sup>958</sup> COC pp. 25-26.

<sup>959</sup> See also 21 and 23 September.

<sup>960</sup> 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

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, Cornwallis wrote: "As soon as I have consumed the provisions in this settlement, I shall march with as much expedition as possible to Cross-Creek."<sup>961</sup> 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."<sup>962</sup>

10 October. Whig leader Col. Thomas Brown, from Camp Bear Swamp, on this date wrote to Brig. Gen. William Harrington: "The Tories about Little Peedee are summoned to meet on Thurs. by one Jesse Barefield [Barfield]; I shall if possible, disperse them; Barefield [Capt. Jesse Barfield] did surprise [a Capt. Moore] & Took several of his horses."<sup>963</sup>

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, the latter having been abandoned by Cornwallis.<sup>964</sup>

11 October. Campbell marched about twelve miles and camped at Col. John Walker's plantation, some five miles northeast of Gilberttown on the east side of Cane Creek, remaining there through to the 12<sup>th</sup>.<sup>965</sup>

12 October. Gates, at Hillsborough, wrote Gov. Thomas Jefferson this date: "The moment the supplies for troops arrive from Taylor's ferry, 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."

12 October. Brig. Gen. Davidson joined Davie on the outskirts of Charlotte with 40 men, for the purpose of collecting, "if possible," the 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.<sup>966</sup>

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."<sup>967</sup>

13 October. Col. Daniel Morgan was promoted to Brigadier General by Congress. He received the commission on 25 October and the same day his advanced his corps to Rowan, N.C.<sup>968</sup>

13 October. Campbell's King's Mountain force 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.<sup>969</sup>

Allaire: "Friday, 13<sup>th</sup>. 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."

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."<sup>970</sup>

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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 most likely. TCS p. 165, MLL pp. 14-15, BGD pp. 106-108, BGC p. 86. 92.

<sup>961</sup> TCS pp. 165-166, MST pp. 52, 55-56, JLG vol. I, p. 309.

<sup>962</sup> BGD p. 106-108, BGC p. 92.

<sup>963</sup> GHC p. 334.

<sup>964</sup> BSF p. 74.

<sup>965</sup> DKM pp. 325, 327.

<sup>966</sup> DRS p. 28.

<sup>967</sup> FRM p. 1629.

<sup>968</sup> HWW p. 66.

<sup>969</sup> DKM p. 328.

<sup>970</sup> FRM p. 1571.

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<sup>971</sup> (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. Having been informed of what was taking place in Surry County, he marched his force there instead. On October 14<sup>th</sup>, the Wrights, with some 310<sup>972</sup> 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 mounted loyalists 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 Peasley, of Guilford County, and sent by Sumner, also arrived just before the battle was over. 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 taken) "Within several days, most of them [the whigs] left for home. On October 19<sup>th</sup>, 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 the loyalist support Cornwallis could have expected when he invaded North Carolina,<sup>973</sup> and there is no little irony in the fact that he and his army left Charlotte on the same date (i.e. in the evening) that this action took place.<sup>974</sup>

14 October. On the night of the 14<sup>th</sup> Cornwallis's army began its retreat from Charlotte, during which time it rained and they were led astray of the main road by a deceiving guide. At the time Cornwallis was ill with fever, and command devolved upon Rawdon who ordered the evacuation. To add to Rawdon's troubles, an attack on party of his column by a small party of Whig resulted in his losing 20 baggage wagons belonging to the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt. and the Legion infantry. He intended to cross 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. Winstonsborough was ultimately decided upon and they arrived there at the end of the month. Continued rains inhibited the army's march.<sup>975</sup> 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."<sup>976</sup>

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."<sup>977</sup>

*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

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<sup>971</sup> In some accounts, Hezekiah Wright is referred to as a Captain.

<sup>972</sup> 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.

<sup>973</sup> Earlier on, Cornwallis had intended to move to Cross Creek, but the defeat at King's Mountain and difficulties around Charlotte forced his withdrawal.

<sup>974</sup> DKM p. 433n.

<sup>975</sup> TCS pp. 167-169, HSR pp. 92n-93n, LMS pp. 202-203, DRS p. 27, JLG vol. I, p. 314, FWI p. 181, BSF pp. 73-74, LSL p. 145.

<sup>976</sup> HSR pp. 92n-93n.

<sup>977</sup> LMS pp. 202-203.

troops. He called them out again to Hill's Iron Works on the New Acquisition after Cornwallis camped at Winnsborough.<sup>978</sup>

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 on grounds of alleged burglary, arson and murder, at the prompting of some of the leaders with Campbell, Col. Benjamin Cleveland among the most prominent.<sup>979</sup>

Allaire: "Saturday, 14<sup>th</sup>. 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.

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..."<sup>980</sup>

15 October. As part of a move to support Cornwallis' prospective 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 15<sup>th</sup>, pausing at Sandy Hook on the 17<sup>th</sup>.<sup>981</sup>

15 October. Morgan with his light troops arrived at Salisbury.<sup>982</sup>

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.<sup>983</sup>

Allaire: "Sunday, 15<sup>th</sup>. 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."

Allaire's letter: "Shortly after the 14<sup>th</sup> 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. 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 a specimen of Rebel lenity-you may report it without the least equivocation, for upon the

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<sup>978</sup> TCS pp. 167-168, BGC pp. 92-93.

<sup>979</sup> DKM p. 329-340

<sup>980</sup> FRM pp. 1571-1572.

<sup>981</sup> LOB, part I, CAR p. 467.

<sup>982</sup> KJO p. 12.

<sup>983</sup> LSL p. 144.

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.”<sup>984</sup>

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. The mounted men under Campbell, those Cleveland and Winston, and possibly McDowell’s also, continued with the prisoners, having a force 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.<sup>985</sup>

17 October. William Campbell with what remained of his army, and escorting the prisoners, resumed his march, and passing the valley of the Yadkin, forded the North branch of the Catawba and camped at a nearby plantation.<sup>986</sup>

18 October. Campbell marched 18 miles and reached the bank of Moravian Creek not far from Wilkes Court House. The next day (the 19<sup>th</sup>) he arrived Brier’s Creek and apparently discharged some of his Virginia troop, and by the 24<sup>th</sup> came to Bethabara.<sup>987</sup>

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.”<sup>988</sup>

19 October. Cornwallis’ army, under Rawdon’s command, 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, he moved to Winstonsborough, S.C. where he settled his forces before the end of the month. Although Winstonsborough 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 of loyalists when he tried to get theirs.<sup>989</sup>

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.”<sup>990</sup>

21 October. The flotilla carrying them having cast anchor off Hampton Roads in the Chesapeake on the 20<sup>th</sup>, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie’s force was landed and took possession of Portsmouth, Virginia. A detachment debarked the 22<sup>nd</sup> at Portsmouth, and a detachment was sent to Hampton Roads on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. The main body of troops were in Portsmouth on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>. 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 24<sup>th</sup>, he wrote to Cornwallis and described the troops that he brought south as including the “Guards, Bose, Fannings (the King’s American Regiment), a corps of provincial light infantry commanded by Col. Watson (left behind sick), part of the 82<sup>nd</sup> and 84<sup>th</sup> and 100 jaegers.” A footnote in Clinton’s memoirs gives his force as: “Guards, Regiment of Bose, Eighty-second, Thirty-fourth, [Edmund] Fannings [i.e. King’s American Regt., and] Watson’s [Provincial] light infantry, Jagers, detachment of Seventeenth Dragoons,<sup>991</sup> artillerymen (100), refugees, guides, pioneers, etc. -- 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 34<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>992</sup>

Clinton: “(A)s Lord Cornwallis 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.”<sup>993</sup>

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<sup>984</sup> Published in the (New York) *Royal Gazette*, 24 February 1781.

<sup>985</sup> DKM pp. 349-350.

<sup>986</sup> DKM p. 349.

<sup>987</sup> DKM p. 350.

<sup>988</sup> FRM p. 1572.

<sup>989</sup> TCS pp. 168-170, DRS p. 27, WCO pp. 231-232.

<sup>990</sup> TCS pp. 168-170.

<sup>991</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons actually came to Charlestown a few weeks before Leslie did, accompanying some 200 recruits for the 7<sup>th</sup> Regt.

<sup>992</sup> LOB, part II, CAR p. 214n, 220, JLG vol. I, p. 331, Cornwallis Papers, Public Record Office, Great Britain, 30/11/3, 275-6.

<sup>993</sup> CAR p. 210.



22 October. When Congress, by a resolution of October 5<sup>th</sup>, requested Gen. Washington to appoint a new head of the Southern Army, with little hesitation he selected Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene. On this the 22<sup>nd</sup>, he wrote Congress expressing his 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 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, agreeably [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 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...”<sup>994</sup>

22 October. Kirkwood (with Morgan's force): “Octbr 22<sup>nd</sup>. Marched to Six mile run and there joined the No. Carolina Militia under the Command of Genl. Davidson.”<sup>995</sup>

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 Petersburg was suggested as an advisable [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 Pedée [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].

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<sup>994</sup> LCC pp. 70, and see George Washington Papers, Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress.

<sup>995</sup> KJO p. 12.

"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 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 indispensable [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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, he might interfere with any other purposes to which the Commander in Chief 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[sic]. 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."<sup>996</sup>

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.<sup>997</sup>

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.

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<sup>996</sup> COC pp. 32-38.

<sup>997</sup> 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.

Present as well at New Providence, were Smallwood and Brig. Gen. William Davidson with 2 battalions of N.C. militia.<sup>998</sup>

Kirkwood (with Morgan's force): 25<sup>th</sup> Moved our encampment in Front of the Militia<sup>999</sup> this Neighborhood is called New Providence and within 14 miles of Charlotte."<sup>1000</sup>

Thomas Anderson, Lieutenant with the Delaware Regiment: "(October) 25<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1001</sup>

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 he was able to call together 150 men (or up to 400 according to one source.)<sup>1002</sup> Lieut. Col Samuel Tynes, operating in the vicinity of the High Hills area between Salem and Nelson's ferry, had been able to bring together about 200 men; whom he armed with stores coming from 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, 14 wounded, and 23 taken prisoner. As well he lost 80 horses and saddles and "as many muskets." Tynes himself and a few of his officers were captured in the couple days following the action by a detachment of Marion's commanded by Capt. William Clay Snipes, though they subsequently escaped. Marion's own losses were anywhere from 3 to 26 killed and wounded. Many of Tynes men actually came in and enlisted with Marion, who sent his prisoners to Brig. Gen. Harrington at Cheraw, and proceeded to set up his camp at Snow Island for the first time. 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.<sup>1003</sup>

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."<sup>1004</sup>

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."<sup>1005</sup>

26 October. Col. William Campbell left his force of remaining King's Mountain men, some 450-550, along with the prisoners,<sup>1006</sup> at Bethabara under the command of Col. Benjamin Cleveland, while he personally went to Hillsborough to make his report to Gates.<sup>1007</sup>

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 27<sup>th</sup> the militia had fled, abandoning a four-pounder, and the British took possession.

In response to the invasion, Governor Thomas Jefferson called out 10,000 (later reduced to 6,000) militia. It had been intended that Col. Robert Lawson with 500 mounted volunteers would assist Gates in North Carolina. However, 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 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 Muhlenburg 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. In addition he had a very difficult time obtaining both local pilots for

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<sup>998</sup> WDC p. 365, HWW p. 67.

<sup>999</sup> Smallwood was present at New Providence at this time as well.

<sup>1000</sup> KJO p.12.

<sup>1001</sup> AJO, WDC p. 477.

<sup>1002</sup> In a letter from Marion to Gates, Marion stated that his strength on 25 October was 150 "of all ranks." BSF p. 78.

<sup>1003</sup> JFM ch. 2, MSC p. 746, BSF pp. 75-78, RBG p. 105, BRG p. 246.

<sup>1004</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>1005</sup> LMS p. 203.

<sup>1006</sup> 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. NGP vol. VII, p. 67, DKM pp. 358-360.

For more on the King's Mountain prisoners see FRM p. 1634.

<sup>1007</sup> DKM pp. 352, 357.

his ships and information of enemy forces. Despite instructions to advance on Petersburg, he never advanced further than Suffolk, about which time (in early November) he received instructions from Cornwallis to move his expedition southward (via the sea) to the Carolinas.<sup>1008</sup>

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 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."<sup>1009</sup>

27 October. 25 to 30 soldiers and two officers from the Prince of Wales Regt. left Charlestown on their way to Georgetown.<sup>1010</sup>

29 October. Cornwallis, close to recovering from his fever but still ill, arrived at Wynnborough, 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. At the same time, loyalist recruiting had proved successful and 150 loyalists were added to Tarleton's corps. As well as Ninety and Camden, the British had posts at Nelson's Ferry, Thompson's Plantation (at Belleville), Dorchester, Georgetown, and Orangeburgh.<sup>1011</sup>

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 central [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."<sup>1012</sup>

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 surprised, 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 Chesapeake, 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 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

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<sup>1008</sup> 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.

<sup>1009</sup> PRO. 30/11/3/281-282.

<sup>1010</sup> *History of the Prince of Wales American Volunteers*, Online Institute of Advanced Loyalist Studies.

<sup>1011</sup> TCS pp. 169-170, SAW vol. II, p. 224, BRG p. 243.

<sup>1012</sup> TCS pp. 168-170.

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 Chesapeake (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."<sup>1013</sup>

31 October. Having been recommended by Gen. Washington, and that recommendation accepted by Congress, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene formally was installed as commander of the Southern Army. See 22 October.

*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 Smallwoods 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"<sup>1014</sup>

## NOVEMBER 1780

*November.* Balfour sent the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt., under Maj. Robert McLeroth, from Charlestown to pass the Santee and protect communications with Camden from Marion's forces. 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 somewhat delayed.<sup>1015</sup>

*November.* The 1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., under McArthur, continued to occupy Brierly's (or Brierley's) ferry on the Broad River, in order to protect forage in that area of meal, flour, and cattle for Cornwallis at Winstonsborough. These provisions were either supplied willingly by inhabitants, or else came from confiscated estates.<sup>1016</sup>

*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 Lands 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 at Hanging Rock previously.<sup>1017</sup>

*November.* [skirmish] Sandy River (Chester, County, S.C.)<sup>1018</sup>

*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) at the Grassy

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<sup>1013</sup> COC pp. 35-39.

<sup>1014</sup> DRS pp. 35, 61n.

<sup>1015</sup> TCS p. 183.

<sup>1016</sup> TCS p. 184.

<sup>1017</sup> DRS pp. 28-29.

<sup>1018</sup> LSC p. 10.

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<sup>1019</sup> to Cornwallis: “This is to inform your Lordship that the Last Express that was Directed to Lieutenant [sic] Colnl Tatletton [sic] was taken the 28<sup>th</sup> of this instant about six mils from Henerceses [sic] Mill and if your Lordship Sends any other Express it must Be a man that is well acquainted [sic] with the woods or els[e] he cannot get along onless [sic] he is taken and likewise. I do acquint [sic] you that I am very unwell myself[.]”<sup>1020</sup>

*Early to mid November.* [four skirmishes] Bear Swamp, Brown’s Counterattack, Miller’s Plantation, and Barfield’s Retreat (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 30<sup>th</sup>, he attacked some of whig Col. Thomas Brown’s men under a Capt. Moore at Bear Swamp and defeated them. Barfield himself was 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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).” Brown then wrote again to Harrington on the 9<sup>th</sup>: “Yesterday, Barefield fell in with 5 of your men [near Jonathon Miller’s]...Vernon White, Theophilus Eavens, Hadley .....took all their horses & arms, paroled them and let them go. I would recommend that you 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...Barfield attacked my regiment last Monday week, at night; but they did us no damage, only slightly wounded two men.” Barfield then returned to the field with a reported 200 men, and, on the 8<sup>th</sup>, routed 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. Barfield, with what remained of his force, made his way to Georgetown sometime between 10 and 14 November.<sup>1021</sup>

*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.”<sup>1022</sup>

*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.<sup>1023</sup>

2 November. Due to a scarcity of supplies in Hillsborough, Gates ordered what remained of the Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia troops (under Buford), numbering some 1,000, to Salisbury, along with two cannon under Capt. Anthony Singleton, which they subsequently reached on the 9<sup>th</sup>. Several days later, Gates himself left Hillsborough with a 130 man escort and arrived there on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Most of Gates’ army was sick at the time with various illnesses and wounds. Despite promises of the North Carolina Board of War, there were few provisions to be had in Salisbury.<sup>1024</sup>

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.”<sup>1025</sup>

3 November. After receiving formal instructions from Congress, Greene went south from Philadelphia with Maj. Gen. Friedrich von Steuben, and aides Col. Lewis Morris, Jr. and Maj. Ichabod Burnet, on his way to take command of the southern army. Not long before, Brigadier Generals Peter Muhlenberg and George Weedon had been to Virginia to organize the militia there.

While, in Philadelphia Greene asked Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania, for 4,000-5,000 stand of arms. All Reed and Board of War could furnish was 1,500. He also asked Congress for clothing but could get none. He was promised 100 Road Wagons by Reed, and by Pickering 40 covered wagons. From Congress he got \$180,000 in Continental Currency or 1,800 in real money.<sup>1026</sup>

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<sup>1019</sup> 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.

<sup>1020</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/256.

<sup>1021</sup> GHC pp. 337-338, 340-341, BSF p. 88.

<sup>1022</sup> GHC p. 341, LSC p. 9.

<sup>1023</sup> BGC p. 96.

<sup>1024</sup> KJO p. 12, WNA, WCA p. 68, JLG vol. I p. 314, RNC pp. 258, 261.

<sup>1025</sup> MGC

<sup>1026</sup> JLG vol. I, pp. 329-336, CBA p. 529, WDC pp. 364-365.

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 Rebels -- Two men have arrived this moment from Black Creek who assure us that Marion and Snipes have their Quarters at Singletons 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: [William] Thomsons [Thompson's] on his way here writes me that Parties of Rebels lay Lurking in that Country that twenty has been seen together."<sup>1027</sup>

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 4<sup>th</sup>, Tarleton with his Legion, Harrison's Provincials and two three-pounders, was sent, instead, out from Camden to hunt down Marion.<sup>1028</sup>

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 force, 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."<sup>1029</sup>

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 9<sup>th</sup> instant....marched 100 [miles]

[no entries till Nov. 22<sup>nd</sup>]

"22. This day the Maryland Division arrived here [New Providence]."<sup>1030</sup>

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 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. Rudgeley [Henry Rugeley] is arrived from Town very Sick. I am afraid I Blamed him too Rashly."<sup>1031</sup>

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.<sup>1032</sup>

7-8 November. Tarleton, with 400 men and two small artillery pieces, arrived at the plantation<sup>1033</sup> of General Richard Richardson as the starting 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 8<sup>th</sup> and went in vigorous pursuit of him. Yet he gave up after a goose chase of twenty-six miles in the swamp. It was at Ox Swamp,<sup>1034</sup> where he finally halted, that he 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

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<sup>1027</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/14-15.

<sup>1028</sup> TCS p. 171.

<sup>1029</sup> TCS p. 171.

<sup>1030</sup> AJO.

<sup>1031</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/25-26.

<sup>1032</sup> BSF p. 80.

<sup>1033</sup> Richardson's was about 6 miles due east of Singleton's Mill, and roughly twenty-three miles north of Nelson's Ferry.

<sup>1034</sup> Bass: "Tarleton chased Marion from neat St. Paul on U.S. Highway 301, up Jack's Creek, and down Pocatoligo 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, ch. 2. Benbow's Ferry crossed Black River thirteen miles above Kingstree. BGC p. 269.

some homes and destroyed much corn between Nelson's Ferry and Camden. On November 9 and 10, he burned thirty houses, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1035</sup>

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 patrols [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 patrol, 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1036</sup>

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.'<sup>1037</sup>

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 Lynchess Creek and 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."<sup>1038</sup>

9 November. Gates' army camped at Salisbury. Gates himself arrived there on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Accompanying Gates were 130 horsemen including Lieut. Col. William Washington's 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons, Lieut. Col. Anthony White's 1<sup>st</sup> Regt. of Continental Light Dragoons, and 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 received leave to go to Philadelphia. Washington remained to command the combined cavalry corps that then numbered about 60 or 70 effectives, 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.<sup>1039</sup>

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<sup>1035</sup> TCS p. 171-172, JFM, ch. 2, BSF pp. 80-85, 259n, BRG p. 246.

<sup>1036</sup> TCS pp. 171-172.

<sup>1037</sup> JFM, ch. 2.

<sup>1038</sup> *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 2d ed. Ed. Charles Derek Ross. 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1859), 1:65.

<sup>1039</sup> WNA, WCA pp. 67-68.



9 November. [skirmish] Fish Dam Ford (Union County, S.C.<sup>1040</sup>) Major James Wemyss of the 63<sup>rd</sup>, whose corps had recently joined the army at Winnsborough from Camden, was dispatched on the 8<sup>th</sup> by Cornwallis to disperse Sumter's militia, who were congregating for the purpose of collecting volunteers at Fish Dam Ford.<sup>1041</sup> Wemyss' men were mounted on horses they had brought along with them to Winnsborough. With 100 to 200 of the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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 63<sup>rd</sup>. 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>1042</sup> 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.<sup>1043</sup>

On November 9<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1044</sup>

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<sup>1045</sup> to Smallwood on November 10<sup>th</sup>: "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. 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 Lacey's and 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."<sup>1046</sup>

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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 Briery'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

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<sup>1040</sup> Some accounts give this action as taking place in Chester County, but there are some who suspect the Union County, being on the west side of the Broad River (see maj. Joseph McJunkin in SJM), as the more likely location.

<sup>1041</sup> Previously, Sumter had been at Moore's, and then moved five miles downriver to Fish Dam Ford, west of the Broad River.

<sup>1042</sup> MLL pp. 15-17.

<sup>1043</sup> TCS pp. 173-174, WCA p. 68, DRS pp. 28-29, HMS pp. 13-14, MSC p. 746, MLL pp. 15-17, FWI p. 213, WAR vol. II, p. 745, BGD pp. 115-116, BSF p. 84, BGC pp. 96-100, RBG pp. 112-114, WCO p. 224.

<sup>1044</sup> BGD p. 115.

<sup>1045</sup> As transcribed by Bass, who no doubt corrected some of Sumter's spelling and punctuation.

<sup>1046</sup> BGC p. 99.

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 Wimes [sic] 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 marquee [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 strewd with killed and wounded, and the commanding British officer in his power, without the loss of a single man except Capt. [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."<sup>1047</sup>

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 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.

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<sup>1047</sup> WNO, Part II, pp. 2-4.

"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."<sup>1048</sup>

Davie: "(T)he 12<sup>th</sup> [sic] of November was the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 Lands 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1049</sup>

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."<sup>1050</sup>

Cornwallis, in a letter of December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 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."<sup>1051</sup>

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<sup>1048</sup> SJM.

<sup>1049</sup> DRS pp. 28-29.

<sup>1050</sup> JTR p. 538.

<sup>1051</sup> COC pp. 46-48, Benjamin Franklin Stevens, *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781*, 2 vols. (London, 1888), vol. I, pp. 302-310.

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."<sup>1052</sup>

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.<sup>1053</sup>

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, Kingtree 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."<sup>1054</sup>

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 7<sup>th</sup> 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. 8<sup>th</sup> & 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.

"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 by best Ability to settle the Affairs of this part of the Province, but of there has been one individual of the Country attached to our Cause & exempt from Fear the total Destruction of Mr. Marion had been accomplished...."<sup>1055</sup>

11-15 November. In furtherance of Cornwallis' directive to leave Virginia and move further south, Leslie began loading troops on the 11<sup>th</sup>, and embarked from Portsmouth on 15 November. Heavy winds kept him in the Chesapeake till the 22<sup>nd</sup>. 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.<sup>1056</sup>

Stephen Jarvis: "An expedition was formed under General Leslie, of Virginia, and amongst the Troops that composed the Army was one Troop of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1057</sup>

13 November. Having crossed the Broad River at Fish Dam Ford, Sumter moved to Hawkins' Mill on the Tyger and united his men 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.<sup>1058</sup>

Richard Winn: "On the thirteenth, Sumter crossed the river and encamped at Nixon's [Nixon's] plantation on the Enoree River to give his men time to join him. When Gen'l Sumter and myself met at Nixon'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

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<sup>1052</sup> FRM p. 1576.

<sup>1053</sup> TCS p. 174.

<sup>1054</sup> BGD pp. 111-112.

<sup>1055</sup> BGD pp. 112-113.

<sup>1056</sup> LOB, part II.

<sup>1057</sup> JJA.

<sup>1058</sup> BGC p. 102.

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. [John] Winn, who was on the spot with the doctor.

"Sumter moves from Nixson'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 16<sup>th</sup> of November, leaving Colo. Taylor in his rear."<sup>1059</sup>

13 November. Turnbull, ill with malaria, requested leave to go home, 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, in Camden, in preparation for second invasion, 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 joined 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 were added.<sup>1060</sup>

Turnbull, at Camden, wrote to Cornwallis on 12 November: "I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letters of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Instant Col: Tarletons Letters have been forwarded. I have not heard from him since the 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 Rebels [sic] towards Lynches Creek. Their numbers have not yet been ascertain'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 --"<sup>1061</sup>

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"<sup>1062</sup>

14 November. After learning of Fish Dam Ford, Tarleton left Singleton's Mill (the 14<sup>th</sup>) 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, Marion was in the vicinity of Georgetown with 500 men.<sup>1063</sup>

15 November. On this date, Balfour reported to Cornwallis sending 275 Rank and File of the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt., plus some Hessians, Provincials, loyalist militia and two three-pounders to Nelson's Ferry from Charlestown, all under the command of under Maj. Robert McLeroth of the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt.<sup>1064</sup>

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<sup>1059</sup> WNO, Richard Winn, part II, pp. 4-5.

<sup>1060</sup> TCS p. 167, 182-183, BSF pp. 85, 88.

<sup>1061</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/93-94.

<sup>1062</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/110-111.

<sup>1063</sup> TCS p. 174, BSF pp. 85, 87.

<sup>1064</sup> BSF p. 96.

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 17<sup>th</sup>, he wrote to Brig. Gen. Harrington from Black Mingo: "The day I got (to Georgetown) they received a reinforcement of 200 Tories under Captains Barefield and Lewis from 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 Lt. Gabriel Marion...Capt. Barefield 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 3 miles of the town, in which time most of the Tories left their friends and went home." In his report to Gates of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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. 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." The combined loyalist force in the area at the time then numbered some 200, though prior to his attack Marion had understood there were only 50. He subsequently learned that the garrison at Georgetown contained 80 regulars, "with swivels and cohorns [coehorns] on the parapets."<sup>1065</sup>

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. Before proceeding to Hillsborough, Greene left von Steuben in Richmond, the latter then taking charge of forming and organizing the Continental forces in Virginia.<sup>1066</sup> In a letter written on January 9<sup>th</sup> 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, 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."<sup>1067</sup>

*Mid November.* Having been promoted to Lieut. Colonel on November 6<sup>th</sup>, Henry Lee left Philadelphia to move with his Legion south. When he got to in Virginia, he attempted to get the best men and horses, while letting some of his men go home on leave to Maryland and Virginia "with instructions to procure the best horses." He notes in his Campaign of 1781 that he was especially attentive to the spirit and appearance of his men and horses.<sup>1068</sup>

18 November. [skirmish] Brierty'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 18<sup>th</sup>, he joined the 1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. of the 71<sup>st</sup> and a mounted detachment of the 63<sup>rd</sup> who were already present at Brierty'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 71<sup>st</sup>'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 63<sup>rd</sup> at a ford a few miles downriver. He then reunited with the 71<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>1069</sup> 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

<sup>1065</sup> BSF pp. 89-92, 97, GHC pp. 343-344.

<sup>1066</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 84-85, JLG vol. I, p. 336, WAR vol. II, pp. 748-749.

<sup>1067</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 84-85.

<sup>1068</sup> LCC p. 70.

<sup>1069</sup> TCS pp. 175-176.

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 Rebels appeared at the other side of the River opposite the Mill earlier than here & Capt Hill informs me they shewed themselves at Liles'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 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."<sup>1070</sup>

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 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 19<sup>th</sup> near the mouth of Indian Creek on the Enoree River. A deserter, however, from the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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 Blackstocks (near Blackstocks ford and plantation on the Tyger River), where he posted his men in nearby cabins and wooded high ground.<sup>1071</sup>

18-20 November. McLeroth, after passing the Santee at Nelson's ferry bivouacked at Kingstree. Bass states he camped on the 18<sup>th</sup>; however, Marion reported him retreating to Murry's Ferry on the 20<sup>th</sup>. 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 18<sup>th</sup>], 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 week to stay."<sup>1072</sup>

20 November. [battle] BLACKSTOCKS, also Tyger River (Union County, S.C.) At dawn, Tarleton resumed his march; moving, in advanced of the 71<sup>st</sup> and the artillery, with 190 of his dragoons and mounted infantry of his Legion, and 80 of the mounted 63<sup>rd</sup>. 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 made his escape on Tarleton's approach, and in the confusion Tarleton took the liberated loyalists to be rebels.<sup>1073</sup> Tarleton then advanced on Sumter's position at Blackstock's Plantation with a mind to keep Sumter in place while he awaited the 71<sup>st</sup> 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 Sumter'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 fell back two miles to join up with his relief column. In the British retreat from Blackstock's, Maj. James Jackson and his Georgians captured 30 rider-less horses, apparently those of the mounted 63<sup>rd</sup>.

By the time Tarleton had joined forces with the 71<sup>st</sup>, 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, who took immediate command from Sumter who had been badly wounded, left Col. Winn to keep some camp fires burning, while the remaining whigs made their' retreat over the Tyger River. Sumter himself had to be drawn off the field on a litter.<sup>1074</sup> For the next three days Tarleton endeavored to pursue Sumter. 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;<sup>1075</sup> who, taken at Charlestown, had recently been exchanged. Cornwallis reported to Clinton on December 3<sup>rd</sup>: "(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

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<sup>1070</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/153-154.

<sup>1071</sup> TCS p. 176, BGC pp. 102-103.

<sup>1072</sup> BSF pp. 96, 98-99.

<sup>1073</sup> MHG p. 499.

<sup>1074</sup> 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 Sugar Creek. See LFB vol. II, pp. 446n-447n and BGC p. 107.

<sup>1075</sup> 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."

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 dispersing Sumter's force, thus claiming a victory, the recklessness of his advance and relatively heavy losses did not go unnoticed or un-criticized.<sup>1076</sup> At the same time, Sumter, by February, had sufficiently recovered from his wound, and was once more in the field with his men<sup>1077</sup> -- though 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 Blackstocks.]"<sup>1078</sup>

#### AMERICAN FORCES AT BLACKSTOCKS

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

McCrary gives Sumter's force as 420.

#### BRITISH FORCES AT BLACKSTOCKS

Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

British Legion, cavalry and infantry (mounted): 190, (Tarleton)

Detachment of the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1079</sup>

#### CASUALTIES

##### 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.<sup>1080</sup>

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.<sup>1081</sup>

Col. Charles Myddleton gave Sumter's losses as 3 killed, and 4 wounded, including Sumter.<sup>1082</sup>

Col. Elijah Clark was also among the wounded.

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<sup>1076</sup> Fortescue describes the battle as damaging to British interests. FWI p. 214

<sup>1077</sup> Although "Blackstocks" (which we use here) is the traditional spelling, "Blackstock's" is the more accurate. TCS pp. 177-180, 204-205, MST pp. 74-78, MHG pp. 497-500, HMS pp. 14-15, JLG vol. I, pp. 317-321, LFB vol. II, pp. 446-447, JTR pp. 522-526, MSC p. 746, FWI p. 214, WAR vol. II, 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.

<sup>1078</sup> BGC p. 110.

<sup>1079</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 320.

<sup>1080</sup> TCS p. 179.

<sup>1081</sup> TCS p. 204.

<sup>1082</sup> BGC p. 109.



## BRITISH

Tarleton gave his own casualties as 50 killed and wounded. Lieutenants Gibson and Cope of the 63<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>1083</sup>

Wemyss later said the casualties of the 63<sup>rd</sup> alone amounted to half of that units detachment, or 40 men.<sup>1084</sup>

Col. Charles Myddleton reported Tarleton's losses as 92 dead and 100 wounded.<sup>1085</sup>

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 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 Blackstocks, 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."<sup>1086</sup>

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."<sup>1087</sup>

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."<sup>1088</sup>

Cornwallis in his letter to Clinton December 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Branam, Clarke &c; I detached Major McArthur with the 1st Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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, 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

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<sup>1083</sup> TCS p. 179.

<sup>1084</sup> RBG p. 119.

<sup>1085</sup> BGC p. 109.

<sup>1086</sup> JTR pp. 539-540.

<sup>1087</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 446-447.

<sup>1088</sup> BGC p. 109.

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 Brig 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 16<sup>th</sup> Regt of Infantry, who does duty with the Legion, as having distinguished himself."<sup>1089</sup>

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 patrols [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."<sup>1090</sup>

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,'

<sup>1089</sup> COC pp. 46-48, Benjamin Franklin Stevens, *The Campaign in Virginia*, 1781, 2 vols. (London, 1888), vol. I, pp. 302-310.

<sup>1090</sup> TCS pp. 178-180.

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.”<sup>1091</sup>

Richard Winn: “Sumter moves up the country; arrives at Blackstock’s on Tyger River 16<sup>th</sup> 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] Hampton from high up Broad River was thrown into a log house with his party. Colo. Winn was in a small distance from the 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.”<sup>1092</sup>

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 Padgett’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

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<sup>1091</sup> MST pp. 75-78.

<sup>1092</sup> WNO, Richard Winn, part II, pp. 4-6

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 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 McIlwaines, 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 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."<sup>1093</sup>

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 me a sort of parol 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"<sup>1094</sup>

22 November. Tarleton, at "Black Stokes," "7 o'clock A.M.," wrote Cornwallis "I have no Baggage consequently no Cypher -- I trust for this short Letter no Accident -- I yesterday cut Sumpters 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 Fergusons Corps have promis'd to fix Sumpter immediately. I have promis'd them for the Deed 50 G. 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[,] 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

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<sup>1093</sup> SJM.

<sup>1094</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/170.

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 could be brought up.”<sup>1095</sup>

22 November. Gates coming from Salisbury with the main body of the army arrived at New Providence. However he left on the 27<sup>th</sup>, and moved to Charlotte where they built with a mind towards permanent encampment.”<sup>1096</sup>

22 November. Cornwallis, at Winnsborough, wrote to Tarleton: “I have ordered [Maj. Archibald] M'Arthur [with the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.] to proceed [from Briery'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.”<sup>1097</sup>

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 Briery's] Ferry is again open, & shall therefore trouble your Lordship with a Letter, tho' nothing of any consequence has occur'd since I had the honor of writing by Colo: [Patrick] Cunningham of 16<sup>th</sup> 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 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.”<sup>1098</sup>

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 satisfactory condition, and in a much better state than he had expected. But to further strengthen the post Haldane implemented some additional improvements, including the addition of an abbatis and the Star fort, which were only completed in May 1781.<sup>1099</sup>

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.”<sup>1100</sup>

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. However, 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 8<sup>th</sup>, accepted it, and the redoubt was left abandoned. Coffin's own force, by early December, was increased to 140, possibly to compensate for Tynes' withdrawal.<sup>1101</sup>

24 Novmeber. 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 71<sup>st</sup> 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 Clark & Chandler [William Candler] were

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<sup>1095</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/173-174.

<sup>1096</sup> WDC p. 365.

<sup>1097</sup> TCS p. 202.

<sup>1098</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/181-182.

<sup>1099</sup> Fanning speaks of a fort erected earlier by the rebels at Ninety Six. FNA p. 3. MST pp. 142-143, CON pp. 22-23.

<sup>1100</sup> MST pp. 142-143.

<sup>1101</sup> BSF pp.101, 109.

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."<sup>1102</sup>

27 November. Having found that that Salisbury was also lacking in provisions, Gates moved his army to Charlotte, yet which was not much better able to supply him, 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. "Each 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" (Otho Williams.)<sup>1103</sup>

Kirkwood: "Nov. 27. This Day the troops under Command of Genl. Gates, marched to Charlotte, where they built Hutts."<sup>1104</sup>

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.<sup>1105</sup>

*Late November.* [skirmish] Enoree River (probably Laurens County, S.C.)<sup>1106</sup> 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' 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, 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 abandon his post at Lands Ford on the Catawba River, because the term of service for his North Carolina mounted militia expired.<sup>1107</sup>

## DECEMBER 1780

*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 militia. A separate brass three-pounder was sent in their place in January, along with a wagonload of entrenching tools; but, this time, with a proper escort.<sup>1108</sup>

*December.* Col. John Twiggs and Col. Elijah Clark kept a small force together in the western part of Georgia near "the whig settlements," while 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 for safety. They subsequently rode to join Morgan's "Flying Army." Pickens had just

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<sup>1102</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/191-192.

<sup>1103</sup> KJO p. 12, WNA, RNC p. 258, 261, JLG vol. 1 p. 314, DRS p. 38.

<sup>1104</sup> KJO p. 12.

<sup>1105</sup> KJO pp. 12-13.

<sup>1106</sup> 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.

<sup>1107</sup> DRS p. 38.

<sup>1108</sup> CON pp. 21-23.

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 Tories, and therefore his oath was no longer binding.<sup>1109</sup>

*December.* Maj. James Dunlop, formerly of Ferguson's Corps, after recovering from a wound inflicted on him 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 etc. Among those who were accorded such treatment were Col. Andrew Pickens. Whether this occurred before or after he was approached by James McCall is not entirely clear, though *after* would seem more likely.<sup>1110</sup>

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."<sup>1111</sup>

*December.* [skirmish] Hopkins Place, Broad River, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, 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."<sup>1112</sup>

*Early December.* The British at Charlestown, from New York, received 50 dragoons of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regt., plus 200 recruits for 7<sup>th</sup> 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 replacements for the 7<sup>th</sup> Regt., and the detachment of 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, both of which reached Tarleton in time to serve at Cowpens.<sup>1113</sup> Babits writes that *some* of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup>," is obviously very awkward and confusing. Further, and to my knowledge, no specific reference to the 17<sup>th</sup> being in South Carolina (after the fall of Charlestown) comes up till the time of Cowpens.<sup>1114</sup>

*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."<sup>1115</sup>

1 December. Tarleton returned to his camp at Woodward's plantation near Briery's Ferry. Afterward he rode to Winnsborough to confer with Cornwallis and where he visited sick and wounded. His dragoons spent the early

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<sup>1109</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 362.

<sup>1110</sup> MHG pp. 503-504.

<sup>1111</sup> JTR p. 153.

<sup>1112</sup> TCS pp. 182-184.

<sup>1113</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 9, TCS p. 212, BDW pp. 46-47.

<sup>1114</sup> BDW pp. 46-47.

<sup>1115</sup> LMS p. 221.

days of the month at Woodward's in rest and recuperation. Some rode patrols; others went foraging. Horses were shod, and new horses were purchased.<sup>1116</sup>

1 December (or thereabouts). [skirmish] Rutledge's Ford (Abbeville and Laurens county border, S.C.)<sup>1117</sup>  
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, fortified 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 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, Hammond and Liddle. In these expeditions, little was done more than collecting recruits, under Colonels Cay, 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."<sup>1118</sup>

2 December (also given as 1 and 4 December). [surrender] Rugeley's Mill, also Rugeley's Fort, Rudgeley's Mill (Kershaw County, S.C.) Rugeley's Mill, which had been somewhat fortified (probably a stockade), was taken by Col. William Washington cavalry and some mounted militia, by means of a "Quaker" cannon ruse. 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. Rugeley had 112 loyalists under his command in stockade protected house. 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 was burned down. Washington and his men then returned to Hanging Rock where Continental the light infantry were staying, and from there they all moved to New Providence.<sup>1119</sup>

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 Infantry remained whilst Colonel Washington, with his Cavalry went down to Colonel Rudgeley'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 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. 100 [miles]." See also Kirkwood's almost identical entry at 28 November.<sup>1120</sup>

2 December. Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene and his aides arrived to join the Southern Army in Charlotte.<sup>1121</sup>

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 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> of last Month; Lord Rawdon during my illness informed Your Excellency in his letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> & 31<sup>st</sup> 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

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<sup>1116</sup> BGD pp. 124-125.

<sup>1117</sup> LSC p. 10. The date for the engagement given here is Lipscomb's.

<sup>1118</sup> JTR Pp. 530-532.

<sup>1119</sup> KJO pp. 12-13, TCS p. 205, WNA, LMS pp. 221-222, LFB vol. II, p. 460, WAR vol. II, p. 745, RBG pp. 121-122, SCAR vol. 2, no.6, pp. 11-15.

<sup>1120</sup> AJO.

<sup>1121</sup> LMS p. 216, JLG vol. I, p. 339.



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 64<sup>th</sup> 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; Morgan's Infantry and Washington with 100 Cavalry, came down on the 1<sup>st</sup>, 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 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."<sup>1122</sup>

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 the 3<sup>rd</sup> as the date, Johnson the 4<sup>th</sup>, and Kirkwood in his journal the 6<sup>th</sup>.

There were but three days provisions on hand when he arrived at Charlotte, and no promise of more. Among his very first tasks then, Greene sent Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko to survey the area north of the Pee Dee above Cheraw for a new camp-site, the provisions around Charlotte having grown quite depleted a long time since the Continentals first arrived in August. When Kosciuszko returned, he reported the Pee Dee-Cheraw area healthy and abundant. Greene then moved his army there later in the month.

Yet in addition, at this same time, Greene ordered his new Quartermaster General Lieut. Col Edward Carrington<sup>1123</sup> to find out about the feasibility of water transport on the Roanoke, Dan and Yadkin Rivers. Carrington then sent Capt. John Smith of the Maryland 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 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 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.<sup>1124</sup>

The army Greene<sup>1125</sup> took command of, not counting the occasional North Carolina militia, stood as follows:

Maryland Brigade: 200 to 300, Col. Otho Williams

Light Infantry corps: 290, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard  
This was made up of companies from 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.

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.

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<sup>1122</sup> COC pp. 46-48, Benjamin Franklin Stevens, *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781*, 2 vols. (London, 1888), vol. I, pp. 302-310.

<sup>1123</sup> Carrington, at the time, was in Richmond seeing to other matters relating to the southern army's support and maintenance.

<sup>1124</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 7, 15, 23-25, LMS pp. 249-250, DRS p. 37, JLG vol. I, p.337, WAR vol. II, pp. 733-736, 750-751, WDC pp. 364-365, BEA p. 184.

<sup>1125</sup> With Morgan not present Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger served as 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.

Combined 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons: 80-90 men, Lieut. Col. William Washington<sup>1126</sup>

Detachment of the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery (Virginia): [probably 80 to 100], Capt. Anthony Singleton<sup>1127</sup>  
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 Triplett

Capt. James Tate

Although their term of service was as militia, many of these soldiers were Continental Army veterans.

TOTAL operative force 2,037, roughly half of whom were militia. Total Continentals at Hick's Creek (i.e. not counting Morgan's detachment) did not exceed 1,100<sup>1128</sup> in camp, and not 800 could be mustered armed and clothed fit for duty. Most then were badly clothed, which 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,<sup>1129</sup> were sent home due to the lack of clothes and arms. Desertions were common until Greene, after giving advanced warning, had some men executed as examples, which proved effective in arresting the problem.<sup>1130</sup>

On 18 December 18<sup>th</sup>, 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 of) 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 Hillsboro and he [Williams] has written him there, asking him to send a return of the artillery to the General from there."<sup>1131</sup>

5 December. Cornwallis at Winnsborough wrote to Tarleton stating that the Legion baggage, escorted by the 7<sup>th</sup> Regt, has been ordered to Brierly's Ferry (where the Legion was at that time located.)<sup>1132</sup>

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<sup>1133</sup> 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."<sup>1134</sup>

8 December. Greene and Gov. Rutledge visited Sumter at the home of John Price near Tuckasegee Ford on the Catawba River.<sup>1135</sup>

8 December. [skirmish] French Broad River, TN. See ONB vol. 2, p. 379.

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<sup>1126</sup> Some of Washington's cavalry were so naked at the time, they had to be sent back to Virginia to be clothed and refit. JLG vol. II, p. 337.

<sup>1127</sup> Maj. John Mazaret, a Virginia State Artillery officer, was also with the artillery at this time.

<sup>1128</sup> Ward says 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 would be filling out the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regt. WAR vol. II, p. 752.

<sup>1129</sup> HWW p. 78.

<sup>1130</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 339, LSY pp. 294, 296, RNC pp. 262, 265.

<sup>1131</sup> WCA p. 31.

<sup>1132</sup> TCS pp. 246-247.

<sup>1133</sup> 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.

<sup>1134</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/285-286.

<sup>1135</sup> BGC p. 115.

9 December. In November much of Cornwallis' army was destitute of clothes, with 71<sup>st</sup> in particular quite naked. Rum, a welcome comfort of the soldiers, also was lacking. However on December 9<sup>th</sup>: "our clothing is all come up on every man & plenty of rum."<sup>1136</sup>

12 December (also given as the 4 and 11 December). [skirmish] Long Canes,<sup>1137</sup> 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 Blackstocks) returned to Georgia. Sometime in December he was again in the field and with Colonel Benjamin Few, 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. Many, if not most, of their men were mounted. Upon their arrival at Long Canes they sought to enlist recruits from the settlement that had a strong whig leaning. Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, the loyalist commander in the area, sent to Cruger for support. Cruger 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.<sup>1138</sup>

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..."<sup>1139</sup>

12-13 December.<sup>1140</sup> [skirmishes] Halfway Swamp, and Singleton's Mill (Clarendon and Sumter County border area, S.C.) Resuming 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 64<sup>th</sup> Regt. and some 200 new recruits for the 7<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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. During 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 64<sup>th</sup> to Major John Campbell. However, there is no Major John Campbell of the 64<sup>th</sup> named on the British Army lists so this may be an error.<sup>1141</sup>

13-14 December. Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, carried by a convoy under Commodore Gayton, debarked in Charlestown with 2300 rank and file, but did not march to reinforce Cornwallis till December 19<sup>th</sup>. His reinforcement consisted of the Foot Guards, Regt. von Bose, detachments of the 82<sup>nd</sup> and 84<sup>th</sup> 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 troops designated for Cornwallis and Rawdon were camped at the Quarter House just outside Charlestown.<sup>1142</sup>

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<sup>1136</sup> WCO p. 242.

<sup>1137</sup> Long Canes, or Long Cane, Creek flows south into the Savannah River.

<sup>1138</sup> TCS p. 183, MHG pp. 501-503, LSY p. 89, RBG p. 123.

<sup>1139</sup> MHG p. 501.

<sup>1140</sup> William Dobein James and McCrady give these events as taking place in February.

<sup>1141</sup> JFM ch. 2, BSF pp. 107-111, LSY pp. 74-75, RBG p. 142.

<sup>1142</sup> LOB, Part II, TCS p. 242, CAR p. 214n, FWI p. 215.

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."<sup>1143</sup>

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."<sup>1144</sup>

On December 22<sup>nd</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 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."<sup>1145</sup>

14 December. [skirmish] Indian Creek (Newberry County, S.C.)<sup>1146</sup>

14 December. [raid] Nelson's Ferry (Clarendon-Orangeburgh County area) About mid December, due to plans for the second invasion of North Carolina, and additional British troops being thereby drawn outside the state, and, as well, Marion's success in the field, Balfour changed the Charlestown-Camden supply route from the shorter route of Nelson's Ferry and the Santee Road, to the much longer one going from Monck's Corner to Friday's Ferry<sup>1147</sup> on the Congaree River. Balfour ordered that boats on the Santee stay below Murry's Ferry, however, one ship which did not receive the directive in time was captured and burned at Nelson's Ferry by Marion's men on 14 December. Although some of the 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment was posted at the north side of Nelson's Ferry at the time of the raid, their numbers were not sufficient to pursue Marion's mounted men.<sup>1148</sup>

14 December. [skirmish] Indian Creek, S.C. See ONB vol. 2, p. 387.

15 December. Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay, died of natural causes while stationed in Rhode Island. He was succeeded by Destouches.<sup>1149</sup>

16 December. Charlotte having been exhausted of provisions for some time, Greene decided to move the army to Cheraw area on the north side of the Peedee. The move was prompted by strategic considerations, as well as logistical, since the Peedee River afforded him protection from attack, while the new camp would further separate Cornwallis from the loyalists in the Cross Creek region. Greene's troops were put under marching orders the 16<sup>th</sup>. However, incessant rains prevented the move till the 20<sup>th</sup>. Morgan was to continue in command of a light corps, this time 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 "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. Morgan at this time lay a few miles south of Charlotte. Kirkwood in his entry for the 17<sup>th</sup> writes "March'd to Charlotte....13 [miles.]"<sup>1150</sup> Kirkwood's next entry giving a location is on December 28<sup>th</sup>. See 20-21 December.<sup>1151</sup>

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.<sup>1152</sup>

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

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<sup>1143</sup> TCS p. 184.

<sup>1144</sup> CAR p. 221.

<sup>1145</sup> COC pp. 48-49.

<sup>1146</sup> LSC p. 11.

<sup>1147</sup> Friday's Ferry was on the Congaree between Cayce and Columbia.

<sup>1148</sup> BSF p. 113.

<sup>1149</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 334.

<sup>1150</sup> KJO p. 13.

<sup>1151</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 346, BDW p. 7, WDC p. 369.

<sup>1152</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/357-358, BGD p. 139.

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.”<sup>1153</sup>

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 North Carolina militia, subject to approval by North Carolina's General Assembly. Huger, meanwhile became Greene's second in command.<sup>1154</sup>

19 December. Leslie began his march from Charlestown (more specifically the Quarter House) to join Cornwallis in Winnsborough. Want of horses and wagons delayed him from leaving earlier. Accompanying him on this march north were 1530 rank and file, including the Brigade of Foot Guards, Regt. von Bose, and the Hesse Cassel Jägers.<sup>1155</sup> 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 way past Nelson's Ferry (see 21 December.) By the 24<sup>th</sup>, Leslie was at Monck's Corner on his way to Nelson's Ferry, arriving at the latter on the 28<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1156</sup>

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 (Leslie's reinforcements) they were accompanied by the remains of the flank and two other companies of the 82<sup>nd</sup> (regt.), and the small debris of the 84<sup>th</sup> (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.”<sup>1157</sup>

20-21 December. The rains having abated, Greene's army at Charlotte started moving. The next day (the 21<sup>st</sup>), Morgan 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 26<sup>th</sup>, Greene himself following 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.”<sup>1158</sup>

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.”<sup>1159</sup>

William Seymour, a Sergeant-Major in the Delaware Regiment: “On the 21<sup>st</sup> 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 [22<sup>nd</sup>] we crossed the river at Bizer's [Bigger's] ferry. Next day [23<sup>rd</sup>] we marched to Cane creek...”<sup>1160</sup>

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<sup>1161</sup> on the Catawba River 15 miles

“[December] 22 Crossed the [Catawba] River and marched 5 [miles].”<sup>1162</sup>

21 December. Cornwallis directed Leslie to detach Watson's corps of Provincial light infantry to assist Lord Rawdon in securing the South Carolina frontier. Later along Leslie's march then, Watson was left at Wright's Bluff five miles above Nelson's ferry to establish the fort (subsequently named after him) in that locality.<sup>1163</sup>

22 December. Leslie, on his way to Camden, halted at Monck's Corner.<sup>1164</sup>

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<sup>1153</sup> TCS p. 242.

<sup>1154</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 9, RNC pp. 265, 273.

<sup>1155</sup> “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 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons see *Early December*.

<sup>1156</sup> LOB Part II, TCS pp. 210, 242.

<sup>1157</sup> CAR p, 231.

<sup>1158</sup> Greene to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, 28 December 1780, NGP vol. VII, p. 8.

<sup>1159</sup> LMS p. 222, BDW p. 48.

<sup>1160</sup> SJS.

<sup>1161</sup> Bigger's Ferry on the Catawba River was about 18-19 miles east (east, or very slightly south east) of King's Mountain.

<sup>1162</sup> AJO.

<sup>1163</sup> See 27 December. PRO. 30/11/83, 61-61.

<sup>1164</sup> LOB, part II.

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 the British detachment protecting the west side of Nelson's Ferry was made up of 80 Hessians, reinforced on the December 18<sup>th</sup> with 150 newly arrived troops from Charlestown. On the north side of the ferry were the 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment, plus a detachment of mounted New York Volunteers under Coffin.

*Mid to Late December.* Balfour in Charlestown had sent (possibly 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<sup>1165</sup> 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.<sup>1166</sup>

24 December. Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, at Williams' Fort, to Tarleton: "From the best authority [I] am Convinced the Rebels are emboldening at Ramsours Mills. in [sic] all probability intend moving their operation [sic] towards this Quarter; I shall exert every Faculty to discover their Diabolical plans, [am intent on?] moving towards them with my militia. am [sic] Sorry to day I lack the Necessary Accountments [sic] -- wish and shall endeavour [sic] a daily Correspondence with you. I am."<sup>1167</sup>

24 December. Marion departed Benbow's Ferry and moved to patrol the area between Murray's and Nelson's Ferry on the Santee River.<sup>1168</sup>

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 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 Pee Dee a strong detachment had been pushed on from Charlestown to Georgetown intended to interrupt him by ascending the north bank of the Pee Dee 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."<sup>1169</sup>

24 December. The King's American Regiment, under Lieut. Col. George Campbell, along with Lieut. John Wilson's detachment of the Queen's Rangers of 15 men, arrived at Georgetown. By 28 December then, the Georgetown garrison consisted of 135 Kings American Regt., some 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. 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, 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 still about the same as they had started with.<sup>1170</sup>

25 December (also given as 28 December). [skirmish] "The Camp" (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 Merritt) at "The Camp" (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.<sup>1171</sup>

Capt. John Saunders: "On our arrival at Charles Town, Colonel [Nisit] 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 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1780, being the day after Lieut. Wilson's arrival at George Town, he and his party made a patrol [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

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<sup>1165</sup> In Simcoe's *Journal* these are given as 15 Queen's Rangers (cavalry.) SQR pp. 150, 153.

<sup>1166</sup> BSF pp. 115-120.

<sup>1167</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/406.

<sup>1168</sup> BSF p. 116.

<sup>1169</sup> JLG vol. I, pp. 357-358.

<sup>1170</sup> JKH p. 74, BSF pp. 119-120, BEA pp. 420, 1038.

<sup>1171</sup> SQR p. 242, BSF pp. 121-122.

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.'<sup>1172</sup>

Marion, at Snow's Island, wrote to Greene on the 28<sup>th</sup>: "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."<sup>1173</sup>

25 December. Morgan reached Grindal's Shoals on the Pacelot river (roughly ten miles north of modern Union.) There he camped and awaited the arrival of anticipated militia reinforcements. Babits states that Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes was present and had secured the Grindal's Shoals camp prior to Morgan's arrival.<sup>1174</sup> Seymour: "[It] being the 24<sup>th</sup>, 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 25<sup>th</sup>, we encamped at Pacolet River."<sup>1175</sup>

25 December. Leslie camped at "Floods House." By this date he had received the instructions that Watson was to be detached to Rawdon at Camden.<sup>1176</sup>

26 December. Maj. Archibald McArthur, at "Owens's Plantation," to Tarleton: "W. Grier would inform you of the firing heard at Liles'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."<sup>1177</sup>

26 December. Greene with the main army arrived at north bank of the Peedee, and 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. While the area afforded more provisions than Charlotte, Greene's men continued to suffer sorely from lack of clothing and the rainy weather.<sup>1178</sup>

26-28 December. Leslie's corps reached Nelson's Ferry, where they spent the next couple days crossing the Santee. By the 28<sup>th</sup>, they camped at Sumter's House.<sup>1179</sup>

27 December. Seymour: "On the 27<sup>th</sup> the General received intelligence that Colonel Tarleton was advancing in order to surprise us;<sup>1180</sup> 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."<sup>1181</sup>

27 December. Marion reported to Greene that Lieut. Col. John Watson, with 200 men, had begun establishment of post north of Nelson's Ferry. This defensive way point was later denoted "Fort Watson."<sup>1182</sup>

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.<sup>1183</sup>

28-30 December. Morgan was joined at his camp on the Pacelot by 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

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<sup>1172</sup> SQR pp. 241-242.

<sup>1173</sup> BSF p. 123.

<sup>1174</sup> BDW p. 48.

<sup>1175</sup> SJS.

<sup>1176</sup> LOB, part II.

<sup>1177</sup> PRO. 30/11/4/407-408.

<sup>1178</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 7, JLG vol. I, p. 347, BDW p. 7.

<sup>1179</sup> LOB part II, TCS p. 243.

<sup>1180</sup> Since Tarleton did not get started till January 1<sup>st</sup>, either Seymour's date is in error or what they had received was then a false report.

<sup>1181</sup> SJS.

<sup>1182</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 358.

<sup>1183</sup> BSF p. 123.

command),<sup>1184</sup> though 30 or 40 needed to make a trip into North Carolina “to get their effects.” These 30 or 40 returned the 16<sup>th</sup>, 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 joined up with Lieut. Col. William Washington’s dragoons about this time, but the place of juncture is not clear.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, 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.”<sup>1185</sup>

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.”<sup>1186</sup>

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.”<sup>1187</sup>

30 December. Following after Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie's Virginia expedition, a second British force under Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold, Lieut. Colonels Thomas Dundas and John Graves Simcoe was sent south. Having left New York on the 20<sup>th</sup>, they appeared off Hampton Roads on the 30<sup>th</sup>. Ward says that 1 war vessel and three transports carrying 400 in the convoy got lost during a storm and did not rejoin Arnold.<sup>1188</sup>

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.”<sup>1189</sup>

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, 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.

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<sup>1184</sup> Clark was recovering from the wound he suffered at Long Canes a couple weeks earlier. 55 of those with Pickens were from Clarke's command. Pickens then, at that time, was acting as more of a surrogate rather than bringing much of a force of his own as such, though by Cowpens most all of the South Carolina militia present were put under his command.

<sup>1185</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 31.

<sup>1186</sup> SJM.

<sup>1187</sup> BGD p. 142.

<sup>1188</sup> CAR pp. 235-236, WAR vol. II, p. 868.

<sup>1189</sup> CAR p. 235.



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.<sup>1190</sup>

30 December. (also given as 28 and 29 December). [raid] Hammond's Store (probably Laurens County, S.C.) To encourage the British support in the upcountry of South Carolina, 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. 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 29<sup>th</sup>. Learning of their approach Waters fell back another to Hammond's Store where on the 30<sup>th</sup> Washington caught up with and routed him. Morgan reported to Greene the Loyalists as losing 150 killed or wounded and 40 captured, a number probably Haller states Waters escaped with 60 survivors, lost 40 as prisoners, 50 horses, and 150 killed or sabered beyond recovery. These figures indicate that many of Waters men were needlessly slaughtered. However, it seems likely that the vindictiveness sprang from the militia, with scores to settle, rather than Washington's dragoons as such. On the other hand, it was common in that day for cavalry to be free with the sword when opposition was nil.<sup>1191</sup> 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 to keep the Tories in check. He 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."

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."<sup>1192</sup>

30 December. (also given as 29 December and 31 December) [skirmish] Williams' Fort, also Fort Williams, Williams' Plantation (Newberry or possibly Laurens 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, former home of whig. Brig. Gen. James Williams, situated a few miles northwest of the main fort in the region, Ninety Six. Washington sent a detachment of 40 dragoons under Cornet James Simmons (also given as Simons) and some mounted militia under Lieut. Col. Joseph Hayes to take the fort. Haller, on the other hand, states that the force consisted of 10 dragoons and 40 mounted militia. When they arrived, Simmons and Hayes demanded the fort'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 were taken. Another version states that the fort was evacuated before Simmons and Hayes arrived. Food and other stores were taken, though the fort itself was left intact.<sup>1193</sup>

Seymour. "On the 31<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1194</sup>

30 December. Leslie camped at Singleton's Mill.<sup>1195</sup>

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."<sup>1196</sup>

31 December. Leslie camped at Ravenor's Creek.<sup>1197</sup>

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<sup>1190</sup> JFM ch. 2, Appendix, BSF pp. 124-125.

<sup>1191</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 30-31, JLG vol. I, p. 363, WAR vol. II, p. 752, LSY p. 121, RBG pp. 126-128, BEA pp. 481-482, BRG p. 302, HWW p. 81, SCAR vol. 2, no.12, pp. 14-23.

<sup>1192</sup> SJM.

<sup>1193</sup> JLG vol. 1, p. 364, BGD pp. 142-143, RBG p. 128, BEA p. 482, HWW p. 82, SCAR vol. 2, no.12, pp. 18-19.

<sup>1194</sup> Seymour, who was not present, is confusing the attack at Hammonds Store with the taking of Williams' Fort. SJS.

<sup>1195</sup> LOB, part II.

<sup>1196</sup> FRM p. 1580.

*Late December.* To prevent frontier militia, such as those of Watauga and Nolachucky settlements, from assisting Greene, Cornwallis arranged to have British agents incite uprisings among the Cherokee. The frontiersmen found out about the scheme, and, as a result, arranged surprise attacks on the Indians of their own. On December 22<sup>nd</sup>, Col. Arthur Campbell with 300 to 400 men, and Lieut. Col. John Sevier with some 270 met near Buckingham Island on French Broad River. Passing the Little Tennessee River at Tomotley's Ford, they reached the Cherokee town of Chota on the 24<sup>th</sup>, which they burned. Tellico followed, and on the 28<sup>th</sup>, Tuskegee. After marching to the Tellico River, they moved to Hiwassee on 1 January and found that town abandoned. From there the expedition returned home. Despite the effort, the Cherokees and their allies continued to raid the western settlements well into 1781, and to that extent, Cornwallis succeeded in diverting the frontier militia's attention and manpower.<sup>1198</sup>

*"Late 1780".* [skirmish] Fairforest Creek (Union County, S.C.)

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."<sup>1199</sup>

## 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.<sup>1200</sup>

*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. See ONB vol. 3, p. 22.

*January.* [skirmish] Mann's Old Field, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 53.

*January.* [raid] Brier Creek Massacre. S.C. See ONB vol. 3, 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1201</sup>

*Early January.* Sometime prior to his movement from Winnsborough later in the month, Cornwallis instructed Balfour in Charlestown to send an expedition to take Wilmington. About this time the garrison at Camden contained 700 to 800 men and relatively few cannon, but was otherwise strongly fortified.<sup>1202</sup>

*Early January.* Ongoing skirmishing between loyalists and whigs continued in the Drowning Creek region of South Carolina and North Carolina.

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 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons) only one fourth remained (i.e. 60 or 70) and the rest had been lost or discharged during the

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<sup>1197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1198</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 10n, MDR pp. 473-478, DRR pp. 307-309.

<sup>1199</sup> S.J.M.

<sup>1200</sup> CAR p. 288.

<sup>1201</sup> FRM p. 1749n.

<sup>1202</sup> 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. NGP vol. VII, p. 135n, LMS p. 615.

Charlestown campaign. On Jan. 3<sup>rd</sup> he received a welcome, albeit small, reinforcement of a corporal, seven privates and nine remounts. On the 4<sup>th</sup> a deserter was - the same day he was apprehended.<sup>1203</sup>

1 January. From his camp on the Peedee, Greene directed Kosciuszko, his chief engineer, to pick up tools at Cross Creek and to arrange to have built some boats to be used by the army. These boats were to be constructed such that they could be mounted on wheels, and thus be moved overland. Exactly what was done with these boats 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 detachment. However, 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 crossing 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.<sup>1204</sup>

1 January. On December 30<sup>th</sup>, Marion was promoted to Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia by Governor John Rutledge, and actually received word of it on January 1<sup>st</sup>. At his entrenched position on inaccessible Snow's Island, he then made Col. Hugh Ervin the second in command of his Brigade. Col. Peter Horry was given command of the 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 Hugh Horry were: 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 men to cavalry.<sup>1205</sup>

1-2 January. Tarleton received orders from Cornwallis to throw himself between Morgan and Ninety Six. Leaving behind his baggage at Briery's Ferry, Tarleton, with his Legion, the 1st Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup>, and 2 three-pounders advanced on the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 7<sup>th</sup> Regt., some light infantry and the 17<sup>th</sup> dragoons. His total then amounted to 1,100 men. On 12 January, the hunt for Morgan commenced.<sup>1206</sup>

Tarleton: "Earl Cornwallis dispatched an aid-de-camp [Lt. 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 71<sup>st</sup>, 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<sup>1207</sup>: "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.<sup>1208</sup> 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."<sup>1209</sup>

1-8 January. For eight days, Leslie camped near Camden. Contrary then to some accounts, it was not really or necessarily the swamps of the Santee or the rain that actually delayed Leslie's reaching Cornwallis for so long, but rather this week and a day spent in Camden.<sup>1210</sup>

On January 8<sup>th</sup> he 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."<sup>1211</sup>

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 71<sup>st</sup>, 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 hear, 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."<sup>1212</sup>

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<sup>1203</sup> HWW p. 83.

<sup>1204</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 35, 232, VIII, p. 29n.

<sup>1205</sup> BSF pp. 126-127.

<sup>1206</sup> TCS p. 210-211, MST pp. 96-97, JLG vol. 1, p. 366, BRG p. 309.

<sup>1207</sup> Roderick MacKenzie was with the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt. which accompanied Tarleton.

<sup>1208</sup> Actually it was Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger who commanded at Ninety Six.

<sup>1209</sup> MST pp. 96-97.

<sup>1210</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1211</sup> COC p. 52.

<sup>1212</sup> Cornwallis had heard report Morgan might have cannon, hence his concern for Ninety Six. BGD p. 143.

3 January. [raid] Hood's Point (Charles City County, VA.) The advance party of Arnold's invasion force landed at Hood's Point consisting of 130 Queen's Rangers under Lieut. Col. John Graves Simcoe lands at Hoods Point, with the light infantry and grenadiers of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment. They proceeded to take a rebel shore battery (that had been abandoned immediately before by its 50 man garrison) and spiked the battery's guns.<sup>1213</sup> Arnold then commenced his move up the James River and began his raid on rebel commerce and stores. Three transports with some additional 400-500 British troops did not land till the 4<sup>th</sup>, and these then did not reach up with him till 9 January.<sup>1214</sup>

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 7<sup>th</sup> regt are ordered to Byerley's [Brierly's]...Be quite sure that 96 is safe. 7<sup>th</sup> reg't will take your old gun to Ninety Six."<sup>1215</sup>

4 January. [raids, skirmish] Richmond (Chesterfield, Richmond City, and Henrico Counties, VA.) Arnold's invasion force landed at Westover, Virginia,<sup>1216</sup> approximately thirty miles southeast of Richmond. Governor Jefferson dispatched "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, to be the object, hastened his Continental force, about two hundred recruits to that town." (Lee) Arnold, however, marched for Richmond. The size of his entire force is believed to be 1,500; based on a sworn deposition he later gave, though Clinton speaks of it as 1800. It was stated by Johann Ewald to include, a detachment of Jägers, the Queen's Rangers, the 80<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1217</sup>

4 January. Lieut. Col. Washington, with Thomas Brandon and Joseph Hayes returned to Morgan's camp at Grindal Shoals December 4<sup>th</sup>. According to Babits, Col. John Thomas' regiment was already with Morgan by this time.<sup>1218</sup>

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 71<sup>st</sup> and legion's are deposited at my old camp, to me. I wish it to be escorted by the 17<sup>th</sup> light dragoons, for whom horses are ready; by the yagers, if to be spared; and by the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment. The 7<sup>th</sup> I will send, as soon as I reach Ennoree [Enoree], with the field piece, to Ninety Six. My encampment is now twenty miles from Brierley's, 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."<sup>1219</sup>

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 to 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."<sup>1220</sup>

5 January. Arnold entered Richmond.<sup>1221</sup>

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 7<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>1213</sup> 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. WAR vol. II, p. 868.

<sup>1214</sup> CAR p. 236, SQR p. 161, LFB vol. II, p. 228, CBA p. 549, WAR vol. II, p. 868, BEA p. 1149.

<sup>1215</sup> BGD p. 144.

<sup>1216</sup> Westover was in Charles City County.

<sup>1217</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 34n, 41n, CAR 235, Ewald, Journal, p. 258, LMS pp. 298-288, LFB vol. II, p. 228, CBA p. 549.

<sup>1218</sup> BDW p. 49.

<sup>1219</sup> TCS p. 245-246.

<sup>1220</sup> TCS p. 211-212.

<sup>1221</sup> WAR vol. II, p. 869.

west of Broad River, as you will judge best according to the intelligence you may receive. McArthur [i.e. the 1st Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup> regt.] will of course march with you."<sup>1222</sup>

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.]."<sup>1223</sup>

6 January. Cornwallis to Balfour: "I shall not march till Monday [8 Jan.], as I find that Tarleton will not be quite ready."<sup>1224</sup>

6 January. Cornwallis to Clinton: "I am just honoured with your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1225</sup>

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<sup>1226</sup> 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. 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 Kings American Regiment and a troop of Queens 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, and Horry was 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.<sup>1227</sup>

Capt. John Saunders, of the Queen's Rangers, quoted in Simcoe: "On the 6<sup>th</sup> 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 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."<sup>1228</sup>

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. Arnold's expedition 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. Nevertheless, damage in all was relatively small, as the workshops and warehouses were not wholly consumed. On the 8<sup>th</sup>, the expedition returned to Westover, without having suffered any losses.<sup>1229</sup>

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 troops from Col. Alexander Smith's Maryland State Regt. Yarborough's troops previously had arrived at Greene's camp from Salisbury. It was intended that Col. Smith's men were to

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<sup>1222</sup> BGD p. 145.

<sup>1223</sup> BGD p. 146.

<sup>1224</sup> BGD p. 146.

<sup>1225</sup> COC pp. 50-51.

<sup>1226</sup> At least some of Horry's men were mounted as cavalry.

<sup>1227</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 121, SQR pp. 243-244, BSF pp. 128-130.

<sup>1228</sup> My very special thanks to Don Gara for specially providing the Queen's Rangers material contained in Simcoe and Jarvis, quoted here and subsequently. SQR pp. 242-243.

<sup>1229</sup> LMS p. 300, LFB vol. II, p. 229, CBA 549.

rejoin their regiment at Haley's ferry.<sup>1230</sup> Elsewhere, Col. Abraham Buford was in Salisbury suffering from illness, which illness later caused him to leave the army and go home to Virginia.<sup>1231</sup>

7-8 January. Cornwallis began his march from Winnsborough in which he covered only twenty-five miles in eight days. The rains and his heavy baggage impeded his march, and, in addition, he moved with relative 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. Lack of wagons had also hindered him. However on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1232</sup> Leslie did not leave Camden till the 9<sup>th</sup>. Before leaving Winnsborough, Cornwallis sent an order to Balfour, at Charlestown, to dispatch a sufficient strong expeditionary force by water to Wilmington; and to hold that post as a depot for supplies for the royal army in North Carolina. In furtherance, Balfour subsequently detached Major James Craig on that service. Craig subsequently drove the American militia from Wilmington, and took possession of it on the same day. Wilmington, was the only port in North Carolina useful to the British; from which could be received all of the supplies coming in from New York and Charlestown.<sup>1233</sup>

8 January. [skirmish] Charles City Court House (Charles City County, VA.) 150 Virginia militia are defeated by 40 dragoons, under Simcoe at Charles City Court House with 20 of them killed or wounded. Simcoe lost one man killed and three wounded. On receiving a (false) report that Von Steuben was at Petersburg, and of the appearance of militia at Manchester, Arnold marched back to Portsmouth to protect his line of retreat. To face the British invasion, von Steuben later had 600 men at Chesterfield Court House,<sup>1234</sup> but with clothing only for 150.<sup>1235</sup>

8 January. Lieut. Col. Henry Lee arrived at Greene's camp on the Peedee. His legion infantry and cavalry together totaling "about" 280 men had arrived a day or two earlier. In a letter of January 20, however, Greene refers to Lee's Legion as having 240 men. 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 force to move with.<sup>1236</sup>

8 January. Greene ordered Major David Campbell with 105 Virginia riflemen of Botetourt County, who were situated in Salisbury, to join Morgan. Campbell did not reach Morgan until after Cowpens apparently. See 16 January.<sup>1237</sup>

9 January. Tarleton remained at Duggin's, waiting for the rains to stop and the Enoree to fall.<sup>1238</sup>

9 January. Leslie finally left Camden, crossing the Wateree Ferry, and finally arriving at Twenty-Five Mile Creek a western tributary of the Wateree. Leslie had left behind his three pounders at Camden, while adding to his corps the Royal North Carolina Regt.<sup>1239</sup>

9 January. In a letter from Marion to Greene this date, Marion mentions that 80 British troops (30 of whom were mounted) left 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 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.<sup>1240</sup>

10 January. Arnold embarked from Westover on his way back to Portsmouth: Lee: "...and descending the [James] river, landed detachments occasionally, for the purpose of destroying whatever could be discovered worthy of his attention...On the 20<sup>th</sup>, the British detachment reached Portsmouth where General Arnold commenced defenses indicating the intention of rendering it a permanent station."<sup>1241</sup>

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.<sup>1242</sup>

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<sup>1230</sup> The editor to the Greene Papers states that because of a disagreement over rank, Greene desired to separate Smith's unit from those at camp. This controversy probably explains why Smith is not heard of subsequently in the southern campaign. NGP vol. VII, p.59n.

<sup>1231</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 58-59.

<sup>1232</sup> WCO p. 231, PRO. 30/11/64, ff.29-30.

<sup>1233</sup> LOB Part II, TCS pp. 220, 230, LMS p. 251, LFB vol. II, p. 407, BRG p. 311.

<sup>1234</sup> Lossing, on the other hand, says Powhatan County, which is just northwest of Chesterfield County.

<sup>1235</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 229-230, CBA p. 549.

<sup>1236</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 62, LMS p. 223.

<sup>1237</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 73, 74n.

<sup>1238</sup> BGD p. 148.

<sup>1239</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1240</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 123, 164.

<sup>1241</sup> LMS pp. 301-302.

<sup>1242</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 94n.

11 January. Cornwallis, at McAllister's, wrote to Tarleton: "I received yours last night, of the 9<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1243</sup>

12-14 January. With the reinforcements he had requested of Cornwallis having arrived, Tarleton resumed his advance on Morgan's now known position on the Pacelot. He crossed the flooded Enoree and Tyger Rivers (both on the 14<sup>th</sup>), having built rafts for his men to get across, while his horses swam. It was on or about the 12<sup>th</sup>, that Capt. Alexander Chesney with some 50 loyalist scouts joined Tarleton's force.<sup>1244</sup>

Tarleton: "Two hundred men of the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment, who were chiefly recruits, and designed for the garrison at Ninety Six, and fifty dragoons of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> regiment, he continued his course on the 12<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1245</sup>

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.<sup>1246</sup>

13 January. Leslie reached Wateree Creek, a tributary of the Wateree near Winnsborough.<sup>1247</sup>

14 January. Leslie reached Smith's (near Rocky Mount.) Cornwallis, meanwhile, was at Bull (or Bull's) Run,<sup>1248</sup> in modern Chester County, from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Tarleton was without communications with Cornwallis, and without information of the latter's position.<sup>1249</sup>

On this date Cornwallis wrote to Tarleton: "I received yesterday morning your letter dated Duggins, Indian Creek, Jan'y 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<sup>1250</sup> & 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."<sup>1251</sup>

Tarleton: "On the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> 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. 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."<sup>1252</sup>

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

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<sup>1243</sup> BGD p. 148.

<sup>1244</sup> TCS pp. 212-213, BRG p. 311, BDW p. 61.

<sup>1245</sup> TCS p. 212.

<sup>1246</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 18.

<sup>1247</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1248</sup> Bull Run, a tributary of the Catawba, is just to the east of Sandy Creek, which flows westward into the Broad River.

<sup>1249</sup> LOB, part III, TCS pp. 213, 219-220, MST pp. 82-88, JLG vol. I, p. 369, BGC p. 122, BRG p. 122.

<sup>1250</sup> 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.

<sup>1251</sup> BGD p. 149.

<sup>1252</sup> TCS pp. 219-220.

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 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup>, if difficulties and obstacles, which our author artfully conceals, had not intervened, he might certainly have arrived at the place of destination by the 17<sup>th</sup>. 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 17<sup>th</sup>, before one hour of day light 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."<sup>1253</sup>

14 January. To the dismay and chagrin of some of his men, Morgan withdrew northward in the direction of the Broad River, and by the 15<sup>th</sup> had moved to Burr's Mill, a short distance north of Grindal Shoals and above Thicketty Creek.<sup>1254</sup>

*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.<sup>1255</sup>

*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 up north. 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 to Georgetown is not clear. Presumably Saunders had by this time at least somewhat augmented his original detachment of 15 men.<sup>1256</sup>

15 January. Lieut. Col. John Green with 400 Virginia Continentals reached Greene's camp on the Peedee. He also had with him 8 wagons with supplies sent from Philadelphia.<sup>1257</sup>

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.<sup>1258</sup>

15 January. Leslie arrived at Burns' House.<sup>1259</sup>

15 January.  
*Forces under Cornwallis.*  
Rank and File:

Brigade of Guards: 690  
7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 167  
16<sup>th</sup> Regt. (3 companies): 41  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 286  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 328  
1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 249

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<sup>1253</sup> MST pp. 82-88.

<sup>1254</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 178, BDW p. 52.

<sup>1255</sup> JFM ch. 2, BSF pp. 130-131.

<sup>1256</sup> Very likely many, if not most, of the 65 to 80 Queen's Rangers were recruits/replacements (not originally Q.R.s) come with Leslie and or locals signed up. SQR p. 241.

<sup>1257</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 356, NGP vol. VII, pg. 70n.

<sup>1258</sup> BDW pp. 52-53.

<sup>1259</sup> LOB, part III.



2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 237  
Light Companies, 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 69  
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 347  
Hessian Jägers: 103  
North Carolina Volunteers: 256  
British Legion (cavalry and infantry): 451

Total: 3,224<sup>1260</sup>

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."<sup>1261</sup>

15 January. Morgan arrived at Burr's Mill, north of Thicketty Creek. Here he wrote to 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 made it impossible for him to keep his force together. Morgan asked Greene if Pickens and Davidson might remain with militia; while he 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 Blackstocks.<sup>1262</sup>

15 January. The river being too flooded to ford, Tarleton marched to the source of the Pacelot in order to find a crossing. Then, having become aware of Pickens scouts following his movements, he left camp in the early morning hours of the 16<sup>th</sup> and retraced his route to back Easterwood Shoals, six miles south of Morgan's camp; where he found a manageable crossing.<sup>1263</sup>

Tarleton: "On the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 patrol 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.

"Patrols 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."<sup>1264</sup>

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. I am now on my march. I wish he could be stopped."<sup>1265</sup>

16 January. Near dawn, Morgan learning of Tarleton being now just directly across the Pacelot from him, hurriedly retreated to Cowpens; 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<sup>1266</sup>, 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.<sup>1267</sup>

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:

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<sup>1260</sup> CAC p. 53.

<sup>1261</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 125. 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. NGP vol. VIII, p. 84n.

<sup>1262</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 128, JLG vol. I, p. 370, BRG p. 312, SCAR vol. 2, no.12, p. 8.

<sup>1263</sup> TCS pp. 213-214, BRG p. 313.

<sup>1264</sup> TCS pp. 213-214.

<sup>1265</sup> PRO. 30/11/67/28-29, BGD p. 151.

<sup>1266</sup> Babits says at 8 pm.

<sup>1267</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 129, BDW pp. 53-53, 57, 71.

"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."<sup>1268</sup>

Tarleton: "Early in the night the patrols 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."<sup>1269</sup>

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.<sup>1270</sup>

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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 Framer<sup>1271</sup> with 200 (Orange County) militia was nearby, and asked Greene if Farmer was to join him.<sup>1272</sup>

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. Before being asked by Greene to take the position, Davie had been making arrangements to form a North Carolina, 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 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." He served as Commissary General up to about the time of the siege of Ninety Six, when his services were no longer so desperately required.<sup>1273</sup>

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 19<sup>th</sup> grinding meal and awaiting Leslie. During which time (the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup>) many of those who had fled at Cowpens joined up with the army. This same day, Tarleton crossed the Pacelot, and halted on 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 8<sup>th</sup>) Cornwallis had only advanced twenty-five miles.<sup>1274</sup>

17 January. [battle] COWPENS,<sup>1275</sup> also Hannah's Cowpens (Cherokee County, S.C.) Breaking camp at about 3 am on the 17<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>1276</sup> 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. 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.

The action has been already so well described elsewhere to need much recounting here. Tarleton's recklessness and impetuosity, fatigue among his troops after a long march, the "loose manner of forming which had always been practised 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 factors in the battle's outcome. As well, of course, Morgan's inspiring leadership, tactical genius, and "the bravery or good conduct of the Americans," have been observed as well. The heavy casualties among the Delaware troops at Cowpens might also suggest that those men, as well as many of the Marylanders, were

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<sup>1268</sup> LMS p. 222.

<sup>1269</sup> TCS p. 214.

<sup>1270</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 74.

<sup>1271</sup> 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.

<sup>1272</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 134.

<sup>1273</sup> DRS pp. 39, 42.

<sup>1274</sup> TCS 219-220, CAR p. 248, JLG vol. I, p. 369, WCO p. 256.

<sup>1275</sup> Although the present day town of Cowpens is in Spartanburg, the battlefield itself is in adjacent Cherokee County.

<sup>1276</sup> 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."

desirous of vindicating themselves after what happened to their regiments at Camden, and perhaps fought with a more than usual zeal and courage. The battle was certainly one of the proudest moments for both the Continental army and the militia in the entire war, and the destruction of the British light troops played a key part in bringing about Cornwallis' subsequent misfortunes in the Guilford Court House campaign. Ironically, on the 19<sup>th</sup>, Greene, unaware of what happened wrote Morgan telling him to avoid action.<sup>1277</sup>

#### 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 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 Triplett [Francis Triplett], were formed on a rising Ground, and extended in a Line in Front. The 3<sup>rd</sup> 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."<sup>1278</sup>

\* 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.<sup>1279</sup>

\* 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  
3<sup>rd</sup> Regt. of Light Dragoons: (no number given)<sup>1280</sup>

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.<sup>1281</sup>

Roderick MacKenzie, from the 71<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1282</sup>

\* 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

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<sup>1277</sup> KJO p. 13, NGP vol. VII, pp. 152-155, CAC pp. 2-4, TCS pp. 214-220, LCC p. 94, LMS pp. 225-231, JLG vol. I, pp. 374-386, WNO, part II, pp. 8-9, SJM, LFB vol. II, 431-436, JTR p. 526-530, FWI pp. 217-220, WAR vol. II, pp. 755-762, BGD pp. 152-162, DRR pp. 174-175, BDW, WCO pp. 262-269, SCAR vol. 3, no.2, pp. 15-23.

<sup>1278</sup> Morgan to Greene from Cane Creek, 19 January 1781, NGP vol. VII, 152-155.

<sup>1279</sup> TCS p. 249.

<sup>1280</sup> WCA p. 36.

<sup>1281</sup> TCS pp. 216-217.

<sup>1282</sup> MST pp. 96-97, 116-117.

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.<sup>1283</sup>

\* 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.<sup>1284</sup>

\* 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.<sup>1285</sup>

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."<sup>1286</sup>

\* 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, 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,<sup>1287</sup> 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 Virginia Continentals, Capt. Andrew Wallace  
Virginia riflemen (Augusta County), Capt. Patrick Buchanan

#### Cavalry

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<sup>1283</sup> JLG vol. I, pp. 374-376.

<sup>1284</sup> WAR vol. II, p. 755

<sup>1285</sup> LSY pp. 294-295.

<sup>1286</sup> NGP VOL. VII 161n.

<sup>1287</sup> 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.

1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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."<sup>1288</sup>

1,800 to 2,400 men is quite a radical departure from all previous accounts, save Tarleton's. But is Babits' argument convincing? A few facts are worth considering in regard to it. For one thing Babits 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 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<sup>1289</sup> -- 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 (Johnson and Babits' figure)<sup>1290</sup> 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 men. At King's Mountain, not far from Cowpens, the South Carolina militia numbered only 160. McDowell's and Cleveland'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. 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<sup>1291</sup>

Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 168/177, Maj. Timothy Newmarsh

71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 249/263, Maj. Archibald McArthur

Light infantry: 135-160/?<sup>1292</sup>

British Legion Infantry: 200/?,<sup>1293</sup> probably Capt. John Rousselet

British Legion Cavalry: 300-350/?, Capt. David Ogelvey, Capt. Richard Hovenden

17<sup>th</sup> Regt. of Dragoons: 50/52, Lt. Henry Nettles<sup>1294</sup>

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<sup>1288</sup> BDW p. 150.

<sup>1289</sup> See *Cowpens Papers: Being Correspondence of General Morgan and the Prominent Actors, from the collection of Theodor Bailey Myers*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>1290</sup> 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.

<sup>1291</sup> Numbers are taken from Babits, though note the full total does not include musicians.

<sup>1292</sup> Babits states the British light inf. detachment was made up of 41 men from the 16<sup>th</sup> Regt., 35 from 1/71<sup>st</sup>, 34 from 2/71<sup>st</sup>, 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.

<sup>1293</sup> Respecting the strength of the British Legion, Tarleton states he had "five hundred and fifty men," which total would seem to include the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup>, were new recruits. TCS pp. 182.

Royal Artillery: 50, with 2 brass three-pounders<sup>1295</sup>

Loyalist militia: 50, Capt. Alexander Chesney, *these acted as scouts*.

\* Tarleton's strength based on numbers taken from Cornwallis' Return of 15 January 1781.<sup>1296</sup> In Rank and File Tarleton then had:

16<sup>th</sup> Foot (3 companies): 41  
Lt. Companies, 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 69  
7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 167  
1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. of the 71<sup>st</sup>: 249  
British Legion, " &c. &c. ": 451<sup>1297</sup>

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.<sup>1298</sup>

\* 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."<sup>1299</sup>

\* Tarleton manages to include descriptions of his force's strength, in his text, this way: "Cornwallis dispatched an aid-de-camp on the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 71<sup>st</sup>, consisting of two hundred, and two three-pounders, to counteract the designs of General Morgan, by protecting the country, and compelling him to repossess Broad river....Two hundred men of the 7<sup>th</sup> regiment, who were chiefly recruits, and designed for the garrison at Ninety Six, and fifty dragoons of the 17<sup>th</sup> regiment, brought the waggons from Brierley's to camp."<sup>1300</sup>

\* MacKenzie: "Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton was detached with the light and legion-infantry, the fusiliers, the first battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1301</sup>

\* William Johnson says Tarleton certainly numbered 1050 regulars, and about 50 loyalists.<sup>1302</sup>

\* Babits states Tarleton's command numbered 1,200.<sup>1303</sup>

## CASUALTIES

### AMERICAN

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.<sup>1304</sup>

Tarleton says the Morgan lost 300.<sup>1305</sup>

William Johnson: Morgan lost 11 killed, and 61 wounded.<sup>1306</sup>

Babits: American losses were 127 to 148.<sup>1307</sup>

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<sup>1294</sup> HWW p. 86.

<sup>1295</sup> 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.

<sup>1296</sup> CAC p. 53.

<sup>1297</sup> " &c. &c.," i.e. presumably the 17<sup>th</sup> dragoons.

<sup>1298</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 155.

<sup>1299</sup> WCA p. 36.

<sup>1300</sup> TCS pp. 211-212.

<sup>1301</sup> MST p. 96.

<sup>1302</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 374.

<sup>1303</sup> BDW p. 49.

<sup>1304</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 161n.

<sup>1305</sup> TCS p. 218.

<sup>1306</sup> JLG Vol. I, p. 383.

<sup>1307</sup> Babits also mentions that 14 of 72 American casualties at Cowpens were from the company of 60 Delaware troops.

## BRITISH

Morgan's report of 19 January: The British lost 100 killed and 200 wounded, 29 officers and about 500 privates taken prisoner. On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Morgan said this last number had risen to 600. Also captured were 70 negroes, 2 pieces of artillery, 800 muskets, one traveling forge, 35 baggage wagons, 100 dragoon horses. Morgan: "they destroyed most of the baggage which was immense."<sup>1308</sup>

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.<sup>1309</sup>

Cornwallis, in his letter to Germain of 17 March wrote: "The unfortunate affair of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1310</sup>

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 15<sup>th</sup> of January and 1<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1311</sup>

Babits: At least 87 wounded were left at Cowpens because they could not be moved.<sup>1312</sup>

Maj. Timothy Newmarsh and Maj. Archibald McArthur were among those taken prisoner.

Kirkwood: "17<sup>th</sup>. Defeated Tarleton  
18<sup>th</sup>. March'd for the Catawba river arrived the 23<sup>rd</sup>....100[miles]"<sup>1313</sup>

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."<sup>1314</sup>

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."<sup>1315</sup>

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

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BDW p. 152.

<sup>1308</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 155, 176.

<sup>1309</sup> WCA p. 36.

<sup>1310</sup> 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/>.

<sup>1311</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 384.

<sup>1312</sup> BDW p. 143

<sup>1313</sup> KJO p.13.

<sup>1314</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 155.

<sup>1315</sup> GHA p. 37.

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-colonel Tarleton's management of the King's troops, previous to and during the action, is fully expressed in a letter from his lordship."<sup>1316</sup>

MacKenzie: "A detachment from each corps, under the command of Lieutenant Fraser of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1317</sup>

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 esopoon 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 71<sup>st</sup>, 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 Duncanson, of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1318</sup>

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 conversed [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.

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<sup>1316</sup> TCS pp. 220-222.

<sup>1317</sup> MST pp. 102-103.

<sup>1318</sup> LCC pp. 96n-98n.



"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.

"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."<sup>1319</sup>

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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 71<sup>st</sup> 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.'

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<sup>1319</sup> WNO, part II, pp. 8-9.

"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.

"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 McDowell. The Georgia militia were under the immediate command of Majors Cunningham and Jackson; the Captains were Samuel Hammond, George Walton and Joshua Inman. Major 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 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."<sup>1320</sup>

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 *Mills' 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 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.

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<sup>1320</sup> SJM.

“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.”<sup>1321</sup>

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. He needed to keep an eye on enemy movements in his 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.<sup>1322</sup>

17 January. Samuel Hammond: “The evening of the day of the Battle of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 Ramsour's Mills.”<sup>1323</sup>

17 January. Leslie reached Sandy Run.<sup>1324</sup>

18 January. [raid] Dugan's Plantation, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 53.

18 January. From his camp at Island Ford on the Broad River Morgan continued his retreat north. At Gilbertown, Pickens and Washington were assigned to escort the prisoners, and Triplett's and Tate's militia, whose term of service was to expired accompanied them.<sup>1325</sup> From Gilbertown, Pickens moved towards Shallow Ford on the Yadkin, while Morgan with the main body continued the retreat east past Ramsour'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 2<sup>nd</sup>, a detachment from Stevens' corps then escorted them into Virginia; while Washington and Pickens, meanwhile, deployed 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 him. See *Early February*, and 2-3 February.<sup>1326</sup>

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 Ramsour's where Cornwallis by marching due north, with equal celerity might have me and destroyed his depleted and much inferior army.”<sup>1327</sup>

18 January. Leslie camped at Hillhouse's plantation near Turkey Creek, he finally formed a junction with Cornwallis' army. The addition of two six pounders brought 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.<sup>1328</sup>

19 January. Greene directed Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner to make arrangements to form new North Carolina Continental Regiments to replace those lost at Charlestown. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>1329</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup>, when the North Carolina legislature passed a law drafting North Carolina militia men who had deserted at that battle.<sup>1330</sup>

19 January. Cornwallis, from Turkey Creek,<sup>1331</sup> where he had been joined by Leslie the day previous, began his pursuit of Morgan and moved to King's Creek. On the 20<sup>th</sup>, Tarleton was sent with the dragoons and jagers to

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<sup>1321</sup> SJM.

<sup>1322</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 121, 136, 164.

<sup>1323</sup> HMP.

<sup>1324</sup> LOB part III.

<sup>1325</sup> 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

<sup>1326</sup> NGP VOL. VII, p. 200n, WAR vol. II, pp. 763-865, BDW pp. 143-144.

<sup>1327</sup> WAR vol. II, pp. 764-755.

<sup>1328</sup> LOB part III, TCS p. 222-223

<sup>1329</sup> Due to the Congressional reduction of Continental forces in 1780, many regular officers in both Virginia and North Carolina had gone to their home states to lead the militia.

<sup>1330</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 148, 208, WNA, RNC pp. 255-257.

<sup>1331</sup> 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.

obtain intelligence of Morgan, and give protection to any remaining fugitives. The immediate pursuit of Morgan proved ineffectual.<sup>1332</sup> Tarleton: "The 19<sup>th</sup>, the army, with the cavalry on their left flank, moved towards King's creek: The 20<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>1333</sup> 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."<sup>1334</sup>

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."<sup>1335</sup>

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 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 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 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 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 arrived and they stayed. The terms of enlistment for the Virginia militia with Greene came up in early February.<sup>1336</sup>

20 January. Cornwallis reached Saunders' Plantation.<sup>1337</sup>

20 January. Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold, having suffered few casualties, by this date had returned with his raiding expedition to Portsmouth, Virginia, and resumed work on the fortifications there begun by Leslie.<sup>1338</sup>

21 January. Maj. James Craig sailed from Charlestown with an expedition to take Wilmington.<sup>1339</sup>

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..."<sup>1340</sup>

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<sup>1332</sup> TCS pp. 222-223, CAR pp. 259-260.

<sup>1333</sup> Yet see 23-31 January.

<sup>1334</sup> TCS pp. 222-223.

<sup>1335</sup> SJM.

<sup>1336</sup> NGP VOL. VII pp. 110, 162.

<sup>1337</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1338</sup> CAR p. 244.

<sup>1339</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 237.

<sup>1340</sup> CLS p. 157.

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, and northeast of Cowpens. Here he learned that Morgan was at Gilberton.<sup>1341</sup>

22 January. 90 of Lee's Legion Infantry under Captains Patrick Carnes and Michael Rudolph, after reaching Marion's camp at Snow's Island on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, 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 24<sup>th</sup> (some accounts say the 23<sup>rd</sup>.) They then concealed themselves on the island in preparation for a water borne assault, while Lee and Marion with the remainder of the men made their approach to Georgetown by land.<sup>1342</sup>

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 24<sup>th</sup>, 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 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.<sup>1343</sup>

On this same date (the 22<sup>nd</sup>), 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 McCaul, 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. 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) 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."<sup>1344</sup>

23 January. Cornwallis arrived at Tryon Court House.<sup>1345</sup>

23-31 January. Morgan crossed Sherrald's Ford, then camped on the east side of the Catawba (the 31<sup>st</sup>.) Traversing difficult ground, and with baggage and prisoners taken, he had moved so slowly taken that he did not reach north fork (or main stream) of the Catawba till the 23<sup>rd</sup>. The prisoners and baggage crossed the river some seventeen miles further north at Island Ford.<sup>1346</sup>

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

<sup>1341</sup> BRG p.338, WCO p. 275.

<sup>1342</sup> LMS pp. 223-224, BSF p. 135.

<sup>1343</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 169-170, 228.

<sup>1344</sup> COC pp. 61-62.

<sup>1345</sup> LOB part III, WCO p. 147.

<sup>1346</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 243, JLG vol. I, pp. 387, 405, BRG pp. 339-340.

north-west toward the Little Broad River to cut him off. But Morgan, as we have seen, had headed straight for Sherrill's Ford by way of Ramsour'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."<sup>1347</sup>

24 January. Cornwallis arrived at Ramsour's Mill, at the south fork of the Catawba, having traversed thirty-one miles in three days. He remained at Ramsour's an additional six days; during which time, and after some difficult deliberation, he resolved on a full-scale invasion of North Carolina. Wickwire argues that it 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 loyalists in N.C. was all important, and unless the Continentals could be defeated this would be very difficult if not impossible to effect<sup>1348</sup>

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."<sup>1349</sup>

Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara to (the 3<sup>rd</sup>) 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."<sup>1350</sup>

24-25 January (also given as 22-23 January). [raid] Georgetown (Georgetown County, S.C.) In the night of the 24<sup>th</sup>, Lee and Marion made a two pronged surprise attack 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 23<sup>rd</sup>. 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.<sup>1351</sup> 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 assaulted 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,<sup>1352</sup> and the attackers withdrew, subsequently camping at Murry's Ferry on the Santee. The losses were about equal. The Americans reported their losses as 3 killed, and the British reported their own as about the same.<sup>1353</sup>

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."<sup>1354</sup>

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 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."<sup>1355</sup>

25 January. Pickens was promoted to Brigadier General by Gov. John Rutledge.<sup>1356</sup>

25 January. Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens' Virginia militia, whose time of service had expired, left Greene's camp on their way to pick up the prisoners captured at Cowpens. After this, they were to then return home, while escorting the captives into Virginia for safekeeping.<sup>1357</sup>

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<sup>1347</sup> WDC p. 384.

<sup>1348</sup> TCS pp. 223, 261, CAR p. 259-260, JLG vol. I, p. 405, BRG p. 338, WCO p. 276.

<sup>1349</sup> WCO p. 275, Jan. 25, 1781, PRO. 30/11/84, ff.83-84.

<sup>1350</sup> Quoted in Wickwire, see WCO p. 278 (O'Hara to Duke of Grafton, Apr. 20, 1781, Grafton Papers Ac. 423/191.)

<sup>1351</sup> 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. NGP vol. pp. 206, 207n., LMS p. 223-224.

<sup>1352</sup> After Campbell was captured and paroled, Major James Grant of the King's American Regt. became commander at Georgetown. Yet on 10 February Capt. John Saunders was put in his place.<sup>1352</sup>

<sup>1353</sup> LMS p. 223-225, JLG vol. 1, p. 359, RBG p. 140, BSF pp. 135-137.

<sup>1354</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 198n.

<sup>1355</sup> LMS p. 223.

<sup>1356</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 203n.

<sup>1357</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 196n.

25-27 January. Cornwallis, at Ramsour'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."<sup>1358</sup> Says 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.<sup>1359</sup>

27-28 January. It rained heavily on 27 and 28 January (in southeast N.C.), and by the 29<sup>th</sup> the Catawba was flooded. At the same time, 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 Farmer, however, joined Davidson the following day (the 29<sup>th</sup>.)<sup>1360</sup>

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, 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."<sup>1361</sup>

28 January. Greene, alone with a few staff, left his Peedee camp and rode to join Morgan's detachment.<sup>1362</sup>

28 January Cornwallis resumed his march from Ramsours 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, denies that flooding effected Cornwallis' movement at this time.<sup>1363</sup>

From Alfred Nixon's *The History of Lincoln County*, Vol. IX: "Early on the morning of the 28<sup>th</sup> 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 28<sup>th</sup>, 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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."<sup>1364</sup>

28-29 January (also given as 1 February) [surrender] Wilmington (New Hanover County, N.C.) 18 vessels with 300 or possibly 450 troops (Rankin's number), mostly of the 82<sup>nd</sup> Regt., under Major James Craig captured Wilmington after little or no American resistance. The primary reason 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. The Americans failed in removing stores and artillery there, which Craig then captured or destroyed. 400 to 500 N.C. militia under Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington arrived too late to prevent Craig's 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.<sup>1365</sup>

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<sup>1358</sup> Cornwallis to Germain, 17 March 1781.

<sup>1359</sup> TCS p. 223, JLG vol. I, pp. 406, 417, BRG pp. 339-341, WCO p. 276.

<sup>1360</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 211, TCS p. 225, JLG vol. I, p. 390, LFB vol. II, p. 392.

<sup>1361</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 392.

<sup>1362</sup> NGP vol. VII 209n, JLG vol. I, p. 394.

<sup>1363</sup> LOB, part III, JLG vol. 1, p. 389, GAM vol. I, pp. 369-370.

<sup>1364</sup> GAM vol. I, pp. 369-370.

<sup>1365</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 209, 236-237, RNC p. 320.

29 January. By the 29<sup>th</sup>, Davidson had 800 North Carolina militia with him, most of these posted at Beattie's Ford. Morgan,<sup>1366</sup> who himself was with Davidson (at Beattie's or Sherrald's Ford), had 200 of the militia sent to Tuckasegee ford; where trees were felled and ditches dug to create obstacles.<sup>1367</sup>

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 juncture. Yet as events developed, the union took place at Guilford Court House instead.<sup>1368</sup>

29-31 January. Cornwallis camped at "Fawney's" (Forney's) Plantation, at 2 am on the 31<sup>st</sup>, he divided his force and marched to Cowan's and Beattie's Ford.<sup>1369</sup>

31 January (also possibly 30 January). [raids] Wadboo, Monck's Corner, and Manigault's Ferry (Calhoun and Berkeley counties respectively, S.C.) On 29 January, Marion, at Cordes' Plantation, wrote to Capt. John Postell: "You will cross Santee River with twenty-five [mounted] men and make a forced march to Watboo [or 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 (Ripley: "probably about east of modern Santee".) Neither of the raiding parties suffered any losses.<sup>1370</sup>

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.' 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."<sup>1371</sup>

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 14<sup>th</sup> with some N.C. militia under his command. 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, moved his men from Colston's and was subsequently occupied in checking the British operations out of Wilmington.<sup>1372</sup>

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.<sup>1373</sup>

31 January. Greene and staff, including Morgan and Davidson, moved to Beattie's Ford to examine and oversee the defenses there.<sup>1374</sup>

31 January. Morgan left Sherrald's Ford and marched toward the Yadkin, on his way to Salisbury.<sup>1375</sup>

31 January. After Georgetown, Lee and Marion marched up towards Ft. Watson. However, before they arrived Watson had left 80 men at the post and marched with the remainder of his force to Camden. William Johnson

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<sup>1366</sup> His corps of light troops was at Sherrald's Ford.

<sup>1367</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 212, 215-216.

<sup>1368</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 232.

<sup>1369</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1370</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 229, BMS, JFM ch.2, BSF p. 138, RBG p. 141, LSC p. 12.

<sup>1371</sup> BMS.

<sup>1372</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 130, 142, 222.

<sup>1373</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 219n, 267, LMS pp. 232-233.

<sup>1374</sup> HWW p. 99.

<sup>1375</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 243.



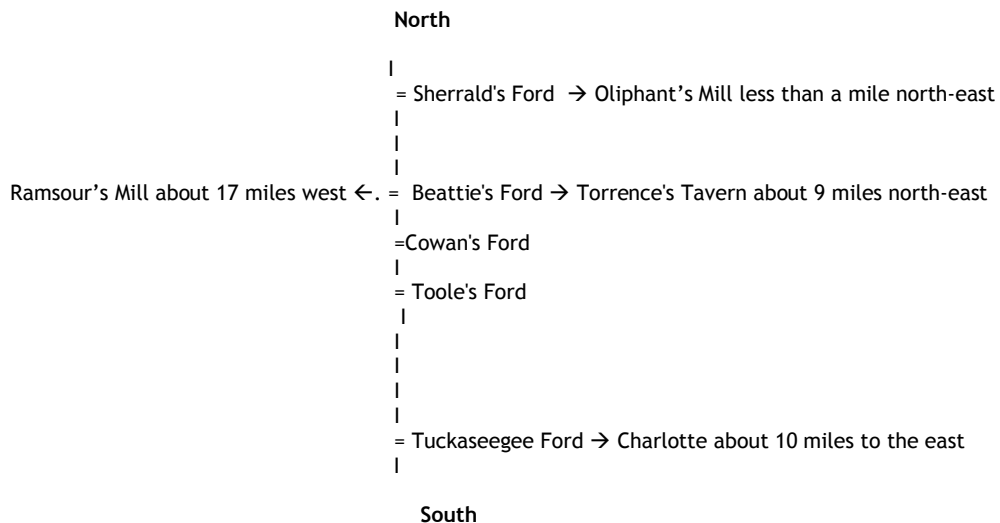
writes: "An attempt was then made to throw a detachment of [Lee's] dragoons across the [Santee] river, with orders to ascend its south bank and destroy the enemy's stores at Colonel Thompson's, and some other depots on the Congaree. Some delay ensued from want of boats, but the detachment was then out on that service, when Colonel Lee was recalled, with orders to hasten to Salisbury to join General Greene, then retreating before Cornwallis." On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Lee left Marion at Cordes Plantation and moved north to reunite with the main army.<sup>1376</sup>

31 January. Tarleton: "On the evening of the 31<sup>st</sup> 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 33<sup>rd</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup>, 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.<sup>1377</sup>

## 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 "|")



*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] (rendezvoused) at [Blewetts] Ferry. Marched to Drauning [Drowning] Creek & took some Tories as prisoners. They tried one of the prisoners by a Courts Martial and hung him. He 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 Cox's (or 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. See ONB vol. 3, p. 101.

*February.* [skirmish] Watkin's (Newberry County, S.C.)<sup>1378</sup>

1 February.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

Brigade of Guards: 690

<sup>1376</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 362, BSF p. 138.

<sup>1377</sup> LOB Part III, TCS p. 224.

<sup>1378</sup> LSC p, 12, ONB vol. 3, p. 100.

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 279  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 334  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 234  
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 345  
German Jägers: 97  
North Carolina Volunteers: 287  
British Legion (cavalry only): 174<sup>1379</sup>

Total: 2,440<sup>1380</sup>

William Johnson: "The celebrated Guards were reduced by one eighth. 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...They were well clad, well fed, but had to march 230 miles between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> of February. Before that time their progress had been so far from being precipitated, that between the 19<sup>th</sup> of January and the 1st of February, they had not made good eighty miles."<sup>1381</sup>

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."<sup>1382</sup>

If we grant Tarleton's 3,500 figure, 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 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 15<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>1383</sup>

1 February. [skirmish] Cowan's Ford, also McCowan's Ford (Lincoln and Mecklenberg County border, N.C.) Cornwallis moved to cross the Catawba River with his main army at Cowan's ford at dawn on 1 February. Webster's detachment (see 31 January) with the baggage was to cross the river a few miles upriver at Beattie's Ford. To oppose his force at Cowan's Ford, Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson had 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. Meanwhile, 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 river, their guide (presumably to spare himself from being shot) deserted them in midstream. As a result they took the wagon ford exit rather than the horse ford exit, and hence were at advantageous angle that partially protected them from the fire of Davidson's men, most of whom were posted behind the horse ford. Thus Davidson in attempting to halt Cornwallis' passing the river failed. As well, he himself was mortally wounded in the process; which greatly alarmed his men. 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 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 who drowned. After having made the crossing, Cornwallis and Webster then reunited their forces.<sup>1384</sup>

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

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<sup>1379</sup> 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.

<sup>1380</sup> CAC p. 53.

<sup>1381</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 408.

<sup>1382</sup> TCS p. 210.

<sup>1383</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 242, 243n, 261, BGC p. 124.

<sup>1384</sup> TCS pp. 224-225, 261-263, SAW vol. II, p. 328, LJA pp. 343-344, LMS p. 234n, JLG vol. II, pp. 413-415, LFB vol. II, pp. 392-393, FWI pp. 222-223, WAR vol. II, pp. 767-768, BEA p. 290, BRG pp. 344-348, SCAR vol. 3, no.2, pp. 2-3.

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."<sup>1385</sup>

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, 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."<sup>1386</sup>

"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."<sup>1387</sup>

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 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<sup>1388</sup> 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."<sup>1389</sup>

Roger Lamb: "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

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<sup>1385</sup> SAW vol. II, p. 328.

<sup>1386</sup> TCS pp. 261-263.

<sup>1387</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1388</sup> Cornwallis was with O'Hara, so Graham apparently means Webster. Also Tarleton was with Webster.

<sup>1389</sup> GAM vol. II, p. 264.

[Davidson] was the first man that received us sword in hand, and suffered himself to be cut to pieces sooner than 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.”<sup>1390</sup>

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.<sup>1391</sup> Tarleton’s own force consisted of 200 Legion cavalry, 100 Jägers and 150 infantry of the 33<sup>rd</sup> 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. Near 50 militia were killed on the spot, and many wounded, other managed to escape on their horses. Tarleton lost 7 men killed and wounded, and twenty horses. Clinton gives the number of North Carolina militia dispersed by Tarleton as 300. Graham mentions that the tavern itself was burned down after the attack.<sup>1392</sup>

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.”<sup>1393</sup>

1 February. Greene, who was at Oliphant’s Mill 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 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.”<sup>1394</sup>

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 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 artificers [sic] none having joined from Philadelphia...The rum and such stores as are coming on for the use of the army [from Hillsborough].<sup>1395</sup> I shall give directions to proceed to Ellis’ ferry and wait there for orders. None has yet arrived except the stores from Rocky River.”<sup>1396</sup>

2 February. [skirmish] Monck’s Corner (Berkeley County, S.C.)

2 February. Cornwallis camped at “Cossington.” Here Capt. Goodricke (also Goodrickes) was appointed to the Light Infantry to fill the vacancy left by Lieut. Col. Hall, though it’s probable that Capt. Maynard, already with the Light Infantry, assumed Hall’s position, while Goodricke took Maynard’s.<sup>1397</sup>

2 February. Col. Otho Williams, at Camp at Mask’s Ferry wrote to Major John Mazaret<sup>1398</sup>: “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.”<sup>1399</sup>

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<sup>1390</sup> Roger Lamb was a Sergeant in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt. LJA p. 344-345.

<sup>1391</sup> It is also not clear if and or to what extent Davidson had been able to remedy the shortage of flints among the militia.

<sup>1392</sup> TCS pp. 226, 263-264, JLG vol. II, pp. 415-416, LFB vol. II, p. 393, CAR p. 261, BEA pp. 1089-1090.

<sup>1393</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 393.

<sup>1394</sup> J. Burnet, Greene’s aide, in a letter to Lee of Feb. 2, 1781, from “Camp Peedee,” said Lieut. Col. Washington had only 60 men with him. LCC Appendix xxvii-xxviii.

NGP vol. VII, p. 231.

<sup>1395</sup> Huger had moved the stores at Cross Creek and its neighborhood to Hillsborough.

<sup>1396</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 232-233.

<sup>1397</sup> LOB, part III.

<sup>1398</sup> 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.

<sup>1399</sup> WCA p. 38.

2-3 February. Greene with Morgan and his light corps reached Salisbury, where they worked to get the troops and the supplies stored at Salisbury to safety across the Yadkin River at Trading Ford (also known as Island Ford.) Earlier Greene had arranged for boats to assist in the effort, a measure which facilitated the movement enormously. Before the sun went down on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 left to escort the Cowpens prisoners northward, helped to remove some of the Salisbury stores. Stevens then asked these to continue with Greene's army a while longer, but they refused being very eager to get back home.<sup>1400</sup>

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 manoeuvring [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."<sup>1401</sup>

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."<sup>1402</sup>

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."<sup>1403</sup>

3 February. The British captured St. Eustatius from the Dutch. The West Indies island had for years been a major link in the American and Allied supply line, and its loss a substantial blow to the American cause.<sup>1404</sup>

3 February. [skirmish] Trading Ford, also Island Ford (Rowan County, North Carolina) Just as most of Greene's forces and supplies made 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<sup>1405</sup> to find the few Americans left on the west side of the river. There was brief skirmish between O'Hara's column and 100 Virginia militia under Maj. David Campbell, as well as some North Carolina mounted militia led by Col. John Luttrell.<sup>1406</sup> After some heated shooting, the American rear guard dispersed, abandoning some wagons carrying personal items. They finally made their escape at a crossing two miles down stream. O'Hara then returned to join the main army under Cornwallis which

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<sup>1400</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 196n, 240, 244n, RHA II ch. XXIII, p. 557, GHA p. 40, JLG vol. II, pp. 417-419, LFB vol. II, pp. 394-395, BEA pp. 1022-1023.

<sup>1401</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 418.

<sup>1402</sup> RHA II ch. XXIII, p. 557

<sup>1403</sup> GHA P. 41-42. These passages are taken from Gordon, yet are very likely verbatim quotes from 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. "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." GHA P. 59n.

<sup>1404</sup> FWI pp. 203-204.

<sup>1405</sup> O'Hara passed through Salisbury at 3 pm on his way to Trading Ford, which was seven miles distant. GAM vol. II, p. 265.

<sup>1406</sup> 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. NGP vol. VII, p. 227n.

had reached Salisbury, 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.<sup>1407</sup>

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."<sup>1408</sup>

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 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."<sup>1409</sup>

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 4<sup>th</sup>, the army needed rest, and their commander being, it is supposed, undecided what course to pursue, they remained in Salisbury."<sup>1410</sup>

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."<sup>1411</sup>

3 February. Huger, from Mask's ferry on the Peedee, wrote to Greene saying 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.<sup>1412</sup>

4 February. Cornwallis reached Trading Ford, 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 5<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis returned to Salisbury where he remained till the 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1413</sup>

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 Pee Dee, the heaviest baggage had been ordered on, under a guard of militia, to take the route by Hillsborough, to unite

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<sup>1407</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 227n, 252, TCS p. 227, JLG vol. II, p. 418, GAM vol. II, p. 265-266.

<sup>1408</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 394.

<sup>1409</sup> TCS p. 227.

<sup>1410</sup> GNC pp. 300-301.

<sup>1411</sup> WDC p. 392.

<sup>1412</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 247.

<sup>1413</sup> LOB part III, TCS p. 227, JLG vol. II, pp. 422-424.

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."<sup>1414</sup>

Cornwallis, at Salisbury, to Rawdon on this date: "We passed the Catawba on the 1<sup>st</sup> at a private ford, about four miles below Beatty's. The Guards 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 17<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1415</sup>

6 February. [skirmish] Grant's Creek, also Second Creek (Rowan County, N.C.) To prevent unnecessary losses in attempting to cross at Trading Ford, Cornwallis moved up river some distance to Shallow Ford. 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' corps. Cornwallis later crossed the Yadkin at Shallow Ford during the night, and was on the opposite bank by the 7<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1416</sup>

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.

"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."<sup>1417</sup>

7 February. [skirmish]<sup>1418</sup> Graham's Patrol, also Shallow 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.<sup>1419</sup>

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."<sup>1420</sup>

7 February. Sumter returned to field after recovering from the wound he received at Blackstocks. On the 9<sup>th</sup> he called together his men, for attacks on the British posts in South Carolina. Then with about 280 men, he

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<sup>1414</sup> Cornwallis for his part 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. JLG vol. 1, pp. 422-424.

<sup>1415</sup> *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 2d ed. Ed. Charles Derek Ross. 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1859), 1:84-85.

<sup>1416</sup> TCS pp. 227-228, RNC p. 278.

<sup>1417</sup> FRM p. 1741.

<sup>1418</sup> Here the designation "skirmish" is used very broadly.

<sup>1419</sup> GNC pp. 309-310, GAM vol. II, pp. 267-268.

<sup>1420</sup> GNC pp. 309-310.

subsequently launched attacks against Fort Granby, Thompson's House (not far from the later Ft. Motte) and Fort Watson, while frightening the loyalists, and capturing (then losing) a supply convoy.<sup>1421</sup>

7-8 February. On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Greene with Morgan's corps reached Guilford Court House where he was joined by both Huger and Lee's Legion (the latter, returning from operations with Marion, had just before overtaken Huger on the march.)

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, 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.<sup>1422</sup>

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."<sup>1423</sup>

8 February. Greene, at Guilford Court House, wrote Col. John Gunby, at Hillsborough, ordering him to have supplies moved north to Virginia, and to march from there with his men to Greene's army. Gunby was also directed to send to Guilford all the arms, flints, cartridges, entrenching tools, oars, and spirits that he can in lightly loaded wagons. In accordance with Greene's instructions, the evacuated supplies were later sent across the Roanoke, and removed to Prince Edward Court House in Virginia.<sup>1424</sup>

8 February. A letter from Col. Arthur Campbell in Washington County, VA., written on this date, informed Greene that (sometime in late 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 January 1780*.<sup>1425</sup>

8 February. Cornwallis camped at Lindsay's Plantation.

"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 Qrs. 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."<sup>1426</sup>

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."<sup>1427</sup>

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 at 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 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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 19<sup>th</sup>, Pickens force had grown to 600-700 men. Graham's points out that, contrary to William Johnson, there were no officers

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<sup>1421</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 75n, 145, 266n, 328, RBG p. 145.

<sup>1422</sup> NGP vol. pp. VII 252n, 253n, LMS p. 236.

<sup>1423</sup> FRM p. 1765.

<sup>1424</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 256n, 268.

<sup>1425</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 258.

<sup>1426</sup> LOB part III.

<sup>1427</sup> FRM p. 1742, see also CNS vol. 2, pp. 115-16



with Pickens other than Lieut. James Jackson, who was made Pickens' Brigade Major.<sup>1428</sup> On the other hand, Pickens, in his dispatches to Greene at the time, does make mention of 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.<sup>1429</sup>

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)."<sup>1430</sup>

9-10 February. On the 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 actually entered Salem, which was not actually the case.<sup>1431</sup>

"Intelligence from the southward, Philadelphia February 28"<sup>1432</sup>: "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 7<sup>th</sup> crossed at the shallow [sic] ford, and had on the 9<sup>th</sup> advanced towards Salem, one of the Moreavian [sic] towns..."<sup>1433</sup>

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."<sup>1434</sup>

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 9<sup>th</sup>, he described the "light army"<sup>1435</sup> he had formed under Williams as composed of: "cavalry of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Irvine'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 was so unwell as to not be able later serve further.

Greene's force on the 10<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1436</sup> 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 badly 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.<sup>1437</sup>

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<sup>1428</sup> Graham, who was there, gives Pickens original numbers (i.e. men from S.C. and GA.) as 40, Johnson says 150. However, it is not impossible, if not likely as such, that Pickens was later reinforced with more men from his home territory. GRA p. 311, JLG vol. I, p. 435.

<sup>1429</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 241-242, 262-263, JLG vol. I pp. 433, 435, GNC pp. 273, 311, GAM vol. I, pp. 370, 372, vol. II, p. 214.

<sup>1430</sup> GAM vol. II, p214.

<sup>1431</sup> TCS pp. 253-256, JLG vol. I, pp. 429-430, CNS vol. 2, pp. 120-121.

<sup>1432</sup> Quoted in Tarleton's *Campaigns*. While the "Intelligence from the southward" gives the 9<sup>th</sup>, Johnson says the 10<sup>th</sup>. The Leslie Orderly book does not mention Salem, but for the 8<sup>th</sup> gives Lindsay's Plantation and the next location given is Miller's Plantation on the 10<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>1433</sup> TCS pp. 253-256.

<sup>1434</sup> TCS p. 228.

<sup>1435</sup> This light corps was similar in conception to Morgan's light corps, and was understood to be as such at the time.

<sup>1436</sup> 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, NGP vol. VII, pp. 263-265.

<sup>1437</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 261, 268, JLG vol. I, pp. 392, 425-427, 431, 434, LFB vol. II, p. 396.

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."<sup>1438</sup>

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."<sup>1439</sup>

10 February. Col. Marquis de Malmady, at Halifax, North Carolina, was appointed by the North Carolina Assembly to command 600 light horse to be raised in the Hillsborough district. As well, General Richard Caswell was re-appointed "chief of the militia," to replace Davidson.<sup>1440</sup>

10 February. Morgan left Greene's army due to illness, returning home to Virginia. Col. Otho Williams succeeded him as head of the light corps.<sup>1441</sup>

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 help 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 15<sup>th</sup> of February came to hand the 23<sup>rd</sup> and on the 25<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1442</sup>

"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 18<sup>th</sup> day of February and reported to General Greene on the 28<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1443</sup>

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.<sup>1444</sup>

11 February. Cornwallis encamped near Sander's Mill, and by the next day was at Bruce's Crossroads.<sup>1445</sup>

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,"<sup>1446</sup> then galloped in pursuit of the

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<sup>1438</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 396.

<sup>1439</sup> JLG vol. I, pp. 430-431.

<sup>1440</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 274.

<sup>1441</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 118.

<sup>1442</sup> *Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 548.

<sup>1443</sup> David E. Johnston, *A History of The Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory* (1906), Part IV, Chapter IV.

<sup>1444</sup> NGP vol. VII 262n.

<sup>1445</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 118.

<sup>1446</sup> 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

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 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 killed by some British Legion cavalry. It was at that point that Lee's dragoons, in view of the sight, 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.<sup>1447</sup>

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."<sup>1448</sup>

Seymour: "On the eighth instant we marched from here [Guilford], General Green's 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."<sup>1449</sup>

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."<sup>1450</sup>

Otho Wiliams: "The better to avoid a rapid pursuit, the main and light army took different routes. The next day the latter had a reconner 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."<sup>1451</sup>

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 13<sup>th</sup>, he wrote again to Butler: "All but 'eighty' of the North Carolina militiamen have 'deserted.'<sup>1452</sup>

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."<sup>1453</sup>

13 February. A storm (on 22 January) having dispersed the British blockade there, a detachment of the French fleet under Captain Le Bardeur de Tilly, sailed from Newport, Rhode Island, and entered the Chesapeake in order to interfere with the shipping of Arnold's expedition. He anchored in Lynnhaven Bay by the 13<sup>th</sup>. Arnold, however, moved 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 February. Despite the captures, the naval foray had little impact on Arnold's operations.<sup>1454</sup>

13 February. When Brig. Gen. Alexander Lillington, with his 200 N.C. militia, had not joined Greene by February 13<sup>th</sup>, Greene decided it was too dangerous to attempt risking a junction, and ordered him instead to Cross Creek.<sup>1455</sup>

13 February. Cornwallis camped at Speedwell Iron Works.<sup>1456</sup>

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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

<sup>1447</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 283, TCS pp. 228-229, LMS p. 239-243, CLC pp. 227n-229n, LFB vol. II, pp. 396-397, CNS vol. 2, pp. 118-119.

<sup>1448</sup> TCS pp. 228-229.

<sup>1449</sup> SJS.

<sup>1450</sup> LMS p. 241n.

<sup>1451</sup> GHA P. 44.

<sup>1452</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 283-284.

<sup>1453</sup> FRM p. 1743.

<sup>1454</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 334, WAR vol. II, p. 870.

<sup>1455</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 280, 281n.

<sup>1456</sup> CNS vol. 2, pp. 120-121.

13 February, or possibly 14 February. [skirmish] Road to Dix's Ferry (Rockingham County, 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 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 12<sup>th</sup>), 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.<sup>1457</sup>

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."<sup>1458</sup>

13-15 February. On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Greene, with the main army, crossed the Dan River at Irwin's Ferry, also referred to as Erving's Ferry,<sup>1459</sup> thanks to the prior collection of boats by Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, and a survey of the river made by Capt. John Smith of the Maryland line. Cornwallis continued following hard on the heels of the Americans, occasionally coming into open sight of Lee and William's light detachment. Before sunset of the 14<sup>th</sup> (or, persuasively argues Caruthers, the 15<sup>th</sup>, see quotation 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,<sup>1460</sup> 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.<sup>1461</sup> 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).<sup>1462</sup>

"Leslie" Orderly Book for the 14<sup>th</sup>: "It having been Signified to B Genl. O'Hara that Ld [Lord] Cornwallis means to make a forward move in the Mornng [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 Mornng. What Men will be Able to undertake the Same & what may be left behind."<sup>1463</sup>

Roger Lamb: "His lordship was, by some means, misled by false information relative to the lower fords being impassible, and began his march to the upper fords of the Dan."<sup>1464</sup>

Greene to Otho Williams on February 14<sup>th</sup> (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

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<sup>1457</sup> LMS pp. 243-247, LFB vol. II, p. 398.

<sup>1458</sup> COC pp. 64-65.

<sup>1459</sup> 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.

<sup>1460</sup> 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.

<sup>1461</sup> Cornwallis, in his letter to Germain of 17 March gives the date as the 15<sup>th</sup>. His arrival then would apparently then have been the early morning hours of the 15<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>1462</sup> KJO p. 13, NGP vol. VII, pp. 212-213, 271n, 287, TCS p. 229, LMS pp. 246-247, JLG vol. II, pp. 430-432, LFB vol. II p. 398, WAR vol. II, pp. 775-776, BEA pp.1026-1027.

<sup>1463</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1464</sup> LJA p. 346.

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."<sup>1465</sup>

Kirkwood (who was with Williams' light detachment): "14<sup>th</sup> Crossed the Dan River at Ewings [Irwin's] Ferry.....80 [miles]."<sup>1466</sup>

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 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...."<sup>1467</sup>

In his *Campaign of 1781*, Henry also states: "In a letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> 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, 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 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 to carry against the current."<sup>1468</sup>

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 14<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1469</sup>

Caruthers: "[On the 14<sup>th</sup>] 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 15<sup>th</sup>, 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 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 march 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

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<sup>1465</sup> GHA p. 45.

<sup>1466</sup> KJO p. 13.

<sup>1467</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>. 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."

<sup>1468</sup> LCC pp. 116-117.

<sup>1469</sup> TCS p. 229.

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 14<sup>th</sup>, and the light corps under Col. Williams, on the 15<sup>th</sup>; for, according to the Order Book of Cornwallis, it was certainly on the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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]..."<sup>1470</sup>

13 February. Cornwallis camped at Locust Hill. <sup>1471</sup>

14-15 February.<sup>1472</sup> [surrender] DePeyster's Capture (Georgetown County, S.C.) On the night of the 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 the 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 ensuing month they did.<sup>1473</sup>

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 plan for fortification was never realized. He then moved his army there where his troops were soon fed and given moral support by the townspeople. During his stay, about 1500 to 1800 local militia came out to defend the town, but most of these dissipated as the threat from Cornwallis diminished. Greene had previously ordered his baggage there in advance 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."<sup>1474</sup>

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 17<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1475</sup>

Caruthers: "On the night of the 15<sup>th</sup>, he [Cornwallis] had his headquarter at Wiley's, where he probably remained until the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, 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, 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' 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 most shameful excesses. some were quartered in the church of the Red House, or Middle Hico [Hyco], a 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..."<sup>1476</sup>

*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, a local whig militia leader, was made prisoner.<sup>1477</sup>

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

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<sup>1470</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 121.

<sup>1471</sup> CNS vol. 2, pp. 120-121.

<sup>1472</sup> McCrady gives the date at 18-19, January, while Lipscomb gives February 21, and the Nase Diary February 15.

<sup>1473</sup> JFM ch. 2, RBG p. 138, MSC p. 746, LSC p.12.

<sup>1474</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 287, 290, 292, 353-354, LMS pp. 251-252, JLG vol. I, pp. 433-435.

<sup>1475</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 435.

<sup>1476</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 122-123.

<sup>1477</sup> SQR p. 243.

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."<sup>1478</sup>

15-16 February. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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, however, continued on to Hillsborough with a mind to raising and emboldening the loyalists in the region. Pickens, meanwhile, with 700 men, at least half mounted, kept to the west of him, watching and harrying his flanks.<sup>1479</sup>

16 February. From Records of the Moravians (Bethabara Congregation): "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."<sup>1480</sup>

17 February. Cornwallis in orders for the day at "Dobbines" [Dobbin's] House again decried plundering, as he had done on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> while at Salisbury.<sup>1481</sup>

17-20. Greene's light corps under Williams, crossed the Banister River on the 17<sup>th</sup> and then re-crossed the Dan on the 20<sup>th</sup> in pursuit of Cornwallis,<sup>1482</sup> followed by the main army on the 21<sup>st</sup>. Two sub-detachments under Lee and Washington acted semi-independently of Williams (Lee's in particular.) While at Halifax, Virginia, Washington and Lee acquired 180 regular dragoons on good horses. In the ensuing days, Lee would be joined by reinforcements of Virginia riflemen, North Carolina militia, and a number of Catawba Indians. The light detachments were to follow on the rear of Cornwallis' column and retard his movements. By the 21<sup>st</sup>, Lee had united his troops with those of Pickens for purposes of joint cooperation. 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 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."<sup>1483</sup>

Kirkwood: "15<sup>th</sup> March'd and Crossed the Banister River....7 [miles]

"17<sup>th</sup> March'd and Recrossed....6 [miles]

"20<sup>th</sup> Crossed the Dan River.....9 [miles]."<sup>1484</sup>

Seymour: "On the seventeenth our army marched and crossed the Banister River. Here we halted till the 20<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1485</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup>, to pass the Dan. This was readily performed."<sup>1486</sup>

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."<sup>1487</sup>

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<sup>1478</sup> SQR p. 244.

<sup>1479</sup> LOB part IV, JLG vol. 1, pp. 433, 435.

<sup>1480</sup> FRM p. 1743.

<sup>1481</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1482</sup> Buchanan says the light troops recrossed the Dan on the 19<sup>th</sup>. Boatner, following Lee, says the 18<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>1483</sup> KJO p. 13, LMS p. 253, GAM vol II, pp. 270-271, BEA p. 1027, BRG p.362, HWW p. 102.

<sup>1484</sup> KJO p. 13.

<sup>1485</sup> SJS.

<sup>1486</sup> LMS p. 253.

<sup>1487</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 449.

17 February. General George Weedon, at Chesterfield Court House, VA., wrote to Greene, saying that he had urged 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."<sup>1488</sup>  
Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, A Virginia militia officer, wrote Jefferson on February 25, saying that after meeting with Greene about the 18<sup>th</sup>, he had ordered out the militia of Prince Edward, Cumberland, Amelia, Charlotte, Lunenburg, 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.<sup>1489</sup>

18 February. In a letter to von Steuben, Greene directed that reinforcements from Virginia approach by way of Taylor's Ferry on the Dan River. On the 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 25<sup>th</sup>; at which date (as it turned out) he did send them, they having by then received the necessary clothing shipment.<sup>1490</sup>

18 February. Some Wadkin County Virginia militia under Col William Moore were posted at Wadkin's ford on the Banister river.<sup>1491</sup>

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.<sup>1492</sup>

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 caught 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 21<sup>st</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> he had joined Greene, coming by way of Halifax, Virginia, having raised 1,000 men.<sup>1493</sup>

19 February Cornwallis bivouacked at Thompson's Plantation (N.C.)<sup>1494</sup>

19-20 February. Pickens was 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 toward Hillsborough with the rest. At the time, Pickens was having a difficult time keeping many of the North Carolina militia with him. On the 20<sup>th</sup>, he reported to Greene that the Salisbury militia were regularly deserting him.<sup>1495</sup>

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<sup>1496</sup> had earlier been contracted to supply Fort Granby with provisions. Hampton had, until this time, taken British protection, but he informed Sumter that the British fort was running low on stores. On the basis of this information, Sumter on the 16<sup>th</sup>, with 280-400 men, including as many as 250 from North Carolina, left his camp at on the Catawba with and moved toward Granby where Maj. Andrew Maxwell lay with a garrison of 300. He reached the fort and briefly laid siege<sup>1497</sup> to it on the 19<sup>th</sup>, at the same time he wrote Marion requesting reinforcements. Though Marion did reply, he would, or else could not help Sumter in the siege or his subsequent movements. William Johnson says this 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 Ferry (apparently to cut off Sumter's retreat) before bearing down on him.

Receiving word of Doyle's approach, Sumter, on the night of the 20<sup>th</sup>, destroyed nearby provisions and other articles that would be of use to the British, then lifted the siege. By the morning of the 21<sup>st</sup>, after Doyle had crossed the river and arrived at the fort, Sumter had departed to attack Thompson's Plantation down river. On

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<sup>1488</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 307.

<sup>1489</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 310n.

<sup>1490</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 311.

<sup>1491</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 314n, 315.

<sup>1492</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 314.

<sup>1493</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 316n, JLG vol. I, pp. 444, 446.

<sup>1494</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1495</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 325.

<sup>1496</sup> Hampton's Store was situated about five miles southeast across the Congaree River (north side) from the site of Fort Granby.

<sup>1497</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 32.



the 1<sup>st</sup> of March, Col. Thomas Polk, in Salisbury, reported to Greene that Sumter “had moved to the Congaree [Ft. Granby]& had taken a small 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.”<sup>1498</sup> Sumter only abandoned his siege of Granby only after Rawdon marched out of Camden with most of its garrison to relieve the fort.<sup>1499</sup> On February 24<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>1500</sup>

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.<sup>1501</sup>

20 February. His army enduring great privation along the march, Cornwallis finally arrived at Hillsborough. Williams reported a few days later that his lordship had formed no less than 7 companies of loyalists at Hillsborough, but these apparently dissipated with Greene’s approach. As well, it has been claimed, Cornwallis’ own army had suffered from desertions in their trek beginning at Ramsour’s Mill earlier in the month.<sup>1502</sup>

21 February. Cornwallis hoisted the King’s standard at Hillsborough, sending out a call for loyal citizens and militia recruits. Although many inhabitants showed their support and enthusiasm, very few subsequently stayed with him as militia, particularly after setbacks like Pyle’s defeat on the 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1503</sup>

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. Stevens, had rendezvoused with Greene’s army this same day.<sup>1504</sup>

21 February. Pickens, who was “10 from Hillsborough,” requested ammunition of Greene. He had with him at this time 300 horse and 600 infantry.<sup>1505</sup>

21 February. North Carolina militia at Kingston (in Lenoir County) was sent to the Wilmington area. Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell himself then was busy raising more men in the Wilmington and New Bern districts. Although once again leading the North Carolina militia, Caswell did not serve at Guilford Ct. House due to illness, though he remained relatively active as an administrator.<sup>1506</sup>

21 February. Col. Charles Lynch wrote Greene, saying that the Bedford County, Virginia militia would be with him in two days to join Greene and requested instructions where to rendezvous. Greene, on the 21<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>1507</sup>

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 collecting, while assigning Pickens, at least formally, to command Lee’s light detachment. Greene spent the night at Pickens’ camp, and then returned to his headquarters army at Halifax the next morning (the 22<sup>nd</sup>.)<sup>1508</sup>

21 February (also given as 22 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 Motte’s. He attempted to take the stockade by assault, and setting fire to it, but the defenders, under Lt. Charles McPherson of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Delancey’s Regt., held their own and were able to extinguish the blaze out. Toward the close of day, Sumter left a force watching the stockade and moved with his main body to Manigault’s Ferry, where he collected boats in the area.<sup>1509</sup>

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.”<sup>1510</sup>

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

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<sup>1498</sup> Polk’s son, William, later served with Sumter as one of his regimental commanders.

<sup>1499</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 380, 381n, 417, CAR p. 489, JLG vol. II, pp. 31-32, BGC p. 129, 136, RBG p. 145.

<sup>1500</sup> CAR p. 489.

<sup>1501</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 471.

<sup>1502</sup> LOB, part IV, CAR p. 263, JLG vol. I, p. 447, CNS vol. 2, pp. 123-125.

<sup>1503</sup> LOB, part IV, FWI p. 224.

<sup>1504</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 327.

<sup>1505</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 331, 332.

<sup>1506</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 329.

<sup>1507</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 330, 332.

<sup>1508</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 343, LMS p. 263, JLG vol. I, p. 450, RNC p. 287.

<sup>1509</sup> BGC p. 130, RBG 145-146.

<sup>1510</sup> JTR p. 100.

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..."<sup>1511</sup>

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."<sup>1512</sup>

22 February (also given as 23 February) [ambush] Big Savannah (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) was sent out from Charlestown with clothing, provisions, munitions and some pay chests for the purpose of establishing what would become Fort Motte. Obtaining information about the approach of the convoy, Sumter, with Col. Edward Lacey and Col. William Bratton attempted to ambush it at near Big Savannah, a few short miles down the road from Thompson's Plantation, as it ran roughly southeast toward Eutaw Springs. The British, seeing an apparently small detachment 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 a number of others wounded. McCrady reports the British losses as 13 killed and 66 prisoners. Both he and Ripley speak of Sumter's force being down to 100 men at this time, but this seems a rather too conservative estimate. The same or the next day, Sumter loaded the captured items on flats he had been collecting, and attempted 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 them at a specified location. A treacherous river pilot, however, in passing Fort Watson along the way, steered the boats under the guns of that fort where the stores and money chests were re-captured by the British. In the meantime, Rawdon sent Maj. Robert McLeroth with the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt., a troop of dragoons, and a field piece to relieve McPherson at Thompson's, which they reached on the 24<sup>th</sup>. When McLeroth approached Thompson's, Sumter on the 24<sup>th</sup> (or possibly the 25<sup>th</sup>) retreated to "Mrs. Flud's [Flood's]..."<sup>1513</sup> There for at least two days he passed his force over the Santee by means of a single canoe and swimming the horses.<sup>1514</sup>

22 February (Lee gives the 23rd). Greene and the main army re-crossed the Dan River, with a view placing themselves in a better location to receive reinforcements and supplies from Virginia, and to keep Cornwallis from inciting the loyalists.<sup>1515</sup>

22 February. Lee and Pickens, while hovering around Cornwallis at Hillsborough, watched for British foraging parties, while constantly changing their location to avoid surprise.

23 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, attacked and set an ambush for a British lieutenant, a sergeant, 24 privates and 2 loyalists at Hart's Mill on Stoney Creek, three miles (Graham says ten) west of Hillsborough. The British, states Graham, lost nine killed and wounded, while the remainder were taken prisoner. In Pickens 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 says McCall was not even with Pickens. In any case, 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 23<sup>rd</sup>, 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.<sup>1516</sup> 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,<sup>1517</sup> 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 24<sup>th</sup> from High Rock, Lock said his men did not have a "Second ball," and asked Greene for 200.<sup>1518</sup>

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

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<sup>1511</sup> FRN pp. 1744-1745.

<sup>1512</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1513</sup> Flood's House was located below Nelson's and down the road east a number of miles passed Eutaw Springs.

<sup>1514</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 31-32, MSC p. 746, BGC p. 130-131, RBG p. 145-146.

<sup>1515</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 332, LMS p. 263.

<sup>1516</sup> Rankin gives the date as 17 February, and says 9 British were killed and 19 made prisoner. RNC pp. 288-289.

<sup>1517</sup> High Rock Ford, on the Haw River, is about three miles southeast of present day Williamsburg, N.C. in Rockingham County.

<sup>1518</sup> NGP vol. VII pp. 336, 341, 345, JLG vol. I, pp. 449-450, GNC pp. 313-318, GAM vol. II, pp. 270-273, CNS vol. 2, p. 124.

by the time the guard had fled one hundred yards beyond the river their front was overtaken, and the whole killed or captured.<sup>1519</sup>

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 17<sup>th</sup> [sic] of March as memory now serves him ---”<sup>1520</sup>

23 February. [skirmish] Reedy Fork (Guilford County, N.C.) Tarleton with 200 of his Legion cavalry, 150 of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., and 100 Jägers were sent to support loyalists between the Haw and Deep rivers. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, he dispersed a party of American militia who were endeavoring to keep the loyalist in check. Shortly thereafter, orders came for Tarleton to return to Hillsborough.<sup>1521</sup>

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.”<sup>1522</sup>

24 February. News of Greene’s re-crossing the Dan River reached Cornwallis, and he sent orders to Tarleton to immediately join him at Hillsborough.<sup>1523</sup>

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<sup>1524</sup> thwarted their intentions.<sup>1525</sup>

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.<sup>1526</sup>

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 Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick counties was at Taylor’s ferry. Though his troops were indifferently armed, he expected to join Greene shortly.<sup>1527</sup>

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.”<sup>1528</sup>

24-26 February. Malmady was with 40 mounted North Carolina militia near Granville Court House, NC. Cornwallis’ occupation of Hillsborough had 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 and expected to be joined by more militia from Halifax, N.C. By the 26<sup>th</sup> Malmady was joined with Butler’s force at Granville.<sup>1529</sup>

24-28 February. Arriving at Morristown, New Jersey on the 24<sup>th</sup>, 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 detachment, and by the 28<sup>th</sup>, after passing through Somerset on the 26<sup>th</sup>, he camped at Trenton.<sup>1530</sup>

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

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<sup>1519</sup> GAM vol. II, p. 271.

<sup>1520</sup> HMP.

<sup>1521</sup> TCS pp. 231-232.

<sup>1522</sup> Though not entirely clear, Seymour would seem to be speaking of the same occurrence as the date entry. SJS.

<sup>1523</sup> CAR p. 264.

<sup>1524</sup> For a comprehensive review of the state of Virginia’s forces at the time, see Johnson Vol. I, pp. 440-443.

<sup>1525</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 345-346, 362, JLG vol. I, pp. 437-438.

<sup>1526</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 344.

<sup>1527</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 346.

<sup>1528</sup> GHA p. 48.

<sup>1529</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 344-345, 354.

<sup>1530</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 337.

anchored in Lynhaven Bay. On the 14<sup>th</sup> instant they arrived in Hampton road [Hampton Roads], and remained there until the 19<sup>th</sup>, when they left the Capes, and are said to be now cruising [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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> instant, my Lord Cornwallis crossed the Dan river, sixty miles above Halifax [N.C.], and one hundred and twelve from Petersburg, with one thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, and was on the march for Petersburg. 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."<sup>1531</sup>

25 February. Maj. David Campbell, who was ill, had gone home sometime after the action at Trading Ford on February 3<sup>rd</sup>. By the 25<sup>th</sup>, Greene had put Col. William Morgan in command of Campbell's Augusta County riflemen, who at this time were with Williams.<sup>1532</sup>

25 February. [ambush] Pyle's Defeat,<sup>1533</sup> 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 join Col. John Pyle, a local loyalist, near the Haw River. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Pickens was joined by 100 N.C. militia under Col. William Moore. It was from Moore that he and Lee learned of Pyle's gathering. The Americans then set out for Pyle's camp and set an ambush in the way of having Lee and his own Legion pose as Tarleton and the British Legion. Lee seems to imply that the trick would have worked to capture the loyalists but that a few of the latter, seeing some of Pickens lurking nearby detected the charade. When the alarm was given Lee and Pickens men then charged the helpless and astonished group, many of whom were cut down and killed without hardly knowing what had happened. Joseph Graham tells a somewhat different story (see quote below.) Lee was later accused of gratuitous butchery, but, in his own defense, he claimed his men, in the confusion, and for a moment outnumbered, had no choice. From what Joseph Graham has to say, it would seem Capt. Eggleston of Lee's Legion was responsible for the premature attack. The loyalists lost 90 killed, while the rest were dispersed. Lee lost but a horse. Later in the day Pickens was joined by 300 mounted Virginia riflemen under Col. William Preston, bringing Pickens' force, not counting Lee, to probably 800 to 900, many of the North Carolina militia having left him 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 26<sup>th</sup>, 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 Peasley]<sup>1534</sup> 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."<sup>1535</sup>

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. Patrols [sic] were sent out to learn the course the American dragoons had taken after

<sup>1531</sup> COC pp. 65-66.

<sup>1532</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 329, 350n.

<sup>1533</sup> This took place a few miles south-southwest of modern day Burlington, N.C.

<sup>1534</sup> For a sketch of Peasley (or Paisly) see CNS vol. 2, pp.193-195.

<sup>1535</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 325, 343n, 357-358, TCS pp. 231-233, LMS p. 254-260, FNA pp. 13-14, JLG vol. I, p. 456, DRR pp. 201-203, GNC pp. 318-319, GAM vol. I, p. 374, vol. II, p. 273-276, CNS vol. 2, pp. 125-127, WAR vol. II, pp. 778-779, RNC pp. 289-292, BRG pp. 363-364, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 34-37.

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.<sup>1536</sup>

Joseph Graham: "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 the Tories like lightning 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."<sup>1537</sup>

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."<sup>1538</sup>

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."<sup>1539</sup>

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 Greene on the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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 26<sup>th</sup>) and were on their way to Greene.<sup>1540</sup>

25 February. Col. Otho Williams, at Mitchell's Mill sixteen miles north-northeast from Hillsborough, reported to 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, however, no doubt prevented the turnout from taking place.<sup>1541</sup>

25-26 February. Cornwallis left Hillsborough and camped at 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 and encouraging the loyalists in that region. In reaction, Greene passed over the Haw near its source and took up a

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<sup>1536</sup> TCS pp. 232-233.

<sup>1537</sup> GNC pp. 318-319, GAM vol. I, p. 374.

<sup>1538</sup> FNA p. 14.

<sup>1539</sup> LJA p. 347.

<sup>1540</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 362-363.

<sup>1541</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 350.

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 26<sup>th</sup> and camped on Alamance Creek on the 27<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1542</sup> 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 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."

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 Alamance 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."<sup>1543</sup>

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 25<sup>th</sup>, he issued orders for that purpose...

"On the morning of this day [evidently Caruthers means the 26<sup>th</sup>], 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."<sup>1544</sup>

26 February. Maj. Thomas Rowland, of Botetourt<sup>1545</sup> County, VA., having reached the Dan River, reported to Greene he was on the way with 200 (mostly mounted) Virginia volunteers, Botetourt County, to reinforce the southern army.<sup>1546</sup> Another 160 riflemen under Col. Hugh Crockett (of Botetourt as well), who had previously been serving with Preston, was by this time near Caswell Courthouse, also en route to join Greene's force. By the end of this day, Crockett (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. 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."<sup>1547</sup>

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 attacked by a larger body of mounted whig militia. A sergeant of the Queen's Rangers was killed, while the rest of his men made it back 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.<sup>1548</sup>

Capt. John Saunders, as quoted in Simcoe's *Journal*: "In the latter end of February, Cornet [Thomas] Merritt was ordered with a party, of a sergeant 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

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<sup>1542</sup> LOB part IV, TCS p. 234, CAR p. 265.

<sup>1543</sup> LJA pp. 348-362.

<sup>1544</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 129.

<sup>1545</sup> Odell McQuire: "'Botetourt' is pronounced 'body-tot'."

<sup>1546</sup> Rowland's troops were subsequently placed with Preston's.

<sup>1547</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 353-354, 360-361.

<sup>1548</sup> SQR pp. 243-244.

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. Merrit, 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.”<sup>1549</sup>

26 February. [skirmish] Dickey's Farm, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 100.

27 February. 600 to 700 Virginia militia from Amelia, Cumberland and Powhatan, counties, having come together on the 26<sup>th</sup>, at Prince Edward Court House under Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, marched to join 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 following twenty miles behind. 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.<sup>1550</sup>

27 February. Cornwallis was at “Camp near the Haw River.”<sup>1551</sup>

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.”<sup>1552</sup>

28 February. Cornwallis camped at Freeland's.<sup>1553</sup>

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 where he attempted to take the post by storm; with a mind to recapturing the lost stores and boats. The fort had been recently reinforced with a reported 400 men, and so he was soundly beaten back with some loss. The British reported his losing 18 killed, and a number of men and horses taken. Sumter thereafter retired with his force to Farr's Plantation on Great Savannah, not far from his own home where he fed his men and camped till March 2<sup>nd</sup>. Here many of his North Carolina militia men, unhappy with how things had turned out, returned home.<sup>1554</sup>

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 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 Wrights 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 dispersed [sic] in this engagement the applicant got a wound in his right arm which disabled this applicant a few weeks.”

William Johnson: “Sumpter then sought shelter in the swamps of the north bank of the Santee,<sup>1555</sup> 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.”<sup>1556</sup>

28 February. Col. Otho Williams' detachment met up with Washington's, Lee's and Pickens' at High Rock Ford. On March 1<sup>st</sup>,<sup>1557</sup> Greene, at High Rock Ford, N.C., wrote to von Steuben: “On the 27<sup>th</sup> the Army encamped on Country Line Creek within five miles of our Light Troops, and on the 28<sup>th</sup> 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...”<sup>1558</sup>

William Johnson: “Colonel [Otho] Williams...had ever since the 29<sup>th</sup>, 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

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<sup>1549</sup> SQR pp. 243-244.

<sup>1550</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 344, 362.

<sup>1551</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1552</sup> FRM p. 1745.

<sup>1553</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1554</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 465n, JLG vol. II, pp. 31-32, BGC p. 132, RBG p. 147.

<sup>1555</sup> Sumter actually moved to the Waxhaws settlement, and was there by at least March 9<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>1556</sup> JLG vol. II 31-32, NGP vol. VII 417, 465n.

<sup>1557</sup> 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.

<sup>1558</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 362, 374-375, GNC p. 329, GAM vol. II p. 280.

militia, was so considerable that they seriously mediated a combined attack, on the morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March.”<sup>1559</sup>

*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' 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 claiming their term of service had expired.

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 (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 [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.”<sup>1560</sup>

## 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. See ONB vol. 3, p. 101.

*March.* [raid] Tuckasegee, Cherokee Middle Towns, TN. See ONB vol. 3, p. 102.

*March.* [skirmish] Dutchman's Creek, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 162.

*March.* [skirmish] Wylie's Plantation, Rocky Comfort Settlement, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 164.

*March.* [skirmish] Rouse's Tavern, N.C. ONB vol. 3, See pp. 166-170.

1 March. *Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

Brigade of Guards: 605

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 258

33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 322

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 212

Hessian von Bose Regt.: 313

German Jägers: 97

North Carolina Volunteers: 232

British Legion (cavalry only): 174

Total: 2,213<sup>1561</sup>

1 March. Brig. Gen. John Butler wrote Greene saying that he has just arrived at Harrisburg, N.C. with about 300 soldiers, and expected Gen. Allen Jones soon with another 700. About 300 mounted troops under Col. Malmady, (separate from those Butler and Jones were to have) will go “this day” near the enemy lines. Maj. Gen. Richard

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<sup>1559</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 459.

<sup>1560</sup> DRR pp. 216-217.

<sup>1561</sup> CAC p. 53.



Caswell, he also stated, set out from Kingston the same morning with some horse, and Col. Thomas Wade<sup>1562</sup> is "coming this way" with a guard of 60 horse.<sup>1563</sup>

1 March. Cornwallis camped at Smith's Plantation.<sup>1564</sup> Smith's Plantation would seem to have been 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 -- "<sup>1565</sup>

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 4<sup>th</sup> I hope we shall be ready to sail."<sup>1566</sup>

2 March. [ambush-raid] Mud Lick, also Mudlick Creek (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 in late December 1780. According to Ripley, the loyalists in the fort, after being tricked to pursue a decoy, were engaged and routed. The fort was then easily entered and taken. Ripley speaks of it being burned, but in a letter fro Pickens to Greene of 8 April, Pickens mentions a force under Cruger retreating to it for safety.<sup>1567</sup>

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

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<sup>1562</sup> Wade, coming from the vicinity of Greene's former camp on the Pee Dee was bringing a drove of cattle to Greene's army.

<sup>1563</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 378.

<sup>1564</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1565</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1566</sup> LLW p. 150.

<sup>1567</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 71, MSC p. 746, RBG p. 129.

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."<sup>1568</sup>

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, started on his return to 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 he 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."

"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."<sup>1569</sup>

2 March.<sup>1570</sup> [skirmish] Clapp's Mill, also Alamance Creek (Alamance County, N.C.) Lee's Legion cavalry, led by Capt. John Rudolph, a battalion of Preston's riflemen, under Major Thomas Rowland, 200 Lincoln County militia under Maj. Joseph Dickson, a detachment of 40 of Pickens' cavalry under Capt. Joseph Graham and Capt. Richard Simmons, some Catawba Indians, with Kirkwood and Oldham's Continental light infantry acting as a reserve -- all formally under Otho Williams' and Pickens' command -- skirmished with a covering party of Tarleton's at Clapp's Mill, near Alamance Creek (a southern branch of the Haw River). The force under Tarleton was made up 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 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt. Pickens's force 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 5<sup>th</sup>: "on the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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 action, 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 makes a brief footnote reference to the skirmish, apparently not thinking its significance extended beyond this.<sup>1571</sup>

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 patrolle 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

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<sup>1568</sup> S.J.M.

<sup>1569</sup> S.J.M.

<sup>1570</sup> Graham gives the date as the 1<sup>st</sup>, but contemporary correspondence confirms it as the 2<sup>nd</sup>.

<sup>1571</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 382, 396, TCS pp. 234-236, LMS pp. 263-264, JLG vol. I, pp. 459- 460, GNC pp. 329-334, GAM vol. II, pp. 280-283, RNC p. 293-294, BEA p. 231, MGC, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 37-39.

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 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 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, 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."<sup>1572</sup>

Otho Williams at "Allimance," on the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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."<sup>1573</sup>

Gordon: "On the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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."<sup>1574</sup>

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 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 [Edward] 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."<sup>1575</sup>

2 March (also given as 1 March). Receiving word that Rawdon's was coming after him, Sumter left his camp at Farr's Plantation. He marched north up the road to Camden to the High Hills of the Santee, passed Fort Watson, then moved Cane Savannah (also spoken of as the Pine Barrens) then further east to Bradley's, which was on the north bank of the Black River, and, at the same time, northwest from Salem, S.C. along the road to Camden. Along the way he picked up his wife and son who were staying at the home of some friends, in the vicinity of Cane Savannah. 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. Rawdon, in the meantime, 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 out sent Maj. Thomas Fraser and some South Carolina "Provincials," possibly Harrison's Corps (i.e. the South Carolina Rangers) to continue the hunt.<sup>1576</sup>

3 March. Tarleton was directed to move with 200 cavalry, the light company of the guards, 80 Jägers, 150 men of Webster's 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., two six pounders, and regiment von Bose six miles to the front of Cornwallis' army, 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 group of his pickets was attacked (see 3 March below.) The next morning he retreated to join the main army.<sup>1577</sup>

3 March (also given as the 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup>) [skirmish] Alamance Picket (Alamance County, N.C.) Otho Williams' troops, including Kirkwood's Delaware company, in the evening of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, surprised a British picket, capturing 2 and killing and wounding a small number. American losses, if any, are not recorded. Greene wrote to von

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<sup>1572</sup> TCS pp. 234-236.

<sup>1573</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 381.

<sup>1574</sup> GHA p. 50.

<sup>1575</sup> GAM vol. II, p. 283.

<sup>1576</sup> BGC p. 133, BSF p. 142.

<sup>1577</sup> TCS p. 236.

Steuben on the 5 March: "On the evening of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, one of the enemy pickets were surprised by Captain Kirkwood. Some few were killed but only 2 Prisoners were taken."<sup>1578</sup>  
Kirkwood: "March 4<sup>th</sup> We came up with the Enemy at Allmance....[marched] 60 [miles]  
"March 5<sup>th</sup> 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]."<sup>1579</sup>

Seymour: "On the night of the sixth<sup>1580</sup> 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 Allmance; 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..."<sup>1581</sup>

3 March. Lafayette arrived at Head of Elk, Maryland. A shortage of boats, however, prevented his immediately continuing on to Virginia.

3 March. Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson, at "Thomas Person's [Parson's]," N.C., wrote tMarion o 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 join up with Gen. Butler at Haw Fields, and had directed Munford to unite with 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.<sup>1582</sup>

3 March. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell,<sup>1583</sup> 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.<sup>1584</sup>

3-4 March (possibly 4-5 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 dispersed. The following day a party of militia dragoons, perhaps Malmady's, attacked some Tory cattle drovers, and killed 23 of them. Both incidents only further discouraged any further loyalist support in the region. Greene wrote to von Steuben on the 5 March: "Yesterday morning [the 4<sup>th</sup>] 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."<sup>1585</sup>

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."<sup>1586</sup>

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.*[my italics—WTS] 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."<sup>1587</sup>

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<sup>1578</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 391, 396.

<sup>1579</sup> KJO pp. 13-14.

<sup>1580</sup> Based on correspondence of the day, the dates Kirkwood and Seymour give are apparently mistaken.

<sup>1581</sup> SJS.

<sup>1582</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 389-390.

<sup>1583</sup> 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 the Virginia Brigade.

<sup>1584</sup> JLG vol. I, pp. 461, 462.

<sup>1585</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 393-94, 396, RNC p. 292, BRG p. 366, GNC pp. 338-340, GAM vol. II, pp. 286-287.

<sup>1586</sup> SJS.

<sup>1587</sup> GHA p. 49.

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. On the other hand, some militia went home rather than give up their horses, and the lack of mounted men was noticed in the follow up of Cornwallis after Guilford Court House. Also by this date, Col. Charles Harrison, coming from Richmond, VA., had rejoined Greene's army.<sup>1588</sup>

4 March. Col. Charles Lynch having reached 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.<sup>1589</sup>

4 March. Lee,<sup>1590</sup> 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."<sup>1591</sup>

4 March. Col. William Campbell, the King's Mountain commander, joined Greene with 60 mountain riflemen from Washington County, Virginia men, far short of the thousand Greene had anticipated. The reason for the small number was that the frontier militia were occupied with holding off the Cherokees at this time. Campbell was subsequently assigned to take Pickens command after the latter requested permission to return south.

4 March. Though Marion was now making preparations to join him, Sumter decided not want to wait any longer and left Bradley's.

4 March. Cornwallis was still at Smith's Plantation. "Leslie" Orderly Book: "(Lord Cornwallis) desires<sup>1592</sup> 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."<sup>1593</sup>

5 March. Cornwallis left Smith's Plantation moving west along Alamance Creek.<sup>1594</sup>

5 March Greene, at Boyd's Mill, N.C.,<sup>1595</sup> wrote to Lee: "Major [Jesse?] Read from Halifax [Halifax] County [N.C.] has orders to join the light Infantry with about 170 men all mounted. 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."<sup>1596</sup>

5 March. With Sumter having been chased out of the region, Rawdon directed his attention to Marion. On March 5<sup>th</sup>, 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, Harrison's Provincials also known as the South Carolina Rangers (who were mounted as dragoons) and two pieces of artillery. He probably also had with him the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt. or a detachment of the 64<sup>th</sup> since that unit frequently operated in the area to the south and east of Camden. In further support of this, at one of Watson's subsequent engagements (Witherspoon's) a Lt. George Torriano of the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt. was reported as wounded.<sup>1597</sup>

5-6 March. Pickens and Lee were at Rock Creek above Cedar Creek, where they were joined by Col. Joseph Williams with 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), Pickens, on the 5<sup>th</sup>, requested he and those South Carolina and Georgia men remaining be allowed to return to South Carolina, which Greene permission granted. Col. William Campbell was then appointed to take charge of the North Carolinians of Pickens' command. On March 3<sup>rd</sup>, Capt. Joseph Graham's and his men's term of service was

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<sup>1588</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 25n, 388, JLG vol. I, p. 470, vol. II, p. 29, GNC p. 334, GAM vol. II, p. 283n.

<sup>1589</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 390.

<sup>1590</sup> Lee was with Williams at this time.

<sup>1591</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 391-393.

<sup>1592</sup> These were the same orders Cornwallis had given at Charlotte on 5 October 1780.

<sup>1593</sup> LOB part IV.

<sup>1594</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1595</sup> Boyd's Mill was short distance to the east of modern Williamsburg in Rockingham County, N.C.

<sup>1596</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 395.

<sup>1597</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 69, BSF p. 143.

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 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1598</sup>

6 March. Cornwallis camped at Alton's House.<sup>1599</sup>

Caruthers: "On the night after the skirmish at Wetzell'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."<sup>1600</sup>

6 March. [skirmish] Stirrup's Branch,<sup>1601</sup> also Radcliffe's Bridge (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 not have sufficient men to pursue him. In any 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 wounded. Ripley states that one report gave 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."<sup>1602</sup>

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."

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. Marion later protested loudly to Balfour, but to no avail. In retaliation, Cornet Merritt was later detained and held. However, Merritt was freed when Doyle raided Snow's Island,<sup>1603</sup> while Postell remained in Charlestown till about the time the British left in late 1782.<sup>1604</sup>

6 March. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell with 400 Virginia Continentals passed Hillsborough on his way to High Rock Ford.<sup>1605</sup>

6 March. Malmady 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.<sup>1606</sup>

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 as 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. However, the North Carolina legislature finally gave the command of the Salisbury militia to Col. Francis Lock despite Greene's wishes.<sup>1607</sup>

6 March. [ambush] Widboo Swamp (Clarendon County, S.C.) Marion, who had been preparing to join 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 Ferry. 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 fell back. When Marion tried to send forth Horry once more, Watson's infantry and artillery held him back. The South Carolina Rangers (Harrison's Corps), under Maj. Samuel Harrison,<sup>1608</sup> then came up once more to charge the Americans. They were, however, arrested in their advance momentarily by one of Horry's horsemen, Gavin James. James, apparently a mighty individual of the cast of Peter Francisco, single-handedly slew three of them before retiring. Marion threw in his horsemen under Captain Daniel Conyers and Capt. John McCauley who drove the Rangers back, killing Harrison. Watson's regulars then continued their approach and Marion retreated to Cantey's Plantation five miles northwest of present day Greeleyville.<sup>1609</sup>

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<sup>1598</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 320, 325, 398-399, GAM vol. II, pp. 288, 293-295. See 8 March.

<sup>1599</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1600</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 131.

<sup>1601</sup> Stirrup Branch is near Bishopville, S.C.

<sup>1602</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 417-418, MLL p. 19, BSF p. 143, BGC p. 134-135, RBG p. 235.

<sup>1603</sup> 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 p. 245-246.

<sup>1604</sup> SQR pp. 244-245, BSF 145-146.

<sup>1605</sup> JLG vol. I, pp. 461, 462.

<sup>1606</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 406.

<sup>1607</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 319, 380.

<sup>1608</sup> Brother of John Harrison, founder of Harrison's Corps.

<sup>1609</sup> JFM ch. 3. MSC p. 746, BSF p. 139, 144-145, 259, RBG p. 149.

6 March. [battle] Weitzell's Mill,<sup>1610</sup> also Wetzell's Mill, Whitesell's Mill (Guilford County, N.C.) Cornwallis' army left their encampment, passing over Alamance creek, and moved towards High Rock Ford. From there his advance forces under Webster and Tarleton moved to surprise and attack Otho Williams' and Campbell's detachments at Weitzell's Mill, on Reedy Fork Creek (west of the Haw River), where a substantial quantity of corn was kept. Campbell recently had succeeded Pickens in command of the militia attached to the light troops and cavalry.<sup>1611</sup> After some sharp fighting, 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 rather criticized Cornwallis' not continuing and resuming the action instead. 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. Boatner 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 a few days later.<sup>1612</sup>

Order of battle for Weitzell'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.<sup>1613</sup> 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  
 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 Btn - 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

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

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<sup>1610</sup> The site of Weitzell's Mill is with about two to three miles east of present day Osceola in (the northeast corner of) Guilford County, N.C.

<sup>1611</sup> 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. Neither Washington's or Graham's force, though witnesses to the fighting, was actually involved in it.

<sup>1612</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 408n, 422-423, TCS pp. 237-238, LMS pp. 265-268, GNC pp. 340-347, GAM vol. II, pp. 288-289, WAR vol. II, pp. 781-782, BEA p. 1195, SCAR vol. 3, no.3, pp. 40-43.

<sup>1613</sup> The book, incidentally, contains a very nice map of the engagement.

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 manoeuvring [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. With these views, it was on the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> of March [actually the 5<sup>th</sup>], in the night, he broke up his Camp at Hawkins' and passed the Alamance shortly after daylight in a cloudy morning."<sup>1614</sup>

Tarleton: "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 for their advanced situation: They retired to Wetzell's [Weitzell'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 71<sup>st</sup> 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 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."<sup>1615</sup>

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."<sup>1616</sup>

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 [Weitzell'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

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<sup>1614</sup> GAM vol. II, pp. 288-289.

<sup>1615</sup> TCS pp. 237-238.

<sup>1616</sup> DRS p.30.



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 Rudolph] 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. Rudolph, 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..."<sup>1617</sup>

On March 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 rejoined 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 13<sup>th</sup>....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...."<sup>1618</sup>

6 March (in the evening). Lieut. Col. Washington intercepted and waylaid a group of 25 loyalists leading cattle to the British army. Otho Williams, whose detachment Washington was with, afterward retired to rest his men, and the latter was able to re-shoe his horses.<sup>1619</sup>

6 (or 7 March). [raid] Scott's and Lunsford's Raid (probably Guilford County, N.C.) Otho Williams: "The loss of the Americans [at Weitzell'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], 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 farmhouse 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."<sup>1620</sup>

7 March. Capt. James Tate, with some Augusta County Virginia riflemen, arrived at Speedwell's Iron Works to assist Greene's army. Tate and his men were then attached to Col. William Campbell's corps. This partly made up for most of Preston's men then leaving at that time.<sup>1621</sup>

7 March. In the early morning, Marion left his bivouac at Cantey's plantation, near Murry's Ferry on the Santee. By later the same day Watson had advanced and then camped there himself remaining till about the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1622</sup>

William Dobein James: "On the 9<sup>th</sup> 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 patrols, to shoot his sentinels and cut off his pickets. Such a retaliation was to be expected; and thus raged the civil warfare."<sup>1623</sup>

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<sup>1617</sup> LMS pp. 265-268.

<sup>1618</sup> MGC

<sup>1619</sup> HWW p. 105.

<sup>1620</sup> GHA p. 52, LFB p. 400n.

<sup>1621</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1622</sup> BSF p. 147.

<sup>1623</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

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 7<sup>th</sup>) to withdraw instead towards the "Deep River" (so states Tarleton) to encourage the loyalist in that region. This retreat was later severely criticized. On the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup>, he marched southwest to Guilford Court House where on the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> he destroyed a cache of arms. Caruthers states that on the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1624</sup> Lee, with his cavalry, shadowed Cornwallis' movements and reported them to Greene. Greene himself, meanwhile, stayed north of the Haw River across from Cornwallis at (or near) High Rock Ford where he awaited the arrival of the reinforcements and supplies; which joined up with him on 10 and 11 March. He wrote to Gov. Jefferson from there on the 10<sup>th</sup>: "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."<sup>1625</sup>

Cornwallis, in his letter of March 17<sup>th</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> to drive them in, and to attack General Greene if an opportunity offered. I succeeded completely in the first, and at Weitzel'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 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 I had moved to the Quaker Meeting, in the forks of Deep River on the 13<sup>th</sup> and on the 14<sup>th</sup>..."<sup>1626</sup>

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 11<sup>th</sup>, he was now in a condition to face his Lordship and even bring him to action."<sup>1627</sup>

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

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<sup>1624</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 131.

<sup>1625</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 417, 419, TCS pp. 238-239, 266-267, LFB vol. II, p. 400.

<sup>1626</sup> TCS p. 266-267.

<sup>1627</sup> CAR p. 265.

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.”<sup>1628</sup>

8 March. Arnold, at Portsmouth, to Clinton: “On the 6<sup>th</sup> I received information that Lord Cornwallis had not penetrated further than the Dan or Roanoke river, and that, in consequence of the mis-information (sent to the rebel army, by express, as mentioned in my last) being contradicted, their detachment had returned to their army at Suffolk, as well as Mr. 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 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.”<sup>1629</sup>

8 March. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell was eight miles west of Hillsborough on his way to join Greene.<sup>1630</sup>

8 March. Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson (with Brig. Gen. John Butler not faraway, and who within a short time joined him) 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 was bad and prevented his continuing with Butler. He hoped to follow later with a detachment of New Bern militia that was supposed to be on the march as well, but these evidently remained in the eastern half of the state.<sup>1631</sup>

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.]”<sup>1632</sup> Polk was father of Col. William Polk, who became one of Sumter's regimental commanders, as possibly did later Polk himself.

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.<sup>1633</sup>

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.”<sup>1634</sup>

8 March. A French fleet under Admiral Charles Chevalier Destouches,<sup>1635</sup> carrying 1,110 chausseurs and grenadiers under Maj. Gen. Antoine-Charles du Houx, Baron de Viomenil on board, left Newport, Rhode Island on its way to Virginia. About 36 hours later, Vice Admiral Arbuthnot left Sandy Hook reached the Chesapeake before Destouches arrived.<sup>1636</sup>

8 March. Pickens and Maj. James Jackson formally received permission from Greene to leave to go back to South Carolina. They reached the Catawba on March 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1637</sup>

8 March. Lafayette's troops, on their way into Virginia, left Head of Elk and were moved by water to Annapolis. Lafayette himself went ahead alone with some staff seeking to meet with von Steuben.

8 March. Cornwallis camped at Duffield's.<sup>1638</sup>

8-9 March. [siege] PENSACOLA (Escambia County, FLA.) General Bernardo de Galvez landed some 3,000 Spanish Troops<sup>1639</sup> 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 60<sup>th</sup> Regt. and the 16<sup>th</sup> Regt. The 16<sup>th</sup> had previously been stationed in Savannah. Despite being outnumbered two to one, the town would not fall till May 9<sup>th</sup>, and then only after a deserter had exploded a key ammunition magazine within the post.<sup>1640</sup>

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<sup>1628</sup> CNS vol. 2, pp. 131-132.

<sup>1629</sup> COC pp. 71-72.

<sup>1630</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 411.

<sup>1631</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 411, LMS p. 269.

<sup>1632</sup> NGP vol. VI, I p. 413. See 7 April.

<sup>1633</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 410.

<sup>1634</sup> GHA pp. 52-53.

<sup>1635</sup> Charles-Rene'-Dominieue Gochet, Chevalier Destouches. He was succeeded in May 1781 by Admiral de Barras. BEA p. 329.

<sup>1636</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 47.

<sup>1637</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 410.

<sup>1638</sup> LOB part IV.

<sup>1639</sup> Galvez began with about 1,400, and then was reinforced with another 1,600. Galveston, Texas, by the way, is named after him.

<sup>1640</sup> FWI pp. 208-209, BEA p. 853-854.

9-10 March. Cornwallis camped at Gorrel's Plantation about eight miles west of Guilford.<sup>1641</sup>

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.),<sup>1642</sup> 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.<sup>1643</sup> 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 on 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*, gives many painful descriptions of the sufferings of this good man and his faithful Rachel...."<sup>1644</sup>

Footnote: "After Weitzell's Mill Cornwallis removed his army into the hands of Buffalo congregation, and encamped on the plantation of Wm. 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, 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 12<sup>th</sup>, was about five miles from High Rock; on Tuesday, eight miles farther, on Ready Fork, and on Wednesday at the Court House."<sup>1645</sup>

9 March. [skirmish] Heron's Bridge (Pender County, N.C.) Lillington, entrenched on the east side of the Northeast Cape Fear River skirmished Craig at Heron's Bridge, 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.<sup>1646</sup>

9 March. Major Ichabod Burnett 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. On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, Wade had delivered a drove of cattle and hogs, which he handed over to Butler, at Granville Court House and had returned to the Peedee.<sup>1647</sup>

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.<sup>1648</sup>

9 March. Greene had Williams' corps reunited with 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. He 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 rifflamen [sic], and you and Col. Washington either separately or conjunctively as you may agree, to give the enemy all the

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<sup>1641</sup> LOB, part IV, NGP vol. II, p. 417.

<sup>1642</sup> "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 Mill's, where Cornwallis had his encampment before the Guilford battle." LFB vol. II p. 408.

<sup>1643</sup> No mention is made in the "Leslie" Orderly Book of what is described in Lossing, nor is their the usual admonition from Cornwallis against plundering.

<sup>1644</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 400.

<sup>1645</sup> FSN pp. 273-274.

<sup>1646</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 457.

<sup>1647</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 387, 414.

<sup>1648</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 417.

annoyance in your power, and each to report to Head Quarters. Cambell will have orders to join you in the morning.” Campbell left Greene joined Lee on the 10<sup>th</sup>, with 300-400 riflemen.<sup>1649</sup>  
Kirkwood: “March 10. This Day my Company & One from Virginia were ordered to remain with Col. Washington to Act as a Legion.”<sup>1650</sup>

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.”<sup>1651</sup>

10 March. Clinton’s instructions to Major General William Phillips (and which, as Clinton later pointed out in his controversy with him, Cornwallis later saw): “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, 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 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, 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.”<sup>1652</sup>

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<sup>1649</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 415, 421.

<sup>1650</sup> KJO p. 14.

<sup>1651</sup> FRM p. 1747.

<sup>1652</sup> COC pp. 61-64.

10 March (also possibly 9 March).<sup>1653</sup> [skirmishes] Mount Hope Swamp and Lower Bridge (Williamsburg County, S.C.) Marion had retired towards down the Santee Road and deployed his men at Mount Hope Swamp where he destroyed the bridge over the stream there. On the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>, Watson again advanced and Marion's riflemen under Lieut. Col. Hugh Horry and Capt. William McCottry attempted to dispute his passage. 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, pursued him a short distance but 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 Watson was taking 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 11<sup>th</sup>) Marion's men under Captains Daniel Conyers and McCottry sniped at the British camp 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 28<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1654</sup>

10 March. Malmady 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 in the larger number, were 40 cavalry under a Capt. Marquis de Bretigny, though few of these last were actually armed with sabers and acted instead as an independent patrol or scouting force. Malmady was short of ammunition, which he requested of Greene. Within a few days this was sent, along with instructions from Greene who told him to occupy the Rocky River area and prevent loyalists from sending provisions to Cornwallis up river. He also ordered Malmady to transfer American supplies from Ramsey's Mill to the east side of the Cape Fear River.<sup>1655</sup>

10 March. Lee, in Guilford County, reported to Greene Cornwallis' being camped at "Ralph Gorrells," and that loyalists along the road to Cross Creek (from Guilford) were collecting provisions for the British army.<sup>1656</sup>

11 March. Lee wrote to Greene: "I informed you by a verbal message of the enemys alteration of their route yesterday.<sup>1657</sup> [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 convinced that they intended to pursue the direct route to Cross Creek or Bells Mill...it is exceedingly difficult to subsist troops near the enemy, such has been the devastation of their march."<sup>1658</sup>

11 March. Brig. Gen. John Butler and Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton, both now commanded the North Carolina militia on their way to Greene, and joined him at High Rock ford, as did also Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell with 400 Virginia Continentals the same day (or possibly a day later.)<sup>1659</sup> Greene writing to Joseph on March 18<sup>th</sup>: "On the 11<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1660</sup>

11 March. Malmady wrote to Greene, from Woody's Ferry<sup>1661</sup> on the Haw River, saying he was passing over the Haw by boat that night and maneuvering toward Cornwallis' lines. Some 600 loyalists were reported collecting and plundering near Ramsey's Mill where the North Carolina was having difficulty containing them. Malmady also reported having a large stock of food stores at Ramsey's Mill removed to a safer location.<sup>1662</sup>

11 March. Cornwallis camped at Dillon's Mill about six miles south-southwest of Guilford.<sup>1663</sup>

12 March. Cornwallis camped at McCuiston's some three and a half miles south of Guilford. He left there 5 am on the 13<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1664</sup>

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<sup>1653</sup> 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.

<sup>1654</sup> JFM, ch. 3, MSC p. 756, BSF p. 148-149, RBG p. 150.

<sup>1655</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 421.

<sup>1656</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 424.

<sup>1657</sup> 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." NGP vol. VII, p. 428n.

<sup>1658</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 427-428.

<sup>1659</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 319, 395, 421, 450, LMS p. 269, JLG vol. I, p. 472, BRG pp. 368-369.

<sup>1660</sup> NGP VII p. 125.

<sup>1661</sup> Woody's Ferry lay on the present day Alamance and Orange County border, just east of Eli Whitney, N.C.

<sup>1662</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 428.

<sup>1663</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1664</sup> Ibid.

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 arose which Broderick was not empowered to negotiate. The two officers then arranged for a later meeting at which the point in question could then be properly discussed. Articles of cartel were formed on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, by Carrington and Capt. Fredrick Cornwallis (Broderick's substitute), and the agreement finally signed on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, by Maj. Edmund Hyrne, representing Greene, and James Frazer, representing Cornwallis.<sup>1665</sup>

12 March. Capt. Marquis de Bretigny, commanding a detachment of 40 mounted N.C. militia, joined Greene.

12 March. [skirmish] South Buffalo Creek (Guilford County, N.C.) Early in the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup>, Lee had a brief skirmish with some of Tarleton's men in the area to the west of Guilford. Lee, with Campbell, 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.<sup>1666</sup>

13 March. Field return of Greene's army gives his army's strength at 4,943.<sup>1667</sup> 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."<sup>1668</sup>

13 March. Cornwallis marched to New Garden (Quaker) Meeting House, six miles southwest of Guilford Court House.<sup>1669</sup> In his memoirs, 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 failed in his attempt. The incident is described at some length in the memoirs.<sup>1670</sup>

14 March. Having called in all his detachments on the 13<sup>th</sup>, Greene moved his army to Guilford Court House on the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>. 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.<sup>1671</sup>

14 March. Cornwallis camped near Mendelhall's Mills, located presumably near or not far from the New Garden Meeting House.<sup>1672</sup>

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.<sup>1673</sup>

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 proceeded [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."<sup>1674</sup>

15 March. Leaving his army in Annapolis, Lafayette, with a small escort, met with von Steuben, who was at Williamsburg with a small militia force. Von Steuben had endeavoring to contain Arnold, who remained in Portsmouth at this time.

15 March. [skirmish] Road from New Garden Meeting House (Guilford County, N.C.) Sometime after two in the morning on the 15<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis sent off his baggage under the escort of Lieut. Col. John Hamilton's Royal North Carolina Regiment, 20 dragoons, and probably Bryan's N.C. Volunteers as well, to Bell's Mill and marched with his army to attack Greene at Guilford Court House. About 9 am, and probably around six or seven miles down the road from the New Garden Meeting House, some cavalry of his advanced troops, under Tarleton, were ambushed by a party of Lee's cavalry scouting their movements. The British were forced to retreat. "The whole

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<sup>1665</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 102, 221, LMS pp. 290-291.

<sup>1666</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 428.

<sup>1667</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 453.

<sup>1668</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 471.

<sup>1669</sup> Tarleton says Cornwallis encamped at the New Garden Meeting House on the 13<sup>th</sup>, while the writer of the "Leslie" Orderly Book does not state the army's location on the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>. It may be that Cornwallis moved there on the 12<sup>th</sup>, 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 13<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>1670</sup> TCS p. 239, LMS pp. 270-272.

<sup>1671</sup> See Seymour's Journal, Guilford Dudley's pension application and NGP vol. VII, p. 431.

<sup>1672</sup> LOB, part IV.

<sup>1673</sup> FNA p. 14.

<sup>1674</sup> FNA pp. 14-15.

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's force and Tarleton's, 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 action that Tarleton lost two fingers due to rifle or musket fire.<sup>1675</sup>

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 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."<sup>1676</sup>

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 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 off 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..."<sup>1677</sup>

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 deployed his army in three lines. 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 be occupied by Lee's Legion, and what remained of Campbell's riflemen (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. 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 intimidating military 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.<sup>1678</sup>

The following will otherwise suffice as a brief description of this decisive battle, which took place in the course of upwards of two-hours. About noon, after a cannonade which lasted some twenty minutes to half an hour,<sup>1679</sup> Cornwallis advanced to attack the North Carolina militia, many of whom took to their heels without having even fired. Even so, the British did not go unscathed and suffered some losses. Some of Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton's North Carolina men, were among those who did not run, and managed to hold their ground for a while with Col.

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<sup>1675</sup> LOB, part IV, TCS pp. 271-272, LMS pp. 272-275, CNS vol. 2, p. 132, MGC, HWW p. 106.

<sup>1676</sup> TCS pp. 271-272.

<sup>1677</sup> LMS pp. 274-275.

<sup>1678</sup> 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.

<sup>1679</sup> WDC p. 412.



William Campbell's riflemen.<sup>1680</sup> 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 serious fighting from Stevens' Virginians, though according to Davie, Lawson's did not remain long. Although Stevens as well was finally forced to retreat, Cornwallis suffered not inconsiderably in dislodging him. In attacking the third line, a similar situation took place. The 1<sup>st</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland, however, made up mostly of new soldiers, retreated; forcing the 1<sup>st</sup> to do the same. The Virginia Continentals under Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes also fell back, while Greene moved 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 the Guards into disarray. Cornwallis at this critical juncture, in order to deny the Americans their newfound momentum, fired his artillery in the intermixed cavalry and guards. This dispersed the Continentals, but also inflicted losses on some of his own men. His own forces now largely disorganized, Greene ordered a retreat, though there was some brief fighting between some of Campbell's and Tarleton's troops before the battle finally closed.

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.<sup>1681</sup>

#### 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)

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Guards, Lieut. Col. Chapel Norton  
 Thomas Baker gives the 1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Guards rank and file strength as 200, Lumpkin as 241.<sup>1682</sup>  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., probably Maj. Simon Fraser<sup>1683</sup>  
 Regiment von Bose, Lieut. Col. Johann Christian de Puis

Baker gives the combined rank and file strength of the 2/71<sup>st</sup> Regt. and von Bose as 565 officers and men, Lumpkin gives the 2/71<sup>st</sup> strength as 530, and von Bose's as 313.

##### \* *Webster's Division* (left wing)

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., Lieut. Col. James Webster  
 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt. " " " "

Baker gives combined total for 23<sup>rd</sup> and 33<sup>rd</sup> as 472 rank and file. Lumpkin gives the 23<sup>rd</sup> as 258 and the 33<sup>rd</sup> as 322.<sup>1684</sup>

Light Infantry Company (Guards): 50, Capt. Maynard  
 Hesse Cassel Jager company, Capt. Ryder

Baker: 84 rank and file, Lumpkin: 97 rank and file

##### \* *Reserve*, Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara

2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Guards: Lieut. Col. James Stuart.  
 Baker: 240 rank and file, Lumpkin: 250 rank and file

Grenadier Company (Guards): 50, probably Capt. Maitland or else Capt. Christie

<sup>1680</sup> 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 p. 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." CNS vol. 2, p. 143.

<sup>1681</sup> KJO p. 14, LOB, Part IV, NGP vol. VII 433-441, 444n, 453n, 455, TCS pp. 271-278, LMS pp. 275-286, DRS pp. 31-32, JLG vol. II, pp. 1-15, LFB vol. II, p. 400-403, CNS vol. 2, pp. 133-150, FWI pp. 225-232, WAR vol. II, pp. 784-794, LSY pp. 169-175, DRR pp. 191, 193, 207-208, RNC p. 308, BAV, MGC.

<sup>1682</sup> BAV p. 51-52, LSY p. 297.

<sup>1683</sup> Lumpkin gives a "Col. Fraser" as commanding the 71<sup>st</sup>, however, the highest ranking Fraser in the 71<sup>st</sup>, according to the British Army lists was Maj. Simon Fraser, who may then be the commander in question.

<sup>1684</sup> BAV p. 51-52, LSY p. 297.

\* Cavalry

British Legion Cavalry: 154-156 rank and file,<sup>1685</sup> Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton

\* Royal artillery: 40-50, Lt. John McLeod (Lumpkin)

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.<sup>1686</sup>

#### TOTAL STRENGTH OF CORNWALLIS' ARMY

In his letter to Clinton of April 10<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>1687</sup>

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. 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 permit 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Ramsour's mill, notwithstanding the companies of infantry raised while he lay at Hillsborough, and other small accessions."<sup>1688</sup>

William Johnson: 2,000 rank and file. Cornwallis initially claimed 1,360 rank and file as his strength at Guilford.<sup>1689</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> of March, it appears that his total was 2213, which will leave 2000 after deducting Hamilton's regiment."<sup>1690</sup>

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 McDouglad] were there; but how many men they had was never known. It is probable that Colonel 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."<sup>1691</sup>

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<sup>1685</sup> 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 present as part of the 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.

<sup>1686</sup> LJA p. 344, LOB part IV, LSY pp. 296-298, BAV, pp. 51-52.

<sup>1687</sup> See *Primary Source Reference Book for the 1781 Guilford Court House Campaign*, edited by Capt. Thomas Goss, Dept. of History, U.S. Military Academy; which in turn cites *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, edited by Charles Ross.

<sup>1688</sup> LMS p. 284n.

<sup>1689</sup> See Cornwallis to Clinton, dated from Wilmington, April 10, 1781, CAC p. 9.

<sup>1690</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>1691</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 133.

Lumpkin: The British force is not known with certainty, but estimated between 1,981 and 2,253, both officers and rank and file.<sup>1692</sup>

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.<sup>1693</sup>

Thomas Baker: 1,924 troops total effectives.<sup>1694</sup>

#### AMERICAN FORCES AT GUILFORD COURT HOUSE

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene  
Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, second in command

#### CONTINENTALS

\* Maryland Brigade, Col. Otho Williams

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt., Col. John Gunby, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard  
2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regt.,<sup>1695</sup> Lieut. Col. Benjamin Ford

William Johnson gives as total effectives for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland regiments together as 630. Lumpkin 632.<sup>1696</sup>

\* Virginia Brigade, Huger<sup>1697</sup>

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.

\* Independent Continental Units

Delaware Company: 80, Capt. Robert Kirkwood<sup>1698</sup>  
William Johnson gives 80, Rankin 110, Baker 40.<sup>1699</sup>

North Carolina Continentals, 30-100.

1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons: 90, Lieut. Col. William Washington  
William Johnson says not more than 90, Rankin 86.<sup>1700</sup>

Partizan Corps, (Lee’s Legion, cavalry and infantry), Lieut. Col. Henry Lee  
William Johnson: the strength of Lees 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.

1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery, Capt. Anthony Singleton, Capt. Ebenezer Finley  
2 batteries of 2 six-pounders  
William Johnson: “60 matrosses of Virginia and Maryland.” Lumpkin gives a figure of 100.<sup>1701</sup>

Although not mentioned in reports, Col. Charles Harrison was evidently with the 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 4<sup>th</sup>, though does not come up again in Greene’s extent correspondence till March 30<sup>th</sup>. Even so, Harrison was probably not present with either of the batteries themselves, unless briefly. Possibly he was still handicapped from the broken bone he suffered by accident prior to Camden (Aug.16, 1780).<sup>1702</sup>

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<sup>1692</sup> LSY p. 298.

<sup>1693</sup> RNC p. 301n.

<sup>1694</sup> BAV pp. 76-77.

<sup>1695</sup> Bakers states that the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 Pee Dee. BAV p.46

<sup>1696</sup> JLG vol. II p. 2-3, LSY p. 296.

<sup>1697</sup> Most of the Virginia Continentals were recruits inexperienced in battle. WDC p. 409.

<sup>1698</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland battalion.

<sup>1699</sup> Ibid, RNC p. 303, BAV p. 44.

<sup>1700</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1701</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1702</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 396, vol. VIII, p. 4.

## 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.<sup>1703</sup>

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 although 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.

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.<sup>1704</sup>

North Carolina cavalry: 40, Capt. Marquis de Bretigny  
Most of these were actually mounted infantry.

William Johnson gives the total for the North Carolina militia as 1,060.<sup>1705</sup>

## VIRGINIA MILITIA

- \* First Virginia brigade, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens
- \* Second Virginia brigade, Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson

William Johnson: Both 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."<sup>1706</sup>

McQuire: "Robert Lawson's brigade on the north was drawn mainly from Virginia's southside counties: Pittsylvania, Prince Edward, Cumberland, Amelia, etc.<sup>1707</sup> 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

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.<sup>1708</sup>

Baker gives 250 for William Campbell's force.<sup>1709</sup>

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.

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<sup>1703</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 2-3.

<sup>1704</sup> 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."

<sup>1705</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 471.

<sup>1706</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 140.

<sup>1707</sup> Southside refers to area in Virginia generally south of the James River.

<sup>1708</sup> MGC

<sup>1709</sup> BAV p. 45.

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.<sup>1710</sup>

TOTAL for all the Virginia militia combined, says William Johnson, was 1,693.<sup>1711</sup>

#### 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.<sup>1712</sup>

Tarleton states Green's army numbered 7,000.<sup>1713</sup>

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..."<sup>1714</sup> If 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 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.) This was why I have interpreted his particular unit strengths 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.<sup>1715</sup>

Lumpkin: 4,384-4,444<sup>1716</sup>

#### CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES

##### BRITISH

Cornwallis' return of losses suffered, contained in his dispatch to Lord German, 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.)<sup>1717</sup>

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, Goodricke (or Goodricks, who was injured in the early morning skirmish), and Captain Lord Dunglass, all of the Guards. Lieut. O'Hara, of the Royal artillery and nephew to the General was among those killed.<sup>1718</sup>

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."<sup>1719</sup>

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

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<sup>1710</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 2-3, MGC.

<sup>1711</sup> JLG vol. I, p. 471.

<sup>1712</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 453.

<sup>1713</sup> TCS p. 271.

<sup>1714</sup> LMS p. 283n, 284.

<sup>1715</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 2-3.

<sup>1716</sup> Presumably rank and file. LSY. 296-297.

<sup>1717</sup> TCS p. 310.

<sup>1718</sup> TCS pp. 276, 310.

<sup>1719</sup> Quoted in NGP vol. VII p. 440n.

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.<sup>1720</sup>

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 6<sup>th</sup> 18 of these had died.<sup>1721</sup>

*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."<sup>1722</sup>

#### AMERICAN

*Taken from Otho Williams' return:*<sup>1723</sup>

#### Continental

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.<sup>1724</sup>

Delaware battalion: 7/7 killed, 11/13 wounded, 13/15 missing.

Washington's 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>1725</sup>

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.<sup>1726</sup>

#### Also:

North Carolina cavalry [militia] lost 1 man killed and 1 wounded.<sup>1727</sup>

*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

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<sup>1720</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 8-9.

<sup>1721</sup> WCO p. 314.

<sup>1722</sup> AR81 pp. 69-70.

<sup>1723</sup> Note numbers given in parenthesis are rank and file.

<sup>1724</sup> McQuire: "... Colonel Gunby was also disabled when his wounded horse fell on him. Command of the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland was soon passed to John Eager Howard, who had capably commanded Morgan's line of Continentals and Virginia riflemen at the Cowpens." MGC

<sup>1725</sup> 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.

<sup>1726</sup> During and after Guilford most of the N.C. deserted. NGP VOL. VII 444n

<sup>1727</sup> TCS pp. 317-320.

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.”<sup>1728</sup>

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 17<sup>th</sup>; 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 17<sup>th</sup>. 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 19<sup>th</sup> to 3115.”<sup>1729</sup>

## CAPTURES

On 19 March, Maj. Charles Magill reported to Gov. Jefferson that Cornwallis had taken custody of 75 wounded Americans.<sup>1730</sup>

“Return of ordnance, ammunition, and arms, taken at the battle of Guilford, 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.”<sup>1731</sup>

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 13<sup>th</sup>; and on the 14<sup>th</sup> I received the information which occasioned the movement which brought about the action at Guilford...”<sup>1732</sup>

Some 1300 muskets and rifles left on the field were destroyed by the British.<sup>1733</sup>

Kirkwood: “15<sup>th</sup>. This day commenced the Action at Guilford Court House between Genls. Green 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].<sup>1734</sup>

Pension statement of James Roper, of Caswell County, N.C. “In his 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 - 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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<sup>1728</sup> AR81 p. 70.

<sup>1729</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 18-19.

<sup>1730</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 441.

<sup>1731</sup> TCS p. 312.

<sup>1732</sup> CAC p. 32.

<sup>1733</sup> WCO pp. 308-309.

<sup>1734</sup> KJO p. 14.

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.”<sup>1735</sup>

Seymour: “Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, in this action deserved the highest praise, who meeting with the Third Regiment of Foot 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.”<sup>1736</sup>

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.”<sup>1737</sup>

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 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 71<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the guards, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Norton, and the regiment of 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 71<sup>st</sup> regiments, to support the other squadron of the British legion, who followed the rear of the continentals.”<sup>1738</sup>

*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,

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<sup>1735</sup> DRS p. 31-32, BAV p. 68.

<sup>1736</sup> SJS.

<sup>1737</sup> GHA p. 56.

<sup>1738</sup> TCS pp. 273-276.



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 Guilford, 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.”<sup>1739</sup>

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...

“[After the battle] Every assistance was furnished to them [the wounded of both sides], that in the then 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 kind 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 pond of flower, and the same quantity of very lean beef. The night of the day on which the action happened was remarkable for its darkness, accompanied by rain which fell in torrents. Near fifty of the wounded, it is said, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before morning. The cries of the wounded, and dying who remained on the field of action during the night, exceeded all description. Such a complicated scene of horror and distress, it is hoped, for the sake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life.”<sup>1740</sup>

15-16 March. Rather 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 further on another seven miles distance to Speedwell’s Iron works on Troublesome Creek, where he then camped. Cornwallis meanwhile remained at Guilford.<sup>1741</sup>

In his dispatch to Samuel Huntington of 16 March, he 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.”<sup>1742</sup>

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.”<sup>1743</sup>

Sam Houston, <sup>1744</sup> of the Rockbridge VA. militia, wrote in his diary: “Friday, 16<sup>th</sup> --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.”<sup>1745</sup>

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<sup>1739</sup> AR81 pp. 71-72.

<sup>1740</sup> LJA pp. 348-362.

<sup>1741</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 435, JLG vol. II, pp. 22-23, LFB vol. II, p. 406, MGC.

<sup>1742</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 435.

<sup>1743</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 22-23.

<sup>1744</sup> 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 Ramsour’s Mill is not clear.

<sup>1745</sup> MGC.

*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 Winstonsborough). The whig force was routed, and lost 18 men killed and 18 captured.<sup>1746</sup>

*Mid March.* After a dispute in which Campbell claimed Lee unnecessarily put Campbell's in harm's way in order to protect his own at Guilford Court House, Col. William Campbell resigned his commission and left service with Greene. He was, however, back in the field in his home state by summer, having been promoted to Brigadier General.<sup>1747</sup>

*Mid March.* Cornwallis had Rawdon at Camden send Lieut. Col. John Watson to root out Marion. Watson left Camden moving to the fortified the post at Nelson's ferry [Fort Watson?], then marched towards Georgetown in an effort to try to bring Marion out.<sup>1748</sup>

*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 that 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 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 barn 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 most strenuously to this whole proceeding, one alleging that his horse was borrowed of another, that 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 cavalymen 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

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<sup>1746</sup> MSC p. 746, RBG p. 153, LSC p. 13.

<sup>1747</sup> DKM pp. 394-395, NGP vol. VII, p. 445.

<sup>1748</sup> LMS p. 331.

of this affair I have no particulars, nor any very definite information, and give it only as I heard it in the country.<sup>1749</sup>

16 March. [naval battle] 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 to support Lafayette in Virginia, and reasserted British control of the Chesapeake. Destouches afterwards returned to Rhode Island.<sup>1750</sup>

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)<sup>1751</sup>

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; 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.<sup>1752</sup>

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."<sup>1753</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup>. 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.<sup>1754</sup>

18 March.<sup>1755</sup> 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 suffered from lack of meal before the battle, they also fared no better after. However, they remained there till the 20<sup>th</sup> tending to the wounded. Counting those taken at Guilford, Cornwallis' artillery now had 8 six-pounders and 2 three-pounders.<sup>1756</sup>

*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."<sup>1757</sup>

19 March. The day before Greene began his pursuit of Cornwallis, Charles Magill, Jefferson's liaison officer, wrote his Governor Jefferson: "...I am sorry to inform your Excellency that a number of the Virginia Militia have sully'd 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..."<sup>1758</sup>

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<sup>1749</sup> CNS vol. 2, pp. 151-152.

<sup>1750</sup> NGP vol. p. 468n, CAR 255n, WAR vol. II, p. 870.

<sup>1751</sup> "Coppered" refers to the ship having copper sheeting covering the hull below the waterline.

<sup>1752</sup> LOB part IV, TCS pp. 266-267, CAC p. 43.

<sup>1753</sup> 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.

<sup>1754</sup> NGP vol. VIII p. 31.

<sup>1755</sup> The "Leslie" Orderly Book says that the army camped at Tesin's [Tison's?] Plantation on this date. LOB part IV.

<sup>1756</sup> LOB part IV, NGP vol. VII, pp. 456n, 461n, TCS p. 279, CAC p. 44, WAR vol. II, p. 796, WCO p. 312.

<sup>1757</sup> AR81 p. 71.

<sup>1758</sup> Quoted in "Many Were Sore Chased And Some Cut Down Fighting Cornwallis with the Rockbridge Militia by Odell McGuire. Says McGuire 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.

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."<sup>1759</sup>

20 March. Cornwallis left Bell's Mill, moving east, and by the 22<sup>nd</sup> arrived at (possibly) Walcher's Plantation. (See 22 March.) On the same day he left Bell's Mill, Greene began his pursuit of him. On April 18<sup>th</sup>, at Wilmington, Cornwallis wrote to Germain: "I marched from Guildford on the morning of the 18<sup>th</sup> 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 way 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 march the British occasionally took some prisoners, which they later paroled after arriving at Cross Creek.<sup>1760</sup>

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 15<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1761</sup>

20 March. Following his return to South Carolina, Pickens reached the Catawba River.<sup>1762</sup>

20 March. Clinton dispatched Maj. Gen. William Phillips to Virginia with 2,000 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 20<sup>th</sup> and arrived at Portsmouth on March 26<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1763</sup>

21 March. Greene's army encamped at Thom's Mill, on South Buffalo Creek. Greene wrote Lee that his men had been without bread for two days. He consequently, had to 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 sent Lee, and some Virginia riflemen to hang on Cornwallis' rear.<sup>1764</sup>

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."<sup>1765</sup>

22 March. Cornwallis arrived at Walcher's Plantation,<sup>1766</sup> six miles west of the Haw River, and twenty-three miles southwest of Hillsborough. 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 to Ramsey's Mill on the Deep River. See 25 March.<sup>1767</sup>

22 March. Greene wrote Malmady stating that he lacked 30 or 40 wagon horses, without which the army could not move. Malmady was ordered to collect and forward horses as soon as possible.<sup>1768</sup>

23 March (also given as 21 March, and 24 March). [battle] Beattie's Mill (Abbeville or McCormick County, S.C.) Col. Elijah Clark (who had 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 23<sup>rd</sup>, with 180 he fought a skirmish at Beattie's Mill against 90 loyalists under Maj. James Dunlop who were out foraging.<sup>1769</sup> Both

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<sup>1759</sup> FRM p. 1748.

<sup>1760</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 456n, 461n, CAC p. 44, CNS vol. 2, pp. 153-154.

<sup>1761</sup> LLC Appendix xxx.

<sup>1762</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 71n.

<sup>1763</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 459n, CAR p. 254-255, WAR vol. II, p. 870.

<sup>1764</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 456-457.

<sup>1765</sup> LMS pp. 288-289.

<sup>1766</sup> According to the Von Bose *Journal*, p.53, cited in NGP vol. VII, p. 461n. Yet if so, it is something of a mystery why, on the 26<sup>th</sup>, 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.

<sup>1767</sup> CAC p. 44, NGP vol. VII, pp. 456n, 461n.

<sup>1768</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 462.

<sup>1769</sup> 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.

sides were mounted, though the loyalists had some regular cavalry.<sup>1770</sup> 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, nonetheless, thoroughly defeated and himself captured. Pickens, who subsequently met up with Clark, reported the casualties to Greene as 34 killed and 42 captured. A few days later, while being held prisoner in Gilberttown, Dunlop was murdered by a guard or someone connected with the person(s) guarding him. Infuriated, Pickens offered a reward for the apprehension of the perpetrator, but the slayer was never found.<sup>1771</sup>

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.'"<sup>1772</sup>

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, however, pick up the artillery at "Hood's" [Point], near Williamsburg, which von Steuben had written 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, at the headwaters of the Catawba. These two guns were with Greene by the time of Hobkirk's Hill, and one of them (subsequently commanded by Finley) was that which later was dispatched to assist Marion and Lee.<sup>1773</sup>

24-25 March. [raid] Road to Ramsey's Mill (Chatham County, N.C.) Since Greene was at Rigdon's Ford<sup>1774</sup> on the 26<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis probably arrived at Ramsey's Mill, N.C., (situated on the north bank of the Deep River) on the 25<sup>th</sup>, or else the 26<sup>th</sup>. 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 Malmady's militia horsemen (probably his cavalry), and three of the Jägers were taken prisoner. That Cornwallis felt the need to mention the incident in a letter to Clinton (of April 10<sup>th</sup>) 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.<sup>1775</sup>

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."<sup>1776</sup>

Pension statement of John Chumbley of Amelia County, VA.: "We remained a few days in Green'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. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 164-165.

25 March. Hearing of the French naval defeat, and resultant loss of the anticipated reinforcements under de Viomenil, and after meeting with von Steuben at Williamsburg, Lafayette returned overland to Annapolis, and there considered marching back with his army to rejoin Washington.

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<sup>1770</sup> 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.

<sup>1771</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 71-72, MHG p. 510, MSC p. 746, BGC p. 143, RBG p. 153.

<sup>1772</sup> JLG Vol. II, p. 107.

<sup>1773</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 468n, JLG vol. II, p. 74.

<sup>1774</sup> Rigdon's Ford, on Rocky Creek, was upriver, about twelve miles west-northwest of Ramsey's Mill.

<sup>1775</sup> NGP vol. VII 475, TCS p. 278-280, LMS pp. 288-289.

<sup>1776</sup> TCS p. 279.

26 March Lafayette, at Annapolis, to General Washington: "I have directed that Arnold 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."<sup>1777</sup>

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.)<sup>1778</sup>

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 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."<sup>1779</sup>

27 March (also given as 26 March). British Maj. Gen. William Phillips, having left New York on the 20<sup>th</sup>, landed at Portsmouth, VA. with about 2,000 troops. He had with him two battalions of light infantry, the 76<sup>th</sup> Regt., the Prince Hereditaire Regt., and a detachment of artillery. Before leaving New York, he had been instructed by Clinton to continue what Arnold started, namely destroying bases in Virginia (particularly St. Petersburg and those on the James River) and to support Cornwallis by interrupting the flow of supplies to Greene's army.<sup>1780</sup>

27 March (possibly 26 March). On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Greene had the opportunity to attack Cornwallis, who was camped at Ramsey's Mill. Though Cornwallis was encumbered with many wounded, Greene nonetheless, declined to engage, probably because he was now without artillery and because most of his militia were now gone. The gamble then, given the circumstances, was not worth hazarding. The next morning (the 28<sup>th</sup>), 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. Probably the real truth is, neither was in much of a condition to resume fighting.<sup>1781</sup>

In a letter to Samuel Huntington of March 30<sup>th</sup>, 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 27<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1782</sup>

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."<sup>1783</sup>

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<sup>1777</sup> LLW p. 165.

<sup>1778</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 468-469, 469n.

<sup>1779</sup> CNS vol. 2, p. 154.

<sup>1780</sup> NGP vol. VII p. 474n, CAR pp. 254-255, CBA p. 566.

<sup>1781</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 472-473, 475, vol. VIII, p. 7-8, TCS pp. 279-280, LMS p. 290.

<sup>1782</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 7-8.

<sup>1783</sup> TCS pp. 279-280.

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 28<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1784</sup>

28 March. Greene set up headquarters at Ramsey's Mill where he remained till 6 April. Cornwallis meanwhile, who had left Ramsey's that same morning, marched on to Cross Creek, which he reached by either March 30<sup>th</sup> or 31<sup>st</sup>.<sup>1785</sup>

Kirkwood: "28<sup>th</sup> Marched and Crossed Deep River at Ramseys 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]."<sup>1786</sup>

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."<sup>1787</sup>

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 from 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 from 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."<sup>1788</sup>

28 March.<sup>1789</sup> Watson left Blakely's on the afternoon of the 28<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1790</sup>

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<sup>1784</sup> GHA p. 58.

<sup>1785</sup> KJO p. 15, LMS p. 290.

<sup>1786</sup> KJO p. 15.

<sup>1787</sup> SJS.

<sup>1788</sup> LMS pp. 288-289, 296.

<sup>1789</sup> Ripley gives the date as 18 March

<sup>1790</sup> BSF p. 154, RBG p. 151

Bass: "Ox Swamp, not to be confused with Ox Swamp in Clarendon County, runs into the Black river about twelve miles below Kingstree."<sup>1791</sup>

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 he continued down the road toward Georgetown. Horry's men were then set 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 Marion and drove him 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.<sup>1792</sup>

29 March (or 28 March) [raid] Snow's Island (Florence County, S.C.) While Marion had been contending 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 Marion. The date Doyle set out is not clear but sometime near the end of the month he attacked Marion's base at Snow's Island. The island was defended by Col. Hugh Ervin and a small detachment. Of this 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. Bass says that in the process Doyle liberated some prisoners including Cornet Merrit of the Queen's Rangers and 25 other men, while suffering 2 wounded.<sup>1793</sup>

Capt. John Saunders, on the other hand gives this account: "They [Marion's men] crammed [Thomas] Merrit, with about twenty others, serjeants 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 daring 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 threatening [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 Merrit, 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: Merrit 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 Merrit'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 Merrit 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 Merrit declined."<sup>1794</sup>

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 continue in this State the Enemy will hold their possessions in both." By April 6<sup>th</sup>, Greene subsequently left Ramsey's Mill to go south towards Camden.<sup>1795</sup>

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 packet [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

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<sup>1791</sup> BSF p. 259n.

<sup>1792</sup> BSF p. 154-155, RBG p. 151.

<sup>1793</sup> BSF pp. 156-157, MSC p. 746, RBG pp. 151-152.

<sup>1794</sup> SQR pp. 245-246.

<sup>1795</sup> Lee suggests that he himself first proposed Greene's move south. Though disputed by some, or else explained by saying that Greene had come up with the idea simultaneous with Lee, there seems no compelling reason to out of hand to dismiss Lee's version as spurious, 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 did go that direction, Lee was soon able to do.



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.”<sup>1796</sup>

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). Greene, in effect, was officially acknowledging then what was pretty much already a 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 corps of North Carolina militia did, however, remain with Greene, while other militia from that stayed in the field elsewhere.<sup>1797</sup> After Greene left Ramsey's Mill on the 6<sup>th</sup>, a force of N.C. militia under Brig. Gen. Butler remained there to recruit volunteers, and to also collect supplies for the army. The Virginia militia were dismissed to their homes by Brig. Gen. Lawson on April 2<sup>nd</sup>. In a letter to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, of March 30<sup>th</sup>, Greene wrote: “Since we recrossed the Dan river we have taken at different times upwards of one hundred and twenty Prisoners and several Officers.”<sup>1798</sup>

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. Almost to a man they refused to proceed; and on the 30<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>1799</sup>

31 March. Greene ordered Col. Malmady and his mounted militia to join Gen. Alexander Lillington's force outside Wilmington. Capt. Pleasant Henderson's company was with Malmady, and when Cornwallis evacuated Cross Creek (April 1), Malmady left Henderson with Col. James Emmett at Stewarts' Creek.<sup>1800</sup>

31 March. Having been reinforced with Innes' South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, on the 31<sup>st</sup>, with 300 Provincials and 200 loyalist militia marched to Harrison's Store on Fair Forest Creek to establish a garrison. When Pickens collected some South Carolina and Georgia men to attack him, Cruger retreated to Ft. Williams. Even so, he had a difficult time keeping his men together for lack of provisions, and wrote Sumter for assistance.<sup>1801</sup>

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<sup>1796</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 481, TCS pp. 283-284., CAC pp. vi-viii, LMS pp. 315-325.

<sup>1797</sup> Many of both the North Carolina and Virginia militia were to have served six months, but ended up serving at most two.

<sup>1798</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 472n, vol. VIII, p. 9, JLG vol. II, p. 28, RNC p. 311, 317.

<sup>1799</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>1800</sup> Stewart's Creek runs into Rockfish Creek, a tributary of the Cape Fear river. NGP vol. VIII, pp. 11, 29-30.

<sup>1801</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 71.

31 March (or 30 March). As a modern local source in Fayetteville says Cornwallis only stayed the night in Cross Creek (Fayetteville's previous name), and since he is known to have left there on April 1<sup>st</sup>, he apparently reached the town on March 31<sup>st</sup>, or possibly the 30<sup>th</sup>. At Cross Creek, the loyalists there showed support for British army, and brought them many needed supplies. With these Cornwallis' troops were somewhat refreshed, 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 river's being too narrow at some points for certain crafts, and the hostility of inhabitants along its course, forbade it. And as far as actual recruits, Cornwallis was unable to get even a hundred of the local loyalists to join him. In a letter to Germain of April 18<sup>th</sup>, 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 breadth [sic] seldom above one hundred yards, the banks high, and the inhabitants on each side generally hostile..."<sup>1802</sup> 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."<sup>1803</sup>

*Late March* (possibly early April). [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 the Lynches River. When Marion returned from his pursuit of Watson he camped at Indiantown; at which time his force had dropped down to about 70 men. Even so, 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 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, destroyed his heavy baggage, and retired to Camden.<sup>1804</sup>

*Late March or early April.* A "small detachment" of 1,000 reinforcements for Phillips and Arnold was sent from New York to Portsmouth. This group was separate from that of Phillips which had arrived on March 27<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1805</sup>

*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.<sup>1806</sup>

## APRIL 1781

*April.* Col. Alured Clarke took a portion of the Savannah garrison to St. Augustine, FLA. to help protect that post from possible Spanish invasion; while Lieut. Col. Friedrich von Porbeck remained in Savannah as the senior British officer in Georgia. Clarke returned with his troops to Savannah by June 7<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1807</sup>

*April.* [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,<sup>1808</sup> defeated and took prisoner a group of loyalists under a Capt. Clark, who himself was killed in the encounter.<sup>1809</sup> Following the action as Horn's Creek, a company of loyalists at Hammond's Mill on the Savannah River was attacked and defeated by Capt. Thomas McKee. 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.<sup>1810</sup>

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] Hammonds' 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 Jackson passed over to Georgia, joined Cols. [John] Baker, [John] Stark & Williamson, who had collected a considerable

<sup>1802</sup> CAR pp. 268, 508, CAC p. 45.

<sup>1803</sup> LJA p. 357.

<sup>1804</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 32n, JFM ch. 3, MSC p. 746, BSF p. 157-158,162, RBG pp. 151-152.

<sup>1805</sup> CAR p. 276.

<sup>1806</sup> HWW p. 114.

<sup>1807</sup> CGA p. 137

<sup>1808</sup> McCrady gives Samuel Hammond, or else it may be that McKee was one of Hammond's lieutenants.

<sup>1809</sup> HMP, JTR p. 514, RBG p. 236, MSC p. 748,.

<sup>1810</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p. 236.

force of the Georgia militia & were near Augusta, the British outposts were driven in on both sides of the Savannah River & a Siege commenced.”<sup>1811</sup>

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 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, on Horne’s Creek. Clark was killed and the company all made prisoners; and [Following Horne’s Creek see 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 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.”<sup>1812</sup>

April (possibly January 1781). [ambush] Mathews’ Bluff (Allendale County, S.C.) A Capt. Rannall McKay (or M’Kay, also given as McCoy), who had been waylaying supply boats on the Savannah River, and at Mathew’s Bluff, ambushed a party of 30 loyalists, under a Lt. Kemp<sup>1813</sup> sent to out by Brown at Augusta to him. Kemp was routed, and lost 16 killed and wounded. See also Wiggin’s Hill, *Early April*.<sup>1814</sup>

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, 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.”<sup>1815</sup>

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 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 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 ambushade 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

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<sup>1811</sup> HMP.

<sup>1812</sup> JTR p. 514.

<sup>1813</sup> 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 in (August 1780).

<sup>1814</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p. 235, LSC p. 12, CKR pp. 128-129.

<sup>1815</sup> MHG p. 515.

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.<sup>1816</sup>

*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."<sup>1817</sup>

*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 80 to 100 men to carry out partisan activity in the Edisto region roughly between Charlestown, Savannah, and Augusta; where he and most of his men resided. Previously, 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.<sup>1818</sup>

Tarleton Brown: "On the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 [sic] 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 at Givham's Ferry, we fell in with a man who assisted Brown in hanging the five brace fellows at "Wiggin's 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 hours, when Major Cooper returned and told us he had killed the greater part of them, with but the loss of one man, John Steward, from Georgia."<sup>1819</sup>

*April.* [skirmish] Hanging Tree (Randolph County?, N.C.) Sometime in the Spring of 1781, possibly April, and the location not clear, but possibly in Randolph County, 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, however, 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.<sup>1820</sup>

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, 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 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 parties [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."<sup>1821</sup>

*April.* [skirmish] Cashua Ferry (Marlboro County, S.C.)<sup>1822</sup>

*April.* [skirmish] McPherson's Plantation (East side of the Peedee River in S.C.)<sup>1823</sup>

*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 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 (von Dittfurth, von Huyne, and von d'Angelleli) were brought together for the formation of Lt. Friedrich Starckloff's troop of light dragoons.

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<sup>1816</sup> WHG pp. 614-620.

<sup>1817</sup> Quoted in CKR p. 128 (note 17 page 128.)

<sup>1818</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 119-120, BSF pp. 172-175, RBG p. 154.

<sup>1819</sup> Brown's chronology is rather confusing, and, at least in part, mistaken. 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 weaknesses. BMS.

<sup>1820</sup> FNA pp. 15-16.

<sup>1821</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1822</sup> LSC p. 14.

<sup>1823</sup> *Ibid.*

1 April. [skirmish] Bear Bluff (Horry, County, S.C.)<sup>1824</sup>

1 April. On this date the North Carolina legislature passed a law 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.<sup>1825</sup> 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 had already collected 240 of those who fled at Guilford for this twelve-month service.<sup>1826</sup> Davie: "After the battle of Guilford Genl [Allen] Jones w[ith] 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."<sup>1827</sup>

1 April. Cornwallis left Cross Creek, and moved his army to Wilmington. See 7 April. Along the march, Lieut. Col. James Webster, died of the wounds he had received at Guilford. He was later buried at a location, now unknown, just south of Elizabethtown.<sup>1828</sup>

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.'"<sup>1829</sup>

1 April.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and file:

Brigade of Guards: 411  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 182  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 229  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt. : 161  
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 245  
Hessian Jägers: 97  
North Carolina Volunteers: 224  
British Legion (cavalry only): 174

Total: 1,723.<sup>1830</sup>

1 April (possibly 31 March). [skirmish] Cole's Bridge (Scotland County, N.C.) In a letter of April 2<sup>nd</sup>, Col. Thomas Wade, at Haley's Ferry on the Peedee, wrote to Greene that he had conveyed stores from Cross Creek<sup>1831</sup> to 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 Wade's casualties were three killed, two wounded, and seven taken prisoner. In addition slaves, wagons, and all of the horses were taken. This left Wade now with only 20 militia. 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 were poor soldiers and he asked for better in future if the supplies and provisions in his charge were to be kept secure. See 18 April.<sup>1832</sup>

2 April. After collecting at Ramsey's Mill, the Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Lawson were assembled and then dismissed to their homes. Elsewhere, 100 Virginia militia, at "Camp Wm Daniels," N.C.,<sup>1833</sup> previously under Col. Charles Lynch went for home with out officers. At the same time, they left behind their muskets which were

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<sup>1824</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1825</sup> 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.

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."

<sup>1826</sup> RNC pp. 322-323.

<sup>1827</sup> DRS p. 35.

<sup>1828</sup> TCS pp. 281, 322, NGP vol. VIII, pp. 25, WCO p. 316. For the story of Webster's exhumation in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century see CNS vol. 2, p. 154.

<sup>1829</sup> LJA P. 360n.

<sup>1830</sup> CAC p. 53.

<sup>1831</sup> Greene had earlier ordered stores removed at Cross Creek. Wade's letter, however, doesn't give a location. Malmady's militia had also helped in removing the stores at Cross Creek prior to Cornwallis' arrival there. See 26 March.

<sup>1832</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 31-32.

<sup>1833</sup> Separate and distinct, obviously, from Greene's camp at Ramsey's Mill.

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.<sup>1834</sup>

2 April [skirmish] Georgetown (Georgetown County, S.C.) 60 militia under Major Lemuel Benson of Marion's Brigade skirmished 20 mounted Queen's Rangers, under Lt. John Wilson and some loyalist militia out foraging. Losses are not known, but Wilson, who was wounded in the action, received a commendation from Balfour.<sup>1835</sup> 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."<sup>1836</sup> 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."<sup>1837</sup>

2-3 April. [siege] Fort Nashborough, TN. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 174-176.

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 Petersburg, 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 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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, 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake 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,

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<sup>1834</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 29. RNC p. 317.

<sup>1835</sup> SQR pp. 246-247.

<sup>1836</sup> SQR p. 246.

<sup>1837</sup> SQR pp. 246-247.

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."<sup>1838</sup>

3 April (possibly January 1781).<sup>1839</sup> [skirmish] Wiggin's 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 only 76 rangers. 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. Brown's losses are not known.<sup>1840</sup> See Mathews Bluff, April 1781.

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 woods. Colonels McCoy [Rannall McKay] and Harden, having accomplished all that was required of them, retired from the field of action, 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 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."<sup>1841</sup>

3 April. Lafayette rejoined his troops at Annapolis, and began marching his men back north.

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<sup>1838</sup> COC pp. 75-79.

<sup>1839</sup> It is a bit of a puzzle as to when this engagement took place, since if it was in early April this would seem to have been too early for Harden to have been present in the area. If mid or late April, this is unlikely because Harden was busy with Fenwick, and Augusta was placed under siege on 16 April, which occupied Brown. The explanation may be that it was McCoy alone, without Harden, who commanded the whigs, and the action took place sometime prior to Harden's appearance in April. If Harden was the Whig commander then it is inferred the skirmish probably occurred early in the month, perhaps following Mathews Bluff. Alternatively, Lipscomb gives both Mathew's Bluff and Wiggin's Hill as taking place in January. At the same time, another secondary source gives the date of Wiggin's Hill as January 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup>. Both may very well be correct, but more evidence is needed to properly clear this matter up. MSC p. 748, RBG p. 235, LSC p. 12.

<sup>1840</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p.236.

<sup>1841</sup> MHG pp. 512-513.

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 was soon to be heading south towards Camden. See 6 April.<sup>1842</sup>

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 13<sup>th</sup>, when every fifteenth man will be called out, together with those already drafted..."<sup>1843</sup>

5 April. Clinton to Maj. Gen. Phillips: "I need not say how important success in the Highlands would be. I beg you will without loss of time, consult General Arnold upon the subject. I beg I may have his 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 Chesapeake 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."<sup>1844</sup>

5 April. Greene wrote Brig. Gen. Lillington, ordering him to stay away from British troops at Cross Creek, and avoid being surprised (by Tarleton.)<sup>1845</sup>

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."<sup>1846</sup>

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.<sup>1847</sup>

7 April. Greene left his Ramsay's Mill encampment, and moved 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 especially so due to the devastation wrought by the war. Lee gives Greene's strength at this time as 1,800 effectives, (including in the count Lee's Legion and Oldham's Maryland company.) Greene's force 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 expectations of their joining him. Due to communications lags, interference, or both, at the time of Greene's return into South Carolina, Rawdon did not even know about the battle at Guilford Courthouse.<sup>1848</sup>

7 April. Cornwallis arrived at Wilmington.<sup>1849</sup>  
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 Maynard of the guards were unfortunately attacked by fevers, and died, sincerely lamented by their numerous friends throughout the army."<sup>1850</sup>

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 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 20<sup>th</sup>. 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 without some difficulty, 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

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<sup>1842</sup> RNC p. 317.

<sup>1843</sup> FRN p. 1748.

<sup>1844</sup> COC pp. 79-80.

<sup>1845</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 469n.

<sup>1846</sup> FRM p. 1749.

<sup>1847</sup> LMS pp. 325, 333, WAR vol. II, p. 799.

<sup>1848</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 60-61, AR81 p. 80, LMS p. 333, WAR vol. II, pp. 798-799.

<sup>1849</sup> TCS p. 322.

<sup>1850</sup> TCS pp.284-285.



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.

Although decried by many for various reasons, the plan did bring out men, and others felt that 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<sup>1851</sup> along Broad River.<sup>1852</sup> At a later time, Pickens also used it to bring men together. 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, subsequently established a substitute at the Motte residence about a mile away. Sumter wrote that he expected to have 600 or 700 men (ten months men) by the 20<sup>th</sup>, "(b)ut it at present appears that I Shall be Obligated 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."<sup>1853</sup>

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. Polk, Hampton and Hill were mostly raised in the Counties aforesaid [i.e. the then counties of Mecklenburgh and Rowan]."<sup>1854</sup>

7 April. Having left Georgetown a day or so earlier, and crossed the Peedee at Britton's Ferry, Lieut. Col. John Watson arrived on the 7<sup>th</sup> at "Widow Jenkins," where he bivouacked. With him were 500 men, including some Provincial Light Infantry, the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt., Harrison Provincials, some loyalist militia, and 2 field pieces.<sup>1855</sup>

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 Peedee [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 Peedee at Euhany [Euhaney], and the little Peedee 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."<sup>1856</sup>

7 April. Balfour, at Charlestown, to Clinton: "I am honoured with your letters of the 2d of January, and 19<sup>th</sup> of last month; as also with one of the 14<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>1857</sup>

7-8 April. [ambush-surrender] Four Holes, also Red Hill, and Barton's Post (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, Harden's subordinate Major George Cooper (formerly one of Marion's men), assaulted Barton's post. Some firing was exchanged, and Barton, having lost three men and himself 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.<sup>1858</sup>

8 April. [skirmish] Pocatigo 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 Maj. George Cooper (who was with Harden's group of militia) who had attempted to surprise them. The sabers apparently proved too much for Harden's mounted men, they were scattered. He 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 lists the American commander as "Cooper," rather than Harden. Where Harden was, if not somehow actually with Cooper, is not clear<sup>1859</sup>

Tarleton Brown: "We then proceeded on for Pocatigo. 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

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<sup>1851</sup> 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 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.

<sup>1852</sup> Regarding recruitment. See 8 March.

<sup>1853</sup> NGP vol. VII, pp. 65-68, BGC pp. 144-145.

<sup>1854</sup> GAM vol. II, p. 214.

<sup>1855</sup> Balfour to German, 1 May, 1781, TCS p. 466, NGP vol. VIII, p.78, JFM ch. 3, BSF pp. 164-168, RBG pp. 151-152.

<sup>1856</sup> 900 seems rather high, so this number may fairly be considered open to question. JFM ch. 3.

<sup>1857</sup> COC pp. 82-83.

<sup>1858</sup> RSC . p. 228, MSC p. 746, RBG p. 154.

<sup>1859</sup> MSC p. 746, RBG p. 154.

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, received instructions from Gen. Washington telling him to return to Virginia. As many had expected the 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.<sup>1860</sup> 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.”<sup>1861</sup>

8 April. Greene’s army halted briefly at Wilcox’s Iron Works (aka Cox’s and Coxe’s Mill), N.C. near the Deep River.<sup>1862</sup>

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. Watson camped at Rae’s Hill across the Peedee from Snow’s Island. On the 10<sup>th</sup> with Ganey having joined him,<sup>1863</sup> he marched to Wahee and camped on Catfish Creek. The move north was prompted as possible protection to Cornwallis and Tarleton should they return to South Carolina.<sup>1864</sup>

9 April. (or thereabouts) [raid] Waxhaws Church (Lancaster County, S.C.): The Waxhaws settlement was raided, and the meeting house there, and several homes, burned 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*.<sup>1865</sup>

On 13 April, and from his camp on the Catawba, he wrote to Greene: “On Tuesday night a party of horse & foot to the Number of about one hundred & fifty men from Camden appeared [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 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 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...”<sup>1866</sup>

9 April. Lillington camped at Rutherford’s Mill after returning the not inconsiderable distance from Heron’s Bridge 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.”<sup>1867</sup>

9 April. Watson camped at Rae’s Hill<sup>1868</sup> across the Peedee from Snow’s Island. On the 10<sup>th</sup> with Ganey having joined him, he marched to Wahee and camped on Catfish Creek; at where numerous loyalist came in to join him.<sup>1869</sup>

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

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<sup>1860</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 107, TCS p. 292.

<sup>1861</sup> LLW p. 171.

<sup>1862</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 69.

<sup>1863</sup> Ganey by this time had recovered from the severe wound he received near Georgetown on 28 December 1780.

<sup>1864</sup> JFM ch. 3, BGC p. 147.

<sup>1865</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 91-92, MSC p. 748, BGC p. 151, RBG p. 155.

<sup>1866</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 91-92.

<sup>1867</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 75, 114.

<sup>1868</sup> In his biography of Marion, Bass had said that on the 9<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>1869</sup> BGC p. 147.

against it. Their confidence was no doubt soon bolstered by the news of the approach of Lee and Oldham to reinforce them.<sup>1870</sup>

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, 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."<sup>1871</sup>

10 April. Cornwallis, at "Camp, near Wilmington," to Clinton: "I am just informed that I have a chance of sending a few lines to New York by the *Amphitrite*. but as it depends upon my being expeditious, I cannot attempt to give your Excellency a particular account of the winter's campaign, or the battle of Guildford.

"I am very anxious to receive your Excellency's commands, being as 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 [sic] 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 of 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."<sup>1872</sup>

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,<sup>1873</sup> 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.<sup>1874</sup>

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 Malmady [Malmady], 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."<sup>1875</sup>

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

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<sup>1870</sup> JFM ch. 3, BSF p. 165.

<sup>1871</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>1872</sup> COC pp. 84-85.

<sup>1873</sup> On April 20<sup>th</sup>, Balfour wrote Cornwallis, prior to Watson's arrival, that the garrison at Georgetown was the "86 infy [infantry] with twenty mounted [men]." NGP vol. VIII, p. 78n.

<sup>1874</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 77-78, JLG Vol. II, pp. 68-69.

<sup>1875</sup> CAC pp. 10-14.

against us) and stick to our salt pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco, etc.”<sup>1876</sup>

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 marauders 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 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.<sup>1877</sup>

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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 27<sup>th</sup> 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, 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

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<sup>1876</sup> WCO p. 319.

<sup>1877</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 53, 54n, BSF p. 183.

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 27<sup>th</sup> of February, that his works there were in such forwardness; and that he was even preparing to send up James River, and 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."<sup>1878</sup>

12 April. Major Pinkertham Eaton marched from Ramsey's Mill<sup>1879</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup>, 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. Nevertheless, Eaton and those that remained with him subsequently served with distinction.<sup>1880</sup>

12 April. Lafayette arrived at the Susquehanna Rive in his continued march into Virginia.<sup>1881</sup>

13-14 April. Greene's army was camped at Colston's (also Colson's) Mill, west of the Peedee, and just north of Rocky River. The 13<sup>th</sup> was Good Friday.<sup>1882</sup>

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 Chesapeake 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 Chesapeake.

"Agreeable to what I have already said to your Lordship in my letters of the 1<sup>st</sup> of June and 6<sup>th</sup> 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 Chesapeake, 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."<sup>1883</sup>

14 April. Lee, going by way of Port's Ferry, linked up with Marion at Benbow's Ferry on the Black River. Marion collected boats on the Peedee, north of Mars' ferry, to facilitate Lee's crossing and transport. By this time Marion's force had dwindled to some 80 men. Yet when he received word of Greene's approach he brought together a force of nearly 380 to 400. By the next day, the two went to invest Ft. Watson.<sup>1884</sup>

14 April. On this date, Malmady was with his North Carolina militia at Rutherford's Mill. Malmady wrote Greene saying that his men would be discharged on April 26. He added 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.<sup>1885</sup>

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 capture. See 24 April.<sup>1886</sup>

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<sup>1878</sup> CAC pp 90-95. "Received by Earl Cornwallis, at Petersburg, May 24."

<sup>1879</sup> Where Brig. Gen. John Butler was with most of North Carolina militia left over from Greene's army.

<sup>1880</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 83.

<sup>1881</sup> TCS p. 192.

<sup>1882</sup> This is a different Rocky River than that which flows into the Haw-Cape Fear River. NGP vol. VIII, p. 88, FRM p. 1750.

<sup>1883</sup> This letter is an example if, ever there was, of Clinton's giving ambiguous orders. What, after all, is of upper most importance, the Carolinas or that Cornwallis moving into Virginia? CAC pp. 18-20.

<sup>1884</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 128, 139, LMS p. 331, BSF p. 169, 180, BGC p. 154.

<sup>1885</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 95.

<sup>1886</sup> JHG p. 499.

15 April. A return of this date<sup>1887</sup> 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<sup>1888</sup>  
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.

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 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."<sup>1889</sup>

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 400 North Carolina militia with him led by Col. James Read. Yet these soon dwindled to about 150. 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]..."<sup>1890</sup>

15 April (also possibly 16 April). [raid] Wolf's Den, also Big Glades, Riddle's Knob<sup>1891</sup> (Ashe County, N.C.) Tory Capt. William Riddle, Zachariah Wells and 5 or 7 others captured Col. Benjamin Cleveland 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 Cleveland was captured while resting under a tree at Old Fields, which was twenty miles northwest of Wilkesboro, N.C.<sup>1892</sup> Another says that Riddle stole some horses with a view to setting a trap. Cleveland and a few others followed Riddle's trail, and were ambushed. His men ran and Cleveland 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 Cleveland and some of Cleveland's men from King's Mountain soon received word of what had transpired and formed a party of 20 to 30 to go after Riddle. On April 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> (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 Cleveland 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.<sup>1893</sup>

15 April (also given as the 16<sup>th</sup>) to 23 April. [siege] Fort Watson (Clarendon County, S.C.) On the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup> (Bass says the 16<sup>th</sup>), Marion and Lee, the latter formally under the command of Marion, laid siege to Fort Watson. Earlier in the same day (or else the day before), Lee sent Capt. John Rudolph, with the Legion cavalry, down the Santee to watch Watson's movements. This left Lee's own corps 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.

<sup>1887</sup> From *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, vol. I., pp. 85-89, 516-523.

<sup>1888</sup> See also NGP vol. VIII, p. 115n.

<sup>1889</sup> COC p. 81.

<sup>1890</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 97.

<sup>1891</sup> This entry also includes the separate engagement of "Riddle's Camp" referred to at the end of this paragraph.

<sup>1892</sup> Old Fields situated near the present day Ashe and Watauga County border. Daniel Barefoot, *Touring North Carolina's Revolutionary War Battle Sites*, p. 215.

<sup>1893</sup> DKM pp. 437-443.

Pinkertham Eaton, with 140 N.C. Continentals, had been sent by Greene on the 24<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup>. 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 surrender on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. 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 Provincials soldiers were paroled, while the "irregulars" (loyalist militia) were taken prisoner.<sup>1894</sup> 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.<sup>1895</sup> Marion on the day of Watson's surrender (the 23<sup>rd</sup>), wrote Greene: "Lieutenant-colonel Lee joined me on the Santee the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, after a rapid march from Ramsey's mills on Deep river, which he finished in eight days. The 15<sup>th</sup> 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 abbatiss. 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 abbatiss 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 abbatiss; 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 abbatiss, 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."<sup>1896</sup>

"[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."<sup>1897</sup>

16 April. [siege] Second Siege of Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) A reported 1,300 (though Boatner's number here seems rather high)<sup>1898</sup> Colonels Elijah Clark and Micajah Williamson's detachment assembled at 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.<sup>1899</sup>

Samuel Hammond (pension statement): "Major 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

<sup>1894</sup> 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 they needed approving. 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.

<sup>1895</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 134n, 139-141, 143, RSC p. 229, TCS p. 471-473, LMS p. 331-332, JLG vol. II pp. 70-71, JFM ch. 3, LFB vol. II pp. 501-502, WAR vol. II, pp. 799-800, BSF pp. 170-171, BGC pp. 154-157.

<sup>1896</sup> CLS p. 151.

<sup>1897</sup> There was a Capt. Nutwell's Co. in Phillip's Camden Regiment. CLS p. 155.

<sup>1898</sup> BEA p. 50.

<sup>1899</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 150n, HMP, MHG p. 514, JTR pp. 532-533, LFB vol. II, pp. 510-511, BEA p. 50. See Briar Creek, *Late April*.

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 Greyson [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."<sup>1900</sup>

17 April (also given as 12 and 18 April). [ambush-surrender] Fort Balfour, also Vanbibber's Tavern (Beaufort County, S.C.) Ft. Balfour, which was situated above a bridge on the Pocotaligo River, was garrisoned by about 100 men, made up 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 threatened a second time, and then surrendered. 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 captured, 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 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup>, and states the loyalist lost 8 officers and 82 men captured. On the 18<sup>th</sup>, Harden wrote Marion requesting commissions from him as an incentive to keep his (Harden's) men with him.<sup>1901</sup>

Harden, at Camp on Saltketcher, wrote Marion, on 17 April: (extract) "I marched on, and got within sight of Fort Balfour, at Pocotaligo, at twelve o'clock in the day; I placed my men, and sent ten of the best horses to draw them out, but luckily Cols. Fenwick and Letchmere were at Vanberst, and were taken with seven of the dragoons, and brought to me; the rest were in the fort. I then sent Capt. [William Jr., i.e. his son] Harden 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 the fort, that I would give no quarter. Col. 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 twenty-two dragoons with 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 during that night and the next day had it destroyed."

Joseph Johnson: "When Colonel Harden captured Fort Balfour, near Pocatigo, 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."<sup>1902</sup>

Tarleton Brown: "We now lay by for two or three days, and then marched for the fort at Pocatigo. 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 [Col. 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 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..."

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<sup>1900</sup> HMP.

<sup>1901</sup> NGP vol. VII, p. 129n, RSC p. 228, JLG vol. II, p. 119-120, JFM ch. 3, MSC p. 748, BSF p. 176, RBG p. 157.

<sup>1902</sup> JTR p. 178.



17 April. Greene camped at "Widow Shoemakers" near Lynches Creek.<sup>1903</sup>

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 4<sup>th</sup> N.C. Regt.) was sent later. By the time Eaton reached Greene, his forced numbered only 140.<sup>1904</sup>

17 April. Col. Thomas Wade wrote Greene from Haley's ferry saying that Lieut. Col. Watson was camped on the east side of the Peedee River, about thirty miles below Cheraw with 200 Loyalists. He also mentioned that two large companies of Col. Kolb's regiment were serving with Marion.<sup>1905</sup>

17-18 April. Lafayette and his troops arrived at Baltimore. He had with him three battalions of Continental light infantry, numbering about 900 to 1,100.<sup>1906</sup>

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."<sup>1907</sup>

18-20 April. [raid] Burwell's Ferry (Charles City County, VA.) Having completed the fortifications at Portsmouth, which Arnold had begun, Maj. Gen. William Phillips embarked with about 2,300 rank and file troops and sailed up the James River as far as Burwell's ferry, which he reached on the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup>. A brief skirmish took place at that location with some militia.<sup>1908</sup>

Arnold, at Petersburg, wrote to Clinton on May 12<sup>th</sup>: "On the 18<sup>th</sup> of April, the light infantry, part of the 76<sup>th</sup> and 80<sup>th</sup> regiments, the Queen's rangers, yagers, and American legion, embarked at Portsmouth, and fell down to Hampton road [Hampton Roads]: on the 19<sup>th</sup>, proceeded up James river to Burwell's ferry; on the 20<sup>th</sup>, Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, 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."<sup>1909</sup>

19 April. Leaving behind his heavy cannon, baggage and sick to follow when they could, Lafayette left Baltimore, and proceeded by forced march to Richmond.<sup>1910</sup>

19 April. Phillips, at Hampton Road, to Clinton: "The face of affairs seems changed, and the Carolinas, like all America, are lost in rebellion. My letters of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 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 Chesapeake -- 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."<sup>1911</sup>

19-21 April. [skirmish-raid] Logtown (Kershaw County, S.C.) On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Greene's army marched to "Sands Hills," (Hobkirk's Hill), within a two miles, of Camden where he camped.<sup>1912</sup> By evening, his light troops then skirmished some of Rawdon's forces, including some of the New York Volunteers, and the Volunteers of Ireland, outside the Camden fortifications (i.e. Logtown.) for the next couple days. Haller gives the date for this raid as 21 April and says Washington and Kirkwood, in addition to burning a fortified house and redoubt near the Wateree, captured 50 cattle and 40 horses.<sup>1913</sup>

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<sup>1903</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 117.

<sup>1904</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 106, RNC p. 329.

<sup>1905</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 111.

<sup>1906</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 107.

<sup>1907</sup> TCS p. 324.

<sup>1908</sup> TCS p. 334, SQR p. 191.

<sup>1909</sup> TCS p. 334.

<sup>1910</sup> JYC p. 34.

<sup>1911</sup> COC pp. 81-82.

<sup>1912</sup> 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. It isn't known, however, 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 24<sup>th</sup>. His correspondence during this period, even after he shifted on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, is dated "Camp near Camden." Conceivably then his encampment, after the skirmishes at LogTown was actually four miles 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.

<sup>1913</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 64, 117, HWW p. 128.

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 24<sup>th</sup>, He wrote Huntington: "We began our march from Deep River the 7<sup>th</sup>, and arrived in the neighborhood of Camden the 19<sup>th</sup>. 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."<sup>1914</sup>

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."<sup>1915</sup>

21 April. Lieut. [raid] Wateree (Kershaw County, S.C.) Col. Washington and Capt. Kirkwood launched a daring 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, in addition to burning a fortified house and redoubt near the Wateree, captured 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 "20<sup>th</sup>. 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]."<sup>1916</sup>

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)he 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."<sup>1917</sup>

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.<sup>1918</sup>

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."<sup>1919</sup>

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 84<sup>th</sup>, plus some militia. Lee, in a letter to Greene of April 20, speaks of Small and Watson's potential combined force as numbering 600.<sup>1920</sup>

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 join the Southern army. However, about May 18, Lafayette countermanded the order and Lawson remained with the militia in Virginia.<sup>1921</sup>

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

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<sup>1914</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 131.

<sup>1915</sup> SAW p. 399.

<sup>1916</sup> KJO p. 16.

<sup>1917</sup> SJS.

<sup>1918</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 121-122n, JFM ch. 3, RBG p. 152.

<sup>1919</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>1920</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 125, JLG vol. II p. 71, BSF p. 168.

<sup>1921</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 124, 466.

arrive at Camden. He also said that Major Archibald McArthur<sup>1922</sup> had been moved, with “the debris of the British to Pocotaligo, in order to cover that country.” However, Balfour intended to have him move to Dorchester to establish a post to protect Charlestown. Consequently, after Fenwick’s defeat at Fort Balfour, McArthur was sent to Dorchester where he and his men assisted in the construction of fortifications there.<sup>1923</sup>

The same day Balfour wrote to Clinton: “I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that by the letters from Lord Rawdon of the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>1924</sup>

*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 burn and kill in the Mobley and Sandy Run settlements. About this same time, he gave Pickens Col. Flagg’s regiment to help suppress the loyalists around Ninety Six.<sup>1925</sup>

On April 25<sup>th</sup>, 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 today. 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 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.”<sup>1926</sup>

*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 house, killing several of the attackers with firearms, loaded by his wife and children. After he surrendered his wife testified they fired nine balls into him.”<sup>1927</sup>

21 April. [raid] Williamsburg (James City County, VA.) Phillips marched to Williamsburg where he forced the Virginia militia there under Maj. James Innes to retreat. At the same time Simcoe moved to scout Yorktown.

21 April. In a letter to Greene, Marion estimated the enemy detachments and garrisons around Charlestown to number fewer than 500 men.<sup>1928</sup>

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.<sup>1929</sup>

21 April. Marion, at Fort Watson, reported to Greene as having 300 men. He expected, at this time, reinforcements, but was in want of ammunition. Marion also mentioned capturing a boat-load of corn destined for Camden.<sup>1930</sup>

21 April. Having passed the Potomac River, Lafayette entered Alexandria, VA.

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 burned the *Thetis*. and some other smaller craft. Thereafter Phillips and Simcoe again embarked and continued moving up the James River.<sup>1931</sup>

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<sup>1922</sup> McArthur, of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., captured at Cowpens, had recently been exchanged.

<sup>1923</sup> PRO. 30/11/5, 231-4).,NGP vol. VIII, p.118n.

<sup>1924</sup> COC pp. 90-91.

<sup>1925</sup> BGC pp. 151, 153.

<sup>1926</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 149-150.

<sup>1927</sup> LSL pp. 201-202.

<sup>1928</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 128-129.

<sup>1929</sup> NGP vol. VII, p.126.

<sup>1930</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 128-129.

<sup>1931</sup> NGP vol. VII 474n, CBA p. 589.

Arnold in his letter to Clinton of May 12<sup>th</sup>: “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.”<sup>1932</sup>

22 April. In expectation of Phillips and Arnold’s raids, the Americans moved their munitions and stores from Petersburg to Point of Fork.

22 April. [skirmish] Camden Mill (Kershaw County, S.C.) Fearing that Watson might enter Camden, Greene moved his camp from two miles north of Camden to a location to the lower side of Camden (presumably somewhat east or southeast of it). At the same time, he sent Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington with the baggage and artillery “to the strong country north of Lynch’s [Lynches] Creek.” The next day, however, he moved back to his former camp ground; which presumably was at Hobkirk’s Hill.<sup>1933</sup> While there, he had ordered that Sumter come and join him, but the latter refused. Greene later blamed the defeat at Hobkirk’s Hill on Sumter, and indeed was so indignant at the latter’s thinly disguised disobedience that he would have had Sumter arrested “but from considerations arising from the state of the country at the time.”<sup>1934</sup>

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.”<sup>1935</sup>

22 April (possibly 21 April). A detachment of the South Carolina Royalists, under Major Thomas Fraser, probably mounted, managed to reach Camden from Ninety Six to reinforce Rawdon, despite efforts by Sumter to intercept them. Earlier, Fraser had recruited from settlements between Broad and Saluda enlisting dragoons from Robert Cunningham’s loyalist militia, and survivors of Ferguson corps. Bass says he arrived on the 21<sup>st</sup>. The Greene Papers editor says the 22<sup>nd</sup>, basing this apparently on Greene’s saying in a letter (to Sumter) that it was on the 22<sup>nd</sup> that he learned of the fact. About or shortly before this same time, Rawdon abandoned the British post at Nelson’s ferry.<sup>1936</sup>

23 April. Cornwallis, at Wilmington, to Clinton: “I have the honour to inclose [sic] to you a duplicate of my letter of the 10<sup>th</sup>, sent by the *Amphitrite*, and copies of all my letters to the Secretary of State; 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 General Greene to North Carolina, either with or without success, would put a junction with General Phillips out of my power.”<sup>1937</sup>

23 April. Greene, finding there was no threat from Lieut. Col. Watson returned to a position north of Camden, camping at Hobkirk’s Hill.

Seymour: “The twenty-third we moved our encampment to the same ground from whence we came the day before.”<sup>1938</sup>

23 April. (See 15 April) Fort Watson surrendered. The prisoners were sent across Black River towards Greene’s depot at Rugeley’s. The same day (the 23<sup>rd</sup>) Marion and Lee removed to Richardson’s plantation in the High Hills of the Santee. By the 25<sup>th</sup>, Lee’s cavalry under Capt. John Rudolph, which had been keeping an eye on Watson, had re-joined Marion and Lee at Richardson’s plantation. While at Richardson’s, Marion, who had been reinforced by men sent by Col. Abel Kolb during the siege, sent Col. Hugh Ervin and 80 men to Rafting Creek to prevent the loyalists from driving off cattle.<sup>1939</sup>

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<sup>1932</sup> TCS p. 334.

<sup>1933</sup> See footnote for 19 April.

<sup>1934</sup> (Quote DRS pp. 44-45), NGP vol. VIII, p. 133, DRS pp. 44-45, LMS p. 333, JLG vol. II p. 44, BGC pp. 158-161.

<sup>1935</sup> SJS.

<sup>1936</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 135, 136n, AR81 p. 81, BGC p. 153.

<sup>1937</sup> CAC pp. 20-21.

<sup>1938</sup> SJS.

<sup>1939</sup> NGP vol. VIII p. 163, LMS p. 342, BSF p. 179-180.

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. Smith's<sup>1940</sup> detachments had arrived there and totaled 220 men. Carrington said they would march with the artillery to Greene. Both the artillery and Smith may have been with Greene at the time of Hobkirk's Hill.<sup>1941</sup>

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'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."<sup>1942</sup>

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 more in Cornwallis' favor.<sup>1943</sup>

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 powder & 400 wt lead for the use of General Marian's [Marion's] Corps."<sup>1944</sup>

24 April. On the 24<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1945</sup>

25 April. [battle] HOBKIRK'S HILL, also Hobkirk Hill, Camden, Hobkirk'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. While the degree to which Greene's main army was surprised has been somewhat exaggerated, it is nevertheless fair to say that they did not have that much time form up and prepare to receive the Loyalist assault -- for in point of fact almost all of Rawdon's troops were Loyalists. 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 on each other. 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regiment came forward to deliver a bayonet charge, but due reportedly to an ill-advised order on the part of Col. John Gunby hesitated, and became disorganized. The disorganization became panic, and the Marylanders fled, followed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment. The Volunteers of Ireland then moved forward and followed them up. The Virginians became disordered by 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." 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, followed up by some of Washington's late arriving cavalry, the British would have captured 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." The same day as the battle, Greene retreated and crossed Saunders Creek, about four miles northwest of the battlefield. There he 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 North Carolina militia, did not know what had happened to them. The right wing, however, found out soon enough and followed.

While seemingly not of great strategic importance (both sides taking about equal losses),<sup>1946</sup> Hobkirk's Hill must stand as one of the most embarrassing American defeats of the war. Rawdon and the Loyalists cannot be too

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<sup>1940</sup> 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: more probably the former.

<sup>1941</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 145.

<sup>1942</sup> CAR p. 513, COC pp. 95-96.

<sup>1943</sup> GWC pp. 157-158, EHJ p. 338.

<sup>1944</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 143.

<sup>1945</sup> JHG p. 499.

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 capture 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.<sup>1947</sup>

#### BRITISH FORCES AT HOBKIRK HILL<sup>1948</sup>

Col. Francis Lord Rawdon

63<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>1949</sup>

South Carolina Loyalist dragoons: 60,<sup>1950</sup> Brevet Maj. John Coffin

Some histories have referred to this unit as the New York Dragoons (or dragoons created from the New York Volunteers), but this may (or may not) be an error as this appears to have been a cavalry unit, and the New York Volunteers acted in the battle as infantry. True, Coffin was from the N.Y. Volunteers, but he is also known, shortly after this battle to have commanded a troop of cavalry made up of South Carolina loyalists. It is correct, on the other hand, that Coffin had operated earlier with a mounted detachment of the N.Y. Volunteers. So conceivably then that detachment was converted to cavalry. Yet, given his subsequent command, that this Hobkirk's Hill troop unit was made up of men from the South Carolina Royalists seems the more likely. Alternatively the unit contained men from both the Volunteers and Royalists, and might be considered an amalgam.

Royal Artillery: 40-50, Lieutenant Laye, 2 six-pounders

*Note.* Rawdon had some loyalist riflemen, who operated effectively on his flanks.<sup>1951</sup>

#### TOTAL STRENGTH OF RAWDON'S ARMY

Lieut. Col. Nisbit 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.<sup>1952</sup>

Gordon, William Johnson, Lossing and Ward give Rawdon's strength as 900, presumably rank and file.<sup>1953</sup>

Carrington gives Rawdon with 950, Lumpkin 900 to 950.<sup>1954</sup>

#### AMERICAN FORCES AT HOBKIRK HILL

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene  
Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, second in command

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<sup>1946</sup> Henry Clinton was emphatic, however, 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.

<sup>1947</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 155-160, 159n, 168-189, AR81 pp. 81-83, SAW pp. 396-399, TCS pp. 459-467, LMS pp. 335-340, DRS pp. 43-46, JFM ch. 3, JLG vol. II, pp. 75-86, DRR pp. 219-221, LFB vol. II, pp. 472-474, FWI pp. 236-238, WAR vol. II, 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.

<sup>1948</sup> Rawdon in his report to Cornwallis of 26 April 1781 mentions the following officers being with him: Lieut. Col. Campbell, Major [Alexander?] Campbell, Major Fraser, Major Coffin, Capt. St. Leger, Captain Kane, Capt. Robinson. The Royal Artillery was commanded 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, JLG vol. II, p. 79.

<sup>1949</sup> Boatner speaks of Maj. Simon Fraser of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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." (presumably S.C. Royalists), i.e. Thomas Frasers' regiment. BEA p. 397, CAR p. 515.

<sup>1950</sup> Clinton refers to "60" dragoons. CAR p. 295.

<sup>1951</sup> JLG vol. II p. 79.

<sup>1952</sup> TCS p. 465.

<sup>1953</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 78, LFB vol. II, p. 472, WAR vol. II, p. 809.

<sup>1954</sup> CBA p. 577, LSY p. 300.

## CONTINENTALS

\* Maryland Brigade, Col. Otho Williams

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt., Col. John Gunby, Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard  
2<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>1955</sup>

\* Virginia Brigade, Huger

1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell  
2<sup>nd</sup> 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."<sup>1956</sup>

Delaware Company, Capt. Robert Kirkwood

1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>1957</sup> 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."<sup>1958</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery: 40, Capt. Anthony Singleton, (Col. Charles Harrison)<sup>1959</sup>  
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.<sup>1960</sup>

## 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 as well, so that these were included in the 254 figure. The militia did not engage and acted as a reserve.<sup>1961</sup>

## 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.<sup>1962</sup>

Carrington: 1,446. He also notes that the after battle return of 26 April had Greene with 1,184 men fit for duty.<sup>1963</sup>

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.

## CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES

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<sup>1955</sup> JLG vol. II p. 77-78

<sup>1956</sup> JLG vol. II p. 56.

<sup>1957</sup> See Lossing, vol. II, page 472.

<sup>1958</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 78, 112-116.

<sup>1959</sup> The artillery was nominally commanded by Col. Harrison.

<sup>1960</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 77.

<sup>1961</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 77-78, SJS, WAR vol. II, p. 803, LSY pp. 298-299.

<sup>1962</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 471.

<sup>1963</sup> CBA p. 573, 577.

## 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.<sup>1964</sup>

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.”<sup>1965</sup>

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.”<sup>1966</sup>

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.<sup>1967</sup>

## 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.”<sup>1968</sup>

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.”<sup>1969</sup>

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.”<sup>1970</sup>

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.”<sup>1971</sup>

Col. Benjamin Ford was so badly wounded that his arm had to be amputated, and he died within a few days.<sup>1972</sup> Capt. John (“Jack”) Smith of the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt. was wounded and taken prisoner, but was left on parole at Camden when Rawdon evacuated the town.<sup>1973</sup>

Kirkwood: “25<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy sallied out and drove us back.....7 [miles].”

Greene, in a letter to Sumter of May 5<sup>th</sup>, wrote: “Nothing can be more unfortunate than our repulse the other day, which was owing entirely to an order of Col Gumbies [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.”<sup>1974</sup>

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<sup>1964</sup> NGP vol. VIII 160n, TCS p. 464, CAR p. 525.

<sup>1965</sup> TCS p. 466.

<sup>1966</sup> TCS p. 464-465.

<sup>1967</sup> AR81 p. 83.

<sup>1968</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 160n.

<sup>1969</sup> TCS pp. 464-465.

<sup>1970</sup> TCS p. 466.

<sup>1971</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 474.

<sup>1972</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 151n.

<sup>1973</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 96-97.

<sup>1974</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 208.



Samuel Mathis, of Camden, to William R, Davie, written on 26 June 1813: “[Greene] galloped up to Capt. John 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.”<sup>1975</sup>

Balfour in his letter to Germain of 1 May (already cited above): “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 25<sup>th</sup>, marched with the greater part of his force to meet him, and about ten o’clock attacked 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...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.”<sup>1976</sup>

25 April. Lafayette reached Fredericksburg, VA.

25-26 April. [skirmish] Petersburg, also City Point (Petersburg City County, VA.) Phillips, with Arnold, Simcoe, on the 24<sup>th</sup> landed at City Point, Virginia. The next day he marched for Petersburg, where Steuben and Muhlenberg were posted with 1,000 militia. Steuben took a position at Brandon. Losing only 20 killed and wounded, he managed to re-cross the river and avoid a direct engagement. Arnold, on the other hand, reported Steuben’s losses 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 a number of smaller vessels on the stocks and in the river destroyed.<sup>1977</sup>

Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>: “The next morning [the 23<sup>rd</sup>] we were joined by Lieutenant-colonel [Robert] Abercrombie 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 24<sup>th</sup>, weighed anchor at eleven o’clock, and run up to City points, where the troops, &c. were all landed at six o’clock in the evening. The 25<sup>th</sup>, 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 [Peter] Muhlenburg, 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. 26<sup>th</sup>, destroyed at Petersburg four thousand hogsheads of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the river.”<sup>1978</sup>

25-26 April. With 1,435 rank and file, Cornwallis left Wilmington and marched north to Virginia.<sup>1979</sup> It took a few days before his army and baggage had fully departed. Craig then was left at Wilmington with a garrison of about 394 rank and file regulars.<sup>1980</sup>

On April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 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;

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<sup>1975</sup> *American Historical Record*, vol. II, pp. 106-109, also to be found in Commager and Steele’s *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*.

<sup>1976</sup> TCS pp. 465-466.

<sup>1977</sup> TCS pp. 334-335, CAR pp. 280-281, SQR pp. 226-228, CBA p. 590, WAR vol. II, p. 871.

<sup>1978</sup> TCS pp. 334-335.

<sup>1979</sup> In a letter of May 4<sup>th</sup> to Greene, Sumter reported that some of Cornwallis’ wounded from Wilmington had arrived in Charlestown, where the fortifications were being improved. NGP vol. VIII, p. 204.

<sup>1980</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 119, JLG vol. II, pp. 25-26, WCO pp. 321, 326.

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.”<sup>1981</sup>

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.”<sup>1982</sup>

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 71<sup>st</sup>, 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.”<sup>1983</sup>

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 [Alexander] 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.”<sup>1984</sup> 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 scout area. He found and lured Maj. John Coffin and a force of 40 mounted infantry and dragoons into an ambush, in which the loyalists lost 20 men. Coffin was then compelled to retire into to Camden. Rawdon, meanwhile, was making plans to abandon Camden.<sup>1985</sup>

Seymour: “On the 26<sup>th</sup> Colonel Washington’s horse and a detachment from line went to reconnoiter the lines.”<sup>1986</sup>

Rawdon, in his letter of 24 May, wrote to Cornwallis: “After the action of the 25<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>1981</sup> TCS pp. 326-327.

<sup>1982</sup> GWC pp. 157-158.

<sup>1983</sup> TCS p. 286.

<sup>1984</sup> MST pp. 121-122.

<sup>1985</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 160n, JLG vol. II. p. 34, HWW p. 133.

<sup>1986</sup> SJS.

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."<sup>1987</sup>

26 April. Clinton to Phillips (received by Cornwallis, at Petersburg, May 24): "Lord Cornwallis's [sic] 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, 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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; 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake 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 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 Susquehanna, York, Lancaster, Chester, and the Peninsula between Chesapeake 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."<sup>1988</sup>

26 April. From Saunders Creek, Greene marched rapidly and made his camp at a location a mile and a half above Rugeley's Mill.<sup>1989</sup>

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 Saunder's 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."<sup>1990</sup>

27 April. From Richardson's, Marion wrote to Greene on this date that Watson (now moving south) had crossed the Santee on the 24<sup>th</sup> Monck's Corner where Lieut. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle<sup>1991</sup> was with 300 men. Within a few

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<sup>1987</sup> Rawdon to Cornwallis, 24 May 1781, TCS pp. 475-479.

<sup>1988</sup> CAC pp. 95-100.

<sup>1989</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 159n, 160, LMS p. 339, JLG Vol. II, p. 84, DRR p. 221.

<sup>1990</sup> DRR p. 221.

<sup>1991</sup> 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.

days, Watson, refreshed and refitted, began a march back towards Camden, though apparently without Small. Marion also stated that Balfour 'came out' of Charlestown with 200. This detachment, under McArthur, later moved to Dorchester.<sup>1992</sup> It was commanded by McArthur, and consisted of about 100 to 200 infantry, and 100 cavalry. The infantry was made of men left behind by assorted British, Provincial (such as the Prince of Wales Regt.) and loyalist detachments, recruits and invalids. The cavalry had been created from drafts from the Hessian regiments and local loyalists.<sup>1993</sup>

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.

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 27<sup>th</sup> were parties sent to bury our dead. Same day the enemy marched and encamped at Rugeley's mill. Ten miles."<sup>1994</sup>

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.<sup>1995</sup>

Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>: "27<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1996</sup>

27 April. [raid] Osborne's, also Osbourne's (Chesterfield County, VA.) Arnold marched to Osborne's, below the James River and some fifteen miles south of Richmond. After routing some militia, he burnt and sunk two ships, five brigantines, five sloops. One schooner loaded with tobacco, cordage flour, etc., fell into British hands. On board the whole fleet were 2,000 hogsheads of tobacco most of which was also destroyed. Arnold afterward returned to join Phillips. Lafayette, in the meantime had reached Hanover Court House on his way to Richmond.<sup>1997</sup>

Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>: "The same day I marched to Osborn's, with the 76<sup>th</sup> and 80<sup>th</sup> 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[e]'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. 28<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>1998</sup>

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 prepared [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.<sup>1999</sup>

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<sup>1992</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup>, Sumter wrote: "I am Not Well informed Where Majr McArthur is at This time but have No apprehensions that he Can Git to Camden Without My Knowing it is Time to prevent his Design." NGP vol. VIII, p. 193, BGC p. 163.

<sup>1993</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 163, JLG vol. II, pp. 104-105.

<sup>1994</sup> SJS.

<sup>1995</sup> TCS p. 335, WAR vol. II, p. 871.

<sup>1996</sup> TCS p. 335.

<sup>1997</sup> TCS pp. 336-337, CBA p. 590, SCAR vol. 3, no.4, pp. 37-41.

<sup>1998</sup> TCS pp. 336-337.

<sup>1999</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 164.

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.<sup>2000</sup>

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 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.<sup>2001</sup>

28 April. Greene, crossing the Wateree River, about nine miles above, Camden marched down the River to the ferry opposite and just below it. It was in a letter to Chevalier de La Luzerne on this date that he wrote. "We fight get beat rise and fight again."<sup>2002</sup> The whole Country is one continued scene of blood and slaughter."<sup>2003</sup> Pension statement of Guilford Dudley of Halifax, N.C.: "This [the trial execution of the deserters on the 27<sup>th</sup>] 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 or elsewhere, force his way to Camden on the upper road, on the west side of the Wateree..."<sup>2004</sup>

28 April. By this date Marion and Lee had left Richardson's and moved to Long Branch, a tributary of the Pocotaglio River in Sumter County.<sup>2005</sup>

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."<sup>2006</sup>

29 April. Lafayette with a full total of 900 to 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<sup>2007</sup> battalion of the 5<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Regt., the 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts Regt., a light company of the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Lt. Dragoons would soon reinforce him. Continental officers Muhlenberg and Weedon, who subsequently joined Lafayette, were already in the field in Virginia commanding small detachments of Virginia militia, (together numbering 1,200 to 2,000) as was Brig. General Thomas Nelson. Von Steuben, meanwhile, was collecting and forming 18 month Virginia Continental regiments, originally intended for Greene's army.<sup>2008</sup>

29 April. Seymour: "On the 29<sup>th</sup>, 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

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<sup>2000</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 16, JLG vol. II, pp104-105.

<sup>2001</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 53n, BSF p. 183.

<sup>2002</sup> On May 1<sup>st</sup>, 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 they will lay a train to sap the rest of the foundation." NGP vol. VIII, p. 185.

<sup>2003</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 168.

<sup>2004</sup> DRR pp. 221-22.

<sup>2005</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 171n.

<sup>2006</sup> FRM p. 1751.

<sup>2007</sup> Gimat was a French officer, and previously had been an aide to Lafayette.

<sup>2008</sup> CBA pp. 585-586., JYC p. 34-35, WAR vol. II, p. 872.

party of horse were sent to observe their motion, when, meeting with said wagon, we discovered the mistake and returned to camp. Six miles.”<sup>2009</sup>

29 April. Due either to Greene changing orders or Capt. James Conyers getting lost in reaching them, 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 William Johnson blames for the escape of Watson. Eaton and Finley afterward resumed their march south to join Marion and Lee and were with them by the evening of May 2<sup>nd</sup>. See 2-3 May.<sup>2010</sup>

29 April. [skirmish] Barbeque Church, N.C. ONB vol. 3, See pp. 214-215.

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 31<sup>st</sup> 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 Chesapeake 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 Chesapeake; 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 Chesapeake, 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 6<sup>th</sup> of November will have informed you what were my ideas of the operations proper to be pursued in Chesapeake, 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.”<sup>2011</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>2012</sup>

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<sup>2009</sup> SJS.

<sup>2010</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 174, JLG vol. II, pp. 104-105.

<sup>2011</sup> COC pp. 88-90.

<sup>2012</sup> CAC pp. 107-109.

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.<sup>2013</sup>

30 April. Marion and Lee by this date had moved to Salem or what Lee refers to in his letters as "Swamps of the Black River." Their movement to this area was in order to get the prisoners taken at Fort Watson and to available to help quell the agitation arising from renewed loyalist activity on Drowning Creek. Watson, meanwhile, with 500 to 600 men and four field pieces, remained at Monck's Corner, while a separate British force of some 200, under Maj. Archibald McArthur, occupied Dorchester. Col. John Small's detachment of 100, which included some of the 84<sup>th</sup>, was reportedly with Watson at this time, but did not join him on the subsequent march to Camden. William Johnson, on the other, hand states that it did.<sup>2014</sup>

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 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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. McArthur did not go to Camden, but about this time or somewhat earlier end up moving towards Nelson's Ferry. He moved from Dorchester to 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 previous month. 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 4<sup>th</sup>, while making reference to the fact that McArthur had already been there a few days. McArthur's force, originally reported as 200 by Marion (see 27 April) may have been augmented by 100 men from Lieut. Col. John Small's detachment and or the garrison at Dorchester because McArthur is later spoken of by Balfour, on 17 May in a letter to Clinton, as having 300 infantry and 100 cavalry. 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, however, that Dorchester was thereby abandoned, or at least left much diminished. See 21 May. Also should be noted, was the fact that Nelson's Ferry already had a small garrison, which included some Hessians. See *Early May* and 21 May.<sup>2015</sup>

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."<sup>2016</sup>

30 April. [raid] Manchester (Chesterfield County, VA.) Phillips, in an advance on Richmond, marched to Manchester and destroyed 1,200 hogsheads of tobacco there. 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, at while ordering Brig. Gen. Weedon with his corps of militia corps to Fredericksburg.<sup>2017</sup>

Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>: "29<sup>th</sup>, 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. 30<sup>th</sup>, 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 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."<sup>2018</sup>

*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 later indignant by his nephew's appeasement and later wrote him saying (writes Lossing) "he would rather have had the buildings destroyed, than saved by such 'a pernicious example."<sup>2019</sup>

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<sup>2013</sup> BGC pp. 162, 170.

<sup>2014</sup> NGP vol. VIII p. 178-179. JLG vol. II, p. 71.

<sup>2015</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 163n, 177, 194n, 204, BGC p. 163.

<sup>2016</sup> CDI.

<sup>2017</sup> TCS p. 337, CBA pp. 590-591.

<sup>2018</sup> TCS p. 337.

<sup>2019</sup> NGP vol. VII 474n, CBA p. 589, LFB vol. II, p. 229n.

*Late April.* North Carolina militia serving in eastern the eastern part of the state at the time of Cornwallis' move 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.

Davie: "These troops never made a junction and were too feeble to oppose the progress of the Enemy."<sup>2020</sup>

*Late April.* Caruthers: "Cornwallis reached Wilmington on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April, and while he had his head-quarters in town, the army was encamped in the immediate vicinity. He left on the 25<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>2021</sup>

*Late April or first week of May.* Lieut. Col. James McCall died of smallpox. See Pickens to Greene 3 May.<sup>2022</sup> About 12 April both Clark and McCall had come down with smallpox, very likely after an attempt at inoculation which Samuel Hammond mentions. While Clark was recuperating, his command went to Micajah Williamson. McCall went to recuperate, but did not recover.<sup>2023</sup>

Samuel Hammond (pension statement): "...the Battle of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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..."<sup>2024</sup>

## MAY 1781

*May.* Admiral de Destouches, in Newport, R.I., was succeeded by Admiral de Barras as head of the French squadron there.<sup>2025</sup>

*May.* [skirmish] St. Mathews County, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 268.

*Early May.* Watson left Monck's Corner and marched towards Nelson's Ferry on his way to Camden. He, however, ended up passing the Santee at the lesser known and used crossing, Buchanan's Ferry. See 5 May.<sup>2026</sup>

*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. On the other hand, Lambert says that Cunningham was listed as a private in Patrick's Cunningham's Regt. when Cruger escorted loyalists to Orangeburgh.<sup>2027</sup>

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, while 400 to 500 cavalry besieged Augusta on the Georgia side

Von Porbeck had 500 troops in Savannah and about 350 militia in the neighboring countryside. Gov. James Wright, Sr. and his council entreated him to reinforce Augusta with 100 regulars to Augusta, but he refused.<sup>2028</sup>

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<sup>2020</sup> DRS p. 35. Davie made the above list of N.C. leaders and their strengths years after the war ended.

<sup>2021</sup> Due to the paucity of information on this purported occurrence, it is not included as a *formal* skirmish entry. CNS vol. 2, p. 155.

<sup>2022</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 197, 198n.

<sup>2023</sup> HMP, MHG p. 510.

<sup>2024</sup> HMP.

<sup>2025</sup> BEA p. 329.

<sup>2026</sup> BGC p. 164.

<sup>2027</sup> LSL p. 207.

<sup>2028</sup> CKR p. 130.



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 Wyly 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."<sup>2029</sup>

1 May. [skirmish] Friday's Ferry (Lexington County, S.C.) Some loyalists 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 2<sup>nd</sup> says merely "Col Hampton." 13 loyalists were killed. As well, Hampton attacked another small detachment on their way to the fort and another 5 were killed. Numbers of men involved on both sides is not recorded but probably they were few, say a few dozen or less either way. 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 Except Twenty five that Crosed [sic] from the fort at Motts & Went in to Camden With Majr Doyl [John Doyle]."<sup>2030</sup>

1 May. [ambush] Bush River (Newberry County, S.C.) Col. John Thomas, Jr. acting for Sumter, ambuscaded a group of loyalists. Thomas killed 3, while taking 12 prisoners, and capturing 4 wagons.<sup>2031</sup>

1 May.  
*Forces under Cornwallis.*  
Rank and File:

Guards: 387  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 194  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 209  
82<sup>nd</sup> Regt., Light Company: 36  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn, 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 175  
Hessian von Bose Regt.: 228  
Lt. Company of North Carolina Volunteers: 33  
British Legion (cavalry only): 173

Total: 1,435.<sup>2032</sup>

1 May. Greene, at Rugeley's, directed Lafayette to take command of military operations in Virginia. Before Lafayette had arrived in the state, von Steuben was in charge of the army there. Yet despite an admirable job of getting the local Continental forces organized and on a proper footing, he incurred the displeasure of some state officials for what they saw as his too strenuous demands. Also, Lafayette, both in his person and as a symbol of the French alliance, was a more popular figure and to that extent could more easily generate support and receive cooperation.<sup>2033</sup>

2 May. Court martial proceedings were held for Col. John Gunby, based on claim he gave improper orders at Hobkirk's Hill; but he was acquitted. The day before (the 1<sup>st</sup>), five men, taken prisoner at Hobkirk, were executed at Greene's camp for desertion. Sometime no later than July, Gunby came down with dysentery, and was placed in Charlotte to oversee the post and hospital there. By late August he was so ill that Greene, with kindness and stated regret, granted him leave to go home to Maryland.<sup>2034</sup>

2 May. From Osborne's, Phillips embarked for Westover, which he reached on the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Following him, Lafayette 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 following Phillips' expedition, he halted. On the 7<sup>th</sup>, near Hog's Island, Phillips received instructions from Cornwallis to meet him at Petersburg.<sup>2035</sup>  
Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>: "May 1<sup>st</sup>, marched to Osborn'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. &c. May 3d, fell down the river to Westover. May 4<sup>th</sup>, proceeded down to Tappahannock. 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, part of the fleet fell down to Hog island."<sup>2036</sup>

2-3 May. Maj. Pinkertham Eaton with 140 North Carolina Continentals, and Capt. Ebenezer Finley with a six-pounder<sup>2037</sup> joined Marion and Lee at Benbow's Ferry, on the Black River, after nightfall on of May 2<sup>nd</sup>. Marion,

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<sup>2029</sup> CKR p. 130.

<sup>2030</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 193, MSC p. 748, RBG p. 166, BGC p. 162.

<sup>2031</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 193, MSC p. 748, RBG p. 166.

<sup>2032</sup> CAC p. 77.

<sup>2033</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 182-185.

<sup>2034</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 187, vol. IX p. 21n, 234, JLG vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>2035</sup> TCS pp. 337-338, CBA p.591.

<sup>2036</sup> TCS pp. 337-338.

<sup>2037</sup> This may have been a four-pounder, or else, as Boatner states a three-pounder.

who was formally in charge of the whole force, moved the next day to attempt intercepting Watson's force headed toward Camden. The effort, however, proved unsuccessful. Respecting others matters, Marion's force, at the time, suffered from desertion. Also 25 of Eaton's men were detached to Lee's Legion infantry; with whom they served the remainder of their enlistments under Lieut. Andrew 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.<sup>2038</sup>

William Johnson: "The time of the year, (being the height of planting,) the unfortunate affair of the 25<sup>th</sup> [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."<sup>2039</sup>

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,<sup>2040</sup> commanded by Maj. Maxwell, of the Prince of Wales Regt. Maxwell had 340 men, including 60 regulars (mostly Provincials, and including soldiers from Maxwell's own regiment the Prince of Wales Volunteers). As well with him were some loyalists, including a militia unit from the Orangeburgh area, under Capt. Samuel Tolless. His artillery at the fort consisted of 2 twelve-pounders, and 3 or 4 smaller cannon. Sumter had written Greene on May 2<sup>nd</sup> requesting a field piece and ammunition from him; and a six-pounder was immediately sent. He himself sent Greene 10 wagons of meal, and in a few days received back ammunition in those same wagons, plus the cannon. Sumter then took his main force, and the cannon, and moved against Orangeburgh, while, at the same time, leaving a detachment, under Col. Thomas Taylor to besiege the Granby.<sup>2041</sup>

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 united with Col. Robert Anderson and a force that Anderson and the "late" Lieut. Col. James McCall<sup>2042</sup> had collected. Learning that the Georgians were besieging Augusta, Pickens sent Maj. Samuel Hammond<sup>2043</sup> to assist them on the north side of the Savannah River. Sumter added there was a general disposition of people to join "us," but a lack of arms prevented it.<sup>2044</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup>, Greene's army left its camp north of Rugeley's and crossed over to the west side of the Wateree River. They then moved north to Sawney Creek, where they halted briefly. The next day, Greene marched further down river and camped at the more formidable defensive position of Twenty Five Mile Creek, "7 Miles above Camden." It is not entirely clear exactly what crossing Greene took in making it over the Wateree. "The river Wateree," Tarleton remarked (with respect to an earlier occasion), "...abounded with public ferrys and private boats, besides being fordable in many places." Rawdon meanwhile had ensconced himself in Camden.<sup>2045</sup>

Kirkwood: "3<sup>rd</sup>. Marched and crossed the Wateree.... 11 [miles]

"4<sup>th</sup>. 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]."<sup>2046</sup>

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."<sup>2047</sup>

4 May. Tarleton, at "Davis's Mill" (7 p.m.), to Cornwallis: "I left Gray's Plantation at four this Mornng. [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 two named last Night want Water. Cobbs 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 Peacocks 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

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<sup>2038</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 192, 199n, JLG Vol. II, pp. 101, 104-105, BSF p. 187, RNC p. 329.

<sup>2039</sup> JLG Vol. II, p. 105.

<sup>2040</sup> In his letter of May 4<sup>th</sup> 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. NGP vol. VIII, p. 204.

<sup>2041</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 193, 204, 205n, 245n, JLG Vol. II, p. 121. BSF p. 192.

<sup>2042</sup> McCall had died a short while, perhaps even a day or a few days before.

<sup>2043</sup> Hammond had moved toward Augusta by the 16<sup>th</sup>, either with Clark or on his own initiative. See Pickens to Greene 8 May.

<sup>2044</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 198-198.

<sup>2045</sup> See Greene to Marion 7 May 1781, NGP vol. VIII, p. 219] it may have been possible for Greene to have used the Wateree Ferry. Kirkwood's and Seymour's *Journals* seems as well to suggest it was the Wateree Ferry which was used. KJO p. 17, NGP vol. VIII, pp. 195, 205, 219, TCS p. 111.

<sup>2046</sup> KJO p. 17.

<sup>2047</sup> SJS.

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”<sup>2048</sup>

5 May. Tarleton, at “Cobbs [Mill],” to Cornwallis: “Here you will find 4000 Weight of Flour -- Cobbs Lambs Viveretts [M?] & another Mill are all busily employ'd & 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 I understand--I shall reach Halifax on the 7<sup>th</sup> -- Prudence and exertion shall be my guides Notes in Cypher shall be often sent -- support I wish as soon as I get the Boats --”<sup>2049</sup>

5 May. Watson, coming from the direction of Nelson's Ferry crossed the Santee at Buchanan's (referred to by Sumter as “Buckenham's”) Ferry, a small ferry “about ten miles below the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers.”<sup>2050</sup> Although it was rough going, having to pass a number of creeks and swamps, he made it to Camden on the 7<sup>th</sup>. On May 4<sup>th</sup>, Marion with Lee, coming from the Black River, and passing Wright's Bluff, tried without success to cut Watson off, but apparently had been deceived as to his crossing. Subsequently, there was dispute and blame as to whether they could have intercepted him. In a letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to Greene, Marion reported the crossing at Buchanan's Ferry, and said Watson had 200 men and 2 cannon, though we know from a letter of Balfour's to Germain of 1 May, he had 500.<sup>2051</sup>

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. 300 of his men have enlisted at 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, reported that 150 Mecklenburg, County, N.C. men were with Sumter.<sup>2052</sup>

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. In compliance with Greene's order, 3 doctors had been sent to Charlotte.<sup>2053</sup>

6-12 May. (also given as 8 May) [siege] Fort Motte (Calhoun County, S.C.) In March 1781, Ft. Motte was established as a post after the British abandoned Thompson Plantation, at Belleville, about a mile from Motte's.<sup>2054</sup> Like Thompson's, Motte's served as a sanctuary for convoys of supplies coming from Charleston on their way to Camden and Ninety Six. Defending the post was Lieut. Donald McPherson, of the 71<sup>st</sup> 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. However, 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 actually in use.

Marion and Lee arrived before the fort on the 6<sup>th</sup>. Initially, there was some uncertainty whether Lee would continue with Marion, but by the 8<sup>th</sup> 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 the roof of the house; which occupied most of the area within the fortifications. This was done with an incendiary sent by a projectile. Lee states that the projectile was a bow shot arrow, which arrow and bow had been provided by Mrs. Motte, owner of the residence. 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. 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. Presumably the same day (the 12<sup>th</sup>) McPherson surrendered, and the fire was put out. McPherson and his garrison 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.<sup>2055</sup>

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<sup>2048</sup> PRO. 30/11/6/41-42.

<sup>2049</sup> PRO. 30/11/6/48-49.

<sup>2050</sup> Bass. BSF p. 260n.

<sup>2051</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 214, 215n, TCS p. 466, JLG vol. II, pp. 110-111, BSF pp. 187, 260n, BGC p. 164.

<sup>2052</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 218, 233.

<sup>2053</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 212-213.

<sup>2054</sup> 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, he said the two posts were Camden's only magazines. See Marquis of Hasting, and then Earl Moira, to Henry Lee 24 June 1813, LMS p. 613.

<sup>2055</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 68n, 110, 205n, 214-215, 251, 292, LMS pp. 345-348, JFM ch. 3, JLG vol. II, p.116, LFB vol. II, p. 481, MSC p. 748, WAR vol. II, p. 812, BSF p. 169, 183, 189, BGC p. 166-167, 173, SCAR vol. 2, no. 1, p. 4.

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."<sup>2056</sup>

William Dobein James: "On the night of the 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2057</sup>

Rawdon, on 24 May, wrote Cornwallis: "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. Lieut. 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."<sup>2058</sup>

Joseph Johnson: "Most of the loyalists taken at Fort Motte came from German or Dutch immigrants who had built Orangeburg."<sup>2059</sup>

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."<sup>2060</sup>

6 May. [skirmish] Peacock's Bridge (Wilson County, N.C.) After crossing the Neuse River, Tarleton advance column came upon a force of 400 Pitt County, N.C. militia waiting for him at Peacock's Bridge. The bridge passed over Contentnea Creek near Stantonburg. He dispersed the militia, but reportedly not without receiving losses himself. There is little documentation on this engagement so it may actually be the same engagement as Tarboro, 6 May, though this is purely speculation.

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[ing]'s date -- Vivarets 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 -"<sup>2061</sup>

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 6<sup>th</sup> 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. He added he had been able to arm only a 100 of the N. C. Continental draftees. Brig. Gen. Allen Jones was with him at Halifax, N.C. with 80 N.C. militiamen, and expected another 200 from Edgecomb County.<sup>2062</sup>

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 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

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<sup>2056</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 481.

<sup>2057</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>2058</sup> TCS pp. 475-479.

<sup>2059</sup> JTR p. 101.

<sup>2060</sup> LJA p. 364.

<sup>2061</sup> PRO. 30/11/6/56.

<sup>2062</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 224.

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."<sup>2063</sup>

6 May. Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour, in Charlestown to Clinton: "In my letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup> ultimo, I had the honour to inform your Excellency, that our post at Wright's bluff 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. 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."<sup>2064</sup>

6-7 May<sup>2065</sup> [skirmishes] Swift Creek, Fishing Creek,<sup>2066</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup> or 26<sup>th</sup> of April some of the Bladen County militia dismantled some bridges over the creeks in order to retard his progress. Otherwise, he encountered no opposition till the 7<sup>th</sup> (possibly the 6<sup>th</sup>) 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 sent 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 5<sup>th</sup>, and by then it was too late. Cornwallis himself did not reach Halifax till the 10<sup>th</sup>, and the rear of his column not till the 12<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2067</sup>

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 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."<sup>2068</sup>

7 May, 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 --"

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<sup>2063</sup> TCS pp. 286-287.

<sup>2064</sup> CAR p. 520, COC pp. 97-98.

<sup>2065</sup> Malmady, 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 7<sup>th</sup>. 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 6<sup>th</sup>, and the action at Halifax on the 7<sup>th</sup>. NGP vol. VIII, pp. 240-241.

<sup>2066</sup> Both Swift Creek and Fishing Creek are in Nash County.

<sup>2067</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 240-243, TCS pp. 287-288, LMS p. 412.

<sup>2068</sup> TCS pp. 287-288.

"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."<sup>2069</sup>

7 May. Watson, his force "much reduced through casualties, sickness, and a reinforcement which he had left to strengthen the garrison at Georgetown," now totaled some 500 men,<sup>2070</sup> and two to four cannon. The units likely to have been included in Watson's detachment were the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt. and his own Provincial Light Infantry. He joined Rawdon in Camden on the 7<sup>th</sup>. It has been said Col. John Small's detachment may have accompanied Watson, but this seems incorrect. While there were additional mounted men with Marion and Sumter, the cavalry Rawdon had with him now outnumbered those with Greene. The same day, early in the evening, Greene moved from his Twenty Five Mile Creek position upriver to Sawney Creek.<sup>2071</sup>

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."<sup>2072</sup>

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 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.

"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. 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 12<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2073</sup>

8 May. Cornwallis reached the Tar River.<sup>2074</sup>

Tarleton, "Near Halifax," on this date, to Cornwallis: "I have got 900 Stand of arms one Pr 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."<sup>2075</sup>

8 May. [skirmish] Sawney's Creek, also Sandy Creek (Kershaw County, S.C.) On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup>, 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 light infantry and cavalry pickets of the American army. Finding Greene's position too strong, Rawdon withdrew back to Camden.<sup>2076</sup>

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<sup>2069</sup> PRO. 30/11/6/60-61.

<sup>2070</sup> Marion on the 6<sup>th</sup>, however, reported it was 200 and two field pieces. The editor of the Greene papers, however, prefers the 500 figure. NGP vol. VIII, pp. 214-215.

<sup>2071</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 212, 214-215, 227n, TCS 475, JLG Vol. II, p. 110-112.

<sup>2072</sup> JLG Vol. II, p. 110.

<sup>2073</sup> SJM.

<sup>2074</sup> BGD p. 176.

<sup>2075</sup> PRO. 30/11/6/69.

<sup>2076</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 212, 214-215, 221, 227n, TCS 475-479, JLG Vol. II, p. 110-112, BGC p. 171.

Kirkwood: “7<sup>th</sup>. Marched this day....9[miles] “8<sup>th</sup>. 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, but the enemy not advancing, we kept our own ground.”<sup>2077</sup>

Rawdon, in his letter of May 24<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>2078</sup>

8 May. Having earlier left Westover by boat, Phillips disembarked at Brandon; from there he moved up to Petersburg. The general was, by this time, very sick with fever, so that Arnold then began taking over many of his duties.<sup>2079</sup>

Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>. “7<sup>th</sup>, 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 8<sup>th</sup>, remained at Brandon. Major-general Phillips being very ill, and unable to travel on horseback, a postchaise [sic] was procured for him.”<sup>2080</sup>

8 May. Lafayette passed the James River on his way to Petersburg.

8 May. Pickens, from “Cuffy Town” (about 11 or 12 miles south of Ninety Six), wrote Greene stating that he failed at 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.<sup>2081</sup>

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. 23<sup>rd</sup> when he received pay for his militia service in 1780. See also 10 May.<sup>2082</sup>

9 May. Leaving the night of the 8<sup>th</sup>, Greene retired further up river from Sawney Creek to Colonel’s Creek, where he remained till the 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2083</sup>

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

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<sup>2077</sup> SJS.

<sup>2078</sup> TCS pp. 475-479.

<sup>2079</sup> TCS p. 338.

<sup>2080</sup> TCS p. 338.

<sup>2081</sup> See 16 April. NGP vol. VIII, p. 223.

<sup>2082</sup> LSL p. 207.

<sup>2083</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 221, 227n, JLG vol. VIII, pp. 110-112, WAR vol. II, p. 811.

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.”<sup>2084</sup>

9 May. [surrender] PENSACOLA (Escambia County, FLA.) After a siege lasting two months, the Spanish under General (also Governor) Bernardo de Galvez took Fort George in Pensacola, Florida from the British. In consequence, control of West Florida passed over to the Spanish. See 8-9 March 1781.<sup>2085</sup>

9 May. Phillips’ forces arrived at Petersburg, as instructed by Cornwallis. There they surprised a small detachment, including some Continental officers, and took some prisoners. By the 10<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2086</sup>  
Arnold to Clinton, May 12<sup>th</sup>: “May 9<sup>th</sup>, 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’s, where he arrived the 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 10<sup>th</sup>, the marquis made his appearance on the opposite side of the river with a strong escort, and, having staid 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.”<sup>2087</sup>

10 May. [skirmish] Bloody Scout (Spartanburg, S.C.) See also 18 June, Ninety Six.  
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 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. McCracken, Esq., to the Author.”<sup>2088</sup>

10 May. Cornwallis’ army began entering Virginia, moving toward Petersburg to join Phillips.<sup>2089</sup>  
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. 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>2090</sup>

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<sup>2084</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 221.

<sup>2085</sup> FWI pp. 208-209, BEA pp. 410, 853-854.

<sup>2086</sup> TCS pp. 338-339, CAR p. 281.

<sup>2087</sup> TCS pp. 338-339.

<sup>2088</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 486.

<sup>2089</sup> TCS pp. 289-290, BEA p. 1152.

<sup>2090</sup> TCS pp. 289-290.



10 May. Rawdon abandoned Camden, burning stores and baggage he could not take with him. As well, he damaged cannon so they were not usable while setting fire to many of the buildings. When Greene retook Camden he reported on 14 May to Samuel Huntington that Rawdon “left all our men, wounded on the 25<sup>th</sup> [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.<sup>2091</sup> Rawdon in his May 24<sup>th</sup> letter to Cornwallis wrote: “On the 9<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>2092</sup>

Kirkwood: “10<sup>th</sup>. 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].”<sup>2093</sup>

Seymour: “On the 10<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>2094</sup>

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.”<sup>2095</sup>

10-11 May. [surrender] Orangeburgh (Orangeburg County, S.C) On the night of the 10<sup>th</sup>, Orangeburgh was placed under siege by Sumter’s advanced forces, under Col. Wade Hampton, during the night. 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 captured 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, which he found Marion and Lee had already taken. He then turned to putting the loyalist in the vicinity in awe, seizing horses and other means of transportation, and generally taking or moving supplies out of the region stretching from Wassamasaw to Dorchester - all of which helped to hinder Rawdon’s retreat. After doing this for two days he returned to Orangeburgh and following this moved back up to the Congaree.<sup>2096</sup>

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. [Wader] 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.”

11 May. [skirmish] Cohera Swamp, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 233-234.

11 May. Malmady, 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. Malmady’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 11<sup>th</sup>) said he would set off to join Gen. Allen Jones, who

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<sup>2091</sup> NGP vol. VIII 250, RSC pp. 232-232, TCS pp. 474-479, RBG p. 166.

<sup>2092</sup> TCS pp. 475-479.

<sup>2093</sup> KJO p. 17.

<sup>2094</sup> SJS.

<sup>2095</sup> RSC pp. 232-233.

<sup>2096</sup> NGP vol. VIII p. 244, JLG vol. II p. 121-122, BGC p. 172, RBG p. 166.

had collected 200 militiamen and was marching to Taylor's ferry. By 12 June, Sumner had moved his camp to Harrisburg, N.C.<sup>2097</sup>

11-12 May [raids] Cox's Mill, also Coxe's or Wilcox's Mill, Wilcox's Iron Works (Lee County, N.C.) A small group of whigs were raided by Capt. David Fanning's and 17 Tories some three miles from Cox's Mill (below modern Moncure, N.C.) The rebels lost 2 killed, 7 wounded, and had 18 horses taken. The following day (the 12<sup>th</sup>) 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 Cox'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 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 11<sup>th</sup> of May, 1781. The same day, we pursued [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 paroled [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."<sup>2098</sup>

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 Lynch's Creek, and located about 26 miles north-northeast of Camden.<sup>2099</sup> 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 did not itself apparently 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 12<sup>th</sup>) 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.<sup>2100</sup>

Kirkwood: "12<sup>th</sup>. March'd to Randels Mill... 12[miles]."

Seymour: "We marched from Campden the 12<sup>th</sup>, leaving a guard to destroy the works, and proceeded on our march for Ninety Six, marching the first day to Reynold's Mills."<sup>2101</sup>

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 Cante'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."<sup>2102</sup>

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 successful in awing the loyalists that Rawdon later reported that he had been five days within the Santee before

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<sup>2097</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 24, 243.

<sup>2098</sup> FNA pp. 15-17.

<sup>2099</sup> Greene's movements on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> are somewhat obscure, and the Jumping Gully location is taken from the heading of an 11 May letter, which reads "Camp Jumping Gully Creek."

<sup>2100</sup> KJO p. 17, NGP vol. VIII pp. 238, 246n, 250.

<sup>2101</sup> SJS.

<sup>2102</sup> JFM ch. 3.

a single one came near his army. Sumter subsequently 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.<sup>2103</sup> Sumter stayed at Orangeburgh till the 15<sup>th</sup> and on the 16<sup>th</sup> moved his camp to "Arthur's."<sup>2104</sup>

13 May. [skirmish] Myhand's Bridge, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 237-238.

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 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.<sup>2105</sup> Kirkwood: "13<sup>th</sup> March'd to Mr. Westons..... 18[miles]."<sup>2106</sup>

Seymour: "Thirteenth, marched about eighteen miles."<sup>2107</sup>

13 May. Rawdon crossed the Santee at Nelson's Ferry, and by the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>, was safely across. McArthur met him there with his indifferent corps of 300 foot and 80 dragoons; which may have included Col. John Small's detachment. Rawdon afterwards, as Marion described it, "blew up" the fort on the south side of the ferry.<sup>2108</sup> Rawdon, in his letter of 24 May, to Cornwallis wrote: "On the night of the 13<sup>th</sup>, I began to pass the river at Nelson's ferry, and by the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>2109</sup>

13 May. Phillips died of fever, and was buried at Petersburg. Arnold took temporary command of the British force in Virginia. But when he tried to write Lafayette, the latter refused to receive correspondence from him.

14 May (or 13 May). A reinforcement of 1,700 to 2,000 British and German troops under Col. August de Voit sailed from New York for Virginia. They arrived at Portsmouth on the 22<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>2110</sup>

14 May. Rawdon, at Nelson's Ferry, 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."<sup>2111</sup>

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.<sup>2112</sup> 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."

*Mid to Late May.* [skirmishes] Briar Creek and Bugg's Plantation, also (with respect to Briar Creek) Walker's Bridge (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 made up of over-mountain men under Capt. Isaac Shelby and Georgians under Patrick (or Paddy) Carr. The Shelby mentioned by McCall and Lossing may have been a different individual than Col. Isaac Shelby since, at

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<sup>2103</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup>, he wrote Greene saying he would return in about a day or two. However, by the 19<sup>th</sup> 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. NGP vol. VIII, pp.293n, 316, 355, 415, 502, 511.

<sup>2104</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 249, 274, 293, TCS p. 483.

<sup>2105</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 249, BSF p. 196.

<sup>2106</sup> KJO p. 17.

<sup>2107</sup> SJS.

<sup>2108</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 274, TCS pp. 478, 482, JLG Vol. II, p. 124.

<sup>2109</sup> TCS pp. 475-479.

<sup>2110</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 215n, FWI p. 244.

<sup>2111</sup> COC pp. 91-92.

<sup>2112</sup> MHG pp. 514-515.

this time, he is elsewhere assumed to have been occupied in dealing with the Cherokee threat on the “North Carolina” frontier. Coleman says Dill’s losses were 40 killed. This was followed by a subsequent action at Bugg’s Plantation at New Savannah where Shelby and Carr ambushed some of Brown’s men.<sup>2113</sup> Hugh McCall: “About the time of Clarke’s arrival, major Dill collected a party of loyalists, with intention of joining 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.”<sup>2114</sup>

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 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 [Isaac] Shelby and [Patrick] Carr, sent by Clark, met them at Walker’s bridge, on Brier Creek, 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.”<sup>2115</sup>

14-15 May. [surrender] Fort Granby (Lexington County, S.C.) Marion and Lee, with 400 to 500 infantry,<sup>2116</sup> arrived at Granby on the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>. Already there besieging the post was a small detachment of Sumter’s under Col. Thomas Taylor. Maxwell cowed by Lee and Marion’s cannon, surrendered on condition that his men be paroled to Charlestown (until later exchanged). Lee 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 Loyalist, two artillery pieces,<sup>2117</sup> and included numerous wagons. Lee gives the garrison’s strength as 360, and that most of these were loyalists. 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, while officers were allowed 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.<sup>2118</sup> 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

<sup>2113</sup> LFB vol. II, p.510-511, MHG pp. 514-515, CGA p. 135, BEA p. 50, CKR p. 131.

<sup>2114</sup> MHG p. 515.

<sup>2115</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 510-511.

<sup>2116</sup> On Marion and Lee’s strength see Fort Motte, 6 May. Though not clear, the Legion cavalry, 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 15<sup>th</sup>. 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. NGP vol. VIII, pp. 263-264, RNC p. 331.

<sup>2117</sup> In his letter to Greene of May 4<sup>th</sup>, 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. NGP vol. VIII, p. 204.

<sup>2118</sup> After the surrender, Granby was later dismantled and finally demolished by May 22.

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* mentions that British forces (in the region) were exceedingly weakened by the loss of both Orangeburgh and Granby.<sup>2119</sup>

15 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.<sup>2120</sup>

15 May. Col. Thomas Polk wrote Greene saying Col Francis Lock had been appointed commander of the Salisbury militia by N.C. state officials, despite Greene's wishes that the appointment go to Polk.<sup>2121</sup>

15 May. From Records of the Moravians (Bethabara congregation): "Eight Continental wagons came from the south, going to Virginia for the army."<sup>2122</sup>

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 supplied fifty sides of leather.<sup>2123</sup>

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 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.<sup>2124</sup>

15 May. Greene camped on the north side of Friday's Ferry (on the Congaree and adjacent to Granby), and the next day (the 16<sup>th</sup>) moved a short distance to Ancrum's Plantation.<sup>2125</sup>

15 May. Leaving Halifax, N.C., Cornwallis crossed the Roanoke River and entered Virginia. Streams had by now become so dry that mills in the region could not grind.<sup>2126</sup>

*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.<sup>2127</sup>

*Mid to late May.* William Dobein James: "About this period, Gen. Marion sent Col. Peter Horry with a force to negotiate [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 negotiated [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 17<sup>th</sup> of June, but was not strictly complied with until Marion afterwards found leisure to enforce it..." See 17 June.<sup>2128</sup>

15-16 May. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2129</sup>

On May 24<sup>th</sup>, Rawdon wrote to Cornwallis: "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 14<sup>th</sup>, at night, I marched from Nelson's, and on the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup>, I reached the

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<sup>2119</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 204, 262-266, 273n-274n, 278, 379, 385, AR81 p. 86, LMS pp. 349-352, JLG vol. VIII, pp. 120-122, LFB vol. II, p. 482, WAR vol. II, p. 813, BGC pp. 174-178.

<sup>2120</sup> MSC p. 748.

<sup>2121</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 266.

<sup>2122</sup> FRM p. 1752.

<sup>2123</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 266-267.

<sup>2124</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 268.

<sup>2125</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 259, 271.

<sup>2126</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 284n.

<sup>2127</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 297, BGC p. 179.

<sup>2128</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>2129</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p., 269, 274, TCS pp. 478, 482.

point where the roads from Congarees and M'Cord's ferry unite.<sup>2130</sup> Various information was brought to me thither, that Greene had passed the Congaree, at M'Cord'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."<sup>2131</sup>

16 May. [skirmish] Portevent's Mill, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, pp.239-242.

16 May. Marion to Greene wrote from Ferguson's Swamp, S.C., saying he would try to attack 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.<sup>2132</sup>

16 May. Lee received orders from Greene to advance on Augusta. He had requested he able to take Oldham's company with him, but Greene decided against it. Then with his Legion he moved with all speed to Augusta, which had already been under siege by Clark and the Georgians since mid-April. This left Eaton with his 140 North Carolina Continentals, Finley, his six-pounder,<sup>2133</sup> 2 two-inch pieces, captured at Granby, and artillerymen necessary to man the three guns, to follow Lee and arrive there 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.<sup>2134</sup>

17 May. Seymour: "On the seventeenth were executed five of our deserters who were taken in Fort Friday [Granby] by Colonel Lee."<sup>2135</sup>

17 May. In a return sent by Greene's aide, Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Lawson states 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 Butler, written on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Green said that near 800 prisoner and 50 officers had been taken in the past month. Although we are often reminded 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 Lee, Marion and Sumter in support of him.<sup>2136</sup>

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 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."<sup>2137</sup>

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 [sic] 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[ov]es 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.

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<sup>2130</sup> Lee has been criticized for granting the garrison at Granby too easy terms of surrender. 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 not have been taken.

<sup>2131</sup> TCS pp. 475-479.

<sup>2132</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 274.

<sup>2133</sup> Boatner, on the other hand, says Finley's gun was a three-pounder. BEA p. 51.

<sup>2134</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 272-273, 293, 309, 311, LMS pp. 352-353, JLG vol. II, p. 126, WAR vol. II, pp. 814-815.

<sup>2135</sup> SJS.

<sup>2136</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 275, 302, 305.

<sup>2137</sup> TCS p. 482.

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.”

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, 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*.”<sup>2138</sup>

18 May. Lee's advance party reached Pickens camp on his way to Augusta. Eaton (with his North Carolinians) and Finley arrived there the next morning (the 19<sup>th</sup>.)<sup>2139</sup> It was agreed by Lee and Pickens that Lee should take Fort Galphin, located downriver from Augusta a few miles. Pickens, Eaton and the artillery in the meantime would move to set things up 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.<sup>2140</sup>

18 May. Lafayette received letter from Greene formally appointing 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. Meanwhile, General Nelson was sent with the militia toward Williamsburg.<sup>2141</sup>

18 May. 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 Greene's army. Sumter was ordered by Greene to “continue at this post [Ancrum's] to command and organize the militia.” To this Sumter complied, writing Greene from there on the 22<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>2142</sup> Kirkwood: “Marched and crossed the Broad River...15 [miles].”<sup>2143</sup>

Seymour: “On the eighteenth marched and crossed Broad River and encamped on the other side, fifteen miles.”<sup>2144</sup>

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<sup>2138</sup> GDH pp. 72-73, 76-77.

<sup>2139</sup> Lee was able to hurry his movement by having his cavalymen walk, and then mounting the infantry, then vice versa, etc.

<sup>2140</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 293, WAR vol. II, pp. 814-815.

<sup>2141</sup> CBA p. 594.

<sup>2142</sup> KJO p. 17, NGP vol. VIII, pp. 279, 297, BSF p. 198, BGC p. 178.

<sup>2143</sup> KJO p. 17.

"[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."

19 May. Lafayette moved to Wilton, some ten miles below Richmond. His force at this time numbered less than 2,800 (including militia) and less than 100 regular cavalry. Ward, on the other hand, says he had 3,000 total with which to face Cornwallis' soon to be 7,200.<sup>2145</sup>

19 May. Deserters captured at Fort Granby were executed during a halt on Greene's march to Ninety Six.<sup>2146</sup> 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."<sup>2147</sup>

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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>2148</sup>

19 May. Rawdon remained at Monck's corner. On the 19<sup>th</sup>, a detachment of 200 from his army left Monck's Corner and arrived at Dorchester the next day (the 20<sup>th</sup>).<sup>2149</sup>

19 May. Georgetown had 80 British in the garrison, plus a few loyalists. Marion later gives a total of "about" 100 for the whole. Many, if not all of the Queen's Rangers seemed to have been evacuated from there by his time. Loyalist activity was up between the Peedee and Waccamaw rivers, and Marion believed that taking Georgetown would quiet them.<sup>2150</sup>

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 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 71<sup>st</sup> Regt., the von Bose Regt., British Legion Cavalry (only), 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 be about 900 to 1,000 rank and file Continental light infantry, 2 brigades of Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenburg 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 John Mercer and Nicholas Moore], and 6 pieces of artillery. The militia presented a serious problem as many were constantly coming and going.<sup>2151</sup>

29 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 24<sup>th</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 Lordships immediate orders, as well as for that under Lord Rawdon: and I should not have thought even the one under

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<sup>2144</sup> SJS.

<sup>2145</sup> CBA pp. 594, 598.

<sup>2146</sup> KJO p. 18. NGP vol. VIII, p. 279.

<sup>2147</sup> SJS.

<sup>2148</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 285.

<sup>2149</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 285, 293, 294n.

<sup>2150</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 285, 287.

<sup>2151</sup> CAC p. viii, JYC p. 38n.



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."<sup>2152</sup>

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 (Kings) Rangers killed upwards of ninety and at least eighty horses. Another attack was planned for the 20<sup>th</sup> but this was postponed.<sup>2153</sup>

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 forced 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."<sup>2154</sup>

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."<sup>2155</sup>

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.<sup>2156</sup>

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.

Kirkwood: "21<sup>st</sup>. 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]."<sup>2157</sup>

Seymour: "On the twenty-first of May we took and killed about twelve Tories. Marched sixteen miles."<sup>2158</sup>

21 May (also given as the 19<sup>th</sup>). [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 Kings 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 21<sup>st</sup> of May, Clark was joined by Pickens (or Lee) with Maj. Samuel Hammond and his regiment minus one company, Col. William Harden, and the infantry of Lee's Legion, under Capt. Michael Rudolph. They had all proceeded down from Augusta after Lee (or Pickens) arrived with the main body of troops that morning, which Lee's speaks of as being "sultry beyond measure." The fort had recently received the presents which the British made annually to the Indians; and made up of powder ball liquor salt, blankets, sundry small articles, including some fowling pieces and small arms. Despite the account he gives of what happened, 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

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<sup>2152</sup> COC pp. 99-104.

<sup>2153</sup> CKR p. 132.

<sup>2154</sup> NGP vol. VIII 286, 287n.

<sup>2155</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 286.

<sup>2156</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 246.

<sup>2157</sup> KJO p. 18.

<sup>2158</sup> SJS.

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 fort, or was preliminary to the fort's formal surrender, which, incidentally took place in the evening. 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.<sup>2159</sup>

Tarleton Brown (who was with Col. William Harden): "...we marched<sup>2160</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup>, 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."<sup>2161</sup>

21 May to 5 June. [siege] Augusta, which here includes overviews of Forts Cornwallis and Grierson. (Richmond County, GA.) See also "Fort Grierson" (24 May), "Fort Cornwallis Sorties" (28-30 May.), and "Augusta" (5 June.) Some of their men having arrived in advance on the 21<sup>st</sup>, Pickens and Lee<sup>2162</sup> 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 24 May for information on the taking of Fort Grierson). In Fort Cornwallis,<sup>2163</sup> the larger of the two posts, was Col. Thomas Brown with 240 men, including the King's Carolina 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.)<sup>2164</sup> 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 tower's subterfuge, in the form of British soldier masquerading as a deserter from Brown, was attempted as well. At one point in the siege, Brown also had set explosives in a nearby house used by Rebel sharpshooters, hoping to catch them there. However, the explosives were detonated at a time when the house was empty. Compared to earlier sieges of the British outposts, Augusta was long and trying, and involved ongoing shelling, and sniping between the besiegers and the garrison. Two of Brown's field pieces were subsequently dismantled on June 2<sup>nd</sup>. By the 5<sup>th</sup>, 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 24<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>2159</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 293, 294n, LMS pp. 353-355, JLG vol. II, p. 131-133, LFB vol. II, p. 511-512, RBG p. 173-174, MHG pp. 516-517, SCAR vol. 3, no. 5, pp. 22-26.

<sup>2160</sup> See 8 April

<sup>2161</sup> GHA p. 91.

<sup>2162</sup> On Lee's strength at 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.

<sup>2163</sup> Fort Cornwallis was located at the present day intersection of Eighth and Reynold's streets in Augusta.

<sup>2164</sup> Cashin says the tower was completed by June 1<sup>st</sup>, and the six-pounder mounted in it on the 2<sup>nd</sup>. CKR p. 134.

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.<sup>2165</sup>

Tarleton Brown: "We now commanded the siege of Brown's fort. 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 of some 1,700 to possibly 2,000 British and German troops, under Col. August de Voit, disembarked at Portsmouth.<sup>2166</sup>

24 May. [surrender] Fort Grierson, also Augusta (Richmond County, GA.) On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May (William Johnson says the 24<sup>th</sup>), Fort Grierson, was surrounded by Pickens and Lee and Maj. Eaton, and a battery opened up against it. Maintaining the siege and keeping watch on Fort Cornwallis 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 bearing 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 he 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.<sup>2167</sup> Lee, in his memoirs, praises the effort of a Capt. Handy who led the "Marylanders" against one of Brown's forays. Evidently this individual 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.<sup>2168</sup>

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 with a few followers were So fortunate as to escape our fire and reach Brown's fort 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 enemys [sic] 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."<sup>2169</sup>

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, etc."<sup>2170</sup>

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 [Grierson] for his villainous conduct in the country. Some made their escape from us by fleeing to Brown's fort, 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."

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<sup>2165</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 352n, 354, 355, 357n, TCS pp. 487-495, MHG pp. 516-524, LMS pp. 355-358, 360-370, JLG vol. II, pp. 132-137, LFB vol. II, pp. 511-513, FWI pp. 238-239, BEA p. 51, CKR pp. 130-138.

<sup>2166</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 215n, FWI p. 244.

<sup>2167</sup> KJO p. 19, NGP vol. VIII, pp. 309, 311, LMS pp. 356-357, JLG vol. II p. 133-134, RNC p. 333.

<sup>2168</sup> Regarding Handy see LMS pp. 362, 382.

<sup>2169</sup> NGP vol. VIII p. 311.

<sup>2170</sup> KJO p. 19.

22 May. Rochambeau and Washington and Rochambeau met to at Wethersfield, Connecticut to plan upcoming operations. They decided to make New York their primary target, but to possibly make a movement south if an advantageous circumstance arose.

22 May (or thereabouts). 2,000 British and German troops under Col. August de Voit from New York landed in Virginia as a reinforcement.<sup>2171</sup>

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 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. At the same time, he had removed or destroyed provisions from the area, making it subsequently necessary for Greene to supply his men from outlying locations. For specific troops strengths present at siege of Ninety Six see 18 June.<sup>2172</sup>

Kirkwood: "22<sup>nd</sup> [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."<sup>2173</sup>

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."<sup>2174</sup>

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.<sup>2175</sup> On June 7<sup>th</sup>, Sumter, at Ancrum's, wrote Greene that the summoning of his troops had prevented him from inquiring into their state and order, in addition to lessening his own force. "(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.<sup>2176</sup>

23 May. [sortie] Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) At the recommendation of Kosciuszko, a sap was begun very close to the Star fort portion of the Ninety Six, which position was commanded by Maj. Joseph Greene with 150 men from his own regiment, the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 sent out under Lt. John Roney, of the 1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. Delancey, which bayoneted a number of American sappers before assistance could arrive. Although Roney was killed, Cruger suffered no other loss. Shortly after, Greene was forced to withdraw to a safer distance to begin new approaches

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."<sup>2177</sup>

24 May. At 300 yards from of the Star fort two single gun batteries were put in place.<sup>2178</sup>

Kirkwood: "24 [May] This Day opened our first Battery on the Enemy's Star Redoubt [at Ninety Six]."<sup>2179</sup>

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 could be got, and to collect and drive cattle to the army. However, 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.<sup>2180</sup>

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<sup>2171</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 216n.

<sup>2172</sup> KJO p. 18, TCS p. 485, MHG pp. 518-519, LMS p. 358, MST p. 147-148, JLG vol. II, p. 141, LSY pp. 192-196, CKR pp. 132-133.

<sup>2173</sup> KJO p. 18.

<sup>2174</sup> SJS.

<sup>2175</sup> M. A. Moore says that Lacey also subsequently joined Greene, though I have not seen this elsewhere. MLL p. 19.

<sup>2176</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 304, BGC pp. 179-180.

<sup>2177</sup> MST pp. 147-148.

<sup>2178</sup> KJO p. 19, LSY pp. 197-198.

<sup>2179</sup> KJO p. 19.

<sup>2180</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 308.

24 May. Cornwallis, having added Arnold's-Phillips' force to his own, marched from St. Petersburg to Maycox; then, making arrangements to cross over the James River, he 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 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>.) At Westover, he made his headquarters at Byrd's Plantation. About this same time, Arnold left Cornwallis, embarking from Westover, and returned to New York. Also it was here that reinforcements (mentioned above) 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 43<sup>rd</sup> Regt., 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 43<sup>rd</sup> with him at Westover, Va. as a field force and sent Maj. Gen. Leslie with the seventeenth 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.<sup>2181</sup>

25 May. Rawdon fell back from Monck's Corner to Goose Creek Bridge, due to false report that the French fleet was approaching the area.<sup>2182</sup>

25 May. Greene appointed Lieut. Col. William Henderson to arrange and command the militia of Ninety Six until further orders.<sup>2183</sup>

26 May. William Dobein James: "On the night of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, the celebrated Kosciusko, 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 abatis was turned, and two trenches and a mine were extended within six feet of the ditch."<sup>2184</sup>

26 May. Von Steuben, at Albemarle Court House, wrote Greene saying he intended to march south to join Greene with 560 Virginia Continental recruits and 30 to 40 of Armand's Legion. Steuben had hope to march by June 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup>. Nonetheless, events in Virginia subsequently prevented such a move.<sup>2185</sup>

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 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.)<sup>2186</sup>

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

<sup>2181</sup> TCS pp. 291-292, MST pp. 121-122, LMS p. 415, CBA p. 600, JYC p. 38.

<sup>2182</sup> NGP vol. VIII, 316n.

<sup>2183</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 310.

<sup>2184</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>2185</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 351.

<sup>2186</sup> CBA p. 599, JYC p. 38n.

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 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 20<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>2187</sup>

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 Chesapeake 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."<sup>2188</sup>

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 Country 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."<sup>2189</sup>

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 28<sup>th</sup>. His re-appearance in the Georgetown area encouraged more militia to turn out to join him.<sup>2190</sup>

27 May. Coming from Westover, Cornwallis, with Simcoe and Tarleton acting as advance forces (which they would continue to do in the Richmond campaign), reached White Oak Swamp. There he received word that Lafayette had abandoned Richmond. The next day (the 28<sup>th</sup>) he 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 on the Chickahominy.<sup>2191</sup>

27 May. Rawdon sent 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 weak.<sup>2192</sup> According to one source, the Kings American Regt. had been stationed at Dorchester. Alternatively they might have been with Rawdon who was just outside the city (see 25 May.) In any case, they were in Charlestown by the 27<sup>th</sup> to be embarked.<sup>2193</sup>

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<sup>2187</sup> COC pp. 105-108.

<sup>2188</sup> CAC pp. 79-90.

<sup>2189</sup> JKH pp. 64-65.

<sup>2190</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 128, BSF p. 199.

<sup>2191</sup> CBA p. 600, JYC p. 38.

<sup>2192</sup> 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.

<sup>2193</sup> NGP vol. VIII 333n, TCS pp. 480, 486.

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 Star fort. Although Cruger attempted to set these towers alight with hot shot, their construction from green logs and earth prevented this from succeeding.<sup>2194</sup>

28 May. Cornwallis reached Bottom's Bridge on the Chickahominy River.<sup>2195</sup>

28 May. Lafayette withdrew northward in the face of Cornwallis advance toward a location to better effect a junction with Wayne coming south with reinforcements.

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).<sup>2196</sup>

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 29<sup>th</sup>), 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 take the city; which was fortunate for Marion, who had few men left and little ammunition.<sup>2197</sup>

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 Forks. About this same time, Weedon was removing stores kept at Fredericksburg and Falmouth.<sup>2198</sup>

28-30 May. [sorties] Fort Cornwallis Sorties, also Augusta sortie (Richmond County, GA.) On the night of May 28 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<sup>2199</sup> rallied and regained the works at bayonet point. On the 29<sup>th</sup>, they sallied out again and there was a fierce hand-to-hand melee in the trenches. Capt. Michael Rudolph's cavalry resorted to bayonet to drive back attackers. Yet once more on the 30<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2200</sup>

30 May. [raid] Hanover Court House (Hanover County, VA.) After leaving Newcastle on the 29<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2201</sup>

30 May. Wayne with 3 Pennsylvania battalions and a detachment of Continental artillery reached Frederick, Maryland.<sup>2202</sup>

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 or 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.<sup>2203</sup>

31 May. The King's American Regiment left Charlestown. As no transports were available, they were embarked on the privateer "Tartar" and some small sloops, arriving at Savannah in two days.

31 May. Wayne crossed the Potomac River at Noland's Ferry.<sup>2204</sup>

*Late May.* Rawdon was very sick, and removed himself to recuperate in Charlestown. Lieut. Col. John Watson then commanded his force, situated just north of the city. It was estimated at being 1,340 infantry and 100 cavalry.<sup>2205</sup>

*Late May or early June.* Drafts for the Guards and part of the recruits disembarked at Portsmouth, VA.<sup>2206</sup>

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<sup>2194</sup> JLG vol. II p. 147, LSY p. 198.

<sup>2195</sup> JYC p. 38.

<sup>2196</sup> JYC p. 38.

<sup>2197</sup> JFM ch. 3, BSF p. 200, RBG p. 181.

<sup>2198</sup> JYC p. 39.

<sup>2199</sup> Cashin, apparently in error, gives him as "Samuel" Handy.

<sup>2200</sup> CKR p. 134.

<sup>2201</sup> JYC p. 39.

<sup>2202</sup> JYC p. 45.

<sup>2203</sup> LSY p. 199.

<sup>2204</sup> JYC p.45.

<sup>2205</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 355n.

<sup>2206</sup> CAR p. 307.

## JUNE 1781

*June.* Having, as he believed 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, he had raised a corps of Virginia Riflemen, and with these he subsequently joined Lafayette no later than early July.<sup>2207</sup>

*June.* Around 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 for Greene's army.<sup>2208</sup>

*June.* [skirmish] Roger's Plantation (Edgefield County, S.C.)<sup>2209</sup>

*June.* [skirmish] Backcountry, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 274.

*Early June.* [raids] Richard Hampton's "Second" Raiding Expedition<sup>2210</sup> (Berkeley County, S.C.) Sumter, at Ancrum's wrote Greene on the 7<sup>th</sup> that Col. Richard Hampton had taken his force of "disaffected Orangeburghers"<sup>2211</sup> 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 them.<sup>2212</sup>

*Early June.* Hugh McCall: "Before Brown surrendered Ft. Cornwallis [on June 5<sup>th</sup>], [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."<sup>2213</sup>

1 June.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

### BRITISH

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Light Infantry: 465  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., Light infantry: 417  
Brigade of Guards: 338  
7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 180  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 165  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 186  
43<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 285  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 164  
76<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 320  
80<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 377

### GERMAN

Anspach:

1<sup>st</sup> Anspach Bttn.: 435  
2<sup>nd</sup> Anspach Bttn.: 427

Hessian:

Prince Hereditaire: 383  
Regt. von Bose: 205

### PROVINCIAL

Queen's Rangers: 317  
British Legion (cavalry only): 173

Total: 4,837

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<sup>2207</sup> HDM p. 161

<sup>2208</sup> LMS p. 618.

<sup>2209</sup> LSC p. 16, ONB vol. 3, p. 274.

<sup>2210</sup> 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*.

<sup>2211</sup> In a footnote, Bass states that Hampton's force included "repentant Tories" serving six months required for rehabilitation. BGC p. 271n.

<sup>2212</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 360, BGC pp. 179.

<sup>2213</sup> MHG p. 523.



Detachments not included above:

Royal Artillery: 220  
German artillery: 50  
17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons: 25  
82<sup>nd</sup> Light Company: 36  
Jägers: 57  
North Carolina Volunteers: 33  
Guides and Pioneers: 54

Total for detachments, etc.: 475

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5312<sup>2214</sup>

Wickwire remarks that after more reinforcements arrived, Cornwallis had 7000 effectives, and of these 5000 present fit for duty. As a result, his lordship would have to think about raids and a naval station, rather than an offensive proper.<sup>2215</sup>

1 June. Cornwallis moved to Cook's Ford on the North Anna River.

1 June. Maj. Hezekiah Maham, at Stephen, S.C., wrote to Greene reporting that Rawdon had moved back to Monck's Corner, and was sending out strong parties to collect livestock.<sup>2216</sup>

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."<sup>2217</sup>

2 June. 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.<sup>2218</sup>

2 June. Lafayette arrived at Mattaponi 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.<sup>2219</sup>

2-4 June. [raids] Charlottesville (Charlottesville City County, VA.) Tarleton, with 180 dragoons of his Legion, and 70 mounted infantry, possibly of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment,<sup>2220</sup> carried out a series of raids into the interior of the state. His men were now mounted on some fine steeds, which had earlier been confiscated. In attacks then on Louisa Court House and Charlottesville, he captured 12 wagonloads of clothing headed for Greene's army and burnt them. 1,000 arms were also taken and broken up; and 400 barrels of powder, some Continental clothing and several hogsheds of tobacco were destroyed. Seven members of the Virginia assembly and other leaders were, says Tarleton, "killed, wounded or taken."<sup>2221</sup> But thanks to the determination and endurance of Jack Jouett riding to bring timely warning on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, 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 his 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,<sup>2222</sup> were released by Tarleton. "Many more," he writes "would probably have joined their countrymen, if Lieutenant colonel Tarleton had 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."<sup>2223</sup>

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.<sup>2224</sup>

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<sup>2214</sup> Taken from CAC p. 236, foldout. "Troops serving under Cornwallis in Virginia."

<sup>2215</sup> WCO p. 326.

<sup>2216</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 334.

<sup>2217</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 333.

<sup>2218</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 337.

<sup>2219</sup> JYC pp. 39-40.

<sup>2220</sup> Tarleton writes: "Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, supported by Captain Champagne of the 23d regiment, and seventy mounted infantry, left the army in the beginning of June, and proceeded between the North and South Anna." TCS pp. 295-296.

<sup>2221</sup> 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.

<sup>2222</sup> 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.

<sup>2223</sup> TCS pp. 295-297, CBA pp. 600-601, WAR vol. II, p. 874, BGD p. 178, SCAR vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 5-9.

<sup>2224</sup> TCS p.297.

3 June. At a distance of less than sixty yards from the Star fort, work began on third parallel at Ninety Six. Cruger fired on 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.<sup>2225</sup>

3 June. Lafayette moved to Corbin's Bridge on the Po River in Spotsylvania County.<sup>2226</sup>

3 June (also given as the 6<sup>th</sup>). [raid] Snipes' Plantation (Colleton County, S.C.). Maj. William Clay Snipes<sup>2227</sup> 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. In a letter to Greene of the 7<sup>th</sup>, however, Sumter stated that all but 4 were captured, but that Snipes<sup>2228</sup> and three others escaped.<sup>2229</sup>

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 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 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."<sup>2230</sup>

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 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."<sup>2231</sup>

Saunders "I shall conclude this detail with mentioning one more instance of the gallant behaviour of [Thomas] Merrit[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 Merrit, 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."<sup>2232</sup>

3 June. A squadron with 17 transports from Ireland disembarked at Charlestown. From it were landed the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 19<sup>th</sup> Regt., and 30<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>2233</sup>

Stephen Jarvis: "In the meantime, a re-inforcement of three Regiments arrived from England, the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> Regiments. The 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Captain Saunders' Troop, which had been removed from Georgetown, and Captain Campbell's Troop were ordered to Mon[c]ks' Corner to relieve the Garrison there, who went on to join Lord Rawden."<sup>2234</sup>

Fortescue: "(M)atters would have gone hardly with them [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."<sup>2235</sup>

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<sup>2225</sup> LSY p. 199.

<sup>2226</sup> JYC p. 40.

<sup>2227</sup> Snipes was rather a nuisance to Marion, and was seen by some as *more* of a plunderer than a soldier. Nonetheless under Col. Peter Horry Snipes, he had acquitted himself well in the latter role, and is honored by being mentioned in British dispatches. In February, Snipes received a commission from Gov. Rutledge 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. BSF p. 172, BGC pp. 154-155.

<sup>2228</sup> Tradition tells how Snipes hid nearby, and his Black servant, although threatened with hanging, refused to inform the British of his whereabouts. LSC p.16.

<sup>2229</sup> SQR pp. 247-248, JKH p. 66, NGP vol. VIII, p. 360.

<sup>2230</sup> CDI.

<sup>2231</sup> JKH p. 66.

<sup>2232</sup> SQR pp. 247-248.

<sup>2233</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 369n, TCS pp. 479-480, LFB Vol. II, p. 486, FWI pp. 239-240, BGC p. 182.

<sup>2234</sup> JJA.

<sup>2235</sup> FWI pp. 239-240.

3 June. Rawdon transformed the South Carolina Royalists Regt. into cavalry 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.<sup>2236</sup>

4 June. Pickens wrote to Greene reporting 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."<sup>2237</sup>

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.

4 June. Wayne arrived at Cook's Mills on Goose Creek. The next day, he left his baggage there, and marched to Red House near Thoroughfare Gap. Heavy rains slowed his movement.<sup>2238</sup>

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 captured was Colonel Roger Kelsall.<sup>2239</sup>

4 June. Lee and Pickens decided to launch grand assault on Fort Cornwallis in the early hours of June 4<sup>th</sup>. However, 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.<sup>2240</sup>

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 Indians. 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 in the North. See "21 May to 5 June" for additional citations and reference.

Lee afterward returned to join Greene at Ninety Six. Pickens remained at Augusta removing stores taken there, but by the 17<sup>th</sup> had likewise joined Greene. After Pickens left, Major, now Lieut. Col., James Jackson took command of the post. The liberation of the Georgia upcountry from British occupation, made possible the revival of more normal state government. Among its first measures was to form militia and state troops to cooperate with the Continentals.<sup>2241</sup> Although a Georgia State Legion was subsequently raised under 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 be 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.<sup>2242</sup> Kirkwood: "5<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2243</sup>

5 June. Rawdon wrote Cornwallis, saying he would at present leave the newly arrived regiments (i.e. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>) in Charlestown and "may march on the 7<sup>th</sup> towards Ninety Six having been reinforced by the flank companies of the three regiments." Rawdon at this time was ill, and the army in the field was commanded by Watson.<sup>2244</sup>

5-6 June. [raid] Point of Fork (Fluvanna County, VA.) About this same time as Tarleton's forays in the Charlottesville area, a similar raiding force 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 gone 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 there. Steuben's force managed to retreat to safety, but most of the arms and stores were taken or destroyed; including 2,500 stand of arms, quantities of

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<sup>2236</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 405, TCS p. 481.

<sup>2237</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 347.

<sup>2238</sup> JYC p. 45.

<sup>2239</sup> JHG pp. 499-500.

<sup>2240</sup> CKR pp. 135-136.

<sup>2241</sup> 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.

<sup>2242</sup> KJO p. 19, NGP vol. VIII, p. 404, LMS p. 371, MHG pp. 494-495, 523-524, LFB vol. II p. 533, CGA p. 140, CKR pp. 130-137, 141, 145.

<sup>2243</sup> KJO p. 19.

<sup>2244</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 355, 369.

gunpowder, saltpeter, rum, brandy, carpenter's tools, entrenching tools, wagons, cloth, 13 inch mortar and 5 howitzers, 4 nine-pounders; all of which Cornwallis later found use for at Yorktown. Some days later, however, the 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 7<sup>th</sup> camped at Elk Hill, a plantation of Jefferson's, near Byrd Creek, and where Tarleton and Simcoe later reunited with him.<sup>2245</sup>

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 culprit.<sup>2246</sup> 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 this instance the perpetrator was caught and put in confinement. Greene offered an award of 100 guineas for the capture of Grierson's murderer,<sup>2247</sup> but the latter was never found.<sup>2248</sup>

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. After Colonel Lee marched from Augusta, Colonel [James] Grierson, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the enemy by his spirited and unwearyed 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 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<sup>2249</sup> 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 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 hyperbolic report to the Congress. As this buckram feat is altogether a fancy piece, it does not merit a comment.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

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<sup>2245</sup> TCS pp. 295-298, CBA pp. 600-602, JYC p. 43, WAR vol. II, p. 873, WCO p. 333.

<sup>2246</sup> 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.

<sup>2247</sup> Tarleton Brown also says the assailant was a "Captain Alexander."

<sup>2248</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 359.

<sup>2249</sup> Not Col. William Washington, and probably Capt. Robert Smith of the North Carolina line is meant.

“Thomas Browne  
“Nassau, Bahamas, Dec. 25, 1786”<sup>2250</sup>

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 gives Rawdon’s strength at 1,340 infantry and 100 cavalry.<sup>2251</sup>

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 in April 1781.<sup>2252</sup>

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.<sup>2253</sup> Among the units included in his force<sup>2254</sup> were flank companies from the 3<sup>rd</sup>, the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 30<sup>th</sup>, the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt., the Provincial light Infantry, small detachments of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 7<sup>th</sup> Regt., the New York Volunteers, and Prince of Wales Volunteers, and detachments from the Hessian garrison regiments. Among the cavalry were the mounted South Carolina Royalists, the South Carolina Light Dragoons, and mounted troops of Hessians. Another 200 men under Maj. John Doyle later joined him en route from Monck’s Corner. According to Sumter, in a letter of June 18<sup>th</sup>, Rawdon had Watson and McArthur’s command with him: 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 “several hundred” Tories. 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, to follow him as they could. Although at one point along the way an effort was made by Lee’s cavalry to seize it, the baggage reached Ninety Six in safety. See also 18 June.<sup>2255</sup>

*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 corner.”<sup>2256</sup>

7 June. Tarleton and Simcoe returned from their raids to re-unite with Cornwallis at Elk Hill.<sup>2257</sup>

8 June. Prisoners brought from Augusta were paraded before fort at Ninety Six by the escort bringing them. 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 bringing them to Ninety Six, and who was afterward severely reprimanded. Though not with them, Lee himself had arrived at Ninety Six about this same time, or a day or two earlier.<sup>2258</sup>

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.”<sup>2259</sup>

8 June. [raids] Cox’s Mill, also Wilcox’s Mill, Wilcox’s Iron Works (Lee County, N.C.) Also see 11-12 May.

Fanning: “I returned to Coxe’s Mill and remained there till the 8<sup>th</sup> June; when the Rebels embodied 10 men to attack me, under the command of Cols. Collyer [Collier] and [Andrew] Balfour.<sup>2260</sup> 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

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<sup>2250</sup> WHG pp. 614-620.

<sup>2251</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 355.

<sup>2252</sup> CGA p. 137.

<sup>2253</sup> 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 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 force 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 McArthur’s reinforcement, and the flank companies from Colonel Gould’s brigade: But perhaps the 3d and 19<sup>th</sup> regiments might move from Charles town, towards Dorchester or Monk’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.

<sup>2254</sup> Rawdon’s force included those of Watson and McArthur.

<sup>2255</sup> TCS p. 486n, 496, NGP vol. VIII, p. 379n, 403, 408, 412-413, 451, BGC pp. 184-185.

<sup>2256</sup> AR81 p. 92.

<sup>2257</sup> JYC p. 43.

<sup>2258</sup> MST p. 153, LMS p. 371, RNC p. 337.

<sup>2259</sup> GHA p. 93.

<sup>2260</sup> A brief sketch of Andrew Balfour is given in the appendix to Fanning’s *Narrative*, and another, but considerably longer, in Caruthers’ *Revolutionary Incidents in the Old North State*, see CNS vol. 1, pp. 73-85.

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...[in Hamilton's Royal N.C. Regt., etc.]"<sup>2261</sup>

9 June. Wayne reached Raccoon Ford on the Rapidan

9 June: [sorties] Ninety Six (Greenwood County, S.C.) Two sorties were made in the evening by the Ninety Six garrison against the digging being done before the Star fort. During this encounter, a number of Americans were wounded, including Kosciuszko slightly. MacKenzie reports that an American officer was captured. There was not apparently any significant damage done to the work going on itself, however.<sup>2262</sup>

MacKenzie: "On the evening of the 9<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2263</sup>

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 9<sup>th</sup>] 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."<sup>2264</sup>

10 June. Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne with 800 rank and file Continentals, joined Lafayette about twelve miles south of Raccoon Ford on the Rapidan River. Wayne, by himself and some staff, however, had reached Lafayette by the 7<sup>th</sup>. His force included 3 Pennsylvania regiments: the 1<sup>st</sup> Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. Walter Stewart; 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> Continental Artillery. The same day Lafayette, now with Wayne, advanced on Cornwallis, reaching Brock's Bridge on the North Anna River. Ward says Lafayette's force now numbered 4,500.<sup>2265</sup>

11 June. Georgia 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."<sup>2266</sup>

11 June. Lafayette camped near Boswell's Tavern (in the vicinity of the later Munford Bridge) on the South Anna River.<sup>2267</sup>

11 June. Sumter, at "Congarees" [Ancrum's Plantation], to Greene wrote saying he was on the point of moving, but his troops were still not in good order. He also remarked that Marion was about to return from Georgetown but had few men.<sup>2268</sup>

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<sup>2261</sup> FNA pp. 17-18.

<sup>2262</sup> MST p. 154, LMS pp. 371-372, LSY p. 200.

<sup>2263</sup> MST p.154.

<sup>2264</sup> LMS pp. 371-372.

<sup>2265</sup> CBA p. 603, JYC p. 45-47, WAR vol. II, p. 874.

<sup>2266</sup> JHG p. 495.

<sup>2267</sup> JYC p. 47.

<sup>2268</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 378.

12 June. Having started marching in the evening of the 11<sup>th</sup>, and taking a little used track, Lafayette camped near “Allegre’s,” at an “impregnable position,” with much overgrowth. The position was situated behind Mechunck Creek, thirteen miles east of Charlottesville. Here he was joined 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.<sup>2269</sup>

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 20<sup>th</sup>. He reached Greene’s army on 25 June.<sup>2270</sup>

12 June. General Thomas Nelson was elected Governor of Virginia, replacing Thomas Jefferson, whose term of office had ended June 4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2271</sup>

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. The intent had been to set the stockade on fire, but Lee’s men were discovered by a sentry before it could be effected. 5 were killed and 4 wounded. The same day a local farmer Hugh Aikens managed to make a successful dash for the fort, and brought the garrison word of Rawdon’s approach. Lee meanwhile set up a six-pounder battery and a party of sharpshooters to prevent access to the stockade, and by the night of the 17<sup>th</sup> Cruger was forced 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.<sup>2272</sup>

MacKenzie: “Colonel Lee continued his approaches to the stockade upon the left, before which his corps suffered greatly. On the 12<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>2273</sup>

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 yards. 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.”

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 15<sup>th</sup>, 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 escorting Rawdon’s baggage.<sup>2274</sup>

13 June. Sumter, still at Ancrum’s, wrote Greene, in response to report of 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 force’s strength as 600 horse and 200 foot.<sup>2275</sup>

14 June. Lafayette left his fortified position at Mechunck and moves forward, through largely uninhabited country, to follow Cornwallis’ own movement, and came within about 20 miles distance of the British forces.<sup>2276</sup>

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<sup>2269</sup> JYC p. 49.

<sup>2270</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 383.

<sup>2271</sup> CBA p. 601.

<sup>2272</sup> MST pp. 155-156, LMS pp. 373-374, BSF p. 203.

<sup>2273</sup> MST p. 155-156.

<sup>2274</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 388-389, 393.

<sup>2275</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 388, 390.

<sup>2276</sup> JYC p. 52.

14 June. Not having much to do while the siege of Ninety Six continued, Lieut. Col. Washington's cavalry was 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." About this same time, Lee's cavalry, under Capt. John Rudolph, were operating in the same manner as Washington's, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> were located in the fork of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. See 16 June.<sup>2277</sup>

15 June. Cornwallis left Elk Hill and marched to Westham on his way back to Richmond, with Tarleton and Simcoe on his flanks. The move signaled a withdrawal by the British and was interpreted as such by the Americans.<sup>2278</sup>

15 June. Sumter, at Palmers near the Congaree, wrote to 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 had none to spare. He then asked Greene if he could send Marion a supply. On June 14<sup>th</sup>, in a separate letter to Greene, Sumter reported his own strength as being at 800.<sup>2279</sup>

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 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>2280</sup>

16 June. Cornwallis re-entered Richmond where he remained till the 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2281</sup>

16 June. Sumter wrote to Greene that Rawdon's army was twelve miles above Orangeburgh "last night" (the 15<sup>th</sup>) 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 17<sup>th</sup>), he reported that Rawdon, on the 16<sup>th</sup>, 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. 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. However, in his defense, his brigade was suffering from organizational and discipline problems which Sumter soon after tried to remedy.<sup>2282</sup>

16 June. By nightfall, Rawdon camped at Cedar Ponds.<sup>2283</sup>

17 June. Greene wrote to Sumter: "Captain Rudolph [John Rudolph] 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 18<sup>th</sup>, Rudolph 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 runs 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. Rudolph finally formed a junction with Washington by the 19<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2284</sup>

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<sup>2277</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 389, 403, 408, BGC p. 185.

<sup>2278</sup> CBA p. 603, JYC p. 52.

<sup>2279</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 393.

<sup>2280</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 394n.

<sup>2281</sup> LMS p. 428, JYC pp.52-53.

<sup>2282</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 403, 408n, BGC pp. 184-165.

<sup>2283</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 408.

<sup>2284</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 404, 412, 418.



17 June. Lafayette camped at Dandridge's on the South Anna River in Hanover County, just northwest of Richmond.<sup>2285</sup>

17 June. A disguised courier made his way into garrison at Ninety Six, and informed Cruger of Rawdon's approach. This immensely bolstered the garrison's resolve to continue defending the fort.<sup>2286</sup>

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 this truce came about because they 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.<sup>2287</sup>

17 June. The third parallel at Ninety Six was completed. Also, by this date, Pickens had joined Greene at Ninety Six.<sup>2288</sup>

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."<sup>2289</sup>

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 18<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2290</sup>

Tarleton: "[Rawdon] passed the Saluda near its junction with the greater river of that name. This route, however, enabled a Colonel Middleton, 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."<sup>2291</sup>

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 get away. When Wayne with the Pennsylvania light infantry, marching 13 miles came up, Tarleton himself retreated.<sup>2292</sup>

18 June. Sumter had finally moved from Ancrum's on the Congaree and was "6 miles from Wrights Nearly opposite Millers Ferry," S.C. He wrote to Greene on this date and reported Rawdon's force as "the troops he commanded at Camden, Col Watsons and Maj McArthers Commands, 250 hessians, 6 companies of New Levies, & a Small Detachment to the 63d and 7<sup>th</sup> Regemts [Regiments], about 60 Hessian horse, 40 Yourk [New York] Volunteers, 4 troops of other horse from 40 to 60 in a Troop, five pieces of Artll'y [Artillery], & a Number of Tories - Several hundred but Don't Know any thing Near their Number...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 Regemt which you wrote was ordered out." Sumter himself had about 400 men actively employed, most of whom were detached to delay Rawdon. He was compelled to send a detachment back to Granby to put down some loyalists in the neighborhood who had broken their paroles.<sup>2293</sup>

18 June. [siege assault] NINETY SIX (Greenwood County, S.C.) Faced with the impending arrival of Lord Rawdon's relief column, Greene 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. Of this number, few were killed, though among them was Capt. George Armstrong of the Maryland Line.<sup>2294</sup> His baggage having already been removed from the area by Pickens, Greene by the next evening (the 19<sup>th</sup>) lifted the siege entirely and marched toward the Saluda River. The courageous and very professional performance of Cruger and his men

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<sup>2285</sup> JYC p. 53.

<sup>2286</sup> RNC p. 339.

<sup>2287</sup> GWC pp. 155-156, GHC p. 375.

<sup>2288</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 389n.

<sup>2289</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 487.

<sup>2290</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 406, 416, 417n, TCS p. 486, MSC p. 748, BGC p. 186.

<sup>2291</sup> AR81 p. 92, TCS pp. 486-487.

<sup>2292</sup> JYC p. 53.

<sup>2293</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 413.

<sup>2294</sup> One source 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.

under his command during the siege has at times been rightly praised. Yet being all loyalists,<sup>2295</sup> their feat, has regrettably been too often quickly passed over by historians from both sides. At the same time, also forgotten is that had Rawdon arrived just a few days late, Cruger might well have been forced to capitulate, due to lack of water and supplies.<sup>2296</sup>

#### BRITISH FORCES AT NINETY SIX

Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., De Lancey's New York Brigade: 150, (Cruger), Major Joseph Greene  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., New Jersey Volunteers<sup>2297</sup>: 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.

#### TOTAL OF CRUGER'S FORCES AT NINETY SIX

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."<sup>2298</sup>

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. Although 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 5<sup>th</sup>, he reported 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.<sup>2299</sup>

#### 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,<sup>2300</sup> 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 are rank and file and based on a return made up by Otho Williams.<sup>2301</sup>

\* *Maryland Brigade*: 427, Col. Otho Williams  
1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard<sup>2302</sup>  
2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regt., Major Henry Hardman

\* *Virginia Brigade*: 431,

1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regt.[of 1781], Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell  
2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regt.[of 1781], Maj. Smith Sneed<sup>2303</sup>

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<sup>2295</sup> There was but a single British soldier present, Lieutenant Thomas Barrete' of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the rest were all Americans.

<sup>2296</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 419-426, AR81 pp. 93-94, TCS pp. 497-502, SAW vol. II, p. 370, GHA p. 92-93, MST pp. 139-163, LMS pp. 358-360, 371-378, JLG vol. II, pp. 138-155, SJM, MLL p. 19, FWI pp. 239-240, WAR vol. II, pp. 816-822, LSY pp. 192-205, 300-302, BEA pp. 804-807.

<sup>2297</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion New Jersey Volunteers had been re-designated the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, due to the accumulated losses of the regiment, and the subsequent condensation of the battalions. See New Jersey Volunteers.

<sup>2298</sup> MST pp. 144-145.

<sup>2299</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 365n, 500, JLG vol. II, p. 141.

<sup>2300</sup> Huger's home "Mount Necessity," was in the Congaree area. NGP vol. VIII, p. 415n.

<sup>2301</sup> GHA p. 92.

<sup>2302</sup> Command of the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland was given later in the day to Major Henry Hardman, Howard apparently being sick or otherwise indisposed. NGP vol. VIII, p.409.

Delaware Regt.: 60, Captain Robert Kirkwood  
North Carolina Continentals<sup>2304</sup>: 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.

1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery: 80-100, Col. Charles Harrison, Capt. Ebenezer Finley, Lieut. Finn, 4 six-pounders<sup>2305</sup>

#### MILITIA

South Carolina militia: 300 to 400, Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens<sup>2306</sup>

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.<sup>2307</sup>

#### 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."<sup>2308</sup>

Ward gives British losses as 27 killed and 58 wounded for the entire siege.<sup>2309</sup>

##### 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, gives:

"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. Captain Bentley of the Virginia line, prisoner; Lieutenants Evans, Miller, and [Samuel] Selden, wounded. Colonel Kosciuszko [Thaddeus Kosciuszko], chief engineer, was slightly wounded."<sup>2310</sup>

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<sup>2303</sup> Lieut. Col. Samuel Hawes being still ill, command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regiment was given to Maj. Smith Snead. NGP vol. VIII, pp. 410-411.

<sup>2304</sup> 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.

<sup>2305</sup> Greene began siege with 3 guns, but Lee brought up the fourth when he returned from Augusta.

<sup>2306</sup> 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.

<sup>2307</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 485n, WAR vol. II, p. 817, LSY pp. 298-299, BEA p. 805.

<sup>2308</sup> MST pp. 163-164.

<sup>2309</sup> WAR vol. II, p. 822.

<sup>2310</sup> TCS pp. 499-501.

Kirkwood: "18<sup>th</sup>. [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 very [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."<sup>2311</sup>

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, <sup>2312</sup>though exposed to the fire of a whole army."<sup>2313</sup>

Lee: "Orders were issued to prepare for storming; and the hour of twelve, on the next day (18<sup>th</sup> 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, commanded the forlorn hope of Campbell and Captain Rudolph [Michael Rudolph], of the Legion, that of Lee. Fascines<sup>2314</sup> 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 sharpshooters 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 vigor 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, 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."<sup>2315</sup>

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."<sup>2316</sup>

19 June. Maj. Gen. Lafayette was joined by von Steuben with 425 to 450 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.<sup>2317</sup>

Lafayette's force at this time was made up as follows:

Maj. Gen. Baron von Steuben, second in command

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<sup>2311</sup> KJO p. 19.

<sup>2312</sup> This event was supposed to have taken place following upon the American assault. Lee does not mention such an occurrence, and Johnson characterizes the account (as drawn from Stedman) as a fabrication.

<sup>2313</sup> MST pp. 159-160.

<sup>2314</sup> A fascine is a cylindrical bundle of sticks bound together for use in construction, as of fortresses and earthworks.

<sup>2315</sup> LMS p. 375-377.

<sup>2316</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 487.

<sup>2317</sup> TCS pp. 397-398, JLG vol. II, p. 63, CBA p. 604, JYC p. 53, 55.

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: <sup>2318</sup>  
780 riflemen, Brig. General William Campbell  
750, Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson  
650, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens

2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons: 60  
Volunteer Dragoons from Virginia: 60, Lieut. Col. John Mercer, Nicholas Moore

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 the 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 disguising his true strength.

Cornwallis, at Williamsburg, wrote to Clinton on June 30<sup>th</sup>: "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."<sup>2319</sup>

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.<sup>2320</sup> He was having a difficult time keeping his men together, and already 150 had deserted him. "I have Several Waggoloards of Corn Meal I Can furnish with if you are in Want for the army." He further mentioned not knowing Marion's whereabouts. Marion, rather than serve under Sumter, kept his force distant and did not report to Greene till June 24<sup>th</sup>. In a separate letter of the same date, Sumter wrote to Greene saying 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.<sup>2321</sup>

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 reported that Capt. Rudolph [John Rudolph], with Lee's Legion cavalry, had joined him.<sup>2322</sup>

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, presumably due to the outliers and Indians.<sup>2323</sup>

19 June. Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart' with 250 to 300 men of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regt., left Monck's Corner for Dorchester, with the intention of meeting up with Rawdon at Orangeburgh on July 3<sup>rd</sup>. Before he had marched very far,

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<sup>2318</sup> As was usual, the militia numbers tended to fluctuate as many came and went as they chose.

<sup>2319</sup> TCS pp. 397-398.

<sup>2320</sup> 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 taking place.

<sup>2321</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 417n, 418.

<sup>2322</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 418.

<sup>2323</sup> NGP vol. p. VIII p. 414.

Gould in Charlestown recalled him, but then changed his mind. Stewart then continued toward Orangeburgh, but this delay caused him to be four days late (see 29 June.) Marion, writing to Greene from Ancrum's on the 25<sup>th</sup>, also reported the British as having 300 infantry and 50 dragoons<sup>2324</sup> at St. John's or Biggin's Church.<sup>2325</sup>

20 June. In the early morning hours the siege of Ninety Six was lifted. The same day, Greene camped at Little River and William's fort near Ninety Six. Washington and Capt. John Rudolph having rejoined the army, Lee was detached with his Legion to protect Greene's retreat and keep watch of Rawdon. The following day (the 21<sup>st</sup>) Kirkwood's Delaware company was attached to Washington's cavalry to form a small light corps or legion.<sup>2326</sup> Kirkwood: "20<sup>th</sup> 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 Le Roy 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."

20 June. Following orders he had received earlier from Clinton, Cornwallis left Richmond and marched south for Portsmouth. The orders 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. Lafayette, now with both Wayne, von Steuben present, plus a reinforced militia, followed in pursuit.<sup>2327</sup>

21 June. (possibly 20 June) Lafayette entered Richmond, some twenty hours after Cornwallis had left it.<sup>2328</sup>

21 June. Much to the relief and joy of the hard-pressed garrison, Rawdon arrived at Ninety Six, though many of his 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 22<sup>nd</sup>) 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, & including 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. Lee stated that reports taken from prisoners put Rawdon's force at 2,450. Lee's own personal estimate at the time, on the other hand, was 1,880.<sup>2329</sup>

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."<sup>2330</sup>

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 force in the field as cavalry below the Santee River. Peter Horry was similarly commissioned a few days later. See 28 June.<sup>2331</sup>

22 June. Greene camped at Bush River, S.C.<sup>2332</sup>

23 June. The American forces in Virginia had, with additional militia reinforcements, reached 6,000 men, 1,500 of which were Continentals.<sup>2333</sup>

23 June. Greene wrote Pickens to collect 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 directed the baggage to be sent to Fish Dam Ford by a safe route. That evening he crossed the Enoree moving toward the Broad River.<sup>2334</sup>

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<sup>2324</sup> These it would appear were Lieut. Col. James Coates and the 19<sup>th</sup> Regt.

<sup>2325</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 459.

<sup>2326</sup> KJO p. 19, NGP vol. VIII, pp. 426, 432, LMS p. 379.

<sup>2327</sup> CBA p. 604, JYC p. 53.

<sup>2328</sup> JYC p. 53.

<sup>2329</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 379, 388n, 408, 442-443.

<sup>2330</sup> TCS p. 507.

<sup>2331</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 438.

<sup>2332</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 436, 449.

<sup>2333</sup> CBA p. 617.

<sup>2334</sup> KJO p. 20, NGP vol. VIII, p. 448.

Kirkwood: "23<sup>rd</sup>. Marched this Night and Crossed the Innoree [Enoree] River.... 15 [miles]." <sup>2335</sup>

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. <sup>2336</sup>

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 pursuing Greene's army, as his own troops were so worn out and fatigued from the march to Ninety Six. But when he learned that Greene had halted at 16 miles from Ninety Six at Bush River, and that Greene had wagons with him, he resolved to bring Greene to action. On the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup> then Rawdon left Ninety Six and marched to Duncan's Creek, or "Fords of the Enoree," some 40 miles from Ninety Six. However, he stopped his advance because of his troop's fatigue and saw no prospect of reaching Greene. He then turned back toward Ninety Six on the 25<sup>th</sup> and arrived, there, probably, on the 26<sup>th</sup>. <sup>2337</sup>

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. <sup>2338</sup>  
Kirkwood: "Marched this Day Crossed the Tiger [Tyger] and Broad River...21 [miles]." <sup>2339</sup>

24 June. Cornwallis, en route to Williamsburg, stopped at Bird's Tavern, not far from New Kent Court House. <sup>2340</sup>

25 June. Cornwallis reached Williamsburg. Meanwhile, Lafayette moved to Bird's Tavern, and Col. Richard Butler with part of his advance guard occupied Spencer's Ordinary. <sup>2341</sup>

25 June. Marion, at Ancrum's, S.C., wrote to Greene saying that he had a few men, but expected more "tomorrow." Maham 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. <sup>2342</sup>

25 June. Greene halted and camped at Tim's Ordinary (or Tavern) <sup>2343</sup> 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. <sup>2344</sup>

25 June. Back on May 5<sup>th</sup>, and later on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, Greene 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 25<sup>th</sup>, 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. His N.C. Continentals finally marched July 1<sup>st</sup> 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. <sup>2345</sup>

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] Taylors regemts [Richard] Winn[']s [Samuel] Tate[']s & R. [Richard] Hampton have absetd [absented] themselves except a few Who are upon Command." <sup>2346</sup>

26 June. On this date Cornwallis received the following letters from Clinton's (with extracts given here) of 11 and 15 June.

Letter from Clinton of June 11<sup>th</sup>: "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 29<sup>th</sup> of May, and 8<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>2335</sup> KJO p. 20.

<sup>2336</sup> JYC p. 55.

<sup>2337</sup> See Rawdon to Cornwallis, August 2. NGP vol. VIII, p. 453n, LMS pp. 379-380, JLG vol. II, pp. 155-156.

<sup>2338</sup> NGR vol. VIII, pp. 351n, 452.

<sup>2339</sup> KJO p. 20.

<sup>2340</sup> JYC pp. 54-55.

<sup>2341</sup> WCO p. 325.

<sup>2342</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 459.

<sup>2343</sup> Tim's Ordinary is also described as being 11 miles beyond Lisle's Ford, on Broad River. JLG vol. II p. 155.

<sup>2344</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 454n, 455, 458.

<sup>2345</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 207, 284, 302, 384, 460, RNC p. 344.

<sup>2346</sup> NGP vol. VIII, 460-461.

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 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; 76<sup>th</sup> or 80<sup>th</sup> regiment; two battalions of Anspach; Queen's rangers, cavalry and infantry; remains of the detachment of 17<sup>th</sup> light dragoons; and such proportion of artillery as can be spared, particularly men.”<sup>2347</sup>

Letter from Clinton of June 15<sup>th</sup>: “(A)s I am led to suppose from your Lordship's letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> ultimo, that you may not think it expedient to adopt the operations I had recommended in the Chesapeake[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 Chesapeake; 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.”<sup>2348</sup>

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.”<sup>2349</sup>

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 near Spencer's Ordinary (about six miles north of Williamsburg). On the night of the 25<sup>th</sup>, he sent most of the advanced parties under Col. Richard Butler, with McPherson, McCall, and Willis, to intercept them. A forward party of about 50 dragoons and 50 light infantry under McPherson caught up with Simcoe. There was a skirmish, in which both sides lost about 30 men each. Simcoe broke off the action, and brought word to Cornwallis of the American advance. 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, while enduring weather that was excessively hot. On June 30<sup>th</sup>, 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.)<sup>2350</sup>

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 stricken [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 acquired in that space by unremitting [sic] diligence, toil and danger, as a honorable victory earned by veteran intrepidity.”<sup>2351</sup>

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 28<sup>th</sup>, according to this account, Sumter returned to Ancrum's to bring in more militia. Somewhat strangely, Bass also states that William Johnson makes reference to such a meeting, but Johnson, in fact speaks of Sumter reinforcing Greene on July 8<sup>th</sup>. Johnson does make a statement which seems to support what Bass tentatively asserts, but the wording is rather vague. See 24 June.<sup>2352</sup>

28 June. Col. Wade Hampton's detachment of mounted men and cavalry joined Lee who was keeping watch on Rawdon.<sup>2353</sup>

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 was instructed to form.<sup>2354</sup>

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<sup>2347</sup> COC 108-110, CAR pp. 529-530, TCS pp. 396-397. .

<sup>2348</sup> COC pp. 111-112, WCO pp. 336, 340.

<sup>2349</sup> WCO p. 340.

<sup>2350</sup> CBA pp. 604-605, JYC pp. 55-56, WAR vol. II, p. 875, BEA pp. 1044-1045.

<sup>2351</sup> SQR pp. 234-235, WCO p. 335.

<sup>2352</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 463, JLG vol. II, pp. 161-162. BGC pp. 189-190, 272n.

<sup>2353</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 451, 452n.

<sup>2354</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 471.



28 June. On the evening of this date, a British deserter from Dorchester informed Greene that a convoy of 300 hundred men, was moving up the Edisto intended for Rawdon at Orangeburgh. Greene then directed Washington and Lee to meet at Ancrum's, and from there attempt to seize the convoy.<sup>2355</sup>

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.<sup>2356</sup>

29 June. Malmady, 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 is now ordering them out again and promised to have 800 men at Charlotte in seven days. Earlier, Greene had sent Malmady to hurry a detachment of Salisbury militia to Greene's army.<sup>2357</sup>

29 June. Lee wrote a letter to Greene giving his location as "Camp between the Enoree & Bush Rivers on the old Saluda Road." Lee said 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.<sup>2358</sup>

29 June. Rawdon, with 900 rank and file,<sup>2359</sup> 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 before. The remainder of Rawdon's 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 3<sup>rd</sup> Regt. and possibly some mounted troops as well, was to have joined up with him by July 3<sup>rd</sup>. However, Stewart had been halted on his march and recalled to Dorchester by Col. Gould (possibly due to belief of a French invasion), which directive Gould shortly after countermanded. When Stewart had resumed his march, Lee and Washington tried to ambush him, but without success. Marion attempted to do the same, but only managed to capture a few wagons. Rawdon and Stewart then were able to unite at Orangeburgh on June 7<sup>th</sup>. 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, ostensibly to make it easier for any loyalists there to join him.<sup>2360</sup> 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 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."<sup>2361</sup>

William Johnson: "Orders of the 29<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2362</sup>

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 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

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<sup>2355</sup> BGC p. 190.

<sup>2356</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 472.

<sup>2357</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 476.

<sup>2358</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 475-476.

<sup>2359</sup> In a letter to Cornwallis of Aug. 2, Rawdon gave his force strength on this occasion as "800 foot & 60 horse." NGP vol. VIII, p. 478n.

<sup>2360</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 474n, 476n, 478, 484, 485n, TCS pp. 503-504.

<sup>2361</sup> NGP vol. VIII p. 473.

<sup>2362</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 161.

the foraging; which he did effectually, driving off the Americans with some loss; on this occasion Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 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.”<sup>2363</sup>

29 June. Stewart camped next to Four Holes Bridge.<sup>2364</sup>

30 June. Cornwallis, at Williamsburgh, to Clinton: “Tarleton was lucky enough to intercept an express with letters from Greene to La Fayette, of which the inclosed 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 Corner, and of his intended operations. My last account from him is in a note to Lieutenant Colonel Balfour, dated the 9<sup>th</sup> instant at Four Hole Bridge, and he was then in great hopes of being in time to save Cruger. I have ordered Colonel 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 militia, 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.”<sup>2365</sup>

30 June. A few days earlier, Pickens, as directed, had taken charge of Greene’s wagons after the army retreated from Ninety Six. At Grindall’s Shoals on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 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 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2366</sup>

## JULY 1781

*July.* Leaders, including Nathan Brownson (who in Augusta was made governor) and Col. John Twiggs (later made Brigadier General by the state in August) met to make arrangements for restoration of the government, and the organization of the state troops and militia.<sup>2367</sup>

*July.* Some Continental draftees from Edenton and Wilmington areas, which were due to Sumner’s N.C. Continental brigade, stayed in their areas to assist militia already fending off or protecting against raids by Lieut. Col. David Fanning originating out of 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 [Griffith] Rutherford.<sup>2368</sup> 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.”

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<sup>2363</sup> CDI.

<sup>2364</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 483, TCS p. 503-504.

<sup>2365</sup> COC pp. 123-126.

<sup>2366</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 478-479, 483n.

<sup>2367</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 34-35.

<sup>2368</sup> Rutherford, who had been captured at Camden, had been exchanged in June.<sup>2368</sup>

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."<sup>2369</sup>

July. [raid] Wyanoke Ferry, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 276.

July. [skirmish] Dreher Plantation, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 276.

July. [skirmish] Sandy River, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 281-292.

July. [skirmish] Bloody Savannah, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 299.

July. [skirmish] Tugaloo, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 300.

*Early July or late June.* By early July, Lieut. Col. John Watson had left to go home to England. Command of the Provincial Light Infantry battalion was then given 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) shortly after left it and Rawdon sometime in late June.

*Early July.* Lafayette force was roughly had as follows:

3 contingents of Continentals:

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  
and 60 militia cavalry<sup>2370</sup>

1 July.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

#### BRITISH

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Light Infantry: 472

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., Light infantry: 404

Brigade of Guards: 337

7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 174

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 165

33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 186

43<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 280

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 161

76<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 312

80<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 356

#### GERMAN

Anspach:

1<sup>st</sup> Anspach Bttn.: 418

2<sup>nd</sup> 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:

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<sup>2369</sup> MHG p. 525.

<sup>2370</sup> WCO pp. 341-342.

Royal Artillery: 233  
German artillery: 50  
17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons: 35  
82<sup>nd</sup> Light Company: 36  
Jägers: 57  
North Carolina Volunteers: 33  
Guides and Pioneers: 54

Total for detachments, etc.: 488

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5,250<sup>2371</sup>

1-2 July. By 11 pm on this date, Rawdon arrived at now defunct Fort Granby. Sometime the next day, he continued moving on toward Orangeburgh. On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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 the time, 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, on this date was at "Col. Taylor's."<sup>2372</sup>

William Gilmore Simms, in his novel *Eutaw*, wrote: "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 halts about theirs necks."<sup>2373</sup>

1-2 July. Prior to the arrival of Rochambeau with main French army, marching to join him, General Washington launched a night attack on British outposts protecting New York City. Although the effort proved abortive, it did heighten Clinton's concern for that city, and consequently focused his attention and concern on its defense rather than on operations in Virginia.<sup>2374</sup>

2 July. Col. Isaac Shelby, from Sullivan County, N.C., wrote to Greene saying he has not been able to join Greene with the back country 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 also said 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 join Greene with 700 men. However, it was well into the fall of 1781 (and after Eutaw Springs) before Shelby actually joined Greene 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, or shortly before that British agents incited the Cherokees to war thus keeping many of the King's Mountain warriors out of Carolina military affairs in 1781.<sup>2375</sup>

3 July. Greene camped at Winnsborough. He wrote to Lieut. Col. Washington on this date, and said that Sumter's force was about thirty miles in the army's rear, and had been asked to join up with it as soon as possible. Pickens was also expected. When these forces 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 2<sup>nd</sup>, "Col [Samuel] Watson 15 mile from X [Cross] Roads," S.C., he wrote to Greene saying that four of his regiments were ready to march. Even so, 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 swords was hard to come by. He intended to go to Camden, by way of the Waxhaws to expedite the manufacture of the swords and on Friday (i.e. July 6<sup>th</sup>) he was to meet with the troops between the Wateree and Congaree. In the same letter, Sumter mentioned British detachments being at Twenty-Three Mile House and Ten Mile House.<sup>2376</sup>

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<sup>2371</sup> CAC p. 236 (foldout).

<sup>2372</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 481, 483, 484, BGC p. 191-192.

<sup>2373</sup> SEU Pg. 191.

<sup>2374</sup> JYC p. 82, WAR vol. II, pp. 880-881.

<sup>2375</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 482.

<sup>2376</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 482-484, 486.

3 July. (also given as 8 July) [ambush] Eggleston's Capture (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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>2377</sup> Rawdon was in the area of Granby, which was one of the only settlements south of Friday's Ferry that still contained food to be had. Eggleston followed watching his movements when early on the morning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> he learned of a party of Rawdon's troops with some wagons, escorted by some cavalry, out gathering the provisions. Eggleston then set an ambush for the detachment on their way to a local farm. Catching them completely by surprise, he captured 2 officers and 45 privates, as well as their horses, arms and accoutrements, and routed 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 above traditional account and version, Alexander Garden in his *Anecdotes - Second Series* (1828) p. 133, make it plain, and based on the testimony of Eggleston himself, that it was actually Armstrong who devised and carried out the stratagem; and deserved greatest credit for its success.<sup>2378</sup>

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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 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 heat 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."<sup>2379</sup>

*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 ["Eggleston'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."<sup>2380</sup>

3 July. Pickens, at "Turkey Creek," S.C., wrote to Greene saying he was on his way to join Greene's army with "all possible Expedition," and was bringing "the Waggon horses" with him.<sup>2381</sup>

4 July. In orders for the day, Greene wrote the troops were to receive 30 rounds of cartridges per man<sup>2382</sup> and were to be prepared to march at 4 o'clock. The North Carolina and Virginia militia were to escort 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 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 4<sup>th</sup> or the 5<sup>th</sup>, Huger moved with the army toward Friday's Ferry, near Granby. Lee and Washington, in the meantime, 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.<sup>2383</sup>

<sup>2377</sup> Lee was within about 13 miles of Rawdon who subsequently moved in the direction of Orangeburgh. See Lee to Greene, 3 July 1781.

<sup>2378</sup> NGP vol. VIII pp. 487, 488n, LMS p. 381, TCS p. 505.

<sup>2379</sup> TCS pp. 504-505.

<sup>2380</sup> AR81 pp. 95-96.

<sup>2381</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 488.

<sup>2382</sup> Compare to an average British soldier who might carry 40 to 60 rounds.

<sup>2383</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 487-489, 502, 510n, JLG vol. II, pp.159-162.

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.<sup>2384</sup>

4 July. Cornwallis, in furtherance of orders received earlier from Clinton, started for Portsmouth, from Williamsburg. This required him to re-cross the James River. However, due to delays moving his baggage he was not properly able to march his entire army from Jamestown (where he camped) till the 9<sup>th</sup>. In his orders, Clinton intended that 3,000 of Cornwallis troops would return to New York. At the same time Cornwallis had requested he be allowed to return to Charlestown. As it finally turned out, Clinton chose to keep both the 3,000 troops and Cornwallis in Virginia.<sup>2385</sup>

4 July. Col. Thomas Wade, at "Pee Dee," wrote Greene asking him to send paper and flints since the loyalists towards Cape Fear River and Drowning Creek were being very troublesome. On June 30<sup>th</sup>, half of Wade's regiment marched against the loyalists; which latter had defeated a detachment of Bladen and Cumberland County militia a few days earlier. Eight days later, on July 12, it was reported to Brig. Gen. William Caswell that between 200 and 500 Loyalists were collected at Raft Swamp. 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 put off for a later time.<sup>2386</sup>

4 July. Lieut. Col. Washington, at Howell's Ferry ("Capt Howells"), S.C., reported to Greene that Stewart was marching to join Rawdon. Washington further said he would pass the Congaree at Howell's ferry and join Lee who was "eight or ten Miles below the enemy." Marion had written Washington earlier saying he would cross at McCord's ferry tomorrow [the 5<sup>th</sup>] and join 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.<sup>2387</sup>

5 July. Lieut. Col. Washington, at Howells Ferry, S.C.,<sup>2388</sup> 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 he himself was going to cross McCord's Ferry and fall in with Marion and Lee.<sup>2389</sup>

5 July (possibly 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 left, 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.<sup>2390</sup>

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, went to Wilmington in order to obtain formal recognition of his election. This then was granted by Maj. Craig. On the 12<sup>th</sup>, Fanning left Wilmington and presented officer commissions to various men in his command.<sup>2391</sup>

5 July. [raid] The Capture of Williamson (Charleston County, S.C.) 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 was reversed, however, on 7 July when Maj. Thomas Fraser, with some mounted Provincials, as well rescuing Williamson, captured Hayne, and killed fourteen other whigs.<sup>2392</sup>

5 July. [raid] Walls of Charlestown (Charleston County, S.C.) Col. Otho Williams, at Rice Creek, S.C., (and evidently away from the army) wrote to Greene saying he had received a report that the garrison in 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 Waggon. Lord Rawdon made a Detachment to Georgia with which most of our Deserters were sent."<sup>2393</sup>

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<sup>2384</sup> JYC p. 56.

<sup>2385</sup> CAR p. 309, CBA p. 607, WCO p. 343.

<sup>2386</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 494n.

<sup>2387</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 494.

<sup>2388</sup> Howell's Ferry was located on the Congaree River roughly mid-way between the locations of forts Granby and Motte.

<sup>2389</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 499.

<sup>2390</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 492.

<sup>2391</sup> FNA pp. 17-20.

<sup>2392</sup> NGP vol. p. IX, p. 251n.

<sup>2393</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 500-501.

5 July. Upon finding out that Cornwallis was withdrawing from Williamsburg, Lafayette collected his force and marched to Bird's Tavern in pursuit, his advanced parties reaching Norrell's Mills, 8 miles from Jamestown.<sup>2394</sup>

6 July. Huger camped with the main army about half a mile from Friday's Ferry. Greene and his staff apparently rejoined him on the 8<sup>th</sup> and by which date they were camped at Howell's Ferry.<sup>2395</sup>

6 July. [battle] Green Spring Farm, also Green Spring Plantation, Jamestown Ford (James City County, VA.) In an effort to intercept Cornwallis' crossing, 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 behind 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 very adroitly anticipated Lafayette's and Wayne's hope of catching the rear of the British army after most of it had ferried across the James River to Cobham. Wayne engaged the British rear guard, and was lured into a trap thinking that that was all there was opposed to him. Far from having completed the crossing, most of Cornwallis' army was still on the north side of the James 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 by the American advanced parties and British rear guard 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 43<sup>rd</sup> Regt., the 76<sup>th</sup> Regt., and the 80<sup>th</sup> Regt. Cornwallis then with the right under Lieut. Col. John Yorke, consisting of the 2 Light Infantry battalions, the Guards, the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regt., 33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., and the British Legion cavalry, proceeded to encircle the Continentals. In response, Wayne made a last counterattack, and retreated. The British did not pursue him and follow up their victory, however, because of the onset of darkness. Cornwallis here easily showed himself the better strategist in this action. Yet Wayne and his men, by extricating themselves in the face of superior forces, deserve credit for preventing a defeat from becoming a disaster. Of troops which actually participated in the battle (and therefore not counting those in reserve), Wayne had some 1,570 while the British had around 2,950. At Camden, 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; the British 75 killed and wounded. Lafayette remained at Green Spring for most of the night, and before dawn removed to Chickahominy Church. Cornwallis, in the meantime, continued unmolested on his way to Cobham and ultimately Portsmouth.<sup>2396</sup>

Cornwallis, at Cobham, wrote to Clinton on July 8<sup>th</sup>: "The boats and naval assistance having been sent to me by Captain Hudson, I marched on the 4<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup>, I sent over all the wheel carriages, and on the 6<sup>th</sup>, the bat horses, and baggage of every kind, intending to pass with the army on the 7<sup>th</sup>. About noon, on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 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, 76<sup>th</sup>, and 80<sup>th</sup> 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 76<sup>th</sup> and 80<sup>th</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> of May, or 8<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of June."<sup>2397</sup>

"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.

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<sup>2394</sup> JYC p. 60.

<sup>2395</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 504, 509-510, JLG vol. II, pp.159-162.

<sup>2396</sup> LMS pp. 433-436, LFB vol. II, pp. 259-262, CBA pp. 609, 617, JYC pp. 60-68, WAR vol. II, pp. 876-877.

<sup>2397</sup> TCS pp. 399-401.

"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."<sup>2398</sup>

Lafayette, at "Amblers plantation," on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 wisd'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."<sup>2399</sup>

6 July. Lieut. Col. William Henderson, writing to Greene from "Pacelot," said he had used "Every Exertion" to collect men since arriving in this quarter, and hoped to have 200 by tomorrow night. "If the Spirit of plundering [sic] Ware held Up; they Would Turn out with Alacrity but finding that to be Discountenanced [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 destroyed 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.<sup>2400</sup>

6 July. Pickens with 300 men, joined up with Greene's army near Friday's Ferry. His horses, however, were extremely weary, unfed, and, for the time being, unfit for service. Sometime before his arrival Pickens had sent 100 of his men to cover the country around Ninety Six, and requested Col. Clark's assistance in this. Shortly after, 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.<sup>2401</sup>

6 July. Rochambeau and Washington's main forces were finally united at Dobb's Ferry on the east side of the Hudson. About this same, says Ward, Clinton was reinforced with 2,500 Hessians. The 17,000 total for Clinton in New York Ward gives, however, seems excessive, while Boatner's 15,000 seems more accurate.<sup>2402</sup>

7 July. Huger with the army camped at the south side of Howell's Ferry on the Congaree.<sup>2403</sup>

7 July. Cornwallis ferried the main body of his troops across the James River to Cobham's, in Surry County, VA. on his way to Portsmouth.<sup>2404</sup>

7 July. (also given as the 8<sup>th</sup>) [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, and some Queen's Rangers. Gen. Andrew Williamson, whom Hayne had captured just a few days before, was rescued by Fraser.<sup>2405</sup> Chesney. "About this time a detachment was sent and succeeded in taking Col. Haynes, 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."<sup>2406</sup>

7 July. Rawdon's and Stewart's forces united at Orangeburgh. Their combined strength totaled some 1,200 to 1,500 men.<sup>2407</sup> Rawdon had made night marches due to the extreme heat. Nonetheless, some 50 of his men died from heat exhaustion. On July 6<sup>th</sup>, Marion had circled eastward of Rawdon's army with 400 horsemen. He tried, on the 7<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2408</sup> Tarleton: "Lord Rawdon was joined on the day after his arrival at Orangeburgh by Colonel Stuart, with his own regiment; 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."<sup>2409</sup>

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

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<sup>2398</sup> TCS pp. 401-402.

<sup>2399</sup> LLW p. 204.

<sup>2400</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 501.

<sup>2401</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 483n, 502-503.

<sup>2402</sup> JYC p. 83, WAR vol. II, p. 883, BEA p. 1,235.

<sup>2403</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 506, 509.

<sup>2404</sup> JYC p. 68.

<sup>2405</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 82n, 251n, MSC p. 748.

<sup>2406</sup> CDI.

<sup>2407</sup> Ward says the combined total was 1,600, and that Cruger was on the way from Ninety Six with 1,400. WAR vol. II, p. 824.

<sup>2408</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 494n, 508-509, 513, TCS pp. 505-506, WAR vol. II, p. 824, BSF pp. 204-205.

<sup>2409</sup> TCS p. 506.



and Maj. John Ward, as well as some of South Carolina militia. He wrote Greene on this date saying that two-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 camp. Rations were being drawn for 450 men, though Armstrong had only 150 fit for duty. On the 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2410</sup>

7 July. Marion wrote to Greene, from "Sabbs" Plantation<sup>2411</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup>, while at Whitemans, near Four Holes, he sent another 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 internal dissension going on in the ranks.<sup>2412</sup>

8 July. The following letter from Clinton (written on June 28<sup>th</sup>) 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> 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-Chesapeake, 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2413</sup>

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<sup>2410</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 504, 506, 511, vol. IX, pp. 65, 96.

<sup>2411</sup> Sabb's was roughly in the vicinity of the site of Fort Motte, while Whiteman's was about 13 miles due east of Orangeburgh.

<sup>2412</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 505, 508-509, JLG vol. II, p. 162.

<sup>2413</sup> COC pp. 126-128.

Cornwallis' reply of July 8<sup>th</sup>, from Cobham: "I was this morning honoured with your dispatch of the 28<sup>th</sup> ult. [ultimo] The troops are perfectly ready, and will proceed to Portsmouth to wait the arrival (f.) 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 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 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 Chesapeake 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."<sup>2414</sup>

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."<sup>2415</sup>

8 July. Though Sumter had intended to leave Camden on the 6<sup>th</sup>, heavy rains prevented it. However by the 8<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2416</sup>

8 July. While Cornwallis had reached Cobham's, Lafayette, in his wake, stationed troops on James Island near Williamsburg.<sup>2417</sup>

8 July. [skirmish] New Berne, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 282.

8-24 July. [raids] Amelia Court House and Prince Edward Court House (Amelia and Prince Edward Counties, VA.) On July 8<sup>th</sup> (or 9<sup>th</sup>), Tarleton with 300 men, leaving Cobham,<sup>2418</sup> 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 moved south into to North Carolina, west to the mountains, or hidden in the local area. He succeeded 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, and the loss. 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.<sup>2419</sup> In addition, 1,300 under Wayne were tied up a Goode's bridge, as were 500 militia at Bedford,

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<sup>2414</sup> TCS pp. 399-401.

<sup>2415</sup> TCS 402-403.

<sup>2416</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 503, 511, BGC p. 193.

<sup>2417</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 507.

<sup>2418</sup> Present day Scotland at the Jamestown Ferry.

<sup>2419</sup> Wooding to Col. Davies, Halifax, July 21, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 2:234

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 Lunenburg. Granaries in Mannboro, Lunenburg, and Dinwiddie also were destroyed along with an estimated 600-700 bushels of wheat in Amelia. On his return, Tarleton moved through 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 the Americans losses from the incursions were 4 or 5 killed.

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 9<sup>th</sup>). Meanwhile, Marion had sent 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 force, exclusive of Stewart's regiment, numbered some 1,150 men.<sup>2420</sup>

9 July. Greene's army camped at Beaver Creek, S.C., approximately 10 miles north of Orangeburgh.<sup>2421</sup>

10 July (or shortly after). Wayne and Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, who had lately joined 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 poor health continued to plague him, and by the end of the month he was again forced to return home.<sup>2422</sup>

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."<sup>2423</sup>

10 July. Cruger evacuated and departed Ninety Six taking with him many local families for resettlement, which they chose rather than stay and face anticipated persecution by rebel forces. 800 Loyalist militiamen, not counting their families which accompanied them, marched with Cruger. Before leaving on his way to Orangeburgh, Cruger had the fort destroyed. On the same day 9<sup>th</sup> the 10<sup>th</sup>) that Cruger left, Pickens, from "Camp at Bear Creek," Dutch Forks, S.C., wrote to Greene saying he received reports that Cruger was loading his baggage, and gathering together the loyalists to move from Ninety Six. The loyalists themselves have collected all the wagons, horses, and provisions they could. Some of them have reportedly "burn'd many 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. Pickens followed Cruger for a distance. But, not being able to attack or hinder him, he 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 Indians.<sup>2424</sup>

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."<sup>2425</sup>

10 July. Malmady, 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. Malmady answered the objection by promising 400 stand of arms and cartridge boxes. He thought 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 also made mention of Col. Lock's failure to join Greene on July 4, as Lock had promised he would. Malmady himself intended to march 300 men to Greene; but, pending Greene's permission, he wished to collect them first and set up a temporary post and store for that purpose in Waxhaws; which he believed was better situated for the purpose. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, that is the day before, Malmady had been with Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner who had 500 with him at Guilford Court House.<sup>2426</sup>

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<sup>2420</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 513.

<sup>2421</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 512.

<sup>2422</sup> JYC p. 68, HDM p. 166.

<sup>2423</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 515.

<sup>2424</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 454n, 457, 519, vol. IX, p. 31n.

<sup>2425</sup> CLS p. 295.

<sup>2426</sup> NGP vol. VIII, pp. 517-518.

10 July. Greene, from his camp at Beaver Creek,<sup>2427</sup> wrote Marion and expressed annoyance at the delay, or else “the unfaithfulness of the expresses,” and wanted Marion 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 Colstons<sup>2428</sup> 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.” Greene desired that Marion’s men have “eighteen or twenty rounds a man.”<sup>2429</sup>

10 July. Marion, at Colston’s, S.C., wrote to Greene saying he could not comply with Greene’s order yesterday to be with Greene’s army because he had received the order 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 of ammunition left.<sup>2430</sup>

11 July. Both Greene’s main army, coming from Beaver Creek, and Marion’s brigade, coming from Colston’s, 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 join the army; which by then was on the march to Orangeburgh. Greene’s General Orders for July 11<sup>th</sup>, for this date issued at “Camp Colsons Farm,” S.C. read: “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 17<sup>th</sup>, Greene summed up the 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 11<sup>th</sup> to attack the Enemy at Orangeburgh, and arrived before the place on the 12<sup>th</sup>.”<sup>2431</sup>

Kirkwood: “10<sup>th</sup> Marched this day and joined the army at Beaver Creek....7 [miles]  
“11<sup>th</sup> Marched this day toward Orangebourgh [sic]...10 [miles].”<sup>2432</sup>

11 July. Tarleton arrived at Petersburg.<sup>2433</sup>

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, 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.”<sup>2434</sup>

12 July. Cornwallis reached Suffolk on his way to Portsmouth -- for purposes of sending by sea the troops and materials Clinton requested -- which he arrived at on the 17<sup>th</sup>.

12 July. [escape] Ward’s Tavern (Amelia County, VA.) Peter Francisco, a man of Herculean strength, and one of the heroes of Guilford Courthouse, 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 made 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.<sup>2435</sup> 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 burned 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 by this time. See 13-14 July.<sup>2436</sup>

12 July. Maj. John Armstrong, at “Camp 4 Miles Below Camden,” wrote to Greene saying 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

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<sup>2427</sup> Beaver Creek is a southern tributary of the north Fork of the Edisto, about five miles east of Orangeburgh.

<sup>2428</sup> 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.

<sup>2429</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 514.

<sup>2430</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 518.

<sup>2431</sup> KJO p. 20, NGP vol. IX, pp. 3, 29.

<sup>2432</sup> KJO p. 20.

<sup>2433</sup> EPY p. 24.

<sup>2434</sup> TCS p. 409.

<sup>2435</sup> EPY p. 14.

<sup>2436</sup> EPY p. 17.

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.<sup>2437</sup>

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.<sup>2438</sup>

Kirkwood: "12<sup>th</sup> 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 thought it prudent to withdraw his army, and march towards McCords Ferry....15[miles]"<sup>2439</sup>

12 July. On this date, having fallen back from his earlier position, Lafayette was camped at Holt's Forge on the Chickahominy.<sup>2440</sup>

12 July. On the night of 12 July 12<sup>th</sup>, a Capt. Antony with 20 men from his privateer attempted to capture 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.<sup>2441</sup>

13 July. In the evening, Capt. McCleur, 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.<sup>2442</sup>

13 July. In early morning hours of the 13<sup>th</sup>, Greene broke up his camp before Rawdon's position at Orangeburgh.<sup>2443</sup> 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. Sumter 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 also headed in the direction toward Monck's Corner. The three separated groups concealed their marches, while Greene with the main army marched for McCord's Ferry on the Congaree River, which he reached by the 14<sup>th</sup>. Afterward Greene moved to the High Hills of the Santee where he remained encamped for about a month, recuperating his men. Pickens, meanwhile, kept a watch on and followed Cruger, but later remained in the Ninety Six area to protect against loyalist and Indians raider on the frontiers. Cruger himself was headed toward Rawdon at Orangeburgh and whom he met up with by the 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2444</sup>

13 July. Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Graves arrived in New York with a naval reinforcement for Arbuthnot's fleet. It wasn't long after that Graves superceded Arbuthnot.<sup>2445</sup>

13-14 July. On the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup>, Tarleton reached Bedford (New London), and confiscated some horses there. See 15 July.<sup>2446</sup>

14 July. Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner wrote to Greene saying he had arrived at 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, Sumner intended to stay in Salisbury to outfit the rest of his troops. By July 30<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2447</sup>

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<sup>2437</sup> NGP vol. IX, p.3.

<sup>2438</sup> KJO p. 20, NGP vol. IX, p. 3, JLG vol. II, pp. 165-166, BGC p. 195.

<sup>2439</sup> KJO p. 20.

<sup>2440</sup> NGP vol. IX, p.4.

<sup>2441</sup> JHG p. 500.

<sup>2442</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2443</sup> Lee gives the departure of Greene and his lieutenants as the 13<sup>th</sup>. Johnson speaks of it taking place on the night of the 13<sup>th</sup>, 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 13<sup>th</sup> Greene was at Thompson's Mill Creek. See NGP vol. IX, p. 7.

<sup>2444</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 11, 27, LMS p. 387, JLG vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>2445</sup> FWI p. 183.

<sup>2446</sup> EPY 42.

<sup>2447</sup> NGP vol. IX p. 10.

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."<sup>2448</sup>

14 July. Cruger joined Rawdon at Orangeburgh. The next day, Stewart was placed in charge of Rawdon's troops as well as those of Cruger. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Rawdon returned with a strong detachment, to Charlestown. See 16 July.<sup>2449</sup>

14 July. Being apprised of Sumter's approach. Lieut. Col. James Coates, with his own 19<sup>th</sup> Regt. and some mounted South Carolina loyalists, and some Queen's Rangers in addition, under Maj. Thomas Fraser, moved from his 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, 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> were new recruits who had not yet seen combat. Lee says Fraser's dragoons amounted to not more than a troop.<sup>2450</sup> William Dobein James mentions Coates' force as numbering 500 infantry and 100 cavalry. In his letter to Greene of the 17<sup>th</sup>, Sumter reported that a captured return stated that Coates' force drew 900 rations, and forage for 250 horses.<sup>2451</sup>

*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.<sup>2452</sup>

15 July. DOG DAYS EXPEDITION<sup>2453</sup>

*Note. Dates for these Dog Days actions are given in italics in order to better group them in this section.*

During weather which 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, he dispatched a detachment of possibly 300 men against them, at the same time arranging to collect boats along the river should they be needed later in the withdrawal.<sup>2454</sup> As it turned out the report of the British being at Murry's Ferry turned out to be mistaken, or else they withdrew before Sumter's men came up. As a result, in ensuing the days fighting, Sumter was 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 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 be extremely marshy and muddy, which made it impossible for even horses to get across them without a bridge or ferry.

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.

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<sup>2448</sup> RNC p. 345.

<sup>2449</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 512n, IX, vol. IX, p. 38n.

<sup>2450</sup> 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.

<sup>2451</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 51, JLG vol. II, pp. 169, 174, LSY pp. 302-303.

<sup>2452</sup> JJA pp. 462-463.

<sup>2453</sup> 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' 19<sup>th</sup> century historical novel *The Forayers*. NGP vol. IX, p. 13.

<sup>2454</sup> However, the sending of this force to Murry's Ferry is may have taken place the next day on the 16<sup>th</sup> rather than the 15<sup>th</sup>.

Col. Wade Hampton, belonging to the same initial group, was sent in the direction of Goose Creek Bridge (which foray see below.) It would appear from a letter of Clinton to Balfour written on the 20<sup>th</sup> that these raids were preceded on the 14<sup>th</sup> by advanced detachments, which were then followed up on the 15<sup>th</sup> by the main bodies. Advance parties of Hampton's causing alarm on the 14<sup>th</sup> 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.

Meanwhile, Col. Henry Hampton succeeded in taking 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."<sup>2455</sup>

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."<sup>2456</sup>

15 July. [raid] Goose Creek, and the Quarter House (Berkeley and Charlestown counties, S.C. respectively) Col. Wade Hampton, 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>2457</sup> Read himself lost a Capt. Wright killed and a few others wounded. Hampton, following up, managed to capture 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.

Balfour, at Charlestown, wrote to Clinton on July 20<sup>th</sup>: "(O)n the 14<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>2458</sup>, with a few invalids of that regiment who were left in charge of them and unable to make their escape."<sup>2459</sup>

15 July. [raid] Wadboo (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 burned two British schooners containing stores, which were moored nearby on the creek. Bass and Lumpkin state that after destroying the bridge, Maham returned by the next day (the 16<sup>th</sup>) to re-join Sumter's forces. William Johnson, on the other hand, makes it sound as if he remained at the bridge awaiting the follow-up forces under Horry and Lacey, which were subsequently dispatched by Sumter.<sup>2460</sup>

15 July. Clinton to Cornwallis: "Until I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 Chesapeake; 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 30<sup>th</sup> ult. in which your Lordship was pleased to intimate this intention, did not leave the Chesapeake before the 5<sup>th</sup> instant: and as soon as I consulted the Admiral at the Hook upon its contents, I lost no

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<sup>2455</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 167.

<sup>2456</sup> CDI.

<sup>2457</sup> Lt. 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.

<sup>2458</sup> Balfour's statement seems to suggest that there were some South Carolina Rangers with Fraser's South Carolina Royalists. Some of the Rangers had in fact been joined with the Royalists sometime in April or before. Alternatively, Balfour may have simply misspoke.

<sup>2459</sup> CAR p. 551.

<sup>2460</sup> NGP vol. IX 17n, 52, 80, LMS p. 387, JLG vol. II, pp. 167-169, BGC pp. 196-197, LSY pp. 206-207.

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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake: but whether in Virginia, according to your Lordship's plan, or in the Upper Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, 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 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.”<sup>2461</sup>

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 Tarleton moved out of reach, Wayne concentrated instead, and as ordered by Lafayette, to the south (Amelia County) side of Goode's Bridge.<sup>2462</sup> See 9-24 July.<sup>2463</sup>

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. He is believed at this time to have

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<sup>2461</sup> CAC pp. 146-151.

<sup>2462</sup> EPY p. 29, Wayne to Gen. Thomas Nelson, 24 July 1781.

<sup>2463</sup> EPY p.42.



passed through modern Blackstone, on his way to Edmondson's Ordinary. Later he went through Brunswick and Smokey Ordinary. Lafayette reported him on this date as being 32 miles southwest of Petersburg at Walker's Mil.<sup>2464</sup>

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 in Orangeburgh with the army.<sup>2465</sup>

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 corner; where we had some trifling skirmishes without any event of importance."<sup>2466</sup>

16 July. Greene's main army encamped at Midway Plantation in the High Hills of the Santee, where they were to remain till 23 August.<sup>2467</sup>

16 July (also given as 17 July). [raid] Pittsboro, also Old Chatham Court House (Chatham County, N.C.) In a raid on Pittsboro, N.C., Col. David Fanning surprised and captured a reported 53 whigs, including a number of 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. 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 paroled all except 14, who I knew were violent against the government. Those I conducted to Wilmington and delivered to Major Craigg [Craig]."<sup>2468</sup>

16 July. [skirmishes] Wadboo Bridge (Berkeley County, S.C.) On the 16<sup>th</sup> Sumter moved toward Monck's Corner, where Marion joined him. Discovering Coates' new position, the two camped just north of Biggin Church. Lee meanwhile 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, Lee and the Hamptons arrived to join 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 Lee and Hampton had had to take a circuitous route over hot sands around Biggin Creek in order to reach Sumter and Marion. The delay also prevented an earlier expedition which might have been undertaken against Coates. Lumpkin mentions that there was an effort on the 16<sup>th</sup> by some partisans, probably Sumter's, to seize Biggin Bridge, but it had been fought off by the detachment of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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.) Horry and Lacey then camped 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

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<sup>2464</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2465</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 54.

<sup>2466</sup> CDI.

<sup>2467</sup> NGP vol. IX, p.18.

<sup>2468</sup> FNA pp. 22-24. See also CNS vol. 1, pp. 38-41.

suiting to cavalry, thus compelling his withdrawal. Bass, drawing from Sumter's letter to Greene of 17 July, states 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.<sup>2469</sup>

Stephen Jarvis: "I set to camp with my prisoner, and gave him up to the General. 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 – 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."<sup>2470</sup>

17 July. [skirmish and assault] Quinby Bridge and Shubrick's Plantation (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]<sup>2471</sup>, 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 were with the 300 men sent to Murry's Ferry on the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup>. McCrady gives Sumter's strength as 700.

For Coates' force strength and composition see 14 July.

At about 3 am on the 17<sup>th</sup>, Sumter's camp was awakened by the sight of Biggin Church on fire in the distance.<sup>2472</sup> Coates realizing the difficult 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<sup>2473</sup> or, again down the east side of the Cooper River but toward Quinby Bridge. With his 19<sup>th</sup> Regt. he decided to march toward Quinby Bridge, yet his cavalry under Fraser he sent toward Charlestown by way of Strawberry Ferry. Coates was under the impression that it was Greene himself whom he faced. Before leaving Biggin, he left behind a note at the church addressed to Greene, 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.

<sup>2469</sup> JLG vol. II, pp. 169-170, NGP vol. IX, pp. 50-51, BCG p. 197, LSY p. 207.

<sup>2470</sup> JJA pp. 462-464.

<sup>2471</sup> 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.

<sup>2472</sup> After the battle on the 17<sup>th</sup>, Sumter had what remained of the fortifications at Biggin leveled, so the church itself was presumably a ruins by this time.

<sup>2473</sup> Or else, as is sometimes given, Bonneau's which was on Quinby Creek but much closer to the Cooper than Quinby Bridge.

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 the British, 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 by Coates. 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's 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 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 Coates' men had already begun dismantling, Armstrong sent back to Lee asking whether he should attack, yet without mentioning that the bridge stood before him. Lee, in a huff, replied by messenger that the orders of the day was 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, 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, but 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. In the meantime, Coates men began forming up to counterattack. Armstrong, Carrington, and McCauley, after some heated 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.<sup>2474</sup> Moving down and circling round the end of the creek, they finally rejoined the rest of Lee's and Marion's forces, 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 attack.

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 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 the reserve. A steady ongoing fire between Coates' and Sumter's men ensued without doing significant harm to either.

Sumter then ordered up Col. Thomas Taylor with 45 men to take a strategically situated fence. Taylor's men moving up 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 forced to fall back. The battle having run for about two or three hours, Sumter withdrew 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 assault on the morrow, but was met with thinly disguised 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 Marion's soldiers had gone home except for one company of about 100 men. Lee, as well unhappy 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 fell back across the Santee having earlier secured boats for such a

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<sup>2474</sup> Joseph Johnson's account of Quinby Bridge (see JTR pp. 541-542), as reportedly taken from Thomas Taylor, is drastically different from Lee's, which we use here. There, "Taylor" roundly censure Lee's cavalry for not crossing the bridge at all, and bestows credit for the advance rather on Marion's mounted militia.

crossing. Meanwhile, Col Paston Gould came up from Charlestown with 200 men, Boatner says 700, to support Coates, but by that time Sumter and the rest had left.

Although the Dogs Days Expedition has been described as failure, due to the escape of Coates and Fraser, the fact remain that though both side's 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.<sup>2475</sup>

#### CASUALTIES

##### AMERICAN

Sumter, in a letter to Greene of 25 July wrote: "At the Quarter House on the 15<sup>th</sup> Instt [Instant] We lost one man and offr Kild, at the Church on the 17<sup>th</sup> one Wounded, at Shoebricks [Shubrick's] the 18<sup>th</sup> Twelve Kild [sic] & Twenty two wounded." These numbers do not appear to have included Marion's losses.<sup>2476</sup>

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2477</sup>

##### 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." According, however, to Sumter's letters to Greene of 17 and 19 July, however, British losses at Shubrick's were not "considerable."<sup>2478</sup>

Ripley: "A Charles town newspaper recorded British Casualties at 6 dead and 39 wounded, and estimated Sumter's at 40 dead. However, the *Gazette* account omits mention of losses during the fighting between Monck's Corner and Shubricks."<sup>2479</sup>

##### 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."<sup>2480</sup>

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 ammunitiion...Our loss in the different attacks was...not more than 20 killed and about forty wounded, among which are several officers."<sup>2481</sup>

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.<sup>2482</sup>

Lee: "[Capt. 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

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<sup>2475</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 33, 47-48, 50-51, 62-62, 80-82, LMS pp. 388-394, JLG vol. II p. 167-174, JJA pp. 462-464, JTR pp. 541-542, JFM, ch. 3, BGC pp. 196-200, LSY 205-211, RBG pp. 190-191, BEA pp. 909-910.

<sup>2476</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 80.

<sup>2477</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 47-48.

<sup>2478</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 80, 123n.

<sup>2479</sup> RBG p. 191.

<sup>2480</sup> NGP vol. IX p. 72.

<sup>2481</sup> NGP vol. IX p. 72.

<sup>2482</sup> In vol. 2, no. 4 of SCAR, one of Sumter's account books is reprinted. Among the ledger entries is one for July 27<sup>th</sup> stating that he paid 67 guineas to "Lee's Legion: 5 officers and 77 men." NGP vol., IX, p. 52.

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."<sup>2483</sup>

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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 Coates, took advantage of a high field of corn, and set off and left the 19<sup>th</sup> to their fate, and pushed for Charlestown, got a re-inforcement [sic] and returned to look after the 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who after we left them General Coates [Lieut. Col. James Coates] 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.<sup>2484</sup>

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."<sup>2485</sup>

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

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<sup>2483</sup> LMS p. 390.

<sup>2484</sup> JJA pp. 462-464.

<sup>2485</sup> JTR pp. 541-542.

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 25<sup>th</sup> of August.<sup>2486</sup>

The letter from Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, at Charlotte, to Maj. Hogg, of July 25<sup>th</sup>: "[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 I wish you well yours ob. Jethro Sumner."<sup>2487</sup>

*Mid July.* Rear Admiral Graves took his fleet out to search for 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.<sup>2488</sup>

17 July. Cornwallis, at Suffolk, 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 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 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2489</sup>

17 July. Lafayette's intelligence reported Tarleton at Petersburg on this date. Also his men may have burnt Prince George Court House about this time. See 24 July.<sup>2490</sup>

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.<sup>2491</sup>

*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, Cunningham, was defeated and chased by one of Pickens' officers, Maj. Fields Purdue. Nevertheless, he was soon able to resume his operations.<sup>2492</sup>

From his camp at Long Canes, Pickens wrote to Greene on the 19<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>2486</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>2487</sup> This letter is in a private collection and reprinted here with permission of the owner.

<sup>2488</sup> WCO p. 357.

<sup>2489</sup> CAC pp, 142-145.

<sup>2490</sup> EPY p. 42.

<sup>2491</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 43.

<sup>2492</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 50n.

settlements of Long Cain 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 Contry, 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 Imbodyed [sic] the men beyond Saludy, [Saluda] but have not heard particularly from him."<sup>2493</sup>

19 July. Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell became commander of the Virginia battalion, while Capt. Thomas Edmunds superceded him as head of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regt.<sup>2494</sup>

19 July. Col. Malmady 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 Oliphants 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. Malmady daily expected a detachment of militia from Salisbury to help collect provisions and prevent any disruptions. The Waxhaws settlement had been proposed earlier by Malmady as a rendezvous point for the Salisbury militia, and as a supply point for the N.C. Continentals. See 10 July.<sup>2495</sup>

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."<sup>2496</sup>

20 July. Lafayette, at Malvern Hill, to Gen. Washington: "A correspondent of mine servant to Lord Cornwallis [James Armistead]<sup>2497</sup> writes on the 26<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2498</sup>

20 July. Lafayette, with about 2,200, was camped at Malvern Hill, located about halfway between Richmond and Williamsburg.<sup>2499</sup>

20 July. Just as he was embarking the regiments Clinton previously requested for the defense of New York, Cornwallis, in Portsmouth, received an order from Clinton (dated July 11<sup>th</sup>) countermanding those earlier directives. At the same time, he 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 Cornwallis chose instead to use Yorktown as the site of 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.<sup>2500</sup>

Clinton to Cornwallis, dated July 11<sup>th</sup>: "I have received your lordship's letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> 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]."<sup>2501</sup>

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<sup>2493</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 49-50, LSC p. 17.

<sup>2494</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 43.

<sup>2495</sup> NGP vol. IX, 47.

<sup>2496</sup> LLW pp. 208-209.

<sup>2497</sup> 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.

<sup>2498</sup> LLW p. 213.

<sup>2499</sup> JYC p. 68.

<sup>2500</sup> CBA p. 610, WAR vol. II, p. 878.

<sup>2501</sup> 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 Gloucetsre 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

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. Both were directed to take charge of the boats at their 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 locate to Friday's Ferry until July 27, and then only after one of Greene's aides re-sent the order. Sumter's troops consisted of mounted Brigades under Col. Henry Hampton, and Col. Wm. Henderson, and Col. Charles Myddleton. Myddleton's force alone numbered 280.<sup>2502</sup>

21 July. Cornwallis received the following letter from Clinton, dated July 8<sup>th</sup>: "By your Lordship's answer to my letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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, 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 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."<sup>2503</sup>

The same day, Cornwallis also received a second letter of Clinton's dated the 11<sup>th</sup>: "I am just returned from having a conference with Rear-admiral Graves, in consequence of your Lordship's letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo, and we are both clearly of opinion that it is absolutely necessary we should hold a station in Chesapeak 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

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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.

<sup>2502</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 56.

<sup>2503</sup> CAC pp. 162-165.



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 Chesapeake, 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 Chesapeake, 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."<sup>2504</sup>

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, Charlotte, and Salisbury.<sup>2505</sup>

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.<sup>2506</sup>

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 24<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2507</sup>

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."<sup>2508</sup> 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 River, and his cavalry and Kirkwood's infantry frustrated a British foray out of Orangeburg towards McCord's Ferry on the Congaree River by moving all boats to the opposite bank."<sup>2509</sup>

Exactly which *second* action Haller is referring to (and aside from this of the 25<sup>th</sup>) is not clear. However, he does cite this passage from a letter of Greene's, dated August 6<sup>th</sup>, 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. The enterprize [sic] of our Cavalry equals anything the world ever produced."<sup>2510</sup>

25 July. Pickens, at "Camp Long Cain [Cane]," wrote to Greene: "I have one hundred men of Colo [Robert] Andersons Regiment raised for the purpose of Defending the Frontiers, & the same quantity of Colonel [LeRoy] Hammond's Regiment below, least the Tories from Orangeburgh [sic] should attempt [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 Sumpters Brigade, I would not Interfere tho' [sic] 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."<sup>2511</sup>

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."<sup>2512</sup>

25 July. Under Sumter's orders 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 burning Georgetown.<sup>2513</sup>

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<sup>2504</sup> CAC pp. 167-169.

<sup>2505</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 66n.

<sup>2506</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 75.

<sup>2507</sup> BGD p. 182, EPY p. 42.

<sup>2508</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 82, 127, 141, HWW p. 139.

<sup>2509</sup> HWW p. 139.

<sup>2510</sup> NGP vol. IX p. 141.

<sup>2511</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 77.

<sup>2512</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 82.

<sup>2513</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 102, BSF p. 209.

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 Chesapeake, 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup>, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June I received from Ensign Amiel your dispatches of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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-Chesapeake; and in the dispatch of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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 11<sup>th</sup>, 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 Chesapeake, 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 25<sup>th</sup> instant, in the *Carysfort*, to take the command there."<sup>2514</sup>

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<sup>2514</sup> 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 Chesapeake, 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 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 cruisers might command the waters of the Chesapeake. 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 advisable 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 Chesapeake 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.

27 July. After being examined by a board presided over by loyalist Major Andrew MacKenzie, and though otherwise without counsel or a proper trial, Isaac Hayne was sentenced to be executed for allegedly violating his parole and oath of loyalty.<sup>2515</sup>

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, 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 assure 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."<sup>2516</sup>

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 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 on the 26<sup>th</sup>, records 1,198 rank and file soldiers as present and fit for duty. This total included the newly arriving North Carolina Continentals. 269 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 5<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2517</sup>

28 July (possibly 27 or 29 July).<sup>2518</sup> 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 of Stewart's main reasons for leaving Orangeburgh was lack of provisions and the destruction of the mills in the area. On July 28<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>2519</sup>

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 31<sup>st</sup>, a letter

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<sup>2515</sup> BSF p. 212.

<sup>2516</sup> GDH, vol. III, p. 109.

<sup>2517</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 93, 98n, 133.

<sup>2518</sup> The editor to the Greene papers gives the 29<sup>th</sup>, but Sumter's letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> seems to suggest that it may have been a day or two earlier when Stewart left. NGP vol. IX, p. 69n.

<sup>2519</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 69n, 100, 114.

was sent to Greene from William Christian, Joseph Martin, and Evan Shelby reporting the successful conclusion of the peace negotiations. See 20 February 1781.<sup>2520</sup>

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 surrendered. 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.<sup>2521</sup>

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 29<sup>th</sup>, 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 Peasley] 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 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"<sup>2522</sup>

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."<sup>2523</sup>

30 July. Sumner, with the N.C. Continentals and draftees remaining, left from Salisbury to join Greene on July 30<sup>th</sup>. 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

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<sup>2520</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 119, 129.

<sup>2521</sup> CNS vol. 1, pp. 43-46.

<sup>2522</sup> FNA pp. 28-30.

<sup>2523</sup> CNS vol. 1, p. 46.

Carolina Continental Regt. (of 1781). Together the two regiments totaled 359 and became the North Carolina Brigade.<sup>2524</sup>

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 frigate[s] - the last account says seven."<sup>2525</sup>

*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 formally allowed.<sup>2526</sup>

*Late July through early August.* Civil disorder in the form of rampant plundering, and other crimes, prevailed in west Georgia and the southwestern part of South Carolina.

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 propeerty of a friend or enemy. The Loss of our Horses Distress us in a particular manner."<sup>2527</sup>

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..."<sup>2528</sup>

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 employed [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 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.<sup>2529</sup>

## AUGUST 1781

*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."<sup>2530</sup>

*August.* [raid] Bass' Mill (Marion County, 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, possibly killed, but no other losses were recorded.<sup>2531</sup>

*August.* [skirmish] Cypress Swamp (Dorchester County, S.C.)<sup>2532</sup>

*August.* [skirmish] Ashley River Church (Charleston County, S.C.)<sup>2533</sup>

*Early August.* Greene planned a possible expedition to take Wilmington. Capt. Michael Rudulph of the Legion was sent to scout the area in advance. However, Greene subsequently changed his mind and cancelled the plan, in lieu of the possibility of a French landing in the south.<sup>2534</sup>

*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

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<sup>2524</sup> RNC p. 347.

<sup>2525</sup> LLW p. 211.

<sup>2526</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 123n.

<sup>2527</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 77.

<sup>2528</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 101.

<sup>2529</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 105.

<sup>2530</sup> CAR p. 356.

<sup>2531</sup> GHC p. 372, LSC p. 18.

<sup>2532</sup> LSC p. 18.

<sup>2533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2534</sup> LMS pp. 446-447.

to retreat when the main body came up. In a second action, Cornet George Carrington and twelve dragoons were 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.<sup>2535</sup>

*Early August.* [raid] Cross Creek, also Campbelton (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 a Col. Emmet. Capt. Winslow, and some other leaders prisoner. According to a Whig report of August 14<sup>th</sup>, he had 180 men with him at the time.<sup>2536</sup>

1 August. [raid] Cunningham's Raids (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. Cunningham's losses, if any are not known. One result of the fighting 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 to Charlestown.<sup>2537</sup>

1 August. [skirmish] Fork of the Edisto (Orangeburgh 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, while the rest were dispersed.<sup>2538</sup>

1 August. The British send 11 armed vessels from Charlestown to collect rice which was abundant on south branch of the Santee. The foraging expedition was commanded by Col. Welbore Doyle, of the New York Volunteers, and stayed in area till August 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2539</sup>

1 August.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

#### BRITISH

Light Infantry, First battalion: 446  
Light infantry, Second battalion: 351  
Brigade of Guards: 331  
7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 142  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 166  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 188  
43<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 292  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 167  
76<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 477  
80<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 448

#### GERMAN

Anspach:

1<sup>st</sup> Anspach Bttn.: 436  
2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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<sup>2535</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 150.

<sup>2536</sup> CNS vol. 1, pp. 46-47.

<sup>2537</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 50nMSC p. 748.

<sup>2538</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p. 236.

<sup>2539</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 124n.

German artillery: 50  
17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons: 22  
23<sup>rd</sup> Light Company: --  
82<sup>nd</sup> Light Company: 32  
Jägers: 76  
North Carolina Volunteers: 78  
Guides and Pioneers: 54

Total for detachments, etc.: 529

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5,580<sup>2540</sup>

1-2 August. Cornwallis's army began moving to occupy Yorktown and Gloucester, having been transported there by boat from Portsmouth. Part of his force landed at Hampton, and then marched north from there, while the rest went directly by water. With respect to Gloucester, Cornwallis initially dispatched the Queen's Rangers, a detachment of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regt., light companies, including some from the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 82<sup>d</sup> regts, the jägers, and the N.C. Volunteers. A line of entrenchments and four redoubts, with 3 batteries mounting nineteen guns, meanwhile was constructed there. Boatner states the move of Cornwallis' entire forces, including the dismantling of the works at Portsmouth, was accomplished by August 22<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>2541</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2542</sup>

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, 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 29<sup>th</sup>; 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 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."<sup>2543</sup>

2 August. [skirmish] Rockfish Creek (Duplin County, N.C.) Maj. James Craig with 250 British regulars, mostly of the 84<sup>th</sup> 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. By taking their flank by surprise, Craig defeated them. The Americans lost 20-30 captured, the British 2 killed or wounded.<sup>2544</sup> 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."<sup>2545</sup>

2 August. A Captain Manson (possibly Capt. - later Major -- Daniel Manson of the Royal North Carolina Regiment), 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

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<sup>2540</sup> Taken from CAC p. 236 (foldout).

<sup>2541</sup> CBA p. 611, WCO p. 372, BEA p. 1235, Brendan Morrissey, *Yorktown 1781*, p. 46.

<sup>2542</sup> TCS pp. 411-412.

<sup>2543</sup> CAC pp. 182-183.

<sup>2544</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 155n.

<sup>2545</sup> LMS p. 447.

in retaliation for Sumter's having earlier sent some of his men to confiscate the property of loyalists in the town. See 25 July.<sup>2546</sup>

3 August. [skirmish] Piney Bottom Creek, N.C. See CNS vol. 1, p. 94-97, and ONB vol. 3, pp. 308-309.

3 August. [skirmish] McCord's Ferry, S.C. ONB vol. 3, p. 309.

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]."<sup>2547</sup>

3 August. [skirmish] Near Orangeburgh, S.C. ONB vol. 3, p. 309.

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 completely finish the task. Both operations were otherwise successful.

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Myddleton, under orders to remove corn below the Santee River, wrote Greene stating it would be impossible to move all of it due to the enemy's (i.e. Stewart's) move towards Thompson's plantation. All that he could not remove, was destroyed as Greene had instructed. Myddleton said he had "all the Negroes in the Neighborhood" removed. In addition, Myddleton mentioned that Lieut. Col. Washington advised that all boats and flats upon the river should be seized and secured.<sup>2548</sup>

Col. Wade Hampton at Howell's Ferry, on the 5<sup>th</sup>, wrote Greene: "A party that that was Sent to secure the Boats on the river from McCords 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."<sup>2549</sup>

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.<sup>2550</sup> 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."<sup>2551</sup>

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 till October. The treaty had been signed in late July, though evidently Shelby on this date did not know it. See 29 July.<sup>2552</sup>

4 August. Col. Isaac Hayne was executed for having broken his oath of protection, and taken up arms against Royal authority. The reputedly uncalled for and unnecessary act was denounced and sparked outrage both from 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.<sup>2553</sup>

4 August. Lafayette marched to Newcastle on the Pamunkey River.

5 August. Governor Rutledge,<sup>2554</sup> having recently returned to South Carolina to establish the government, issued a proclamation against unauthorized pillaging and plundering, and in general against the civil disorder which had followed in the wake of the war. The unauthorized pillaging and plundering apparently included "Sumter's Law." It is probably no coincidence that Sumter relinquished command of his brigade at the time of this denouncement. Yet exactly how Sumter took the proclamation 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 relinquish leadership of his brigade. Lieut. Col. William Henderson<sup>2555</sup> was 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 14<sup>th</sup>. Sumter returned to command briefly in early 1782.<sup>2556</sup>

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<sup>2546</sup> BSF p. 209, RBG p.181.

<sup>2547</sup> KJO p. 21.

<sup>2548</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 116, 130-131.

<sup>2549</sup> NGP vol. IX, p.132.

<sup>2550</sup> 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."

<sup>2551</sup> SJS.

<sup>2552</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 129.

<sup>2553</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 190.

<sup>2554</sup> Rutledge was at Camden on Augusts 1<sup>st</sup>, and afterward joined Greene's army in the High Hills of the Santee. BGC p. 203.

<sup>2555</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup> was appointed to organize and command the militia of Ninety Six. NGP vol. IX, p. 25n.

<sup>2556</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 169, 203n, JLG vol. II, p. 187, BGC pp. 203-204.



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 (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 30<sup>th</sup>. See 3-5 September. The troops de Grasse was transporting included the Gatinois, Agenoïs, 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<sup>2557</sup> reporting the presence of the French fleet there. However, the ship carrying the message ended up being run aground by American privateers off Long Island, and never reached Graves. At the time, Graves was out of New York and had sailed eastward in a futile search for the French fleet. Rodney, meanwhile, returned home for reasons of health and sent Rear Admiral Samuel Hood's squadron in the West Indies to join Graves and assist against de Grasse.<sup>2558</sup>

From the journal of the operations of the fleet under Count de Grasse: "The 5<sup>th</sup> of August the fleet weighed anchor from St. Domingo, and on the 30<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2559</sup>

6 August. Greene, in a letter to General Washington, reported the British in his department as having: 400 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 NC militia could be raised.<sup>2560</sup>

6 August. [skirmish] Turkey Hill, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 310.

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 [New York] 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 Fredericksburg [Fredericksburg]. But instead of continuing his voyage up the Bay My Lord entered York River and landed at York and Gloucester [Gloucester] to the former vessels were added a number of flatt [sic] bottomed boats..."

"Had not your attention been turned to Newyork 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."<sup>2561</sup>

7 August. [skirmish] Parson's Plantation (Colleton County, S.C.)<sup>2562</sup>

8 August. (or 4 or 7 August) [skirmish] Beattie's Bridge, also Bette's Bridge, 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.<sup>2563</sup>

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 in watching Stewart.<sup>2564</sup>

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 Main 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."<sup>2565</sup>

9-12 August. [skirmishes] Richmond and Cumberland County, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 312-313.

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<sup>2557</sup> Graves had succeeded Arbuthnot, sometime shortly after March 1781.

<sup>2558</sup> JYC pp. 98-99, WAR vol. II, p. 882.

<sup>2559</sup> TCS p. 445.

<sup>2560</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 139, 140, 142n.

<sup>2561</sup> LLW pp. 215-216.

<sup>2562</sup> LSC p. 16, ONB vol. 3, p. 311.

<sup>2563</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 156, ONB vol. 3, p. 310.

<sup>2564</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 150, 177.

<sup>2565</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 151.

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.<sup>2566</sup>

11 August. Col. Marquis de Malmady, 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 Malmady and Col. Francis Lock. But by the time of Eutaw Springs, Lock had not arrived so that Malmady commanded the entire unit.<sup>2567</sup>

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 15<sup>th</sup> (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 force blocking the way at Fairlawn, a mansion nearby to Monck’s Corner.<sup>2568</sup>

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) units. This was a radical change from the way Sumter was doing things and was aimed at providing South Carolina with a more reliable, and professionally trained and equipped soldiery. Similarly, two other units of State troops were being formed under Col. Peter Horry and (formerly Major now) Col. Hezekiah Maham, and another of Georgia troops under Lieut. Col. James Jackson.<sup>2569</sup> 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.<sup>2570</sup>

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 1<sup>st</sup> 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—there was sent and some other things went in Col. Hammond’s wagon when we parted at Kirklands—you will please have them brought on with you.”<sup>2571</sup>

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.<sup>2572</sup>

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 move close, but excessive rains prevented him. As soon as the rains abated, Marion intended to advance toward that party and try to harass them.<sup>2573</sup>

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. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, Washington wrote Lafayette with general instructions directed at keeping Cornwallis occupied in Virginia. More specific plans were outlined in a letter to the Marquis on the 21<sup>st</sup>.

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<sup>2566</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 162.

<sup>2567</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp.164, 185n.

<sup>2568</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 169n-170n.

<sup>2569</sup> Jackson’s legion was largely made up of loyalists and British deserters. MHG p. 526.

<sup>2570</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 151, 157, 243.

<sup>2571</sup> HMP appendix.

<sup>2572</sup> CBA p. 611.

<sup>2573</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 179.

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 Plantation 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 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 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.<sup>2574</sup> In a letter to Henderson of 16 August, Greene remarked: "I received your favor of the 14<sup>th</sup> inclosing General Sumters 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..."<sup>2575</sup>

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 were McArthur's troops, also 300 to 400 in strength and with one cannon, who were building a redoubt for temporary defense.<sup>2576</sup>

15 August. Col. William Harden wrote Marion asking 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.<sup>2577</sup>

15 August. [skirmish] Four Mile Branch (Orangeburgh County, S.C.)<sup>2578</sup>

15 August. Abstract of Lord 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."<sup>2579</sup>

16 August. On the 11<sup>th</sup>, Clinton, in New York, wrote to Cornwallis, at Yorktown, who received it on the 16<sup>th</sup>: "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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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

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<sup>2574</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 169, 182.

<sup>2575</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 181-182, 188-189, BGC pp. 204-205.

<sup>2576</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 190-191.

<sup>2577</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 204n.

<sup>2578</sup> ONB vol. 3, pp. 315-316.

<sup>2579</sup> CAR pp. 556-557.

commands upon it. I have received your Excellency's dispatches of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> ult. which I shall answer by the first safe opportunity."<sup>2580</sup>

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 indicate that General Leslie was coming from Virginia to take command in South Carolina, which he did in December.<sup>2581</sup> Maj. Archibald McArthur was at Fairlawn with 400 men.<sup>2582</sup> Greene also reported: "they have 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 Martins where they met with a party from Fairlawn & remained yesterday, in Each party was about three hundred men and one field piece."<sup>2583</sup>

16 August. [skirmish] Kingston, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 316.

16 August. [skirmish] Santee River, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 316.

17 August. [raid] Robeson's Plantation, Cape Fear, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 317.

19 August. Washington and Rochambeau, the former with 2,500 the latter with 4,000, began a disguised march southward, beginning from their encampment at Dobb's Ferry, then to King's Ferry. 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. 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; some New York Continentals, and militia from various nearby states, under Lieut. Col. Martinus Willet were placed along the Mohawk River, to guard the northern frontier.<sup>2584</sup>

19 August. [raid] New Bern (Craven County, N.C.) Coming by sea from Wilmington, Maj. James Craig led a raid on New Bern, N.C. burning ships and supplies before leaving the town two days later.<sup>2585</sup>

20 August. Lee, in a letter to Greene, 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.<sup>2586</sup> According to some later scholars, Stewart's force was figured at 1,800 to 2,000.<sup>2587</sup>

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 Fridays' 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 28<sup>th</sup>, Harrison was in Salem, and thereafter went to Virginia to secure more arms and munitions for Greene. Though illness continued to plague him he continued to work to supply Greene's army.<sup>2588</sup>

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 (Marion's) absence. Neither Maham or Horry were with Marion in his foray at to assist Harden, as neither are mentioned in his dispatch reporting the action at Parker's Ferry on the 30<sup>th</sup>. Horry, at the time, was apparently still not quite ready and remained in Georgetown recruiting for and equipping his troop. Maham may have been likewise occupied.<sup>2589</sup>

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.<sup>2590</sup>

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<sup>2580</sup> CAC pp. 183-186.

<sup>2581</sup> 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.

<sup>2582</sup> McArthur's detachment of 300 to 400 at Fairlawn was not with Stewart at Eutaw Springs. However, the day after the battle, Stewart did form a junction with McArthur.

<sup>2583</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 188-189, 191.

<sup>2584</sup> JYC p. 88, WAR vol. II, p. 881.

<sup>2585</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 238, ONB vol. 3, 317.

<sup>2586</sup> See 16 August.

<sup>2587</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 214, BEA p.351,

<sup>2588</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 207, 214, 265. 411.

<sup>2589</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 217.

<sup>2590</sup> JYC p. 88.

21 August. Greene, at High Hills of the Santee, to Lee wrote: “[T]he swamp is so full of water we cannot cross the Wateree here.” In order then for Greene to cross the Wateree River, it became necessary for him to move northward to Camden, before heading south toward Stewart’s army.<sup>2591</sup>

21 August. Pickens force assembled at Perkin’s Mill on the Saluda River.<sup>2592</sup>

21 August. The newly re-established government of Georgia confirmed Greene’s appointment of James Jackson to Lieut. Col., directing him to raise a Georgia State Legion, a corps of 200 men.<sup>2593</sup>  
“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.”<sup>2594</sup>

21 August. Rawdon left Charlestown for England.<sup>2595</sup> Writes Lee, “The ship in which Lord Rawdon embarked for England,” writes Lee, “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 mentioned that Rawdon was 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...”<sup>2596</sup>

21 August. [skirmish] Kingston, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 318.

21 August. Rochambeau and Washington began their march from New York towards Virginia.

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 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 Stevens and 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

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<sup>2591</sup> NGP vol. IX, 218, 219n.

<sup>2592</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 245n.

<sup>2593</sup> NGP vol. VIII, p. 325n.

<sup>2594</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 209.

<sup>2595</sup> 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. Special thanks to Todd Braisted for clearing this up, and providing the references.

<sup>2596</sup> NGP vol. IX p. 151n, 280, CAR pp. 354n, 579, LMS p. 461, CBA p. 577.

considerably increased by a number of refugees lately come to us, and by negroes that are employed in different branches of the public service."<sup>2597</sup>

22 August. Maj. Reading Blount of Sumner's N.C. brigade arrived in Charlotte with 300 stand of arms.<sup>2598</sup>

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.

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."<sup>2599</sup>

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.<sup>2600</sup>

24 August (also given as 25 August) [skirmish] Wells' Plantation, also Bull Head (Berkeley County, S.C.)<sup>2601</sup>

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."<sup>2602</sup>

24 August. Lafayette, at "Mattapony River," to Gen. Washington: "The Light Infantry are 850 -- the Pennsylvanians about 600 -- Virginia exchanged [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 Gloucester [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."<sup>2603</sup>

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 off [f] towards Westover and the remainder of the army to Ruffins 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."<sup>2604</sup>

On the 25<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2605</sup>

25 August. Pickens coming from the Ninety Six region joined up with Henderson's men, at "Brown's Old Field," S.C., On the 28<sup>th</sup> 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. to Greene, wrote to Greene that, (including Pickens) he had 370 men, including officers, one third of whom are unarmed. "Not a man of three Regiments have yet come in, but suppose them on their way." He doubted these troops would have any weapons to spare. Many of his troops

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<sup>2597</sup> CAC pp. 186-188,

<sup>2598</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 225.

<sup>2599</sup> EHJ p. 324.

<sup>2600</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 234-235.

<sup>2601</sup> LSC p. 18.

<sup>2602</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 233.

<sup>2603</sup> This was information apparently obtained 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.

<sup>2604</sup> LLW pp. 221-22.

<sup>2605</sup> LLW p. 223.

were “very Sickly.” Henderson himself had been “exceedingly ill of the fever” for the past three days, but believed “it is about leaving me.”<sup>2606</sup>

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.

25 August. Admiral Samuel Hood reconnoitered the Virginia Capes looking for the French. On the 28<sup>th</sup>, he arrived at New York with his 14 ships of the line, he urged Graves and Clinton to go to Chesapeake or attempt to halt or intercept Barras coming from Newport, R.I. Graves, however, remained in New York.<sup>2607</sup>

25 August. Commissioner Lieut. Col. John Laurens arrived in Boston from France with clothing, ammunition, and half a million dollars aid from France.<sup>2608</sup>

25-26 August. Marion arrived at “Round O,”<sup>2609</sup> at Ferguson's Plantation, and found Harden very sick, and Harden's troops not yet collected. “I halted the 24<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>2610</sup>

25-26 August. On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Greene left Camden, crossing the Wateree at Wright's (or the Camden) Ferry in his move 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, time Lee, and Washington (with Kirkwood), away from the main army acting as scouts, were already at the Congaree. Kirkwood, with the Delaware company, was also at a location ahead of the main army.<sup>2611</sup>

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. 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.<sup>2612</sup>

26 August. Rochambeau and Washington finally complete their crossing of the Hudson River at King's Ferry.<sup>2613</sup>

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. Not finding de Grasse there, Hood continued on to New York where 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 arrived in the Chesapeake before them on 30 August.<sup>2614</sup>

27 August. Greene camped at McGirt's [McGirt'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 28<sup>th</sup>.)<sup>2615</sup>

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 Bandittees [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.”<sup>2616</sup>

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 26<sup>th</sup>] 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 hundred & thirty Toreys [sic] and Eighty horse under Majr Frazier [Thomas Fraser] all of the Queens Rangers.”<sup>2617</sup>

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<sup>2606</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 245.

<sup>2607</sup> WCO pp. 357-358.

<sup>2608</sup> CBA p. 623.

<sup>2609</sup> Bass says Round O is on alternative U.S. Highway 17 between Summerville and Walterboro. BGC p. 271n.

<sup>2610</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 289.

<sup>2611</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 233, 236.

<sup>2612</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 259.

<sup>2613</sup> JYC p. 88.

<sup>2614</sup> JYC p. 99.

<sup>2615</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 259-260.

<sup>2616</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 260.

<sup>2617</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 289.

28 August. Greene camped at Howell's Ferry where Pickens and Henderson joined him the same day.<sup>2618</sup> 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." <sup>2619</sup>

28 August. Rochambeau's and Washington's armies camped in Chatham, New Jersey.<sup>2620</sup>

29 August. Rochambeau and Washington resumed their march, still maneuvering their armies as if still inclining toward on attack on New York City. On August 30<sup>th</sup>, however, the effort at deception was done away with, and they proceed on their march to their true goal, Cornwallis in the Chesapeake. The American advance guard passed through Princeton on the 30<sup>th</sup>, and was in Trenton the 31<sup>st</sup>. All this previous while, the real destination had been kept as a secret from even Rochambeau's and Washington's high-ranking commanders, many of whom were not apprised of what was going on till the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>.<sup>2621</sup>

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 with 70 N.C. militia, many armed and expert with rifles, surprised an encampment of a reported 400 Tories under Col. John Slingsby. Robeson arranged his men and had them fire in such a way as to suggest greater numbers than he actually possessed. At the same time Robeson's men specifically targeted the loyalist officers, many of whom, 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 dispersed.<sup>2622</sup>

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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 24<sup>th</sup>. Having got supplied with ammunition, I proceeded up the country on the 26<sup>th</sup>.—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."<sup>2623</sup>

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 cavalry, under Maj. Thomas Fraser at Hayne's Plantation.<sup>2624</sup> 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 within 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, under Maj. William Harden, Jr. (Col. Harden, his father, was ill), were to come out from a concealed position when the British came up. 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. Yet when the action began neither Harden nor Cooper followed their instructions. Nevertheless, 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 suffered no casualties. After forcing the British to retreat, 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 31<sup>st</sup>, 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 uncooperative subordinates.

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<sup>2618</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 217, NGP vol. IX 240n, 264.

<sup>2619</sup> SJS.

<sup>2620</sup> JYC p. 89.

<sup>2621</sup> JYC p. 90.

<sup>2622</sup> CNS vol. 1, pp.98-103.

<sup>2623</sup> FNA pp. 30-31.

<sup>2624</sup> Benning had evidently moved from Middleton's Plantation, see 24 August.



On September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 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."<sup>2625</sup>

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 ambushade 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."<sup>2626</sup>

30-31 August. Comte de Grasse arrived in Chesapeake Bay, with 26 ships of the line, and a number of frigates and transports, sailing into Lynnhaven Bay just outside Hampton Roads. 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.<sup>2627</sup>

31 August. [raids] Cypress Swamp and Charlestown Road (Berkeley County, S.C.) As a diversionary attack complementing 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, Cooper made toward Charlestown and again attacked another band of loyalists about twelve miles from Charlestown routing them as well. Some loyalists were captured, while Cooper himself reportedly suffered no losses.<sup>2628</sup>

William Dobein James: "In the mean time, Capt. 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 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."<sup>2629</sup>

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."<sup>2630</sup>

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.<sup>2631</sup>

*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

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<sup>2625</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 289-290, 298, RSC p. 251, JJA, JKH pp. 74-75, MSC p. 748, BSF p. 214, RBG p. 197.

<sup>2626</sup> JKH pp. 74-75.

<sup>2627</sup> CAR p. 336, LFB vol. II, p. 305, CBA p. 612, JYC p. 98, WCO pp. 357-358.

<sup>2628</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p. 236.

<sup>2629</sup> JFM, ch. 3.

<sup>2630</sup> SJS.

<sup>2631</sup> JYC p. 97.

Pennsylvania Line, which had been ordered south to join Greene, and some were seeking commands in the militia."<sup>2632</sup>

## SEPTEMBER 1781

*September.* [skirmish] Hood's Creek, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 328.

*September.* [skirmish] Beck's Ford, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 332.

*September.* [skirmish] Brown Marsh, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, pp. 368-370.

1 September.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

### BRITISH

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Light Infantry: 447

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., Light infantry: 334

Brigade of Guards: 354

7<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 124

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 147

33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 163

43<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 192

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 162

76<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 446

80<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 460

### GERMAN

Anspach:

1<sup>st</sup> Anspach Bttn.: 404

2<sup>nd</sup> 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

17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons: 21

23<sup>rd</sup> Light Company: 51

82<sup>nd</sup> Light Company: 36

Jägers: 73

North Carolina Volunteers: 79

Guides and Pioneers: 52

Total for detachments, etc.: 580

COMPLETE TOTAL: 5,316<sup>2633</sup>

1 September. [skirmish] McPhaul's Mill, also (2<sup>nd</sup>) 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 under Col. David Fanning and Col. Hector MacNeil. Wade was defeated. Fanning reported Wade's losses as 23 dead, and 54 captured, while Fanning had 5 wounded. Fanning later recalled, he and MacNeil also captured 250 horses, most of which were loaded with plunder taken from other loyalists.<sup>2634</sup>

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<sup>2632</sup> RNC p. 363.

<sup>2633</sup> CAC, p. 236 (foldout).

<sup>2634</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 386n, CNS vol. 1 pp. 41-43, CNS vol. 1, pp. 41-43.

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 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..."<sup>2635</sup>

1 September. Lee, camped six miles below Thompson's Plantation, reported to Greene Stewart's move of the previous night (August 31<sup>st</sup>) from Thompson's. Stewart had left there and McCord's Ferry, and retreated by "slow marches," towards Eutaw Springs. Along his route, he stopped at Nelson's Ferry. Stewart's said later that his reason for retreating was lack of supplies combined with a desire to unite with convoys bringing up provisions.<sup>2636</sup>

Stewart wrote to Cornwallis, on September 9<sup>th</sup>: "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 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."<sup>2637</sup>

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 fortified.<sup>2638</sup>

2 September. Gen. Washington, with 2,000 Continentals passed, through Philadelphia en route to Virginia. Rochambeau with 4,000 French troops followed behind him there on the 3<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>2639</sup>

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.<sup>2640</sup>

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 have already been collected, and 160 draft

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<sup>2635</sup> FNA pp. 31-32.

<sup>2636</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 278, 299, TCS pp. 508-509.

<sup>2637</sup> LLW p. 225.

<sup>2638</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 274.

<sup>2639</sup> CBA p. 623, JYC p. 91.

<sup>2640</sup> NGP VOL. IX 280n., CAR p. 336, CBA p. 612.

horses. Carrington at this time was on his way from the Southern Army to Virginia, and was present at Yorktown.<sup>2641</sup>

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 down upon their western flank.<sup>2642</sup>

3 September. [skirmish] Ridgeway's Fort, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 332.

3 September (also given as 5 September). [skirmish] Reedy River (Greenville or Laurens County, S.C.)<sup>2643</sup>

4 September. Cornwallis to Clinton [written in cipher]: “Compte [Comte] de Grasse's fleet is within the capes of the Chesapeak. Forty boats with troops went up James river yesterday, and four ships lie at the entrance of this river.”<sup>2644</sup>

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 in need of them.<sup>2645</sup>

4 September. Marion camped at Peyre's and by the next day camped at Lauren's Plantation, seventeen miles above Eutaw Springs.<sup>2646</sup>

4 September. Greene army camped at Motte's.<sup>2647</sup>

Seymour: “On the fourth of September crossed the Congaree River at Culpeper and encamped on Mr. Johnston's farm, fifteen miles.”<sup>2648</sup>

5 September (also given as 6 September). [skirmish] Turkey Creek (Edgefield County, S.C.)

5 September. Greene was at “Stoutemires Plantation,” S.C. where his army apparently halted if not camped.<sup>2649</sup> Seymour: “The fifth marched, and encamped with the main army at Everett's Creek, six miles below Colonel Thompson's, fourteen miles.”<sup>2650</sup>

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 ultimately resulted in the trapping of Cornwallis' army in Virginia. The main engagement took place on the 5<sup>th</sup>, beginning at 4:15 pm and ending about 6:30 pm. In the course of these two hours, much harm was done to ships of both sides. Due to confusion regarding signals, Rear Admiral Samuel Hood's wing of the British fleet did not engage, and, as a result, arguably ruined Graves chance for victory.<sup>2651</sup> Although Hood claimed he was only following what he thought were orders, his behavior in the action would hardly have characterized Nelson.<sup>2652</sup> At the same time, de Grasse's calm and intelligent handling of the situation should not be overlooked, particularly when we keep mind of the fact that his fleet was facing the usually invincible Royal Navy. For a few days following the 5<sup>th</sup>, the two fleets maneuvered before each other trying to get the better position. When Admiral de Barras' squadron of

8 ships of the line and 14 transports, coming from Rhode Island, approached on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the combined French fleet then totaled 36 ships of the line. Graves, having already incurred much damage, therefore retreated north to 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.<sup>2653</sup>

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<sup>2641</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 286.

<sup>2642</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 285.

<sup>2643</sup> LSC p. 18.

<sup>2644</sup> TCS p. 415.

<sup>2645</sup> NGP vol. IX, 294.

<sup>2646</sup> BSF p. 215.

<sup>2647</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 291.

<sup>2648</sup> SJS.

<sup>2649</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 298.

<sup>2650</sup> SJS.

<sup>2651</sup> 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.’” SNA vol. II, p. 1684.

<sup>2652</sup> 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*.

<sup>2653</sup> CAR p. 336n, LFB vol. II, pp. 305-307, CBA p. 613, JYC p. 101, FWI pp. 249-250, WAR vol. II, p. 885.

## FRENCH

Rear Admiral Comte de Grasse<sup>2654</sup>

*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; *Zelee*, 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:<sup>2655</sup>

*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; *Eveill e*, 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 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."<sup>2656</sup>

6 September. [skirmish] Turkey Creek, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 332.

6 September (also given as 5 September and 5 October). [skirmish] Steven's 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 surprise him, but, at Stevens Creek north of the Savannah River (fifteen miles southwest of modern Edgefield) was himself repulsed and dispersed. Middleton lost 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."<sup>2657</sup>

6 September. Seymour: "Sixth, marched to Medway Swamp, six miles."<sup>2658</sup>

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.<sup>2659</sup>

7 September. Greene camped at "Camptons," S.C., and was joined the same day by Marion's brigade.<sup>2660</sup>

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 29<sup>th</sup> 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-

<sup>2654</sup> Johnston mentions a main division of the French fleet under de Grasse as being commanded by Le Sieur de Bougainville.

<sup>2655</sup> The *Glorieux*, 74 guns, *Triton*, 64 guns, and *Experiment*, 50 guns were left to guard the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

<sup>2656</sup> MacKenzie, Frederick, *The Diary of Frederick MacKenzie*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1930, p. 653.

<sup>2657</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p. 207.

<sup>2658</sup> SJS.

<sup>2659</sup> JYC p. 98.

<sup>2660</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 305.

four, and one frigate, lie at the mouth of this river. On the 6<sup>th</sup>, 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 4<sup>th</sup>, morning and night of the 5<sup>th</sup>, and morning of the 6<sup>th</sup>.

"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."<sup>2661</sup>

8 September. [battle] EUTAW SPRINGS<sup>2662</sup> (Orangeburgh County, S.C.) Leaving the area of Motte's, Greene's army set forth before daybreak to purposely bring Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart's army, camped at Eutaw Springs, to battle.<sup>2663</sup> Stewart for his part, not expecting such imminent action, had sent out a rooting party, made up of troops from the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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,<sup>2664</sup> 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 account. Coffin and the rooting party were two 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 in the ambush, but was able to escape with most of his men to inform Stewart of Greene's approach.<sup>2665</sup> 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 four hour-long, evenly matched action, which Greene later described as by far the most obstinately fought battle he ever saw. It will do for our purposes to mention some of its main highlights. The battle began with a cannonade by both sides. Though one of the British guns was disabled, the American's here 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. However, they were soon forced to give way in the face of a bayonet charge by the 64<sup>th</sup> Regt. and the de Lancey battalion. Sumner 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 63<sup>rd</sup> Regt. on the British left, while on the British right warm firing was kept up between Maj. Marjoribanks' flank companies, 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 ensued, Washington himself was unhorsed and taken prisoner. At least half of Washington's 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, defended 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, became drunk. 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, 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, and Greene returned to follow them in their wake. Except for a brief advance by Gould that took place a few days later, from that point on the British never moved further into South Carolina than the outlying areas of Charlestown.

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<sup>2661</sup> TCS pp 415-416.

<sup>2662</sup> The site of the battlefield is today underwater, as the result of a modern dam project. However, there is a park and memorial site situated, three miles east of modern Eutawville, and very close to the battle's actual location.

<sup>2663</sup> 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 JLG vol. II, p. 219.

<sup>2664</sup> 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. Also regarding the strength of the rooting party see NGP vol. IX, p. 333n.

<sup>2665</sup> The editor of the Greene papers is inclined to discount Lee's story of the ambush.

Eutaw Springs was the only *pitch battle* in the South *initiated* by the Continentals and militia versus the British, and in which the Americans were the attacking force. 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.<sup>2666</sup>

#### BRITISH FORCES PRESENT AT EUTAW SPRINGS

Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart  
Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger, second in command

3<sup>rd</sup> Regt., Maj. Thomas Dawson  
63<sup>rd</sup> Regt., Maj. Charles Stewart  
64<sup>th</sup> Regt., Capt. Dennis Kelly<sup>2667</sup>  
84<sup>th</sup> Regt. detachment,<sup>2668</sup> Capt. Robert Campbell  
Six flank companies (light infantry and grenadiers) of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 30<sup>th</sup> Regiments, Maj. John Marjoribanks

Provincial Light Infantry Battalion (one company)<sup>2669</sup>  
1<sup>st</sup> Btttn., De Lancey's Brigade, (Cruger)  
2<sup>nd</sup> Btttn., New Jersey Volunteers,<sup>2670</sup> Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen  
New York Volunteers, Maj. Henry Sheridan  
South Carolina Royalists (one troop of cavalry): Brevet Maj. John Coffin.

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, however it is possible they actually had five guns rather than just three -- though this is not confirmed conclusively.<sup>2671</sup> 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 FORCES UNDER STEWART

Stewart: A return of Stewart's dated 8 September a total of 3,048. But in a letter from Stewart to Cornwallis of 26 September, Stewart 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 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 8<sup>th</sup>, given 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.<sup>2672</sup>

Frederick MacKenzie: 1,396 total effectives. Yet he writes: "...Mr. Greene had passed the Santee with about 8000 men on the 8<sup>th</sup> 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.

Taken from Frederick Mackenzie's Diary:<sup>2673</sup>  
"Strength of the (British) Army,...at Eutaws."

Key: rank and file/total effectives<sup>2674</sup>

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<sup>2666</sup> KJO pp. 23-25, NGP vol. IX pp. 306-307, 310, 333-338n, RSC pp. 251-255, SAW pp. 420-425, TCS pp. 508-518, CAR p. 355, LMS pp. 463-475, JLG vol. II, pp. 219-233, LFB vol. II, pp. 494-499, FWI pp. 240-243, WAR vol. II, 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, p. 25.

<sup>2667</sup> Stedman speaks of the "remains" of the 63<sup>rd</sup> and 64<sup>th</sup> regiments.

<sup>2668</sup> The 84<sup>th</sup> detachment was probably part of Stewart's reserve.

<sup>2669</sup> 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.

<sup>2670</sup> Formerly named the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.

<sup>2671</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>2672</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 333n, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1779-1780*, vol. 19, edited by K.G. Davies.

<sup>2673</sup> Frederick MacKenzie, *The Diary of Frederick MacKenzie*, pp. 650-653. Mackenzie was Major in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, and deputy adjutant general under Clinton.

<sup>2674</sup> The original contains more specific information as to officers and supernumeraries present.

	Initial total.
Cavalry	47/70
Flank Comps of 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 19 <sup>th</sup> , 30 <sup>th</sup>	239/281
3 <sup>rd</sup> Regt.	306/349
63 <sup>rd</sup> Regt.	79/96
64 <sup>th</sup> Regt.	151/180
84th Detachment	69/82
NY Volunteers. Infantry.	36/47
NJ Volunteers	50/66
1 <sup>st</sup> Bttn., Delancey's	55/73
Provincial Light Infantry	99/108
Artillery, with Additional	47/53
Totals:	<u>1160/1396</u>

Items listed in correspondence from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Germain, December. 11, 1781<sup>2675</sup>

\*ii 1 December 1781, Lt. 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

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."<sup>2676</sup>

#### AMERICAN FORCES PRESENT 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.

#### CONTINENTALS

\* Maryland Brigade: 250, Col. Otho Williams

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Regt., Lieut. Col. John Eager Howard

2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regt., Major Henry Hardman

Delaware Regt.: 60 to 80, Capt. Robert Kirkwood

\* Virginia Brigade: 250, Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell

1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Major Smith Sneed

2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regt. [of 1781], Capt. Thomas Edmunds

\* North Carolina Brigade: 350, Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner

1<sup>st</sup> N.C. Regt. [of 1781], Lieut. Col. John B. Ashe

2<sup>nd</sup> N.C. Regt. [of 1781], Major John Armstrong

3<sup>rd</sup> N.C. Regt. [of 1781], Major Reading Blount

Partizan Corps (Lee's Legion)<sup>2677</sup>: 60 cavalry, 100 infantry, Lieut. Col. Henry Lee, cavalry under Capt. Joseph Eggleston, infantry under Capt. Michael Rudolph

Virginia Cavalry: 80, Lieut. Col. William Washington

<sup>2675</sup> *Documents of the American Revolution, 1779-1780*, vol. 19, edited by K.G. Davies.

<sup>2676</sup> JLG vol. II p. 220.

<sup>2677</sup> Although Lee's Legion was formally the "2<sup>nd</sup> Partizan Corps," and Washington's cavalry, similarly, were the combined 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, the "Legion" and "Virginia cavalry" had, over time, grown to be much more commonly used names.



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,<sup>2678</sup> Maj. Samuel Hammond  
Cavalry: 72, (Henderson), Col. Wade Hampton succeeded Henderson after Henderson was wounded.

#### MILITIA

*North Carolina Militia*: 150, Col. François Malmady<sup>2679</sup>, Col. Thomas Farmer

#### *South Carolina Militia*

Pickens' Brigade<sup>2680</sup>: 307, Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens  
Marion's Brigade<sup>2681</sup>: 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 OF GREENE'S ARMY

Ramsay: Greene had "about two thousand men"<sup>2682</sup>

William Johnson: "Greene's whole force could not have exceeded 2,00 combatants [i.e. rank and file.]"<sup>2683</sup>

Lumpkin: 2,082-2,100, but actually 1,900 after subtracting the 200 left as camp guard.<sup>2684</sup>

According to the editor of the Nathanael Greene papers, Greene's force at Eutaw was 2,076 rank and file, i.e. 1056 Continentals,<sup>2685</sup> not counting 200 guarding the baggage, and 1020 Militia of South Carolina and North Carolina. See also 28 July.<sup>2686</sup>

#### CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES

##### 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."<sup>2687</sup>

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.<sup>2688</sup>

Frederick MacKenzie:

Key: rank and file/total effectives

	lost in battle (killed, wounded, missing)
Cavalry	28/30
Flank Comps of 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 19 <sup>th</sup> , 30 <sup>th</sup>	93/106
3 <sup>rd</sup> Regt.	171/182
63 <sup>rd</sup> Regt.	59/67
64 <sup>th</sup> Regt.	104/120

<sup>2678</sup>Col. William Polk was from North Carolina, and not a few men in the South Carolina state troops were North Carolinians.

<sup>2679</sup> These men came from Rowan, Mecklenburg and Orange counties.

<sup>2680</sup> Consisting of what was formerly Sumter's Brigade, in addition to Pickens' own brigade.

<sup>2681</sup> In the battle, Marion and Pickens fired 17 rounds per man. Letter of Rutledge to the South Carolina Delegates, Sept. 9, letter cited in NGP vol. IX, 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 9<sup>th</sup>. Col. Peter Horry and his state troops were not at the battle.

<sup>2682</sup> RSC p.251-252.

<sup>2683</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 219.

<sup>2684</sup> LSY p. 304.

<sup>2685</sup> A September 4<sup>th</sup> return of the rank and file of Greene's Continentals fit for duty numbers them at 1,256. JLG vol. II, p. 219.

<sup>2686</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 333.

<sup>2687</sup> TCS p. 513.

<sup>2688</sup> From return of Lieut. Col. Alexander Stewart, attached to letter of Stewart to Cornwallis, 9 September 1781, TCS p. 513, NGP vol. IX, 338n.

84 <sup>th</sup> Detachment	30/31
NY Volunteers. Infantry.	7/10
NJ Volunteers	26/31
1 <sup>st</sup> Btn., Delancey's	40/49
Provincial Light Infantry	36/48
Artillery, with Additional	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.<sup>2689</sup>

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."<sup>2690</sup>

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

Continental, 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.

Kirkwood: "Return of Killed, Wounded & Missing in the Action of the 8<sup>th</sup>. Sept'r. at Eutaw Springs."<sup>2691</sup>

Continental:

Killed: 94/109

Wounded: 202/254

Missing: 31/32

Total: 327/395

South Carolina State Troops

Killed: 6/13

Wounded: 26/42

Missing: none

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.

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.<sup>2692</sup>

Lieut. Col. Richard Campbell died from his wounds sometime later in the afternoon, after the battle had ended.

<sup>2689</sup> SAW pp. 423, 425.

<sup>2690</sup> RNC p. 360.

<sup>2691</sup> Note this is not an exact transcription. In the original casualties among officers are itemized by rank. KJO p. 24.

<sup>2692</sup> RNC p. 360.

Stedman: The whole American loss was 700 men, including 60 commissioned officers, of whom 17 were killed and 43 wounded. 60 were taken prisoner.<sup>2693</sup>  
CAPTURES

The Americans ended up taking home one three-pounder from the British, while the British captured 2 six-pounders.

On September 11<sup>th</sup>, Greene wrote Thomas McKean, the new President of Congress: "On the Evening of the 9<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2694</sup>

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.<sup>2695</sup>

Kirkwood: "7<sup>th</sup>. 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]  
"8<sup>th</sup>. This morning our Army was in motion before Daybreak, with a determination of Fighting the British Army. "We marched in the following order of Battle Viz. The South and North Carolina Militia in front, Commanded by Genls. Marion & Pickens, having Col. Lees 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. 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 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]."<sup>2696</sup>

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."<sup>2697</sup>

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

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<sup>2693</sup> SAW pp. 423, 425.

<sup>2694</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 332.

<sup>2695</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 310.

<sup>2696</sup> KJO pp. 23-25.

<sup>2697</sup> SJS.

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 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 [Marjoibanks], 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."<sup>2698</sup>

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."<sup>2699</sup>

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 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 hardly 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."<sup>2700</sup>

8 September. In a letter to Clinton of this date, Cornwallis stated he had provisions for six weeks. However, in another letter on the 14<sup>th</sup> to Clinton he stated similarly: "My provisions will last at least six weeks from this day."<sup>2701</sup>

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 6<sup>th</sup>, was joined there by Rochambeau on the 8<sup>th</sup>. Advanced American detachments were subsequently moved by water using frigates, dispatched by de Grasse for that purpose, and landed just south of Williamsburg by way of the James River.<sup>2702</sup>

9 September. Greene camped at Burdell's Plantation, six miles west of Eutaw Springs. Marion, meanwhile, dismissed most of his militia after their having fought at Eutaw Springs.<sup>2703</sup>

9 September.<sup>2704</sup> [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 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

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<sup>2698</sup> Extract of a letter from Stewart to Cornwallis, dated Eutaw, September 9, 1781. TCS pp. 509-511.

<sup>2699</sup> RSC p. 254.

<sup>2700</sup> JJA.

<sup>2701</sup> CAR p. 570.

<sup>2702</sup> JYC pp. 94, 101.

<sup>2703</sup> NGP vol. IX 308.

<sup>2704</sup> Lee gives the date as the 10<sup>th</sup>.

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.<sup>2705</sup>

9 September. Temporarily absenting himself from his army, General Washington, with Rochambeau and a number of other higher ranking American and French officers, stopped to make a personal visit at Mount Vernon. There he entertained his guests, remaining there till the 12<sup>th</sup>. On the 14<sup>th</sup>, he and Rochambeau arrived ahead of their troops, and greeted Lafayette at Williamsburg.<sup>2706</sup>

10 September. Col. Malmady, 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 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 N.C. militia had been guarding the baggage during the battle of Eutaw Springs.<sup>2707</sup>

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 junction took place at Fairlawn, and perhaps this is what Lee meant as well. In any case, there, on the 12<sup>th</sup>, he was joined by additional reinforcements from Charlestown under his superior Col. Paston Gould. Gould took command of the army, and Stewart, who had been wounded in the elbow during the battle, retired to Charlestown.<sup>2708</sup>

10 September. Greene encamped at Martin's Tavern near Ferguson's Swamp.<sup>2709</sup> Kirkwood: "10<sup>th</sup>. 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]."<sup>2710</sup>

11 September. [skirmish] Moccasin Creek, TN. See ONB vol. 3, p. 358

12 September. [skirmish] Kirk's Farm, N.C. ONB vol. 3, p. 362.

12 September. Greene, retreating in the face of Stewart's reinforced, now Gould's army, crossed the Santee at Nelson's Ferry. By the 15<sup>th</sup> he was again encamped 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 move, 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 with supplies running low, men falling sick, and militia going home to harvest, it was necessary for Greene to halt his advance on Charlestown.<sup>2711</sup>

12 September. [raid] Hillsborough (Orange County, N.C.) A force of 600 N.C. loyalists (Boatner's says 950) from Randolph and Chatham counties, under Col. David Fanning and Hector MacNeil made a surprise attack on Hillsborough; capturing 200-300 men, including Gov. Thomas Burke, his council, and two Continental officers. The whigs also lost 15 killed and 20 wounded (though these latter should probably be included with the prisoners.) MacNeil and his column also released 60 loyalist prisoners, though Rankin gives the number as 30.<sup>2712</sup> 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 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 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1781."<sup>2713</sup>

David Fanning: "On the 9<sup>th</sup> of Sept. I was joined by Col'n McDugald [Archibald McDougald] of the Loyal Militia of Cumberland County, with 200 men; and Col. Hector McNeil [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 McNeil's [McNeil's] regiments. I acquainted Major [John] Raines, of my resolution, who approved of it. The rebel General John Butler, and Col. Robert Maybin 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

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<sup>2705</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 309. LMS pp. 475-476.

<sup>2706</sup> JYC p. 101.

<sup>2707</sup> NGP IX, p. 313.

<sup>2708</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 310, 338, LMS pp. 475-476.

<sup>2709</sup> KJO p. 25, NGP vol. IX, p. 328.

<sup>2710</sup> KJO p. 25.

<sup>2711</sup> JLG vol. II, p. 238-239, CBA p. 583.

<sup>2712</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 114, RNC p. 365, BEA p. 502-503.

<sup>2713</sup> CNS vol. 1 pp. 47-50.

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 on the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> 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 Goal, and released thirty Loyalists, and british [sic] soldiers; one of which, was to have been hanged on that day. <sup>2714</sup>

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, Governor. Alexander Martin's Regt.

Lieut. Daniel McDonald, Govr. Martin's Regt. <sup>2715</sup>

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 an ambush against Hector MacNeil. MacNeil fell with three bullets killing him, and his men were routed until Fanning, coming up, regrouped them. Fanning then sent a force to take was Butler's men from behind. At first, the whigs were dispersed but then rallied. There followed an engagement that reported lasted some four hours, when Butler finally retreated, leaving behind 24 killed, 90 wounded, and 10 taken prisoners. Fanning lost 27 killed and 60 so badly wounded they were left on the field. 30 others were wounded, but were able to leave when the loyalists finally left the battleground. Fanning, himself badly wounded in his left arm, was met not far from Wilmington by a support column, under Capt. Rains, sent out by Craig. Burke, still captive, was brought into Wilmington. Butler followed the loyalists and took position at Cross Creek. <sup>2716</sup>

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 Tories, 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 Lindleys Mills on Cane Creek in Orange County N. Carolina. In this engagement [Col.] Mayburn 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 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, 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 and Lu Col'n Arch[ibald] McKay, to take command; to send to Wilmington for assistance, as I was not able to take any 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

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<sup>2714</sup> FNA pp. 32-35

<sup>2715</sup> FNA p. 37.

<sup>2716</sup> FNA pp. 32-35, RNC p. 365, BEA pp. 502-503, CNS vol. 1, pp. 50-55.

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 and Gen'l Butler persued 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 6<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1789 that no provision has been made for him yet. Also, Major Rains, the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 dispatched [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 in 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; [dated 13 October 1781, though omitted here.]"<sup>2717</sup>

*Early September*, and following Eutaw Springs. [skirmishes] Dorchester Road (Dorchester County?, S.C.)

Stephen Jarvis: "The Cavalry was ordered to march, and we proceeded to Dorchester. I was ordered with two Dragoons and a few Militia forward in order to decoy the enemy, and bring them on, whilst Major [Thomas] Fraser, with the Cavalry well disposed for an attack, kept some distance in my rear. The Americans, who were ignorant of our Army being in that neighborhood, had the same design with myself, and made several feint charges, and then retired until they had drawn me a sufficient distance to make a successful charge. They had a body of Infantry in their rear. They at last charged me in earnest. I retreated and made the signal to Major Fraser. He advanced and met the enemy, who pulled up their horses within a very short distance, when Major Fraser gave the word and we dashed in among them, and slashing work we made great havoc amongst them, cutting them down and taking many prisoners – an Officer in his retreat took a foot-path that foot-passengers use in that hot country, and there is a row of trees between that and the main road. I pursued this Officer and had got so near as to touch his horse with the point of my sword. I saw their Infantry with trailed arms endeavoring to flank us. I wheeled about and called to Major Fraser, giving him this information, who ordered the Troops to retire, which we did with the loss of only one man, he, poor fellow, was hung the next morning as a deserter from their Army. As we had no Infantry to support us, we were obliged to retire, which we did with a good many prisoners – how many we killed is uncertain – certainly several.

"The next day the [British] Army retired below the Quarter House, and this was our outpost. In a short time after this a Captain Armstrong<sup>2718</sup> of the American Army, took a Captain Keen of ours with his whole Patrol. This gave him a degree of temerity, and caused him to fall into our hands. He one day drove in our Sentinels at our out piquet [sic]. Major Coffin, who had been attached to our Regiment, with his mounted Infantry of the York Volunteers, was on this day our Commanding Officer – we pursued the enemy for some time on the Dorchester road, but not falling in with them, we crossed the country over the road leading to Goose Creek. The Troops commanded by Captain Campbell was in the rear, and observing some Troops following our track, and dressed in dark jackets, like those of the York Volunteers, I rode forward and asked Major [John] Coffin if he had detached any of his Troops from the squadron. He replied, 'No.' Then Sir it is the enemy, and they are close by in our rear. We wheeled about and this brought Captain Campbell's Troop in front of the squadron. The enemy formed and for a few seconds seemed disposed to give battle, but soon wheeled and fled. We pursued them in full charge; we had them between us and Charlestown, on a fine level road that would admit of about eight horses abreast. We charged the best horse foremost, and I soon led the charge, no horse could run with mine.

"In the distance of about a mile the Commanding Officer of the enemy's (Armstrong) horse plunging into a stone in the middle of the road fell and threw his rider over his head. I had hold of him in an instant, he asked quarters; I gave it him, and asked his name. He said, 'Armstrong.' Give me your hand Captain Armstrong, I'll protect you, and took him back to the rear. Some of our men made a blow at him, and one came near taking off

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<sup>2717</sup> FNA pp. 32-35

<sup>2718</sup> James Armstrong of Lee's Legion would seem to be the officer referred to here.

his scalp. I drew my pistol and said, 'If you touch the prisoner I'll blow your brains out.' I took him and delivered him to the Officer of the rear guard, and reported him to Major Coffin, and then again pursued the enemy, and soon gained the head of our Troops. By this time the enemy had taken the woods and endeavored to gain the road to Dorchester, separating themselves as much as possible from each other. I saw two Dragoons at some distance in front, and I said to Captain Campbell, 'Now, Sir, if your horse can run with mine, and he holds his speed, we will take those two fellows,' and we set off in full speed, and I soon left him in the rear, and did not halt until I had taken one of the two. The others made their escape, and here we gave up the chase, and returned to Camp with our prisoners. I think altogether eight, and one was killed by an Officer, whose name was Walker of the New York Volunteers, after he had been made prisoner by one of our Regiment, and gave in charge to his servant. We proceeded to our station and took Captain Armstrong to our mess for refreshment — by the time we had arrived at our quarters, the enemy had escaped had reached their encampment, for at this time the Armies were not a great distance apart, and the American Officers in making their report to their Commanding Officer, represented that Captain Armstrong, when he fell into our hands was treated in the most cruel manner, and described the Officer so very distinctly that Captain Keen of ours, then a prisoner and dining at the table, knew it was me who they had described and who said, 'he was sure there must be some mistake as he knew the Officer they had described was too much of a soldier and a man of honor to be guilty of so base a transaction.' They still persisted that they saw it, and vouched for the truth of their assertion. The result was that a flag of truce was dispatched immediately to enquire of Captain Armstrong himself the truth of their assertion, and this flag and a letter to Captain Armstrong was handed to him before we had dined, and as he read the contents smiled, which induced us, or some of us to ask if he was so soon to be exchanged. 'Not such good luck, but as it is in some measure concerning the officer who took me prisoner, I will read the communication,' which was similar as above stated, and to which he sent the following answer, which he read before he closed his letter. 'Sir, it has become my misfortune this day to become a prisoner to the British arms, and I am indebted to the Officer who made me prisoner for my life, and I am not a little astonished that those gentlemen should have presumed to have given you any correct information, as they were so far out of the line of their duty as to know anything of the circumstance.'

"In a short time there was an exchange between Captain Keen and Captain Armstrong and they returned each to their respective Armies. Captain Keen's account of the matter after Captain Armstrong's letter was read in the American Camp, I shall forbear to mention, and I regret being obliged to say so much of myself in relating this transaction. The next time our Regiment was engaged, Captain Campbell was killed, and it was said purposely threw away his life in this action. I was not with the Regiment. I was detached on James Island with a Troop of Dragoons, under the command of Major Craig. (Afterwards Sir James Craig.)

"After I again joined the Regiment, we had another brush with the Americans at Monks' [Monck's] Corner, where we got completely defeated. It was an attempt to surprise a party at this post, but they got intelligence of our approach, and gave us a complete drubbing. We lost one Captain killed, one Captain, two Subalterns and several men wounded, without injuring a single man of the enemy. They had so completely fortified themselves that having no Infantry with us we could not approach them and had to receive their fire without being able to return it, and we returned to our encampment not very well satisfied with our defeat, altho[ugh] no disgrace to either Officer or soldier."<sup>2719</sup>

14 September. On September 30<sup>th</sup>, Gould, then in Charlestown, wrote to Clinton: "On the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup>, 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 time, destroying or carefully concealing on the opposite side all his boats to impede our pursuit. Having crossed the river, 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."<sup>2720</sup>

14 September. From "the journal of the operations of the French corps under the command of the Count de Rochambeau": "On the 14<sup>th</sup> of September, General Washington, myself, and the Chevalier de Chatteleux, 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 5<sup>th</sup> of September, the appearance of two English frigates in the bay, we at length received, on the night of the 14<sup>th</sup>, by a letter from Count de Grasse, a circumstantial account of the following facts: Admiral [Samuel] Hood had joined, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August, Admiral Graves' squadron before New York; they both sailed the 31<sup>st</sup> to Chesapeake bay, at the instant our movement by land towards Philadelphia had been discovered. The English squadron, consisting of twenty ships, arrived the 5<sup>th</sup> at Cape Charles, intending to get the start of Count de Grasse; the latter, having then fifteen hundred men in his chaloups, which had debarked the troops of Count de

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<sup>2719</sup> JJA.

<sup>2720</sup> CAR p. 579.



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 Count de Grasse having pursued some time, returned on the 11<sup>th</sup> into the bay, where he found the squadron of Count de Barras, which sailed the 25<sup>th</sup> of August from Newport, with ten transports, having on board our siege artillery, and entered the bay on the 10<sup>th</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup>. in Williamsburgh creek, where they disembarked the army on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>. On the 28<sup>th</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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 28<sup>th</sup>, the day of the investment of York town. On the night between the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>, the enemy, fearing to be insulted in the confined position which they had fortified, abandoned all their posts. "We employed the 30<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2721</sup>

Ewald: [Entry for 15 September.] "Yesterday [the 14<sup>th</sup>] the Allied army was moved in transports from head of Elk into the James River. The army has joined the troops under Lafayette at Williamsburg where General Washington has assumed the command over the entire army."<sup>2722</sup>

16 September The following two letters from Clinton to Cornwallis, and written on September 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, were received by this date.

September 2<sup>nd</sup>: "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 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 31<sup>st</sup> 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, 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 16<sup>th</sup>: "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."<sup>2723</sup>

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis replied [written in cipher]: "I have received your letters of the 2d and 6<sup>th</sup>. 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 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>. I hear Washington arrived at Williamsburgh on the 14<sup>th</sup>. Some of his troops embarked at head of Elk, and the others arrived at Baltimore on the 12<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>2721</sup> TCS pp. 442-444.

<sup>2722</sup> EHJ p. 327.

<sup>2723</sup> TCS 416-417.

"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."<sup>2724</sup>

18 September. On and about this date, the main French and American Armies under Rochambeau and Washington, were transported down the Bay from Baltimore and Annapolis aboard frigates sent by de Grasse, to landings on the James River south of Williamsburg. 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.<sup>2725</sup>

17 September. Lieut. Col. Samuel Hammond was appointed to the command of the regiment of cavalry by Gov. John Rutledge, and instructed to raise and equip it immediately, like Maham's and Horry's, for three years or the war. Some of the men who had been with Hammond early on joined his new command and the unit served with Greene's army till the end of the war.<sup>2726</sup>

18 September. The British brigantine *Dunmore*, Capt. Caldeleugh, with 12 guns sailed from Sunbury, Georgia for Jamaica, after crossing the bar she was attacked by two American galleys, one under Capt. Braddock. A four hour combat ensued after which the brigantine escaped, however she was forced into Savannah to seek repairs. Braddock attempted capture again when she later left, but again the *Dunmore* escaped.<sup>2727</sup>

23 September. [skirmish] Livingston's Creek, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 367.

25-26 September. Remaining American and French reinforcements arrived at Williamsburg, and Washington's and Rochambeau's combined forces then totaled 12,000 regulars troops, plus an additional 4,000 militia.<sup>2728</sup>

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 26<sup>th</sup>, 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 abbatiss. 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."<sup>2729</sup>

26 September. Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, having become ill, went back to North Carolina to recuperate. There he subsequently assisted in collecting supplies at Charlotte. Lieut. Col. John Ashe was left in command of the North Carolina Brigade.<sup>2730</sup>

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<sup>2724</sup> TCS pp. 419-420.

<sup>2725</sup> JYC p. 101.

<sup>2726</sup> JTR p. 515.

<sup>2727</sup> JHG p. 500.

<sup>2728</sup> TCS pp. 371-372, CBA p. 635, JYC p. 102.

<sup>2729</sup> TCS p. 371-372.

<sup>2730</sup> RNC p. 365.

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 5<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1780, to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton and Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, or another address bearing date on or about the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 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..."<sup>2731</sup>

28 September. The Allied defenses at Gloucester Point, which had been earlier manned by 1,500 Virginia militia under Weedon, (which included a small but effective corps of militia "grenadiers" under Lieut. Col. John Mercer), was reinforced by French troops under Brig. Gen. Marquis de Choisy who took command at 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 1 October.<sup>2732</sup>

28 September. [siege] YORKTOWN (York County, VA.) Washington and Rochambeau's armies marched to within two miles of British position at Yorktown. De Grasse agreed to remain on station in the Chesapeake till November 1. In round totals, the Franco-American force numbered 16,000, while the British had 7,500, not counting some 800 Marines each on both sides.<sup>2733</sup>

#### AMERICAN FORCES PRESENT BEFORE YORKTOWN<sup>2734</sup>

Key: rank and file/total effectives

#### CONTINENTALS

General George Washington, Commander-in-Chief<sup>2735</sup>  
 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.  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn., (five Conn. companies, two Mass. companies, one R.I. co.): 241/300, Lieut. Col. John Joseph Gimat  
 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn., (five N.H. companies, one from N.J., "etc."): 300/357, Lieut. Col. Francis Barber, New Jersey<sup>2736</sup>

<sup>2731</sup> GDH vol. III, pp. 175-178.

<sup>2732</sup> JYC p. 128.

<sup>2733</sup> TCS pp. 372-373, LFB vol. II, pp. 309-310, CBA pp. 635, 636, JYC p. 111-116.

<sup>2734</sup> 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.

<sup>2735</sup> Lincoln acted as second in command.

<sup>2736</sup> 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 Brigade*, Brevet Brig. Gen. Moses Hazen, Canada

1<sup>st</sup> Light Infantry Bttn. (four Mass. companies, one from Conn.): .200/, Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Huntington, Conn.

2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn. (two N.Y. companies, two from Conn.): 205/247, Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton, New York

3<sup>rd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn. (four N.H. companies, one from Mass., one from Conn.): 200/?, Lieut. Col. John Laurens, South Carolina

2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Regt.: 204/267, Lieut. Col. Edward Antill (Hazen)

Return separately includes with Hazen:

Scammell's Light Infantry Bttn. (Mass.), 328/378, Lieut. Col. Alexander Scammell, Mass.<sup>2737</sup>

Included as part of Lafayette's van guard along with Armand, and the 4<sup>th</sup> Continental Light Dragoons: Pennsylvania Volunteer Riflemen, Major William Parr

*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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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

1<sup>st</sup> New York Regt. 321/391, Col. Goose Von Schaik, New York

2<sup>nd</sup> New York Regt.: 344/421, Col. Phillip Van Cortlandt, New York

\* *Dayton's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Elias Dayton, New Jersey

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

1<sup>st</sup> Pennsylvania Bttn.: 231/286, Col. Walter Stewart

2<sup>nd</sup> Pennsylvania Bttn: 254/310, Col. Richard Butler

Virginia Bttn: 302/375, Lieut. Col. Thomas Gaskins

\* *Gist's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist, Maryland

3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Regt.: 344/431, Lieut. Col. Commandant Peter Adams

4<sup>th</sup> Maryland Regt.: 450<sup>2738</sup> [?/?], 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.

2<sup>nd</sup> Regt. of Artillery (from N.Y. and Conn.): 225, Col. John Lamb

1<sup>st</sup> Regt. of Artillery, detachment: 25, Lieut. Col. Edward Carrington, Virginia

4<sup>th</sup> Regt. of Artillery, detachment: 60, Capt. Patrick Duffy, Capt. William Ferguson, Capt. James Smith

Cavalry

4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Dragoons: .60, Col. Stephen Moylan, Pennsylvania

Armand's Legion (cavalry only): 40, Colonel Charles Armand

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*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  
Second Canadian Regiment: Lieutenant Colonel Edward Antill

<sup>2737</sup> Upon Scammell's being mortally wounded on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 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.

<sup>2738</sup> Johnston has this unit's strength as 450

## 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<sup>2739</sup>: 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, On Furlough, etc.: 6,087<sup>2740</sup>

AMERICAN ORDNANCE: as grouped in batteries<sup>2741</sup>

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

HEATH'S ARMY IN THE EASTERN DEPARTMENT for October 1781<sup>2742</sup>

## CONTINENTALS

\* *Huntington's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington

1<sup>st</sup> Conn.: 196/230, Col. John Durkee

5<sup>th</sup> Conn.: 238/280, Lieut. Col. Isaac Sherman

3<sup>rd</sup> Conn.: 203/240, Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb

\* *Swift's Brigade*, Col. Herman Swift

2<sup>nd</sup> Conn.: 197/243, (Swift)

4<sup>th</sup> Conn.: 171/209, Col. Zebulon Butler

\* *Glover's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. John Glover

1<sup>st</sup> Mass.: 199/239<sup>2743</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> Mass.: 179/225, Col. William Shepard

7<sup>th</sup> Mass.: 208/246, Lieut. Col. John Brooks

\* *Paterson's Brigade*, Brig. Gen. John Paterson

2<sup>nd</sup> Mass.: 215/260, Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Sprout

5<sup>th</sup> Mass.: 218/269, Col. Rufus Putnam

8<sup>th</sup> Mass.: 234/280, Col. Michael Jackson

\* *Greaton's Brigade*, Col. John Greaton

3<sup>rd</sup> Mass.: 185/225, (Greaton)

6<sup>th</sup> Mass.: 200/242, Lieut. Col. Calvin Smith

9<sup>th</sup> Mass.: 198/244, Col. Henry Jackson

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<sup>2739</sup> Made up of the remnants of various Virginia state regiments.

<sup>2740</sup> 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

<sup>2741</sup> Most all of these guns were on loan from the French. American, French and British Ordnance figures are taken from a late 18<sup>th</sup> century map-print of the siege at Yorktown, a version of which can be found in the Stokes collection, N. Y. Public Library.

<sup>2742</sup> "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 assist in giving the broader picture at this particular time.

<sup>2743</sup> Col. Joseph Vose is named, but this would seem to be in error.

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

3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Artillery: 280/456, Col. John Crane

#### CONTINENTAL CAVALRY

2<sup>nd</sup> 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 <sup>2744</sup>

GRAND TOTAL including Sick, 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.

#### FRENCH FORCES PRESENT AT YORKTOWN

Lieut. Gen. Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, commander of the King's Forces in America

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  
French numbers are rank and file.

\* *Brigade Bourbonnois*, 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<sup>2745</sup>  
Regt. de Soissonais: 900, Col. Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Philippe de Felix d'Olieries, 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 Artillery, Col. Commandant d'Aboville  
Auxonne Regt. 600  
Metz regt.: 70

#### Cavalry

Lauzun's Legion: 300 infantry, 300 cavalry, Brigadier General Armand-Louis de Goutant Biron, Duc de Lauzun

FRENCH ORDNANCE: as grouped in batteries

4 twelve-pounders  
6 mortars  
1 nine-inch howitzer  
8 *eighteen-pounders*

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<sup>2744</sup> Not counting those unfit for duty or otherwise away.

<sup>2745</sup> The Vicomte was the younger brother of Maj. Gen. Baron de Viomenil.

8 twenty-four pounders<sup>2746</sup>  
6 thirteen-inch mortars  
8 eighteen-pounders  
8 twenty-four pounders<sup>2747</sup>  
10 thirteen-inch mortars

29-30 September. The night of the 29<sup>th</sup>, Cornwallis abandoned Yorktown's outward 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 on the (it was hoped October 5<sup>th</sup>) on the way to Virginia. The Americans and French, meanwhile, 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.<sup>2748</sup>

Tarleton: "The next morning (the 29<sup>th</sup>) 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 5<sup>th</sup> of October towards the Chesapeake. 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."<sup>2749</sup>

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.<sup>2750</sup>

Private Joseph Plumb Martin: "I do not remember, exactly, the number of days we were employed before we got our 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."<sup>2751</sup>

30 September. [skirmish] Scammell'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 30<sup>th</sup>. It is claimed in the hurry of the fighting he was wounded after having been taken prisoner. Tarleton states he was wounded while attempting to retreat. The next day he was sent out on parole to the American lines, but died a few days later on the 6<sup>th</sup>. While not of direct military consequence as such, the incident was considered a great loss and made particular note of by his contemporaries because of Scammell's popularity and long service in the Continental army.<sup>2752</sup>

30 September. Clinton to Cornwallis, which the latter received on the 10<sup>th</sup>: "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 12<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2753</sup>

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<sup>2746</sup> Both these 8 eighteen-pounders and 8 twenty-four pounders were grouped together in 3 batteries.

<sup>2747</sup> As before, both these 8 eighteen-pounders and 8 twenty-four pounders were also together in 3 batteries.

<sup>2748</sup> TCS p. 373, FWI p. 253, WCO p. 369.

<sup>2749</sup> TCS p. 373.

<sup>2750</sup> TCS pp. 423-424, LFB vol. II, p. 309.

<sup>2751</sup> *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.

<sup>2752</sup> TCS p. 375, LFB vol. II, p. 309, BEA p. 988-989.

<sup>2753</sup> TCS pp. 424-425.

## OCTOBER 1781

October.<sup>2754</sup> [skirmish] Wappetaw Meeting House ( Charlestown, S.C.)<sup>2755</sup>

October. [skirmish] Hartley's Creek, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 371.

October. [skirmish] Bear Creek, N.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 378.

October. [skirmish] Vince's Fort (separate from the action of 28 October of the same name), S.C. ONB vol. 3, p. 371.

1 October.

*Forces under Cornwallis.*

Rank and File:

### BRITISH

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Light Infantry: 429, Lieut. Col. Robert Abercrombie, Maj. Thomas Armstrong  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., Light infantry: 326 “ “ “ “

\* *Brigade of Guards*: 365, Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara, Lieut. Col. Lake

\* *Yorke's Brigade*, Lieut. Col. John Yorke

17<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 128, Lieut. Col. Henry Johnson

23<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 123, Capt. Apthorpe (?)

33<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 162, (Yorke)

43<sup>rd</sup> Regt.: 185, Major George Hewitt (?)

2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., 71<sup>st</sup> Regt.: 160, Lieut. Col. Duncan McPherson

\* *Dundas' Brigade*, Lieut. Col. Thomas Dundas

76<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 313, Major Francis Needham

80<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 455, (Dundas), Maj. James Gordon

### GERMAN

Anspach:

1<sup>st</sup> Anspach Bttn.: 385, Col. Augustus de Voit

2<sup>nd</sup> 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

17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons: 21

23<sup>rd</sup> Light Company: 45

82<sup>nd</sup> Light Company: 35

Jägers: 71, Captain Johann Ewald

North Carolina Volunteers: 79

Guides and Pioneers: 52

Total for detachments, etc.: 570

COMPLETE TOTAL: 4,987<sup>2756</sup>

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<sup>2754</sup> Lipscomb lists this date as probable but not certain.

<sup>2755</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2756</sup> CAC p. 236 (foldout).



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

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."<sup>2757</sup>

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 NC Volunteers. In addition perhaps 800 marines from the British warships could be called in.<sup>2758</sup>

CLINTON'S ARMY IN NEW YORK<sup>2759</sup>

Disposition of New York Garrison November 1781 (No. of men fit for duty, effectives)

*New York City*

Royal Artillery: 390  
40<sup>th</sup> 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*

17<sup>th</sup> Dragoons: 286

*Jamiaca*

1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Grenadiers: 506  
2<sup>nd</sup> Bttn., Grenadiers: 424

*Paulus Hook*

22<sup>nd</sup> Regt.: 378  
Light Infantry Detachments: 115

*Kingsbridge*

37<sup>th</sup> Regt. :373  
Regt. von Lossburg: 407  
Hesse Hanau Frie Corps: 444

*Flushing*

38<sup>th</sup> Regt.:366  
54<sup>th</sup> Regt.:332  
Loyal American Regt.:123

*North River Shore*

42<sup>nd</sup> Regt.: 626

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<sup>2757</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 479-481.

<sup>2758</sup> WCO pp. 366-367.

<sup>2759</sup> Taken from Katcher, *British, Provincial and German Army Units 1775-1783*, pp. 137-139.

*Flagstaff*  
57<sup>th</sup> Regt.: 352  
3<sup>rd</sup> Bttn. N.J. Volunteers: 209<sup>2760</sup>

*Flatlands*  
British detachments: 141

*Herricks, Jericho, Westbury*  
Hessian Jaegers 787

*Yellow Hook*  
Regt. Prinz Carl: 484

*Guannas*  
Lieb Infantry Regt.: 448

*McGowan's*  
Regt. von Donop: 414

*Denyces*  
Hesse-Hanau detachments: 47  
Brunswick recruit: 153

*Herricks*  
Anspach: 104

*Flatbush*  
1<sup>st</sup> Bttn., Delancey's Brigade: 247<sup>2761</sup>

*Richmond*  
1<sup>st</sup> 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.

2 October. Tarleton crossed over the York River with his Legion to take command at Gloucester.<sup>2762</sup>  
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 2<sup>nd</sup>?] 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

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<sup>2760</sup> A new 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion.

<sup>2761</sup> It is a puzzle why the 1<sup>st</sup> Bttn. Delancey is listed in New York, but possibly a new unit had been formed as with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bttn. New Jersey Volunteers, though this is not confirmed.

<sup>2762</sup> WCO p. 373.

there. Colonel Dundas also came over with part of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and the Erb Prinz regiment under Colonel Fuchs went to York [Yorktown] to replace it.<sup>2763</sup>

3 October. [skirmish] Gloucester (Gloucester County, VA.) Tarleton's troops stationed on Gloucester Point were attacked while out foraging by a combined force of French and Virginia militia, under Brig Gen. Duc de Choisy. After some brief fighting, Tarleton retreated into his lines. This incident was followed by the siege of Gloucester itself. The British lost 13 killed and wounded, French lost 3 killed and 16 wounded. American losses are not known.<sup>2764</sup> Tarleton himself suffered injuries which prevented him from fighting further in the war.<sup>2765</sup>

3 October. [raid] Pratt's Mill (Abbeville County, S.C.) A force of 30 whigs were surprised and routed by mounted loyalists under Lieut. Col. William Cunningham. The loyalists afterward set fire to the mill.

5 October. [skirmish] Stevens Creek, S.C. See ONB vol. 3, p. 372.

6 October. French and American heavy siege guns were readied and shelling of the British positions at Yorktown began, with work commencing on the first parallel.<sup>2766</sup>

8 October. On this date, much had been finished with respect to digging and fortifying the besieger's trenches in the first parallel at Yorktown, and the installation of gun batteries in and around there was all but completed.<sup>2767</sup>

9 October. 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."<sup>2768</sup>

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 Yorktown, Cornwallis had previously sank a number of ships in the river just outside the town to prevent any Allied landings from the rear.<sup>2769</sup>

11-12 October. Beginning the night of the 11<sup>th</sup>, the Allies began work on the second parallel, which was completed by next morning; by which time also another British vessel was set on fire by heated shot from the French batteries.<sup>2770</sup>

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, 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 6<sup>th</sup>, 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>2771</sup>

14 October. Clinton wrote Cornwallis: "At a council of war of the General Officers, held on the 10<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>2763</sup> EHJ p. 329.

<sup>2764</sup> TCS pp. 376-378, LMS p. 497, JYC p. 128-129, WAR vol. II, p. 888, BGD p. 184, BEA pp. 437-438.

<sup>2765</sup> EHJ pp. 329-330.

<sup>2766</sup> CBA p. 636, JYC p. 131, WCO p. 376.

<sup>2767</sup> JYC p. 135.

<sup>2768</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 311.

<sup>2769</sup> TCS p. 327, LFB vol. II, p. 311, JYC p. 140, WAR vol. II, p. 890.

<sup>2770</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 312, JYC p. 167.

<sup>2771</sup> TCS p. 425-426.

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 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 11<sup>th</sup>, 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.

"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."<sup>2772</sup>

14 October. [siege assault] Redoubts No. 9 and No. 10 (York County, VA.) On the 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 assigned the attack on the larger redoubt No. 9, while the Americans under Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton were given the task of taking redoubt No. 10. Viomenil's men went bravely forward shouting "Vivé le Roi" at they came under heavy fire from the German defenders. The American light infantry carried out their task with a valor and discipline that has been seen as the cumulative high point of Continental army professionalism. Yet certainly the outnumbered British and Germans deserve as much credit for their spirited defense. The assaults were successful and both redoubts captured.<sup>2773</sup>

\* *Assault on Redoubt No. 9*<sup>2774</sup>

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 2<sup>nd</sup> Regt. Gatenois, under Comte de Rostaing, was placed in reserve, but did not engage.

British troops defending Redoubt No. 9

Combined British and Hessian detachment: 120, Lieut. Col. Henry Johnson (17<sup>th</sup> Regt.)<sup>2775</sup>

Total British Troops: 120

The French lost 15 killed, 77 wounded. British lost 18 killed and 50 prisoners, which included the wounded.

\* *Assault on Redoubt No. 10*

American:

Maj. Gen. Marquis de Lafayette

Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton

2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn., Lafayette Division, Lieut. Col. John Joseph Gimat

2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn., Hazen Division, (Hamilton)

half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Infantry Bttn., Hazen Division, Lieut. Col. John Laurens

Detachment of sappers and miners

Total American Troops: 400, plus the sappers and miners

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<sup>2772</sup> CAC pp. 257-260.

<sup>2773</sup> EHJ p. 335, TCS pp. 385- 386, LFB vol. II, pp. 312-313, JYC p. 142-145, WAR vol. II, p. 892.

<sup>2774</sup> Numbers given below are rank and file.

<sup>2775</sup> WCO p. 380-381. Another source lists Lieut. Col. Duncan McPherson (71<sup>st</sup> Regt.) as commanding No. 9 redoubt.

In addition 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 (71<sup>st</sup>)

Maj. James Campbell of the 71<sup>st</sup> and 50 men occupied number 10.

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 however.<sup>2776</sup>

Earl Cornwallis to Clinton on the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 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."<sup>2777</sup>

In a report to Washington, dated October 16<sup>th</sup>, "Camp before York," Lafayette stated: "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. 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 Barbers battalion [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 [Muhlenberg] and 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."<sup>2778</sup>

Ewald: "Toward evening on the 15<sup>th</sup> [actually the 14<sup>th</sup>] ..About eight o'clock General Baron Viomenil 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 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."<sup>2779</sup>

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 Gatinais 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 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."<sup>2780</sup>

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

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<sup>2776</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2777</sup> TCS p. 426.

<sup>2778</sup> LLW pp. 235-236.

<sup>2779</sup> EHJ p. 335.

<sup>2780</sup> 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.

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."<sup>2781</sup>

15 October. Allied second parallel at Yorktown was all but completed.<sup>2782</sup>

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 location where Drowning Creek (now Lumber Creek) flows into Montgomery County. At one point, he reportedly had 1,200 men collected.<sup>2783</sup>

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. 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 'beta up their quarters,' a little...." [Caruthers goes on to describe the engagement in greater details, accompanied with his usual remarks and observations.]<sup>2784</sup>

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."<sup>2785</sup>

16 October. [sortie] Yorktown (York County, VA.) At 3 am on the 16<sup>th</sup>, the British carried out a sortie on the Allied second parallel. The attacking party, about 350-400, headed by Lieut. Col. Robert Abercrombie, was made up of Light Infantry under Maj. Armstrong, Grenadiers of the Foot Guards, and a company of the 80<sup>th</sup> under Lieut. Col. Lake. They were finally 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, 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.<sup>2786</sup>

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<sup>2781</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 313n.

<sup>2782</sup> TCS p. 386.

<sup>2783</sup> CNS vol. 2, pp. 200-203.

<sup>2784</sup> CNS vol. 2, pp. 200-203.

<sup>2785</sup> Newton A. Strait, *Alphabetical List of Battles, 1754-1900*, Washington, 1900, BEA p. 711.

<sup>2786</sup> EHJ p. 336, TCS pp. 386-387, JYC p. 149, WAR vol. II, p. 893.

16-17 October. During the night Cornwallis began ferrying troops over to Gloucester in an effort to allow his army to escape. However a storm arose and the effort was halted. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, a drummer appeared on a parapet of the British works, beating a parley. Cornwallis then sent a message to Washington and Rochambeau requesting a suspension of hostilities. Ewald remarks with some thoughtfulness 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.<sup>2787</sup>

18 October. Negotiations for surrender were carried on between Cornwallis and the Allies at Yorktown.<sup>2788</sup>

19 October. [surrender] YORKTOWN (York County, VA) Receiving an ultimatum from Washington and Rochambeau, Cornwallis, cut off from support and his men suffering terrible losses, finally surrendered at Yorktown. A reported 7,247 (6,602 rank and file) and 840 seaman were given up to the Americans and French Cornwallis' losses during the siege were 156 killed and 326 wounded, and 70 missing. Of these, the German casualties 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 terms of surrender as the Charlestown garrison of 1780. Although the war would continue to drag on for more than a year, Yorktown dramatically signaled the beginning of the end. Clinton sailed from New York on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 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 24<sup>th</sup>, and remained waiting in the Chesapeake till the 29<sup>th</sup>. Only after having fully ascertained what had happened, he sailed back to New York. Prisoners taken at Yorktown were subsequently marched to Winchester, Virginia, and Frederickstown, Maryland, Cornwallis and 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 had removed to not long after the siege. In Autumn 1782 the French were in New England, and by early December had left Boston for the West Indies.<sup>2789</sup>

"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."<sup>2790</sup>

General Return of British Troops Surrendered Prisoners of War on the 19th of October, 1781<sup>2791</sup>

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 14 <sup>th</sup> & 16 <sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>2787</sup> EHV p. 338, TCS p. 387-388, LFB vol. II, p. 315, JYC p. 149, WAR vol. II, pp. 893-894.

<sup>2788</sup> LFB vol. II, pp. 317-318.

<sup>2789</sup> TCS pp. 365-393, CAR p. 587, LFB vol. II, pp. 303-320, CBA p. 643, JYC p. 158, FWI pp. 251-252, WAR vol. II, pp. 886-896.

<sup>2790</sup> CAR p. 587.

<sup>2791</sup> From the U.S. Army Center for Military History.

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."<sup>2792</sup>

Return of British Military Stores and Provisions Captured<sup>2793</sup>

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.<sup>2794</sup>

20 October. [skirmish] Hilton Head Island (Beaufort County, S.C.)<sup>2795</sup>

24 October. 7,000 British reinforcements from New York under Clinton arrived at Chesapeake Bay, but turned back on hearing of the surrender at Yorktown. Clinton finally left Chesapeake Bay on the 29<sup>th</sup>, after being finally assured that attempted assistance would be futile.

24 October. Col. John Sevier, and Col. Isaac Shelby, riding in two separate groups, moved to assist Greene's army with about 700 of their mounted frontier militia. By October 24<sup>th</sup> Sevier arrived to join Greene, while Shelby reached Marion, with whom he was assigned to cooperate, by November 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>2796</sup>

27 October. 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 whole Army to his Excellency Genl. Washington in York Town Virginia on the 17<sup>th</sup> Inst."<sup>2797</sup>

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, burned the fort down, and retired to his camp 15 miles south of Orangeburgh.<sup>2798</sup>

*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.

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, Wilmington [Wilmington] and who were very bad & who annoyed the inhabitants very much.

"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

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<sup>2792</sup> LFB vol. II, p. 320.

<sup>2793</sup> From the U.S. Army Center for Military History.

<sup>2794</sup> *Military History* (magazine), Feb. 2003, p. 62.

<sup>2795</sup> LSC p. 19, ONB vol. 3, pp. 378-379.

<sup>2796</sup> NGP vol. IX, pp. 277n, 521-522.

<sup>2797</sup> KJO p. 26.

<sup>2798</sup> MSC p. 748, RBG p. 208.



When not based directly on official returns, the more liberal estimate among modern scholarship is given as a total. Except for the Early December 1780 entry, numbers represent rank and file fit for duty.

#### 1780

*Early December.* 1,500

#### 1781

*Mid January.* 1,240

The drop from December is due in part to some of the Virginia troops being sent home for lack of arms and clothing, as well as due to temporary rampant desertion.

*Early February.* 1,426

*Mid February.* 1,430

*Mid March.* 1,735

*Mid April.* 1,143

It is not quite clear what caused the major drop after March. But in addition to losses suffered at Guilford, it would seem some of the Maryland and Virginia Continentals went home, their enlistments having expired.

*Mid June.* 1,224

*Late July.* 1,198

This includes the 350 man North Carolina Continentals who had sufficiently collected by this time.

*Early September.* 1,256

This number 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.<sup>2799</sup>

##### \* 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

It must be kept in mind that 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

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<sup>2799</sup> NGP vol. IX, p. 224n.

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.<sup>2800</sup>

### 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.<sup>2801</sup>

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<sup>2802</sup>

In a letter to Washington of August 6<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>2803</sup>

Sept. 1, 1781	5,024	1,596	3,155	9,775
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### 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:

	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

<sup>2800</sup> SNA p. 1392.

<sup>2801</sup> TCS p. 85.

<sup>2802</sup> CAR p. 237n.

<sup>2803</sup> NGP vol. IX, p.139-141.

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<sup>2804</sup>  
1 September, 1781: 1,444 total effectives, 1,196 rank and file fit for duty<sup>2805</sup>

### 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 Ramsour'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.

##### 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  
York

##### Georgia

Richmond  
Wilkes

Western Georgia generally was pro-American.

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<sup>2804</sup> 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.

<sup>2805</sup> 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.

## 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

	<i>County TOTAL</i>	<i>White males over 16</i>	<i>Slaves</i>
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

	<i>County</i>	<i>White males</i>	
	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>over 16</i>	<i>Slaves</i>
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

	<i>County</i>	<i>White males</i>	
	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>over 16</i>	<i>Slaves</i>
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

	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>White males</i>	
		<i>over 16</i>	<i>Slaves</i>
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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<sup>2806</sup> For McJunkin's narrative proper (as opposed to Saye's version) see SCAR vol. 2, no.11, pp 37-47.

<sup>2807</sup> 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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<sup>2808</sup> William Gilore Simms: "Weems had rather loose notions of the privileges of the biographer, though in reality, he has transgressed much less in his *Life of Marion* than I generally supposed. But the untamed, and sometimes extravagant exuberance of his style might well subject his narrative to suspicion." From the Introduction to the Reprint edition.

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## General Index

Abercromby, Robert, 77, 85, 96, 337, 345, 456, 463  
Adams, Peter, 26, 164, 453  
Alamance Picket, (skirmish) 291.  
Alexander, James, 380  
Alexander's Old Field, (aka Beckhamville), (skirmish), 120  
Alexandria, V.A., (raids) 352  
Allaire, Anthony, 53, 56, 57, 84-90, 92, 93-96, 100-103, 105-107, 111-115, 120, 125, 127, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 142, 152, 153, 156, 159, 160, 166, 169, 179, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 195, 197-199, 200, 201, 205-207, 478  
Allen, Isaac, 51, 75, 118, 137, 151, 169, 183, 229, 230, 235, 243, 386, 420, 422, 439  
Alston, Philip, 33, 221, 420  
Alston's Plantation, (skirmish) 221  
Ambush of Coffin, (skirmish) 347  
Amelia Court House and Prince Edward Court House, (raids) 403

---

**AMERICAN ARMY UNITS** (including State Troops)  
1<sup>st</sup> Continental Artillery, 25, 29, 30, 47, 164, 233, 307, 343, 387  
1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, (also Washington's dragoons, Virginia Cavalry), 27-30, 47, 48, 75, 80, 81, 84, 88, 89, 95, 103, 114, 131, 141, 193, 216, 221, 233, 237, 241, 242, 249, 251, 252, 256, 260, 273, 275, 279, 307, 310, 312, 322, 342, 343, 384, 389, 390, 399, 405, 417, 418, 424, 439, 441, 466  
Armand's Legion, 25, 47, 142, 158, 161, 164, 167, 168, 174, 177, 181, 216, 233, 350, 368, 373, 389, 399, 453  
Black Volunteers (whig unit), 79  
Continental Artillery, 25, 26, 260, 268, 375, 389, 426, 453  
Continental Light Infantry, 89, 90, 98, 99, 161, 283, 290, 337, 350, 368, 452, 460  
Daniel Horry's South Carolina Light Horse, 99, 103, 104, 105  
Delaware Regt., 27, 29, 45, 236, 291, 304, 307, 343, 390, 431, 466  
Georgia State Troops, 48  
Lee's Legion, 27, 47, 209, 246, 273, 279, 307, 321, 335, 342, 354, 380, 382, 385, 387, 397, 411, 414, 441, 443, 466  
Maryland Continentals, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 45, 46, 53, 95, 103, 106, 116, 135, 136, 160-164, 167, 168, 172, 174, 175, 177, 185, 186, 192, 202, 214, 215, 222, 229, 233, 234, 236, 237, 240, 245, 251, 252, 258, 260, 273, 276, 278, 279, 292, 295, 304, 305, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 319, 328, 335, 341, 342, 343, 345, 348, 352, 353, 355, 361, 371, 378, 386, 387, 388, 420, 430, 441, 444, 445, 453, 459, 463, 465, 466, 474  
Maryland State Regt. 245  
North Carolina Continentals, 21, 25, 28, 33, 46, 47, 75, 83, 85, (Regiments of 1780) 98, 193, 242, 273, 307, 325, 333, 335, 337, 344, 354, 355, 366, 369, 371, 383, 387, 391, 392, 395, 398, 401, 406, 415, 420, 421, 434, 441, 444, 451, 466, 476  
North Carolina Light Infantry, 161, 164  
North Carolina State Troops, 48  
Pulaski's Legion, 25, 28, 89, 94, 95, 478  
South Carolina Continentals, 84, 85, 90, 98, 102  
South Carolina State Troops, 35, 41, 48, 391, 424, 426, 441, 443  
Virginia Continentals, 25, 26, 27, 46, 75, 78, 85, 88, 91, 95, (regiments of 1780) 98, 103, 110, 114, 140, 185, 233, 248, 260, 280, 285, 292, 294, 302, 305, 307, 343, 350, 373, 383, 387, 389, 441, 444, 465, 466  
Virginia State Artillery, 234  
Virginia State Cavalry, 48, 164, 234  
Virginia State Troops, 31, 46, 48, 116, 136, 150, 161, 164, 185, 452

---

Barras, Comte de, 299, 352, 431, 432, 437  
Beech Island, (skirmish) 365  
Bee's Plantation, (skirmish) 87  
Benning, Friedrich von, 58, 76, 96, 432, 433  
Benson, Lemuel, 175, 243, 326, 332  
Benson, Perry, 341, 388

Bethabara, 17, 149, 180, 205, 207, 208, 211, 219, 241, 271, 272, 275, 279, 281, 287, 301, 315, 316, 328, 349, 365  
Big Glades, (skirmish) 135  
Big Savannah, (ambush) 282.  
Bigger's Ferry, (skirmish) 190  
Black Mingo Creek, (skirmish) 192  
Blackstocks, (battle) 223, 224, 225, 230, 249, 272  
Bloody Savannah, (skirmish) 395  
Bloody Scout, (skirmish) 360  
Blount, Reading, 28, 430, 441  
Blue Savannah, (skirmish) 179  
Boston, 414, 431, 464  
Bowman, Captain, 90  
Bowman, Joshua, 130, 131  
Braddock, Capt., 450  
Bradley, Francis, 159, 195, 291, 293, 294.  
Brandon, Thomas, 39, 43, 117, 121, 125, 130, 132, 167, 178, 202, 217, 244, 252, 257, 289, 361, 383.  
Brandon, William, 39, 384  
Brandon's Defeat, (skirmish) 121  
Branson, Eli, 71  
Bratton, William, 39, 40, 43, 117, 118, 121, 123, 126, 127, 130, 137, 138, 154, 217, 224, 227, 282, 402  
Bretigny, Marquis de, 37, 99, 302, 303, 308  
Briar Creek and Bugg's Plantation, (skirmishes) 364  
Brier Creek Massacre, (raid) 242  
Brierley's Ferry (also Shirar's ferry), 213, (skirmish) 222, 223, 244, 247, 254

---

**BRITISH ARMY UNITS** (including German, Provincials, and Royal Militia)

*British Units*  
3<sup>rd</sup> Regt, 379, 380, 381, 384, 390, 393, 438, 439, 440, 442  
7<sup>th</sup> Regt., 31, 51, 56, 57, 64, 76, 82, 89, 96, 107, 113, 120, 179, 180, 181, 192, 199, 200, 208, 231, 234, 235, 243, 244, 248, 253, 254, 272, 338, 354, 359, 372, 376, 381, 386, 396, 401, 423, 434  
16<sup>th</sup> Regt., 64, 75, 118, 137, 151, 248, 253, 254, 299  
17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, 57, 65, 76, 77, 79, 83, 87, 89, 94, 97, 112-114, 120, 208, 220, 231, 237, 244, 253, 350, 377, 396, 423, 435, 456, 457, 458, 461  
19<sup>th</sup> Regt., 52, 55, 64, 379-381, 390, 390, 406, 410, 411, 439  
23<sup>rd</sup> Regt. 51, 57, 64, 76, 81, 88, 89, 96, 99, 101, 108, 117, 127, 133, 142, 151, 152, 158, 162, 163, 167, 168, 181, 188, 190, 203, 248, 267, 268, 288, 296, 304, 305, 312, 313, 318, 325, 346, 353, 368, 376, 377, 386, 387, 396, 399, 423, 434, 440, 456  
30<sup>th</sup> Regt., 50, 64, 379, 380, 439  
33<sup>rd</sup> Regt., 64, 76, 80, 85, 86, 89, 94-96, 100, 108, 117, 151, 158, 162, 163, 181, 188, 248, 264, 266, 268, 283, 288, 290, 291, 296, 305, 312, 325, 346, 353, 368, 376, 396, 399, 423, 434, 457. .  
34<sup>th</sup> Regt., 208  
41<sup>st</sup> Regt., 97  
42<sup>nd</sup> Regt., 76, 96, 112, 120, 458  
43<sup>rd</sup> Regt, 373, 376, 392, 396, 399, 400, 423, 434, 457  
63<sup>rd</sup> Regt., 56, 58, 64, 80, 84, 107, 108, 151, 159, 175, 176, 180, 181, 216, 217, 219, 223, 224-226, 342, 386  
64<sup>th</sup> Regt., 50, 51, 56, 57, 64, 76, 94, 95, 96, 108, 120, 213, 221, 235, 236, 237, 282, 293, 329, 358, 381, 439, 440, 442  
64<sup>th</sup> Regt., 50, 51, 56, 57, 64, 80, 100, 107, 232, 235, 236, 237  
71<sup>st</sup> Regt., 55, 56, 58, 64, 75, 80, 82, 84, 88, 89, 97, 108, 117, 129, 142, 143, 145, 148, 151, 158, 161, 162, 163, 181, 186-190, 201, 206, 213, 222, 223, 225, 229, 234, 243, 244, 248, 251, 253, 254, 256, 257, 264, 266, 288, 295, 296, 305, 312-314, 325, 339, 342, 346, 353, 355, 368, 376, 396, 423, 434, 457, 461  
76<sup>th</sup> Regt, 318, 348, 376, 396, 392, 399, 400, 423, 434, 457  
80<sup>th</sup> Regt., 243, 244, 348, 376, 392, 396, 399, 400, 423, 434, 457, 459



82<sup>nd</sup> Regt., 64, 235, 237, 263, 346, 353, 357, 377, 423, 435, 457.  
 84<sup>th</sup> Regt., 53, 56, 65, 235, 237, 339, 424, 440  
 Brigade of Guards, 17, 30, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 63, 64, 208, 211, 235,  
 237, 248, 266, 267, 269, 271, 286, 288-290, 295, 296, 304-306,  
 309, 312, 325, 346, 353, 368, 376, 379, 392, 396, 399, 420, 423,  
 434, 456, 463, 464  
 British Grenadiers, 76, 77, 82, 85, 90, 97, 107, 108, 120, 458  
 British Light Infantry, 76, 82, 84, 85, 90, 107, 108, 112, 114, 120,  
 127, 131, 162, 163, 190, 253, 318, 396, 422, 434, 456  
 Guides and Pioneers, 65, 76, 77, 96, 377, 396, 423, 435, 457, 459  
 Royal Artillery, 58, 65, 76, 77, 96, 108, 109, 120, 151, 163, 253,  
 254, 295, 299, 306, 309, 342, 343, 346, 377, 396, 423, 435, 457,  
 458, 464

#### **German Units**

Anspach Regts., 76, 77, 97, 373, 377, 392, 396, 423, 434, 455, 457,  
 458, 464  
 Bose, Regt. von, 22, 58, 72, 208, 235, 236, 237, 243, 248, 266, 267,  
 288, 291, 295, 296, 305, 312, 316, 318, 325, 346, 353, 368, 377,  
 396, 399, 423, 434, 457, 464  
 D'Angelleli, Regt. von, 58, 72, 75, 136, 325  
 Dittfurth, Regt. von, 58, 72, 96, 120, 136, 325  
 Erb Prinz Regt., 430, 462  
 German Chasseurs, 120  
 Hesse-Cassel jägers, 35, 58, 72, 76, 77, 80, 83-85, 88, 89, 90, 97,  
 235, 237, 243, 244, 248, 259, 266, 268, 283, 288, 291, 296, 304,  
 312, 317, 325, 337, 348, 350, 377, 380, 396, 423, 430, 435, 457,  
 464  
 Hessian Artillery (and German Artillery), 76, 77, 97, 111, 237, 377,  
 396, 423, 435, 457  
 Hessian Grenadiers, 76, 77, 80, -82, 90, 96, 97, 107, 113, 120  
 Huyne, Regt. von, (also Huyn) 58, 72, 76, 80, 96, 108, 120, 136, 325  
 Prince Hereditaire, 318, 377, 396, 423, 424, 434, 457, 464  
 Knoblauch, Regt. von, 58, 72, 75  
 Knyphausen, Regt. von, 458  
 Landgraf, Musketeer Regt., 458  
 Lengerck, regt. von., 108, 458  
 Linsing, Regt. von, 77, 85, 108, 458  
 Lowenstein, Regt. von, 458

#### **Provincial Units**

British Legion, 16, 28, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 65, 76, 77, 79, 83, 85, 86,  
 89, 94, 95, 97, 100, 104, 108, 113, 114, 115, 117, 120, 129, 137,  
 151, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 167, 172, 173, 185,  
 187, 190, 204, 215, 216, 221, 224, 248, 253, 254, 259, 266, 268,  
 274, 275, 283, 284, 288, 290, 292, 295, 297, 306, 313, 325, 346,  
 353, 368, 377, 396, 399, 423, 435, 457, 459, 464. .  
 Cathcart's Legion, 79  
 Charlestown Volunteer Battalion, 70  
 Delancey's Brigade, 52, 65, 75, 79, 89, 118, 169, 183, 281, 372, 386,  
 387, 388, 439, 440, 442, 459  
 Georgia Light Dragoons, 56, 71, 75, 84, 89  
 Georgia Loyalists, 65, 86  
 King's American Regt., 44, 52, 57, 57, 66, 76, 97, 118, 208, 235,  
 237, 238, 245, 248, 262, 278, 331, 335, 339, 342, 375, 376  
 King's Rangers, 51, 52, 56, 57, 63, 66, 67, 75, 118, 128, 139, 151-  
 153, 158, 181, 183, 193, 294, 369, 370, 380  
 King's Orange Rangers, 66  
 Loyal American Volunteers, 54, 56, 57, 66, 76, 77, 79, 84, 97, 100,  
 112, 142, 185, 458  
 New Jersey Volunteers, 51, 52, 57, 65, 66, 75, 118, 137, 169, 170,  
 183, 201, 235, 323, 335, 386, 387, 388, 420, 422, 439, 440, 442,  
 458, 459  
 New York Volunteers, 19, 51-57, 65-67, 71, 75, 84, 87, 97, 99, 103,  
 108, 117, 129, 137, 138, 146, 151, 158, 159, 160, 163, 169, 177,  
 180, 181, 213, 221, 229, 235, 237, 314, 320, 325, 338, 342, 348,  
 381, 386, 422, 433, 439, 440, 442, 444, 448  
 North Carolina Dragoons, 66  
 North Carolina Volunteers, 19, 58, 66, 151, 152, 154, 162, 163, 181,  
 248, 266, 288, 304, 306, 325, 353, 377, 396, 423, 435, 457.

Provincial Light Infantry Battalion, 54, 67, 208, 237, 246, 293, 329,  
 335, 339, 351, 358, 381, 395, 439, 440, 442, 478  
 Prince of Wales American Volunteers, 53, 54, 55, 66, 96, 97, 113,  
 117, 125, 127, 150, 152, 154, 162, 175, 177, 212, 247, 253, 348,  
 354, 365, 381  
 Royal North Carolina Regiment, 52, 58, 59, 60, 66, 67, 71, 75, 84,  
 89, 93, 97, 117, 125, 128, 132, 151-154, 158, 162, 163, 176, 181,  
 193, 246, 264, 284, 304, 346, 357, 368, 399, 432  
 South Carolina Light Dragoons, 56, 70, 330, 336, 381  
 South Carolina Rangers, (also Harrison's Corps.) 19, 63, 67, 128,  
 151, 176, 187, 202, 215, 220, 221, 291, 293, 294, 335, 406, 407  
 South Carolina Royalists, 52, 54, 55, 66, 67, 75, 84, 97, 99, 113, 117,  
 118, 122, 169, 170, 177, 188, 322, 325, 340, 342, 374, 379, 381,  
 401, 406, 407, 433, 439, 448  
 Volunteers of Ireland, 19, 49, 51, 52, 54, 67, 96, 97, 99, 101, 117,  
 128, 151, 158, 162, 163, 181, 188, 216, 280, 291, 338, 342, 409  
 Queen's Rangers, 19, 55, 57, 67, 76, 96, 97, 120, 220, 235, 237-239,  
 243-245, 248, 262, 278, 286, 301, 320, 326, 337, 348, 360, 368,  
 377, 378, 392, 396, 399, 401, 406, 423, 428, 433, 435, 457, 459,  
 464, 474  
 West Florida Royal Foresters, 72

#### **Royal Militia**

"Camden Brigade," 68,  
 Camden Regt. of Militia, 68  
 Cheraws Regt. of Militia, 69  
 Colleton County Regt. of Militia, 69  
 Craven and Berkley County Regiment of Militia, 60, 69  
 Fair Forest Regt., 70  
 George Neal's Regt., 70  
 Georgetown Regt. of Militia, 62, 69  
 Granville County Regt. of Militia, 69  
 Jackson Creek Regt., 260, 335  
 Jackson's Creek Regt. of Militia, 68  
 Little River (of the Saluda) Regt., 70  
 Long Cane Creek Regt., 70  
 Ninety Six Brigade 70, 128  
 Orangeburgh Regt. of Militia, 69  
 Santee Regt. of Militia, 69  
 Steven's Creek Regt., 70  
 Zachariah Gibbs' Regt., 70

~~~~~  
 Broderick, Henry, 303  
 Brown Marsh, (skirmish) 434  
 Brown, Sam, 19, 43  
 Brown, Tarleton, 264, 324, 327, 330, 336, 370, 371, 372, 380  
 Brown, Thomas (loyalist), 18, 44, 51, 66, 118, 151, 152, 183, 229,  
 323, 324, 336, 353, 364, 365, 369, 380. . .  
 Brown, Thomas (of Bladen), 214, 205  
 Brown, William, 441  
 Brown's Counterattack, (skirmish) 214  
 Brownson, Nathan, 395  
 Bruce's Crossroads, (skirmish) 274  
 Brush Creek, (battle) 465  
 Bryan, Samuel, 58, 66, 134, 135, 152, 153, 154, 162, 163, 176, 181,  
 185, 264, 266, 304, 306  
 Buchanan, Patrick, 251, 252  
 Buford, Abraham, 25, 46, 95, 103, 104, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115,  
 116, 121, 140, 168, 185, 203, 214, 233, 234, 245, 260  
 Bullock's Creek, (skirmish) 135  
 Bunau, Regt. von, 458  
 Burke, Samuel, 20  
 Burke, Thomas, 36, 44, 59, 252, 417, 436, 446, 447  
 Burnet, Ichabod, 214, 268, 300, 366  
 Burwell's Ferry (raid) 337  
 Bush River, (ambush) 353  
 Butler, John, 32, 148, 164, 168, 216, 275, 281, 283, 288, 292, 299,  
 302, 308, 311, 333, 340, 395, 446, 465  
 Butler, Richard, 392

Caithness, Lord, 90  
 Caldeleugh, Capt., 450  
 Caldwell's Place, (skirmish) 116  
 Call, Richard, 80, 82, 83, 141, 216, 389  
 Camden, 7, 12, 14, 17, 23, 24-37, 45, 46-58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66-68, 81, 110-113, 115-119, 121, 123, 126, 127, 129, 132, 133, 136, 140-143, 145, 148, 149, 151-153, 155, 158-161, (battle) 162-181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192-195, 202-204, 208-217, 219-221, 227-229, 231-237, 239, 242, 243, 246, 250, 260, 261, 264, 280, 281, 291, 293, 308, 314, 315, 320-322, 324-326, 328, 330, 331, 334-336, 338-341, 343-349, 351, 353-363, 366, 374, 381, 386, 395, 397-399, 401-403, 405, 425, 426, 429-432, 445, 447, 467, 468, 479  
 Camden Escort, (capture) 260  
 Camden Mill, (skirmish) 340  
 Camp, The, (skirmish) 238  
 Campbell, Alexander, 342  
 Campbell, Archibald, 56, 71, 75, 84, 163, 433  
 Campbell, Arthur, 37, 188, 189, 241, 272, 274, 281  
 Campbell, Charles, 114, 173, 174. . . .  
 Campbell, Colin, 411  
 Campbell, David, 246, 250, 269, 274, 284  
 Campbell, George, 52, 57, 237, 238, 239, 245, 262, 342  
 Campbell, James, 461  
 Campbell, Richard, 340, 389. . . . .  
 Campbell, Robert, 56, 439  
 Campbell, Samuel, 71  
 Campbell, William, 12, 29, 30, 31, 35, 37, 149, 179, 189, 192, 194, 196-198, 200, 201, 204, 205, 208, 211, 213, 274, 280, 293, 295, 296, 297, 300, 301, 304, 305, 308, 314, 383, 389, 394, 395  
 Candler, William, 45, 196, 198, 199, 224, 225, 227, 229  
 Cane Creek, (skirmish) 182  
 Capture of Isaac Hayne, (raid) 401  
 Capture of Williamson, (raid) 399  
 Carden, John, 54, 57, 150-152, 158  
 Carnes, Patrick, 22, 29, 47, 260, 262  
 Carr, Patrick, "Paddy" 218 223, 364  
 Carrington, Edward, 23, 26, 134, 135, 233, 243, 250, 276, 277, 303, 316, 340, 341, 343, 344, 411, 417, 422, 436, 453, 475  
 Carrington, George, 422  
 Carson, Andrew, 205  
 Cary, James, 11, 60, 68, 160, 215  
 Cary's Fort, (skirmish) 42, 160  
 Cashua Ferry, (skirmish) 325.  
 Cassells, James, 62, 69, 179  
 Caswell, Richard, 25, 32, 103, 135, 136, 145, 150, 155, 161, 164, 168, 170, 175, 192, 193, 274, 281, 289, 326, 352. .  
 Caswell, William, 32, 83, 103, 110, 111, 398  
 Catawba Indians, 17, 127, 132, 168, 174, 279, 290  
 Charles City Court House, (skirmish) 246  
 Charleston, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 35, 37-48, 50-61, 63-67, 70, 72, 75, 76, 78-80, (ambush-capture) 81, 83, 86-94, 96-100, (sortie) 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, (surrender) 107-113, 115-118, 120, 127, 133, 136, 137, 140, 148, 150, 151, 156, 159, 160, 162, 167, 168, 175, 176, 179, 186, 193, 201, 208, 211-214, 217, 220, 221, 223, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 242, 246, 259, 260, 267, 282, 294, 320, 321, 324, 325, 336, 337, 339, 341, 343, 346-348, 351, 355-358, 365, 366, 374-376, 378-381, 384, 390, 391, 394, 396, 398, 399, 401, 402, 406, 407, 409, 410-415, 422, 424-427, 429, 430, 434, 435, 439, 440, 443, 445-449, 451, 456, 463, 476, 478  
 Charlotte, 11, 12, 23, 24, 25, 34, 35, 36, 44, 55, 57, 86, 114, 115, 121, 126, 127, 129, 130, 135, 136, 144, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 186, 187, 188, 189, (skirmish) 190, 191, 194, 195, 197, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209, 210, 214, 221, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 239, 250, 261, 265, 267, 280, 287, 293, 307, 353, 355, 390, 393, 404, 414, 415, 417, 427, 429, 430, 451  
 Charlottesville, 24, 30, 47, (raids) 377, 380, 383, 393  
 Chastellux, Francois, 450, 455  
 Cheraw, 12, 33, 37, 55, 61, 62, 69, 117, 129, 134, 135, 142-143, 145, 148, 155, 176, 180, 181, 193, 195, 205, 211, 219, 233, 236, 237, 238, 260, 337  
 Cherokee Indians, 17, 31, 35, 37, 44, 51, 62, 63, 84, 117, 140, 142-145, 156, 157, 167, 168, 171, 183, 184, 187, 197, 200, 201, 203, 241, 249, 250, 260, 272, 274, 281, 288, 293, 327, 336, 353, 364, 373, 397, 404, 420, 425, 432, 476  
 Chesney, Alexander, 56, 63, 135, 142, 144, 160, 169, 178, 182, 186, 201, 230, 247, 253, 351, 378, 394, 401, 407, 409, 473  
 Chesterfield Court House, 246, 249, 279, 285, (raid) 348  
 Chickahominy, (raid) 340  
 Chickasaw Indians, 420  
 Chiswell lead mines, 31, 149, 179  
 Choisy, Marquis de, 449, 452, 455, 459  
 Christian, William, 281, 420  
 Chronicle, William, 36, 196, 198  
 Clapp's Mill, (skirmish) 17, 36, 290  
 Clark, Elijah, 11, 38, 42, 44, 45, 55, 58, 60, 118, 122, 124, 137, 143, 144, 156, 158, 167, 169, 170, 174, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 189, 192-194, 196, 202, 217, 220, 224, 225, 227, 230, 234, 235, 237, 239, 245, 253, 278, 317, 322, 330, 336, 354, 364, 365, 366, 370, 390, 400, 432, 478  
 Clark, Thomas, 98  
 Clarke, Alured, 51, 56, 82, 85, 96, 103, 322, 381  
 Clary, Daniel, 60, 70, 116, 124, 128, 160, 169, 199  
 Cleveland, Benjamin, 34, 35, 36, 39, 178, 189, 192, 195-201, 206, 207, 211, 213, 253, 334, 335  
 Clinton, Henry, 18, 27, 38, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 58, 61, 63-66, 67, 72, 73, 75-84, 86, 87, 88, 89-92, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 104, 106-109, 111-113, 116, 117, 119, 120, 123, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135, 137, 139, 143, 146, 151, 167, 175-177, 180, 187, 188, 202, 204, 207, 208, 210, 212, 219, 223-225, 231, 232, 236, 237, 240, 242, 243-245, 261, 262, 268, 276, 281, 283, 298, 299, 301, 306, 316, 317, 318, 321, 323, 326, 328, 329, 331-334, 337, 339, 340, 342, 345, 347, 348, 350, 351, 354, 357, 359, 360, 368, 373, 374, 379, 389, 390, 392, 394, 397-401, 405, 407, 408, 414, 416-419, 422, 424, 428-431, 433, 436-438, 445, 449, 450, 451, 453, 455, 456, 457, 460, 461, 463, 464, 467, 472-474, 478  
 Cloyd, Joseph, 205, 274  
 Coates, James, 52, 55, 390, 406, 407, 408, 410-414  
 Cochrane, Charles, 54, 84, 94, 95, 114, 115  
 Coffin, John, 41, 54, 66, 213, 215, 229, 235, 237, 238, 325, 330, 339, 342, 347, 379, 385, 396, 433, 438, 439, 448  
 Cohera Swamp, (skirmish) 361  
 Cole's Bridge, (skirmish) 325  
 Coleman, Charles, 121, 228  
 Collins, James, 138  
 Colson's Mill, also Colston's, (skirmish) 32, 33, 141, 145, 264, 333  
 Conyers, Daniel, 243, 294, 302  
 Conyers, James, 95, 350  
 Cooper, George, 324, 329, 324, 330, 433  
 Cooper, Samuel, 430, 433  
 Cornwallis, Charles Lord, 7, 12, 13, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 46, 49-55, 57-62, 64-72, 76, 77, 80, 82, 85, 94-99, 101, 102, 104, 110, 112, 116, 118, 119, 120, 123, 126, 129, 130, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 143, 145, 146, 148, 150, 151, 155, 159, 166, 176, 177, 183, 185, 186-199, 201-232, 234-236, 238, 240, 241, 243-251, 253, 254-256, 258-307, 309, 311-319, 321, 322, 324-326, 328, 329-334, 337-342, 346, 347, 350, 352, 353-361, 363, 365, 366, 368, 369, 370, 373-381, 383, 384, 390-395, 398, 399, 401-405, 408, 414, 416, 417, 418, 422, 423, 427-438, 440, 442, 443, 444, 445-446, 450, 451, 455, 456, 457, 460, 461, 463-465, 467, 472, 474-476, 478, 479  
 Cornwallis, Fredrick, 303  
 Cotton, Joseph, 61, 70, 128  
 Cowan's Ford, 34 (skirmish), 266  
 Cowpens, 12, 20, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 53, 56, 57, 63-67, 118, 131, 144, 172, 179, 195, 197, 199, 200, 204, 231, 236, 239, 246, 249, (battle) 250-255, 259, 262, 266, 269, 272, 280, 294, 306, 310, 339, 474

Coxe's Mill, (also Wilcox's Mill), 23, 135, 136, 142, 143, 145, 148, 330, 362 (raids), 362, (raids, 8 June '81), 382, 410, 420  
 Crafton, Bennett, 122  
 Craig, James, 33, 54, 59, 65, 237, 246, 260, 263, 273, 300, 334, 346, 383, 385, 394, 399, 424, 428, 446, 447, 477  
 Creek Indians, 51, 63, 353, 432  
 Crocket, Hugh, 149, 281, 286, 295, 297, 301  
 Crockett, David (also "Davy"), 149  
 Crockett, Hugh, 286, 295, 297, 301  
 Crockett, John, 149  
 Crockett, Walter, 149  
 Crofton, Bennett, 122, 143  
 Cross Creek, 7, 11, 12, 32, 33, 36, 54, 110, 111, 150, 155, 167, 181, 204-206, 220, 236, 242, 263, 268, 273, 275, 300, 302, 318, 319, 322, 325, 328, 395, 447, 465  
 Cross Creek, 204, 322, 326, 331, (raid) 422  
 Cruden, John, 18, 186  
 Cruger, John Harris, 51, 52, 60, 61, 62, 66, 75, 118, 137, 151, 158, 159, 178, 183, 184, 187, 188, 193, 195, 198, 209, 212, 217, 229, 230, 235, 243, 289, 317, 322, 353, 356, 357, 364, 372, 375, 378, 382, 383, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 393, 394, 396, 400, 401, 403, 405, 406, 409, 415, 420, 439, 440  
 Cunningham, John, 45, 230, 235, 239, 240, 252.  
 Cunningham, Patrick, 62, 70, 128, 199, 433  
 Cunningham, Robert, 11, 60, 61, 70, 113, 124, 128, 129, 134, 160, 185, 230, 234, 235, 238, 241, 317, 386.  
 Cunningham, William, 42, 59, 60, 62, 70, 122, 123, 130, 353, 358, 359, 360, 364, 386, 404, 415, 422, 459  
 Cunningham's Raids, (raid) 422  
 Cypress Swamp, (skirmish) 422  
 Cypress Swamp and Charlestown Road, (raids) 433  
 Davidson, George, 187  
 Davidson, William Lee, 11, 25, 32, 33, 34, 36, 132, 141, 142, 179, 187, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 205, 209, 213, 236, 237, 239, 249, 250, 251, 253, 261, 263, 266, 267, 268, 272, 274  
 Davie, William Richardson, 11, 16, 17, 23, 26, 34-36, 48, 98, 123, 127, 131-134, 141, 142, 146, 150, 153, 154, 166, 168, 172, 173, 178, 187, 189, 190, 191, 205, 206, 213, 214, 217, 218, 229, 230, 232, 250, 296, 305, 311, 312, 319, 325, 343, 352  
 Davies, William, 46  
 Dawson, Thomas, 54, 439  
 Brahm, Ferdinand de, 79, 85, 87-93, 95, 96, 99, 100-103, 106, 107  
 De Puis, Johann C., (also De Buy), 58, 291, 305, 312  
 Death of Abel Kolb, (raid) 348  
 DePeyster, Abraham, 57, 136, 139, 169, 178, 180, 199, 201, 202, 207  
 DePeyster, Fredrick, 180  
 DePeyster, James, 57, 248, 278  
 DePeyster's Capture, (surrender) 278  
 Destouches, Admiral, 236, 299, 315, 352  
 Dickey's Farm, (skirmish) 287  
 Dickson, Joseph, 36, 203, 285, 290, 291  
 Dill, Maj., 364  
 Dixon, Henry, 33, 34, 277, 294  
 Dobson, Henry, 166, 167, 237  
 Dog Days Expedition, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 55, (main entry) 407, 412  
 Dooly, John, 44, 116, 118, 122, 124  
 Dorchester, 29, 40, 57, 88, 89, 90, 95, 212, 238, 339, 348, 351, 361, 365, 368, 369, 374-376, 378, 381, 390, 393, 396, 401, 405, 407, 412, 420, 422, 426, 433, 434, 440, 443-445, 448  
 Dorchester and Four Holes Bridge, (raids) 407  
 Dorchester Road, (skirmish), 88, (skirmishes, early Sept. 1781), 448  
 Douglass' Raid, (raid) 353  
 Downes Home (defense of a domestic dwelling), 339  
 Downes, William, 339  
 Doyle, John, 54, 195, 342, 353, 358, 381, 394  
 Doyle, Welbore Ellis, 52, 54, 221, 280, 320, 348, 422, 428. .  
 Dreher Plantation, (skirmish) 395  
 Drew, Thomas, 185  
 Drowning Creek, 12, 33, 36, 59, 163, 181, 185, 195, 213, 242, 246, 258, 325, 349, 351, 356, 398, 422, 426, 435, 462  
 Drummond, Robert, 183  
 Dudley, Guilford, 31, 34, 36, 288, 303, 334, 342, 348, 349, 362, 382  
 Dugan's Plantation (raid), 259  
 Duncanson, Capt., 256  
 Dundass, Thomas, 77, 86, 96, 240, 261, 290, 299, 301, 337, 340, 399, 400, 408, 415, 431, 457, 459.  
 Dunglass, Capt. Lord, 309, 328  
 Dunlop, James, 55, 62, 65, 139, 140, 156, 182, 230, 317, 353, 359  
 Duportail, Louis Le Begue, 24, 79, 98, 101, 102, 106, 107, 110, 450, 452  
 Dutch Fork, 63, 121, 222, 223, 243, 469  
 Dutchman's Creek, (raid) 314  
 Dutchman's Creek, (skirmish) 288  
 Duval, Isaac, 388  
 Earle's Ford, (also known as McDowell's Camp), 55, (skirmish), 139  
 Eaton, Pinkertham, 28, 30, 46, 47, 333, 335, 337, 341, 354, 355, 371, 406  
 Eaton, Thomas, 32, 33, 302, 305, 308, 311  
 Edmonds, Elias, 48, 161, 164  
 Edmunds, Thomas, 26, 29, 46, 415, 441, 444.  
 Edwards, Meridith, 70  
 Eggleston, Joseph, 29, 47, 51, 284, 285, 371, 393, 397, 401, 438, 441  
 Eggleston's Capture, (ambush) 397  
 Elizabethtown, (skirmish) 432  
 Elphinstone, Keith, 79, 80, 81, 82, 89  
 Elwood, William, 382, 399  
 England, Richard, 186, 229  
 England, Robert, 346  
 English, Robert, 61, 68  
 Enoree, (skirmish) 265  
 Ervin, Hugh, 39, 243, 320, 341  
 Ervin, John, 39, 41, 119, 143, 331, 354, 433  
 Eutaw Springs, 7, 20, 21, 23, 25-30, 34, 35, 38-43, 47, 48, 50-57, 65, 282, 405, 407, 426, 427, 428, 429, 434, 435, 436, (battle) 438-440, 443, 445, 448, 449, 466  
 Ewald, Johann, 14, 56, 58, 77-80, 82-86, 88, 90, 91, 111, 112, 244, 341, 430, 449, 457, 459, 462, 463, 473  
 Fairforest Creek, (skirmish) 242, (second skirmish), 288  
 Falls, William, 130-132  
 Fanning, David, 16, 31, 33, 36, 54, 59, 70, 113, 169, 193, 199, 265, 284, 285, 303, 324, 362, 385, 395, 399, 409, 420, 422, 432, 435, 446, 447, 463, 465, 473  
 Fanning, Edmund, 51, 52, 59, 76, 97, 208  
 Fanning, John, 70  
 Fanning's Horses, (raid) 303.  
 Farmer, Thomas, 34, 261, 263, 441  
 Farr, William, 227, 240, 257, 258  
 Faunt le Roy, Griffin, 29  
 Febiger, Christian, 389, 395, 399  
 Fenwick, Edward, 61, 70, 330, 336, 337, 367, 421  
 Ferguson, Patrick, 28, 30, 35, 37, 49, 52, 55-57, 59, 60, 65, 76, 79, 84, 93-95, 97, 100, 103, 104, 105, 108, 112, 113, 126, 127, 129, 133-135, 137, 138, 142, 144, 149, 156, 158, 159, 163, 167, 169, 174, 176, 178-182, 184, 185, 188, 192, 194-204, 209, 219, 230, 232, 235, 248, 249, 340, 366, 445, 449, 453, 473, 478  
 Few, Benjamin, 45, 118, 220, 234  
 Finley, Ebenezer, 29, 268, 304, 307, 317, 335, 349, 350, 354, 355, 356, 364, 366, 367, 382, 387  
 First Cedar Spring, 43, (skirmish) 138  
 Fish Dam Ford, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 56, 160, 213, (skirmish) 216, 220, 221  
 Fisher, John, 61, 69, 113, 122, 128, 167, 361  
 Fishing Creek, [raid-battle] 172-174  
 Fitzgerald, Edward, 394  
 Flat Rock, (skirmish) 141-142  
 Fletchall, Thomas, 122  
 Floyd, Mathew, 61, 62, 68, 143  
 Ford, Benjamin, 26, 28, 164, 175, 307, 330, 341, 343, 345

Fork of the Edisto, (skirmish) 422  
*forlorn hope*, 147, 388  
 Fort Anderson, (also Thicketty Fort), (surrender) 144  
 Fort Balfour, 61, (ambush-surrender) 336  
 Fort Charlotte, (surrender) 86  
 Fort Cornwallis, 364, (sorties) 375  
 Fort Galphin, 57, 359, 367, (surrender), 370  
 Fort Granby, (first siege) 280, (second siege), 354, (surrender), 364  
 Fort Grierson, (surrender) 371  
 Fort Johnson, 81, 82, 83, (skirmish) 89, 92, 100  
 Fort Motte, 27, 28, 29, 58, 193, 272, 281, 282, 329, 349, (siege) 355, 356, 358, 361, 362, 363, 364, 366, 398, 401, 436, 438  
 Fort Moultrie, 78, 84, 87, 88, (coastal battle) 92, 93, 99, 101, 102, 103, 105, 112, 113, 201  
 Fort Nashborough (siege), 326  
 Fort Watson, 27, 42, 239, 272, 282, (assault by Sumter), 287, 291, 293, 314, (siege) 335, 340, 341, 349, 351, 378  
 Four Holes, (ambush-surrender) 329  
 Four Mile Branch, (skirmish) 427  
 Francisco, Peter, 294, 405  
 Fraser, Simon, 55, 305, 342  
 Fraser, Thomas, 39, 55, 67, 169, 291, 294, 340, 342, 399, 401, 406, 410, 432, 433, 448  
 Frederick, MD., 375  
 French Broad River, (skirmish) 234  
 Friday's Ferry, 40, 236, 280, (skirmish) 353, 361, 365, 397, 398, 399, 400, 416  
 Fuller's Plantation, (skirmish) 90  
 Gadsden, Christopher, 93, 106, 176  
 Gaines, William, 441  
 Gaither's Old Field, (skirmish) 116  
 Galvez, Bernardo de, 86, 299, 360  
 Ganey, Micajah, 41, 62, 63, 69, 177, 179, 180, 181, 185, 238, 329, 330, 331, 338, 356, 365, 385  
 Gaskins, Thomas, 389, 453  
 Gaston, Joseph, 120  
 Gates, Horatio, 17, 23-26, 35, 37, 47, 127, 136, 140, 142-144, 148, 150, 155, 158-166, 168, 172, 174, 175, 177, 181, 185, 186, 193-196, 200, 202-205, 208-211, 214, 216, 222, 223, 229, 230, 233, 307  
 Geiger, Emily, 15  
 George, David, 240  
 Georgetown, 37, 41-44, 52, 56, 57, 62, 67, 104, 112, 117, 143, 145, 146, 150, 155, 158, 175, 179, 180, 181, 192, 193, 195, 212, 214, 221, 237-240, 245, 246, 248, 260, (raid) 262, 264, 269, 278, 279, (raid), 286, 294, 302, 314, 320, 321, (skirmish) 326, 329, 330, 331, 338, 339, 341, 356, 358, 359, 365, 368, 374, 375, 383, 418, 424, 429, 431, 436  
 Germain, Lord George, 21, 49, 58, 67, 113, 132, 133, 135, 143, 160, 163, 186, 187, 188, 251, 255, 262, 267, 276, 286, 298, 311, 315, 316, 322, 337, 343, 344, 345, 346, 355, 440  
 Gervais, John L., 115  
 Gibbs, Zacharias, 63, 128, 160  
 Gilbertown, 55, 158, 174, 179, 180, 182, 184, 187, 188, 189, 192, 194, 196, 197, 204, 205, 259, 317  
 Giles, Edward, 251, 254, 255  
 Gillies, (bugler for Lee's Legion), 275  
 Gilmore Simms, William, 20, 56, 63, 396, 407, 440  
 Gimat, Jean-Joseph, 350, 399, 452, 461  
 Gist, Mordecai, 24, 164, 453  
 Gist, Nathaniel, 98  
 Glaubek, "Baron," 294  
 Gloucester, 27, 416-419, 423, 424, 426-428, 430, 434, 449, 451, 457, (skirmish) 459, 460, 463, 464  
 Goochland, (raid) 378  
 Goodrick, Capt., 268, 304, 309  
 Goose Creek, (raid) 407  
 Gorrel, Ralph, 300  
 Gould, Paston, 50, 51, 54, 379, 381, 390, 393, 394, 412, 415, 429, 439, 445, 446, 449  
 Gowen's Old Fort, (skirmish) 139  
 Graff, Lieut. Col. von, 76, 77, 96, 108  
 Grafton, Duke of, 262  
 Graham, Faithful, 59, 71  
 Graham, James, 84, 86, 151  
 Graham, John, 185, 193  
 Graham, Joseph, 9, 12, 17, 27, 29, 34, 36, 130, 131, 133, 190, 253, 263, 267, 270, 271, 273, 279, 282, 284, 285, 290, 291, 294, 295, 296, 329, 462, 463, 473  
 Graham, William, 9, 34, 36, 132, 156, 178, 194, 198  
 Graham's Fort (skirmish), 178  
 Grant's Creek, (skirmish) 271  
 Grasse, Comte de, 425, 427, 429, 431, 432, 433, 436, 437, 438, 445, 449, 450, 463  
 Graves, Sir Thomas, 240, 243, 352, 380, 406, 425, 432, 437, 457, 474  
 Graves, Thomas, 414, 431, 449, 450, 456  
 Gray, Robert, 12, 17, 19, 20, 38, 55, 62, 68, 69, 166, 194, 341, 346, 385, 479  
 Great Dismal Swamp, (raid) 398  
 Great Savannah, 30, 45, (ambush), 174, 175  
 Green Spring Farm (battle), 399  
 Green, John, 26, 27, 46, 233, 248, 305, 307  
 Greene, Joseph, 372, 385, 386, 388  
 Greene, Nathanael, 6, 7, 10, 15, 16, 20, 22-39, 41, 42, 44-47, 49, 51-54, 62, 158, 185, 200, 208, 211, 213, 214, 222, 230-234, 236-239, 241-243, 245, 246, 248-251, 253, 254, 255, 258, 259-264, 266-305, 307, 309, 310, 313-322, 325, 326, 328, 329-335, 337-374, 376-381, 383-393, 395-407, 409-413, 415-418, 420-422, 424-446, 449, 457, 465, 467, 474, 475, 477-479  
 Gregory, Isaac, 33, 164, 165, 398  
 Grierson, Fort, 28, 30, 364, 370, 371  
 Grierson, James, 52, 118, 370, 380.  
 Grimke, John Faucheraud, 27, 98  
 Guilford Court House, 7, 12, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 64, 65, 149, 177, 233, 250, 263, 272, 288, 292, 293, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 303, (battle) 304, 306, 314, 315, 317, 325, 333, 355, 364, 365, 404  
 Gunby, John, 23, 25, 26, 28, 164, 166, 167, 245, 272, 307, 310, 342, 343, 345, 353, 430  
 Guyon, Stephen, 57, 203  
 Hacker, Hoysted, 76  
 Haddrell's Point (skirmish), 103  
 Haghler, King, 17  
 Haldane, Henry, 57, 163, 215, 229, 243  
 Haley's Ferry, 243, 300, 315, 325  
 Halfway Swamp, 56, (skirmish), 235  
 Halifax, N.C., 131, 141, 259, 274, 283, 284, 288, 293, 349, 356, 357, 365, 436  
 Halifax, VA., 52, 278, 279, 280  
 Hall, Francis, 266, 267  
 Hall, Josiah Carvel, 164, 168  
 Hambright, Frederick, 34, 36, 194, 198  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 452, 460, 461  
 Hamilton, John, 52, 75, 89, 97, 163, 176, 304, 306  
 Hammond, LeRoy, 39, 43, 122, 123, 323, 415, 418, 427  
 Hammond, Samuel, 11, 38, 39, 43, 48, 60, 122-125, 132, 143, 167, 170, 174, 181, 205, 223, 231, 235, 252, 257, 259, 273, 283, 322, 323, 336, 352, 354, 359, 364, 370, 371, 427, 441, 450, 479  
 Hammond's Plantation, (skirmish), 85  
 Hammond's Raid, (raid) 143  
 Hammond's Store, 42, 43, 60, 63, 241 (raid), 240  
 Hampton Roads, 49, 208, 240, 284, 337, 404, 416, 419, 421, 433, 451, 455  
 Hampton, Andrew, 139, 144, 174, 186  
 Hampton, Edward, 125, 133, 140, 143  
 Hampton, Henry, 40, 121, 139, 160, 172, 190, 223, 224, 227, 329, 330, 353, 398, 402, 405, 407, 416  
 Hampton, John, 121

Hampton, Richard, 40, 392, 365, 376, 384, 385  
 Hampton, Wade, 40, 55, 60, 280, 353, 361, 393, 405, 407, 410, 411, 421, 424, 441  
 Handy, George, 29, 47, 371, 375  
 Hanger, George, 16, 55, 76, 77, 97, 120, 151, 154, 159, 163, 187, 190, 191, 194, 203, 204, 206, 473  
 Hanging Rock, 20, 34, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54, 57, 58, 66, 68, 117, 122, 130, 134, 135, 137, 141, 146, 149, 150, (battle) 151-154, 158, 159, 166, 173, 185, 190, 198, 213, 221, 230, 232, 439  
 Hanging Tree, (skirmish) 324  
 Hanover Court House, (raid) 375  
 Harden, William, 40, 324, 327, 328, 336  
 Harden, William, Jr., 431, 433.  
 Hardman, Henry, 28, 45, 192, 387, 441  
 Harrington, Henry William, 33, 150, 155, 195, 205, 211, 214  
 Harrison, Charles, 25, 26, 47, 164, 260, 293, 307, 343, 387, 388, 426, 429  
 Harrison, John, 11, 63, 128, 176, 220, 294  
 Harrison, Samuel, 63, 294  
 Hart, Nancy, 15  
 Hart's Mill, 27, 36, (skirmish), 282  
 Hartley's Creek, (skirmish) 456  
 Hawes, Samuel, 26, 27, 28, 46, 233, 292, 305, 307, 343, 387  
 Hawsey, Capt., 170  
 Hawthorn, James, 42, 154, 198  
 Hayes Station Raid, (mentioned) 62  
 Hayes, Joseph, 42, 239, 240, 241, 244, 252, 339, 359  
 Hayne, Isaac, 39, 40, 55, 123, 130, 378, 399, 401, 419, 425  
 Head of Elk, 103, 106, 289, 292, 299, 328, 330, 445  
 Heath, William, 428  
 Henderson, Pleasant, 318, 322  
 Henderson, William, 42, 48, 98, 101, 223, 373, 400, 415, 425-429, 438, 441  
 Herndon, Benjamin, 36, 203, 335  
 Herndon, Joseph, 36, 196  
 Heron's Bridge, (skirmish) 300  
 Heth, William, 78  
 Heyward, Thomas, 176  
 Hick's Creek, 46, 234, 239, 245, 268, 307  
 High Hills of the Santee, 145, 175, 176, 180, 211, 212, 214, 229, 232, 238, 291, 341, 393, 401, 406, 409, 412, 416, 418, 420, 425, 428, 429, 446, 449, 465  
 Hill, Baylor, 88  
 Hill, William, 38, 40, 117, 118, 123, 127, 130, 132, 137, 151, 152, 194, 196, 198, 207, 216, 217, 224, 227, 249, 329, 402.  
 Hill's Iron Works, 118, (skirmish), 130, 206, 214  
 Hillsborough, 11, 25, 28, 32, 59, 134, 135, 140, 141, 142, 148, 165, 167, 168, 169, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 185, 186, 190, 193, 195, 197, 199, 200, 203-206, 210, 211, 214, 216, 222, 233, 245, 250, 268, 269, 271-274, 277, 279-286, 288, 292, 294, 295, 298, 299, 302, 306, 316, 324, 325, 329, 341, 362, 392, 404, 445, (raid) 446, 447  
 Hilton Head Island, (skirmish) 464  
 Hobkirk's Hill, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 36, 38, 46, 51, 52, 54, 55, 67, 317, 338, 340, (battle) 341, 342, 343, 348, 349, 353, 354, 361  
 Hogun, James, 24, 25, 81, 83, 98, 100, 109  
 Hollingsworth Mill, (skirmish) 196  
 Hood, Samuel, 425, 431, 437, 449, 450  
 Hood's Point, (raid) 243  
 Hood's Creek, (skirmish) 434  
 Hope, Henry, 77, 96  
 Hopkins Place, (skirmish) 231  
 Hopkins, Samuel, 98  
 Horn's Creek and Hammond's Mill (skirmishes), 322  
 Horner's Corner, (skirmish) 322  
 Horry, Daniel, 40, 48, 78, 80, 82, 93, 94, 104  
 Horry, Hugh, 41, 174, 192, 235, 243, 302, 322, 331, 412, 432, 433  
 Horry, Peter, 41, 42, 48, 81, 89, 104, 167, 174, 175, 176, 181, 221, 238, 243, 245, 294, 320, 331, 365, 378, 384, 385, 391, 393, 401, 410, 411, 426, 429, 431, 436, 441, 479.  
 House in the Horseshoe, (skirmish) 420  
 Houston, Sam, 313  
 Hovenden, Moore, 216, 217  
 Hovenden, Richard, 212, 253, 290  
 Howard, John Eager, 27, 161, 164, 166, 167, 185, 192, 233, 237, 249, 251, 252, 256, 257, 273, 274, 305, 307, 309, 310, 343, 387, 441  
 Howell, John, 334, 341, 379  
 Howley, Richard, 116  
 Huck's Defeat, 39, 42, 44, 49, 57, 126, (battle) 137, 178  
 Hudson, Charles, 100, 102, 104, 105, 392, 428  
 Huger, Daniel, 115  
 Huger, Isaac, 24, 26, 86, 92-95, 99, 103, 104, 105, 110, 112, 113, 115, 141, 233, 236, 237, 242, 243, 263, 268, 269, 270, 272, 307, 310, 312, 343, 363, 374, 377, 381, 387, 398, 399, 400, 402, 441  
 Huik, Christian, (also Huck), 40, 56, 126, 129, 130, 137  
 Hulin's Mill, (raid) 332  
 Humpton, Richard, 383  
 Hunter, N. N., 71  
 Huntington, Samuel, 136, 231, 237, 310, 313, 318, 321, 325, 361  
 Hunt's Bluff, 61, (skirmish), 143  
 Husband, Vezey, 59, 199  
 Huyne, J. C. von, 76, 77, 80, 96  
 Hyrne, Edmund, 90, 255, 303  
 Indian Creek, (skirmish) 236.  
 Inman, Shadrack, 43, 169, 170  
 Innes, Alexander, 52, 84, 97, 113, 139, 169, 170  
 Innes, James, 339  
 Irwin, Robert, 34, 146, 151  
 Jackson, James, 11, 45, 48, 118, 223, 224, 227, 230, 240, 252, 253, 257, 273, 299, 317, 323, 336, 353, 364, 370, 379, 426, 429  
 Jackson, Samuel, 370  
 Jacksonboro, 87, 426  
 Jacquett, Peter, 45, 307  
 James, John, 43, 119, 123, 148, 158, 167, 176, 179, 181, 192, 235, 243, 302, 331  
 James Island, 70, 79-85, 102, 403, 449  
 Jameson, John, 28, 75, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 103-105  
 Jamestown, 399, 408, 419, 438, 460  
 Jarvis, Stephen, 57, 67, 220, 238, 374, 378, 379, 406, 410, 413, 433, 445, 448, 473, 479  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 140, 177, 205, 211, 244, 274, 279, 280, 297, 298, 311, 316, 348, 377, 378, 380, 383  
 John Cruden, 18, 16  
 John's Island, 79, 80-82  
 Jolley, Benjamin, 122  
 Jolly, John, 242  
 Jones, Allen, 32, 33, 213, 288, 325, 352, 357, 362  
 Jones, John, 137, 139, 143  
 Jones, Joseph, 41, 349  
 Jouett, Jack, 377  
 Kalb, Johannes de, 23, 25, 26, 46, 48, 95, 103, 106, 116, 120, 134-136, 140, 142, 144, 162, 163, 165, 166, 186  
 Kane, Bernard.  
 Kelly, Dennis, 57, 439  
 Kelsall, Roger, 379  
 Kellsell, Fletcher, 336  
 Kemp, Lieut., 323  
 Kenan, James, 246, 259, 424  
 Kershaw, Joseph, 384  
 Kettle Creek, (1779 battle), 17, 45, 59, 63  
 King, Richard, 11, 61, 70, 128, 160, 199, 386, 404  
 King's Mountain, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 30, 34-44, 55-57, 59, 61-63, 65, 68, 131, 149, 167, 184, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, (battle) 197-198, 200-207, 211, 219, 230, 237, 247, 248, 253, 259, 274, 293, 308, 334, 383, 397, 439, 478  
 Kingston, 428, (skirmish), 429  
 Kingstree, 119, 159, 175, (amush) 176, 179, 180, 202, 211, 215, 216, 221, 223, (raid) 239, 302, 320  
 Kirkland, Moses, 61, 63, 70, 129, 160, 183, 223, 241

Kirk's Farm, (skirmish) 446  
 Kirkwood, Robert, 13, 29, 45, 150, 166, 167, 175, 203, 209, 210, 230, 232, 233, 236, 255, 276, 277, 279, 290-292, 300, 301, 304, 307, 309, 311, 312, 319, 338, 341, 343, 345, 354, 359, 361-363, 368, 369, 371, 372, 373, 380, 387, 388, 390, 391, 404, 405, 418, 424, 429, 431, 434, 438, 439, 441, 443, 445, 465, 474  
 Knox, Henry, 126, 130, 132, 450, 453  
 Köehler, J. C. von, 58, 75  
 Kolb, Abel, 41, 149, 259, 322, 332, 335, 337, 341, 349  
 Kosciuszko, Thaddeus, 26, 233, 242, 243, 268, 273, 326, 372, 373, 382, 387, 388, 441  
 Kospoth, Henry Julian, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 96  
 Lacey, Edward, 11, 41, 42, 117, 121, 123, 127, 132, 137, 138, 147, 151, 154, 172, 189, 190, 194-198, 202, 207, 217, 218, 224, 227, 228, 236, 282, 372, 403, 408, 410, 411, 476  
 Ladson, Ames, 86  
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 23, 25, 30, 31, 47, 48, 283, 289, 292, 299, 303, 310, 315, 318, 326, 328, 330, 333, 337, 339, 340, 345, 348, 350-354, 356, 359, 360, 362, 363, 367, 368, 373-380, 382-385, 389-392, 394, 395, 398-400, 403, 405, 409, 413, 415-417, 421, 423, 425-427, 429, 430, 431, 434, 436, 438, 445, 449, 450, 452, 461, 462, 473  
 Lamb, Roger, 268, 276, 285, 286, 313, 322, 325, 356  
 Laumoy, Col. de, 98, 100, 101  
 Laurens, John, 27, 39, 41, 45, 81, 86, 89, 90, 98, 99, 230, 431, 452, 461  
 Lauzun, Duc de, 428, 449, 452, 455, 459  
 Lawson, Robert, 30, 32, 142, 156, 211, 252, 280, 281, 283, 287, 292, 299, 304, 305, 308, 310, 312, 321, 326, 339, 366, 389, 395, 453  
 Lawson's Fork (skirmish), 136  
 Lechmere, Nicholas, 61, 69, 336, 337, 367  
 Lee, Henry, 11, 13, 17, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 40, 47, 51-55, 58, 114, 132, 141, 142, 147, 153, 159, 162, 166, 186, 187, 189, 193, 205, 206, 209, 211, 222, 231, 233, 237, 239, 242, 244-246, 249, 250, 256, 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, 272-277, 279, 281, 282, 284, 285, 287, 290, 291, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 300-307, 309, 310, 313, 314, 316, 317, 319, 321, 328, 331, 333, 335, 338, 339, 341-343, 349, 350, 351, 354-356, 360-367, 370, 371, 373, 379, 380-385, 387, 388, 390, 391, 393, 394, 396-398, 405-407, 410-412, 413, 420-422, 424, 426, 429, 431, 435, 438, 439, 441, 444, 445, 466, 473  
 L'Enfant, Charles, 29  
 Lengerke, George Emmanuel von, 76, 77, 85, 96  
 Lenu'd's Ferry, 28, 32, 41, 54, 103, (raid-battle) 104, 105, 110  
 Leslie, Alexander, 19, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 63-67, 72, 76, 80, 82, 85, 96, 107, 155, 187, 204, 207-209, 211, 213, 220, 231-233, 235-241, 243-248, 250, 259, 260, 261, 266, 273, 278, 286, 300, 301, 303-305, 312, 313, 315, 326, 333, 346, 350, 369, 373, 378, 392, 401, 402, 414, 417, 419, 425, 428, 429, 440, 467  
 Liddle, Moses, 122, 125, 143, 231, 232  
 Lillington, Alexander, 33, 88, 98, 246, 250, 263, 264, 268, 273, 275, 300, 318, 322, 328, 330, 331, 340, 352  
 Lincoln, Benjamin, 23, 24, 35, 44, 75, 76, 78-87, 89, 90-93, 95, 98, 99, 100-103, 106, 107, 108, 109, 124, 125, 127, 130, 131, 136, 142, 194, 452, 453, 475, 478  
 Lindley's Mill, 32, 59, 71, 269 (battle), 446, 465  
 Linsingen, Otto Christian W. von, 76, 96  
 Lisle, John, 68, 127, 143, 160, 391  
 Livingston's Creek (skirmish), 451  
 Lock, Francis, 34, 35, 127, 130, 131, 133, 271, 272, 280, 294, 365, 393, 404, 426, 429  
 Logtown, (skirmish) 338  
 Long Canes, 42, 43, 44, 45, 51, 52, 60, (skirmish) 234, 317, 393, 415  
 Love, Andrew, 137, 178, 227  
 Love's Plantation, (skirmish) 117  
 Lower Bridge, (skirmish) 302  
 Lunsford, Swanson, 297  
 Luttrell, John, 269, 447  
 Lynch, Charles, 31, 34, 36, 143, 149, 155, 159, 176, 238, 281, 293, 299, 304, 308, 309, 310, 311, 326, 340  
 MacKenzie, Frederick, 437, 440  
 MacKenzie, Roderick, 154, 191, 203, 204, 226, 229, 243, 247, 251, 254, 256, 346, 372, 381, 382, 383, 386, 388, 438, 439, 440, 442, 473  
 MacNeil, Hector, 59, 71, 185, 258, 421, 435, 446, 462, 463  
 Magill, Charles, 297, 311, 316  
 Maham, Hezekiah, 81, 280, 335, 384, 403, 411, 426, 429  
 Maitland, Capt., 306  
 Malmady, Marquis de, 34, 35, 48, 93, 99, 200, 274, 283, 288, 292, 294, 302, 317, 322, 325, 331, 334, 357, 362, 393, 404, 415, 426, 441, 445  
 Manchester, (raid) 351  
 Mann's Old Field, (skirmish) 242  
 Manson, Captain, 424  
 March to Ninety Six (skirmish), 369  
 Marion, Francis, 11, 20, 29, 33, 34, 38-45, 52, 54-58, 61-63, 79, 84, 86, 87, 98, 123, 148, 155, 159, 167, 168, 174-177, 179, 180, 181, 189, 192, 195, 205, 210, 211, 213-216, 221, 222, 223, 229, 235-240, 243, 245, 246, 248, 253, 258, 260, 262, 264, 278, 280, 291, 293-295, 297, 298, 302, 314, 317, 320-322, 324, 326, 328, 329, 331, 333-337, 339-343, 348-351, 354-356, 358, 361-366, 368, 371, 374, 375, 377, 378, 383-385, 390, 391, 393, 396, 398, 401, 403-405, 410-412, 414, 416, 417, 426-434, 436, 438, 439, 441, 443, 444-446, 465, 468, 477, 478  
 Marjoribanks, John, 55, 439, 442, 444  
 Marshall, Thomas, 48  
 Martin, Joseph, 420  
 Martin, Joseph Plumb, 13, 456  
 Martin, Josiah, 151, 267  
 Mathews' Bluff, (ambush) 323  
 Maxwelll, Andrew, 55, 247, 280  
 Maybin, Robert, 446, 447  
 Maynard, Capt., 268, 305, 309, 328  
 Mazaret, John, 234, 268  
 McArthur, Archibald, 55, 56, 62, 84, 97, 117, 129, 135, 142, 143, 151, 162, 187, 222, 228, 238, 239, 243, 244, 253, 255, 257, 339, 348, 351, 358, 363, 369, 381, 386, 409, 426, 427, 428, 444, 445  
 McCall, James, 38, 43, 122, 125, 143, 167, 179, 182, 217, 224, 230, 231, 235, 239-241, 249, 251-253, 259, 273, 282, 283, 295, 317, 339, 349, 352, 354  
 McCauley, James, 243, 411, 414  
 McCauley, John, 294  
 McCleaur, John, 334  
 McCleur, Capt., 405  
 McClure, Hugh, 120  
 McClure, John, 39, 43, 44, 117, 120, 121, 123, 130, 137, 151-153  
 McCord's Ferry, (skirmish) 424  
 McCottry, William, 44, 148, 302, 322, 335  
 McCoy, Capt., 327  
 McCulloch, Kenneth, 152  
 McDonald, Alexander, 163  
 McDonald, Charles, 152.  
 McDougald, Archibald, 59, 71, 306, 421, 446, 447, 462, 463  
 McDowell, Charles, 35, 135, 139, 140, 142-144, 156, 167, 169, 170, 174, 179, 182, 186, 189, 192, 194, 213  
 McDowell, Joseph (Pleasant Garden Joe), 37  
 McDowell, Joseph Jr. (Quaker Meadows Joe), 13, 35, 36, 37, 125, 127, 130-133, 140, 167, 194, 198, 213, 240, 251, 252, 256, 314  
 McDowell, Samuel, 300, 308  
 McEvoy, Capt., 341  
 McGirt, Daniel, 53, 118, 327, 432  
 McGuire, John, 242  
 McIntosh, Lachlan, 24, 93, 98, 100, 109  
 McIntyre's Farm, (ambush) 195  
 McJunkin, Joseph, 18, 43, 122, 127, 138, 140, 145, 156, 167, 169, 170, 173, 178, 196, 216, 218, 227, 228, 240, 241, 257, 258, 289, 290, 358, 474  
 McJunkin's Capture, (raid) 358  
 McJunkin's Confrontation, (skirmish) 290  
 McKay, Archibald, 446

McKay, James, 57, 335  
 McKay, Rannall, 323, 327  
 McKean, Thomas, 404, 426, 443  
 McKee, Thomas, 322  
 McKissick, Daniel, 130, 132  
 McLeod, John, 58, 163, 306  
 McLeroth, Robert, 56, 96, 213, 221, 223, 235, 282  
 McPhaul's Mill, (skirmish) 435  
 McPherson, Charles, 281  
 McPherson, Donald, 58, 355  
 McPherson, Duncan, 96, 457, 461  
 McPherson, William, 389  
 McPherson's Plantation, (skirmish) 325  
 Mercer, John, 368, 389, 452  
 Merritt, Thomas, 220, 238, 239, 286, 294, 320, 378  
 Miller's Plantation (skirmish), 214  
 Mills, Ambrose, 59, 139, 160, 199, 206, 207  
 Mills, William Henry, 61, 69, 143, 145, 194  
 Mobile, AL, 79, 379  
 Mobley and Sandy Run Settlements (raids) 339  
 Mobley's Meeting House, (raid) 121  
 Moccasin Creek, (skirmish) 446  
 Moffit, John, 137, 154  
 Monck's Corner, 12, 24, 28, 40, 41, 47, 53, 54, 65, 93, (raid-  
   skirmish, aka Biggin Bridge) 94, 95, 105, 113, 211, 236, 237,  
   (raid) 264, (skirmish) 268, 339, 348, 351, 353, 366, 368, 373,  
   374, 376, 377, 381, 384, 390, 391, 393, 396, 405, 406, 407, 408,  
   410, 412, 413, 427, 433, 444, 445, (skirmish) 463  
 Moncrief, James, 188  
 Money, John, 58, 177, 223, 224  
 Montcrief, James, 56, 179, 193  
 Monticello, 378  
 Moore, John, 58, 59, 60, 125, 127, 132, 138  
 Moore, Patrick, 144  
 Moore, William, 295  
 Moore's First Gathering (skirmish), 125  
 Moore's Second Gathering (skirmish), 127  
 Moravians, 17, 28, 135, 145, 149, 175, 176, 177, 180, 204, 205, 207,  
   208, 219, 241, 271, 272, 275, 279, 281, 287, 297, 301, 315, 316,  
   328, 349, 365  
 Morgan, Daniel, 12, 24, 32, 34, 38, 49, 130, 136, 189, 193, 202, 203-  
   205, 207, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 230, 231, 232, 233,  
   234, 236, 237, 239-244, 246-256, 258-264, 266, 267, 269, 270,  
   272, 273, 274, 294, 310, 376, 403, 415, 430, 478  
 Morgan, Simon, 341  
 Moultrie, William, 24, 81, 82, 91, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105,  
   106, 107, 110, 117, 158  
 Mount Hope Swamp, (skirmish) 302  
 Mount Vernon, 352, 445  
 Mud Lick, 42, 43, (ambush) 241, 289  
 Muhlenberg, Peter, 214, 283, 345, 350, 351, 385, 389, 452, 453  
 Munford, Robert, 283, 292  
 Murfee, Malachi, 63, 422  
 Murfee, Maurice, 41, 192, 214  
 Musgrove's Mill, 13, 17, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 43, 49, 122,  
   (battle) 169, 170, 174, 194, 323  
 Muter, George, 48  
 Myddleton, Charles, 40, 41, 224, 225, 329, 377, 381, 385, 394, 411,  
   416, 424, 441  
 Myddleton's Ambuscade, 41, 54, (ambush), 385  
 Myddleton's Plantation and Congaree River, (raids) 424  
 Myhand's Bridge, (skirmish) 363  
 Nash, Abner, 141, 168, 181, 194, 273, 288  
 Neal, Andrew, 123, 132, 137, 143, 146, 160  
 Neal, George, 70  
 Neale, Andrew, 41  
 Near Orangeburgh, (skirmish) 424  
 Needham, Francis, 457  
 Nelson, John, 48, 164, 234  
 Nelson, Thomas, 211, 244, 350, 351, 368, 383, 453  
 Nelson's Ferry (raid), 236  
 Neville, John, 98  
 New Acquisition, 114, 121, 206, 294, 329  
 New Bern, 32, 54, 246, 281, 299, 392, (raid) 428, 436  
 New Garden Meeting House, 31, 303, (skirmish) 304  
 New Providence, 189, 210, 213, 215, 228, 232  
 New York, 19, 21, 24, 25, 49-58, 65, 66, 67, 72, 75-78, 81, 83, 84,  
   86, 87, 90, 96, 97, 98, 110, 112, 119, 120, 133, 146, 151, 184,  
   186, 187, 188, 201, 204, 207, 208, 212, 221, 231, 237, 240, 246,  
   316, 318, 322, 331, 332, 342, 346, 363, 372, 373, 374, 379, 390,  
   392, 394, 397, 398, 400, 402, 406, 414, 416, 421, 425-429, 431,  
   432, 449, 452-455, 458, 459, 463, 464, 466, 467, 472, 473-478  
 Newmarsh, Timothy, 56, 253, 255  
 Newport, R.I., 136, 275, 299, 352, 431, 432  
 Newriver, General, 17, 132, 141  
 Ninety Six, 7, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 37-40, 42, 43-45, 51, 52, 55-57,  
   59, 60-66, 70, 83, 87, 113, 116-118, 122-125, 127-131, 133-137,  
   142, 148, 151, 154, 158, 160, 161, 169, 170, 171, 178, 179, 182,  
   183-185, 187, 188, 193, 197, 199, 201, 202, 208, 212, 214, 217,  
   221, 223, 227, 229, 230-232, 235, 240, 241, 243, 244, 247, 250,  
   254, 259, 261, 317, 323, 334, 339, 340, 349, 353-356, 359-364,  
   367-369, 371, (siege and sortie) 372, 373, 375, 376, 378-381,  
   (siege approach and sorties) 382, 383, 384, 385, (siege assault)  
   386, 387-391, 393-396, 399-401, 403, 404, 406, 415, 420, 421,  
   425, 429, 431, 438, 440, 467, 474, 475  
 Norfolk, 52, 220, 327, 333, 430, 468  
 Norton, Chapel, 53, 305  
 Odingsell, Charles, 45  
 Ogelvey, David, 57, 253  
 O'Hara, Charles, 24, 50, 53, 64, 263, 266, 267, 262, 269, 270, 276,  
   278, 289, 304, 305, 309, 312, 328, 423, 424, 430, 456  
 Old Point Comfort, 49, 301, 327, 404, 416, 417, 419, 423  
 Oldham, Edward, 29, 30, 279, 290, 291, 319, 328, 331, 335, 343,  
   355, 364, 366  
 Oliphant's Mill, 25, 265, 268, 317, 415, 427  
 O'Neal, Ferdinand, 47, 411, 445  
 O'Neal, William, 59, 421, 432, 465  
 Orangeburg, 11, 37, 40, 41, 44, 55, 61, 113, 122, 167, 187, 212, 236,  
   336, 353, 354, (surrender) 361, 363, 366, 384, 389, 390, 393,  
   394, 396-398, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 409, 415, (skirmish) 417,  
   420, (skirmishes) 422, 424, 426, 427, 436, 438, 440, 465, 474,  
   477  
 Osborne's, (raid) 348, 351, 354, 360  
 Otterson, Samuel, 122, 258  
 Parker, Richard, 27, 78, 98, 101  
 Parker's Ferry, (ambush) 433  
 Parson's Plantation, (skirmish) 426  
 Paterson, James, 51, 76, 77, 79, 81-90, 96, 97, 133, 179, 454  
 Patten, John, 98  
 Pattinson, Thomas, 53, 54, 97, 113, 127  
 Peacock's Bridge (skirmish), 356  
 Pearis, Richard, 122, 123, 134  
 Pearson, Thomas, 61, 70, 129, 199  
 Peasley, John, 206, 284, 308, 421  
 Pendleton, Nathaniel, 290  
 Pensacola, 64, 72, 118, 299, 353, (surrender) 360, 379  
 Petersburg, 106, 116, 141, 204, 209, 211, 244, 246, 284, 301, 318,  
   326, 333, 337, 338, 340, (skirmish) 345, 347, 350, 351, 354, 356,  
   358, 359, 360, 363, 368, 369, 373, 403, 404, 409, 415  
 Philadelphia, 23, 24, 25, 33, 35, 56, 102, 108, 181, 193, 209, 214,  
   216, 222, 248, 260, 268, 273, 283, 285, 289, 328, 347, 351, 374,  
   401, 418, 436, 449, 456, 473, 475, 476, 477, 478  
 Phillips, John, 61, 68, 160, 177, 260  
 Phillips, William, 23, 49, 61, 199, 245, 260, 301, 316, 318, 321, 322,  
   326, 328, 332, 334, 337, 339, 340, 341, 345-348, 350-352, 354,  
   355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 363, 368, 369, 373, 374, 392, 408, 416,  
   418, 419, 467  
 Pickens, Andrew, 11, 19, 38, 44, 61, 70, 122, 123, 124, 128, 231,  
   240, 257, 259, 271, 279, 283, 287, 301, 323, 324, 336, 352, 354,  
   364, 379, 380, 381, 427, 439, 478

Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 26, 78, 84, 92, 98, 101  
 Pinckney, Thomas, 155, 164, 165, 186  
 Piney Bottom Creek, (skirmish) 424  
 Pittsboro, (raid) 409  
 Plummer, Daniel, 11, 63, 70, 128, 139, 160, 199, 230  
 Pocotaligo Road, (skirmish) 330  
 Point of Fork (raid), 380  
 Polk, Thomas, 34, 35, 280, 294, 299, 355, 365, 411  
 Polk, William, 35, 141, 142, 299, 329, 441  
 Polk's Mill, (skirmish) 203  
 Porbeck, Friedrich von, 58, 75, 322  
 Porterfield, Charles, 31, 46, 48, 116, 136, 150, 156, 158, 161, 164, 165, 185, 233  
 Portevent's Mill, (skirmish) 366  
 Portsmouth, 49, 208, 240, 246, 260, 261, 276, 283, 299, 301, 303, 316, 318, 322, 326, 332, 334, 337, 351, 363, 371, 373, 374, 376, 389, 390, 395, 398, 400, 402, 405, 408, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 423, 424, 426, 428, 430, 431, 468  
 Post Cowpens Skirmishes and Captures, 258  
 Postell, James, 42, 243, 264, 331  
 Postell, John, 44, 57, 123, 240, 243, 248, 264, 278, 294  
 Pratt's Mill, (raid) 459  
 Preston, William, 31, 149, 274, 280, 281, 284, 286, 290, 291, 295, 296, 297, 301, 478  
 Prevost, Augustine, 50, 51, 58, 75, 103  
 Prince Edward Court House, 25, 272, 283, 287, 317, 339, 365, 402, 403, 405, 414  
 Prince's Fort, (skirmish) 140  
 Pulaski, Casimir, 47  
 Purdue, Fields, 415  
 Pursuit of Cunningham by Purdue (skirmish), 415  
 Purves, John, 42  
 Pyle, John, 59, 284  
 Pyle's Defeat, 17, 18, 29, 31, 36, 281, (ambush) 284, 285  
 Quinby Bridge, 29, 41, 42, 48, 52, (skirmish) 410-412  
 Raft Swamp, 33, 36, 59, 60, 398, (skirmish) 462, 463  
 Raines, John, 446, 447  
 Ramsay, David, 15, 52, 53, 176, 474  
 Ramsey, Nathaniel, 164  
 Ramsey's Mill, 35, 288, 302, 316-321, 326, 328, 334  
 Ramsour's Mill, 13, 17, 21, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 49, 60, 71, 121, 125, 127, (battle) 130, 131, 133-135, 149, 195, 259, 261, 262, 265, 281, 468, 478  
 Rantowle's Bridge, 28, 41, (skirmish), 89, 97  
 Rawdon, Francis Lord, 19, 25, 30, 31, 40, 49, 51-56, 58, 60, 76, 96, 97, 117, 118, 121, 130, 133, 138, 145, 152, 155, 158, 159, 162, 163, 166, 187, 191, 202, 206, 208, 209, 211-213, 216, 219, 221, 229, 232, 233, 235, 237, 239, 242, 262, 271, 280-282, 291, 293, 294, 314, 320, 321, 326, 328, 331, 335, 336, 338-347, 350, 351, 354-363, 365, 366, 368, 369, 373-391, 393-399, 401, 403-406, 409, 419, 424, 425, 429, 433  
 Ray, Duncan, 60, 71, 306, 426, 462  
 Read, James, 36, 288, 303, 333, 334, 343, 365.  
 Redoubts No. 9 and No. 10, (assaults) 460  
 Reed, Joseph, 214, 222, 325  
 Reedy Fork, (skirmish) 283  
 Reedy River, (skirmish) 436  
 Retreat from Middleton's (skirmish), 91  
 Richard Hampton's Raiding Expedition (raids), 365  
 Richard Hampton's Second Raiding Expedition (raids), 376  
 Richardson, William, 164  
 Richbourg, Henry, 61, 294  
 Richmond and Cumberland County, N.C., (skirmishes) 426  
 Richmond, VA., 77, 118, 179, 195, 222, 233, (raids, skirmishes) 244, 245, 293, 336, 337, 348, 350, 351, 354, 358, 360, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373, 374, 375, 384, 385, 390, 393, 416, 437, 468  
 Riddle, William, 334  
 Riddle's Camp, (raid) 334  
 Ridgeway's Fort, (skirmish), 436  
 Risinger, Feight, 213  
 Road to Burr's Mill, (skirmish) 248  
 Road to Dix's Ferry, (skirmish) 276  
 Road to Ramsey's Mill, (raid) 317  
 Robertson, Charles, 139, 142, 144, 156, 174  
 Robeson, Thomas, 36, 432, 462  
 Robeson's Plantation, (raid) 428  
 Rochambeau, Comte de, 29, 136, 372, 397, 400, 425, 427, 428, 429, 431, 432, 436, 445, 450, 451, 452, 455, 462, 463  
 Rockfish Creek (skirmish), 424  
 Rocky Creek (skirmish, 12 June 1780), 126  
 Rocky Mount, 34, 38, 40, 41, 42, 49, 53, 61, 62, 68, 117, 120, 122, 126, 129, 130, 135, 137, 138, 143, (battle) 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 167, 168, 172, 173, 177, 247, 349  
 Rodney, George, 425  
 Roebuck, Benjamin, 42, 43, 77, 194, 230, 240, 252, 257, 258, 289  
 Roger's Plantation, (skirmish) 376  
 Roney, John, 372, 387  
 Rose, Alexander, 31, 202, 233, 401  
 Rouse's Ferry, (skirmish) 178  
 Rouse's Tavern, (skirmish) 288  
 Rousselet, John, 57, 152, 154, 253  
 Rowland, Thomas, 31, 286, 290  
 Rowarth, Samuel, 57, 75, 370  
 Rudolph, John, 28, 290, 297, 335, 341, 384, 385, 390  
 Rudolph, Michael, 28, 29, 30, 47, 260, 370, 375, 388, 389, 422, 441  
 Rugeley, Henry, 62, 68, 113, 215, 232, 233, 367.  
 Rugeley's Mill, 160, (surrender), 232, 348  
 Rumph, Jacob, 44, 422  
 Russell, William, 98  
 Rutherford, Griffith, 17, 21, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 121, 125, 127, 129-134, 141, 142, 148, 150, 160, 161, 164, 165, 175, 179, 395, 432, 462  
 Rutledge, Edward, 103, 176  
 Rutledge, John, 38, 43, 48, 59, 62, 78, 79, 81, 88, 89, 93, 103, 110, 111, 113, 115, 172, 174, 175, 181, 190, 194, 195, 197, 234, 243, 262, 378, 393, 425, 426, 440, 441, 450, 451  
 Rutledge's Ford (skirmish).  
 Rutledge's Plantation, 88  
 Ryder, Capt..  
 Ryerson, Samuel, 57, 100, 201  
 Saint-Simon, Marquis de, 436, 455  
 Salem, N.C., 17, 26, 47, 175, 176, 177, 180, 204, 205, 207, 208, 211, 219, 241, 272, 273, 275, 282, 291, 315, 351, 429, 474, 478  
 Salisbury, 15, 25, 32, 33, 34, 35, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 121, 126, 127, 137, 141, 143, 168, 174, 175, 177, 179, 188-191, 194, 202-, 205, 207, 211, 214, 216, 219, 221, 228, 229, 242, 245, 246, 250, 261, 263, 264, 267-273, 279, 280, 293, 294, 299, 304, 325, 365, 369, 383, 391, 392, 393, 404, 406, 414, 415, 417, 421, 426, 427, 432, 436, 445  
 Salkehatchie, (skirmish) 86, 87  
 Sampit Bridge, (skirmish) 320  
 Sandy River, (skirmish), 213, 395  
 Santee River, (skirmish) 428  
 Saunder's Creek, (skirmish) 161  
 Saunders, John, 57, 67, 89, 162, 220, 235, 237, 238, 245, 248, 260, 262, 278, 286, 294, 320, 326, 374, 378, 379  
 Savannah, 40, 47, 50-53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64-67, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 88, (skirmish) 89, 97, 103, 118, 120, 136, 137, 175, 180, 184, 185, 193, 234, 240, 252, 287, 291, 299, 317, 322, 323, 324, 330, 354, 357, 364, 370, 371, 375, 376, 379, 380, 381, 383, 387, 418, 432, 438, 476  
 Sawney's Creek, (skirmish) 359  
 Saxe, Maurice, 15  
 Scallan, Capt., 405  
 Scammel's Capture, (skirmish) 456  
 Scammell, Alexander, 216, 452, 456  
 Schuler, Frederick Henry von, 76, 77, 96, 108  
 Schwerin, Wilhelm Graf von, 462  
 Scott, Charles, 24, 98, 100, 377  
 Scott, William, 98, 102, 105



Scott's and Lunsford's Raid, (raid) 297  
 Second Cedar Spring, 17, 34, 35, 37, 43, 44, 55, (battle) 156  
 Selden, Samuel, 388  
 Sevier, John, 37, 142, 144, 169, 188, 189, 192, 198, 200, 207, 213, 241, 281, 465  
 Seymour, William, 237, 239, 241, 275, 279, 283, 292, 303, 312, 319, 338, 340, 341, 343, 347, 348, 350, 354, 359, 361, 362, 363, 366, 368, 369, 372, 424, 432, 434, 436, 437, 438, 444, 479  
 Shallow Ford, 36, 60, 63, 149, (battle) 205, 259, 271  
 Shaw, John Robert, 162  
 Shelby, Evan, 281, 420  
 Shelby, Isaac, 13, 37, 39, 142, 143, 144, 156, 167, 169, 170, 174, 179, 188, 189, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 207, 213, 364, 397, 425, 465, 479  
 Sheridan, Henry, 52, 56, 439, 444  
 Shubrick's Plantation, 38, 41, 43, 52, (assault) 410  
 Simcoe, John Graves, 57, 58, 97, 237, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246, 261, 276, 278, 284, 286, 294, 326, 337, 339, 340, 345, 348, 361, 374, 378, 380, 381, 384, 392, 393, 399, 408, 416, 423, 430, 457, 474  
 Simmons, Cornet James, 241  
 Simons, Maurice, 98, 100  
 Singleton, Anthony, 30, 47, 164, 185, 214, 233, 304, 307, 317, 343, 411  
 Singleton's Mill, 215, 219, 220, (skirmish), 235, 241, 429  
 Slingsby, John, 432, 435  
 Small, John, 53, 65, 339, 351, 358  
 Smallwood, William, 25, 32, 46, 163, 168, 174-176, 186, 192, 193, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 210, 213, 214, 217, 218, 227, 231-233, 236, 360, 430  
 Smith, Alexander, 245  
 Smith, John, ("Jack"), 30, 233, 276, 312, 341, 342, 343, 345  
 Smith, Maj., 27, 46, 139, 156, 441  
 Smith, Robert, 30, 337, 341, 371, 387  
 Snead, Smith, 27, 28, 35, 46, 387, 441  
 Snipes' Plantation, (raid) 378  
 Snipes, William Clay, 56, 62, 211, 378  
 Snow's Island, 39, 52, 181, 235, 238, 240, 243, 260, 294, (raid) 320, 322, 330, 331, 349  
 South Buffalo Creek, (skirmish) 303  
 Spencer's Ordinary, (skirmish) 392  
 St. Andrew's Church, (skirmish) 86, 87  
 St. Augustine, 33, 51, 53, 66, 67, 78, 84, 166, 176, 322, 367, 381  
 St. Eustatius, 269  
 St. Mathews County, (skirmish) 352  
 St. Simon, Marquis de, 425, 436, 449  
 Stallions, (skirmish) 178, 214  
 Starckloff, Friedrich, 58, 72, 325  
 Stark, John, 216, 323  
 Stedman, Charles, 20, 159, 162, 165, 166, 206, 266, 388, 474  
 Steele, Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie, 15  
 Steuben, Friedrich von, 23, 47, 209, 214, 222, 244, 246, 249, 266, 280, 285, 287, 290, 292, 299, 303, 317, 318, 343, 345, 350, 351, 353, 360, 373, 375, 380, 389, 390, 394, 399, 453.  
 Steven's Creek (skirmish), 438, 459  
 Stevens, Edward, 30, 102, 145, 148, 150, 160, 161, 164, 168, 174, 177, 259, 260, 262, 269, 272, 280, 281, 303-305, 308, 310, 312, 377, 389, 438, 453  
 Stewart, Alexander, 50, 52, 53, 390, 393, 401, 409, 420, 422, 426, 427, 435, 438, 439, 442.  
 Stewart, Charles, 56, 439  
 Stewart, Patrick, 152, 153, 154, 158, 163  
 Stewart, Walter, 383  
 Stewart's Creek, (skirmish) 318  
 Stirrup's Branch, (skirmish) 294.  
 Stono Ferry, (skirmish) 81, 88  
 Stono River, (skirmishes) 84  
 Stuart, James, 30, 53, 211, 305, 309, 312  
 Suffolk, 208, 211, 276, 283, 284, 299, 402, 405, 414, 416, 417, 430  
 Sumner, Jethro, 25, 28, 33, 46, 178, 179, 187, 189, 190, 191, 193, 204, 205, 206, 213, 259, 325, 357, 362, 365, 366, 369, 392, 395, 404, 406, 413, 415, 417, 420, 421, 430, 439, 441, 451  
 Sumter, Thomas, 11, 14, 28, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 65, 79, 113, 114, 121, 123, 127, 130, 132, 135, 137, 138, 140, 143, 144, 146, 147, 150-154, 158, 159, 160-163, 165-169, 172-175, 177, 184, 189, 194, 195, 197, 206, 213, 214, 216-220, 222-226, 228-230, 234, 236, 237, 239, 249, 253, 266, 272, 280-282, 287, 291, 293, 294, 299, 317, 322, 329-331, 339, 340, 345, 346, 348, 349, 351-355, 358, 361, 363, 364, 365, 366, 368, 372, 376, 378, 381, 383, 384-387, 389, 390, 392-394, 396, 397, 402-408, 410-414, 416, 418, 420, 424-427, 441, 477  
 Swift Creek and Fishing Creek, (skirmishes) 357  
 Swinton, Alexander, 43, 331, 411, 414  
 Sycamore Shoals, 188, 189  
 Tarboro, 356 (skirmish), 357  
 Tarleton, Banastre, 7, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 27-30, 33, 40, 41, 49, 50, 53-57, 60, 62, 64, 65, 76, 77, 80, 81, 83, 86-89, 91, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 104, 105, 107, 109, 112-118, 120, 121, 137, 146, 148, 150-154, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 165, 167, 172-175, 181, 183, 186-191, 193, 194, 197-199, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 212, 214-217, 219-232, 234-236, 238-241, 243-252, 253-260, 264, 266-271, 273-277, 280, 283-286, 290-292, 295, 296, 297, 298, 303-306, 309, 312, 317, 319, 321, 328, 330, 335, 344, 346, 352, 354-360, 366, 372-374, 377, 378, 380, 381, 383-385, 391, 394, 397, 401-406, 408, 409, 414, 415, 416, 417, 423, 451, 455-457, 459, 467, 473, 474, 475, 477  
 Tarleton's Mistake, and Tory Cattle Drovers, (skirmishes) 292  
 Tate, James, 31, 204, 210, 214, 234, 251, 252, 256, 297, 308.  
 Tate, Samuel, 41, 389, 392  
 Taylor, John, 191  
 Taylor, Thomas, 41, 55, 160, 217, 218, 223, 224, 227, 330, 354, 364, 390, 392, 411, 412, 413, 414, 421  
 Tearcoat Swamp, (skirmish) 210  
 Ternay, Chevalier de, 112, 136, 236  
 Thomas, Jane Black, 15, 43  
 Thomas, John, Jr. 15, 42, 43, 122, 123, 127, 138, 139, 190, 244, 252, 257, 353, 372, 384  
 Thomas, John, Sr., 122  
 Thompson, William, 171  
 Thompson's Plantation, 113, 120, 134, 150, 160, 193, 212, 264, 272, 280, (siege), 281, 282, 329, 355, 366, 374, 405, 422, 424, 426, 427, 429, 432, 434, 435, 437  
 Thornton, Capt. (loyalist), 71  
 Tillet, James, 44, 63, 376, 395  
 Tilly, Le Bardeur de, 275  
 Tolless, Samuel, 354  
 Torbay Prison-Ship, 367  
 Torrence's Tavern, 253 (skirmish), 268  
 Trading Ford (skirmish), 269  
 Traill, Peter, 77, 96, 109  
 Triplett, Francis, 31, 204, 210, 234, 237, 251, 252, 256, 259  
 Tryon, William.  
 Tuckasegee, (raid) 288  
 Tugaloo, (skirmish) 395  
 Turkey Creek, (skirmish) 436  
 Turkey Hill, (skirmish) 425  
 Turnbull, George, 19, 52, 53, 57, 75, 84, 97, 117, 126, 129, 130, 138, 146, 147, 158-160, 163, 167, 177, 181, 186, 193, 214, 215, 221  
 Turner, W.T., 62  
 Twigg, John, 44, 118, 123, 220, 223-225, 228, 230, 231, 317, 370, 395, 432  
 Tybee Island, 78, 79, 80, 83  
 Tyler, Peter, 69  
 Tynes, Samuel, 62, 69, 210, 211, 221, 229, 232  
 Vaughn, David, 27, 45, 164  
 Vernier, Pierre-Francois, 28, 29, 47, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95  
 Videau's Bridge, 56

Vince's Fort (raid), 465  
 Vince's Fort (skirmish, October 1781, separate from the action of 28 October of the same name), 456  
 Viomenil, Baron de, 299, 315, 318, 449, 455, 460-462  
 Virginia Capes, Second Battle of the, 437  
 Virginia Capes, First Battle of the, 315  
 Voit, August de, 363, 371, 372, 457  
 Vose, Joseph, 350, 389, 452, 454  
 Waccamaw, (skirmish) 245, (raid) 278.  
 Wadboo, (raid) 264, 407, (skirmishes) 410, (raid), 408  
 Wade, Thomas, 36, 265, 268, 288, 289, 300, 315, 325, 337, 395, 398, 426, 435  
 Wahab's Plantation, 34, 55, 58, 66, (raid-skirmish), 187  
 Wallace, Andrew, 252, 256  
 Wallace, Gustavus, 98  
 Walls of Charleston, (raid) 399  
 Walpole, Horace, 16, 280  
 Wambaw Plantation, (ambush) 104  
 Wando River, (raid) 100  
 Wappetaw Meeting House, (skirmish) 456  
 Ward's Tavern, (escape) 405  
 Washington, George, 12, 14, 23, 47, 75, 80, 81, 83, 86, 110, 177, 208, 209, 213, 236, 273, 289, 318, 320, 330, 333, 352, 397, 400, 415, 416, 418, 420, 421, 425, 426, 429-431, 436, 445, 449, 451, 452, 475, 478.  
 Washington, Lund, 352  
 Washington, William, 23, 27, 28, 37, 47, 62, 75, 80, 81, 83, 85-89, 95, 104, 105, 114, 116, 131, 141, 186, 193, 202, 215, 216, 230, 232, 233, 236, 239-242, 244, 251, 252, 257, 274, 279, 287, 295, 300, 301, 307, 312, 314, 338, 343, 347, 369, 381, 384, 385, 390, 394, 396, 397, 398, 415, 418, 424, 429, 432, 441, 443, 444, 478  
 Wateree, (raid) 338  
 Waters, Thomas, 44, 60, 63, 185, 240, 376  
 Watkins, (skirmish) 265  
 Watson, John, 54, 62, 67, 208, 237, 239, 293, 297, 314, 320, 329, 335, 337, 341, 376, 386, 395, 439, 478.  
 Watson, Samuel, 118, 123, 137, 223  
 Waxhaws, 11, 13, 17, 19, 25, 34, 46, 53, 54, 111, 113, (battle) 114-117, 120, 121, 130, 138, 141, 142, 146, 150, 153, 159, 161, 175, 181, 185-189, 215, 287, 294, 330, 339, 348, 397, 404, 415, 426  
 Waxhaws Church, (raid) 330  
 Wayne, Anthony, 188, 374, 381, 403, 409, 415, 423, 430, 431  
 Webster, James, 54, 76, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86, 94, 95, 96, 99, 162, 163, 166, 190, 204, 264, 266-268, 270, 286, 290, 291, 295, 296, 297, 304, 305, 309, 312, 325  
 Weedon, George, 211, 214, 279, 350, 351, 375, 451, 452, 453, 459  
 Weitzell's Mill, 31, 34, 36, 54, (battle) 295, 298  
 Welch, Nicholas, 60, 127, 132  
 Wells' Plantation, (skirmish) 430  
 Wemyss, James, 56, 62, 96, 136, 145, 148, 150, 151, 158, 159, 162, 175, 176, 180, 181, 186, 188, 192, 193, 195, 202, 211, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 224  
 Westerhagen, Maxwell von, 58, 96, 97, 98, 99  
 Westham, (raid) 245, 384  
 Westover, 134, 244, 245, 246, 345, 354, 359, 373, 374, 431  
 Whipple, Abraham, 76, 81, 82, 87, 92, 99  
 White, Anthony, 103, 105, 116, 131, 141, 193, 233  
 White, Henry, 43, 240, 258, 289  
 White, William, 213, 242, 265, 288, 395  
 White's Bridge, (skirmish) 221  
 Whitehall, 122, 124, 125, 231  
 Widboo Swamp, (ambush) 294  
 Wigfall, John, 179, 180, 181  
 Wiggin's Hill, (skirmish) 323, 324, 327  
 Wilkes County, 34, 36, 44, 45, 116, 118, 122, 137, 143, 169, 179, 193, 390  
 Willet, Martinus, 428  
 Williams' Fort, (skirmish) 241  
 Williams, Caleb, 332, 349  
 Williams, Hezekiah, 69, 438, 465  
 Williams, James, 16, 38, 39, 42, 43, 123, 125, 132, 134, 135, 137, 167, 169, 170, 173, 174, 181, 189, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201, 205, 241, 475  
 Williams, Joseph, 36, 206, 267, 281, 293, 308  
 Williams, Otho, 26, 28, 39, 46, 148, 150, 168, 198, 230, 269, 274, 276, 277, 283, 286, 297, 300, 312, 319, 344, 382, 387, 399  
 Williamsburg, VA., 37, 149, 282, 293, 337, 338, (raid) 339, 351, 360, 368, 373, 389, 391, 392, 394, 398, 399, 403, 416, 418, 424, 428, 436, 438, 445, 449, 450, 451, 452, 460, 463, 468, 476  
 Williamson, Andrew, 39, 40, 55, 57, 60, 61, 81, 83, 116, 122, 123, 124, 125, 130, 137, 231, 323, 336, 352, 399, 401  
 Williamson, Micajah, 364, 370  
 Willis, John, 389  
 Wilmington, N.C., 32, 33, 34, 36, 50, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 67, 104, 116, 117, 168, 175, 242, 246, 260, 263, 264, 273, 281, 300, 306, 316, 318, 321, 322, 325, 328-331, 334, 337, 339-341, 346, 347, 352, 357, 368, 369, 385, 392, 394, 395, 399, 406, 410, 420, 422, 428, 432, 435, 436, 447, 462, 465, 468, 476  
 Wilson, John, 220, 238, 245, 248, 278, 326  
 Winn, Richard, 17, 39, 42, 117, 121, 123, 126, 127, 132, 137, 147, 149, 151, 153, 154, 190, 217, 220, 224, 226, 227, 256, 392, 403, 479  
 Winstboro, 11, 42, 61, 68, 69, 121, 179, 198, 206, 208, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 227, 229, 231, 232, 234, 236, 238, 243, 245, 246, 247, 256, 314, 373, 393, 397, 398  
 Winston, Joseph, 36, 192, 198, 200, 207, 213, 284, 308, 474, 477  
 Witherspoon, Gavin, 331  
 Witherspoon, James, 243  
 Witherspoon's Ferry, (ambush) 322  
 Wolf's Den, 34, 36, (raid) 334  
 Woodford, William, 25, 85, 88, 91, 92, 98, 100, 109  
 Woolford, Thomas, 28, 160, 172  
 Wright, Gideon, 36, 60, 195, 204, 205, 207  
 Wright, Hezekiah, 36, 60, 63, 195, 205  
 Wright, James, Jr., 56, 75, 86  
 Wright, James, Sr. 56, 72, 184, 185, 353, 375, 383  
 Wyanoke Ferry, (raid) 395  
 Wylie's Plantation, (skirmish) 288  
 Wylly, Alexander, 75, 327, 328, 353  
 Yarborough, Edward, 25, 245, 250  
 Yorke, John, 77, 96, 399, 456  
 Yorktown, 7, 14, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 64, 65, 67, 71, 72, 252, 274, 305, 306, 339, 341, 352, 380, 392, 416, 417, 419, 423, 427, 428, 430, 434, 436, 437, 449, 451, (siege) 452, 453, 455, 456, 459, 460, 462, (sortie, surrender) 463, 464  
 Young, Thomas, 39, 122, 178, 241, 361, 383, 479

