

"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

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.⁶³

Stationed at Savannah, Georgia at this same time were the following:

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

BRITISH

16th Regt.
71st Regt. (2 battalions)

GERMAN

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

PROVINCIALS AND LOYALIST MILITIA

1st Bttn. Delancey 's Brigade, Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger
3rd Bttn. New Jersey Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen
New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull
South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes
King's Carolina Rangers, Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown
Royal North Carolina Regt., Lieut. Col. John Hamilton

South Carolina Loyalist Militia, Capt. Samuel Rowarth, Capt. Wyley
Georgia Loyalist Militia, Maj. James Wright

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.⁶⁴

American forces at this time in the deep south were mostly situated in Charleston, and were under the command of Maj. Benjamin Lincoln. Lincoln's force was made up 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), plus 2,000 South Carolina and North Carolina militia.⁶⁵ See 17 April 1780 for more details on specific units, artillery, and American and French naval forces present.

26 December. Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton's expedition to take Charleston left Sandy Hook, New York⁶⁶ on a voyage that would ultimately 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 Huyne, and Brig. Gen. James Paterson. Col. Francis Lord Rawdon, who would subsequently play a major role in the southern campaigns, was not with the initial invasion force, but arrived later, on 17 April, with a follow-up convoy of reinforcements.⁶⁷

The expedition's force and convoy consisted of:

BRITISH

Light Infantry: 800
1st and 2nd Grenadiers Bttns.: 900
7th Regt.: 400
23rd Regt.: 400
33rd Regt.: 450, Lieut. Col. James Webster
63rd Regt.: 400
64th Regt.: 350

⁶³ CAR p. 152n.

⁶⁴ CGA p. 137, LSY p. 286.

⁶⁵ TCS p. 13, BEA p. 208.

⁶⁶ For a large fleet, Sandy Hook was usually two days out of New York City, with perhaps a stop at Staten Island in between.

⁶⁷ WAR vol. II, pp. 695-696.

detachment of 17th Light Dragoons
Guides and Pioneers: 150
Royal Artillery: 200

GERMAN

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

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

Jägers: 200, including
2nd Company, Anspach-Bayreuth Jäegers
Hesse Cassel Jagers (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

Carrington's gives a total of 7,550, not including the Hessian recruits. Subtracting the 42nd Regiment (700) and the Queen's Rangers (200) which Carrington, incorrectly included in his list (these units came on 17 April), makes for 6,650. Adding the reinforcement of 2,566 rank and file effectives of 18 April, minus those not fit for duty -- thus getting a 1,863 rank and file fit for duty total for the reinforcements -- would bring Clinton's total rank and file force by late April to 8,513. Adding the complete 2,566 reinforcement gives (as an approximation) 9,216 at the time of the siege, 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, on the other hand, gives the total of Clinton's expedition (not counting sailors and marines) as 8,700 effectives.⁶⁸

NAVAL STRENGTH OF CLINTON'S EXPEDITION:

Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot

Royal Navy personnel: 4,000 to 5000 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
Raisnable, 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

⁶⁸ CAR pp. 152n, 167n, CBA pp. 493-494, BEA p. 206, LSY pp. 288-289.

Virginia, 28 guns⁶⁹

28 December. A major storm, lasting a few days, hit the Charleston bound expedition: seriously damaging most of the ships, and sinking at least one. Both convoy and transport ships, in general, were separated far and wide from each other. One transport, the *Anna*, with 200 Hessians on board, ended up being caught in the Gulf Stream and was blown so far across the Atlantic it landed in Cornwall. As well, a few ships, disabled by the gale, were captured by American privateers. The 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 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.⁷⁰

JANUARY 1780

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 Charleston 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. 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.⁷¹

FEBRUARY 1780

Early February. From Savannah, 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.⁷²

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 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 Rutledge played a crucial 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. The response was relatively nil due to concern about loyalists, and in some cases Indians, in their own neighborhoods, plus fear of smallpox in Charleston.⁷³

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."⁷⁴

9-11 February. Stormy weather having sufficiently subsided, Clinton sailed with a convoy of troops out of Savannah to begin preliminary moves on Charleston. By the 11th, he captured John's Island, Stono ferry, James' Island, Perreneau's landing, Wappo cut -- all locations just to the south or southwest of Charleston. In addition, the advanced portions of the expeditionary force occupied the bank of the Ashley river opposite Charleston. The passage to the islands, which in terms of navigation was exceedingly treacherous, was not achieved without some difficulty. Yet, very fortunately for Clinton, this difficulty was overcome by the unique expertise and assistance of Capt. Keith Elphinstone of the Royal Navy. Meanwhile, a detachment from Clinton's force, some 1,400-1,500 under Brig. Gen. James Paterson, remained in Savannah with Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost's garrison -- as did, as well, the replacements for the 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade and the German regiments already garrisoning the town. Included in Paterson's force were: the Light Infantry, Ferguson's Corps, the New York Volunteers, a detachment of the dismounted British Legion.⁷⁵

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

⁶⁹ CBA p. 494.

⁷⁰ TCS p. 4, CAR p. 159-160, WAR vol. II, pp. 695-696, LSY p. 42.

⁷¹ TCS p. 4, CAR p. 159, FWI p. 164, BEA p. 207.

⁷² CAR pp. 160, 172.

⁷³ JFM ch. 3, WAR vol. II, p. 698, BEA p. 955, SFR p. 591n.

⁷⁴ JFM, ch. 2.

⁷⁵ TCS pp. 5-6, CAR pp. 160-162.

rest of the ships assembled off Stono. A battalion was immediately upon this sent to the Lighthouse Island [Morris Island] and two twenty-four-pounders mounted in a battery to cover the boats of the fleet while laying buoys on the passage over the bar. It was, however, the 20th of March before we had the satisfaction to see the Admiral's flag flying on board the *Roebuck* in Five Fathom Hole.⁷⁶

Tarleton: "On the 10th of Feb 1780 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."⁷⁷

De Brahm,⁷⁸ 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."

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, which acts as the natural southern boundary of the city of Charleston.⁷⁹

15 February. From a letter⁸⁰ written by Colonel John Laurens written on February 15th: "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 Charleston, 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 Charleston; 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 Charleston 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 Charleston 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 Charleston, 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] 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..."⁸¹

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 Charleston from New York was a top priority for the dismounted British Legion and 17th Lt. Dragoons. "To procure others," writes Clinton, "was one of our first cares after we arrived in Tybee; and Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, who commanded the Legion, had removed at his own request with the dismounted troopers of both [i.e. the Legion and 17th Dragoons] to Port Royal Island for that purpose. Here by great exertion and good luck he collected a number of horses (some marsh tackies which made poor cavalry horses), in time to join Brigadier General Paterson as he passed by that route in his march to the army before Charleston." 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.⁸²

William Dobein James: "(T)he enemy proceeded cautiously in the siege of Charleston. They formed a depot on James Island, and erected a fortification on it, and the main, near Wappoo cut."⁸³

⁷⁶ Five Fathom Hole was where the British ships anchored just outside Charleston harbor. CAR p. 162.

⁷⁷ TCS, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Ferdinand de Brahm was a French engineer serving under Lincoln and DuPortail in Charleston who kept a journal of the siege. DJC.

⁷⁹ BEA p. 206.

⁸⁰ The extract of this letter printed in Tarleton gives the date at February 25th.

⁸¹ MDR pp. 410-411.

⁸² TCS pp. 9, 6-7, CAR p. 165, WAR vol. II, p. 701.

⁸³ JFM, ch. 2.

MARCH 1780

Early March. 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 time in February (or possibly early March) to Augusta. Williamson remained there till May 29, at which time his duties were taken up by the Georgia militia.⁸⁴

Lossing: "[Gov. John] Rutledge ordered three hundred negroes to be brought from the neighboring plantations to work upon the [Charleston] 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 protected the whole. Fort Moultrie, the redoubts at Haddrell's Point and Hobcaw, 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."⁸⁵

Early March. 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 Charleston."⁸⁶

3 March. Brig. Gen. James Hogun arrived in Charleston with 700 North Carolina Continentals.⁸⁷

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 5th, he received from Vice Admiral Arbuthnot's squadron 4 additional thirty-two pounders, with one hundred rounds of shot, and 6 twenty-four pounders with like quantity of ammunition.⁸⁸

5 March. Brig. Gen. James Paterson's detachment of 1,400-1,500 left Savannah began its march up along the Savannah River to take Augusta, making some 17 miles by the end of the day.

Allaire⁸⁹: "Sunday, March 5th. The following corps marched from Savannah, viz.: Light Infantry, commanded by Maj. Graham; American Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Ferguson; New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Turnbull, North Carolinians, Lieut. Col. Hamilton; South Carolinians, Col. Innes; Dismounted Legion, Maj. Cochrane; one company of Georgia Dragoons, Capt. 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. Clinton's advance forces crossed Wappoo Creek, thus beginning the encirclement of Charleston. On this same day, the first British siege batteries were erected on the west side of the Ashley River.

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."

10 March. Allaire: "Friday, 10th. The American Volunteers and British Legion marched three miles up the Augusta road to Tuckasse-King. Here we encamped, and took breakfast in the morning. A Rebel Lieut. Johnson with twenty men surrounded a poor man's house here this morning. They heard we were in motion, but not being certain of it, they came to find out the truth. They did no damage to the family; neither did they tarry long, being informed that we were in possession of the Two Sisters, they thought it proper for the brothers to take themselves off. This is the first Rebel party we have heard of. At three o'clock in the afternoon received orders to take the ground we left in the morning, where I and part of the detachment lay all night. One division crossed the river -- the others to follow as expeditiously as possible."

11 March. Paterson crossed the Savannah River near Two Sisters.⁹⁰

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."

⁸⁴ CGA p. 131.

⁸⁵ LFB vol. II, p. 558.

⁸⁶ CAR p. 160.

⁸⁷ BEA p. 209.

⁸⁸ CAR p. 439.

⁸⁹ Lieut. Anthony Allaire, who kept a diary from which this and subsequently quoted extracts are taken, was an officer in Ferguson's Corps.

⁹⁰ ADI, 11 March

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.⁹¹

16 March. Allaire: "Thursday, 16th. 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 Charlestown. 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.) Allaire: "Saturday, 18th. Marched from McPherson's plantation to Saltketcher, a Rebel party consisting of eighty militia, commanded by a Maj. 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. Graham, of the Light Infantry, and Maj. [also Royal Governor of Georgia, James] Wright, 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 18th March, he surprised a party of 80 militia, at Saltketcher bridge, killed and wounded several, and dispersed the rest."⁹²
According to McCrady, the defeated American force numbered 50 under Ladson, which lost 17 killed and 4 wounded. Paterson lost 2 wounded.⁹³

19 March. William Dobein James writes: "Gen. Lincoln had ordered Lieut. Col. [Francis] Marion to select two hundred men, out of the three regiments with him, at Sheldon, and to march immediately to town. (31st Jan.) No troops were to be left in the field but two hundred light infantry, and the horse under Col. Washington. Marion repaired to town, according to orders; but before the garrison was 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 Charleston at the time it was placed under siege. Both Lossing and Bass give the date for this accident as 19 March, whereas James gives 31 January. That a sprained ankle should have kept Marion from commanding his men seems rather strange, not to mentioned the circumstances in which he suffered the injury. Yet *if* there were unstated factors and motives in Marion's being absent during the siege, it is, at the same time, only fair to Marion to say that cowardice would not have been one of them.⁹⁴

19 March. Clinton ordered Paterson to rejoin him. "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 besiege Charleston, he sent orders for more to be sent from New York. Paterson then marched for Charleston, and was subsequently joined near "Fish Pond" on 21 March by Tarleton and the main body of the British Legion coming from Beaufort.⁹⁵

20 March. [skirmish] Salkehatchie River (Colleton County, S.C.) Allaire: "Monday, 20th. The army got in motion, marching about two miles. Received orders to halt, the rear guard being fired on; it proved to be the [New] York Volunteers, getting the boats on the carriages at the river, were fired on by a skulking party of rascals on the other side of the stream. Three poor lads of the York Volunteers were killed. What damage was done to the Rebels we are not certain. Detained by this and repairing of bridges on the road, we only marched seven miles this day. Took up our ground at a place called Godfrey's savannah."

21 March. De Brahm: "The English fleet passed the bar, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole."

⁹¹ FWI p. 198, BEA p. 710.

⁹² JFM, ch. 2.

⁹³ See also MSC p. 744.

⁹⁴ JFM, ch. 2. LFB vol. II, p. 769n, BSF p. 29.

⁹⁵ CAR p. 162, CBA p. 495, BAR p. 208.

21 March. Tarleton's dragoons and the detachment of the 17th Light Dragoons united with Paterson's force as it moved toward Charleston.

Allaire: "Tuesday, 21st. The army got in motion. Marched to Fish Pond river. Here we were detained to repair the bridge till evening. Before we crossed we moved on about three miles, through a swamp, over an exceeding bad causeway. This day Col. Tarleton, with his dragoons, joined us from Beaufort, where he had been to get horses - his being all lost on the passage from New York. We took up our ground about ten o'clock at night, and remained till ten o'clock next morning."

22 March. Allaire: "Wednesday, 22d. The army got in motion at ten in the morning, and marched as far as Horse Shoe, where we again were detained to repair the bridge. After crossing, continued our march to Jacksonsburgh, a village containing about sixty houses, situated on Pon Pon, or Edisto river."

23 March. [skirmish] Bee's Plantation. (Colleton County, S.C.) 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 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."⁹⁶

Allaire: "Thursday, 23d. All the army, except the Seventy-first regiment, and greatest part of the baggage, crossed the river in boats and flats, the bridge being destroyed. Col. Tarleton came up with a party of Rebel militia dragoons, soon after crossing the river at Gov. Bee's plantation. He killed ten, and took four prisoners. Gov. 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."⁹⁷

25 March. Paterson joined Clinton's forces, arriving just a few miles outside and southwest of Charleston.

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."

27 March (or 25 March). [skirmish] Savannah, GA. (Chatham County, GA.) A detachment of Delancey's 1st 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.

27 March. [skirmish] Rantowle's Bridge, also Rantol's Bridge, Rutledge's Plantation (Charleston County, S.C.) 300 American cavalry, consisting of Lieut. Col. William Washington's 3^d Continental Light Dragoons, the 1st 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 17th Light Dragoons, with 200 to 300, in a skirmish in which the Americans captured Lieut. Col. John Hamilton of the Royal North Carolina Regiment along with six other prisoners. The affair ended with the Americans retreating, and otherwise equally small loss to both parties.⁹⁸

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."⁹⁹

Allaire: "Monday, 27th. Two companies of Light Infantry, American Volunteers, and one company of Dragoons, crossed at Rantowle's in scows; the rest of the army crossed yesterday. Col. Hamilton, of the North Carolinians, and Dr. Smith, of the Hospital, proceeding about a mile in front of the army, to Gov. Rutledge's house, were immediately surrounded by three hundred Continental Light Horse, and they consequently made prisoners. The British Dragoons fell in with them soon after, and had a skirmish; the Rebels soon gave way, and showed them the road, as is customary for them to do. Qr. Master Sergeant McIntosh, of the Georgia Dragoons, badly wounded in the face by a broadsword. Several Dragoons of the Legion were wounded. How many of the Rebels got hurt we can't learn; but they did not keep up the combat long enough for many to receive damage. This morning, Capt. Saunders, that came in with the flag on the 24th, was sent out; his attendant, Capt. Wilkinson, not being mentioned in the body of the flag, is detained as a prisoner of war. We took up our ground on Gov. Rutledge's plantation, about one mile from his house, where we remained all night."

⁹⁶ TCS p. 8.

⁹⁷ JFM, ch. 2.

⁹⁸ TCS p. 8, JFM, ch. 2, MDR p. 413-414, CBA p. 496, MSC p. 744.

⁹⁹ TCS p. 8.

William Dobein James: "On the 27th, near Rantowle's bridge, he [Tarleton] had a rencounter with Col. Washington, at the head of his legion of 300 men; Tarleton was worsted in this affair, and lost seven men, prisoners."¹⁰⁰

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 Charleston), and there crossed that stream toward evening. They had strengthened Fort Johnson, cast up intrenchments 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."¹⁰¹

28 March. Allaire. "Tuesday, 28th. The army got in motion about nine o'clock in the morning, and marched to Ashley Ferry, where we met the British and Hessians, Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Yagers, under command of Sir. H. Clinton. We continued our march down the river about six miles to Lining's plantation; it is situated on Ashley river, nearly opposite Charlestown, and commands an extensive view towards the sea."

William Dobein James: "On the 28th of March they [the British] crossed Ashley river, near the ferry, and made a lodgement in Charleston neck."¹⁰²

29 March. Clinton broke ground within 1,800 yards of the American defenses on Charleston neck.¹⁰³

De Brahm: "The English army crossed Ashley River twelve miles above the town."

Allaire: "Wednesday, 29th. Sir Henry Clinton, with the British and Hessians, Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Yagers, passed over Ashley river to Charleston Neck, early in the morning. Spend the day in viewing Charleston and found it not a little like New York; for Ashley and Cooper rivers form a bay exactly like East and North river at New York."

29 March. [skirmish] Charleston (Charleston County, S.C.) De Brahm: [Entry for the 30th] "The advanced guard of the enemy came within two miles of Charlestown, when a party of two hundred men, under Colonel John Laurens and a little while after two field-pieces), went out against them, who, after a skirmish of some hours, returned towards sun-set. The fortifications of Charlestown were, even at this time, very incomplete. All the negroes in town were impressed, who, together with the parties detailed from the garrison, were henceforth employed upon the works."¹⁰⁴

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."¹⁰⁵

30 March. Allaire: "Thursday, 30th. Incessant firing of small arms on the neck; cannon at short intervals. This firing was at the Commander-in-chief and his family reconnoitering. He forbid the British returning the fire. Lord Cathness, standing by the side of Gen. Clinton, was shot through the body by a musket ball; one Yager killed."

31 March. Having now effectively surrounded Charleston by both land and sea, Sir Henry Clinton formally commenced the siege of Charleston, and began digging on the first parallel.

De Brahm: "At day-break we observed that the enemy had opened his trenches in three places."

Clinton: "(I)n the night of the first of April we broke ground within 800 yards of the rebel works."¹⁰⁶ James gives the distance as 1,100 yards.

APRIL 1780

1 April. De Brahm: "April 1 and 2, 1780. The enemy's [British] works were a little extended, and ours augmented."

For the next few days preliminary redoubts and batteries were constructed, and the whole completed by April 8. Artillery lost in the voyage had been replaced by guns from Admiral Arbuthnot's ships-of-the-line, or obtained

¹⁰⁰ JFM, ch. 2.

¹⁰¹ LSF vol. II, p. 558.

¹⁰² JFM, ch. 2.

¹⁰³ WAR vol. II, p. 700.

¹⁰⁴ See also JFM, ch. 2.

¹⁰⁵ MDR p. 414.

¹⁰⁶ CAR p. 163.

from posts elsewhere, such as Savannah, while detachments of seaman were sent on shore to assist in their operation. At the time, Charleston was plagued with small pox.¹⁰⁷

3 April. 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. De Brahm: "This morning, daylight discovered to us the enemy's [the British] battery very much injured."

5 April. 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."

6 April. Brig. Gen. William Woodford crossed the Cooper River, and joined the Charleston garrison with 700-750 Virginia Continentals.¹⁰⁸

Lossing: "On the day of his [Woodford's] arrival the terms of enlistment of about seven hundred North Carolinians expired, and they all went home at an hour when they were most needed."¹⁰⁹

De Brahm: "The fire of the batteries and the works continued as before. To-day the reinforcement under General Woodford arrived."¹¹⁰

Entry for the 7th: "Very little fire from our batteries last night, and more on the part of the enemy. The enemy has prolonged the right of his first parallel. All our workmen employed digging wells."

7 April. [coastal battle] Fort Moultrie, also Sullivan's Island (Charleston, S.C.) A British squadron detachment, consisting of *Roebuck*, *Richmond*, *Romulus*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Raleigh*, *Sandwich* (armed ship) and *Renown*, passed the heavy guns of Fort Moultrie, commanded by Brevet Brig. Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, with the loss of only 27 men, and loss of *Arteus* an ordnance ship which went aground and was burned. *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.¹¹¹

Allaire: "Saturday, 8th. But little firing from the Rebels. Rainy, disagreeable morning. The rebels were reinforced with thirteen hundred men last night, commanded by a Gen. Scott. They fired a feu de joie, and rang all the bells in town on the occasion. About four o'clock this afternoon the fleet hove in sight, coming up under full sail with a fresh breeze at south west, and passed Fort Moultrie -- the Rebel fort that they boasted of on Sullivan's Island, which no fleet could ever pass. They were but a few minutes passing. What damage is sustained we have not yet learned. The *Richmond* lost her fore top-mast; a cutter lay opposite the fort all the time the fleet was passing, with a 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 bank called "The Green."

William Dobein James: "On the 7th, twelve sail of the enemy's ships passed Fort Moultrie, under a heavy fire. The garrison had been assiduous in preparing for defence; the old works were strengthened, and lines and redoubts were extended from Ashley to Cooper river. A strong abatis was made in front, and a deep, wet ditch was opened from the marsh on one side, to that on the other, and the lines were so constructed as to rake it."¹¹²

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."

9 April. Allaire: "Sunday, 9th. Admiral Arbuthnot came on shore, and went over to Headquarters on the Neck. By him we were informed that there were only seven men killed, and fifteen wounded, in passing Sullivan's Island. The shipping damage was so trifling that 'twas not worth mentioning." See 7 April.

10 April.¹¹³ The British completed their first parallel, and 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:

¹⁰⁷ JLG vol. I p.285.

¹⁰⁸ BEA p. 209.

¹⁰⁹ LFB vol. II, p. 558n.

¹¹⁰ CBA p. 495.

¹¹¹ CBA p. 495, FWI p. 166, WAR vol. II, pp. 702-703.

¹¹² JFM, ch. 2.

¹¹³ Lossing gives the 9th which may have been when the summons was initially made.

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.

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 Charleston and continuing the fight from the countryside. However, Lieut. Col. 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.¹¹⁴

De Brahm: "The works of the enemy [the British] were advanced. Our negroes employed in making a battery of five pieces of redoubt, and the soldiers on fatigue in making traverses. This evening [the 10th] a parley was received from the enemy, demanding the surrender of the town; it was refused."

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 Charleston, 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."¹¹⁵

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 Gilbank was accidentally killed, making some experiments with shells."

11 April. Allaire: "Tuesday, 11th. Col. Ferguson came from Headquarters. Informs us that the town was summoned to surrender to his Britannic Majesty. Answer was returned, that they thought it necessary as well as their duty to defend it to the last extremity, which they meant to do. Wednesday, 12th. Received orders to march. The North Carolinians 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. 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."

14 April.¹¹⁶ [raid-skirmish] Monck's Corner, also Biggin Church (Berkeley County, S.C.) The corps of Tarleton and Ferguson, supported by the 33rd and 64th Regiments led by Lieut. Col. James Webster -- all together totaling some 1,400 men¹¹⁷ -- launched a surprise night attack on Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger's force at Biggin Church. Biggin Church lay across Biggin Creek, about a mile north east of Monck's Corner, and Huger was deployed there with a mind to help keep northern communications open with Charleston. His force consisted of about 200 to 300 cavalry under Washington, White and John Jameson, Vernier, and Peter Horry, plus 100 to 200 South (and or North Carolina) militia. The Americans were thoroughly surprised and routed, though most of Huger's cavalry 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. 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

¹¹⁴ TCS pp. 56-67, LFB vol. II, p. 560, MDR p. 415, WAR vol. II, p. 700.

¹¹⁵ JFM, ch. 2.

¹¹⁶ Tarleton gives the date for this engagement as the 12th, but this evidently is in error.

¹¹⁷ Webster commanded the whole.

captured, 42 wagons all loaded, 102 wagon horses, 83 dragoon horses.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

Tarleton: "On the 12th of April, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, being reinforced at the quarter house by Major Ferguson's corps of marksmen, advanced to Goose creek: Colonel Webster arrived on the following day at the same place, with the 33d and 64th regiments of infantry; Tarleton again moved on in the evening, with his own and Ferguson's corps, towards Monk's Corner, as had been previously concerted with the commander in chief, in order, if possible, to surprise the Americans encamped at that place: An attack in the night was judged most advisable, as it would render the superiority of the enemy's cavalry useless, and would, perhaps, present a favourable 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."¹²⁰

Allaire: "Thursday, 13th. Got in motion at seven o'clock in the morning. Marched through a small village called Dorchester. It contains about forty houses and a church. Continued our march to Middleton's plantation at Goose creek, about fifteen miles from Bacon's Bridge, and ten from Dorchester. Here we met the Legion about one o'clock in the afternoon, and halted till ten at night. Then, in company with them, got in motion and marched eighteen miles to Monk's Corner, being informed that Col. Washington's, Pulaski's, Bland's, and Horry's Light Horse lay here. We arrived just as day began [the 14th] to appear on Friday morning, and found the above enemy here, in number about four hundred, including some militia that arrived the day before, commanded by Gen. Huger. Luckily for them, they were under marching orders, which made them more alert, when the alarm was given, than usual, which alone prevented their being all taken completely by surprise. They made off with great expedition. We pursued, overtook and killed Pulaski's Major Vernier, wounded a French Lieut. Beaulait, and one other officer; about sixty privates were taken, fifteen or twenty of whom were wounded. We had but one man wounded, and he very slightly. We took thirty wagons, with four horses in each. A number of very fine horses that belonged to their troops were likewise taken, and converted to British Light horses. Col. Washington and all their officers made but a narrow escape; their baggage, letters, and some of their commissions were taken."

William Dobein James: "On the 13th April, the American infantry and cavalry under Gen. [Isaac] Huger, lay, the infantry at Biggin church, and the cavalry under Col. Washington, at Monk's corner. Col. Tarleton with Ferguson's corps of marksmen, advanced on from the quarter-house to Goose Creek, where he was joined by Col. [James] Webster, with the 33d and 64th regiments of infantry. There an attack upon the American post was concerted, and it was judged advisable to make it in the night, as that would render the superiority of 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

¹¹⁸ Lossing gives 300 horses as captured, Tarleton 400.

¹¹⁹ 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. Some days afterward, William Washington bought a mare from Sumter to replace the one he lost, and also elsewhere commandeered 16 horses for his men. BGC p.150.

¹²⁰ TCS pp. 15-17.

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 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 corner, then a village, were afterwards deserted, and long bore the marks of deadly thrust, and much bloodshed."¹²¹

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."

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."

16 April. Maj. Gen. Johannes Baron de Kalb with near 1,400 Maryland and Delaware Continentals left Morristown, New Jersey on their way south.¹²²

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."

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 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."

17 April. St. Thomas Parish, north of Charleston, was occupied by the British thus completing the encirclement of Charleston by land. Allaire. "Monday, 17th. Crossed Bono Ferry and passed on to Miller's Bridge, over a branch of Wando river, where we took up our ground about nine o'clock in the evening. This day passed St. Thomas' church, where we met the Thirty-third regiment.

17 April (sometimes incorrectly 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, were landed outside Charleston to reinforce Clinton. The reinforcement numbered 2,566 rank and file effectives, of which 1863 were fit for duty. It included the 42nd Regiment, Regt. von Dittfurth, the Queen's Rangers, the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, the Volunteers of Ireland, and some replacements. Col. Francis Lord Rawdon, along with his regiment the Volunteers of Ireland, was also present. Webster's detachment of the 33^d was reinforced as soon as some of the replacements from Westerhagen's force made it possible. Many historians (such as James) mistakenly state that these reinforcements were under Cornwallis. Cornwallis, however, had accompanied Clinton in the initial expedition.¹²³

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."¹²⁴

BRITISH FORCES PRESENT IN AND AROUND THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON

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

1st and 2nd Grenadier Battalions: 900

7th Regt.: 400

¹²¹ JFM, ch. 2.

¹²² WNA, CBA p. 509.

¹²³ TCS p. 18, CAR p. 167n, MDR p. 415, BRG p. 63.

¹²⁴ JFM, ch. 2.

23rd Regt.: 400
33rd Regt.: 450, Lieut. Col. James Webster
42nd Regt.: 700
63rd Regt.: 400
64th Regt.: 350

Royal Artillery: 200, Maj. Peter Traille

Guides and Pioneers: 150

GERMAN

Hessian Grenadiers: 1000, including
1st Bttn. Grenadiere von Linsingen, Lieut. Col. Otto Christian W. von Linsingen
2nd Bttn. Grenadiere von Lengerke, Lieut. Col. George Emmanuel von Lengerke
3rd Bttn. Grenadiere von Minnigerode, Col. Frederick Henry von Schuler¹²⁵
4th Bttn. Grenadiere von Graff, Lieut. Col. von Graff

Regt. von Huyme: 800, Col. Friedrich von Benning
Regt. von Dittfurth, Col. Maxwell von Westerhagen

Jägers: 200, including
2nd Company, Anspach-Bayreuth Jägers
Hesse Cassel Jagers (1 company)

Hesse-Cassel chasseur company (dismounted)¹²⁶, Capt. George Hanger

Hessian artillery detachment

TOTAL Germans (including Hessian Grenadiers): 2,264 rank and file. ¹²⁷

PROVINCIALS

King's American Regiment: 100, Col. Edmund Fanning
Queen's Rangers: 200
Volunteers of Ireland, Col. Francis Lord Rawdon
Prince of Wales Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Thomas Pattinson

Brig. Gen. James Paterson's detachment from Savannah:

71st Regt.
Light Infantry
A detachment of 17th Light Dragoons
British Legion: cavalry: 250, infantry: 300, Lieut. Col. Banastre Tarleton
Loyal American Volunteers, Maj. Patrick Ferguson
New York Volunteers, Lieut. Col. George Turnbull
South Carolina Royalists, Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes
Royal North Carolina Regt. ¹²⁸

TOTAL Strength of Paterson's detachment: 1,400 to 1,500

TOTAL LAND FORCES UNDER CLINTON: 12,000

Clinton says about 7,000 first came with him, which adding Westerhagen's 2,500 reinforcement brings the number to roughly 9,500. Counting the 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 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. ¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Schuler was from the von Dittfurth regiment, but while in the south was temporarily commanding the Minnigerode battalion.

¹²⁶ Hesse Cassel Chasseurs: Capt. George Hanger formed a chasseur company from among Hesse Cassel regiments, in December 10, 1779, which was sent to Charleston. They returned to New York in June (without Hanger), but were disbanded in December 1780. These troops were supposed to have been mounted, but because of lack of horses they acted as light infantry.

¹²⁷ 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 dr ums & fifes and 2264 rank & file present fit for duty.

¹²⁸ Lieut. Col. John Hamilton was captured at Rantowle's Bridge on March 27th, but was liberated after the fall of the city.

¹²⁹ CAR p. 152n, 167n, CBA pp. 493-494, LSY pp. 288-290, BEA p. 213.

Coleman, in his *The American Revolution in Georgia*, states that British troops taken out of Georgia before the fall of Charleston 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 Charleston.¹³⁰

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. It may very well be that a few of those listed by Carrington as escorting Clinton's expedition south, were actually part of the flotilla that brought Westerhagen.

AMERICAN FORCES DEFENDING CHARLESTON

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln

Brig. Gen. Louis DuPortail, Chief Engineer

Brig. Gen. James Hogun

Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie

Brevet Brig. Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney

Brig. Gen. Charles Scott

Brig. Gen. William Woodford

Lieut. Col. John Laurens, present as a volunteer.

CONTINENTALS

1st South Carolina Regt.: 231

2nd South Carolina Regt.: 246

3rd South Carolina Regt.: 259

1st North Carolina Regt.: 287

2nd North Carolina Regt.: 301

3rd North Carolina Regt.: 162

1st Virginia Regt.: 336

2nd Virginia Regt.: 306

3rd Virginia Regt.: 252

1st Detachment of Virginians: 258

2nd Detachment of Virginians: 232

Attached Virginia officers: 46

Light Dragoons: 41

Georgia Continental officers: 5

South Carolina artillery: 93

North Carolina artillery: 64

Charles town Battalion of Artillery: 168

Cannoniers, manning town batteries (probably militia): 167

157 guns in battery

MILITIA

South Carolina and North Carolina militia: 1,231

1st Battalion of Charles town militia: 352

2nd Battalion of Charles town militia: 485

Davie states that there were 300-400 North Carolina militia in Charleston.¹³¹

French and American sailors serving with city: 1,000

French company: 43

TOTAL OF AMERICAN LAND AND NAVAL FORCES: 6,662-6,684¹³²

¹³⁰ CGA p. 131.

¹³¹ DRS p. 31.

¹³² This number includes sailors present. Boatner gives 3,600 Continentals and 2,000 South and North Carolina militia.

The above list of units and total taken from Lumpkin and McCrady does not include Washington's and White's Virginia cavalry, Pulaski's Legion, Horry's South Carolina Light Horse and some odd number of militia posted outside the city, all under Huger.¹³³

AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES

Commodore Abraham Whipple

American Ships

The *Bricole*,¹³⁴ pierced for 60, mounting 44 guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders
Truite, 26 guns, twelve-pounders
Queen of France, 28 guns, nine-pounders
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."¹³⁵

Most of these ships had earlier been deliberately sunk between Charleston and Shute's folly on March 9-10 in order to block British passage up the Cooper River. Some historians have been critical of Whipple for not putting up a fight with these ships, even given the odds he was facing.¹³⁶

18 May. Allaire: "Tuesday, 18th. Began to fortify at the Bridge, and make a block house in order to keep post here with a few men."

18 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as heretofore, and a shower of musketry all day; this day like last night very rainy."

19 April. Allaire: "Wednesday, 19th. Maj. Ferguson, with fifty of the American Volunteers, and part of the North Carolinians, moved on to join the Thirty-third and Sixty-fourth regiments, and the British Legion, which had gone forward to attack a Rebel post at Lempriere's 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."

20 April. [raid] Wando River, S.C. (Charleston County, S.C.)
Allaire: "Thursday, 20th. Remained at Miller's Bridge, finishing the block house. Col. Tarleton surprised and took nine sloops with goods, stores, etc., and twenty pieces of cannon."

20 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as ordinary. This evening the Ravelin commenced in front of the horn work."

21 April. Allaire: "Friday, 21st. Capt. [Samuel] Ryerson, with forty American Volunteers, a subaltern, and twenty of the Thirty-third, and a subaltern, and twenty of the Sixty-fourth regiments, remained at Miller's Bridge to 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 two batteries, near his second parallel."

22 April. William Dobein James: "About this time, the American forces in the field having been defeated...and the British having completed their second parallel, an offer to capitulate was made by Lincoln, to Sir Henry Clinton, and rejected."¹³⁷

¹³³ MSC p. 746, LSY pp. 287-288, BEA p. 208.

¹³⁴ 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.

¹³⁵ Arbuthnot's return given in Tarleton. TCS pp. 52-53.

¹³⁶ DBJ, TCS p. 10.

¹³⁷ JFM, ch. 2.

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."

23 April. De Brahm: "Fire from the batteries as ordinary. The enemy extended the saps of his second parallel."

23 April. Cornwallis sent Cornwallis with a detachment of the army, including the 33rd Regt., British Legion, Ferguson's corps, 64th Regt., to cut off northern approaches to the city. On the 25th, Cornwallis, camped near St. Thomas' church, was reinforced with the 23rd Regt. and the Volunteers of Ireland.¹³⁸

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] Charleston (Charleston County, S.C.) An American party within Charleston, 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. The minor tactical success, even so, had no real impact on the siege overall.¹³⁹

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."¹⁴⁰

Allaire: "Monday, 24th. Lord Cornwallis joined us and took command. About ten o'clock in the evening there was the most tremendous cannonade I ever heard, and an incessant fire of musketry. The Rebels sallied out and took eight of the Light Infantry prisoners, upon which the whole line got under arms; some in their hurry getting out without putting on their coats, were taken by the others for Rebels, and fired on, which unluckily occasioned warm work for a few minutes. Sixty odd of ours got killed and wounded by our own men. The Rebels were repulsed, and they finding their muskets rather an incumbrance 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."

25 April. Allaire: "Tuesday, 25th. About eight o'clock in the morning got in motion; were joined by the Twenty-third regiment and Volunteers of Ireland. We proceeded on, passed over Miller's Bridge and Waputa {Wappetaw} Bridge, took possession of Waputa meeting house, about seven o'clock in the evening, where we halted till two in the morning."

25 April. De Brahm: "As ordinary. Last night Col. Parker of the Virginia line was killed by a musket shot."

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."

27 April. De Brahm: "As ordinary."

28 April. De Brahm: "As ordinary. Last night our Fort at Lamprier's was evacuated, and taken possession of by the enemy to-day. It was not until this moment that Charlestown was completely 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."

28 April. Allaire: "Friday, 28th. Fortified the small house by the side of the meeting house, at ten o'clock at night. Intelligence being received that the Rebels had left the fort at Lempriere's Point, and gone to Charleston, 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 Charleston."

29 April. De Brahm: "The enemy's [British] third parallel almost finished, and a battery commenced; as likewise a redoubt on our side."

29 April. Admiral Arbuthnot formed a brigade of 500 seaman and marines under Captain Charles Hudson, which landed at Mount Pleasant. This forced the American evacuation of Lempriere's Point, with loss of nearly 100 men, who were captured by the guard-boats of the fleet when they tried to retreat to Charleston.¹⁴¹

Arbuthnot, in a letter to Mr. Stevens dated Charleston 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

¹³⁸ CAR. p. 167.

¹³⁹ LFB vol. II, p. 559n, WAR vol. II, p. 702.

¹⁴⁰ LFB vol. II, p. 559n.

¹⁴¹ CAR p. 169, CBA p. 496.

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 river. For this purpose a brigade of five hundred seamen and marines was formed from the squadron, and under the command of the Captains Hudson, Orde, and Gambier, landed at day break, on the 29th, at mount Pleasant; where receiving information that the rebels were abandoning their redoubt at Lamprie'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."¹⁴²

30 April. De Brahm: "As ordinary."

Allaire: "Sunday, 30th. Got in motion at three o'clock in the morning, in company with the [New] York Volunteers, and marched to Lempriere's 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 (son of Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell) was at Lenud's Ferry on the Santee River with 700 North Carolina militia (Rankin says 400). Also with him was South Carolina Governor John Rutledge who was endeavoring to call out the South Carolina militia, but with little success. Many of the inhabitants of the state, intimidated by the large British forces, and the potential danger posed by Tories and Indians to their districts thought it best to remain at home.¹⁴³

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 1782.¹⁴⁴

1-3 May. De Brahm: "1st, 2nd, and 3rd. As ordinary. Our hospital ship taken by the English and carried higher up the river."

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 Charleston fortifications (located across the Cooper River and to about the east of the city), and captured it.

Allaire: "Tuesday, 2^d. 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.)¹⁴⁵

4-6 May. De Brahm: "4th, 5th, and 6th.--The enemy employed in making three batteries upon his third parallel. And we to make two redoubts."

4 May. Allaire: "Thursday, 4th. 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 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."

5 May. [ambush] Wambaw's Plantation (Berkeley County, S.C.) 1 officer and 17 privates belonging to Tarleton's light infantry (presumably the British Legion) were surprised and captured by Lieut. Col. Anthony White 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 6th.¹⁴⁶

6 May. Clinton's third and final siege parallel is 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."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² TCS pp. 49-50.

¹⁴³ JFM, ch. 2., RNC p. 237.

¹⁴⁴ CGA p. 137.

¹⁴⁵ WNA, CBA p. 509.

¹⁴⁶ JFM ch. 2, LFB vol. II, p. 559, BEA p. 616.

¹⁴⁷ JFM, ch. 2.

6 May. [raid-battle] Lenud's Ferry, also Lanneau's Ferry, and Lenoo's Ferry (Berkeley County, S.C.) Smarting from the loss of some of his men at Wambaw Plantation (see 5 May), Tarleton proceeded after Lieut. Col. Anthony White who had retreated to Lenud's Ferry on the Santee River where the remaining American cavalry, some 200 to 300, under Lieut. Col. William Washington and Col. Peter Horry were gathering. Tarleton, with 150 British Legion cavalry, after a long, hard ride, 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. 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 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. 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.¹⁴⁸

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 Horry's regiment of light horse. On the 5th of May, he crossed the Santee at Depui's ferry. Fortune favored his first attempt. He suddenly surrounded a detachment of an officer and seventeen dragoons, who were foraging the next morning at Ball's plantation, and made them prisoners without resistance: From thence he directed his march towards Lenew's [Lenud's] ferry, with an intention to recross the river, under the protection of two hundred continental infantry, ordered by Colonel Buford to meet the cavalry at that place. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, without any knowledge of the misfortune which it happened to the detachment of light-infantry cavalry, was proceeding on the same day with the patrol 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 patrol with the greatest expedition: At the same time, the distance of Lord Cornwallis's camp, the fatigue of the march, the heat of the weather, and the sight of their infantry on the opposite bank, threw the Americans quite off their guard. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the advanced dragoons of the English arrived in presence of their videttes: Tarleton instantly formed his troops, ordered them to charge the enemy's grand guard, and to pursue them into the main body. The corps being totally surprised, resistance and slaughter soon ceased. Five officers and thirty-six men were killed and wounded; seven officers and sixty dragoons were taken prisoners; and the whole party of the light infantry were rescued, as the boat was pushing off to convey them to the opposite shore. All the horses, arms, and accoutrements of the Americans were captured. Colonels White, Washington, and Jamieson [Jameson], with some other officers and men, availed themselves of their swimming, to make their escape, while many who wished to follow their example perished in the river. The British dragoons lost two men and four horses in the action; but returning to Lord Cornwallis's camp the same evening, upwards of twenty horses expired with fatigue."¹⁴⁹

Allaire: "Saturday, 6th. 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 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 Monk's Corner] Col. White soon after took the command of the American cavalry, but with no better fortune. On the 5th May, he took a British officer and seventeen men of the legion, at Ball's plantation, near Strawberry, in the morning, and pushed back twenty-five miles, to Lenud's ferry, on Santee. While crossing there, Tarleton surprised him, at three in the afternoon; who states, that five officers and 36 men of the Americans were killed and wounded, and seven officers and sixty dragoons were taken; while he lost only two men, and retook his dragoons. Cols. White and Washington, Major Jamieson [Jameson], and several officers and men, escaped by swimming the river, but many perished in the like attempt. Thus the American corps of cavalry and infantry, in the open field, was completely annihilated, and from the Saltketcher to the Santee, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, either terror or a general depression of spirits, had spread through the country. What served to increase this, was the cannonade at the town. This was a novel thing in South Carolina, and along water courses, it was heard more than one hundred miles. In that distance, there were but few families, who had not a husband, father, brother or son in the garrison; and these listened to the sound, with the deepest anxiety, and, as was natural, with no little despondency."¹⁵⁰

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,

¹⁴⁸ TCS pp. 19-20, JFM, ch. 2, CSR p. 169, BEA pp. 616-617.

¹⁴⁹ TCS pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁰ JFM, ch. 2.

and the prisoners were retaken. Lieutenant -colonel Washington, with Major [John] Jamieson and a few privates, escaped by swimming the Santee. Major Call and seven others fought their way through the British cavalry, and escaped."¹⁵¹

7 May. [surrender] Fort Moultrie, also Sullivan's Island (Charleston, S.C.) Capt. Charles Hudson, from the HMS *Richmond*, and 500 Royal Marines receives surrender of Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, and its 216 man garrison, from Lieut. Col. William Scott, after threatening to storm it. Fort Moultrie had played a key role in the repulse of Clinton and Sir Peter Parker's expedition to take Charleston in 1776. 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.¹⁵²

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 7th of May; and by capitulation, surrendered themselves prisoners of war."¹⁵³

Allaire. "Sunday, 7th. Orders to get ready to march with two days' provision, at a minute's notice. Maj. Ferguson had obtained permission to attack Fort Moultrie. He rode forward with four dragoons to reconnoitre. We were to remain at our post till we got orders for marching. The first news we heard was the fort was in possession of the British; the Rebels had surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Capitulation was as follows: Capt. Hudson of the Navy summoned the fort on Friday, and received for answer: " Tol, lol, de rol, lol: Fort Moultrie will be defended to the last extremity." On Saturday he sent another flag, and demanded a surrender, acquainting Col. Scott that the Lieutenant with the flag would wait a quarter of an hour for an answer. If the fort was not given up, he would immediately storm it, and put all the garrison to the sword. At this Col. Scott changed the tune of his song, begging that there might be a cessation of arms, that the fort would be given up on the following conditions: that the officers both Continental and militia, should march out with the honors of war, and be 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 Charleston 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. "

De Brahm: "This morning at eight o'clock Fort Moultrie capitulated. A sixty-gun ship joined the English Fleet."

8 May. Clinton submitted a second ultimatum to Lincoln.

William Dobein James: "The caution of Sir Henry Clinton, in advancing so slowly, had been extreme, and the unsuspecting security of the Americans was still great; but Gen. Duportail, a French officer of engineers, having arrived in town before the communication was closed with the country, declared, that the works of the besieged were not tenable, and might have been stormed ten days before. This disclosed his true situation, and induced Gen. Lincoln to listen to a capitulation, which was proposed to him on the 8th of May. From that until the 10th, the negotiation was continued. On the 11th, the capitulation was agreed to, and, on the next day, the Americans marched out and grounded their arms."¹⁵⁴

De Brahm: "As ordinary. Another redoubt was commenced last night in rear of our left line. This morning the enemy sent a parley again to demand the town-the truce was prolonged throughout the whole day. In a Council of War composed of all officers of the General Staff, it was resolved by a majority of votes, to propose a capitulation."

Allaire: "Monday, 8th. Six o'clock in the morning, Sir Henry Clinton sent in a flag, and demanded the surrender of Charleston. 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 and shells into the town, and an incessant fire of musketry all night."

¹⁵¹ LFB vol. II, pp. 559n-560n.

¹⁵² TCS pp. 20-21, 55-56, CAR p. 169, LFB vol. II, p. 560n, FWI p. 166, WAR vol. II, pp. 702-703.

¹⁵³ TCS pp. 20-21.

¹⁵⁴ JFM, ch. 2.

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 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."¹⁵⁵

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 23rd of May.¹⁵⁶

9 May. De Brahm: "The enemy had cannon mounted in the batteries of his third parallel. The two commanders not agreeing upon the terms of capitulation the siege commenced this evening at nine o'clock with greater warmth than ever."

11 May. De Brahm: "As ordinary. The enemy's trenches are extended under the abbatis of the advanced battery. This afternoon a parley was sent to the enemy to propose fresh terms of capitulation."

Allaire: Thursday, 11th. The town set on fire by a carcass, 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] CHARLESTON (Charleston County, S.C.) On the 11th, after an approximately six week siege, Charleston capitulated to the British, who then entered the city the next day. At least 2,560 Continentals and 1000 militia were captured.¹⁵⁷ It was the worst defeat suffered by an American army in the course of the entire war, a fact often overlooked by Clinton's detractors.

Allaire: "Friday, 12th. The gates were opened, Gen. Leslie at the head of the British Grenadiers, Seventh, Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth regiments, and Hessian Grenadiers marched in, and took possession of Charleston, 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 6th and 7th of May, the artillery was mounted in the batteries of this parallel, and the traverses and communications were perfectly completed. Thus enclosed on every side, and driven to its last defences, Sir Henry Clinton wishing to preserve Charles town from destruction, and to prevent that effusion of blood which must be the inevitable consequence of a storm, opened a correspondence on the 8th with General Lincoln, for the purpose of a surrender: But the conditions demanded by the American commander being deemed higher than he had a right to expect from his present situation, they were rejected, and hostilities renewed. The batteries on the third parallel were then opened, and by the superiority of fire, both of artillery and small arms, the British troops were enabled to gain the counterscarp of the outwork which flanked the canal; which they likewise passed, and then pushed on their approaches directly towards the ditch of the place. The present state of danger now urged the citizens and militia, who had formed the objections to the late conditions, to acquiesce in their being relinquished: General Lincoln accordingly proposed to surrender on the terms lately offered. The commander-in-chief and the admiral, besides their dislike to the cruel extremity of a storm, were not disposed to press to unconditional submission an enemy whom they wished to conciliate by clemency. They now granted the same conditions which they had before prescribed as the foundation for treaty. The capitulation was signed the 11th of May, and on the 12th, Major-general Leslie, by the order of Sir Henry Clinton, took possession of Charles town.

As the siege was not productive of sallies, or desperate assaults, which were in a considerable degree prevented by situation and the nature of the works, the carnage was not great on either side, and was not unequally shared. The loss of the King's troops during the siege, before the town and in the country, amounted to seventy-

¹⁵⁵ LFB vol. II, p. 560.

¹⁵⁶ KJO p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ 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.

six killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded; and that of the Americans, in the town, to eighty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded.

By the articles of capitulation the garrison were allowed some of the honours of war; they were to march out of the town, at an hour appointed for that purpose, to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they were to deposit their arms; but the drums were not to beat a British march, or the colours to be uncased: The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain prisoners of war until they were exchanged: The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property: The citizens of all descriptions, to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia: The officers of the army and navy to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and their baggage unsearched: They were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them out of Charles town. A vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with General Lincoln's dispatches, which were not to be opened."¹⁵⁸

CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES¹⁵⁹

BRITISH

Clinton's return: "Return of the killed and wounded of the troops under the command of his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, from the debarkation in South Carolina the 11th of February, to the surrender of Charles town the 12th of May.

Royal artillery. 5 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.

1st battalion of light infantry. 8 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 17 rank and file wounded.

2d battalion ditto. 11 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 12 rank and file wounded.

Detachment of ditto. 3 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.

1st battalion grenadiers. 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 13 rank and file wounded.

2d battalion ditto. 10 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 11 rank and file wounded.

7th. 1 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.

23d. 4 rank and file wounded.

33d. 1 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.

62d. 2 rank and file killed.

63d. 4 rank and file killed.

64th. 1 rank and file wounded.

71st. 2 ensigns, 6 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 14 rank and file wounded.

GERMAN

Yagers. 7 rank and file killed; 14 ditto wounded.

Linsing. 2 rank and file killed; 7 ditto wounded.

Lengerck. 1 rank and file killed; 15 ditto wounded.

Schuler. 3 rank and file killed; 18 ditto wounded.

Graff. 2 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 8 rank and file wounded.

Huyme. 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."¹⁶⁰

TOTAL Based on Clinton's Return: 76 killed, 189 wounded

In his memoirs, Clinton later stated the British lost 268 killed and wounded.¹⁶¹

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."¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ TCS pp. 21-23.

¹⁵⁹ For troop strengths present at the siege see 17 April 1780.

¹⁶⁰ TCS pp. 45-46.

¹⁶¹ CAR p. 171.

¹⁶² TCS p. 52.

AMERICAN

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 138.¹⁶³

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."¹⁶⁴

Regarding the fate of many of the prisoners, Lossing further writes: "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."¹⁶⁵

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."¹⁶⁶

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."¹⁶⁷

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 Charleston, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates."¹⁶⁸

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."¹⁶⁹

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."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ TCS p. 22, CAR p. 171.

¹⁶⁴ LFB vol. II, p. 561, 561n.

¹⁶⁵ LFB vol. II, p. 562.

¹⁶⁶ TCS p. 64.

¹⁶⁷ TCS p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ RHA Vol. II, Ch. XIX, 481.

¹⁶⁹ JFM, ch. 2.

¹⁷⁰ TCS pp. 52-53.

From the return by Maj. Peter Traill, 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, 15 stands of regimental colours. Large quantities of musquet 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, Mount Pleasant, and on board the vessels, amounting in the whole to eighty or ninety pieces; and one ten-inch mortar."¹⁷¹

12-13 May. After receiving word of the surrender of Charleston, 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 Charleston, 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 before Waxhaws on the 29th, he relinquished it to Buford, taking in his charge instead the task of escorting Governor Rutledge and his council members to safety.¹⁷²

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 Charleston. In a few days the Brittish (sic) troops took Charleston 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 Charleston, 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 Charleston which was then beseiged (sic) by the British. At Camden Capt. Freeman joined Gen. Caswell from North Carolina with a considerable body of the North Carolina militia also marching for the relief of Charleston. When they had gone down the River toward Charleston 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 seige (sic) that Charleston 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 Dobsons Crossroads in Surry County (but now Stokes County), where David was discharged."

15 May. A major ammunition magazine in Charleston exploded, burning a number of houses in the city and killing at least 33 British soldiers. Allaire: "Monday, 15th. Magazine blew up -- set the town on fire -- burnt several houses. Capt. Collins and Lieut. Gordon, of the artillery, Lieut. M'Leod of the Forty-second regiment, and about thirty privates, perished by the explosion. In what way the accident happened is not certain; 'tis supposed by throwing the captured arms into the magazine, one went off, and set fire to the powder."

Mid to late May. In the days and weeks following the fall of Charleston, the question was put to remaining South Carolina militia units whether they would submit to the terms of protection and parole imposed on the Charleston garrison. A meeting was convened at Augusta of top ranking Georgia officials and military leaders, some Continental officers, and Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson, who was top ranking officer of 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, meanwhile, arranged for another meeting of Georgia and South Carolina officers at Whitehall, 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. McLidle. 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. Le Roy Hammond, Col. John Thomas, Sr., Col. Andrew Pickens, Maj. John Purvis decided to submit to the Charleston articles of surrender. Only one officer of the staff, one field officer, and four or five captains, at the Whitewall conference voted against an immediate acceptance of the terms. A flag of truce was sent to a Colonel Parriss (or Parris) representing the British, and forthwith over 300 troops, including three companies of regular infantry, raised by the State and enlisted for

¹⁷¹ TCS p. 55-56, 65-67.

¹⁷² TCS p. 27, JLG v. 1 p. 286, JFM ch. 2, RNC p. 237.

three years or the war, and 150 to 200 other militia were surrendered by Williamson to be paroled. 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 one account, Williamson had expressed a desire to resume the fighting, but submitted only when it became the clear consensus to do so. Williamson evacuated Augusta on May 29th. 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.

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.¹⁷³

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."¹⁷⁴

Ramsay: "At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-Six, they generally laid down their arms, and either submitted as prisoners or subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered."¹⁷⁵

16 May. Allaire. "Tuesday, 16th. The American Volunteers relieved the Navy, and took command of Fort Moultrie."

17 May. Clinton sent Cornwallis, located at St. Thomas' Parish north of Charleston, to take Camden.¹⁷⁶ Arbuthnot meanwhile feared the possible approach of the French fleet under Admiral Charles Louis d'Arzac, Chevalier de Ternay and was eager to leave Charleston as soon as possible.¹⁷⁷

Clinton, in Charleston, 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. 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 17th dragoons, you are heartily welcome to them during this move." Cornwallis in his reply of the 18th said the 42nd Regt., the Light Infantry, would not be needed, and declined the extra temporary support. However, he retained the 17th dragoons which he already had with him. These did nevertheless end up returning to New York with Clinton.¹⁷⁸

18 May. Cornwallis left his ground near Huger's Bridge on the 18th and directed his march to Lenud's ferry with 5 pieces of cannon and upwards of 2,500 men (2,542 rank and file.) Boats were collected with difficulty as the Americans had concealed or destroyed all within their reach. 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."¹⁷⁹

21 May. Cornwallis on the north side of Lenud's ferry resumed his march toward Nelson's Ferry, ultimately heading toward Camden.¹⁸⁰

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.¹⁸¹

¹⁷³ CAR pp. 174-176, John A. Chapman, *A History of Edgefield County, S.C.*, JLG vol. I, p. 284, DKM p. 47, CGA pp. 131-132.

¹⁷⁴ LFB vol. II, p. 506n.

¹⁷⁵ RAH vol. II, XIX, pg. 484.

¹⁷⁶ DKM p. 68.

¹⁷⁷ LFB vol. II, p. 561.

¹⁷⁸ TCS pp. 76-77, 97.

¹⁷⁹ TCS p. 26-27.

¹⁸⁰ TCS p. 27.

¹⁸¹ TCS p. 68-70.

22 May. Clinton wrote Maj. Patrick Ferguson appointing him Inspector of Militia in the Southern Provinces, by which authority Ferguson was to raise and train loyalists militia units, and to hand out minor officer commissions. Ferguson was given very specific instructions as to how the loyalists were to be paid, clothed and organized: "This Militia you will form into Companies consisting of, from 50 to 100 Men each, and will when the local and other Circumstances will admit of it, form Battalions consisting of, from 6 to 12 Companies each, allowing such as cannot conveniently be assembled in Battalions, to remain as Independent Companies. Each Company to be under a Lieutenant chosen by the Men, to whom you may add if you find it necessary, an Ensign from the Non Commissioned Officers and others who have served in the Army, to assist in establishing a certain Degree of Order, Regularity and Discipline, which however must be done with great Caution, so as not to disgust the Men, or mortify unnecessarily, the Love of Freedom..." Lieut. Col. Alexander Innes of the South Carolina Royalists and Major 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 command of the loyalists in the Ninety-Six district.¹⁸²

24 May. Allaire: "Wednesday, 24th. Lay at Fort Moultrie."

25 May. Allaire. "Thursday, 25th. The detachment was relieved by British and Hessian Grenadiers. The American Volunteers [Ferguson's Corps] marched up to Mount Pleasant, and crossed over to Charleston. 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, 26th. The following corps got in motion about three o'clock in the morning, under the command of Col. Balfour, of the Twenty-third regiment, viz - Light Infantry, commanded by Maj. 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. (also possibly 29 May, 3 June, or later)¹⁸³ [raid] Mobley's Meeting House, also Gibson's Meeting House, Brierly's (Fairfield County, S.C.) Col. William Bratton and Captain John McClure, who had been camped beside the Catawba with some whig partisans, were enlisted to assist Major Richard Winn, and 100 of Capt. Edward Lacey's men under Winn's command, in a raid on a gathering of loyalists 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.¹⁸⁴ Bratton, Winn, and McClure then surprised and routed the loyalists. Bass speaks of this event as two separate actions, followed by a third where another group of loyalist at Brierly's were sent retreating into the Dutch Fork.¹⁸⁵ The Dutch Fork was a settlement area, largely loyalist in sympathy, located between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, and which 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 7 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."¹⁸⁶

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 28th. 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.)¹⁸⁷

27 May. From Nelson's ferry on this date, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton with 40 cavalry of the 17th Light Dragoons, 130 Br. Legion dragoons, 100 mounted infantry of the legion (these last on horses allotted by Cornwallis) and a three-pounder in pursuit of Col. Abraham Buford's force retreating northward. The same day Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger and the South Carolina officials at Rugeley's received advanced word of Tarleton's approach. Acting as escort, Huger moved with the governor and his council to escape capture, after having passed on command of the Continentals and supply column to Col. Abraham Buford. Long marches and severe

¹⁸² 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.

¹⁸³ Lossing has Beckhamville taking place prior to Mobley's Meeting House, in contradiction to McCrady, Bass and Ripley, though he may be correct.

¹⁸⁴ Bass: "The New Acquisition was in general the present York County." BSF p. 254n.

¹⁸⁵ MSC p. 744, BGC p. 54, RBG p. 72, BRG p. 111.

¹⁸⁶ LFB vol. II, pp. 452-453.

¹⁸⁷ TCS pp. 28, 66, JFM ch. 2.

heat caused the loss of number of horses, yet in 54 hours Tarleton managed to cover 125 miles and caught up with Buford on the 29th.¹⁸⁸

28 May. Tarleton's force arrived at Camden, arriving at Rugeley's at dawn on the 29th.¹⁸⁹

28 May. Sumter left his family and civilian life, riding to Salisbury, North Carolina, to help raise troops to fight British. North Carolina leaders as well busied themselves about this time with the same task. Almost immediately afterward, his home was burnt down by Tarleton's men under Capt. Charles Campbell after an effort to apprehend him.¹⁹⁰ Sumter ended up in Charlotte and then removed to New Acquisition (west of Waxhaws), where he was joined by compatriots.¹⁹¹

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. He had with him 350 to 380 Virginia Continentals.¹⁹² In addition he had a detachment of the 3rd Continental Light dragoons under Col. William Washington and two six-pounders. Tarleton then approached Buford, whose main body was within view of Pearson's capture. Tarleton's force consisted of 130 Legion dragoons, 40 17th Light Dragoons and 100 mounted British Legion infantry, under Maj. Charles Cochrane, and a three pounder. However, it was only his advanced detachment of which participated in the main attack. This consisted of 60 dragoons from the 17th Light Dragoons and the British Legion cavalry, and 60 mounted infantry of the British Legion, plus a flanking force of an additional 30 British Legion dragoons and some infantry. The remainder of Tarleton's 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, while 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 Buford's force was broken up and routed. Buford's own cavalry was with the wagons and when apprised of the disaster fled northward. Many of Buford's infantry who continued fighting, and even those who surrendered, were mercilessly cut down by Tarleton's 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 him killed, acted out of retaliation, while it then took Tarleton 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.¹⁹³

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 17th dragoons and part of the legion, to charge the center of the Americans; whilst Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with thirty chosen horse and some infantry, assaulted their right flank and reserve: This particular situation the commanding officer selected for himself, that he might discover the effect of the other attacks. The dragoons, the mounted infantry, and three pounder in the rear, as they could come up with their tired horses, were ordered to form something like a reserve, opposite to the enemy's center, upon a small eminence that commanded the road; which disposition

¹⁸⁸ TCS pp. 27-28, JLG vol. I, p. 286.

¹⁸⁹ TCS p. 28.

¹⁹⁰ 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.

¹⁹¹ BGC p. 53-54

¹⁹² Continental army historian, Patrick O'Kelley: "Buford was an officer of the 14th Virginia Regiment. However that unit at the Waxhaws was not the 14th, the 10th or the 11th. Some historians mistakenly state that the men with Buford were the 3rd Virginia Regiment, or the 14th Virginia. The 3rd Virginia Regiment had been captured in Charlestown, and the only member of the 14th Virginia Regiment at the Waxhaws was Colonel Buford. His 350 recruits were the 3rd Virginia Detachment of Scott's 2nd Virginia Brigade. These men were Virginia recruits and recalled veterans intended for the various regiments of the Virginia Line."

¹⁹³ 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, BEA pp. 1173-1174.

afforded the British light troops an object to rally to, in case of a repulse, and made no inconsiderable impression on the minds of their opponents. The disposition being completed without any fire from the enemy, though within three hundred yards of their front, the cavalry advanced to the charge. On their arrival within fifty paces, the continental infantry presented, when Tarleton was surprised to hear their officers command them to retain their fire till British cavalry were nearer. This forbearance in not firing before the dragoons were within ten yards of the object of their attack, prevented their falling into confusion on the charge, and likewise deprived the Americans of the further use of their ammunition: Some officers, men, and horses, suffered by this fire; but the battalion was totally broken, and slaughter was commenced before Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton could remount another horse, the one with which he led his dragoons being overturned by the volley. Thus in a few minutes ended an affair which might have had a very different termination. The British troops had two officers killed, one wounded; three privates killed, thirteen wounded; and thirty-one horses killed and wounded. The loss of officers and men was great on the part of the Americans, owing to the dragoons so effectually breaking the infantry, and to a report amongst the cavalry, that they had lost their commanding officer, which stimulated the soldiers to a vindictive asperity not easily restrained. Upwards of one hundred officers and men were killed on the spot; three colours, two six-pounders, and above two hundred prisoners, with the number of waggons, containing two royals, quantities of new clothing, other military stores, and camp equipage, fell into the possession of the victors."¹⁹⁴

Allaire: "Thursday, June 1st. Got in motion at five o'clock in the morning, and marched to Nelson's Ferry, Santee river. By express were informed that Col. Tarleton, Monday, the 29th, fell in with a body of Rebels, (Buford's corp-L.C.D.) forty miles above Camden. He summoned them to surrender-received all insolent answer, charged them, killed one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, eight Subalterns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, and ninety-nine Sergeants and rank and file. Wounded three Captains, five Subalterns, and one hundred and forty-two rank and file. Made prisoners two Captains, one Subaltern, fifty rank and file. Total killed, wounded and taken prisoners, one Lieutenant-Colonel, eight Captains, fourteen Subalterns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, 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."

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 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 Charleston. Buford called a council of his officers, who deeming it a deception, he continued his march. In the afternoon, Tarleton overtook him, unfortunately, in an open wood, and cut to pieces his rear guard. At the sound of his bugle, Buford drew up his men, all infantry; but Capt. Carter, (not Benjamin,) who commanded his artillery, and led the van, continued his march. Tarleton advanced, with his infantry in the centre, and his cavalry on the wings. He was checked by Buford's fire; but the cavalry wheeling, gained his rear. Seeing no hope of any longer making a defence, Buford sent Ensign Cruitt with a flag of truce, and grounded his arms. Disregarding the flag, and the rules of civilized warfare, Tarleton cut Cruitt down, and charged upon Buford, with his cavalry in the rear; while Maj. Cochrane, an infuriated Scotchman, rushed with fixed bayonets, in front. A few of Buford's men, resumed their arms, and fired, when the British were within ten steps, but with little effect; as might have been expected, from what has been stated. Buford's regiment was entirely broken by the charge, no quarters were given by the British; 113 men were killed of the Americans, and 151 so badly wounded as to be left on the ground. This was nearly two thirds of the whole American force, according to Tarleton's own account; and the manner in which those left on the ground were mangled, is told, by others, as horrible. No habitation was near, but the lone cabin of a poor widow woman; and the situation of the dead, was fortunate, when compared with that of the living. Tarleton says, he lost but two officers, and three privates killed, and one officer and thirteen privates wounded. The massacre took place at the spot where the road from Lancaster to Chesterfield now crosses the Salisbury road."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ TCS pp. 29-31.

¹⁹⁵ JFM, ch. 2.

29 May. Brig Gen. Andrew Williamson evacuated Augusta. Following shortly upon this, the Rebel militia forces under his command were disbanded either as parolees to the British, or else they continued resistance to the British elsewhere.

30 May. The Delaware and Maryland Regiments, under de Kalb, left Petersburg on their way to North Carolina.¹⁹⁶

JUNE 1780

June. Sometime in the month, Lieut. Col. Charles Porterfield with 300 Virginia State Troops arrived to join or deploy near to Caswell's N.C. militia above the Pee Dee. Although Otho Williams speaks of Porterfield's arriving in South Carolina in the spring, too late to help the garrison at Charleston, strangely he 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, that is unless and until possible new information on this point is uncovered.¹⁹⁷

June. The British began setting up a series of outposts and fortifying certain locations in South Carolina to protect 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 1st, 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. 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, 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 23rd Regt., the 33rd Regt., the 71st Regt. (subsequently moved to Cheraws), the Royal North Carolina Regt., the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, the Volunteers of Ireland, the British Legion, and a detachment of artillery.¹⁹⁸

Cheraws

Not long after occupying Camden, Cornwallis dispatched Maj. Archibald McArthur with 71st Regt. to occupy the Cheraws settlement on the south side of the Pee Dee River to cover that area of the country. Over time, many of McArthur's men suffered from heat and fevers, which significantly weakened his detachment.¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰

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 Charleston, on 19 June, which date see. It 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." Johnson speaks of Cambridge as being the actual main town of the area, but Cambridge was not built till after the war.²⁰¹ William Hill: "At that time [i.e. after the fall of Charleston] 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 Charleston, 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, that commanded about 80 Tories, to go ahead of his troops to take the submissions of all the Americans that was

¹⁹⁶ KJO pp. 9-10, WNA, CBA p. 509.

¹⁹⁷ WNA, JLG vol. I, p. 295.

¹⁹⁸ TCS p. 87-89, BSF p. 33.

¹⁹⁹ TCS p. 87.

²⁰⁰ TCS pp. 86-87, CAR pp. 174-176, DRS p. 5.

²⁰¹ CAR pp. 174-176, JLG vol. II, p. 138, WAR vol. II, p. 816.

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.²⁰²

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 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. After resistance had died down, a small detachment of provincials was sent there (probably in June.) After that, Maj. James Wemyss and the 63rd Regt, were dispatched to the post no later than mid July.²⁰³

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 James and Daniel McGirth (also McGirt) then moved from Savannah to occupy Augusta. At this same time, or else not long after (from the record, the latter seems far more likely), Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger with his 1st Battalion Delancey, the 3rd Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, a detachment of the 16th Regt.,²⁰⁴ 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,²⁰⁵ 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 May or June 1780 before being able to take to the field. They 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."²⁰⁶

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.²⁰⁷ 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."²⁰⁸

Early June. A commissioner was sent (according to William Hill) by Rawdon to Hill's Iron Works 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.²⁰⁹

1 June. Cornwallis reached Camden.²¹⁰

1 June. Clinton and Arbuthnot issued a second proclamation which said 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.²¹¹

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 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

²⁰² HMS p. 6.

²⁰³ TCS pp. 77, 80, 87, CAR p. 174-176, BSF pp. 35, 62.

²⁰⁴ 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.

²⁰⁵ In the first quarters of 1781, Few served as a delegate to Congress from Georgia.

²⁰⁶ 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.

²⁰⁷ 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.

²⁰⁸ Dated 9 February, 1784, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 20, folios 142-145.

²⁰⁹ HMS pp. 6-8.

²¹⁰ BSF p. 33.

²¹¹ TCS p. 74-76, CAR pp. 181-182.

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. Not long thereafter rebel militia groups started forming, including one in the Kingstree area under Maj. John James, one in the neck between the Pee Dee and Lynches Rivers under Lieut. Col. Hugh Giles, and another regiment on Britton's Neck under Col. John Ervin.²¹²

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.

Cornwallis later wrote to Lord German, on August 20, 1780: "Sir Henry soon afterwards embarked for New York, and appointed me to the command of His Majesty's Forces in the Southern Provinces. I was then at Camden, but the Corps with me being totally destitute of Military Stores, Clothing, Rum, Salt & other articles necessary for Troops in the operations of the Field, and Provisions of all kinds being deficient, almost approaching to a Famine in North Carolina, it was impossible for me to penetrate into that Province before the Harvest. I therefore employed myself in fixing posts of Troops from the Pedee to the Savannah rivers, to awe the disaffected and encourage the loyal Inhabitants, And 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. 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 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 71st regiment & a troop of Dragoons at Cheraw Hill on the Pedee, where his detachment was plentifully supplied by the Country with Provisions of all kinds. Other small Posts were likewise established in the front & on the left of Camden, where the people were known to be ill disposed, And the Main body of the Corps was posted at Camden, which, for this Country is reckoned a tolerably healthy place, and where the Troops could most conveniently subsist & receive the necessary supplies of various kinds from Charlestown. I likewise had settled good channels of Correspondence with our friends in North Carolina, and had given them positive directions to attend to their harvests, & to remain quiet untill I could march to their relief."

6 June. Allaire. "Tuesday, 6th. Got in motion at three o'clock in the morning, and marched thirteen miles to Col. Thomson's [Thompson's Plantation], and halted on the march..."

Thompson's Plantation was situated just south and east of the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree rivers.

7 De Kalb camped at "Genl. Parsons" in Granville County, N.C. where he remained till June 21st.²¹³

8 June. Clinton, along with Arbuthnot's squadron, sailed for New York. He took back with him "British Grenadiers²¹⁴ and light infantry, Hessian Grenadiers, German Chasseurs,²¹⁵ Forty-second Regiment, Queen's Rangers, and a detachment of British artillery, amounting in the whole to about 4500." Although not mentioned he also took with him the detachment of the 17th Light Dragoons. His return expedition reached New York by June 18th. Charleston was left with the 7th Regt., the 63rd Regt., the 64th Regt., 2 battalions of Hessians from the von Huyne, and von Dittfurth, a large detachment of royal artillery, and some provincials, all under the command of Brig. Gen Patterson, who had been appointed commandant of the town. According to Tarleton, after the victories at Charleston 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.²¹⁶

²¹² CAR p. 181-182, TCS p. 73-74, CBA p. 498, BSF p. 33.

²¹³ KJO p. 10.

²¹⁴ Relatively few grenadiers were left with Cornwallis.

²¹⁵ Maj. George Hanger, who commanded the chasseurs company remained, and, at his own request, had been transferred to the British Legion.

²¹⁶ TCS pp. 85-86, 87, CAR p. 191n, BDW pp. 46-47.

7 June. (possibly late May, or else 6 June) [skirmish] Beckham's Old Field, also Beckhamville, Alexander'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 the Reverend John Simpson.²¹⁷

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..."²¹⁸

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 10th at Rees' (or Reese's) Plantation eighteen miles northeast of Charlotte.²¹⁹

10 June. Rutherford's militia collected at Rees' (or Reese's) Plantation and numbered 700 to 800.²²⁰

10 June. Allaire: "Saturday, 10th. 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..."²²¹

10 June. [skirmish] Moore's First Gathering. (Lincoln County, N.C.) Col. John Moore,²²² a Lieut. Col. in the Royal North Carolina Regiment acting 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. 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.²²³

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 10th at his father's (Moses Moore) residence on Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramsour'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 Ramsour's Mill on the 13th of the month."²²⁴

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.

Allaire: "Monday, 12th. Got in motion at two o'clock in the morning, and marched fourteen miles to Congaree Stores..."

13 June. Congress elected Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates head of the Southern Army to replace Lincoln.

²¹⁷ LFB vol. II, p. 451, MSC p. 744, RBG p. 72, BRG p. 111.

²¹⁸ LFB vol. II, p. 451.

²¹⁹ GNC pp. 213, GAM vol. II, p. 217.

²²⁰ GNC p. 213, GAM p. 217.

²²¹ "Came in with their arms" probably means these former "rebel" militia were coming in and accepting British amnesty and protection.

²²² Moore himself was from the area, and on the 7th had returned a commissioned officer in the Royal North Carolina Regt. GNC p. 214, GAM vol. II, p. 218.

²²³ GNC pp. 214-215, GAM vol. II, pp. 218.

²²⁴ GRA.

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 18th, 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.²²⁵

14 June. Allaire: "Wednesday, 14th. Lay at Congaree Stores. Capt. Peacock and the three companies of Royal Fusileers [23rd Regt.] under his command, remain here; Col. Patterson [Thomas Pattinson] and his battalion [Prince of Wales Volunteers] to go to Camden."

14 June (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, Cornwallis had also granted John Harrison 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.²²⁶

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."²²⁷

14 June. On the evening of the 14th, 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.²²⁸

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']."²²⁹

15 June. Ferguson continued his march towards Ninety-Six. At the same time, Balfour, from Charleston with some companies of light infantry was headed in the same direction. Allaire: "Thursday, 15th. Got in motion at twelve o'clock at night, and marched twelve miles to Saluda Ferry; crossed the river and halted."

15 June. Coming from Salisbury, Col. Thomas Sumter camped at Tuckasegee Ford on the Catawba. Here he assembled a force of some comrades from his old 6th 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 15th, 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 Mil, S.C. Sumter and his troops then moved on to join Rutherford gathering men for the expedition against Ramsour's Mill.²³⁰ Despite the election, Sumter would not formally become a Brigadier General of the South Carolina militia until October 1780.

15 June Rutherford advanced to two miles south of Charlotte.²³¹

16 June. Col. John Fisher was appointed head of the Orangeburg loyalist militia.²³²

16 June. Lieut. Col. George Turnbull, in command at Rocky Mount, dispatched British Legion Capt. Christian Huck 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 loyalist. Although by July a fair number had joined Huck, so many subsequently left him that that by 11 July he was reduced to probably not much more than his original strength of around 115.

17 June. Rawdon withdrew from Waxhaws to Hanging Rock.²³³

²²⁵ DRS p. 7, GRA.

²²⁶ TCS p. 120, BSF p. 35.

²²⁷ TCS p. 89, CAR p. 177-179.

²²⁸ DRS p. 7, GNC p. 213.

²²⁹ DRS p. 7.

²³⁰ BGC pp. 55-56, BRG p. 121.

²³¹ GAM vol. II, p. 214.

²³² SFR p. 574n.

²³³ GAM vol. II, p214.

18 June. [skirmish] Hill's Iron Works (York County, S.C.) At an iron foundry established by Col. William Hill and Isaac Hayne in the South Carolina backcountry in anticipation of the war, loyalists defeated a whig militia force, and burned the iron works.²³⁴

Lossing: "This disaster, following closely upon the other, [i.e., according to Lossing, Beckhamville then Mobley's Meeting House] alarmed the commander at Rocky Mount, 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, 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."²³⁵

Cornwallis wrote to Clinton on June 30th: "The surrender of General Williamson at Ninety-Six and the reduction of Hill's Iron Works by the dragoons and militia under Turnbull has put an end to all resistance in South Carolina."²³⁶

18-19 June. Rutherford moved to Tuckesegee Ford on the Catawba River, from his camp south of Charlotte. The next day (the 19th) he moved to Dickson's place,²³⁷ 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 19th, Lock crossed Sherrald'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.²³⁸

William A. Graham: "On the 18th Major Wilson, with sixty-five men, among whom were Captains Patrick Knox and William Smith, crossed the Catawba at Toole's Ford, about fourteen miles from Charlotte, near where Moore's Ferry was for many years and Allison's Ferry is now. The ford has been seldom used since 1865, and has been abandoned as a crossing for many years. It is three miles below Cowan's Ford. Taking the Beattie's Ford Road, he soon met Major Jo. McDowell with twenty-five men, among whom were Captain Daniel McKissick and John 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 Falls, Houston, Torrence, Reid and Caldwell, who had crossed at McEwen's Ford with forty men, joined them. McEwen's Ford was near where McConnell's Ferry was, up to 1870, but both ford and ferry have long been abandoned. Marching the road that is now the Newton Road, past Flemming's Cross Roads, they camped on Mountain Creek at a place called the "Glades," sixteen miles from Ramsour's. Here, on the 19th they received additional forces under Colonel Locke, amounting to two hundred and seventy men, among whom were Captains 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 [Sherrald's] Ford, which is used to this day, and where General Morgan crossed the following January. The whole force now amounted to about four hundred-McDowell's, Fall's and Brandon's men (perhaps one hundred) being mounted."²³⁹

Joseph Graham: "In the evening of that day (the 18th), he [Rutherford] dispatched an express to col. Locke [Francis Lock], advising him of his movement and of the enemy's strength, and ordering Locke to join him on the 19th in the evening, or on the 20th in the morning, a few miles in advance of Tuckasegee Ford. The express was negligent and did not reach col. Locke. The morning of the 19th was wet and the arms of gen. Rutherford's men were out of order. At mid-day the weather cleared up, and orders were given to the men to discharge their guns. This discharge produced an alarm in the neighborhood, and the people thinking the tories were attempting to cross the river, many of them came in with arms and joined Rutherford. In the evening he encamped sixteen miles from Ramsour's."²⁴⁰

Davie: "It was agreed [by Rutherford, Lock, and their officers] to attack Moores camp at Ramsours as the most dangerous body of the Enemy, on the 22nd ²⁴¹ following, for this purpose Col. Lock marched to cross the river at

²³⁴ TCS p. 85, LFB vol. II, p. 453, BGC p. 59.

²³⁵ HMS p. 8, LFB vol. II, p. 453.

²³⁶ BGC p. 59.

²³⁷ 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.*

²³⁸ DRS p. 7, GNC pp. 217-218, GAM vol. II, p. 219-220, GRA.

²³⁹ GRA

²⁴⁰ GAM vol. II, pp. 219-220.

²⁴¹ 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.

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 have to met in the night near the enemy and ['to have attacked'] them at break of day but the march of both parties was too circuitous, and the point of rendezvous too distant to insure punctuality; General Rutherford did not arrive, and Colonel Lock who had gained his position in the night, called a council of the officers in which they resolved to attack the enemy not withstanding the disparity of numbers...²⁴²

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.²⁴³

20 June. [battle] RAMSOUR'S MILL, also Ramsaur'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 Falls²⁴⁴ (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. 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 revolutionary war battle. 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.²⁴⁵

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

Capt. Dobson (Burke County), killed

Capt. Houston, wounded

Capt. Patrick Knox (Mecklenburg County)

Capt. McKissick, wounded

Capt. Murray, killed

Capt. Smith, killed

Mounted infantry:²⁴⁶

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:

²⁴² DRS p. 7.

²⁴³ Letters from Balfour to Lord Cornwallis, 15-22 June 1780, CAR pp. 174-176.

²⁴⁴ See DRS p. 51n. Some sources mention a "Capt. Gillefall," a "Capt. Gilley Falls" and a Gabraith 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.

²⁴⁵ 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.

²⁴⁶ Some of these may have been armed as cavalry.

Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford (Rowan County, N.C.)²⁴⁷

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

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] 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."²⁴⁸

Pension statement of Samuel Patton: "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 Falls and 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."

²⁴⁷ Rutherford's column was en route to the battle, but did not actually participate, except in the pursuit and follow-up.

²⁴⁸ DRS p. 7-8.

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, 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." ²⁴⁹

21 June. Leaving Rawdon²⁵⁰ in charge of the garrison, Cornwallis departed Camden and began his return journey to Charleston. On 20 August 1780 he wrote Germain: "I set out on the 21st of June for Charlestown, leaving the command of the Troops on the frontier to Lord Rawdon, who was, after Brigadier General Paterson, the Commandant of Charlestown, the next Officer in rank to me in the Province."

21-22 June. Rutherford stayed 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 22nd that Colonel Samuel Bryan was assembling another group of loyalists at the "forks of the Yadkin, in the north end of Rowan County adjoining Surry about 75 miles East of Ramsours." However, by this time 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.²⁵¹

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 (above the mouth of the Broad River), arrived at Ninety-Six. He subsequently marched 16 miles to Williams' Plantation in Fair Forest, where he erected some field works which were to become the basis for Fort Williams, which became a collecting and defensive point for loyalists under Col. Robert Cunningham.²⁵²

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

²⁴⁹ GAM vol. II, pp. 225-226. Graham's full account of the fighting at Ramsour's Mill is also to be 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.

²⁵⁰ Lieut. Col. Nisbit Balfour, in Charleston, actually preceded Rawdon on the Army Lists and thus had seniority over Rawdon.

²⁵¹ GAM vol. II, p. 227.

²⁵² BRG p. 137.

healthy place. Here were condemned seventy-five friends to Government at one court; five were executed-the others got relieved. "

22 June. De Kalb arrived at Hillsborough. Sometime prior to that on the marched there he was joined by Col. Edward Carrington with 6 cannon and three under -strength companies of artillery.²⁵³

30 June²⁵⁴ (also given as 8 June). [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 into North Carolina from where they made occasional forays back into the state. Otherwise things remained relatively quiet.²⁵⁵

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."

Pension statement of Richard Brandon filed by his wife Agnes: "(Richard Brandon, brother of Col. Thomas Brandon) entered the service of his country as a private horseman, Capt. Jolly's Co., Col. Brandon's Regiment shortly after the commencement of hostilities and was afterwards promoted to the rank of sergeant of Quartermaster in his Brother Col. Brandon's Regiment until he was killed at Brandon's defeat in Union District S.C. the last of June [the 30th] 1781 as above stated..."

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 things 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 Ford²⁵⁶ on the Catawba. Here Col. James Williams joined him with a small party from the Ninety-Six region.²⁵⁷

Ramsay: "The steady persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the North-western frontier of South Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join Col. Sumter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state."²⁵⁸

Late June. [skirmish] Bullock's Creek (Chester or York County, S.C.) Chesney²⁵⁹: "(A) number of loyalists assembled at Sugar Creek and the waters of Fair Forest²⁶⁰ under the command of Col. Balfour, I took protection the 25th of June 1780 from Isaac Grey, Captain South Carolina Regiment. About the middle of June I embodied with the Militia as Lieutenant and I commanded in an affair at Bullock's Creek where the rebel Party was defeated in attempting to cross the ford. I then joined Colonel Balfour and was in an affair at James Wood's house above the Iron-Works on Pacolet but not finding the opposition there that we expected, returned again to Fair Forest; Col. Balfour then returned to Ninety-Six, and Major 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. Bryan's men 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."²⁶¹

Late June. Near the end of the month, provisions were so scarce around Hillsborough that de Kalb marched his troops towards the Pee Dee country. However, he went no farther than Coxe's Mill near Buffalo Ford on the Deep River, where he arrived early July. There he had to spend much of the time having his men collect food, while making an effort to establish a small magazine. De Kalb unsuccessfully tried to get Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell with the North Carolina militia in advance of him to fall back and join the Continentals. Caswell claimed lack of provisions prevented such a move. Along with the Maryland and Delaware troops, de Kalb had with him Lieut. Col. Carrington's detachment of three companies of artillery and five cannon which had joined him in Virginia.²⁶²

²⁵³ KJO pp. 10, WNA, JLG vol. I, p. 295, CBA p. 509.

²⁵⁴ One is inclined to assume the wife knew the date of her husband's death, hence the preference for the June 30th date here.

²⁵⁵ DKM p. 77, MSC p. 744, BRG p. 104.

²⁵⁶ Old Nation Ford was near where U.S. Highway 21 crosses Catawba River at Fort Mill.

²⁵⁷ HMS p. 8, BGC p. 57-58.

²⁵⁸ RAR II, ch. XIX, p. 487.

²⁵⁹ Chesney was one among a number of South Carolinians responding to Sir Henry Clinton's call for recruits.

²⁶⁰ Fair Forest is just north of the Tyger River.

²⁶¹ TCS p. 91.

²⁶² WNA, RNC p. 240.

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 or 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. A number of these took place in this area. One such was Big Glades, which North Carolina historian, John Arthur Preston, among other similar events, records: "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 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."²⁶³

July. [skirmish] Lawson's Fork (Spartanburg, S.C.)²⁶⁴

July. At some time in the month the Hessian Regt. von d'Angelleli was sent from Savannah to Charleston. This made it the third Hessian regiment present there, along with von Huyne and von Dittfurth.

2 July. De Kalb marched to Chatham Court House, N.C., where he stayed for two days after, leaving on the 5th.²⁶⁵

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 requested that Col. Daniel Morgan be promoted to Brigadier General, which request was not long after granted.

5 July. The Maryland and Delaware regiments, under de Kalb crossed the Deep River, reaching Hollinsworth's farm on the Deep River July 19.²⁶⁶

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 was ahead now in advance of de Kalb and by Mask's Ferry on the Pee Dee River, on the route to Camden. 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 without forming magazines. This and lack of wagons and provisions, prompted de Kalb to want to march by way of Charlotte into South Carolina instead.²⁶⁷

9 July. Allaire: "Sunday, 9th. The American Volunteers moved from Ninety-Six at seven o'clock in the evening, under the command of Captain [Abraham] DePeyster, and marched seven miles to Island Ford, of Saluda river, on our way to meet a party of Rebels that were making approaches towards our lines. Dr. 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.²⁶⁸

10 July. By this date, the 1st Bttn. DeLancey's under Col. John Harris Cruger, the 3rd Bttn., New Jersey Volunteers under Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, and a detachment of the 16th Regt. were directed to move by way of Augusta, where they stayed a short while,²⁶⁹ then to Ninety-Six where Balfour and Ferguson were situated. During their subsequent year-long stay at Ninety-Six, the Cruger's and Allen's men were involved in many small skirmishes in the area, most of them unrecorded. Ninety-Six was 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

²⁶³ John Preston Arthur, *History of Western North Carolina* (1914), ch. 5.

²⁶⁴ LSC p. 7.

²⁶⁵ KJO p. 10.

²⁶⁶ KJO p. 10.

²⁶⁷ WNA.

²⁶⁸ FWI p. 183.

²⁶⁹ 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.