

The
Francis Marion
Papers



Volume One
1759-1780



The
Francis Marion
Papers

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South Carolina American Revolution
Sestercentennial Commission
2025

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First Electronic Edition - February 27, 2025

ISBN: 978-1-961813-97-7

Published by the
South Carolina American Revolution
Sestercentennial Commission
8301 Parklane Dr., Columbia, SC 29223

in conjunction with
United Writers Press
Asheville, N.C.

Formatting, including citations, conform to the recommendations of
the *Chicago Manual of Style, 18th Edition*.

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Cover art was derived from a digital image of
a portrait of Francis Marion that hangs
in the South Carolina Statehouse.

*Dedicated
to the memory of*



Charles Burke Baxley
*Chair of the
South Carolina 250 Commission
2019-2024*

Charles Baxley graduated from the University of South Carolina with a degree in political science and a doctorate in law. During his professional career, he practiced law in Lugoff, S.C., in the firm of Baxley, Pratt & Wells, taught business law as an adjunct professor, and served for fifteen (15) years as judge for the City of Camden, S.C.

No one could doubt Charles's love of the history of South Carolina during the Revolutionary War—it was both obvious and contagious. He was the editor and publisher of the online journal, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, as well as books on the Southern Campaigns. An article he authored on Gen. Nathanael Greene in South Carolina's Lowcountry was featured in the winter 2017 edition of *Army History* magazine. He organized academic conferences on Revolutionary War topics; an archaeological exploration of the Hobkirk Hill battlefield; a field trip group known as the "Corps of Discovery" to take people to little known Revolutionary War sites in the South; and a Revolutionary War Roundtable for amateurs and professionals to discuss the War in the South.

In addition, Charles worked with the South Carolina Battleground Preservation Trust to map 20 Revolutionary War battlefields in the Carolinas, plan new battlefield parks at Camden and Moncks Corner, and develop the Liberty Trail.

In 2006, he was awarded the Order of the Palmetto, the highest civilian honor of the State of South Carolina.

The SC250 Commission is grateful to Charles's wife Judy and his daughter, Caroline Chambers, for their assistance and support, which enabled us to complete what would be his final mission.

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Welcome

As we approach the 250th anniversary of the American Revolution, the SC250 Commission is committed to preserving and honoring South Carolina's pivotal role in securing American independence. Among the most significant figures in this history is General Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," whose unconventional tactics and leadership were instrumental in the Patriot cause.

The Francis Marion Papers collection serves as an invaluable resource for scholars, historians, and the public, offering rare insights into the life, strategies, and legacy of one of South Carolina's most revered Revolutionary War heroes. This collection not only deepens our understanding of Marion's contributions but also connects us to the broader narrative of resilience, innovation, and determination that defined the American fight for freedom.

By ensuring the preservation and accessibility of these historical documents, we reaffirm our commitment to historical education, heritage tourism, and the legacy of those who shaped our nation. The SC250 Commission recognizes this collection of Francis Marion papers as a cornerstone in commemorating the sacrifices and triumphs of South Carolina's patriots, inspiring future generations to appreciate and engage with their rich historical inheritance.

Molly Fortune
CEO and Executive Director
February 27, 2025

Note from the Editor in Chief

Before Charles Baxley died, he suggested that I write about the evolution of the *Francis Marion Papers*. Regrettably, I had not prepared the foregoing until the eve of the publication of this first volume of Marion's correspondence.

To say the least, this has been a "long and winding road." If it had not been for my mother's being raised in Florence, South Carolina—Francis Marion country—and Walt Disney's *Swamp Fox* (1959-1961), someone else might have organized Marion's letters and his correspondence probably would have been published before now.

In any case, in 2006, my wife Roberta and I were enjoying the beach at Pawleys Island, South Carolina. On an excursion to Georgetown, we found a used bookstore. Three books caught my eye, all about Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox." For whatever reason I picked the one by Brig. Gen. P. Horry and Parson M. L. Weems. In retrospect, it may have been the best introduction into the life of one of the greatest patriots and guerrilla fighters of the American Revolution, albeit the least accurate.

At that point, retirement had given me the perfect opportunity to lose myself in the Revolution. In no time at all, I whipped through Simms, Bass, James, and Rankin. Bass is really who got the project going. He had Marion going here, there and everywhere; it was hard to follow the narrative. So, I started a chronology of Marion's movements and milestones.

The next highlight was attending the Francis Marion Symposium in Manning, S.C., in 2007. A tour of the Bridges Campaign area was the highlight. The large crowd necessitated two buses. I jumped on the smaller bus; Carole Summers, co-founder of the Swamp Fox Trails Society, was the guide. On the bus there were a number of other very knowledgeable people. Carole recognized them and handed over the mike. I don't recall who all the "experts" were, but two were Charles Baxley and Patrick O'Kelley.

I was hooked. For the next six years, my focus was on Francis Marion—expanding my knowledge through books, trips to South Carolina, Southern Campaigns (SCAR) roundtables and corps of discovery, and Marion symposiums. At some point, I found Marion's correspondence on the South Carolina Historical Society website. I copied all the letters originally previously published by Robert Gibbes and added to the file (not yet *Papers*) and to the chronology. Next, the *Nathanael Greene Papers* showed up. I added the Greene letters and updated the chronology. Then O'Kelley's *Francis Marion Orderly Book* became available. With the existing letters and then the orderly book entries the span of Marion's communications was generally filled.

Then the hard part began. There were a lot of gaps. Finding additional letters was often challenging. That's where the detective work came in, initiating conversations with researchers and librarians, from the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, to the single letter from Georgetown Historical Society, as well as hundreds of documents from traditional and obscure sources. Somewhere 600 documents are being included in the *Francis Marion Papers*.

Behind the scenes, however, the tedious work progressed: transcribing, copying, and annotating the letters. In 2013 I gave up on finding the last of the possible letters.

By that point, I was done. I shipped it over to Charles Baxley for editing. After editing the first section, I think he realized that the magnitude of the project could not be achieved without significant capital, and as a result, the project was shelved. Occasionally, I would review and make some changes, but, as far as I was concerned, it was time to move on. So, I did.

Then the South Carolina American Revolution Sestercentennial Commission (SC250) was created by the South Carolina legislature and Charles was appointed the chairman. In 2022, the project was officially revived. Although Charles was responsible for all projects of the SC250 Commission, he also made it his business to shepherd the papers.

Charles recognized the talent and motivation required to carry on the idea he and I had envisioned. Rick Wise and Ben Rubin were the perfect duo and they enthusiastically dived in. Due to their dedication to the project, progress continued, but there were numerous setbacks. Charles Baxley's death in 2024 was a crushing blow.

Despite this, Rick and Ben continued to work and Molly Fortune, CEO of the SC250 Commission, and Bill Davies, vice chairman of the Commission, mobilized and reorganized and provided the impetus for us to move forward again.

So it is that an idea germinated 20 years ago will come to fruition on a fitting date. The first volume of *The Francis Marion Papers* will be released on February 27, the day South Carolina's most notable patriot passed away 229 years ago.

David Neilan
February 7, 2025

Publisher's Note

I did not have the pleasure of meeting Charles Baxley before his untimely death in early 2024, but I have felt his presence and influence throughout the process of preparing this first volume of *The Francis Marion Papers* for release. Charles's vision for this project was to create a resource that served a broad audience—professional historians and researchers, amateur historians of the Revolutionary War in South Carolina, and citizens of South Carolina who are not yet aware of the important role South Carolina played in the ultimate success of the American campaign for independence. Fulfilling that objective meant that the information presented here would be reviewed by scholars of Francis Marion and the Revolutionary War and citations examined with academic rigor, while the narrative would strive to bring the “Swamp Fox” and other patriots alive for citizens and students across the state and country.

A second part of Charles's vision was that, once assembled, this information would be published in digital format so it could be made widely available (and free of charge) under the auspices of the SC250 Commission. What Charles may not have realized is that publishing the *Francis Marion Papers* digitally meant not only that they would be widely accessible, but *dynamic*. We will regularly update the *Papers* to incorporate new document discoveries, new information, and, of course, to correct identified and evidentially-supported errors. Outside of the collections they are part of, previously unseen papers are being transcribed as we go to “press.”

Publishing the papers digitally also makes it easier for readers to expand their learning beyond the content of the papers themselves. For instance, throughout, biographical vignettes about individuals mentioned in the papers is immediately accessible via interactive links. In addition, if *The Francis Marion Papers* are read on a computer or digital device with access to the internet, live links to full-size maps, journal articles, governmental directories, and other cited sources are provided. (See the following page for a discussion of links and how to use them.)

Although the primary focus here is the most complete and comprehensive collection of transcribed documents and correspondence relating to Francis Marion, we have included snippets that provide context of what was happening elsewhere in the War for Independence.

In the *Papers*, the majority of documents have been formatted to appear in their entirety on a single page, including a notation of the source/collection of the originals. For ease of reading, the text of the transcribed documents is presented in a more standardized letter format as opposed to emulation of the original documents themselves, but the text (including spelling variations) and organization of information remain as they were transcribed and supplied to the formatters.

Finally, in this inaugural edition, maps are included of some of the areas where Marion is believed to have been when many of the papers were written—in insets from Henry Mouzon's famous 1775 map of North and South Carolina coupled with some of the same areas today with highway markings from Google maps. As they become available, newly discovered documents, updated location maps, interpretive battle maps and other visual aids and links will be added in the coming weeks and months, as the SC250 Commission brings more interpretive sites online.

I am privileged to have been a part of bringing this first volume of *The Francis Marion Papers* to fruition and look forward to publishing Volume II (1781), scheduled for release in late 2025.

Vally M. Sharpe
Publisher

Live links appear throughout the *Francis Marion Papers* to enhance your experience.

Click a blue hyperlink like this in a footnote or elsewhere, and you will be taken to an external internet page on which additional information about the topic, location addresses and directions to a historical site, or a digital image of an original document may be found.



<https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-south-carolina-gazette/121946200/>

If you click on a blue hyperlink that begins “See brief bio of...” you’ll be taken to a page like that shown below. For example, clicking “See brief bio of Gabriel Marion here” will take you to a biographical section where you can read about him.

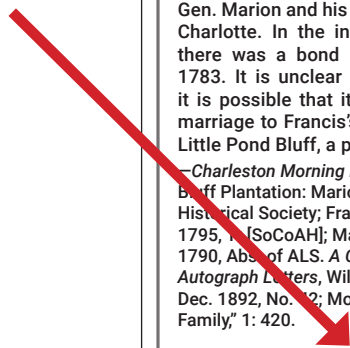


1. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 20-21. Goatfield Plantation, present Cordesville, SC.
2. Simms, *Marion*, 24-29; Weems, *Marion*, 15.
3. *South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 29, 1750.
4. Simms, *Marion*, 29-30; Weems, *Marion*, 15.
5. See brief bio of [Gabriel Marion here](#).
6. Belle Isle is located off of SC-45, near Little Pond Bluff.
7. James, *Marion*, 9; Simms, *Marion*, 15.

When done reading, about him, click his name at the top of the vignette, and you’ll be returned to the original footnote link, or if you were just exploring the vignettes, to a page and paper where the individual is first mentioned in a footnote.

Finally, should you want to visit some of the areas where Francis Marion once stood in person, clicking on maps will take you to Google Maps to the general area shown, where you can find directions.

Return to the SC250 site often to check for an updated version of the *Francis Marion Papers*—as new information is discovered, new maps are drawn and new documents are found and transcribed, they will be added.



Anthony Ashby is not to be confused with the Anthony Ashby who was a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment) served under Marion for 300 days during 1781-82. He was promoted to brigade major in Jul. 1781.

Francis Marion was the executor of Ashby's estate. Gen. Marion and his wife Mary adopted Ashby's daughter Charlotte. In the inventory of Francis Marion's estate, there was a bond in the amount of £817 payable in 1783. It is unclear the purpose of the bond. However, it is possible that it had something to do with Ashby's marriage to Francis's niece, related to the acquisition of Little Pond Bluff, a plantation adjacent to Pond Bluff.

—*Charleston Morning Post*, April 20, 1786; Kirk, F. M., Pond Bluff Plantation: Marion Family, Berkeley County [SC] Historical Society; Francis Marion Estate Inventory, Sep. 21, 1795, in [SoCoAH]; Marion to Unknown Recipient, Dec. 1, 1790, Abs. of ALS. *A Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts and Autograph Letters*, William Evarts Benjamin, New York, Sept.-Dec. 1892, No. 2; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 29; Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1: 420.

[Gabriel Marion](#)

Gabriel Marion (d.1777) was the second oldest of Francis Marion's four brothers. After their father's death, Gabriel moved from Georgetown to St. John's Berkeley Parish in 1755 or 1756 with his mother and Francis.

In 1756, Gabriel and Francis joined the Berkeley militia company. By 1759, Gabriel had married into the wealthy Taylor family and moved to Belle Isle plantation. Apparently, Francis moved with him and may have begun planting a portion of Belle Isle called Hampton Hill. In Oct. 1759, Francis joined Gabriel's militia troop of cavalry to fight the Cherokee.

A Glossary of Military Terms of the American Revolution

A

Abatis: A line of felled trees with their branches sharpened, tangled together, and facing toward the enemy. It strengthened fortifications by preventing surprise and delaying an attacking enemy once within the defenders' range.

Ambush: A surprise attack by people lying in wait in a concealed position.

Apron: Stones or gabions (woven baskets) filled with stones were called aprons and helped prevent erosion of earthworks; cloth or leather coverings tied at the waist used to protect the wearers clothing while working.

Articles of Association: Document introduced by the First Continental Congress in response to the "Intolerable Acts" that proposed a boycott on the import and export of goods from Britain and its other colonies to take effect December 1, 1774.

Articles of Confederation: The Articles of Confederation introduced thirteen articles that granted powers to the states and to the federal government: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated."

Artificer: A person skillful or clever in devising ways of making things; an inventor or skillful, artistic worker; craftsperson.

Artisan: Skilled craft worker who makes or creates material objects partly or entirely by hand.

B

Backcountry: Sparsely inhabited rural areas; defined in South Carolina as 50 miles or farther inland from the coast.

Banquette: A banquette is a small footpath or elevated step along the inside of a rampart or parapet of a fortification.

Bastion: A bastion or bulwark is a structure projecting outward from the curtain wall of a fortification, most commonly angular in shape and positioned at the corners of the fort. The fully developed bastion consists of two faces and two flanks, with fire from the flanks being able to protect the curtain wall and the adjacent bastions.

Battalion: A battalion was a military unit of 200 to 400 soldiers that was comprised of up to five companies. There were two battalions in a regiment.

Battery: A fortified emplacement for heavy guns or artillery pieces; companies of artillery usually had six to ten guns used together or dispersed based on the situation.

Bayonet: A spike like triangular steel weapon attached to or at the muzzle of a musket and used for stabbing or slashing in hand-to-hand combat.

Berm: Small horizontal space between the top of the ditch and the bottom of the parapet.

Blockhouse: A log structure built to withstand attack from any direction. The walls had loopholes and embrasures to allow the garrison to fire artillery and small arms in its defense.

Branch (of River/Creek): A stream that flows into a larger stream; southern colloquial term for a perennial stream.

Breastwork: Fortifications made of piled material (logs, fence rails, stones) usually built up to breast height. erted to a rampart if used long-term.

Brigade: A major tactical military formation comprised of five or six regiments totaling about 2,400 men.

Brown Bess: Nickname of uncertain origin for the British Army's muzzle-loading smoothbore flintlock Land Pattern Musket and its derivatives. It had a .75 caliber barrel, fired a .69 caliber ball, with a 21 inch long bayonet (17 inch blade). Both sides used the Brown Bess.

C

Cabal: group of people united in some close design, usually to promote their private views or interests in an ideology, state, or other community, often by intrigue and usually unbeknownst to those outside their group. The use of this term usually carries negative connotations of political purpose, conspiracy and secrecy.

Caliber: The diameter of a gun barrel bore measured in inches, as well as the diameter of the ammunition it fired. A Brown Bess had a .75 caliber barrel and fired a .69 caliber ball, while a French Charleville musket was a .69 caliber musket that fired a .64 caliber ball.

Campaign: large scale, long duration, significant military strategy plans incorporating a series of inter-related military operations or battles

Canister: Cloth or tin encased musket balls or similar pieces of metal fired at personnel from an artillery piece or gun with a shotgun effect.

Carronade: A short-barreled gun that fired large shot at short range and was used especially on warships.

Cartel: An arrangement between political parties intended to promote a mutual interest, such as prisoner exchanges.

Cartridge Box: Usually a leather box with a shoulder belt worn on the soldier's right hip to carry approximately twenty musket cartridges.

Cascabel: The knob end of a muzzle-loading cannon used to attach ropes for lifting or to assist with controlling recoil.

Castrametation: Planning and laying out a military camp.

Catawba: Native American tribe in the Carolinas who supported the Patriots; a river in the Carolinas.

Cavalry : Arm of the military who fought on horseback, usually with sabers. Used for scouting, screening the main army, mobility, and shock by charging enemy infantry and cavalry formations.

Cherokee: Native American tribe of Iroquoian lineage who lived in the southeastern part of what is now the United States, in the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama. Allies of the British.

Chicasaw: Native American tribe of Muskogean lineage of the Southeastern woodlands who generally supported the British. Their traditional territory was in the Southeastern United States of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Citadel: The core fortified area of a town or city. It may be a castle, fortress, or fortified center. The term is a diminutive of "city" and thus means "little city," so called because it is a smaller part of the city of which it is the defensive core.

Coffer Dam: A watertight enclosure pumped dry to permit work on a ship, etc.

Confederation: An organization of parties or groups united in an alliance or league for purposes of common action.

Continental Army: The official army of the United States that was established by the Second Continental Congress in 1775.

Continental Congress: A group of delegates from each colony or state. It became the first governing body of the United States of America.

Cooper: A person trained to make wooden casks, barrels, vats, buckets, tubs, troughs and other similar containers from timber staves.

Coronet: Originally the lowest grade of commissioned officer in a British cavalry troop; the modern equivalent being a second lieutenant.

Covered Way: A communication trench built to conceal movement.

Creek: Native American tribe of Muskogean lineage of the Southeastern woodlands who generally supported the British; A stream, brook, or minor tributary of a river.

Cremallere Line: In a field-fortification, the inside line of the parapet, so traced as to resemble the teeth of a saw, in order to afford the advantage of bringing a heavier fire to bear upon the defile than if only a simple face were opposed to it.

D

Declivity: A downward slope.

Disaffected: Dissatisfied with the people in authority and no longer willing to support them.

Dissident: A person who opposes official policy, especially that of an authoritarian state.

Ditch: The deep trench dug around each earthwork to impede attackers. The ditch was typically in front of the fortification, but some advanced works had the ditch built behind the raised surface.

Dragoons: A class of mounted infantry who used horses for mobility but dismounted to fight on foot.

E

Earthwork: Military fortifications built in the field of dirt and wood as a temporary or sustained defensive position during a campaign or siege.

Embrasure: An opening or hole through the earthworks or fortification through which artillery was fired.

Encampment: A place with temporary accommodations consisting of huts or tents, typically for troops.

Enfilade: To fire along the length of an enemy's battle line. Fortifications were frequently designed to maximize the potential for enfilading fire against an attacking force.

Engagement: Combat between two forces of medium size neither smaller than a company, in which each has an assigned or perceived mission.

Ensign: Lowest rank commissioned officer, equivalent to a second lieutenant, normally in the infantry or navy; flag on a vessel.

Entrenchment: Long cuts (trenches) dug out of the earth with the dirt piled up into a mound in front. They enabled a defending army to fight with advantage because it sheltered them from enemy fire, posed an obstacle to the enemy's approach, and provided the means for defenders to effectively use their weapons. Name applied to all fieldworks.

Envelopment: An offensive action in which an attacking force moves around the enemy and attacks from the flank or rear.

Epulette: An ornamental shoulder piece on the coat or jacket of a military uniform that indicates rank.

Escarpment: A steep artificial slope in front of a fortification.

F

Fascine: Branches tied into a bundle by wire or rope. The defensive purpose of fascines was to construct revetments, field magazines, and blinds or to reinforce earthworks, trenches or lunettes. They could also be used on the offensive to fill in a ditch.

Federalist: Relating to or denoting a system of government in which several states unite under a central authority.

Flank: The end, or side, of a military position. An unprotected flank was considered "in the air," while a protected flank was referred to as being "refused."

Flintlock: General term for any firearm that uses a flint striking ignition mechanism that fires the weapon; also applies to the mechanism itself.

Flying Camp: A "flying" unit, or camp, was an eighteenth century concept that today would be considered a mobile rapid reserve force.

Foot Infantry: Military units that primarily engaged in combat on foot as opposed to being mounted; also foot soldiers or infantrymen.

Ford: A shallow place in a river or stream that allowed people and wagons to cross.

Forlorn Hope: Troops picked to make an advance attack, or the first attack through the breach of a walled city during a siege, etc.; a storming party given a high risk mission.

Fort: A fully enclosed earthwork; a fortified building, enclosure, or strategic position.

Fortification: A man-made structure or portion of the natural terrain that made a defensive position stronger. Man-made fortifications were permanent (mortar and stone) or temporary (wood and soil). Natural fortifications included waterways, forests, hills, and swamps.

Fraises: Stakes or palisades placed horizontally along the berm or at the top of the counterscarp to stop or slow a climbing attacker. They prevented the earthworks from being taken by surprise or sudden assault.

Free Black: The legal status, in the geographic area of the United States, of African Americans (Blacks) who were not slaves.

Frigate: A fast naval vessel of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, generally heavily armed on one or two decks; a sailing warship of size and armament just below that of a ship of the line.

Fusil: A light flintlock musket used by infantrymen.

Fusiliers: A member of any of several British regiments formerly armed with fusils

G

Gabion : A cylindrical basket of woven sticks made in advance for quick use in building or repairing a parapet. Gabion were frequently filled with earth once placed into a fortification.

Garrison: Body of troops stationed in a particular location, originally to guard and defend it; also refers to a military home base.

Gazette: British Army personnel decorations, promotions, and officer commissions were "gazetted" in the London Gazette, the "Official Newspaper of Record for the United Kingdom," a newspaper

Grapeshot: ammunition consisting of a number of small iron balls fired together from a cannon.

Grasshopper: Nickname for light 3 pounder cannons used by both sides to support infantry that seemed to "hop" up when fired.

Grenadiers: Elite soldiers who were generally the tallest and strongest in the unit and initially had the role of throwing grenades, and later served as primary assault troops.

Groundscape Cover: Anything capable of physically protecting an individual from enemy fire; vegetation, trees, and other naturally occurring terrain foliage.

Gun Carriage: Awheeled frame and mount that supports the gun barrel of an artillery piece, allowing it to be manoeuvred and fired.

Gun Embrasure: An opening or hole through the earthworks through which artillery was fired.

Gun Platform: Usually a wooden or earthen foundation that provided a stable firing platform for an artillery piece or mortar and a means to be fired through an embrasure.

H

Half Bastion: A military engineering design of one front and one flank projecting from the main or "capitol" fortification designed to defend against enemy forces by allowing flanking fire on the attackers.

Haversack: A bag or pack with a strap over the shoulder that soldiers used to carry their food and other items.

Hessians: Name for the professional soldiers from the German land of Hesse hired by the British to fight in America.

Highlanders: Soldiers from the highlands of Scotland who served in the British Army, primarily the British 71st and 84th Highland Regiments. Scottish highland immigrants were also in the Cross Creek area of eastern North Carolina, and were predominantly loyal to the Crown.

Horn Work: The "Horn Work" was a wall-like main bastion built in Charles Town, South Carolina as part of the fortifications of the city that would block the road, with two rampart-like "horns" sticking out from each end, parallel to each other with the road entering the city gate between them. The road would come up to the gate between the two "horns."

Howitzer: A type of artillery piece that has characteristics of both cannons and mortars. Howitzers generally had a short barrel that propelled projectiles at high trajectories with a steep angle of descent to clear obstacles like hills or walls.

Hussars: Light Cavalry used for scouting and screening main army formations.

I

Impressment: Colloquially “the press” or the “press gang,” is the taking of men into a military or naval force by compulsion, with or without notice. The British navy often forced recruitment by various means to fill their ranks.

Indent/Stub: When a Revolutionary War pension claim was to be paid, the serial number of the note was recorded on the stub, then the stub was cut from the note using a sharp blade to cut a wavy or curved line through the border design. This curved cut was called the indent. It was thought each cut would be unique so when the note was redeemed the note and the stub would match..

Insurrection: An act or instance of rising in revolt, rebellion, or resistance against civil authority or an established government.

Intelligence: Information about the armed forces of another country that is useful in planning and conducting military operations or establishing policy.

Iron Works: An ironworks is an establishment where iron is smelted and where heavy iron and steel products are made. Iron works during the American Revolution were important for manufacturing weapons, ammunition, and other steel and iron products used for horse drawn transportation and personal use.

K

Killing Ground: An area exposed to concentrated fire or bombardment. A tactical plan is made to lure enemy soldiers into that area in order to create high numbers of casualties.

King’s Tree: Resources, such as white pines and other trees, were earmarked for use for naval vessels as masts, turpentine, etc. Such trees were marked with an arrow symbol on the trunk that designated it as the “King’s Tree,” meaning citizens were forbidden to cut it as it was meant for British government use.

L

Latrine: Trenches dug in the earth in a military camp or bivouac area for use as a toilet. Latrines are very important for sanitation and the health of soldiers.

Legion: British and Continental regimental size units comprised of infantry and mounted troops.

Liberty Tree: An Elm tree on Boston Commons which served as a place to demonstrate dissatisfaction with British rule. That tree became a symbol of objection to British policies and was replicated in other communities to provide inspiration and a meeting site for those rallying to the cause of Liberty.

Life Guard: The 180 man personal guard for the Commander-in-Chief (Washington) was called the Life Guard.

Light Infantry: Infantry units that had “light” equipment and armaments and were ideal for skirmishing, particularly in actions against the Patriots in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution.

Loyalist: Those Americans professing loyalty to King George III and England; also called Tories, Royalists, or Kings Men.

Lunette: A half-moon shaped fortification similar to a redan, but consisting of two faces and two flanks. Like a redan, its rear is open.

M

Magazine: A fortified location, similar to a bombproof, where weapons, gunpowder, ammunition, and other supplies were stored.

Maham’s Tower: A wooden tower suggested by Major Hezekiah Maham that was built at a greater height than British held Fort Watson. Riflemen atop the tower forced the British to surrender the fort in April 1781.

Maneuvers: Refers to movement by forces to gain an advantageous position relative to the enemy.

Massacre: The killing of multiple victims, considered morally unacceptable, especially when perpetrated by a group against defenseless victims. Militarily massacres are considered committed against those who are unarmed, surrendering, or who have laid down their arms and assumed a defenseless condition.

Matross: A soldier who assists artillery gunners in loading, firing, sponging, and moving the guns (artillery pieces).

Mechanic(s): A group of determined patriots Paul Revere organized that grew out of the Sons of Liberty who established an intelligence network that monitored the actions of the British army in Boston and then sent news of their movements to patriot leaders; any of a class of respected, skilled craftsmen who made things with their hands: silversmiths, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, etc.

Meeting House: The colonial meeting house was the focal point of the community where all the town's residents could discuss local issues, conduct religious worship, and engage in town business.

Merchant: A person involved in business or trade.

Militia: Males 16-60 years old who were citizen soldiers, drilled a few times a year, and used their own weapons, gear and horses, and generally received no pay or support from the government. Militia frequently came and went as they pleased with no set length of service like State Troops and Continentals.

Minuteman: Part of the Massachusetts militia that was prepared to fight at a moment's notice.

Mortar: Resembling a pharmacist's mortar, this short gun was used to fire projectiles at a high trajectory, usually to clear walls and terrain features that prevented effective low angle fires by regular artillery.

Musket: A smooth bore, flintlock weapon generally used to fire either .64 caliber (Charleville Musket) or .69 caliber (Brown Bess) lead ball. Muskets were fired in volleys by troops in formation due to the weapons being inaccurate past ranges of about 50 yards.

Mustering: A formal gathering of troops, especially for accountability, inspection, training, or in preparation for battle.

N

New Acquisition: Area reclaimed by South Carolina from North Carolina in 1772 that now primarily constitutes York County; the scene of significant activity during the American Revolution. Many of General Thomas Sumter's troops came from this area.

O

Oath of Allegiance: Oath given by citizens and soldiers declaring their support for the Royal government or for the Patriot cause. Oaths were often given under duress, and were frequently used as evidence for execution against those taken prisoner who had switched sides.

Oblique: Marching troops or firing at an angle to the right or left instead of straight ahead.

Old Field: Farmland no longer used for agricultural purposes were often used as meeting places during the American Revolution for recruiting, mustering troops, etc. (e.g. Alexander's Old Fields).

Operations: A sequence of tactical or non-tactical military actions coordinated to achieve control of an area or gain an advantage against an opposing force.

P

Palisade: Typically a fence or defensive wall made with wooden stakes or tree trunks, and used as a defensive structure or enclosure. Palisades form the walls of a stockade.

Parallel: A series of parapets connected by saps and constructed in sequence toward the enemy. Used when advancing by regular approaches in siege operations.

Parapet: A low wall made of dirt or stone to protect soldiers, and may be the top of the rampart.

Parish (Jurisdiction): A small administrative district typically having its own church and a priest or pastor. Also used as districts for government, legal jurisdictions, and the formation of militias.

Parole & Switching Sides: Paroles were offered to soldiers allowing them to remain free as long as they did not act against the side who had given the parole. It was not uncommon for soldiers to switch sides if it benefited them to do so. Violation of paroles was grounds for imprisonment or execution.

Partisan: A member of an irregular military force. Partisans formed to oppose control of an area by the British army of occupation by taking part in some kind of insurgent or guerrilla activity like ambushes of supply columns; an insurgent or guerrilla.

Patriot: American colonists who rejected British rule during the American Revolution; also called a Whig.

Pension: During the war, monetary pensions were offered to widows and orphans, were used to encourage enlistment and acceptance of commissions, and to prevent desertion and resignation. After the war, they became a form of reward for services rendered and were monetary or in the form of land grants.

Picket: Soldiers posted on guard for security ahead of a main force; a wooden or metal stake driven into the ground.

Powder Horn: A hollowed out (cow) horn with a removable plug and strap used to carry and pour gunpowder.

Prison Hull (Ship): Derelict ships anchored in harbors by the British to house Patriot prisoners. Conditions were unspeakable and resulted in more deaths than the Patriots suffered in combat.

Provincial Congress: Between 1775 and 1776 the term "provincial congress" (in some colonies "provincial convention") was used to describe the primary revolutionary body managing the transition of power from traditional colonial legislative assemblies to independent state legislatures.

Provincial Troops: American Loyalist troops fighting fulltime for the British. These soldiers armed, equipped, clothed, and paid by the British, and were well trained and led by regular British officers.

Q

Quartermaster: A military officer responsible for providing quarters, rations, clothing, and other supplies.

R

Rampart: A broad earthen mound surrounding a fortified place to protect it from artillery fire and infantry assault.

Ramrod: An iron or wooden rod used with muzzleloading firearms and artillery to push the projectile down the barrel of the weapon and against the propellant (gunpowder).

Rear Guard: The soldiers positioned at the rear of a body of troops, especially those protecting an army when it is in retreat.

Redan: A fortification consisting of two faces jutting out past the rest of the defensive line of works who unite at a salient angle toward the enemy. Redans are open to the rear.

Redcoat: Nickname for regular British troops based on their uniforms having bright red coats; also called "Lobsterbacks."

Redoubt: An enclosed usually earthen fortification constructed to defend a position from attack from any direction.

Refugee: A person forced to leave their home, community, or country in order to escape war, persecution, or threatening conditions.

Regiment: A military unit consisting of up to 10 companies. The British infantry regiment was about 800 soldiers, while for the Continental Army regiment was about 470 soldiers.

Regulars: Term for professional British soldiers sent from England to fight in America.

Regulators vs. Outlaws: Colonial governments in the 1760s often did not provide law enforcement and judicial systems to punish outlaws who preyed upon settlers in rural areas. A group of vigilantes called Regulators were formed to protect citizens and punish the outlaws. Regulators later became a problem themselves after the outlaws were removed.

Revetment: Support for the embankment to protect against erosion, often made of wood, sandbags, gabion, or masonry.

Rifle: A weapon with rifling in the barrel that produced spin on the fired ball. Rifles were accurate to ranges of 300 yards or more, but were slow to load.

Routed: When defeated soldiers retreat in disorder, having lost military unit cohesion.

Royalist: Those Americans professing loyalty to King George III and England; also called Tories, Loyalists, or Kings Men.

S

Salient: The portion of a fortification jutting out toward the enemy. Can be vulnerable points because they can be attacked from multiple directions. They are nevertheless constructed to link already entrenched positions, to provide enfilading fire, or to follow natural terrain contours.

Sallyport: An opening left in a fortification during construction to allow passage to facilitate movement to the advanced works and toward the enemy; a gate.

Sap: An approach trench built to connect parallel trenches with each other that is used when employing regular approaches toward an entrenched enemy position. Saps could be built directly toward the target or in a zigzag.

Scarp: Inner sloped wall of the ditch.

Seige (Operations): A military strategy with the objective of blocking the supply lines and escape routes of a city or encampment in order to force its surrender. The tactical use of regular approaches (saps, parallels, and breaching batteries) to advance toward an enemy position. Though lengthy in time, this forward movement would eventually reach the enemy location through digging rather than risking frontal assault.

Shell: Hollow cast iron cannon balls filled with gunpowder and musket balls, nails, etc. that acted as sharpnel. A hole in the shell enabled a fuse to be added. Shells were used to explode in the air or inside enemy positions.

Shilling/Pound: Colonists counted their money by the English system of pounds, shillings, and pence – twelve pence (pennies) per shilling, and twenty shillings per pound.

Shoals: A place where a sea, lake, or river is shallow; a mound or ridge of sand just below the surface of the water.

Shot: Solid iron balls (cannon balls) fired by artillery pieces. Lead balls smaller than musket balls (.64 to .69 caliber) were also called shot (e.g., buckshot).

Siege: A military strategy with the objective of blocking the supply lines and escape routes of a city or encampment in order to force its surrender.

Skirmish: A brief battle between small groups, usually part of a longer or larger battle or war.

Slave: Someone who is the property of another person and has to work for that person.

Smoothbore: A weapon with a barrel without rifling and produced no spin on the projectile it fired. Smoothbore muskets were considered inaccurate at ranges beyond 50 yards.

Sons of Liberty: A group of patriots organized by Samuel Adams to protest the Stamp Act and other actions of the British government.

Split-Rail: Type of fence enclosing fields and homesteads constructed out of timber logs split lengthwise into rails.

Star Fort: A fortification, usually earthen, built with multiple angles resembling the shape of star. The star shape allowed musket and cannon fire in all directions.

State Troops: Military units raised by the individual states and organized for an established term of service. State officers had authority over militia officers.

Stockade: A line of tall stout posts securely set into the ground to form a wall or enclosure; also a military jail.

Subaltern: A junior officer below the rank of captain, comprising the various grades of lieutenant.

Superior Slope: The slope between the banquette and the exterior crest of a fortification.

Swivel Gun: Small cannon mounted upon a swivel or fork that offered a wide arc of fire, generally used to fire grapeshot and small caliber round shot. Often used on ships.

T

Tavern: Establishments across the colonies where locals and travellers could get an alcoholic drink, meal, and usually a place to sleep. Literate patriots read the news of the day aloud to their fellow revelers, thereby stoking revolutionary fervor.

Terreplein: A level space where a battery of guns is mounted behind the parapet of a rampart.

Tete-De-Pont: A fortification erected at the end of a bridge nearest the enemy, for covering the communications across a river; a bridgehead.

Tory: An American colonist who supported British rule; also called a Loyalist or Kingsman.

Traverse: Small rampart perpendicular to the parapet to protect against flanking fire and limit a successful attacker from expanding any breach.

Trunnions: Cylindrical protrusions on either side of a cannon or mortar used to mount the weapon and as an pivoting point.

V

Vidette: The sentry (usually mounted) closest to the enemy position.

Volley: A number of bullets or other projectiles discharged at the same time to increase firepower and effects on the target. Military units used volley fire due to the inaccuracy of aimed fire by smoothbore muskets.

W

Ware(s): Manufactured articles such as pottery, dishes, utensils, and tools.

Whigs: American colonists who rejected British rule during the American Revolution; also called Patriots.

Descriptive Symbols for Manuscript Sources

Note that a significant number of letters were taken from the published *Nathanael Greene Papers*. The symbols here are characteristically those originally used by the editors of the Greene Papers.

ACy	Autograph copy
ADfS	Autograph draft signed
ADS	Autograph document signed
ALS	Autograph letter signed
Cy	Copy (made contemporaneously with original)
D	Document
Df	Draft
DfS	Draft signed
DS	Document signed
LS	Letter signed
LB	Letter book copy
Tr	Transcript (later copy made for historical record)

Library of Congress Symbols for the
Manuscript Repositories of the Francis Marion Documents

CLjC	James S. Copley Library, La Jolla, CA
CSmH	Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
DSoC	Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson House, Washington, DC
DLC	U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC
DNA:PCC	U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Papers of the Continental Congress, Washington, DC
DSoC	Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson House, Washington, DC
JCC	Journals of the Continental Congress
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, MA
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA
MiU-C	University of Michigan, William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, MI.
NcD	Duke University, Durham, NC
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
NN	New York Public Library, New York, NY
NNF	Fordham University, New York, NY
NNGL	Gilder Lehrman Collection, on deposit at the New York Historical Society, New York, NY
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY
OCIWHi	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH
OOxM	Miami University, Oxford, OH
PWacD	David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, England
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, PA
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
ScC	Charleston Library Society, Charleston, SC
ScCMu	Charleston Museum Library, Charleston, SC
ScCoAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC
ScHi	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, SC
ScU	University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WS

Introduction to Volume One

The *Francis Marion Papers* is a collection of primary source documents essential for understanding Gen. Francis Marion as a historical figure, and for contextualizing his role in the American War of Independence.

Marion was a highly effective and celebrated officer from South Carolina who served throughout the American Revolutionary War. Today he is often referred to as the “Swamp Fox,” a nickname that was popularized after the war in works by his biographers, Mason Locke “Parson” Weems, William Dobein James, and William Gilmore Simms. In particular, Weems’s colorful, but often factually loose accounts have shaped popular images of Marion for nearly two centuries.¹

Modern biographers have taken up the challenge of adding to these works, including by incorporating information not available to earlier writers. Hugh F. Rankin, Robert D. Bass and, more recently, John Oller, have all authored excellent accounts of Marion’s life.² Oller’s in particular is, as of now, the definitive contemporary account, comprehensively integrating the findings of all the earlier biographers with new research and historiographical perspectives. However, the *Francis Marion Papers* includes additional source material and information that was unavailable even to Oller, and therefore will provide insights and conclusions about Marion and his actions that will, in some cases, offer revisions to these interpretations by earlier historians and biographers. We can do this in part because we are standing on the shoulders of giants, and in part because the very nature of this project means we have access to primary sources that were unavailable before.

The real historical figure of Francis Marion was much more than the swashbuckling patriot loosely portrayed in these early works and later on television and film. Francis Marion was a seasoned regimental commander in the Continental Army, who served with distinction in a number of traditional pitched battles, including the successful defense of Fort Sullivan in 1776 and the valiant but doomed assault on Savannah in 1779.

He reinvented himself as a guerrilla leader after the surrender of Charlestown³ in May 1780. His effective insurgency efforts helped keep the Revolution alive in the South after the defeat of Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates at Camden, S.C., in August of that year. Marion’s resistance during this period, primarily east of the Wateree River and north of the Santee, harried the British and occupied their attention, diverting their focus from other partisan leaders such as Thomas Sumter and Andrew Pickens operating west of the Wateree and from Gates himself as he was rebuilding the shattered Continental Army in North Carolina.

After Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene’s arrival in South Carolina in Dec. 1780, Marion’s militia not only continued to prove themselves effective as guerrilla fighters, but also demonstrated that they were equally capable when employed in conjunction with regular troops, such as Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee’s Legion, or even in pitched battles like Eutaw Springs.

In the swamps of northeastern South Carolina, by the banks of the Santee and Pee Dee rivers, Marion built his renowned militia brigade through a combination of personal charisma, military acumen, and an understanding of irregular warfare gained during earlier service on the frontier. The lessons he learned about mobility on horseback, ambushes, surprise attacks, the use of long rifles, and hit and run tactics were initially acquired while fighting the

1 William Dobein James, *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion and a History of His Brigade From Its Rise in June 1780 Until Disbanded in December 1782* (Charleston, S.C.: Gould and Riley, 1821); William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion, Tenth Edition* (New York: George F. Cooledge & Brother, 1844); Mason Locke Weems and Peter Horry, *The Life of General Francis Marion, A Celebrated Partisan Officer in the Revolutionary War, Against the British and Tories in South Carolina and Georgia* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1884).

2 Robert D. Bass, *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion* (Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Company, Inc., 1974); Hugh F. Rankin, *Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox: The Great Guerrilla Leader of the American Revolution – His Life and His Campaigns* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973); John Oller, *The Swamp Fox: How Francis Marion Saved the American Revolution* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2016).

3 “Charles Town” was the original name for the settlement, founded in 1670. The name had been changed to “Charlestown” in 1729 and would be changed again to “Charleston” on Aug. 13, 1783. For the purposes of this work, we will refer to the city by its colonial name, Charlestown, until the date of its official name change.

Cherokee. He would employ these same tactics aggressively and effectively against the British. The “Swamp Fox,” as Marion would come to be known after the war, appears to have had an uncanny understanding of guerrilla tactics and insurgency warfare. He would ride great distances to surprise the British where they least expected him. But in true insurgent fashion, he did not take undue risk, and he evaded the British whenever they had the advantage.⁴

Just as in modern guerrilla warfare, the objective of Marion’s tactics was generally not to overwhelm the enemy, but rather to frustrate their movements and operations. His goal was to whittle away at the enemy supply lines, posts, movements of troop detachments, and the support of the Loyalists. Marion’s efforts harassed the British to the point that significant effort became necessary to guard their posts and convoys, impacting the morale and effectiveness of both the British and Loyalist troops. To his enemies, it often appeared that Marion was everywhere at once, which created a significant psychological advantage for himself and his compatriots.

The backbone of Marion’s Brigade were the volunteers who left their homes in desperate times to fight the British and their Loyalist allies. Their commander walked a fine line between discipline and empathy. His men often fought without pay, with poor or nonexistent provisions, with limited ammunition, and on their own horses. Had Marion not adopted a flexible policy that allowed volunteers to come as they were able and go home as they needed, it is unlikely that so many would have returned to fight for him again and again. His insight into the needs of his men and of their families demonstrates another important aspect of Marion’s leadership: adaptability to circumstances.

Marion had no formal base of operations. His men often changed campsites from night to night for security and secrecy. Though constantly on the move, Marion maintained extensive correspondence with military leaders, including Horatio Gates, Nathanael Greene, and Thomas Sumter, as well as with political figures such as John Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden. The correspondence collected here provides a historical record of Marion’s military service, consisting of over 600 letters to and from the general—and additional documents written about him.

The main focus of the work is the period beginning after the fall of Charlestown to British forces in May 1780 and continuing through the re-occupation of the city by the Continental Army in December 1782. However, correspondence and entries from his orderly books between 1775 and the siege of Charlestown also provide insight into Marion’s leadership as a Continental officer, in which capacity he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel commandant of the 2nd South Carolina Regiment. The editors are greatly in debt to Patrick O’Kelley’s transcription and annotation of Marion’s orderly books, *Be Cool and Do Mischief*, (hereafter *BCADM*) graciously reproduced here with permission.⁵

This collection also contrasts the functioning of a regular army with that of a part-time militia by documenting Marion’s service in both. The annotated correspondence shows Marion as a disciplined Continental officer, who rose in rank quickly and was assigned greater responsibilities as the war progressed until Charlestown’s surrender, while in the subsequent two years, from August 1780 through December 1782, Marion served as the trusted left flank of the Continental Southern Army. He was resilient, reliable, and a terror to his enemies in independent command. But Marion was also an often cantankerous 50-year-old man, who was constantly frustrated with his peers, superiors, and subordinates, with undependable militiamen who served at their own pleasure, and with the continual dearth of ammunition and provisions available to his force. But despite all the challenges of human relationships, shortages, and petty frustrations, Marion continued to serve—and ultimately prevailed.

This work brings to light not only the military contributions Marion made in the fight for independence, but also the human side of the warrior. In addition to filling in some of the blanks in Marion’s career, the footnotes also clarify some of the misunderstandings previous biographers have made in narrating Marion’s life and service. Their oversights are fully understandable, for at the time of their writing many of Marion’s letters were unavailable or unknown. Nevertheless, the editors feel confident that the collection contained here sheds new light on a number of Marion’s specific operations and will improve our collective understanding of not only his individual contributions, but of this entire period of the war. This work will provide both sides to many communications, and evidence that will illuminate a fuller understanding of events than was possible with earlier sources—which will in some cases solidify and in others upend commonly held understandings.

⁴ Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 24-29.

⁵ Patrick O’Kelley, *Be Cool and Do Mischief: Francis Marion’s Orderly Book* (Fayetteville, NC: Blacksmith Publishing, 2006).

In addition to the Marion correspondence and orderly book entries, many other documents important to understanding the Revolution in the South are included. For instance, proclamations issued by South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge as he began the reorganization of the state government after two years of British occupation illuminate the context for Marion's actions in 1781-82. The few postwar documents we have found also provide an interesting contrast, culminating in a final touching letter to his nephew shortly before Marion's own death.

This fully annotated work draws from a wide range of primary source collections, including the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan and the Harriet C. Irving Collection at the University of New Brunswick. An exhaustive search uncovered numerous letters previously held only in private collections. Through the American Antiquarian Society, we obtained excerpts of 13 letters dating to a dealer catalog from 1888. Together, these resources further illuminate the character, professionalism, and actions of Francis Marion.

Because of the extensive correspondence between Marion and Nathanael Greene, this work draws heavily from *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (hereafter *PNG*), published by the University of North Carolina Press for the Rhode Island Historical Society, and on the personal guidance of two of its editors—Dennis Conrad and Roger Parks—who provided copies of the original documents for us to examine.⁶

Interspersed throughout the *Francis Marion Papers*, adjacent to the specific letters they reference, are both primary and secondary narratives of actions in which Marion participated, along with other important moments that were pivotal to ultimately winning the War for Independence.

⁶ Richard K. Showman, et al., eds, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene: Vols. 6-12* (University of North Carolina Press, 1976-2005).

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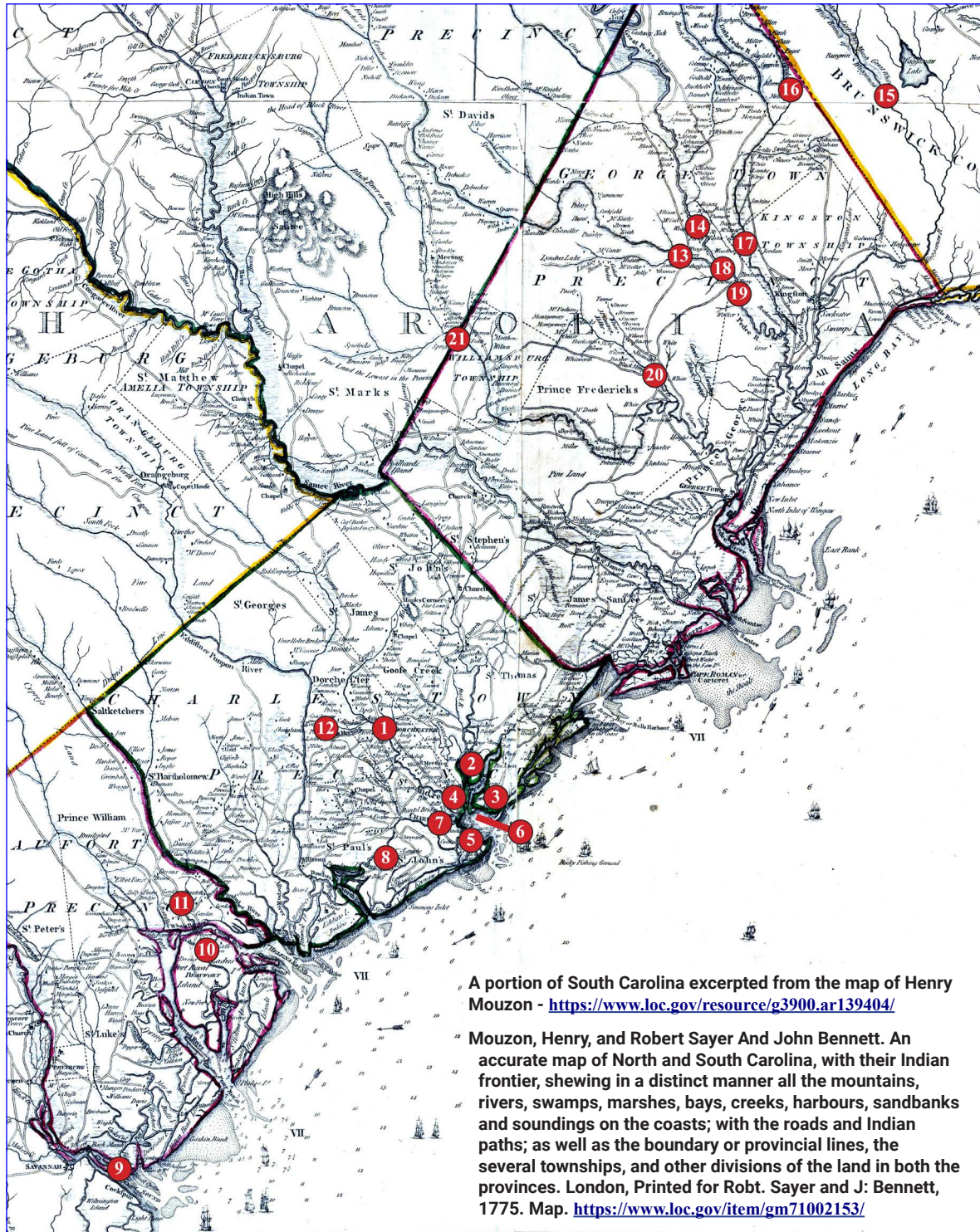
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Mouzon Map Sites

Approximate Sites Where Francis Marion Issued & Received Correspondence, 1775-1780

Locations of Marion Engagements – August 17 - December 27, 1780

Approximate Sites Where Francis Marion Issued & Received Correspondence, 1775-1780



1	Dorchester
2	Haddrells Point The Schooner
3	Sullivan's Island/Fort Sullivan/ Fort Moultrie
4	Charlestown
5	Near Fort Johnson
6	Charleston Harbour
7	Wappo/Wappoo River/ Creek/Cut

8	Halfway to Edisto River
9	Savannah, Georgia
10	Beaufort/Port Royal
11	Sheldon
12	Bacon Bridge
13	Linches/Lynches Creek (Witherspoon's Ferry)
14	Ports Ferry, PeeDee
15	White Marsh Bladen Co, North Carolina

16	Drowning Creek, SC (Amis Mill)
17	Peedee, Britton's Neck
18	Snow's Island
19	Britton's Ferry
20	Blackmingo Prince Frederick's Parish
21	Benbows Ferry, Black River

Francis Marion's Early Life

Like many of the inhabitants of Lowcountry South Carolina during the 18th century, all four of Francis Marion's grandparents were Huguenot Calvinists who escaped France during the purge of Protestants in the late 1600s and came to the New World. The Huguenots went on to play an integral role in the settlement of the colony, with many taking on political, judicial, and military leadership roles in their communities.

Francis Marion was born in 1732 at Goatfield Plantation in St. John's Berkeley Parish, South Carolina. He was the youngest of six children (five sons and one daughter) born to Gabriel Marion and Esther Marion (nee Cordes), but his actual birthdate is unknown. Marion was likely premature at birth and was a sickly child in his early years.¹

While he was still young, his family moved to a plantation in Prince George Parish on Winyah Bay, near Georgetown. Not much is known of his early life, but tradition recounts a story of Marion going to sea as early as age 12, or as late as 18, depending on the author.² According to this story, he survived a shipwreck on his very first voyage, an event that apparently ended any dreams of a seafaring life. There is no definitive proof that this episode ever occurred. However, it is possible that he was the boy described below in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, which carried the following story in their Oct. 29 to Nov. 5, 1750, issue:

At Okerecock. . . the Carthagena snow . . . was ashore upon Cape Look-Out, only 3 men and a boy sav'd; but that most of her money was supposed to be on board Ephraim and Robert Gilbert's sloop, (a Bermudian that had been drove ashore upon the same Cape, but had the good fortune to be got off again).³

If true, Marion likely returned to his parent's plantation after his shipwreck adventure. Improbably, an apparent outcome of this trying experience was that the youth's health improved. Marion's sickly disposition disappeared, and he became robust enough to take great pleasure in hunting, fishing, and outdoor life. Though his knees and ankles were weak, his overall constitution from that time on appears to have been good.⁴

After his father's death around 1750, Francis and his brother Gabriel⁵ assumed management of the elder Marion's plantation. By 1755, he and his mother had moved to St. John's Parish to live with the younger Gabriel, who himself married and moved to Belle Isle Plantation in 1759.⁶ After the passing of his mother in late 1757 or early 1758, Francis probably followed his brother to Belle Isle.⁷

He began his military career in 1756 when he joined a volunteer militia regiment, which saw no action. Three years later Marion again joined the militia when it was called out to fight the Cherokee, this time in his brother Gabriel's troop of cavalry. Governor William Henry Lyttelton had called up the militia after some Cherokee warriors, returning from the northward after fighting alongside the British against the French and their native allies, took horses from the Virginia colonists as payment for their services. The colonists retaliated, killing some of the Cherokee, and the warriors responded in kind. These acts infuriated the royal government of several colonies, including South Carolina, igniting open hostilities on their own frontier.

A Cherokee delegation of tribal chiefs went to Charlestown to try to soothe tensions, but Governor Lyttelton would hear nothing from them, taking them all hostages. He then took an expedition to attack the Cherokee in 1759. These militia marched to the Congarees, near present day Columbia, to muster. A letter composed there was signed by Marion as one of a group of volunteers and addressed to the governor. It is, as of this inaugural publication, the earliest known document bearing Marion's signature.

1. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 20-21. Goatfield Plantation (now referred to as Brick House Plantation) lies on the east bank of the Cooper River near present Cordesville, SC.

2. Simms, *Marion*, 24-29; Weems, *Marion*, 16.

3. *South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 29, 1750. <https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-south-carolina-gazette/121946200/>. Accessed Aug. 12, 2024.

4. Simms, *Marion*, 29-30; Weems, *Marion*, 16.

5. [See brief bio of Gabriel Marion here.](#)

6. Belle Isle is located off of SC-45, near Pineville, in Berkeley County, S.C. It is the site of Francis Marion's tomb.

7. James, *Marion*, 9; Simms, *Marion*, 15.

1759-1774

Sir

We whose names are subscribed are come to this
Place to attend your Excellency as Volunteers in your
Expedition against the Indians, and are ready to do
any duty you may please to command us

We are your Excellency's most obliged
and most Humble Servants

Congaree, Octo. 31. 1759.

Hayard
 W. Moultrie
 John Ainslie
 Theophilus
 G. Logan
 James Cochrane
 Withers
 E. Lightwood
 Francis Marion
 Charles Ochs
 Charles Ochs
 John Greer
 John Martin
 Champ Williamson
 James Lyddell
 The Williamson

Chris Gadsden
 James Tebout
 J. Brauch
 John Remington Junr
 Prance Elliott
 Vidman Swallow
 Saml. Wintborn
 Robert Coust
 Alexander Tyffe
 James Keld
 Wm. Fairbank
 John Dunbar
 J. Harvey
 John Ward
 R. Ward Junr.

Gadsden, Christopher,
 et al
 DS. to Wm. H. Lyttelton
 Congarees
 Oct. 31, 1759

Lyttelton Papers

Letter of Volunteers to Gov. William Henry Lyttelton – October 31, 1759

[Congarees, Octor. 31, 1759]

Sir:

We whose names are Subscribed are come to this Place to attend your Excellency as Volunteers on your Expedition against the Indians, and are ready to do any duty you may please to command us.

We are your Excellency's most Obed^t. and most Hum^l. Servants

Tho. [L]ynch	<u>Christ Gadsden*</u>	
Jn ^o . Moultrie	Tunis Tebout	
John Ainslie	Jn ^o . Braund	
Tho ^s . Middleton	John Remington Jnr.	}
<u>Geo. Logan*</u>	Barnard Elliott	
James Coachman	Newman Swallow	
W Withers	Sam ^l . Winborn	
Edw ^d . Lightwood Jun ^r .	<u>Robert Heriot*</u>	
Francis Marion	Alexander Tyffe	
Charles Odingsells	James Reid	
B ^{njm} . Hayne	Thos. Farr Jun ^r .	
John Freer Junior	John Dunbar	
John Martin	Jn ^o . Harvey	
Champ ⁿ . Williamson	John Ward	
Joseph Perry	R. Iazard Jun ^r .	
James Lyddell		
Tho ^s . Williamson		

Source: ADS (MiU-C). Some names are also verified in Richard Walsh, ed., *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1966), 12-13, as transcribed from the Lyttelton Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. The self-identified volunteers accompanied Governor Lyttelton on his ill-fated expedition to Fort Prince George, a journey which began the Cherokee War in earnest. Those participating in the expedition rendezvoused with the governor at the Congarees near present-day Columbia, S.C. (Walsh, *Gadsden*, 12-13).

*More information about these volunteers is provided in short bios at the end of this section.

Lyttelton marched his combined force of regular and provincial regiments to Fort Prince George where, in late Dec. 1759, a peace treaty was signed. By Jan. 8, 1760, the expedition had returned to Charlestown. Unfortunately, the soldiers took smallpox back to the city with them. Though Lyttelton surely thought he had secured peace, the treaty did not last. By Feb. 1760, the Cherokee were again threatening the back country settlers. In response, British Lt. Col. Archibald Montgomery led another 1,700-man expedition into Cherokee lands, arriving in the Lower Towns by June 1760. He surprised them at Fort Prince George but was later ambushed in a defile leading to the Middle Towns, suffering over 80 casualties. Shortly afterward, Montgomery ordered a retreat back to South Carolina. There is no evidence that Marion participated in this expedition.⁸

In the wake of two unsuccessful attempts by the colonists to cow the Cherokee, better organization and a larger force was needed. The next effort proved decisive, and this expedition included South Carolina provincial regiments.

8. Oller, *Marion*, 25-26; Daniel J. Tortora, *Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast, 1756-1763* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 121-28.

Marion was commissioned a lieutenant in the newly created SC Provincial Regiment of Foot, under the overall command of Col. Thomas Middleton. Marion served in Captain William Moultrie's⁹ company, bringing 35 recruits with him in early Nov. 1760, and the regiment marched to the Congarees. The amiable relationship between Marion and Moultrie continued after the expedition, a seed that would bear fruit when they worked closely together again during the Revolutionary War and beyond.¹⁰

Yet another expedition against the Cherokee was led by British Lt. Col. James Grant the following spring. He marched from Charlestown with the British 17th Regiment of Foot on Mar. 20, 1761, and joined with the provincial regiment at the Congarees. By June 7, 1761, the combined force was at Fort Prince George. A light infantry company commanded by Moultrie and including Lt. Marion was formed, and on the same day dispatched as part of an advance guard that also included Catawba Indian scouts, British light infantry, and rangers. They led the march toward the Middle Towns of the Cherokee in North Carolina.¹¹

Near the town of Echoe, the expeditionary force was ambushed by the Cherokee.¹² The account contained in Weems's biography described Marion leading an attack of 30 men that cleared the way for those that followed, but left most of his men killed or wounded. In this account, the young lieutenant was a hero. But contemporary sources, including articles in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, refute that contention. The *Gazette* reported that "The light infantry who were in front, were fired at from a great distance, and no hurt done."¹³

The Rangers, deployed in the rear of the march column, suffered the heaviest casualties. After an estimated four-hour fight, and likely running out of ammunition and having to resort to bows and arrows, the ambushing Cherokee retreated. For the next two weeks the army advanced through Cherokee territory, destroying some 15 settlements and laying waste to crops and villages, effectively neutralizing the Indian threat by eliminating their homes and sustenance.¹⁴

By the beginning of Dec. 1761, the Provincial Regiment had been disbanded. Although perhaps not the hero he was later made out to be by Weems, Marion's experience in the Cherokee campaigns prepared him well for the trials of the American Revolution. He had seen and experienced firsthand how British regulars trained and commanded their units. He witnessed how discipline worked within regular formations, but also how efforts to impose that same type of structure on militia caused resentment and desertions. He saw the value of long rifles and the Indian way of fighting from cover and concealment. These were lessons he would put to use later in his own commands, both Continental and partisan.

Since Francis Marion did not have a plantation of his own at the time, he likely returned to his brother Gabriel's Belle Isle plantation, where he shortly afterwards began planting a portion of it known as Hampton Hill.¹⁵

In 1763, he petitioned the governor of South Carolina for 500 acres in what is now the state of Georgia. There is no record of the outcome of that petition. Marion did purchase 450 acres along the Santee River in 1767. A year later, he purchased two additional tracts, but sold them shortly thereafter. In 1773, he purchased the 200-acre Pond Bluff Plantation from future South Carolina Governor John Mathews.¹⁶ Marion would retain Pond Bluff and live on it until his death.¹⁷

9. [See brief bio of William Moultrie here.](#)

10. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 26-27.

11. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 26-27.

12. Echoe is also sometimes transliterated as Etchoe or Echo. The town was most likely located near present day Otto, in Macon Co., N.C. (William Anderson, "Etchoe, Battle of," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, William S. Powell, ed., [UNC Press 2006]).

13. *South Carolina Gazette*, 5-12 July 1760; Oller, *Marion*, 27-30; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 5-6; Tortora, *Carolina in Crisis*, 226.

14. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 5-6.

15. Belle Isle Plantation is located off SC-45 near present day Pineville, SC.

16. [See brief bio of John Mathews here.](#)

17. [Pond Bluff Plantation](#) lay on what used to be the south bank of the Santee River, just four miles east of one of Marion's most famous battles, Eutaw Springs. The nearest town is Eutawville, SC. The plantation's grounds are now mostly submerged, ironically, under Lake Marion.

Early Will of Francis Marion - After 1773

[undated]

In the name of God Amen:--I Francis Marion, being in perfect health and sound memory, do make my last Will and Testament :--

1st. I order all my Lawfull Debts paid out of the profits arising from my plantation.¹⁸

Second. I order my negroes to be kept and not sold or disposed of till my godson Robert Marion¹⁹ comes of the age of twenty one years.

Imprimis I give and bequeath to my niece Charlotte Marion²⁰ one negroe wench named Venus and her child Rachel and their increase, to her and her Hairs for ever.

Second. I Enfranchise and make free my faithfull Negroe man Named June and my good old nurse Willoughby, I also make free the mustee Girl Peggy²¹ (the daughter of Phebey) these three slaves I declare are free from all bondage and slavery whatever.

3d. I give to my Enfrenchised slave June twenty pounds per annum as long as he lives.

4th. I give and Bequeath to my Enfrenchised slave Willoughby one suit cloaths and twenty pounds per annum as long as she lives.

5th. I give and Bequeath to my Enfrenchised slave Peggy (the Daughter of Phebey) suitable cloathing, that is to say one Winters suite and one Summers suite of Cloathing Each to consist of one Gown, one petticoat and a shift, this Donation to be annuelly till she comes to the age of fifteen years—and I order that she shall be learned to Read and Wright²² to be paid out of my Estate, and that she shall have a living on my Plantation till she arrives to the age of fifteen.

6th. I give and Bequeath to my Godson William Marion²³ my Plantation on Santee, one Negro boy named tobey, and two thousand pounds currency, when he comes to the age of twenty-one years, after which period I give it to him and his hairs for ever.

I also order and tis my will he should have Cloathing and a Living, and be Educated, at charge of my Estate till he arrives to the age of twenty one years.

7th. I give and Bequeath to my Nephew Gabriel Marion²⁴ my English horse.

Fran. Marion

Source: Richard Yeadon Papers, 1845 (43/413), South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, "Marion Family," 2:126.

18. Presumed to be Pond Bluff Plantation, which would date the will 1773 or later.

[19. See brief bio of Robert Marion here.](#)

[20. See brief bio of Charlotte Marion here.](#)

21. "Mustee" technically refers to a person of one-eighth African heritage (i.e. octaroon) but was colloquially used to refer to anyone of mixed race, often used interchangeably with the term "mulatto." According to Yeadon, Peggy was 73 in 1845. If so, and if the will were written shortly after Marion purchased Pond Bluff, she would have been 1 year old at the time of its drafting. The editors decline to speculate as to what Peggy's relationship to Marion was or why she was singled out for emancipation. Although still alive and apparently still slaves of Marion's, neither Peggy nor her mother Phebey were mentioned in his final will of Jul. 16, 1792. (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:219) They were, however, listed on the estate inventory of Sep. 21, 1795, suggesting they were not freed.

22. Article 6 of the will also called for payment to cover his nephew William's education. This is noteworthy, given Peggy's race and current condition of servitude.

23. William Marion was reported to be the "natural son" of Francis's brother Gabriel. No further mention was made of William until Francis's final will, proved in 1795. William Marion received no bequest in the final will, but was appointed co-executor of the estate in the event Francis's wife, Mary Esther, preceded him in death. (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:419-21, 2:126; Recorded from Original Will Book No. C 1793-1800, 90 [SoCoAH] Charleston County Will transcripts, 18535, 270-71).

[24. See brief bio of Gabriel Marion, Jr. here.](#)

Road to Revolution

In Jan. 1775, Francis Marion attended the South Carolina Provincial Congress as a representative from St. John's, Berkeley County, along with his brother Job.²⁵ John Frierson, James Ravenel, Daniel Ravenel, and Gabriel Giguilliant made up the rest of the county's delegation.²⁶ The Provincial Congress was an extralegal body that had taken the place of the colonial General Assembly after Lt. Gov. William Bull prorogued it. As a member of this body, Marion participated in South Carolina's adoption of the American Bill of Rights, the Act of Association (essentially a boycott of British goods), and the creation of South Carolina's Committees of Safety (to enforce the boycott), all important steps in establishing the authority of the revolutionary government. A few months after Marion took his seat, his eldest brother Isaac,²⁷ from his home on the North Carolina border, forwarded news he had received of the April 19 outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. William Gilmore Simms included the letter in his 1844 biography of Marion:

Isaac Marion Letter to South Carolina Committee of Safety - May 9, 1775

Boundary, Little River, May 9, 1775

Gentlemen of the Committee; -- I have just now received an express, from the Committee of the Northern Provinces, desiring I would forward the enclosed packet²⁸ to the Southern Committees. As yours is the nearest, I request FOR THE GOOD OF YOUR COUNTRY, AND THE WELFARE OF OUR LIVES, LIBERTIES, AND FORTUNES, you'll not lose a moment's time, but dispatch the same to the Committee of Georgetown, to be forwarded to Charles-Town In meantime, am, gentlemen,

Your obliged humble servant, &c.
Isaac Marion

John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution: From Its Commencement to the Year 1776, Inclusive, as Relation to the State of South-Carolina, and Occasionally Referring to the states of North-Carolina and Georgia, Vols. I and II*, A.E. Miller, 1821, 276-84; Simms, *Marion*, 236.

The letter from Isaac Marion, according to Simms, had actually originated with R. Howe, likely Robert Howe,²⁹ in North Carolina, who forwarded the express, remarking: "I know you stand in no need of being prompted when your country requires your service." Isaac Marion also forwarded it through the Little River Council of Safety, encouraging them to likewise send it on to their counterparts in Georgetown and Charlestown. Simms and Drayton indicated that the letter came overland via express riders, and the date of Marion's letter indicates the news reached the South Carolina border (nearly 900 miles from Boston) just 20 days after the battle itself. Though that seems to be a remarkably short period of time, the distance could be covered in 45 miles per day, which is not impossible. That also suggests the dispatch must have been sent immediately after the battle (probably the same day or the day after). This speaks to the considerable infrastructure the far-flung colonies had in place for communicating with one another and the state of preparedness with which they had awaited this news. Weems claimed the dispatch arrived

[25. See brief bio of Job Marion here.](#)

26. Simms, *Marion*, 54.

[27. See brief bio of Isaac Marion here.](#)

28. The enclosed packet informed delegates that on Apr. 19, 1775, long-simmering tensions between the British garrison in Boston and the inhabitants of Massachusetts finally boiled over into armed conflict when the British organized an expedition into the hinterland to destroy arms stored at Concord, Massachusetts, and to arrest Patriot leaders Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Though they left secretly in the middle of the night, Patriot spies in the city had foreknowledge of the expedition and rode to warn the countryside. At daybreak, Patriot militia met the British at Lexington on the road to Concord. No one knows with certainty who fired first, as both sides were ordered to hold fire. But that first shot was followed by volleys from both sides, leaving several Americans dead and wounded. The British continued their march to Concord, but were again met with even more force there. Patriot militia harried the enemy on their return march all the way back to Boston, driving the regulars to the verge of collapse before they were rescued by a relief column. In the days that followed, thousands of militia from Massachusetts and surrounding colonies placed the city under an informal siege that would last for nearly a year until the British evacuated in Mar. 1776. The fighting at Lexington and Concord is generally considered to be the beginning of hostilities in the American War of Independence.

[29. See brief bio of Robert Howe here.](#)

by ship “from Boston,” but that seems unlikely given British control of that port and the fact that Isaac Marion learned of the events in Massachusetts before anyone in Charlestown.³⁰

At the outset of the American Revolution, the colonists were not initially aiming for independence, but merely sought respect for their rights as Englishmen. When the message about Lexington and Concord reached Charlestown, the Provincial Congress reconvened on June 1 and began transitioning into an actual governing body with a new, broader mandate. One of their first acts was adopting the Articles of Association, which declared the signers to be willing to “go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her [America’s] freedom,” and held “all those persons inimical to the liberty of the Colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe this association.” But, on the other hand, the document also explicitly held force only “until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon Constitutional principles—an event which we most ardently desire.”³¹

Despite their preference to remain Englishmen, the members of the Provincial Congress recognized the necessity of organizing a military force. A week before the arrival of the new royal governor, Lord William Campbell,³² the Provincial Congress authorized the formation of two infantry regiments and a cavalry regiment. Marion’s peers voted him captain in the 2nd SC Regiment, making him the second-ranked captain in the unit.³³

On June 18, 1775, the South Carolina Provincial Congress greeted Gov. Campbell with no fanfare. Two days later, a delegation headed by William Henry Drayton³⁴ addressed the new governor to apprise him of their grievances. Despite citing numerous complaints, they also made clear that they held out hope for reconciliation, pleading that they had “been impelled to associate and take up arms.”³⁵

In response, Gov. Campbell asked that the references to “taking up arms” be removed from the address. The Provincial Congress declined to do so, closing the door on the possibility of their claims being received in London.³⁶ Throughout the summer and fall of 1775, the Provincial Congress, through its administrative arm, the Council of Safety, strove to bring reluctant Loyalists into the fold. While the Lowcountry was largely united in its opposition to British policy, the back country was still more divided, with the Loyalists arguably the majority in some areas, particularly the Ninety Six District. In response, the Council of Safety dispatched five commissioners to lobby the Loyalists in the back country to come over to the Revolutionary side. William Henry Drayton, a firebrand who had converted to the colonial cause after returning from a trip to England, was the major driver of what became known as the “Tennent-Drayton” mission. Drayton, the Rev. William Tennent,³⁷ Rev. Oliver Hart,³⁸ Col. Richard Richardson³⁹ and Col. Joseph Kershaw⁴⁰ spent six weeks in the back country, resolutely trying to win over men who generally had few complaints about British rule, and who felt more antipathy toward the Lowcountry aristocrats than toward Parliament. The commissioners’ efforts at persuading the back country residents to align with the Provincial Congress largely failed, although Drayton was able to negotiate the “Treaty of Ninety Six” on Sep. 16. The treaty ostensibly allowed individuals in the back country to be left alone on the condition that they remain neutral.⁴¹

On his way back to Charlestown, Drayton met with members of the Cherokee nation, who represented another perceived threat to peace in the back country. Drayton was able to satisfy the Cherokee emissaries concerning the dispute between the colonists and the British by promising that economic support would continue to come from the

30. Weems, *Marion*, 21.

31. Simms, *Marion*, 36-37, Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:259-62, 276-84.

[32. See brief bio of Lord William Campbell here.](#)

33. Lewis Pinckney Jones, *The South Carolina Civil War of 1775* (Sandlapper Store, 1975).

[34. See brief bio of William Henry Drayton here.](#)

35. Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:260.

36. Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:262-63.

37. William Tennent (1740-77) was a Harvard educated Presbyterian Minister, originally from New Jersey. He had moved to Charlestown in 1772. (George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, Vol. I, Part II*. (Columbia, S.C.: Duffie & Chapman, 1870).

38. Oliver Hart (1723-95) was a Charlestown Baptist minister, known for pro-revolutionary politics and remarkably multi-denominational theology. (Loulie Latimer Owens, *Oliver Hart, 1723-1795: A Biography* (South Carolina Baptist Historical Society, 1966).

[39. See brief bio of Richard Richardson here.](#)

[40. See brief bio of Joseph Kershaw here.](#)

41. Walter B. Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict that Turned the Tide of the American Revolution* (William Morrow, 2001), 32; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:259-62, 276-84, 399-406; William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution: So Far as it Related to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia*, Volume I-II (David Longworth, Reprint by Scholar Select, 1802), 1:72-73; Jim Piccuch, *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775-1782* (2013), 53.

Provincial Congress. It was also decided that in order to placate the Cherokee the Patriots would need to provide them with some amount of gunpowder and lead.⁴²

By this time, most of the major Loyalist leaders had either been pacified, (e.g., Thomas Fletchall),⁴³ or forced out of the colony, (e.g., Thomas Brown).⁴⁴ The calm in the back country, however, was short-lived. At the end of Oct. 1775, Robert Cunningham,⁴⁵ a leading Loyalist, was taken into custody. Five days later his brother Patrick, who considered Robert's arrest a violation of the treaty, with over 100 followers intercepted a shipment of gunpowder and lead sent by the Provincial Congress as a gift to the Cherokee, but which the Loyalists alleged was meant to be used for Cherokee attacks on back country settlers. Tensions heightened as Whig and Tory militias congregated around Ninety Six. The Loyalists began a siege of the newly-built fort. After three days, during which few shots were fired and even fewer men killed, the Whigs under Maj. Andrew Williamson⁴⁶ and the Tories under Maj. Joseph Robinson, signed a truce, ending the action.⁴⁷

In the meantime, the Council of Safety in Charlestown ordered Col. Richard Richardson and his regiment to Ninety Six to end the last organized Loyalist resistance. When Richardson arrived there, he did not feel bound by the treaty Williamson had negotiated with the Tories because he outranked his predecessor; the Council of Safety also advised him to ignore the agreement. Richardson therefore promptly conducted operations against the Loyalists to forcibly bring them under control.⁴⁸

In the course of Richardson's advance to Ninety Six, militiamen flocked to join him, greatly increasing the size of his force. As his strength rose to over 3,000 men, Richardson marched west toward Cherokee country, where the last Loyalist hold outs had fled. He detached 1,300 militia under Col. William Thomson to eliminate the last Tory resistance they faced. Thomson's men nearly surrounded the Loyalist force on Dec. 22, in what became known as the Battle of Great Cane Brake. Although some did escape, the capture of 130 Tory prisoners snuffed out the last organized Loyalist effort in the area. Patrick Cunningham escaped, only to be captured shortly thereafter.⁴⁹

Richardson's trek into Cherokee country to root out the last of the Loyalists is known as the Great Snow Campaign, due to the snow that began falling the day after the battle. The ensuing snowstorm lasted 30 hours and resulted in the accumulation of over two feet of snow. It took until Dec. 30 for the remnants of Richardson's force to march back to the Congarees, near the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers in and West Columbia.⁵⁰

While Richardson was addressing the Loyalist and Cherokee threats in the back country, the provincial regiments were recruiting soldiers and instilling the discipline necessary to function as a regular army. As a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment, Francis Marion played an integral part in recruiting and training the new soldiers. The relationship and experience he had with his commanding officer, Col. William Moultrie, with whom he had served in the Cherokee Wars, caused Moultrie to rely on Marion for the most challenging assignments. It was also during this period that Marion met his fellow captain in the 2nd SC, and later key subordinate, Peter Horry.⁵¹

Nothing Marion wrote during this period survives before the start of the orderly books of the 2nd SC Regiment in 1775. Therefore, the orderly books represent the vast majority of Marion's writing until Sep. 1778, when he took command of the regiment. Marion's orderly book is one of the most complete of any Revolutionary War officer's accounts, spanning the period 1775-82 with only a few interruptions. These are excerpted from the transcriptions by Patrick O'Kelley with his permission.⁵²

42. Piccuch, *Three Peoples, One King*, 67.

43. [See brief bio of Thomas Fletchall here.](#)

44. [See brief bio of Thomas Brown\(e\) here.](#)

45. [See brief bio of Robert Cunningham here.](#)

46. [See brief bio of Andrew Williamson here.](#)

47. Edgar, *Partisans*, 33; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:96-106.

48. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:96-106.

49. Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:131-32.

50. Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:132-35.

51. Weems, *Marion*, 22; Simms, *Marion*, 60. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:65.

52. O'Kelley, *BCADM*.

General Orders by Col. William Moultrie - August 14, 1775

[Charlestown],⁵³ 14 [August 1775]

Parole⁵⁴ Stanhope

General Orders

Orderd that 2 Captains 4 Subalterns 6 Sergeants 6 Corporal & 100 Rank & file to hold themselves in Readiness to march— 1 Cap. 2 Sub. 3 Sergts & 3 Corps. 50 rank & file from each Regiment the first Regiment to march this Evening.⁵⁵ the Captⁿ will receive his Orders from the Commanding Officer. The Party of 2^d Reg^t to remain in Readiness till further orders⁵⁶ each party to be Served with 12 Rounds of Cartridges- 3 good flints. a Cartridge Box. a gun & Bayonet-

Officers for this Service are--

From the 1st Regt
Cap. W^m. Cattle [Cattell]⁵⁷
L^t Armstrong
L^t Ladson⁶⁰

From the 2^d Reg^t
Cap. Francis Marion⁵⁸
L^t Oliphant⁵⁹
L^t Mazyck⁶¹

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 30.

August 23 – George III declares the colonies to be in rebellion. Nine days later, he will refuse to receive the Olive Branch Petition issued by the Continental Congress. In early September, two separate expeditions, led by Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold depart to attack Quebec. On September 13, the Second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia, with representatives from all 13 colonies.

53. All the South Carolina Provincial Regiments were based in Charlestown until Fort Johnson was taken and construction on Fort Sullivan commenced.

54. "Parole" references a sort of "password" assigned to ensure security (and assess for loyalty) among company troops.

55. The 1st SC Regiment was dispatched to Beaufort to escort 1,000 pounds of gunpowder back to Charlestown. The powder was the remainder of South Carolina's share of the 16,000 pounds captured from a British supply ship by a joint South Carolina-Georgia naval force on Jul. 9, 1775. An expected British expedition to take back the powder did not materialize (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 30).

56. The 2nd SC Regiment was held in reserve, but it was ultimately not needed.

57. William Cattell became a captain in the 1st SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775, and was a major in the 3rd Regiment by May 1776. In Sep. 1776, he became a lieutenant colonel. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown in 1780 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*), 17n12.

58. Francis Marion had become a captain in the 2nd Regiment of SC Provincial troops as a result of an appointment by the Provincial Congress on Jun. 12, 1775 (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 8-9).

59. William Oliphant became a lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment on June 17, 1775. He was promoted to captain in Feb. 1776, and was in the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776. He resigned in Oct. 1777 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*), 20n41).

60. See brief bio of James Ladson here.

61. Daniel Mazyck (b.1747) was promoted to captain of the 2nd SC Regiment in Jul. 1777. He was captured at the fall of Charlestown and exchanged in Jun. 1781, after which he served in Marion's Brigade (O'Kelley, *BCADM*), 30n72.

Regimental Orders by Col. William Moultrie - September 14, 1775

[Charlestown], September 14th 1775

Parole Iceland

For guard tomorrow, Cap^t. Motte

General Orders at 4 O Clock in the afternoon

Ordered that Cap^t Cot^s. Pinckney⁶² Cap^t Barnard Elliotts⁶³ & Cap^t Fra^s Marions Companies be immediately Completed to 50 Men Each from their respective Corps & to hold themselves in Readiness to march in Three Hours⁶⁴

Colonel Isaac Motte⁶⁵ is appointed for this command & will Receive his Orders from the Commanding Officer Each Cap^t to take his own officers if possible if not the next in Rank every Soldier to be provided with proper Arms Cartridge Boxes 12 Rounds 3 flints his Blanketts and provision NB The detachment went away about 12 OClock⁶⁶

O'Kelley, BCADM, 38.

September 16 – a truce is signed between William Henry Drayton, representing the Patriots, and Thomas Fletchall, for the Loyalists, averting a civil war in the South Carolina back country. Three days later, Gen. Richard Montgomery begins a formal siege of St. Johns, Quebec (Frederiksen, *Almanac*, 40). On the 26th, a peace treaty is signed at Pittsburgh between representatives of Congress, the British Indian Department, and the Ohio Indian tribes, pledging Indian neutrality in exchange for recognition of the Ohio River as the settlement boundary.

October 10 – British Gen. Thomas Gage is recalled and replaced by Gen. Sir William Howe as commander in chief in America. Three days later, the Continental Congress approves the creation of an American navy, and appoints a committee to oversee it, which includes South Carolina delegate Christopher Gadsden. On October 18, New York Governor William Tryon flees the city to the safety of the HMS *Duchess of Gordon* in the harbor.

November 2 – Saint Johns surrenders to American forces under Montgomery. Five days later, Virginia's Royal Governor John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, declares the state to be under martial law and offers freedom to slaves owned by rebels if they join the British.

[62. See brief bio of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney here.](#)

[63. See brief bio of Barnard Elliott here.](#)

64. The mission included two companies from the 2nd Regiment (one of which was Marion's), as well as Capt. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's company from the 1st Regiment.

[65. See brief bio of Isaac Motte here.](#)

66. The British Royal Navy controlled Charlestown Harbor at this time, through the presence of the sloop of war *Tamar* and their military presence at Fort Johnson, located on James Island, in the harbor. Fears that additional British naval actions would remove the arms and ammunition stored at Fort Johnson prompted the colonial governing body, the Council of Safety, to order an assault on the fort. Three companies were ordered to attack at dawn on Sep. 15. The plan called for Marion's company to force the main gate of the fort, while Captains Pinckney and Elliott went over the walls (Simms, *Marion*, 64-65). Logistical problems resulted in Marion's company not being ashore when Col. Motte began the assault. His company found the gates of the fort open and only six sailors present. Soon afterwards the first "Liberty" flag was raised at Fort Johnson (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 10-11).

Col. William Moultrie to Capt. Francis Marion – November 9, 1775

Nov. 9th 1775⁶⁷

[Sir,]

You are to proceed with all expedition, with yours, and Capt. Huger's⁶⁸ companies to Dorchester,⁶⁹ to reinforce the troops there, and to take special care in guarding and defending the cannon, gunpowder, and public records, at that place; you are to take the command of the whole of the troops at that place, till further orders. You are to apply to the committee at Dorchester, for a sufficient number of negroes in the public service, to remove the cannon⁷⁰ lying near the water-side, to a spot more safe, and convenient, near the fort or barracks, &c.

Wm. Moultrie

William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, So Far as it Related to the States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, Vol. 1* (New York: David Longworth, 1802). Reprint edition, Select, 109-10.

67. The published edition of this letter shows a date of Nov. 19. Examination of Marion's Orderly Book definitively puts the date of the letter as Nov. 9, as subsequent orders on the dates between the 9th and 19th only make sense as a response to these instructions.

[68. See brief bio of Francis Huger here.](#)

69. Dorchester was a small village near the head of navigation on the Ashley River, 15 miles upstream from Charlestown, and roughly 6 miles south of present Summerville, SC, at the point where Dorchester Creek enters the Ashley. It was used as a supply depot, public records storage, and powder magazine. The tabby fort there was built in 1757. Records regarding the settlement in this period are contradictory, with many claiming it had either been mostly or entirely abandoned in the mid-1750s when the population left en masse for Georgia. On the other hand, early 20th-century historian Henry Smith wrote that "At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, [Dorchester] altho' still a mere village, was next to Charlestown and George Town, the largest village in South Carolina." Whatever the truth about its population in 1775, the settlement's proximity to the Ashley River and to Charlestown itself caused it to be used by both British and American forces throughout the war as a supply depot (Smith, Henry A.M. "The Town of Dorchester in South Carolina—A Sketch of Its History," *SCHGM* 6 [2]: 62-95).

70. According to Moultrie's *Memoirs*, the cannon lay at too great a distance from the fort to be protected should a superior force threaten the town (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:110; Simms, *Marion*, 66).

General Orders to Capt. Francis Marion and Capt. Francis Huger - November 9, 1775

[Charlestown], 9 [November 1775]

Parole Dorchester

For Duty Cap Mason, For Guard L^{ts}. Dubose⁷¹ & Tho^s Moultrie⁷²

General Orders

Order'd that Cap: Marions & Hugers Comp^y. do march immediately to Dorchester each C^o. to be serv'd with twelve Rounds & Three Flints ^{pr} man. Cap: Marion will receive his orders from the Commanding Officer. Copy of the orders.

You are to proceed with your own & Cap: Huger's Comp^y. (with all Expedition) to Dorchester to reinforce the troops there, you are to take the command of the whole the troops⁷³ there. & take especial care in guarding and defending the Cannon, Gunpowder, Stores & Publick Records & remain at that place 'till further Orders.⁷⁴ You are to apply to the Committee at Dorchester for a sufficient Number of Negroes (now in the Publick Service) to remove the Cannon lying near the Water side, to a Spot most safe and convenient to the Fort or Barracks, wth. Sstrict Orders to the Centries not to let any Person handle or go near them without proper Auth^y. Order'd that the Contractor do provide the troops going to Dorchester during their Stay there. At half past Seven o'Clock this Even^g. Went away of Cap. Marions Company

1 Captⁿ. 2 Sub: 2 Serj^{ts}. 2 Corp: 1 Drum & 29 Priv^{ts}. Of Captⁿ. Hugers

1 Cap. 2 Sub: 2 Serj^{ts}. 2 Corp: 1 Fifer & 26 Priv^{ts}.

Total of all Ranks Seventy One 71

By Captⁿ. Marion

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 55.

71. See brief bio of Isaac Dubose here.

72. Thomas Moultrie (1740-80) was commissioned a first lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jun. 1775. He became a captain in Oct. 1776. He was killed during the siege of Charlestown on Apr. 24, 1780. He was a brother of William Moultrie (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 708).

73. The assignment to Dorchester was Marion's first independent command. Both Marion and Huger were commissioned on Jun. 17, 1775. On Jun. 11, 20 captains had been chosen for the initial two regiments of the South Carolina Provincial Army by a vote of the Provincial Congress, the interim legislative body of the colony. Francis Marion, who was a member of the Provincial Congress, received the third highest vote total, likely evidence of his recognized military skills and popularity. Only Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Barnard Elliott received more votes (William Hemphill, *Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775-1776* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Dept., 1960), 3, 46). Marion would spend significant time at Dorchester over the coming years, protecting the depot and training troops. On this particular occasion, he remained there until Dec. 18, when he marched back to Charlestown (See Detachment Orders of Dec. 18, below).

74. The purpose of the detachment was to protect the depot against a potential attack from the back country Loyalists. At this time, the colony's priority was not the threat of invasion by the British, but the risk posed internally by Crown sympathizers, and their principal aim was the unification of the back country.

Orders for Detachment by Capt. Francis Marion - November 14, 1775

Dorchester, Nov^r: 14th 1775

Parole Washington

A Party of Rangers consisting of 1 Serjeant & 6 Privates to hold themselves in readiness to proceed after deserters.⁷⁵ the Adjutant will deliver ¼ lb: powder to each man, or 12 Cartridges to be taken from every Man of the 2d. Regt. provided the Rangers has no Lead, Guards as Yesterday.-

Regimental Orders

Lieut. Baker⁷⁶ for the Day to morrow. Orders to Serjt: Little of Captn: Purvis Compy: of Rangers. You are to take six Men under your comd & proceed after five deserters of the 2d. Regt: if you come up with them you are to order them to lay down their Arms & if they will not obey, you are to endeavor to take them. but if you find it impracticable. You are to fire on them, & endeavour to conquer them by force of Arms, All Prisoners you take you are to cause to be brought to Dorchester or Charlestown & deliver them to the Guards there. As the Men were Inlisted on little Pee Dee it is probable they are gone that way. & if you should meet any other Deserters from the 1st: & 2d: Regiment, you are to take & proceed against as above. ____ You are to [return to] your respective Company's in 15 days from this date. All Prisoners which you may take you receive Ten Pounds pr Man & all reasonable Charges.

General After Orders

Counter Sign Lee.⁷⁷ 1 Serjt:& 1 Corp from the 2^d. Reg^t. to join the Magazine Guard immediately & a Guard of 1 Serjt: 1 Corp & 6 Men from Magazine Guard to be posted where L^t Dubose will direct. One Centinel of the Rangers to be taken off the Church⁷⁸ & posted at the Foot of the Bridge after dark. & a Centinel of the 2^d: Reg^t: planted in the room of the one taken from the Church. 2^{lb}. powder & 2^{lb}. lead to be given to the Rangers immediately, The Lead to be bought at M^r Warings.-⁷⁹

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 58.

75. Desertion and lack of discipline were constant problems, especially during periods when no action or threat was anticipated. The monotony of constant drilling, training and maneuvers led to drunkenness, disobedience and insolence. The response to these disciplinary issues was frequently court martial, resulting in harsh corporal punishment or even death.

76. This was most likely Richard Bohun Baker (1755-1837), who was a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Oct. 1775, a 1st lieutenant in Jan. 1777, and a captain in Apr. 1778. He resigned his commission in Jan. 1780. When Charlestown fell, he was taken prisoner, and exchanged in Jul. 1781. He served to the close of the war under Gen. Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 40; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 48n138).

77. A "Counter Sign" references the answer that should be provided in response to the "parole."

78. St. George Church was built in 1719 and burned during the Revolution. It is located within the Colonial Dorchester Historical Site in Summerville, SC (The Historical Marker Database, <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=22894>, accessed Aug. 12, 2024).

79. [See brief bio of Benjamin Waring here.](#)

Detachment Orders by Capt. Francis Marion - November 20, 1775

Dorchester, 20 [November 1775]

Parole Elliott Counter Sign Artillery

A Return of the Ammunition wanting to compleat 12 Rounds p^r man from both Cores to be made to day by 3 O'Clock in the Afternoon to the comm^d: Officer _____

Regimental Orders

A Regim: Court Martial to be held to day at 11 OClock in the Presdts: Tent to try such Prisoners as may be brought before them, Evidences to attend ___ President Cap: Huger, L^{ts}. Shubrick⁸⁰ & Baker,⁸¹

Dan^l: Lockheart for being drunk on guard receiv'd 150 Lashes. For the day to morrow L^t Baker.

Genl: Orders in Case of an Attack.

On the first Alarm of an Attack being made, the Troops to be immediately under arms, before their different Guards & Barracks & all Officers to attend if the Attack be made on or near the rear guard of the 2^d Reg^t: the Rangers is immediately to march behind the Church taking their Guard with them (but not to call in their Centries) & there defend the Church 'till call'd in by the commanding officer. ___

The Magazine guard is to take possession of the Fort under the Command of the Officer of the day, the Centinels to be call'd in & plac'd on the ramparts. no Person to be admitted without knowing him by Parole & Countersign. The Officer must pay particular Attention in defending the Gate. The remainder of the 2^d: Regiment to march with the greatest Silence to the rear guard, where that guard is to join them.

If the Attack is made towards the Bridge, the Rangers is to send their Guard to defend the Church wth: their officer of the day, The rest of the Rangers to march to the Foot of the Bridge & Defend that Pass. The 2 Co^s: Of the 2^d Reg^t. are also to march to the place attack'd & their Magazine Guard to take possession of the Fort as above. All Officers is to be particularly attentive that no Noise be made & to keep their Men from Hurry & Confusion, All orders will be convey'd to the other Officers (by L^t. Dubose) from the commanding Officer.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 59-60.

Detachment Orders by Capt. Francis Marion - December 18, 1775

Dorchester, 18th [December 1775]⁸²

The Detachment of the Second Regiment to hold themselves in readiness to march by 10 OClock for Cha^stown

NB.

The fort magazine & the Command in Dorchester was Deliver'd up to Coll. Sam^l. Elliott at 9 OClock this Day, With Cap^m Marions Compliments to the Officers of the Militia (Except Cap^t. Wigfall)⁸³ & Returns his thanks for the ready Obediance to all his Orders while he Had the Honour of Commanding in Dorchester, also to there men for there good behavior-

The Detachment march'd out of Dorchester at 11 OClock & gott in Ch^s. Town at dark—

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 68-69.

[80. See brief bio of Richard Shubrick here.](#)

81. Throughout the war Marion exhibited a strong inclination toward ensuring that his troops were well-trained. As the number of soldiers appearing before courts martial attests, Marion's efforts to mold his troops into disciplined soldiers were not always successful.

82. Capt. Marion's detachment had been at Dorchester since Nov. 9. At the same time that they were returning to Charlestown, other troops under the command of Major Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were preparing to assault Sullivan's Island, which was still occupied by the British (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:113-16).

[83. See brief bio of John Wigfall here.](#)

Preparing for War

Although Col. Richard Richardson had led a large militia force against the Loyalists at the end of 1775, the newly organized provincial regiments had seen no action since being created by the Provincial Congress in June. After evacuating Fort Johnson, the British retained a post on Sullivan's Island, where they also allowed runaway slaves to gather. The post effectively prevented any privateers from entering Charlestown harbor. British ships, including the *Tamar* and the *Cherokee*, guarded the harbor and patrolled the Carolina-Georgia coastline. The British had no land forces to challenge the new South Carolina army, while South Carolina had no navy to face off with the British ships. In the middle of December, however, the Americans were able to take control of Sullivan's Island by establishing a battery on Haddrell's Point, thereby eliminating British access to the harbor. Marion had returned from Dorchester the day before but did not participate in the action.⁸⁴

In November 1775, 43-year-old Capt. Francis Marion of the 2nd SC Regiment was detached to Dorchester at the headwaters of the Ashley River. Tasked with fortifying the post against possible Loyalist raids and protecting the public records that had been sent from Charlestown, he had overall command of two companies as well as the existing troops at the post.

Over the next four years, Marion would be employed in numerous other similar situations calling for independent command. After supporting and improving the post at Dorchester, Marion and his troops were dispatched back to Charlestown in December 1775. He and his men would soon play a large role in preparing the city's defenses in 1776, as a British attack on the port city was anticipated.

Outside of South Carolina in 1775, the war was progressing reasonably well. The Americans had effectively besieged Boston. The 2nd Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia for a term that would see the colonies progressively move from being subjects of King George to a confederation of independent states. Although technically defeated at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, the rag-tag American army showed that with proper leadership, it could fight toe-to-toe with the British.

Gen. George Washington took command of the Continental Army outside Boston in Jul. 1775. Virginia and North Carolina troops routed the British at the Battle of Great Bridge on Dec. 9, effectively driving the British from Virginia. Patriot troops captured Montreal on Nov. 13, 1775, but failed in their assault on Quebec on Dec. 31.

84. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:112-16.

Thomas Brown

Thomas Brown (1750-1825) came to America from England in the 1770s to manage a 5,000-acre, family-owned tract in Georgia. Instead of using slaves, at first Brown imported 85 indentured servants.

Due to his Loyalist sympathies, Brown was tortured, tarred and feathered and his feet burned by SC Patriots during the bitter civil war of 1775, earning him the epithet "Burnfoot." He fled to East Florida where, in 1776, he was made a lieutenant colonel by Gov. Patrick Tonyn. Browne then raised a loyalist refugee regiment, known as the East Florida Rangers, later King's Rangers.

In 1779, he was named superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Indians. Lt. Col. Brown led his regiment of 50 Loyalists, along with three other Tory units, in defending the Spring Hill Redoubt during the failed American assault on Savannah in Oct. 1779.

In 1780, he made Augusta his base of operations and defended it against a Patriot militia attack in September. In May 1781, Americans under Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens captured Fort Grierson, one of two forts protecting Augusta. After taking the fort, the combined force of Pickens's South Carolina militia and Henry Lee's Continental Legion laid siege to Brown's headquarters—Fort Cornwallis—less than a mile away. The Loyalists under Lt. Col. Brown put up a strong counter-attack, nearly overcoming the Patriots. After the Patriots erected a tower, similar to the one that turned the tide at Fort Watson, the British were helpless to prevent them from firing into the fort.

Finally, on Jun. 5, the Loyalists surrendered. Brown, the infamous Tory, was put under a special guard to protect him from vigilante justice. He was later released, and resumed command of the King's Rangers. Early in Jan. 1782, Brown was reported commanding "about 150 Negroes, armed and equipt as infantry..." in addition to his Rangers. In the middle of that month, Brown initiated a night attack on Gen. Anthony Wayne's Continentals. After a bloody fight in which Wayne's bayonets proved the deciding factor, Brown retreated to Savannah.

In February, the Georgia Loyalists and the King's Rangers were combined and renamed the King's Carolina Rangers. As the war wound down, the new rangers had few opportunities to attack Patriot units.

Brown moved to Florida in 1783. When East Florida was ceded to Spain, he went to the Bahamas with many of his men. In 1809, he was given a land grant of 6,000 acres. By 1811, he was in England serving a two-year prison term for forgery and fraud. He then returned to the Bahamas and became a sugar planter.

—Pickens to Greene, May 25, 1781, PNG, 8:310-12; Pickens and Lee to Greene, Jun. 5, 1781, PNG, 8:351-52; Cashin, Edward J., *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and The American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Fordham University Press, 1999, 27-29); Walter Dornfest, *Military Loyalists of the American Revolution* (McFarland and Co., 2010), 49; King Papers, Georgia Historical Society; Selesky, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 1:113.

Lord William Campbell

Lord William Campbell (1730-1778) was the last royal governor of South Carolina. By 1762, Campbell was a captain in the Royal Navy. His naval service took him to South Carolina where, in 1763, he married the daughter of Ralph Izard, a member of the South Carolina aristocracy.



Campbell returned to England, serving two years in Parliament before resigning in 1766 to accept the position of governor of Nova Scotia. He became governor of South Carolina in 1773.

He did not arrive in Charlestown until Jun. 17, 1775, during the peak of revolutionary fervor in the town. After his efforts to secure the support of the Crown's former Indian allies failed and his situation in Charlestown became tenuous, he took refuge on the British warship *Tamar* in September. The ship was driven from Charlestown Harbor by the guns of Fort Johnson, recently captured by the Patriots.

Campbell sailed for Jamaica. Shortly thereafter, he returned aboard the *Syren*, one of the fleet carrying Gen. Clinton's expeditionary force to Charlestown. On Jun. 28, 1776, Campbell served as a volunteer during the attack on Fort Sullivan and commanded the lower gun deck of the 50-gun *Bristol*, the flagship of Adm. Sir Peter Parker's fleet. In the fierce fight, the ship took 70 hits from the Americans. Campbell was one of 111 casualties on the *Bristol*, reportedly only slightly wounded, but he died two years later, possibly as a result of the wound.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:156.

Robert Cunningham

Robert Cunningham (1739-1813) was a back country planter before the war. He ran a ferry over the Saluda River, was a Justice of the Peace, taught school, served as a deputy surveyor, and was a member of the "American Association" committee.

His brother Patrick and cousin William were also staunch Loyalists. Robert Cunningham was arrested for his political leanings in 1775 and brought before the Provincial Congress but was released. Cornwallis promoted him to lieutenant colonel and directed him to raise a Loyalist militia regiment in Oct. 1780.

In December, he was promoted to brigadier general. By Jun. 1782, he was a refugee in Charlestown. After the war, his estates were confiscated and he was banished for his Loyalist activities. Cunningham evacuated to Nova Scotia, then East Florida, before going to England to present his claim. After being awarded £1,080 and half-pay as a brigadier, he relocated to the Bahamas.

—Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 88; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 202; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:293.

William Henry Drayton

William Henry Drayton (1742-1779), a nephew of Lt. Gov. William Bull, was initially an ardent Loyalist before changing his political thinking. His aggressive actions in the fall of 1775 forced many back country residents to choose sides, ultimately propelling South Carolina into a full-scale civil war.

Drayton spent his formative years being educated in England, and returned to South Carolina in 1764. In 1769, an article signed under the pseudonym "Freeman," but written by Drayton, championed the Loyalist position and embroiled him in a political controversy with Christopher Gadsden.

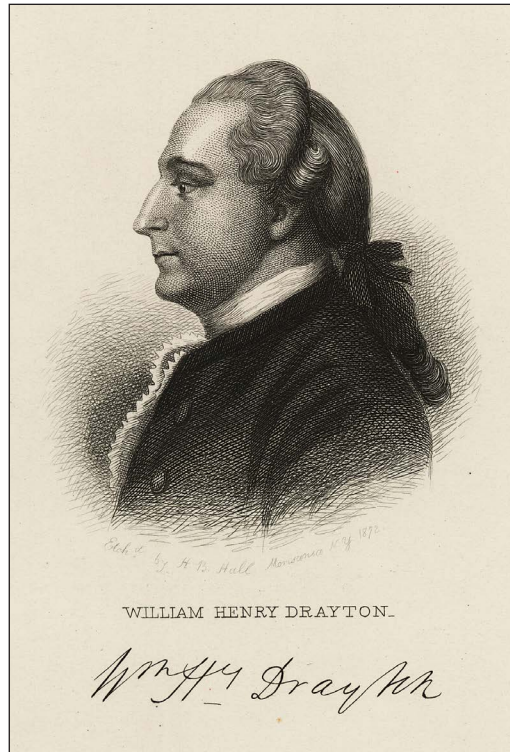
In 1771, after revisiting England, he was appointed privy councilor for South Carolina. Just as he had been a radical Loyalist, Drayton's transition to the American cause was rapid and extreme. The motives for his conversion are not precisely known, however, it appears they may have been more attributable to self-interest than to patriotism. Drayton had been denied a number of royal positions, including associate judge and postmaster for the Southern Colonies. His plan to lease 140,000 acres of Catawba land was quashed by confirmed Loyalists. He also had significant debts held by British creditors.

In 1774, he wrote another pamphlet, again as "Freeman" but this time championing the Patriot cause, suggesting that the recent passage of the Intolerable Acts had possibly changed his worldview. This new paper, addressed as an open letter to the Continental Congress, stated American grievances and drew up a bill of rights. It marked out the line of action eventually adopted by Congress, then in session.

Drayton was appointed justice of the state in 1774. At the beginning of Mar. 1775, after his political activities had become too radical for the royalist government, he was suspended from the Privy Council by his uncle, Gov. Bull. Drayton's transformation was then complete.

Later in the year Drayton became a member of the Committee of Safety, the unofficial ruling body of the state. When a new state constitution was ratified, he was appointed chief justice. Drayton was a member of the 1st Provincial Congress in 1775. That fall he, along with Rev. William Tennant and Rev. Oliver Hart, set out on a mission to the back country to gather support for the Patriot cause. For six weeks the three, who at times were also joined by Col. Richard Richardson and Joseph Kershaw, met with fellow South Carolinians, and advocated for the Patriot cause.

When the 2nd Provincial Congress convened in November, Drayton was elected president. In Mar. 1776 he was elected chief justice of the state by the General Assembly. Superficially, this was an honor for him, but he recognized that it was a maneuver intended to remove his radical agenda from the assembly. Instead, Drayton used the position to promote the Patriot position. He addressed the grand juries of the state, arguing the right of revolution and the desirability of freedom for the colonies. He attended the Continental Congress in 1778, beginning a short tenure that was no less controversial than his earlier activities.



Drayton's abrasive methods collided with the political suavity of the senior South Carolina representative, Henry Laurens, then president of the Congress. A permanent rift developed between the two from 1778 until Drayton died in Philadelphia the following year. He left a manuscript history of the Revolution to the end of the year 1778 that was published by his son, Gov. John Drayton, in 1821.

—William M. Dabney and Marion Dargan, *William Henry Drayton & the American Revolution* (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1962) 37-64, 96-106; Francis S. Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography*, James Osgood & Company, 1872, 282.

Isaac Dubose

Isaac Dubose (1754-1816) became a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775, and a 1st lieutenant during May 1776. He was at the Battle of Sullivan's Island in June.

Dubose transferred to the SC Dragoons as a captain in 1779. After the fall of Charlestown, he served as a lieutenant and captain under Cols. Hezekiah Maham and Daniel Horry. He was promoted to 2nd lieutenant in 1782 and was in the 1st Cavalry troop in Maham's regiment.

Between 1783 and 1808 Dubose was elected to the SC House for all but three General Assemblies, representing either St. James Santee or Kershaw County

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:199-00; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 270; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 50n148.

Barnard Elliott

Barnard Elliott (d. 1778) returned to South Carolina in 1766, after being educated in England. He served on the Royal Council before the Revolution.

When the first two South Carolina infantry regiments were formed in Jun. 1775, Elliott was elected captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. He was in charge of constructing a portion of Fort Johnson in Dec. 1775.

He was promoted to major in the 4th SC Artillery Regiment in Nov. 1775, and lieutenant colonel in the same unit in Sep. 1776. His wife sewed the pair of flags that were presented to the 2nd SC Regiment after the victory over the British fleet at Fort Sullivan on Jun. 28, 1776. Elliott was commander of Fort Johnson in 1777.

—O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 18n21.

Thomas Fletchall

Thomas Fletchall (1725-89) was born in Georgia and immigrated to South Carolina some time before the Revolution. By 1775, he had established himself as a prominent member of the community in the Ninety Six District, serving as Justice of the Peace, militia colonel, and coroner.

A staunch Loyalist, he was the author of a proclamation in support of the king and in opposition to early revolutionary stirrings that was subscribed by over 100 local Tories. Despite this, Fletchall ultimately made peace with the Patriots, signing the Treaty of Ninety Six on Sep. 16, agreeing to nonviolence on both sides. However, fellow loyalist Patrick Cunningham took up arms against the Patriots, and after his defeat Fletchall was arrested and imprisoned.

When he was released six months later in Jul. 1776, he found his home plundered and destroyed. He continued to receive threats and abuse from his neighbors until Oct. 1780 when he fled to British-controlled Charlestown, and eventually to Jamaica where he lived for the rest of his life.

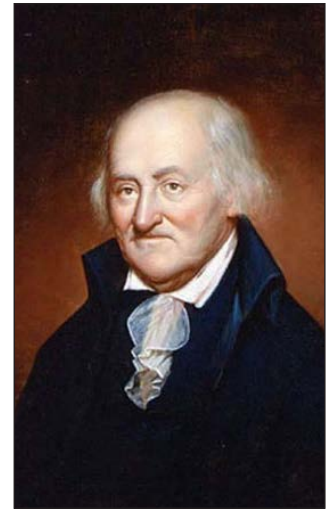
—E. Alfred Jones, ed., *The Journal of Alexander Chesney, a South Carolina Loyalist in the Revolution and After*, Ohio State University Bulletin, 1921, (4), 66-72; George Kotlik, "Thomas Fletchall's Association: A Loyalist Proclamation in the South Carolina Back Country," *Journal of the American Revolution*, Jun. 24, 2019. <https://allthingsliberty.com/2019/06/thomas-fletchalls-association-a-loyalist-proclamation-in-the-south-carolina-backcountry/>. Accessed 01-11-24.

Christopher Gadsden

Christopher Gadsden (1724-1805) was one of the most determined, outspoken, and colorful advocates for the Revolution in South Carolina. Educated in England, he spent four years learning the merchant trade in Philadelphia, where he became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin.

Upon his return to South Carolina, Gadsden concentrated his commercial activities, first in Charlestown, and then in the Georgetown area. In addition, he became involved in transporting goods to market, at one time owning five vessels.

Gadsden was the founder of the Charlestown Artillery Company. His company undoubtedly included the names of some of the first members of the Volunteer Company of Artillery, which participated in its first campaign as part of the Lyttelton expedition. The Company was later enlarged during the Revolution to become the 4th SC Regiment. Its members were captured and imprisoned by the British after the fall of Charlestown in 1780.



Gadsden was a leader of the provincial troops, including Francis Marion, who pledged their support to Gov. Lyttelton for the 1759 campaign against the Cherokees. He also participated in the 1761 campaign commanded by Lt. Col. James Grant.

Gadsden's fiery personality came out when he involved himself in a dispute between Grant and the provincial commander, Thomas Middleton. Gadsden supported Middleton in an exchange of accusations published in the South-Carolina Gazette. He also had disputes with the royal government, notably when Gov. Thomas Boone refused to administer the oath to him to serve in the 25th Commons House of Assembly in 1762 on the grounds that his election was not legal. The Commons House chose to challenge Boone, who dissolved the assembly.

Gadsden was a member of the Stamp Act Congress that met in New York in Oct. 1765. He was the voice of Charlestown's artisans and mechanics, known as the Sons of Liberty. This core elected Gadsden to the Commons House for the remaining sessions of the royal government from 1768 to 1775. Gadsden also served in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and was elected to the 1st Continental Congress, serving from 1774-76. He was appointed a colonel and given command of the 1st SC Regiment in June 1775.

While at the Continental Congress, Gadsden may have developed the flag that even today bears his name. According to tradition, the flag with a gray rattlesnake on a yellow background and the motto "Don't Tread On Me" has been attributed to Gadsden. It was first used by Commodore Esek Hopkins, commander of the American navy, on Dec. 20, 1775.

Gadsden resigned from the Continental Congress in 1776 so he could return to Charlestown to command his regiment in anticipation of a British attack on South Carolina. After the Battle of Sullivan's Island (June 28, 1776), during which Gadsden's 1st Regiment was defending Fort Johnson, across the harbor from Fort Sullivan, he was promoted to brigadier general in the Continental Army.

He resigned in August 1777 when the General Assembly refused to investigate his claim that he outranked Gen.

Robert Howe. Gadsden continued to attack Howe and requested an investigation by the Continental Congress in 1778, writing a letter to William Henry Drayton on Jul. 4, 1778. Gadsden also sent the letter to Howe and circulated it publicly in Charlestown.

His honor at stake, Howe challenged Gadsden to a duel. Gadsden purposely allowed Howe to take the first shot, which grazed his ear. He then deliberately fired wide of Howe. After the duel, the two shook hands and parted.

Gadsden was elected to the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies, before being elected vice-president of South Carolina in 1778 in a move by his opponents to remove him from the House of Representatives.

When Gov. John Rutledge fled Charlestown in Apr. 1780 in the face of imminent capture by the British, Gadsden, who had been elected lieutenant governor, remained the highest ranking official in the town. When the city fell, Gadsden was made a captive and initially paroled.

In Aug. 1780, however, he, along with 28 other Patriots, were put on a British ship and transported to St. Augustine, in British East Florida, where they remained prisoners until their exchange in June 1781.

Unlike the other patriots at St. Augustine, who submitted to British authority by signing new paroles, Gadsden refused, indicating that he had already signed one. As a result, Gadsden was imprisoned in the Castillo de San Marcos for 10 months, while the other patriots were paroled within a small area of the town.

Upon his exchange in 1781, Gadsden was first transported to Philadelphia for his release. Upon his return to South Carolina, he resigned as lieutenant governor in order to be eligible for the 4th General Assembly that convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. He was elected governor but declined to serve due to poor health.

Thereafter Gadsden maintained a lively dialogue with Francis Marion, providing insight into his political leanings, including leniency to Loyalists, which turned many of his ardent supporters against him.

After the war, Gadsden served in the 5th General Assembly from 1783-84, before retiring from politics, though he did attend the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

Gadsden spent his remaining years developing his plantations and rebuilding his commercial business, including Gadsden Wharf, a structure that spanned 840 feet on the Cooper River in Charleston.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2: 259-63; Godbold, *Christopher Gadsden*, 74, 140-43, 154-56, 178-89, 237; Salley, A.S., ed., 1935. "The Diary of William Dillwyn," *SCHGM* 36: 2, 33; *South-Carolina Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759.

Robert Heriot

Robert Heriot (c.1737-1792) arrived in South Carolina in 1759 after stops in Holland and Jamaica, and became a merchant in Georgetown. In 1759, he joined Gov. William Henry Lyttelton's campaign against the Cherokee.

He obtained substantial lands through marriage, and, in 1775, became a member of the Committee for Prince George Parish, responsible for enforcing the Association Agreement, functionally a boycott of British goods.

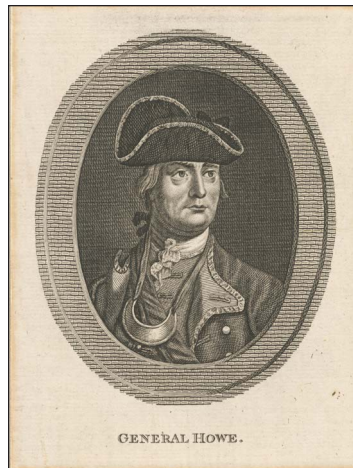
He became a militia captain and, in 1776, marched his company to Haddrell's Point to defend Charlestown from the British. After the fall of the city in May 1780, then Col. Heriot presented himself to the British at Camden and took parole on the Sea Islands. He remained on parole for the balance of the war. He did, however, become an agent obtaining supplies for the Continental Army.

Due to his background as a merchant, Gov. Rutledge named Heriot to the post of collector of customs for Georgetown. Heriot wrote Gen. Greene in Mar. 1782 that he would render "evry service in my power." In Apr. 1782, Gov. John Mathews informed Marion that he had contracted Heriot to take an inventory of the provisions in the Georgetown District.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3: 331-32; Rutledge to Greene, Dec. 25, 1781, *PNG*, 10: 105; Heriot to Greene, Mar. 20, 1782, *PNG*, 10: 527; Mathews to Marion, Apr. 15, 1782, Tr [Force Transcripts: DLC]; Saberton ed., *Cornwallis Papers*, 1: 319n16.

Robert Howe

Gen. Robert Howe (1732-86) was a native of Brunswick County, North Carolina. In Sep. 1775, he became colonel of the 2nd NC Regiment.



As a result of his success in turning back Lord Dunmore at Norfolk in Jan. 1776, Howe was named a brigadier general in the Continental Army. He took command of the Southern Department and was promoted to major general in Oct. 1777.

South Carolinians resented taking orders from the North Carolinian. The failure of his Florida Expedition resulted in Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln succeeding him on Sep. 25, 1778. Howe nevertheless remained in command in Georgia.

The British capture of Savannah at the end of Dec. 1778 resulted in Howe being ordered North in Apr. 1779. He preceded Benedict Arnold as commander at West Point and later was a judge at Arnold collaborator John Andre's trial.

—Harold Selesky ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Charles Scribner and Sons, 2006), 1:522-23.

Francis Huger

Francis Huger (1751-1811?) was the brother of Daniel, Isaac, Benjamin, and John Huger, and first cousin once removed of Francis Marion through their mothers (Huger's maternal grandfather was Marion's uncle on the Cordes side). He was named a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775. When Francis Marion was promoted to major in Feb. 1776, Huger was left in

command of the post at Haddrell's Point. Huger was at the Battle of Sullivan's Island in June of that year. He later was promoted to lieutenant colonel and deputy quartermaster general of the Southern Department from 1777 until he resigned in 1778.

Huger was elected to the 3rd General Assembly in 1779. In a 1790 letter, Gilbert Johnstone reminisced that Huger had been present at Johnstone's home, presumably in late summer 1780, when a group of militia officers, including Hugh Horry, Peter Horry, and Hugh Giles, agreed that Marion should lead the militia. However, in Sep. 1780, Huger took British protection. His betrayal of the American cause was apparently forgiven, for his property was not confiscated or amerced.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:354-55; Thomas Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: A.S. Johnson, 1837), 6:629-35; "South Carolina Gleanings in England," 1914, *SCHGM* 15 (2): 92-93; Gilbert Johnstone Jr to Susanna Johnston, Mar. 8, 1790, ALS, Francis Marion University; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 470; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 18n23; Emma B. Richardson, "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," 1942. *SCGHM* 43(3): 133-40; Smith, A.M. 1911. "The Baronies of South Carolina," *SCHGM* 12(1): 8-9.

Joseph Kershaw

Joseph Kershaw (1727-1791) emigrated from England around 1755. Within eight years, he had formed a business partnership with three other prominent landowners. The partnership, Ancrum, Loocock, Lance, and Kershaw, was quite successful, making him the largest and most influential merchant in the Camden and Cheraw districts.

Kershaw served in the last four royal assemblies, the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd General Assemblies. During the Revolution, Kershaw served as a militia major in 1776 before being promoted to colonel in 1780 in recognition of his distinguished service leading his militiamen at Purrysburgh and Stono Ferry.

Kershaw was captured at the Battle of Camden in Aug. 1780. After Camden surrendered, Kershaw's house was used as headquarters by Cornwallis and Rawdon. Along with his brother, Capt. Eli Kershaw, and others, he was imprisoned in British Honduras (modern Belize), and Bermuda.

Kershaw mortgaged his SC property to purchase supplies to support the war effort. However, the ship carrying the goods was captured by the British. Kershaw returned to South Carolina after his exchange to serve in the General Assembly when it convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. He also served in the 5th General Assembly in 1784. In 1790, Kershaw County, SC was named in his honor. When Pres. George Washington made his Southern Tour in 1791, Kershaw, as intendant of Camden, welcomed him to the town. He died later that year.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2: 374-376; Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, 1: 12-13, 378; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2: 530; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:144n46.

James Ladson

James Ladson (1753-1812) was a wealthy planter from St. Paul's parish. Before the war, Ladson was a captain in the John's Island Company of the Colleton County Regiment of Foot. During the war Ladson rose from lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment, to captain in the 4th Artillery Regiment to brigade major in the 1st SC Regiment in May 1779. He resigned in Nov. 1779 after the siege of Savannah.



He then served as an aide to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln until the fall of Charlestown. He does not appear to have been taken prisoner. It is presumed that Ladson continued to serve in the militia. In 1781 he was a major. That same year, Marion determined to increase the militia presence in the region. In Apr. 1781 he offered a regimental command and colonel's commission to Isaac Hayne, who was on parole at the time. Hayne, apparently, did not accept his commission immediately, given the March arrest of John Postell for breaking parole. Since Hayne would not accept the commission, Col. William Skirving "would not be see[n]," and Lt. Col. John Saunders was out of the area, Ladson's superior, Col. William Harden, chose to place temporary command of the regiment in his hands. He was a major or lieutenant colonel in the Colleton County militia through at least Jun. 1782. After the war Ladson served in the SC House from 1785-90. He was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788 and served as lieutenant governor of South Carolina from 1792-94. He returned to the House in 1799 and served in the Senate from 1800-04.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:411-13; Harden to Marion, 7 Apr 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Moss, *SC Patriots*, 549; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 19, n.38; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 252.

George Logan

George Logan (d.1780) was a captain in the Rangers. He was captured at the Battle of Camden on Aug. 16, 1780. On August 25 of that year, in Marion's first organized foray against the British, the prisoner convoy of which Logan was a part was surprised at Great Savannah. Logan was one of 150 Continental Army prisoners liberated in the action. He was one of only three of the liberated Continentals who elected to serve with Marion.

Due to illness, Logan did not march with Marion to Black Mingo Creek on Sep. 13, 1780. The next day he did, however, join the brigade prior to its attack on the Loyalists under Col. John Coming Ball at Dollard's Tavern. Logan was killed in that contest.

—James, *Francis Marion*, 24; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 577.

Charlotte Marion

Charlotte Marion Ashby Marion (b.1759), daughter of Francis's older brother Gabriel Marion, married Anthony Ashby in 1783. Ashby was earlier betrothed to Charlotte's sister Catherine, who died before the marriage.

After Ashby's death in 1784, Charlotte wed Theodore Samuel Marion, son of Francis's brother Job, in 1786. The wedding was held following the nuptials of her uncle Francis Marion to his cousin Mary Esther Videau. It was held at Little Pond Bluff, Charlotte Ashby's plantation, adjacent to both the general's and his bride's estates.

Anthony Ashby is not to be confused with the Anthony Ashby who was a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment) served under Marion for 300 days during 1781-82. He was promoted to brigade major in Jul. 1781.

Francis Marion was the executor of Ashby's estate. Gen. Marion and his wife Mary adopted Ashby's daughter Charlotte. In the inventory of Francis Marion's estate, there was a bond in the amount of £817 payable in 1783. It is unclear the purpose of the bond. However, it is possible that it had something to do with Ashby's marriage to Francis's niece, related to the acquisition of Little Pond Bluff, a plantation adjacent to Pond Bluff.

—*Charleston Morning Post*, April 20, 1786; Kirk, F. M., Pond Bluff Plantation: Marion Family, Berkeley County [SC] Historical Society; Francis Marion Estate Inventory, Sep. 21, 1795, Tr [SoCoAH]; Marion to Unknown Recipient, Dec. 1, 1790, Abs. of ALS. *A Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts and Autograph Letters*, William Everts Benjamin, New York, Sept.-Dec. 1892, No. 42; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 29; Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1: 420.

Gabriel Marion

Gabriel Marion (d.1777) was the second oldest of Francis Marion's four brothers. After their father's death, Gabriel moved from Georgetown to St. John's Berkeley Parish in 1755 or 1756 with his mother and Francis.

In 1756, Gabriel and Francis joined the Berkeley militia company. By 1759, Gabriel had married into the wealthy Taylor family and moved to Belle Isle plantation. Apparently, Francis moved with him and may have begun planting a portion of Belle Isle called Hampton Hill. In Oct. 1759, Francis joined Gabriel's militia troop of cavalry to fight the Cherokee.

Gabriel was a successful planter, and held several plantations in addition to Belle Isle. In 1775, he was a representative in the 1st Provincial Congress. When he died in 1777, his personal estate was valued at nearly £79,000.

Gabriel's son Gabriel, Jr., a favorite nephew of Francis Marion, who was killed while serving with his uncle in 1781. By his will, Gabriel's property was equally divided among his sons Gabriel, Jr., Robert Marion, and Benjamin Marion and money set aside for his wife and two daughters. Francis was bequeathed £500 and was named executor of Gabriel's will.

—James, *Francis Marion*, 7; Gabriel Marion Will, (SoCoAH); Charleston County Will Book 1776-1784, 248; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 654; *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:480; Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:415-20, 2:267-268.

Gabriel Marion, Jr., Marion's nephew

Gabriel Marion, Jr. (d.1780) was the eldest son of Francis's elder brother Gabriel. Gabriel was a favorite of his uncle, as evidenced by his mention in Marion's earlier will.

Gabriel served under his uncle in the 2nd SC Regiment as a cadet, adjutant, and 2nd lieutenant. He fought at the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776, but resigned his commission later that year. Gabriel, Jr., is probably the Marion who spent time in Barbados and Martinique sometime in the 1774-78 period. He annotated a book entitled *The Story of Inkle and Yarico*.

Gabriel joined his uncle Francis's militia regiment when it was formed after the Battle of Camden in Aug. 1780. He was murdered by Loyalists after being captured on Nov. 15, 1780, during an action at the "Pens," the plantation of Col. William Alston. A patrol under Captain John Melton came upon a Loyalist force commanded by Capt. Jesse Barfield in a dense swamp. In the exchange of fire, Lt. Marion was unhorsed and captured. When the Loyalists learned his identity, he was shot at point-blank range.

A day after the murder a mixed-race man named Sweat was captured, accused of Gabriel Marion's murder, and killed in retaliation while he marched toward Williamsburg with the other prisoners. Francis Marion noted the murder of his nephew Gabriel to Gen. Henry Harrington: "Our loss was Lieutenant Gabriel Marion, and one private killed. These two men were killed after they surrendered."

Gabriel's will bequeathed to his mother Catherine and his Uncle Francis a life estate in the bulk of his inheritance from his father. Francis Marion was the executor of the wills of both Gabriel, Sr. and Gabriel Jr.

—Charleston County Will Book A, 1783-86, 367 (SoCoAH); Yeadon, "Marion Family," 2:126; *The Story of Inkle and Yarico*, annotated by Gabriel Marion, (A)DS(SCU), P3303; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 71n200; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 117-20; Marion to Harrington, Nov. 17, 1780, *History of the Cheraws*, 343-44.

Isaac Marion

Isaac Marion (d.1781) was Francis Marion's eldest brother, who married into the affluent Allston family. However, it does not appear as if he was himself a man of wealth.

Isaac sold his Waccamaw plantation, given to him by his father-in-law, to his brother Gabriel in 1751. He then moved to Little River, an area near the border of North and South Carolina, and ran a tavern known as the Boundary House. In May 1775, Marion, presumably still a commissioner of the Committee of Peace (justice of the peace) for Brunswick County, N.C., received a letter from the "Northward Provinces," announcing the actions at Lexington and Concord. He was requested to forward the letter "to your community in Georgetown." Marion quickly sent it on to the Committee of Peace for Little River, the nearest committee, urging them to send the news on to Georgetown and Charlestown.

When the British occupied Georgetown at the beginning of Jul. 1780, Isaac was taken into custody and tortured, but did not reveal the whereabouts of his brother Francis. Isaac is reputed to have warned the

British, "I cannot tell you where to find him, but you will hear of him ere long."

Isaac Marion died in Georgetown on May 31, 1781, three days after his brother Francis and his Patriot brigade re-occupied the town.

—Yeadon, "The Marion Family," 1:212, 413-15; Minutes of NC Governor's Council, Aug. 12, 1774, in William Saunders ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, AMS Press, 1968, 9:1027; Marion to Committee, May 9, 1775, NCSR, 9:1238-39; George C. Rogers, *The History of Georgetown County, S.C.*, University of South Carolina Press, 1970, 123; Marion to Greene, May 29, 1781, ALS [CLJC].

Job Marion

Job Marion (1730-78) was the fourth of the five Marion brothers, born two years before Francis. He accumulated over 3,200 acres of land in Berkeley and Craven Counties by 1775.

Job served in the Commons House of Assembly in 1761, although when he was elected to the 33rd Assembly (1773-75), he declined. He served in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly.

Job Marion was in a sensitive situation during the war. He was an ardent Patriot. However, his father-in-law and brother-in-law, Theodore Gaillard, Sr. and Jr., were Loyalists. Marion was a captain in the Berkeley County militia in 1775 and served as a justice of the peace in 1776. What other role Job played in the Revolution is not known.

During Francis Marion's lifetime he would develop a special relationship with Job's son, Theodore Samuel. In 1786, Francis Marion was wed to his cousin, Mary Esther Videau, and Theodore Samuel Marion was wed to Charlotte Marion Ashby in a double wedding.

—*Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 2:434-35; Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:423-26; Yeadon, "Marion Family," no. 10; Kirk, F. M., "Pond Bluff Plantation: Marion Family," Berkeley County [SC] Historical Society, Tr (SoCoAH); <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/orangeburg/pond-bluff.html> accessed Nov. 1, 2024.

Robert Marion

Robert Marion (1766-1811), second son of Francis's older brother Gabriel, became a US Congressman from South Carolina. He graduated from the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1784. Robert owned and managed the plantation at Belle Isle, S.C., after Gabriel Marion's death. He served in the State House of Representatives from 1790-96, and in the State Senate from 1802-05. He was elected as a Democratic-Republican, to the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Congresses and served from 1805 until his resignation in 1810.

—*Biog. Dir. of US Congress*; <http://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/M000130>.

John Mathews

John Mathews (1744-1802) served in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies, before his election to the Continental Congress in 1778.

While a delegate to Congress, Mathews was elected to the 3rd and 4th SC General Assemblies, but remained in Philadelphia at the Continental Congress until he returned to the state in 1781. He served just over a year as Governor of South Carolina in 1782-83.

Thomas Rodney described Mathews as "A man of talents and more Agreeable in his address as well as language, but has an interruptive manner of speaking not well adapted to Command attention, is undesigning and possesses a good deal of Candor, which leaves him open to Conviction, and upon the whole is a good republican."

Shortly after the 4th General Assembly convened at Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, Mathews was elected governor of South Carolina. During his term (1782-83), he again worked closely with Greene and leaned heavily on Francis Marion for both military and civil actions.

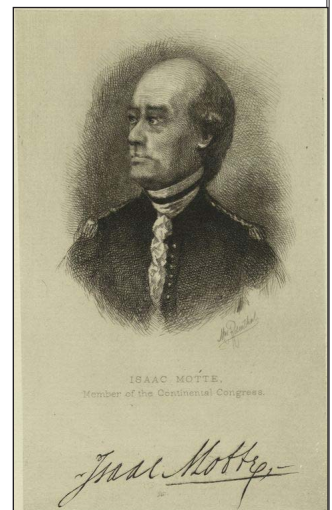
After serving as governor, Mathews was elected judge of the court of chancery in Mar. 1784 and the State House in Nov. 1784. He was elected judge of the court of equity in 1791 and served until 1797, when he resigned.

—PNG, 6: 336n; Thomas Rodney's Diary, Mar. 10, 1781, in PNG, 6: 336; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2: 438-40; *Biographical Directory of the US Congress*, <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/M000238>.

Isaac Motte

Isaac Motte (1738-95) joined the 60th Royal American Regiment in 1756 and fought in Canada during the French and Indian War. He resigned in 1763 and returned to Charlestown.

He was a member of the Commons House of Assembly from 1772-75, the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses from 1775-76, and the 1st, 2nd and 3rd General Assemblies. Motte became lieutenant colonel of the 2nd SC Regiment when it was formed in Jun. 1775. After the victorious



battle at Sullivan's Island, the regiment's colonel, William Moultrie, was promoted to brigadier general, and Motte was promoted to full colonel and placed in charge of the regiment. He resigned his commission in 1779 and was succeeded by Lt. Col. Francis Marion.

He continued to serve on the Privy Council in 1779. Motte was a member of the Continental Congress from 1780-82. He was elected to the S.C. Senate for the 1781-82 session but did not attend. Motte was a member of the S.C. House from 1782-90.

In Sep. 1783, he was commissioned a brevet brigadier general and was a delegate to S.C.'s ratification convention and voted in favor of the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

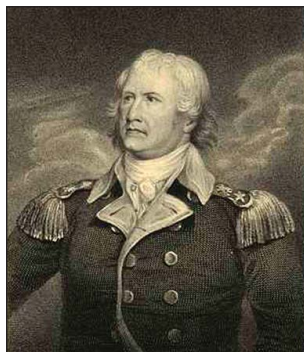
—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:476-78; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 707; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 279; JCC, 22:161.

William Moultrie

William Moultrie (1730-1805) was a planter from St. John's, Berkeley County, S.C. who served 12 terms in the S.C. Commons House of Assembly.

A captain in the SC Provincial Regiment during the Cherokee Wars, he served as aide-de-camp to Gov. Henry Lyttelton in the 1759 campaign. He was a member of Thomas Middleton's Provincial Regiment in 1760 and participated in the Cherokee campaign in 1761, with Lt. Francis Marion under his command.

Moultrie eventually rose to the rank of colonel in the militia. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses in 1775-76 and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies. He was elected colonel of the 2nd SC Regiment upon its creation in Jun. 1775, and was commander at the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776.



Moultrie designed the flag that flew over Fort Sullivan during the battle, from which the current state flag of SC is derived. As a result of his leadership at the Battle of Sullivan's Island, the fort was renamed Fort Moultrie.

Moultrie was promoted to brigadier general in Sep. 1776, after which Francis Marion was promoted to lieutenant colonel. Moultrie commanded the forces at the Battle of Port Royal in Feb. 1779, and at the Savannah River when General Lincoln invaded Georgia in 1779. When the British threatened Charlestown in May of that year, Moultrie commanded the American defense of the town. He was second-in-command during the siege of Charlestown in 1780, taken prisoner at the fall of the city, paroled to Haddrell's Point, and finally exchanged in Feb. 1782 for Gen. John Burgoyne. In October, he was promoted to major general.

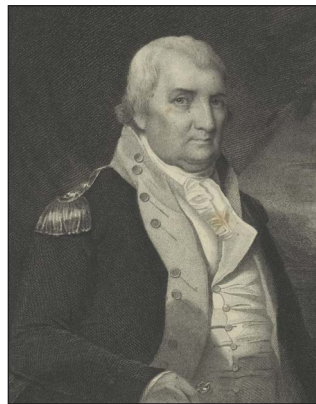
Moultrie was lieutenant governor of South Carolina from 1784-85 and governor from 1785-87 and 1792-94. He served in the state senate through the 9th General Assembly, vacating his seat after being

elected commissioner to settle accounts of former commissioners of the treasury in Feb. 1791.

Francis Marion succeeded Moultrie in the Senate in Dec. 1791. Moultrie was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788. He published his *Memoirs of the American Revolution* in 1802.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2: 485-88; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 21-23, 279; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 708.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney



Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825) was born into the Pinckney family of aristocratic planters in Charlestown. He was the son of Charles Pinckney, who would later serve as the chief justice of the Province of South Carolina, and the celebrated planter and agriculturalist Eliza Lucas, and a cousin of Col. Charles Pinckney.

After being educated at Middle Temple in London and admitted to the English Bar in 1769, Pinckney rode the English legal circuit for experience, then traveled widely in Europe and studied in France. He returned to South Carolina in 1769.

At the beginning of the war Pinckney was named a captain in the 1st SC Regiment. By Nov. 1776, he was a full colonel and commander of that unit.

At the fall of Charlestown in May 1780, Pinckney became a prisoner of war. He was not exchanged until Feb. 1782. After his exchange, he continued to serve, achieving the rank of brevet brigadier general in 1783. In 1794, he became a major general of the SC militia in the Lower District, a compromise candidate chosen due to the unavailability of either Francis Marion or Thomas Sumter. He was promoted to major general in the United States Army in 1798 and retired from the army in 1800.

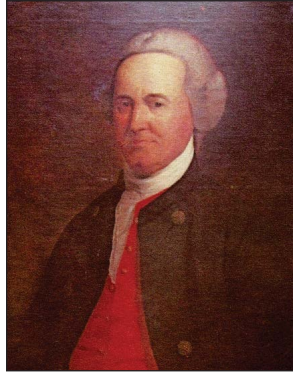
During his political life, he was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies. He was a long-time member of the SC House and a six-year member of the SC Senate. He was a signer of the US Constitution and a delegate to the state convention to ratify it. He declined nominations as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1791, as Secretary of War in 1794, and as Secretary of State in 1795. In 1796, he was appointed Minister to France. He ran for Vice President in 1800 and was nominated by the Federalist Party as their presidential candidate in 1804 and 1808, but did not win either election.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 290; Marvin R. Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*, 2011, University of North Carolina Press, 120.

Richard Richardson

Richard Richardson (1704-80), originally from Virginia, settled as a planter in Craven County, S.C. He was colonel of militia from 1757-60. Like Marion, he was in the Cherokee campaigns of 1760-61.

Richardson served in the Commons House of Assembly, the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, and the 1st General Assembly. He was elected to the Legislative Council in 1776. Richardson was the Patriot commander during the Snow Campaign against the Cherokee in 1775. He was commissioned a brigadier general in Mar. 1778 and was the commander of the State Militia at Purrysburg in Dec. 1778.



A member of the S.C. Senate from 1778-80, he was taken prisoner at Charlestown on May 12, 1780, and died in September of that year. It was at Richardson's plantation in the High Hills of the Santee that Lt. Col. Tarleton would attempt to trap Francis Marion in Nov. 1780, resulting in the latter leading him on a 25-mile race through the swamps.

—James, *Francis Marion*, 26; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 812; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 299.

Richard Shubrick

Richard Shubrick (1751-77) studied at Eton and Cambridge in England before being admitted to Middle Temple in 1768. He returned to South Carolina by 1772 and was commissioned a first lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775. He was promoted to captain on May 24, 1776, and was at the battle of Fort Sullivan on Jun. 28, 1776.

The elder brother of Thomas Shubrick, he was a member of the 2nd General Assembly (1776-77).

(Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:642; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 20n39.

Benjamin Waring

Benjamin Waring (1741-1811) was a member of the Commons House of Assembly continuously from 1765-75. He then served in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies, and the SC House from 1778-80. During the war he fought in Marion's brigade, reaching the rank of colonel. He was a member of the SC House again from 1782-84, the Privy Council in 1783, and the SC Senate from 1786-88. In 1791, shortly after the founding of the new state capital, Waring became commissioner of Columbia. After the war he was a large landowner and industrialist, opening a cloth factory in 1789, and also owning a castor oil mill, a tanning yard and a paper mill. He crushed the first cotton seed oil in the United States, and was a founder of the Santee Canal Company, which was created in 1787 to

build a canal from the Santee to the Cooper River in order to open river traffic directly to Charleston. Waring died in Columbia in 1811 as a result of a fall from his horse.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2: 698-99; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 967; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 328.

John Wigfall

John Wigfall (1736-93) served six terms in the Commons House of Assembly dating from 1760. He also served in the 2nd and 3rd General Assemblies (1776-80) and was a justice of the peace for Charlestown District in Mar. 1774. Presuming that the Wigfall mentioned in Marion's orderly book entry of Dec. 18, 1775, was the same John Wigfall, Marion had nothing good to say about him when he served in the 2nd SC Regiment before the fall of Charlestown, writing "Captn Marions Compliments to the Officers of the Militia (Except Capt. Wigfall)." By 1780, Wigfall had changed sides and become a colonel in the Loyalist militia. In August, the militias of Wigfall and Col. John Coming Ball were called out and stationed in Georgetown. By the end of September, Maj. James Moncrief, who had been sent to Georgetown to fortify the town, dispatched Wigfall to the Black River Church near Salem, and Ball to Shepherd's Ferry on Black Mingo Creek. Marion attacked and routed Ball's force on Sep. 28. He reported the attack to Gates and also mentioned a plan to surprise Wigfall: "It was my intention to break up another guard at Black river Church of fifty men, but so many of my followers were so desirous to see their wives and families, which have been burnt out, that I found it necessary to retreat the next morning across Big D. at Britton's ferry to this place." There is no record of Wigfall again taking the field. In the spring of 1781, he resigned his commission. Although Gov. John Rutledge issued a proclamation in Sep. 1781 giving pardon to Loyalists, he excepted some, "such men as Gaillards & Wigfalls are to be Excepted in the proclamation." Wigfall was included in the confiscation legislation passed by the General Assembly in 1782. After the war he petitioned the legislature for relief from the confiscation of his property. His name was removed from the confiscation list and his property was amerced at 12%.

—Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. Dir. of the SC House*, 2:710-11; Saberton ed., *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:64n6; Proclamation by Rutledge, Sept. 27, 1781, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); Rutledge to Marion, Dec. 1781, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); David J. McCord ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 6:632, 635; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 13, 73-74, 83-87, 90.

Andrew Williamson

Andrew Williamson (c.1730-86) emigrated from Scotland to the Ninety Six District of South Carolina in 1758. He enlisted as a lieutenant in the militia in 1760 and was on the 1761 Cherokee Expedition. As a major in the SC Patriot militia, he was in the action at Ninety Six in Nov. 1775. Williamson was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the General Assembly from 1776-80. He became a brigadier general in the militia in 1778. That year he led the Florida Expedition and was in the battles at Brier Creek, Stono Ferry, and Savannah. Williamson, who after the surrender of Charlestown and the exodus of Gov. Rutledge, was the highest ranking official in the state, surrendered his brigade to the British near Ninety Six in Jun. 1780. Part of his surrender terms included taking the oath of allegiance to George III. He took no active part in the fighting for the balance of the war, though it has been conjectured that he continued to supply Gen. Nathanael Greene with intelligence. In Aug. 1781 Williamson was captured by Patriot forces under Lt. Col. Isaac Hayne, who had recently resumed active service after taking parole himself following the fall of Charlestown. After Hayne was subsequently recaptured, he was hanged for breaking his parole. In Gov. Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, conditions for obtaining pardon exempted some former Loyalists, including "all those whose conduct has been so infamous, as that they cannot, consistently with justice or policy, be admitted to partake of the privileges of Americans." The final list of the worst offenders contained 11 names, one of which was Andrew Williamson. The State of South Carolina later granted him leniency, for he was taken off the Confiscation List, had his property amerced at 12% and was disqualified from holding public office for seven years. Williamson remained in South Carolina until his death in 1786.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:769-71; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2:998; PNG, 9:251-52n; Rutledge Proclamation, Sep 27, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

1776
South Carolina's First Test

On January 1, 1776, Virginia Governor Dunmore burns the harbor of Norfolk from the water. Patriots destroy the rest of the city the next morning.

Ten days later, Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense* in Philadelphia, a major step in mainstreaming the cause of independence in the colonies.

The year 1776 was a formative one for Francis Marion's career. He was given command of a detachment and a battery with instructions to fortify Haddrell's Point, across the Cooper River from Charlestown. His success there resulted in him being given command on Sullivan's Island, as well as a promotion to major.

Marion supervised the construction of the palmetto fort there and played a significant role in commanding the east side of the fort during the British attack on June 28. The 2nd SC Regiment, along with a few gunners from the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment, staved off the naval attack on Sullivan's Island, dealing the British fleet a disastrous blow. As the British sailed away, few could anticipate that it would be almost three years before they would again threaten South Carolina. The victory at Sullivan's Island, followed shortly by the Declaration of Independence, not only energized South Carolinians, but gave confidence to the fledgling nation that the vaunted British military could be beaten. Perhaps even more importantly, it also allowed Patriot civil authority to consolidate control of the state.

In March the British had evacuated Boston, a stunning victory for the upstart Americans. Although there were Indian uprisings along the southern frontier beginning in July 1776, Col. Andrew Pickens's¹ victory in August over the Cherokee in what became known as the Ring Fight, part of a retaliatory expedition mounted by South Carolina in conjunction with forces from Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, returned the back country to relative peace.

Amongst all these successes, one setback for the Patriot cause in the South was the failed invasion of East Florida. Following the battle of Sullivan's Island, Gen. Charles Lee set off southward with the Virginia and North Carolina Continentals and was shortly thereafter met by Col. Moultrie with South Carolina troops. Around Sep. 1, while in Savannah, Lee received an express recalling him to the Northern Theater. Brig. Gen. Robert Howe of North Carolina, who had commanded the South Carolina militia at the Battle of Sullivan's Island, replaced Lee as commander of the Southern Department. By the middle of the month, the South Carolina regiments were incorporated into the Continental Line.²

In the North, however, the Americans' situation deteriorated, as the British chased the Americans out of New York, dealing the Continental Army blow after blow. After New York City fell, the Americans retreated across New Jersey into Pennsylvania. Only Washington's surprise attack on Trenton after crossing the freezing Delaware River on the night of December 25-26, followed by the victory at Princeton a week later, provided any encouragement to the war effort.

Marion's personal year reached its climax when he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and second-in-command of the 2nd SC Regiment in November. The excitement of 1776 would not be replicated in 1777, but South Carolina finished the year with a sense of accomplishment and confidence.

1. [See brief bio of Andrew Pickens here.](#)

2. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:187.

Detachment Orders by [Capt. Francis Marion] - January 6, 1776

Haddrells Point,³ January 6th 1776

Orders by Captⁿ Marion

Parol Ch^s Town

L^t Baker for the Day __ The Officers of the day to visit the guards twice at Night & as many in the Day
For the Battery guard 1 Sergeant 1 Corporal & 12 men
The Rear and Magazine guard, 1 Corporal & 6 Men Each

The Officers of guards to give strict Orders to the Centinels not to Lett any persons (who does not belong to the Detachment) come near their guard, the Centinels at the Battery to keep a good Lookout next to the water & not lett any boats pass with Orders, & those at the Magazine not to Lett any fire be brought near the Magazine on an Acc^t. whatever __ any thing which may happen During the night to Acquaint the Command^r. Officer & the officers of the Day Emedately

Roll Call to be at 8 OClock in the morning at which time the guards is to be relieved, roll-call 4 oClock in Evening__ the men Left of the first regiment to do Duty part in Captⁿ. Marion & part in Captⁿ Hegers Comp^y. so as to make the two Comp^{ys}. Equall in the number of men __ For the Day tomorrow Lieut. Jackson⁴__ the officers of the Day to lodge in the House near the Battery⁵

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 71.

Orders by Capt. Francis Marion - January 7, 1776

Haddrells Point, 7th January 1776

Parole Coll: Moultrie

Orders

For the Day tomorrow L^t Baker
Gabriel Marion Cadet,⁶ to act as Adjutant to the Detach^t. And to be obey'd as such

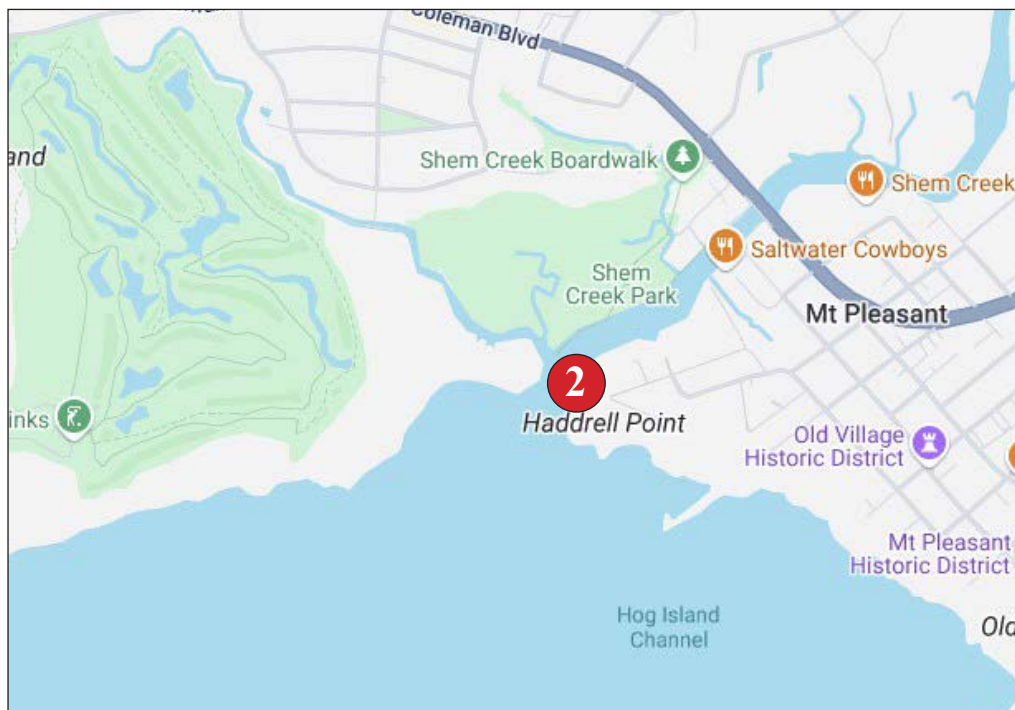
The troops to turn out at 10 OClock in morning to Exercise the Cannon under the Direction of L^t Mitchel of the artillery __ all Officers to attend⁷³

M^r Marion to take particular Account of all the tents & Intrenching tools left by the first Regim^t. & to apply to Serg^t. Redmond for provision, & give a receipt

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 71-72.

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3. Haddrell's Point was on the mainland, directly across the mouth of the Cooper River from Charlestown (today part of Mount Pleasant, SC) and separated from Sullivan's Island to the southeast by a cove. The crews from the British navy, who had intended to winter on the island were cleared from it by Capt. John Allston's "Raccoon Company" of riflemen on Dec. 19, 1775, paving the way for the establishment of an American battery at Haddrell's Point. Allston served as captain of the Raccoon Company in 1776 and was in the militia from 1780-82, serving under Col. Peter Horry and Gen. Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 15-16). The newly installed artillery placed the British fleet in range of four 18-pounders, forcing it farther out into the harbor. Marion's 2nd SC Regiment relieved the 1st Regiment after the completion of the new battery. From the dating in Marion's Orderly Book it is inferred that his detachment arrived at Haddrell's Point around Jan. 6.
 4. [See brief bio of William Jackson here.](#)
 5. Clearly Capt. Francis Marion understood the necessity of establishing order and discipline among his (still fairly inexperienced) troops, whether in barracks or within proximity to the enemy. Two days later, Marion ordered the first court martial at the new site, the result of which was the conviction of three men of the 1st SC Regiment for disobedience. The sentence in each case was 200 lashes (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 72).
 6. Marion's nephew, the son of his brother Gabriel, was mentioned in Francis Marion's undated will, above. In lieu of formal training, officer candidates were given on-the-job training as cadets. Gabriel resigned his commission on Sep. 24, 1776. After the fall of Charlestown, he joined his uncle Francis's brigade (Gregg, *Cheraws*, 343-44; Marion to Harrington Nov. 17, 1780, below; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 118-20; Yeadon, "Marion Family," 2:126).
 7. Despite being an infantry regiment, the 2nd SC was taking instruction in operating cannon from an officer of the artillery regiment, presumably because of their new assignment at the battery on Haddrell's Point. This familiarity with the weaponry likely was a factor in how well the 2nd South Carolina would perform their gunnery roles in the upcoming Battle of Sullivan's Island.

Haddrell's Point



Haddrell's Point

<https://mountpleasanthistorical.org/items/show/25>

January 20 – Sir Henry Clinton sails from Boston to offer assistance to Loyalists gathering under North Carolina Royal Governor Josiah Martin in an uprising against Patriot government in that colony.

February 5 – Col. Donald McDonald begins organizing North Carolina Loyalists near Cross Creek with the intention of rendezvousing with British forces at Wilmington. By the 8th, the force reaches 1,600 men. On the 27th, McDonald's Loyalists, now under the command of Capt. Alexander McLeod, encounter 1,100 Patriots under Col. Richard Caswell at Moore's Creek Bridge en route to Wilmington, and decide to attack. The result is lopsided—30 Tories are killed (including McLeod), 20 are wounded, and 850 captured, against Patriot losses of 1 killed and 1 wounded. The remnants of the Loyalist force are scattered—they will never link up with the British Southern expedition.

Orders by Maj. Francis Marion - February 29, 1776

Sullivants⁸ Island, 29th Feb^y [1776]

Parole Coll. Arnold

Orders

For the day tomorrow L^t. Mazyck

Cap^m Marion is appointed to the Majority⁹² in 2^d Reg^t and Order'd to take the Command on Sullivants Island, & to Leave the Command at Haddrells to Capt. F. Huger which was done the same day.

By Major Marion

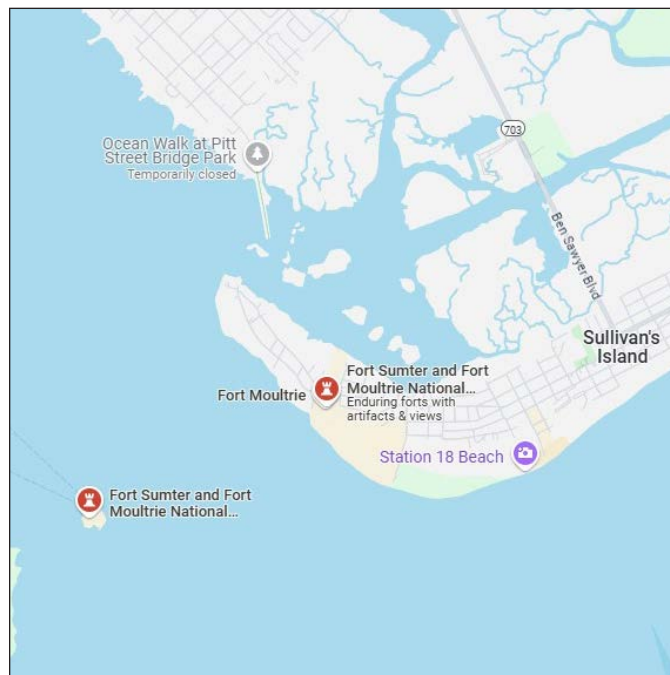
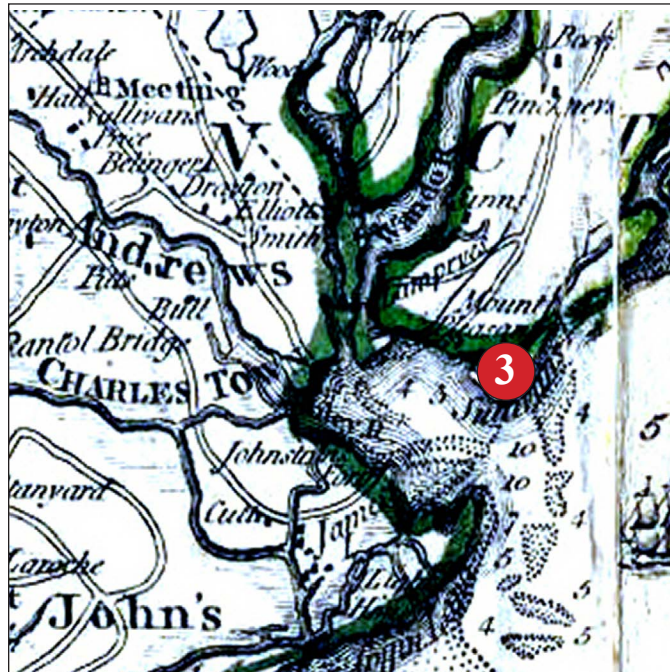
O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 83.

March 2-4 – British warships ineffectually exchange fire with the Patriot garrison of Savannah, Ga., before being driven away by fire ships from their base on Hutchinson's Island.

8. Sullivan's Island is a small, but strategically significant island sitting at the mouth of Charleston Harbor, just northeast of the main shipping channel, and facing out to sea. Any vessel entering or exiting the harbor would need to sail past the island and any battery placed there. The 2nd SC Regiment was tasked with building, and then garrisoning, a fort on the site. The position's effectiveness would be put to the test in June of 1776, when it became the focus of the hotly contested British naval assault on the harbor.

9. Marion had been promoted to major by the Provincial Congress on Feb. 22, 1776. He would play a key role in supervising the building of the palmetto log fort when the 2nd SC Regiment was ordered to take over construction on Sullivan's Island on Mar. 2, 1776 (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:124). Part of the reason for the change in responsibility was the slow progress being made (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 13-14). The unique construction of the fort, built on a palmetto log framework filled with sand, proved to be virtually impenetrable to artillery fire during the British barrage on Jun. 28. As commander of the troops on Sullivan's Island, Marion was directly responsible for the fort's successful construction, though it was still incomplete at the time of the battle. Private Samuel Box, who served in the 2nd SC, remembered being employed during this period in improving the fort's defenses. Jethro Butler similarly remembered that about this time the 2nd SC was relieved at Haddrell's Point by the 1st, from whence they crossed to Sullivan's Island to begin work, and that they were "about finishing the building of the Said fort" when the British expedition arrived in June. Henry Goodman described crossing to Sullivan's Island from Haddrell's Point via a floating bridge but other accounts all mention boats as the primary connection between the island and the mainland (Samuel Box, Pension Application S3015; Jethro Butler, Pension Application S30908; Henry Goodman, Pension Application S3399).

Sullivan's Island



Sullivan's Island / Fort Sullivan / Fort Moultrie
<https://mountpleasanthistorical.org/items/show/94>

Orders by Maj. Francis Marion - March 6, 1776Orders 6th MarchParole Oswego. Count: Sⁿ. 63For the Day tomorrow Captⁿ. Ja^s. M^cDonaldAdvance Guard L^t. Jn^o Blake¹⁰Quart^r Guard L^t. Proveaux¹¹ _____ Rear a Serg^t.

An Officer of a Comp^y. to see there Sergeants warn there men properly for duty every Evening & see them parraded at troop beating Clean, there Hairs comb'd & there Arms in good order Any Soldier who has been warn'd for Duty & do not attend punctually when the drums beat must be confin'd, any Sergeant who neglect confining such Soldiers may Expect to be punish't __ Tis Expected that one Commissioned Officer at Least will Attend roll-calling constantly__ this order has been often Issued & tis hop'd the Gentl^m. will make the repeat of it unnessary¹² Maurice Fowler Corp: in Cap^t. Eveleigh Comp. is apointed a Sergeant in s^d comp^y. & is to be Obey'd as Such__

O'Kelley, BCADM, 85.

March 12 – Henry Clinton's expedition reaches North Carolina and discovers that the Loyalists have already been defeated at Moore's Creek Bridge. Clinton elects to await the arrival of Commodore Sir Peter Parker's naval force before deciding his next move.

March 17 – British forces under Sir William Howe abandon Boston after an 11-month siege, and sail for Halifax, Nova Scotia.

March 26 – John Rutledge is elected president of South Carolina.

April 12 – The Provincial Congress of North Carolina issues the Halifax Resolves, becoming the first state to authorize its delegates to the Continental Congress to vote for independence.

April 19 – Commodore Peter Parker's fleet begins arriving at Cape Fear, NC, and joins with Clinton's expedition.

May 31 – The last of Parker's fleet finally arrives at Cape Fear. He and Clinton sail for Charlestown, arriving off the bar the next day.

June 9 – Gen. Charles Lee arrives in Charlestown and assumes command of both the city's defense and the Continental Southern Department.

June 11 – The Continental Congress appoints a committee of five (Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman) to draft a declaration of independence.

June 17 – Horatio Gates replaces John Sullivan as commander of the Continental Army's Northern Department.

¹⁰. See [brief bio of John Blake](#).

¹¹. See [brief bio of Adrian Proveaux](#).

¹². As he attempted to do when on detachment to Haddrell's Point, Maj. Marion established strict protocols for operations on Sullivan's Island.

Orders by Maj. Francis Marion - June 28, 1776

Orders 28th June

Parole America __ Count^r.Sⁿ. 25 __

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. Shubrick

Fort guard Capt Ja^s M^cDonald L^{ts} Hall & Charnock

Quarter guard L^t Dunbar __ Rear L^t Marion

This day at 10 OClock in the morning the follow^g ships attacked the fort at Sullivants Island Viz:

Bristol of 50 guns Commanded by Commod^r. S^r. Pet: Parker¹³

Experiment 50 guns __ Solbay __ Active __ Acteon __ Syren

Frigates of 28 guns Each The Terrible Bom Ketch & the Spyren [Sphynx] of 20 guns, The Engagement continued till 9 OClock at Night __ a continual Cannonade & Bombardment with only Little Intermission __ The Acteon run'd agrown & was burnt the Next Morning, The Bristol lost here mezenmast & greatly Damaged her Mainmast

The Solebay lost her Boswprit, they all received Considerable Dammage & was Oblige to slip there cable & retreat to 5 fath^m. hole __

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 122

Battle of Sullivan's Island
June 28, 1776

In early Jan. 1776, Gen. George Washington learned that the British were organizing an operation of consequence aimed at the southern colonies. The specific target was not yet certain, but a British naval force and seven British infantry regiments were known to be heading for North Carolina, either to attack there or strike Virginia or South Carolina. Without the advance notice such intelligence provided, the outcome of the Battle of Sullivan's Island might have been much different. The British naval force left Ireland under the command of Commodore Sir Peter Parker,¹⁴ and carried land forces commanded by Maj. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis.¹⁵ Though Parker's ships were scheduled to leave Cork in Dec. 1775, several delays prevented the ships from embarking until Feb. 1776. Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton,¹⁶ commander of the southern expedition, sailed from Boston on Jan. 20, 1776, to rendezvous with Parker and Cornwallis. Clinton made several stops along the way, arriving at the Cape Fear River on Mar. 12, 1776, where, still thinking Parker and Cornwallis had sailed in December as planned, he was surprised to learn that they had not yet arrived. As Cornwallis's senior, Clinton would assume overall command of the army when they met. The British regulars were also to join with a Loyalist force in North Carolina that was marching from the interior. Royal Governor Josiah Martin had convinced Lord Dartmouth, who had been secretary of state for the American colonies before being replaced by Lord George Germain, that a strong show of force would quell any patriot fervor and rapidly return North Carolina to British control.¹⁷

The Loyalist force, commanded by Brig. Gen. Donald McDonald marched toward the intended rendezvous near Wilmington. But on Feb. 27, 1776, two weeks before Clinton arrived in the Cape Fear area, McDonald's force was decisively defeated at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. The disaster was a severe blow to British plans, destroying

13. Commodore Sir Peter Parker commanded the British fleet on its way to attack Charlestown. More on him and the British expedition can be found in the narrative section on the Battle of Sullivan's Island.

14. See [brief bio of Peter Parker](#).

15. See [brief bio of Charles Lord Cornwallis](#).

16. See [brief bio of Henry Clinton](#).

17. Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:745-46.

any hope that North Carolina's Loyalists could suppress the rebellion on their own. By the time the combined British invasion force finally began to appear off Cape Fear in mid-April, it was determined that any effort in North Carolina would be fruitless and so the campaign's emphasis shifted. Gen. Sir William Howe, commander-in-chief in North America, had suggested to Clinton that Charlestown might be a worthwhile objective. Upon their arrival on the North Carolina coast, Parker also recommended taking the city as a goal, given the state of its as yet unfinished defenses.¹⁸

However, the tardiness of the British ships had given the Americans time to fortify Charlestown. Protecting the entrance to the harbor were two forts: Fort Johnson, an existing structure, was situated on James Island, about two miles across the water from the town, while construction of a new fort on Sullivan's Island had been started in January. Since March, this new structure had been under the command of Col. William Moultrie of the 2nd SC Regiment. At this time the efforts of Maj. Francis Marion, by virtue of his position as third-in-command of the 2nd Regiment, were crucial to making the fort battle-ready. By the time the British appeared off the South Carolina coast in June 1776, it was only half-completed. The novel design of the fort utilized materials native to the island. It was constructed of two rows of palmetto logs 200 feet long, sixteen feet wide, and filled with sand in between, a configuration that ultimately thwarted the British bombardment.¹⁹

At the northeast end of Sullivan's Island, soldiers commanded by Col. William "Danger" Thomson²⁰ of the 3rd SC Regiment constructed a smaller fortification to combat any attempt by the British to cross Breach Inlet from Long Island (now Isle of Palms) onto Sullivan's Island. Gen. Charles Lee,²¹ commander of the Continental Army's Southern Department, who had only arrived in Charlestown about June 4, had a low opinion of the palmetto fort's ability to ward off the British attack. Only at John Rutledge's²² insistence, on his authority as President of South Carolina, was the fort's garrison retained.²³

While the Americans contemplated preparations for defending Charlestown, the British fleet continued to congregate off Cape Fear. After vacillating over whether to attack Virginia or South Carolina, Parker and Clinton set their sights on the capture of the fort on Sullivan's Island. On May 31, the last division of the British naval invasion force weighed anchor off Cape Fear and sailed southward. With favorable winds, they arrived off Bull Bay, northeast of Charlestown, on June 1. After gathering extensive reconnaissance and intelligence from British sympathizers, Clinton decided to land his army on Long Island and wade across Breach Inlet, thought to be only 18 inches deep at low tide, to attack the Americans, while Parker carried out a frontal bombardment against the fort.²⁴

After landing his troops on June 16, Clinton learned that his intelligence was faulty. Instead of wading through 18 inches of water, his men would face depths of up to seven feet at low tide. Instead, Clinton proposed a diversionary attack on the mainland, but the effectiveness of the British army had been neutralized by their inability to cross Breach Inlet and attack the Sullivan's Island defenses directly from the rear.

The British bombardment commenced late on the morning of June 28. Clinton's orderly book entry for that day named the ships involved in the attack. The bomb ship *Thunder* with 10" mortars began the onslaught. Four ships, including the flag ship *Bristol* (50 guns), commanded by Parker directly, the *Experiment* (50 guns), the *Active* and the *Solebay* (both 28 guns) moved into position 400-800 yards south of the fort and opened a blistering fire. Finally, a second line of ships, consisting of the *Actaeon* (28 guns), the *Syren* (28 guns), and the *Sphynx* (20 guns) moved into action.²⁵ Although the British guns poured a continuous fire at the fort, the combination of the spongy palmetto log framework and the sand used as filler served to absorb the blows. The *Thunder*, anchored too far out in the harbor to hit the fort with conventional charges, was forced to use extra powder. Reinforced planking, added to enable the mortars to fire at greater distance, broke as a result of the heavy recoil, taking the mortars out of the battle. Shortly after the fighting began, the second line of ships attempted to move toward the western side of the fort. The underwater topography

18. Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:181-83.

19. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:141, 177; Weems, *Marion*, 36-37.

20. See brief bio of William "Danger" Thomson.

21. See brief bio of Charles Lee.

22. See brief bio of John Rutledge.

23. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:141; Drayton, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 282-83.

24. Edwin C. Bearss, *The Battle of Sullivan's Island and the Capture of Fort Moultrie* (Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1968), 63.

25. Bearss, *Sullivan's Island*, 75.

of the harbor benefited the Americans: all three ships ran aground. To make matters worse, the *Actaeon* and *Sphynx* collided with one another, and the *Syren* lost her bowsprit. *Sphynx* and *Syren* were able to get underway again, but *Actaeon* remained grounded.²⁶

The American force in the fort consisted of 344 officers and men of the 2nd SC Infantry, as well as 20 gunners of the 4th SC Artillery Regiment. A total of 31 cannon were mounted, although only 19 could be directed toward the formidable front line of four British ships, carrying a total of as many as 78 guns firing as broadsides at the palmetto fort. Lt. Col. Isaac Motte commanded the southwest face of the fort, its cannon focused on the *Experiment* and the *Solebay*, while the contingent under Maj. Francis Marion, who commanded the southeast side of the fort, were focused on the *Active* and the *Bristol*. The majority of fire was directed against the two 50-gun ships, and the deadly accuracy of the fort's artillery wreaked havoc. Their precise fire twice cleared *Bristol's* quarterdeck. Sir Peter Parker's flag ship took 70 hits. Despite a lack of gunpowder, the Americans were able to continue the fight until 3 p.m. before their ammunition was nearly expended. After a two-hour pause, and a resupply from Charlestown, the Americans started firing again. President Rutledge had sent 500 pounds of gunpowder to the fort, but knew it was not nearly as much as what was needed. In the short note that was sent with it, the Governor also gave a bit of advice and encouragement in his postscript "Do not make to[o] free with your cannon. Cool and do mischief." Moultrie, Marion, and their men heeded that precaution with deadly effect, as they fired slow, deliberate shots that increased their accuracy, even as the British put out a much greater volume of fire against the fort.²⁷

As darkness fell, the firing slowed, and at 9:30 p.m. all guns fell silent. Before midnight the British ships slipped their cables and moved back to Five Fathom Hole. In the early morning hours of June 29, the last remaining British ship, the *Actaeon*, remained grounded on the shoal it had run onto early in the battle. Unable to refloat her, the *Actaeon's* Captain ordered her set on fire and abandoned by her crew. But Patriots boarded her and removed gunpowder, supplies, and the ship's bell before she exploded.²⁸

The British had suffered devastating losses. In addition to the extensive damage to their ships, British casualties numbered nearly 200, including Captain John Morris, commander of the *Bristol*, who had his right arm carried off by a cannonball and died a week later. Lord William Campbell, the royal governor of South Carolina, in name if not in fact, served during the battle as a gunner on the *Bristol* and suffered wounds from which he died two years later.²⁹

Though hyperbolic, Nicholas Tyner's recollection is a good encapsulation of how veterans of the battle understood the magnitude of their victory. Tyner wrote in his pension statement that "The cannonading commenced about 8 or 9 o'clock, continued all the day; the British were beaten back...the loss of the Americans was about 300. the English they heard by a deserter lost several thousand. Their British ships looked like canoes when they had lost their masts."³⁰

Despite the intense fire from the British guns—34,000 pounds of powder was expended, compared to just 5,000 by the Patriots—American casualties were actually less than 40. Marion reported 31 killed and wounded from the 2nd Regiment and 3 killed or wounded from the 4th regiment. The victory was complete, the vaunted British Royal Navy soundly defeated, a symbolic victory for the Patriots that showed the British could be bested in battle. The British would not again resume major operations in the South until 1778.³¹

Spencer Boulton, a Continental volunteer who arrived in Charlestown too late to participate in the battle, remembered being put to work recovering "loose balls," evidence both of the volume of shot fired by the two sides, and of the Americans' constant desperate need for war materiel.³²

26. Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:182-85.

27. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:167.

28. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:174-80; Jethro Butler, Pension Statement (S30908).

29. David Lee Russell, *Victory on Sullivan's Island: The British Cape Fear/Charles Town Expedition of 1776* (Infinity Publishing, 2002), 221-22.

30. Nicholas Tyner, Pension Statement (S7773).

31. Russell, *Victory*, 220; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 124.

32. Spencer Boulton, Pension Statement (R995); (Edwin C. Bearss, *The Battle of Sullivan's Island*, 59-60; John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse* (John Wiley & Sons, 1997), 3-16; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 122-23; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:181-86; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, 665-78).

June 29 – The first of over 100 British ships arrive in New York harbor for the upcoming invasion of the city.

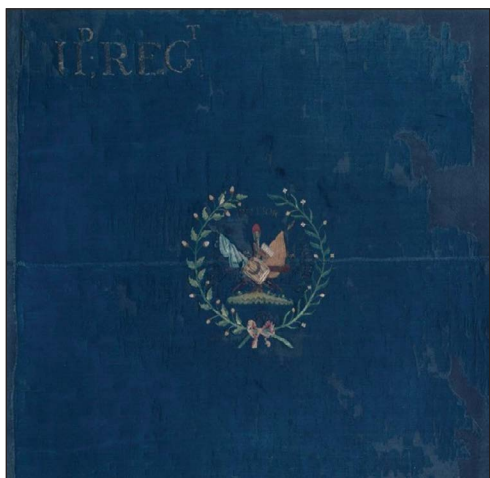
Regimental Orders by Col. William Moultrie – June 29, 1776

Sullivants Island, 29th June [1776]

Coll: Moultrie take this early Opportunity of returning the Officers & men of his Regim^l. & the Detachment of Artillery his thanks for their gallant & Soldier Like Behaviour in the Engagement of yesterday³³__ It will always be an honour to the Man that can say he was in the Engagement on Sullivants Island against the British Fleet

O'Kelley, BCADM, 129.

The day after the victory, Gov. John Rutledge and other Charlestown citizens visited the fort to offer their congratulations. Sgt. William Jasper, who had retrieved and replaced the blue and white crescent Liberty flag in the heat of the battle, was presented a sword by Rutledge for his gallantry. William Logan gave the garrison a hogshead of Antigua rum. On July 31, Maj. Barnard Elliott's wife presented the garrison with a new set of two embroidered colors, one of blue and the other of red silk, proclaiming:



The Blue Colors of the 2nd SC Regt.

“The gallant behaviour in defence of liberty and your country, entitles you to the highest honors; accept of these two standards as a reward justly due to your regiment; and I make not the least doubt, under heavens protection, you will stand by them as long as they can wave in the air of LIBERTY.”³⁴

Upon receiving the colors, Col. Moultrie assured her “that they should be honorably supported and never tarnished by the 2^d Regiment.”³⁵

These same colors were separated at Savannah on Oct. 9, 1779, during the attack on the Spring Hill Redoubt. The blue standard was found under the American dead at the foot of the parapet. It remained in British hands until 1989.³⁶

33. Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, commander of the Southern Department, had intended to replace Col. Moultrie on the day of the battle of Sullivan's Island, due to perceived inattention to duty and a lax attitude, thinking him “too easy in command” (Bearss, *Sullivan's Island*, 53, 62). Lee was frustrated to the point that he had summoned Col. Francis Nash on the night of Jun. 27 to report to him the next morning, with the intent of having Nash relieve Moultrie and take command on Sullivan's Island. On the morning of Jun. 28, Nash rode to meet Lee, but, upon hearing that the British ships had sailed to attack the fort, returned to his command instead. Ironically, Moultrie wound up being acknowledged as the hero of the battle. The name Fort Sullivan was changed to Fort Moultrie after the battle, and Moultrie himself was promoted to brigadier general (Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution*, 2 Vols. [MacMillan Publishing, 1902], 1:147-48).

34. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:182.

35. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:181-82.

36. Fritz Hamer, curator, SC State Museum, to Dave Neilan via email 6/15/2011.

General and Regimental Orders - July 21, 1776

Orders 21st July ___ [1776]

Parole Cambridge ___ Countr. Sⁿ Oxford

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. Harleston³⁷

Fort guard Captⁿ Horry³⁸ L^{ts}. Baker & Charnock

Quarter L^t Adams ___ Rear L^t H Gray

Orders that the Quartr Master do give a gill rum p^r man every Rainey day while there is rum

Orders by Coll Gadsden Fort Johnson 19 July

In Consequence of an Order from his Excellency the President that a general court martial be held on Wednesday next at the Barracks on Gadsden Warff³⁹ Ch^stown for the tryall of Jn^o Davis of the artillery for Desertion that the 1st Second & 4th Regiments do Each furnish two Captains & 2 Subalterns to be members of S^d court

[Orders] by Maj^r Marion, Sullivants Island [21st July]

That Maj^r [Barnard] Elliott sett as President of the same L^t Charles Linin as Judge Advocate & that Captⁿ Motte⁴⁰ of 2^d Regim^t. L^{ts} Detreville & Gilbank of the fourth regem^t. Be summoned as Evidences to Attend & all other Witnesses

Regimental Orders by Maj^r Marion

Captⁿ Oliphant & Blake L^{ts}. Tho^s Moultrie⁴¹ & Baker is Apointed Members of the above Gen^l Court Martial

Two Subalterns 2 Sergeants & 40 Rand & file to Parrade Emediately with two days provisions & 18 Rounds p^r Man they will received there Orders when Compleat L^{ts} Lesesne⁴² & Mason⁴³ is Apointed for this Command

Orders to Lieut Lesesne

Sir your are to take under your command 1 Sub: 2 Sergeants & 40 Rank & file men with one Surgeons Mate 18 Rounds p^r man & two days provisions & proceed Evediatly to the Advance guard & Embark your party on board the floating Battery where you will follow all Order given you by a Superior Officer;⁴⁴

I'm yrs &c

F. Marion, Maj^r 2^d Reg^t

NB the detachment marched off at half past 3 OClock aftnoon

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 136-37.

[37. See brief bio of Isaac Child Harleston.](#)

[38. See brief bio of Peter Horry.](#)

39. Gadsden's Wharf, built and owned by prominent Patriot and merchant Christopher Gadsden, had been completed in 1768 on the Cooper River, just past the northern edge of the colonial city near present day Vernon Street, and by the Revolution had become one of the most frequently used embarkation and disembarkation points for the city (*South-Carolina Gazette*, March 16, 1769; Nic Butler, "The Story of Gadsden's Wharf," (Charleston County Public Library, <https://www.ccpl.org/charleston-time-machine/story-gadsdens-wharf>, accessed Aug. 12, 2024).

40. Charles Motte (d. 1779) was a younger brother of Lt. Col. (later Col.) Isaac Motte. He was in the Charlestown militia before being commissioned a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775, and was at the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776. He was promoted to major in Sep. 1779, immediately before the American army began its march to Savannah. He was killed at the siege of Savannah during the assault on Spring Hill Redoubt on Oct. 9, 1779 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 18n29).

41. Thomas Moultrie (1740-80) was commissioned a 1st lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jun. 1775, and became a captain in Oct. 1776. He was killed on Apr. 24, 1780, during the siege of Charlestown. He was a brother of Col. (later Gen.) William Moultrie (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 708).

[42. See brief bio of Thomas Lesesne here.](#)

43. Richard Mason was a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in May 1776. He fought at the Battle of Fort Sullivan in Jun. 1776. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant in Jan. 1777, and captain in Nov. 1778. Although he was captured at the fall of Charlestown, he served until the end of the war under Gen. Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 663; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 104n282).

44. On July 21, the *Glasgow Packet*, the last ship of the British fleet still in Charlestown Harbor, sailed over the bar, only to become stuck on a shoal. When a row galley manned by the 2nd SC Regiment, on the scene to harass the fleet, observed the ship in distress, it rowed toward her, firing round ball and grapeshot. The marooned ship could not return fire. The captain of the *Glasgow Packet* ordered his men to throw their muskets overboard and surrendered the ship. This is almost certainly the incident referred to by Jethro Butler of the 2nd SC in his pension application, where he wrote that "there was a call for fifty men to go on board of a gunboat to take a large British ship which was run aground at the upper end of Bull's Island with many British sailors on board -- the said Jethro the declarant was of the number and they took the ship and made the sailors prisoners of war -- after the said Jethro & the said detachment to which he belonged set the ship on fire & returned to the last aforesaid Fort" (Butler, Pension [S30908]; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 137-38).

Maj. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. William Moultrie - July 26, 1776

Sullivans Island, 26 July 1776

Sir

It has been several days since we have had any Bread or flower [flour] & the Beef so Exceeding bad that it Occasions a good deal of murmur[r]ing the more so as they see every day good Beef sent to the rest of the troops on this Island—I hope you will Order it in such a manner as the Second Regiment may receive in turn good Beef & some Bread or flower [flour];⁴⁵ for

I am Sir Your very humble Serv^t.
 Fran^s Marion
 Maj^r Second Regiment

ALS (ScU)

Regimental Orders by Maj. Francis Marion - July 28, 1776Sullivants Island, 28th JulyParole Cha^stown ___ Countr.Sⁿ Gadsden

Orders

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ Shubrick
 Fort guard Captⁿ Harleston L^s Mazyck & Mason
 Rear L^t Marion ___ Quartr. a Sergeant

The Second Regiment to hold themselves in readiness to go to Ch^s.town tomorrow⁴⁶ The Mens Arms to be Clean and in good order all those who disobey this Order may expect to be severely punished

A Return of the Ordinance stores to be made by 10 OClock tomorrow by an Off^r. of the Artillery, The Quarter Master make a return of all the Provisions, spears, Intrench^g. Tools & Muskett Cartridges now in Garrison, also the number of Waggons carts & Horses now in the Service on the Island this return to be made by 10 OClock

M^r Doughty to make a return of the numbers of White & negroe Carpenters & Laborours now employ'd in this Garrison⁴⁷

The adjutant to acquaint Mr. Doughty of this Order

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 139-40.

Aug. 1 – Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, and Commodore Parker arrive in New York from the South and join Gen. Sir William Howe's forces, already there, bringing the total British force to over 30,000, the largest ever assembled in the Western Hemisphere to that point. Meanwhile, near Seneca, South Carolina, Patriot forces under William "Danger" Thomson, Andrew Williamson, and Andrew Pickens are ambushed by Cherokee and Loyalists but ultimately recover and drive off the enemy. They continue on and destroy several Cherokee towns over the next week.

45. Though a strict disciplinarian, Marion was also sensitive to the needs of his men. Two days later, an orderly book entry noted that the "Second Regiment is to hold themselves in readiness to go to Chs. town tomorrow." Presumably, the 2nd Regiment was not receiving adequate provisions because Moultrie had already determined that it would be transferring to Charlestown. A delay in the regiment's relief may have led to the supply problem (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 139-40).

46. Although the 2nd SC Regiment was scheduled to leave Sullivan's Island on Jul. 29, its transfer to Charlestown was delayed. On Aug. 2, subsequent orders directed the 1st SC Regiment to relieve the 2nd. Private Morgan Brown wrote in his pension statement that after the regiment removed to Charlestown "the Declaration of Independence, which had then arrived, was read and proclaimed to the troops and the people." This would make sense with the timeline, given that the declaration was signed on Jul. 4 in Philadelphia and would have taken some time to reach Charlestown overland (Morgan Brown, Pension Application [S3063]).

47. The entries provide insight into administrative tasks required of an officer when leaving a particular command after a long period of time (in this case, five months). Mr. Doughty may have been James Doughty or Thomas Doughty, both of whom served in the SC militia during the period before the fall of Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 263).

Regimental Orders by Col. William Moultrie - August 7, 1776

[Sullivan's Island] 7th August

Parole Sullivan's Island ___ Countr.Sⁿ Farewell

Orders

For the day tomorrow L^t Tho^s Moultrie

The Remainder of the Second Reg^t.⁴⁸ to carry all there baggage down the water side tomorrow morning aftr. Roll-call & put Centries over them till the troops Embark't two carts to be ready to carry the Baggage down

By Coll: Moultrie

NB Maj^r. Marion Deliver'd the fort on Sullivan's Island to Captⁿ Scott⁴⁹ of the first Regiment, & Embark on Thursday 8th Aug^t. at 7 O'clock in Afternoon, & arived next morning in Ch^stown__

By Coll Moultrie, Ch^stown

O'Kelley, BCADM, 142.

Aug. 27 – The Battle of Brooklyn (or Long Island) results in a dramatic defeat for the Continental Army, which is expertly outflanked by Henry Clinton's British division while pinned in place by James Grant's diversionary force, resulting in over 1,000 total losses (most of them prisoners), and leaving them virtually surrounded by the British Army and Royal Navy.

Aug. 29-30 (night) – The Continental Army incredibly escapes encirclement in Brooklyn by crossing the East River under the cover of darkness and fog.

Sep. 11 – An American peace delegation consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge (brother of South Carolina President John Rutledge) meets with Admiral Lord Richard Howe on Staten Island but accomplishes little. The next day, the Continental Army abandons New York City, which will remain occupied by the British for more than seven years.

Sep. 15 – British forces land on Manhattan Island at Kip's Bay, easily routing the defending Patriot militia and threatening to cut off the Continental Army in Lower Manhattan, but once again they narrowly escape. The next day, George Washington wins his first (albeit minor) victory, checking Howe's advance at Harlem Heights.

Sep. 19 – Andrew Williamson is ambushed by the Cherokee at the Black Hole of the Coweecho, North Carolina, but holds his ground and ultimately drives the attackers off.

Sep. 20-21 (night) – The Great Fire of New York destroys 1,000 structures (over ¼ of the city). Each side blames the other for having started it.

Oct. 4 – Governor-General Sir Guy Carleton launches his invasion of New York state from Canada down Lake Champlain with over 50 vessels and 13,000 soldiers.

Oct. 11 – Gen. Benedict Arnold, in command of a makeshift fleet, ambushes the British flotilla at Valcour Island. Despite ultimately being overpowered, the Americans inflict enough damage to convince Carleton to abandon his invasion for the season and return to Canada.

48. The 2nd SC Regiment, which originally was meant to leave Sullivan's Island on Jul. 29, did not begin its transfer until Aug. 3, when the first part of the regiment embarked for Charlestown. On Aug. 5, a second portion left, followed by the last group, commanded by Maj. Marion, on Aug. 8. As noted above, Marion had been stationed on Sullivan's Island since Feb. 29.

49. This probably refers to William Scott, [a brief bio of whom appears here](#).



[View Clinton map of barracks and legend on pages 44 and 45.](#)

Regimental Orders by Maj. Francis Marion⁵⁰ - October 20, 1776

20th Octr... [1776] [Charlestown]

Parole New York ...by the presid^t

Orders For the day tomorrow Captn Charnock
Magazine guard L^t Adams, 1 Serg^t. 19 rank & file
Regimental Barracks L^t Burk,⁵¹ 1 Serg^t. 16 rank & file

The Captⁿ of Day (& when non) the Off^{rs}. of the Reg^t guard is to receive all reports of guards, & morning reports & deliver General Howe a report of all guards and such prisoners as are confined for Capital crimes only & Deliver the Commanding Off^r. of the Reg^t. the Morning & reports of guards mounted by the Second Regim^t & the prisoners Confin'd for small crimes only to be try'd by a Regimental court martial

The Off^{rs}. of the day to visit the Barracks & see if they are kept clean, or if the sick are neglected also to inquire if the QuartrMaster has the Chemnies swept according to Orders ___

The Surgeons mate of the Reg^t. to report every day the State of the sick in Barracks, specifying their disorder & complaints and are to send those who may be very sick to the Gen^l Hospital

Roll call & guards relieved to be at 7 OC: in Morning & Exercise at half past 4 OC: in afternoon

No soldier to mount guard or appear on the parrade without his split shirt & Regimental Leggens

Major Marion is sorry he is obliged to take notice of the great neglect of most of the Officers not Attending their duty more punctually,⁵² Roll call in the morning & Exercise in the afternoon is almost intirely neglected to the very great prejudice of the Service ___ He begs leave to remind them that their country has reposed Great trusts in them, which is expected their Honours will not permit them to Neglect

Maj^r Marion hope they will consider that neglect of Duty in any point is Attened with great Evils not only to the State, but is sure in the end to bring Dishonour on themselves, the Maj^r. Woud rejoice to see the Gentlemen do their duty with Willingness & punctuality, and hope their good sense on serious reflection will prevent the Disagreeable Nesessity of reminding them of their duty in futer ___ Divine Service will be at 4 OC. this afrnoon

A Serg^t & 6 men to go to the Gen^l Hospital this afrnoon to Bury a soldier of the 1st Reg^t & to take a Cartridge p^r man to fire over the corps as usual

O'Kelley, BCADM, 166-67.

50. Marion was giving regimental orders instead of Lt. Col. Motte, who was sick, or Col. Moultrie, who was listed in the orderly book as being absent.

51. [See brief bio on Aedanus Burke.](#)

52. In Marion's orderly books there were often references to the lack of discipline among the volunteer soldiers. This was an unusual case wherein Marion chastised the officers of the regiment for setting a bad example for the enlisted men. It also points to Marion's independence as evidenced by his willingness, even as third-in-command of the 2nd SC Regiment, to lecture his fellow officers.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Howe
Regimental Orders by Maj. Francis Marion
October 23, 1776

Ch^s Town, 23^d Oct^r
By Maj^r. Marion
Orders

Parole Moultrie...

Gen^l Orders by Gen^l Howe

All the officers and men of the Continental Army/guards except those now in town & fit for duty are to parrade on fryday morning at 10 OCl: on the green near where Coll: Gadsden formerly lived, the Adjutant Gen^l. & Brigade Major will attend & train them in the exercise of the pike

The Adjutant Gen^l will direct the adjutant to collect the number of pikes⁵³ wanting

Complaint having been again made from the Hospital that the sick are not served with Bread, General Howe positively Orders the Comisary to inspect this matter & prevent any cause of feuter complaints And that ignorance of orders may not be pleaded in Excuse, Adjutant Delliant will serve a Copy of this & the former orders upon this subject

Regimental Orders by Maj^r. Marion

On thursday next at 3 OC. in AfrNⁿ. The Second Reg^t is Order'd parrade that the muster master general may review them No Commissioned non Commissioned Off^{rs}. or Soldier to absent himself on any account whatever the Off^{rs}. of Comp^{ys}. are to make a full return of the number men fit for duty, on duty when on duty sick in G. Hospital or Barracks on Command, recruiting, on furlow, names present & absentees are to be inserted with the particulars of their arms & Accouterments

As Gen^l Howe has Order'd a review on Fryday it is expected the Off^{rs}. will make their men appear as clean as possible expecially their Arms

Ordered that the Quarter master do see the Barracks kept clean & the Chemnies swept, as it is reported it has been neglected⁵⁴

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 168-69.

Oct. 28 – William Howe defeats the Continental Army at White Plains, New York, but once again fails to trap or destroy Washington's force.

Nov. 16 – In one of the costliest losses of the war, nearly 3,000 Continental soldiers surrender at Fort Washington after the American command vacillates on whether to abandon the post.

Nov. 20 – American forces abandon Fort Lee to the British, narrowly avoiding another disaster similar to the one at Fort Washington four days earlier. Washington decides to leave New York altogether and fall back into New Jersey.

53. The use of pikes during the Revolutionary War is seldom depicted or mentioned, and indeed their use was not common, having mostly been replaced by the bayonet. However, training with the pike was not unheard of in this period. Particularly, soldiers on garrison duty, such as those of the 2nd SC, based in Charlestown, might find the pike useful, both in their urban policing duties, and also in the event of having to repel a close assault by enemy infantry on a fortification.

54. After the Battle of Sullivan's Island, army life returned to the mundane repetition of parade, inspections, training, and harangues about orderliness.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Robert Howe
Regimental Orders by Col. Isaac Motte
November 23, 1776

Ch^s Town, 23^d Nov^r... 1776

By Coll: Motte

Gen^l Orders

By Gen^l Howe

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. Moultrie

Town Guard L^t. Mason

Magazine L^t Baker...Regiment: Guard a Sergeant

Reg^{tl}: Orders

The taptoo⁵⁵ to beat at 8 OClock till further Orders

M^r Alexander Keith⁵⁶ is Appointed a Second L^t. in the Second Regiment & is to be Obey'd as such;

L^t Keith to join Capt Moultries Comp^y. & do Duty in the same till further Orders

The Reg^{tl}. Court martial Ordered to sett on munday next is to Sett this day at 11 OClock in fore noon

Captⁿ Blake president

L^{ts}. Dubose & Baker members

Gen^l Aft^r: Orders by Genl Howe

In Consequence of the promotions of General Gadsden & Gen^l. Moultrie, the following promotions takes place in the 1st & Second Regiments of the S^o Carolina continental troops Viz^t:

Lieut^t. Coll: Cha^s. Cotesworth Pinckney of the first Reg: to be Coll: of the same,

Maj^r W^m Cattle to be Lieut. Coll: & Captⁿ. Adam M^cDonald⁵⁷ to be major__

L^t. Coll: Isaac Motte of the Second Reg^t: to be Coll: of the same

Maj^r: Francis Marion to be Lieut^t: Colonel & Captⁿ Petr Horry a Major⁵⁸

Agreable to a resolution of the Hon^{ble}: the Gen^l: Assemble of this state the following promotions takes place in the Third & 4th Regiments of the Continental troops in this state Viz^t:

Lieut: Colonel W^m Thompson [Thomson] of the 3^d Reg^t to be Coll: of the same Maj^r. James Mayson⁵⁹ to be Lieut: Coll: & Captⁿ Saml Wise⁶⁰ to be major in the same

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 181.

55. Tattoo [here misspelled "taptoo"] refers to the beating of a drum signaling soldiers to repair to their quarters or barracks, where the non-commissioned officers of each squad would call their rolls, and every man must remain in quarters until reveille beating next morning.

56. Alexander Keith became a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Nov. 1776, but resigned his commission the very next month. He then joined the 5th Regiment as a 2nd lieutenant in Jan. 1777. In Jan. 1778 he became a 1st lieutenant. He was a first cousin once removed of Francis Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 521; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 181n448; Richardson, Emma B. "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants." *SCHGM* (1942), 43:133-55).

57. Adam McDonald (d. 1778) was a member of the 1st Provincial Congress in 1775. He became a captain in the 1st SC Regiment in Jun. 1775. When Christopher Gadsden and William Moultrie were promoted to brigadier generals after the Battle of Sullivan's Island in Jun. 1776, McDonald was promoted to major. He resigned in 1777. McDonald was elected to the Senate for the 3rd General Assembly that was to convene in 1779 but died on his plantation sometime before Dec. 31, 1778. (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:454-55; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 615; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 17n15)

58. William Moultrie's promotion to brigadier general created an opening in the 2nd SC Regiment for a new colonel. Isaac Motte's promotion filled that vacancy but created another opening for lieutenant colonel and second-in-command. Francis Marion was given that position, and his previous rank of major was bestowed on Capt. Peter Horry.

59. See brief bio of James Mayson.

60. Samuel Wise (1738-79) became a captain in the 3rd SC Regiment (of Rangers) in Jun. 1775. He was promoted to major in May 1776. Wise was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st and 3rd General Assemblies. He was killed in the battle of Savannah in Oct. 1779. (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:782-83; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1007; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 181n449).

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – November 20, 1776

[Charlestown], Orders 30th Novr...[1776]

Parole Marcellus

Regimental Orders by Lt Col: Marion ____

The Quartr. Master to Appoint the rooms for the new Barracks⁶¹ for the different companies of ye Regt. & furnish a Cord of wood to the men who will be sent there, this to be done Emediately he is also to provide wagons to carry the mens Baggage to New Barracks on Munday next

Two men out of each company to be sent Emediatly to the New Barracks to take possession of the rooms which the Quartr. Master app'd for their compy. & to keep a constant fire in the rooms to dry them as soon as possible__NB the room next the So. End for store & Guard room the end above the store for the Officers of the Guard

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 186.

Regimental Orders by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie – December 1, 1776

Ch^s town, 1st Decem^r...1776

Parole Syracuse...

Orders by G Moultrie

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. [*missing*]

Town guard L^t. Mason

Magazine L^t. Baker

Regem^{tl}. Orders

The Regiment to attend devine service this aftr noon as usual⁶² ____

A Regimental court martial to sett tomorrow at 10 Cl: in morning to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them Evidences to attend. Captⁿ: Moultrie president

L^{ts}. Hall & Burke __members

The Regiment to hold themselves in readiness to remove to the new barracks tomorrow at 4 OClock in After Noon, at which hour all officers & soldiers not on duty is to attend, the quarter master to have the Baggage Wagons ready to move with the Regiment

One Corporal & 4 men to Remain on Gadsden Warff as a guard to the Battery, and to post one Centry in it

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 187.

61. A map entitled, "Fortifications, Outworks Under the Command of Lieu^t. Gen^l. Lincoln," date undecipherable, shows two barracks in Charlestown. The old barracks held 500 men adjacent to the Ashley River behind the Sugar House and Old Magazine fortifications. The new barracks for 1,000 men, built in 1757, was located near the Hornwork, the imposing fortress with batteries mounting 66 guns. These barracks were located on the modern College of Charleston campus ("South Carolina in the Revolution," *The State Bicentennial Edition*, March 21, 1976, 2:20; O'Kelley, *BCADM* 15n5). Copies of the Henry Clinton map on which the fortifications are shown appear on the following pages.

62. The language of this day's orders mandated that the regiment attend church service 'as usual,' a stronger directive than the mere announcement of services in the orders of Oct. 20, above. Based on other orders dealing with cleanliness, drunkenness, etc., it can be inferred that the orders specified mandatory attendance, perhaps due to high absenteeism at previous services, or maybe as an attempt by other means to curtail undisciplined behavior.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 5, 1776

Ch^stown 1776, 5th Decem^r
 Orders by G Moultrie
 Parole Rome...
 For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. Charnock
 Magazine Guard L^t. Baker
 Town G __ L^t Shubrick⁶³
 Prisoners G. at New Barracks L^t Mason

By L^t Col: Marion

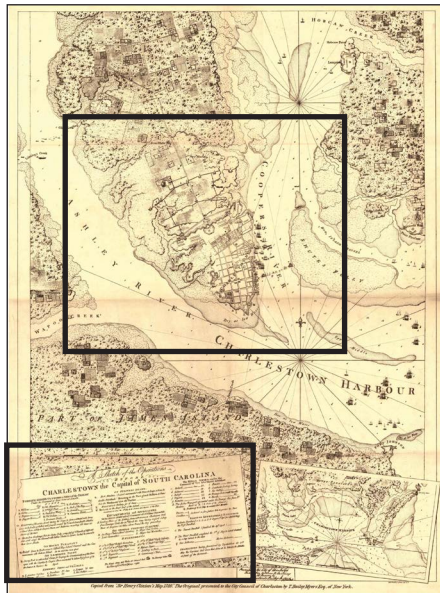
Agreable to Gen^l Orders of Second Inst for every soldier to wear their Regimental caps - Commanding Officers of Companies is desired to apply to the quartr Master for caps⁶⁴ for their men giving a receipt for the same

Tis expected the Officers will comply with the former Orders if making a weekly return of their mens Arms and Accoutrements & Cloathing, & be particular in confining all who may have lost or made away with any part of them The Quartr. Master to make a weekly return to the Barracks Master of the wood wanting for the Regiment –

As there has been Great Irregularity hitherto in serv^g. Wood to the men, It is Ordered for the futer that they shall be served with that Article by Companies beginning by the Granideers⁶⁵ – Any Soldiers who take any wood brought to the Barracks without Leave shall be tryed by a court martial for Disobediance of Orders & Suffer Accordinly –

Non commissioned Officers to see their men regularly served with wood as they shall answer for the Neglect

O'Kelley, BCADM, 190.



Copy of Sir Henry Clinton's Map of Charles Town, 1780, showing "Fortifications, Outworks, and Ships ... under Lieu^t General Lincoln." *Wikimedia Commons*, public domain.

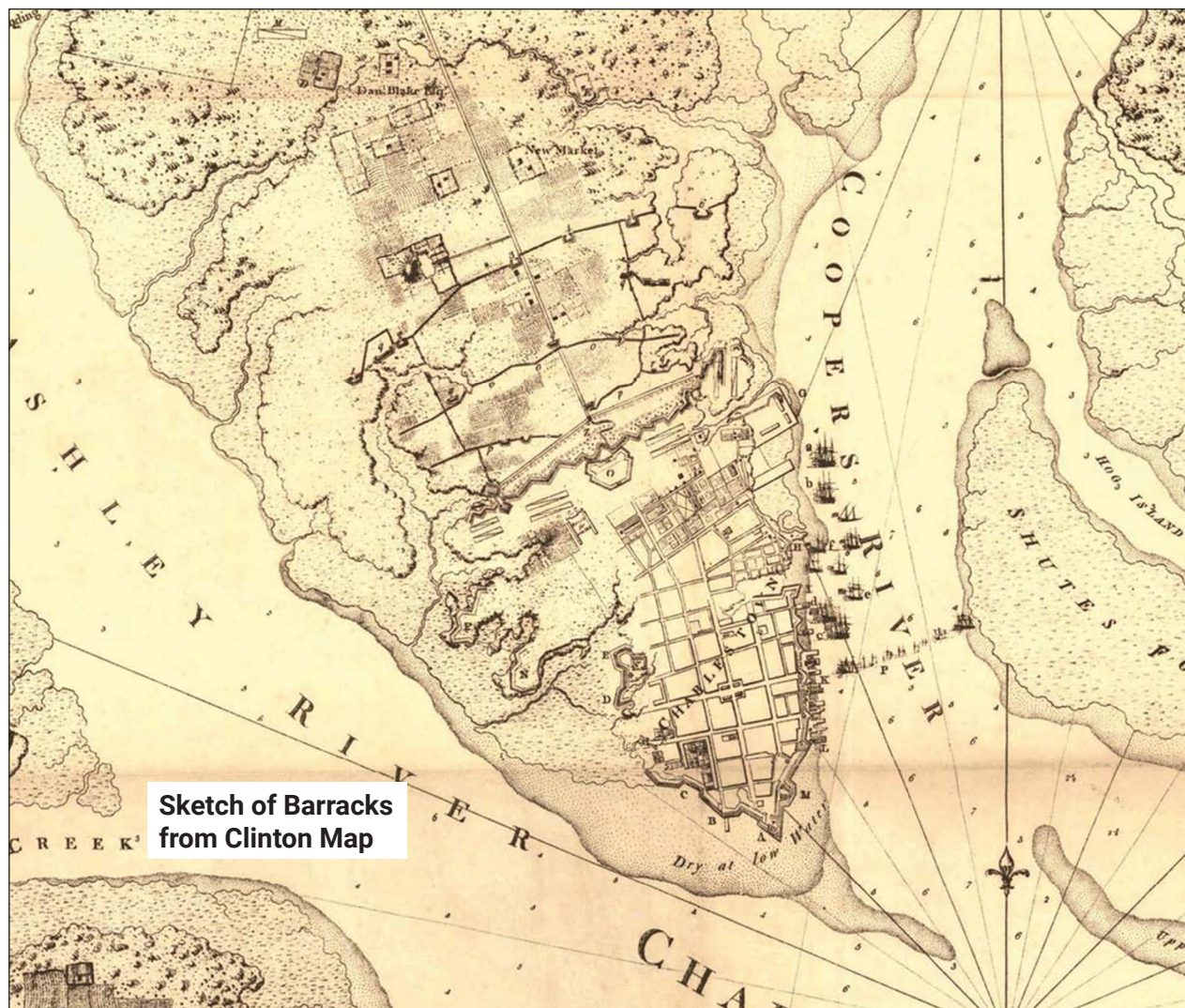
Insets of barracks and Clinton's legend from the map copy shown on the following page. ([To return to October 20 letter click here.](#))

To view this map on *Wikimedia Commons*: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1780_map_of_Charleston,_South_Carolina.jpeg

⁶³. [See brief bio of Thomas Shubrick, Jr.](#)

⁶⁴. The regulation caps of the 2nd SC Regiment were of black leather with a small white thread tassel at the top, and the front ornamented with a silver metal crescent on which was engraved the initials of the man, and the word or motto "Liberty" (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:90; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:281, 290). The uniform of the 2nd Regiment was blue, faced with red, and lined with white, with white linen waistcoats and breeches, and short black gaiters, in full dress. While on service they wore long linen overalls (Charles M. Lefferts and Alexander James Wall, *Uniforms of the American, British, French, and German Armies in the War of the American Revolution, 1775-1783* [New-York Historical Society, 1926], 58-59).

⁶⁵. Continental regiments (as opposed to British and most other European armies) did not generally have designated grenadier companies. From the above reference, the SC regiments appear to be an exception. Before 1779, the organization of Continental regiments was not fully standardized, and their makeup often varied by state.



Sketch of Barracks from Clinton Map

Statute Miles

A Sketch of the Operations BEFORE CHARLESTOWN the Capital of SOUTH CAROLINA

The KING'S SHIPS, under the Command of Vice Adm. Mariot Arbuthnot

<p>FORTIFICATIONS OUTWORKS & SHIPS of the ENEMY Under the Command of Lieut. General Lincoln.</p> <p><i>1780</i></p> <p>A. Wilkes 16. E. Old Mountain 3. K. Exchange 7. B. Gibbs 0. F. N. Whig Point 4. L. End of the Bay 7. C. Pigeon 5. G. Soldiers Wharf 7. M. Dorrill 7. D. Sugar House 6. H. Old Indian 5. N. Cannon Point 5.</p> <p>O. MOUNTAIN of Mousony, closed during the Siege, to form a Gibraltar with strong Lines & Redoubts, protected and fringed, covered by Travers de Louis double Abatis from Ashley to Cooper's River, and Batteries mounting 60 Guns across the Channel of Mousony.</p> <p>V. Bases from Exchange Fort, to Snake Folly, composed of 8 Forts of different size, each with the Channel with Cable Chains & Spars, lashed & secured to their lower Abatis.</p> <p>ON MOUNT PLEASANT Q. Redoubt Lines & Batteries to defend My Island Channel and the Communication with Sullivan Island. See the next two sheets.</p> <p>ON LEMPERIA POINT R. Strong Fort in artificial Camp for keeping the Communication of the Town open with the Country, by Coopers River, surrounded & later Possession of by the Garrison & Mariot the April.</p> <p>ENEMY'S SHIPS & VESSELS.</p> <p>A. L'Ancre 24 Gun. c. Pendence 34 Gun. e. Ranger 20 Gun. B. L'Esperance 16. d. Boston 32. f. Five Gallies.</p>	<p>ON SULLIVAN ISLAND.</p> <p>S. Fort Moultrie: fringed, surrounded with Travers de Louis, a Esso & double Redoubts: mounting in the Face of each Battery 4 Guns 8 in the Flanks, and 9 in the Curtains.</p> <p>T. HALF MOON Battery for 18 Guns.</p> <p>U. Redoubt on the East End of the Island.</p> <p>ENCAMPMENTS AND APPROACHES OF THE KING'S ARMY under the Command of LIEUTENANT CLINTON KB.</p> <p>A. Landing Place of the Artillery, Stores & Provisions, on Charleston Neck from Lowndes - Cook, the 26th March the Army having crossed Ashley River at Dringtons (15 Miles above Town) the Day preceding.</p> <p>THE GENERAL OFFICERS QUARTERS.</p> <p>B. Sir Henry Clinton's Quarters D. Major Gen. Lincoln C. Lord Cornwallis's E. Major Gen. Kneibitz</p> <p>ENCAMPMENTS</p> <p>F. 1st & 2^d Batt^{ies} Grenadiers. L. 1st & 2^d Batt^{ies} Light Infantry. G. 1st & 2^d & 4th Batt^{ies} Regt^{ts} of Foot. M. 1st & 2^d Batt^{ies} of Rif. H. 1st & 2^d Regt^{ts} of Rif. N. Regt^{ts} of Rif. I. 33^d Regt^{ts} of Rif. O. Artillery & Park. K. 7th Regt^{ts} of Rif. P. Commissary's Tent.</p> <p>The King's Army and Works, on General Redoubt. The Enemy's Value</p> <p>Sir Henry Clinton's Map. 1780</p>	<p>i. Ramon 52 k. Sandwich's Frigate Battery l. Six Gallies m. Transport & small Vessels n. Blows 52 o. The Second Parallel (finished the 29th April) p. The Third Parallel completed the 6th of May & Canal drained by a stop carried to the dam. q. Gun Batteries</p> <p>REDOUBTS APPROACHES & BATTERIES Redoubts Numbered 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. begun 1st April for establishing the First Parallel.</p> <p>Periss... Anchored in five fathom Hole to protect the Barr Commas... Mortar Batteries</p> <p>CHARESTOWN having surrendered by Capitulation the 22nd May the Garrison laid down their Arms at 7. between the Abatis in front of the Hornwork.</p>
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Legend for later fortification under Benjamin Lincoln's command, from map

Dec. 7 – Washington’s Army continues to retreat, abandoning New Jersey and crossing the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

Dec. 13 – At a tavern near Basking Ridge, N.J., the Continental Army’s second-in-command, Charles Lee, is captured by a British cavalry patrol that included a young cornet, Banastre Tarleton.

Dec. 25-26 – In an act of desperation, Washington ferries his beleaguered remnant of an army back across the Delaware River into New Jersey and launches an early morning surprise attack on the Hessian garrison of Trenton, capturing the majority of them with negligible losses before retreating across the river once more. Though of minimal significance strategically, the moral victory proves essential in preventing the army from disintegrating.



"Washington Crossing the Delaware" by Emanuel Leutze, 1851. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

John Blake

John Blake (1752-1810) was the son of Edward Blake, a Charlestown factor and one of the richest men in South Carolina. John Blake was commissioned a lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jun. 1775, and promoted to captain in Apr. 1776.

Blake and a small detachment served as marines aboard the *General Moultrie* when it confronted the British warship *Yarmouth* in Mar. 1778. The American ship backed off, as the American frigate *Randolph* bombarded the British ship. During the battle, the *Randolph* exploded killing 326 men. Only four sailors survived.

Blake resigned from the army after the *Randolph* incident. He served in the militia in Charlestown in 1780. After the fall of the city, he was paroled. From May to Jun. 1781, he was imprisoned on the British ship *Pack Horse*, and his family was banished from the city.

Blake was a member of the SC House for all but the 12th General Assembly from 1782-99. He voted to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788 and served in the SC Senate from 1802-09.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:72-74; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 20n46; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:371-2.

Aedanus Burke

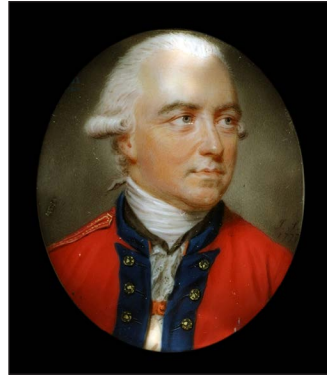
Aedanus Burke (1743-1802), was born in County Galway, Ireland, and studied for the priesthood in France. At some point he left the seminary and immigrated to Virginia, where he studied law.

He arrived in South Carolina circa 1775 and was a lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment until he resigned in Feb. 1778. In 1779, he was in the 1st SC Regiment.

Burke was appointed a judge of the state circuit court in 1778. After Charlestown's fall, he was a captain in the militia from 1780-82. When the courts were reestablished, he resumed his seat on the bench and, in 1785, was appointed one of three commissioners to prepare a digest of the state laws. Burke strongly opposed the Confiscation Act that penalized Loyalists by taking their property. He was a member of the convention in 1788 called to consider ratification of the U.S. Constitution, which he opposed. He was elected as an Anti-Administration candidate to the First US Congress (1789-91). He declined to be a candidate for reelection to the Second Congress in 1790 but was elected a chancellor of the courts of equity in 1799 and served until his death in 1802.

—PNG, 12:521; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:105-07; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 124; *Biographical Directory of the US Congress*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B001086> (accessed Aug. 12, 2024).

Henry Clinton



Sir Henry Clinton. Public domain via Wikimedia Commons.

Henry Clinton (1730-95) was the only son of George Clinton, former governor of Newfoundland and New York. Clinton began his military career as a militia lieutenant in New York, before joining the Coldstream Guards in 1751. He saw his first action as a lieutenant colonel of the Grenadier Guards in 1760. In 1762, he was promoted to colonel and was wounded at Johannesburg.

After the Seven Years War, Clinton developed political ties to the Dukes of Gloucester and Newcastle. He was promoted to colonel of the 12th Foot in 1766, and in 1772 became a major general and was elected to Parliament. His wife died in the same year, dealing Clinton a severe emotional blow.

By 1775, he was in Boston under Gen. Gage. Clinton disobeyed orders at Bunker Hill on Jun. 17, 1775, when he led a column in the final attack. Despite this insubordination, he was praised for his gallantry.

Later in the year he was given the local rank of lieutenant general and second-in-command to Gage's successor, Sir William Howe. In 1776, Clinton was sent south as the commander of the Charlestown expedition. His original plan to cross from Long Island to Sullivan's Island by fording Breach Inlet with his infantry proved impractical, essentially taking the army out of the action. The Royal Navy, with only ten ships under Adm. Peter Parker, was subsequently rebuffed by the accurate guns of Fort Sullivan and the inability of the English broadsides to pierce the palmetto log-and-sand fortification.

Clinton returned to New York after the humiliating defeat, by which point he had become a thorn in Howe's side, and was sent off to capture Newport and secure it as a naval base. Although he was successful in this aim, he was furious with Howe's timid command and with Germain's support for Parker after the fiasco at Charlestown.

He took leave and returned to England, where he was well received. In fact, Germain secured a knighthood for him. His feelings assuaged, Clinton returned to America in Jul. 1777 as a lieutenant general.

While Howe captured Philadelphia, an expedition Clinton strongly criticized, he was left to defend New York. He dispatched reinforcements to Gen. John Burgoyne who had become bogged down around Saratoga. However, miscommunications and delays prevented aid from reaching the beleaguered British force before its surrender in mid-October.

Clinton replaced Howe in May, 1778 as commander-in-chief. Pursuant to the King's orders, Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, marching across New Jersey, and fighting

the Americans under Washington to a standstill at Monmouth Courthouse on Jun. 28, 1778. After the withdrawal to New York, Clinton made no major movement until evacuating Newport in Jul. 1779 in the face of the predicted arrival of a large French naval force.

Cornwallis's arrival in the summer as Clinton's second-in-command, with a "dormant commission" to succeed him should the latter become incapacitated infuriated Clinton. He sent a request to the King to allow him to retire, which was rejected.

Despite the uncomfortable situation, Clinton and Cornwallis initiated the plans that resulted in the surrender of Charlestown. A British flotilla left New York Harbor at the end of Dec. 1779. Through a slow, calculated movement, the British gradually enveloped the city. The Americans surrendered Charlestown on May 12.

When he received intelligence of another French expedition in June, Clinton embarked for New York, leaving Cornwallis in command. His failure to support Cornwallis at Yorktown, regardless of the rationale, resulted in him being made the scapegoat for the disastrous loss.

Gen. Guy Carleton replaced Clinton as commander of the American Theater in 1782. His bad luck continued upon his return to England. In 1784, after ten years in Parliament, he failed to win re-election, though he did eventually win his seat back in 1790. Three years later he was promoted to full general. In 1794 he was named governor of Gibraltar, where he died in 1795.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 1:219-22.

Charles Lord Cornwallis

Charles Lord Cornwallis (1738-1805) joined the Grenadier Guards as an ensign at 18. He was at the Battle of Minden in 1759, after which he was promoted to captain in the 85th Foot. After joining Parliament in 1760, he took command of the 12th Foot as lieutenant colonel. In 1762, following the death of his father, he took his seat in the House of Lords and became the second Earl Cornwallis. He was appointed colonel of the 33rd Foot in 1766 and joint vice treasurer of Ireland in 1769.



In 1775, he was promoted to major general. The following year he sailed to America in command of 2,500 troops with the fleet of Adm. Peter Parker. He was present at the failed attempt to capture Charlestown in Jun. 1776. Cornwallis then distinguished himself during the New York campaign. Although he and Gen. Clinton had had a cordial relationship previously, their relationship began to sour.

Cornwallis distinguished himself again in the Philadelphia campaign, most notably at Brandywine in Sep. 1777, where he commanded the British left wing,

which executed the flanking maneuver that won Sir William Howe the battle.

In Jan. 1778, he was promoted to lieutenant-general and second-in-command to Clinton who had himself replaced Howe as commander in North America. Cornwallis carried with him a "dormant commission," a document that, in the event Clinton became incapacitated, gave Cornwallis the authority to take overall command.

At the Battle of Monmouth, during the withdrawal from Philadelphia, Cornwallis led the attack against Nathanael Greene on the American right. He returned to England again in Dec. 1778, due to his wife's failing health, but returned to America a year later following her death.

During the siege of Charlestown, Clinton ordered Cornwallis north of the Cooper River, and tasked him with preventing any American reinforcements from getting through the British lines. Following the fall of Charlestown and Clinton's return to New York, Cornwallis initiated an aggressive strategy to secure the back country of South Carolina before invading North Carolina and driving into Virginia. Despite misgivings from Clinton, Lord Germain gave his approval. Initially, the strategy was successful, although Patriot resistance was stronger than expected. The destruction of the Southern Continental Army at Camden in Aug. 1780 seemingly cemented British control of South Carolina.

But attempts to defeat militia forces under Francis Marion in the Pee Dee region and Thomas Sumter in the South Carolina back country were not successful, forcing Cornwallis to slow his advance, and the defeats of Maj. Patrick Ferguson at Kings Mountain in Oct., and Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens in Jan. were further blows to British strategy.

Cornwallis gamely chased Gen. Greene and his army northward but failed to overtake them before they crossed the Dan River into Virginia. At Guilford Courthouse, on Mar. 15, 1781, Cornwallis finally faced Greene and his army. In the bloody battle, the British, outnumbered 2:1, ultimately held the field but Cornwallis's army was badly battered. He had suffered over 30% casualties, was out of supplies, and had little hope of reinforcement.

In a highly controversial decision, rather than retreating to South Carolina, Cornwallis marched toward Wilmington, NC, then pushed on to Virginia and his ultimate defeat at Yorktown on Oct. 19, 1781. Cornwallis was exchanged for Henry Laurens, former president of the Continental Congress, in May 1782. He was accepted as a hero in England. The failure at Yorktown, and in the Southern Campaign, were widely blamed on Germain and Clinton.

In 1786, Cornwallis accepted the position of governor general of India. He distinguished himself as both a battlefield commander and civil administrator before returning to England in 1794. A year earlier, he had been made 1st Marquess Cornwallis. In 1797, he was governor general and commander-in-chief in Ireland. Cornwallis died in 1805 after returning to India as governor general.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:271-75.

Isaac Child Harleston

Isaac Child Harleston (1745-98) was a member of the 1st and 2nd SC Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly. He was commissioned a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775.

Harleston was transferred to the 6th SC Regiment with a promotion to major, as announced in Marion's orderly book in Feb. 1779. He was at the siege of Savannah in the autumn of 1779. He returned to the 2nd Regiment as second-in-command to Marion in Jan. 1780, when the five infantry regiments were consolidated into two.

At the end of January, Marion wrote to Harleston in Charlestown, expressing his satisfaction that Harleston was once again in Marion's regiment. In one of his most personal letters Marion continued, "When you see me you will find I have a formidable pr of Mustassho, which all the regimt. now ware & if you have not one you will be Singular."

When Marion moved to Bacon's Bridge in February, Harleston stayed in Charlestown to coordinate the delivery of supplies to the 2nd SC Regiment. Harleston assumed temporary command of Marion's 2nd SC Regiment in mid-April. As a result of injuring his ankle, Marion had left the town with Gov. Rutledge, some of the privy councilors, and supernumerary officers. Harleston was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown.

Based on a reference to him in Gov. Rutledge's letter to the SC delegation to Congress in late May, it may be inferred that Harleston accompanied Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Philadelphia in Jun. 1780 after the surrender of Charlestown. Harleston was released in Nov. 1781, and he returned to South Carolina.

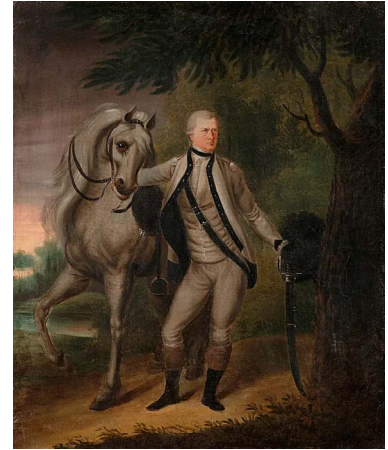
He may have been promoted to lieutenant colonel, since Lt. Col. Maham refers to staying at "Colo. Harlestons" in a letter to Marion in Apr. 1782.

Harleston was elected to the Senate in 1781. He served in the SC House from 1789-90 and was again in the Senate from 1792-97. He was a delegate to the state convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:305-06; James, *Marion*, 15; Lincoln to Marion, Jan. 21, 1780, LB, (MB); Maham to Marion, Apr. 4, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Harleston, Jan. 26, 1780, ADS (SCHi); Marion to Harleston, Feb. 27, 1780, "Smyth's Annual Review," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1895, 327; Mattern, *Lincoln*, 110-11; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 415; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 18n28; Rutledge to SC Delegates to Congress, May 24, 1780, "Letters of John Rutledge," annotated by Joseph Barnwell, *SCHGM* 17 (1916):131-36; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 231.

Peter Horry

Peter Horry (1747-1815) was appointed a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment by the SC Provincial Congress in Jun. 1775. When Col. Moultrie was promoted to brigadier general following the Battle of Sullivan's Island, it created a cascade of promotions with Isaac Motte being promoted from Lt. Col. to full Col., Francis Marion from Maj. to Lt. Col., and Horry being named to Marion's former majority.



Horry served as Marion's second-in-command in the regiment from the time the latter assumed command until Oct. 1779, when he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and given command of the newly formed 5th SC Regiment. When the SC regiments were reorganized in Jan. 1780, the 5th and 6th Regiments were eliminated.

Since Horry was the junior lieutenant colonel, he became a supernumerary officer, retaining his rank without a command. As a result, he was not at the fall of Charlestown.

After the city's surrender, he joined Gates's army in North Carolina. He and Marion were detached from the main army shortly before the disastrous defeat at Camden in Aug. 1780. Horry then joined Marion's brigade as a lieutenant colonel. In a 1790 letter, Gilbert Johnstone reminisced that Horry had been present at Johnstone's home, presumably in late summer 1780, when a group of militia officers, including Hugh Horry, Francis Huger, and Hugh Giles, agreed that Marion should lead the militia.

In Jun. 1781, Horry was given a commission as lieutenant colonel commandant by Gen. Greene to create a regiment of state dragoons. During the time of his cavalry command, he was involved in a continuing dispute over rank with Col. Hezekiah Maham, who led a similar regiment. Horry encountered difficulties in outfitting his corps and complained frequently to his friend Gen. Francis Marion.

In Jan. 1782, when Marion was attending the General Assembly, Horry was given command of his brigade. He was on leave recuperating from illness at his plantation across the Santee when the British attacked his regiment at Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 24. It was virtually wiped out.

Greene, who sided with Horry over Maham on the question of rank, combined the two regiments of horse under Maham's command based on Marion's recommendation that Maham was the better cavalry commander. The dispute over rank widened the rift between Horry and Marion. After his regiment was consolidated with Maham's, Horry became commandant at Georgetown, coordinating the development of commerce passing through the town.

He retired from the service during the summer of 1782. Horry served in both the SC House (1781-82, 1792-94) and Senate (1784-87). He and his brother Hugh owned plantations on Winyah Bay that they inherited from their father in 1770. Horry also wrote—but soon tried to dissociate himself from—a biography of Marion, that had been heavily edited and fictionalized by Mason Locke Weems prior to its publication in 1809.

Horry stayed in the SC militia and attained the rank of brigadier general. Despite his numerous disagreements with Marion over rank and authority during the war, he remained a true friend after its end. Peter Horry was the first of the 148 signers of the letter of thanks to Gen. Marion from the "Citizens of Georgetown" in Dec. 1794.

Horry County, S.C., is named for him.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:346-47; Gilbert Johnstone to Susanna Johnston, Mar 8. 1790, ALS, Francis Marion University; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 18n26; Peter Horry to Greene, Jul. 13, 1781, PNG, 9:7n; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 239-40; Salley, "Peter Horry," *SCHGM* 38 (1937):51; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:517; Citizens of Georgetown to Marion, Dec. 15, 1794, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC.

William Jackson

William Jackson (d.1828) became a 2nd lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment in May 1776, and a 1st lieutenant in Aug. 1777. In Oct. 1779 he became a captain under Col. Thomas Pinckney. He was later a major and aide-de-camp to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. After being taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, he was a prisoner on parole until May 1783.

—David B. Mattern, *Benjamin Lincoln and the American Revolution* (University of South Carolina Press, 199), 134; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 311n701.

Charles Lee

Charles Lee (1731-82), born in England, began his military career as an ensign in his father's regiment, the 44th Foot, in 1747, served in North America during the French and Indian War, and was on Gen. Braddock's campaign to capture Fort Duquesne in 1755. By 1761, after fighting at Niagara and Montreal, he was promoted to major of the 103rd Foot. When the regiment was disbanded, Lee joined the Polish Army, rising to major general by 1767. In 1769, he was back in England, but sailed for America in 1773, after which he converted to the Patriot cause.

He was appointed a Continental major general in 1775, ranking below only George Washington and Artemas Ward. After serving at the siege of Boston, he was first appointed commander of the Northern Department in mid-Feb. 1776. When word of the threat to South Carolina arrived, Lee's command was changed to the Southern Department.

His presence in Charlestown was short. He felt the construction of the palmetto fort on Sullivan's Island was a waste of time and was not impressed by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, who commanded there. On the day of

the British fleet's attack on the fort, Lee had intended to replace Moultrie. He visited the fort during the battle, but did not stay long. After the battle, Lee congratulated Moultrie on defeating the British.

By October he was in Philadelphia, and was captured at Basking Ridge in Dec. 1776. After he was exchanged, Lee was at the Battle of Monmouth in 1778, where Gen. Washington chastised him for cowardice and insubordination.

Following the battle, Lee complained that Washington had judged him unfairly. When he requested an immediate court martial, Washington had him arrested, in large part for Lee's disrespectful challenges to his command. He was convicted in August and suspended from command for 12 months. After the trial, he nearly fought a duel with Baron Von Steuben. Subsequently, John Laurens challenged him and Lee was severely wounded. He was dismissed in Jan. 1780 and died two years later.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:611-13.

Thomas Lesesne

Thomas Lesesne became a first lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jun. 1775. He was at the Battle of Sullivan's Island in Jun. 1776. Lesesne commanded one of the sloops Lt. Col. Marion employed to sail from Charlestown to Savannah in the failed attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777. He was a captain when he resigned in 1779. Lesesne was in North Carolina during the siege of Charlestown. In Jul. 1780, he, along with William Parker, traveled toward Charlestown under a flag of truce issued by Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell. They were detained in Georgetown by Maj. James Wemyss. By Cornwallis's order, Parker and Lesesne were ordered back to North Carolina. Later Lesesne served as a captain in Marion's brigade. He became a brevet major on Sep. 30, 1783.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 564; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 20n43; "Flag of Truce," Jul. 3, 1780, Saberton, ed., *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:12; Cornwallis to Wemyss, Jul. 18, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:313; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Jul. 17 and 22, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:311-12, 314-15.

James Mayson

James Mayson (ca.1733-99) served as a militia lieutenant in the Cherokee War and rose to lieutenant colonel in the militia by the Revolution.

A member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st and 3rd General Assemblies, he was commissioned a major in the 3rd Regiment of Rangers in Jun. 1775. He, along with Maj. Andrew Williamson, commanded at the battle of Ninety Six on Nov. 19-22, 1775. After quickly throwing up a stockade, the Patriots found themselves attacked by back country Loyalists led by Maj. Joseph Robinson. After three days of sporadic firing, Williamson and Mayson met with the Loyalist leaders and agreed to end hostilities, further pledging to present their complaints to the Council of Safety and Lord William Campbell, respectively.

Mayson became a lieutenant colonel in May 1776. When the SC regiments were consolidated in Jan. 1780, Mayson

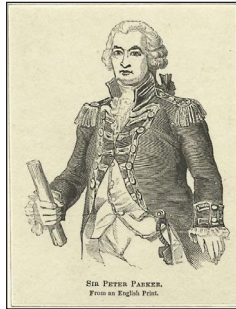
apparently became a supernumerary officer because Lt. Col. William Henderson took a demotion from command of the 6th Regiment to second-in-command of the 3rd. Mayson was named a brevet colonel on Sep. 30, 1783.

After the war he served two terms in the SC House and was a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:449-50; Bass, *Ninety Six: The Struggle for the South Carolina Backcountry* (Sandlapper, 1978), 112-16; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 669.

Peter Parker

Peter Parker (1721-1811) had been a post captain since 1747, and was promoted to commodore in Oct. 1775. He commanded the British fleet at the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776. Although the British suffered an embarrassing defeat, Parker was applauded for his personal bravery.



After returning to New York, Parker continued to support army actions. He was present during the New York Campaign and also commanded the convoy that transported Gen. Henry Clinton's army to Newport in Dec. 1776.

Adm. Parker was military commander of Jamaica from 1779-81. In 1782, Parker was knighted as a result of his bravery at Sullivan's Island. He eventually succeeded Lord Howe as Admiral of the Fleet.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:872; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, MacMillan, 1952, 673-76.

Andrew Pickens

Andrew Pickens (1739-1817) migrated from Pennsylvania to The Waxhaws in 1752. He later became a planter in the Long Cane Creek area, and fought in the Cherokee Campaign in 1760.

In Feb. 1779, as colonel of the Ninety Six District Regiment of Militia, Pickens led the South Carolinians and Georgia militia under Col. John Dooly in a surprise attack on a Loyalist force twice the Patriot army's size at Kettle Creek, 10 miles north of the junction of the Savannah and Broad Rivers, and routed them.

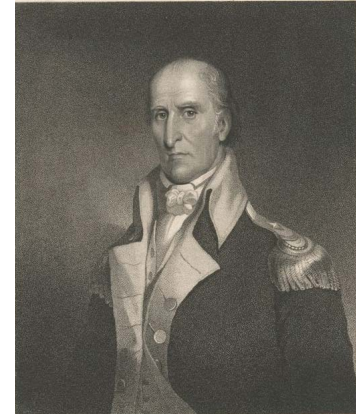
After the fall of Charlestown in May 1780, Pickens was arrested and paroled. He initially respected the terms of his parole until his home was plundered by his Loyalist neighbors, at which point he renounced the agreement and began raising a militia brigade in the Ninety Six District.

His militia were critical to the American victory at Cowpens, and his willingness to cooperate with the Continentals led to Greene assigning him command of the North Carolina militia during the Race to the Dan. He missed the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, as Greene had ordered him back to South Carolina to begin reorganizing the Ninety Six militia.

Pickens and Henry Lee captured Augusta in the spring of 1781, and he played key roles in the Siege of Ninety Six and the Battle of Eutaw Springs, where he was wounded.

After the war, he was an official US representative to the western tribes and was promoted to major general.

Pickens served in the South Carolina House from 1781-93 and the US House from 1793-95. Known as the "Wizard Owl," Pickens was noted for his piety and lack of humor.



—PNG, 7:33n; Cashin, *King's Ranger*, 91-92; Robert S. Davis, *Kettle Creek Battle and Battlefield*, Wilkes County Publishing, 1978, 36-39; Alice Waring, *The Fighting Elder: Andrew Pickens* University of South Carolina Press, 1962, 206; *Biographical Directory of the US Congress*. (<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=P000320> (accessed Aug. 12, 2024).

Adrian Proveaux

Adrian Proveaux was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Feb. 1776, and promoted to 1st lieutenant in Jan. 1777.

In Sep. 1777, he was found guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and referred to a general court martial. Marion requested a review of the Proveaux case by his superior, Maj. Gen. Robert Howe. On Sep. 12, Howe ordered the general court martial then sitting to hear the case. Proveaux was found guilty. His punishment was to be reprimanded by Lt. Col. Marion in the presence of the officers of the regiment.

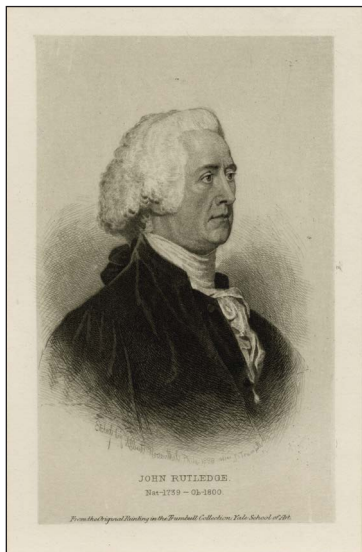
Proveaux and a small detachment served as marines on the *Fair Lawn*, one of the ships in the American flotilla that confronted the man of war *Yarmouth* in Mar. 1778 and was promoted to captain. Marion apparently was not impressed with him, for although he admitted to being short-staffed for officers, he nevertheless approved Proveaux's returning to headquarters (Charlestown). In an Apr. 1779 letter to Lt. Gov. Thomas Bee, Moultrie agreed that Proveaux's company could not be spared from Charlestown. He was taken prisoner at the fall of the city.

—Marion to Lincoln, Apr. 10, 1779, ALS (MHi); Moultrie to Bee, Apr. 20, 1779, Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:383-84; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 790.

John Rutledge

John Rutledge (1739-1800) was the brother of Hugh and Edward Rutledge. A lawyer in Charlestown, he had large landholdings outside the city.

Rutledge represented Christ Church Parish in the legislature from 1762-76 and was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress and the 1st and 2nd Continental Congresses.



Rutledge became commander-in-chief of SC troops in 1776, as the elected president of South Carolina. However, he delegated his command to Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, incorporating the South Carolina regiments into the Continental Army.

Rutledge resigned from the presidency in 1778 after unsuccessfully vetoing the state's new form of government, which he viewed as irrevocably separating South Carolina

from Great Britain. He was re-elected governor (the title of the state's chief executive had changed) under the new state constitution in Feb. 1779.

In May, when the British under Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost were approaching Charlestown, Rutledge and five members of his Privy Council took the controversial position of proposing that Charlestown and the entire state of South Carolina remain neutral for the balance of the war, suggesting that the treaty of peace would decide the state's ultimate allegiance. The proposal was rejected by the British on grounds that the military was not authorized to enter into agreements dealing with sovereignty.

It is unclear whether Rutledge was sincere in the proposal or just trying to buy time until Gen. Benjamin Lincoln could draw closer with his American army. If Rutledge's proposal was a ruse, it may have worked, for the British withdrew on May 13, two days after Rutledge originally conceived the idea.

A year later, however, he could do nothing to prevent the British from encircling the South Carolina capital. Gen. Clinton's siege of Charlestown was a gradual, well-planned process that, by the middle of April, left little doubt as to the ultimate outcome.

Rutledge left Charlestown on April 12. A month later the town was in British hands. After the city's surrender, Rutledge proceeded to Camden by way of Georgetown to try to reorganize the Patriot effort. He was nearly captured by Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton at Rugeley's Mill late in May, but escaped during the night when alerted by his host, Loyalist Henry Rugeley.

Gov. Rutledge embarked for Philadelphia shortly before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781. He was in Richmond a week later, before traveling on to Philadelphia. His intended stay in the American capital was extended by an illness in early May.

Rutledge left Philadelphia to confer with Gen. Washington on May 27 and returned a week later, disappointed that increased support for the Southern Theater would not be forthcoming until naval superiority was established.

Rutledge then conferred with Robert Morris, who, as the director of Congressional finances, was attempting to raise needed funds by establishing a Bank of North America, and left to return south on June 27.

He arrived at Gen. Greene's headquarters in the High Hills of the Santee on Jul. 31 or Aug. 1. At that point, he began the re-establishment of civil government in South Carolina. Armed with the broad powers granted to him by the legislature before the capture of Charlestown, he worked closely with Greene. He issued proclamations enabling Loyalists to obtain pardons, and he forbade the practice of plundering. He also named sheriffs and justices of the peace to begin the process of the establishment of civil law in the state.

In late 1781, he called for elections for the General Assembly, and in Jan. 1782, he convened the legislature at Jacksonborough for the first time since 1780, where his final act as governor was supervising the election of his successor, John Mathews.

Following his years as governor, Rutledge served in Congress until 1783, and in the South Carolina legislature again from 1783-90, while also holding numerous other public offices. He was a delegate to the U.S. Constitutional Convention and served as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1789-91. He returned to South Carolina as chief justice for several years, and finally was nominated to be U.S. Chief Justice in 1795. He served briefly in the post as a result of a recess appointment but his tenure proved extremely short when his nomination was rejected by the Senate.

—Bailey, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:578-80; Carl P. Borick, *A Gallant Defense: The Siege of Charleston*. University of South Carolina Press, 2003, 12-13, 141-42; James Haw, *James, John and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina*. University of Georgia Press, 1997, 152-53; James, *Marion*, 15; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:105; PNG, 10:33-34; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1011-12; "Rutledge Proclamation, 5 Aug 1781," Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of SC*, 2:506-08; "Rutledge Proclamation, 27 Sep 1781," Force Transcript: DLC.

William Scott

William Scott (1725-1807) served in the Commons House of Assembly continuously from 1762-75. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly. He was elected a captain in the 1st SC Regiment upon its creation in Jun. 1775. He was promoted to major in May 1777, and eventually to lieutenant colonel under Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

When the SC Continental regiments were reorganized in Jan. 1780, Scott was retained as lieutenant colonel and second-in-command of the 1st SC Regiment. On May 7, 1780, he was taken prisoner at Fort Moultrie after a two-day bombardment. Although a prisoner of war, Scott continued to support the war effort, loaning South Carolina nearly £34,000. After being exchanged in Jun. 1781, he served to the close of the war.

He continued to serve in the General Assembly beginning with the session that convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, through the 8th General Assembly (1789-90). Scott was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:602-03; Lincoln to Marion, Jan. 21, 1780, LB (MB), G.380.38.1.160b, no. 895; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 851; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 17n18.

Thomas Shubrick, Jr.

Thomas Shubrick, Jr., (1756-1810) became a first lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment, then brigade major to Gen. Robert Howe in May 1777. In Jun. 1778, he became a captain in the 5th SC Regiment. He was also an aide to Gen. Lincoln.

Shubrick was taken prisoner when the British captured Charlestown in May 1780 and exchanged in Jun. 1781. When he returned south, he served with Gen. Greene until the end of the war and was lauded for his role in the Battle of Eutaw Springs (Sep. 8, 1781).

On Jul. 17, 1781, a plantation bequeathed to him by his father in 1779 was the site of the Battle of Shubrick's Plantation, also known as Quinby because of the nearby creek.

He later took on the duties of commissary of prisoners. Shubrick was the younger brother of Richard Shubrick. He served in the South Carolina legislature after the war and was a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790.

—PNG, 9:271n; Bailey, *Biography Directory of SC House*, 3:642-44; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:642-46; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 862; Email, John Allison to Dave Nielan, Jul. 4, 2011.

William "Danger" Thomson

William "Danger" Thomson (1727-96) moved from Pennsylvania to South Carolina as a child in the 1730s. He was an Indian trader, major-commandant of rangers during the Cherokee War, and colonel of the Orangeburg Regiment of militia in 1762.

Thomson served in the Commons House of Assembly from 1765-71 and was the first sheriff of Orangeburg District. Afterward, he served in the 1st Provincial Congress and became lieutenant colonel commandant of the 3rd SC Regiment of Rangers in Jun. 1775.

He served in the Snow Campaign against the Loyalists and Cherokee, dispersed the followers of Patrick Cunningham at the Great Cane Brake, and commanded the troops that captured Loyalist leader Thomas Fletchall. His rangers prevented the British from crossing Breach Inlet from Long Island to Sullivan's Island during the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776. In November of that year, he was promoted to full colonel.

Thomson was elected to the SC House for the 2nd General Assembly, but resigned to serve on the Legislative Council. He served in the SC Senate from 1779-80 but was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown and was on parole until the end of the war.

Thomson was a member of the Senate when it convened at Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, although he did not attend. In Sep. 1783, he became a brevet brigadier general.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:669-71; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 930; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 321.

1777 *Hiatus in the South*

The year 1777 in the South can be understood as something of an intermission between the early conflicts for control in 1775-76 and the concerted British effort to retake the region after 1778. The South Carolina Continental regiments saw no real action this year, although they did make an aborted attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh¹ in Georgia in March.

Lt. Col. Marion saw his responsibilities expand when he was ordered to take a detachment made up of men from the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th Regiments on the mission. After a twelve-day voyage through the intracoastal waterways along the Carolina coast, typically just a two-day trip in open waters, Marion and his men finally reached Savannah. They were too late to save Fort McIntosh, and just a day later the detachment began the return trip to Charlestown.

The only other breaks from the mundane life of Continental service were spirited celebrations commemorating the 1st anniversary of the Battle of Sullivan's Island and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Marion's 2nd Regiment would have enjoyed the fireworks from Charlestown, since they remained there after their return from Georgia. The relatively comfortable barracks life would end at the beginning of 1778 when Marion's regiment would again be sent to the spartan habitations of the palmetto fort on Sullivan's Island, now renamed Fort Moultrie.

In the North, the war continued with mixed success for both sides. After the heady victories at Trenton and Princeton, Washington's army entered winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. In the fall the British traveled by sea to begin a campaign with the objective of capturing Philadelphia. Washington marched to confront them, only to be defeated at the Battle of Brandywine Creek on Sep. 11. The British then occupied the de facto capital without firing a shot. Although the loss of the largest city in the 13 colonies was devastating from a psychological standpoint, militarily it ended up having little impact.

Greater success for the Patriots came in the North, however. In Oct. 1777, the army of British Gen. John Burgoyne surrendered to Gen. Horatio Gates² at Saratoga, paving the way for France's entry into the war the following year. But even that elation was tempered at the end of the year, as Washington moved his army into winter quarters at Valley Forge with little food, clothing, or shelter. Britain could not point to any successes that were conclusive, and despite the victory at Saratoga, the Americans were no closer to gaining any direct strategic advantage over the British. In the South, all remained quiet. With the exception of the uneventful expedition to Savannah, Marion and his men saw no action.

January 3 – For the second time in just over a week, Washington launches a surprise attack on a British garrison, this time at Princeton, N.J. Once again, the Continentals are victorious, but the victory comes at the cost of one of Washington's most trusted subordinates, Hugh Mercer, who is killed.

1. The site of Fort McIntosh lies roughly at the junction of GA-520 and GA-110, near the east bank of the Satilla River, west of present-day Waynesville, Ga.

2. [See brief bio of Horatio Gates here.](#)

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 16, 1777

[Charlestown], February 16th 1777

R.O. By Lt. Col. Marion.

The General to beat to morrow morning 9 o'Clock, The assembly & March at 10. at w^{ch}. time the Reg^t. will march to G. Gadsdens Wharf, there to embark for Haddrells Point,³ All Off^{rs}. & Soldiers off duty to be on the Parade at that Hour & comd^g. Officers of Companies to give in a field Return to the Adjutant at the Same Time & to order a Serj^t. & party about the Town for those men who may be missing before the Gen: beat__Any Soldier who may be found drunk or out of their Barracks at 9 o'Clock in the Morn^g. may expect to be severely punish'd: it is expected the above Orders will be Punctually complied with As the hour of marching will not be put off__The Q^r. Mastr. To provide 3 waggons to carry the Bags & Stores of the reg^t. by 6 o'Clock in the morning & to have all the ammunition &c ready to move wth. The Regim^t. Comd^g. Off^{rs}: of Companies are desir'd to have their Mens Rooms clean before the General beat__The Q^r. Mastr. to see that the Officers, Doctor's & Guard Room likewise his Rooms clean at the same Time__

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 224-25.

3. The transfer to Haddrell's Point was presumably part of a standard rotation of troops during this lull in the action in the South. The next day the regiment was ordered "to march back to the Barracks, & there remain (holding themselves in readiness) 'till further Orders" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 225). No explanation was given for the move-countermove.

Orders by South Carolina President John Rutledge - February 23, 1777

Feb^y 23^dBy the Presid^t:

Parole Georgia

For the day to morrow

Captⁿ. Charnock,Town Guard L^t. from 5th MagazineL^t. from 5th BrickhouseL^t. Gray BarracksL^t. Dubose ___ Head Q^{rs}. Ch^s. town 21 Feb^y 1777

The Situation of the State of Georgia now under actual Invasion rendering it absolutely necessary that a considerable Body of Troops be immediately march'd to their assistance, the following Detachmt: from the several Corps of Continental Troops of this State are to hold themselves in immediate Readiness to march, From Colo. Pinckneys⁴ Battallion 2 Captns. 4 Subalterns 4 Sergts. & 100 Rank & File ___ From Colo. Mottes⁵ Battallion 2 Captns. 4 Subalterns 4 Serjts: & 100 Rank & File, from Colo Roberts⁶ Corps of Artillery 1 Captn 3 Subalterns 2 Sergts. & 50 Rank & File ___ From Colo. Huger's⁷ Battallion 2 Capns: 4 Sub: 4 Sergts 100 Rank & file The Detachmt: of Artillery will take charge of the Field Pieces wch. will be committed to their Care. Colo. Sumpter⁸ wth. his Regt. is without Delay to march to Purisburgh where he will receive Orders, the Detachment from Pinckneys, Mottes, Roberts & Hugers are to march under field officers 1 Colo. 1 Lt. Co. & 1 Majr. Colo. Motte will command this Detachmt: Lt: Co. Marion & Majr McDonald are also for this Service⁹ ___ Gen Howe entertains the fullest Confidence that the Offrs: who are to go on this Comd. will exert themselves to the utmost to be ready to march wth. all possible Expedition & that the Men will march wth. alacrity & Cheerfulness Waggon & everything necessary will be provided ___

The Waggon Master is immediately to Furnish Ten Waggon for the use of the Troops & also two Ammunition Waggon, The Commissary will take Care to furnish a Detachmt: of 350 men wth. Provisions in this march to Purrisburgh an Ammunition wagon exclusive of these above mention'e to be provided by the Wagⁿ. Mast^f. for the detachment of Artillery ___

The Time of march will be appointed as soon as the comd^g: Off^{rs}: of the several Corps from w^{ch}. the men are taken report at head quartr^s. that they are ready ___

O'Kelley, BCADM, 228-29.

4. Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney commanded the 1st SC Regiment.

5. Col. Isaac Motte commanded the 2nd SC Regiment.

6. Owen Roberts (1720-79) served in Middleton's regiment during the Cherokee War. Prior to the Revolution he was a captain in the Charlestown Provincial Artillery. He was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 2nd and 3rd General Assemblies. He became a major in the 1st SC Regiment when the state line was formed in Jun. 1775. In November of that year, he became a lieutenant colonel in the 4th SC Artillery Regiment and was promoted to full colonel in Sep. 1776. In 1777, Roberts loaned the state £5,000. He was killed at Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779 (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:612-13; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 820; O'Kelley, *BCADM* 16n9).

7. See brief bio of Isaac Huger.

8. See brief bio of Thomas Sumter.

9. Gen. Robert Howe dispatched this force of 350 soldiers to relieve the 50 men of the 3rd SC Rangers currently under siege by British regulars, Tory militia, and Indians at Fort McIntosh on the Satilla River in southern Georgia. In his orderly book of Feb. 23, Col. Motte of the 2nd SC Regiment, a Continental Army officer, was directed by John Rutledge, the civilian president of South Carolina, to command the detachments sent to relieve the fort. The relationship between Rutledge and Gen. Howe, the commander of the Southern Department, highlights the level of command ambiguity inherent in the American army's mix of regular, state, and militia forces. In this instance it appears that Rutledge was giving orders outside of the normal civilian/military chain of command. Lt. Col. Marion of the 2nd Regiment and Maj. Adam McDonald of the 1st Regiment were added to the detachment, which was placed under the overall command of Col. Motte. Motte's detachment, made up of two companies each from the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th Regiments, traveled by water. Col. Thomas Sumter's entire 6th Regiment was ordered to march to Purrisburg "without delay." Though only South Carolina units were involved in the expedition, sending parts of four units, as opposed to one or two complete regiments, was a curious organizational choice. No explanation was given.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 24, 1777

[Ch^s. Town], 24th Feb^y 1777

By the Gen:

Parole Savannah

For the day to Morrow Captⁿ. M^cDonald Town Guard L^t Warley¹⁰
Magazine d^o. L^t. Baker Brickhouse d^o. L^t. from 5th. Reg^t. Barrack Guard a Serj^t. ___

R.O.

Commanding Officers of Companies to have their men going on the Command completed in arms & accoutrim^{ts}. They are to exchange their Musketts if not in order with those that are to stay taking care of y^e Exchange that is made in their own Companies & the Arms wanting for those who have not had any to apply to the Q^f. Mastr. & give a receipt for the Same likewise what Cloaths are made & apply for Shoes & Blanketts & stop the price out of their Pay if they had them before ___ The detachm^t: to be ready as soon as possible & when ready to acquaint the comd^g. Officer immediately ___

Gen: after Orders head Quarters by G. Howe

The troops order'd for Georgia are to be in readines by 11 o'clock to morrow forenoon,¹¹ when Vessells will be provided for them at a Place that will be appointed convenient. The Detachm^t. from Fort Johntson [Sic] & Fort Moultrie will embark from their Respective posts ___ Gen: Moultrie will be so obliging as to give Orders that the Detachm^t. from the 2^d & 5th Reg^{ts}. be furnish'd wth. a proper Number of Cartridges & flints & every necessary Article for the Reg^t. Stores, he will also order those articles of which he has a memorandum & w^{ch}. are to compose the Gen: store of this Detachm^t: to be in readiness to be put on board the Vessells as soon as possible to w^{ch}. he will add whatever he thinks necessary ___

Col^o Roberts¹² will attend to the necessary Preparation for his Detachm^t. who are to take Charge of four field pieces, The Commissary will be at Quarters this afternoon at 4 o'clock

O'Kelley, BCADM, 230.

Brig. General William Moultrie to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 28, 1777

February 28th

Orders to Lieut^t. Colonel Marion

You will proceed with the detachment under your Command to Beaufort port Royal with all Expedition, Where you are to take on board your Vessells some Cannon Shot, Sent from this State Sometime ago to the State of Georgia / if they are Still there / and from thence You will make the best of your Way through the inland passage to Savannah in Georgia where you will receive further Orders. On Your Passage to Georgia you are to be Carefull to keep all your Vessells as near together as you Can, and should You be Chassed or Attaked by any Vessell of force belonging to the Enemy, You must not Suffer Yourselfes to be taken, best rather run Your Vessells on Shore, and land Your Men in the best manner you Can. ___

I am yours

W. M.:

Editors' Note: South Carolina's inland passage, also sometimes known as the intracoastal waterway, did not come into its current form until the 1930s. However, it was recognized even during the Revolutionary War that avoiding the open ocean and its hazards from weather and adversaries was sometimes advantageous, even at the cost of a longer trip. In South Carolina, even during colonial times, there were a series of navigable saltwater and brackish channels running the full length of the state's shoreline. These channels ran between the barrier islands and the mainland. Although less direct and requiring more time and a greater risk of grounding, the inland passage had two key advantages over the ocean route. First, the barrier islands provided partial shelter against storms. Second, and even more importantly, they provided protection against larger British vessels, which could not easily navigate the narrower and shallower channels present in most sections of the passage.

10. See Paul Warley.

11. The detachment did not set sail until four days later.

12. Men from Col. Owen Roberts's detachment would man the four guns being sent with the expedition.

Orders/Letter by Lt. Col. Francis Marion¹³ - February 28, 1777

On b^d. The Schooner [near Haddrells Point],¹⁴28th February [1777]

Orders to Captⁿ.¹⁵

Sir/

You are to take Com^d. of the men on Board the Schooner & take great Care the Powder & Stores are put in a Place where it may be safe from Fire or Dampness & you must keep good Order on board & make y^r. men lodge their arms in such places, as they may readily take them at any Time without Confusion & at a moments warning, You are to use your utmost Endeavour to keep close up to the Vessell w^{ch}. carries a Jack at her main topmast head, w^{ch} you are not to pass on any acc^t. without Orders, & come to an Anchor, or make Sail when you see the above Vessell do so; Should any thing happen Extraordinary at any Time, you are immediately to send & acquaint the comd^g. Off^r. You are not to suffer any Boats or men to come on board your Vessell without their giving the Parole & Counter Sign: nor suffer any men to go on shore without Orders from the comd^g. Officer for w^{ch}. purpose you are to keep a Guard of 1 Sub: 1 Serj^t: & 15 rank & file, Shou^d any Vessell or arm^d Boat appear to be coming towards you, your men must be immediately got ready to oppose them & make all the Sail you possibly can to be near the Vessell wth the Flagg, but shou^d it happened that you are at a Distance in the rear & the Enemy attempt to board you, the greatest Defence must be made, but always send first to the comd^g. Officer if practicable to acq^t. him wth. the particulars of whatever may be present. Every Evening after coming to anchor you are to send for Orders & make a report of whatever may have happened during the Day, to the Command^r. of the Detachm^t. You are to be carefull of all Stores & Provisions & to account for such as may be made use of

Orders of L^t. C^o. Marion of Yesterday

Captⁿ. Ashby wth L^{ts}. Mason & Burke 3 Serg^{ts}. & 60 Rank & file of 2^d Reg^t. to embark on board Pandarvan's Schooner

Capⁿ Vanderhorst two Sub: 3 Serg^{ts}. & 80 rank & file from the 1st Reg^t to embark on board M^r. Middleton's Schooner

Capⁿ Potts wth the officers & men of the 5th Regimt: to embark on board Col^o. Elliot's Schooner

Capⁿ [Thomas] Lesesne L^{ts}. Gray & Dunbar wth 1 Serj^t: & forty rank & file from the 2^d & 1 Serj^t. & 20 rank & file from the 1st Reg^t to embark on board the fourth Schooner

The Detachm^t. to be in readiness to embark at Eight oClock in the forenoon __ Waggons will be ready to take the Military Stores & Officers Baggage by 6 oClock in the morn^g:

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 231-32.

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13. Although Col. Motte was the overall commander of the combined force, Marion's signature is in the orderly book throughout the mission, suggesting he was drafting the orders. The orderly book identifies six ships that were employed. At least four were impressed. Four schooners carried the foot soldiers as noted above, one sloop carried the artillery of the 4th Regiment, and one sloop carried the provisions. The sloops were the *Florentine*, *Pendarvis*, *Seaford* and the *Susannah*. Two other ships making up the detachment were also mentioned in the Mar. 13 orders, the *Mary* and the *Herculus*, which must have been the sloops (Orders by Marion, Mar. 13, below; O'Kelley *BCADM*, 231n538).
 14. The 2nd & 5th Regiments were billeted in Charlestown. The balance of the detachment crossed to Haddrell's Point on Feb. 28.
 15. Presumably copies of this letter were given to the captains mentioned above: Captain Anthony Ashby (2nd), Captain John Vanderhorst (1st), Captain Thomas Potts (5th), and Captain Thomas Lesesne (2nd). The name of the officer in charge of the artillery sloop is not definitively known. However, Capt. Sims White was the only officer from the 4th Regiment mentioned in the orderly book of this period. White may also have been in command of the provision sloop (See letter of Feb. 28).

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 28, 1777

On b^d. The Schooner [near Haddrells Point], 28th Feby. 1777 __ (Copy)

Capⁿ. White/¹⁶

You are to take on board the Sloop the Provisions & Stores which are in the Schooner, w^{ch} I order you to carry from Prioleau's Wharf¹⁷ along Side the Sloop

This I order to be obey'd without Countermanded by a Gen: Officer, you will as soon as possible get in your men & Stores & join me (Sign'd)

F. Marion
Lt. C^o. 2^d Reg^t.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 232.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 1, 1777

[near Fort Johnson], 1st March 1777

Parole C.Sⁿ.

Sett sail to lay near Fort johnson¹⁸ & came to an anchor opposite to M^r. Lambols Plantⁿ.¹⁹ James Island waiting for the Artillery, Sent Capⁿ. Lesesne to see if we could get thro: Wappo-Cut;²⁰ if we cou'd to acquaint the Comd^r. & if not to return back immediately & join the Squadron__

Red'd Letter from Capⁿ. Lessesne at 9 o'Clock at night acquainting me that wth. a little Labour we might render it practicable to go thro: the Cutt

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 232-33.

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16. Capt. Sims White of the 4th Regiment of Artillery was apparently also in charge of ensuring that the provisions for the expedition were loaded. White (1738-99) was a quartermaster in July 1775. He was promoted to captain in the 4th SC Artillery Regiment, originally the Charlestown Artillery Battalion, in Nov. 1775. Capt. White commanded one of the sloops Marion employed to sail from Charlestown to Savannah in the failed attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777. White resigned from the Continental Army in Sep. 1777, but was, nevertheless, taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown in May 1780 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 986; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 232n541).
 17. Prioleau's Wharf was one of the numerous wharves which were the center of commerce in Charlestown. It was situated on the Cooper River. The Fish Market is shown as "L" on the 1788 *Ichnography*. (92 is Prioleau's Wharf, 93 Gillon's Wharf, and 91 Cochran's Wharf, see image next page. "Ichnography of Charleston, South Carolina. Surveyed by Edmund Petrie for the Phoenix Fire Company of London, 1788.")
 18. Fort Johnson had been in Patriot hands since the occupation on Sep. 15, 1775 (see entry of that date, above).
 19. It is uncertain exactly where this plantation was located on James Island, but it probably belonged to the heirs of Thomas and Elizabeth Lamboll, who had died in 1770 and 1774 respectively, and who owned a plantation on James Island. Both were well-known as naturalists, who corresponded regularly with famed botanist John Bartram, and were instrumental in establishing the Charleston Botanical Gardens (Robyn Asleson, "Elizabeth Pitts Lamboll and Thomas Lamboll," *History of Early American Landscape Design*, https://heald.nga.gov/mediawiki/index.php?title=Elizabeth_Pitts_Lamboll_and_Thomas_Lamboll&oldid=41944, accessed Aug. 12, 2024).
 20. Wappoo Cut was a man-made canal connecting the Ashley River with the Stono River, today referred to as Wappoo Creek. Travel via the Wappoo Cut and then other inland waterways enabled the ships to avoid the open seas and threats from the British navy, and minimized the effects of unpredictable weather. But, as indicated above, the difficulty of traveling on the intracoastal waterway was substantial.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 2, 1777

Cha^s. Town harbour, 2^d March 1777

Parole Wappo C.Sⁿ. 9

If the artillery²¹ joins us in the Beginning of next Flood²² the whole Squadron must proceed to Wappo Cut to night observing all former Orders __

NB Captⁿ [George] Cogdell²³ / I shall be glad to know the reason you have anchored so great a Distance from the Flagg Schooner²⁴ contrary to orders. if it was impracticable to come up I expect you woud acquaint me with the Occasion. I expect to sail for Wappo Cut soon to day & hope you will immediately join me

I am Sir &c
F. Marion

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 233.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 3, 1777

Cha^s. Town harbour, 3rd March __[1777]

Parole Gadsden CounterSign 11

Sett out from Ch^s. Town harbour last Night at 8 oClock Captⁿ. Vanderhorst brought me a Letter from Captⁿ. [not found] which informing me he had orders to proceed to Beaufort by Sea_

Arrived at Wappo 4 oClock in the afternoon, found the Schooner of Captⁿ. Lesesne in the Cutt²⁵ __

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 233.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 4, 1777

Wappo Cut, 4th March [1777]

Parole Moultrie CounterSⁿ 15.

Any Soldier who molests any of the Inhabitants or takes any thing from them, may depend on being severely punish'd No Person whatever to sell any Spirituous Liquors to any Soldier without a Permit in writing from their officer__ No officer to give a permit to any man for Liq^{rs} more than ½ p^t p^r day__ The Soldiers belonging to the diff^t Vessells to go on board their respective Vessells by retreat Beating. Any Soldier who shall be found on shore after that time will be treated as a Deserter & suffer accordingly Cap^{ns} Ashby & Lesesne to furnish a Centry each to be planted at the house w^{ch} sells Liq^r. opposite the Cutt wth Orders not to permit any Soldiers in the house or Suffer Liq^r. to be Sold them without a Permit as above __²⁶

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 233-34.

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21. The previous orderly book entry for Mar. 1 indicated the other ships were waiting for the artillery. Marion probably decided not to wait any longer.
 22. Flood here meant high tide.
 23. This ship would have been the *Florentine*, manned by the 5th SC Regiment, and commanded by Capt. Thomas Potts. [See brief bio of Potts here.](#) The expedition was to include two captains from the 5th Regiment, as noted in President Rutledge's orders of Feb. 23. Cogdell would have been one captain and Potts the other (Letter of Feb. 28, above, and O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 231n538). [See a brief bio of George Cogdell here.](#)
 24. The name of the 'Flagg Schooner' is not known, but it may have been the one commanded by Capt. Ashby or the one commanded by Capt. Vanderhorst. [See a brief bio of Anthony Ashby here.](#) [See a bio of John Vanderhorst here.](#)
 25. The name of the ship is not known. Marion's squadron opted to continue through Wappoo Cut, avoiding the open ocean.
 26. Maintaining discipline between Charlestown and Savannah was perhaps even more difficult than on land, as there was little for the soldiers to do aboard ship. The necessity of orders limiting the sale of alcohol and regulating movement to and from the adjacent shore hints at the difficulty of controlling the soldiers during the 12-day voyage.



Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 5, 1777

At Wappo Cut, 5th March 1777

Parole Gen: How C.Sⁿ 4__

No Drums to beat without taking the Lead from the Flag. All Guards to be reliev'g at 8 o'Clock in the morning__ The Orders of Yesterday to be strictly complied with, particularly tht part w^{ch}. forbids the men from being on Shore after retreat beating, as a Party will be order'd out after Time to take up such who may disobey that order & suffer accordingly__ It is expected that a Serg^t will be sent to the comd^e: officer for Orders every day at 4 o'Clock in the afternoon while the troops remain at Wappo & those Serg^{ts}: who are sent for orders to wait on board the Flag till they receive them__

A Court Martial of the Line to sett this morn^a. at 11 o'Clock to try such prisoners as may be brought before it Evid: to attend Captⁿ Ashby Presid^t: 1 Sub: from 1st Reg^t. 1 from 5th: Do. 2 Sub: from 2^d. D^o. members²⁷

NB this Evening we got three Schooners over the Cutt of at 4 o'Clock in the morning the other, we were oblig'd to stay till the Flood made²⁸__

O'Kelley, BCADM, 234.

27. While the record is silent on the nature of the particular crimes being tried, the need for a court martial on board ship is indicative of the ongoing issues with discipline.

28. Passage through Wappoo Cut was dependent on the tides. Wappoo Creek tide data in May 2024 showed low tide of 0.5 feet and high tide of 5.4 feet, but readers should be cautious about assuming these numbers are necessarily similar to their 1777 counterparts, as the waterway has been heavily modified in the years since by both natural and man-made processes. (<https://www.us harbors.com/harbor/south-carolina/wappoo-creek-highway-bridge-sc/tides/?tide=2024-05#monthly-tide-chart>, accessed May 13, 2024).

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 6, 1777

At Wappo River, 6th March [1777]

Parole Georgia Counter Sⁿ. 6 __

As we shall be oblig'd to proceed a Night when the Tide serves,²⁹ the off^{rs}. Commanding the diff^t. Vessells are desired to be watchful when the Flagg moves & to keep as Close to her rear as possible __

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 234.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 7, 1777

7th March [1777]

Parole St Hellens CounterSⁿ.

I am sorry to acquaint the comd^g Officers of Vessels that I find it necessary to acquaint them to exert their utmost to forward their different Vessells in this most important Expedition to Georgia & to observe wth. the greatest Strictness all orders issued wth. more Exactness than heretofore.³⁰ Those Gent^l: who have exerted themselves in forwarding the Expedition & observing orders wth. Exactness will merit the Thanks of the comd^g. off^r.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 234.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 8, 1777

['halfway to Edisto River'],³¹ 8th March [1777]

Parole Stono CounterSign 10-

This morning seven o'Clock we sett off & two of the Schooners ran aground half way to Edisto river by this accid^t. we lost 2 days³² __

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 234.

29. As noted in the orderly book entry of Mar. 5, above, the mission was delayed due to the necessity of waiting for high tide to enable ships to pass through Wappoo Cut. While at first glance it might seem that this delay would leave them vulnerable to attack by British ships, it should be remembered that the enemy would face the same limitations, and that their larger seagoing vessels would have found the interior passages even more treacherous.

30. Not only were there discipline issues with the enlisted soldiers, but the command of the detachment also felt that the ship captains were not sufficiently assertive in enforcing discipline.

31. The mouth of the Edisto River is only about 15 straight line miles from Charlestown Harbor, and the expedition had set out 6 days earlier, meaning that, at least as the crow flies, the expedition had averaged only around 1.5 miles per day! Of course, the meandering path of the waterway added substantially to the real distance travelled, but even so, this was an excruciatingly slow pace.

32. The problems encountered during the voyage probably caused doubt about the decision to take the intracoastal route instead of the quicker ocean route. Risking the weather volatility and the potential for encountering the British navy in the open seas would likely have seemed like a promising option at this point.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 9, 1777

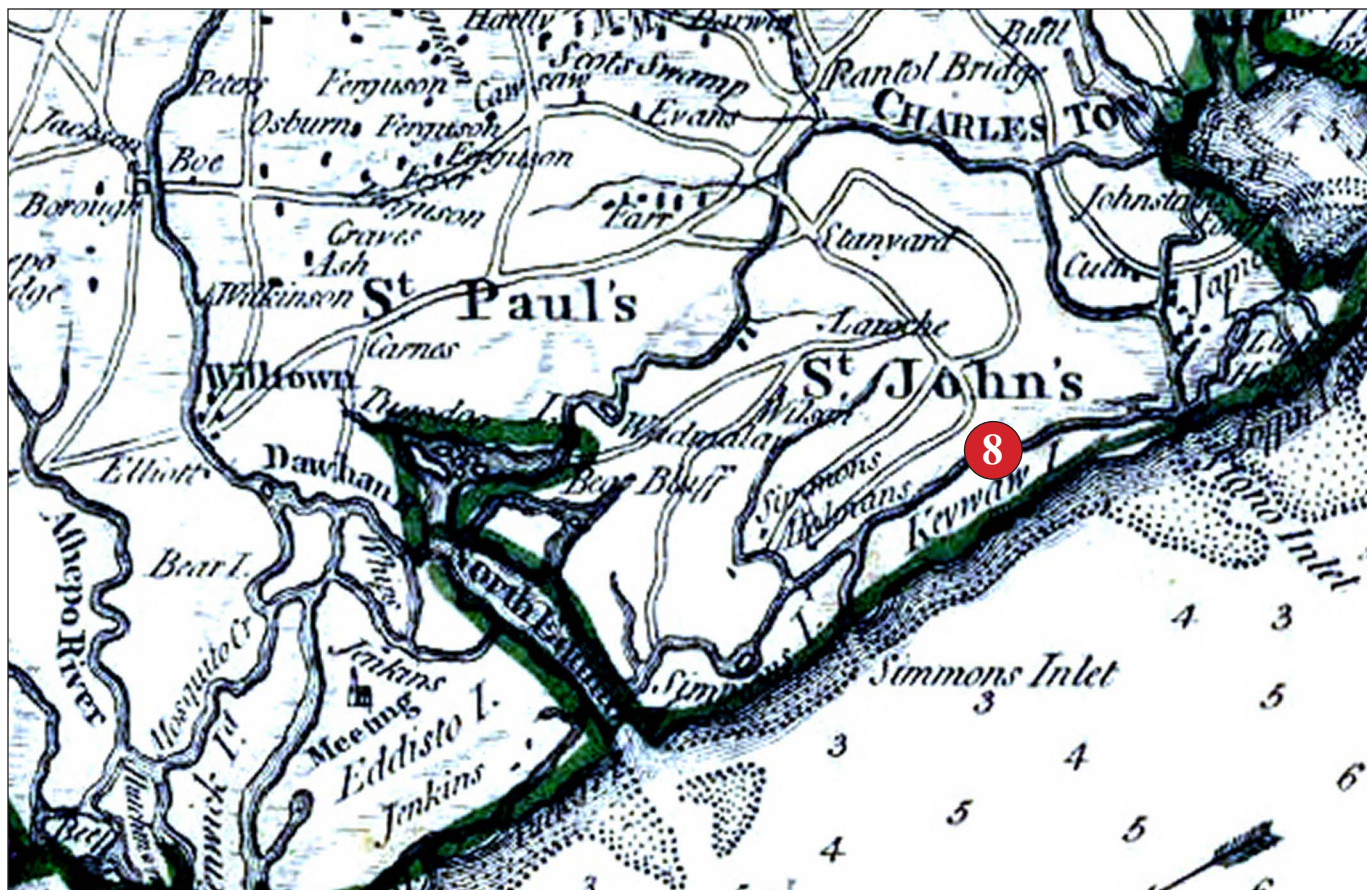
['halfway to Edisto River'],³³ 9th March [1777]

Parole Charlestown C.Sⁿ. 27.

As all sick Soldiers require the greatest humanity all comd^g. officers of vessels are desir'd to take particular Care of their sick & appoint one or two men to attend them whose Business is to administer such medicines & nourishm^t: as the Surgeon or mates³⁴ will order & the officers on Duty is to see it done __ Two G^{ns} Rum³⁵ is to be drawn from the Publick Stores in each Vessell to be given such Soldiers as work the Vessells in cold & rainy weather great care must be taken that there is no waste in this article as well as all other Provisions__ When there is occasion for the Vessells to move in the night the Gen:³⁶ will beat on board the Flagg at w^{ch} Time all the Vessells must weigh anchor & the beating of a march will be a Signal that the Flag is under Sail & each vessell is to answer the different Beats as they weigh anchor or are under way__

It is necessary that an Officer should be constantly on deck when the Vessells are under way in order to make the men do their Duty otherways the Soldiers will not assist: Six men that are Seamen to be appointed to act as Sailors who are to do no other Duty³⁷__

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 234-35.



33. The expedition appears not to have moved from the day before.

34. By his orders of Feb. 26, Brig. Gen. Moultrie had directed that the detachment going to Georgia be accompanied by a surgeon from the 5th Regiment and a surgeon's mate from the 2nd Regiment (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 230).

35. In the military, extra rum rations were often used as incentives for service above the norm.

36. "Gen:" presumably meant "General Quarters," a drumbeat calling all sailors to man their stations, usually given in preparation for battle.

37. The impressment of ships for the expedition also may have entailed the use of the crews from the respective vessels, or it may be the case that the appointment of seamen from among the troops was necessary. It is likely that some of the enlisted men had previous experience on vessels, and that they would have been identified and assigned to these extra duties.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 10, 1777

[‘halfway to Edisto River’],³⁸ 10th March [1777]

Parole Col^o Pinckney C.Sⁿ Sullivants Island

Whenever the Tatto³⁹ beats it is a Signal for all the Vessels to come to an Anchor__

O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 235.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 11, 1777

11th March [1777]

Parole Col^o. Cattle C.Sⁿ. 26.

When any vessels run aground in the rear of the Flagg or cannot keep up wth. her they are immediately to hoist a white Flagg at the fore top mast head & send their Boat immediately to acquaint the comd^g. officer with the occasion, shou’d it happen at night that any Vessell by accident cannot follow the Flagg they are to beat the Tattuo as a Signal at night⁴⁰

O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 235.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 12, 1777

12th March [1777]

Parole Col^o. Motte C.Sⁿ. 29

Commanding officers of Vessells must not permit any Soldier to go on Shore & such officers who may be permitted to go a Shore must return immediately at retreat beating as we shall proceed as soon as the Tide serves⁴¹

O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 235.

38. Apparently, no significant progress had been made since at least the 8th.

39. “Tattoo” is a drum signal ordering soldiers to repair to their quarters or barracks at the end of the day, where the noncommissioned officers of each squad would call their rolls. Every man would then be required to remain in his quarters until reveille the next morning. It is worth noting that the ships here were using drums to signal to one another, as opposed to flags, which would have been more typical in the navy. This is probably due to the fact that the leaders of the expedition were all officers in the army, who would have been familiar with how to interpret standard drum messages, but not necessarily with signal flags. However, this would also have required the vessels to maintain a closer proximity to one another than would be typical for naval vessels, as the audible distance for drum signals would be substantially less than the visual distance for flags.

40. As can be seen in these daily orders, the development of standard naval practices in the new nation was in its formative stage, and as most of the men on the expedition were not sailors, they were learning as they went along.

41. Most regulations develop in response to a real-life incident. It is likely this one developed due to an officer or enlisted soldier being left, or nearly left, on shore. Marion appears to have addressed this issue from necessity. Of course, this is conjecture on the editors’ part, and there is no direct evidence of any particular incident having occurred.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 13, 1777

13th March [1777]

Parole Fort Lytleton C.Sⁿ. 92

1 Serjeant 1 Corporal & 20 Privates from the Schooner Seaford & 5 Men from the Schooner Susannah to go on board one of the largest Boats__

1 Serj^t: 1 Corp: & 15 Privates from the Mary & 10 Privates from the Susannah to go on Board the 2^d largest Georgia Boat__

1 Serj^t. 1 Corp: & 14 Privates from the Herculas to go on board the small Boats

These Boats are to keep as close as possible to the Schooners the men were taken out of & come too, close under their Stern when the Schooners come to an Anchor __⁴²

O'Kelley, BCADM, 235.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 14, 1777

Savannah, 14th March [1777]⁴³

Disembark'd the troops this day at Savannah

NB No orders issued by the Col^o.-

O'Kelley, BCADM, 235.

42. This order was issued in preparation for disembarking the soldiers upon arrival at Savannah.

43. Marion's orderly book entry of Mar. 3, at Charlestown Harbor, above, indicated that his command left the city the night before. Thus, the voyage from Charlestown Harbor to Savannah took 11 days. With roughly 100 miles of water separating the two cities, this represents a pace of less than 10 miles per day. A voyage from Charlestown to Savannah on the open seas with favorable weather should have taken only a maximum of two days, including the added time of sailing over the bar at Charlestown and negotiating a ship up the Savannah River.

General Orders by Maj. Gen. Robert Howe
Detachment Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion
March 18, 1777

[Savannah], 18th March [1777]

Parole Motte __

The main Guard to be reliev'd to morrow from Col: Elbert's Battallion.

The Detachm^t under the Command of Col: Motte are to prepare for their return to Charlestown as immediately as possible;⁴⁴ they will embark to morrow on board the transports under the command of Col: Marion⁴⁵ who is desir'd to issue the necessary orders.

Orders by L^t. C^o. Marion

The transports to be ready to take in the troops by to morrow [sic] 8 o'Clock & hale Close to the wharf__

The Capt^{ns}: Officers & Men to go on board the several Vessells that brought them to Savannah All orders from Ch^s. Town to this Place to be punctually observ'd; The General to beat at 9 o'Clock in the morn^g: the assembly & march at 10 o'Clock at w^{ch}. Hour Col^o. Mottes Detachm^t. is to embark as above the Q^r Mastr. Serj^t: is to apply to the Barrack Master for half a cord of wood for each Vessell w^{ch} with water is to be put on Board this Evening or before the General beats to morrow.

Officers Baggage to be on board early in the morning.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 238.

Detachment Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 19, 1777

Savannah, March 19th [1777]

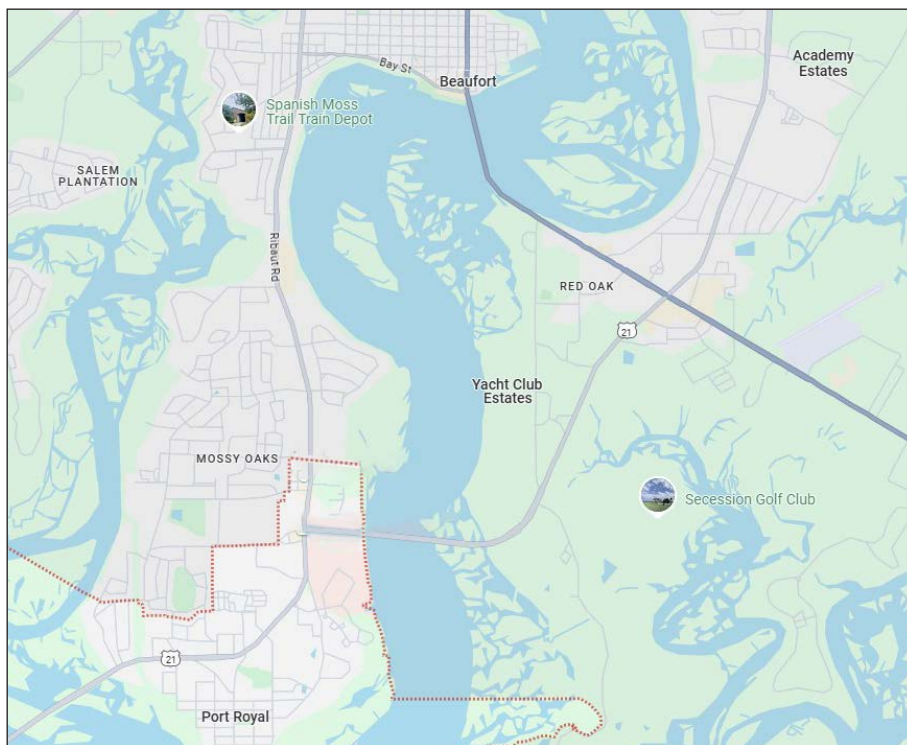
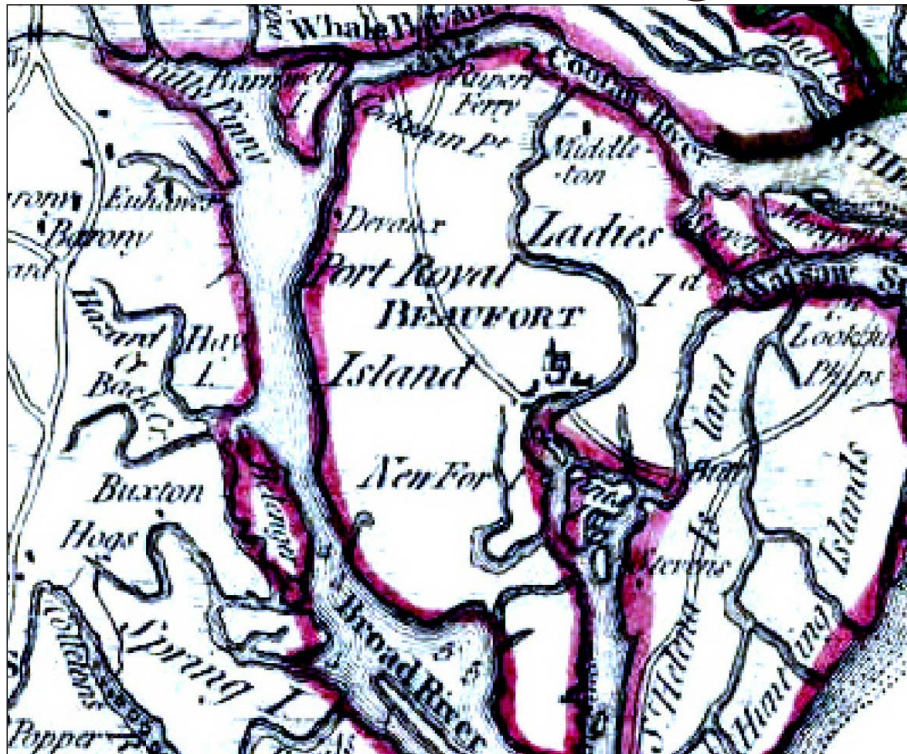
Parole Cockspear Countersign

All former orders from Charlestown to Savannah to be observ'd, tis expected the Commanding Officers of Vessels will use their utmost Endeavours to keep close up to the Vessell w^{ch}: carries the Flagg__⁴⁶

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 238; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:189.

44. On Feb. 23, the same day the orders were issued to initiate the expedition to relieve Fort McIntosh, a British force of 1,200 men who had marched from East Florida began its siege of the fort. Capt. Richard Winn with approximately 50 South Carolina Rangers and half as many volunteers from the 1st Georgia Regiment defended the post. Twenty days after the siege began--one day after the South Carolina relief detachment disembarked in Savannah--the garrison surrendered. Another relief force, composed of 300 troops from Fort Howe, located above Fort McIntosh on the Altamaha River, also failed in its attempt to reach Fort McIntosh when it was ambushed. Motte's expedition had been sent to Georgia by Pres. John Rutledge's order of Feb. 23, above, "The Situation of the State of Georgia now under actual Invasion rendering it absolutely necessary that a considerable Body of Troops be immediately march'd to their assistance." As previously stated, avoiding the open ocean may have been a consideration for taking the intracoastal route, but clearly it was not a good choice for an emergency relief force. The decision to take the much slower route turned a two-day voyage from Charlestown to Savannah into a two-week odyssey. It is unknown if Marion's previous sea experience was a factor in the decision to take the intracoastal approach (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 136; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:188-90).
45. The fact that Lt. Col. Marion was given command of the return mission via water is another indication of the confidence his superior officers placed in him. The implication is that Col. Motte was in command of the part of the detachment that marched overland to Charlestown, leaving the more difficult [or less desirable] water journey to Marion.
46. After arriving at Savannah following an 11-day voyage, the relief effort was too late to assist as the British had already captured the fort and retired. Instead, Marion and the Continental detachment immediately began the return trip to Charlestown.

Beaufort / Port Royal, S.C. **10**



Although Francis Marion briefly passed through Beaufort and Port Royal on the way back to Charlestown from Savannah in March 1777, he and his troops would not be directly involved in the 1779 Battle of Beaufort (also known as the Battle of Port Royal Island). While Benjamin Lincoln and William Moultrie attempted in early 1779 to stop Britain's advancement from Savannah, Marion remained as commandant of the city of Charlestown. However, some troops under his command would provide support.

Detachment Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – March 22, 1777

Beaufort, 22nd March [1777]

Parole Beaufort CounterSⁿ Port Royal

The Detachm^t. of the 2^d & 5th Regim^{ts}: to receive 1 days Salt Provisions to disembark immediately & proceed by Land to Charlestown;⁴⁷ the Artillery Stores & c now on board the Sloop. 1 Subaltern 1 Serjeant & 15 men of the artillery⁴⁸ to remain on board as a Guard who will receive orders; Likewise a Surgeon to go on board to mind the Sick Soldiers__

Capt. Vanderhorst⁴⁹ will put on board the Susannah 1 Subaltern & 20 men & Capⁿ. White⁵⁰ will divide his men between the Mary & Harlequin,⁵¹ 1 Serjeant & 7 men of the 2^d to remain on board the Mary__ Capt^{ns}. Ashby, Cogdell & Lesesne⁵² will make an exact Return of the Provisions & Military stores now on board their respective Vessells & take a Receipt for the same from the officers Succeeding in the command of their Vessells__

Captⁿ Ashby will receive his orders as soon as he lands his men__

O'Kelley, BCADM, 240.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Capt. Anthony Ashby (2nd Regiment) – March 22, 1777

Beaufort Port Royal 22nd March 1777

Sir

You will take the Command of the Detachm^t: of the 2^d & 5th Regim^{ts}: & proceed by Land wth all Expedition to Charlestown w^{ch}. you will join to their respective Regim^{ts}: upon your arrival⁵³ __ You are to prevent as much as possible your Men from Stragling from the main Body by placing Centrys by Night round your Camp & not to suffer any Men to go in the Plantations w^{ch}. they may come to __ You must be particularly carefull the Soldiers do not Insult or injure any of the Inhabitants of the Country thro: w^{ch}. you pass & Keep good Order__ The Commissary will provide Provisions for the troops from day to day __ You will give Certificates to the Ferrys w^{ch} you pass over⁵⁴

You must also give great charge to the Officers who bring up the rear that they do not Suffer any men to lag behind __

I am yours &c __

Sign'd

Fran^s. Marion

L^t C^o. in 2^d Reg^t in Con: Service

O'Kelley, BCADM, 240.

47. There is no explanation as to why the 2nd and 5th Regiments were ordered to march from Beaufort to Charlestown, a distance of about 70 miles, instead of joining the rest of the expedition by water.

48. The artillery belonged to the 4th South Carolina (Artillery) Regiment.

49. Capt. John Vanderhorst commanded the detachment of the 1st SC Regiment assigned to the expedition.

50. Capt. Sims White was in the 4th Regiment.

51. The *Mary* was one of the ships mentioned in the original orders of Feb. 28, above, but the *Harlequin* was not. The *Harlequin* may have been acquired in Savannah, or it may have been renamed.

52. Capt. Anthony Ashby and Capt. Thomas Lesesne were in the 2nd Regiment. Capt. George Cogdell was in the 5th Regiment.

53. It is unclear why these troops were disembarked for a march to Charlestown. Perhaps there was no longer room for them on the ships.

54. Using ferries generally meant paying the cost for the service, which was a standard consideration not just for civilian travelers but also for armies in the colonial period. Of note is the fact that Marion ordered these Continental units to give "certificates" which the ferry owners could in theory use to claim payment from the state government or the Continental Congress. This is evidence that Marion, like most Continental officers at this point in the war, did not have specie to give, and had to resort to rapidly depreciating Continental paper currency or, more worthless still, promissory notes. Many proprietors (including ferry operators) were reluctant to take this payment in light of its volatile and generally low value. However, when armed men were asking for passage, there was always an implicit coercive factor, leaving them with little alternative but to cooperate.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Lt. William Mitchell⁵⁵ (4th Regiment) - March 22, 1777

Beaufort Port Royal 22nd March 1777

Sir

You are to proceed on board the sloop Beaufort commanded by Captⁿ Mercier wth the sick of Col^o Mottes Detachm^t. & 15 men of the 4th Reg^t: as a Guard, & proceed from hence wth all Expedition by Sea to Charlestown, delivering the Men of the 1st Regiment at Fort Moultrie, the 4th at Fort Johnstson & the 2^d & 5th with the Remainder of the Provisions in Charlestown.

You are to be very carefull of all your Provisions & make an exact Return of what is expended & that w^{ch} remains to the commanding officer in Charlestown.

Shou'd you be pursued by an Enemy, you are not to suffer yourself to be taken, but rather run your vessel on Shore, if by that Means you can save the troops from being taken. Doctr. Marshall⁵⁶ will attend the Sick, & in all Things you must conduct yourself wth Prudence & good Discipline to the Service & advantage of the United States

I am yours &c

Francis Marion

L^t C^o of 2^d Reg^t in Con: Service

O'Kelley, BCADM, 241.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Capt. John Vanderhorst - March 26, 1777

Coppoy of a letter to Captⁿ Vanderhorst at Wappoo Omitted 26th March 1777~

Sir

Shou'd you not come up to us before we get in Town Harbour⁵⁷ you will proceed directly to Fort Moultrie on Sullivants Island & land your men & their join their Regim^t: laving 1 Subaltern & a small Guard to the ammunition & Provisions ordering the Schooner to land all Military Ammunition & Provisions in Ch^s. Town & deliver y^m to the public Store Keeper & Commissary taking a receipt for the Same__ you will make a return of all Provisions made use of on board your Vessell to & from Georgia giving orders to the officer who delivers the articles above mention'd to make a return of the Military Stores & Provisions w^{ch} may be deliver'd to the StoreKeeper & Commissary

I am Sir &c

Fran^s. Marion

O'Kelley, BCADM, 242.

[55. See a bio of William Mitchell here.](#)

56. Dr. Francis Marshall was not mentioned as a surgeon on the expedition in Brig. Gen. Moultrie's orders of Feb. 26. Presumably, the decision for the sick to return by sea resulted from the time-sensitive nature of their specific medical needs. Additional instructions about running the vessel aground if pursued suggest that such an eventuality had been the primary reason the expedition had eschewed the open sea route in the first place.

57. Presumably Marion, in the flagship, had pulled away from Vanderhorst's vessel. As evidenced in the orders of Mar. 5 and 8, above, during the voyage to Savannah, travel through the intracoastal waters had its problems. Ships were at the mercy of low tides and had to deal with running aground. On the return trip there was apparently less urgency for the ships to stay close together.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Detachment - March 27, 1777

Ch^s. Town harbour, 27th March [1777]⁵⁸

Parole CSⁿ

L^t Col: Marion returns his Thanks to the officers for their Endeavours to forward their vessels in this most tedious voyage to & from Georgia and cannot but make known his satisfaction in seeing the officer & men live wth so much unanimity w^{ch}. remands to their honour & at all Times will be productive of the happiest Consequences in the Service of their Country & begs that the men may be made acquainted wth his appreciation of their good Behaviour__⁵⁹

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 241.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Lt. Thomas Gadsden (1st Regiment)⁶⁰ - March 27, 1777

Ch^s. Town harbour, 27th March [1777]

Copy

Sir/

You will proceed wth the Detachment of the S^o Car Regim^{ts}:⁶¹ in your Command to Fort Moultrie & there deliver the men. The Military Stores, Provisions &c you will order to be delivered to the Publick store Keeper and Commissary in Charlestown taking a recp^t. for the Same__

I am yours & c

Franc^s. Marion

L^t. C^o. 2^d Reg^t:

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 242.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Capt. Sims White (4th Regiment) - March 27, 1777

Ch^s. Town harbour, 27th March [1777]

Copy

Sir/

You will proceed wth the Detachm^t of the 1st Reg^t under your command to Fort Johnston & there deliver the men.⁶² The Military Stores, Provision &c you will order to be deliver'd to the publick store Keeper & Commissary in Ch^s. town taking a receipt for the same

I am yours &c

Fran^s Marion

L^t. C^o. 2^d Regim^t.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 242.

58. The voyage to Savannah took 11-12 days; the return trip took only eight, likely due to the decreased necessity for ships to remain together.

59. It was not unusual for a commander to thank his subordinate officers after a victory or upon the return from a mission. Here, Marion showed that side of command by offering words of appreciation to his officers and men for their service on the expedition, despite the fact that, by any reasonable measure, the mission was a failure.

60. See Thomas Gadsden.

61. On the return trip to Charlestown from Savannah, it is not clear which troops Gadsden had under his command. In the next letter, it appears that men from the 1st SC (Gadsden's regiment) were under the command of Capt. Sims White, who was in the 4th (Artillery) Regiment. To balance the troops in the various ships, contingents from the same regiment were allocated to different ships. If Gadsden did have some of the 1st Regiment in his detachment, then Marion's order effectively sent some of the 1st Regiment to Fort Moultrie and others to Fort Johnson (See Marion to White).

62. Capt. White of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment evidently had troops from the 1st SC Regiment on board as well. Curiously, by Marion's orders of Mar. 22, White had divided "his men between the Mary & Harlequin." White resigned from the Continental Army in Sep. 1777 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 240).

***Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion
General Orders by Brig. Gen. Robert Howe
March 28, 1777***

28th March [1777] by Gen: Howe

Parole Huger

For the day to morrow Captⁿ Ashby Town Guard L^t. Mason
Magazine Guard L^t. Dunbar, Brickhouse L^t. P Gray⁶³

R.O By L^t. C^o. Marion

A Court Martial to sett to Morrow morning at 11 o'Clock to try such Prisoners as shall be brought before them
Evidences to attend, Presed^t. Capt Ashby, members L^{ts} Burke & Shubrick

Gen Orders __

L^t C^o. Marion will soon as possible report to Gen: Howe the Military & other Stores receiv'd for the use of
the Detachmt which went to Georgia & also what part of y^m: were return'd to this State on his arrival.⁶⁴ NB
accord^g. to last Court's Sentence, Serj^t Marlow for misbehaviour to Cap: Jervey was reprimanded __

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 242-43.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - April 2, 1777

[Charlestown], April 2nd [1777]

Parole Cattel By y^r Gen^l.

For the Day to morrow Captⁿ Lesesne For the Guards from 5th

NB L^t. Perreneau was reliev'd by L^t Warley being sick at the Town Guard, L^t Hall was warn'd to take L^t.
Masons Guard because he is sick also __

According to the Sentence of the court Martial the 31st March last Thomas Welsh & Jn^o Clements for absence
from the Command was dismiss'd __ Fran^s. Dupres for abusing & striking Serj^t Coffe receive'd 30 Lashes __

R.O. A Court Martial to sett to morrow 10 o'Clock to try such Prisoners as may be brought before them __
Evidences to Attend President Capt Lesesne members L^{ts}. H Gray & Warley __

Commanding Officers of Companies are desir'd to make their men clean their arms & keep them so; any
Soldier who shall appear on Parole, or Guard wth. their Arms dirty or rusted, to be confin'd for disobedience of
Orders __ & suffer accordingly __ Maj^r Horry & Adjutant D'Ellient⁶⁵ will be particular in confining such Soldiers
who do not comply wth this Order __ Commission'd & non Com^d. Off^{rs}: are desir'd to make their men dress
properly whenever they turn out on Parade, at roll call, for Guard or Exercise & make them keep Silence while
under arms, the comd^g: Officer is asham'd to see the Men in such Disorder on the parade __⁶⁶

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 244-45.

63. Peter Gray (1750-1814) was on one of the sloops Lt. Col. Marion employed to sail from Charlestown to Savannah in the failed attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777. He became a 1st lieutenant in the 2nd Regiment in March of that year. By Feb. 1779, Gray was promoted to captain, replacing Isaac Harleston who had been promoted to major. Gray fought at the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779. After being taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, he was exchanged in Jun. 1781 and served to the close of the war (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 381; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 105n283).
64. Marion's order to make the return report to Gen. Howe illustrates some of the mundane basics of military administration and logistics requirements. It is noteworthy that six days earlier Marion had requested "an exact Return of what is expended & that w^{ch} remains" from Lt. William Mitchell. Orders of Mar. 26 called for a return from "Officers commanding Vessells" and from Capt. John Vanderhorst, above. Finally, on Mar. 27, a day before Gen. Howe's order, Marion sent letters to Lt. Gadsden and Capt. White, both above, requesting returns of "The Military Stores, Provisions &c." These instances suggest that Marion, as a commander, understood and executed administrative procedures before being prompted by his own superiors.
65. Andrew Dellient (D'Ellient) served as an adjutant in the 2nd SC Regiment in 1775, 1776, and from Aug. 1777, when he also became brigade major under Gen. Moultrie. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 15n3).
66. Barracks life in Charlestown seemingly returned to normal after the expedition to Savannah. Marion may have felt it necessary to restate standing military policies after the journey, during which the regulations had not been enforced as tightly as when the troops were stationed in Charlestown. Routine discipline issues and the resulting courts-martial were the norm.

May 6 – Gen. John Burgoyne arrives in Canada and takes control of the British forces there.

May 20 – South Carolina and the Cherokee sign the Treaty of Dewitt's Corner, ending the Cherokee War of 1776. The Cherokee surrender all remaining lands in South Carolina. Tribal holdouts under Dragging Canoe move northward to continue the war.

Jun. 13 – The Marquis de Lafayette and Baron Johann de Kalb arrive in Georgetown, South Carolina, en route to joining the Continental Army to the northward.

Jun. 17 – John Burgoyne begins his march toward Albany from St. Johns, Canada, at the head of 7,000 British, Tories, Hessians, and Indians.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Marion – June 18, 1777

[Charlestown], [18th June 1777]

Regim^{tl}: Orders

L^t Col^o Marion

Roll Call to be at 6 OClock in morning & 5 in Afr: for the feuter

It is positively order'd that no Soldier for the feuter do mount guard without their Hairs combed & beard shaved clean & their Cloaths as clean as possible with their shoes, stockins or their Leggins on, their Arms clean & in good order, any solders who do not Obey this Order may depend on being severely punish't

Commanding Officers of Comp^{ys}. to see their men for duty Obey the above orders & to answer for their neglect

The Adjutant is Possively orderd not to march a man of the parade for Guard that do not comly with the above Ordes

L^t Col^o Marion has had frequent complaints made by the Generals of the men mounting guard with long beard & without shoes and stockings & their arms not Cleaned

Command^g. Off^{rs}. of Companies are desired to stop one half of their mens pay & get such necessarys as will make their men Appear as Decent as possible

The Col^o. Acquaints the Regiment that he is Oblige to take notice of all Disobediance of Orders & neglect of duty in a manner not don hitherto _____⁶⁷

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 281-82.

67. An overarching theme of Marion's writing, especially during lulls between active campaigning, was a sense that the noncommissioned officers and rank and file were an undisciplined lot. Gen. Howe's dissatisfaction with the behavior of the enlisted men apparently became so great that by his orders of Nov. 18, a commissioned officer of each company was ordered "for the future to sleep in the Barracks." Even this seems not to have had much effect on soldiers' tendency to sneak out of quarters at night. See Orders of Nov. 25, below (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 350).

General Orders by Maj. Gen. Robert Howe
Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion
June 27, 1777

[Charlestown], 27th June [1777]

Orders by G. Howe

Parole Moultrie

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ Lessn, Town guard L^t from 5th Reg^t,

Magazine L^t Proveaux ___ Brick house L^t Perreneau

In Commemoration of the 28th June⁶⁸ last on which day the good conduct and Spirited Behaviour of the Officers & men of this state deservedly Obtained honours for themselves & render'd Essential service to their Country & common cause of America the following firing are to take Place at fort Moultrie 13 pieces of Cannon, at fort Johnson 11, at Broughtons Battery⁶⁹ 7, at Littletons 7, at Elliots [quantity missing] at Gadsdens Warff 7

By Lt Colo Marion. The firings to begin at fort Moultrie and when finished then to commence at fort Johnson then at Broughtons then at Litteltons & to finish at Elliots Col^o. Huger (as Gen^l Moultrie is sick) will order an Officer with a proper number of men from the 2nd & 5th Reg^{ts} to get the Guns in Order at Elliots & to direct the firings at that place

Capt^{ns}: Grimbball & Darell will be so Obliging to order that at the Batterys where the command, the signal for Beginning the firing which will be one piece of Cannon from Broughtons Battery which will probable be about 10 OC: ___ The 2nd & 5th Regiments will parade at some convenient place tomorrow morning precisely at 10 OC: when a feu de Joye⁷⁰ is to be fired, the Commanding Off^{rs}. at fort Moultrie will turn out the men of that fort at such as the tide will permit & think proper and fire either a feu de Joye or in platoons, tho as the former will not probable be heard in town the latter will be most eligible for this firing is to be answered by the corps at fort Johnson who are to take it up in the manner observed at fort Moultrie some signal should be agreed upon between the two forts the General thinks proper to add that he hopes the Common Soldiers will not disgrace the festivity of the day by any improper behaviour, the Adjutant General will immediately transmit this Order the Commandg Off^r at fort Moultrie & acquaint Col^o Roberts, Capt^{ns} Grimbball & Darrel⁷¹ there with

Regimental Orders by Lt Colo Marion. Commanding Off^{rs} of companies to apply to the Quartr Master for their mens coats this after noon in proportion to the number of men in each Comp^y and tomorrow to supply their men with Leggens all who have had a pair for last year to give Col^o Marion their names the Quarter Master to take a receipt from an Off^r of a Copy for what Cloathing he delivers

A Number of Ladies in this town have been so kind as to Order a genteel dinner to be given the Soldiers tomorrow in memory of their good Behaviour the 28th June last past at fort Moultrie & the officer of the Regiment presents them with a Hogshead of Claret & 42 barrels Beer

Col^o Marion hopes the men will behave with Sobriety & Decency in honour to those Ladies who have been so kind as to give them so genteel a treat, for Soldier being seen in the Street Drunk or riotous will be scandal to the Regiment & prevent any further notice being taken of them, he hopes they will keep the Barracks & not go in town that day & should any man be overtaken in liquor the Sergeants and Corporals will have them put Quitely in their Barracks for which reason the Col^o. Insists that every Sergeant & Corp^l. will stay on the Barrack yard that they may take care of the men in their Company the Serg^t. Maj^r. in peticular is to stay in Barrack yard & keep Good Order amongst the men⁷²

General Moultrie will be on the parrade tomorrow morning & is expected the man will take care to be very clean in respect to him

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 288.

68. The reference here was to the dramatic Patriot victory over the British Royal Navy on Jun. 28, 1776, at Sullivan's Island. The event, originally called Palmetto Day, is still celebrated annually in Charleston. It is now called Carolina Day.

69. Broughton's Battery, now referred to simply as "The Battery," was at the very southern tip of Charlestown Peninsula at the point of confluence for the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. It was the first and most important battery protecting the city.

70. *A feu de joie* (French: "fire of joy") is a sequential discharge of firearms in a salute used on occasions of public rejoicing. During the 18th and 19th centuries, it was often used to mark a military victory or birthday (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 288n658).

71. [See brief bio of Thomas Grimbball here.](#) Less is known about Joseph Darrel but he served as a captain in the militia at Lyttleton's Bastion in 1775. He was at the siege of Charlestown. At some point, he became a major (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 232).

72. General Howe's and Lt. Col. Marion's concerns about the potential actions of the troops while inebriated were probably well-founded. Off-duty soldiers had little to do other than to indulge in the vices of drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution. Apparently, the troops behaved themselves in this instance. Howe commended them in his Jun. 30, orders, writing "The General highly approves the respectable conduct of the Soldiers on Saturday last he feels himself interested in every thing w^{ch} concerns them and consequently cannot help but take pleasure in what contribute[d] to their conduct" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 289).

Jul. 6 – In light of Burgoyne’s artillery occupying Mount Defiance above Fort Ticonderoga, the American garrison elects to abandon the post without a fight. The next day the American rearguard and British advance guard fight a bloody but inconclusive battle at Hubbardton.

Jul. 20 – North Carolina makes peace with the Overhill Cherokee at Long Island of the Holston.

Jul. 23 – Gen. William Howe’s British army in New York leaves for Philadelphia by sea.

Aug. 2 – British Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger initiates a siege of Fort Stanwix, NY.

Aug. 4 – Horatio Gates is appointed to replace Philip Schuyler as commander of the Continental Army’s Northern Department.

Aug. 6 – Gen. Nicholas Herkimer is ambushed by Tories and Indians at Oriskany while marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix, and forced to fall back after some of the bloodiest fighting of the entire war.

Aug. 16 – Col. John Stark attacks, surrounds, and destroys a Hessian foraging column under Col. Friedrich von Baum near Bennington (present Vermont), dealing a devastating blow to Burgoyne’s expedition.

Aug. 23 – In the face of an approaching relief column under Benedict Arnold, St. Leger’s Indians depart, forcing him to abandon the siege of Fort Stanwix, and his expedition.

Aug. 25 – Gen. William Howe’s army lands at Head of Elk, Maryland, en route to Philadelphia.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - September 11, 1777

Cha^s Town, 11th Sept: 1777

Regtl Orders— Lt Colo Marion

L^t Proveaux thinking himself Angered by a report of his Beheavour when on the Brick House Guard, some time ago request in court of Inquiry; a Regimental court of Inquiry is therefore Order’d to sett today at 11 Clock to Inquire in the beheaviour of L^t Proveaux when on Guard at the brick house some time in August Last.⁷⁷ Serg^t. Coffe will Summon the man who lives at Col^o Laurences house to Appear against L^t Proveaux, who will Summon the Sergeant and Corporal of the Guard at the time this report took rise & such other persons he may think proper - this court to consist of Major Horry as president, thee Capt^{ns} & three Subalterns as members

For this Court Majr. Horry presidt.

Captn. Motte, Lesesne & Moultrie – Lieutnts H. Gray. Burke & Shubrick

After Orders by Lt Colo. Marion

The Regimental court of Inquiry Order’d to Inquire in the Beheaviour of L^t Proveaux on the Brick House Guard; Report as follows –

The Court mett according to Orders and after due consideration on the testimony of the Evidence Produced to them, Are Unanimously & fully of Oppinion that L^t Proveaux conduct while on Guard the 26th July⁷⁸ last has been Inconsistent with the Character of an Officer & a Gentleman and Deserves the Attention of a General Court martial –⁷⁹

The Court of Inquiry of which Major Horry was president is dissolved –

O’Kelley, BCADM, 316-17.

77. This request by an officer for a court of inquiry into complaints about him is the only such instance mentioned in Marion’s Orderly Book.

78. The actual date for this incident is unclear and contradictory. It was either Jul. 11 or 26 (See Marion to Proveaux, Sep. 11, below). There is no mention of Proveaux’s actions in the orderly books of these dates or the days immediately following them.

79. Following military practice, the court of inquiry served much like a grand jury in civilian law. After determining whether a legitimate case existed, the court of inquiry had done its job, and a court martial would try the case based on the facts. The court’s findings are reflected in the letter to Proveaux of Sep. 11, immediately below.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Lt. Adrian Proveaux - September 11, 1777

Cha^s Town, 11th Sept: 1777

Sir

You are hereby Order'd under Arrest for behaving unbecoming an Officer and a Gentleman on the 26th of July Last when on the Brick house Guard – Dated July 11th: 1777 – Frⁿ. Marion, L^t. Col^o.

NB the L^t Col^o Immediately applied for L^t Proveaus tryal by a General Court Martial⁸⁰ –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 317.

Sep. 18 – In the face of the advancing British army, the Continental Congress flees Philadelphia for Lancaster, PA, and shortly thereafter to York.

Sep. 19 – Gen. Burgoyne's army advances to attack Gates near Saratoga. Fighting breaks out near Freeman's Farm and, thanks to decisive action by Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan, the British advance is stopped and the battle ends in a draw. Arnold is removed from his position as second-in-command of the American army for insubordination.

Sep. 21 – General Charles Grey launches a surprise nighttime attack on the camp of Anthony Wayne's Brigade near Paoli, Pennsylvania, even going so far as to order his men to remove the flints from their muskets and rely solely on the bayonet. Surprise is total and Wayne's men are dispersed with significant loss.

80. Marion requested a review of the Proveaux case by Gen. Howe. On Sep. 12, Howe ordered the general court martial then sitting to hear the case. Proveaux was found guilty. See General Orders by Maj. Gen. Robert Howe of Sep. 25, immediately below.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Robert Howe - September 25, 1777

[Charlestown], 25th Sept: [1777]

Parole Nelson

Reg^{tl} Ord^{rs}. by G Howe For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. Motte
Town guard Lieut^t: Warley
Magazine L^t from 5th reg: ~ Brickhouse L^t P. Gray

The General court martial orderd to try L^t Proveaux have reported as follows ~ the Court is of Opinion that Lieut^t: [Adrian] Proveaux is Guilty of the Charge which he stands Accuses & comes under the later part of the 21st Articles of the 14th Section, of the articles of war and Sentences that he may be reprimanded by the Commanding Officer of his Battalion in the presents of the Officers of that Corps only⁸¹ – The General Approves & ratify the Sentence which Col^o. Motte will execute in the manner he thinks proper, After which L^t Proveaux is to be Discharged from his Arrest, return to duty & be respected & Obey'd as usual

Regimtl Ordrs.— Colo. Motte

A court martial to set this morning to try all such prisoners as shall be brought before them, all evidence to Attend ~ Captⁿ. Harleston Presid^t
L^{ts}. Hart⁸² & H Gray members

The Col^o. desires all the Officers of the regiments to call at his house tomorrow forenoon at 10 OC: The Adjutant to Order L^t Proveaux to attend the same place & Hour

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 323.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Robert Howe - September 26, 1777

[Charlestown], 26th Sept

Orders
by G Howe

Parole Ferguson

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. Ashby
Town guard Lieut^t: from 5th rg:
Magazine L^t Hart ~ Brick house L^t Perrenneau

NB according to sentence of Gen^l. Court martial L^t Proveaux was reprimanded⁸³ ~ & the prisoners try'd by reg^{tl}
Court was pardoned

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 323.

81. The sentence of reprimand is NOT that called out by the referenced article of war. Instead, Section 14, Article 21 states “Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be convicted, before a general court martial, of behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from the service” (*Journals of the Continental Congress*, “Articles of War, Sep. 20, 1776,” 5:804).

82. John Hart became a captain in the 2nd Regiment in Aug. 1779 and resigned in October, after the failed siege of Savannah. In Feb. 1780, he was a 1st lieutenant and was named by Marion to be adjutant of the 2nd SC Regiment. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown. After being exchanged, he became a 1st lieutenant (technically a demotion) in Nov. 1781 and served to the end of the war (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 422; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 150n398); Marion to Harleston, Feb. 29, 1780, ALS [NN, Emmet Collection, 1900, EM. 8642, 396]).

83. Despite being found guilty and reprimanded, Proveaux was promoted to captain on Apr. 27, 1778. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown on May 12, 1780 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 84n232).

Sep. 26 – British forces occupy Philadelphia.

Oct. 3 – Henry Clinton marches north from New York with 4,000 men to create a diversion meant to draw American forces away from facing Burgoyne.

Oct. 4 – Washington orders a counterattack on the British camp at Germantown, Pennsylvania. Although initially successful, due to an overly complicated battleplan combined with American confusion, stubborn British resistance at the Chew House, and timely British reinforcements, the Continentals are ultimately repulsed.

Oct. 7 – Gen. Burgoyne, running low on ammunition, launches a second attack against Gates's position on Bemis Heights. Benedict Arnold, disobeying orders, and lacking any actual authority, leads the Americans on a counterattack that sweeps the British back to their redoubts and then off the field. Arnold is injured, British General Simon Fraser is mortally wounded, and Burgoyne's army is thrown into confusion.

Oct. 17 – Outnumbered, undersupplied, and nearly surrounded, Gen. John Burgoyne surrenders his entire army of over 5,000 men to Horatio Gates. It is the first time an entire British army is captured.

Nov. 1 – South Carolinian Henry Laurens replaces John Hancock as President of the Continental Congress.

Nov. 15 – The Continental Congress adopts the Articles of Confederation and submits them to the states for ratification, a process that will take over three years.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – November 25, 1777

[Charlestown], [25th Nov. 1777]

Regtl. Ordrs

Lt. Colo. Marion

Notwithstanding repeated Orders to the contrary, the Soldiers still Sleep out of Barracks, many of which are reported sick & are in town where the Surgion of the Reg^t. cannot find thm ~ Command^g. Off^{rs}. Of Comp^{ys} are Desired to be particular in Obliging their men to sleep in the Barracks, & to send their Sergeants for all their sick now in town

It is hop'd the Officers of the regim^t. will pay Attention to the Gen^l. Orders of the 18th Inst: & Regimental the 22nd.⁸⁴ –

The L^t. Col^o. Is extremely sorry to see many Gentlemen neglect attending Exercise in the After noon, Contrary to Orders and the good of their Country which they have undertaken, which if perform'd with punctually & forthfullness will Rebound their honour and deserve thanks of their Country⁸⁵

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 350.

84. Continuing deterioration in discipline resulted in an order from Gen. Howe on Nov. 18, directing that a commissioned officer from each company sleep in the barracks, with directions to ensure that the men slept there rather than outside, and that no soldier be "out of the Barracks after tattoo beating without a Wrighten [written] leave from the Command^g Off^r. Of his Comp^{ys}" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 347).

85. Marion experienced discipline problems with his officers, as well as his enlisted men.

Council of War by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie - December 15, 1777

December 15th, 1777

In council of war, held the 13th instant,
 President, Brigadier Gen. William Moultrie
 Col. Isaac Huger, Col. Motte, Col. Roberts, Col. Pinckney, Col. Sumpter, Lieut. Col. Elliott, Lieut. Col. Marion,
 Maj. Peter Horry⁸⁶

The council were of opinion that there would be no impropriety in sending the detachment required provided the remaining troops were thought sufficient for the defence of the state; but considering the present situation of the state, and of the several regiments, the council were also of opinion that we have not men enough to defend the state should it be properly attacked.

It is also my opinion that there is no impropriety in sending troops on that expedition provided there be enough to defend the state.⁸⁷

Signed,
 William Moultrie, President

Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:195-99.

Orders by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie - December 17, 1777

[Charlestown], 17th Dec^r. [1777]

Orders By G. Moultrie

Parole

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ.

Town guard Lieu^t. Hart

Magazine L^t. Sam^l. Guerry ~ Brick house L^t. from 5th reg:

Col^o Huger & L^t. Col^o. Marion are requested to go over to haddrels point some day this week, which will be most convenient for them, & Examine the barracks there and make their report to the General wither they are fit to quarter the Soldiers in & what number of rooms are filled and how many men they can contain and also wither the barracks in town can take in more men then they have at present⁸⁸

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 361.

86. Huger, Motte, Roberts, Pinckney, and Sumter commanded five of the six SC Continental Regiments. Only Col. Thomson of the 3rd SC Regiment was not represented. Elliott was second-in-command of the 4th Regiment, and Marion and Horry were second and third in command of the 2nd Regiment.

87. Moultrie convened the council of war at the behest of Maj. Gen. Howe in response to a letter from SC President John Rutledge to Howe of Dec. 12, in which the former requested a detachment of Continental troops to act as marines on a naval mission to relieve the South Carolina coast of attacks by British ships. At the time, four enemy ships were in sight of Charlestown. Howe himself set out for Georgia on Dec. 13. When he learned of the council's opinion, he requested it to reconvene. On Dec. 29, the council again determined that they could not "alter their former opinion, and they would be unworthy of the commission they hold if they could be induced by the dread of censure, or any other motives to give an opinion contrary to their honor and conscience; at the same time the council beg leave to declare, in the strongest terms, that they are ready and willing to obey orders" (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:196).

After a meeting with Pres. Rutledge, Moultrie informed Howe of the council's opinion and asked Howe to grant Rutledge's request for 150 men. A 5-ship flotilla sailed on Jan. 27, 1778. On Mar. 7, the fleet fell in with the *Yarmouth*, a British 64-gun ship. The largest American vessel, the 36-gun *Randolph*, engaged her. The *Yarmouth* was taking the worst of the action, until a shot landed in the powder magazine of the *Randolph*. The ensuing explosion destroyed the *Randolph*, killing 326 American soldiers acting as marines and sailors. Only four sailors survived. This was the costliest American naval defeat, in terms of lives lost, until the attack on Pearl Harbor during World War II ("Copy of a Letter from Captain Vincent, of His Majesty's Ship Yarmouth, to Admiral Yong," *The London Gazette*, May 19, 1778; Gardner Weld Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. [Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913], 1:296-298).

88. The reason for this review is unclear. Perhaps it had something to do with the council of war held on Dec. 13 to discuss Gen. Howe's plan for an expedition into Georgia and East Florida. Marion presumably had not been to Haddrell's Point since Feb. 1776, when his 2nd SC Regiment was transferred to Sullivan's Island and he was promoted to major (see orderly book entry of Feb. 29, 1776, above).

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – December 24, 1777

[Charlestown], [24th Dec^r. 1777]

Reg^t Orders
L^t. Col^o Marion

All Commissioned & non Commissioned Officers are to be particular at this time of festivity to have all such Soldiers whom may be found Drunk in the streets or Otherways sent to the Guard house there to remain till further Order; All soldiers are forbid going into town or out of Barracks After retreat Beating, Any Soldiers who may be found out of the Barrack Yard after that time to be Confind where they will remain for a week only to be taken out to mount guard every other day & After relieved Immediately put in Confinement; & those who may be found Drunk will be further punished – this Order to be made Known to the men this Evening⁸⁹

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 363.

Orders by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie – December 29, 1777

[Charlestown], 29th Dec^r. [1777]

Orders
by G Moultrie

Parole Sullivant

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ. from 5th reg:
Town Guard Captⁿ. Blake L^{ts} Warely & Perreneau
Magazine Martin ~ Brick house L^t. from 5th reg:
Pritchards L^t. Petr. Gray

The 2nd Regim^t. Is Order'd to get in readiness to go to fort moultrie the 6th January⁹⁰ to relieve the 1st Reg^t. which is ordered to town – no hutts or Buildings about the fort are to be hurted or Demolished on any Account Whatsoever ~ the 1st reg^t. may begin to remove their Bagage & as Soon as convenient, the Budgings that are private property the Gen^l. will Indeavour to get them payed by the State

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 365.

89. Here we see Marion being proactive to minimize the disorderliness around Christmas. The following day's orders revealed no further reference to "this time of festivity." Dec. 25 was a day like any other.

90. The 2nd SC Regiment had last been stationed on Sullivan's Island in the summer of 1776 and, along with a small contingent of the 4th (Artillery) Regiment, had been responsible for the devastating blow to the British Royal Navy on Jun. 28 of that year. The damage inflicted on the British effectively ended their initial attempt to conquer the South. On Aug. 7, shortly after the Battle of Sullivan's Island, then Maj. Francis Marion delivered the fort, soon after to be known as Fort Moultrie, over to the 1st Regiment. The 2nd Regiment was initially scheduled for duty at Haddrell's Point beginning on Feb. 17, 1777. However, the orders were canceled as a result of the decision to send a detachment to relieve Ft. McIntosh on the Satilla River in Georgia. Other than the aborted expedition to Georgia, the 2nd Regiment had spent all of 1777 in Charlestown.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie
Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion
December 31, 1777

Ch^s town, 31st Dec^r 1777 _

Orders 31st Dec^r

L^t. Col^o. Marion

Parole Virginia

by G Moultrie

For Guard tomorrow Captⁿ. Mazyck & 2 L^{ts}. From 5th reg:
Magazine L^t. Foissin⁹¹ – Brickhouse L^t. Perreneau

The Deputy Q M Gen^l. is Order'd to git some Vessels ready at Gadsden⁹² on munday next to provide Waggons to Cart the Baggage &c. belonging to the Second Reg^t. to be Carried to fort Moultrie

Regtl Ordrs

L^t. Col^o. Marion

The Officers & Soldiers of the reg^t. is to prepare their Baggage ready to be put on board the vessels by the 5th Jan^y.

that nothing may prevent going to fort Moultrie the day after – the Q. Must^f. to pack up & git all the regimental Stores ready to be transported to Sullivants Island; he is also to send for the Old Arms now in the Store to the Arsenal & take a receipt from M^r. John Calvert,⁹³ this to be done immediately as possible – he is also to Hurry the Armourers in proving & marking the new muskets that they may be ready the 5th Jan^y. – the Iron potts that have been given out to the men must be Called for, & the Q Must^f. take a particular Account & make a report of them & all other Stores to the Commanding Officer –

After Orders

A Monthly return to be made and Given to the Maj^r. By tomorrow 4 OC: in the After noon

A regim^{tl} Court martial to Set tomorrow 10 OC: in forenoon to try all such prisoners as shall be Brought to it – the Serg^t. Maj^r: to warn the members today & Acquaint the prisoners that their trial will Come on at the above hour – this Court to Consist of one Captⁿ. as presid^t. & 4 other Off^{rs}. as members, if they Shoud not be Subalterns a nough for members & the Court to be made up by as many Capt^{ns} as may be wanted, the Court not to Adjourn till 3 OC: in Afternoon without all the prisoners are try'd that may be brought to it

by Consent of the Commanding Officer

Captⁿ. Ashby president

Lieu^{ts}. Perreneau & Warley Members

NB no other Off^{rs} where to be had

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 365-66.

91. Peter Foissin became a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Dec. 1777 and a 1st lieutenant in Jul. 1778. Although he was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, once exchanged, he served in Marion's Brigade until the close of the war. For at least a period of his service with Marion, Foissin was severely debilitated with gout, as he related to Marion in Dec. 1781. He resigned his commission in Mar. 1782 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 260n588; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 321; Foissin to Marion, Dec. 7, 1781, Tr [Force Transcripts: DLC]).

92. Presumably Gadsden's Wharf.

93. John Calvert was a saddler for the SC Line (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 138).

Anthony Ashby

Anthony Ashby (not to be confused with the Anthony Ashby who married Marion's niece) became a 1st lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jun. 1775 and a captain in Nov. 1776.

In Feb. and Mar. 1777, then-Captain Ashby commanded one of a small flotilla of ships that were dispatched by Gen. Howe to rescue a force of 50 South Carolina Rangers and Georgia militia being besieged by British regulars, Tories, and Indians at Fort McIntosh on the Satilla River in southern Georgia. Although Col. Isaac Motte was commander of the rescue force, Marion directed the movements of the ships, which were ultimately too late to prevent the fort from surrendering.

After becoming captain in the militia, Ashby was wounded and taken prisoner at Augusta, GA, in Sep. 1780. He and 12 others were hanged by Loyalist Lt. Col. Thomas Brown.

—O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 20n47; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 29; Charles C. Jones, *The History of Georgia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883), 2:260-63.

George Cogdell

George Cogdell (d.1792) was a captain in the 5th SC Regiment. Cogdell commanded one of the sloops Marion employed to sail from Charlestown to Savannah in the failed attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777. He was court-martialed for neglect of duty and disobedience of orders, but found not guilty in Jul. 1778.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 183; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 233n543.

Horatio Gates

Horatio Gates (1728-1806) grew up in England but the majority of his military career in the British Army was spent in North America. He rose to the rank of major before retiring.

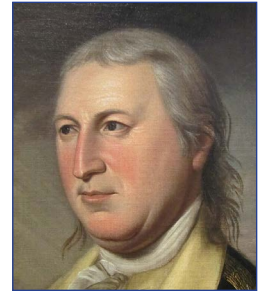
Gates emigrated to Virginia in 1772 with the help of George Washington. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Gates sided with the Patriot cause. He was appointed brigadier general and charged with the role of adjutant general of the Continental Army in Jun. 1775.

As a result of his victory over Gen. Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777, Gates's career was at its zenith, though many historians now credit Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan with the victory. During this period, there were whispers that the Continental Congress would replace Washington with Gates. When Charlestown fell in May, 1780, however, Washington reluctantly dispatched the "hero of Saratoga" to reorganize the Southern Department.

Gates's overly aggressive strategy, coupled with a flawed deployment, and hands-off tactical leadership, resulted in the destruction of his army at Camden on Aug. 16, 1780. His hasty flight to Hillsborough, NC, before the battle had even ended, drew the criticism of many.

After relinquishing command of the Southern Army to Nathanael Greene in Dec. 1780, Gates returned to his Virginia plantation. His requests for a Congressional

inquiry into his actions at Camden finally resulted in him being cleared of misconduct, at which point he returned to the army, but he never held another major command. When the war ended, Gates returned to his plantation. In 1790 he moved to New York City, where he served in the State Legislature from 1800-01.



—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:406-09.

Thomas Gadsden

Thomas Gadsden (1757-91) was the second son of noted Patriot official and Continental officer Christopher Gadsden. He became a 1st lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment in May 1776, and a captain in Oct. 1778. Appointed assistant to the adjutant general of the Southern Department in Sep. 1779, he was imprisoned at Haddrell's Point after Charlestown fell in May 1780.

He was elected to the 6th and 7th General Assemblies but resigned in 1787 to serve as lieutenant governor of South Carolina from 1787-89. He also served on the Privy Council from 1784-89, and then served another term in the House. Gadsden was a delegate to South Carolina's convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 339; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 238n549; Godbold, *Christopher Gadsden*, 17; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:249-50; A.S. Salley, *Records of the Regiments of the South Carolina Line in the Revolutionary War* (Genealogical Publishing Co., 1977), 57, 60, 73.

Thomas Grimball

Thomas Grimball (c.1745-83) was admitted to the Charlestown bar in 1765. He served as a commander of the Charlestown Battalion of Artillery and became a captain-lieutenant in the 4th SC Artillery Regiment in Jun. 1775. Grimball was elected to the General Assembly from 1776-80. He lent the state £80,000 in 1779. He became a captain in May 1776, a major in the first half of 1780, and was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown in May 1780. He was on parole until Aug. and was then sent as a prisoner to St. Augustine. After being released in Sep. 1781, he served until the close of the war.

Grimball was a member of the SC House when it convened in Jacksonborough in 1782.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 390; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:289.

Isaac Huger

Isaac Huger (c.1742-97), brother of Daniel, Benjamin, John, and Francis Huger, and first cousin once removed of Francis Marion, was the highest-ranking South Carolina Continental officer after the fall of Charlestown. He became Colonel of the 5th SC in 1776, and a brigadier general in 1779. Huger was wounded at Stono Ferry and fought at Savannah in 1779. He was surprised at Monks Corner on Apr. 14, 1780, by Banastre Tarleton, and his command was destroyed. But because of this, like Marion, he avoided capture at the surrender of Charlestown. Huger then joined Gates's army in North Carolina. He was wounded again at Guilford Courthouse in Mar. 1781, but continued to serve in Greene's later campaigns. In mid-1782 Huger was responsible for recruitment of Continental soldiers in South Carolina.

—PNG, 6:535-36n; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 16n7; "South Carolina Gleanings in England," *SCHGM* 15 (1914):92-93; Richardson, "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," *SCGHM* 43 (1942):133-40; A.M. Smith, "The Baronies of South Carolina," *SCHGM* 12 (1911):8-9.

William Mitchell

William Mitchell (1747-1780) immigrated to South Carolina from Virginia. He was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant on Jun. 17, 1775, and was promoted to 1st lieutenant in the 4th SC Artillery Regiment when it was formed in 1776. Mitchell accompanied Lt. Col. Marion on the aborted mission to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777.

Mitchell was promoted to captain in 1779. In Oct. 1779, Mitchell was convicted of treating his commanding officer, Col. Bernard Beekman, "with abusing & Scurrilous Language." Mitchell was sentenced to a reprimand in the presence of the officers of the 4th Artillery Regiment. Gen. Lincoln disapproved of the sentence, "as he Think it Totally inadequate to the offence." Mitchell was promoted to captain in 1780. He was again court-martialed in Mar. 1780 for being absent from camp, but acquitted. He was killed during the siege of Charlestown in May 1780.

—O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 72n203; Marion to Lincoln, Jan. 28, 1779, ALS (PHi), Learned Collection, Jan. 28, 1779, box 2 #1350 D56.

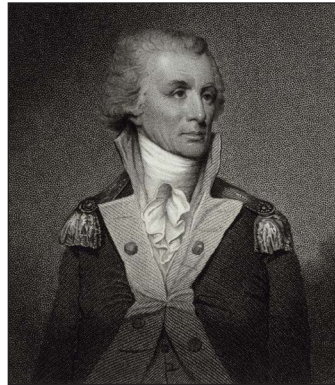
Thomas Potts

Thomas Potts was a 2nd lieutenant in the First Company of the Prince Frederick's Parish militia under Capt. Benjamin Screven during 1775. At some point he joined the 5th SC Regiment and was promoted to captain. Capt. Potts commanded one of the sloops Marion employed to sail from Charlestown to Savannah in the failed attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777. Potts resigned his commission in Jan. 1778. After the fall of Charlestown, he served as a captain in Marion's Brigade. He escorted the last of the British prisoners who had been captured at Great Savannah in Aug. 1780 to Gen. Harrington's camp. He also supported McCottry's riflemen in blocking Lt. Col. John Watson's attempt to

cross the Black River at the Lower Bridge in Mar. 1781. Potts was a member of the SC House of the General Assembly that convened in Jacksonborough in 1782 and he served in the House again from 1794-95.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 782; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 231n536; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 120-69; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:579.

Thomas Sumter



Originally from Virginia, Thomas Sumter (1734-1832) served as a sergeant in the French and Indian War and as an escort for Cherokee chief Ostanaco on his visit to London in 1762, during which Sumter was present for the chief's audience with King George III. He migrated to South Carolina after the war, settling

on the north side of the Santee River near Nelson's Ferry.

Sumter quickly adapted to his new state. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies, and the SC House from 1778-80. At the beginning of the Revolution, he was named lieutenant colonel of the 2nd SC Regiment of Riflemen, which became the 6th SC Regiment of the Continental Line in Sep. 1776.

Sumter served in Georgia during the British incursion from East Florida. Afterwards he was ordered to Philadelphia to answer questions regarding the debacle in Georgia. After his visit to Congress, he returned to the South a full colonel in command of the 6th SC Regiment.

In frustration over the failed campaigns of Gen. Robert Howe, Sumter resigned his commission in Sep. 1778, and returned to his plantation. For two years, he turned his attention to expanding his holdings and growing richer. In Jun. 1780, his home was burned by a party of Tarleton's Legion, and he returned to the field, this time as a partisan commander. He and Francis Marion were the only notable sources of resistance to the British expansion into the back country after the fall of Charlestown.

Sumter scored important victories during the summer and fall of 1780 and became a symbol of South Carolina resistance. In Oct. 1780, Gov. John Rutledge promoted him to brigadier general and commander of the state militia. Sumter was seriously wounded at the Patriot victory at Blackstock's Plantation in Nov. 1780. After he recovered, he initiated attacks on Fort Watson and Fort Granby. Both failed, as did a second action at Granby in mid-May 1781.

When Gen. Greene moved westward toward Ninety Six, he ordered Sumter to provide support. But Sumter arrived too late. After the siege was abandoned, Sumter convinced Greene to detach himself.

Marion, Henry Lee, and William Washington to carry out a series of operations between Moncks Corner and

Charlestown in July. The plan, later called "The Dog Days Expedition," worked reasonably well. Successful raids were made nearly to Charlestown itself.

However, the expedition unraveled at Shubrick's Plantation on Jul. 17. Dissension generated by Sumter's decision to attack a well-fortified British position, despite advice from his subordinates, resulted in considerable losses and the subsequent withdrawal of Marion, Lee, and some of Sumter's militia in disgust.

Compounding the situation, shortly afterwards Gov. Rutledge issued a proclamation forbidding Sumter's practice of giving bounties in the form of slaves to new militia recruits, a practice that had become known as "Sumter's Law."

A disgruntled Sumter took a leave of absence in Aug. 1781. He attended the SC Senate when it convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, and resigned his militia commission at the end of the session.

Although his military career had ended, his political career was just beginning. He served in the SC House from 1782-90. He was elected to Congress in 1783 but declined to serve. He voted against ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

He was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1788 and served five terms from 1789-1801, then served in the Senate from 1801-10. Sumter founded the town of Stateburg as a step in his unsuccessful attempt to locate the new capital of South Carolina on his property.

Fort Sumter, Sumter County, and the city of Sumter, S.C., are all named after him. At the time of his death, at the age of nearly 98, he was the last surviving general officer of the American Revolution.

—PNG, 6:563n; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 317.

John Vanderhorst

John Vanderhorst (d.1787) became a 1st lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment in Jun. 1775 and was promoted to captain in December. He commanded one of the sloops Marion employed to sail from Charlestown to Savannah in the failed attempt to relieve Fort McIntosh in Feb. 1777. He was promoted to major in the 2nd SC Regiment in late Oct. 1779 after the failed assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt at the siege of Savannah.

When the five South Carolina infantry regiments were reorganized in 1780, Vanderhorst, due to date of rank, was separated from the 2nd Regiment, becoming a supernumerary officer, and thus was not present in Charlestown during the siege.

Marion wrote to Vanderhorst's replacement Isaac Harleston about Vanderhorst's effective demotion: "I am happy to find you are again in the 2nd Regiment, tho I am sorry for Vanderhorst, who wishes to continue in the Service & have Given me Great Satisfaction the Little time he has been with me." From Aug. 1780 to Dec. 1782, he was in the militia under Gen. Marion.

Vanderhorst was a member of the House when the General Assembly convened in Jacksonborough in 1782. After the war, he became secretary of state of South Carolina, serving until his death in 1787.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 949; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 19n34; Marion to Harleston, Jan. 26, 1780, ADS (SChi) South Carolina Historical Society; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:731-32.

Paul Warley

Paul Warley (c.1751-1807) became a cadet, then a 2nd lieutenant, in the 2nd SC Regiment in Aug. 1776. He resigned in Jun. 1777, but returned to the service in August. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1778, and the next year, he was a lieutenant under Capt. Richard Mason and Lt. Col. Marion. (Warley was the son-in-law of Francis Marion's brother Benjamin.)

After the war, Warley served in the SC House for part of one term. He voted to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:747; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 146n389.

1778
The Calm Before the Storm

The 2nd SC Regiment relocated to Fort Moultrie at the beginning of 1778. A week later a fire devastated Charlestown, burning 252 homes, so instead of battling the British, the Southern Army helped in the cleanup of the city.¹

For the United States, the establishment of the Franco-American alliance in Feb. 1778 symbolized America's recognition as a legitimate nation with international relationships separate from the British Empire. Militarily, the alliance resulted in access to needed weapons, ammunition, provisions, and most significantly, the availability of the French army and navy as assets in fighting the British.

While these factors were essential, arguably the most important way in which the alliance benefitted the American war effort was that it diverted British attention away from the colonies by creating a global war. From 1778 on, the British progressively withdrew troops from the 13 colonies to fight in other theaters around the world. This was actually one of the major motivations for their "Southern Strategy" as the British government came to believe the war in the South could be won with fewer resources than the war in the North.

A month after the alliance was signed, British commander-in-chief in North America Gen. Sir William Howe was replaced by Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, known to South Carolinians for having been the leader of the land half of the British expedition to take Charlestown in 1776, and for personally leading the troops that had threatened to cross Breach Inlet at the Battle of Sullivan's Island. The Crown ordered Clinton to evacuate Philadelphia in June 1778, partially due to the need to withdraw manpower for service elsewhere. After sending troops to the Caribbean, West Florida, and Canada, there were no longer enough men available to hold both New York and Philadelphia. The British withdrawal from Philadelphia began on May 18, 1778.²

Washington's army left its winter quarters at Valley Forge as a smaller but much better trained force, and faced off against the British at Monmouth Courthouse, N.J., at the end of June. The battle, one of the largest, longest, and bloodiest of the war, ended in a draw. It was the last major pitched battle in the northern colonies. As a stalemate faced the two armies in New York, the British began to examine another strategy, one that looked to the South.

Of great personal significance to Lt. Col. Francis Marion was the change made in May by the Continental Congress regarding promotions. Previously, the commander of a regiment had held the rank of colonel. The practice was inconsistent with that of the British army, where a regiment's field commander was its lieutenant colonel, and the rank of colonel was an administrative, often honorary or absentee title.³ The incompatibility had created problems during prisoner exchanges. The new policy halted the promotion of new colonels in the infantry. Instead, it gave lieutenant colonels the same pay and responsibilities as a colonel if they were the highest-ranking officer in the regiment. A lieutenant colonel commanding a regiment was distinguished from one who served under a colonel by the title Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant. A second important aspect of the new policy was that the next promotion for such a regimental commander would be to brigadier general, skipping the intermediate rank of colonel. Thus, in Marion's case, when he became a regimental commander in Sep. 1778, his promotion was from lieutenant colonel to lieutenant colonel commandant.⁴ Years later this policy would be reversed again and the rank of colonel reinstated, although Marion never reached the rank in the Continental Army. He did, however, eventually receive a promotion to brigadier general in the SC militia.

1. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:199-201.

2. Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire* (Yale University Press, 2013), 212-13, 221.

3. For instance, Gen. Henry Clinton was currently serving as colonel of the 12th Foot, and Gen. Charles Cornwallis as colonel of the 33rd, in addition to their duties as generals.

4. Robert K. Wright, Jr., *The Continental Army* (Center of Military History, United States Army, 1983), 125-28.

When Congress learned of the British change in strategy, it sent Continental reinforcements to assist in the region's defense. At the same time, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln⁵ was named to replace Gen. Robert Howe as commander of the Southern Department. With the British invasion of Georgia in December, the Southern Army awoke from its lethargy. Howe, not yet aware he had already been replaced, led a force to stop the invaders, departing Charlestown before Lincoln's arrival on Dec. 6. Marion's 2nd SC Regiment remained in Charlestown. Howe's force was routed when the British overran the American defenders near Savannah in Dec. 1778.

Gen. Lincoln's army, including Gen. Moultrie, marched to rescue Howe. Lt. Col. Francis Marion was left in command of Charlestown. Marion served the campaign in a support capacity, providing troops, supplies and intelligence to Lincoln and Moultrie until their return in May 1779, and almost witnessed the loss of the city when British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost⁶ marched nearly to its gates. Pres. Rutledge even proposed terms which would have declared South Carolina neutral and taken the state out of the war. Fortunately for the Patriots, Gen. Prevost did not consider himself authorized to make decisions with such political ramifications. Upon hearing that Lincoln's troops were approaching, the British reversed course back to Savannah, where they continued to solidify their foothold in Georgia, from which they prepared for a full-scale invasion of South Carolina.

5. [See brief bio of Benjamin Lincoln here.](#)

6. [See brief bio of Augustine Prevost here.](#)

Monthly Return of the Second Regiment - January 1, 1778

Monthly Return, 1st Jan^r. 1778 --

1 Col^o 1 Lt Col^o 1 Maj^r. 10 Capt^{ns}. 10 first Lieu^{ts}. 6 Second Lieu^{ts}. 1 Chaplain 1 Q Mast^r 1 pay Mast^r 1 Surgeon 24 Seargeants 1 d^o Maj^r. 16 Drums & fifes; 8 Arm^{rs}. Mate 389 Rank & file men⁷

NB. the night after this return was made 2 men Deserted -- Charles Turbeville of Captⁿ. Lesesnes Comp^y & Spiller of Blakes

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 367.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 6, 1778

Ch^s.town & Fort Moultrie,⁸6th Jan^y.

Orders

By Lt. Col: Marion For the Quartr Guard at Gadsden Warff Lt. Capers⁹

One Subaltern 1 Serg^t. 1 Corp^l. & 18 privates to mount a guard immediately on Gadsden Warff, to post ten Centrys so as to prevent any Soldier from going off the Warff without leave from the Commanding Officer

NB. the regim^t. marched to Gadsden Warff at 11 OC: this day, found only two boats ready to transport them to Sullivant Island, Captⁿ. Mazyck Lt Mason & Guerry with the party Orderd yesterd^y. Embarked with the Baggage on board one schooner – Lt. Baker with 25 men on board the other boat proceeded to Sullivants Island there reembarked & Captⁿ. Mazycks party took possession of Fort Moultrie & relieved the 1st reg^t. Captⁿ. Ashby who was sent the day before to take an Acc^t. of all the stores remained Commanding Officer. – the remainder of the regim^t. & the Officers Campt on Gadsden warff waiting for Boats.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 369-70.

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7. The return from Dec. 1, 1777, showed 255 rank & file fit for duty and 331 total privates (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 353). The numbers of men sick, on command, or on furlough are not recorded in the following month's return, but due to the disparity in total strength between December and January, it is presumed the three categories are folded into the Jan. number. By Dec. 1778 the number of privates had fallen to 213. By act of Congress on May 27, 1778, Continental infantry regiments' paper strength was set at nine companies and a total of 447 privates, 84 or 85 officers and noncommissioned officers, and 20 musicians for a grand total of 551 or 552 men (See Orderly Book entry of Aug. 27, below). However, these paper strengths were virtually never actually achieved. At the Battle of Sullivan's Island, for instance, the 2nd Regiment had 344 men (Bearss, *Battle of Sullivan's Island*, 60; Wright, *The Continental Army*, 127).
8. The 2nd SC Regiment was last at Sullivan's Island in Aug. 1776. Fort Moultrie, a palmetto-and-sand fort, constructed just in time for the attack by the British fleet on Jun. 28, 1776, was originally named Fort Sullivan. Following the victory on Jun. 28, 1776, the fort was renamed Fort Moultrie, in honor of the commander of the fort during the battle, Col. William Moultrie.
9. [See brief bio of William Capers here.](#)

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 8, 1778

Orders 8th Jan^y.¹⁰

Parole Dicipline Col^o. Marion Count^f. Sⁿ. Exact

For the Fort Guard tomorrow Captⁿ. Ashby & L^{ts}. Galvan & Capers rear guard a Serg^t.

No person what ever to do their Occasion within the fort or within 20 yd^s. of the walls on the out side, no bones or other filth or Litter whatever to be thrown in the fort all persons who may Disobey this Order may expect to be Severly punished--Commanding Officers of Companies to order two men & a Serg^t. or Corp. as fatigue men to their Comp^{ys}. who are to clean Dayly all filth which may be about their Barracks and to do other Company Dutys- It is Expect that an Officer will visit their mens quarters daily & See that Orders are Comply'd with The officers who see roll-call morning & Evening is not only to Call the mens names over, but to see they have their Arms & Accoutrements & in what Order when ever they find a man without any part of their Arms & Accoutrements they will be Liable for all Losses & will Certainly be Called upon for payment

That every Officer may have it in turn to go to town or be Absent from Garrison the L^t. Col^o. desires the Gent^m. to Observe, that no more than three Captⁿ. to be Absent at a time from Garrison, that only one Subaltern of a Company to begin from the eldest in rank, if he shoud not Chuse to go the next may have the right, & two men of a Comp^y. to have Leave of Absents at one time this is not meant to Include those men who Obtain furlowe but those only who may go to town¹¹

Fort Moultrie -1778-

L^t. Col^o. Marion

As the regiment by being in town too long have lost a Great part of the Dicipline and tis necessary to reform all Abuses & Neglect of Dicipline the L^t. Col^o. Calls upon every Gentleman in the regim^t. to Aid & Assist him to bring the regiment to true & Exact Dicipline that they may regain their former Credit, & be an honour to themselves and their Country, he promises on his part that he will exert his utmost to so good a purpose and shall think no pain or trouble too great to Effect it, But must sink under no Further without the Assistance of the rest of the Officers - A Little perseverance with Attention will under to all parts of Duty will soon bring them to what we Could wish and make them Equal to the best troops in this State or in any of the United States of America - he begs leave to Observe a few regulations necessary for each Comp^y. - that besides the Orderly book for each Officer, on Aught to be provided for the Comp^y. which the Orderly Sergeant for the day Should Enter the Orders as soon as it Comes out & to Carry the book to all the Officers of his Comp^y. and not to have it on a Scrap of paper, which through negligence or Laziness may be lost) by which means the Sergeant will know all Orders as they may have full Access to it - all the men for duty or parrade to draw up before their own Barracks their to be Examined by the Searg^{ts} & when ready to be Examined by their Officer - though men may not be compleated with Cloaths yett such as they have shoud be put on to the best Advantage their Hairs Comb'd their face & hands made clean, the Orderly Serg^t. may be the one who is Order'd for fatigue & Should see the men receive their provisions & property Distributed to each mess, all the men to be in messes of 6 & not Less than 5, to visit the men at meal time & see if their Victuals are well Cookt, to visit the Sick & report every thing which may happen During the day to the Commanding Off^r. of the company - when ever any part of Duty is neglected or done in a Slovenly manner though ever so minute it finds to destroy Dicipline interely, that so necessary to never to over look any part whatever; many Small Crimes may be Committed, which would be best punished in the Comp^y. by various ways much better & with Greater Effect than bringing them to a Court martial

10. With the exception of the expedition to Savannah in Feb/Mar. 1777, the 2nd SC Regiment had been stationed in Charlestown since Aug. 8, 1776.

11. Duty at Fort Moultrie was more militarily focused and less relaxed than that in Charlestown. Off-duty activities were severely limited, compared to those in the city, and watches held much more significance. Should vessels sail into view from any direction, the 2nd SC Regiment at Fort Moultrie would spot them first. As a result, the regiment needed to be in a state of battle readiness at all times. Thus, Marion reimposed the discipline he had formerly demanded for the regiment. The former "Credit" Marion mentioned here may specifically be referring to the level of military readiness and heroic efforts of the 2nd Regiment during the Battle of Sullivan's Island.

One Corporal & 6 men with 12 rounds p^f. Man for the Advance Guard tomorrow who will receive Orders as soon as they are ready to March this Guard to be relieved weekly

An Officer of the Guard in garrison to visit the Centrys at night Once between each relief & to Send a Subaltern to visit the rear guard; and a Sergeant to patrol within the fort every half hour during the night – The Serg^t. of the rear guard to visit his Centrys between each relief during the night, when he goes his rounds to Leave the Corporal the Charge of his Guard until he returns –

Orders to the Serg^{ts}. Of the rear Guard –

Sir, you are to Stop & [b]ring too all vessels, boats or Cannoe which may attempt passing the Bridge Either up or Down & send the principle person with your Corporal to the Captⁿ. of the fort guard & you are to examine all Such vessels or boat, & Give an Account what she may have on board particularly all such who may Come from town & detain them till you have Orders to the Contrary – You are not to Lett any boats Land near your guard without Examining them, without their shoud be an Officer belonging to the Continental forces of the United States of America or the president of this State or any of his Council – you are to make a report of any thing which may happen to the Captⁿ. of the fort Guard – you are to give Orders to the Centry on the bridge not to Lett any Soldier go over the Bridge¹² in the day time without a permit from Some Officer, nor Suffer any person pass after retreat beating without such a pass – this Order to be given to the relieving Serg^t. & to be Continued till further Orders –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 370-71.

Feb. 6 – France and the US officially enter into a military alliance, signed by Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane for the Americans and the Comte de Vergennes for France.

Feb. 16 – Lord George Germain accepts William Howe's resignation as commander-in-chief in America, replacing him on March 7 with Sir Henry Clinton.

12. Prior to the Battle of Sullivan's Island, a floating bridge had been constructed over the cove to enable the carrying of supplies to the fort and later separating Haddrell's Point from the island, to be used in the event the British overwhelmed the force at Fort Sullivan.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – February 21, 1778

Fort Moultrie 1778, 21st Feb

Orders

L^t. Col^o. Marion

Parole Hamstead .C Sⁿ. Norwich by G H

Fort guard tomorrow Captⁿ. Hall L^{ts}. Gray & Foissin

Rear Serg^t. Jasper¹³ –

Any Serg^{ts}. of the rear guard who permits rum or other Spirituous liquor being landed near his Guard may expect to be punished & all Centries on the Bridge is to examine every man who comes from Haddrells point if he finds they have Rum or Spirituous Liquors they are to take it away Deliver it to the Serg^t. of the guard who is with what he may find in boats to deliver it when releaved to the Command^g. Off^r. with the Names of those he may take it from – Any Woman Whom may be found bringing in or selling Liquors Contrary to Orders will be Whipt & drumm'd out of the regiment¹⁴ & those men who permit it will also Suffer as if they had sold such Liquors – this Order do not extend to Such Liquors which may be brought for the use of the Officers, or Such Gentlemen or Such Gentl^m. which not belonging to the Garrison of what the Sutler may bring to this Island

Any Centry who Suffer himself to be relieved from his post without a corporal (or Lance Corp^l. when necessity require) may entrust to be punished as if he had quitted his post without Leave – and all Sergeants or Commanding Off^{rs}. of Guards who permits such unmilitary practice will be punished tried for disobedience of Orders & Suffer Accordingly

The regiment is to be as clean as possible when they turn out to be musterd munday¹⁵

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 387.

Feb. 23 – Baron Friedrich von Steuben, a professional former Prussian officer, arrives in the camp at Valley

Forge and begins reforming and professionalizing the Continental Army.

Mar. 2 – Nathanael Greene is appointed Quartermaster General of the Continental Army.

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13. William Jasper enlisted in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jul. 1775. During the Battle of Sullivan's Island, on Jun. 28, 1776, the fort's flagstaff was cut by British shot and toppled to the ground. According to tradition, Jasper jumped up on the ramparts and walked the length of the fort, until he came to the colors. He then jumped over the wall of the fort and retrieved the banner, ignoring the rain of shot and shell. Jasper then climbed the walls, tied the flag to an artillery sponge staff, and erected it on the walls. His bravery became a symbol of the Revolution in South Carolina. Gov. Rutledge presented Jasper with a sword. In 1777 he served as a quartermaster sergeant. During the siege of Savannah, in Oct. 1779, he attempted to plant one of the 2nd South Carolina's two colors on the parapets of the Spring Hill Redoubt but fell mortally wounded and, as he lay dying, passed the colors to Lt. John Bush, who also fell. The British captured both flags, and they remained in British hands until purchased by the State of South Carolina and the Smithsonian Institute in 1989. Jasper County, SC, as well as a number of other Jasper Counties around the United States are named for him (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:179, 181, 2:40-41; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 495; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 237n546; Fritz Hamer, curator, SC State Museum, via email to Dave Neilan 6/15/2011).
14. Women, often the wives of married soldiers, played a vital part in the operation of the regiment, cooking food, sewing, acting as nurses, etc. Although not official members of the regiment, women were considered essential contributors. However, this order also demonstrates that they were subject to the same military discipline as the men.
15. Here, Marion continued to impress discipline on his troops, an extension of rules laid down in the orders of Jan. 8, above.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - March 8, 1778

[Fort Moultrie], 8th March [1778]

Orders

L^t. Col^o. Marion

Parole Charlestown. C.Sⁿ. Lowndes

Fort guard tomorrow Captⁿ. Captⁿ. Charnock L^{ts}. Warley & mason

Rear guard Serg^t. Bond – Hobcaw Serg^t. Smith

any Articles whatever which may be put in Charge of Centries & are lost the Centries when such things are found missing must expect to be punishd for it and the Corporal of that guard who placed such Centry will also be punished as if he had made away what was lost As it is his particular Business to see the Old Centrys Deliver & these & show every thing to the new who had in Charge

Commanding Officers of guards should Examin before they are releaved whatever his Centries have in charge & if any thing are lost lost to Confine the Centry and Corporal or Such Off^r. of Guards are Liable to be called to Acq Acquaint for the Same

N.B. this day L^t. Col^o. Marion went into the Country¹⁶

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 391.

Mar. 21 – Lord George Germain orders Sir Henry Clinton to dispatch 8,000 more men to other parts of the empire that have been made vulnerable by the looming prospect of war with France and, given the reduction of British force in North America, to abandon Philadelphia.

16. Lt. Col. Marion's name next appears in the Orderly Book on Mar. 28, 1778, at Fort Moultrie. Marion probably either traveled to Pond Bluff to attend to his farm, or was assigned to recruiting duty. Maj. Peter Horry's signature is on most of the orders entered during this time in the Orderly Book.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Lt. Paul Warley - April 6, 1778

[Ft. Moultrie], 6th April [1778]

Order

L^t. Col^o. Marion

Parole Dartmouth . .C Sⁿ. Boston

Fort guard tomorrow Captⁿ. Charnock & L^t. Gray

Rear Serg^t. Coleman

Orders to L^t. Warley

S^r. you are to march with 1 Serg^t. 1 Corp^l. 1 drum & 12 privates to Hobcaw¹⁷ to relieve the Magazine guard there, You are to be carefull that no persons Approach too near the Magazine so as it may be any means by liable to be sett on fire by Evil & Designing Enemys of the States – You are to defend it (should they Happen on Occasion) to the Last Extremity – Should this powder Receiver or any person with Orders from the president want to go in the Magazine you are to permit him or them – As the Inhabattants have complained that the Soldiers rob & pillage the Plant^{ns}.¹⁸ round about that port in the night, You are to be very Exact to have the Roll-called as often in the night as you will think nessesary to restrain them from going to pillage or from Leaving the guard you are not to give leave to any Soldiers to go at any time to any plantⁿ. or house from the guard, Except those you send to Garrison for provisions & then they must keep the Directions and not call any plant^{ns}.-

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 405.

May 4 – Congress ratifies the treaty of alliance with France.

Jun. 6 – The Carlisle Commission, the final British attempt to end the war in the face of impending French involvement, arrives in Philadelphia offering redress of all American grievances except independence. This ends up being unacceptable to the Americans.

Jun. 18 – After nine months of occupation, Henry Clinton evacuates Philadelphia, marching the British Army back toward New York overland. Washington decides to follow.

Jun. 28 – Washington attacks Clinton's rearguard on the march near Monmouth Courthouse, N.J. In a hotly contested battle, Charles Lee's American advance guard first makes gains, then is repulsed in confusion. General Washington arrives on the field, rallies the army and fights to a draw. The battle represents both the first time the newly professionalized Continental Army stands up to the British in pitched battle, and the last large-scale combat of the war in the North.

Jul. 27 – British and French fleets of 30 and 27 ships respectively clash in the first large naval battle, which is also the first major combat of the war between the two powers, near Ushant Island off the coast of Brittany. Both sides suffer heavy losses, and the results are inconclusive.

Jul. 29 – French land and naval forces under Admiral Charles-Hector-Teodat Comte d'Estaing unite with American forces under Gen. John Sullivan near Newport, RI, and begin planning an attack on the British post there, marking the first joint military operation between the new allies.

Aug. 2 – France officially declares war on Britain.

Aug. 22 – Damaged by recent storms, and concerned about being trapped by the British fleet, Admiral d'Estaing sails to Bstn for repairs, leaving the American forces outside Newport stranded. Within a week, Sullivan has also abandoned the siege.

17. Hobcaw, or Lempriere's Point, described the area northwest of Haddrell's Point across the Cooper River from Charlestown. Both names are now generally out of common usage, and the area is today contained within Mount Pleasant, SC. Batteries were built on both Lempriere's Point and Haddrell's Point.

18. The small detachment guarding the magazine was not easily controlled. In light of the extreme disorderliness of the men and the accompanying damage to military-civilian relationships, the measures ordered by Marion were intended to prevent issues from occurring. It is not known if the orders accomplished their goal.

**General Orders by Maj. Gen. Robert Howe
Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion
August 27, 1778 (extract)**

Gen^l. Ord^{rs}. 27 Aug^t

The Honbl. the continental congress having passed Several Genl. Howe resolutions respecting feuter government of the Army, the D. Adj: Genl. will transmit Copies to Commanding Offrs of Brigade & Commanding Officers of Artillery who are to publish them to their respective Commands, that Commanding Officers of Regiments may govern themselves Accordingly

A return of the number of Officers in the Different corps with their rank & date of Commission or brevet is to be immediately made to the Adjutant General - - - -

Transmitted -- A Dilliant BM~

Reg^{tl}. Ord^{rs}.

The Adjutant or in his Absence the Serg^t. Major to make L^t. Col^o. Marion out a return of the number of Off^{rs} in the reg^t. with their rank and date of Commission or brevets by tomorrow 9 OC: in fore noon & Given in to the Commanding Officers by that time to be sent out to the Officer Commanding the Brigade

**In Congress 27th May 1778¹⁹
Establishment of the American Army
1st Infantry**

L^t. Col^o. Marion
Fort Moultrie – 1778 --

Resolved, that each Battalion of Infantry shall consist of 9 Comp^{ys}. one of which shall be of Light Infantry, the Light Infantry to be kept completed by Drafts from the Battalion & Organized During the Campaign in to corps of Light Infantry that the Battalion of Infantry consist of

	Pay p ^r . Month		Pay p ^r . Month
one Colonel and Captain	75 dollars	1 Surgeon	60 Dollars
1 L ^t . Colonel & Captain	60	1 Surgeon mate	40
1 Major	50	1 Sergeant Major	10
6 Captains each	40	1 Quart ^r . Mast ^r . Serg ^t	10
1 Captn. Lieutenant	26	2-3 ^d 27 Serg ^{ts} . Each	10
8 Lieutenants each	26	2-3 ^d 1 drum Major	9
9 Ensigns each	20	1 fife Major	9
Paymaster to be taken from the Line	20	18 drums & fife each	7_1_3 ^d
Adjutant to be taken from the Line	13	27 Corporals each	7_1_3
Q Master	13	447 privates each ²⁰	6_2_3

pay

As Officers in the Line

Each of the field Off^{rs} to Command a Company

The L^t. of the Col^o. Company to have the rank of Captⁿ. Lieu^{tn}.

[continues next page]

19. The complete resolutions of Congress regarding the reorganization of the Continental Army were passed over a six-day period, from May 27- Jun. 2, 1778 (*JCC*, 11:538-61).

20. The paper strength of the new infantry regiments was 551 or 552 (depending on whether the regiment had a colonel, see below). The paymaster, adjutant, and quartermaster were additional roles assigned to specific regimental officers rather than separate positions.

[The orderly book entry continued, calling out--via resolution--various regulations regarding the officers of the the battalion, including:]

Resolved, that no more Colonels be Appointed in the Infantry but to where any such Commission is or shall become vacant, the Battalion shall be commanded by a Lieu^{tn}. Colonel, who shall be Allowed the same pay as is not[w] granted to a Col^o. of Infantry, And shall rise in promotion from that to the rank of Brigadier: and such Battalion shall have only two field Officers via: a Lieu^{tn}. Colonel and Major, but it shall have an Additional Captain

O'Kelley, BCADM, 448-50.

Marion became commander of the 2nd SC Regiment when Col. Isaac Motte resigned, as announced in the orders of Sep. 19, following. As a result of this new regulation, he was not promoted to colonel when he succeeded Motte but became a lieutenant colonel commandant. No one was promoted to replace him, and from that point forward, the regiment operated with two field officers (Marion and Maj. Peter Horry) instead of three.

Marion had originally been promoted and commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the Continental service as a result of William Moultrie's promotion to brigadier general, dated Oct. 28, 1776, combined with Isaac Motte's elevation to colonel to fill Moultrie's previous position.²¹ Marion's new commission as lieutenant colonel commandant of the 2nd SC Regiment is extant, signed on Apr. 12, 1782, by Benjamin Lincoln, then serving as Secretary at War, but backdated to Sep. 16, 1776 (the date of his promotion to lieutenant colonel). Functionally, however, he did not actually become a lieutenant colonel commandant until Motte's resignation left him as the senior field officer in the regiment.²²

The reason for the first promotion policy revision had to do with prisoner exchange²³ (Wright, *The Continental Army*, 125-28). British regiments were commanded in the field by a lieutenant colonel. Full colonel in the British army was an administrative rank, not a field rank. The colonel of a British regiment was responsible for provisioning and recruiting that regiment, but not for leading it in the field. Hence the colonels of British regiments were sometimes general officers (for example, Cornwallis was colonel of the 33rd Regiment of Foot), and sometimes they were even civilians. The regiment's field commander was its lieutenant colonel and British regiments only had two field officers. Because of this discrepancy between the British and Continental systems, there was no British equivalent to American colonels to exchange for them. For this reason, the Continental Congress reorganized the army to be more similar to the British system. However, this change did not take effect immediately, but rather as vacancies opened. As the text above makes clear, colonels were not replaced when they were promoted or resigned (instead their regiments' lieutenant colonels became lieutenant colonels commandant), but some regiments continued to be commanded by colonels through the end of the war.

21. See Nov. 23, 1776 announcement, page 38. (O'Kelley, BCADM, 181).

22. DS(ScU).

23. Wright, *The Continental Army*, 125-28.

General Orders by Maj. Gen. Robert Howe
Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion
September 19, 1778

Cha^s Town, 19 Sep^r

Gen^l. Orders by Gen^l. Howe

Col^o. Motte²⁴ of the 2^d Batalion and Col^o. Sumpter²⁵ of the 6th having resigned their Commissions are no longer to be Considered Continental Officers -

A Detachment of the 3^d Regt. in proportion to the wagons now ready are to March for Orangeburg with all Possible Expedition

Transmitted

A Dilliant BM.

Reg^t. orders by L^t. Col^o. Marion

L^t. Col^o. Marion having received a Very Polite Letter from Col^o. Mot having thought it Nessesary to publish a paragraph Relative to the Regiment

The paragraph of Col^o. Motte Lettr dated 19 Sep^t. 1778

I most heartily and Sincearly wish You and the Corps every

Blessing you possible can enjoy & to assure you I shall ever have the Success & welfair of the Second Regimint great to Hart

Sined

Isaac Motte -

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 457.

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24. Isaac Motte had been promoted to colonel and commander of the 2nd SC Regiment on Sep. 16, 1776, following the promotion of Colonel William Moultrie to brigadier general in the wake of the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776. On this date (Sep. 19, 1778), Motte resigned his commission in order to take a position on the South Carolina Privy Council. His resignation left Francis Marion as the highest-ranking officer in the 2nd SC regiment, and he became its new commander. However, due to newly passed organizational reforms in the Continental Army (see Aug. 27 entry above), Marion commanded the regiment as lieutenant colonel commandant, rather than as a full colonel.
25. Thomas Sumter had been named a lieutenant colonel in the 6th SC Regiment on Feb. 29, 1776, shortly after its formation, and promoted to colonel, likely in Mar. 1777 (Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* [R.L. Bryan, 1931,] 59). He resigned his Continental commission on Sep. 19, 1778, and went home, but returned to the field as a partisan commander after the fall of Charlestown.

***General Orders by Maj. Gen. Robert Howe and Pres. Rawlins Lowndes²⁶
September 22, 1778***

Head Quarters Cha^s. Town, 23^d Sepr [1778]

Orders by G^l. Howe, Sep^t. 22^d 1778

A sarg^t. & 12 privates fom Fort Johnston & a Sarg^t. 1 Corp^l. & 10 Privates from Fort Moultrie to immediately Embark on board such Vessels and in Such a maner as his Excell^y. the President shall Direct & to receive such ord^{rs}. as he shall Issue²⁷

--Sined
R. How

To the Com^{dn} Officer of Fort Moultrie Maj^r. Gen^l.

The Party from Fort Moultrie to go on board the Pilate Boat Tryall²⁸ & to put themselves under Command of the Master there of to Provide them selves with 24 Rounds p^r. Man

Rawlins Lownds –

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 458.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – September 23, 1778

Fort Moultrie, 23^d Sepr. 1778

Reg^t. orders by
L^t. Col^o. Marion

one Sarg^t. 1 Corp. 10 Privates to go on board the Pilot Boat immediately to be furnisht with 24 Rounds & 1 Spare Flint p^r. Man^l

Orders to Sarg^t. M^eDonald –

Sir you are to Embark with y^e. Party on board the Pilot boat Tryall Comman^d by Cap^t Elisinore to follow & Obey all Such Orders as you Shall receive from him or any of his Off^{rs}. taking care to Keep your Men in good order²⁹

Fran^s. Marion –
L^t. Col^o. 2^d Reg^t.

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 458.

26. [See brief bio of Rawlins Lowndes here.](#)

27. Although Gen. Howe signed the orders given to the regiment, he did not have authority over the South Carolina navy. As a result, Rawlins Lowndes gave them their specific orders. The chief executive of South Carolina at this time was referred to as “President” according to the Constitution of 1776. Lowndes was initially the president when assuming office in Mar. 1778, but changes to the state constitution on Mar. 19, 1778, included changing the title of South Carolina’s chief executive officer from president to governor. It is not clear why, but correspondence after Mar. 1778 still included the title of “President,” rather than “Governor,” referring to Lowndes. It is worth noting that he was both preceded and succeeded in the office by John Rutledge (Reynolds, *Biog. Directory of SC Senate*, 1-2, 9).

28. The purpose of this detachment is not known but it may have been in response to the increasing number of raids by the British from East Florida into Georgia.

29. This detachment may have been assigned in order to react to British raids from East Florida into Georgia.

Sep. 26 – Congress appoints Benjamin Lincoln to command of the Southern Department, replacing North Carolinian Robert Howe.

Payment Voucher: Rawlins Lowndes to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - September 28, 1778

28 Sep^t 1778

Pay to Col^o. Marion Two thousand Dollars for Recruiting Service for the Second Regiment³⁰
Raw^l Lowndes

To the Treasurer

Received Septem 28 1778

Payment of the above

Fran Marion

L^t Col^o. 2^d reg^t

ADS (MB), Boston Public Library, Ch.C.3.61.

Nov. 4 – Another 5,800 British troops are withdrawn from North America to the Caribbean.

Nov. 27 – Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell sails from New York with 3,500 men to link with Augustine Prevost in Georgia. This marks the beginning of the practical application of Lord Germain's "Southern Strategy," shifting British operations toward the southern colonies, where they hope to encounter and recruit large numbers of Loyalists to alleviate the manpower shortage caused by the reassignment of forces to other theaters in the world war against France.

30. For the period of Jan. 23, 1778, to Apr. 23, 1779, Lt. Col. Marion received £154,000 from the SC General Assembly. It is presumed that this amount was for both payment to his regiment and recruiting costs (Hemphill, *Journals of the General Assembly and House*, 284). Recruiting for the six SC Continental Regiments apparently was not very successful, since earlier in 1778 the South Carolina Legislature passed an act (no. 1075) "For Completing the Quota of Troops to be Raised By this State for the Continental Service; and for Other Purposes Mentioned." It ordered the immediate enlistment of all vagrants: "That all idle, lewd, disorderly men, who have no habitations or settled place of abode, or no visible lawful way or means of maintaining themselves and their families, all sturdy beggars, and all strolling or straggling persons, shall be declared to be vagrants, and as such shall be liable and obliged to serve in one of the Continental regiments of this State" (Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:410-13).

General Orders by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie - November 29, 1778

Nov. 29th, 1778

Colonels Pinckney, Marion, and Elliott, are to attend the general to-morrow, at the state house, at 10 o'clock, to meet his excellency the president in council at that hour.³¹

Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:246-47.

Dec. 6 – General Benjamin Lincoln arrives in Charlestown and takes command of the Southern Army.

General Orders by Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln³² - December 8, 1778

8th Dec^r. by The Gen^l.

Gen^l. Orders

Earnestly recommends it to the Officers of all Gen^l. Lincoln--ranks to pay the Strictest attention to the Arms Amunition and Accoutrements of the men & see that they are in the Best order possible The Late movements of the Enemy so manifestly point to the prospect of this measure³³ that the Gen^l. think it needed to him to urge any Regiments on the Subject

A Return of the names & Ranks of all field Off^{rs} of the Several Continental Batalions raised in this State to be made to head Quarters on Friday next at orderly time by the Major of Brigade Specifying the Batalion to which each Belongs

A Dilliant B. M.

Reg^{tl}. Orders

the Col^o. Hopes that Due Attention will be paid to the above Gen^l. Col^o. Marion ~ Orders so necessary for the preservation of their & their mens arms & honour & the good of their Country at a time when their cannot be any Doubt of their Shortly be called into action

all Soldiers of Duty to be sent to day to Haddrells with proper Sarg^t to get moss for wading³⁴ the Sarget Maj^r. will go with this party & stop them from Stragglen about the Plantations³⁵ --

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 486.

31. Moultrie was serving in place of Maj. Gen. Howe, who had turned over temporary command to him on Nov. 24, in preparation for embarking on an expedition to thwart the British designs in Georgia (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 483). Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had been commander of the 1st SC Regiment since Nov. 1776 (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:246). As a result of Gen. Howe's letter of Nov. 27, from Zubly's Ferry, 22 miles upstream from Savannah, Moultrie learned of the progress of the British invasion of Georgia (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:243-44). In response, he expedited relief to the embattled state. At the same time Rawlins Lowndes, President of South Carolina, (see Sep. 22, 1778, entry above) convened a group of the field officers in Charlestown to discuss defensive measures in the event of an attack on South Carolina. During the meeting there was undoubtedly discussion about the imminent arrival of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, who was replacing Howe as commander of the Southern Department, though Howe would continue to command in Georgia. Lincoln arrived on Dec. 6 (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:246, 254-55).

32. Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln had been named commander of the Southern Department on Sep. 25, 1778. He arrived in Charlestown on Dec. 6. The entry in the orderly book two days later is the first attributable to Lincoln. Maj. Gen. Howe was ordered to return to the Northern Theater and report to Gen. George Washington, relinquishing his command to Lincoln. He was not in Charlestown when Lincoln arrived, as he had already marched for Savannah to resist the invasion of Georgia, taking with him 300 men of the 3rd and 5th SC Regiments, and artillery from the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment. Marion, as part of the 2nd SC Regiment, remained in Charlestown (*JCC*, 12:951; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 29).

33. The Continental Congress sent warnings that the British were probably planning actions against the southern states (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 28). On Sep. 25, Congress had issued orders sending troops from North Carolina and Virginia to South Carolina to prepare for a possible British attack (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 466).

34. Wadding was required in the manufacture of artillery rounds. Many natural materials could be used for wadding, including wood, oakum, or 'Spanish Moss,' in addition to the more common cloth or paper, which, when placed between the powder charge and the projectile, reduced the windage (the space between the ball and the barrel of the gun) increasing velocity, range, and accuracy.

35. This is just another example of many throughout the orderly book attesting to the difficulties experienced by the officers and NCOs of the army in keeping their men under control. Discipline problems among soldiers billeted in Charlestown centered around drunkenness and disorderliness, but at the outlying fortifications there were additional issues with individual soldiers "requisitioning" supplies, that is plundering and stealing from the plantations (See Marion's orders on Apr. 6, 1778).

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 8, 1778Headquarters CTown, Dec 8th 1778

Sir

I just now received yours of this date.³⁶ I thank you for the information you gave me. – I wish to know what of the stores you mention are the property of the Continent³⁷ whether you have in the fort any spare rooms in which could be stored a quantity of rice, flour, rum, beef, port &c. I wish also to know what stores you now want & for which you have applied to his Excellency the President.³⁸

BL

LB, Massachusetts Historical Society (MHi), No. 108.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - December 9, 1778Fort Moultrie, 9th Decemb^r. 1778

Sir

This Morning a small pilot boat Built schooner Anchored a little below the post, at the Grey of the morning I seen her with a red Jack³⁹ on her Maintopmast head, as soon as the day cleared She waiged anchor and came within random shott of the post & thought she was coming in but soon found she bore away to the S^o. Bar, & went out of Sight, at one OClock p.m. She Appeard Off of the Light house Island Baring away to sea. I make no Doubt but she is an Enemy Reconnitring[;] a french Sloop Just come in confirms she is one, w^h say she fired at him with Swivels twice last Evening _____

I take the Liberty of handing You Returns of the Millitary, & Regimental Stores in this Garrison & a copy of the last Months return, that you may Clearly posses the State of the Garrison & the Regim^t. which I now Command _____ His Excellency the president have some time Since had a return of Millitary stores in this post, but nothing has been sent which I made Requisition for _____

I beg leave to acquaint You that this post is supplied with provisions from day to day, & that no provisions is laid up here, shoud there be a Sudden Attack; You will find by the returns what Defense can be made⁴⁰ _____

I shoud wait on your Excellency in person, But the nesisary works of repairing the fort [?] I have under taken (to supervise; as no person could be got that woud under take it) & if I Leave it the whole work must stop till I return⁴¹ _____

I am with Due Respect Y^r. Excellencys mostOb^t. Humb^l. Serv^t.Fran^s. MarionL^t. Col^o. Second Reg^t

ALS (NNPM)

36. The referenced letter from Marion to Lincoln of Dec. 8 has not been found.

37. Property of the "Continent" appears to refer to property ascribed to the Continental Army rather than to South Carolina.

38. Rawlins Lowndes, the President of South Carolina (See Sep. 22 entry).

39. "Jack" here refers to a naval flag. It can be inferred from context in the rest of the letter, that this was a British ship flying a British naval standard. Although the British army had made little effort to combat the Americans in the Southern Theater since the Battle of Sullivan's Island in Jun. 1776, the Royal Navy still controlled the seas. But the new French alliance was finally challenging that, as the reference to the French ship in this letter demonstrates.

40. That Fort Moultrie had only a day-to-day supply of provisions is indicative of the relaxation in troop readiness that this period of relative inactivity from potential enemy action caused. Complacency apparently impacted facility upkeep and distribution of military supplies, as well. The fact that the state was responsible for raising funds to support the military was also a contributing factor to the general decline. Not having more than a day's provisions was an especially serious issue for a fort on an island that was supposed to protect a city from a power that (as is evident from this letter) continued to control the sea.

41. Marion had been largely responsible for the initial construction of the palmetto fort, renamed Fort Moultrie after Jun. 28, 1776. The fact that he could not find anyone to supervise the repair of the fort calls into question the competence and dedication of the officers of the 2nd SC Regiment. It implies a lack of urgency regarding a possible British attack, especially striking in light of Gen. Howe's expedition to Georgia.

Dec. 24 – Col. Campbell’s reinforcement and Commodore Hyde Parker’s fleet arrive at the mouth of the Savannah River, and await the arrival of Gen. Prevost who, unbeknownst to them, has already withdrawn to East Florida.

Dec. 29 – Campbell, deciding to take the initiative rather than wait for Prevost, marches on Savannah. He is met outside the city by the Continental garrison under Maj. Gen. Robert Howe. The Americans are decisively defeated and Savannah falls to the British.

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 20, 1778

[Charlestown], Dec^r. 30: 1778

Gen^l Orders by Lieut Col^o. Marion

Gen^l. Moultrie Sir you are to Remain in Charlestown⁴² to forward all dispatches to head Quarters & to Give all Intelligence which you may think Necessary – You are to supply the Deputy Quarter Master Gen^l for money for any of the above Services as you are to be Commanding Officer in Town⁴³ untill Some Senior Officer should come in – I would not Mention your Particular Duty as you are well Acquainted⁴⁴

I am Sir
your most hum^l Serv^t
W^m Moultrie BG

O’Kelley, BCADM, 493.

42. When Gen. Lincoln learned of the British threat to Savannah, he marched to reinforce the troops commanded by Gen. Howe, but the latter had already failed in his attempt to block the British advance. Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell attacked Savannah on Dec. 29, with 2,500-3,000 troops. [See a brief bio of Archibald Campbell on the following page.](#)
43. Gen. Moultrie marched with Lincoln. In the absence of any general officers or colonels, Lt. Col. Marion, commandant of the 2nd SC Regiment, found himself the senior remaining officer in Charlestown and took command of the city until the anticipated return of Gen. Howe.
44. The fact that Moultrie did not outline any of the duties expected of Marion is a tacit acknowledgment of Marion’s past experience and competency and of their long working relationship together. It may also reference a previous conversation (verbal or in writing) about Marion’s specific instructions, which has not survived.

Archibald Campbell

Archibald Campbell (1739-91), not to be confused with Archibald "Mad Archy" Campbell, served as a military engineer in the West Indies during the French and Indian War. In addition to being a member of Parliament from 1774-80, Campbell was also a lieutenant colonel of the 71st Regiment, also known as Fraser's Highlanders, from 1775, and was captured in Jun. 1776, while sailing to Boston. He was exchanged for Ethan Allen in 1778.

Campbell commanded the British force that invaded Georgia and overwhelmed the Americans under Gen. Robert Howe at Savannah at the end of Dec. 1778. Being heavily outnumbered and with his position compromised by a local slave who had directed the British around his defenses, Howe retreated, enabling the British to achieve a solid foothold on American soil in the South. American losses were high, including 453 captured.

Ten days after Campbell's victory he was superseded by the arrival of Gen. Augustine Prevost. While Prevost remained near Savannah, dispatching a force by sea to strike Port Royal Island, Campbell marched up the Savannah River to Augusta, occupying it at the end of January.

Prior to his expedition to take Savannah, Campbell had been given a provisional appointment as governor of both Georgia and South Carolina to take effect when the provinces were again in British control. Campbell, who had received permission to return to England once the initial operations in Georgia were completed, did so in the spring. Soon after his arrival he was promoted to colonel, his service on American soil concluded.

In Jul. 1782, he was appointed governor of Jamaica, where he organized a defensive force to protect the island. In 1785, he was knighted. The following year he began service as governor and commander-in-chief of Madras. Despite initial success, his efforts were met with criticism in India, notably from the East India Company. He resigned in 1789 and returned to England, where he was again elected to Parliament. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:154-55; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 377-78.

William Capers

William Capers (1758-1812/3?) served as a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment starting in Mar. 1777, and became a 1st lieutenant in Mar. 1778. He was in the Battle of Sullivan's Island in Jun. 1776, and was transferred to Capt. Dunbar's light infantry company (2nd Regiment) in Oct. 1779. He fought at the siege of Savannah during the failed assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt.

Capers took a leave of absence in Jan. 1780, as Marion explained to Gen. Lincoln, "I have been Oblige to give Lt. Capers Leave of Absense rather than lose a good Officer." Capers did resign, however. After the fall of Charlestown, he joined Marion's Brigade.

In Mar. 1781, Capers was named adjutant of Marion's brigade while fighting in the Bridges Campaign. He became

a captain under Col. Richard Richardson, Jr., in 1781 and fought at the Battle of Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781.

Capers was elected to the House for the 5th General Assembly (1783-84), after which he rose to major in the militia and was inspector of the 6th Brigade (1802-1806).

—O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 259n585; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 146; Marion to Lincoln, Jan. 9, 1780, ADS (MHi); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:129.

Benjamin Lincoln

Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) grew up in Massachusetts. In addition to owning a small farm, he held minor political offices before the Revolution. His military career began as an adjutant in the Suffolk County militia in 1755.

By 1772, he had advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Parallel to his military career, Lincoln was a member of the Massachusetts legislature and then the Provincial Congress.

At the outset of the war, Lincoln was still a lieutenant colonel in the state militia but by May 1776, he had progressed to major general. In 1776, he commanded the state troops around Boston and, in September, commanded the Massachusetts militia regiments raised to reinforce New York. At Gen. Washington's recommendation, in Feb. 1777, the Continental Congress gave Lincoln a commission in the Continental army as a major general.

Although now a regular army officer, Lincoln continued to command militia troops. He was at Saratoga in Oct. 1777, where he was wounded in the leg. He recuperated at home in Massachusetts for ten months but never fully healed.

In Sep. 1778, Congress appointed him commander of the Southern Department. Upon arriving in Charlestown in early December, Lincoln pushed southward, hoping to recover Georgia. The state had been lost when the British easily captured Savannah at the end of 1778. After limited success Lincoln split his force in an attempt to re-take Augusta, leaving Gen. Moultrie at Purrysburg and marching his own force toward Augusta. The main British expedition under Gen. Augustine Prevost, however, crossed the Savannah River and moved on Charlestown. Prevost made it to the gates of the town. Lincoln, rushing from his position on the Savannah River, approached Prevost's rear before any progress could be made in laying siege to the city. The British withdrew along the coast, escaping after engaging in a rear-guard action at Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779.

In September, when Adm. d'Estaing brought his French fleet to the American coast, Lincoln joined him on the outskirts of Savannah. After a three-week siege, d'Estaing, fearful that the weather would turn and threaten his fleet, determined the allies lacked the time necessary to continue the siege. On Oct. 9, in a poorly coordinated attack, the Franco-American force assaulted the right side of the British defenses. After a short but bloody assault on the well-fortified Spring Hill Redoubt, the allies retreated. The American army was thoroughly demoralized.

Lincoln returned to Charlestown, leaving Francis Marion at Sheldon to reorganize most of the southern army. Four months later, the first ships of the British armada aimed at Charlestown appeared in southern waters. The British under Gen. Sir Henry Clinton and Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot carried out a calculated envelopment of Charlestown. The American army was only one-half the size of Clinton's force, and as a result, Lincoln made little effort to slow the British advance. Finally, on May 12, 1780, Lincoln surrendered the city and over 5,000 troops.

After Charlestown surrendered, Lincoln was paroled. He sailed to Philadelphia to report to Congress and then stayed at his home in Massachusetts until he was exchanged in Oct. 1780. In the summer of 1781, he commanded troops around New York. Lincoln then led the American army to Yorktown. When Gen. Charles Cornwallis failed to appear at the surrender of his army on Oct. 19, Gen. Washington deferred to Gen. Lincoln to accept the British army's surrender from his second-in-command, Gen. Charles O'Hara.

After Yorktown, Lincoln was appointed Secretary at War, and in Jan. 1787, he commanded the forces that put down Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts. The following year, he was a member of the state convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution.

Lincoln was elected lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. Afterward and until 1809, Lincoln served as the collector of the port of Boston, a largely ceremonial post that benefited him financially .

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:637-39.

Rawlins Lowndes

Rawlins Lowndes (1721-1800) was born in St. Kitts and immigrated with his family to Charlestown in 1730. He served in the Commons House of Assembly almost continuously from 1749 until the Revolution.

Lowndes was a civic-minded man who chaired a committee to create free schools and a provincial college. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, the Council of Safety, and the 1st General Assembly.

Lowndes served as president of South Carolina from Mar.–Nov. 1778, after which the Constitution of 1778 went into effect. As a result of the change in title of the chief executive, Lowndes became governor until the end of his term in Jan. 1779.

At the surrender of Charlestown, Lowndes was allowed to retire, presumably on parole, to his plantation. Despite rumors that he had converted to the Loyalist side, Lowndes loaned the state £60,000 for the war effort, and his property was not confiscated or amerced. After the war, he served in the SC House for four years and was mayor of Charleston in 1788.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 260; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:415-18.

Augustine Prevost

Augustine Prevost (1723-86) was born in Geneva Switzerland, the son of Jacques Prevost, a Swiss officer who served in the British Army and raised the Royal American Regiment (60th Regiment of Foot). Prevost joined the 60th in 1756 as a major. He was seriously wounded at Quebec in 1759 while serving under Gen. James Wolfe.

By the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Prevost had risen to full colonel. He collaborated with Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell in capturing Savannah in Dec. 1778, after which he was promoted to major general. His victory at Brier Creek in March 1779, dealt the Patriots a serious blow. Prevost advanced into South Carolina, reaching the gates of Charlestown in May, before retreating to the sea islands. He defeated the Patriots under Gen. Lincoln at Stono Ferry in June. His crowning achievement was defending against the joint Franco-American siege of Savannah, which culminated in the disastrous loss by the allies on Oct. 9, 1779. Prevost returned to England, where he died in 1786.

During the attack on the Spring Hill Redoubt in Savannah, the colors of the 2nd SC Regiment were captured by the British. The flag remained in the Prevost family until purchased by the State of South Carolina and the Smithsonian in 1989.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:931; Fritz Hamer, curator, SC State Museum, via email to Dave Neilan, 6/15/2011.

1779 *War Moves South*

The war in the North continued to stalemate throughout 1779, as it had since the indecisive battle at Monmouth in Jun. 1778. The opposing armies, British and American, were unable to do more than parry back and forth around New York and New Jersey, with neither side having the numbers needed to achieve a viable path to decisive victory. As a result, there was no serious relative advantage that could be gained by either side in the North that could end the conflict.

With France having entered the war, Britain was in the process of drawing down its forces in North America to reposition them to defend other parts of its empire. Britain no longer had enough manpower in the theater for a major offensive. Likewise, Washington's army lacked the superiority of numbers that would have been required to mount a serious offensive threat to the British base in New York. Thus, the British continued to maintain uncontested control of New York City, while the Continentals held the hinterland, and each raided the other across the no man's land in between.¹

The South was an entirely different matter. Former royal governors of the southern provinces had gained the ear of Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for North America.² They convinced Germain and others that the South was largely loyal to the crown, and that the mere presence of a British force there would bring them into active British service. The "Southern Strategy" was built on this assumption, and a plan was initiated to establish a southern foothold by taking Savannah. The British plan was to capture Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia in succession, bringing these economically rich agricultural colonies and their vital ports under crown control, which would be a consolation prize for Britain in the case of a negotiated peace. Securing the southern provinces would then fall to the Loyalist militia, who would rally to the flag and take responsibility for reestablishing crown control, freeing the regular and provincial forces to continue their advance toward Virginia.³

Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief in North America, followed guidance from the government in London and focused his sights on the South in 1779. With Savannah already in hand as a base of operations, the Southern Strategy was going exactly as planned. Shrewdly, Clinton utilized competent and enterprising officers to successfully lay the groundwork for the larger invasion force that would conquer South Carolina in 1780.

Francis Marion, as lieutenant colonel commandant of the 2nd SC Regiment, initially played a secondary role in the Patriot attempt to thwart Clinton's plans. While Gen. Lincoln and Gen. Moultrie attempted to prevent a British invasion of South Carolina in early 1779, Marion remained in Charlestown as commandant of the city. When British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost threatened the city in May, Marion enhanced his reputation and broadened his resume by solidifying the defenses on Charlestown Neck, and then again by commanding the left side of the line when Prevost's army arrived.⁴

Marion continued to act in a support capacity following Prevost's withdrawal. His regiment was held back when Gen. Lincoln unsuccessfully attacked the British army at Stono Ferry on June 20. But at the siege of Savannah, in September and October 1779, Marion's role took a decidedly different turn. No longer was he the de facto executive officer. Instead, his regiment was in the forefront of the assault on the British defenses on Oct. 9, which ended in disaster.

Marion's light infantry company, along with other elite American forces, were mowed down in their efforts to storm the Spring Hill Redoubt. The balance of Marion's regiment followed closely behind, and incurred similar, debilitating losses. Despite the continual cross fire from the British, Marion's men reached the rampart and planted the regimental colors, only to be thrown back by the withering fire from the redoubt. Lt. Col. Marion lost key men

1. Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 220-30.

2. [See brief bio of Lord George Germain here.](#)

3. Stanley D.M. Carpenter, *Southern Gambit: Cornwallis and the British March to Yorktown* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 40-44.

4. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:376, 413.

that day, including Sergeant William Jasper, the hero of the Battle of Sullivan's Island. John Martin, a newly enlisted militiaman who served under Marion's command in the assault wrote that Jasper's death was "very much regretted by the whole corps."⁵ Several other key regimental officers were also among the casualties. Of the two colors presented to the 2nd South Carolina by Elizabeth Elliot in July 1776 for their actions at Fort Sullivan, one was lost at Spring Hill Redoubt.⁶

Thomas Burbage, a private in the 2nd SC, recounted the destruction that befell the regiment when he wrote in his pension statement that "Captain Charles Motte who had just been commissioned Major was killed in the battle, and Captain Thomas Shubrick succeeded him in the command of the Company. After the battle of Savannah, he returned with his company and Regiment to Charleston, though it was very much reduced. That the 2nd Regiment on the morning of the Battle of Savannah mustered 132 privates fit for duty who went into the fight and there were 74 killed & wounded out of their number, that he was not more than fifty yards from [Gen. Casimir] Pulaski when he was wounded."⁷

Following this disastrous defeat, Gen. Lincoln demonstrated his acute understanding of Marion's talents and placed him in charge of reorganizing the remaining regiments of the South Carolina Continental forces at Sheldon through the end of 1779. The consolidation of the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th Regiments into one fighting unit clearly seems to suggest that Marion was an officer recognized by his superiors for his ability to train, discipline, and lead soldiers.⁸

After only a short period of time, Gen. Lincoln had come to rely on him as one of his most trusted regimental commanders. Additionally, Gen. Moultrie, Lincoln's second-in-command, had a long history with Marion dating back to the Cherokee War, some 20 years earlier. Through discipline, dedication, and intelligence, Lt. Col. Marion established a solid military reputation, one that would enable him to rally a militia force around him that would achieve mythical acclaim. But to get there, his path and experience had to shape him into a sound military officer, both tactically and administratively. He learned the lessons of war, and of leadership. He would need all those tools, capability, and more than a little luck.

Jan. 6 – Augustine Prevost marches north to rendezvous with Campbell, and initiates a siege of Fort Morris at Sunbury, Georgia, which surrenders three days later.

5. John Martin, Pension Statement S15935.

6. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:40-42.

7. Thomas Burbage, Pension Statement S17868.

8. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 39-41.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 17, 1779

Ch^s town, 17th January 1779

Sir,

On Examination of the Ordnance Stores in forts Johnston⁹ & Lytleton,¹⁰ I found them almost without, the former had not ten rounds, the Latter had powder but very few shot, with out match & other necessarys, I have Obtain Leave from the President¹¹ to furnish them in fort johnson with one hundred rounds, fort Lytleton with fifty; the president has ordered the malitia to take charge of the Battery at Cat Island,¹² & I have given Orders to Capt. Mitchel of the Artillery to march his men to fort johnson, to strengthen that Garrison which have at present but thirty men fit for duty and those not half Armed; I have Applied for arms for them, but must wait the Determination of the Council----

If General Howe do not take the command here¹³ I will use my best Endeavours, to see the Different forts, supply'd with ever thing which can be had –

I am with Due respect Your Excellency

Most Obediant humb^l Servt

Fran^s Marion

L^t. Col. Second reg^t.

ALS (MHi)

9. Fort Johnson, located across Charlestown Harbor from Fort Moultrie, was not a significant threat to British ships crossing the bar, due to the size of the harbor and the range of 18th century artillery. At the beginning of the Revolution it had, however, housed the largest inventory of ordnance and ammunition. For this reason, it was seized by the Patriots on Sep. 15, 1775 (see Sep. 14, 1775, above). That in 1779 it was manned by only 30 soldiers, and those not well-supplied, is another example of the relaxed atmosphere among the Charlestown defenders since 1776.
10. Fort Lyttelton was just south of Beaufort on Port Royal Island, a location that defended against water traffic coming up the Beaufort River. Although the wording of this letter implies that Marion personally inspected the installation, it seems doubtful that he would have left his command in Charlestown to make the trip to Beaufort, especially at this period of increasing concern regarding the British threat. Most likely he was relaying intelligence provided to him by one of his own men sent to report on the installation.
11. "President" refers to Gov. John Rutledge, who took office on Jan. 9, 1779. Prior to the Constitution of 1778 the chief executive of the state had held the title of "President," and many continued to address Rutledge and his predecessor as such, instead of as governor.
12. Cat Island is located at the entrance to Winyah Bay, the gateway to Georgetown. Presumably, after consultation with Gov. Rutledge, Marion ordered Capt. Mitchell and his company of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment from the battery on Cat Island to bolster the troops at Fort Johnson in preparation for any movement by the British force that had just taken Savannah. Rutledge then ordered the militia, who were under his overall command, to man the battery on Cat Island.
13. It may be inferred that Marion expected to be relieved by Gen. Howe upon the latter's return from Savannah. Although Gen. Lincoln had by this time arrived and taken command of the Southern Army, Howe had not yet been recalled to the North, and as Lincoln's second-in-command, it would have been reasonable to think he would retain command of the city.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 28, 1779

Ch^s.Town, 28th Jan^y. 1779

Sir

Yourse of the 21st Inst. I have rec^d. & shall pay strict Attention to all your orders¹⁴ – Col^o. Huger has sent an Order to one of his Captains here to Join him with all his men doing duty at fort Johnson; which I thought proper to countermand till I receive your orders. it would be leaving fort Johnston Extremely weak to draw those men off till Captⁿ. [Ephraim] Mitchell of the Artillery¹⁵ arives from Wenyaw, which I expect hourly, even then I shall not have men for any Escorts which may be nessisary¹⁶ – all the men of the 1st and 6th which are capable of marching I will send with the first Waggons going to Camp ---

I have not been Able to Get the muskets for the men in Col^o. Roberts Regement mentioned in my last; the president says that That reg^t. had a Sufficent Number given them some time ago & untill an Account is given what is become of them he will not given out any Others¹⁷ - - -

The ordinance Stores for fort Lytleton is not Yet sent, There is no boats which will venter to Beufort, as the Enemy's Boats are frequently up the Inlets pillaging, but hope in a few days to Send them by an Armed Schooner ----

The Ordinance Stores for fort Johnston I am geting ready as fast as possible, I am oblige to have Cartridges for the Cannon made by the men - - - Fort Moultrie is compleated to one hundred rounds & hope the repairs will be soon finished ----

As I do not expect this State will pay the troops any longer Shall be glad to know in what manner to Apply for their pay.¹⁸

The Assemble has past an Act to give bounty money to such men as will Inlist in the Contenental regiments for Sixteen Months, five hundred dollars to those who Inlist within one month & 400 to those within two Months, & three hundred to those who Inlist afterwards ---- as we have an Order not to Inlist men for Less then three Years or During the war, shall be Glad to have your Orders¹⁹ -----

I am with Respect Your Excellencys

Most Obed^t. Humb^l Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

L^t Col. Second Reg^t.

ALS (PHi), Learned Collection, Jan 28, 1779, box 2 #1350 D56.

14. The letter of the 21st has not been found.

15. [See brief bio of Ephraim Mitchell here.](#)

16. Col. Isaac Huger was commander of the 2nd SC Brigade, formed in Sep. 1777, consisting of the 2nd and 5th SC Regiments. This brigade may have existed only on paper for there are no extant orders to or from Huger. At the very least, Huger, as commander of the 5th SC Regiment, still outranked Marion by virtue of his earlier commission as lieutenant colonel, which was dated Jun. 17, 1775. The “brigade” structure probably only mattered when the regiments were in the field. Brigade structure was much less formal/permanent than regimental structure, so most likely, both men commanded their own regiments during normal times, but Huger’s designation as brigade commander, in addition to regimental commander, established a clear chain of command and resolved any ambiguity about who could give orders to whom should it become necessary (O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 16n7).

17. Owen Roberts commanded the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment. After the South Carolina State Line was absorbed into the Continental establishment, Gov. Rutledge became more reluctant and contentious about releasing armament, ammunition, and other provisions to the Continental Army.

18. Not only did the lines become murky around the responsibility for the release of provisions to the Continentals, but state payment of the troops also became a point of contention.

19. Act No. 1112, passed by the SC legislature on Jan. 29, contained the various bounties for enlisting in the Continental Army for 16 months (*Statutes*, 4:461). There is no subsequent mention of Marion’s question about how this law was to be implemented in relation to the provision Marion quoted regarding not allowing enlistments for less than three years.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Major Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 29, 1779

[Charlestown],²⁰ 29th Jan^y. [1779]

Since I wrought the other Side,²¹ the Presedent²² had Intelligence that 8 Ships of the Enemy was Coming through Scull Creek, about 12 miles before fort Littleton, this was Yesterday Morning, a firing was heard that way in the Afternoon, & I am told it was from a Battery of ours on Jenkin's Creek where we have 3-26 pounders the men in it are all Malitia, the Consequence is not known nor have I any Letters from that post which may give any Account – the presed^t. & Privy council requested that I woud send L^t Col^o. Beekman of the Corps of Artillery²³ to Command Fort Lytleton, I have accordingly Orderd him there Immediately -----

I am with Respect Y^r Excellencys

Most Ob^t Hum^l Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

L^t Col. 2^d reg^t.

End Portion of LS (NJP), Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

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20. The location here is inferred since letters of Jan. 28 and 30 to Lincoln were written from Charlestown. This report was about Maj. William Gardiner's diversionary raid on Hilton Head Island. According to a Jan. 29 letter from Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, intelligence indicated that "a heavy cannonade began about ten in the morning and was continued for several hours." In the same letter Pinckney wondered whether the appearance of the ships in Scull Creek was simply a diversion by the British to draw Gen. Lincoln's army away from the Savannah River to give enough time for the British to make a crossing (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:283-84).
21. "Since I wrought the other Side" indicates this letter was a second installment to the letter of Jan. 28, above. At that time, Lincoln was at Purrysburg on the north side of the Savannah River, above Savannah.
22. John Rutledge, who had served as President of the State from 1776 to 1778, took office again as governor on Jan. 9, 1779. Although the constitution specified the governor's term of office as two years, Rutledge served until Jan. 31, 1782, because the British occupation of South Carolina prevented the legislature from meeting (*Biog. Dir. of SC Senate*, 1-2, 9).
23. Beekman was probably chosen for the command at Fort Lyttelton because of his artillery experience and the perceived need for a high-ranking officer at that strategic location. Fort Lyttelton was located on Port Royal Island, adjacent to the deepest harbor in the South. Beekman and Marion would become involved in a crisis of command following the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779 (See correspondence beginning Nov. 12, 1779.) [See a brief bio of Bernard Beekman here.](#)

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Major Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 30, 1779

Chs. Town, 30th Jan^y. 1779 9 OC A.M

Sir

I wrought You Yesterday of 8 vessels of the Enemys being in Scull Creek below fort Lytteton;²⁴ we hear they are Still there & have not attempted to make any Attack.

Mr. Valentine²⁵ desired me to Requaint You that he Cannot Act any Longer as Commisary, & means to decline it tomorrow & hope a Commisary will be Appointed to take Charge of the Stores.²⁶

I am With respect Y^t. Most Obedient

Humb. Serv^t.

Fran^s. Marion

L^t. Co^{lo}. Second Reg^t.

ALS (NNPM), Pierpont Morgan Library, NY.

Jan. 30 – Campbell skirmishes with Patriot Georgia militia en route to capturing Augusta. With Savannah, Augusta, and Sunbury all under their control, the British consider Georgia to be restored to crown control.

24. After the fall of Savannah on Dec. 28, 1778, British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost launched a two-pronged advance against Patriot forces. He sent Col. Archibald Campbell toward Augusta, while at the same time ordering Maj. James Gardiner to attack Port Royal Island. The naval vessels landed on Hilton Head Island and the British force of 200 men proceeded to Beaufort on Feb. 3. The day before, Gen. Moultrie, with militia Brig. Gen. Stephen Bull and 1,500 militia, had arrived in Beaufort from Purrysburg. After a hard-fought battle lasting 3 hours, both sides withdrew (Selesky, *Encyclopedia* 1:61-62; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:291-9; Terry Lipscomb, *Battles, Skirmishes, and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1991), 2:23; James, *Francis Marion*, 8). [See brief bio of Stephen Bull here.](#)
25. William Valentine enlisted in the Volunteer Company of the Colleton County Regiment of Foot in Oct. 1775. He was a lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment, before being named deputy commissary general for the Southern Department on Mar. 13, 1778. Valentine resigned as deputy commissary general at the end of Jan. 1779. Gen. Lincoln's adjutant asked Marion to hire a reliable person to replace Valentine. However, after two weeks Marion indicated to Lincoln that he could not find a replacement, writing "I hope you will send a person to Act in that Department, for the troops is really Distrest for want of Bread & fresh provisions & I have not money to relieve them." By the end of February, Gov. Rutledge stepped in and ordered Valentine to supply the Continental troops. After the fall of Charlestown, Valentine took British protection. His name appeared on the Confiscation List. After appeal, Valentine was removed from the list, but his property was amerced at 12%. —Moss, *SC Patriots*, 949; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 395n829; Marion to Lincoln, Jan 30, 1779, ALS (NNPM); Marion to Lincoln, Feb. 14 and 23, 1779, ALS (MHi); Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:630, 632, 635.
26. Although the commissary department came under Continental control, the funds necessary to procure supplies for the army remained the responsibility of the states, and they were not readily forthcoming with supplies for their troops. In the relatively inactive period after Jun. 1776, the planters and merchants of South Carolina continued to experience the prosperity they had enjoyed before the war. As a result, the acquisition of supplies was a task in which the Commissary and other supply departments were forced to compete against the demand of external buyers. Hard currency was not readily available to the procurement side of the new government. Continuing depreciation of the Continental currency, along with a commissary position that did not pay very well, made matters worse. —Moss, *SC Patriots*, 949; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the American Revolution, April 1775 to December 1783* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, Inc, Reprint, 2003), 554.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Major Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - February 4, 1779

Charles town, Feby. 4, 1779

“...all troops here are fed with Salt Provisions as there is no money to procure fresh,²⁷ and no Commissary to Act....”²⁸

Copy of Fragment Tr (Autograph Letter & Manuscripts, C. F. Libbie & Co., Boston, Feb. 2-4, 1892, Lot 786).

Maj. Everard Meade²⁹ (ADC to Gen. Lincoln) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 8, 1779

H^d Q^r Purysburg,³⁰ Feb^y 8th 1779

Sir,

Your letter of the 4th I have received but not the one in which you mention M^r. [William] Valentines resignation.³¹ I wish you would think of some suitable person to fill the commissarys department for I am a stranger to the people & cannot depend on my own knowledge of men. As soon as you can find one to act I will supply him with money or send a purchasing commissary.

B L

Ex^d E Meade Sec^y

LB, (MHi), No. 105.

Feb. 8-10 – Andrew Pickens briefly lays siege to Carr’s Fort but, learning of an approaching Tory relief column under John Boyd, they abandon the siege to ambush the relief column instead.

Feb. 10 – A detachment of Pickens’s brigade opposes Boyd’s crossing of the Savannah River at Cherokee Ford. Heavily outnumbered, they are unable to prevent the crossing but inflict heavy casualties on the Tories at little cost.

27. Gov. Rutledge refused to pay to supply Continental troops, as implied in Marion’s letter to Lincoln of Feb. 14, below.

28. As implied in a Feb. 8 letter from Gen. Lincoln’s aide, Maj. Everard Meade, to Marion, (below) the Continental Commissary, William Valentine had resigned, leaving Marion with the added responsibility of feeding the army. It is presumed that this duty included not only providing for the troops around Charlestown, but also fulfilling whatever requests emanated from both Gen. Lincoln and Gen. Moultrie in the Georgia campaign, since those elements were operating separately.

29. [See brief bio of Everard Meade here.](#)

30. When Gen. Lincoln had come within 28 miles of Savannah, he received a dispatch from Gen. Howe informing him that the town had fallen. Lincoln then proceeded to Purrysburg to regroup his Continentals and militia. Lincoln had sent Moultrie and the South Carolina militia to Beaufort to combat the potential threat posed by the reported appearance there of eight Royal Navy ships.

31. Marion wrote Lincoln on Jan. 30, above, that William Valentine, the commissary, had resigned.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - February 14, 1779

Ch^stown, 14th Feb^y. 1779

Sir,

Inclosed is the Returns you Desired in yourse of the 8th Inst.³²-- I have not been able to get a man to Accept of the Commisary Place, the pay is so small no person I could recommend will take it-- I hope you will send a person to Act in that Department, for the troops is really Distrest for want of Bread & fresh provisions & I have not money to relieve them.

This State will not any longer pay the troops, the Governor told me they Ought to be paid out of the Continental Chest.³³

Captⁿ. Mitchell³⁴ & his men is not yet returned from Winyaw, the reason I am not Acquainted with, as soon as he comes I will send off to head Quarters the [remainder?] of the 5th Reg^t. & if possible a Company of Artillery; & Replace them with recruits which are coming in fast.³⁵

Lt. Col. [Bernard]Beekman³⁶ is Just come from Beaufort, he has Brought of all the Ordinance Stores; but not the Cannon as he could not possible Get Boats for that purpose, his Men with the Off^{rs} which was in fort Lytleton is gone on to Purybourg & that Island as well as fort is Intirely Abandoned.

I am with

Respect your most Obedient hum. Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

Lt. Col. Second Regt

N.B. Jacob Davis of the Georgia Battalion is arived -----

ALS (MHi).

Feb. 14 – Pickens attacks Boyd’s camp by surprise, killing or wounding 70, capturing 150, and scattering the rest. The battle becomes known as Kettle Creek for the camp implements the Tories toss into the water during their confusion. On the same day, the British abandon Augusta and march back toward the coast.

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32. A letter of Feb. 8 from Lincoln to Marion requesting “Returns” has not been found. A different letter, from Meade to Marion, discussing the commissary situation and bearing that date, is included above.
 33. John Rutledge, who had become governor in Jan. 1779, immediately took a principled stand on fiscal responsibility for the war by his decision not to pay the troops. His rationale may have been that, since the former State Troops had been incorporated into the Continental Army, it was the Continental Army’s (Continental Congress’s) responsibility to pay them. A letter of Feb. 23 from Lincoln to Marion, below, explained the resolution of the pay and supply issues.
 34. Capt. Mitchell is presumably Ephraim Mitchell, of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment. Winyaw refers to Winyah Bay, the gateway to Georgetown, the second-largest town in South Carolina at the time, located in one of the richest rice-growing areas of the Lowcountry. The Georgetown citizens may have reported seeing British ships, or British troops may have landed to reconnoiter and obtain supplies. The company was called back to Fort Johnson to strengthen the garrison there in the face of perceived threats from the southward (See Marion to Lincoln, Jan. 28, 1779, above).
 35. The invasion of Georgia quickly brought about increased recruitment. An act passed by the South Carolina legislature on Jan. 29 undoubtedly also influenced enlistments, since it provided a generous bounty for enlistments of 16 months, as opposed to the three-year Continental enlistment previously in force (see note on Marion to Lincoln, Jan. 29). A recruit would receive \$500 for enlisting within one month of the passage of this legislation. It is unclear whether this bounty was included in Rutledge’s subsequent refusal to pay Continental troops with state money. See above (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:285).
 36. In the Brigade Orders for Feb. 2, issued by Brig. Gen. Stephen Bull, Bernard Beekman was ordered to take command of the Charlestown Battalion of Artillery previously under the command of Capt. Thomas Heyward, Jr., a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Strangely, Gen. Moultrie did not mention Beekman in his letter to Gen. Lincoln on Feb. 4, in which he described the battle fought on Port Royal Island near Beaufort the day before, in which the Americans, mainly militia, fought the British regulars to a draw (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:291-96).

Maj. Everard Meade (ADC to Gen. Lincoln) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 19, 1779

[Purysburgh], Feb^y. 19th, 1779

Sir,

I am surprised to find by your letter that no person can be prevailed upon to [act?] in the Commissarys department and that you are in want of bread & provisions, for there must be a large stock yet remaining in Charlestown, a return of which was made me by M^r. Commissary Valentine.³⁷ It is impossible for me to find a Commissary from this place, at present you may be supplied from the militia as they are at the Continental expense. To whom hath M^r. Valentine delivered the Stores which were in his hands, I wish you would inform me how the matter stands. I will write to the Governor relative to the pay of the troops.³⁸

B L

Ex^d E. Meade Sec^y

LB (MHi), No. 123.

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - February 22, 1779

[Charlestown],³⁹ 22nd Feb^y [1779],⁴⁰

Gen^l. Orders

by B. Gen^l. Moultrie Sir you will order from your Reg^t one field Off^r. 2 Drums 2 fifes with one hundred & fifty rank & file⁴¹ to March to Purisburgh with all Expedition you will apply to Col^o. Drayton⁴² for flints, Kettles Waggon & all Necessarys that may be wanted for their march

I am Sir. Y^r. H^{bl}. Serv^t.

W^m Moultrie B. G.

O'Kelley, BCADM, 511.

37. Marion reported to Lincoln on Jan. 30, above, that William Valentine had resigned as commissary.

38. The letters of Feb. 14, above, and Feb. 23, below, from Marion to Lincoln, explained the monetary problems encountered in carrying out the war.

39. Moultrie had rushed to Charlestown to confer with Gov. Rutledge about the weak state of the army, as a result of orders from Gen. Lincoln in a letter dated Feb. 14 (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:314-17). This general order was a direct result of that conference.

40. The General Orders themselves were included in the Feb. 23 entry in Marion's Orderly Book, below.

41. After the battle of Port Royal on Feb. 2-3, Moultrie joined Lincoln at Purysburgh. Lincoln suggested that Moultrie meet him and march to Augusta to eliminate the British threat there and re-establish supply lines (Lincoln to Moultrie, and Moultrie to Lincoln, both Feb. 8, 1779, in Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:301-02). Gen. Moultrie had received information, later found to be incorrect, that the British troops remaining at Savannah were going to march on Charlestown. In his Feb. 23 regimental orders, below, Marion directed Major Peter Horry, commanding the 2nd Regiment while Marion was serving as overall commander around Charlestown, to reinforce Lincoln at Purysburgh.

42. [See brief bio of Stephen Drayton here.](#)

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – February 23, 1779

FFort, Fort Moultrie, 23^d Feb^y 1779

Reg^{tl} Orders:

For the above Com^d Cap^{ts} Lisesne, Moultrie, Dunbar & Baker, By L^t Col. Marion – with their Offices & men belonging to their Comp^{ys}, to be Com^d by Major Horry⁴³ – The Grenad^r. & Light Infantry Comp^{ys} to Consist of 3 Serg^{ts}. 1 Drum 1 Fife & 40 rank & file Cap^t Moultries & Bakers to be 2 Serg^{ts} & 35 Rank & file, they are to be taken from the Recruits belonging to the Remaining Battalion Comp^y to Compleat that number in each Comp^y. the men are to be completed with Cloathing, a p^r. Gaiters & one p^r. Stockings – This Detachment to be ready to March by Thursday morning Early,⁴⁴ when they are to be furnished with a powder horn, ¼ w/ powder & 12 dozen Ball p^r. Man, pouches will be given them as soon as ready – The Q^{tr} M Serg^t. to git ready 6 Ammunition Chests Containing 2500 Cartidges Each & 1000 flints to be carried with the Detachment –

L^t. Peter Gray is Appointed Cap^t in the Reg^t. in room of Cap^t. Is: Harleston promoted to a Maj^r in 6th Reg^t he is to be Respected & Obeyed as such _____

Captⁿ. Pet^r. Gray to take the Com^d of the Comp^y. late Captⁿ. Harleston _____

M^r. Alex^d. Petrie⁴⁵ is appointed a first Lieu^t. in the Reg^t he is to be respected & Obey'd as Such _____

L^t. Petrie to Join & do duty in Captⁿ. Dunbars Comp^y. till further orders & is to march with that Comp^y.

M^r. Alex^d. Hume⁴⁶ is Appointed an Second Lieu^t. in the 2 Reg^t. & is to be respected & Obeyd as such _____

Lieu^t. Hume is to Join & do duty in Captⁿ. Lesesne Comp^y till further Orders & to March with his Comp^y _____

The Battalion to parrade tomorrow morn^g. At 8 OC: - no Off^r. or man that is order for Com^d to be put on Duty tomorrow & if any of Such men is on Guard they must be Reliev^d

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 512.

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43. The 150 Continentals of the 2nd Regiment, commanded by Maj. Peter Horry, were sent to Purrysburg, based on Gen. Moultrie's orders of Feb. 22, above. The intent was to block any movement of British troops from Savannah. Horry's orders were changed, however, and he moved toward the encampment of Maj. Gen. John Ashe on Brier Creek, a tributary of the Savannah River in Georgia, halfway between Augusta and Savannah. Horry arrived after the disastrous battle at Brier Creek, where nearly 1,000 Crown forces under Lt. Col. James Mark Prevost surprised and routed the Georgia Continentals and NC militia on Mar. 3. The surprise attack resulted in nearly 40% of the Patriot force being killed, wounded, captured, or missing, virtually wiping out the Georgia Continental line (Robert S. Davis, "The Battle of Brier Creek, Georgia," *SCAR Magazine* 3, nos. 10-11 (2006):26-28).
44. In Moultrie's orders of Feb. 22, above, the general ordered the reinforcement to march expeditiously. Marion's orders here gave the detachment until Feb. 25 to prepare. As implied by Marion's letter to Gen. Lincoln of this date, below, the delay in marching was presumably due to the lack of an adequate supply of wagons to carry provisions.
45. [See a brief bio of Alexander Petrie here.](#)
46. Alexander Hume appears first as an ensign in the 2nd SC Regiment. He received a commission as a 2nd lieutenant in Feb. 1779 and transferred to the light infantry. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant in Jul. 1779 and was killed Oct. 9, 1779, while attempting to protect the colors of the 2nd Regiment during the assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt at the siege of Savannah (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 474; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 651n597).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln – February 23, 1779

Charlestown, 23^d Feb^y 1779

Sir

Yours of the 19th I rec^d too late to wright by Gen^l. Moultrie, who have got M^r. Anth^y M Hugs to act in the Commisarys Department, when he is supplied with money.⁴⁷

In the meantime His Excell^y. the Governor has Ordrd M^r. Vollantine [Valentine] to supply the troops, he has also consented to pay the troops as usual.⁴⁸

The provisions which was in the hands of M^r. Vollantine [Valentine] he kept for the use of the Militia, as he Acted for them & would not Deliver it, till I gott an Order from the Governor as above, to supply the troops Dayly till a further regulation. This State is to appoint a Commisary General on Thursday Next.⁴⁹

This day the Detachment of Artillery, Marches to Head Quarters, & that of the 2nd Consisting of 150 men, will march as soon as Waggons can be procured, which is very Difficult to do, & am affaird they will not move before the Later end of this week, on that Account.⁵⁰

I am with respect your most Obed^t
humb^l Serv^t.
Franc^s Marion

ALS (MHi).

Feb. 25 – George Rogers Clark captures Vincennes (present Indiana) and its garrison after a one-day siege, effectively wresting control of the whole Illinois territory from the British.

Mar. 3 – Continentals and militia commanded by John Ashe are surprised and routed at Brier Creek, Ga., reversing the recent victory at Kettle Creek, and largely neutralizing the American counteroffensive in Georgia.

47. The new commissary was for the Continental Army. The question remained from whence he would be receiving funds to pay the troops and provide them with supplies, both continual problems during the Revolution. Marion added that the new commissary would “act” when he was supplied with money, which seems obvious, but perhaps Marion was making a point indirectly.
48. Issues concerning payments for supplies and direct payment of the Continental troops arose at the end of January. Marion mentioned both subjects in his letter of Jan. 28 to Lincoln, above. Curiously, here Marion indicated that Gov. Rutledge agreed to pay for both the provisions and the soldiers’ pay. In Maj. Everard Meade’s letter to Marion of Feb. 8, Lincoln’s aide indicated he would pay for the provisions. Marion’s letter to Lincoln of Apr. 10, below, implied that the payment of the troops and provisions would come from state coffers. Through Oct. 1779, Commissary Valentine received £1,883,205:02:06 from the Treasury of South Carolina (Hemphill, *Journals of General Assembly*, 284).
49. It does not seem surprising that problems with payment would occur upon resignation of the commissary. What is odd is that Valentine would at this point cease supplying the Continental troops, claiming that the inventory of supplies was for the militia. This highlights one of the chief issues with how the forces of the Revolutionary faction were financed. Although the states were responsible for both militia and Continental troops, in many cases, when there was not enough to go around, they showed preference to the men that were under the direct control of the state government (the militia) rather than those under the authority of Congress (the Continentals).
50. The detachment of the 2nd Regiment, although mentioned in this letter, did not appear in the orderly book until the following day, Feb. 23, above. Maj. Horry’s detachment of 150 Continentals may have marched on Feb. 25, as Marion planned.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion – March 13, 1779

Head-Quarters, Purysburgh, March 13th, 1779

Sir,

You will please to send on as far as the fixed hospital⁵¹ (which is about ten miles from this place) the prisoners mentioned in the enclosed list, an exchange for them being agreed on.⁵²

I am &c

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MHi), No. 162.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion – March 19, 1779

Head-Quarters, Purysburgh, March 19th. 1779

Sir,

I wish to have a list of all the prisoners now in Charles-Town, who are to be exchanged; the Sooner we receive our people for them the better. The Governor some time since sent one, but I am informed that it doth not include either all the officers or men, who have been taken. Why they were not all mentioned I know not. An exchange for those who were is agreed on.⁵³

I am &c

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MHi), No. 168.

51. A fixed hospital was set up, though the exact location is unknown, an indication that Lincoln was planning an extended campaign.

52. The list has not been found, nor has any documentation related to its genesis. The prisoners referred to may have been captured individually or in small groups during the course of the war since 1776. In addition, seven British soldiers were captured at the Battle at Beaufort. Due to the loss of so many soldiers at the fall of Savannah in Dec. 1778, there would have been no shortage of candidates for exchange among the Americans in British custody.

53. This list has not been found. Whether the list sent by Gov. Rutledge was the same as the list referenced in the letter from Lincoln to Marion of Mar. 13, above, is not known.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - March 25, 1779

Charlestown. 25th March. 1779

Sir,

Agreeable to your orders of 13th inst. have sent you the prisoners of war, the officer under the command of Captain Proveaux⁵⁴ of 2^d Regiment. A copy of their paroles, with a note from the Lt. Governor, is here enclosed. the non commissioned and privates, have sent with Lt. Martin Second Regiment and 30 men, of the 1st, 2^d, 5th, & 6th Reg^t,⁵⁵ they are to take three men, now at Jacksonburg,⁵⁶ at Dr. Spence's, which was not in your list, by particular desire of the Governor, as also 6 women & 2 children.

Gen^l Howe, when going away, ordered that his three servants, left to take care of his house &c. &c. was to draw rations. As I am not clear he has a right, shall be glad you would give me your orders.⁵⁷

I hope the officers of the 2^d regiment, sent on this occasion, will be sent back as speedily as possible, as the service here will not permit of their absence for any time.

I have been obliged to draw on Colo^l. Drayton, Q.M.G. for 500 Dollars to subsist the officers, prisoners of war, on their way to the fixed Hospital, as I could not get money otherwise, which Captⁿ. Proveaux will account for.

I am, with due respect, yours &c
Fra^s. Marion.

ACy (MH) Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Sparks 12, No. 346.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - April 2, 1779

Head-Quarters, Black Swamp,⁵⁸ April 2^d, 1779

Sir,

The prisoners are arrived.

General Howe's order will be a justification to you; he must settle the matter in future.

In future all officers on parole must be allowed the communications; that is the allowance made to our officers prisoners with the enemy.

When waggons are sent with prisoners, I think of provision[s] should be sent on in them; it would be much cheaper than purchasing on the road.

I am &c
[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MHi), No. 191

54. This is the same Adrian Proveaux who, as a lieutenant, was court martialed on Sep. 25, 1777, for behavior "Inconsistent with the Character of an Officer and a Gentleman." (See orders of Sep. 25, 1777.) His punishment was to be reprimanded before the officers of the regiments. He was then returned to duty.
55. Lt. Martin was probably John Martin, who was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Feb. 1777, and became a 1st lieutenant in Mar. 1778, and a captain in 1779. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown. He was exchanged in Nov. 1780. It is not clear whether this John Martin is the same man who was killed at Strawberry Ferry in Feb. 1782, or whether he was the Lt. Martin mentioned as recruiting four men for the SC Continentals in Aug. 1782. Adding to the confusion is the appearance of a Capt. Martin in Maj. James Conyers's letter to Marion on Oct. 9, 1782. Martin had apparently been left out of the consolidation of the cavalry regiments of Maham and Conyers. The only other captain Martin in the militia was Barkley Martin, who served under Col. LeRoy Hammond in 1780 and 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 657, 659; Warley to Marion, Aug. 11, 1782, Tr [Force transcripts: DLC]; Conyers to Marion, Oct 9, 1782, Tr [Force transcripts: DLC]). Once again, as with the relief expedition to Fort McIntosh two years earlier, it is not clear why this detachment was cobbled together from multiple regiments.
56. Jacksonborough, SC, was 32 miles southwest of Charlestown and 60 miles northeast of Purrysburg. At the time, it was a town. Today it is an unincorporated census-designated place (spelled Jacksonboro) in Colleton County, SC, with a population of approximately 200. In Jan. 1782 it served as the seat of the South Carolina government while Charlestown was enemy-occupied.
57. Standard military procedure mandated that rations were issued to servants of officers. Marion was confirming with his new superior officer (Gen. Lincoln) whether the orders given by an officer (Gen. Howe), who was no longer in the Southern Department, should be followed.
58. Black Swamp was a strategic point 25 miles from Purrysburg, which commanded the Yemassee Bluff opposite Abercorn, Georgia. The bluff was guarded by a company of forty men of the 6th SC Regiment under the command of Lt. Col. William Henderson. On the night of Apr. 22, thirty Loyalists, painted as Indians, attacked a small six-man guard post there. The Patriots were forced to retreat. Shortly afterwards, the Americans reinforced the position, but when the British landed 300 soldiers at Purrysburg on Apr. 28, the Americans abandoned the post.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - April 5, 1779

Head-Quarters, Black Swamp, April 5th, 1779

Sir,

Your favor of the 26th ult^o I have received.⁵⁹ The prisoners are arrived safe. Captain [Adrian] Provaux wishes to return and join camp. I should be happy to indulge him, if the Service with you will admit it.⁶⁰

I think in future when waggons are sent on with prisoners that provisions should be sent on also. It would be much cheaper than to purchase on the road. Captain Prevaux will account for the money when he returns.

I am &c

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MHi), No. 207.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - April 10, 1779

Ch^s Town, 10th April 1779

Sir,

I rec^d yours by Capt. Proveaux & with the [Service?] permit me to let him return to head quarters, but I have only two reliefs of Officers.⁶¹

In Consequence of a request of the Lt. Govenor & Council⁶² to take charge of fort johnson, I shall tomorrow order a Company of Second Regt & some recruits of the Corps of Artillery to relieve the malitia, who is thought not sufficient to Garrison that post (though the best in this state) and a part of the recruits of the artillery will be sent to fort moultrie as I cannot think it safe that fort johnson should have only recruits. L^t Colo. Beekman have about 80 recruits, 30 of which will be sent to fort moultrie.⁶³

I shall take the Liberty of Stoping the Officers of the Artillery, as they come from recruiting for the above purpose, as I think this Service requires it ---[*mutilated*] probability of getting any men at present.

The money which Captⁿ Proveaux had was to get Subsistance for the Officers[and] prisoners of war, who did not go with the wagons. the privates had provisions in the wagon, but shall Observe your order in future.⁶⁴

As the L^t Governor cannot pay the troops as usual Shall be glad to know how they are to be paid as M^r. [John] Gervais⁶⁵ & P M Gen^l has no Orders for that purpose.⁶⁶

A M^r. Swan from North Carolina say that he seen Count Polaskey [Pulaski]⁶⁷ near George town with three or four Off^{rs}. but coud not tell where [h]is Legion was, but suppose they are coming the upper road.

I am with respect

Y^r Most Obedient Humble Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MHi)

59. The letter of Mar. 26 has not been found.

60. Lincoln misunderstood Marion's letter. Marion clarified his actions in the letter of Apr. 10, below.

61. Although Marion admitted to lacking officers, he nevertheless approved of Proveaux's reassignment to headquarters (Charlestown). In an Apr. 20 letter to Lt. Gov. Thomas Bee, Moultrie agreed that Proveaux's company could not be spared from Charlestown. Moultrie went on to explain that he was sending Lt. Col. Marion to Fort Moultrie, since the strategic importance of the post necessitated it be commanded by a field officer (Moultrie to Bee, Apr. 20, 1779, Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:376-77).

62. Reference here is to Lt. Gov. Bee and the Privy Council. Gov. Rutledge was at Orangeburgh, from whence he had ordered militia Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson to embody the Ninety Six Regiment and make incursions into Georgia.

63. With only a small force in Charlestown, and without knowing the British plans, Marion as acting commander in the absence of Gen. Lincoln, attempted to balance the harbor defenses with a mix of experienced troops and raw recruits.

64. In his letter to Gen. Lincoln of Mar. 25 above, Marion explained that the provisions for the privates in the detachment delivering the prisoners to the prisoner exchange were from Continental stores. The purpose of the \$500 was to obtain provisions for the officers and prisoners. In his response of Apr. 5, above, Lincoln did not clearly understand Marion's actions. He did direct, however, that for future expeditions all provisions should be obtained prior to leaving Charlestown.

65. [See brief bio of John Lewis Gervais here.](#)

66. A similar troop payment issue occurred in February when the commissary, who was resigning, refused to pay the troops or to provide provisions to them. In that instance, Gov. Rutledge broke the impasse. See Marion's letter to Lincoln of Feb. 23, above. See correspondence of Apr. 15 and 21, both below, for expansion and resolution of the pay issue.

67. [See brief bio of Count Casimir Pulaski here.](#)

Apr. 12 – Spain and France sign a treaty of alliance, though the Spanish stop short of allying with the Americans or recognizing American independence.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion – April 15, 1779

Head-quarters, April 15th, 1779

Sir,

I am favored with your letter of the 10th.

As Congress have appointed an Auditor, thro' whose hands all pay-rolls and abstracts must pass, you will please to order the pay-rolls for that part of the 2^d. regt. now with you & the other Continental troops to be made up to the first day of April, to which time I have ordered all the troops to be paid. In future you will send your rolls once a month & warrants will be forwarded to you for Sums due thereon.⁶⁸

I am &c

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MHi), No. 223.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion – April 16, 1779

Head-Quarters, April 16th, 1779

Sir,

By a line, I this day received from his Honor the Lieutenant Governor,⁶⁹ I learn that some of our recruiting officers are enlisting the British deserters. It must be prevented, and in future none permitted to engage in our service; they are too many of them wicked designing men, not worthy our confidence in so essential a point. You will please to give the officers this information, and that any engaged in future will not be mustered or paid.⁷⁰

I am &c &c

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MHi), No. 232.

68. In his general orders of Dec. 30, 1778, above, in which Marion was assigned command of Charlestown, Gen. Moultrie summarized Marion's orders, "I would not Mention your Particular Duty as you are well Acquainted." Marion was undoubtedly knowledgeable of the command responsibilities as it related to troop management. However, as this letter implied, he was not informed regarding all necessary administrative issues, such as payroll. Lincoln's letter is included in the orderly book of Apr. 20. Following Lincoln's letter are orders by Lt. Col. Marion: "Ordered that the pay Rolls be made up agreeable to the above and According to the Resolves of Congress of 27th of May last Are to be transmitted to head quarters as soon as Possible The Additional pay Given by this State to be in a Separate pay Roll which will be paid by this State as usual" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 527).

69. Thomas Bee was lieutenant governor at this time. [See a brief bio of Bee here.](#)

70. It is notable that Lincoln did not order the mustering out of British deserters already in Continental service, despite his feeling that "too many are wicked men." The Continental Congress had expressly prohibited the recruitment of deserters by its action of Sep. 29, 1778: "Resolved, That the Board do issue a most positive and express Instruction to all recruiting Officers whatever, not to enlist Prisoners of any Kind or Deserters on any Pretence, under the Penalty of having every such Recruit discharged and the Officer so enlisting held accountable for all the Expences incurred thereby. Resolved, That the Board of War do in like Manner issue an Instruction to all Officers of Cavalry not to enlist any Prisoner or Deserter in the Cavalry under the like Penalty" (*JCC*, Sep. 29, 1778, 966). On May 22, 1778, Congress passed a resolution advising the states to declare all deserters and prisoners free from militia duty, and to forbid their serving as substitutes in the militia (*JCC*, May 22, 1778, 523).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - April 21, 1779

Ch^s. Town, 21st April 1779

Sir,

Yours of the 15th & 16th Ult. Came to hand. I have Ordered the pay bills to be transmitted to head Quarters & no more Deserters to be taken in the Service. There is about Eight in Col^o. Roberts Reg^t & as many in the 5th Reg^t. The Second Reg^t have not one of those people. I had Given Orders from the first not to Inlist any of them & Indeavoured to prevent their being taken in the other Reg^{ts} but they said they had Orders to do it by Major Huger.⁷¹ I send the returns [of the?] Ordinance Stores at forts Moultrie & Johnston. The Latter is by no means compleat. The Malitia left it Otherways than they received it, but am puting it in order as fast as possible.⁷²

I am with Due Respect Y^r Honours

Most Obed^t Hum. Serv^t

Francis Marion

Lt. Col. Second Reg^t.

ALS (MHi).

Apr. 24 – Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot sails for New York with reinforcements from England, and is named overall naval commander in America.

71. [See a brief bio of Benjamin Huger here.](#)

72. In his capacity as temporary commandant of Charlestown, Marion seems to have been the officer who maintained order and saw to the upkeep of the various fortifications and facilities.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. William Moultrie – May 9, 1779

Ch^s. town,⁷³ 9 May⁷⁴ 1779

Gen Orders by Gen Moultrie } – Col^o Marion with all the Men belonging to this Reg^t. to Come over to Cha^s Town Except one officer and twenty Men to Keep Possession of Fort Moultrie –⁷⁵

After Orders by Cap^t Motte } Cap^t Gray One Serg^{ts} One Corporals and twenty Privates to remain at Fort Moultrie till and Further Orders –

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 542.

May 23 – Benedict Arnold advances secret details on the American fortifications at West Point to Sir Henry Clinton in New York, demonstrating his seriousness about defecting.

-
73. Gen. Lincoln went on the offensive on Apr. 20, when he marched for Augusta on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, crossing to Augusta on Apr. 22. He left Gen. Moultrie at Purrysburg with approximately 1,000 men. British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost recognized the vulnerability of the American forces and, on Apr. 28, crossed the Savannah to Purrysburg to attack the smaller American force. Moultrie retreated to avoid an encounter with Prevost's larger force. Moultrie marched into Charlestown on May 7, to be confronted by a frightened town that had been threatened for the first time since Jun. 1776. Also arriving in Charlestown on May 7 was Gov. Rutledge, who brought 500 militia from Orangeburgh. Prevost's force, hampered by bridges burnt and trees felled across the roads by the retreating Americans, as well as by the apparent impossibility of preventing his troops from looting plantations along the way, appeared on Charlestown Neck on May 9.
74. This order followed up on the general orders of May 7, which stipulated that "The [2nd] Regiment [are] to hold themselves in readiness to march at a minutes warning, they are to carry nothing with them but their Blankets—all their Baggage must be put in one of the Regimental Stores – the Officers will put all their Baggage in two rooms & Leave their rooms to be Occupied by the troops Coming in – the Adjutant will immediately make room in the privates Barracks for one hundred men, present & some rooms to be Given in the Off^s Barrack, for the Officers coming in" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 541).
75. Marion, who was commander of Charlestown in the absence of Lincoln and Moultrie, had gone to Fort Moultrie. Gen. Moultrie's order to bring most of the 2nd Regiment to Charlestown was in response to the increasing threat by Prevost. The Patriot defensive line stretched across Charlestown Neck from the Ashley to the Cooper River. The threat was perceived to be so great that Fort Johnson was destroyed to prevent the British from capturing it. Moultrie's disposition of his troops included Marion manning the left redoubt with 100 men of his 2nd SC Regiment. The balance of the 2nd Regiment was held in reserve under the command of Gen. Casimir Pulaski (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:413). On May 11, the British demanded unconditional surrender, which Moultrie refused. In response, Gov. Rutledge proposed to surrender the city if Gen. Prevost would guarantee the neutrality of South Carolina and the harbor for the rest of the war. Whether or not the offer was a ruse to buy time or not, it did have that effect. Prevost, as a military officer, refused to negotiate with the civilian authority. He was not prepared for a full-scale attack or a prolonged siege and, knowing that Gen. Lincoln was not far away, retreated to James and John's Islands on May 12. The reprieve would not last. Exactly one year later to the day Charlestown surrendered to another British expedition (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:423-35; McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, 366-70). Gen. Lincoln and his army returned on May 14, narrowly missing the opportunity to capture Prevost's army (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 532-33, 541-43). Despite the withdrawal of Prevost's army, the Americans were still concerned about the threat to Charlestown. As a consequence, the 100-man detachment of the 2nd Regiment was ordered to return to Fort Moultrie. As a precaution, Moultrie ordered that two months' provisions for 500 men be sent to the fort (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:448).

General Orders - May 27, 1779

[Fort Moultrie],⁷⁶27th May [1779]

Parole Paris . . . C Sⁿ. 79

For the day tomorrow Captⁿ Gray

Fort Guard 1 Captⁿ 1 Subaltern from Col^o Maybank⁷⁷ & Lieu^t Foissin Second Reg^t.

Regimental Orders:

the Orders of the 3^d March last Respecting Officers Servants is to be strictly Observed⁷⁸

In the provision return it is Ordered that it be particularly mentioned if ration are for a White or Black Servants, if neglected the rations will not be Issued, & the Quartr Mastr or his Serg^t is Orderd to Issue such for Servants without tis strictly for White or Black Servant⁷⁹

A regimental court Martial to set today at 11 OC: in forenoon for the trial of such prisoners as may be Orderd to it, evidences to Attend –

Captⁿ Gray presid^t. Lieu^{ts} Foissin & Kolb⁸⁰ members -- No Court

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 547.

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - May 27, 1779

Ch^s. Town, 27 May [1779]

Gen^l. Orders, G Moultrie:

Sir you will be ready to bring over all the men of the second Reg^t

By tomorrow morning with all their Arms and Accoutrements in proper Order and one hundred rounds p^f Man. Each Barge to Send over some of the Ch^s town Artillery and Malitia to relieve you⁸¹

L^t. Col^o. Marion

Fort Moultrie

I am your humbl Servt

William Moultrie

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 548.

-
76. As a result of Prevost's withdrawal to John's Island on May 12, and Lincoln's return to Charlestown on May 14, Marion and his 2nd Regiment contingent returned to Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island.
77. At this time the Continentals shared the fort with the Berkeley County militia under the command of Col. Joseph Maybank. The militia had been sent to replace the 2nd Regiment, when it was ordered to Charlestown to man the defenses on Charlestown Neck in the face of the British threat. Maybank (1735-83) became the commanding colonel of the Berkeley County Regiment of Cavalry in Apr. 1776. Col. Maybank's militia regiment was sent to Fort Sullivan (later Fort Moultrie) to replace Continental troops needed for the assault on the British defenses at Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779. Maybank was wounded at Hickory Hill, Ga., in Jun. 1779 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 544n1064).
78. Marion's regimental orders of Mar. 3, 1779 directed that "No Officer to take a Soldier as a Servant that is a man who are able to do Duty" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 514).
79. In the midst of countering the attack by Prevost and preparing to launch an offensive against the British army at Stono Ferry, normal regimental business required attention. Standard practice was to provide rations to the servants of officers. See Moultrie's general orders of Jul. 5, 1778, in which the general referred to a May 30 order specifying that servants' rations were only to be given if the servant was not a member of the army (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 432). The reason for reporting whether the servant was white or Black is not known, although the case may have been that rations were different based on race or condition of servitude (enslaved vs. free labor).
80. [See a brief bio of Abel Kolb here.](#)
81. Around May 16, after the withdrawal of the British from the area around Charlestown, Marion and the 2nd SC Regiment returned to Fort Moultrie, joining forces with the Berkeley County Militia, a regiment sent to the fort to free up part of the 2nd Regiment to defend Charlestown against an attack by the British army under Prevost. Moultrie's order here directed Marion to move his regiment in preparation for an attack on the British redoubts near Stono Ferry. The order was later rescinded (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 548). The regiment stayed at Fort Moultrie, except for the three companies still in Charlestown, noted in Marion to Lincoln, Jul. 14, below. The Americans attacked the British at Stono Ferry on Jun. 20, in an assault that was marked by miscommunication and bad luck. The Americans retreated when the British began a counterattack across the water. (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 555).

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - June 14, 1779

[Fort Moultrie],⁸²14th June [1779]

Parole Ohio C Sⁿ. 33

For the Day tomorrow Captⁿ Dunbar

Fort Guard L^t Petrie & 1 Sub: from Col^o Maybank

Picquet tonight a Sub: from Col^o Maybank

The Articles of war to be read this Evening at 5 OC to the Second Regiment by the Serg^t Maj^r and to Col^o Maybanks reg^t by Adjutant Kirwan at the same hour –

Col^o. Marion hope the good harmony of subsisting between the Continental & State troops will continue, he Assures them he will does not nor will not consider them in any other light than friends to their country & therefore will be partial to Either, he hope the Officers in particular will be carefull that the present good harmony do Essential to their countrys will not be Interrupted⁸³

The Officer of the Day to Visit the Advance Guard once a day

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 552.

Jun. 18 – Gen. John Sullivan's punitive expedition against the Iroquois departs Easton, Penn. Over the course of the summer and fall, Sullivan's soldiers will destroy dozens of villages and seriously weaken the power of the Iroquois League.

Jun. 21 – Spain declares war on Britain and immediately begins operations against Gibraltar.

82. The 2nd SC Regiment returned to Fort Moultrie around May 16. Marion's 2nd Regiment had been stationed at Fort Moultrie since Jan. 7, 1778 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 370). It remained at the fort until embarking for Savannah in early September.

83. While many of the Continental officers expressed disdain for the militia, Marion understood the minds of part-time soldiers and utilized their talents in areas where they would be most successful. This understanding would play a major role in his successful guerrilla war beginning in late summer 1780.

General Order to Second SC Regiment - July 3, 1779

[Charlestown], Third July [1779]

Parole Hector -- C: Sⁿ. Priam

For the Day toMorrow Capt Gray

Fort Guard Lieu^{tn} Roux⁸⁴ –

Picquit tonight a Sub. From Col^o Maybanks ~

His Excellency the Governor presents his Compliments to Col^o Marion & the other Officers of the 2^d S^o Carolina Continental Regiment & desires the pleasure of their Company to Dinner at the State House next Monday, at Three oClock.⁸⁵

R. O: -

A Boat will be ready on Monday Morning to carry those Officers (off Duty) to Town that Accept his Excellency's Invitation. they are to Return to Fort Moultrie in the Evening –

The Orderly Sergeant or Corporal of each Company to turn out Two Fatigue Men immediately – they are to be under the direction of the Q^r Master Serg^t. –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 558.

General Orders by Gov. John Rutledge - July 7, 1779

[Charleston], July 7th [1779]

Captⁿ. Vanderhorst produced the following Orders

(Copy)

Sir –

You are immediately to discharge the Militia under your Command at Fort Moultrie⁸⁶

July 6th 1779

(Sign'd) John Rutledge

The Militia being discharged the Guards were Reduc'd as follows –

Garrison Guard – 1 Sub: 2 Serg^{ts}. 2 Corp^{ls}. & 21 privates

Advance D^o. – 1 Serg^t. 1 Corp^l. & 6 privates Rear d^o as usual & the Picquit withdrawn

O'Kelley, BCADM, 559.

84. Albert Roux was commissioned a lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Dec. 1777, and a captain in either Aug. or Oct. 1779 under Lt. Col. Marion. He was wounded in the right arm at Savannah on Oct. 9, 1779, but served until he retired at the beginning of Jan. 1781. Roux apparently rejoined the army in 1782, as related by Marion to Peter Horry: "tell Capt. Roux he is retained in the service & is in the 2d Regiment. I have not time to write him" (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 834; Marion to Horry, May 3, 1782, Tr [Force Transcripts: DLC]).

85. It is not known why, or if, the 2nd Regiment was being singled out by Gov. Rutledge, especially since it had not participated in the Battle of Stono Ferry on Jun. 20. This may have been a rotating honorary invitation to the officers of each of the various regiments in the SC line.

86. There is no record of specifically when the Berkeley County Militia had arrived at Fort Moultrie, but they had been retained to allow parts of the 2nd SC Regiment to go to the defense of Charlestown in May 1779, described above. Now that that threat was passed, they were being dismissed.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - July 14, 1779

Charlestown, 14 July 1779

Sir,

I am told the Detachment of the Second Reg^t. Now in town is ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, there is Capt^{ns} Lesesne, Moultrie & Bakers Comp^{ys} which was on the Last Command & the most of their Officers are incapable of going with them.⁸⁷ Should be Oblige to you, if you could order these three company down to fort Moultrie & I will send others on there soon, who will be better able to perform the duty which may be required of them.

I am S^r. With respect
Y^r. most Ob^t Humb Serv^t.
Fran^s Marion
Lt. Col. Second Reg^t.

ALS (MHi)

Jul. 15-16 (night) – Gen. Anthony Wayne, leading the American Light Infantry corps in a surprise night attack, captures the British post at Stony Point, NY, using only the bayonet.

Aug. 13 – British Commodore George Collier traps 43 ships of the Continental and Massachusetts state navies in Penobscot Bay, Massachusetts (present Maine). The Americans retreat upriver, and ultimately are forced to scuttle their entire fleet. This is the costliest naval defeat of the war.

87. It is not certain if the three companies mentioned are the same ones that manned the left redoubt during the defense of Charlestown from Prevost's advance. However, it would seem reasonable for Marion to seek respite for the men who did participate.

Lt. William Jackson (ADC to Lincoln) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - August 14, 1779

Head Quarters Ch Town, Aug^t 14^t.1779

Sir

The General requests you will please order the Bricklayers, Wheelwrights, House Carpenters and Gunsmiths, Artificiers in your Regiment, to attend L^t Col^o Grimkie of the Artillery – he may have occasion to employ them for a short time, when they will be orderd to the Island⁸⁸

L^t. Col^o. Marion
Fort Moultrie

In his absence the commanding Officer the 2 ^d Regiment	I am Sir your &tc Will Jackson, ADC
---	--

O'Kelley, BCADM, 571.

Aug. 16 – Admiral d'Estaing's expedition, comprising 37 ships and approximately 4,500 soldiers, departs from St. Domingue for Georgia, intending to cooperate with the Americans in recapturing Savannah.

Aug. 17 – Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, departs the city with a mixed force of militia and Indians toward the British post at Baton Rouge.

Aug. 19 – Major Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee leads a nighttime assault on the British fort at Paulus Hook (present Jersey City), NJ within sight of New York City. Lee escapes after killing or capturing 173 of the fort's 220-man garrison.

Aug. 25 – Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot arrives in New York and takes command of all British naval forces in North America.

Aug. 29 – Sullivan's expedition is ambushed by a force of Indians and Tories near Newtown, NY, and, despite early losses, ultimately prevails. This is the only major pitched battle of the Sullivan Expedition.

Lt. William Jackson¹ (ADC to Lincoln) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - August 30, 1779

Head Quarters Ch Town, Aug^t 30th 1779

Sir

The general requests that you will immediately on Receipt of this letter, order a Sergeants Guard from 2d Reg^t to Dewees Island, to be Stationed there as a covering party to the Workmen employ'd in cutting palmetto Loggs⁸⁹ – and to be relieved, untill further order by You at Such time as may be most convenient

I am S^t. Y^t. M. O. Ser^t.
Will. Jackson
AD. Camp –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 574.

88. The purpose of the detail is unknown. Presumably "the Island" is Sullivan's Island.

89. Dewees Island is an island near Charlestown. It is across the Dewees Inlet from what was then called Long Island, now Isle of Palms.

The cutting of palmetto logs, the material used to build Fort Sullivan in 1776, would indicate new construction or repair of an existing fortification. In his regimental orders of Aug. 30, Marion ordered the detachment, composed of 11 soldiers with a week's provisions and 18 rounds of ammunition, to proceed as soon as ready.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion – September 5, 1779

Head Quarters at Ch^s town, Sep^t 5th 1779

Sir

You will immediately order all your Officers & men capable of marching, to hold themselves in readiness to proceed at a Minutes warning to the S^o. Ward⁹⁰

Each man is to be Supplied with 60 rounds of Cartridges and to have his Arms & Accoutrements in compleat order

All the N^o Carolinians able to march are to proceed with you as it will be Exceedingly Difficult perhaps impossible to procure Waggons, you will intimate to your Officers & men, the Necessity of taking with them as Little baggage as possible – little more than Shift of Linen need be carried— please make a return by Whereabout what Number I may depend on.⁹¹

I am S^r.

Y^r most Obed^t. Serv^t.

B Lincoln

O'Kelley, BCADM, 577.

Regimental Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – September 5, 1779

5th September

Parole France Countr Sn. Spain

For the Day tomorrow Captn Chapman

Fort Guard Lieu^t Foissin from N. Carolina

4 OC PM

After Orders:

All the men able to March of the Second Reg^t & Captⁿ Ramseys Detachment to hold themselves in readiness to march at a Minutes warning – Captⁿ Ramsey will give in a return immediately the number of men he has capable of Marching – the Officers & men are made Acquainted that no more baggage than what they can carry in their havresack, can be carried⁹² – the Quart^r Master Serg^t to give in an Acct of the Numb^r of Cartrige in Store, & to ball & fill all the Blank Cartridges immediately with all his time⁹³ – he is to take as many men as will Compleat them this night_____

O'Kelley, BCADM, 576-77

90. This mobilization was in response to the plan for a joint Franco-American assault on Savannah. The French Admiral Charles Comte d'Estaing had sailed for the Georgia coast on Aug. 16, with 37 ships and 4,000 troops. [See a brief bio of d'Estaing here.](#)

91. Marion reiterated the urgency of the impending deployment in his regimental orders of this date, below. A detachment of the newly arrived 3rd North Carolina Regiment had been at Fort Moultrie since August. Wagon availability was again an issue, as it had been at the time of Marion's letter to Lincoln on Feb. 23, above. In this case, Marion ordered his men to bring "no more baggage than what they can carry in their havresack." See immediately below (O'Kelley, BCADM, 576-77).

92. Marion here complied with Lincoln's directive of Sep. 5, above, which specified that as "Little baggage as possible" was to be taken for the Savannah Campaign.

93. All the blank cartridges were to be pre-filled and put in cartridge boxes to make musket reloading faster. This was common practice for regular troops in the 18th century. Nearly all formations operated with premade cartridges of a single musket ball and a premeasured portion of powder. If a formation ran out of premade cartridges, it would generally withdraw. The militia by contrast (especially rifle armed militia), often carried powder, ball, and wadding separately, because rate of fire was less emphasized.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - September 5, 1779

Fort Moultrie 5 Sepr. 1779. 4 O'C. PM

Sir,

I received yours of this date; we shall be ready to march, whenever you please to order us.⁹⁴ The out guards at Dewee's Island, and at Haddrell's Barrack, I suppose you will have called in. I have included them, and the artificers, and boatsmen now in town, in the number able to march. & am, with due respect, &c.

Frans. Marion
Second Regiment

Sergeants---	14
Drums & fifes---	10
Rank & file---	<u>155</u>
Total---	<u>179</u>

North Carolina troops ⁹⁵	
Sergeants---	4
Rank & file.---	<u>31</u>
	<u>214</u>

NB, I beg leave to Inform You that the North Carolina troops though very willing to march are Intirly Naked, none have any Shirts or Shoes -----

ALS (NN), New York Public Library, Emmett Collection, EM M.

Regimental Orders (Second SC Regiment) - September 6, 1779

[Fort Moultrie], 6th Sep^{tr} [1779]

RO. { Commanding Off^{rs}. of Companys will immediately Examin'd their mens Arms & Accutrements & see they are in the best Order -- all the Baggage of the Officers & men may be put in the regimental Store the care of Such will be given to M^r. Harvey the Gunner; as we may expect to march every Minute,⁹⁶ it is hoped the Off^{rs} & men will be ready as soon as Called upon to march instantly- no leave of Absents to be given to any man, on any Account whatsoever

The Col^o. Expects the men will have their clothes clean that they may make as Decent an Appearance in town as possible⁹⁷ -

the Drum Major is Ordered to git all the Drums in the best Order immediately

O'Kelley, BCADM, 577.

-
94. Marion presumably received early warning that his regiment would be marching, since it was unusual for the regiment to be ready to march on the same day it received orders. For example, in 1777, Marion was ordered by Gov. Rutledge on Feb. 23, to march as soon as possible to the relief of Fort McIntosh. The various detachments, including Marion's, that made up the ad hoc force did not sail until Mar. 1. However, this was also essentially a naval expedition, which would have taken more time to prepare. On another occasion, a detachment of the 2nd SC Regiment commanded by Peter Horry marched at least three days after receiving an order from Gen. Moultrie in Feb. 1779. (See Moultrie to Marion, orders of Feb. 22, 1779 and regimental orders by Marion, Feb. 23.) Based on Marion's regimental orders of Sep. 6, below, however, his regiment was not in fact ready to march "whenever you please to order us."
95. The return mentioned here and requested in Lincoln's letter of this date, immediately above, has not been found.
96. In his letter of Sep. 5, one day *before* ordering his officers to check "their mens Arms & Accoutrements," Marion assured Gen. Lincoln that his troops were ready to march when ordered.
97. Marion's 2nd SC Regiment had been stationed at Fort Moultrie since shortly after the withdrawal of the British from the gates of Charlestown in the middle of May. (See Moultrie to Marion, May 27, above.) Marion presumably wanted his regiment to present itself in the best possible light as it passed through the city on its way to Savannah. This may have been about more than pride or duty. With British activity switching to the South, they must have considered the high probability of another British attempt on Charlestown, in which case, the loyalty and morale of the civilian population would have strategic significance (as it in fact did a few months later). Showing a professional looking army capable of taking offensive action against the British would have had an essentially reassuring effect.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - September 6, 1779

[Charlestown, 6th Sepr 1779]

Sir

As the N^o Carolinians are unprovided⁹⁸ You will please leave them on Island & move immediately with all Your own Regiments fit for a March to Savannah – bring your Camp Kettles – A Schooner is sent for you⁹⁹

No time is to be lost

I am

Sir your hum Serv

Sign^d B Lincoln

O'Kelley, BCADM, 578.

Sep. 14 – Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois culminates with his destruction of Genesee Castle (Little Beard's Town).

98. The 90 North Carolina Continentals under Marion's command were originally to go to Savannah. However, after Lincoln learned that they did not have proper clothes, he ordered that they stay at Fort Moultrie. He may also have wanted to avoid the civilian population seeing how poorly equipped they were.

99. The 2nd Regiment boarded the schooner on Sep. 7, sailed to Charlestown, disembarked, and marched to the Quarter House, a tavern five miles from town. Lincoln's Charlestown-based troops met up with other militia units at Sheldon, 56 miles from the city, before the 1500-man army began the march for Savannah on Sep. 8. A contingent of Virginia Continentals and militia joined the Southern Army at Ebenezer after Lincoln crossed the Savannah River into Georgia.

General Orders by Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - September 16, 1779

Cherochee hill [Savannah],¹⁰⁰ September 16th [1779]

Field Officer for this Evening Major Wise
Brigade Major Captain Linning

Weekly Returns of the troops are to be Made to the Adjutant Gen^l Every Monday And Friday at Orderly time in the Morning, tis hoped this order will be punctually Complied with for Other it will be impossible to regulate the Detail of the Army forms May be had of the Adjutant Gen^l. –

After orders / as the Militia cannot possibly be of any service on Horseback there being a Great proportion of Regular cavalry in the Army

The Gen^l. Orders that every regiment or Corps of Militia Now in camp or who may hereafter Arrive Except Captain Capt Elliots who were commissioned as Horse be Dismounted And serve on foot¹⁰¹ – The Militia belonging to the State of Georgia to be Anexced to the first those of South Carolina Now in Camp to the Second Brigade¹⁰²

The Q^r. M^s. Gen^l. will provide a pasture in the Rear of the Camp where the Horses Must be sent Early tomorrow Morning with a Small Guard from each Regiment to prevent their Straying¹⁰³

M^r. Bereford, M^r. Simmons, M^r John Izard¹⁰⁴ And M^r. Walter Izard¹⁰⁵ Now Acting As Volunteers in the Army Are to be Respected as confidential Officers Attendant on Gen^l. Huger -- & All Orders from them are to be Obey'd And they Respected Accordingly

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 581-82.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - October 5, 1779

Camp near Savannah 5 Oct. 1779

“At a Court of Enquiry held in Camp near Savannah, 5 Oct., 1779, by Order of Genl. Lincoln to enquire into a Complaint of Genl. Prevost against Captains Espey and Wyche of the Georgia Militia for breaking their Parole . . . the court are of opinion they have broke their Parole, not willfully, but from mistaken judgement.”¹⁰⁶

Signed by Marion, as President of Court

Copy of Fragment Tr (*Autograph Letter & Manuscripts*, C. F. Libbie & Co., Boston, Nov. 15, 1889, Lot 570).

100. A French army of 1,200 soldiers arrived in Georgia on Sep. 10. After taking Fort Tybee without opposition, the French moved to within three miles of Savannah to set up their encampment. Pulaski's Legion preceded the main force of the American army by one day, joining d'Estaing's camp on Sep. 15. Gen. Lincoln arrived before Savannah on Sep. 16, and initially camped at Cherokee Hills, upriver from the town (Ward, *War of the Revolution*, 690). The eventual American encampment was on what is now the site of the Savannah/Hilton Head International Airport (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 581n1119).
101. Militia often would not stay with the army if they were made to fight as infantry. From the Continental Army's standpoint, the militia, although needed to bolster the number of muskets for the army in combat, did not measure up to the regular troops. The fact that the part-time soldiers brought horses only exacerbated the situation. Forage for horses was not easily obtainable, as many plantations had been abandoned or burned. Those stores that did exist were often insufficient to fully provision the army, much less additional horses. Procuring forage drained the coffers used to finance the war even more. A few of the mounted units were retained, such as Capt. Barnard Elliott's (not to be confused with Col. Barnard Elliott) Mounted Independent Company which was attached to Pulaski's cavalry during the siege (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 582n1121).
102. The assignment of militia units to serve with Continental brigades was done in an effort to consolidate command, and also to prevent the militia men from deserting before and during battle.
103. Not only was adequate forage an issue with the militia, but when they encamped, secure measures had to be taken to separate the horses from the camp, and also to keep the horses contained. Having so many mounts was a logistical nightmare for an 18th-century army.
104. John Izard was elected to the SC House of Representatives from Goose Creek, St. James Parish, in 1775. He served under Gen. Isaac Huger as a volunteer "confidential Officer" at the Siege of Savannah (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 582n1124).
105. Walter Izard (1750-88) was the son of wealthy planter Ralph Izard of Dorchester and the brother-in-law of the last royal governor, Lord William Campbell. Izard served under Gen. Isaac Huger as a volunteer "confidential Officer" at the Siege of Savannah. Between 1778-79, Izard loaned the state £28,000. He served one term in the SC House (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 582n1125; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:375-76).
106. Marion presided over this court of inquiry after Gen. Lincoln had ordered it as a result of a complaint by Gen. Augustine Prevost, commander of the British forces at Savannah. The sentence imposed is not known.

Sep. 21 – Bernardo de Galvez’s Spanish force captures Baton Rouge, West Florida (now Louisiana), and the town’s entire 375-man garrison.

Sep. 30 – Bernardo de Galvez captures Natchez, West Florida (now Mississippi), solidifying Spanish control of the lower Mississippi River.

Oct. 11 – The British evacuate their 3,000-man garrison from Newport, R.I., in order to reinforce their southern army.

Siege and Assault of Savannah *September 23-October 18, 1779*

On September 16, as American soldiers were encamped at Cherokee Hills above Savannah, French Admiral Charles Hector Theodat, Comte d’Estaing offered the British garrison the chance to surrender. British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost requested 24 hours to consider the terms. The added day gave the British time to strengthen the city’s defenses and allowed 800 reinforcements withdrawn from Beaufort, SC, to reach the town undetected. These reinforcements raised the British force to 3,200 men.

Realizing that the opportunity for successfully assaulting the city had passed, the allies began a siege on the night of Sep. 23-24. They estimated it would take 10-15 days to complete the siege lines. After 10 days of heavy bombardment, D’Estaing decided that his fleet needed to get back to sea and sail to safe waters before the hurricane season threatened the fleet. In addition, 30-35 seamen were dying daily from illnesses like scurvy.¹⁰⁷

Thinking it dishonorable to abandon the siege without making an effort to take the town directly, d’Estaing decided to assault the British lines. The preparatory bombardment began late on the evening of Oct. 3, and was kept up unmercifully for five days. On Oct. 9, the attack began as the allied force of nearly 5,000 French and American soldiers commenced a frontal assault. The British may have been told of the allied plans by a deserter. This treachery, combined with rain, poor coordination and a rushed plan, spelled disaster. Several hindrances caused the attack, which was supposed to commence at 4:00 AM, to be delayed until after daylight. D’Estaing then ordered his troops to attack before the Americans were formed, which prevented them from reinforcing the French, who were repulsed three times.

The Continentals did not arrive at the most contested site, the Spring Hill Redoubt, until the height of the battle. The first wave of Americans, Pulaski’s Legion and Lt. Col. John Laurens’s light infantry, fell before a rain of cannon fire and musket balls. Marion and the 2nd SC Regiment followed the first wave, only to be repulsed as well. The 2nd Regiment did plant its colors on the rampart of the redoubt, but was forced to retreat shortly thereafter, as a result of the murderous fire. The regiment’s blue colors were lost after Sgt. William Jasper, the same soldier who had retrieved the flag at the Battle of Fort Sullivan on June 28, 1776, was mortally wounded. He had taken the colors from Lt. Henry Gray who had been wounded after retrieving them from beside Lt. John Bush and Lt. Alexander Hume, both of whom had themselves been mortally wounded protecting them. The blue colors of the 2nd Regiment were recovered by the British under the body of Lt. Bush and were taken to England as a prize of war.¹⁰⁸

Another notable casualty of the assault was Polish volunteer cavalry officer Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski. He and his men had attempted to breach the British lines to the west of Spring Hill Redoubt. Pulaski was mortally wounded when he was struck in the groin with grapeshot. His regiment was blocked by British abatis and mercilessly cut down by the enemy crossfire. Stephen Duboise, a volunteer with the American cavalry, wrote vividly of the moment: “General Pulaski commanded the whole Troops of horse there encamped -- On the day that the British forces were attacked, before Savannah General Pulaski drew up the horse, and Grenadiers to charge the breast works...but Pulaski persisted

107. Alexander A. Lawrence, *Storm over Savannah: The Story of Count d’Estaing and the Siege of the Town in 1779* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951), 19, 87.

108. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:412-19.

in his determination, and the charge was ordered, and after advancing one or two hundred yards on the breast works, the General received a cannon shot in the thigh, and he was taken off the ground, and the troop under Colonel White the senior officer after the fall of Pulaski was ordered to fall back out of the range of the enemy shot."¹⁰⁹

Although anecdotal reports put the losses of the South Carolina regiments at 40 percent during the assault on the Spring Hill redoubt, entries in Marion's Orderly Book put the casualties of the 2nd SC Regiment, which was purportedly in the thick of the fight, at "only" 10 percent: 38 killed, wounded, and deserted. Either way, the percentage of pension accounts that mention wounds suffered in this battle are disproportionately high among Marion's men. Isaac Herin of Captain Mason's company wrote that he was among those wounded and captured, Albert Roux lost the use of his right arm for the rest of his life, Benjamin Munnerlyn was wounded in the leg, and Shadrack McClendon lost an eye, while Lt. John Wickham, according to his widow, was killed.¹¹⁰ The British lost only 40 killed and 63 wounded.¹¹¹

Despite their terrible losses, the allies maintained the siege until Oct. 18, when Lincoln began pulling back across the Savannah River. The French began their embarkation on Oct. 19 or 20. The American army retraced its steps, encamping at Bull's Plantation at Sheldon,¹¹² 50 miles north of Savannah. Before marching back to Charlestown, Lincoln ordered the South Carolina regiments to remain at Sheldon under the command of Lt. Col. Francis Marion. No written order or letter to Marion giving him command of all the troops at Sheldon has been found.

[A month is missing from Marion's Orderly book following the events of October 9]

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - November 11, 1779

Ch^s. Town, November 11th, 1779.

Sir,

You will please to take the Earliest opportunity to send to Charlestown all Entrenching tools and axes, saving about Fifty which you may send in camp, as also all such Stores in the Q^r. M^r. Department which will not be necessary for you.¹¹³

I am, Sir,

Your most Obedt. Servt,

B. Lincoln

P.S. Please to order the Q^r. M^r. to make an Exact Return of all stores which will be left in his hands.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

109. Stephen Duboise Pension Statement S3311.

110. Herin, Pension W10098; McClendon, Pension S36695; Munnerlyn, Pension W8479; Roux, Pension BLWt1818-300; Wickham, Pension BLWt125-200.

111. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, 688-94; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1036-40; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 604-13; Mattern, *Benjamin Lincoln*, 76-87; David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia, 1775-1780* (University of South Carolina Press, 2005):65-80.

112. Sheldon Plantation (located off US 17 southeast of Yemassee, SC) was owned by Brig. Gen. Stephen Bull (d.1795), the nephew of perennial SC royal lieutenant governor, and acting governor, William Bull.

113. Leaving the South Carolina regiments at Sheldon enabled the army to create a viable defensive position in the event of a land attack out of Georgia. Such a position could potentially dissuade minor British incursions and provide a delaying force in the event of a large-scale attack, plus ample warning in the event of such an attempt. In addition, if the British should threaten Port Royal Island, which the Americans had retaken, relief from Sheldon was only 20 miles away. Lincoln's order for entrenching tools may have been in response to a perceived threat from the British navy. The request to send on any provisions not immediately needed implies that either Lincoln had informed Marion how long the SC regiments would be billeted at Sheldon, or that past a certain point he expected Marion's men to live off the land.

Andrew Dellient (Brig. Maj.) to Lt. Col. Francis Col. Marion - November 12, 1779

Ch^s. Town, November 12th, 1779.

Sir, I am Ordered to transmit to you the following orders by Generl. Lincoln, for which you will be kind enough to acknowledge the reception.¹¹⁴

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Most obed. Humble servt.,

A. Dellient, B.M.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Head Quarter Ch^s town, 12th Nov^r 1779***General Orders by Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (referred to in letter above)***

Gen^l. Orders at a General court martial whereof Col^o. Horry is president
By G Lincoln Conrade Bessinger¹¹⁵ a private Soldier in the 3^d S^o. Carolina
Battalion for Desertion & being in Arms Against his country, he is Found Guilty
& Sentenced to be hanged by the Neck Untill Dead¹¹⁶

The General Approves of the Sentence & order it to be Executed on Wednesday next between the hours of nine & Eleven in the forenoon

At the same Court Captⁿ Lieu^t Wilson & Lieu^t Fields¹¹⁷ both of the S^o Carolina Reg^t of Artillery were try'd for Absenting themselves from Camp & Duty on the 25. 26. 27. & 28th Days of October 1779 without Leave & found Guilty of the Charge, but the court considering the particular circumstances which induced them to over stay their leave of Absents, they think a punishment adequate to the Offence & recommend that they may be Discharged from their Arrest, & Orderd to their Duty¹¹⁸—

The General Approves the Sentence & Expects the Officers will immediately return to their Duty

The General Court Martial is Dissolved

Transmitted by A. Delliant B: M:

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 615-16.

114. Receipt has not been found.

115. Conrad Bessinger (d.1779) enlisted in the 3rd SC Regiment in Dec. 1777. He was court-martialed in Nov. 1779 on the charge of desertion and taking up arms against his country. He was convicted and by order of Gen. Lincoln sentenced to be hanged. Lt. Col. Marion carried out the sentence at Sheldon on Nov. 17 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 67; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 615n1301; Marion to Lincoln, Nov. 18, 1779, Tr [Force Transcripts: DLC]).

116. According to this document, Bessinger was convicted of "being in arms against his country." This probably means he was captured while serving on the other side, and that was definitely the more serious offense, relative to "desertion." While desertion was theoretically a capital offense, more often than not when the charge was simple desertion the punishment was commuted to something short of execution as the Continental Army was always short of manpower. Serving in the enemy's forces was a different matter. Presumably that is the offense that caused the death sentence to actually be carried out.

117. James Wilson (1745-1825) served as a 1st lieutenant in the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment in Nov. 1776. He became a captain-lieutenant in May 1778, and a captain in 1779. James Fields served as a lieutenant and captain in the 4th SC Regiment from 1779-80. In Nov. 1779, Wilson and Fields were court-martialed for being absent from the camp for four days after the failed assault on Spring Hill Redoubt at the siege of Savannah. The court recommended they be discharged from arrest. After both were taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, Wilson was exchanged and served in the militia to the close of the war. It is unclear what ultimately became of Fields (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 296n673, 616n1303; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 311, 1001).

118. Although Bessinger's crime was not comparable in degree to the relatively innocuous ones of Wilson and Fields, this orderly book entry is interesting in that an enlisted man, undoubtedly of the lower class of South Carolina society, was ordered to be executed for desertion and joining the enemy, a practice not unusual during the war in the South, while the officers got off without any punishment at all.

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - November 13, 1779

Chs Town, Novemb^r. 13th. 1779

Sir,

I received yours yesterday,¹¹⁹ & inform you that the Command of the Continental troops cannot devolve upon Col^o.,¹²⁰ no more than Col^o. Garden can be tried by the Contin^l. Articles, should he disobey General Lincolns orders or any Superior Officers order belonging to the Colonies, as the State has absolutely refused to put their Militia under the Continental Articles when doing duty with us. I will shew you only one absurdity: Can Col^o. Garden Issue an Order to try any Continenl. Soldiers when he is not liable to be tryed by the same law. These several reasons will inform, you are not to give up the Command to Colon^l. Garden, but that you should form Seperate Camp.¹²¹ Remember me to my Brother Tom.¹²²I am,

Your most Obedt. humble Servt.

William Moultrie

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - November 14, 1779

Camp at Sheldon 14 Nov^r.1779

Sir

Yourse of the 11th Inst: came to hand Last night, Inclosed is the Returns of the Q.M.Gen^l. of the stores in his care; I must Observe that I am not Commanding Officer of this Ground; the Command was Given by Col^o. Beekman to Col^o. Garden of the Malitia, with whom I am very happy, but shall with Pleasure Obey all your Orders respecting the Continental Troops which I command under him. __

I am Sir Your most Obedient Servant

Fran^s Marion

L^t. Col. 2^d Reg^t.

ALS (Byron Reed Collection, Christie's, Sale 8452, New York, Oct. 8, 1996, lot 213).

119. Marion's letter of Nov. 12 has not been found.

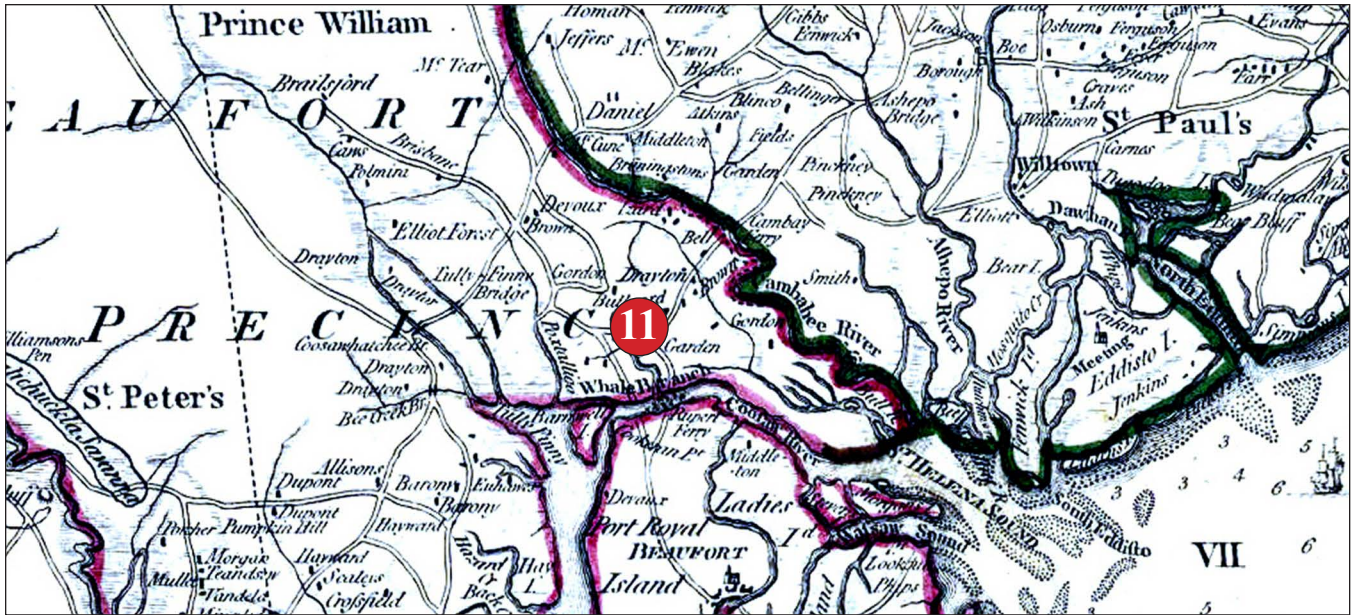
120. [See a brief bio of Benjamin Garden here.](#)

121. In the after orders of Nov. 18, Marion followed up on Moultrie's instructions, directing that the militia and the Continentals would be under separate commands and perform separate duties.

122. Captain Thomas Moultrie was a younger brother of Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, who served in the 2nd SC Regiment. He was killed during the siege of Charlestown.

After the siege of Savannah by the combined American and French force, the Americans withdrew across the Savannah River. Gen. Lincoln returned to Charlestown, leaving Marion in command of the remnants of the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Regiments at Sheldon. Lincoln must have allowed Marion to take a brief furlough before assuming command, because the former wrote on Oct. 27, in response to a request by Col. Bernard Beekman of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment to return to Charlestown, that “Col. Marion’s permission to leave Camp, has put it out of my power to grant your request” to “come to Town.” The likely presumed implication was that Beekman, as a Continental officer was in command of the post, and could not leave until Marion, also a Continental officer, returned to take command.¹²³

Sheldon



123. Lincoln to Beekman, Oct. 27, 1779, LB (MB).

In the meantime, Gov. John Rutledge approved Lincoln's request to station some of the Granville militia under Col. Benjamin Garden at Sheldon to aid the Continentals. Lincoln wrote to Garden on Nov. 2, "I must leave the posting of them to you, and the Officer [at that point Beekman] commanding at Sheldon."¹²⁴ Marion arrived at Sheldon on Nov. 6.¹²⁵ On Nov. 8, there were 45 Granville militia under Col. Garden, an unknown number of Continentals from various infantry regiments under Lt. Col. Commandant Marion of the 2nd SC Regiment, and an unknown number of Continentals from the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment under Col. Beekman.

Despite Marion's arrival, and Lincoln's rather unambiguous orders to the contrary, Beekman considered himself senior to Marion since he was a full colonel. Marion clearly outranked Beekman according to Continental regulations, however, since he, although not a full colonel, had commanded the 2nd Regiment since Sep. 1778. Beekman was not promoted to colonel and commander of the 4th Regiment until June 20, 1779. As an artilleryman, Beekman had been promoted to colonel, as the order in May ending the practice of minting new colonels only applied to the infantry. The regulations stated that lieutenant colonels commandant were to be treated in all respects as having equal seniority with colonels, hence Marion should have been senior based on his date of commission.¹²⁶

Either Beekman was ignorant of Congress's regulations regarding command of infantry regiments or he ignored them. Beekman continued to give brigade orders on Nov. 10-12 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 614-16). It is apparent, however, by Lincoln's letter to Marion of Nov. 11, and that of his adjutant, Andrew Dellient, on Nov. 12, both above, that Gen. Lincoln considered Marion as commanding at Sheldon. Apparently, he failed to inform Beekman, perhaps because the general rightfully expected his colonel to know the chain of command.

It must also be noted that, as temporary commandant of Charlestown at the beginning of 1779, Marion had ordered Beekman to take command of Fort Lyttelton without protest, though at that point Beekman had not yet been promoted to full colonel (See letter of Jan. 29, 1779, to Lincoln, above). It is also possible that Beekman felt slighted by Lincoln's harsh words to him in a letter of Nov. 1, in which he wrote, "I supposed my orders were misunderstood or that you had not seen them—for I had not an idea that you would have moved the troops contrary to my wishes, much less against my instructions—"¹²⁷ The events that prompted Lincoln's letter are not known, however there is no doubt that Lincoln was upset with Beekman.

Whatever Beekman's rationale was, he further complicated the command of the forces at Sheldon by appointing Col. Garden overall commander of both militia and Continental troops when he left for Charlestown on Nov. 10-12. Even in the orders of Nov. 12, Beekman directed that the Commissary of Purchases reconcile the salt just obtained with Col. Garden.¹²⁸

Marion was obviously upset about Beekman's usurpation of command, and even more so by his delegation of it to a militia officer. Instead of complaining immediately to Gen. Lincoln, however, Marion wrote to his old regimental commander, now Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, on Nov. 13. Unfortunately, the letter is not extant, but Moultrie's response is. Moultrie wrote "that the Command of the Continental troops cannot devolve upon Col^o. Garden, no more than Col^o. Garden can be tried by the Contin^l. Articles, should he disobey General Lincolns orders."¹²⁹ Moultrie was clarifying that the militia and Continental establishments maintained separate chains of command and that the regulars could never fall under the jurisdiction of militia officers. What is not clear, since the Nov. 13 letter is lost, is whether Marion also explained the situation of Beekman assuming control of the camp. Moultrie's letter implies that Marion indicated in his own letter that Col. Garden of the Granville Militia had attempted to assume command of the Continentals at Sheldon. Moultrie directed Marion to "not give up the Command to Colon^l. Garden, but that you should form [a] Seperate Camp."¹³⁰

124. Lincoln to Garden, Nov. 2, 1779, LB (MB).

125. Beekman to Lincoln, Nov. 8, 1779, ALS (MHi).

126. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 59.

127. Lincoln to Beekman, Nov. 1, 1779, LB (MB).

128. O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 615.

129. Moultrie to Marion, Nov. 13, 1779, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

130. Moultrie to Marion, Nov. 13, 1779, above, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - November 14, 1779

Orders by L^t. Col^o. Marion Commanding the Continental troops at Sheldon Novemb^r. 14th 1779¹³¹—

The Adjutant of the 3^d Regiment will immediately Read the Sentence against Conrade Bessinger to him and Inform him of the Generals Order respecting it, that he may prepare himself for the Aughfull moment:¹³²

The Adjutant Quartr. Mastr. Gen^l. to prepare a Coffin by Wednesday 8 OC: in morning, who is also to make a return Immediately of all Stores & Intrenching tools now in his hands, that it may be transmitted to the General¹³³

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 616.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - November 18, 1779

Sheldon. 18th Nov^r. 1779

Sir.

I had the pleasure of answer yours of the 11th inst. & hope you have received it.¹³⁴ Agreeable to an order transmitted by Major Dilliant, Conrade Bessington, of the 3^d Regiment, was executed at the time appointed.¹³⁵

I have been here in a disagreeable situation, occasioned by Col. Beckman's joining the militia in duty with the Continentals, and giving the command of the whole to Col^ol. Garden of the Militia, all I could do was, to preserve the continentals under my command, as a brigade officer.

I should have thought that a Lt. Col^ol. Commandant of a Reg^t., and next in degree to a Brigadier General, agreeable to resolve of Congress, was superior to a Militia Colonel, or a Junior Colonel in the Continental service; in this I may be wrong, & shall submit to anything, that is for the good of the service and my country.

Colonel Garden went this morning to Wright's neck, opposite Hutchinson island, where the enemy has been, and burnt some houses. I have taken this opportunity to separate the duty of the Continentals from the Militia, that, in future, no militia officer may have the command of the Continentals, until further orders from my superiors.¹³⁶

By the returns in my last, you find the few intrenching tools here, which, I think, cannot be spared.¹³⁷

I beg leave to inform you, that we have not one surgeon for the army, or any medicines for the sick, the hospital stores being removed to town, in the short time I was absent from camp:¹³⁸ and the necessary article of rum, to men unclothed & in the field, is much wanted, they having been given but one gill p^r. man, since we came to this place, no more being in the store.¹³⁹

The few officers remaining in camp are not sufficient for the ordinary duty; a number having obtained leave of absence, before I had the command, and have not yet returned.

131. For the record, Lt. Col. Marion clearly indicated that, regardless of the misinformation communicated by Col. Beckman, he (Marion) was in command of the Continental forces at Sheldon.

132. Although Bessinger's execution was not noted in his orderly book, Marion did send a letter to Lincoln on Nov. 18, below, confirming the execution had taken place. Bessinger's court martial and conviction took place on Nov. 12, as outlined above.

133. The somber directive to prepare a coffin for the condemned traitor was followed by a matter-of-fact order about the inventory of stores and entrenching tools, as requested by Gen. Moultrie in the letter of Nov. 13.

134. In his Nov. 11 letter, above, Lincoln requested that all entrenching tools and provisions not needed at Sheldon should be returned to Charlestown. Marion enclosed an inventory of the stores at Sheldon in his response of Nov. 14. However, the return has not been found. On Nov. 14 returns were again ordered. There is no mention of transporting provisions to Charlestown (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 616).

135. In his general orders of Nov. 12, 1779, Gen. Lincoln in Charlestown approved of the sentence and ordered the execution of Conrad Bessinger.

136. Probably to avoid confrontation, Marion, as ordered by Moultrie on Nov. 13, above, separated his Continentals from the militia while Garden was on a mission to secure an area near the coast.

137. Marion's letter of Nov. 14, not found, evidently provided returns of entrenching tools and presumably provisions, which Lincoln had requested on Nov. 11.

138. The fact that no hospital was set up at Sheldon implies that there was no intention for the site to house a long-term encampment. No mention was made in the orderly book of the removal of medical supplies. Where Marion went during his absence is also not clear.

139. Throughout the orderly book and correspondence, one overriding necessity is constant. Regardless of whether food or clothing was available, rum was considered essential.

I am informed, several of the officers of Third regiment have four months absence given them by their Colo^l.¹⁴⁰

In my next will send you the weekly returns. All your commands will be punctually attended to,¹⁴¹ by yours &c.

Francis Marion

L^t. Col. Commandant: 2^d Reg^t.¹⁴²

ACy (MH), Sparks MS 12, 395.

At least two issues led to the ambiguity of this command situation. Gen. Moultrie “settled” one in his letter to Marion of Nov. 13, above, agreeing with Marion’s assessment that militia officers could not command Continentals. The fact that Col. Beekman gave the command to Garden is the second issue. Garden’s name appeared in Marion’s orderly book entry of Nov. 12, regarding accounting with the Commissary of Purchases for salt taken from a neighboring plantation. However, the fact that the order was given by Col. Bernard Beekman implies that, at least on Nov. 12, Beekman felt he was the superior officer over Garden and Marion, if the latter was present in camp.

In addition to the Nov. 12 orders, other instructions issued by Beekman on Nov. 10 and 11 suggest a similar assumption. In all three entries in the orderly book the three “B Orders,” meaning Brigade Orders, are from “Col.” Beekman. It may be inferred that he believed himself to be in charge because in the first two entries his name is followed shortly thereafter by “the Commanding Officer.”

Beekman had been promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 4th Regiment on Oct. 25, 1778, nearly two years after Marion’s promotion to the same rank. Beekman was promoted again, to colonel, on June 29, 1779.¹⁴³ Resolutions passed by Congress on May 28, 1778, stated that no more colonels would be appointed in the infantry. The resolution went on to say that a lieutenant colonel in command of a regiment would receive the same pay as a colonel, and when promoted, would be promoted to the rank of brigadier general.¹⁴⁴

Beekman was in the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment. Strictly speaking, his promotion status was not affected by the May resolutions, since they were specifically directed to infantry. In this situation, Marion’s lieutenant colonelcy predated Beekman’s and Marion could not be promoted to colonel. But Beekman *was* promoted to colonel. The system clearly gave preference to full colonels in the infantry who were promoted *before* the resolution over lieutenant colonels, even if they were lieutenant colonel *commandants*. Perhaps the unstated and missing aspect of this policy was that lieutenant colonel commandant of infantry was the same assumed rank as full colonels in all but infantry command relationships. However, that confusion existed because the policy was unclear in its application.

The crux of the Beekman-Marion command situation rested on two different interpretations of whether a lieutenant colonel commandant of an infantry regiment was equal to a colonel of an artillery regiment. If so, then since Marion became commandant of the 2nd Regiment after the resignation of Isaac Motte on Sep. 19, 1778, and Beekman’s promotion to full colonel was on June 29, 1779, Marion was clearly the superior officer. But if the higher rank of colonel prevailed, even across different arms of service, where the new promotion of colonels had been abolished in one but not the other, then Beekman had the right of it. (See Lincoln to Marion on Nov. 25, 1779, in which Lincoln also assessed the situation).

Marion, of course, felt he had interpreted the regulations correctly. In addition, letters regarding the operations at Sheldon are addressed to Marion and not to Beekman (or to Garden, for that matter). Another potentiality regarding Beekman and Marion was that, since a letter of Nov. 18 from Marion to Lincoln indicated that Marion was absent from camp, it is possible that in Marion’s absence, from Nov. 10-12, Beekman was simply issuing orders as the next

140. Col. William “Danger” Thomson was the commanding officer of the 3rd SC Regiment.

141. Marion’s confirmation that he would obey all Lincoln’s orders was a subtle restatement of his position that he saw himself responsible directly to the officers above him in the Continental chain of command.

142. Due to the conflict over command of the Continental troops and militia at Sheldon, this letter was signed “Lt. Col. Commandant: 2d Regt.”

143. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 59.

144. O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 422.

ranking officer. In any case, Beekman's name disappeared from the 2nd Regiment orderly book after Nov. 12. The orders of Nov. 14 are clearly those of Marion, "Commanding the Continental Troops at Sheldon," but in orders of Nov. 16, Col. Garden gave orders that candles to were to be given out to "Officers in the Line & Artillery," clearly an order from a militia officer to Continental officers. The uncertainty of who was in command was further underlined in the next order, in which Col. Garden counseled the commissary and quarter master general to pay more attention to "ye Orders Issued for their Departments." Garden's order of Nov. 16 referenced his orders of Nov. 14, which are not in Marion's Orderly Book. Garden's name disappears from Marion's Orderly Book after Nov. 16.

Another indication that the crisis of command was resolved is that Marion stopped referring to himself as "Colo. Francis Marion Commanding the Continental Troops at Sheldon."

Nov. 20 – Commodore Abraham Whipple departs the Northern Theater for Charlestown with three frigates, Boston, Providence, and Queen of France, as well as the sloop Ranger.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - November 23, 1779

Sheldon, 23^d Nov^r. 1779

Sir

Inclosed is the Week's returns, and the Certificate L^t. Hyrne, who woud Leave it with me as his resignation¹⁴⁵ I rec^d. a Letter from Col^o. Garden, dated the 20th Inst.¹⁴⁶ From the Oaketie's who Informs me the Enemy have been in may river & took Captⁿ. John Bull prisoner; he informs me the Enemy Did not burn any houses at Col^o. Lauren's Plantⁿ. in Wrights neck as mentioned in my last,¹⁴⁷ but carry'd away five Barrels of rice & a Cow-- he mention's he was Endeavouring to get the Malitia to repel the Enemy but they turn out so badly as he is afraid he would not be able to Effect it, & that their was but five men on may river when he Expected to have found a Considerable Guard of Malitia;¹⁴⁸ he has sent for a party from Captⁿ. Catons post at Dupon[?] and I thought it necessary to Order a Small party of horse to Observe & Act in Conju[n]ction with what Malitia may be collected there; though I Emagin the mauroders will be away before they can Answer them, it may have some good Effect, against any other small partys which may attempt plundering & I mean to keep a party of the horse out in that part of the country for that purpose.¹⁴⁹

I am S^r. Y^r Most Obed^t Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

L^t Col Second Reg

ALS(NjMoHP) Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

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145. Neither the return nor the certificate have been found. Edmund Massengberd Hyrne (1748-83) was a member of the 1st Provincial Congress in 1775 and the General Assembly from 1776-80. In 1775, he was a captain in the 1st SC Regiment. From 1778 on he was deputy adjutant general of the Southern Department. Hyrne was promoted to major in May 1779. He was wounded at Gibbes's Plantation and escaped being captured at Charlestown. After his recovery, Gen. Greene named him commissary of prisoners. In 1781, Hyrne also served as Greene's aide and liaison to Gen. Sumter. He won a Congressional commendation for his actions during the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8. Hyrne either fell from his horse or suffered a stroke in late 1781. In 1782 he served in the SC House when the General Assembly convened at Jacksonborough in January. He was captured and paroled in late March. In August, Hyrne was named a major in Maham's cavalry regiment when the State Legion regiments were reorganized, but did not serve, resigning his commission in the State Troops in September. In Sep. 1783 he became a brevet lieutenant colonel. Hyrne served in the 5th General Assembly, but in December died of apoplexy before finishing his term (*PNG*, 6:594-95n, 11:500n; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 17n17; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 481; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:367-68).
146. The referenced letter has not been found.
147. In his letter to Lincoln of Nov. 18, above, Marion indicated that the enemy had burned some houses around Wright's Neck, the location of Lt. Col. John Laurens's plantation.
148. The absence of militia may have been a result of the severe setback experienced by the joint Franco-American forces at Savannah in Oct. As citizen-soldiers, with little formal discipline and few perceived military obligations, defeats and hardship often led to the militia returning home in droves.
149. Lt. Col. Marion apparently recognized that the militia could not be depended on to protect this area of South Carolina from plunderers. By dispatching a small troop of dragoons, he could not only protect the inhabitants, but also continue to gather intelligence, since there was a concern that the British might march into South Carolina after their victory at Savannah.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - November 25, 1779

Cha^s Town, Novem^r. 25 1779

Sir, I have been favoured with your letters of the 14¹⁵⁰ & 18. I had it not in idea that the command of the Continen^l troops was given to Col. Garden, nor had I the least intimation thereof until informed by you.

Though I have a great opinion of Col. Garden and think him a Man of worth, yet I certainly could not stand justified to the Continent, to give up their troops to the control of any Gentleman who himself was not accountable to the United States. You therefore did perfectly right in retaining the command. Col. Garden may question the right you have to command him, if he is a Senior Colonel, as there is no resolve of Congress within my knowledge which annexes any peculiar rank to a Commandant. In that case, I suppose he will act as commanding a different body of men from you, which may be attended w^t. ill consequences. If any mischief should arise, the blame must fall on those who have refused to place the militia, while in y^e field and acting w^t. y^e Continental troops, under the same laws.¹⁵¹ In consequence of your representation that medicines were wanted in Camp, I spoke to the Director General for the time being, he says they have ever been supplied from the Hospital when requested, and he is ready to supply them whenever returns are made. Commanding Officers of Corps must not grant leave of absence to their Surgeons, unless a Mate or Assistant remains w^t. y^e regiment. It is from this improper indulgence, you must be persuaded, that the present inconvenience arises, as there is one surgeon at least belonging to each Corps now in Camp. If they are absent, the most positive orders must be given requiring their immediate return, and, in future, no Surgeon is to leave Camp without the permission of the commanding Officer there. You will please to write particularly to your Officers to return to Camp, and request Col. Horry¹⁵² to do the same. If the [gentleman] do not return on such notice, the line of duty will be plain. I will enquire into the reason why the Officers of the Third are absent. I must send some Officers who belong to other Corps to do duty in that regim^t.¹⁵³

I am Sir &ca
[Benjamin Lincoln]

N.B. I will order in some Rum

LB (MB), Manuscripts of the American Revolution, G.380.1.03b, no. 807; NB found in Force transcripts.

150. The letter of Nov. 14 has not been found.

151. Gen. Lincoln agreed with Marion's assessment that a militia officer did not have the authority to command Continentals but did not address the question of rank between Lt. Col. Commandant Marion, and Col. Beekman. It is not known if this was intentional or simply an oversight.

152. [See a brief bio of Daniel Horry, Jr. here.](#)

153. It would be the responsibility of the surgeon to ensure that adequate medical supplies were on hand. It appears in this case that unbeknownst to Marion, the surgeon took leave, with or without approval. This is especially puzzling since, according to Lincoln, there should be one "Surgeon per Corps [regiment]." In addition to the militia encamped around Sheldon, the remnants of the 2nd, 3rd & 5th Regiments of Infantry, Pulaski's Legion and members of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment were present. It seems that after the disaster at Savannah, there was a wholesale exodus of officers.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - December 5, 1779

Sheldon 5th Decem^r 1779

Sir,

Yourse of the 25 Nov^r¹⁵⁴ I received. At the time I wrought that Surgeons was wanting; there was not any. Since that the Surgeon of 2nd & 5th regiments are come in & have brought a [fresh?] quantity of Medicines which may do for the Present.¹⁵⁵ Maj^r McLane & Captⁿ Hext of the Georgia 3^d Battalion¹⁵⁶ will Inform you of a fleet of thirty sail off the coast of Savanna, suppose to be Spaniards.¹⁵⁷ This day four Deserters from Browns & Delancys Corps are come here who Give the same Account as the above Gentl^m.¹⁵⁸

I have here three prisoner of War Left Sick by Col. Beekman, shall be glad to know if I may send them to C. town.¹⁵⁹

As we have but few Cartridges, I woud have a Number made if Paper is Sent me.

The man you mentioned is not come to hand & the very wett & Cold Season make it much wanted.

I have Sent Captⁿ Moultrie to town to fetch some papers of the Regim^t. to Compleat the Muster Rolls, which cannot be done without.¹⁶⁰

I am with Respect
your most Obedient Serv^t
Francis Marion
L^t. Col. 2d Reg^t

ALS (MHi)

154. Marion was referring to Lincoln's letter of Nov. 25, above.

155. In Marion's letter of Nov. 18, above, he lamented the abandonment of the regiments, not only by surgeons, but also by line officers.

156. This was the 3rd GA Regiment, which fought at Savannah in Dec. 1778; Fort Morris, Sunbury, Georgia, in Jan. 1779; Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779; and Savannah in Oct. 1779. It does not appear to have fought at Brier Creek in Mar. 1779. However, the losses sustained in the above engagements ended the Georgia Continental Line as an organized force.

157. Spain had entered the war as an ally of France in Jun. 1779. On Jun. 16, the Spanish ambassador presented the British secretary of state with a set of grievances that served as a declaration of war. It is unclear why the document was presented at that time, since Spain and France had signed the Convention of Aranjuez in April, agreeing to fight together until Spain took back Gibraltar. Although at war with Britain, and allied to France, who was itself an American ally, Spain never formally allied itself to the United States, nor did it recognize American independence. Unofficially, however, Spain had been sending aid to the American colonies since 1776 and provided the colonies vital access to the wealthy port of Havana (Piers Mackesy, *War for America, 1775-1783*, reprint edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 262-63). No record has been found about a Spanish fleet being off the coast of Savannah at this time.

158. Brown's and Delancey's Corps were Loyalist regiments that played a vital role in supplying the British with strong support throughout the war. Thomas Brown, who had been tortured and exiled by South Carolina Patriots during the bitter civil war of 1775, organized his regiment as the East Florida Rangers, partly as a means for exacting revenge. It evolved into the King's Rangers. "Delancey's Corps" referred to two of the three battalions of Delancey's Brigade, formed by NY Loyalist Oliver Delancey (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:310-11). It is not clear whether the four deserters intended to join the American forces. However, had they so desired, they would not have been allowed. In a letter of Apr. 16, 1779, above, Lincoln wrote Marion that by order of Lt. Gov. Gadsden, no deserters were to be enlisted because of their questionable character and motives. Supporting Lincoln's stance was legislation passed by the Continental Congress in 1778, forbidding the recruitment of deserters (*JCC*, Sep. 29, 1778, 966).

159. Col. Beekman, commander of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment, was the officer who created the command issue between militia and Continental forces in November at Sheldon by placing Continental troops under militia Col. Benjamin Garden, as described in letters of Nov. 13, 18, and 25, above.

160. The most basic of supplies were often in short supply. Without paper, cartridges could not be made, muster rolls filled out, letters written, or orderly books completed. This is an interesting look into the oft-overlooked minutiae required to keep an army in the field.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - December 9, 1779

Sheldon, 9th Dec^r. 1779

Sir

In Consequence of an Order from Gen^l Moultrie¹⁶¹ I sent a party of Dragoons up Savanna River as high as M^r Go[a]lphin's¹⁶² to Apprehend the prisoner of War which Escaped from Ch^s Town. They have taken four & are confined here.

I have been Applyd too by several persons on Port royal to grant them a flagg to go to Savanna on their private Business, which I have refused, with out they have permission from the Governor of the State. Shoud they Obtain that permission, shall be Glad to know if I may give them a flagg. Their names I have Inclosed.¹⁶³

M^r Bond the D[epartment] Waggon Mastr. has Left the Camp Without Permission, and there is no One to Act in that Department, nor have we any Waggon but what is in the Line to bring rice for the troops, which has been Employ'd for that purpose, but roads growing bad & the Distance where the rice was bought so Great they could not supply them, & have Given the Commissary M^r. Cope orders to procure a boat to bring it by water & to purchase rice nearer, till a boat can be had. I have also orderd him to purchase salt of Col^o Garden sufficient for two Months, as that at Dorchester cannot be brought for want of horses.¹⁶⁴

There is a Soldier of the 3^d Regim^t. Confined for Desertion by Major Vernier¹⁶⁵ who Insist to have him try'd by a Gen^l. Court martial.

I beg leave to Acquaint You of the Distress of the Soldiers, for want of Shoes, they are all without & doing Duty in the field in Exceeding Cold & Frost.¹⁶⁶

I am Sir With respect
Y^r Most Obedient Serv^t.
Fran^s Marion
L^t Col. Second Reg^t.

ALS (NcU), Preston Davie Papers (#3406), Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

161. The order from Gen. Moultrie mentioned here has not been found.

162. George Galphin was Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Around his house, 12 miles south of Augusta, Galphin constructed a fort for protection, as well as a storehouse for supplies, especially those being sent to the Indians. In May 1781, Lt. Col. Henry Lee and his Legion appeared before the fort. When most of the Loyalist defenders sallied out to confront Lee, a detachment under Capt. Michael Rudolph rushed into the fort and captured the remaining Loyalists (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:369).

163. The enclosed names are not known.

164. Supply issues were constant headaches. Here, the problems were multiple: the wagonmaster went AWOL (absent without leave), but there were no wagons anyway, other than those earmarked for carrying rice, which was itself being obtained from a distance, and had to be transported over bad roads. Next was the problem of obtaining salt. This time wagons were not the issue, but, instead, the lack of horses to pull the wagons.

165. Maj. Chevalier Pierre-François Vernier, who had fought at Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779, became the commander of the remnants of Pulaski's Legion after Pulaski was mortally wounded and his cavalry was decimated at Savannah in Oct. 1779. His command continued to be whittled away after Savannah. During the siege of Charlestown, Pulaski's Legion consisted of 55 men. Vernier was mortally wounded at Moncks Corner on Apr. 12, 1780 (Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London: T. Cadell, 1787), 15-17; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:72; Buchanan, *Road to Guilford Courthouse*, 59-64; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 619n1304).

166. The army was also chronically without shoes, a necessity even in warm weather, but a critical need at that time of year.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 11, 1779

Cha^s Town, Dec^r 11. 1779¹⁶⁷

Sir,

The prisoners which were here are exchanged I support. I suspect those you have w^t you are exchanged also. If you will send the names of them I can ascertain the matter. If they are not exchanged, I will send them across the river on paroles.¹⁶⁸ You will therefore as much as possible keep them from obtaining a knowledge of your strength, or of our designs. It would be well before they leave you to give out that you expect a large reinforcement. This you can do very justly, for one is expected. The first division I have reason to believe is now in this State.¹⁶⁹

I am informed that we are very short in the article of cartridge paper. I wish however that you would, when you know of an opportunity of its coming safely to you, write for it to Col^l. Drayton.¹⁷⁰ Six hogsheads of rum are now on the road for your Camp, or at least six were ordered, and the Waggon^s are gone. You will please to instruct your Commissary of Issues to apply in time to M^r Rutledge Commissary Gen^l. of Purchases for a farther supply. As probably you may remain for some time on the same ground, you will direct the men to be very attentive to their huts and let them be as comfortable as possible.¹⁷¹

There is now cloth enough for Jackets and overalls for all the troops, and I believe coats also, but Taylors are wanted. You will therefore please to send down under the care of a good Subⁿ all the Taylors you have in Camp, if they do not exceed twenty.

I am Sir

Your most obed^t Serv^t

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MB), G.380.38.1.114b, no. 830.

167. Marion did not receive this letter until Dec. 23, according to his response, below, bearing that date.

168. It was not at all unusual during the Revolutionary War to parole prisoners instead of incarcerating them. Such practice avoided the cost of confinement, including food, the additional troops required to guard them, and the potential for prisoners to learn their captors' plans and troop strengths, which they could then provide to their own side if they escaped or were exchanged. The downside to parole was that there was no guarantee the parolee would honor his commitment and abstain from rejoining the army or militia. Paroles were chronically abused by soldiers on both sides throughout the war.

169. It is unclear what Lincoln meant by "first division." It may refer to the first wave of reinforcements that had been ordered south by Congress on Nov. 11. At that time Congress had ordered Gen. Washington to send the North Carolina Continentals to Lincoln: "Resolved, That General Washington be immediately applyed to, to send forward to the State of South Carolina the whole of the North Carolina Brigade and all the Virginia troops now at Headquarters, if the latter can possibly be spared without endangering the safety of his army; but if the whole cannot be spared, then as many of them as can. Resolved, That General Washington order the North Carolina troops, and such others as may be conveniently spared from his army, to reinforce General Lincoln without delay" (*JCC*, Nov. 11, 1779, 1256). The 3rd North Carolina Regiment arrived in Charlestown in late December, the only reinforcements to join Lincoln before the new year.

170. Col. Stephen Drayton was Deputy Quartermaster General of the Southern Department.

171. Charlestown was the only location where permanent barracks were constructed. At other locations, soldiers had to construct living accommodations as needed.

Orders by Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 12, 1779Sheldon, 12 Decemb^r 1779Parole Hungary CSⁿ Venice & Madonna

Sb-- S - C - R

For guard 1 -- 1 - 1 - 7

Quartr guard 1 - 1 - 6

No Soldier to go to any plantations without Leave from the Commanding Officer, all Such Soldiers who may be found one mile from Camp or in any plantation without a pass from the Command^g Off^r will be Deemed a Deserter & will be tried by a court Martial & Suffer Accordingly¹⁷²

No houses in or out of Camp to be pulled down or Destroyed on any pretence whatever all Persons who are found Acting contrary to this Order will be Deemed a Disobeyer of Orders & will Assured by Suffer

O'Kelley, BCADM, 622.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 13, 1779

Charlestown, Decem 13. 1779

Sir,

Yours of the 9th is before me. On the contents would observe that the four prisoners of war apprehended have been duly exchanged.¹⁷³ You will therefore order them across the Savannah to be join their Corps. As those who wished for a flag are inhabitants of this State, I referred the matter to the Governor. He will not permit them to go to Savannah.¹⁷⁴ I have called on M^r Rutledge to supply you w^t. a new Wagon Master. If M^r Bond should return you will arrest and have him tried, unless he has such excuse for his absence as will satisfy you.¹⁷⁵ You will appoint a General Court Martial to sit immediately for the trial of all such prisoners as shall be brought before it.¹⁷⁶ Shoes are ordered on and the troops in Camp to be first clothed.

You will endeavor to secure the French deserters, if in camp, mentioned in the enclosed list, and send them to town.¹⁷⁷

I am Sir &ca

[Benjamin Lincoln]

LB (MB), G.380.38.1.119a, no. 833.

172. Announcing to the troops that wayward soldiers, whether true deserters or not, would be punished severely helped to reduce the potential for terrorizing the neighboring plantations whose continued happiness Marion had both political and logistical reasons to protect, since they were providing the rice and meat his men were eating.
173. Ongoing prisoner exchanges were negotiated between the opposing forces on a case-by-case basis. In this case, the four British prisoners captured on Dec. 9 were traded back to the British in exchange for the release of an equal number of Americans under the enemy's control.
174. Regulations concerning the movement of civilians across enemy lines varied, depending on the situation. In this case, as noted in Marion's letter to Lincoln of Dec. 9, above, the civilians desired to go to Savannah. Later in the war restrictions were loosened.
175. Marion reported in his letter to Lincoln of Dec. 9, above, that Mr. Bond, who was the Department Wagonmaster, had gone absent without leave at a critical time, when both wagons and provisions were scarce.
176. Marion, known to be a strict disciplinarian, had been holding courts martial since Nov. 18. In addition, he had also given numerous orders relating to, among other issues, the carrying of firearms, abusing horses, the reading of sections of the articles of war, and regimental exercise (O'Kelley, BCADM, 617).
177. French deserters would have originated from the Savannah area during the aborted siege in early October, and crossed the Savannah River. When Admiral d'Estaing lifted the siege of Savannah and sailed away, he left his wounded, who were escorted to Charlestown. Thus, additional deserters, those who left to avoid further service in the French army or navy, could have come from the wounded, but it is highly unlikely that any came from the French escort. The Americans did enlist French deserters. However, this practice was preempted, as evidenced by orders from Gen. Lincoln on Dec. 22 that prior to enlistment any French soldier or sailor had to obtain a certificate from the French consul. That requirement exposed those who had deserted, thus precluding those who had from enlisting in the American forces.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 20, 1779

Char^s Town, Dec^r 20. 1779

Sir,

I am informed that Gangs of Cattle and Sheep are driving from Coosawhatchie to M^{rs} Wall at Pendarvis [Pendarvis] place near May river, probably with a design to be sent over to Savannah.¹⁷⁸ You will therefore please to detach a party of Horse to enquire into this matter, and if you find that any unwarrantable practices are carrying on or any communication w^t. y^e. enemy, you will order those persons to be secured, and the stock remaining brought off. I am Sir &ca Benjamin Lincoln P.S. The General delivered this letter to the bearer [unknown] at half-past 1 o'clock, Tuesday morn, and gave him 10 dollars, with a promise that you would give him 10 more, if he reached camp in 48 hours.¹⁷⁹

LB (MB), G.380.38.1.126b, no. 844.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - December 23, 1779

Sheldon 23rd Dec^r. 1779

Sir

Yourse of the 11th and 13th Inst. Came to hand Last night & will send the four prisoners of war Latly Apprehended a Cross the River agreeable to your Desire. There is yett four remaining, one Latly taken the other Side of the Sisters,¹⁸⁰ by the Malitia & three which Col^o Beckman [Beekman] Left here.¹⁸¹

I woud wish they ware removed as our Guard house has no fire place & is very Insecure.

I have made the men make as warm & as Comfortable Hutts as our Situation will permit & They Appear well Satisfied.

The General court martial orderd cannot set for want of Officers, as there is not 13 off Duty, Including the Artillery. Several Officers of the Second are in town & I do not know if they are sick or have Resigned, & shall be Oblige to send to Arrest them all, as they have not made no Answer to me. L^t. [Christopher]¹⁸² Rogers of Second have my Leave to present his Commission to You, he is no loss to the Service & cannot possible Stay in it.

Inclosed is the Weekly returns [not found] by which you will Judge of my Situation as to the Numb^r. of Officers for Duty.

I have also Inclosed a List of the prisoners of war Including the four to be sent away.¹⁸³

I am told M^r. Hoinby [William Hornby?]¹⁸⁴ have reported in town, that he saw a Drove of Cattle & Sheep going towards Wrights Neck where the Enemy frequently come, this he mentioned in Camp to some Gentleman who Acquainted me with it on which I immediately sent a party of horse with Orders to drive them back & Deliver them to the first Malitia post, provided they found they were Intended for the Enemy. There report to me was that, that Drove of Cattle & Sheep belonged one Pendarvis & they was Driving them to the river May

178. From the mouth of the Coosawhatchie River to the May River in the vicinity of Pendarvis Plantation was approximately 40 miles on colonial roads. The presumed plantation is approximately seven miles off the road leading from the Coosawhatchie to Savannah. It turned out that the cattle were not intended for the British (see Marion to Lincoln, Dec. 23, below). The confusion over their intended destination had its basis in the divided loyalties of the Pendarvis family, an example of how the conflict in South Carolina was truly a civil war. Two Pendarvis family members were part of the Loyalist militia in Orangeburgh, while a daughter became the wife of South Carolina President Rawlins Lowndes.

179. The postscript was not part of the letterbook copy, but was taken from R.W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1855), 1:5-6.

180. The "Sisters" referred to the Two Sisters Ferry, a main crossing over the Savannah River into Georgia, near present Pineland, SC, 38 miles upstream from Savannah.

181. Col. Beekman had left the prisoners with Marion, as reported in the letter from Marion to Lincoln of Dec. 5, above.

182. Assumed to be Christopher Rogers, since Christopher is not mentioned as serving as a lieutenant under Marion after the fall of Charlestown, while John Rogers *did* serve under Marion as a lieutenant. Marion again demonstrated his lack of patience with officers who did not meet his standards of conduct.

183. The list has not been found. However, four deserters were identified in Marion's letter to Capt. John DeTreville of Jan. 7, 1780, below.

184. A William Hornby, distiller, was included in a list of 114 traitors by the Georgia Royal Assembly in 1780. Each was ordered to be put to death upon returning to Georgia. In Dec. 1779, Hornby reported the movement of cattle toward the plantation of a Loyalist named Pendarvis (Attributed to the Georgia Treason Act of 1780 in the Joseph V. Bevan Papers, Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress; Marion to Lincoln, Dec. 23, 1779, ALS[MHi]).

in a place out of the Enemys reach & to Secure them from being taken off, which Lieunt Col^o Garden Confirms from the Account he received from his post in that part of the Country.¹⁸⁵

I have had several Intelligence of small parties of Negroes Coming this side the river & pillaging & have Indeavoured to take them by sending some horse there but the Extent is so great they Slip out from one place to another & have Desisted Lately as There is Several posts of Malitia for that purpose.

I am informed by Col^o Garden there is a Number of Cattle along the river which the Enemy may Easily Drive off, but he woud not have them Drove away for fear It shoud Occasion Law Suits hereafter; I also Advise him to destroy the rice at Laurenses Plantⁿ. on Wrights neck which the Enemy is Dayly carrying off but this he says he has no Authority for. I also advise him to remove the Malitia that is here (ab^t. 25) to strengthen his post at the Oakities,¹⁸⁶ which he also cannot do without Orders from the Govenor, Of which he has Acquainted his Excellency with but has had no Answer.¹⁸⁷ I assure you the Malitia here is not of the Least Service.¹⁸⁸

I have had a Number of Different reports from the Enemy which cannot be Depened on, & have for that reason not trouble you with it; any thing which may be mention you may Depend you will be Acquainted with. All y^f. Orders will be paid a Strict Attention to by Your

Most respectfull Obd^t Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

L^t Col^o 2^d Reg^t.

ALS(MHi)

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Col. Stephen Drayton - December 23, 1779

Sheldon, 23^d Dec^r. 1779

Sir

You will Immediately as possible send to Camp as much Cartridge paper as will make Eighty thousand Cartridges¹⁸⁹

I am S^r Y^r Most Obed^t Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

L^t Col. Command^t

ALS (formerly collection of the late Sally Abney Rose), courtesy Brunk Auctions, Asheville, NC.

185. Originally reported as cattle being driven from Coosawhatchie River to the British in Savannah, according to Lincoln to Marion, Dec. 20, above.

186. The Okatie River flows into the Colleton River, which empties into Port Royal Bay. In the 18th century, the Okatie highway led from Beaufort toward Savannah. Marion's identification of a post "at the Oakities" implies that the post was on the Okatie River.

187. The division of command between civil and military authorities was a very gray area, especially in South Carolina, where the Continental Army essentially served at the pleasure of Governor John Rutledge. As seen in the clash of command between Marion and Col. Garden, discussed in letters of Nov. 18 and earlier, above, the question of conflicting authority among Continental and State Troops also existed. Whether Marion's recommendation to move the militia from Sheldon to an area where it could provide some service was followed is not known.

188. It is interesting here that Marion, a Continental officer who would later command a brigade of militia that was responsible for preventing the British from controlling the Pee Dee region, was so dismissive of the value of the militia in this area of South Carolina.

189. In his letter of Dec. 11, above, Gen. Lincoln directed Lt. Col. Marion "to when you know of an opportunity of its coming safely to you, write for it [cartridge paper] to Col^l. Drayton." Whether Marion ever received this paper, and if so, how much, is not known.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - December 27, 1779

Sheldon 27th Dec^r. 1779

Sir

Yourse of the 20th Inst. I rec^d the 24th,¹⁹⁰ but had done what you desired at the time I hurd it as you will find in my Letter by Col^o. Dan^l Horry.¹⁹¹

I send you a number of Letters rec^d. From Captⁿ. John Bull¹⁹² admited on parole, some being Seal^d. I thought best to send them to You.

I have Sent all the Taylors down Agreeable to Your Orders. But coud not make the Number You wanted, without taking Sergeants & Corporals which coud not be spar^d.¹⁹³

I am respectfully Your most Obed^t Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

L^t Col. 2^d Reg^t.

NB

I send 2 Deserters of the 6th Reg^t.

ALS (MHi).

Dec. 26 – Sir Henry Clinton departs New York for Charlestown with a force of 8,700 men and 100 ships under Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 30, 1779

Cha^s. Town

Decem^r 30. 1779

Sir, Congress having resolved that the Regiments of this State should be Incorporated & formed on the plan ordered by them for the Army of the United States, May, 1778, And have left the execution of this matter with his Excellency, the Governour of this State & the Commanding Officer here. I have the Governour's permission to Inform you that he wishes this business may be Conducted in a manner most Agreeable to the Line of Officers & that they would point to a Mode of Officering the Retained regiments which would Give the greatest Satisfaction. I am with his Excellency in sentiment & wish you would Immediately take the opinion of the Officers in Camp on the Matter, and send it to me by the very first opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obedt Servt.,

B. Lincoln

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

190. The letter of Dec. 20 from Gen. Lincoln has not been found.

191. In his letter of Dec. 23, above, Marion informed Lincoln that the cattle were not intended for the British. In fact, they were being driven to a location "out of the Enemy's reach."

192. Capt. John Bull was presumably a militia officer. In a Nov. 23 letter to Lincoln, above, Marion explained that Bull had been captured on the May River.

193. In Lincoln's Dec. 11 letter, he requested Marion send up to 20 tailors to Charlestown. The army had received enough material to make jackets and overalls for all the troops. Lincoln did not give Marion permission to exempt subalterns from the sewing duty.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 30, 1779

Cha^s. Town Decem^r 30. 1779

Sir, I have rec^d yours of the 23^d. I would have all the prisoners of war sent into the enemy by a Flag, and a rec[ei]pt taken for them to be accounted for here after.¹⁹⁴

The pains you have taken to accommodate the Men is peculiarly agreeable to me, and it gives me great pleasure to find that they are well satisfied. Give them a Gill of rum daily, and send before you are out for more.¹⁹⁵

The matter respecting the bringing off the Cattle on y^e. river, destroying the rice on Wright's neck, the Negroes' plundering &c., I have shewn to the Governour, and expect he will give Orders to Col. Garden respecting it. Pray send some Person, if you can, to Savannah for intelligence. Give him, if you can get a good Man, a sum which shall be worth his while to run risques. I need not mention that this must be a perfect secret.

I am, sir &ca
Benjamin Lincoln

LB (MB), G.380.38.1.136b, no. 854.

At this time, the South Carolina Continental Army establishment consisted of five infantry regiments of nine companies each, and one artillery regiment.

On September 3, 1777, two infantry brigades had been established. Brig. Gen. Moultrie was commander of the 1st Brigade, consisting of the 1st, 3rd, and 6th Regiments. Col. Isaac Huger was named Colonel Commandant of the 2nd Brigade, consisting of the 2nd and 5th Regiments. The 4th (Artillery) Regiment remained independent.¹⁹⁶

Congress's plan of May 27, 1778, prescribed the makeup of all Continental Army infantry battalions, or regiments. It did not, however, establish the number of brigades. It is therefore unclear why, in Dec. 1779, Gen. Lincoln decided to follow through with a reorganization based on the 1778 plan of Congress. Presumably, the considerable American losses at Savannah in October left no choice but to consolidate the regiments. In any case, this consolidation resulted in the elimination of the 5th and 6th Regiments. Evidently, the state of South Carolina found itself unable to complete the enlistment of its assigned six Continental regiments.

A full contingent of privates in an infantry regiment, as specified by the new regulations, should have numbered 477 privates. At the siege of Savannah, the 2nd Regiment had only 260 privates, 24 of whom were killed, wounded or deserted. The highest number of privates in the 2nd Regiment noted at any time in Marion's Orderly Book was 338, in Apr. 1778, though returns were not consistently made or included in the orderly books.¹⁹⁷

This difference between paper strength and field strength was a common problem in both armies.

194. In his letter to Lincoln of Dec. 23, above, Marion enclosed a list (not found) of prisoners held at Sheldon.

195. Coincidentally, Marion had issued orders to give a gill of rum per day to each man in his general orders of Dec. 17. He may have regretted that liberty—from the orderly book of Dec. 25, it appears the troops had a lively Christmas Eve and Christmas morning for he complained of the “firing of Guns Contrary to all good order & Discipline.” The official rum ration may not have been the culprit responsible for this unruly display, however, for in the next sentence Marion ordered that sutlers not sell liquor to soldiers “on pain of having the Liquor Destroyed & themselves immediately punished” (O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 624-25).

196. O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 315.

197. O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 407.

Thomas Bee

Thomas Bee (1739-1812) first served in the Royal Assembly in 1762 and continued to serve in public office for the next 50 years until his death in 1812. He was a member of the Council of Safety, the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies.

He was speaker of the South Carolina House in 1777 and was elected lieutenant governor in 1779. He was elected to the 4th General Assembly, but instead served as a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1781-82. He then served in the House through the 7th General Assembly, after which he was elected to the Senate in the 8th General Assembly (1789-90). He was a delegate to the S.C. convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788. That year, President George Washington appointed him a federal judge, a position he held until his death.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:69-71.

Bernard Beekman

Bernard Beekman (c. 1721-97) was a member of the 2nd General Assembly (1776-78), representing the Charlestown parishes. He became a captain in the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment in Nov. 1775 and was a major in Nov. 1776. He became a lieutenant colonel in Oct. 1778 and the colonel of the 4th Regiment in Jun. 1779.

In the Brigade Orders for Feb. 2, 1779, issued by Brig. Gen. Stephen Bull, Bernard Beekman was ordered to take command of the Charlestown Battalion of Artillery previously under the command of Capt. Thomas Heyward, Jr., a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Presumably, Beekman was not in Beaufort at the time, for he is not mentioned in Gen. Moultrie's letter to Gen. Lincoln on Feb. 4, in which he described the battle fought on Port Royal Island near Beaufort the day before.

After the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779 and before Lt. Col. Francis Marion arrived on Nov. 6, Beekman assumed command of the remnants of the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th SC Regiments, as well as the militia under Col. Benjamin Garden at Sheldon. Beekman, who actually ranked below Marion although he was a full colonel and Marion a lieutenant colonel, did not relinquish the command until he left the camp. Marion, who finally received confirmation from both Gen. Moultrie and Gen. Lincoln that he was in fact the senior officer, chose not to exert his authority, presumably because he knew Beekman would be leaving.

It is also plausible that Marion recognized the fragile morale of the disheartened Continentals and did not want to create further dissension in the ranks. Beekman loaned the state £7,500 to help finance the war. Beekman became a prisoner-of-war upon Charlestown's surrender. He remained a prisoner on parole until the close of the war.

—Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:291-96; Lincoln to Marion, Nov. 11, 1779, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 124n325; Moultrie to Marion, Nov. 13, 1779, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Lincoln, Nov. 18, 1779, ACy (MH, Sparks Collection); Lincoln to Marion, Nov. 25, 1779 LB (MB); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:60-61.

Stephen Bull

Stephen Bull (d. 1795) was the nephew of Royal lieutenant governor and later acting governor William Bull. He was a member of the Commons House of Assembly from 1757-60. He served in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies. He was elected to the Senate in 1779, but never seated. He was then elected to the House in 1782 but declined to serve.

During the Revolution, Bull rose from colonel to brigadier general in the SC militia. In addition, after going to the relief of Savannah with the Granville County militia regiment, Bull was named commander of the Georgia militia. He fought under Gen. Moultrie at the Battle of Port Royal (Beaufort) in 1779. Bull commanded the militia district south of Charlestown until Prevost began his march to the town in May 1779. Bull was captured and paroled at the fall of Charlestown. While on parole, he fled to Virginia with his family, 200 slaves, and the family valuables.

For the remainder of the war, he and his family lived in Virginia and Maryland. In an attempt to save his uncle's property from confiscation, Stephen Bull had the senior Bull's main property, Ashley Hall Plantation, deeded to him in trust in 1779. After the war, the property eventually was returned to the exiled lieutenant governor and Stephen Bull returned to South Carolina after the war.

He served in the 6th and 7th General Assemblies and was elected to the Senate for the 1790 session. Bull assisted in the rebuilding of Sheldon Church, near his plantation, which the British had virtually destroyed during the Revolution.

At the same time Bull's finances collapsed. He had been over-extended for years, but the last straw came when the SC Court of Chancery ruled against him in a suit brought by the lieutenant governor's wife over the property Lt. Gov. Bull had transferred to Stephen in trust. He lost most of his remaining property when it was sold at sheriffs' sales.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:118-20; Kinloch Bull Jr., *The Oligarchs in Colonial and Revolutionary Charleston: Lieutenant Governor William Bull II and His Family* (University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 48, 275-76, 282-84, 314-16.

Charles Hector Theodat d'Estaing

Comte Charles Hector Theodat d'Estaing (1729-94) was colonel of a French army regiment at 16 and brigadier general at 27 during the Seven Years' War (1756-63). After being captured in the East Indies and exchanged, he led naval operations against the British, and was again captured. After being released, d'Estaing was promoted to lieutenant general but transferred to the navy shortly thereafter.

By 1778 he was vice admiral and commander of the fleet sent to assist the Americans. Although a brave officer he proved to be a poor commander. He failed to defeat the enemy at New York in July and at Newport, RI, in August. D'Estaing's authoritarian manner at Savannah in Sep. and Oct. 1779 thoroughly disillusioned the Americans concerning the French commitment to aiding them. He began the siege without adequate consultation with Gen. Benjamin Lincoln and, despite being on American soil, clearly relegated the Americans to the background. When d'Estaing determined that the fleet could remain on the Carolina coast no longer for fear seasonal storms would damage his ships, he forced the Americans into participating in a poorly coordinated assault on the British defenses on Oct. 9. The attack was a complete failure, despite the bravery displayed by d'Estaing, who led two charges and was severely wounded. He returned to France having wasted the substantial French resources. After the war he was named commandant of the National Guard and promoted to full admiral. D'Estaing was a moderate during the French Revolution, supporting reforms but not a toppling of the monarchy, which ultimately led to his execution by guillotine.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1: 341-42.

Stephen Drayton

Stephen Drayton was a member of one of the first families of South Carolina, according to Gen. Robert Howe. He was liberally educated and served as a British officer in the French and Indian War. Drayton served as secretary and aide under Howe. He was quartermaster general of the Southern Department in Nov. 1778. At the end of 1779, Marion wrote to Drayton, requesting 80,000 cartridges. Drayton had been sent out on business before the fall of Charlestown and escaped captivity. In Aug. 1780, while serving as Gates's quartermaster, he learned that his wife had died of smallpox in Charlestown and went to retrieve his two young sons. Sometime later, he rejoined the army and resumed his duties as deputy quartermaster for South Carolina. In Sep. 1780 Drayton visited Marion's camp at Whitmarsh, writing to Gates, "I met with the Men of those two Colonels [Marion and Giles], under the command of the former, who had retreated from Pee Dee." Greene found him to be a valuable officer and, in the summer of 1781, sent Drayton as his representative to the North Carolina legislature.

—Robert Howe to Greene, Oct. 25, 1780, *PNG*, 6:429-30; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 268; ALS (formerly collection of late Sally Abney Rose), courtesy Brunk Auctions, Asheville, NC; Drayton to Gates, Sep. 25, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:649-51.

Benjamin Garden

Benjamin Garden (1736-89) served in the Granville County Militia as early as 1756. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses from 1775-76 and the 1st General Assembly.

Garden was a lieutenant colonel in the Lower Granville County militia from 1775-80. After the failed siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779, Garden's militia was stationed at Sheldon, where Francis Marion was reorganizing the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Regiments that had been decimated at Savannah.

Garden was mistakenly given command of the Continentals by Col. Bernard Beekman, when Beekman left the camp in the middle of October. Beekman himself mistakenly assumed command of the post, although Marion outranked him. The issue with Beekman resolved itself when he left the camp. Garden, however, continued to command both Continentals and militia.

When Marion informed Gen. Moultrie of the situation, Moultrie advised him in the middle of November to "not give up the Command to Colon^l Garden, but that you should form [a] Seperate Camp." Officially, the Continental Army did not recognize any militia officer as having authority over Continental troops.

On Nov. 18, the same day Marion finally separated his Continentals, he complained to Gen. Lincoln about the situation ([see page 135](#)).

Garden continued to patrol between Sheldon and the Savannah River until the British advance in early 1780 forced him to withdraw to Charlestown.

When the city fell, Garden was paroled. He then changed his allegiance, swearing an oath to the Crown. For this he was amerced 12% after the war.

Moss, *SC Patriots*, 343; Moultrie to Marion, Nov. 13, 1779, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Lincoln, Nov. 18, 1779, ACy (MH, Sparks Collection); Lawrence Sanders Rowland, Alexander Moore, and George C. Rogers, *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina: 1541-1861* (University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 203; Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:633; Session Minutes, 8 Mar 1783, *Journal of the SC Senate, D* (SoCoAH); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:253-54.

Lord George Germain

Lord George Germain (1716-85) had been a career army officer, then known as Lord Sackville, before his entry into politics in the 1760s.

Sackville rose to the rank of major general, and served as second in command at the Battle of Minden in 1759, where despite the British victory, his refusal to follow orders resulted in his court-martial and dismissal from the army.

Upon receiving an inheritance that stipulated the change of his name, Lord Sackville became Lord Germain in 1770. He became Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1775, a position that ironically put him in overall command of the army that had judged him unfit 15 years before. Germain was responsible for management of the Revolutionary War, and he ultimately received much of the blame for England's loss of the American colonies. His conflicts with Howe, Carleton, and Clinton undoubtedly had a negative effect on operations.

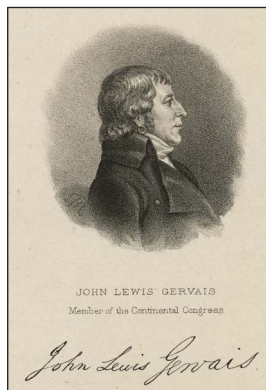
Cornwallis' crushing defeat at Yorktown in Oct. 1781, was the final blow to Germain's career. He resigned in Feb. 1782. The ire of Parliament was evident when, during a vote on making Germain a viscount, two motions were made rejecting him as being unfit for peerage due to his actions at Minden 22 years earlier. Germain did become Viscount Sackville, however, and died three years later.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1013-15.



Lord George Germain, c. 1800

John Lewis Gervais



John Lewis Gervais (1742-98) was born in either France or Germany to Huguenot parents and immigrated to England. He arrived in Charlestown in 1764 with letters of reference addressed to Henry Laurens. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the Council of Safety. He served as deputy paymaster general in 1778 and 1779.

In Apr. 1780, before the fall of Charlestown, as a member of Gov. Rutledge's Privy Council, Gervais exited the town along with Rutledge. He was president of the SC Senate for the session convened at Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. Gervais served a total of 11 years in the Senate. He was also a member of the Continental Congress from 1782-83. He voted against ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 221; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 351.

Daniel Horry, Jr.

Daniel Horry, Jr., (d.1785) was a lawyer-planter from St. James Santee. Although influential in his own right, his marriage to Harriett Pinckney, sister of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, further solidified his place among the elite families of South Carolina.

Horry served in the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st General Assembly, as well as the SC Senate from 1778-80. He was a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment under Col. William Moultrie in 1775.

In Jun. 1776, he resigned his commission to concentrate on the development of the Craven County Militia, of which he was colonel. By 1779, Lt. Col. Daniel Horry commanded the South Carolina State Dragoons.

Horry relieved Marion at Sheldon in Feb. 1780. His South Carolina Dragoons were part of the Patriot cavalry surprised and dispersed at Moncks Corner on Apr. 14, 1780, but he was able to escape capture. After Charlestown's fall, Daniel Horry was one of the most prominent men (along with Charles Pinckney and Daniel Huger) to take parole. Horry went to England, where he saw to the education of his son. His plantation was a frequent camp site for Francis Marion.

Horry returned to South Carolina in 1782 and, presumably because of family connections, was pardoned and his property amerced 12%. Horry owned the still-extant Hampton Plantation. Pres. George Washington made Hampton a stop on his 1792 Southern Tour.

Horry's cousins included Hugh and Peter Horry, both lieutenant colonels in Marion's Brigade.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 463; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 239; Marion to Lincoln, Feb. 6, 1780, ALS (PHI), Simon Gratz Collection; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 15-17; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:72.

Benjamin Huger

Benjamin Huger (1746-79) was the brother of Daniel, John, Isaac, and Francis Huger, and first cousin once removed, of Francis Marion. He served in the Commons House of Assembly from 1769-71, but refused an appointment to the Privy Council in 1772.

Huger joined the Charlestown Artillery Company in 1774. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd General Assemblies. He became a lieutenant in the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment in Jun. 1775. By Sep. 1776, Huger was a major in the 1st SC Regiment.

When the British under Gen. Prevost threatened Charlestown in May 1779, Huger and 12 other Americans perished from friendly fire as they were setting fire to tar barrels in front of the American lines.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 470; "South Carolina Gleanings in England," *SCHGM* 15 (1914):92-93; Emma B. Richardson, "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," *SCGHM* 43(1942):133-40; A.M. Smith, "The Baronies of South Carolina," *SCHGM* 12(1911):8-9.

Abel Kolb

Abel Kolb (c.1750-81) was from the upper Pee Dee region, Cheraw District. He was commissioned in Col. Hicks's militia regiment in Sep. 1775 and served as captain.

Kolb was a member of the General Assembly from 1776-80. It is presumed that Kolb was present in Charlestown when the city fell in May 1780, based on his confirmed presence there in February. After taking his parole he returned home and joined the Cheraw militia.

When Col. Hicks took leave to move his family to Virginia, Kolb became commander of the Cheraw militia, a regiment in Marion's Brigade. He was in the area when Greene briefly encamped at Cheraw, shortly after taking over the Southern Army in Dec. 1780. In Jan. 1781, Marion ordered Kolb to attack Loyalists on the Little Pee Dee River, but he failed to respond.

Kolb had difficulty supplying Marion's brigade with soldiers. The tone of Marion's Feb. 6, 1781, letter to Greene's adjutant Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, above, implied that he was becoming increasingly frustrated with Kolb.

Despite Kolb's manpower shortage he did manage to make a raid on Loyalists in the Drowning Creek area with mixed results in March or early April 1781. At the end of April, the Loyalists got their revenge. On April 28, Capt. Joseph Jones and 50 Loyalists surrounded Kolb's house at Society Hill. Capt. Tristram Thomas reported the outcome:

Your Letters of the 23rd and the 24th to Our unhappy Col^o. Kolb who was lost friday morning murdered by a Set of Villians from Little P. D. about 40 in number about brake of Day. Surounded his Dwelling house ... The party that Surounded the Col^s. House Set it immediately on fire, he with two young men that were in with him went up Stairs and fired out at the Windows till they were Suffocated with Smoke and then on the Captains promising him good Quarters came down and deliver'd themselves up prisoners, the Tory Captain was a name they call'd Jones from

Catfish, shook Hands with the Col^o. and immediately step'd up a [*unintelligible*] and Shot him down, and the others that were with him shared the same fate, they immediately took all his Horses and went off Killing everyman that fell in their way down towards Catfish.

—John Frierson, "Abel Kolb," *SCAR Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 2006, 27-29; Marion to Huger, Feb. 6, 1781, ADS (ScU); Kolb to Snipes, Apr. 16, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Thomas to Marion Apr. 30, 1781, ALS (MiU); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:408-09.

Everard Meade

Everard Meade (1748-1802) was educated in England but returned to Virginia in 1764. He was captain of the 2nd Virginia Regiment by 1778. From Mar. 1778 until the end of the war he was aide-de-camp to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln with the rank of major. As a result, he was present at the surrender of Charlestown in May 1780, and at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in Oct. 1781. After the war he was a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1788

—W.T.R. Saffell, *Records of the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Charles Saffell, 1894), 388; Lyon Tyler, *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1915), 77; Patrick Baskervil, *Andrew Meade of Ireland and Virginia* (Richmond: Old Dominion Press, 1921), 41-42.

Ephraim Mitchell

Ephraim Mitchell (d.1792) became a 2nd lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment in Jun. 1775, and a 1st lieutenant in Nov. 1775. He transferred to the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment and became a captain in May 1776 and a major in Jun. 1779. In Jan. 1779 he was on an artillery detachment to Georgetown. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown in May 1780. After his exchange he returned to South Carolina and served in the artillery.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 687; Marion to Lincoln, Jan. 28, 1779, ALS (PHi), Learned Collection, Jan. 28, 1779, box 2 #1350 D56.

Alexander Petrie

Alexander Petrie served as a 1st lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment under Lt. Col. Marion in 1777. He was wounded in the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779.

After resigning in Jan. 1780, he requested reinstatement. Marion turned down the request, writing to Maj. Isaac Harleston, "The last Commission I gave him [Petrie] he promised to continue in the service two years & did not stay one, what reasons a Gentm. Coud have for the Breach of promis I am ignorant of: for a Gentm. to serve his own purposes, Only I have no idea of." Marion wrote Harleston a week later, "Mr. Petrie's excuse for breaking his promises, is poor, and I assure you I would not take him if he would promise to stay seven years as his promis is not be relyed on." Apparently, Petrie then joined the Charlestown militia where he was serving as adjutant in late 1782.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 768; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 214n504, 261n596; Marion to Harleston, Mar. 4 and 11, 1780, "Smyth's Annual Review," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1895, 328-30.

Count Casimir Pulaski

Count Casimir Pulaski was a Polish nobleman who, at Benjamin Franklin's request, came to America in 1777. He served as a volunteer aide-de-camp to George Washington at the Battle of Brandywine, in Sep. 1777.

After the action, Washington recommended him to Congress to command the four regiments of dragoons that had been recently approved. Congress commissioned him as brigadier general, "Commander of the Horse."

Pulaski, who could not speak English well, apparently had an ego that put him at odds with other officers. His difficulties resulted in his resignation in Mar. 1778, but Congress granted him permission to raise an independent corps of dragoons.

The force that became Pulaski's Legion consisted of one troop of mounted lancers, two of dragoons, one company of rifle-armed infantry, and three of musket-armed infantry. Pulaski and his legion were transferred to the Southern Theater in early 1779. He continued to complain about his ill-use to Congress. He was mortally wounded at the failed siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779, after which the remnants of his legion were commanded by its erstwhile second-in-command, Maj. Pierre-Francois Vernier, who was himself killed at Moncks Corner in Apr. 1780. The remaining troops were merged with Armand's Legion

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:945-46; Joseph E. Wroblewski, "Casimir Pulaski's Difficulties in Recruiting His Legion," *Journal of the American Revolution*, Aug. 28, 2017.

1780 *A Year of Highs and Lows*

The year 1780 proved to be pivotal, both for Marion, and in the fight for independence. It opened in the South with an army in disarray. The disaster at Savannah in Oct. 1779 had put the Americans on their heels. The losses, not only those incurred in the battle, but also the desertions following it, severely weakened the Southern Army.

However, in its wake, Lt. Col. Francis Marion became the most trusted regimental commander in the S.C. Line, as evidenced by his independent command at Sheldon, and being trusted with the challenge of reorganizing three regiments into one.

Rumors of British plans to move against South Carolina turned into reality with the arrival of the first ships off the coast in February 1780. The British campaign to capture Charlestown was an excellent example of British military might and capability. Sir Henry Clinton executed the siege well, and once the outnumbered and outgunned defenders were fully encircled by land and sea, the inevitable capitulation soon followed. By the middle of May, the capital fell, and shortly thereafter, the British exercised control over most of South Carolina. There was little resistance to the British juggernaut at first. Loyalists and timid Patriots quickly acquiesced to the return of British rule.

Francis Marion escaped capture when he fortuitously injured his ankle (or foot) so severely that he was ordered out of the city before its fall. After Charlestown surrendered, he was forced to recuperate while he hid in the Santee swamps. By June, he had recovered enough to rejoin the service. If he had not injured himself, he likely would have been a prisoner of war after the fall of the capital—or worse.

His good fortune continued. Shortly after joining Gen. Horatio Gates and the new Southern Army, he was dispatched to “destroy all the Boats and cannoes on the [Santee] River,” the day before the Battle of Camden—once again narrowly avoiding being involved in disaster.

The beginning of Francis Marion’s transition into the “Swamp Fox” of the Revolution can be traced to the immediate aftermath of Camden. From that point, he began to organize the militia in the area north of the Santee and east of the High Hills. Unlike Sumter, who was able to gather a large force with which to combat the British, Marion had fewer men to draw from in the sparsely populated, swampy region west of Georgetown. His militia operated in the midst of Loyalist controlled territory, and within striking distance of regular Crown forces. Marion’s men had to balance service in the militia with constant threats to their homes and families when they were away.

The small size and instability of his militia forced him to utilize classic guerrilla tactics to fight the British. With his new command, as a Continental officer leading volunteer militia, he had no official commission. Lt. Col. Marion led based on his experience, personality, and determination. He learned the limits of his militia’s motivations, employing them for short periods of time close to home and in situations where success was probable.

Marion intuitively developed and executed partisan and guerrilla operations that proved decisive in meeting the British threat in South Carolina. He quickly learned not to take undue risks, using the element of surprise to overcome the British advantage in numbers. At times, his small force was the only viable resistance in the area and, until the arrival of Gen. Nathanael Greene, he operated with minimal outside assistance or guidance.

Throughout the fall of 1780, Marion battled the British. He surprised regulars at Great Savannah, his first action as a partisan commander, and after that, at Blue Savannah and Black Mingo. When the odds were not in his favor, Marion disbanded his militia and moved out of range. When the opportunity presented itself, he called them out again and struck where the enemy least suspected. He fought Loyalist regiments in a number of small battles before taking on British regulars of the 64th Foot at Halfway Swamp in December.

Marion’s success played a large part in foiling Lord Cornwallis’s attempts to advance northward. The British commander similarly failed to quash the resistance by Sumter’s militia west of the Wateree River. The British could not leave the two forces in their rear to disrupt supply and communication lines—and so were forced to abandon their autumn designs on North Carolina.

But the partisans did even more than that. They also disrupted Loyalist militia recruiting and organization, thwarting the British plan to use Loyalist militia alone to hold South Carolina, an essential element of the Crown's Southern Strategy.

After Sumter was severely wounded at Blackstock's Plantation in November, the burden of carrying on the resistance in South Carolina fell more and more onto Marion's shoulders. When Greene arrived in Charlotte in December to take over the remnants of the Southern Continental Army, the stage was set for changing the trajectory of the war.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln – January 4, 1780

Sheldon, 4th Jan^y 1780

Sir,

I rec^d Yourse of the 30th Dec^r. I have taken the Oppinion of the Officers as you Desired; they Unanimously of the Opinion that the field Officers shall be Chose by the Gen.¹ & Govenor, the Captains by the field Officers, & the Subaltern by the Capt^{ns}.¹

The other part of your Letter will be Immediately Complied with.²

I am with respect Your
Most Ob^t Serv^t
Francis Marion
L^t. Col. Second reg^t.

ALS (SCHi), South Carolina Historical Society, 30-4 Marion, Francis; lent by Jim Hayes, 1983.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln [inferred] – January 5, 1780

Sheldon, 5 Jan^y. 1780

I rec^d the Inclosed after I sealed my Letter & send it to You, which make what I suspected of Page to be so.³

I [am] Respectfully Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ADS (WHi), Lyman Draper Manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society, Series 1VV9.

1. Lincoln's letter of Dec. 30, 1779, informed Marion of the regimental reorganization plan and asked for his input concerning 'the Mode of Officering the Retained regiments.' Lincoln responded to Marion in a letter dated January 21, below, wherein he accepted Marion's suggestions.

2. Lincoln sent two letters to Marion on Dec. 30. The letter referenced here is the second. The 'other part of your letter' clearly refers to Lincoln's plea to Marion to send someone to Savannah to gain intelligence.

3. This letter is not addressed. From the context it is clear that Marion was writing to Gen. Lincoln, since he had sent Lincoln a letter on January 4, above. The enclosure referred to is probably the January 5 letter from militia Col. Benjamin Garden to Marion, below, in which Page was identified as a Loyalist in John Hamilton's Royal North Carolina Regiment.

Col. Benjamin Garden to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 5, 1780

[Sheldon],⁴ [Jan. 5, 1780]

Dear Sir,

I have just rec'd a letter from Captⁿ. Hartstone where in he says He has sent down three deserters, who are now with you.⁵ One by the name of Page was noted for Plundering in the Character of an Indian. I had him in Custody early after this Crime, but [indecipherable] Security of one of my Officers on condition He would intrap a Brother 'bigger' [indecipherable] than himself I released him, & instead of fulfilling his engagem^t. went soon after to the Enemy & now I suppose it does not suit him to stay any longer with them, He comes as a deserter.⁶

I think He had best be confined untill you have a guard going for Ch^s Town where He can be delivered to the Civil powers.

General M^c.Intosh⁷ dines wth me today. Will you favor me with y^r. Company?

I am with respect

Y^r Most H Serv^t

Bⁿ. Garden

ACy (MHi).

-
4. Garden and his militia continued to encamp adjacent to Marion, despite the issue over command seniority described in Marion's letters of Nov. 1779.
 5. A significant role of the militia units was to capture deserters from both sides, especially in the volatile period following the fall of Savannah. Joachim Hartstone served as a private, lieutenant, and captain in the Granville County militia regiment from 1778-80. In January 1780, Hartstone delivered deserters to Marion's camp. After the war, he served in the S.C. House for two terms. He voted to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 423; Garden to Marion, January 5, 1780, ACy (MHi); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:323).
 6. The case of Page changing his allegiance multiple times was not that unusual in the South, especially after a battle when the winner often experienced an increase in volunteers coming from the losing side. However, being caught by one's original compatriots after having served with the enemy usually incurred a death sentence. It is unclear what became of Page after his recapture.
 7. Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, originally commander of the Georgia Continentals, had returned from Washington's army in the Northern Theater to take part in the attempt to recapture Savannah. McIntosh had been transferred north in the aftermath of his having mortally wounded Button Gwinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and Georgia governor, in a duel in the fall of 1776 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 583n1135). It is not known whether Marion accepted Garden's invitation to dinner.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 7, 1780

Sheldon, Jan^y. 1780

Sir

I send You Thomas Page & Joseph Dawson who Joined the Enemy Last summer and Inlisted in Hamiltons Corps,⁸ which they Pretend they have Deserted from, but I suspect from their Characters they are sent as Spies, and thought best to have them conducted to you the third man Charles Sergeant is a soldier of Col^o. Parkers⁹ taken the 9th Oct^r. Last –

I wrought You Yesterday concerning the Officering the retained regiments¹⁰ --

The man is gone & hope at his return he will give you the Desired Satisfaction--

Our rum is out & we have no Waggons to send for more, those in the Line is constantly Employ'd in bringing rice, forrage & Wood for the Army.

M^r. Bond has never returned nor the other Waggon Master have not come¹¹ --

I wrought to Col^o Drayton¹² some time since for Cartridge paper, but none has come, am Affaird we shall want Cartridges whenever we move--

I am respectfully Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection at the NY Historical Society, NY.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Capt. John de Treville¹³ - January 7, 1780

Sheldon, January 7th, 1780.

Sir:

You will proceed with a boat and hands from Beaufort to the first British post in Georgia with a flagg and deliver George Hannet, Michael Jones, John McClocking and Saml. Woodward, and take a receipt for them on account, and return as soon as possible.¹⁴

I am, your most ob't servt.,

F^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

8. [See brief bio of John Hamilton here.](#)

9. Richard Parker was a lieutenant colonel, who commanded the 1st Virginia Detachment when it arrived in the South in 1779. The brigade took heavy losses at the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779. During the siege of Charlestown, Parker commanded the 2nd Virginia Brigade. By Apr. 1780, Parker had overall command of his brigade, Marion's 2nd SC Regiment, Lt. Col. William Henderson's 3rd SC Regiment, and the Brigade of Artillery. These troops were stationed on Charlestown Neck. Parker was killed by a sniper's bullet on Apr. 24, while looking over a parapet (Cark Borick, *A Gallant Defense: The Siege of Charleston, 1780*, 197; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 584n1137; Wilson, *Southern Strategy*, 228).

10. In his letter of January 4, above, Marion had advised Lincoln of his recommendations regarding the selection of officers for the reorganized South Carolina Continental regiments.

11. On Dec. 9, 1779, Marion informed Lincoln that his wagonmaster, Mr. Bond, had absented himself from camp. Lincoln responded on Dec. 13 that he had asked Gov. Rutledge to appoint a new wagonmaster.

12. At Lincoln's direction, Marion had written to Col. Stephen Drayton, Deputy Quartermaster General of the Southern Department, on December 23, 1779, above, requesting cartridges. This letter, dated Dec. 11, 1779, is included previously.

13. [See brief bio of John de Treville here.](#)

14. These four prisoners were the ones referred to in Marion's letters to Lincoln of December 5 and 23. They had deserted after the siege of Savannah and gone over to the American side (see Marion to Prevost, January 7, immediately below).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost¹⁵ (British) - January 7, 1780

Sheldon, Januy. 7th, 1780.

Sir,

By Order of General Lincoln, I Send Capt. Detreville with a Flagg to Deliver you four prisoners of War to be Accounted for which please Give a receipt for them.

I am, your Excell. Most Obt. Servt.

F^s. Marion

Prisoners: George Hannet, Michael Jones, John McClocking, York Volunteers. Sam^l. Woodward, Browns¹⁶Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 9, 1780

Sheldon, 9th Jan^y. 1780

[Sir,]

Yesterday the militia at the Two Sisters¹⁷ sent here nine prisoners taken above Ebinezer. They are Inhabitants of this State who joined the Enemy & have got a Plundering pass from General Prevost,¹⁸ I shall send them down in a few days.

I have been Oblige to give Lt. Capers Leave of Absense rather than lose a good Officer.¹⁹

The Officers here are very Anxious to know how the Officering of these retained Regiments is Determined, for till this is regulated none of the Absent Officers will return, I have here but those Subalterns in the Line.²⁰

I am respectfully y^t Most Ob^t. Serv^t

Francis Marion

Lt. Col. Second Reg.

ADS (MHi).

15. British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost, a veteran of the French and Indian War, had been commander of the British forces in East Florida in 1775. His most significant victory was the crushing blow dealt to the joint Franco-American forces at the siege of Savannah in October 1779.
16. The first three prisoners were soldiers in either the 1st or 3rd Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade, though Marion calls them "York Volunteers." Confusingly, New York Volunteers was actually the name of a separate Loyalist unit that accompanied Archibald Campbell's 1778 expedition that captured Savannah in December. The fourth prisoner was a soldier in Thomas Brown's King's Rangers.
17. The "Two Sisters" referred to the Two Sisters ferry, a main crossing over the Savannah River between Georgia and South Carolina, near Pineland, S.C., 38 miles from Savannah. It was a major crossing point between the Georgia capital and Charlestown. A prime responsibility of militia units was guarding important positions, such as ferry crossings.
18. A "plundering pass" was presumably slang for a pass issued to foraging parties to obtain provisions for the British troops, including Loyalists. Plundering was rampant on both sides of the conflict in the South. Generally, the terms "requisitioning" and "plundering" referred to the same activities, but because they carried different connotations of legitimacy, were used situationally based on whether they were being applied to the activities of one's own troops or the enemy's, respectively.
19. William Capers, of Marion's 2nd SC Regiment, had been promoted to first lieutenant on March 13, 1778. Marion grudgingly granted Capers a leave of absence, despite a critical shortage of officers, assuming that Capers would resign if not granted leave. He may have threatened to resign in light of the reorganization of the SC regiments. As it turned out, he *did* resign later the same month, as noted in the January 20 entry in the order book of John Grimke (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 633).
20. Because of the consolidation of the 5th and 6th Regiments, fewer positions were available for the same number of officers. As a result, officers on leave or absent from camp probably chose to remain absent until they learned their status. If they found themselves supernumerary, many simply resigned their commissions. In his letter to Lincoln of November 18, 1779, Marion lamented that upon taking command at Sheldon he learned that a number of officers had been given leave. In the 3rd SC Regiment several were given leave of up to four months. It can be inferred that the liberality of leave did not apply to Marion's own 2nd Regiment. His forces had reached such a critical state, as a result of the earlier leaves and the effect of the consolidation of the regiments, that he had very few line officers in camp.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 11, 1780

Charlestown, Jany 11th, 1780.

Sir, Captain O'Neile will deliver this. He apprehends that as the Enemy are dispersed and Cantoned at different plantations, Some parties might be surprised and brought off. I think at least a Show of Horse across the River to Circumscribe their Limits & prevent their receiving those Supplies which otherwise they might obtain. I am at too Great a Distance from Camp to Give any particular Orders in these Matters, because the success of movements of this kind depends on so many Circumstances & a particular knowledge of the State and Situation of the Enemy so necessary & which may so materially change from the time I can be informed of it & Answer Returned. I therefore Leave it with you to Consult with the Commanding Officers of the Horse, & after that should you from the Evidence you may Obtain, think the Measure Advisable, you will attempt Something of the Kind. And if Capt. O'Neil should be thought a Suitable Person to Execute it will be agreeable to me, however that must be left with you & the Officers also. He has an idea that with Six Dragoons from the Legion and the Same Number from Col^o. Horrys Corps, Joined with six from Augusta, he could Effect something pretty.²¹ I Received last night your Letter by which I learn that the Officers with you differ a Little in their oppinion with Respect to the mode of Officering the Retained Regiments, but Nothwithstanding I think that Matter will be Easily settled.²² You mention that the Officers do not incline to return untill they know their fate. This Settlement cannot Effect the Subalterns, for there are not Enough in the whole Line to Officer the Three Regiments to Remain. They should therefore join you Immediately.²³

I am Dear Sir, with Great Regard
Your most Obt. Servt.
B. Lincoln

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Brig. Maj. Thomas Barrow (British) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 12, 1780

Head Quarters Savannah, Jan^y 12th, 1780.

Sir,

I am directed by Major General Prevost to Acknowledge the receipt of the Three prisoners of War mentioned in your Letter & that they will be accounted for hereafter.²⁴

I am sir
Your humble Servt.
Thomas Barrow

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

21. Lincoln's reference to the 'Legion' is to the remnants of Casimir Pulaski's cavalry, which had been nearly wiped out at the siege of Savannah, where Pulaski had been mortally wounded. Col. Horry's Corps refers to that of Peter Horry, who had been promoted to lieutenant colonel in command of the newly formed 5th SC Regiment in October 1779. The 'six from Augusta' presumably would be a contingent of the 1st Continental Light Dragoons, known as Bland's Horse, noted as being at Augusta in Marion's letter to Lincoln of January 13, below. Col. Theodorick Bland had been the commander of this unit since Jun. 1776, when he became captain of the 1st Troop of Virginia Cavalry. Bland resigned in December 1778.
22. The SC Regiments were consolidated. The 5th and 6th Regiments were eliminated. The details of the 'little' difference in opinion are not known. The issue probably referred to how the officers of the defunct regiments were to be integrated into the remaining three infantry regiments. As revealed in Grimke's orderly book of February 11, the plan as described was in itself confusing: "And the Genl. & the Governor having left the Appointment of the Capt^s to the above Field Officers, A Majority of them have agreed that 27 Capt^s oldest in service [most senior] as commissioned Officers shall be retained." Simple enough, but the plan did not specify which officers were assigned to which regiments (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 633-34).
23. Whether or not Marion was able to terminate the officers' leaves early is not known.
24. By his letter of January 7, above, Marion indicated he was sending four prisoners for exchange, three from DeLancey's Brigade (incorrectly identified by Marion as the New York Volunteers) and one from the King's Rangers. The discrepancy between the four prisoners sent for exchange and the three received is clarified in Marion's letter to Lincoln of January 13, immediately below.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 13, 1780

Sheldon 13th Jan^y. 1780

Sir

I rec^d yourse of the 11th Inst. by Captⁿ O'Neil and consulted with Maj^r Vernier²⁵ who Join me in Opinion, the Attempt of Suprizing one of the Enemy Post will be Dangerous, as they are so Closely Contained[?] as to make a Junction with Little Loss of time which will present a retreat, & was it Probable to Succeed Captⁿ O'Neil is not Equall to the task & the Maj^r. think he cannot be trusted.

The two only Advance post of the Enemy is at Ogeche [Ogeechee], by Browns Corps, & Aberco[r]n by Wrights.²⁶ This Last have about Sixty men in a Redoubt with Abettis around it. Their horse is at Gibbons (a party of them frequently at Buck head). All the others are between the horse & the town and by the Georgia papers there is 300 Charokey[Cherokee] Indians within two miles of the town.

I did Intend to do some thing in the way you wish but waited for more Exact Intelligence which I hourly Expect. If any thing can be Effected without much Loss it Shall be done.²⁷

I think Blands horse at Augusta may with great Probability Surprize Browns post, & make their retreat good, as they are Superior to the Enemys horse & the post too far from the others to be Supported. I am told Col^o White with some Malitia Intend to Attack Browns post.²⁸

The flag is returned & have got a receipt for three men. The fourth Died Suddenly on the way. Captⁿ Detreville who went with the flag I have not Seen to know what remarks he has made. He is at Portroyal & Expect him today.²⁹

Should we have Occasion to move from there Suddenly we have not horses to carry off the stores and a great part of the Baggage must be Left, for there is no wagons but what are in the line. The As. Q. Mastr Gen^l have not got one horse to put in their Waggon.³⁰

The four Subalterns of the Second that are absent, one is with the Gout another with the Itch, the 3^d You Gave Leave to go to Peedee & the 4th I expect in three days. Three Capt^{ns} of mine who has been Absent above five weeks & are not on duty in town I have Orderd Captⁿ. Moultrie to Arrest them.³¹

25. Maj. Chevalier Pierre-Francois Vernier commanded the remnants of Pulaski's Legion of Horse and Foot after Pulaski's death. He was mortally wounded at Monck's Corner on April 12, 1780 (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 17; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:72). Capt. O'Neil's identity is not definitively known. However, he may have been a staff officer attached to Lincoln's headquarters.
26. Apparently, Col. Thomas Brown and his King's Rangers were thought to be posted at the Ogeechee River Ferry, Ga., at royal Gov. Sir James Wright's plantation, a short distance from Savannah. In April 1780, Col. Andrew Pickens surprised the post, which was then held by the 1st Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade and an unknown number of armed slaves (John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 62). The post at Abercorn, north of Savannah, was apparently held by Gov. Wright's son, Maj. James Wright, Jr., and his Georgia Loyalist regiment. The elder Wright (1716-85) was born in Charlestown. He studied law in England and practiced in Charlestown when he returned after August 1741. Wright was appointed agent for South Carolina in England in 1757, and was named royal governor of Georgia in 1760, becoming infamous for implementing the policies of the Stamp Act in Georgia after initial conflict and riots. He returned to England in 1771 and was made a baronet in 1772. At the outset of the Revolution, Gov. Wright remained in Georgia, despite his authority being usurped by the Provincial Congress. He was taken prisoner in January 1776, but escaped after one month. He then sailed to England with a short stop in Halifax, Nova Scotia. After the British recaptured Savannah in December 1778, Wright returned to the town and re-established provincial government. In 1779, he organized the Georgia Loyalist Regiment for his son, James Jr. to command. Gov. Wright remained in Savannah until the final evacuation of the city on Jul. 11, 1782, at which time he returned to England, where he worked on the Board of American Loyalists, seeking compensation for losses as a result of the Revolution (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1284-85).
27. Marion was responding to Lincoln's letter of January 11, above, in which Lincoln suggested that he make a sortie across the Savannah River. Marion implied that any attack was premature, based on the presumed enemy troop placements, although he was at least tentatively in favor of action after he had received better intelligence. He rejected O'Neil as commander out of hand, after conferring with Maj. Vernier.
28. "Bland's" referred to the 1st Continental Light Dragoons. Its commander at this time was Lt. Col. Anthony Walton White. However, temporary command seems to have been given to Maj. John Jameson, who led the dragoons at Savannah (E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, *A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations in the American Revolution, 1774-1787* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2008), 101-03).
29. British Capt. Thomas Barrow informed Marion on January 12, above, that three prisoners had been received. Marion originally sent four prisoners to be exchanged in Georgia, as explained in his letter to Capt. John De Treville of January 7, above. In this correspondence we learn that the fourth man died en route.
30. During his command at Sheldon, Marion continually encountered problems with supply, whether it was the provisions themselves, the wagons to transport them, the men to drive the wagons, or the money to pay for them. Prior to the Sheldon detail, as related in his letters to Lincoln of February 4, 1779, not found, and February 23, 1779, above, Marion could not obtain supplies because of the resignation of the commissary and subsequent lack of money to pay for the supplies.
31. Maintaining military discipline at Sheldon was a constant problem. In a letter to Lincoln on November 18, 1779, above, Marion mentioned the absence of officers, specifically from the 3rd Regiment. On January 11, above, Lincoln responded to Marion's letter of

Col^o. Garden has not yet received any Orders from the Governor respecting the Driving the Stock from Savanna river & the Negroes come Dayley to plunder; the Malitia have had several Scrimages with them, but without Loss of Either Side.³²

I am respectfully
Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t
Fran^s Marion

ADS (NcU).

***Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost (British) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion,
or Officer Commanding the American troops at Sheldon.
January 19, 1780***

Savann^h, Jan^y 19th 1780.

Sir,

I have sent L^t. Creswell, with a flagg to deliver two Prisoners of War on account of those you was so good to send me some days ago & for which a Certificate of their Arrival will be sufficient.³³

I have the honour to be Sir
Your Most Obdt, humble Servt
A. Prevost

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 21, 1780

Sheldon 21st January 1780

Sir,

I send the 9 prisoners³⁴ taken above Abenezar by the Malitia at the Sisters, the papers of W^m Vear I sent you by L^t. Capers.³⁵ The Enemy has taken post at Abenezar with 150 Regulars.³⁶

I am, Respectfully Your most Ob^t Serv^t.
Fran^s Marion

ALS (MHi).

January 9, in which Marion noted that he had no field officers, and only subalterns in the line. Only two days later Marion revealed that the command structure was even more tenuous, with no subalterns being present. The category “subaltern” referred to commissioned officers below the rank of captain, including captain-lieutenant, lieutenant, ensign (in the infantry), and cornet (in the cavalry). Each regiment in the Continental Army had roster spots for 18 subalterns. Not only were all the subalterns absent, but even more telling is that the 2nd Regiment was deficient by 14 subalterns. Marion had 15 subalterns—three short—in the 2nd Regiment at Savannah. Why Lincoln would grant leave to a subaltern directly, rather than leaving the decision to his regimental commander (Marion), is not known. Expanding on the breakdown of subalterns, each regiment had nine companies, each company had two subalterns (18 total), in most cases, a lieutenant and an ensign. Each field officer was also nominally a company commander, so those companies had no captain, in this case the company was de facto commanded by its lieutenant, a rank that held the title “captain-lieutenant.” So, in total, the regiment would have had on paper three captain-lieutenants, six lieutenants, and nine ensigns (Wright, *Continental Army*, 125-28).

32. Gen. Lincoln had discussed the issues of stock raiding and pillaging with Gov. Rutledge (see Lincoln to Marion on December 30, 1779, above). Why militia Col. Garden had not received any orders during the two-week span is not known.
33. Marion had sent four British soldiers to Savannah as part of a prisoner exchange sometime between January 7 and 12. One died on the way, but it is not known which one it was.
34. These are the nine prisoners referred to in Marion’s letter to Lincoln of January 9, above.
35. At first glance it seems surprising that Marion would send this letter with a lieutenant given his shortage of officers. However, further analysis shows Lt. William Capers apparently had returned from a leave of absence. His resignation is noted in the January 20 entry in John Grimke’s orderly book. As a result of his resignation, Marion must have enlisted Capers to deliver the papers to Lincoln upon his arrival in Charlestown (O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 633).
36. These were most likely men of Delancey’s Brigade, as explained in Marion’s letter to Lincoln of January 22, below.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 21, 1780

Chas Town, Jany 21. 1780

Sir,

I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 13th. The 5th and 6th regiments are to be reduced; they are to join the 1st & 2nd in such proportions as to make them equal in numbers. The three retained regiments are to be officered as follows-viz.

1st Col. Pinckney, Lt. Col. Scott, Major Pinckney

Second Lt. Col. Marion Command, Major Harleston

Third Col. Thomson, Lt. Col. Henderson,³⁷ if he accepts, if not Horry[,]³⁸ Majr Hyrne.³⁹

Colonel Pinckney,⁴⁰ will, I suppose, write to you respecting the choice of Captains. I think the mode we have adopted to fill the regiments with field Officers will give the most satisfaction w^t affect to y^e Captains, viz. taking the Senior Officers experience for as the Youngest Corps are to be reduced. If the Youngest Captains are left out I think there cannot be any reflections on them. To have the matter settled in a mode which will least affect the feelings of Officers I think is an object to be attended to; however I do not wish to influence your judgement in this matter, as I daresay you will do right.⁴¹

I am Sir, &ca

[Benjamin Lincoln, not signed]

LB (MB), G.380.38.1.160b, no. 895.

37. [See brief bio of William Henderson here.](#)

38. The 1st and 3rd Regiments would continue to be commanded by their respective original commanders, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and William "Danger" Thomson. Marion still commanded the 2nd Regiment. William Henderson accepted a demotion to second-in-command of the 3rd Regiment from commander of the 6th, of which he had been made lieutenant colonel commandant on February 11, 1780, but not without some controversy. Initially, Henderson indicated he would not accept the position. As a result, Gen. Lincoln ordered Lt. Col. Peter Horry, the former commandant of the 5th Regiment, to fill it. Henderson ultimately accepted, but Horry did not learn of the reversal until he was already on his way to take command (see Greene to Marion, Mar. 19, 1782, below).

39. Edmund Massengbird Hyrne, after recovering from wounds suffered during the siege of Charlestown, would become an aide-de-camp to Gen. Greene in 1781 and additionally served as deputy adjutant general of the Southern Department from November 17, 1778, to the end of the war (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 481).

40. Gen. Lincoln directed Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, as senior regimental commander, to coordinate the selection of captains.

41. The method of selecting captains was by seniority. Those remaining without commands would become supernumerary officers and could declare their desire to continue service when a position became open or resign. This was outlined in orders to the regiments on February 11 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 633-34).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 22, 1780

Sheldon 22nd Jan^y, 1780

Sir,

Capt Detreville who went with the flagg to Tybee came from there this day [untelligible]. He says the Enemy is building a Battery on Tybee where they had one afore.⁴² The Blond[e] frigate, two twenty Gun ships & two Galleys Lay just below Augustin creek.⁴³

I sent a party of horse to the Two Sisters with an Intention to show themselves the Other side this river, but the Difficulty in Recrossing the river shoud they be pursued Prevented their going Over, as the Enemy has taken post at Ebenezer with one hundred & fifty men.⁴⁴ They are the [New] York Vollunteers with some red coats. They have repaired the Bridge below Ebenezer, & have got in the Redoubts. They came to that place the 15th Inst. I have not heard of any reinforcements Arriving at Georgia.⁴⁵ The Intelligence I expected I am Afraid cannot find its way back, tho he is a man I can Depend on for his honesty & Attachment to America.

I am With respect Y^r Obed^t Serv^t
 Fran^s Marion

ADS (MHi).

Lt. William Jackson (ADC) to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - January 24, 1780

Head Quarters Ch^s Town Jan^y. 24th 1780.

Sir, I am requested, by the General, who is himself Engaged, to inform you, that a Brig from New York bound to Georgia, was decoyed into the harbour last evening by the Eagle Tender. She is one of a Fleet of 90 Odd sail, which left New York about the 26 ultimo Said to be bound to Georgia, the Convoy Consisted of 6 Sail of the Line---1.50 & 1.40 with a frigate.⁴⁶ The Brig parted with the fleet the beginning of this Month off Cape Hatteras, steering S.S.W. The General reiterates his Request that you will Endeavour to obtain every possible Intelligence from Savannah & Give him the Earliest notice thereof.

I am with Respect Sir,
 Your very Ob^t. Serv^t.
 W. Jackson, A.D.Camp

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

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42. De Treville of the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment handled an exchange of prisoners early in January. He had returned to the American lines (at Port Royal) by January 13. The French had landed on Tybee Island before the siege of Savannah in October 1779.
 43. Augustine [or St. Augustine] Creek is a minor tributary of the Savannah River, lying just north of Savannah, and flowing into the river adjacent to present Savannah International Airport.
 44. Marion and Lincoln had entertained the idea of engaging the British in their letters of January 11 and 13. However, Marion held back until he had better intelligence. As he would in future actions, Marion weighed the benefit of action against the British against the potential risk to his troops.
 45. The fact that Marion explicitly stated he had not heard of any enemy reinforcements arriving suggests that Marion had received intelligence or word from Lincoln that the British were initiating offensive operations in the area. Unbeknownst to Marion, the British fleet that would carry Gen. Clinton's besieging army had already weighed anchor and left the port of New York on December 26, 1779. Marion was mistaken about the identity of the Loyalist forces. He called them the "New York Vollunteers" but they were actually from another New York Loyalist unit, DeLancey's Brigade.
 46. Presumably, the intelligence gained as a result of the capture of the British brig caused a stir in Charlestown. There had been unconfirmed reports that a British expedition was in the works, but this was the first concrete evidence of a large-scale effort against the southern states.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Isaac Harleston (at Chs Town) - January 26, 1780

Sheldon, 26 Jan^y 1780

D^r Sir:

I am happy to find you are again in the 2^d Regiment, tho I am sorry for Vanderhorst, who wishes to continue in the Service & have Given me Great Satisfaction the Little time he has been with me.⁴⁷

As some Captains from the 6th Regiment will be put in the Second, shall be glad you would point out 2 or 3 which you think are good, as for Subs they will be so few they can be no Choice. I think L^t. [John] Buchanan to be a good officer and wish to have him.⁴⁸

Maj^r. Vanderhorst goes to town & Leave me with one Captⁿ. and 2 Subs, my Command here in Chief prevents me from seeing to the regim^t.

Shall be oblige to You to get me all the Articles in the public store which I have a right (Except the Cloath for a coat Jacket & Breeches which I have) but no trimings. Linen I particularly am in want of.

When you come up if, you think proper to be in my mess (I have nobody but Captⁿ Moultrie) it will be agreable to me.

I dont know When the General will grant me a Little time to transact my private affairs.⁴⁹ I waited with patients, Expecting I should be one of those Officers who was to go to the right about. I am Disappointed & Suppose I am for the war, or a Ball. When you see me you will find I have a formidable p^r of Mustassho, which all the regim^t. now ware & if you have not one you will be Singular.⁵⁰

We find it Cold here. I don't know how it may be where you are; you may see it by my Scroll.

I am D^r S^r. with Great regard,

Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

NB Our men are in Great Want of Shoes & Shirts & Blankets to Compleat them; -- many of the Men is without a Shirt & Shoes-- I wish you woud try to get them & Send by two Waggons now in town.

ADS (SCHi).

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47. This letter is one of the few Marion wrote that gives significant insight into the personal side of the man. He seemed genuinely happy to welcome back to the 2nd SC Regiment a former comrade. Isaac Harleston had been in the 2nd Regiment until being promoted and transferred to the 6th Regiment in December 1778, but Marion also regretted that Maj. John Vanderhorst, who had served with Marion in the 2nd Regiment since Jun. 1775, and most recently had been Marion's second-in-command, was detached from the 2nd Regiment as a result of the consolidation of the South Carolina regiments.
48. John Buchanan, a native of Northern Ireland, was commissioned a lieutenant in the 6th SC Regiment in 1777. When the SC Continental Regiments were consolidated after the siege of Savannah, Buchanan was incorporated into the 2nd Regiment at Marion's request. He eventually became a captain. Buchanan was captured at the surrender of Charlestown in May 1780. After his exchange in Jun. 1781, he served until the end of the war. He became a brevet major in 1783 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 118; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 446n921; Marion to Harleston, January 26, 1780, ADS (SCHi), South Carolina Historical Society.
49. Marion's personal business would be traveling to Pond Bluff, his plantation on the Santee, to review how his operation was faring after nearly five years of war. He had been in the army, first in the South Carolina State Troops, then the Continental Army, since Jun. 1775. It is presumed Marion had an overseer looking after his plantation. He was also the executor of three estates at this time, his brothers Gabriel's and Job's, as well as that of his future nephew-in-law Anthony Ashby.
50. Perhaps most intriguing was Marion's revelation that he had a "formidable pr of Mustasho," as did the rest of his regiment. The genesis of this style evolution may have been the French troops who fought alongside the Americans at Savannah three months earlier. This is the first instance in which Marion referred to his personal appearance. Unfortunately, there is no period depiction of Marion with his mustache, and it is unknown how long he retained it.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 26, 1780

Sheldon 26th Jan^y, 1780

Sir

A flag from Savanna brought two prisoners of war.⁵¹ They are Malitia from Col^{os}. Harden⁵² & Twigs Reg^{ts}. One taken the 15th below Ebenezer sent out to reconiter the Enemy that took post there, the other from Buckheads. These men Give an Account of a transport with Hessians and a Brig at Tybee, & the people on board the Vigalent told them They ware [were] a part of 14 Sail from N York⁵³ the Blond[e] frigate & Tory man of war had sail^d to conduct the remainder in.

A Letter rec^d Last night from Maj^r. Middleton commd^g. the Malitia at the Sisters inform me that a party of the enemy had come down to the Landing & fired at his Guard & that a firing was heard the Other side, which he since Learn was a party of our men which was over a plunder^g. the Enemy so took 40 Negroes & 90 was brought over.⁵⁴

Yesterday was seen at Zublays [Zubly's] House 6 red coats which I hope the party of horse I sent out may come up with them. The want of Officers prevent me from forming any thing against the enemy.⁵⁵

I am respectfully
Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t.
Fran^s. Marion

NB I rec^d. the rum by the Schooner

ALS (Harlan Crow Library, Dallas, TX).

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51. It is curious that the British would exchange prisoners at this particular time, since returning Americans would likely tell their superiors about the continuing arrival of British ships and the ongoing troop build-up. Perhaps the British wanted the Americans to know of the activity in Savannah, using it as a diversion from the intended path toward Charlestown, or were doing their own intelligence-gathering.
 52. [See brief bio of William Harden here.](#)
 53. Tybee Island near the mouth of the Savannah River was the rendezvous point for the scattered British fleet, a convoy of 90 ships that left New York Harbor at the end of 1779. The "14 Sail from N York" included the *Vigilant*, a 64-gun ship of the line, and were presumably a portion of that 90-ship convoy. The *Vigilant* mentioned here is not to be confused with the 20-gun sloop *Vigilant* that was involved in the Battle of Port Royal Island in February 1779. The condition of the smaller ship made it no longer capable of ocean travel. Instead, it was dismantled and converted into an inland-waterway troop carrier and gun platform. It was intentionally burned by the British sometime in 1780, probably because it had run aground and was not recoverable. The *Blonde* was a 32-gun frigate (John C. Parker, *Parker's Guide to the Revolutionary War in South Carolina: Battles, Skirmishes and Murders* (Patrick, S.C.: Hem Branch Publishing Company, 2009), 32).
 54. The letter from Middleton has not been found. It was not uncommon for the opposing forces, militia and regular soldiers alike, to raid plantations indiscriminately. The context here suggests that Patriot militia crossed the Savannah River into Georgia. It is possible they captured 40 enslaved men and their families, then recrossed the river, with a total of 90 individuals, but the actual reasoning for the count is not clear.
 55. The action at the Two Sisters Ferry crossing and at Zubly's House (Zubly's Ferry) may have been indicative of increased activity by the British. Marion once again alerted Gen. Lincoln to the lack of officers, as he had done in his letter to his new second-in-command, Maj. Isaac Harleston, in the letter of January 26, above.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 26, 1780

Sheldon, 26 Jan^y, 1780, 11 OC [oclock] A M⁵⁶

Sir

I rec^d Yours 21st & Mr. Jackson's 24th Inst. I had sent out two partys & a third Just going of[f] to gain Intelligence from the Enemy when those Letters came to hand. They are not returned as soon as they do will Acquaint you; I shall again Indeavour to get a man to go to Savanna, for I believe the first is Lost, I have wrought you two letters since the 13th with some particulars of the Enemy Which I hope you have saw.⁵⁷

As Maj^r Vanderhorst Considers himself out of the Service I have permitted him to go to Town tho I am perfectly happy in Maj^r Harleston. I cannot help being sorry for Maj^r Vanderhorst who wishes to stay in the service & has given me Great Satisfaction the little time he has been with me.⁵⁸

At present there is not one field Officer in the Line under me & should there be any Occasion, Sergeants Must Command Grand Divission.

I beg once more to Acquaint You of the few Cartridges at this post, in the 2^d there is ab^t 8000 -- in 3^d half that Number & none in the 5th or Cavalry, nor no paper to make Any up. The Q M G [Quarter Master General] Depositories have not one Cartridge, nor any horses to convey of[f] the stores⁵⁹

I can assure you it has been my particular Attention to prevent the wast of Amunition.

I am with respect

Your most H^{bl} Serv^t.

Francis Marion

ADS (MHI).

56. This was the second letter Marion sent to Lincoln on this date.

57. In his January 22 letter to Lincoln, above, Marion informed the general that his 'spy' had not returned from Savannah, and that Marion feared he had been caught.

58. The consolidation of the South Carolina regiments had left Vanderhorst without a post. As a supernumerary officer, he was entitled to one-half pay, as resolved by Congress, "Whereas many worthy officers of the Battalions commonly called the sixteen Regiments, who have served their Country with fidelity and reputation, have been reduced as supernumerary, and it is reasonable that provision should be made for such reduced officers without which many of them and their families may be exposed to want and distress, Resolved therefore that all such officers, who have been so reduced as supernumerary shall be entitled to and annually receive the half of the present pay annexed to their Commissions during their natural lives; provided, nevertheless, that every such officer shall be holden to take command in the army upon full pay when required, so as not to impair his former rank. And it is farther resolved, that such of the reduced officers aforesaid, as shall incline to serve and shall leave their names at the Board of War for that purpose, shall be entitled to any vacancies which may happen in any of the said sixteen continental regiments, and which they can with propriety fill agreeable to the Regulations of the Army" (*JCC*, Vol XIV, Aug. 18, 1779, 978).

59. Given the coming invasion and subsequent siege of Charlestown, it was especially unfortunate that the command at Sheldon was virtually devoid of leadership and was experiencing a severe shortage of ammunition. Marion's responsibility at Sheldon to reorganize the Continental Army regiments that had just been consolidated, without a full complement of subalterns or ammunition, was a daunting task.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - January 31, 1780

Sheldon, 31 Jan^y. 1780

Sir

I sent an Officer to the point of the River where he could see all the shiping at Tybee. He return last Saturday Night [January 29] & report there was, the Vigilant, 2 Galleys, a large Ship (suppose to be the transport) and 6 Other Small Vessels, which [we suppose] to fall down from Savanna.⁶⁰

By 3 french men who left Savanna 26th Ult. I am Informed that in a transport & a Brigg Came 20 Officers & about 100 Hessian Grenadiers by whom they learn they left the fleet about the Beginning of this Month & that they was Oblige to through[throw] all their horses over board in a Gust of wind.⁶¹ They say the Enemy is very uneasy for their fleet, that 12 days before they came a [man] from Augustine who report that [comte] De La Motte Picquet & C. D. L Gras [comte de Grasse] had 14 Sail of the Line off of that Bar⁶² & at Musketoe 15 miles from the town there was two Thousand Spaniards with a Large Number of Indians.⁶³

That some Armed Negroes & 200 Indians was incamp^t before Savanna where the American Camp was. They also say that rum sold at 3 Dollars a Gallon, Bread at one Dollar p^p^d. & they had no fresh provisions but what the Negroes plunder on this side the river.

Last week I sent L^t. Baulieu⁶⁴ with a party of horse to Cross Savanna river, but the river being high & only a small boat which could carry only one horse, he returned.

This day I sent Captⁿ. Brown of the Legion with 30 horse, to Cross the river, to Shew themselves & if possible to get a prisoner and gain Intelligence.

Last Thursday I sent a small party of Infantry to get a prisoner & gain Intelligence. They are not yet returned. I expect them tomorrow or next day.⁶⁵

I am Respectfully

Y^r. Ob^t. Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

NB A man is gone to Savanna.⁶⁶

ADS (NcD), Benjamin Lincoln Papers, Special Collections Library, Duke University.

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60. Although severely hampered by heavy seas, by February 1, all but 12 vessels had reached the Georgia coast (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 26).
61. Shortages of water and forage had resulted in the decision to throw the horses that had not already perished overboard. As a result, the British cavalry was left largely dismounted in the early phases of the campaign that would follow.
62. There is no indication that either Commodore Jean Guillaume Toussaint, Comte de La Motte-Picquet de La Vinoyere (popularly known as "La Motte-Picquet) or Admiral François Joseph Paul, Marquis de Grasse Tilly (Comte de Grasse) were in American waters in 1780. Comte de Grasse (1722-88) would become the most famous of the French naval leaders to serve in the American Revolution after he won the 2nd Battle of the Virginia Capes, where his fleet of 24 French ships of the line drove off the 19 British ships under Admiral Thomas Graves in early September 1781, thus isolating Cornwallis's British forces at Yorktown. Several of his children later settled in the United States and became American citizens (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:443).
63. The report of 2,000 Spanish & Indians near St. Augustine was false. Although Spain had declared war against Britain on Jun. 21, 1779, a request for aid from the Spanish governor in Havana, transmitted by Lt. Col. Jean Baptiste, Chevalier de Ternant in February, was turned down. It is unclear where the original report of 2,000 Spaniards may have originated, as this letter preceded Ternant's mission. David Ramsay wrote, "He [Ternant] was authorized to promise two thousand men to co-operate with the Spaniards in the reduction of St. Augustine, if they would lend a sufficient force of ships and troops for the defence of Charlestown, but the Spanish governor doubted his authority to accede to the proposition" (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 94; David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina From a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton: Isaac Collins, 1785), 2:48; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1093-97). Another possible source for the "two Thousand Spaniards" may have been the campaign initiated by Don Bernardo de Galvez, the governor of New Orleans, who in January began an ultimately successful siege of Mobile (Henry Lee, *The American Revolution in the South* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 161-62).
64. Lt. Louis de Beaulieu commanded the 1st Troop of Dragoons of the remnants of Pulaski's Legion. He had been wounded seven times when Gen. Augustine Prevost attacked Charlestown in May 1779. He was wounded twice more when the American cavalry was routed by the British under Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton at Monck's Corner on April 14, 1780 (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 15-17; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:72; Buchanan, *Road to Guilford Courthouse*, 59-64).
65. In response to the increased British activity, Marion had increased his intelligence gathering efforts. To obtain information it was not unusual for mounted units to venture into enemy territory to ambush isolated detachments or 'Shew themselves' to attract enemy pursuit in the hopes of capturing prisoners who might have information.
66. The most dangerous method of gaining intelligence was to send soldiers into an enemy-controlled town. In this case it is presumed that Marion sent a civilian, or at least someone who would pass for a civilian. In some cases, women and children were used, since they would attract less suspicion.

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln to Lt. Col. Francis Marion (at Sheldon) - January 31, 1780

Head Quarters, Ch^s. Town Jan^y 31st 1780

Sir,

The state of Affairs is such as to make it necessary that we draw our force to a point as much & as soon as possible.⁶⁷ No troops will be kept in the field, Except two hundred L^t Infantry & the Horse. You will, therefore please to Select from the three regim^{ts} with you, Two hundred of your best Men & those who are best Clothed and Organize them into a Corps with proper Officers. All the remainder with the baggage of the whole saving such as is absolutely necessary for Light troops will march Immediately to this Town. You will please take the command of the Lt. Infantry until Lt. Col. Henderson arrives, which I Expect will be in a few days, after that I wish to see you as Soon as may be in Charlestown.⁶⁸

Cross will deliver you this with a letter to Col^o. [Richard] Parker & another to Major Jamieson.⁶⁹ You will send them on towards Augusta in the Common rout by four Horsemen. Two will guide Col^o. Parker to this Town by the shortest way & the other two will Guide Major Jamieson to your Camp.

I am Sir

Your Most Ob^t. Serv^t.

B. Lincoln

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - February 2, 1780

Sheldon, Second Feb^y. 1780

Sir

I rec^d. yourn of 31st Jan^y. Last Evening & shall attend to Contents.⁷⁰ The Letters for Col^o. Parker & Maj^r Jameson I have sent.

I am respectfully S^r

Y^r Ob^t Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

Tr (NNPM).

67. Lincoln was presumably reacting to intelligence of the dramatic movement of the British fleet, as related in the letter of January 24, above, from his aide-de-camp, Lt. William Jackson. Marion was able to provide Lincoln with confirmation of the beginning of the arrival of the British fleet at Savannah. However, it was still uncertain if the report of 90 ships in transit was accurate. The fact that Lincoln was only keeping a force of 200 in the field indicated that he believed the reports of the British invasion force were true and that his force was insufficient to block the British advance. Lincoln's decision ultimately gave the British control of the South Carolina coast south of Charlestown without a fight. Instead of resisting British progress incrementally, Lincoln chose to make Charlestown the base of his defensive stand.
68. Lincoln had demonstrated his respect for Marion by giving him command of the consolidated South Carolina Continentals at Sheldon. He further signified Marion's value by giving him the responsibility of organizing a new battalion, composed of his best men formed as light infantry. Marion was left with a force of approximately 120 weary soldiers, one-third the size of his original regiment, of which his most dependable men were not a part. This experience likely gave Marion a taste of what his future would hold, commanding new troops in a mobile, light infantry role. In assigning the new regiment to Lt. Col. William Henderson, Lincoln detached Henderson from his post as second-in-command of the 3rd Regiment. Why Henderson was not present with the 3rd at Sheldon is not known.
69. It is unclear why Parker, commander of the 2nd Virginia Continental Brigade, would be in Marion's proximity. Maj. John Jameson commanded the 1st Continental Light Dragoons until the arrival of Lt. Col. Anthony Walton White in April 1780 (Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* [Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1828], 384-85; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 19-20; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:338).
70. The use of the term 'Contents,' instead of describing orders received in Lincoln's January 31 letter, above, possibly indicates Marion's precaution to prevent this significant change in size of the Continental forces from being discovered by the enemy. In Marion's next letter to Lincoln on February 6, below, he does mention the change of command at Sheldon, but not the recall of one-third of his force.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - February 6, 1780

Sheldon, 6th Feb^y.1780

Sir

As Col^o. [Daniel] Horry⁷¹ is come to take the Command here, & the Campaign may Open by the begening of Next Month,⁷² I shall be glad to have Leave of Absence for a short time to Transact some Private Buisness - I wond not siguest it if their was any prospect of Seeing Col^o. Henderson⁷³ here but am told he is not yett Accepted of the L^t. Col^o. place in the 3^d regem^t

Captⁿ La Braun who I sent over The river has returned without Giving any Intelligence.

Serg^t. Lurey on a nother party has also return'd what he has done Col^o Horry will give you an Acc^t. -I expect hourly a man from Savanna

I am Respectfully

Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t.

Fran^s. Marion

ALS (PHi), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Simon Gratz Collection.

71. Lt. Col. Daniel Horry commanded the South Carolina State Dragoons.

72. British Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton methodically moved his force to Charlestown in the weeks following this letter. The first troops began disembarking on Johns Island on February 11, after transport ships arrived in North Edisto Sound on February 10 (Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 145; Charles C. Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (London: Printed for the Author, 1794), 177).

73. By Lincoln's letter of January 31, above, the new commander at Sheldon was to be Lt. Col. William Henderson. However, as a result of Henderson's indecision concerning whether he would accept a demotion to second-in-command of the 3rd Regiment or become a supernumerary officer, Lincoln presumably detached Lt. Col. Horry to take command of both the light infantry and cavalry.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Isaac Harleston (2nd Regiment, Chs Town)⁷⁴
February 27, 1780

Bacon Bridge, 27 Feby. 1780⁷⁵

Dr. Sir:

I wrought you two letters to send me a subaltern—in room of Lt. Foisine [Foissin]—have not recd any answer. Capt. Dunbar⁷⁶ is to get a first lieutenant's commission from the Governor. I wrought him to join me.

I sent Bob Legare for a drum, he has not return'd.⁷⁷ You will please send him immediately, also Dr. Theus,⁷⁸ tell him to bring medicines with him, for he is much wanted, send him off as soon as you receive this.

Robert Gamble⁷⁹ of the Light Infantry has gone to town contrary to my express order—he must be secured and sent to me, by first opportunity, if you get him he may be sent by the bearer of this who goes with some prisoners of war.

I am, Dr. Sir, your ob. Servt.

Franc. Marion

Lt. Col. Second Regt.

NB G. Moultrie desires Dr. Theus to come as quick as possible.

Charleston Yearbook (1895), 327.

74. In contrast to the flurry of activity in preparation for combating the British, this letter to his second-in-command seems out of place.

It does not hint at the redeployment of SC Continental Regiments around Charlestown or the nature of Marion's new billet. Marion's regiment had been ordered to Charlestown from Sheldon by Lincoln's letter of January 31, along with the residue of the Continentals not included in the new regiment he organized before departing. Brig. Gen. William Moultrie was ordered to Bacon's Bridge on February 19, to command the militia and the cavalry, as well as to construct a redoubt. Gen. Lincoln felt that the British would use Bacon's Bridge as their crossing point over the Ashley River, making the bridge the gateway to Charlestown Neck. In Moultrie's return of February 23, he noted that Lt. Col. Marion's infantry totaled 227.

75. Marion's previous correspondence to Lincoln had been dated February 6, above, in which he requested a short leave of absence. The three-week gap in Marion's correspondence implies that he did take the leave, probably after he marched the remainder of the three SC regiments to Charlestown as ordered and met with Lincoln. Lt. Col. Daniel Horry relieved him at Sheldon. Although William Henderson was second-in-command of the 'new' 3rd SC Regiment, he apparently was not at Sheldon at the time Lincoln ordered Marion to organize the light troops, nor does it seem that he was at Bacon's Bridge. It may be inferred from a February 19, 1780, letter Gen. Lincoln sent to Gen. Moultrie that Marion was at Bacon's Bridge at the time the letter was written: "You will proceed immediately to Bacon's-Bridge, where you will form a camp of the militia of that part of the neighborhood, and of those who are ordered to this town; if you find it necessary, or for the safety of the troops under Colonel Marion, or for the defence of your post, you will call on him also; you will at all times keep hanging on the enemy's flanks, and oppose them at every advantageous pass." On February 23, the Continental force at Bacon's Bridge consisted of 227 infantry under Marion and 379 cavalry, for a total of 606 soldiers (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:45-46, 50).

76. [See brief bio of Thomas Dunbar here.](#)

77. Here Marion sought to ensure a drummer had his drum. Perhaps this focus on seeming minutiae is indicative of his new role after being superseded by Moultrie at Bacon's Bridge. Or it might just be more evidence of Marion's unflinching attention to detail, no matter how mundane.

78. The absence of Theus from camp may have been a result of Marion giving him leave, since Gen. Lincoln had clearly ordered that no surgeon be granted leave unless a surgeon's mate or assistant remained with the regiment. Dr. Theus was either Jeremiah Theus, or Perrin Theus. Jeremiah Theus became a surgeon in the 2nd Regiment in August 1777 and was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown. Perrin Theus served as a surgeon in the hospital department during 1777-80 and was at some time in Marion's brigade (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 923-24; "Marion to Harleston, Feb. 27, 1780," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1895, 327).

79. [See brief bio of Robert Gamble here.](#)

***Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Isaac Harleston (2nd Regiment, Chs Town)
February 29, 1780***

Bacon Bridge, 29th Feb^y. 1780

D^r Sir

Yourse of the 26 & 28th Inst. I have rec^d.⁸⁰ L^t. Logan has joined me & I am Indeavouring to fit up a Drum here⁸¹-- Gambell is returned⁸² – you will Please Indeavour to get two dozen Shirts & p^f. of Shoes for the men which did belong to the fifth now with me & I will send for them; they are in a state of Nakedness—you will please Apply to his Excellency the Govenor for Commissions or Brevets; for the Gentlemen as mentioned undneath, & Consider Lt. Hart as Adjutant to the regiment & Git a warrant for that purpose from General Lincoln—I shall be glad to know what Officers Subs & Men which did belong to the 5th & 6th Reg^{ts}.—the men You will put in Such Companys as are Weakest so as to make Each Equall in Number, those now in the Light Infantry Corp^s [or Comp^y?] will remain in it,⁸³ You will Assign two of the Vacant Comp^{ys}. To Capt^{ns}. Shubrick and Warley⁸⁴ & hope the Latter has Join'd you, the other I do not expect will ever do any duty in the regim^t. – I am told L^t. Buchanan & another wait for Orders to Join, as You want Subs. that point may [easy?] be gott over by Applicaton to the General, L^t. Evans formerly of the fifth I will Order to Join Either You or my Detachment.

We are still throughing up works here in Expectations of the Country Malitia Joining & forming a Camp[.] not one has yett come in⁸⁵ – (But tell it not in Gath[?]) – our horse are Quarter^d near Stono & Wappoo, Near the Latter they Burnt a Sloop with two Swivels the day before Yesterday, & Yesterday the Enemy fired on some of our horse but without any damages, the Caveldry keep the Enemy in So Close they don't show their Nose⁸⁶— Yesterday three Sailors came from the Vigilant which is at Buefort & Say she is to go to Stono by Sea the first Calm day⁸⁷—Gen^l. Moultrie is sick & is at D^r. Olyphants,⁸⁸ but is better.

L^t. Geo^f. Ogier p^r. 1st L^t. date 4th Aug 1779,

I am with regard D^r S^r

James Logan p^r. 1st L^t. 9th Octob^r. d^o.

Your Ob^t Serv^t.

Mr. John Hart [pr.] 1st Lt. 28th Feby. 1780

Fran^s Marion

NB I hope D^r. Theus is on his way – you have Surgeons although in town & cannot want him---

ALS (NN) Emmet Collection, EM. 8642, 396.

80. By Lincoln's letter of January 21, Lt. Col. Marion was notified that Maj. Harleston had been named his second-in-command. Presumably, Harleston remained in Charlestown under Marion's orders, in order to be his voice to Gen. Lincoln during the reorganization of the 2nd Regiment and the provisioning of the post at Bacon's Bridge. The letters of Feb. 26 and 28 from Harleston to Marion have not been found.
81. Marion had requested a drum be sent from Charlestown for Bob Legare. Apparently, none was available.
82. There is no mention in subsequent correspondence on the discipline meted out to Gamble, whom Marion reported as AWOL in his letter of February 27. Gamble was part of the newly formed light troops, organized from 200 of the best soldiers in the three SC regiments and commanded by Lt. Col. William Henderson (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 342). Gamble's presence at Bacon's Bridge implies that the balance of the newly formed light regiment was also at that critical location. Henderson had apparently not yet arrived.
83. Marion continued to improve the staffing for the 2nd SC Regiment. Although Lincoln informed Marion, as well as Col. Pinckney of the 1st Regiment and Col. Thomson of the 3rd, of the changes in command, it appears the incorporation of former 5th and 6th Regiment troops into the remaining regiments did not actually occur until this date. It appears that Marion eliminated some companies due to attrition in the ranks caused by the formation of the light regiment, and that he held open the billets of the 2nd Regiment soldiers, who were temporarily detached to the light regiment.
84. George Warley was a captain in the 6th SC Regiment in 1777. He transferred to the 2nd SC Regiment when the SC Continental regiments were consolidated as a result of the losses at the siege of Savannah in October 1779. He was captured at the fall of Charlestown in May 1780 and exchanged in October 1780. He became a brevet major in September 1783 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 694n1271).
85. In a February 19 letter, Lincoln ordered Gen. Moultrie to Bacon's Bridge to "form a camp of the militia of that part of the neighborhood and of those who are ordered to this town [Charlestown]." Lincoln advised Moultrie, if necessary, to call on Marion for the "defence of your post." Marion's assertion that the militia had not yet assembled at Bacon's Bridge echoed the situation in Charlestown. Rumors of smallpox in Charlestown had filtered into the countryside, discouraging the SC militia from turning out, although the NC militia did show up. The reluctance of the SC militia prompted Lincoln to publicize the fact that, after careful search, no smallpox was evident in the town. Gov. Rutledge threatened to confiscate the property of militiamen not reporting (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 58).
86. The British invasion force gained control of Johns Island after the Americans abandoned Stono Ferry on February 16, then took possession of the abandoned ferry, thereby gaining access to the mainland (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 52). By crossing the Stono River, the British were able to defend troop movements to James Island, effectively controlling both sides of the Wappoo Cut, the link between the Stono and Ashley Rivers. The Americans' options were then limited to hit-and-run tactics, which proved especially effective since the British cavalry was unavailable following the loss of most of their horses during the voyage from New York.
87. The British controlled the intracoastal waterway between the North Edisto River and the Wappoo Cut. By Feb. 19, the Royal Navy had shortened the army's supply line by entering the Stono inlet and sailing up the Stono River (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 53). The *Vigilant* was presumably the former 20- or 24-gun sloop that had subsequently been converted into a troop transport at Beaufort when its condition deteriorated. The dismantled ship, while not readily seaworthy on its own, could have been towed from Beaufort to Stono in a day and carried at least 200 soldiers.
88. [See bio of Dr. David Olyphant here.](#)

Feb. 29 – The League of Armed Neutrality is declared and subscribed by Russia, Sweden and Denmark, asserting the rights of subscriber neutral nations to trade with all belligerents in defiance of the British prohibition on trade with the United States, and to mutually defend these rights with force if necessary. The Netherlands, Holy Roman Empire, Prussia, Portugal, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies will eventually subscribe as well.

*Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Isaac Harleston (2nd Regiment, Chs Town)
March 4, 1780*

Bacon Bridge, 4th March 1780.

Dr. Sir

Yours of yesterday I rec'd. If Mr. Stephen Mazyck⁸⁹ means to continue in the service after the present storm is over & the Gentm. with you approves of him you may give him a Commission.

As Lt. Langford⁹⁰ did apply formerly in the 2d. Regt., and the Gentlm. Disapproved of him & is not agreeable now to them, coud wish (if it can be avoided) he woud be put in some other regt. If you see Lt. Dunbar please tell him that our Subalterns would be glad he was up to ease them of some duty.

My last months return is in my camp case in town, if you apply to Lt. Foissine for the key you will find it in the middle of the case.⁹¹

I have rec'd a letter from Mr. Alexd. Petrie to come in the Regt. The last Commission I gave him he promised to continue in the service two years & did not stay one, what reasons a Gentm. Coud have for the Breach of promis I am ignorant of: for a Gentm. to serve his own purposes, Only I have no idea of.⁹² Lt. Dunbar & Hart coming in will not prevent the rest of the Subs you mention from being in as we have not with the two but six first Lieutnts. (I hope you will get Buckhannan in particular). Frierson I am told—or means to resign—(sic) above all I wond wish not to have Langford, but if tis not to be avoided we must submit.

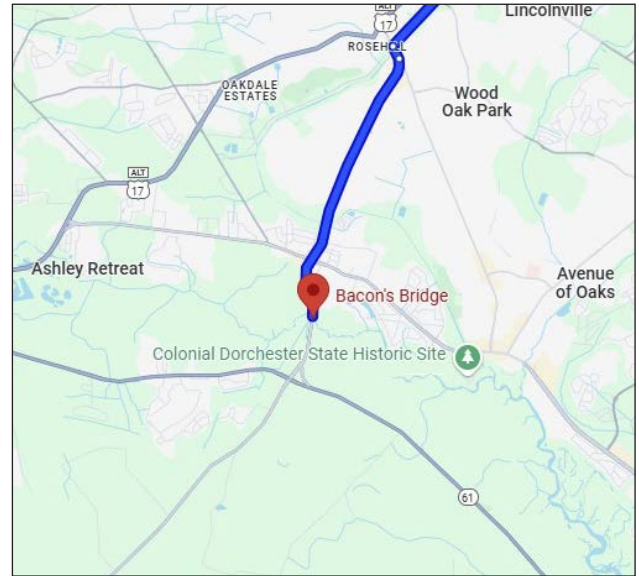
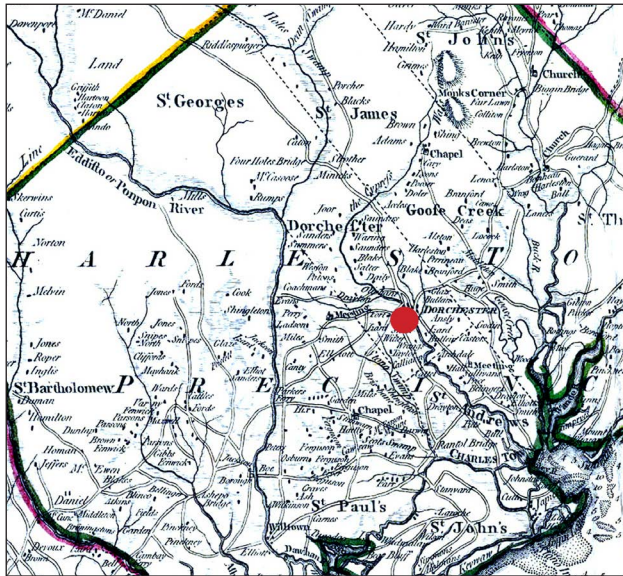
We have nothing new since yesterday, shall be glad to hear all that passes in your quarter—tell Capt. Baker I have not paper to wright him just now or indeed time.⁹³ Genl. Moultrie is something better this morning.

I am with regard, Dr. Sir,
with esteem yr. obt. Servt.
Franc Marion.

(Postscript illegible.)

Charleston Yearbook (1895):328.

89. Stephen Mazyck was commissioned an ensign in the 2nd SC Regiment in March 1780. Mazyck must have been very rapidly promoted, as he was a lieutenant when taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown. After being exchanged in Jun. 1781, he served to the end of the war (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 670; "Marion to Harleston, Mar. 4, 1780," "Smyth's Annual Review," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1895, 328).
90. Daniel Langford became a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in January 1777 and by October was a 1st lieutenant in the 3rd Regiment under Capt. Joseph Warley. In 1779, he served as a 1st lieutenant in the 6th Regiment under Capt. George Warley. When the SC Continental Regiments were consolidated in January 1780, Langford applied to Marion to be readmitted to the 2nd Regiment, but the officers of the regiment objected. It is not known to which regiment Langford was added. He was taken prisoner at Charlestown when the town surrendered in May 1780 and later exchanged. He rejoined the army and was involved in recruiting Continentals in August 1782. In September 1783, he became a brevet captain (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 552; Warley to Marion, Aug. 11, 1782, Tr [Force transcripts: DLC]).
91. Since he left his case in Charlestown, it may be concluded that Marion either spent some time there between his last letter from Sheldon, dated February 6, above, and his first from Bacon's Bridge, dated February 27, above, or it was included in the baggage taken with the rest of the 2nd Regiment. In his letter of January 31 above, Lincoln ordered Marion to come to Charlestown as soon as Lt. Col. Henderson arrived to relieve him. Marion presumably set off for Charlestown shortly after the arrival of Lt. Col. Daniel Horry at Sheldon (see Marion to Lincoln, February 6, above).
92. Marion was disgusted with Alexander Petrie, to whom he had given a commission, only to have him resign as a captain on October 8, 1778.
93. This was probably Capt. Richard Bohun Baker. The reason Baker wished to hear from Marion is not known. It may have had something to do with Baker's resignation from the 2nd SC Regiment in January 1780. Although no longer serving in the Continental Army, Baker was nevertheless taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown. After his exchange in Jul. 1781, Baker joined Marion's Brigade.



During the American Revolution, Patriot and British/Loyalist commanders in the lowcountry considered Bacon's Bridge [across the Ashley River] a strategic location. ... In Feb. 1780 Gen. William Moultrie built an earthwork nearby to defend the bridge and the approaches to Charleston. Gen. Nathanael Greene's Southern Army, including Gen. Francis Marion's militia, camped at Bacon's Bridge March-July 1782 (excerpted from the Historical Marker).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - March 5, 1780

Bacon Bridge March 5, 1780 8:06 A. M.

Sir,

General Moultrie being Sick & not at Present able to Attend to Business,⁹⁴ I take the Liberty of Acquainting You of our wants at this post—we have not but twenty five rounds of cartridges per man for the Light Corps,⁹⁵ nor no Ammunition for the Malitia now come in & for those which is expected—rum is much wanted, our people has had not any for some time past.

I send by Capt. Withers,⁹⁶ Mrs Yarborough and ten of her Negroes agreeable to his Excellency the Govenors Orders⁹⁷---

I am with respect Your Ob^t. Serv^t
Fran^s Marion

NB Only 22 malitia has yett Joined us⁹⁸

ADS (MHi).

94. Lt. Col. Marion first reported that Gen. Moultrie was ill in his letter to Maj. Harleston on February 29, above.

95. The Light Corps consisted of the 200 men from the remnants of the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th SC Regiments. The failed siege of Savannah had severely impacted troop levels in the SC Continental regiments. Lincoln directed Marion to organize the corps as a final duty at Sheldon (see Lincoln to Marion, January 31, above). Lt. Col. Henderson was to take command. However, his continued absence resulted in Lt. Col. Daniel Horry taking charge. On February 15, Horry received orders to withdraw from Sheldon, rounding up all livestock encountered on the return to Charlestown. Horry was then stationed at Bacon's Bridge. He apparently relinquished command of the Light Cavalry Corps to Marion, who was in charge of the newly formed Continental light infantry formed from the various regiments. Gen. Moultrie was commander of the militia and overall commander of the post (see footnote 85 above).

96. William Withers served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment and later as a private, lieutenant, and captain in the militia. Capt. Withers was with Marion's Brigade in February and March 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1007; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 656, 719).

97. The identity of Mrs. Yarborough and the substance of Gov. Rutledge's orders are not known.

98. At the beginning of 1780, Gov. Rutledge called out the SC militia in response to Gen. Lincoln's request for 2000 soldiers (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 57). In his letter to Harleston of February 29 above, Marion reported that no militia had joined the Continentals at Bacon's Bridge, now five days later, apparently 22 had come in.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln – March 7, 1780

Bacon Bridge, Mar. 7, 1780

At 8 o'clock last night, the enemy crossed Wappo Bridge with 1,000 Grenadier and Light Infantry⁹⁹ with an intention to surprise Maj. Verney's post (as it is supposed by one of Col. Henry's [Horry's] horse deserting to them)¹⁰⁰ and like to have done it by the carelessness of one of the picquets, but luckily one of the British missing his way & being taken, the Major retreated without loss. The last accounts was they was within three miles of Ashby [Ashley] Ferry. Should they come this way I am afraid we shall give a poor account of them for want of ammunition. Gen. Moultrie is something better this morning.¹⁰¹

Copy of Fragment Tr (*Autograph Letters Manuscripts & Historical Documents*, Richard F. Madden, New York, 1927, lot 304).

99. Capt. Johann von Ewald of the Hessian Jägers recorded in his journal on March 3—not 6—that the Light Infantry of the 1st Battalion of the 71st Regiment, serving as the advance force, crossed the Wappoo Cut to the mainland. Marion mentioned a force of “1,000 Grenadier and Light Infantry,” while von Ewald indicated that only the Light Infantry participated, numbering approximately 640, though it is unclear whether this refers to all of the 1st Battalion of the 71st operating *as* light infantry, or to the light companies of multiple regiments operating together with the 71st in the lead, as 640 men would represent roughly 10 times the number of a light infantry company from a single regiment/battalion. After repairing Wappoo Bridge, which had been destroyed in the Americans' retreat from James Island, British Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton sent across a considerable force to overawe the Americans. No explanation for the discrepancy between Marion's and Ewald's dates has been found. Borick notes only that the bridge was repaired on the 4th, and the balance of the British forces crossed on the 10th (Johann von Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, ed. and trans. by Joseph P. Tustin (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979), 203; Borick, *A Gallant Defense*, 64).

100. Probably Maj. Vernier, who took command of the remnants of Pulaski's Legion after that general's fall at Savannah. The British lack of cavalry enabled Horry and other dragoon units, such as those commanded by Vernier, Maj. John Jameson, and Maj. Hezekiah Maham, to keep tabs on enemy movements and hinder intelligence-gathering by the British.

101. Gen. William Moultrie had been bedridden since February 23. On March 1, he wrote through his aide-de-camp Philip Neyle, “Having been confined to my bed since last Tuesday, I shall be obliged to leave the command to Col. D. Horry” (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:56). In a letter of February 27, above, Marion wrote to his aide, Maj. Isaac Harleston in Charlestown, imploring him to send a doctor to attend Moultrie. The nature of Moultrie's infirmity is not known. Lincoln relieved Moultrie of command at Bacon's Bridge to enable him to recuperate in Charlestown, with Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger assuming overall command. Moultrie left Bacon's Bridge on March 9 (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:57).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln - March 8, 1780

Bacon Bridge, 8th March 1780

Sir

By Major Vernier I send Eight prisoners taken Yesterday, the Enemy Retreated over Wappo Bridge,¹⁰² our Loss is one horse killed, happily none of our men got wounded, the Enemy took prisoners, Mess^{rs}. Thomas Farr & John Loydd at the house of the former,¹⁰³ we also heard they took five men belonging to the Guard at Ashly ferry, who crossed the river, Suppose to reconniter --

I have Rec^d. The Ammunition & coud wish there was some Loose powder for the Malitia as the Cartridges will not fit the Calibre of their Guns¹⁰⁴ – we are in Great want of flints –

General Moultrie has had two Blisters on him But is much Better¹⁰⁵ —

I am respectfully

Y^r Ob^t Serv^t,

Fran^s Marion

ALS (ScC), Charleston Library Society.

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102. In his letter of March 7 to Lincoln above, Marion reported the movement of the British troops across the Wappoo Bridge. Hessian Capt. Ewald reported the initial crossing of the Wappoo Bridge on March 3, but made no mention of a retreat by the British forces after crossing Wappoo Bridge (Ewald, *Diary*, 203-04).
103. Thomas Farr and John Lloyd were ardent Patriots, who, after accepting parole in Charlestown, continued to further the American cause. Farr (d. 1788) was a Charlestown merchant, and owner of Hickory Hill Plantation near Ashley Ferry. Farr was a member of the 2nd and 3rd General Assemblies and commissary general for the provisional government. He was captured by the British in 1780 at his plantation. Both Farr's and Lloyd's names appear on a list of 33 men who "had received pardon and protection from the British commanders, had held treacherous correspondence with the armed enemies of England, or had been indefatigably engaged in secretly advancing the interest of Congress throughout South Carolina." Neither Farr nor Lloyd was among the 29 men on the list who were detained at the Old Exchange Building on August 27, 1780, before being transferred to St. Augustine, where they remained on parole until exchange in July 1781 ("Josiah Smith's Diary" *SCHGM* (1932):2-4; Tarleton, *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, 156, 185-86; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:238-39; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 304; *PNG*, 10:178n).
104. American rifles, which many militiamen carried, fired smaller balls (.45-.50 caliber) than the British Brown Bess musket (which had a .75 caliber barrel, and fired a ball that was usually .69 caliber in size). Even in cases where the militiamen carried smoothbore muskets, they were often of inconsistent make and model, rendering it impossible to fully standardize cartridges (Selesky, 1:114).
105. The mention of blisters suggests that Moultrie may have contracted smallpox, though blistering was also a common (and ineffective) treatment for all sorts of ailments in the 18th century.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Isaac Harleston (Chs Town) - March 8, 1780

Bacon Bridge, 8 March 1780.

Dr. Sir,

Some men belonging to the Light Corps here I sent some time ago to town sick: you will please send them (when well) to join me.

Yesterday the enemy crossed Wappoo with 1,000 Grenadiers and Light Infantry and was within six miles of this post.¹⁰⁶ Their intention was to surprise our horse posted between Ashley Ferry and Rantols, but they mis'd their aim; in their retreat they lost eight men taken by our horse. They took Messrs. Thomas Farr and John Lloyd at breakfast in the house of the former, also five men belonging to the Guard on Ashley Ferry, who crossed I suppose to have a peep at the enemy—our loss otherways is one horse killed.

Gen. Moultrie has had two blisters; it was feared he had something of the Nervous Fever; he is a little better.¹⁰⁷

I cannot conceive what has kept Lt. Dunbar. I hope he do not think I gave him a commission to schreen him of all duty—you will please order him to join...¹⁰⁸

[*What follows is so much defaced that it cannot be deciphered.*]

I am,

Dr. Sir, yr. obt. Servt.,

Fran^s Marion

Charleston Yearbook (1895):329.

106. Marion's dates do not match those of Hessian Capt. Johann von Ewald, who wrote: "On the 7th [March] at three o'clock in the morning Colonel Webster marched with the jäger detachment, the 33^d Regiment, and 71st Scottish Regiment to Mathew's Ferry, where they would be able to cross over to James Island at a moment's notice." Three days later, on March 10, Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis led the jägers, the 33^d Regiment, the light infantry, the British grenadiers, the two Hessian grenadier battalions, and Clarke's Brigade across the Wappoo Cut. At this point, all the sea islands south of the city were effectively under British control. Two days later the fortification at Fenwick's Point was complete, putting Charlestown within easy artillery range and giving the British access to the Ashley River (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 64; Ewald, *Diary*, 204-05).

107. Nervous fever was a catch-all term for a number of poorly understood medical conditions. It is not certain what exactly Moultrie's condition was.

108. In his letter of February 27, above, Marion informed his aide, Maj. Isaac Harleston, that Dunbar, who had resigned his captain's commission in December 1779, was rejoining the 2nd SC Regiment as a lieutenant. Dunbar's tardiness in reporting may have been a signal that he was having second thoughts.

***Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Isaac Harleston (2nd Regiment, Chstown)
March 11, 1780***

Bacon Bridge, 11 March 1780.¹⁰⁹

Dr. Sir,

Yours of the 8 and 9 instant, came to hand, the mistake of leaving out Capt. Baker in the last monthly return is owing to information, that he had resigned. I send you the names of those men which did belong to the 5th,¹¹⁰ and are now with me, except Corporal Mabary who has not returned from town; those men sick in town sent from the Light Corps is not included in the returns of the two companys. A roll of them is not necessary to be sent, I expect we shall be with you in a day or two, the enemy is along Ashley River, came there yesterday in force, and suppose they mean to penetrate further, the last we heard of them they were at St. Andrew's Church, Generals Clinton and Cornwallis is with them.¹¹¹

I had wrought to Lt. Evans to join me, because I was told he was in the country at his father's. I do not now want him—Mr. Petrie's excuse for breaking his promises, is poor, and I assure you I would not take him if he would promise to stay seven years as his promis is not be relied on.¹¹²

I am, Dr. Sir,
yr. obt. Servt.,
Frans Marion

Charleston Yearbook (1895):329-30.

Mar. 16 – Don Bernardo de Galvez captures Mobile, after a two-day siege.

Apr. 3 – Johann De Kalb's Division of Maryland and Delaware Continentals is ordered south from Washington's army.

May 6 – Following up on his victory at Moncks Corner on Apr. 14, Banastre Tarleton surprises and scatters Continental dragoons under William Washington and Anthony Walton White at Lenud's Ferry, killing, wounding, or capturing nearly a hundred and adding significantly to his own rising star.

109. This is the last letter to or from Marion or, for that matter, that mentions him, until after the fall of Charlestown and his reappearance late in the summer.

110. The letters from Harleston have not been found. The names of men belonging to the 5th SC Regiment who had joined the 2nd SC Regiment in the consolidation of the regiments have also not been found.

111. The old St. Andrew's Parish Church lies off present SC-61 on the west bank of the Ashley River, just northwest of where I-526 crosses the river. In a very matter-of-fact way, Lt. Col. Marion had concluded that the post at Bacon's Bridge was not strong enough to stop the British advance. The troops of the combined force pulled back to Charlestown. At that time the entire 2nd SC Regiment was reunited for the first time since they had been split at Sheldon. The exact date of Marion's retreat to Charlestown is not known. However, on March 19, while at a party where the participants were allegedly locked in and plied with alcohol, tradition has it that Marion decided to leave the affair by jumping from an upstairs window or balcony. Moultrie claimed that Marion "by some accident sprained his ancle [sic], which rendered him unfit for service" (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:222). Whether sprained, dislocated, or broken, it was one of the more fortunate misfortunes in history. Gov. Rutledge left Charlestown on April 12, along with certain officials, injured soldiers, and all other non-essential military personnel (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:105). It is uncertain whether Marion left with this caravan or with the supernumerary officers, who Moultrie reported 'quitted the garrison' on April 28 (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:81).

112. Marion had little time for Petrie in his letter of March 4, above. Apparently, Petrie's explanation for resigning his commission after signing on for two years fell on deaf ears. Marion's disdain for Petrie can be further inferred by his referring to the latter as "Mr. Petrie," rather than by his military rank.

Siege of Charlestown
February 11-May 12, 1780

The successful British defense of Savannah in Oct. 1779 against the American and French allies created the opportunity to execute their Southern Strategy. Sir Henry Clinton had already begun planning an offensive for early 1780. Prevost's victory made the intended operations even more advantageous, given the Americans' depleted condition in terms of both soldiers and morale. Additionally, Clinton undoubtedly felt that the French would not soon return to the southern waters. The British commander decided the time was ripe to capture Charlestown. With that in mind, the British fleet of 90 transports and 10 warships, carrying about 9,000 men under Clinton, sailed out of New York harbor on Dec. 26, 1779. The trip to Savannah should have taken only 10 days, but horrendous weather stretched the voyage to five weeks. Even before setting sail, seven transports were destroyed by the force of crushing ice in New York harbor. For those vessels that did make it out of the harbor, the normal ten-day sail took more than a month for most ships. Two were lost, including one carrying much of the ordnance. The loss of artillery and horses would have a serious impact on the ability of the British to carry out the siege of Charlestown. One ship was blown so far off course that it finally sailed to England, while another was pushed to the Bahamas.¹¹³

By February 1, there were still 12 ships missing from the convoy as the survivors rendezvoused off Tybee Island near Savannah. After regrouping, Clinton moved the fleet closer to Charlestown, dropping anchor in the North Edisto River off Simmons (now Seabrook) Island, and by February 11, the British army began to disembark and march northeast toward Charlestown.¹¹⁴

The Americans were not caught off guard by Britain redirecting its efforts toward the South. In November 1779, Congress had ordered Washington to send the North Carolina Continentals to Gen. Lincoln's aid. Lincoln in turn had sent Lt. Col. John Laurens, son of Congressional President Henry Laurens to brief Washington on the situation in the Southern Department. After conferring with his former aide-de-camp, Washington recommended to Congress that the entire Virginia Line be sent. The result was the beginning of the movement of nearly 3,500 troops. The train of Continentals began the march at the end of November 1779, but the last of the first wave of troops ordered south did not arrive in Charlestown until the first week of April 1780, long after the British had become securely entrenched.¹¹⁵

Long before Clinton and Arbuthnot's sails were sighted in southern waters, there had already been reports that the British fleet had left New York and was sailing south. Lt. Col. Henry Lee, who would later play a major role in carrying out operations with Gen. Marion, but who was at this time still with the main army, provided an early report of the embarkation of the British fleet from New York:

I have just returned from a position where I had a fine view, and distinctly counted 110 sail of Shipping standing out to Sea, one hundred and odd of which were large Ships. The first view I had was about One O'clock, when I could only discover six Vessels, which were a great way out and soon disappeared (they probably might be the rear of a large number). At half after one the Van of the other ships began to come in view, from their Anchoring ground in Sandy Hook Bay, and by 3 o'clock P. M. one hundred and four sail were out at Sea, which with the other six make the number 110. Two of the latter appeared to be Brigs, and got under way from New York about one o'clock P. M.¹¹⁶

By a person who left New York the day before yesterday, I am informed that from ten to thirteen thousand Troops have embarked, among which are Lord Cathcart's Legion and the greater part of the

113. Borick, *A Gallant Defense*, 23-27.

114. Borick, *A Gallant Defense*, 23-27.

115. Borick, *A Gallant Defense*, 32-37

116. Sandy Hook, N.J. is at the southeastern corner of Lower New York Bay, and at the northeasternmost point of the Jersey Shore. The Lower Bay is bounded by New Jersey to the south and west, Staten Island to the northwest, and Brooklyn / Long Island to the north. To the east is the open ocean. The fleet would have left Upper New York Bay via the Verrazzano Narrows between Staten Island and Brooklyn in something approaching single file, and probably reassembled in the Lower Bay before setting to sea. This second anchorage, unlike the Upper Bay, would have been within full view of American pickets in central New Jersey, which is presumably where Lee was able to observe from.

Horse, and that Sir Henry Clinton is certainly to take the command, whose place is to be supplied by Major General Pattison, the present Commandant of New York.

Three objects are mentioned, Viz., Chesapeake Bay, Norfolk, and Charlestown, So. Carolina.

I again trouble you for the information of Congress. The second fleet left the hook on the 26th—100 sail, five ships of the line, two frigates, Admiral Arbuthnot. It is reported that Sir Henry is with the troops. They consist of Horse and Foot.”¹¹⁷

After the debacle at Savannah, Lincoln had pleaded with Congress for reinforcements, reasoning that their victory would encourage the British to maintain their efforts in the South. The Continental Congress then authorized three frigates to sail for Charlestown. By mid-January, Lincoln had learned of the large British fleet sailing toward Georgia. He had to presume its ultimate operational target was Charlestown.¹¹⁸

By February 10, the 1,248-strong North Carolina militia arrived in Charlestown. The South Carolina militia, however, did not respond in significant numbers, most fearing smallpox. The Americans concentrated their efforts on fortifying Charlestown Neck between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Due to the relatively small size of the defending army, Lincoln and his officers decided not to confront the British as they marched northward. The enemy marched without incident across Johns Island, and by February 24, they were on James Island. On March 12, the first British battery within range of Charlestown was operable.¹¹⁹

On the water, Lincoln initially planned to make his stand at the bar, which naturally protected the entrance to Charlestown Harbor. However, Commodore Abraham Whipple disagreed. After repeated requests that the latter move some of his ships nearer the bar, Lincoln finally requested an impartial analysis of the ability of the ships to defend the channel. Lincoln himself participated in sounding the channel and came away with similar conclusions to Whipple and his captains, that there was not enough depth of water for Whipple’s ships to defend the passage.¹²⁰

If his ships were unable to confront the British navy at the bar, then Whipple proposed defending the harbor in cooperation with Fort Moultrie. The plan in part included building a boom of sunken ships across the channel between the Middle Ground and the fort. But by March 20, the enemy’s navy had the needed weather, wind, and tide to enter Ship Channel, cross the bar, and sail into Five Fathom Hole. They were now in position to enter Charlestown Harbor. The passage permanently prevented provisions or reinforcements from reaching the town by water. The only obstacle to complete British control of the harbor was now the 40 cannon of Fort Moultrie, manned by the depleted 1st SC Regiment and a battalion of militia.¹²¹

Clinton’s land forces were also making headway. In the final weeks of March, the British began crossing the Ashley River to Charlestown Neck, then moved within two miles of the American lines. On April 1, construction on the siege works began with no opposition. Two days later the Americans initiated a bombardment, and two days after that the British followed suit. The only good news for the Americans was the arrival of 700 Virginia Continentals on April 7. The optimism quickly dissipated when, on the following day, in the space of 90 minutes, 11 of 12 British ships crossed from Five Fathom Hole and passed by Fort Moultrie. They faced heavy fire from the fort, but it was not enough to stop their entering the harbor. One transport ran aground and was burned by the British the next morning. The Patriots’ guns then fell silent, the ships were now out of range, and Charlestown Harbor was in the hands of the British.¹²²

With the Americans cut off from escape on Charlestown Neck, and the harbor controlled by Adm. Arbuthnot¹²³ and the Royal Navy, Clinton focused his attention on cutting off any succor from the North by way of reinforcements crossing the Cooper River. On April 10, Clinton delivered a surrender offer to the Americans, urging them to save “their Lives and Property.” Lincoln refused to surrender, and the British bombardment resumed.¹²⁴

117. Lee to Congress, Dec. 26, 1779, *NCSR*, 14:239-40

118. McCrady, *History, 1775-1780*, 427; Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 34.

119. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 40, 65.

120. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 74.

121. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 78-85.

122. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 133-35.

123. [See brief bio of Marriot Arbuthnot here.](#)

124. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 136-37.

By April 13, the bombardment was taking a toll on the defense of the town. During a council of war that morning Lincoln outlined the hopeless situation to his officers, indicating to them that the fortifications might last only a few days longer. Further discussion was cut short when the bombardment resumed. It lasted until midnight. Lincoln was reluctant to abandon Charlestown without a fight. However, he recognized the importance of maintaining the civilian government should the city fall. He persuaded Gov. Rutledge and part of his Privy Council to leave the city in order to preserve "Executive Authority." Lincoln's futile hope was also that Rutledge could rally assistance from the South Carolina militia, who had stayed away from the siege. Rutledge crossed the Cooper River to safety on April 13, along with Privy Council members Daniel Huger,¹²⁵ John Gervais, and Charles Pinckney, and rode on to Georgetown before turning toward Camden.¹²⁶

In addition to some of the Privy Council members, Lincoln directed, "That all supernumerary officers ... and all officers unfit for duty, must quit the garrison and retire to the country."¹²⁷ Tradition has it that Marion attended a party held by Capt. Alexander McQueen on Tradd Street on March 19. When the doors were locked during a round of toasts, as was the custom, Marion decided to forego the merriment and is supposed to have jumped from a second story window or balcony. He landed awkwardly, injuring his ankle or foot. Fortunately for Marion, and for the Revolution, his injury precluded him from exercising his command responsibilities. When the supernumeraries and invalids departed, so did Marion. Moultrie stated that Marion, "was so lame that he was obliged to skulk about from house to house among his friends, and sometimes hid in the bushes until he grew better; he then crept out by degrees, and began to collect a few friends; and when he got ten or twelve together he ventured out..."¹²⁸ Thus the injured ankle kept Marion from possibly being killed or captured at Charlestown, and became the catalyst that placed him into a role that proved significantly detrimental to the British Southern Strategy.

The Americans' only hope for the city lay in the arrival of substantial reinforcements from the north or from in-state militia on the main road from the Santee River through Christ Church Parish. Between this country and the British was the Wando River, St. Thomas Parish, and the Cooper River. The Americans' superiority in cavalry gave them the upper hand in slowing the British advance. Their opponents had still not obtained enough quality horses to replace those lost in the voyage from New York. The American cavalry commanded by Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger was stationed at Biggin Bridge, just east of Moncks Corner. Clinton sent Lt. Col. James Webster, with 1,500 infantry, to Strawberry Ferry on the west branch of the Cooper River, while Lt. Col. Tarleton's¹²⁹ British Legion, reinforced by Maj. Patrick Ferguson's troops, marched to Biggin Bridge to confront the Patriots.¹³⁰

Early on the morning of April 14, Tarleton, who had gained intelligence of Huger's force and its disposition, surprised a single patrol on the road to Goose Creek. He then charged the drowsy Americans, routing the cavalry on the west side of the bridge. Many of the dragoons never mounted their horses, as Tarleton's riders ripped through the surprised Americans. Nearly 25 percent of the 400 Americans were killed, wounded, or captured. At least equally important, the British rounded up 98 horses that served to replace their losses at sea, thereby making their cavalry nearly equal to that of the Continentals in terms of the quality of their mounts. As a result of the loss at Moncks Corner, the American cavalry was severely depleted. Cavalry commanders Lt. Col. William Washington¹³¹ and Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger were able to escape into the nearby swamps. After routing the cavalry, Tarleton's Legion made short work of the militia at Biggin Church.¹³² On May 6, Tarleton caught and destroyed the remainder of the American cavalry under Washington and Anthony Walton White¹³³ at Lenu's Ferry on the Santee.¹³⁴

With no American cavalry to block their path, the British crossed the Cooper River and began their sweep east toward the Atlantic Ocean, effecting a complete envelopment of Charlestown. Despite Adm. Arbuthnot's continued

125. [See brief bio of Daniel Huger here.](#)

126. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 140-41.

127. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:222.

128. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:222.

129. [See brief bio of Banastre Tarleton here.](#)

130. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 16.

131. [See brief bio of William Washington here.](#)

132. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 147-51.

133. [See brief bio of Anthony Walton White here.](#)

134. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 193-94.

reluctance to actively use his naval forces to support Clinton's objectives by cutting off escape routes into Mount Pleasant after they entered Charlestown harbor, the navy became a passive contributor to the town's demise. Control of the harbor allowed Clinton to receive over 2,500 reinforcements from New York, which enabled him to expand the advance. The British then turned to cutting off avenues of approach to deny Lincoln any support. Once Cainho was taken on April 23, no obstacles remained and the city was fully encircled. At this time Clinton delegated responsibility for operations east of the Cooper River to Lt. Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis, his second-in-command.¹³⁵

On Charlestown Neck the business of excavating siege trenches continued. Contrary to standard practice, the British dug their approach to the second parallel in a straight line from the first parallel, instead of using the zig zag method. The lack of respect demonstrated by the British engineer Maj. James Moncrief¹³⁶ put the sappers at risk, since the straight-line approach gave the Americans a clear line of fire into the trench.¹³⁷

Although the Americans did not immediately fire on the sappers, they did respond aggressively soon after. Riflemen were positioned in an advance redoubt, where they served as snipers to pick off any soldier who exposed himself. In addition, a mortar bombardment was initiated that, coupled with the murderous rifle fire, finally forced the British to halt on the left and begin digging an approach to the second parallel on the right. In one night, the approach was completed and on the next night the second parallel on the British right was connected to the parallel on the left.

The constant rifle fire and artillery bombardment disrupted, but only delayed, the completion of the trenches. On April 19, the approach to the third parallel was begun on the British right. By the following day, the third parallel itself was being dug.¹³⁸

The situation in town was becoming more dire. The Americans had received few reinforcements by mid-April. Lincoln's army consisted of about 4,500 men present and fit for duty. On the other hand, British reinforcements swelled Clinton's ranks to nearly 15,000 men. To make matters worse, the Patriots had only an estimated 8-10-day food supply. Lincoln was faced with the difficult task of either saving the city or saving his army. Without substantial reinforcements and supplies, it was hard to envisage doing both.¹³⁹

On April 20, Lincoln called another council of war. A heated debate ensued concerning whether to attempt to evacuate the army across the Cooper River, since boats were available, or to surrender. Lt. Gov. Gadsden attended the meeting, after which he discussed it with the remaining members of the Privy Council. In the evening, the entire Privy Council and Gadsden attended a second council of war. In a heated exchange they denounced the army for considering evacuation of the Continentals, while leaving the militia and civilians in the city. Gadsden swore that the militia would not give up. Thomas Ferguson,¹⁴⁰ a member of the Privy Council, was adamant in pledging to open the gates of the city for the British if the Continental Army tried to evacuate. Lincoln conceded in the face of opposition to his essential military decision to save his army. By not exercising his military authority in that situation, Lincoln and his officers implicitly agreed to the capitulation.¹⁴¹

The next day Gen. Lincoln drew up the proposed articles of surrender.¹⁴² Both Clinton and Arbuthnot (representing the navy) demanded complete and immediate surrender. The main points of contention were Lincoln's desire for the evacuation of all soldiers with arms and supplies, and protection to all citizens.¹⁴³ Clinton maintained his demand for complete surrender as he had communicated on April 10. When the British firing commenced again that night, the Americans countered with "equal ardor."¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the capitulation was only a matter of time. Despite the horrible conditions—unbearable heat and humidity, scorching sun, biting insects, to say nothing of the constant bombardment—the digging continued. Meanwhile, across the Cooper River, Cornwallis continued to close off avenues of escape. The communication

135. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 157-58.

136. [See brief bio of James Moncrief \(also spelled "Moncrieff"\) here.](#)

137. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 161-62.

138. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 165-66, 176.

139. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 91, 120.

140. [See brief bio of Thomas Ferguson here.](#)

141. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:222.

142. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 74-78.

143. This was called the "Honors of War." It was customary in the 18th century to ask for it, though it was just as customary for it to be refused. Surrender negotiations were a highly choreographed dance designed to save face and reputation on both sides.

144. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 174-78.

channel remained open due to Arbuthnot's refusal to risk damage to his ships by moving into the Cooper River, but it was steadily closing.

Morale on the American side remained strong, despite the impending fall of the town. In fact, American troops under Lt. Col. William Henderson sallied out on April 24, and overran the British work party at the third parallel. The surprise was so complete that the light infantry protecting the sappers fled into the second parallel, leaving many of the jaegers to their fate. A day later, Americans at the advance redoubts thought the British were attacking and began firing. The British in the third parallel, thinking there was another American attack, retreated into the friendly fire of the soldiers in the first and second parallels.¹⁴⁵

Brig. Gen. Louis Duportail, chief engineer of the Continental Army, who had been sent by Gen. Washington to assess the situation, determined that the defenses could not hold. By April 26, in a council of war, it was understood that an evacuation had become impossible. Communication was subsequently cut off completely when the last outpost on the eastern side of the Cooper at Lempriere's Point was lost. The battery evacuated after false intelligence that Cornwallis was preparing to attack. One of the artillery officers leaving the position was Edward Rutledge,¹⁴⁶ a signer of the Declaration of Independence and brother of Gov. John Rutledge. During the evacuation he was captured and remained a prisoner of war until July 1781.¹⁴⁷

With the loss of Lempriere's Point, Charlestown was completely enveloped by April 27. At the beginning of May, and after completing the third parallel, sappers proceeded to excavate a ditch to drain the canal 500 feet in front of the American line. Although heavy rain filled the ditch on May 4, the return of dry weather quickly dried it up and it lost its effectiveness as an obstacle before the Charlestown works. The last impediment to an assault on the American defenses protecting the neck was eliminated.

While the digging continued unabated, so did the bombardment. The constant pounding took its toll on soldiers and civilians alike. David Ramsay,¹⁴⁸ a member of the Privy Council, estimated that 20 citizens were killed and 30 houses burned during the siege. But somehow it was only after Fort Moultrie capitulated without firing a shot on May 7 that morale plummeted. The loss of Fort Moultrie, symbolic to the defenders of Charlestown for the heroic stand there in 1776, was a psychological blow to the Patriots. The end was near.¹⁴⁹

In the early hours of the following day, Clinton sent a summons to Lincoln demanding complete surrender. Firing would resume at 8 a.m. if the terms were not agreed to. Lincoln requested an extension until noon. He sent proposed terms to Clinton consisting of 12 articles, requesting care and protection for the sick and wounded, militia, and citizens; protection of property; that the militia be allowed to return to their homes; that the Continentals be prisoners of war until exchanged; that the honors of war be granted by allowing the army to march out to surrender with drums and colors flying; and that 12 months be allowed for civilians to leave Charlestown if that was their desire. Clinton continued the ceasefire until 8 p.m. on May 9 in order to consider the terms. While all this transpired, the militia, thinking all finished, "without orders, took up their baggage and walked into town, leaving the lines quite defenseless."¹⁵⁰ But it was not over yet.

Not surprisingly, Clinton took exception to some of Lincoln's demands and offered alterations to Lincoln's proposal.¹⁵¹ The British commander rejected articles that would have allowed the drums to beat a British tune and the colors to fly as the Americans marched to the surrender ground. He also refused to discuss Lincoln's request that the citizens be given 12 months to leave the town. Lincoln, after considering Clinton's terms, offered amendments to them for Clinton to reconsider, but Clinton stood firm, and rejected any other than the terms previously offered. Lincoln could not honorably accept those terms for his army. The guns remained quiet at 8 p.m., the time Clinton designated to resume the bombardment. At 9 p.m., the firing did commence, but was initiated by the Americans. Over the next 24 hours the British fired more solid shot and shells than at any other period during the siege.¹⁵²

145. Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 177-80.

146. [See brief bio of Edward Rutledge here.](#)

147. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 839.

148. [See brief bio of David Ramsay here.](#)

149. Ramsay, *History of the Revolution*, 2:62.

150. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:87-92.

151. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:93-96.

152. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:94-97.

On May 10, Lincoln received a petition from 569 militiamen, calling for him to accept the terms. A day later he received a similar petition from 135 militiamen. Lt. Gov. Gadsden recommended on May 11 that Lincoln renew negotiations with Clinton. By 2 p.m., an American officer delivered the letter from Lincoln, who accepted the terms from Clinton, surrendering Charlestown without being given the honors of war.¹⁵³ Among Gen. Clinton and Adm. Arbuthot's final terms for surrender were:

- » The militia could return to their homes, but as prisoners on parole.¹⁵⁴
- » Citizens would be protected, except those who had borne arms against the British, in which case they would be considered as prisoners on parole.
- » The Continentals would become prisoners of war and held until exchanged.

On May 12, the American army marched out from Charlestown, flags cased, drums not beating a British march, and formally surrendered. After a siege of six weeks, under constant bombardment from the powerful British army and navy, the Americans had little positive to take from the loss. They had fought bravely but to no avail. Not only was Charlestown now under British control, but the Army of the Southern Department was destroyed. The official tally was 5,618 prisoners, of which 3,465 were Continental soldiers. Also lost were 400 cannon and 5,000 muskets. American losses were 150 killed, while the British had lost 99.¹⁵⁵

The conquest of Charlestown opened up South Carolina for British occupation and boded well for the advancement of the so far successful Southern Strategy. With a port from which supplies and soldiers could be dispatched into the backcountry, a predicted Loyalist force just waiting for the British to make their appearance, and with a totally demoralized militia as the only roadblock between the British and overall victory, the prospects for independence in the South were bleak.

153. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 97-98.

154. Parole effectively forced them to remain "neutral." They could not bear arms, assist, or associate with those in rebellion. By maintaining the conditions of their parole, the British offered to protect them and their property

155. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 97-112.

*Gov. John Rutledge to the Delegates of South Carolina to Congress - May 24, 1780*Camden, May 24th, 1780

Gen^l— I could not obtain a Copy of the Articles of Capitulation of Chas. Town, untill yesterday — Genl. Lincoln did not, it seems, think it at all material, to inform me of it — b^t I judge it necessary to acquaint you, & thro' you, Congress, (to whom you will make the proper Representation of it), with the Situation of Affairs, here, at this period, I send, inclosed, a Copy of the Capitulation lest the Flag which the Gen^l, had Liberty to send, with dispatches to Philadelphia, sh'd not have arrived — The terms of the Capitulation are truly mortifying — the Treatment of the Prisoners were so — the Contl. Officers are Prisoners on Parol, at the Barracks on Haddrells-Point & restricted to six miles from them — the Seamen & Soldiers are Prisoners at the Barracks in Town — thus separated, with a design to get 'em to enlist, & enter, into the British Service, which some have done already, & many, with't doubt, will — I hope Congress will effect an Exchange, of these Troops, as soon as possible, (tho', it is probable, that Clinton will endeavour to avoid it), otherwise, in a little Time, they may expect 'em turned ag^t. us. — On Saturday last, the Enemy took Post with a considerable force at Dupree's ferry on Santee River which they began to cross, that day, on their March to George-Town, whither they had sent some Vessells, from C:Town, & they are certainly in possession of Geo:Town, which was not defensible, — Genl. Casswell, who lay a little below Depree's ferry, with the No. Carolina Brigades, & the Virginia Continentals, under Col. Buford,¹⁵⁶ had luckily retreated this way, before the Enemy got to that ferry, & thereby prevented their Cutting off his Retreat, which was probably their first Scheme — These Troops, now under Command of Genl. Huger, are abt. 15 miles below this place, & will be here today — Huger's Motions will be directed, by the Corresp^g force of the Enemy — Sorry I am to say, his force is altogether inadequate to any offensive Operation — The Enemy, according to advices recd. last Night, were, the Evening before, at Black-mingo — but, whether with Intention to take a Circuit, by way of the hanging Rock Road, in order to get in the Rear of our Troops, or, to proceed for No. Carolina is as yet, uncertain — The next Movem^t. they make will demonstrate which of These Points is there object — Parties are gone to reconnoitre; However I tho't. it adviseable, not to wait for their Return, but to give you the foregoing, & following, intelligence, as soon as possible — We have no certain accounts what the force above mentd. is, or, by whom commanded, but, it is said, & I believe it, to be considerable, & under Lord Cornwallis. It is evident, that the Conquest of No. as well as of So. Carolina is the Enemy's plan — The Time for which they endeavour to enlist Men is untill these Countries are conquered; &, a Junction with the disaffected at Cross-Creek,¹⁵⁷ will probably, be attempted by the Body above mentd., who have, with them, a large, Highland Regm^{nt}. I have good Reason to believe, that they will send vessells (some perhaps with troops,) to possess the Rivers, & the Towns on them, in No. Carolina — &, it is probable, that they will establish Magazines of provissions, at Brunswick, & Wilmington, whither they may send great Quantities of Rice from the lower parts of our State — They can hardly, I think, expect to penetrate, far into the backcountry of No. Carolina, unless they depend, more than I hope they can wth. good Grounds, on the disaffection of the People there; but, I presume, they will extend their Course, along, & at some distance from, the sea — I hope, indeed, that their Progress will be soon checked, tho', their Numbers are really great, but, surely, Virginia will now be roused, & the forces of that State & of No. Carolina, powerfully supported by Congress, will make the Enemy repent of their Temerity in attempting Conquests more Northwardly — I cannot account for the Backwardness of the Troops ordered hither by Congress, & Virginia & for our Want of Intelligence, respecting 'em — We know not where any of 'em are—I still hope, however that a Combination of force, & better Fortune than our last, will soon oblige the Enemy to tread back their Steps, & tho' I have no Hope of regaining Chas. Town, except by Treaty, that the Country will be preserved, & No. & So. Carolina, & even Georgia, retained, in the Union, for surely, our Brethren & Allies will never give up the Independence of either of these States, or suffer such valuable Territories to be lopped off — whether the Enemy will make any Attempts on our backcountry, except by Tories & Indians, is still uncertain — If they send up a regular force, I am convinced they will be joined by Numbers, & many Men will fall a Sacrifice to the Resentment of our domestick or internal Enemies¹⁵⁸ — But, if regular Troops are not sent up, I think our People will manage the disaffected, & keep 'em from doing any considerable Mischief: However, I expect no

156. [See brief bio of Abraham Buford here.](#)

157. Now Fayetteville, N.C..

158. This statement of the probable effect of Charlestown's capture would prove largely prophetic and demonstrates the extent to which Rutledge understood the consequences of the situation in his state (Barnwell, "Letters of Rutledge," 133).

other service from the Militia — They are so apprehensive of their Families being killed & their Properties destroyed, (by the Tories & Indians who daily threaten Hostilities,) whilst they are absent, from their districts, that I believe it will be impracticable to keep any Number worth mentioning on duty, with the Army, or at any distance from their own Homes — If I can get ‘em to embody, in their own districts, & keep the Country quiet, it is, really, as much as I expect they will do, at present & untill Troops arrive from the Northward — but Even this depends on the Enemy’s not sending up regular forces, to take Posts in the back parts of the State, for, if they do the disaffected will certainly flock to them, & those who are not disaffected will either abscond, if they can, or, (which is more probable) be taken Prisoners with’t. Arms, in which Case they will expect to be treated, as those are who have been taken under similar circumstances, viz. put on Parole — a piece of Policy which the Enemy have adopted, wth. respect to our Militia, for obvious Reasons — This is a melancholy, but a faithful Accot. of our Affairs, at this Time — However, we must not despair: I will still hope for great & speedy Succours, from our Brethren, to animate & support our People & for a Reverse of our late bad Fortune — But, immediate, & the greatest Exertions of the Northern States & of Congress are (be assured) indispensable, to prevent the Desolation & Ruin of this State & Georgia, & the Enemy’s obtaining, (what they flatter themselves with shortly securing,) the three Southernmost States — too valuable a Prize ever to be given up to them — I request the favour of hearing, fully, from you, as soon as possible, & of knowing what Aid we may expect, from you, & when we may be assured of it — Genl. Gates¹⁵⁹ or some other able & experienced Genl. with the Troops, who come will be absolutely necessary — We have not a Contl. Genl. here but Huger, whose Health will scarcely suffer him to undergo any kind of Fatigue — Colo. Hamilton is exchanged, & I suppose will do much Mischief, amongst his old Friends in No. Carolina — You will order the person by whom you write, to come the upper Road, & to proceed to Camp, wherever it may be — There, He will Either find, or hear of me —

I am with great Esteem Gent. yr. most obedt. Servt.
J. Rutledge.

P.S. Private. Be pleased to send, to me, as soon as possible a Copy of Lincolns Letter, to Congress, respecting the Capitulation — I want to know why, after the last reenforcem’t. arrived (of 2500 men) he did not evacuate the Town & save his Troops, wch I think he might Easily have done, with all his Artillery, & Stores, by crossing, in the Frigates, & other Vessells, over to Lempriere’s, & coming thro’ Christ Church Parish, before the Communication was cut off, which wd. have preserved the Country, or at least, the Army, & probably frustrated the Enemy’s plan of Conquering this State, much less of going to No. Carolina — & why, even at the last, & when Cornwallis was posted near Wappetaw, wth. 2500 Men, Lincoln did not end’r. to make good his way, wth. all his Troops, (which he might have done, tho’. with some Loss) rather than agree to so infamous a Capitulation, for the Garrison are in my Opinion, in Effect, prisoners at Discretion — These things appear mysterious to me, but, I will suspend a final Judgmt., on them, till I hear what he says on the Matter.¹⁶⁰ It is currently reported, & believed, here, that G. Britain will offer America, the Independence of all the States except No. & So. Carolina & Georgia — & perhaps even of No. C. — & that such a proposition will be accepted — I think it impossible, that Congress will leave us in the Lurch — but, pray inform me candidly, & fully what may be expected on that Head — If they never will give up the Independence of any one State (which I trust they will not) it wd. be best to declare it immediately in the most pointed Terms, to satisfy the wavering & defeat the Schemes of our Enemies — Such a declaration generally made known with a good Number of Troops, wd. revive the Spirits of many of our credulous & dejected, tho’ well meaning, People — All your Friends who were in Town are well — not a Militia Man killed or hurt, but Peter Lord killed & no officer of the Continentals that I recollect, killed or wounded except Colo. Parker¹⁶¹ of the Virginians, & Cap. Tho. Moultrie¹⁶² killed— also Phil:Neyle¹⁶³— I left Mrs. Kinloch & Mrs. Huger well, at Kensington, yesterday Fortnight--

159. It is interesting that Rutledge recommended Gates by name, and it is unclear whether this request had any effect on Congress’s selection of Gates for the command shortly thereafter.

160. Probably no one knew better than Gen. Lincoln that he should have saved at least a part of the garrison of Charlestown before the surrender, but he had chosen to be cowed by the civilian government’s threat to go over to the enemy if he should abandon the city (Barnwell, “Letters of Rutledge,” 133).

161. Lt. Col. Richard Parker, commander of the 2nd Virginia Brigade, had been killed by a sniper’s bullet on April 24 (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 197).

162. Capt. Thomas Moultrie, brother of Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, was killed falling back from the attack on the third parallel on April 24, 1780 (Borick, *Gallant Defense*, 178).

163. [See brief bio of Philip Neyle here.](#)

P.S. Be pleased to make known to Major Harleston if wth. or near you the Contents of this Letter.

P.S. May 26th: 1780.

Camden Caswells¹⁶⁴ & Bufords Men are come up hither Each Corps consists of abt. 400 Effective. Genl. Huger purposes sending Caswells to Haly's Ferry on Pedee in No. Carolina — and Buford's to Charlotte¹⁶⁵ — from thence towards Hillsborough thinking this force too insignificant to resist the Enemy in this State & that they will be of more service in No. Carolina for the present where he apprehends the Enemy will Endeavour to make an Impression. Our Intelligence from below is that the Enemy had crossed Murray's ferry the day before Yesterday (abt. 85 Miles from hence) on the March hither.

Endorsed. Gov. Rutledge
May 24 & 26th 1780
Camden

Barnwell, "Letters of Rutledge," *SCHGM*, 131-36.

Per Barnwell, "The originals of these letters of Governor John Rutledge are now in the possession of the Charlestown Library Society. They were presented to the Library by Mr. Thomas Bee, the son of Judge Thomas Bee, one of the delegates from South Carolina to the Continental Congress. They were published in *Russell's Magazine*, issued in Charlestown from April, 1857, to March, 1860 (1:534; 2:81, 270; 3:30, 243), but as this magazine [sic *SCHGM*] is not upon Poole's Index, its contents are little known. They are not cited by, and appear not to have been known, to General McCrady. The letters were besides published with numerous errors. They are most creditable to Governor Rutledge and give a picture of the condition of affairs in this state after the fall of Charlestown obtainable nowhere else. This letter shows that the action of the Continental Congress on June 23, 1780, in unanimously adopting a resolution declaring among other things that 'this Confederacy is most solemnly pledged to support the liberty and independence of every one of its members,' was only taken after this letter was read to the Congress, and upon the report of a Committee appointed to consider it" (*JCC*, 17:554).

May 29 – Banastre Tarleton catches and destroys the last Continental forces left in South Carolina, Abraham Buford's 11th Virginia Regiment near the Waxhaws, but is also accused of massacring surrendering foes, cementing his reputation both as a brilliant officer and a ruthless villain.

Jun. 2-9 – The anti-Catholic Gordon Riots erupt in London killing up to 1,000 people and requiring a massive military presence to subdue.

Jun. 3 – Sir Henry Clinton, thinking South Carolina fully pacified, issues a proclamation declaring the colony back under royal protection. This proves a grave error as many Whig sympathizers choose to resume fighting for the Patriots rather than cooperating with Crown forces.

Jun. 8 – Sir Henry Clinton returns to New York with the bulk of the British southern army, leaving his second-in-command Charles Cornwallis as theater commander, charged with maintaining control of South Carolina and Georgia, and extending crown power into North Carolina.

Jun. 13 – Horatio Gates is named commander of the Continental Southern Army, succeeding De Kalb. Congress makes this decision without consulting General Washington.

Jun. 20 – Col. Francis Locke of the Rowan County N.C. militia attacks, defeats, and scatters Loyalists under Col. John Moore gathering at Ramsour's Mill, effectively destroying hopes for a Loyalist revolt in North Carolina.

Jun. 21 – De Kalb's forces arrive at Hillsboro, N.C.

164. [See brief bio of Richard Caswell here.](#)

165. The division of these forces proved to be disastrous. Governor Rutledge was himself nearly captured at Loyalist Col. Henry Rugeley's house by Tarleton's men, where he had been staying. Despite his host's opposing sympathies, he gave Rutledge advance warning of Tarleton's approach (Barnwell, "Letters of Rutledge," 136).

Marion Stays in the Fight

Lt. Col. Francis Marion, late of the 2nd SC Regiment of the Continental Army, was among the convalescents and supernumerary officers who left Charlestown in mid-Apr. 1780, as did Gov. Rutledge and members of the Privy Council. He likely went to his older brother Gabriel's plantation at Belle Isle. There they would have provided him with the best care and protection he might hope to receive, but it would have also been a likely place for his enemies to look for him. The ambiguity of his injury makes it difficult for historians to surmise his precise actions.

As a result of the surrender of the American forces at Charlestown, Marion became the second-highest-ranking Continental officer left in South Carolina after Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger. In such capacity he would have been a prime British target. According to Gen. Moultrie, Marion "was so lame that he was obliged to skulk about from house to house among his friends, and sometimes hide in the bushes until he grew better."¹⁶⁶

As the British invaders moved northward, and his injury improved, Marion did likewise, stopping at his brother Isaac's home on Little River, on the coast near the North Carolina border.¹⁶⁷ From there Marion and a small group of followers rode northwest to join the new Continental Army marching south.

Marion and his men made an inauspicious appearance at the Continental camp. Lt. Col. Otho Holland Williams,¹⁶⁸ the army's Deputy Adjutant General, wrote of their arrival in his "Narrative":

Colonel Marion, a gentleman of South Carolina, had been with the army a few days, attended by a very few followers, distinguished by small black leather caps and the wretchedness of their attire; their number did not exceed twenty men and boys, some white, some black, and all mounted, but most of them miserably equipped; their appearance was in fact so burlesque that it was with much difficulty the diversion of the regular soldiery was restrained by the officers; and the general himself was glad of an opportunity of detaching Colonel Marion, at his own instance, towards the interior of South Carolina, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy and furnish intelligence.¹⁶⁹

Williams did not date his account, but Marion and his men are thought to have arrived at Baron de Kalb's¹⁷⁰ camp at Hillsborough between June 22 and 30. Williams placed this account in his "Narrative" after an entry for August 3, and that deviation in chronology seems to have caused some historians and biographers to misinterpret when Marion arrived. Generally, the observation by Williams that "the general himself was glad of the opportunity of detaching Colonel Marion" was attributed to Gen. Horatio Gates, implying that Gates did not appreciate Marion and his men. However, Gates took command of the army on July 25, and the detachment of Marion to go to Cole's Bridge to "gather intelligence and supplies," was noted by Baron de Kalb regarding Marion in a letter dated July 10, below. Baron De Kalb understood the use of cavalry and partisans based on his European experience. He appears to have made good use of Marion's capabilities and potential. Williams may have misunderstood De Kalb's intent when he detached Marion on that particular mission. As a result, others seem to have mistakenly attributed to Gates a lack of appreciation for Marion. Lt. Col. Peter Horry did not ride with Marion to North Carolina and was already in the Continental camp when Marion and his men arrived there. Horry sent his memoirs to the Rev. Mason Locke Weems to help him get them in publishable form. Instead, Weems romanticized the work, and to Horry's dismay, changed the interpretation of many of the events within it, thus making it difficult to accurately determine fact from fiction. Horry made marginal notes in a copy of the book to help clarify a few of the topics he noted as being different from his actual accounts. In the margin of page 85 of an 1809 edition of *The Life of General Francis Marion*, located at the University of South Carolina, Horry wrote directly:

166. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:222.

167. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 31.

168. [See brief bio of Otho Holland Williams. here.](#)

169. William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, 1:488.

170. [See brief bio of Johann de Kalb here.](#)

“I met Marion in the woods, we Soon Parted and never met again but at Hillsburrow No. Carolina” and that “DeKalb appointed me his Supernumin[er]y and Marion saw DeKalb at first at Hilburrow [sic]”.¹⁷¹

These notes seem to contradict the interpretation that Horry and Marion traveled together, as presented by Weems, and also helps provide some credibility to the exchanges between De Kalb, Horry, and Marion that are described in the rest of the account. Clearly, when Marion arrived at Hillsborough/Deep River, De Kalb was in command, not Gates. Marion marched with De Kalb to Deep River, likely departing on July 5 and arriving on July 6, which is indicated in Capt. Robert Kirkwood’s journal as the date the army arrived there. Marion was then detached by De Kalb before the letter of July 10, from Baron de Kalb to Gen. Caswell below, was sent.¹⁷²

Maj. Gen. Johann de Kalb to Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell – July 10, 1780

Camp Deep River – Willcoxe’s Iron Work July 10th [1780]¹⁷³

Sir,

I this moment received the letter from G[eneral]l [Griffith] Rutherford¹⁷⁴ – of which I inclose a Copy, but Mr. Spencer did not deliver it himself, so I do not know what particulars he had to Communicate.¹⁷⁵

It is the opinion of a Board of G[eneral]l and field off[icers] of this Camp to move rather towards Coxe’s instead of Cole’s¹⁷⁶ untill Provisions can be better provided than has been hitherto. from which place I may equally turn to Peedee or Salisbury as I mentioned to you in my yesterdays letter, if the movements of the enemy or the Circumstances of our Supplies will admit of or require it.

Should be glad to hear how far you marched your Troops and whether you think or have any Intelligence to be relied on, what Provisions we might get at Cole’s, on Peedee and vicinity. I wished you Correspond with Col [Francis] Marion whom I have send to Coles’ bridge with a small party of South Carolina Volunteers for the purpose of getting intelligence and supplies.

I could not as yet get for five days provisions on hand and should want at least for eight to march (?) towards Peedee by Cole’s

I have the honor to be with great respect Dear General
Your most obedient & hble Servant
Baron deKalb

Tr (ScU), transcribed by Steven Smith.

171. Alexander S. Salley, “Horry’s Notes to Weems’s ‘Life of Marion,’” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Jul., 1959) 119-22.
172. Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, ed., *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line* (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), 10.
173. Continental Maj. Gen. Johann de Kalb marched south from New Jersey in mid-April 1780, with a contingent of 2,100 Maryland and Delaware Continentals, to reinforce the besieged city of Charlestown. Early in June, while still in Virginia, he learned of the city’s surrender. De Kalb and his tiny army continued marching southward into North Carolina, arriving at Wilcox’s Iron Works on Deep River on Jul. 6. He commanded the only remaining Continental Southern Army until Gen. Horatio Gates’s arrival on Jul. 25 (Jim Piecuch and John Beakes, *Cool Deliberate Courage: John Eager Howard in the American Revolution* (Charleston: Nautical and Aviation Pub. Co., 2009); Otho Holland Williams, *A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780*, included as Appendix B in William Johnson, *Life and Correspondence of Greene*, 1:485-86).
174. The letter may have been Rutherford’s account of the victory of the Patriot militia over a Loyalist force at Ramsour’s Mill on Jun. 20. Rutherford, a brigadier general of North Carolina state troops since his election in 1776, was a veteran Indian fighter and a leader during the Cherokee campaign of 1776. In Jun. 1780, Rutherford had called out the state militia to counter a Loyalist threat at Ramsour’s Mill near present Lincolnton, N.C.. Rutherford’s main force did not fight in the battle, arriving just too late to join in the action, after Col. Francis Locke, who served under Rutherford, had already won against a numerically superior enemy. Two months later, Rutherford was captured at the Battle of Camden. After being exchanged in Jun. 1781, he resumed his role as commander of the Salisbury District, N.C., militia (William S. Powell, *Dictionary of NC Biography* (University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 5:275-76; *PNG*, 9:366n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1010).
175. This probably referred to Judge Samuel Spencer, who Col. Thomas Wade had recommended for a commission as judge in a letter to N.C. Gov. Abner Nash after the Battle of Ramsour’s Mill, “to hold Courts of Oire interminer [oyer and terminer] in Every one of the following County: Anson, Richmond, Montgomery, Rowan, Surry, Rutherford, Burke & Lincoln, and the sooner the better, if your Excellency should think it” to deal with the Loyalist prisoners taken in the Patriot victory at Ramsour’s Mill (Wade to Nash, Jun 28, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:865-66).
176. Cox’s Mill was located near Buffalo Ford. Cole’s Bridge was located where present-day NC-73 crosses Drowning Creek on the boundary line of Richmond and Moore Counties.

Jul. 11 – General Jean-Baptiste Comte de Rochambeau arrives in America for the first time, landing with 5,500 French troops at Newport, Rhode Island.

Jul. 12 – Local militia surprise and destroy a detachment of the British Legion at Williamson's Plantation, one of the first significant cracks in the illusion of British control in South Carolina.

Jul. 25 – Horatio Gates overtakes the Southern Army at Coxe's Mill, N.C. De Kalb becomes his second-in-command and retains direct control of the Maryland and Delaware Line, which represents most of the Continental troops within the force. Gates begins an advance toward the British post at Camden.

Orders by Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates¹⁷⁷ – July 26, 1780

Head Quarters Buffalo Ford [N.C.]¹⁷⁸ July 26th 1780

Parole, The United States. *Countersign*, Bourbon.

Officer Of the Day Tomorrow, Colonel HALL.

The standing orders of Major General de Kalb to be obeyed.¹⁷⁹ The Troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at an Hour's warning.

The Army may be satisfied that such Measures are taken, and have for some time past been taking by Congress and the Executive Authority of all the Southern States from Delaware inclusive, that plenty will soon succeed, the late unavoidable Scarcity — Provisions, Rum, Salt, and every Requisite will flow into Camp, which shall then with a liberal Hand be distributed to the Army.¹⁸⁰

The General thanks the Troops for the Patience and perseverance with which they have endured the wants and hardships of the preceding part of the Campaign, and is satisfied that the future will add still more Lustre to the Renown they have acquired, and give Glory and triumph to the American Arms.

The General congratulates the Army upon the amazing Efforts making by our High Allies in the West Indies and Europe, and in Conjunction with His Excellency Genl Washington's Army against New York, everywhere superior in Ships and Men, there is every Reason to Hope that this Campaign will decide the War, and give peace and Freedom to the United States.¹⁸¹

As great Bodies of Militia¹⁸² are in full March from all Quarters to join the Army, the General earnestly recommends it to every Officer and Soldier in the Continental Service, to show the utmost Cordiality and Brotherly affection to them. Citizens, who not only contribute to every Expence of War, but do also upon every pressing Emergency fly to Arms in defence of their invaded Country, deserve every Kindness, and will doubtless meet with every Friendly Indulgence from disciplined Troops.¹⁸³

177. Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, known as the "Hero of Saratoga" as a result of his role in accepting British General John Burgoyne's capitulation on October 17, 1777, was appointed to command the Southern Department following Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's surrender at the siege of Charlestown. Gates joined the army at Buffalo Ford, N.C., on Jul. 25 (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 1:658).

178. "Buffalo Ford" and "Cox's Mill" identified the same encampment. They seem to have been used interchangeably along with "Deep River" in letters written by de Kalb and Gates.

179. Gen. Washington had sent Maj. Gen. Johann de Kalb, with regiments of the Maryland and Delaware Continentals, to reinforce the Southern Army under Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. De Kalb never made it to Charlestown, arriving in North Carolina only in early July, two months after the city's surrender. By that time, Gates had already been named commander-in-chief of the Southern Department by Congress on Jun. 13. De Kalb set up his headquarters at Buffalo Ford / Cox's Mill. Gates arrived at the American camp and assumed command on Jul. 25, initially leaving all standing orders in effect.

180. All too often the failure of the supply departments of the American army were glossed over with the promise that provisions were just around the corner. As the remainder of the campaign would demonstrate, if the supplies were truly on the way, they did not make it in time to bolster the troops.

181. In truly grandiose style, Gates's first entries highlighted his optimism that recent triumphs by the French and American forces had dealt the British crushing blows, and that the Southern Army's efforts would result in the ultimate defeat of the British. To what operations in New York Gates referred are not known. Naval actions in both the Caribbean and Europe had in fact resulted in little change, if any, to the overall balance of power in 1780.

182. The Virginia militia under Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens were marching to join Gates (John Beakes, *De Kalb: One of the Revolutionary War's Bravest Generals* (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2019), 321, 339). The NC militia under Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell, who were some distance north of Camden, refused repeated orders from de Kalb and Gates to join with the main American force.

183. After disastrous defeats at Savannah and Charlestown, the only Continental troops in South Carolina were the 3rd Detachment of Scott's

All Parties detached from the Army are to be called in immediately.

The First Maryland Brigade furnishes the Captain's Picquet tomorrow.

Each Brigade of the Maryland Division¹⁸⁴ will form a Camp Guard of a Subaltern's Command.

The 2nd Maryland Brigade will furnish a Subaltern's Guard for the Commander in Chief Tomorrow.

AFTER ORDERS

July 26th 1780

The Troops will strike their Tents tomorrow at half an hour after 3 o'clock when the Baggage is to be loaded and the Whole to march by the Right, cross the Ford near to the present Encampment and proceed on the Road leading to Spinks's. — The Artillery and Baggage will march in the Rear of the Infantry.¹⁸⁵

Capn Marburg D Q M GI [Deputy Quartermaster General]¹⁸⁶ will march in Advance of the Infantry with the Quarter Masters, Pioneers, and Camp Colour Men escorted by Colo Armand's¹⁸⁷ Corps to Spinks's, where he will lay out the Encampment, and prepare for the arrival of the troops — Colo Armand upon his arrival at Spinks's will reconnoiter the Roads and passes leading from thence to Cottons as well as westwardly and Northwardly from Spinks's. He will post Guards and Videtts, in proper places, in advance of the Camp, taking himself the most advantageous Position for the Encampment of his own Corps. Col Marian, with the Volunteers Horse of So Carolina, will march with and attend the General.¹⁸⁸ — When the Baggage arrives at Spinks's the Tents are to be pitched, but previous thereto the Guards and Pickets are to be posted by the Deputy Adjutant General, who will receive the Generals orders for that purpose,

The Troops are this evening to receive Flour to serve them to the 28th inclusive.

Such Stores, Forage &c as cannot be removed from the present Encampment must be left under a proper Guard, and remain until further orders.

The Prisoners to be marchd as usual under the Camp Guards.

Colonel Senf Chief Engineer¹⁸⁹ will attend the General — Major Genl the Baron de Kalb, will please to lead the Line of March, and in all respects command and direct his Division, as heretofore in the Grand Army.

As the Troops are advancing towards the Enemy the General requests the Baron de Kalb will direct the Brigadiers General to command every Officer and Soldier to keep his Platoon, Post, and Station, with the nicest exactness.

Orders issued by Maj Genl Gates while commanding the Southern Army, Jul. 26th to Aug. 31st 1780," *Magazine of American History* 5 (Oct 1880):310-12.

Virginia Brigade and perhaps a few of the 3rd Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons that had been virtually eliminated at Moncks Corner and Lenud's Ferry (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 15-18, 20-21). These troops under Col. Abraham Buford did not make it to Charlestown before the surrender. On May 29, they had been destroyed as a fighting force by the British Legion under Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 27-33). As a result, by the time of Gates's arrival in North Carolina, the only Patriot resistance in South Carolina consisted of informal partisan bands. The desire of the militia still "active" in the Low Country to continue the fight had been crippled. These part-time soldiers were divided by the responsibility to protect their families, the desire to defend their state, and uncertainty as to how the British would deal with rebels. In addition, with Charlestown lost and the Continental Army captured, there was a strong tendency to "wait and see" before renewing the fight. On the other hand, the backcountry Patriots, who might have been more timid at the outset of the Revolution, were more tenacious after Charlestown's surrender. The British rode roughshod into the backcountry and their actions alienated many. The British army's behavior, taking provisions and horses, burning homes, and harassing civilians, combined with rapidly disseminated stories of brutality that flourished after the Waxhaws battle, was a propaganda coup for the Patriots (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 1:550-54; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 73-76).

184. The Maryland Brigades formed the core of the new Southern Army. They were organized into two brigades. The 1st MD Brigade, commanded by William Smallwood, consisted of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 7th MD Regiments, while the 2nd MD Brigade, commanded by Mordecai Gist, consisted of the 2nd, 4th, and 6th MD, as well as the Delaware Regiment. Both brigades together constituted the Maryland Division under De Kalb's command.
185. Gen. Gates waited only two days before setting off for Camden.
186. Heitman lists a "Marburg [Marbury], Joseph (Md). Regimental Quartermaster of Smallwood's Maryland Regiment, May 1776: Captain 3d Maryland, 10th Dec., 1776, and was in service in August, 1781" (Heitman, *Historical Register*, 379).
187. [See brief bio of Charles Armand Tuffin Marquis de la Rouerie, here.](#)
188. Marion first joined the Continental Army at Hillsborough between Jun. 22 and 30. He stayed with the army until de Kalb sent him and a group of his followers on an intelligence-gathering mission. He and his men later rode with and attended to Gen. Gates, as per Gates's orders, on the march toward Camden. Marion's presence with the army was confirmed by an unknown Continental officer who wrote to the South Carolina delegates of Congress in early August, that Gates had entered South Carolina, and among his troops was "a party of South Carolina refugees, under Colonel Marion" (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 36).
189. [See brief bio of Johann Christian Senf here here.](#)

Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates to Colonels Giles,¹⁹⁰ Hicks,¹⁹¹ and Others (Officers of Militia)¹⁹²
July 29, 1780

No. 23

Circular

Head Quarters [Camp Kimborough, N.C.][29 Jul 1780]¹⁹³

Sir

You will be pleased to forward to the District of the Militia Regiment which you Command (on Peedee River in the State of So Carolina) and when you shall arrive there, you will give the fullest assurances in my Name to the Friends of the United States of America, that a Powerful Army is marching to their protection, and that such of them as from the Necessity of protecting their persons and property have been obliged to profess a temporary acquiescence under the British Government, shall be received with Forgiveness and Security provided they have not taken an active Part against the Friends of America, and are willing to testify their Affection to the Cause of Liberty by joining heartily when called upon, in the laudable Design of rescuing themselves and their Country, from the Miseries under which they now labour from the Oppression of the British Government; but if any should be so lost to a Sense of Honor, and the Duty they owe their Country, as to maintain a different Conduct; they alone will be to blame for whatever Consequences may ensue.¹⁹⁴—You will likewise Sir, be pleased to call out as many of your Regiment, as can possibly be spared, and march them immediately, as fully armed and accoutred as Circumstances will admit, to Head Quarters. The proportion to be called out I leave to your discretion, recommending to your consideration that the Time is now arrived, for the State of South Carolina to exert every Nerve; and that we have the fairest prospect that their Efforts will be crowned with Success.

If there should be any Vacancies for Commissioned Officers in the Regiment of Militia which you Command occasioned either by Death, Absence, or Refusal to Act, you are hereby authorized and empowered to fill up such Vacancies, by Brevets Given under Your Hand and Seal, which shall be valid, until proper Commissions can be issued; when your Appointments shall be confirmed.¹⁹⁵

As it will be necessary to collect a large Quantity of Provisions for the Support of the Army under my Command—You are hereby authorized and empowered to give Certificates for the full value of such Grain and other provisions as you may purchase for this Purpose; which Certificates shall be regularly discharged by my Commissary General of Purchases—and if you shall not be able to purchase a sufficient Quantity, you have my Warrants to impress as much as you may judge necessary, leaving a sufficient Quantity for the Support of each Family, and giving Certificates for what shall be impressed. With Respect to such Persons as refuse to take up

190. [See brief bio of Hugh Giles here here.](#)

191. [See brief bio of George Hicks here.](#)

192. Although this letter was not explicitly addressed to Marion, it laid out standing instructions for all militia officers, and he would soon assume command of the Williamsburg militia. He would presumably have been privy to this letter and undoubtedly would have been obligated to follow Gates's directives.

193. Gates's circular was not dated. However, Lt. Col. John Ervin of Col. Hugh Giles's militia regiment referenced a letter from Gates dated the 29th in his response to this letter. It is assumed this letter is one and the same. Ervin served as a lieutenant, major, and colonel in the militia during the period 1780-82. Marion promoted him to full colonel by his general order of Jun. 28, 1781. Ervin commanded the Britton's Neck regiment. He captured three British officers and one private on August 16, 1781 (Ervin, Jr., Sam. 1978. "Entries in Colonel John Ervin's Bible." *SCHM* 79(3):221-22; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 682; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 296; "Ervin to Gates, Aug. 2, 1780," *NCSR*, 14:522).

194. South Carolinians from all corners of society took the oath of allegiance to King George after the fall of Charlestown. Some had been coerced into joining the rebel cause in the first place, some believed that the cause was lost, and many simply sought to protect themselves, their families, or their property. Prominent former South Carolina officials changed their allegiance, including Privy Council members Charles Pinckney and Daniel Huger, and former President of the Continental Congress Henry Middleton. By May 25, over 1,500 citizens had pledged allegiance to the Crown. At first, those who submitted understood that by their pledge they could stay neutral for the duration of the war. However, by his third proclamation of Jun. 3, Gen. Clinton altered the status of the former rebels. He revoked the paroles given to all who had not participated in the defense of Charlestown, granting them amnesty instead. The result was that the former 'fence-sitters' now were forced to make a choice. Many more chose active support for the American cause than likely would have had they not been forced to choose. Interestingly, the above proclamation in Gen. Gates's hand was in many ways parallel to the one Clinton had issued. Gates similarly offered amnesty to former Loyalists but only on the condition that they would serve in the Patriot militia. From this point forward, both sides explicitly denied the right to neutrality, leaving those in the middle with no choice but to pick a side.

195. The orders by Gates here are surprising in light of Gov. Rutledge's absolutist position concerning authority over the state forces. In the past Rutledge had been reluctant to turn over command of South Carolina's military to the Continental Army. Similarly, there had been issues with militia Col. Benjamin Garden believing he outranked Lt. Col. Marion early during the encampment at Sheldon (see letters of November 13, 1779, from Moultrie to Marion, November 18, 1779, from Marion to Lincoln, and November 25, 1779, from Lincoln to Marion, all above). Presumably, Rutledge and Gates had discussed the subject of state versus Continental authority. However, no record of a meeting or correspondence on the subject has been found.

Arms under pretense of being on parole—none are to be considered in such Light, but the Prisoners under the Capitulation of Charlestown, and Fort Moultrie, regular officers and such of the Militia as were taken under arms in actual Service.— All others who shall neglect or refuse to obey your Summons, are to be considered as Defaulters, and a List of their Names regularly transmitted to me, that I may take such Measures against them as may bring them to a Sense of their Duty.¹⁹⁶

H G

To Colonels Giles,¹⁹⁷ Hicks,
and Others; Officers of Circular Militia South Carolina

"Orders issued by Maj Genl Gates while commanding the Southern Army, Jul. 26th to Aug. 31st 1780," *Magazine of American History* 5 (Oct. 1880):293-94. Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

Jul. 30 – Thomas Sumter attacks the British post at Rocky Mount but, lacking artillery, has to abandon the attack after eight hours.

Aug. 3 – Benedict Arnold is assigned command of West Point, NY, a position he has aggressively campaigned for, and which he already secretly plans to deliver to the enemy in exchange for cash and a British commission.

Aug. 6 – Thomas Sumter attacks the Loyalist camp at Hanging Rock and, despite initial success, is driven back by British reorganization and reinforcements.

Aug. 7 – Gates is reinforced by 1,500 North Carolina militia under Richard Caswell.

196. Gates was operating in a gray area regarding the separation of civil versus military law by commanding the militia colonels to gather provisions, especially giving them the right to impress, if necessary. He also made a bold statement by declaring those who considered themselves to be on British parole to be defaulters unless they were taken prisoner at the capitulation of Charlestown. Here, Gates took a hard line with the ominous promise to "take such Measures against them as may bring them to a Sense of their Duty."

197. In Col. Hugh Giles's response to Gates on August 12, the South Carolina militia colonel reported that shortly he would have a good supply of corn and cattle stored at the forks of the Pee Dee and Lynch's Rivers. This was in the general area of Marion's future encampments at Snow's Island and Dunham's Bluff. Giles said he would be joining with Col. Thomas Wade of the Bladen County, N.C., militia to take action against "a Body of Tories Collected on the N^o. Carolina Line." After taking care of the Loyalists, Giles intended to retake Georgetown "if I think I can take it with my little force" (Giles to Gates, Aug. 12, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:351-52). Hicks replied to Gates, apologizing for not being able to send his militia, because of the necessity of guarding prisoners, and protecting the families in the militia district against continuing Loyalist activity (Hicks to Gates, Aug. 9, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:537-38).

Independent Command

Marion was with Gates's army when they went into camp at Rugeley's Mill,¹⁹⁸ on the Great Wagon Road, or the Waxhaws Road, as it was called locally. It is unclear what Marion's role was with Gates. It does not appear they were well utilized as scouts for security or reconnaissance purposes, whether this is, as some historians have claimed, because Gates was indifferent to cavalry, or because Armand's Legion was being used for patrol duty instead, is unclear. Col. Thomas Sumter, leading partisans who had already engaged the British at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, had corresponded with Gates and was operating semi-independently west of the Wateree River. Gates sent Sumter Continental reinforcements and artillery to help him engage Cary's Fort, which guarded the Wateree Ferry crossing near Camden. Marion biographer Hugh Rankin suggests that Marion knew of Sumter's actions and current mission and desired a similar role. That opportunity soon came.¹⁹⁹

The Williamsburg militia and other Patriots received word of Gates's orders of July 29, 1780 (above). Knowing that the Continental Army was marching into South Carolina, public meetings were held and the militia of the area decided to resist the British. Maj. John James²⁰⁰ was chosen to continue as the commander of the Williamsburg militia. Col. Hugh Giles from the Pee Dee area offered to join them as well. The officers met and decided to send a message to Gen. Gates requesting an experienced commander to lead them.²⁰¹

Gates wanted to engage the British operational right flank and, by having the boats to the enemy's east destroyed, be able to cut off Lord Cornwallis's retreat to Charlestown at the Santee River. Sumter, meanwhile, engaged the British left flank on the west bank of the Wateree. It appears that Marion and his small band were the natural choice to both assist the Williamsburg militia and support Gates's broader plan. Lt. Col. Peter Horry, in his notes to Weems's book, wrote that on August 15, the day before the Battle of Camden, "Marion and the historian [Horry] Left Gates at Rugeleys Mill by his Orders to Proceed downwards and to destroy every Craft was found on the river Santee."²⁰²

Horry did not specifically address any orders from Gates for Marion to take command of the Williamsburg militia. However, Maj. Thomas Pinckney,²⁰³ Gates's aide-de-camp did. In a letter to William Johnson, written years later, Pinckney recalled that "Col. W.H. Harrington²⁰⁴...had been detached to the upper part of the Pedee, to animate and take command of the militia...Orders of a similar import had been given to Genl. Marion, on his being detached to the lower parts of the Pedee & Santee." Therefore, Marion probably had at least verbal orders from Gen. Gates instructing him to take command of the Williamsburg militia, and to destroy the boats on the Santee.²⁰⁵

In his own account, written in July 1812, Horry gave more detail about the orders that Marion received from Gates, and of their actions:

Col. Francis Marion & Myself was ordered to Go Down the Country to Destroy all boats & Craft of any Kind w'. we found on Santee River in Order to prevent Cornwallis, & his Troops Escaping him we Sot out from Camp abt. 3 OClock P:M: & by Nyght w*. about 10 young Carolians Got about 6 miles from G. G. Camp at Rugesley Mills to a Womans house / it Appeared afterwards this womans husband was a Tory & then with Cornwallis Army in full March from Camden to Attack Gates Army. this woman appeared much frightened at out Regimentals, hid himself in a Room & would Give us nothing to Eat or Drink Or Bedding to Lie on. Night took place & we could Go no further on Road we were Unacquainted with so we Lay down in the hall & Piazza on our blankets & Coats first Posting a Centinel or two to Prevent our being surprized. Just at Dawn of day we were Greatly

198. Rugeley's Mill was owned by prominent Loyalist Henry Rugeley, roughly 9 miles north of Camden, off of Flat Rock Rd., just west of today's US-601.

199. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 57; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 36.

200. [See brief bio of John James. Sr. here.](#)

201. James, *Francis Marion*, 24-25.

202. Salley, Alexander S. 1959. "Horry's Notes to Weems's *Life of Marion*." *SCHM* 60(3): 119-22.

203. [See brief bio of Thomas Pinckney here.](#)

204. [See brief bio of Henry Harrington here.](#)

205. Pinckney to Johnson, Jul. 27, 1822, in Jim Piccuch, *The Battle of Camden, A Documentary History* (Charleston: The History Press, 2006), 38.

Alarmed w*. heavy firing heard at a Distance towards Camden Side & we could distinguish from field Peices—to those of Musketry—Marion was Certain it was Genl. Sumpters Detachment that had met the British Party from 96 on their rout to join Cornwallis—we Could have no Conception that it was an Engagement between Gates & Cornwallis, the former We had Left but a few Hours & no Expectation of Either Generals Advancing on Each other, however after Night, the night we slept at the aforesaid Womans house, both Armies Advanced without the Expectation of meeting.²⁰⁶

Based on Horry's comments, Marion and his men left Rugeley's Mill at about 3 p.m. on the afternoon of August 15. Had Marion spent another day in Gates's camp, he may very well have suffered the fate of the other officers and soldiers of the Southern Army, when it was defeated at Camden on August 16. Fate had again intervened to whisk Marion away from disaster, and he was en route to fulfill the orders given by Gates.

Battle of Camden *August 16, 1780*

Gen. Horatio Gates had marched from North Carolina across the barren sand hills to Rugeley's Mill, just north of Camden, in 17 days, arriving there on Aug. 13. Before a council with his general officers on Aug. 15, Gates thought his force numbered 7,000 soldiers. But the official returns taken by Deputy Adjutant General Col. Otho Holland Williams, showed the total as only 4,100 present. Of these only 3,052 were rank and file fit for duty. Lord Cornwallis arrived at Camden late on the night of August 13-14. He planned to pit his force of about 2,200 veteran troops against what he also thought to be an army of 7,000 soldiers, including militia.²⁰⁷

At 10 p.m. on August 15, the American army began its march south toward Gates's objective, which was to take a stronger defensive position at Saunders (Sanders Creek).²⁰⁸ For an army that had suffered on the march since leaving North Carolina, this night would include another debilitating setback. Col. Williams wrote that, not having rum to give his troops before their march, Gates ordered that a gill of molasses be distributed to each soldier along with their hastily cooked cornmeal and fresh beef. The molasses acted "cathartically," as they "were breaking ranks all night," adding to the men's misery as they marched on that hot August night, sapping their strength that would soon be tested by battle.²⁰⁹

At the same time, the British army began its march north from Camden for a dawn attack on Gates's camp. In one of the great coincidences of the war, the armies marched toward each other from opposite directions at the same time, on the same road, illuminated by a full moon. They were en route to a collision in the early morning hours of August 16. About 2:30 a.m., the British advance guard met the front of the American column, the cavalry of Armand's Legion supported by Virginia Lt. Col. Charles Porterfield's light infantry. Initial contact was made in the longleaf pine forest about a half mile north of Gum Swamp, or about eight miles north of Camden. The British initially drove back the American horse, but subsequently were driven back themselves by Porterfield's light infantry. The British advanced their light infantry and Porterfield was wounded.²¹⁰

After this brief skirmish ended, both sides spent the next two hours deploying their forces.²¹¹ At daylight Lord Cornwallis made his final dispositions for battle. He deployed the veteran troops of the 23rd Foot (or Royal Welsh Fusiliers), 33rd Foot, and the light infantry, brigaded together under the command of Lt. Col. James Webster,²¹² on

206. Salley, A.S., ed. 1938. "Journal of General Peter Horry." *SCHM* 39(3):126-27.

207. Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 19-22, 27-28, 48, 146-47.

208. Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 37.

209. Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 29.

210. Thomas Pinckney, "Thomas Pinckney Letter to William Johnson." *Historical Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 8 (August 1886), 244-53; Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 19-20, 73.

211. Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 62-63.

212. [See brief bio of James Webster here.](#)

the British right, where the swampy lowlands on the east side of the battlefield protected that flank. Lt. Col. Francis, Lord Rawdon²¹³ commanded the British left wing, consisting of the Provincial troops of the Volunteers of Ireland, the British Legion infantry, the Royal North Carolina regiment, and Samuel Bryan's North Carolina militia, along with artillery support. A swamp protected their left flank as well. The two battalions of the 71st Highlanders, Tarleton's British Legion cavalry, and two six-pound guns were held in reserve.²¹⁴

Meanwhile the American general positioned his inexperienced Virginia and North Carolina militia opposite the British regulars. Gen. Baron Johann De Kalb commanded the American right, consisting of Brigadier General Mordecai Gist's²¹⁵ 2nd Maryland Brigade on the east side of the road. The North Carolina and Virginia militia were on the west side of the road, with Armand's Legion and the light infantry protecting the left flank of the army. The 1st Maryland Brigade was held as a tactical reserve about 300 yards behind the center of the main line, where the command group was also located.²¹⁶

Gates's adjutant, Col. Williams, ordered the firing of the American artillery to start the battle. The British countered with their own guns. At Williams's suggestion, Gates gave the order for the Virginia and North Carolina militia brigades to advance in an attempt to disrupt the deployment of the enemy as they formed for battle. The tactic came too late to prevent the British right wing from completing its deployment and subsequently charging. Gates ordered the 1st Maryland Brigade to march to support the, while also ordering Baron De Kalb to attack at the same time.²¹⁷ Before they got far, the sight and sound of the British regulars advancing with fixed bayonets caused the Virginia militia to turn and run, most without firing a shot, followed closely by the North Carolina militia. The only militia that did not run was the North Carolina militia regiment under Lt. Col. Henry Dixon, who fought beside the Delaware Continentals and later received praise even from the British for their determination. The 1st Maryland opened ranks to let the terrified militia through, then reformed to face the surging redcoats. Gates, the militia generals, and other officers tried to rally the fleeing militia, who were quickly joined in their flight by Armand's Legion and the light infantry. Several attempts failed, and they too were swept away towards Rugeley's Mill in the wave of men fleeing the field. Gates had lost command and control of the battle, and while he was caught up in the tide moving north, the Continentals fought the rest of the British army.²¹⁸

Webster wheeled left to engage the 1st Maryland and attack the exposed left flank of the remaining American Continentals under De Kalb. Despite the veteran troops commanded by Rawdon charging at their front and Webster driving from the left, the 2nd Maryland Brigade along with Dixon's militia held their own. They engaged Rawdon in a back-and-forth fight, bayonet charges executed by both sides. Baron De Kalb was wounded early in the fight and his horse killed under him. He led the right wing of Gates's army on foot, rallying the troops and leading counterattacks through the heavy gunsmoke that blanketed the woods.²¹⁹

The 1st Maryland was pushed back by Webster until they were at nearly a right angle with de Kalb's position, their flanks about two hundred yards apart. Williams went to the aid of the 2nd Maryland Brigade and found de Kalb still leading his men, though he suffered from multiple wounds. Williams informed him that the militia had fled, and it was likely only then that the general realized the desperation of the situation.²²⁰

Lord Cornwallis was an excellent field commander. He sensed the time was right, and fed his reinforcements, the 71st Highlanders into action, one battalion on the right to support Webster and the other on the left to reinforce Rawdon. When this still failed to dislodge the stubborn Americans, Cornwallis ordered Tarleton's Legion cavalry into the gap between the Continental brigades, quickly gaining their flank and rear. Most of the Patriot forces at that time began a fighting retreat to the north up the road, or up the rising ground to the northwest, except for the Marylanders on the far right, who escaped through the swamp. The retreating Americans fought savage hand-to-hand combat, and soon

213. [See brief bio of Francis Rawdon-Hastings here.](#)

214. Cornwallis to Germain, Aug. 21, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:12-13.

215. [See brief bio of Mordecai Gist here.](#)

216. Piecuch, *Battle of Camden*, 20.

217. Piecuch, *Battle of Camden*, 44-45.

218. Piecuch, *Battle of Camden*, 30-31n.

219. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 110.

220. Piecuch, *Battle of Camden*, 31-32.

the army broke into small bands as the Continentals fled northward to escape the sabers of the cavalry and bayonets of the British infantry. While his men desperately fought for their lives, De Kalb fell mortally wounded with three gunshot wounds and eight bayonet wounds. The British Legion began their pursuit, only briefly slowed by Armand's Legion at Rugeley's Mill. Tarleton pursued the remnants of Gates's army some 22 miles, to Hanging Rock.²²¹

None of the fleeing American soldiers outpaced Gen. Gates himself. He stopped briefly at Rugeley's Mill, where he made another attempt to rally the militia, but when that failed, he rode another 60 miles to Charlotte before the end of the day. Upon assessing the indefensible position at Charlotte, Gates decided to go to Hillsborough, N.C., and appeal to the state legislature for assistance. He completed the 180-mile retreat from the battlefield by August 19. De Kalb died the same day. He was buried by the British with full Masonic and military honors. All the British officers attended his funeral.²²²

The destruction of the second American army in 97 days did not come without a substantial cost to the British. Cornwallis's losses totaled 68 killed, 245 wounded, and 11 missing, for 324 total casualties. Even in victory the cost was high, and the nearly fourteen percent losses would never be made up, affecting the British campaign going forward.²²³

The disintegration of the American army was so complete that casualty figures could not be accurately compiled. The British "Return of Prisoners" totaled just over 700, with around 500 of them being Continentals. Col. Otho Holland Williams reported that "The numbers [of Maryland soldiers] which were killed, captured and missing, since the last muster, could not, with any accuracy, be ascertained." But he went on to compile a list of the total known missing, most of which he thought "at least a great majority...fell in the field, or into the hands of the enemy." This account of the Continental casualties was 832 from Maryland and 47 from Delaware, totaling 879 missing at the time of the muster. Analysis shows that if 832 casualties were estimated by Williams, and the British accounted for just over 500 of them prisoners, that over 350 Continentals were unaccounted for, and can be presumed killed or deserted. Most of them were buried after the battle, as were the British dead, who still remain there. Only 700 of Gates's original force of 4,100 returned to Hillsborough, suggesting that most of the militia that were not killed, wounded, or captured returned to their homes.

The defeat at Camden was a debilitating loss to the American cause. Two days later, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, with only 160 men, applied the *coup de grace* when he surprised Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter at Fishing Creek. The surprise was so complete that Sumter was not able to form an effective defense and was completely routed.²²⁴

Sumter barely escaped himself, and his brigade was largely scattered. In three days, the Southern Continental Army and the organized militia under Sumter had been rendered at least temporarily ineffective. And once again, there was no resistance to the advance of the British army commanded by Lord Cornwallis. Even a setback at Musgrove's Mill in the Ninety Six District on August 19 did not seem to dampen the feeling that South Carolina was largely pacified.

But problems were just beginning. The ragtag group of men under Lt. Col. Francis Marion rode into the Pee Dee region as the battle still raged at Camden. Their days of disrupting British plans were just beginning.

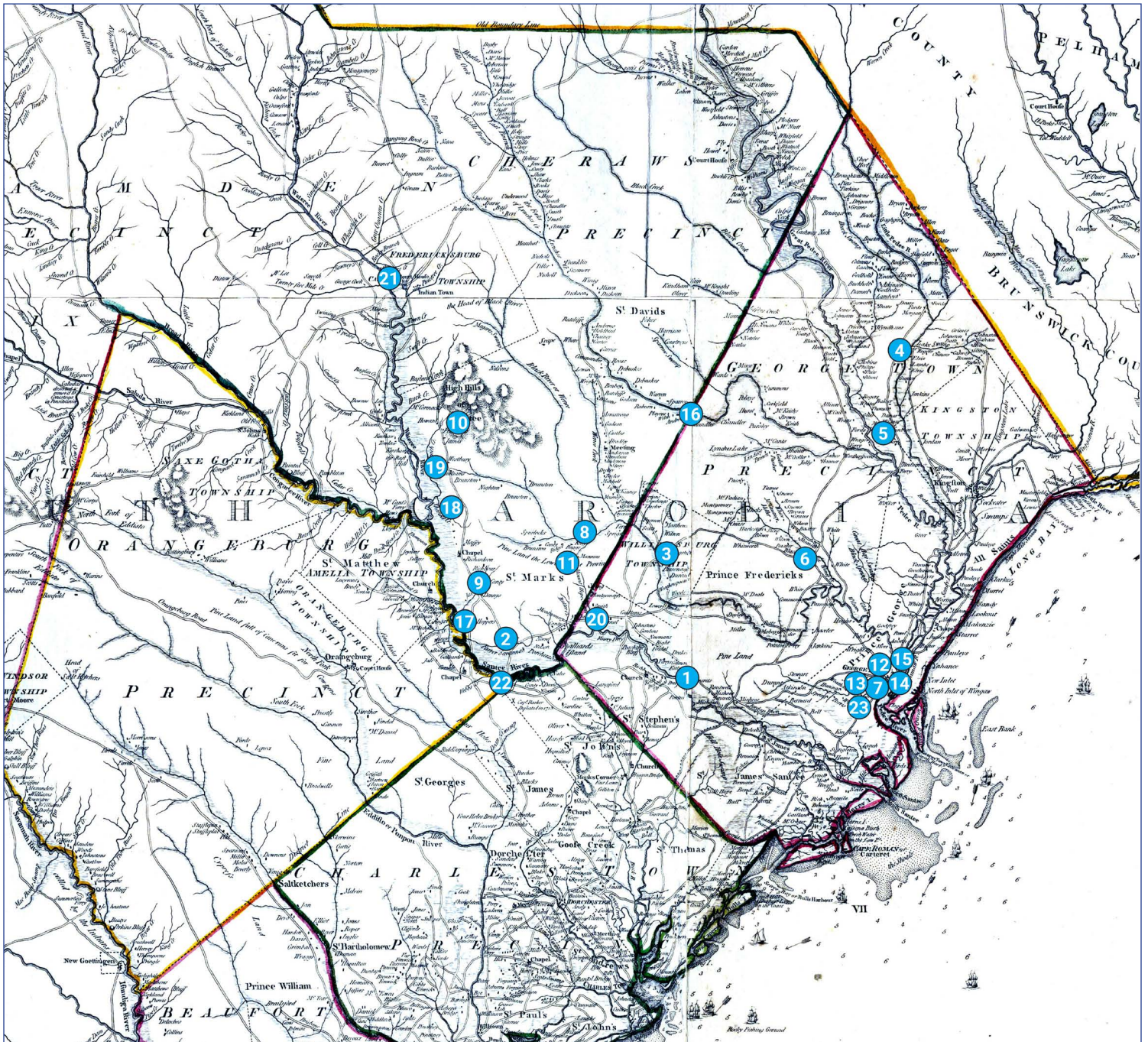
221. Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 46.

222. Giles to Gates, Aug. 12, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:351-52.

223. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 140-41.

224. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 118.

Locations of Marion Engagements – August 17 - December 27, 1780



Map by Ben Rubin, Rick Wise, and Vally Sharpe based on Mouzon's 1775 map of North and South Carolina.
From a list researched and provided by George Summers.

#	Approximate Date	Place of engagement
1	08/17/1780	Santee River
2	08/25/1780	Great Savannah
3	08/27/1780	Kingstree
4	09/04/1780	Blue Savannah
5	09/1780	Pee Dee Swamp
6	09/28/1780	Black Mingo Creek
7	10/09/1780	Georgetown #1
8	10/25/1780	Tearcoat Swamp
9	11/08/1780	Jack's Creek
10	11/08/1780	High Hills
11	11/08/1780	Ox Swamp
12	11/11/1780	Georgetown #2

#	Approximate Date	Place of engagement
13	11/15/1780	Georgetown #3
14	11/15/1780	White's Plantation
15	11/15/1780	Georgetown #4
16	12/1780	Lynch's Creek
17	12/05/1780	Tory Tavern
18	12/12/1780	Halfway Swamp
19	12/13/1780	Singleton's Mill
20	12/14/1780	Santee River Rd.
21	12/16/1780	Camden Recon
22	12/17/1780	Nelson's Ferry*
23	12/27/1780	Georgetown #5

* Location of Nelson's Ferry is now a part of Lake Marion.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry - August 17, 1780

Lynchs Creek,²²⁵ 17 Aug^t. 1780²²⁶

Sir,

You will take the Command of such men as will be Collected from Capt^s. Bonneaus, Mitchells & Bensons Companies²²⁷ & immediately proceed to Santee from the Lower ferry to Lineau [Lenuds]²²⁸ & destroy all the Boats and cannoes on the River²²⁹ & post gards on Each Crossing place & prevent any persons from Crossing to or from Charlestown on Either side of the River. You will give all Intelligence necessary & the number of Men you may have collected as Early as Possible. You will procure about twenty five weight of gun powder & proportionable quantity of Ball or Swan Shot,²³⁰ also flints & send up to me immediately to the Kings tree by an Express.²³¹

I am with Esteem, Your Ob^t. Serv^t,
Fran^s Marion

N.B. You will also take command of Capt. Lenud's²³² Company & furnish your men with Arms wherever you can find them, Giving a receipt.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

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225. This letter, addressed from Lynches Creek, was probably written from Witherspoon's Ferry, a short distance upriver from the junction of the Pee Dee and Lynches. The sequence of events surrounding Marion's assumption of command of Patriot militia in this area is not entirely clear.
226. Marion separated from the main American force at Rugeley's Mill on August 15. Along with "10 young Carolians [*sic*]," he and Horry rode approximately six miles from Gates's camp before stopping for the night at the home of a Loyalist who was in Cornwallis's camp. He and his men heard the beginnings of the battle. Marion informed Horry of the defeat in a letter of August 27, below. This letter to Horry, his second-in-command, signified the beginning of his two-year campaign as a guerrilla leader in the lowcountry of South Carolina, first in the area north of the Santee River, then closer and closer to Charlestown as the tide of the war turned in favor of the American cause. Notably, Marion, the former commandant of the captured 2nd Regiment, was giving orders to another Continental officer to take command of state militia companies.
227. Capts. Henry Bonneau, Thomas Mitchell and William Benison were company commanders in the Georgetown militia. [See brief bio of William Benison here.](#) Mitchell was Marion's nephew and future aide-de-camp (O'Kelley, *BCADM* 734n1658; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 563).
228. As the Santee River approaches the Atlantic Ocean it separates into multiple channels. The Lower Ferry referred to is Mazyck's or Lynch's Ferry that ran from the Georgetown Road on the south side of the South Santee River to the Santee Swamp from which a second ferry, sometimes known as the Piquott's Bluff Ferry, traveled across the North Santee River to connect with the Georgetown Road again. Lenud's Ferry was located on the Santee River, 15-20 miles upriver from the Lower Ferry. On April 10, it was the site of a crushing blow to the American cause, when Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton surprised and routed a force of Continental cavalry commanded by Col. Anthony White, the net effect being to block the last escape route from Charlestown for any substantial American force.
229. Presuming that Gen. Gates was, or soon would be, successfully engaging the British in the backcountry near Camden, Marion's tactic of destroying all boats on the Santee River from Nelson's Ferry to Lenud's Ferry with his militia companies, while Horry did the same from Lenud's Ferry to the mouth of the river, would effectively make the river a virtually impenetrable line for over 140 miles. As White's cavalry discovered on April 10, without water transport it was impossible to cross the Santee River.
230. The requisition of swan shot for the new guerrilla force under Marion is quite telling. Marion's brigade was made up of an eclectic assortment of Patriots: former Continental officers and soldiers, country militia, untrained farmers, sons of farmers, and slaves. At this point in the war, there were very few muskets in the hands of the militia. Swan shot in rifles or muskets was particularly effective (Jac Weller, "Irregular but Effective: Partisan Weapons and Tactics in the American Revolution, Southern Theater," *Military Affairs* 21(1957):118-31; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 112).
231. Marion assumed command of the Williamsburg militia at Witherspoon's Ferry (present Johnsonville, S.C.) and demonstrated his superior organizational skills, recognizing that in order to function effectively he needed good intelligence and both formal and informal communication lines. In this case he was presumably planning to join the bulk of the Williamsburg militia with the supplies gathered by Horry at the county's largest town, Kingstree (James, *Francis Marion*, 26-27).
232. Abram and Henry Lenud both served as captains in Marion's Brigade. Henry was in the cavalry under Col. Peter Horry during 1781. It is not clear which of the two is referenced here (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 563).

**List of thirty inhabitants of Charlestown who had
“treacherous correspondence with the armed enemies of England, or had been indefatigably engaged in secretly
advancing the interest of Congress throughout South Carolina.”²³³**

[Aug. 26, 1780?]²³⁴

*Christopher Gadsden, lieutenant governor.*²³⁵ *Thomas Ferguson. Anthony Toomer. Thomas Farr, late speaker. Alexander Moultrie. Jacob Read. Edward M’Crary. Richard Hutson. David Ramsay. Edward Blake. John Todd. Edward Rutledge. George Flagg. Isaac Homes. Peter Fayssoux. Richard Lushington.*²³⁶ *Josiah Smith. Peter Timothy.*²³⁷ *John Parker.*²³⁸ *John Edwards. John Sansam. Hugh Rutledge.*²³⁹ *John-Ernest Poyas. John Floyd. John Budd. William Price. John Loveday. Thomas Savage. Thomas Singleton. Thomas Heyward.*²⁴⁰ *Edward North. William-Hazel Gibbs. Joseph Atkinson.*

Tarleton, **Campaigns**, 156-57, 185-86.

233. The title is taken from Banastre Tarleton’s description. Tarleton wrote, “Some papers taken in the baggage of the American general officers, and other collateral intelligence, displayed the late opinions and conduct of many of the principal inhabitants of Charlestown: Upwards of thirty of this description, since they had received pardon and protection from the British commanders, had held treacherous correspondence with the armed enemies of England, or had indefatigably engaged in secretly advancing the interest of Congress throughout South Carolina. An order was immediately given to secure the persons of those individuals who had violated their engagements. The accused were committed to the prison ships, and from thence conveyed to confinement at Augustine.” This list of South Carolina Patriots was published in the *Royal South Carolina Gazette*. The actual number contained in “List of thirty” above is 33, while the number noted by Josiah Smith, who was one of the prisoners, was 29. Although Thomas Farr, John Floyd, William Price, and Joseph Atkinson appeared on this list, they were not transported to St. Augustine. An additional 25 prisoners on parole from Charlestown arrived in St. Augustine on November 25, 1780 (Josiah Smith and Mabel L. Webber, “Josiah Smith’s Diary, 1780-1781,” 1932, *SCHGM* 33, Nos. 1-4).
234. Date inferred from *Christopher Gadsden and the American Revolution*, by E. Stanly Godbold, Jr., and Robert H. Woody (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982), 203.
235. The most treacherous character of all was Lt. Gov. Christopher Gadsden, the merchant-planter-revolutionary. Gadsden was the most outspoken Patriot in the South, whose gatherings at the Liberty Tree in Charlestown led to the organization of the Sons of Liberty in South Carolina.
236. [See brief bio of Richard Lushington. here.](#)
237. [See brief bio of Peter Timothy here.](#)
238. [See brief bio of John Parker here.](#)
239. [See brief bio of Hugh Rutledge here.](#)
240. [See brief bio of Thomas Heyward, Jr. here.](#)

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry - August 27, 1780

Lynchs Creek, 27th Augt. 1780.

D^r Sir,

I am sorry to acquaint you General Gates is defeated with great Loss, he was obliged to Retreat to Charlotte, which obliged me also to Retreat.²⁴¹ You will without Loss of time Retreat with what men you Get to Brit[t]ons Neck where I have Encamped.²⁴² It is necessary to Obtain Ammunition, Arms & accoutrements, & as many Good Horses as you Can, also Get Stores from George Town.²⁴³ You will if Possible send up the River to Brit[t]ons Neck. On the 20th [25th] Instant I attacked a Guard of the 63d & Prince of Wales Regt. with a Number of Tories, at the Great Savannah near Nelsons ferry, Took 22 Regulars Killed & has wounded 2 Tories prisoners and Retook 150 Continentals of the Maryland Line, 1 Waggon & a Drum, one Captain and one Subaltern was also Captured. Our loss is 1 killed²⁴⁴ & Captain Benson Slightly wounded on the head. I shall be at Brit[t]on's Neck with the prisoners & Continentals to-morrow morning.²⁴⁵ I must beg you'd Retreat as Immediately as you Receive this, for I Expect the Enemy will send their Horse in this part of the Country, as soon as they Can Recover a little from the Great Loss they sustained which is said Equal to a Defeat. Gen^l. DeKalb is killed, DuBesan [Dubuysson] wounded,²⁴⁶ the particulars have not come to hand. I beg youd procure me two Quires of Paper, I have not heard a word from you since you left me.

I am Dear Sir,
Your Obt. Servt.
F^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

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241. Gates's decisive defeat at Camden on August 16 dealt the Patriots a near-knockout blow. After being repulsed at Savannah, forced to surrender the entire Southern army at Charlestown, then being further decimated at Camden, the Southern Department was in a shambles, existing only on paper, as survivors of the battle slowly limped into camp at Charlotte. Marion and a few other holdouts in the backcountry were the only leaders keeping the Revolution alive in South Carolina.
242. Britton's Neck was a strip of land starting at the confluence of the Pee Dee and Little Pee Dee Rivers and extending in a northwesterly direction for approximately 30 miles. Marion has long been linked to his presumed encampment on Snow's Island. The island is about five miles long by two miles wide and is halfway up the Neck formed by the Pee Dee, Lynches River, and Clark's Creek. Very little archeological evidence has been found on Snow's Island, but more has been found in the area around Port's Ferry, Dunham's Bluff, and Britton's Neck, across the Pee Dee from Snow's Island. Dr. Steven D. Smith of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and Dr. Lawrence Babits believe that "Snow's Island" may have referred to the general region between the Pee Dee and Lynches rivers, rather than exclusively the literal island of that name (Steven D. Smith, *Francis Marion and the Snow's Island Community: Myth, History, and Archaeology* (Asheville, N.C.: United Writers Press, 2021), 205).
243. It is unclear how Marion expected Horry to obtain provisions from Georgetown, since it had been in British hands since its occupation by Capt. John Ardesoif on Jul. 1. [See brief bio of Ardesoif here](#). In addition, as a result of the British occupation and Gen. Clinton's and Adm. Arbuthnot's proclamation assuring the citizens that they "shall not be taxed but by our representatives in the General Assembly," 33 persons, described by Maj. James Wemyss as "chairmen of committees, sheriffs, and magistrates" expressed their desire "of becoming British Subjects in which capacity we promise to behave ourselves with all becoming fidelity and loyalty" (George C. Rogers, Jr., *The History of Georgetown County, South Carolina*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 123).
244. Marion incorrectly reported that Josiah Cockfield perished during the assault. In reality, Cockfield continued to fight with Marion (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 66).
245. Marion reported the interception of the British convoy of Continental prisoners taken at Camden. Cornwallis, in a letter to Clinton on August 29, reported that the prisoner convoy was captured on August 25. Here, Marion reported the date as August 20. However, in letters to Gates of August 29 and September 20, below, Marion wrote August 25. Marion's victory at the Great Savannah near Nelson's Ferry, and the Patriot militia's victory over Loyalist militia and Provincial troops at Musgrove's Mill, were the only bright spots in August after the devastating loss at Camden and Tarleton's rout of a combined Continental and militia force under Sumter at Fishing Creek two days later.
246. Maj. Gen. Baron Johann de Kalb had commanded the American right at Camden on August 16. His heroic efforts at leading the Maryland and Delaware Continentals temporarily checked the British after the Virginia and North Carolina militias fled from the battlefield in the face of a daunting bayonet attack. Once the militias fled, however, it was only a matter of time before the veteran British troops overwhelmed the Americans. De Kalb was unhorsed and eventually suffered eleven wounds before being carried from the battlefield. He died in Camden three days after the battle (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:146-54, 309). Charles-Francois, Vicomte Dubuysson des Hays, a French nobleman, had accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette to America in 1777. Dubuysson was made a major and adjutant to then Brig. Gen. De Kalb. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1778. During the Battle of Camden, Dubuysson suffered extensive wounds and broken bones in a failed attempt to save his commander. He was captured and paroled to Philadelphia for treatment of wounds and to take De Kalb's letters. He was exchanged by September 4, 1781 (Picuch, *Battle of Camden*, 46; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 326-27).

Great Savannah *August 25, 1780*

Let Col. Marion, now the unofficial commander of militia in the Pee Dee region, separated from Peter Horry probably on Aug. 17 and was apparently ignorant of Gates's crushing defeat at Camden.²⁴⁷ By his letter of that date, above, Marion ordered Horry, per the orders he received from Gates, to destroy boats on the Santee River from the Lower Ferry²⁴⁸ up to Lenud's Ferry, in order to block the possible retreat of Cornwallis after his forced withdrawal from Camden or his anticipated defeat by Gates. Marion likely intended to destroy boats from Lenud's up to Nelson's Ferry himself.²⁴⁹

Marion did not learn of Gates's defeat until August 19. Despite the loss, he proceeded on the mission to destroy the boats on the Santee and was joined by a number of militiamen who had not reached Gates before Camden. One of those, George McCall, wrote that he remained at home "until I understood General Gates was on his way to Camden, when myself and many others embodied ourselves without any commander to join General Gates and pursued the enemy, but hearing that [Marion subordinate] Col. Hugh Giles was raising a Regiment of volunteers at Giles Bluff on Pedee River, we repaired to him."²⁵⁰

On August 23, Marion attacked a Loyalist guard at Murray's Ferry.²⁵¹ He then moved upriver to Nelson's Ferry with a force of approximately 150 militiamen. Probably on August 24, Marion learned from a deserter that American prisoners captured at Camden were being marched to Charlestown in groups of 150. One such group was close at hand, having camped at Thomas Sumter's Great Savannah plantation, only five miles north of Nelson's Ferry.²⁵² The contingent of prisoners was guarded by an escort of 36 guards, consisting of soldiers from the 63rd Foot, the Prince of Wales American Regiment, and Loyalist militia.²⁵³

Early on August 25, Marion attacked the British encampment. Although the element of surprise was partially lost when a detachment led by Maj. Hugh Horry,²⁵⁴ late of the 1st SC Regiment, ran into enemy sentinels as they were moving toward taking control of the pass over Horse Creek, negligence by the British commander, Capt. Jonathan Roberts of the 63rd Foot, proved the ultimate determinant of the Patriot victory. After encountering the sentinels, Horry rushed toward the front of the house in which most of the British were sleeping. Marion and his larger contingent attacked from the rear. The rapidity of the attack prevented the enemy from obtaining their weapons. Their muskets had been stacked outside the house before the men turned in. According to Maj. James Wemyss, not only were the weapons separate from the sleeping soldiers, but they lay "without their coats."²⁵⁵

The surprise attack rendered the British helpless. Only one Patriot was wounded, although Marion incorrectly reported one man killed. Loyalist losses were another matter. In his August 27 letter to Horry, above, Marion reported that 22 British regulars were killed, an implausibly high number of fatalities as a ratio of total casualties, which were 26. He presumably corrected the casualty figure in his letter of August 29 to Gates, below, in which he reported two British killed, five wounded, and 20 prisoners.

Cornwallis was incensed. He wrote to Sir Henry Clinton about the burning of the boats on the Santee, and the attack at Great Savannah, noting that it was done by "mounted militia under a Colonel Marion."²⁵⁶

One might presume that the Continental soldiers would have been thrilled at their rescue by Marion's Brigade, particularly since it enabled them to avoid the incarceration and high probability of death on prison ships to which

247. Horry claimed that he and Marion heard the sounds of the battle of Camden on the morning of the 16th, but at that time they believed it was Sumter's force that had been engaged. (Horry, "Journal," 39, 3:127)

248. Most likely meaning Mazyck's or Lynch's.

249. James, *Francis Marion*, 26-27; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 54-55.

250. George McCall, Pension Statement R6598.

251. Murray's Ferry was approximately where present US-52 crosses the Santee River.

252. Both Nelson's Ferry and Sumter's Plantation lie under the waters of Lake Marion today, roughly due north of current Eutawville, S.C.. (Parker, *Parker's Guide*, 139)

253. Cornwallis to Germain, Sep. 19, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:37; Cornwallis to Cruger, Aug. 27, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:172.

254. [See brief bio of Hugh Horry here.](#)

255. Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 3, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:213.

256. Cornwallis to Clinton, Aug. 29, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:41.

they were marching. The opposite was the case. Whether because they felt service in the militia was beneath them or whether they had been thoroughly demoralized by their defeat at Camden, only three opted to join Marion. Some quantity of them actually voluntarily continued on to Charlestown and imprisonment, while the balance marched northward. Fifty-seven of them passed through Wilmington, N.C., on September 12. One of the Continental soldiers liberated by Marion's Brigade was Jacob Allen, who had been wounded and captured at Camden, and claimed in his pension to have been "afterwards retaken by a detachment from the South Carolina militia."²⁵⁷

Shortly after the action at Great Savannah, Marion marched his brigade back to more familiar territory, crossing Lynches River and bivouacking at Port's Ferry between the Pee Dee and Little Pee Dee Rivers by August 29. This first action by Marion's Brigade set a pattern for the future. After carrying out a night time march, surprising the enemy, and withdrawing to safety, the majority of Marion's militia returned to their homes to await their commander's next call-up.²⁵⁸

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates - August 29, 1780

Ports ferry, N. Side Pedee, 29th August 1780

Sir,

I wrote you on the 22^d. instant from Williamsburg township by M^r. Perkins; but I suppose he is taken as I have heard nothing of him.²⁵⁹---

I have destroyed all the boats at the ferries, from Murray's to the mouth of the Santee, and drove the guards placed at each ferry.²⁶⁰ Hearing of some prisoners, which the enemy were carrying down to Charlestown by the way of Nelson's ferry, I marched my party of seventy men and surprised them the 25th. Instant, at the Great Savanna, at Colonel Sumpter's house, near Nelson's ferry—killed two, wounded five, and took prisoners one Captain of the 63^d, one Lieutenant of the Prince of Wales' regiment, and sixteen privates, and two Tories doing duty with them.²⁶¹ The whole guard, as the Captain informed me, consisted of forty regulars and twenty Tories. Our loss was one man killed, and Captain Benson wounded slightly; and I have retaken one hundred and fifty soldiers of the Maryland line, all of which I have brought to this place.---I heard of two other divisions with prisoners coming down, and could have taken them, but the report of our army being defeated struck such a damp on my men, with a report of the enemys coming in my rear to cut off my retreat, that I was left in two hours with not more than half of the men I had, which obliged me to retreat and take post here, where I shall use my utmost endeavours to collect some men, till I can hear from you.²⁶² But, if I do not hear from you in a few days, I shall retreat to Cross-creek. The prisoners I will send to Halifax, after a day or two of rest. I have given to the two officers their servants, and to the wounded their parole, as I could not well bring them off with safety.

I should be glad to hear from you and what I shall do with the Continentals I retook. I could wish you could send some officers to take charge of them, as they are much dissatisfied to be commanded by any Officers of their own, and I am certain that they will desert, to a man, without it. Several have already gone off, and it was not in my power to prevent it, as the militia are not under any command and some days I have not more than a

257. James, *Francis Marion*, 30; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 55-56; Jacob Allen, Pension Statement R111.

258. James, *Francis Marion*, 30.

259. The letter of August 22 has not been found, nor is the identity of Mr. Perkins known.

260. One strategy for disrupting British movements and supply lines was to prevent the army from crossing the Santee River by destroying all boats. Marion apparently took care of the boats from Murray's Ferry to the Lower Ferry. Peter Horry, in response to Marion's letter of August 17, above, had destroyed all boats from the Lower Ferry to Lenud's Ferry. Marion's report that boats were destroyed all the way to the mouth of the Santee would indicate that Horry expanded his mission.

261. In his letter of August 27 to Peter Horry, above, Marion recorded the date of the encounter as August 20, and the British losses at 22 killed and two wounded. Cornwallis reported the date as August 25 in a letter to Clinton on August 29.

262. Marion's belief that he could have captured successive convoys of prisoners attests to the audacity with which he approached his mission. Unfortunately, the victory at Great Savannah did not have the same effect on his militia, who were quick to return to their homes in anticipation of reprisals from the British. Although Marion had achieved a victory, he was practical enough to realize that the British would not let his band of guerrillas go unchallenged. Pulling back to Cross Creek would enable him to gain a better perspective on enemy movements, as well as to resupply his band. Cross Creek, present-day Fayetteville, N.C., was a supply depot for the Southern Department. Halifax, N.C., was a collection center for prisoners, who would then be marched to more permanent holding facilities near Albemarle, Va., Winchester, Va., and Frederick, Md. The prisoners were apparently passed through an intermediate holding area, as related in a September 12 letter from Col. James Read to Gen. Jethro Sumner: "Col. Marion retook one hundred and forty seven soldiers of the Maryland and Delaware line, fifty seven of whom have arrived in town (Wilmington) and committed to my care" ("Read to Sumner, Sep. 12, 1780," *NCSR*, 14:771).

dozen with me; but, if they were once assured that you were in a condition to act again, I am certain I should get a number to enable me to intercept any parties, which may be going to or from Charlestown to Camden.²⁶³

I have the honor to be &c
Frans. Marion

ACy (MH).

*Blue Savannah*²⁶⁴
September 4, 1780

Marion's successful attack on the British regulars and consequent recovery of Continental soldiers captured at Camden put him on the British radar. Cornwallis quickly responded to his victory at Great Savannah by ordering Maj. James Wemyss²⁶⁵ to counter the new threat that Marion represented to British control of the Pee Dee.²⁶⁶ But before that threat arrived, the partisan commander faced his first test against Loyalists in the region. His first local adversaries were former 2nd SC Regiment soldiers. Loyalist Maj. Micajah Ganey²⁶⁷ had joined the enemy after some Patriots allegedly stole his horses, and Loyalist Capt. Jesse Barfield did so because he felt slighted by a Patriot officer.²⁶⁸ They led 250 Loyalists in the Pee Dee region and Bladen County, North Carolina. Upon learning of Marion's presence in the region, Ganey determined to surprise him, and moved toward Marion's camp near Port's Ferry. Marion learned of the whereabouts of the Loyalists from the five Munnerlyn brothers, including Benjamin and Loftus, whose father had been robbed and was being held prisoner by the Loyalists. Marion was initially hesitant to take action, as he had only 53 men with him, and was outnumbered almost five to one. He decided to take the initiative and attack before he himself was attacked, looking to deny the enemy an action on their own terms, and instead using surprise to keep them off balance. The audacity of attacking against great odds, but with careful preparation, soon paid off.²⁶⁹

The partisan commander adapted a tactic he would use again and again, marching at night to conduct a dawn attack. In the early hours of September 4, 1780, Marion's men advanced from the vicinity of Port's Ferry. They discovered the unsuspecting Loyalists' camp and attacked, routing Ganey's surprised militiamen. Marion assumed he was attacking the main camp, but instead it was only the Loyalist advanced foraging party of about 45 men. The attack killed or wounded all but 15 of the foraging party, who quickly escaped into the swamp.²⁷⁰

Ganey and a few of his men quickly retreated one-half mile, while Patriot Maj. John James individually targeted

263. Although Francis Marion was technically still a lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army, the Maryland Continentals refused to take orders from any except Maryland officers, who had been separated from the enlisted soldiers after the Battle of Camden. Contemporaneous reports indicated that only three of the 150 Maryland Continentals stayed with Marion. Some sources say that the Continentals who chose to go on to Charlestown went to the British camps and either volunteered to fight for the Crown or turned themselves in as prisoners. Marion related that not only would the Continentals only begrudgingly obey his orders, but that he had no real authority to command the militia either, since he was in the Continental line and not in the militia. In essence he was a supernumerary officer who, incredibly, was able to maintain legitimacy among his men through his experience, charisma, and force of personality, not by his commission alone. The lack of official command authority may have contributed to the constant comings and goings of the part-time militia soldiers, but an even larger factor may have been the fact that the militia men knew their homes and families were threatened by Loyalists and British troops whenever they were away. They also had to farm and provide for their families, which created a perpetual flow in and out of camp that plagued the brigade throughout its existence, and limited Marion's ability to follow up his victories. But his experience with militia during the Cherokee War, at Fort Sullivan, and during his time at Sheldon had taught him lessons in how to effectively handle them and so Marion never pushed them too hard. He understood their basic needs and concerns, and had to adopt flexibility in command as a partisan leader.

264. The site of the Battle of Blue Savannah is approximately at the junction of current highways US-501 and SC-41, near Rains, S.C., in Marion County (Parker, *Parker's Guide*, 274).

265. [See brief bio of James Wemyss here.](#)

266. Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug. 28, and 31, 1780, Wemyss to Cornwallis, Aug. 28, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:208-10.

267. [See brief bio of Micajah Ganey here.](#)

268. [See brief bio of Jesse Barfield \(Barefield\) here.](#)

269. Loftus Munnerlyn, Pension Statement S18136. Letter Marion to Gates, 15 September 1780, below; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 59-60.

270. James, *Francis Marion*, 26; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 60.

Ganey and pursued him. For reasons unknown, the Patriots did not follow James, who quickly found himself alone. Instead of terminating his attack, James used a ruse as he yelled back to the nonexistent men behind him that he had located the enemy. That cool headed action in the moment spurred Ganey and his men, without further hesitation or examination, to immediately turn their horses and flee into the Little Pee Dee swamp. In the course of this action, the Munnerlyn brothers' father was released.²⁷¹

By then Marion had arrived with the rest of his men, assessed the situation, and determined to pursue the Loyalists. Shortly thereafter he confronted Barfield's 200 infantry who were in full march to meet the Patriots. What happened next is debated by historians. Marion reported to Gen. Gates in his September 15 letter that he attacked the 200 Loyalists "directly" and drove them "into an impassible swamp to all but Tories."²⁷²

William Dobein James, the son of Maj. John James, who may have been there himself, wrote 40 years later:

Gen. Marion did not wish to expose his men, by an attack on equal terms; he therefore feigned a retreat, and led them into an ambuscade, near the Blue Savannah, where they were defeated. This was the first manoeuvre of the kind, for which he afterwards became so conspicuous.²⁷³

Barfield's men had only gotten off one ineffective volley before being driven into the swamp. Marion's casualties were minimal: four men wounded, and two horses killed. Benjamin Munnerlyn remembered that he "caught one of his soldiers as he was falling from a shot in the breast" and that that soldier's name was Evans. The tally of Loyalist losses suffered in the second engagement was not reported. Loftus Munnerlyn noted that one of the Tories killed was Matthew Allen, who had been shot while smoking a pipe near the fire when the Patriots surprised them.²⁷⁴

Francis Davis, a volunteer under Marion, wrote that he "was in two battles or skirmishes in one day with the Tories under the command of Joshua Barfield [sic, Jesse Barfield], the Americans commanded by Colonels Marion & Giles & Major Irwin; one on Little Pedee at a place called Blue Savannah at or near the residence of James Barefoot, the attack was made upon an advance forage party of the Tories about day break two of them killed, three wounded, some taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed; that the other skirmish was about two miles higher up Little Pedee, that while the Americans were in search of the Tories they were lying in ambush under a hill near the edge of a swamp, and fired upon us; we returned the fire, whereupon the Tories gave back & took to the swamp -- one of our party was slightly wounded, but none killed on either side."²⁷⁵

George McCall, who had been serving with Hugh Giles since just after Camden, similarly remembered that "we heard a party of Tories had collected at Williamsburg meeting house -- we left our redoubt & went to attack them -- on our way we met a Major James -- who had taken the waiting man of the commander by whom we learned that the party was composed of British soldiers, that Gates was defeated, we then recrossed Pedee & the next day hearing of some Tories at the Blue Savannah we marched all night, came on them about twilight routed & took prisoners a whole party -- from the prisoners we learned that eight miles from there -- they were that morning to have been joined by 150 men more -- we proceeded to their camp arrived about 10 o'clock & routed them -- & then returned to our redoubt."²⁷⁶

The convincing victory over Ganey and Barfield set the standard for Marion's offensive operations against the Loyalists in northeastern South Carolina. Up until Blue Savannah, the Loyalists, by virtue of the British occupation of Georgetown and the Crown post at Cheraw, held the psychological advantage over the Patriots in the Pee Dee region. That confidence was further augmented by the losses inflicted on the Patriots by the British at Charlestown, the Waxhaws, and Camden. Suddenly all that was irrelevant in the face of a Patriot force under a capable commander now present in the Pee Dee.

The dominance of Marion's small force over the Loyalists at Blue Savannah proved that his victory at Great Savannah was not an aberration, notwithstanding the minimal enemy losses. It gave the Loyalists in the region pause. The next day, after Marion had withdrawn to Port's Ferry, the Loyalists came out of the swamp and dispersed. The

271. Loftus Munnerlyn, Pension Statement S18136; James, *Francis Marion*, 26.

272. Marion to Gates, Sep. 15, 1780, below; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 59-60.

273. James, *Francis Marion*, 26; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 60-61.

274. Benjamin Munnerlyn, Pension Statement W8479; Loftus Munnerlyn, Pension Statement S18136. Marion to Gates, Sep. 15, 1780, below; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 61.

275. Francis Davis, Pension Statement S8290.

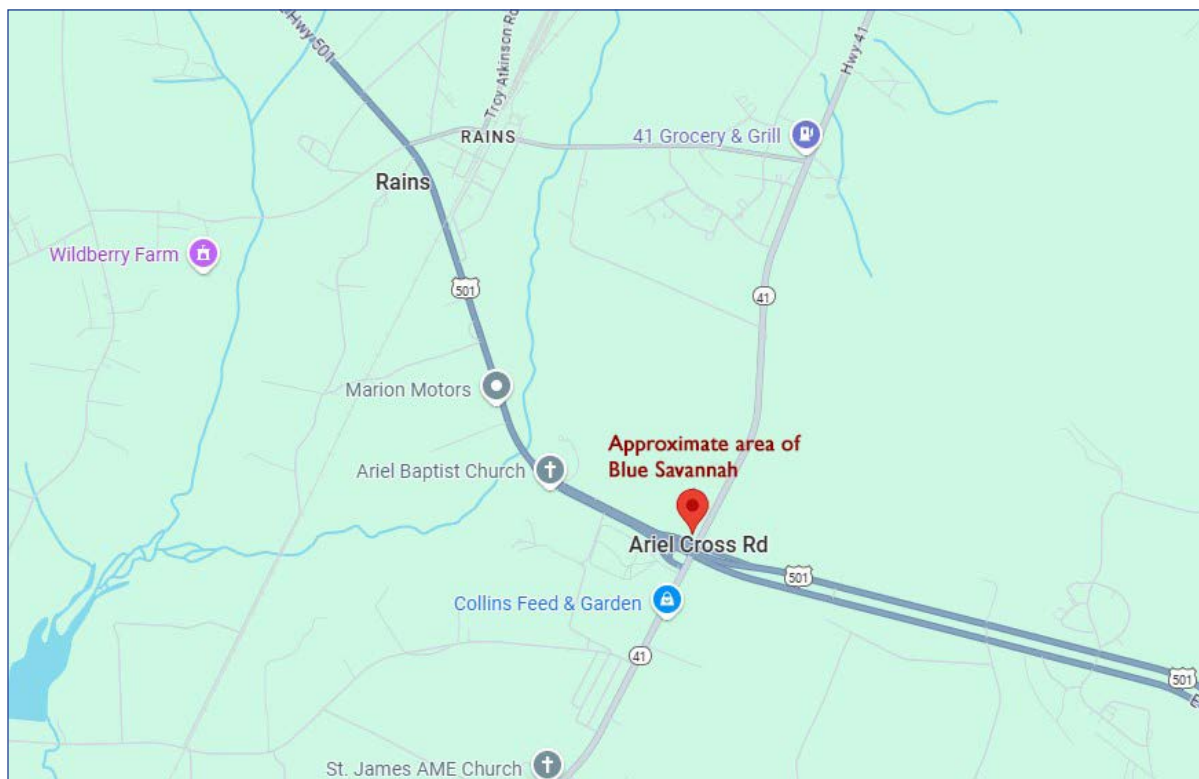
276. George McCall, Pension Statement R6598.

Loyalist fervor in the region was broken for the time being. The Patriot victory also validated Cornwallis's decision to reallocate a portion of his scarce resources to rounding up the upstart Patriots led by Marion.²⁷⁷

Most important to Marion at the time was the resulting boost to recruiting that the two victories accomplished. The day after Blue Savannah, as mentioned in Marion's letter to Gates of September 15, below, 60 more volunteers joined his brigade, more than doubling the force that had fought against Ganey and Barfield. The Patriot commander had a small redoubt built on the Britton's Neck side of the Pee Dee, providing an added defensive capability.²⁷⁸ Marion's reputation as a partisan commander who got results was growing, and people were paying attention to the actions in the Pee Dee region, particularly Lord Cornwallis. Marion sought to increase his concern.

One of the men who joined Marion around this time (although it is unclear whether he did so before or after Blue Savannah) was William Cannon, a former Continental who had been captured at Charlestown in May and held on a prison ship in the harbor when "he & four others in the night at the risk of life when the guard were below, entered the boat & made to shore being in the harbor of Charleston & succeeded in getting to General Marion."²⁷⁹

Sep. 14-18 – Elijah Clarke and James McCall lay siege to McKay's Trading Post at Augusta, successfully bottling up Thomas Brown inside, but are ultimately forced to abandon the operation when reinforcements from Ninety Six arrive.



277. Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug. 28, and 31, 1780, Wemyss to Cornwallis, Aug. 28, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:208-210.

278. Smith, *Francis Marion and the Snow's Island Community*, 107.

279. William Cannon, Pension Statement S2114.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates - September 15, 1780

White Marsh, Bladen Co, [N.C.], 15th Sept. 1780.²⁸⁰

Sir:

I wrote you by M^r. Simons²⁸¹ the 29th Aug^t. by express, who is not yet returned. I have not been able to learn anything of your situation, which has very much dispirited the friends to America.

I have sent the prisoners, I took the 25th. Aug^t., with the Continentals to Wilmington__ Many of the latter have left me, & my situation growing more critical; I could not possibly keep them any longer.²⁸²

On the 3^d inst. I had advice, that upwards of 200 Tories intended to attack me the next day. I immediately marched with 53 men, which is all I could get, _ on the 4th. in the morning, I surprised a party of 45 men which I mistook for the main body: I killed and wounded all but fifteen, who escaped. I then marched immediately to attack the main body which I met about three miles, in full march towards me: I directly attacked them & put them to flight, though they had 200 men, & got into an impassible swamp to all but Tories. I had one man wounded in the first Action, & 3 in the second, & two horses killed. Finding it impossible to come at them, I retreated to camp. The next day I was informed they all dispersed.²⁸³

On the 5th, I was joined by about 60 men;²⁸⁴ I then throughed up a small redoubt to secure my camp from being surprised by the Enemy, should they again collect.²⁸⁵

On the 7th,²⁸⁶ I cross P.D. & Lynche's Creek, with 100 men, & left 50 to secure my camp & the river,²⁸⁷ to attack a party of regulars & militia said to be 150, which were in Williamsburg Township, a[nd] burning all the houses of those men who had joined me. When I had got to Indian Town, Capt. James²⁸⁸ whom I had sent to reconnoitre the Enemy, met me. He had taken a prisoner belonging to Col. Ferguson's rifle reg^t.²⁸⁹ by whom I learnt that they was 200 British & a number of Tories, & that a Major Whimes [Wemyss] with 200 more was to join them that night. They were seen after dark on their march, & by an orderly book taken with an officer's baggage with the above prisoner, I found their intention was to remove me & to proceed to Cheraws.²⁹⁰

280. White Marsh consisted of Little White Marsh and Great White Marsh, which were swamps forming a tributary of the Waccamaw River immediately south of its head at Waccamaw Lake, which was then in Bladen County, now Columbus County, North Carolina. Apparently, only the eastern side of the marshland was settled. Marion may have been familiar with the area as a result of visits to his brother Isaac Marion, who lived on Little River, near the border between South Carolina and North Carolina.
281. This messenger may have been Keating Simons (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 67). [See brief bio of Keating Simons here.](#)
282. After liberating 150 Continental prisoners at Great Savannah on August 25, only three opted to fight with him. The rest either continued to Charlestown as prisoners-of-war or marched on with the British prisoners to a depot at Wilmington, N.C.. Marion and his followers rode to the safer confines of Britton's Neck (Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 55-56).
283. The area of Blue Savannah, near present-day Ariel Crossroads on Highway 501 in Marion County, South Carolina, still exhibits the characteristics of a Carolina Bay, including the blue color of the mud when seen from the air. The eastern edge is likely where the Loyalists ran into the Little Pee Dee River swamp. There is over a 10-foot drop off into the swamp along that area going east. Marion's men pursued them to that point but did not go further. The next day the Loyalists emerged from the swamp and dispersed back home, not as confident as they had been a few days before.
284. The 60 volunteers were presumably Col. Hugh Giles's and the Britton's Neck militia (McCall, Pension Application R6598; Smith, *Marion and Snow's Island*, 107, 154).
285. As a result of Marion's successful confrontations with the Loyalists, an increasing number of militia joined his brigade. After routing Loyalist militia under Maj. Micajah Ganey and Capt. Jesse Barfield, both former members of Marion's 2nd SC Regiment, during the two actions at Blue Savannah, Marion moved his militia to Port's Ferry on the Pee Dee River, where he erected a redoubt, presumed to be located on the east side of the ferry (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 646; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 43; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 69-72; Steven D. Smith, *The Search For Francis Marion: Archaeological Survey of 15 Camps and Battlefields Associated with Francis Marion*, prepared for the Francis Marion Trails Commission by SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at University of South Carolina, (Columbia, 2008), 34-37).
286. The *JCC* copy shows the date as the 17th. However, both Sparks and Draper use the 7th. Since the 8th is mentioned subsequently and the letter was dated the 15th, it is clear that the 17th is a transcription error.
287. Marion established at least two semi-permanent encampments in this area, one at Dunham's Bluff on the north side of the Pee Dee and one on Snow's Island, a two-by-five-mile island, surrounded by Lynches Creek, Clark's Creek and the Pee Dee River, opposite Dunham's Bluff. The only access was by boat or swimming.
288. Capt. John James was a cousin of the more famous Maj. John James, the leader of the Williamsburg militia before the arrival of Francis Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 494).
289. [See brief bio of Patrick Ferguson here.](#)
290. Ferguson himself was at this time far to the west, participating in the campaign that would ultimately end in his death at King's Mountain. Presumably, the reference here is to the American Volunteers, which Ferguson was the commander of, and which had been detached to assist Major James Wemyss as he combed the countryside looking for Francis Marion. There does not seem to be any evidence that the American Volunteers were actually rifle-armed. This may simply be an incorrect assumption on Marion's part, given Ferguson's personal association with the weapon. Marion believed Wemyss's mission was to capture him. The orderly book was that of Capt.-Lt. James Depeyster, brother of Capt. Abraham DePeyster, who was the British second-in-command at Kings Mountain (Harrington to Gates, Sep 17, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:624-25). Depeyster and 29 of his grenadiers were captured by Capt. James Postell of Marion's brigade in January 1781.

I also had intelligence that [200 Men part Regulars had arrived in George Town from Santee: Which obliged me to return to my Camp, which I did that day. On the 8th I had intelligence that]²⁹¹ Maj. Whimes has crossed Lynch's Creek, come on my front; & those in Geo. Town had crossed Black River & Uhaney [Yauhannah], to fall on my rear. The troops I had lately dispersed were collecting on my right, which would completely surround me, & cut off my retreat, which obliged me to retreat to this place with 60 men__²⁹² the rest left me to see after their families who had their houses burnt. They have burnt a number of houses on Black river, Lynch's Creek & Waccamaw.²⁹³ I shall remain here until I hear from you, or I have an opportunity of doing something.²⁹⁴

I have the honour to be, with respect,
Your most ob^t. Serv^t.
Fran^s. Marion

Tr (WHi) Draper, 7VV38-39. Editor's Note: Two other transcripts of this letter were examined. However, Draper's appeared to express the grammar and spelling of the time better than those from the *Journal of the Continental Congress* which was a copy, and the Sparks Collection, Harvard University. It should be noted that the capitalization of the *JCC* transcript did look to be contemporary (*JCC*, 2:284). However, it was apparent that the grammar and sentence structure had been changed. Note that in the *JCC* copy – the first two paragraphs omitted – was found enclosed in a letter from Gen. Gates to the President of Congress, perhaps, providing a clue as to why it had been altered, especially in light of the first two paragraphs being omitted. It is interesting that Gen. Gates would apparently choose not to include information to Congress that indicated a lack of communications with those fighting in South Carolina (at least Marion), or the situation with the Continental soldiers and prisoners taken at Great Savannah. It is difficult to determine a chronology for the transcripts since no record was found confirming when the Letters of Horatio Gates were transcribed. Lyman Draper's may actually have been the last transcribed. Draper may have accessed the letter during the nine trips he made to the South in the 1840s, although neither the source of the Draper nor the Sparks transcripts is known. Sparks published his *Life and Writings of George Washington* from 1834-37 in 12 volumes.

Command by Consent

When Marion took command of all the militia in the Pee Dee region is unclear. His tenure most likely started on Aug. 17 (James says Aug. 10 or 12, but that does not fit with Horry's account), when Marion met the militia at Witherspoon's Ferry.²⁹⁵ Those who were present informally accepted him as their commander. Likely the Williamsburg militia were there, including fifteen-year-old William Dobein James. In 1821, Judge James wrote about Marion and his brigade. He related that his father, Maj. John James, probably in late July or early August, mustered four companies of the Williamsburg militia under "captains William McCottry,²⁹⁶ Henry Mouzon, John James of the lake [Maj. James's cousin], and John McCauley.... Shortly after, Col. Hugh Giles, of Pedee, proposed to join them with two companies." James asserts that Marion arrived at the militia camp "on the 10th or 12th of August."²⁹⁷ Based on Horry's Journal, as noted above, it seems more likely that Marion did not arrive at the militia camp until Aug. 17. Further muddying the waters is the pension statement of George McCall, who stated that he joined Col. Hugh Giles's regiment at Giles Bluff. McCall submitted pension applications in both 1832 and 1833. According to the former, he was at Giles's camp

291. The Draper transcription omitted the text between the brackets. The missing text was taken from *JCC*, 2:284.

292. As Wemyss, leading elements of the regulars of the 63rd Foot, Maj. John Harrison's SC Provincial Rangers, the Loyalist militia under Ganey, and a troop from Georgetown advanced against him from all directions, Marion recognized the situation and quickly retreated to the relative safety of Whitemarsh (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 72-75).

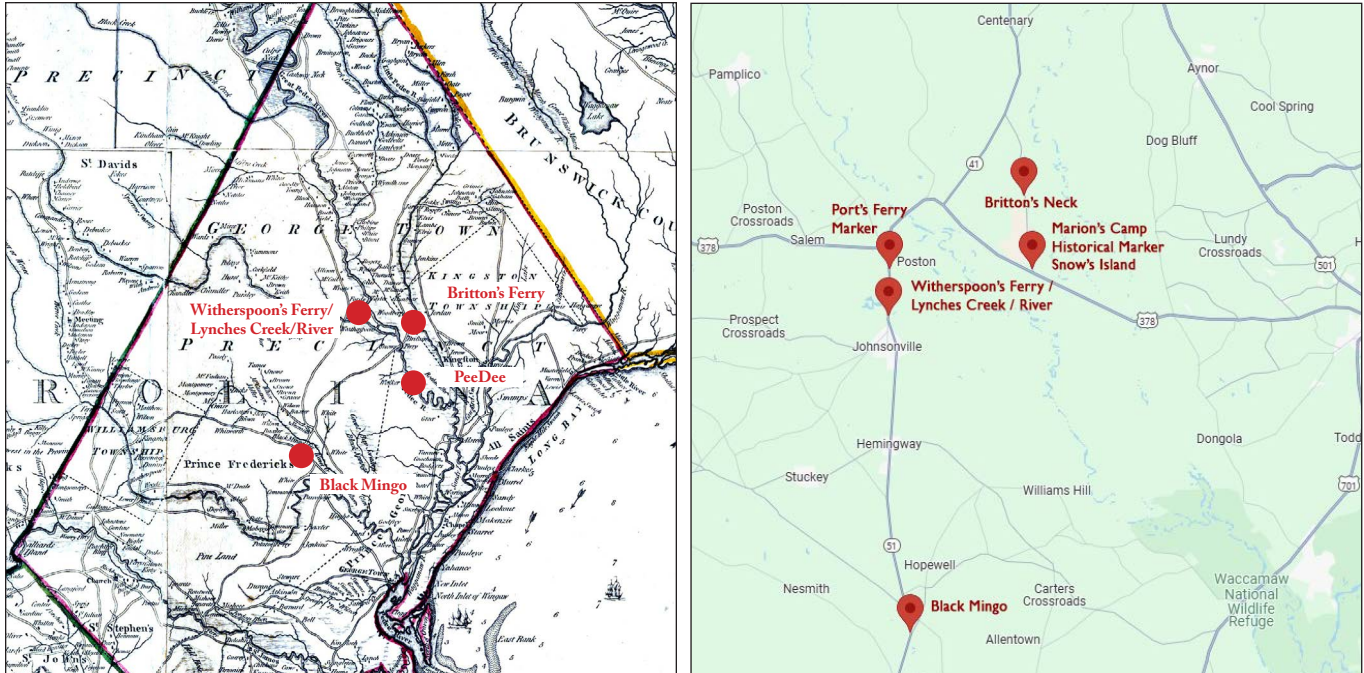
293. Cornwallis had given Wemyss strict orders regarding the punishment of rebels. Those who Wemyss determined had broken parole were to be hanged. Those who concealed weapons were to have their plantations burned (Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug. 28, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:208-09). Wemyss reported to Cornwallis that he had burned 50 plantations. In addition, he had also burned the Indiantown Presbyterian Church (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 73-79; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 63). Marion, with only 60 men, had to wait for Wemyss to leave the area before he could return.

294. In response to a letter from Gates, Col. Stephen Drayton traveled to Marion's camp at White Marsh. Drayton noted that the forces of Marion and Giles were combined there under Marion's command. What else transpired at this meeting is not known (Drayton to Gates, Sep. 25, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:649-51). At this point it is uncertain whether Marion had any official command authority or access to weapons, supplies, or horses.

295. Witherspoon Ferry is present-day Johnsonville, S.C..

296. [See brief bio of William McCottry here.](#)

297. James, *Francis Marion*, 25.



for only two or three days when Marion arrived. He did not mention Maj. James. In the latter, McCall claimed to have remained at the camp “about 2 or 3 weeks—in the meantime Col. Marion came to us.” He mentioned James, but not in the context of a junction with James’s four militia companies and Giles’s two. In both statements, McCall asserted that a redoubt was started on the other side of Port’s Ferry before the actions at Blue Savannah on Sep. 4. According to Marion’s letter of Sep. 15 to Gates, the redoubts were not started until after the action.²⁹⁸

William Dobein James, then a fifteen-year-old militia private, wrote about the militia’s first view of the new commander:

He was a stranger to the officers and men, and they flocked about him, to obtain a sight of their future commander. He was rather below the middle stature of men, lean and swarthy. His body was well set, but his knees and ankles were badly formed; and he still limped upon one leg. He had a countenance remarkably steady; his nose was aquiline; his chin projecting; his forehead was large and high, and his eyes black and piercing. He was now forty-eight years of age; but still even at this age, his frame was capable of enduring fatigue and every privation, necessary for a partisan. His wisdom and patriotism will become henceforth conspicuous. Of a character, so much venerated, even trifles become important. He was dressed in a close round bodied crimson jacket, of a coarse texture, and wore a leather cap, part of the uniform of the second regiment, with a silver crescent in front, inscribed with the words, “Liberty or death.”²⁹⁹ He was accompanied by his friend Col. Peter Horry, and some other officers.³⁰⁰

James did not mention specifically whether Col. Hugh Giles and his command were there. But Giles was among the officers who had requested that Gen. Gates appoint them a commander. This was a very prudent move by the militia in the Pee Dee region. By requesting a commander with experience, they headed off potential internal conflicts that could have limited the effectiveness of their efforts. For volunteers, it was essential that the new commander’s authority derive from their own consent and not from an arbitrary appointment through the chain of command.

298. George McCall, Pension Statement R6598; Marion to Gates, Sep. 15, 1780, above.

299. This is the only reference to anything other than “Liberty” being on the crescent of a Second South Carolina Regiment helmet, as “Liberty or Death” was on the helmets of the 3rd Regiment. See also Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1, 90; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2, 281, 290.

300. James, *Francis Marion*, 25-26.

They had ridden into camp of their own free will, and they could just as easily ride out again. First impressions are important, and for Marion at Witherspoon's Ferry, it was critical. Marion knew this well, having initially been in the militia where he witnessed their interactions with the regulars and militia in the Cherokee War and on multiple occasions since 1775.³⁰¹ The question of command authority between Continental and militia officers continued to be a problem. In an August 29 letter to Gates, above, Marion wrote that "the militia are not under any command." His Continental commission did not give him authority over militia, and he was clearly aware that they were reluctant to yield to any authority but that which they chose. Even after December 1780, when Gov. Rutledge commissioned him a brigadier general of militia, Marion still found that commanding them remained a challenge.³⁰²

Initially, his authority derived from a single meeting with the military leaders of the region held at the home of Gilbert Johnstone(e), Jr. at Lake Swamp, near present-day Galivant's Ferry on the Little Pee Dee River. From an extract of a letter written to his daughter-in-law, Susanna Barefield Johnstone, on March 8, 1790, Gilbert Johnstone, revealed:

Bare fields tories burned my house to cellar. . . Marion two Horrys Peter and Hugh] & Francis Huger met Folsome [Col. Ebenezer Folsom], North Carolina militia commander] and Giles [Col. Hugh Giles] my house. All chose Marion bar [except] Folsome Hugo [Johnston, militia captain] took my men with Marion 1780 all horseman. rancis Huger & [John] James often at my house...

Writ by my hand for Susanna 8th. March 1790.
Gilbert Johnstone Gen^{t'n}³⁰³

The date of the meeting is not known. It is conceivable that it took place during a stop on the march to White Marsh. Two Johnstone(e)s are shown on the 1775 Mouzon Map near Lake Swamp, a tributary of the Little Pee Dee River, in the line of march, near the North Carolina line in present day Horry County.³⁰⁴ The two Horrys were Peter and Hugh Horry, both colonels in Marion's brigade. Francis Huger was the brother of Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, later second-in-command of the Southern Army to Gen. Nathanael Greene. Folsom was presumably Col. Ebenezer Folsom, a North Carolina militia colonel from the Cape Fear River, (present Fayetteville, N.C.) area. No reason was given for his dissension on the matter of Marion's authority. Giles was Col. Hugh Giles. Hugo was Johnstone's brother. James was presumably Maj. John James, the leader of the Williamsburg militia. The Patriot band retreated to White Marsh. From there, Col. Stephen Drayton, in a letter to Gates of September 25, 1780, wrote, "when I came to white marsh, I met with the Men of those two Colonels [Marion and Giles], under the command of the former, who had retreated from Pee Dee."³⁰⁵ They would stay there until the time was right to return and gather the militia again for another strike. Further specificity about Marion's movements during this time can be gleaned from the pension application of John Booth, who wrote that after joining Marion at Port's Ferry (the latter's force at that time consisting of approximately 100 men), they marched to Elizabeth City, N.C., and remained there for a month before heading to White Marsh, pausing for two to three weeks, and then on to Raft Swamp.³⁰⁶

Sep. 21 – John Andre is captured by American militia, just after meeting with Benedict Arnold, leading to the unravelling of the plot to deliver West Point, Arnold's escape to the British, and Andre's execution.
Sep. 26 – William Richardson Davie skirmishes with the British in Charlotte, North Carolina, holding his own and inflicting heavy casualties before withdrawing.

301. James, *Francis Marion*, 25.

302. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 108.

303. Young, Deryl. 2008. "The Case for Gilbert Johnstone Jr.'s Residence during the American Revolution," *The Independent Republic Quarterly, A Publication of the Horry County Historical Society* 42(1-4):1-6; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 502; Gilbert Johnstone to Susanna Johnstone, Mar. 8, 1790, ALS (ScU).

304. Henry Mouzon, Robert Sayer, and Robert Bennet, "An accurate map of North and South Carolina, with their Indian frontier, shewing in a distinct manner all the mountains, rivers, swamps, marshes, bays, creeks, harbours, sandbanks and soundings on the coasts; with the roads and Indian paths, as well as the boundary or provincial lines, the several townships, and other divisions of the land in both the provinces." London: Printed for Robt. Sayer and J. Bennet, 1775. Map.

305. *NCSR*, 14:649-51.

306. John Booth, Pension Statement W25258.

*Black Mingo*³⁰⁷ *September 28-29, 1780*

Marion's success in surprising the British regulars at Great Savannah and routing the Loyalist militia at Blue Savannah gave American morale a much-needed boost. Fair-weather Patriots in the region began to shed their neutrality and began to actively support the Revolution. Marion had shown that the British were not invincible. His actions also convinced Cornwallis that Patriot activity to his east could not be ignored. Although the British held Georgetown securely, the surrounding countryside was in chaos.³⁰⁸

In an attempt to eliminate the American threat and pacify the local population, Cornwallis dispatched Maj. James Wemyss with 200 men of the 63rd Foot to the region. When Marion learned that these new forces and another force of regulars and Loyalist militia from Georgetown could potentially envelop his still-outnumbered troops, he withdrew to White Marsh, in Bladen County, North Carolina. Most of his men returned to their homes to do what they could to repair the damage done by Wemyss during his march from the High Hills of the Santee through Williamsburg. As he marched eastward, Wemyss had destroyed 50 plantations, killed livestock, and deprived the residents of most of the basic necessities of life, while leaving a path of destruction 70 miles long and 15 miles wide.³⁰⁹

After passing through Williamsburg, Wemyss headed north and rested briefly in Cheraw. There he wrote Cornwallis on September 20, admitting that, despite all his efforts, he could not catch Marion. He did contend, however, that the Patriot force was dispersed, and that "the few that still continue together have retreated over Little Peedee." Wemyss also reported, "It is impossible for me to give Your Lordship an Idea of the disaffection of this Country," perhaps not recognizing that it was actions such as his own that created the "disaffection."³¹⁰

With Wemyss no longer in pursuit, and with reports that the regulars were marching for Camden, Marion saw an opportunity to again surprise the enemy. Intelligence revealed that the movement of the British out of the region had exposed two Loyalist militia units, one located on the Black River, and the other, under Col. John Coming Ball,³¹¹ on Black Mingo Creek. On September 24, with perhaps 40 men, Marion marched southward along the Waccamaw River into South Carolina. At Kingston³¹² he struck off toward Britton's Neck. By the time he crossed the Little Pee Dee, the Pee Dee, and Lynches Creek, at Witherspoon's Ferry, his force had increased to about 60 militia. Despite having ridden over 70 miles in four days, Marion was determined to take advantage of the darkness and surprise the enemy. John Booth, a volunteer with Marion, wrote that the scouts were "Shadrach & John Simons and one McDaniel (a red headed Scotchman who was afterward killed at Wateree)."³¹³

The Loyalists were camped on the west side of Black Mingo at Shepherd's Ferry, near Dollard's Tavern. To get to the enemy Marion faced one more water obstacle to cross, Black Mingo Creek. While crossing a bridge a mile upstream from the Loyalist camp, the rattle of loose planks allegedly alerted the sleeping enemy, but pension statements show that Marion had placed blankets on the bridge to prevent noise, and he reported to Gates that the enemy had "intelligence" of his coming.³¹⁴ Even though the element of surprise had been lost, Marion rode on. Since his men were not armed with sabers or trained as dragoons, he dismounted most of them and advanced on foot. Just as he had at Great Savannah, Hugh Horry led the infantry. When they were within 30 yards, a volley from the Loyalists rebuffed the Patriots. They retreated, but were rallied by Maj. John James. At about the same time,

307. The Battle of Black Mingo took place near the present SC-41, north of modern Rhems, S.C., on the border between Williamsburg and Georgetown Counties.

308. Cornwallis to Germain, Sep. 19, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:36-37.

309. James, *Francis Marion*, 31.

310. Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 20, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:214-15.

311. [See brief bio of John Coming Ball here.](#)

312. Current Conway, S.C..

313. John Booth, Pension Statement, W25258

314. William Griffis, Pension Statement, R4320; John Hames, Pension Statement, S16409; David Watts, Pension Statement S18267; Marion to Gates, Oct. 4, 1780, below; David Watts, Pension Statement S18267; Thomas Hitchcock, Pension Statement R5057; John Booth, Pension Statement W25258.

Marion's few mounted militia charged from the left. Ball's militia crumbled at the flanking attack by the Patriots, fleeing into the swamps around Black Mingo Creek. The action lasted no more than 15 minutes, during which the Patriots took 26 prisoners.³¹⁵

Although it was a clear victory for the Patriots, it did not come without a cost. Capt. George Logan, a Continental officer captured at Camden and freed at Great Savannah, had left his sickbed and ridden over 60 miles to be at the battle, and was one of the two men killed. Marion's close friend Capt. Henry Mouzon, and Lt. Joseph Scott were among the eight wounded. Neither of them would be able to fight again in the war. John Davis, who Marion had promoted to captain only the day before, was also wounded in the knee, rendering him disabled for life, and John Booth wrote that he was wounded in the belly, and survived only because his cartridge box changed the direction of the ball.³¹⁶

Marion wanted to attack another contingent of Loyalists under Capt. John Wigfall who camped at Salem Black River Presbyterian Church following the action at Black Mingo. But the men had been away from their families and, as the militia frequently did, Marion's force dwindled away as his men left to visit their families and gather their harvests. He understood the dangers to which the families and homes of his men were exposed when they were away. Plus, it was harvest time. Without ample provisions, Marion undoubtedly recognized that neither his troops nor their families could survive.³¹⁷

With his force again temporarily depleted, the partisan leader headed for the relative safety of the land along the South Carolina-North Carolina border. After settling in around Ami's Mill on Drowning Creek (now called the Lumber River), Marion penned the October 4 letter to Gates, below. The action at Black Mingo may have been small in terms of combatants, but as Marion related to Gates in his letter of October 15, below, "the Tories are all dispersed since the attack on Black Mingo." Following the action, the Loyalists briefly evacuated Georgetown, an indication of the effect Marion's guerrilla tactics were having.³¹⁸

315. George McCall, Pension Statement, R6598; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 67-71.

316. John Davis, Pension Statement S37880; John Booth, Pension Statement W25258; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 70; Marion to Gates, Oct. 4, 1780.

317. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 74.

318. Balfour to Cornwallis, Oct. 1, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:113.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates - October 4, 1780

Drowning Creek, S.C. October 4th. 1780

Sir

I set out from the Whitemarsh on Sunday evening, the 24th September, and took a tour to Kingston. From thence I turned and crossed Little Pedee at Woodberry's and made a forced march across big P.D. to Black Mingo, where was a guard of forty seven men of the militia of S^t. James Santee & S^t. Stephens, commanded by Captain Cummin Ball,³¹⁹ which I immediately attacked about 12 o'clock. P.M. the 28th of September. They had intelligence of our coming, and drew up near a swamp, and received our fire within thirty yards, which they returned twice, and then took in to their swamp. We killed three dead on the spot, and wounded and took thirteen prisoners. My loss was Captain Logan of the Continentals,³²⁰ and one private killed, one Captain & one Lieutenant & six privates wounded. I have since heard, that several of their men have been found dead and wounded in the swamp & adjoining woods. All their horses & baggage fell into our hands.—It was my intention to break up another guard at Black river Church of fifty men, but so many of my followers were so desirous to see their wives and families, which have been burnt out, that I found it necessary to retreat the next morning across Big P.D. at Britton's ferry to this place;³²¹ and I have delivered to Colonel Brown nine of the prisoners taken at B[lack]. Mingo, and three of the 63^d regiment, taken at the Great Savanna sometime ago, which I paroled to a house on account of their being sick and incapable of marching.³²²

The prisoners taken are men of family and fortune, which I hope may be a check to the militia's taking arms against us. I must beg that those men, who have a cross before their names in the enclosed list, may be showed as much favour as possible, as they had shown themselves before the last action to be good men.³²³ I would not give them paroles, as I thought it would be acknowledging them to be British subjects, and would give my followers great discontent, for the British imprison all those who are our friends and have hanged one Cusey [Cusack] for breaking his parole.³²⁴

I am sorry to acquaint you, that Captain Murphy's party have burnt a great number of houses on Little Peedee, & that they intend to go on with that abominable work, which I am apprehensive will be laid to me; but, I assure you, there is not one house burnt by my orders, nor by any of my people. It is what I detest, to distress poor women and children.³²⁵

The British marched from Georgetown for Camden the 22^d. of September—it is said two hundred and twenty men, part of them marines. Major Whymes is at the Cheraw, with about ninety men of the sixty third

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319. Here Marion admitted that the Loyalists had intelligence of his coming. Weems said in his treatment of Horry's work that the sounds of his horsemen crossing over the bridge approximately one mile from the Tory encampment denied the Patriots the element of surprise, and that later Marion had his men lay down blankets when crossing bridges to prevent the same effect (Weems, *Life of Marion*, 41). This appears to be one of Weems's many embellishments, however, as his claims are refuted by several pension statements saying that blankets were laid that night, suggesting that it was not the noise that gave the surprise away (William Griffis, Pension Statement R6598; John Booth, Pension Statement W25258). Nevertheless, the Patriot militia was able to rout the Loyalists and capture all their supplies and horses. Marion took Col. John Coming Ball's charger as his own, naming it Ball (Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 70).
320. The only Patriots killed in the attack were Capt. George Logan and one unnamed private. Logan was one of the few Continentals to stay with Marion after the interception of the prisoner convoy on August 25. Logan rose from a sick bed after Marion's brigade decamped, and caught up with them before the battle, only to fall in the attack. Capt. Henry Mouzon, a close friend of the partisan commander, was wounded so badly that he never served in the field again (Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 67, 70).
321. Many of his men, away from home at White Marsh, departed to return and check on their families. He had intended to attack Loyalist Capt. John Wigfall and his 50 men camped at Salem Black River Church, but with the departure of many of his militia, he was unable to immediately follow up on the victory at Black Mingo. This recurring theme prevented sustained military operations. Throughout his operations, Marion could rarely hold the brigade together long enough to make more than one attack at a time (see Marion to Gates, Oct. 4, 1780, below).
322. Marion eventually built an enclosure for use as a jail on Snow's Island called the "Bull Pen" (Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 141). However, his guerrilla style of fighting mandated that he stay on the move and not burden himself with excess baggage, such as prisoners and artillery. In addition, throughout the Southern Campaigns Marion had frequent difficulties maintaining an adequate supply of provisions. Given these limitations, he really had no choice but to parole his prisoners.
323. Marion, by writing that some of those captured "had shown themselves before the last action to be good men," acknowledged that loyalties especially in this early phase of the campaign, were complicated and malleable. Wemyss's recent uncontested campaign in the area undoubtedly brought many fence sitters into the British fold—at least temporarily, as Brig. Gen. Harrington wrote on October 10, "Col. Marion sent some Prisoners here the other day; some of them are, or rather were, wealthy Inhabitants of So. Carolina. They want to be paroled, which I tell them I cannot do. They say they were obliged to take up Arms, or go to the Provost Guard" (Harrington to Gates, Oct. 10, 1780, NCSR, 14:684).
324. [See brief bio of Adam Cusack here.](#)
325. [See brief bio of Maurice Murphy here.](#)

regiment, burning and plundering negroes and every thing in their way. The Tories are so affrighted with my little excursions, that many are moving off to Georgia with their effects; others have run into swamps.³²⁶ If I could raise one hundred men, I would certainly pay a visit to Georgetown. My whole party has not been, nor is now, more than sixty men of all ranks.³²⁷

I expect that General Harrington must be by this time near the Cheraws, where I mean to join him with Colonel Brown, (about one hundred,) who is within eight miles of me, and remove Major Whymes from his post.³²⁸

I have had great fatigues, but I surmount every difficulty, and am happy with the assistance of Major [Hugh] Horry & Captain M[e]ilton,³²⁹ who are excellent officers. From Major Vanderhorst I have received also great assistance, the little time he has been with me. I have sent him with a flag to Santee, to get clothes and necessaries for the prisoners__ by him I hope to gain some intelligence.³³⁰ _____

Please to present my compliments to General Huger & Major Richmond.

I am, &c.

Fran^s. Marion

ACy (NN), Horatio Gates Collection.

Oct. 7 – Maj. Patrick Ferguson, recently chased out of North Carolina by a multi-state amalgam of Patriot frontier militia, is surrounded at King’s Mountain, just across the South Carolina border, where his command is almost entirely killed, wounded, or captured, with Ferguson himself falling in the battle. This disaster removes over 1,000 Loyalist militia and Tory regulars from the British southern forces.

326. The success of Marion’s activities was showing itself, not only in the number of Loyalist and regular troops captured, but also in the migration of Loyalist families out of the Pee Dee region. Prior to the fall of Charlestown this region was relatively quiet. Once the British advanced, the inhabitants were forced to choose sides, often with violent repercussions.
327. Marion’s focus on retaking Georgetown was a perpetual goal. Its military value was its status as the only major port north of the Santee and south of the N.C. border. British supply lines ran to the sea, so without Georgetown, British operations in the area would have had to trace supply lines overland much further to Charlestown or Wilmington, which would make them much more vulnerable to attack. Also, Georgetown secured water routes into the interior via the Black, Peedee, and Waccamaw Rivers. The British briefly evacuated the town after the Battle of Black Mingo, but quickly reestablished control (Balfour to Cornwallis, Oct. 1 and Oct. 5, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:113, 118).
328. Henry Harrington of the North Carolina militia, a former South Carolinian from the Pee Dee region, was appointed brigadier general of NC militia to replace Griffith Rutherford, who had been captured at Camden. Gates named him to command all the militia in the southeastern corner of North Carolina and the northeastern corner of South Carolina. Marion soon resented taking orders from the North Carolinian, although early on, as evidenced here, he felt a combined force of soldiers commanded by Harrington, Col. Thomas Brown, and himself could overwhelm Wemyss (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 105-06, 109).
329. [See brief bio of John Melton here.](#)
330. Maj. John Vanderhorst was Marion’s former second-in-command in the 2nd SC Continental Regiment, who was made a supernumerary officer when the South Carolina regiments were consolidated earlier in the year. A common method for obtaining intelligence in this period was by sending one’s own soldiers with a ‘flag’ behind enemy lines under the pretext of negotiation. Often this meant arranging a prisoner exchange. In this case, Marion’s flag was asking the British for provisions to support their own men currently held by Marion as prisoners. While this “legitimate” purpose was one actual goal of the flag party, it was always also a way to allow observation of the enemy’s strength and condition. Flags were generally respected by the opposing side, though not always, which would become a point of contention for Marion later.

Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - October 11, 1780

Hillsborough [N.C.] 11 October 1780³³¹

Dear Colonel

I received your Letter yesterday by Capt. Conyer's,³³² I am extremely pleased with your management & Success & request you earnestly to Continue your Hostilities against our Tyrannic & Cruel Enemies. I have by this Express wrote to Gen. Harrington at Cross Creek who has the Command of a Brigade destined to take post immediately upon Pee Dee, opposite the Cheraws, which I am well Assured the Enemy have Abandoned. I desire you to Correspond with the General & as far as for the Benefit of the Common Cause, Cooperate with him.³³³ The Enemy may be much Distracted, and Divided by your different Attacks, & the Country well covered by your Joint endeavors to protect the Persons & Estates of Our Friends the Whiggs. I shall desire Governor Rutledge, who is here, to write you by this Express and give you his Sentiments in regard to your prisoners, as well those you have taken, & those you may hereafter get into y^r. possession.³³⁴

With much Esteem

I am D^r. Col.

Y^{rs}. Sir

HG

LB (DLC) Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 2, Library of Congress, Horatio Gates Letterbook Correspondence, 1780-81, image 133-34.

331. This is the only letter from Gen. Gates to Lt. Col. Francis Marion that is extant, despite at least nine letters from Marion reporting actions and requesting orders. John Penn of the North Carolina Board of War informed Gen. Henry Harrington around September 20 that Gates had written to Marion directing him to "apply to you [Harrington] for Directions how to Act" (Minutes of Board of War, Sep. 20, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:383). On September 25, Harrington updated Gates about his contact with Marion and future plans, "I have wrote to Colo. Marion & to Colo. [Hugh] Giles to collect as many South-Carolina Militia as possible, to form a junction with Colo. Brown, of Bladen (who should have 200 Men), and to proceed immediately against the Insurgents of the Country, on little Peedee, on the Frontiers of So. Carolina." Harrington continued, "if Colonels Marion, Giles & Brown prove successful, I shall push on & order them to join me at Peedee. ... Should we prove successful, I shall again endeavour to embody the Militia of the three Peedee Regimts" (Harrington to Gates, Sep. 25, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:651-53).
332. Marion dispatched Capt. Daniel Conyers to deliver the referenced letter to Gates. Perhaps he had used other riders in the past, but in this case he was determined that his words should reach Gates. Conyers may have stayed in Greene's camp when the latter took command, for he brought a December 27 letter, below, to Marion from Greene. By the reference to Gen. Harrington in this letter, it is surmised that the letter Gates referred to was Marion's of October 4. Daniel Conyers (c.1748-1809) enlisted in a volunteer company of militia under Capt. William Fullwood in October 1775. In addition, he served 582 days as a lieutenant and captain under Marion between 1780 and 1782. Conyers was with Marion during the Bridges Campaign in March 1781. At Wyboo Swamp on March 6, Conyers and Capt. McCauley led a countercharge against the Loyalist dragoons on the narrow causeway (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 194; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 656n1367; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 148, 166).
333. Since Gates had designated militia Gen. Henry Harrington as the commander in charge of militia in the Pee Dee region of both North and South Carolina, perhaps he was simply following the chain of command in not responding directly to Marion. However, Gates apparently did not share information with Harrington either, so the communication to his commander in South Carolina was broken, at best, of Gates's own doing. In this letter Gates did not declare outright that Marion was under Harrington's command, only that Marion should cooperate, if feasible. Obviously, there was confusion, but interestingly, the NC Board of War considered Marion to be under Harrington's command:

Gen. Harrington hath been ordered back to Cross Creek by General Gates. ... On the Remonstrance of the Board, shewing the Necessity and Importance of the post on Peedee, he hath countermanded his orders, and General Harrington will occupy his Station near the Boundary of Cheraws, and take under his immediate Command the Parties of Brown, Culp, Marion and others in that Quarter, which will enable him to send Detachments into South Carolina, perhaps to Cambden [*sic*] (Minutes of Board of War, Oct. 13, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:423).

Harrington, himself, does not seem to have had official orders confirming that Marion was under his authority. He wrote to Gates, "Mr. [John] Penn writes to me that You have directed Colo. Marion to apply to me for directions how to act." Clearly, communication with his militia commanders was not Gates's forte and it left the chain of command muddy and ambiguous (Harrington to Gates, 25 Sep 1780, *NCSR*, 14:651-53). Marion took the lack of feedback from Gates and Harrington as *carte blanche* to operate as an independent commander in harassing the enemy.

334. Whether Gov. Rutledge corresponded with Marion directly at this time is not known. Few of the letters of Rutledge from this period are extant.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates - October 15, 1780

Little Pedee, 15th Octr. 1780

Sir,

On Sunday, the 8th instant, I set off from M^r. Grimes, sixty five miles from Georgetown, and made a forced march and got into the town by 12 o'clock the next day. My advance party met Captain Ganey³³⁵ and his Lieutenant Evans about two miles from the town. They pursued them and killed the latter, and mortally wounded the Captain.³³⁶ They were the most active persons against us, and the head of all the Tories on the lower part of Pedee. I found Colonel Cassell in a redoubt, which enclosed the jail, a brick building. After reconnoitering it around, I found it to be too strong to storm with such men as I had. It was defended by seventy men, of the militia, which I attempted to draw out, after their refusing to surrender; but hearing of a large party coming over Santee, I retreated over Black river, after parading through the town, a galley laying before it. We took six horses and some baggage, which belonged to the men in the redoubt.³³⁷ All the disaffected had removed with their property over Santee, as almost all the inhabitants had done, who lived on the north side. They are in the greatest terror imaginable. I send by this opportunity Captain Brown of Georgetown District, who is the principal of those, who are against us in that part; and I have taken Captain M^cCarttry and a number of other persons, to whom I have given paroles, to remain at their dwellings, till you please to call for them. Mess^{rs}. Drake and Roberts, taken in the Black Mingo affair, I now send. They could not go on, on account of their wounds. I hope these last gentlemen may be favoured as much as possible, though I wish they may be detained as prisoners, for a check to the British, who have a number of our friends in confinement.

As soon as you move forward, I shall be able to collect a body to prevent the enemy from driving off stock from this side Santee.

I believe it will be in my power to release the officers, that are confined at Haddrel's point, if they will be clear of their parole, which they have given to remain within six miles of that place. If they will not, the attempt will not be worth hazarding. I should be glad to know your opinion on this head.

I have never yet had more than seventy men to act with me, and sometimes they leave me to twenty or thirty; and it is with great difficulty that I can again recruit. I wish I had some authority to punish those who leave me, for many who had fought with me, I am obliged to fight against. __Having heard nothing from you since the 20th. of September, I am obliged to act with the greatest caution, lest I should fall into their hands.

I am sorry to inform you, that Colonel Ervin³³⁸ has adopted the burning of houses, and that Captain Murphy still pursues it. I think it will be the greatest hurt to our interest. The former was with me a little while, but has separated from me, as I would not permit him to burn any houses. Colonel Giles³³⁹ has also left me, on account of sickness.

I am informed, that there are not more than five hundred men in Charlestown of the British; but they expect a reinforcement daily __and the inhabitants in general believe that Lord Cornwallis is on the lines of Virginia, and

335. Micajah Ganey first served in the 2nd SC Regiment in the Continental Army. However, by this time he had become a major in the Loyalist militia. His stronghold was the area between his plantation on Catfish Creek and the Little Pee Dee River, not far from the Blue Savannah, site of his defeat at Marion's hands on September 4.

336. The report that Ganey was mortally wounded in the October 9 skirmish was false. According to Marion's early biographer Mason Locke Weems, he was severely wounded by a bayonet thrust into his back by Sergeant McDonald, who chased him into Georgetown. Peter Horry led the advance party, so it is possible there are details he had included in his original work on which Weems's is based. He did not refute that particular event in the notes in his extant copy of Weems's book. Though Marion reported Ganey as mortally wounded in his letter to Gates, he recovered and took the field afterwards. The method and timing of Ganey's wounding may simply have been a fabrication by Weems, who differs from modern biographers Bass, Rankin, and Oller in the details and dates for Ganey's fight. Both Weems and Bass combined the Ganey incident with one involving Lt. Thomas Merritt of the Queen's Rangers. Bass made the date of the incident December 1780, while Oller is in line with the October 9 date. Weems did not provide a date. Rankin used the date of the skirmish mentioned in this letter as the bayonet incident, and put the Merritt skirmish in December. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 106-07, 145-51; Weems, *Francis Marion*, 123-29; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 120-23, Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 77-78).

337. [See brief bio of James Cassells here.](#)

338. Two Ervins attained the rank of colonel in Marion's brigade. Col. Hugh Ervin was the elder and would become Marion's second-in-command in early 1781. Col. John Ervin was the younger officer serving with Marion and was Hugh's nephew and later son-in-law. There is confusion among historians and biographers as to which Ervin was burning houses, and Marion did not clarify it in his letter. Biographer John Oller believes it was Col. John Ervin who had begun to burn houses in retaliation for similar behavior by the Loyalists (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 89, 148; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 64). [See brief bio of Hugh Ervin.](#) [See John Ervin here.](#)

339. Hugh Giles served as a colonel in the militia. He was at the fall of Charlestown. Prior to Gates dispatching Marion to the region, Giles had been the ranking officer in the area, having carried on a correspondence with Gates. Despite leaving Marion due to sickness, as seen in Marion's November 4 letter to Greene, below, Giles recovered and rejoined the brigade (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 355; Giles to Gates, Aug. 12, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:351-52).

the most part of North Carolina have laid down their arms, and submitted to the British tyrant.

There are none of the British either on Pedee, or between Charlestown and Camden; and the Tories are all dispersed since the attack on Black Mingo. I have received from a flag, which I sent to Santee, the account, that seventeen men were wounded in that affair, and that some of them died of their wounds.

I wish to hear from you as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Fran^s. Marion

P.S. Please to excuse this scrawl, as I have no table to write on in these wild woods.

LB (MH), MS Sparks 22, 152-54.

Oct. 15 – Gen. Alexander Leslie sails south from New York with 2,500 men to support Cornwallis by raiding the coast of Virginia.

*Tearcoat Swamp*³⁴⁰
October 25, 1780

Marion wrote Gates on Oct. 15, above, that “There are none of the British either on Pedee, or between Charlestown and Camden; and the Tories are all dispersed since the attack on Black Mingo.” Cornwallis recalled Wemyss to Camden just before Maj. Patrick Ferguson’s Loyalist force was destroyed at King’s Mountain on Oct. 7.³⁴¹

After Wemyss’s withdrawal, for a brief period, the Patriots froze the British command. Then, as a result of the loss of Ferguson on his left flank, Cornwallis withdrew from Charlotte, North Carolina, and returned to South Carolina, establishing his headquarters at Winnsboro. But before the British general could reorganize his forces, Marion saw an opportunity to deliver another blow. That opportunity was due to an ill-timed decision by Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour,³⁴² the commandant of Charlestown, to send Loyalist militia Col. Samuel Tynes³⁴³ to move along the Black River Road to Salem and muster the local Tories. Marion’s patrols found the column and reported their location back to their commander at Port’s Ferry.³⁴⁴

After marching through Salem and crossing the Black River, Tynes continued his march down the south side of the river, where he camped on the south side of the tributary Tearcoat Creek. When Marion learned of the movement of Tynes’s inexperienced militia, he recognized the potential for eradicating the only active enemy force in the region. With 150 men, he crossed the Pee Dee at Port’s Ferry, and Lynches Creek at Witherspoon’s Ferry, marching through Kingstree before riding along the same road as Tynes. He probably crossed the Black at the same place as Tynes and continued in his tracks.

Unlike at Black Mingo, where the surprise was interrupted by the clatter of hooves on a bridge, this time silence was complete. There were also no pickets to raise the alarm. Marion formed his men into three detachments and attacked the sleeping Loyalists in coordinated fashion. The enemy militia did not have a chance. The victory was complete. Marion reported 20 enemy killed and wounded and 23 prisoners, as well as the capture of 80 horses and much-needed arms and

340. The Battle of Tearcoat Swamp was fought in present Clarendon County, S.C., just east of where I-95 crosses Brewington Rd. (Parker, *Parker’s Guide*, 140).

341. Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 30, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:216-17; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 76.

342. [See brief bio of Nisbet Balfour here.](#)

343. [See brief bio of Samuel Tynes here.](#)

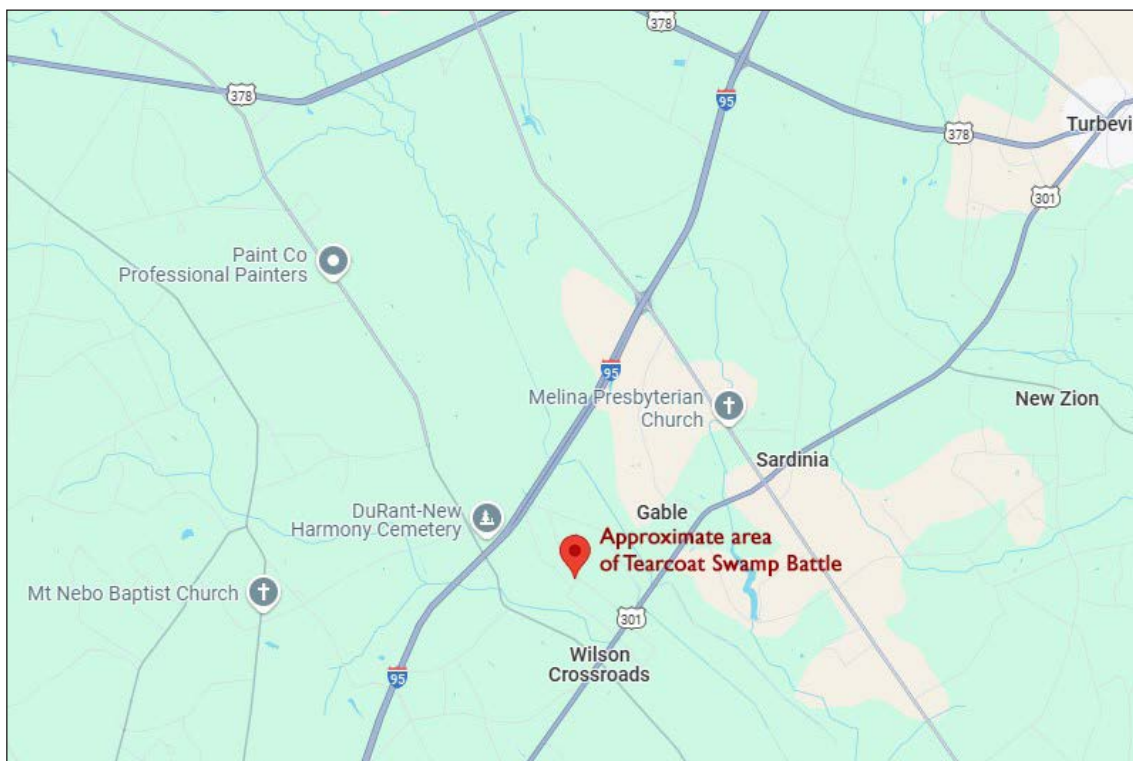
344. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 79-80.

ammunition. He lost two horses killed, and one man, James Bone, claimed to be lightly wounded by buckshot.³⁴⁵ Marion dispatched Capt. William Clay Snipes³⁴⁶ to track down the Loyalist commander, who had escaped into the swamp. Snipes not only returned with Tynes, but he also took prisoner several militia officers and justices of the peace as well.

The British defeat at Tearcoat Swamp sent shock waves from Georgetown to Cornwallis's headquarters, the bold capture of Tynes putting an exclamation point to Marion's defiance. As a result of the victory, many Loyalists from Tynes's regiment joined Marion's Brigade. The real significance of the battle was not the number of casualties inflicted, but the further evidence that British control in South Carolina was illusory. As long as Sumter bedeviled the British in the west and Marion disrupted supply lines and dispersed Loyalist forces between Georgetown and the High Hills north of the Santee, Cornwallis could not safely resume his advance into North Carolina. The Tearcoat Swamp action confirmed for Cornwallis that Marion's threat needed to be eliminated.³⁴⁷

John Chandler had previously been captured by Tynes while on a reconnoitering party and was liberated from captivity. He wrote that after rejoining his former comrades in the fighting, he "received several deep and afflicting wounds, in the way and manner following: Viz. His right eye shot out; a bullet shot through his nose; another his chin; another lodged in his right shoulder; five shot in the right side also a severe and deep wound in the right hip; three shot through the right hand all at one in the same time."³⁴⁸ Presumably, despite the ambiguous wording, these wounds were not all suffered during the fighting at Tearcoat but in subsequent campaigns. Still, the account serves as a sobering reminder of the danger inherent in partisan service.

John Booth's pension statement gave some insight into the organization of Marion's brigade at the time: "Captn [John] Melton commanded deponants company—Thornly [Robert Thornley]³⁴⁹ was major—Baxter³⁵⁰ was Colonel of one Regimt—Major J. James commanded another Balln and thinks Giles Commd. the Regiment—it might have been Col. Peter Horry or Col. Murphy And the Brigade commanded by Marion."³⁵¹



345. James Bone, Pension Statement SC525.

346. [See brief bio of William Clay Snipes here.](#)

347. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 102-05.

348. John Chandler, Pension Statement SC1298.

349. [See brief bio of Robert Thornley here.](#)

350. [See brief bio of John Baxter here.](#)

351. John Booth, Pension Statement W25258.

Proclamation on Paroles by Lt. Col. Francis Marion – November 3, 1780

Prince Frederick's Parish November 3^d, 1780

Whereas, many men in this State make a plea of the oath taken to the British forces, and that they have given paroles not to take up arms against them: This is to inform them, that by General Gates's³⁵² proclamation, that such oaths are compulsory, and that paroles given men not taken in arms are not to complied with; and by the authority to me given, I do now call on all the men in Col. McDonald's regiment to join me immediately with their arms, to recover this State out of the hands of the British forces. All those who do not join me by the 9th instant, will be excluded from all pardons, and be deemed as enemies and traitors to their country, and will suffer accordingly, both in person and property, and that parties will be sent in every part of this district to seize on such persons who will not comply, and they will be conveyed to North Carolina as prisoners.³⁵³

Francis Marion
Colonel Commandant of Craven County Militia³⁵⁴

ACy (WHI), Draper 3VV, 58.

Marion's proclamation was published in the South Carolina *Royal Gazette* on December 6. It is uncertain how the British received the proclamation, but the response of November 27, below, was printed in the paper immediately following. The effect of this proclamation was similar to that of the Third Proclamation by Sir Henry Clinton and Adm. Arbuthnot in June 1780. It left many neutral residents, and those who had taken paroles, between a rock and a hard place. The British proclamation declared that all citizens who did not actively support the Crown to be rebels, even if they had taken British paroles, while Marion's proclamation declared British paroles void unless they had been given while actually in arms, and mandated that anyone who did not serve in the Patriot militia would be considered an enemy of the state and subject to punishment. The combination left those claiming neutrality, or considering themselves on parole, essentially open to punishment and reprisal by both sides. Curiously, whereas Clinton's proclamation has almost universally been considered by historians to be an overreach and a strategic blunder, Marion's has largely escaped similar scrutiny.

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352. On August 4, Gates forgave those who made "a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens resolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at, with horror and detestation" and invited "the real friends of America to testify their affection and attachment to the cause of liberty," by joining "heartily, when called upon, in rescuing themselves and their country from an opposition of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest"(Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:389).
353. Marion's proclamation was the first formal indication that he was in command in the Lower Pee Dee/Santee area. Although in his letter of October 4 to Gates, above, Marion recommended leniency to former friends of the Revolution, this document indicates a distinct change in attitude. It is unclear to what extent the provisions of the proclamation were actively enforced. It may have been intended more as bluster with the object of cowing the population and counteracting some of the incentives of Clinton's proclamation.
354. Curiously, this was the first and only time Marion referred to himself as "Colonel Commandant of Craven County Militia." It is possible that the *Royal Gazette* editor added the rank.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates (extract) - November 4, 1780

Lynches Creek, 4th Nov^r. 1780.

Sir,

On the 24th of Oct. I heard of a body of Militia in the forks of Black river. I immediately Crossed Pedee, & the next night I came up with two hundred under the Command of Col^o. Tyne,³⁵⁵ which I surprised, Killed Six, wounded 14, & took prisoners 23, & we got 80 horses & saddles, & as many stands of arms. The Col^o. made his Escape; but Sending a party to the high hills of Santee, he fell in our hands with Several Other prisoners, who have Commissions in the Militia or Civil [service]; also some who have been very Active against us, & Great plunderers, all of which I have Sent to Gen^l. Harrington on the Cheraw Hill.³⁵⁶

I hope I shall be Able to keep the North side of Santee clear of the Enemy & prevent them from driving off Stock.³⁵⁷ The militia are now turning out better than they have done for some time past. My strength the 25th Octr. was 150 of all ranks, & at present Upward of 200, & I expect in three or four days it will be double.³⁵⁸

There is in George Town 60 British Invalides & as many militia from the South of Santee, which I hope to remove in a few days.³⁵⁹ Col^o. Giles is with me & has been very Active & Servicable, but I Believe Gen^l. Harrington will Order him from me Greatly against his Inclination, and much to the Dissatisfaction of all his Officers.

Gen^l. Harrington has Wrought to Maj^r. Horry Orders as if he Commanded Col^o. McDonald Reg^t., which You have Given to me, & I cannot think it is your Intention I shoud be under his Command.³⁶⁰

[remainder of letter missing]

(NHi), Horatio Gates Collection, 12:1083.

355. Lt. Col. Samuel Tynes commanded a Loyalist militia regiment called out from the area between Nelson's Ferry and the Black River by Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour to fill the void left when Maj. Wemyss and the 63rd Foot were recalled to Camden by Cornwallis. He escaped during the action at Tearcoat Swamp on October 25. After failing to capture Tynes, Marion dispatched Capt. William Clay Snipes to the High Hills where he apprehended the Loyalist leader. Upon returning to Marion's camp, Tynes along with the other Loyalist prisoners were marched to North Carolina for incarceration. Tynes escaped and returned to South Carolina, as related by Marion to Gates on Dec. 6, below (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 75-76; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 79-80).
356. Marion provided a brief summary of what became known as the Battle of Tearcoat Swamp. For a fuller narrative, see above.
357. The larger waterways of northeastern South Carolina were effectively the front lines of the partisan war. These lines included the Santee, Little Pee Dee, and Pee Dee Rivers, as well as, to a lesser extent, Lynches Creek and Black River. The most common method of river crossing was via private ferries. The British typically placed small detachments at the main crossings to maintain control, while the Patriots, who recognized that they could not support any permanent defense, used harassment as the means for discouraging ferry use. While such tactics were not completely effective, the only counter was to provide larger and larger detachments to protect crossings, and escort supply convoys on their way to the main British supply depots. The impact of Marion's tactics became so disruptive that eventually the British gave up trying to cross the Santee. Instead, supply convoys traveled westward on the south side of the river to the Congaree, crossed it, and marched up the west side of the Wateree River, before crossing over to Camden. By driving the British across the Santee and Wateree, Marion extended their supply line from Charlestown to Camden by several dozen miles, and essentially eliminated direct contact between Camden and Georgetown.
358. Marion's victories over the Loyalist militias restored confidence in those whose sentiments were wavering or who, despite their patriotic leanings, were not willing to risk family and property in what had previously seemed an unwinnable war. Individuals continued to change sides throughout the war, in many cases in an attempt to survive, or to be on the winning side, rather than out of any political or ideological motivation.
359. Until Georgetown was retaken, Marion continued to express a strong desire to attack the town, despite his superiors' beliefs that it was not of great strategic value. Ultimately, Marion's view proved correct, since as the war wound down, Georgetown became the main port of entry for supplies into South Carolina.
360. Marion laid out the confusing situation in command between Gen. Harrington and himself. Marion objected to Col. Hugh Giles being detached from him to Harrington's force and made no secret about his anger over Harrington bypassing him, giving orders directly to Maj. Hugh Horry and Col. Archibald McDonald, officers Marion clearly presumed were under his command. Harrington was under the impression that all of Marion's Brigade was under his command.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Gov. John Rutledge
Excerpt of Letter sent at the same time as the letter to Gates - November 4, 1780

[Lynches Creek, 4th Nov^r. 1780.]

Having intelligence of a party of militia embodying in the forks of Black River, I crossed Pedee the 24th of October, and on the 25th at night surprised Colonel Tyne, with a body of 200 men, killed 6, wounded 14, and took 23 prisoners, 80 horses and saddles, and as many muskets, &c. This surprise was so compleat, that I had not one man killed; our loss was only two horses killed—my party consisted of only 150. A few days after the above affair,³⁶¹ I detached Capt. Snipes³⁶² with a party of men to the high hills of Santee, to seize all the militia and civil officers, which he found means to do, and took Colonel Tyne and a few other officers of militia, two justices of peace, in the British service, all of whom have sent to General Harrington, at Charraw Hill.³⁶³

Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 78-79.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates (near Charlotte) - November 9, 1780

Benbows ferry, Black river, 9th Nov^r 1780

Sir,

Yours of the 30th Ult^o³⁶⁴ came to hand the 5th Inst. and I immediately proceeded to Santee Intending, to attempt Surprising the guard at Nelsons ferry, but found Col^o. Tarleton³⁶⁵ with one hundred horse was come down to Gen^l. Richardsons³⁶⁶ ab^t 16 Miles from Nelsons [Ferry], I expected his Intention was to Cross the river there & Laid an Ambuscade, where I waited till night, but was Disappointed for he did not come down but marched a few miles back, I then formed an Intention to Indeavour to surprise him if Possible for which purpose I marched all night & Gott within three miles. Of him, on Reconoitring, I found he had one hundred horse, 300 Infantry, one field piece and a Howitz, & Encamped in a very advantageous grown [ground]which made it Impossible to attack him with any probelity of Success as I had not more than 200 men. I thought proper to retreat to this place.³⁶⁷

Col^o. Tarleton has burnt all the Houses, & Destroyed all the Corn from Camden down to Nelsons ferry. He was Yesterday near that ferry & Appeard to have turnd down Santee, I suppose for the same purpose. I am at

361. This encounter is known as the Battle of Tearcoat Swamp, explained in more detail in Marion's letter of the same date, above, to Gates, and by the editors, above.
362. William Clay Snipes served as a captain in the militia under Gen. Marion from 1780-81 and was a major in the light dragoons under Col. Polk and Gen. Sumter during 1781. In January 1781, he became a participant in the rivalry over command of forces raised south of the Santee (see correspondence beginning January 28, 1781, in Volume II, from Gov. Rutledge to Gen. Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 883).
363. In light of the referenced letter of November 4, above, it is unfortunate that only an excerpt of this letter is extant. It would have been interesting to see how Marion's explanation to Gov. Rutledge differed from the one he sent to Gates.
364. The October 30 letter has not been found.
365. Maj. James Wemyss had been unable to locate Francis Marion, so Lord Cornwallis next sent Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton to deal with the insurrection. Tarleton had been the scourge of the Patriot forces throughout the spring and summer. He had surprised the American cavalry at both Moncks Corner and Lenud's Ferry, annihilated Col. Abraham Buford's Virginia Continentals at the Waxhaws, and routed Gen. Thomas Sumter's partisans at Fishing Creek, in addition to leading the devastating pursuit of Gates's army after Camden.
366. Brig. Gen. Richard Richardson (1704-80), a veteran of the Cherokee Wars of 1759-61, the Snow Campaign, and the initial armed conflict between the Patriots and Loyalists at Ninety Six in 1775, was taken prisoner at Charlestown on May 12, 1780. He died in late September 1780 (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 83; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 812).
367. After Marion missed Tarleton at Nelson's Ferry, he followed the British to Richardson's Plantation. Capt. Richard Richardson, Jr., son of the brigadier general, alerted Marion to Tarleton's presence and force size. When Marion realized he was outnumbered, he withdrew without being detected. The day after Marion wrote this letter, Tarleton's Legion chased his brigade through swamps for nearly 25 miles to Ox Swamp (present Manning, S.C.), until being recalled by Lord Cornwallis to face a new threat west of the Wateree from Sumter. Details of Tarleton's pursuit of Marion follow Tarleton's proclamation of November 11, below. James wrote that as a result of this arduous chase, Tarleton originated Marion's famous sobriquet, "The Swamp Fox." Tarleton is said to have cried, "Come, my boys! let us go back, and we will soon find the game cock [meaning Sumter], but as for this d----d ~old fox~, the devil himself could not catch him" (James, *Francis Marion*, 34). Note that there is no mention of this colorful statement in Tarleton's *Campaigns*. The "swamp fox" was first mentioned in Mason Locke Weems's romanticized biography of Francis Marion, first published in 1809, based on the memoirs of Peter Horry. Weems did not attribute the nickname's origin to Tarleton or to the chase through the swamp, but to some women being escorted from Georgetown on a picnic by British officers. Seeing the gloomy woods and swamps upon leaving the town, they were said to be afraid of "that vile 'swamp fox,' as they called Marion" (Weems, *Francis Marion*, 34). There is no contemporary evidence that the name was used at all during Marion's lifetime, and these publications were printed in the 1800s (see Marion to Greene, Dec. 28, below).

Present too weak to Attempt stoping his Progress as the malitia in our favour are yett very backwards in turning out & in Great Dread of Tarletons horse; however I shall watch his movements and if any Opening of Success will Attempt it; by this Movement of the Enemy, prevents me from Intercepting the boats which I Expect will be coming down Santee. Col^o. Tarleton has behaved to the poor Women he has Distressed with great Barbarity. He Beat M^{rs}. Richardson the relict of Gen^l. Richardson to make her tell where I was; & has not Left her a shift of Cloaths, he not only Destroyed all the Corn, but burnt a Number of Cattle in the houses he burnt

It tis Distressing to see the women & Children Seting in the open Air round a fire without a blanket or any Cloathing but what they had on and Women of Family & had Ample fortunes for he spares neither wigg or torrey.³⁶⁸

I cannot hear their is any troops Arrived in Ch^s. Town, I seen a man who came from there three days ago. I Am Informed that most of the Inhabitants to the Southward is ready & Eager to take up arms against their taskmasters

I have found means to Acquaint them of your Approach and the pleasing prospect Of Our recovering the country.

I am Greatly in want of Ammunition. I have used my utmost to get some but without Effect. I received a Small Supply from Gen^l. Harrington but not Sufficient for more than 6 rounds p^f Man---

I have the honour to be with Due respect

Y^r. Most Obed^t. Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MH).

Nov. 9 – Maj. James Wemyss surprises Thomas Sumter at Fishdam Ford on Broad River, overrunning his camp and nearly capturing Sumter himself, but the tide of battle turns with the counterattack of Colonels Taylor and Lacey, and the British are repulsed with significant loss.

368. Upon his recall, Tarleton burned much of the country on his way back to Camden, as Marion wrote to Gates, above, “he spares neither wigg or tory.” But despite claims of the effectiveness Tarleton’s pursuit had on Marion in the Pee Dee region, Balfour soon wrote that the still very active partisan leader was threatening Georgetown again: “Marion’s movement I beg Tarleton may be remembered of -- it is no joke to us.” Cornwallis later wrote Balfour in Charlestown about the false reports that both Sumter and Elijah Clarke were dead, highlighting his desire that “I wish your friend Marion was as quiet” (Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 17, 1780, and Cornwallis to Balfour, Nov. 25, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:85, 89).

Proclamation by Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton - November 11, 1780

Singletons Mills Nov^r: 11 1780

Be it known to all People concerned in the late Revolt, between Nelsons Ferry[,] Kingstree Bridge & Santee Hills,³⁶⁹ that a general & free Pardon is held out to all the said Delinquents, in case they will return Home, between the Date hereof & twenty fifth of this Month__ Upon their Arrival at Home they must seperately acquaint the Officers of the loyal Militia of their Intention to live peaceably at their Plantations & in case of any future Insurrection or Incursion to give Notice thereof, which Determination (of the late delud[ed] People) the said Officers of loyal Militia must Transmit to the Officer commanding his Majestys Troops at Camden³⁷⁰__

It is not the Wish of Britons to be cruel or, to destroy, but it is now obvious to all Carolina that Treachery Perfidy & Perjury will be punished with instant Fire & Sword³⁷¹

Ban: Tarleton

L^t Col. Com: B L [British Legion]

Tarleton Proclamation, Nov. 11, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:338; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 76.

Tarleton's Version of Events

“The success of the Americans at King’s mountain, and the distance of Earl Cornwallis’s army, prompted many of the disaffected inhabitants of South Carolina again to violate their paroles and to unite under a leader in the eastern part of the province. Mr. Marion, by his zeal and abilities, shewed himself capable of the trust committed to his charge. He collected his adherents at the shortest notice, in the neighbourhood of Black River, and, after making incursions into the friendly districts, or threatening the communications, to avoid pursuit, he disbanded his followers. The alarms occasioned by these insurrections frequently retarded supplies on their way to the army; and a late report of Marion’s strength delayed the junction of the recruits, who had arrived from New York for the corps in the country. The 64th regiment of infantry was ordered to Nelson’s ferry from Charles town, and directions were given to Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to pass the Wateree to awe the insurgents. Earl Cornwallis was impressed with an idea that the Americans had a design upon Camden: The report of the advance of General Morgan towards the head of Lynche’s creek, with Colonel Washington’s cavalry, and a body of continental infantry, together with the exaggerated accounts of Marion’s force, gave plausibility to the supposition. The situation and importance of the magazine caused early jealousy and immediate attention. The light troops, however, on their arrival at Camden, found no reason to expect an attack from General Morgan, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton thought the opportunity favourable to commence an expedition against Marion.

“Earl Cornwallis approving the design, the light troops marched down the bank of the Wateree. According to the reports of the country, General Marion’s numbers were hourly increasing, which induced Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to move his corps, for a short time, in a very compact body, lest the Americans should gain any advantage over patrols or detachments: But as soon as he found the account of numbers exaggerated, and that the enemy declined an engagement, he divided his corps into several small parties, publishing intelligence that each was a patrol, and that the main body of the King’s troops had countermarched to Camden. Notwithstanding the divisions scattered throughout the country, to impose upon the enemy, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton took care that no detachment should

369. Tarleton began a campaign to find Marion on November 4. The British Legion commander’s inability to engage the partisans, culminating in the seven-hour chase through the swamps on November 10, immediately preceded the generation of this proclamation. Tarleton later wrote of the attempt to neutralize Marion, as shown below.

370. Tarleton’s proclamation may have been in part a response to one issued by Marion on November 3, above, in which Marion commanded all male inhabitants to join him by November 9, with the stipulation that “paroles given men not taken in arms are not to be complied with except those given parole bearing arms against the British.”

371. If the goal of this threat was to cow the populace, it was at least partially effective. Brig. Gen. Harrington wrote Gen. Gates that “This [manifesto] has had such an Effect that numbers have left Colo. Marian & gone Home” (Harrington to Gates, Nov. 23, 1780, *NCSR* 14:748-49).

be out of the reach of assistance; and that the whole formed, after dusk every evening, a solid and vigilant corps during the night. This stratagem had not been employed more than three days before General Marion was on the point of falling a sacrifice to it. He advanced on the 10th, before day, with five hundred militia, to attack Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, (who had notice of his approach) and arrived within two miles of his post; when a person of the name of Richardson discovered to him his misconception of the British force. Tarleton, unable to account for the slow advance of the Americans, dispatched an officer with a few men to find out the cause, who soon obtained information how the project was betrayed, which had already caused Marion to retreat with confusion and rapidity. A pursuit was immediately commenced, and continued for seven hours through swamps and defiles: Some prisoners fell into the possession of the legion dragoons, who gained ground very fast, and must soon have brought the enemy to action, when an express from Earl Cornwallis, who had followed the tracks of the march, recalled Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton” (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 174-76).

Cornwallis informed Clinton of Tarleton’s “success” on December 3:

“Colonel Marion had so wrought on the minds of the people partly by the terror of his threats and cruelty of punishments, and partly by the promise of plunder, that there was scarcely an inhabitant between the Santee and Pedee, that was not in arms against us. Some parties had even crossed the Santee, and carried terror to the gates of Charles town. My first object was to reinstate matters in that quarter, without which Camden could receive no supplies. I therefore sent Tarleton, who pursued Marion for several days, obliged his corps to take to the swamps, and by convincing the inhabitants that there was a power superior to Marion, who could likewise reward and punish, so far checked the insurrection, that the greatest part of them have not dared to appear in arms against us since his expedition” (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 205).



Banastre Tarleton by Joshua Reynolds, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Henry Harrington [N.C.] - November 11, 1780

Blackmingo, 17 Novr, 1780

Sir,

Since my last to you, Colonel Tarleton retreated to Camden, after destroying all the houses and provision in his way. By information, I was made to believe there was but fifty British in George-town, and no militia, which induced me to attempt taking that place. But unluckily, the day before I got there they received a reinforcement of two hundred Tories under Captains Barfield and Lewis from Pedee. The next day the Tories came out and we scummed with them.³⁷²

Part I cut off from the town, and drove the rest in, except the two men killed, and twelve taken prisoners. Our loss was Lieutenant Gabriel Marion,³⁷³ and one private killed. These two men were killed after they surrendered. We had three or four wounded, one since dead of his wound. Captain Barfield was wounded in his head and body,³⁷⁴ but got off. Captain James Lewis, commonly called 'Otter Skin Lewis,' was one killed. I stayed two days within three miles of the town, in which time most of the Tories left their friends and went home.

Finding the regulars in the town to be eighty men, besides militia, strongly entrenched in a redoubt, with swivels and cohorns on their parapet, I withdrew my men, as I had not six rounds per man, and shall not be able to proceed on any operations without a supply of ammunition,³⁷⁵ which I shall be obliged to you to furnish me with by Captain Potts, who commands a detachment to guard the prisoners taken. I have not heard anything from General Gates since the letter you sent me.

A man from the high hills of Santee, within eight miles of Camden, says that Washington's Horse is at Rugely's Mill, one mile from there. I beg to know where our army is, and what news from them.³⁷⁶

I am, with esteem,
your most obedient Servant,
Francis Marion

Gregg, *Cheraws*, 343-44.

372. There were actually two skirmishes on November 15. Lt. Col. Peter Horry's scouting party encountered a Loyalist foraging party killing cattle at White's Plantation near Georgetown. In the melee that followed, Horry and a 14-year-old volunteer named Gwinn were separated from the main body of Horry's troop. When confronted by a group of Loyalists, Gwinn mortally wounded Capt. James "Otterskin" Lewis. When Lewis recoiled from the shot, he fired, hitting Horry's horse. Luckily, the Loyalists fled, leaving behind four of Marion's men whom they had taken prisoner. The second clash occurred later that day at Colonel William Allston's plantation, known as the Pens, when a different patrol under Captain John Melton came upon a Loyalist force commanded by Capt. Jesse Barfield in a dense swamp and chased them off. Marion reported both engagements here and did not make a clear distinction between the two, perhaps contributing to the confusion of later authors (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 89; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 117-19). In his heavily sensationalized biography, Parson Weems additionally condensed the two skirmishes on November 15 with two other actions for dramatic effect, the encounter on October 9, as mentioned in Marion to Harrington, October 15, above, in which Ganey was stabbed by Sgt. McDonald, and the fighting of February 1781, immediately before Loyalists under Cornet Thomas Merritt were routed by Lt. Col. Peter Horry. In reality, these were four separate episodes (Weems, *Marion*, 123-29).
373. In the exchange of fire with Barfield's men, Lt. Gabriel Marion, nephew of Francis, was unhorsed and captured. When the Loyalists learned his identity, Gabriel was shot at point-blank range. A day after the murder, Marion's men captured a mixed-race man referred to simply as Sweat. He was accused of Gabriel Marion's murder and subsequently murdered himself as he marched toward Williamsburg with other prisoners. If there was evidence implicating Sweat in the killing, it is lost to history. He may have simply been a convenient target for vengeance. In his perfunctory military reporting, Francis Marion noted the murder of his nephew Gabriel Marion, the eldest son of Marion's elder brother Gabriel. Gabriel (the son) was a favorite of his uncle, as witnessed by his being listed in Marion's earlier, undated will, above, in which he was bequeathed Francis's English horse. Gabriel had served under his uncle as a cadet and lieutenant and had fought at the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776. He resigned his commission in 1776, but rejoined the 2nd Regiment, rising to captain, and participated in both the siege of Savannah and that at Charlestown. Francis Marion's matter-of-fact reporting of his death probably belies a much more emotional personal response (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 2:126; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 71n200; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 188-20; Marion to Harrington, Nov. 17, 1780, Gregg, *Cheraws*, 343-44).
374. Loyalist Captain Jesse Barfield had been in Marion's 2nd Regiment prior to the fall of Charlestown. Barfield switched sides after the city's surrender and formed a Loyalist unit. After amnesty was offered in 1782, Barfield switched sides again and served in the Patriot militia (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 646-48).
375. That Marion had only six rounds per man was not the principal reason for his failure to take Georgetown. The lack of artillery was the real stumbling block. After Georgetown had been captured at the end of June, Cornwallis sent Maj. James Moncrief, engineer of the British siege of Charlestown, to fortify the town. The British had constructed a redoubt, as well as other works to protect the harbor (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 72-73, 82).
376. The lack of correspondence from Gen. Gates and Gen. Harrington continued to plague Marion. Without news, Marion could not rally his forces, counteract the propaganda being spread by the British, or plan guerrilla actions that he could be confident would mesh with the overall Patriot strategy. He was truly on his own.

Nov. 20 – Thomas Sumter and Banastre Tarleton face off at Blackstocks Plantation. The fight ends with Tarleton ordering a headlong charge of his cavalry in a desperate attempt to save the battle, but he is repulsed by withering fire from Sumter’s militia. Sumter, however is wounded, and put out of action for several months.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates – November 21, 1780

Peedee, Brittons ferry, 21 Nov^r.1780.

Sir:

Since my last to You, Col^o. Tarleton retreated to Camden after Destroying most of the Houses & provisions on the high hills of Santee.³⁷⁷ I marched to Murrays & Nelsons ferry along Santee river in hopes to Intercept some of the boats of the Enemy going to or from Camden, but finding that could not be Effected, & being told that George Town was Garrisoned but with fifty British Invilades I marched there in hopes to have taken it. Unluckily the Evening before our arrival two hundred Toreys under the Command of Capt^{ns}. Barfield & James Lewis got in. Those Toreys came out & we scummaged [skirmished] with them--Killed three & took twelve prisoners, Drove part in the town & Disperst the others, as they were cut off from the town. The British proved to be 80 Effected [Effectives] & Drew up a quarter of a mile from their redoubt, but finding I made a movement to cut off their retreat they retired in their redoubt, which had some swivels & Cohorns. As I had not more than four rounds of ammunition p^r man, I retreated to this place. Our loss was L^t. Gabriel Marion & one private Killed & three wounded. I have sent to Gen^l. Harrington for Ammunition but believe he cannot supply me with any Quantity.³⁷⁸ Yesterday Major M^cLeroth³⁷⁹ with 200 Hessians & Malitia from South of Santee, took post at the Kings tree, & by an Intercepted Letter from Lord Rodney [Rawdon] who Commands in Camden to him, I find they are mounting the N. York Vollunteers to send to that post for the purpose of Driving off Stock & Destroying provisions.³⁸⁰

Many of my people has left me & gone over to the Enemy, for they think that we have no Army coming on, & have been Deceived, as we hear nothing from you a Great while. I hope to have a line from you in what manner to Act, & some Assurance to the people of support.³⁸¹ I have wrought to Gen^l. Harrington to spare me his horse to Indeavour to remove the post at Kings tree or the Enemy will have the Intire Command of the Country on the North of Peedee; but from what I know of the Gen^l, I do not expect he will part with them. I beg leave to mention to You, that Gen^l. Harrington has not done any service with the troops he commands, while I have been Oblige to act with so few as not to have it in my Power to do any thing Effectual for want of Ammunition & Men.³⁸²

I am Greatly in want of a Surgeon; one of my wounded Bleed to Death for want of one, & many is Oblige to retreat for want of Medicines, for I have not any Whatever.

From Ch^s. Town I learn, there is very few troops there, & Last week when I was on Santee, they was much alarmed I would Cross the river & go there.

377. In a November 23 letter to Gates, Gen. Harrington expanded on this letter, referencing correspondence he received from Marion the same day. In it, according to Harrington, Marion indicated that Tarleton had retreated on November 10 and 11 after receiving an express from Lord Cornwallis, but before publishing a “Manifesto” offering pardon. See the Tarleton Proclamation of November 11, above. The Harrington letter went on to state that the enemy had two field pieces and that Marion had written that they had also established another post at Singleton’s Mills, about 40 miles below Camden (Harrington to Gates, Nov. 23, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:748-49).

378. This part of the letter contains information similar to that contained in Marion’s November 17 letter to Harrington.

379. [See brief bio of Robert McLeroth here.](#)

380. Marion laid out to Gates the impact the lack of communication from the army level was having on his local efforts.

381. The British 64th Foot was the third contingent to be dispatched to counteract Marion’s operations. McLeroth, like his predecessors, failed. As Marion so often did when confronted by a superior force, he withdrew until a better opportunity presented itself. In this case he fell back across the Pee Dee River. Marion apparently also wrote to Harrington about McLeroth, probably on this date, but that letter has not been found (Harrington to Gates, Nov. 23, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:748-49).

382. Marion’s frustration over the lack of support from Harrington is clearly evident in the unveiled contempt for the latter he expressed here to Gates. Interestingly, after the NC Legislature refused to confirm Harrington’s rank as brigadier general, he resigned on November 2. Marion indicated that Harrington did not make much use of his troops, nor did he provide requested assistance to the efforts of the partisan leader in South Carolina. Col. Thomas Wade assumed Harrington’s command, but there is no evidence that that command included the South Carolina militia (Harrington to Greene, Dec. 4, 1780, *PNG*, 6:519).

I have the honour with respect
Your Ob^t Serv^t
Fran^s. Marion

N.B. I shall be glad to know if Governor Rutledge is with you, for I don't know where to write him.³⁸³

A List of Prisoner Deliverd to Col^o. Brown - 4^t Oct. 1780—

Charles M^cWiggin 63^d Regt. taken
Rich^d. Peacock 25^t Augt. At Savanna³⁸⁴
Jn^o. Amos
Ja^s. Drake w^d.
Jn^o Lequoux
James Bo[*untelligible*] – active man against us
Ch^s. Peyre³⁸⁵ Jn^o. Peyre³⁸⁶ Col^o. Ball's Malitia³⁸⁷
Petr. Roberts
John M^cCullough
Charles Cantey³⁸⁸

N.B. the other five prisoners taken, have taken an Oath to the united States & Join^{'d} me.³⁸⁹

ALS (MiU).

Adding to Marion's frustration was his inability to make contact with his official commander, S.C. Gov. John Rutledge. The command structure in this part of South Carolina was completely broken, with Marion ambiguously under the command of Gates, Harrington, and/or Rutledge, none of whom were actively supporting or communicating with him. Marion sent messages to, but got no replies from, Gates, with the exception of the one letter dated October 11, above. Harrington, a NC militia general, who Marion did not accept as his superior, but who he had been at least encouraged to cooperate with, and who seemed to be operating under the assumption that he did command Marion, provided no real guidance or support. And Rutledge, who nominally held authority over all South Carolina militia was not communicating with Marion.

383. The army was encamped at New Providence on November 25, approximately 12 miles southeast of Charlotte and 70 miles north of Cornwallis's headquarters at Winnsboro. Marion apparently did receive a letter from Rutledge subsequent to this one, as in his November 22 letter to Gates, below, he enclosed the return of his brigade as requested by Rutledge (McCrary, *History of South Carolina, 1780-1783*, 12; *NCSR*, 15:160-61).

384. The several British regulars from the 63rd Foot listed here were captured at Great Savannah on August 25 when Marion surprised a British detachment escorting American prisoners captured at Camden to Charlestown.

385. Charles Peyre (d.1780 or 1781) was a wealthy landowner in St. Stephen Parish on the Santee River. He took British protection after the fall of Charlestown and joined Col. John Wigfall's Loyalist militia. He was captured at Black Mingo, along with his brother John, in late September 1780. The two were sent to Lancaster, PA, for imprisonment. Charles died in captivity. It is presumed that Francis Marion made either the plantation of Charles or that of Charles's brother John his encampment in mid-1781 (Joseph Ames, "The Cantey Family," *SCHGM* 11(1910):222; Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, ALS; [MiU]).

386. [See brief bio of John Peyre here.](#)

387. The members of Col. Ball's militia were undoubtedly captured at the action at Black Mingo the night of September 28-29.

388. Charles Cantey (1718-80) was a planter, whose primary plantation was Mattesee in St. Stephen's Parish. He was elected to six terms in the Royal Assembly. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies. He was captured by Marion at Black Mingo in September 1780. Cantey died of smallpox in November. It is highly likely he was sent northward, probably to Lancaster, PA, as a prisoner, along with his son-in-law John Peyre and John's brother Charles Peyre (Edgar, *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 2:135-36; Bailey, *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:550; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:144n46; Ames, "The Cantey Family," *SCHGM* 11(1910):222; Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, ALS [MiU]).

389. Marion presumably knew the Loyalists who joined his militia, either directly or through members of his brigade. As the war wound down in 1782, many former Loyalists joined Marion's brigade as a condition for clemency.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates - November 22, 1780

Peedee 22nd Nov^r. 1780

[D^r Sir]

I wrought you two days agoe Since which Maj^r. M^cLeroth who took post at Kings tree, a Saturday, retreated to Murreys ferry a monday morning, before day. I suppose the party under Captⁿ. Barfield was to have Join^{ed} him but that party being Disperst, he found himself too week to stay.³⁹⁰

I have rec^d. Orders from his Excellency Gov^r. Rutledge³⁹¹ to transmit a return of the troops under my Command which I have Inclosed. It is not often I have so many tho I have had more. The People here is not to be depended on for I seldom have the same set a fortnight, & until the Grand Army is on the Banks of Santee, it will be the same.³⁹²

The want of Ammunition has prevented me from Indeavouring to repulse Major McLeroths party,

The want of a Surgeon & Medicines is very Great & hope You will be so good as to Order me boath.

The Bearer Captain Melton will Inform you what Difficulty I have & do now Struggle with, and can give full Satisfaction of my conduct, as he has been with me ever since I left You. I Beg leave to recommend him to You as a Brave and Worthy man, who merits much from his country. The great Distress he is in for want of Cloaths, Is not in my power to prevent, for we are all poor Continentals without money.³⁹³

I have the Honour to be with respect your Ob^t S[erv^t]

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MIU-C).

Without guidance, Marion had no idea what was going on in other areas of the South. He had little ammunition. He had been pursued by two detachments of British troops with a third on its way. Although he had throttled the Loyalist uprising in the Pee Dee region, there was no guarantee the Loyalists would stay suppressed for any length of time. When he did engage the enemy, any of his losses became amplified for want of qualified medical treatment. And, finally, the number of partisans in Marion's brigade was so inconsistent that planning military forays had become next to impossible since he could not predict his own strength from week to week. At this time Rutledge may have been nearing the location of the Continental Army. A letter from Gen. Benjamin Stevens to Gen. Gates (November 24, 1780) implied Rutledge's presence at that time.³⁹⁴

Dec. 3 – Nathanael Greene arrives in Charlotte, N.C., and assumes command of the Southern Army from Horatio Gates, almost immediately deciding to divide his army between himself and Brigadier General Daniel Morgan, who he sends southwest into the backcountry while he himself heads southeast toward Cheraw.

390. McLeroth's sortie into Williamsburg Township was short-lived. Whether from fear that Marion was planning an attack, or due to the fact that the Loyalist militia under Jesse Barfield did not materialize, McLeroth and his force of 300 British regulars and 300 mounted militia vacated Kingstree on November 22. Capt. Jesse Barfield and his Loyalist militia had been dispersed by Marion's men on November 15, as explained in letters to Gen. Harrington, November 17, above, and Gen. Gates, November 21, above.

391. In the nota bene to his letter to Gates of November 21, above, Marion lamented that he had not received any communication from Gov. Rutledge. The communication mentioned here has not been found, but it must have arrived sometime after Marion's November 21 letter to Gates was sent and before this one the following day.

392. "Grand Army" here refers to the Continental Southern Army, under Gates's command, which had retreated to North Carolina after the Battle of Camden and had still not returned. Not surprisingly, South Carolinians were hesitant to fully commit to the American cause. Cornwallis's advance into the backcountry, and the defeat of the Southern Army under Gates at Camden on August 16, resulted in many lukewarm Patriots switching sides, or at the very least, trying to remain inconspicuous. Turnout for Marion's Brigade was further tempered by the fear of reprisals against the families of would-be Patriots.

393. Capt. John Melton commanded the troop that encountered Barfield's Loyalists outside Georgetown on November 15, an action that resulted in the murder of Gen. Marion's nephew Gabriel (see letters to Harrington, November 17, above, and Gen. Gates, November 21, above). By the time Melton reached the Continental headquarters, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene had arrived and assumed command from Gates.

394. *NCSR*, 15:752-53.

*Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene*³⁹⁵ to *Lt. Col. Francis Marion* - December 4, 1780

Headquarters, Charlotte, 4 Dec. 1780³⁹⁶

Sir

I arrived at this Place the Day before yesterday to take command of the Southern Army. I have not the Honor of your Acquaintance but am no Stranger to your Character and merit. Your Services in the lower Part of South Carolina in aiding the Forces and preventing the Enemy from extending their Limits have been very important and it is my earnest Desire that you continue where you are, untill further Advice from me. Your Letter of the 22d of last month to Genl Gates by Capn Melton is before me.³⁹⁷ I am sorry I have it not in my Power to order a Supply of Clothing to Captain Melton: there is none with the Army.³⁹⁸ Ammunition I am told is gone to you since you wrote. I am too little acquainted with the medical Department to give you any answer respecting a Surgeon but if it is possible to comply with your wishes, it shall be done. I am fully sensible your Service is hard and Sufferings great, but how great the Prize for which we contend! I like your Plan of frequently shifting your Ground. It frequently prevents a Surprize and perhaps a total Loss of your Party. Untill a more permanent Army can be collected than is in the Field at present we must endeavour to keep up a Partizan War and preserve the Tide of Sentiment among the People as much as possible in our Favour. Spies are the Eyes of an Army, and without them a General is always groping in the dark and can neither secure himself nor annoy his Enemy: At present I am badly off for Intelligence. It is of the highest Importance that I get the earliest Intelligence of any Reinforcements which may arrive at Charlestown or leave the Town to join Lord Cornwallis. I wish you therefore to fix some Plan for procuring such Information and for conveying it to me with all possible Dispatch. The Spy should be taught to be particular in his Enquiries and to get the names of the Corps, Strength and Commanding Officer's name, Place from whence they came and where they are going. It will be best to fix upon some Body in Town to do this, and have a Runner between you and him, to give you the Intelligence as a Person cannot make these Enquiries without being suspected who lives out of Town. The utmost Secresy will be necessary in this Business. Whatever Sums of money are advanced for these Purposes shall be repaid.³⁹⁹ Colonel Washington has taken Colonel Rugeley and his Party consisting of about 100 men.⁴⁰⁰

I am &c
[N Greene]

Tr (Greene Letterbook: DLC), in *PNG*, 6:519-20.

395. [See brief bio of Nathanael Greene here.](#)

396. Greene arrived in Charlotte on December 3, 1780, and the next day assumed command of the army. After months of little response and even less instruction from Gates, Greene hit the ground running as he provided specific, detailed, logistical, administrative, and organizational instructions quickly. He reached out to subordinate commanders, and recognized Marion's value, putting a plan in place to integrate partisan warfare into the larger Continental strategy in a coordinated way. This leadership style had an immediate impact (Carpenter, *Southern Gambit*, 133-34).

397. Capt. John Melton had been charged with carrying Marion's letter of November 22, above, to Gates. Instead, he found Greene had assumed command. Presumably, Melton had also been able to provide Greene with more information verbally about Marion's situation and plans (*PNG*, 6:521).

398. In his letter of the 22nd, above, Marion had pleaded to Gates of his poverty and inability to properly clothe his men himself (*PNG*, 6:521).

399. Marion replied on December 22, below. Rankin argued that the support Greene expressed for Marion made "the work he was doing seem important. It was vastly different from the situation under Gates, when both he and Thomas Sumter had been forced to wage their own isolated campaigns. Such operations appeared to please Sumter, but Marion seemed to need being part of a larger operation" (*PNG*, 6:521; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 138).

400. Lt. Col. Washington had used a ruse that employed a so-called "Quaker cannon"—a log mounted to look like a cannon—to induce Col. Henry Rugeley to surrender (Smallwood to Greene, Dec 6, 1780, *PNG*, 6:539).

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates - December 6, 1780

Linches Creek near PD,⁴⁰¹ 6th Dec^r.1780

Sir.

Since my last by Captⁿ. Mi[e]lton, the Enemy under the command of Maj^r. M^cLeroth left Kings-tree & marched Near Nelsons ferry, but Yesterday I hear he was on his return to Kings tree again, he was reinforced with 150 Malitia from the S^o. Of Santee --- Col^o. Tynes who I had taken, with several Others in the British service & sent to Gen^l. Harrington made their Escape from him and is again Embodying the Malitia at the high hills of Santee,⁴⁰² with an Intention to reinforce Maj^r. M^cLeroth This will give the Maj^r. a superiority in this part of the country & I shall be Oblige to retreat.⁴⁰³

Georgetown is Garrisoned with 80 regulars & some Malitia under the Command of Maj^r. Tenpenny [Timpany],⁴⁰⁴ of the British & Col^o. Cassells of the malitia----

Capt^{ns}. Mitchell⁴⁰⁵ & Waties⁴⁰⁶ the Bearer of this is two Young Gentleman who have Served under me for some time past. Their Behaviour has Given me Great Satisfaction; they have Obtained my Leave to Go to head Quarters. With them I send Monsieur Garnier who went into to the Enemy without a passport & by the Inclosed Letters, I have reason to Believe he is not a friend to us.

Captⁿ. De treville of the S^o Carolina Artillery is now gone the second time to Newburn, & is much Suspected of Asking in favour of the Enemy, as no prisoner of war have such Liberty as he has. He is now trading with the Enemy; a Schooner Loaded with rice & belonging to him was taken by a privateer out of Newburn. The Bearers can give you further particulars of him. I refer you for further particulars of my Situation & Strength

I shall be Glad to receive your Orders & to know how far our Army is Advance that I may conduct my Self Accordingly.

I have Rec^d. some Ammunition from General Harrington Sufficient for the present,⁴⁰⁷

but am [in] want of Some Guns. If I had Swords & pistols I Coud make out Sixty good horse to act as Such.⁴⁰⁸

I have nothing more to Advise but have the Honour to be with respect

Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (NN).

401. This letter was written three days after Greene took command of the army, but before Marion knew of the change in command, hence it was addressed to Gates. Although the existence of the encampment on Snow's Island has never been definitively established archaeologically, documentation for the existence of the site is provided by a letter written from Johnston's Island by Col. Hugh Giles on November 24, 1780. Johnston's Island was the name given to the island prior to the purchase of much of the land by the Snows in the mid-to-late 1760s. It became known as Snow's Island during the Revolutionary War (Benjamin Port, Audited Account 6030, DS (ScCoAH); Smith, *Marion and Snow's Island*, 77).
402. Col. Samuel Tynes, who commanded the Loyalist militia that was surprised at Tearcoat Swamp on October 25, and was later captured, escaped after being delivered to Gen. Harrington.
403. As related in the narrative of the action at Halfway Swamp, and in a letter from Marion to Gates of December 22, both below, Marion overcame whatever superiority McLeroth possessed, soundly defeating him on December 12.
404. Maj. Robert Timpany had been in the 4th NJ Volunteers but had apparently been transferred to Georgetown. He does not appear in any correspondence after December 1780 (Loyalist Institute, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/njv/4njvhist2.htm>, accessed August 14, 2024)
405. Thomas Mitchell was a nephew of Francis Marion. He served 45 days in the militia in 1779 under a Capt. Birch. In August 1780, Mitchell commanded a company in Marion's Brigade. Under the command of Lt. Col. Peter Horry, companies commanded by Bonneau, Mitchell, and Benson were tasked with destroying all the boats on the Lower Santee. Mitchell was later Gen. Marion's aide-de-camp. In August 1782, while acting as Marion's aide, he was responsible for communicating orders for Georgetown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 688; Marion to Horry, August 17, 1780, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 734n1658).
406. [See brief bio of Thomas Waties here.](#)
407. Marion repeated the request for ammunition to Gates on November 9, 21, 22, and 27, above, as well as to Harrington on November 17. Greene provided the good news in his letter to Marion on December 4, above, that ammunition was en route to him since he had written his last letter.
408. In an August 25, 1780, letter from Gen. Gates to cavalry officer Lt. Col. Anthony White, Gates wrote, "Understanding that the Continental Cavalry under your Command, have lately received Longer, and Better Swords, than those they formerly had; I am to desire that you will Order those in Store of the inferior Sort, to be delivered to Col. Long D.Q. M.G. to be appropriated to the Use of a Corps of Horse Draughted from The Militia" (ALS, Courtesy of Dr. Gary Milan). Whether the referenced swords made it into Marion's hands is not known.

British Response to Lt. Col. Francis Marion's Proclamation - December 6, 1780

November 27th 1780" --- *SC Royal Gazette*, Wednesday, Dec. 6, 1780.

The proclamation issued by Francis Marion, *soi disant*⁴⁰⁹ "Colonel Commandant of Craven County Militia," is equally worthy of him and his cause, and will not fail to do both equal honor.

He calls himself a Colonel of County Militia, whereas the very shadow of this State is fled, and he cannot even plead agonizing rebellion as a sanction for his proceedings. Every attempt therefore, to Injure the King's subjects, is not an act of hostility, but of piracy; and all that act under him are not Entitled to the customs of war, but to be considered as common robbers and murderers, and to be treated like those banditti, who, though in soldier's cloathing, are without authority, and are deem'd (*partis bleux*) blue parties,⁴¹⁰ who are sacrificed to infamy by justice wherever they fall into the hands of a regular enemy. As no commission from the Quondan State of South Carolina can be issued or [be] in force, Marion and his adherents are in this predicament, and the threatening and force against them whom he calls upon to join him, is a species of treason against rebellion itself, and must powerfully operate upon those who feel the tyranny of such despicable wretches.

He observes, "*That many men in this State make a plea of the oath they have taken to the British.*" I cannot wonder at his *surprize* that in these times men should respect any oath; men that made no other use of that awful ceremony but to ruin and foment rebellion, may well find fault with those that plead a just oath taken to their natural Sovereign and merciful Conqueror. It is only in rebellious America that contrary principles are avowed, and that no oath is thought to be in force but that originated in rebellion and perjury.

He declares, "*by General Gates's proclamation, such oaths are compulsory and that paroles given men not taken in arms, are not to be complied with.*"⁴¹¹ This at one bold stroke dissolves every tie, natural, religious or civil, among men, and breaks up society in every instance. We must be very dull if we are imposed upon by men and their adherents, who are not only privately influenced by, but publicly acknowledge such principles: we are accessory to their guilt if we tender oaths, or give and continue paroles, to men that profess they are not to be complied with. Every man that submits to a conqueror, may be deemed in a state of compulsion; but the audaciousness of the assertion that such oath or parole is therefore of no force, can only be equalled by the stupidity of those who can seriously make or believe it. Surely these triflers with oaths cannot long escape the justice of God; nor can this professed breach of honor and parole leave any place habitable to them but among men like themselves.

That all that plead their oath, and regard their parole "*shall be deemed enemies and traitors*" is an intention not in the least to be doubted; it would [be] strange if powerful tyrants should act otherwise towards honest men; but many a pit has been dug, into the midst of which those that dug it fell themselves. What a contrast! Dump the rebellion; every man that would not become perjured to his natural Sovereign, or take *their* oath, was immediately banished and ruined; the dregs of the rebels effect still to follow the same plans; misery and destruction are in their way, violence and rapine mark their Steps, while the British Government allows its Known and professed enemies to remain among them unmolested, to walk at liberty, and to enjoy their possessions, while desperate, defeated rebellion Still breatheth the fury and Slaughter against those whom it could not overcome or protect. The parent State generously Continues to hold out the olive branch to those who are disposed to return to their former happiness and duty; and it will be very difficult in such as refuses, to alledge any motive of their behavior in which Either the love or fear of rebellion is not a principal ingredient. Those whom despair Kept in arms, or a senseless obstinacy prevents from returning to the class of peaceful Citizens, by a single sudden, decisive event (a Culloden battle),⁴¹² may have a door shut against them forever, through which they scorned to return and be

409. *Soi-disant* (French), meaning "so called by oneself; self-styled." A secondary meaning is "pretended; would-be" (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*).

410. Draper noted in his transcription "Blue parties in German wars, are such as go out without orders or proper officers, and are hanged wherever they are come up with" (Draper 7VV, 58-63). Essentially, Marion's men were here being equated with bandits who had no claim to protection under the rules of war.

411. On August 4, Gates issued a pardon to those who made "a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens resolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at, with horror and detestation" and invited "the real friends of America to testify their affection and attachment to the cause of liberty," by joining "heartily, when called upon, in rescuing themselves and their country from an opposition of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest" (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:589).

412. The Battle of Culloden in 1746 abruptly ended the attempt by Prince Charles Edward Stuart to overthrow the King of England and return the House of Stuart to the throne. James VII of Scotland and II of England had fled to France in 1688 in the face of extreme difficulties in uniting Scotland, Ireland and England, and widespread concern over James II's Roman Catholic beliefs. Despite unification of the Scottish and English parliaments in 1707, dissension simmered. By the 1740s, the foes of King George II had organized into a formidable rebel

happy; and should an order arrive not to Expose the King's mercy to their contempt any longer, they may find that in civil war an utter defeat may in a moment Exchange prisoners of war into prisoners for rebellion, that their boast, hopes and dependence have been groundless, and too late their repentance. Whoever warns them of this, is their friend; and those that take the warning, are friends to themselves.

Tr (WHi), Draper 7VV58-63.

Halfway Swamp December 13, 1780

Although Marion's Brigade did not engage the British directly during November, his activities harassing British shipping, interfering with communications, and disrupting Loyalist organization, became an increasing aggravation to Cornwallis. In order to minimize Patriot freedom of movement in the area between the Santee and Pee Dee, Cornwallis determined to set up a post at Kingstree. The British commander felt that occupying the town with a significant force would check Marion's dominance of the area. For that purpose, he ordered Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, the commandant of Charlestown, to send a regiment to Williamsburg. Balfour ordered Maj. Robert McLeroth and a mixture of 275 men of the 64th Foot, Hessians, former prison guards from Charlestown, and some Loyalists to occupy Kingstree.⁴¹³

In the face of such a force, and lacking sufficient ammunition, Marion withdrew a safe distance to Benbow's Ferry in order to observe British activity. Further intelligence revealed that mounted infantry of the New York Volunteers were being sent to augment McLeroth's foot soldiers. McLeroth spent only two days at Kingstree before retreating to Nelson's Ferry, likely because Barfield's Loyalist militia did not reinforce him there as planned. Marion discovered that McLeroth was at Great Savannah, Thomas Sumter's Plantation near Nelson's Ferry, where it was reported that he had received reinforcements.⁴¹⁴

McLeroth's failure to aggressively pursue Marion proved to be his undoing. The British command—Balfour, Rawdon, and Cornwallis—lost all confidence in McLeroth. In fact, they became concerned about the outcome of any action in which he acted independently. Balfour wrote to Cornwallis on November 29, "I am obliged to say, that I think the sooner he (McLeroth) can be put into a situation where he has not to act for himself the better—otherwise I fear some accident to him."⁴¹⁵

Cornwallis echoed similar sentiments to Rawdon on December 3, "I trust my dear Lord that you will have a constant eye to McLeroth, who by his letters requires much looking after." He continued, "A blow to any British Regiment cuts deep."⁴¹⁶ While Cornwallis was fretting about the potential demise of the troops in the region between the Santee and the Pee Dee, Marion was anticipating a retreat due to the perceived superior force of the combination of the 64th Regiment, the Georgetown militia, and the predicted imminent reorganization of Col. Tynes's militia. The British tended to overestimate the Patriot militia's numbers, while Marion's perception was that of a partisan leader who could ill afford a decisive engagement against their own superior force.

group called the Jacobites. After the French victory over the British at Flanders in 1745, Charles Stuart went to Scotland where he began his campaign. Without French support, Stuart's uprising gradually fell apart. After failing to advance to London, the Jacobites withdrew into Scotland. Stuart ignored his commanders' advice and, instead of continuing the retreat, attacked the advancing English. A planned surprise attack failed to materialize on April 16, 1746. However, Stuart attacked the English who achieved a convincing victory in a bloody battle that lasted less than an hour. A few days after the battle, remnants of the Jacobite army reassembled. Instead of continuing the fight against the English government, Charles Stuart dispersed his troops and chose exile in France (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:292-93).

413. Cornwallis to Rawdon, Nov. 17, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:152; Marion to Gates, Nov. 22, above.

414. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 93-94.

415. Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 29, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:96-98.

416. Cornwallis to Rawdon, Dec. 3, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:191.

Instead of immediately withdrawing, however, Marion opted to reconnoiter the enemy position. He sent Peter Horry to the High Hills of the Santee, east of the Wateree River, to locate Tynes's Loyalist force. Horry's detachment failed in its mission, having overindulged at a tavern on the way. Apparently, all was not lost, for the noise made by Horry's troops as they rode along the Black River on the way back to Snow's Island resulted in false reports among the Tories of an advance by Brig. Gen. Henry Harrington's North Carolina militia. Rawdon reported to Cornwallis that virtually all of Tynes's militia deserted, and Tynes himself stated he could not control the Loyalist militia and resigned his commission.⁴¹⁷

Marion determined that he would follow McLeroth and engage the enemy, despite reports that 150 new recruits from Charlestown had just arrived at Nelson's Ferry and were on their way to join McLeroth and march to Camden. With about 500 riders, the largest force he had ever assembled, Marion rode after the British. Twenty miles past the ferry he encountered the enemy. After driving in the pickets and trading shots with the rear guard of the 64th Foot, Marion initiated an attack.⁴¹⁸

The British retreated to a field enclosed by a fence, where the charging Americans could not penetrate. Marion halted his men on the east side of the Santee Road, near Halfway Swamp. As expressed in his letter to Gen. Greene on December 22, below, Marion "skrimaged" with the enemy, reporting six British killed and wounded. His report implied that the fighting terminated when reinforcements came to McLeroth's rescue. Capt. Coffin⁴¹⁹ arrived with 50 mounted men and 80 infantry. Rawdon, however, reported that when the message arrived from McLeroth pleading for reinforcements, Coffin did not go to McLeroth's aid for fear of an attack by approaching Americans, which never materialized.⁴²⁰

Marion's biographers related a different, much more colorful action.

According to James, after the Americans halted, McLeroth sent an officer to Marion to complain about his firing on the pickets, an action that he believed violated the rules of war. He demanded satisfaction, daring the Americans to come out of hiding and fight in the open field, European-style. Marion defended his actions and made a case that the burning of houses by Wemyss and Tarleton was far worse than firing on pickets. Marion threw down the gauntlet, challenging the British to combat between 20 men from each side. He chose his men based on their sharpshooting ability. As the Americans advanced to the 50-yard mark from which they were to fire, the British retreated, leaving the field to the cheering Patriots. The British then retired to their campsite, where they lit large campfires and sang. As midnight approached, McLeroth and his contingent snuck away into the night, leaving their baggage behind.⁴²¹

Just before daylight, the Patriots discovered the ruse and quickly reacted. Marion sent Hugh Horry and 100 mounted militia after the British. When Horry recognized that his entire detachment would not overtake the enemy by the time they reached the relative safety of Singleton's Mill, he sent Maj. John James and a troop mounted on the fastest horses to beat McLeroth to the mill. James made it to the relative safety of the houses on the hill at Singleton's. However, after firing only one volley at the approaching British, James and his men quickly abandoned the strong position. The Patriots remounted and withdrew to escape an even more feared enemy: the Singleton family were infected with deadly smallpox. That left Maj. McLeroth to make his way on to Camden. The "Battle" of Halfway Swamp ended, as Marion withdrew his force down the Santee Road and out of range of a British force of uncertain strength.⁴²²

417. Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 8, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:200.

418. Marion to Greene, Dec. 22, below.

419. [See brief bio of John Coffin here.](#)

420. Marion to Greene, Dec. 22, below; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 13, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:209-10.

421. The facts of the action at Halfway Swamp remain uncertain. It seems improbable that this story is true in its entirety, but James rarely invented things from whole cloth as Weems did, so there may be some element of truth in it (See James, *Francis Marion*, 53-55; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 130-33, Oller, *Swamp Fox*; and McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:101-03, all of whom borrowed heavily from the account in James). Marion said nothing about ruses, and Lord Rawdon reported only that Marion had been "reconnoitering" McLeroth and that there had been "loose firing" at the British "outposts." In addition, the date of the engagement has also been reported variously. Weems did not date the action but placed it in his book immediately before anecdotes about Lt. Col. John Watson and Marion, which occurred in March 1781. James put the action in mid-February 1781. Marion's letter of December 22, above, more closely pinpoints the date of the action. Bass reported the date as December 13, 1780, based on a letter from Capt. John Coffin to Lord Rawdon with that date (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 110). Marion's letter to Greene of December 22, below, related incidents chronologically. That letter implied that the action occurred perhaps a week later (Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 15, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:213-14; PNG, 6:606n).

422. James, *Francis Marion*, 54-55.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene - December 22, 1780

Black River [Benbow's Ferry] 22'd Decr 1780

I recd yours by Capt [John] Melton and shall endeavour to procure Intelligence as you desire, but shall meet with great Difficulty, as nothing but gold or Silver passes here, and I am Destitute of Either.⁴²³ The Enemy is so Suspicious they will not permit any man to pass on the South of Santee without the Strictest Examination and they have patrols along the river & guards at several passes. The one at Nelsons is Eight Hessians and Last Monday arrived their [i.e., there] 150 new troops from Ch'stown.⁴²⁴ They are recruits for the Different regiments and Latly arrived in Ch'stown from where is not known; they report that Genl. Lesley⁴²⁵ is arived in some part of this State, but I have Sertain Intelligence they are not in Ch'town. I was in Sight of Nelsons ferry three days agoe, where the Enemy Attempted to Cross but my party being seen, prevented them. I took a Boat coming down the river and burnt it, and was in hopes to Intercept some Boats with arms and Ammunition going up; unluckily they got notice and Stopt them. A party of the Enemy under Majr McLeroth with 200 Infantry and 2 field p[iece]s went up to the High Hills of Santee, with which I skirmaged Killed and wounded Six, one a Captn Kelley of the 64 Regt.⁴²⁶ They was reinforced by Captn Coffin with 50 mounted Infantry and 80 foot but they stayed but two days and returned to Camden. Since that, a part of Majr Harisons provincials mounted Join'd them and they have marched down againt to Nelsons Ferry. I Emagine they will take post on this side to protect their boats going up. A Number of Negroes was collected to mend the Causway in the South of Nelsons Ferry, which I prevented Untill Majr McLeroth party came down and oblige me to retreat to this place.⁴²⁷ I shall endeavour to keep them close to their post and prevent them from forage and provisions.⁴²⁸ If I had a few Continental troops I should be able to do much more than I am at present by their awing the malitia who act with Diffidence.⁴²⁹ One hundard would be Sufficient for this purpose.

I am informed that all the stores in Georgetown is Orderd to Chstown, the Garrison there Consist of Sixty regulars under the Command of Majr Tenpenny [Timpany], and one Galley.⁴³⁰

When any thing Arises worth notice I shall acquaint you with it by way of the post at the Cheraws on Peedee, and all orders sent to that post will convey'd to me.⁴³¹

I have the Honour to be respectfully, yr Most Obt servt,
Frans Marion

NB The Small Quantity of Ammunition I recd of Genl Harrington is nearly Expended. I hope you will by some means order me more.⁴³²

ALS (MiU-C), in PNG, 6:605.

423. See Greene's letter to Marion of December 4 above.

424. These new British recruits were already en route to join Cornwallis. Gen. Alexander Leslie arrived in Charlestown on December 14 with 2,500 men and left with 1,500 to join Cornwallis; the remainder being assigned to the town garrison. Leslie left Charlestown on December 19 and reached Nelson's Ferry on December 26 (Leslie to Lord George Germain, Dec 19, 1780, in Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 242-43; PNG, 6:606n).

425. [See brief bio of Alexander Leslie here.](#)

426. The referenced skirmish is the fight at Halfway Swamp, see account above (Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 13, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:209-10; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 130-33, Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 96-98).

427. As per PNG: "Marion's account is not chronological and he erred in identifying some of the British officers involved. The skirmish with McLeroth occurred first, on December 13. Afterward, as Lord Rawdon reported, McLeroth, reinforced by Maj. John Coffin, went with a portion of his troops to the British post at Camden. The remainder of McLeroth's men remained at Waring's Plantation in the High Hills. On December 17, they were joined by 40 light infantrymen sent out from Camden under McLeroth's replacement, Maj. John Campbell." Campbell had transferred from the 44th Regiment to Lord Rawdon's newly-formed Volunteers of Ireland as a captain in 1778. By December 1780, when he succeeded McLeroth as commander of the 64th Foot, Campbell was a major. At that time, Rawdon dispatched him to take charge of the 64th and 50 of Harrison's Loyalist cavalry. He assumed command after the action at Halfway Swamp on December 13, 1780. Campbell was wounded at Hobkirk's Hill in April 1781. He was no longer with the Volunteers of Ireland when it was incorporated into the British regular army in August 1782 (PNG, 6:606n; Balfour to Cornwallis, Dec. 26, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:115; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 130-33; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 1).

428. Following the fight at Halfway Swamp, Marion split up his force and positioned them in small parties around Singleton's Mill and Nelson's Ferry. Marion's report of the destroyed boat is corroborated in a letter from Rawdon to Cornwallis on December 24 (PNG, 6:606n; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 21, 1780, Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 19, 1780, Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 24, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:221, 218, 224-25).

429. Marion's request for Continental support would soon be answered when Greene dispatched Henry Lee and his legion to cooperate with him (PNG, 6:606n).

430. Marion was incorrect. The British did not evacuate their garrison (see Marion to Green, January 4, 1781, below) (PNG, 6:606n).

431. Since Marion rarely stayed more than a few days in the same place, he presumably set up a system for relaying messages to him, as this direction would indicate. In his reply of December 24, below, Greene told Marion that he would have a supply of ammunition sent to him (PNG, 6:606n).

432. On December 6, Marion reported that he had finally received ammunition from Harrington. Apparently, the supply was quickly consumed.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Francis Marion - December 24, 1780

Haleys Ferry [N.C.]

Decem 24th 1780

Dear Sir

I am this moment favord with your letter of the 22d [Only two days. This is a much better turnaround than we've seen before in this campaign] and am happy to hear you have been successful in your skirmish with the enemy.

Intelligence as I wrote you before is every thing to an army; I beg you therefore to take every measure in your power to ascertain the movements and strength of the enemy in Charlestown. I am in hopes to be able to furnish you soon with hard money for this service. In the mean time get the best information you can without it.⁴³³

I have moved the Army to this place where you will have an opportunity to hear from me oftner. General Morgan is gone on the other side of the Catabaw with a Detachment where a large body of militia are ready to join him. Perhaps you may frighten the Tories by these movements to desert the British and lay down their arms. At least it should be attempted or improvd for this purpose as far as possible before other movements take place of a more serious nature and before the door of mercy is totally shut against them.

I am with great esteem
your most obed humble Ser
N Greene

PS I will send you a further supply of Ammunition as soon as some arrives from Hillsborough.⁴³⁴

ADFS (MiU-C), in PNG, 6:607.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene - December 24, 1780

[Benbows Ferry]⁴³⁵ Black river 24th Dec^m 1780

Sir

The bearer L^t. [Charles] Odingsell⁴³⁶ has been with me for many months in this part of the country. I found him a Brave Deserving man, he wishes to go with a few men to Join their Country men under Col^o Twiggs^e. His Service with me Induce me to Indulge him & I hope he may meet with your Approbation.⁴³⁷

I have the Honour to be, with Respect,
Y^r. Ob^t. Serv^t.
Fran Marion

ALS (MB), Ms. E.9.1. #10.

433. Marion replied on December 28 below.

434. As per PNG: "On Dec. 20, Greene had ordered John Mazaret to bring military stores from Hillsborough. Mazaret was delayed but did send one wagonload of supplies, a portion of which Greene forwarded to Marion" (see Greene to Marion, Dec. 30, below).

435. Marion had written to Greene in his December 22 letter, above, from Benbow's Ferry, that he would continue to keep the British "close to their post [north side of Santee at Nelson's Ferry] and prevent them from forage and provisions." Marion marched to the Santee on Christmas Eve, scouting between Murray's Ferry and Nelson's Ferry (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 115-16), remaining only until December 26, when he rode back to Indiantown (see Marion to Greene, December 27, immediately below).

436. On January 3, 1781, Greene ordered Odingsell to take a post at Kimborough Mills on the Little River. He was to protect supplies at the nearby supply depot, while his company of Georgians formed (Greene to Odingsell, January 3, 1781, PNG, 7:43). Charles Odingsell intended to join Georgia militia colonel John Twiggs. Marion may have known Odingsell before, as a Charles Odingsells signed, along with Francis Marion and 31 other men, the letter dated October 31, 1759 to S.C. Colonial Gov. Henry Lyttelton, which appears in the beginning of this volume. The volunteers pledged to accompany Lyttelton in his campaign against the Cherokee. The company was disbanded after Lyttelton and the Cherokee concluded a treaty.

437. Odingsell delivered a letter to Greene, as related in Greene's letter to Marion of January 19, 1781 (Volume II). By Greene's direction to Marion, it can be inferred that, since Odingsell was not a Continental officer, Greene felt he had no authority to grant permission for him to join Twiggs, who was operating under the authority of the State of Georgia.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene - December 27, 1780

Indiantown, 27 Decr 1780

Sir,

I left the Banks of Santee yesterday. The Party which Maj^r M^cLeroth Commanded has taken post on the Great Savanna near Nelsons Ferry & was reinforced with Eighty Mounted Infantry and some foot, the whole about [three?] hundred. Gen^l Lesley landed in Ch^s town last Thursday. By the best Information he had not two thousand men. On Sunday last his troops was at Moncks Corner, on there way to Nelsons Ferry. The Causeway was then repairing. By Intelligence five hundred Men crossed Lewis [Lenud's] Ferry Near the mouth of Santee River, intended for George Town; this last wants confirmation which I shall be certain of the truth tomorrow and will Send you per Express. Emagining the Enemy had an Intention to cut my retreat off from Peedee, is the reason I have retreated from Santee.⁴³⁸

A man from Edisto, say that a great Cannonade was heard off Ch^t town Barr last week. They could not tell if British or French, But believe it was Gen^l Lesley coming in. By the same man, I learn that Ninety Six fort was taken by some of our party.⁴³⁹ He says it is certain. I have Sent over Santee for Intelligence which I expect will return in a few days.

I am much in want of Ammunition, particularly powder & flints & Cartridge paper.⁴⁴⁰

The Bearer you will find Servisable in collecting Cattle for the Army.

Captⁿ Conyers arrived here this morning.⁴⁴¹ I shall observe your Orders & lett you know every movement of the Enemy. It tis reported a party of the Enemy Intends to take post at the Kings tree, but I do not think they will, as they will find it very Difficult to get Subsistance. I hope to have it in my power to keep them close to their camp.⁴⁴²

I have the honour to be with respect your Most Ob^t S^r
Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Gov. John Rutledge⁴⁴³ - Extract - December 27, 1780

[Indiantown]⁴⁴⁴ 27 Decr 1780

In his Dec. 30 letter to the South Carolina Delegates to Congress, Gov. Rutledge relayed information received in this letter, information that was apparently virtually identical to that of the letter of the same date to Maj. Gen. Greene. Rutledge wrote, "Gen^l. Marion, by Letr' of the 27th Ins^t., informs, that he left Santee-River, the day before--- that Major McLawrath had taken post at the great Savannah (Farars) with ab^t. 300 Men---that Leslies Troops were last Sunday, at Monk's Corner, on the way to Nielsens [Nelson's] Ferry---The Causey to which was repairing--- and that 500 Men (as he heard,) had crossed Lewis's [Lenud's]Ferry, on their way to Geo: Town--- but the last of this Intelligence wanted Confirmation---"⁴⁴⁵

Barnwell, "Letters of Rutledge," 62-65.

438. Marion wrote a very similar letter of the same date to Gov. John Rutledge, below, who forwarded its contents to the S.C. Delegates to Congress in a December 30 letter. Marion had advanced to the Santee after spending several days on the Black River at Benbow's Ferry (see letters to Greene of December 22 and 24, 1780, both above). Marion's withdrawal was presumably necessitated by the possibility of being caught between the now stronger force commanded by McLeroth and the reported force of 500 that had crossed the Santee.
439. The report about Ninety Six proved false (PNG, 7:6n).
440. In his letter of December 24, above, Greene had written that he would send Marion a supply of ammunition (PNG, 7:6n).
441. Capt. Daniel Conyers was an officer in Marion's Brigade and appears to have been the courier for this letter. It is likely he also carried Greene's letter of December 24 back to Marion (PNG, 7:6).
442. As per PNG: "Col. Nisbet Balfour, commandant at Charlestown, had ordered the commander of the British post at Georgetown to seize Kingtree in order to protect the British supply line to Camden. The British abandoned Kingtree when Lt. Col. John Watson-Tadwell Watson began erecting a post at Wright's Bluff in early January 1781" (PNG, 7:7; Rogers, *History of Georgetown County*, 135; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 145).
443. Earlier in this letter Gov. Rutledge informed the delegates that he had "appointed Col. Marion, a Brigadier [General] & thrown all the Regiments, Ew^d. of Santee—Wateree & Catawba Rivers, into his Brigade, those to the Westward compose Sumpter's."
444. Location inferred. In a letter of December 27, above, Marion wrote from Indiantown.
445. Rutledge went on to write that he thought Marion anticipated the British "meant to cut off his Retreat to Peedee, & had, therefore, proceeded to Indian-Town."

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene - December 28, 1780

Mouth of Linches [Lynches] Creek Peedee, 28^r Dec^r 1780

Sir,

Yours of the 24th Inst: I rec^d. I wrought [wrote] you two days ago, since which I find the Enemy in George Town is reenforced with two hundred men. Their Strength there at this time is near three hundred men Including twenty horse men well mounted. They have two Galleys, & have brought three 9 pounder for their redoubt which Inclosed a Brick Building. A small party sent their was persued, & wounded a Captⁿ. We lost one man.

Gen^l Lesley was on Tuesday crossing his troops at Nelsons Ferry.⁴⁴⁶ What number I could not learn. I have sent three men over Santee. When they return I will Acquaint you the particulars of their Intelligence.

The Enemy reported they Intended an Attack on a Small post I had here which is the reason of my retreat to this place. Shoud they Attempt it I hope my Situation will give me an Advantage.⁴⁴⁷ I shall remain here a few days to rest my horses, when I will again Advance to Black River. I keep a party Constantly near the Enemy to watch their movements & prevent foraging. When any thing material happens I shall Acquaint you.⁴⁴⁸ I have the Honour to be with respect

Y^r Ob^t s^v

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MIU-C), Parks.

Marion's summary in the letter above, "A small party sent their was persued..." matches the description of the skirmish written by Capt. John Saunders for Simcoe's *Journal*, published in 1787:

On the 25th December, 1780, being the day after Lieut. Wilson's arrival at Georgetown, he and his party made a patrole, under the command of Col. Campbell of Fanning's corps, when they fell in with a party of above fifty mounted rebels, which they were ordered to charge. They immediately did it, and with effect, defeating them and taking one of their officers prisoner...Lieut. Wilson was wounded."⁴⁴⁹

Marion biographers Bass and Rankin identified this action as one involving Thomas Merritt of the Queen's Rangers and described a more elaborate skirmish. In their telling, Col. Peter Horry's troops were surprised by a troop of the Queen's Rangers commanded by Merritt, at White's Plantation near Georgetown. Horry's men countercharged, putting the enemy in disarray. Merritt escaped into a nearby swamp, while the rest of the troop raced toward Georgetown. Merritt reached Georgetown that night.

Rankin stops at this point,⁴⁵⁰ but Bass elaborates further, writing that Maj. Micajah Ganey's Loyalist cavalry rode out from the town to assist the Rangers, but the force of the Patriot attack was too great for the Loyalists, who turned back toward the town. Weems and Bass both point to the incident as one after which Patriot Sgt. McDonald drove a bayonet into Ganey's back during a wild chase back into Georgetown.⁴⁵¹ This account, which originated in Weems, is questionable. Rankin places the incident during the October skirmish with Ganey.⁴⁵² Peter Horry wrote in a first edition copy (1809) of Weems that he had not reported the action correctly. (Horry made no mention of the bayoneting but he did write that the attack on Merritt by McDonald: "[T]o Say McDonald is an error it was Cryer, the whole Party of 16

446. Leslie was marching to join Cornwallis with over 1,500 newly arrived regular troops (PNG, 7:13).

447. Here Marion referred to the natural advantage conveyed by the terrain at Snow's Island, an area he had used as a base many times, and with which he was intimately familiar (PNG, 7:13; For a description of the island and the camp, see Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 126-27).

448. As noted above, Greene had assumed command of the Southern Department of the Continental Army from Horatio Gates on December 4, 1780, in Charlotte, N.C.. Greene immediately divided his army and detached Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan and his light troops to western South Carolina, while he himself took the main army into camp at the Cheraws, near present Clinton, S.C.. Lt. Col. William Washington and S.C. militia Col. James McCall's victory over Georgia and South Carolina Loyalists at Hammond's Old Store on December 30, 1780, paved the way for the Ninety Six District Patriot militia to turn out to support Morgan at the Battle of the Cowpens on January 17, 1781. Hammond's Old Store was near the Upper Bush River, about 3.5 miles south of present Clinton, S.C..

449. John Graves Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal* (New York: Bartlett and Welford, 1844), 242.

450. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 120-22; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 145-46.

451. Weems, *Marion*, 128-29; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 122-23.

452. See Marion to Gates, Oct. 15, above, and Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 106-07.

was taken, Lieut. Merret and a Serjeant only Escaped.”⁴⁵³ James Cryer was a lieutenant in Marion’s Brigade.⁴⁵⁴ It seems reasonable that Horry may have confused the Ganey stabbing incident, in which McDonald was the hero, with the Merritt incident, in which Weems also made McDonald the hero. Horry’s annotated first edition copy is in the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina.

Further confusing the record, Capt. John Saunders, who supplied the entries for this period in *Simcoe’s Journal*, wrote that the Merritt incident occurred three months later, at the end of February 1781.⁴⁵⁵

Lt. Col. Francis Marion to Adjutant [Capt.]⁴⁵⁶ John Postell – December 30, 1780

Snow’s Island,⁴⁵⁷ Dec. 30, 1780

Sir,

You will proceed with a party down Black river, from Black Mingo to the mouth of Pedee, and come up to this place; you will take all the boats and canoes from Euhaney up, and impress negroes to bring them to camp; put some men to see them safe; you will take every horse, to whomsoever he may belong, whether friend or foe. You will take all arms and ammunition for the use of our service. You will forbid all persons from carrying any grains, stock or any sort of provisions to Georgetown, or where the enemy may get them, on pain of being held as traitors and enemies to the Americans. All persons who will not join you you will take prisoners and bring to me. You will return as soon as possible. Let me know any intelligence you may gain of the enemy’s strength or movements. I am, your obedient servant, Francis Marion.

N. B. – You will bring up as much rice and salt in the boats as possible.

James, *Francis Marion*, 83-84.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Francis Marion – December 30, 1780

Camp at the Cheraws on the east side of Pedee, Dec^r 30th 1780

Sir,

Your letter of the 27th Inst. Was handed me yesterday. We have no Cartridge paper in Camp. I would have sent you a supply of Powder and flints but your Express could not carry them. I wish you could send a person with an order for the quantity you may want, and I will order him supplied.

I beg you will give me the earliest intelligence of any movements of the Enemy’s.

Please to send me a return of the Prisoners that have been taken by the troops under your command specifying their names, the Corps to which they belong, the time of capture and the places they are confined at and the rank of the Officers.⁴⁵⁸

I am Sir With regard

Your Most Obed^d Humble Serv^t

N. Greene

Df (MiU-C), Parks.

453. Salley. 1961. “Horry’s Notes to Weems’s *Life of Marion*,” *SCHM* 62:121.

454. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 136.

455. *Simcoe’s Journal*, 243-44.

456. The letter is addressed to Adj. Postell. A footnote identifies the addressee as Major John Postell. William James tended to identify militia members by the highest rank they held, as opposed to the rank held at the time of the activity. At the time this letter was written, John Postell was probably still a captain. His older brother James was the major, who was later promoted to lieutenant colonel. It is more likely that the addressee is Capt. John Postell, since in a January 14, 1781, letter, below, Marion directed him to “go to Euhaney and protect the boats you send and to intercept those of the enemy,” similar to the orders given here. [See more about the Postells here.](#)

457. The letter of Dec. 28, 1780, above, indicated Marion was camped at the “Mouth of Linches [Lynches] Creek Peedee,” whereas, here he was at Snow’s Island. The two locations are probably the same. Snow’s Island is bounded by Clark’s Creek, Lynches Creek and the Pee Dee River. Marion continued to call his encampment Lynches Creek, Snow’s Island, or Goddard’s Plantation interchangeably until embarking on his attack on Georgetown on January 23, 1781. Marion had originally intended on resting only a few days, as shown in his Dec. 28 letter to Greene, above.

458. Marion replied on January 4, 1781 (*PNG*, 7:26n). That reply will be found in Volume II.

Marriot Arbuthnot

Marriot Arbuthnot (1711-94) was a lieutenant in the Royal Navy in 1739 and a captain in 1747. For the first three years of the Revolutionary War, Arbuthnot was naval commissioner at Halifax and served as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia from Apr. 1776 to Aug. 1778.

Arbuthnot was recalled to England, promoted, and appointed commander-in-chief of naval operations in America in early 1779. Gen. Henry Clinton, who was responsible for army operations in the colonies, had lobbied for an active admiral to support his army, was upset with Arbuthnot's appointment.

Arbuthnot commanded the British fleet of nearly 100 ships and over 13,000 soldiers and sailors that embarked from New York at the end of 1779 on the arduous voyage to Charlestown. Adm. Arbuthnot and Gen. Clinton were joint commanders of the siege of the town, although Clinton gave much of the credit for the navy's performance to Capt. George Elphinstone. After the fall of the town in May 1780, Arbuthnot and Clinton issued various proclamations, including one that sent militia back to their homes on parole and a second that forced the paroled militia to choose sides—the latter of which is often cited as a major contributor to the resumption of active war in the backcountry.

Arbuthnot returned to New York with Clinton, where in the fall of 1780 he was superseded by Adm. George Rodney. Arbuthnot complained, unsuccessfully, to the Admiralty, after which he resigned, ostensibly on grounds of ill health. He remained in the Northern Theater until succeeded by Adm. Thomas Graves and in Jul. 1781, he sailed for England. In 1793, he was made Admiral of the Blue, the third highest rank in the British Navy.

Arbuthnot is largely viewed negatively as a naval commander by most historians. In Britain's *Dictionary of National Biography* he is portrayed as inept at naval discipline and tactics. He is described "as a coarse, blustering, foul-mouthed bully."

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:23-24; Stephen, *DNB*, 2:65-66.

John Ardesoif

John Ardesoif (d. 1790) was commissioned a lieutenant in the Royal Navy in 1759. He became a commander in 1779.

After the fall of Charlestown, Ardesoif remained in South Carolina waters with his ship, the *Loyalist*, as a deterrent to privateers. He drew complaints from Georgetown residents when he confiscated their property during the summer of 1780. Ardesoif was promoted to post-captain in May 1781. He may have been captured with the *Loyalist* when the ship encountered four ships of De Grasse's fleet at the end of August.

—Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:306n3; Weems, *Francis Marion*, 102-03; Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of SC*, 2:438; James, *Francis Marion*, 17; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 50-51).

Nisbet Balfour

Nisbet Balfour (1743-1823) was a member of a noble Scottish family who joined the 4th Regiment of Foot as an ensign in 1761. He was seriously wounded at Bunker Hill and fought at the Battle of Brooklyn.

As a result of his distinguished service during the New York campaign, Balfour was sent to England to deliver the news of the victory, where he was made a brevet major before returning and fighting with distinction in battles at Elizabethtown, Brandywine, and Germantown. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 23rd Foot in 1778.

Balfour accompanied Clinton to Charlestown and, after the surrender of the city, he was dispatched to secure the post at Ninety Six. In August, Cornwallis, who had become commander in the South after Clinton returned to New York, recalled Balfour to Charlestown, where he appointed him commandant of the town. In addition to maintaining order, Balfour was charged with supporting the military strategy of Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon as they attempted to quell the rebellion in the backcountry.

In Mar. 1781, when Francis Marion protested the detention of Patriot Capt. John Postell, Balfour was quick to defend Capt. John Saunders's choice to arrest the parole violator, writing: "As to Postell you have done Perfectly right. I have got his Parole which he has broke & which Renders him wholly unfit to Enter into any Service, as it Entitles us to Seize him as our prisoner wherever we Can find him." Balfour earned the antipathy of the Patriots when he, along with Rawdon, ordered the execution of Lt. Col. Isaac Hayne in Aug. 1781. (Cornwallis commended him for the action.)

After the war, Balfour was promoted to colonel and aide-de-camp to King George III. He was elected to Parliament in 1790, promoted to major general in 1793, and served against France. He was named lieutenant general in 1798, elected again to Parliament in 1802, and promoted to full general in 1803. At his death he was the sixth ranking general in the British army.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:50-51; Balfour to Saunders, Mar. 12, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

John Coming Ball

John Coming Ball (1758-92), a wealthy planter with plantations on the Cooper River, was a captain of the Berkeley County Loyalist militia. His uncle, Elias Ball, Sr., was colonel and commandant of the Berkeley and Craven Regiment of Militia. His cousin, Elias, Jr., of Comingtee, was lieutenant colonel of the regiment.

Capt. Ball was sent to Black Mingo Creek, where he was soundly defeated by Francis Marion on Sep. 28, 1780. Marion reported the action to Gen. Gates. "They had intelligence of our coming, and drew up near a swamp, and received our fire within thirty yards which they returned twice, and then took in to their swam."

Common lore has it that the sounds of his horsemen galloping over the bridge a mile from the Loyalist encampment denied the Patriots the element of surprise. Nevertheless, Marion's brigade routed the 47 Loyalists,

killing three, wounding one, and capturing 13 others, as well as taking all their supplies and horses. It is said that Marion took Capt. Ball's charger as his own, naming it Ball.

—Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 182; Anne Simons Deas, *Recollections of the Ball Family of South Carolina and the Comingtee Plantation—Summerville, S.C.* (Alwyn Ball, 1909), 93, 97; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 24-25; Marion to Gates, Oct. 4, 1780, ACy (NN); James, *Francis Marion*, 32-33.

Jesse Barfield

Jesse Barfield (Barefield) (d.1781/2?) served under Marion in the 2nd SC Regiment at the Battle of Fort Sullivan in Jun. 1776. He was a captain during the first siege of Charlestown in 1779, where he suffered some indignity from a superior officer which led him to leave the army when his enlistment expired.

He then changed sides and became a leader of the Loyalists between the Pee Dee and Little Pee Dee Rivers, where his home lay. Marion surprised Capt. Barfield at Blue Savannah on Sep. 4, 1780.

At the beginning of November, Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour ordered Barfield to gather horses to mount the NY Volunteers, who had been sent to reinforce Georgetown. Patriot Col. Thomas Brown (not to be confused with Loyalist Col. Thomas Brown) and his NC militia attacked Barfield's troops, killing one, while wounding and capturing two others. Jesse Barfield escaped the attack with a hand wound.

Barfield was next sent to reinforce Georgetown. On Nov. 15, a Patriot force stumbled into Barfield's troops. In the melee, Lt. Gabriel Marion, Francis's favorite nephew, was captured. Shortly thereafter, he was murdered by one of Barfield's men. Barfield was wounded in the head and body during the fight as well. He died of small pox later in the war.

—James, *Francis Marion*, 19; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 48-51, 88-90, 92; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 69-72; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 338; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 24, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:91-92.

John Baxter

John Baxter (d. 1802?) served as a captain, major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel in Marion's brigade. He was appointed to command "a Compy of Light horse in Colo Giles Regimt" by Marion's orderly book entry of Feb. 17, 1781 and was promoted to major in Marion's Brigade in June. Baxter was wounded at Quinby Bridge in July 1781.

In Mar. 1782, Baxter led a raid into St. Thomas Parish to remove slaves from Loyalist plantations. Maj. Thomas Fraser retaliated but failed to overtake Baxter. He did, however, capture Judge Henry Pendleton, Maj. Thomas Pinckney, and Maj. Edmund M. Hyrne, as well as some 150 slaves from various Patriot plantations.

During Jun. 1782, Baxter, presumably as a lieutenant colonel or colonel, commanded the Pee Dee Regiment while it was stationed at Georgetown. He was part of the commission Marion sent to negotiate a treaty with Loyalist leader Micajah Ganey in Jun. 1782. Marion

subsequently left Baxter with 150 men "to over Awe those [Loyalists] who have submitted & subdue the few which have secreted themselves."

Baxter was a member of the SC House from 1783-84. After the war, he remained a colonel until as late as 1789.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 53; John Laurens to Greene, Mar. 30, 1782, PNG, 10:565n; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 656n1372; Marion to Ganey, Jun. 2, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, 1782, RCS (MiU-C); Parks, Marion to Muller, Aug. 24, 1789, ALS (ScU); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:57-58.

William Benison

William Benison (d.1782) was from Prince George Winyah Parish. He was elected to the 4th General Assembly that met in Jan. 1782.

Benison served as a captain and major in Marion's Brigade. He transferred to Horry's State Dragoons and was commissioned a major in Nov. 1781. Benison was killed at Wambaw Creek on Feb. 24, 1782.

Col. Peter Horry, who left his command due to illness shortly before the attack at Durant's Plantation (Wambaw Bridge), placed much of the blame for the rout on Benison, writing to Gen. Greene "that Major Benison (by neglect of duty) was the Cause of the Enemies so near Approach Undiscovered."

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:65; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 63; Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, 1782, ALS (MiU-C), Peter Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, 1782, PNG, 10:417-22; James, *Francis Marion*, 69; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 298; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 717n1550.

Abraham Buford

Abraham Buford (1749-1833) commanded the 11th VA Regiment. He was on the way to reinforce Charlestown when he learned of the city's surrender and turned around.

Banastre Tarleton caught up with his detachment at the Waxhaws and destroyed it (the battlefield site is near the intersection of SC-9 and SC-522, just east of Lancaster, S.C.). Historians are divided on what happened next. Either Tarleton's men ignored Buford's men's calls for quarter and wantonly slaughtered them or the confusion of battle led to a chaotic melee before order was reasserted and the prisoners collected.

In either case, the fighting was extremely one-sided, with 113 Americans killed and 150 wounded, compared to only five killed and 14 wounded on the British side. Buford himself escaped to Virginia.

The news of the "Waxhaws Massacre" permanently changed the dynamic of the war in the South, supercharging a cycle of retributive violence by both sides that would define the conflict for the next two years. After the battle of Camden, Buford rejoined the army with a new collection of recruits but bristled when placed under Daniel Morgan's command and threatened to resign. Soon after he became ill and withdrew from active service.

—PNG, 6:535n; NCSR, 14:663.

James Cassells

James Cassells migrated to South Carolina in 1758 and established himself as an indigo planter in Waccamaw. Cassells hid his Loyalist leanings until after the fall of Charlestown.

In the middle of July 1780, Maj. James Wemyss recommended to Cornwallis that Cassells be given command of the militia in Georgetown District. Cassells was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the South Carolina Royal Militia and then colonel of the Georgetown Regiment in 1781. He was briefly imprisoned in North Carolina after being captured on the way to accept the colonel's commission.

After Marion surprised the Loyalist militia at Black Mingo on Sep. 28, 1780, Cassells evacuated Georgetown. Cornwallis had predicted that "Colonel Cassells will meet with some serious disaster." In November, Cassells had moved up the Black River and was being restrained from moving over to the Pee Dee due to the risk of being overwhelmed by Marion's Patriots. Balfour lauded Cassells's efforts, "Cassell's character and his whole behaviour are much more manly and worthy of credit than any other colonel of militia I have yet seen."

By mid-1781, however, Cassells's efforts proved fruitless. He left his regiment and removed to the confines of Charlestown. From Jan. 1782, until the town was evacuated in December, he was an inspector of refugees, responsible for providing relief to Loyalists who had fled their homes to take protection under the British in the town.

Cassells's plantation was confiscated by the SC General Assembly. In Oct. 1782 he went to East Florida where he began planting along the St. John's River with Gabriel Capers, a fellow SC Loyalist. When East Florida was ceded to Spain, Cassells moved to the Bahamas.

—Cornwallis to Turnbull, Oct. 2, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:244; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Jul. 14, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:307 and 307n4; Balfour to Cornwallis, Oct. 1, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:113-14; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 15, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:77; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 24 & 25, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:92; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 65).

Richard Caswell

Richard Caswell (1729-89) had commanded Patriot forces in the victory at Moore's Creek Bridge on Feb. 27, 1776. He then served as governor of North Carolina from Nov. 1776 – Apr. 1780, before withdrawing from politics to resume his military career.

He was named a major general and placed in overall command of all North Carolina militia but was disgraced by his troops' poor performance at the Battle of Camden.

He was removed from his military command, which led him also to resign in anger from his position on the board of war. In Jan. 1781, he came out of retirement to serve on the Council Extraordinary, which had replaced the Board of War. He became governor again in 1785.

—PNG, 7:18n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:174, 2:745-46).

John Coffin

John Coffin (1756-1838) was a Massachusetts Loyalist who went to sea and became a captain of a ship at age 18. For his actions at Bunker Hill in 1775, he was given a battlefield commission. Coffin organized a mounted rifle force in New York in 1776, for which he was promoted to lieutenant. Coffin then went south where he raised a troop of Loyalist militia in Georgia. He fought at Brier Creek and distinguished himself at Savannah in October 1779.

After the fall of Charlestown, Cornwallis unofficially promoted Coffin to major and gave him command of two troops of dragoons operating in the Camden District. His actions were instrumental in the defeat of Greene's force at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill in Apr. 1781. Late in the battle, Coffin routed the light infantry that was covering the withdrawal of the American artillery.

After Greene's withdrawal, Lord Rawdon left Coffin and his cavalry to hold the battlefield, while he returned to Camden with the wounded. Col. Washington drew Coffin into a trap during which the Loyalists lost 20 dragoons, one-half of Coffin's force. Early in the morning of Sep. 8, near Eutaw Springs, Lt. Col. Stewart dispatched Coffin, with 140 infantry and 50 cavalry, to verify intelligence that the American army was nearby. Lt. Col. Lee drew Coffin into an ambush, during which over 40 of his infantry were killed or captured.

A rooting party sent out earlier came to Coffin's aid, but lost another 60 men in the process. During the battle, Coffin's cavalry was held in reserve until ordered to charge the retreating American army but was stopped by Wade Hampton's dragoons.

In 1782, Coffin was officially promoted to major and transferred to the King's American Regiment. He fought Marion's Brigade at Videau's Bridge in January and at Wambaw and Tidyman's Plantation at the end of February—all Loyalist victories. After the war, he settled in St. John, New Brunswick.

During the War of 1812, Coffin raised and commanded a regiment, eventually becoming a major general. He was promoted to full general in 1819.

—Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:276-77, 292-95, 297; Lee, *Memoirs*, 337-39, 465-74; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:94n70; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:228; James, *Francis Marion*, 51-53; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 169-70, 172-76.

Adam Cusack

Adam Cusack, an Englishman, deserted from the British navy and immigrated to South Carolina. His disaffection with England converted him into an ardent Patriot. After Cusack was accused of firing across Black Creek at a servant (probably a slave) of Loyalist John Brockington, he was captured by the British, convicted by a court martial and hanged by Maj. Wemyss's order on Sep. 21, 1780. The opinion of Patriot officials was that the incriminating evidence that sealed Cusack's fate was tainted on the grounds that the servant who gave the damning testimony had been coerced

—Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 20, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:214-15; James, *Francis Marion*, 24; Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of SC*, 2:188-89.

Johann de Kalb

Johann de Kalb (1721-80) was born in Bavaria. By 1743, he was a lieutenant in the French infantry. He was promoted to major in 1756, and fought in the Seven Years' War. He retired from the army in 1765.

By 1768, he was in America, secretly assessing colonial attitudes toward England. After his return to France, he again joined the army and became a brigadier general (Nov. 1776). Apparently, French army life did not suit De Kalb, for in Apr. 1777, he sailed with Lafayette to America.

On Jun 4, 1777, Lafayette and De Kalb landed on North Island near Georgetown not far from SC Patriot Maj. Benjamin Huger's plantation, after which the two were accompanied to Charlestown. De Kalb was commissioned a major general in the Continental Army in Nov. 1777 and spent the winter with Washington at Valley Forge. In Apr. 1780, he was ordered to the Southern Department as second-in-command to Gen. Horatio Gates. He preceded Gates and commanded the army until Gates's arrival in late July.

Despite De Kalb's advice, and that of his junior officers, Gates almost immediately struck out for Camden. On Aug. 16, the Southern Army was crushed by the forces of Lord Cornwallis north of Camden. Although Gates quickly escaped capture and rode to Hillsborough, N.C., De Kalb fought heroically with the 2nd Maryland Brigade. He was mortally wounded, suffering 11 wounds while trying to turn the tide. He died in Camden three days later.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:309; McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*, 1:678-79.

John de Treville

John de Treville (1742-91) was a lieutenant during the French and Indian War and became a cadet in the 2nd SC Regiment in Nov. 1775. By Feb. 1776 he was a lieutenant in the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment and served at the Battle of Sullivan's Island on Jun. 28, 1776.

In May 1777, he charged Lt. John Raphael "with having Urgently & falsely Aspersed his character." Raphael was acquitted on grounds that his behavior was not criminal, "but Rather Indelicate." In June, De Treville was promoted to captain, and in July, he and a "body of Officers" charged Raphael and a Lt. LaMarzel with threatening to take the life of a witness who gave evidence against them. Both Raphael and LaMarzel were acquitted by Gen. Robert Howe on Aug. 2, 1777.

De Treville's clash with Raphael did not end there. On Aug. 28, 1777, Raphael was again brought before a court martial, this time for neglect of duty and disobedience of orders. Then Raphael accused De Treville of stealing a horse, attempting to defraud him of money, perjuring himself in the last court martial, attempting to ruin his character, theft, cowardice, and having delivered Raphael "to the peace in an unofficer like and Cowardly manner."

The general court martial determined that the charges against De Treville were malicious and groundless. Curiously, two days later there was an entry in Marion's orderly book indicating that Raphael was deceased.

De Treville manned a 2-pounder cannon at the Battle of Port Royal (Gray's Hill) on Feb. 3, 1779. When threatened by the British while in command at Fort Lyttelton, he spiked the guns and blew up the fort. His conduct was called into question again, but found faultless, as Gen. William Moultrie wrote that the "Court of Inquiry...are of the opinion that Capt. de treville...did no more than his duty."

De Treville was wounded during the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779. In Jan. 1780, he went to Savannah to broker a prisoner exchange, and returned with intelligence regarding the progress the British were making in building a battery on Tybee Island and the number of ships moored there. After being taken prisoner at Charlestown in May 1780, he was paroled. A "Monsieur [de Treville]" appeared at Cornwallis's headquarters at Waxhaws in Sep. 1780 and provided information to the British. Whether this was John De Treville is not known.

More circumstantial evidence can be found in a Nov. 15 letter from Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour to Cornwallis, stating that "Tarleton's friend is gone, as you ordred, with directions to return (the moment he finds Gates in motion) to you if that is the case; if not, to get all the intelligence he can and come more leisurely to the army."

In a letter to Gates on Dec. 6, 1780, Marion implied that De Treville had become a Loyalist. He wrote that he "is now gone the second time to Newburn, & is much Suspected of Asking in favour of the Enemy, as no prisoner of war have such Liberty as he has. He is now trading with the Enemy; a Schooner Loaded with rice & belonging to him was taken by a privateer out of Newburn."

Gen. Greene also suspected De Treville of being a spy for the British and ordered his apprehension in Jan. 1781. He was paroled in Jul. 1781. In Aug. 1782, De Treville lamented his reputation as a suspected Loyalist to Greene, explained his conduct, and asked Greene to grant him justice. Apparently, Greene absolved De Treville of sedition, for in Sep. 1783, he was a brevet major in the American Army.

—Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 1:295-96, 353-54; Greene to Lt. James Bruff, Jan. 1, 1781, PNG, 7:34-35; PNG, 11:613n; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 251; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 53n157, 81, 136, 269, 278, 296, 313, 326, 503, 592; Cornwallis to Nisbet Balfour, Sep. 2, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:89; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 15, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:77; Marion to Gates, Dec. 6, 1780, ALS (NN); Marion to Lincoln, Jan. 22, 1780, ADS (MHi).

Thomas Dunbar

Thomas Dunbar (d.1790) became a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC regiment in Nov. 1775, a 1st lieutenant in Feb. 1776, and a captain of the grenadier company in Nov. 1777. His company became a light infantry company in Aug. 1779. He fought at the siege of Savannah in October, when he and his company were thwarted in the attempt to take the Spring Hill Redoubt. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown in May 1780. After being exchanged in Jun. 1781, he apparently joined Marion's Brigade and served until the end of the war. He became a brevet major on Sep. 30, 1783. His rationale for rejoining the Continental Army at this time is not known. It is conceivable that he was aware of the pending reorganization of the South Carolina Regiments, as alluded to in Lincoln's Dec. 30, 1779, letter to Marion, above. Dunbar may have thought he would be demoted or placed on supernumerary status and was not willing to accept either result.

He served in the 7th General Assembly.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 273; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 54n160; Foissin to Marion, Dec. 7, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:202.

Hugh Ervin

Hugh Ervin (1720s-85) was a native of Northern Ireland. He immigrated as "a Lad" to South Carolina in 1732 with his family and was a volunteer in the Cherokee Campaigns of 1760 and 1761.

Ervin was a member of the 2nd and 3rd General Assemblies from 1776-80. He was with his militia at the fall of Charlestown and was probably paroled. Due presumably to his age—mid-50s—Ervin served Marion in the capacity of camp commander.

In late Mar. 1781, while Gen. Marion was harassing Lt. Col. John Watson during the Bridges Campaign, Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, with the New York Volunteers, approached Snow's Island from the north. Although Ervin, who was in command of the remnants of Marion's Brigade, received word that the British were approaching, his skeleton force was no match for Doyle. Ervin wisely destroyed extra guns, ammunition, and supplies by dumping them into Lynches Creek.

After a bloody skirmish during which the Americans lost seven killed, Ervin led his men off the island. Despite Marion's request for him to stay, Col. Ervin resigned from the militia after the fight. In 1791, Ervin's daughter married her cousin John Ervin, who had served under him in Marion's Brigade.

—Sam Ervin, Jr., "Entries in Colonel John Ervin's Bible", *SCHGM 79* (1978):221-26; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 295; Marion to Gates, Oct. 15, 1780, LB (MH), MS Sparks 22, 152-54; James, *Francis Marion*, 43-44; William Willis Boddie, *History of Williamsburg* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Company, 1923), 119; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 89, 148; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:216-17.

John Ervin

John Ervin (1754-1810) was born in Williamsburg after his parents emigrated from Northern Ireland in 1732.

Ervin was present at the Battle of Ninety Six in 1775 and became a major in the militia in 1779. He was one of the early militia leaders who continued to oppose the British after the fall of Charlestown in May 1780 and commanded the Britton's Neck regiment after the retirement of Hugh Giles in 1781.

In early Aug. 1780, in a response to a letter from Gen. Gates to Col. Hugh Giles, Ervin refused to report to Gates's headquarters because he was busy recapturing cattle driven off by the British. In a sign of the upheaval in Williamsburg, Ervin related the situation: "The Inhabitants of the East side of this River [Pee Dee?], Belonging to this Regt., have refus'd to turn out in Defence of their Country, and have lifted Arms Against us, but have Dispers'd Again, & am at a Loss to Know how to Proceed against them."

In Mar. 1781, Ervin's flag of truce, sent to Capt. John Saunders in Georgetown to carry out a prisoner exchange, was violated, and Capt. John Postell was taken into custody for breaking his parole. When Ervin learned of the breach of military etiquette, he apparently rode from Snow's Island to Marion's camp at Cordes Plantation on the south side of the Santee, likely taking an escort with him.

This incident may explain why Marion's encampment on Snow's Island was so lightly defended when Lt. Col. Doyle destroyed it at the end of March or the beginning of April.

Ervin fought at Wyboo Swamp at the beginning of March. He was promoted to colonel in Marion's Brigade in Jun. 1781 and replaced Hugh Giles as commander of Giles's regiment. Ervin also fought at Shubrick's Plantation, Parker's Ferry, and Eutaw Springs.

After Parker's Ferry, Marion applauded Ervin's efforts in a letter to Greene, writing "Colo [John] Ervin & Horry behaved Like the Sons [of] Liberty." After the war, Ervin served one term in the SC House. In 1791, he married the daughter of his uncle Hugh Ervin, with whom he had fought in Marion's Brigade.

—Sam Ervin, Jr., "Entries in Colonel John Ervin's Bible," *SCHGM 79* (1978):221-25; Ervin to Gates, Aug. 2, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:522; Ervin to Officer Commanding at Georgetown, Mar. 3, 1781, Cy (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection at the NY Historical Society, NY; Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781, ALS (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection, NYPL; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 682n1472; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 295-96; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 175-76; Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, *PNG*, 9:288-91; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:218-19.

Patrick Ferguson

Patrick Ferguson (1744-80) was a cornet in the Scots Greys at the age of 14. However, his military career was interrupted by bad health until, in 1768, a captaincy in the 70th Regiment of Foot was purchased for him. He served in the West Indies but is best known at this time for developing a breechloading rifle for which he obtained a patent in 1776.

Ferguson led a company of riflemen at Brandywine in 1777. According to some accounts, when confronted with the opportunity to fire on Gen. Washington unobstructed, Ferguson chose not to shoot the general in the back. At Brandywine, Ferguson himself was permanently crippled after receiving a wound that shattered his right elbow. During his recuperation, Gen. Sir William Howe disbanded his unit and removed Ferguson's more efficient, breechloading rifle from the British arsenal.

Ferguson went south with Gen. Sir Henry Clinton in the expedition that forced the surrender of Charlestown in May 1780. He commanded the infantry that combined with Banastre Tarleton's cavalry at the pivotal victory over the Americans at Moncks Corner in April.

When Charlestown fell, Clinton named Ferguson Inspector of Militia, a critical post in carrying out the Southern Strategy of recruiting and training the Loyalists to control conquered areas after the British army advanced northward. Ferguson was successful early in the campaign, raising 4,000 Loyalists around Ninety Six.

As part of the invasion of North Carolina, Ferguson was authorized to penetrate into the state on the western or left flank of Cornwallis's force. Ferguson made a number of thrusts into North Carolina, but eventually withdrew when he learned of the movement of a large contingent of Patriots toward him.

At King's Mountain, on Oct. 7, 1780, Ferguson and his Loyalist army were surrounded and crushed by Patriot militia from South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. Ferguson was killed when he and some officers attempted to break through the Patriot lines. The battle ended shortly thereafter, an American victory that dealt an even greater blow to the British "Southern Strategy."

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:355, 582-87.

Thomas Ferguson

Thomas Ferguson (d.1786) was a large plantation owner, amassing over 11,000 acres throughout the state. Prior to the Revolution, he supplied Francis Marion with 75,000 feet of lumber on one occasion.

An outspoken opponent of the Stamp Act, Ferguson served in the Commons House of Assembly from 1762 through the final session in 1773-75. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd General Assemblies. He was elected to the Privy Council in 1776 and served until 1782.

He violently opposed the surrender of Charlestown in 1780 and when Gov. Rutledge fled the town to enable the continuation of formal government in Apr. 1780, Ferguson remained along with Lt. Gov. Christopher Gadsden and other Privy Council members David Ramsay, Richard Hutson, and Benjamin Cattell. After the city's fall, he was originally paroled to Charlestown, but in the summer of 1780 was sent to St. Augustine along with 28 other Patriots.

When he returned to South Carolina after being exchanged, he was elected to the 4th General Assembly that convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. During that session he was appointed a commissioner by the Legislature to purchase an estate for Gen. Greene. Ferguson continued to serve in the SC House through 1786.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:248-51.

Robert Gamble

Robert Gamble (or Gammell) enlisted as a corporal in the 2nd SC Regiment in Nov. 1775. He was court-martialed, found guilty, and pardoned in May 1776, but was reprimanded for being AWOL during the defense of Fort Sullivan on Jun. 28, 1776.

His difficulties continued when he was reprimanded for striking another soldier in Oct. 1776. In Apr. 1777, he was reduced to private for neglect of duty. He was again promoted to corporal but demoted in August for disorderly conduct and being out of the barracks. In Apr. 1778, Gamble was convicted of neglect of duty and sentenced to do double duty for two weeks.

He transferred to Capt. Dunbar's company of the 2nd Regiment and fought at the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779. Later, in Feb. 1780, he deserted from the regiment and went to Charlestown. Marion ordered his return when apprehended, and he was back in camp at Sheldon by the end of the month. After the fall of Charlestown, Gamble attended Maj. Isaac Harleston while a prisoner on Haddrell's Point. Gamble served in Marion's brigade from Nov. 1780 through Aug. 1782. In Aug. 1782, he killed a new recruit and was jailed in Orangeburg.

—Marion to Harleston, Feb. 27, 1780, "Smyth's Annual Review," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1895, 327; Marion to Harleston, Feb. 29, 1780, ALS (NN, Emmet Collection), 396; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 106-07n286; Warley to Marion, Aug. 11, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Salley, *Records of SC Regiments*, 61-62, 74, 76.

Micajah Ganey

Micajah Ganey first served with the Americans as an officer in the 2nd SC Regiment alongside Marion, but later became a Loyalist after his horses were taken by Patriot militia.

After the fall of Charlestown, Maj. Ganey became the most effective Loyalist commander along the Pee Dee River from Georgetown to the North Carolina border. His stronghold was the area between his plantation on Catfish Creek and the Little Pee Dee River, not far from the Blue Savannah.

Ganey tested Francis Marion more than any other Loyalist militia commander. At Blue Savannah on Britton's Neck on Sep. 4, 1780, Ganey and an advance troop of Marion's men led by Maj. John James collided. In October, when Marion set his eyes on Georgetown, an advance troop led by Lt. Col. Peter Horry encountered Ganey a few miles from the town. The two dragoon units clashed, but Ganey again was rebuffed. The Loyalists turned and raced for the safety of the town.

Patriot Sgt. McDonald [first name unknown] galloped after Ganey for two miles before thrusting his bayonet into Ganey's back. The blade remained in Ganey's back when McDonald withdrew his carbine and it was thought that Ganey was mortally wounded, as Marion reported to Gen. Gates, "My advance party met Captain Gainey and his Lieutenant Evans about two miles from the town. They pursued them and killed the latter, and mortally wounded the Captain. They were the most active persons against us, and the head of all the Tories on the lower part of Pedee." Ganey's wounds kept him out of action for at least six months but he would survive.

In Apr. 1781, with a re-organized Loyalist regiment, mainly from the Drowning Creek (now Lumber River) area near the border of South Carolina and North Carolina, Ganey went back into action. In retaliation for Patriot militia Col. Abel Kolb's men killing two Loyalists, a group of Ganey's militia (Ganey himself was not present) surrounded Kolb's house at the end of April. When Kolb realized he was outnumbered, he surrendered. Upon exiting his house, he was shot and killed along with three other Patriots.

After Marion re-took Georgetown at the end of May, Ganey requested a truce between the two combatants. On Jun. 17, Ganey and Lt. Col. Peter Horry, on behalf of Gen. Marion, signed an agreement calling for the cessation of hostilities in the Pee Dee region. Although the peace was not absolute, a period of relative calm did occur.

Ganey may very well have desired peace in the region. However, in his letter to Marion of Sep. 8, 1781, below, he complained that the Patriots were not honoring their end of the treaty. Apparently, Ganey also felt the truce only applied to war in South Carolina, for in the middle of November, he ambushed the Mecklenburg County Dragoons in North Carolina. It is possible that Ganey was pressured by Loyalists from North Carolina, who were using Ganey's neutral region as a point from which to strike into their own state.

In Jan. 1782, Peter Horry wrote to Marion that Ganey was of the opinion that the truce was applicable to North Carolina Loyalists as well. By Mar. 1782, new S.C. Gov.

John Mathews was involved and was not optimistic about the outcome. "I apprehend this fellow will bring us & himself too into trouble very soon," he wrote.

Later in the month, Marion implied that Ganey's attitudes were changing. In an Apr 13 letter to N.C. Gov. Burke, Marion stated that he had received a response from Ganey, who indicated he would drive the NC Loyalists back to North Carolina.

Late in May, Marion received orders from Gen. Greene to ride for the Pee Dee to put down renewed Loyalist activity that was being fomented by Ganey and Col. David Fanning.

At the time, Gov. Mathews and new N.C. Gov. Alexander Martin had approved a joint expedition of North and South Carolina militia led by Marion to end the Loyalist agitation. The ultimate goal of the expedition was to arrive at a more binding truce than the one signed in Jun. 1781. The first conference (without Marion) between the two parties ended with no new progress and a skirmish followed. Against the advice of his closest officers, Marion then determined to meet with Ganey.

Ganey crossed the Pee Dee and met with Marion on Jun. 8, 1782. A new treaty very similar to the one signed the previous year was ratified. Part of the agreement was that Ganey and his militia would be pardoned if they served six months in Marion's brigade. Ganey, who held a British commission, felt he needed to submit his resignation to Gen. Leslie.

He traveled to Charlestown, submitted his resignation and then returned to Marion's camp, after which he took an active part in Marion's Brigade. He saw action as a Patriot at Wadboo Plantation at the end of August, 1782, where he and 40 former Loyalists fought against the SC Royalist Regiment. This skirmish also happened to be Marion's last action.

Marion reported to Greene, "The Malitia tho the Greatest part was new made w[h]igs behaved with great spirit not one offered to give way, but wished to pursue them in the Open field..." It is presumed that Ganey was with Marion when the general disbanded the militia in November. Gregg described him as follows: "In person, Major Gainey was large and powerful, and in mind above the ordinary standard. He had a respectable property, and might have made, if so disposed, a most efficient champion of liberty. He was, however, a man of violent passions and overbearing disposition, and before the Revolution, had made himself obnoxious to many of his neighbours. After the war, the feeling against him was so strong, that he was compelled to leave the State."

Despite being pardoned by Gov. Mathews after serving in the militia, Ganey re-located to Richmond County, N.C., after the war. In 1785, he built the jail in Rockingham, the new county seat for Richmond County.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 340; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 132; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 70-71, 106-07, 197-99, 217, 280-83; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 186-89; James, *Francis Marion*, 55; Horry (Marion)-Ganey Treaty, Jun. 17, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion-Ganey Treaty, Jun. 8, 1782, Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:419-21; Marion to Gates, Oct. 15, 1780, LB (MH), MS Sparks 22; Ganey to Marion, Aug. 25, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Ganey to Marion, Sep. 8, 1781,

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Peter Horry to Marion, Jan. 31, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Mathews to Marion, Mar. 18, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Horry, Mar. 20, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Burke, Apr. 13, 1782, NCSR, 16:283; Marion to Greene, May 21, 1782, RCS (MiU-C), Parks; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 376.

Hugh Giles

Hugh Giles (1750-c.1802) and his family settled in Britton's Neck on the Pee Dee River in 1735. In 1775, Giles was elected lieutenant in the local militia and a coordinator for implementation of the Continental Association.

Giles served in the SC House for the 2nd General Assembly from 1776-78. After the fall of Charlestown in May 1780, Giles was likely paroled, since he was in a militia regiment defending the city during the siege. However, he continued to lead the Britton's Neck Militia Regiment, rising to the rank of colonel and maintained communication with Gen. Gates before Marion became active in the partisan war.

When Marion began to organize his militia in the Pee Dee and Black River area, Giles brought his two companies to Witherspoon's Ferry to join Marion's Brigade. He was present in late summer 1780 at a meeting where a group of militia officers, including himself, Hugh Horry, Peter Horry, and Francis Huger agreed that Marion should lead the militia. At one point, Giles may have had temporary command of both the Lower Craven County (Lynches Creek) Militia Regiment and the Georgetown District Militia Regiment (Britton's Neck).

According to Marion's Orderly Book entry of Jun. 28, 1781, it appears that Giles relinquished command of his regiment to Col. John Ervin. After the war, he served in both the SC House and Senate. The town of Marion, S.C., was originally named Gilesborough after him.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 355; Gates to Giles, Aug. 12, 1780, Horatio Gates Papers Collection, David Library; George McCall, Pension Statement R6598; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 222; Saberton, ed., *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:214n11; Giles to Gates, Aug. 12, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:351; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 682; Gilbert Johnstone to Susanna Johnstone, Mar. 8, 1790, ALS, Francis Marion University; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:263-64.

Mordecai Gist

Mordecai Gist (1743-92) was from a prominent Baltimore family. Early in the war, he joined the 1st Maryland Continental Battalion as a major. He was promoted to colonel in 1776 and to brigadier general in Jan. 1779, after which he took command of the 2nd Maryland brigade.

His actions in the battle of Camden won him the praise of his dying commander, Johann de Kalb, and a commendation from Congress. After Camden, Gen. Gates sent Gist home to Maryland to expedite recruiting for the state's Continental line. He was present at the siege of Yorktown and at Cornwallis's surrender in Oct. 1781.

After Yorktown, Gist served in the South with Greene in the summer of 1782, commanding the light corps. He was the commander of the multi-pronged force that encountered the British at Combahee Ferry on Aug. 27, 1782, during which Lt. Col. John Laurens was ambushed and mortally wounded. On Dec. 14, 1782, the day Charlestown was evacuated, Gist, who was second-in-command to Greene, was too ill to march at the head of the American army when it entered the city.

Gist settled near Charlestown after the war. He named his two sons Independence and State Rights.

—Greene to Gist, Nov. 10, 1780, PNG 6:472; McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*, 2:642-44; Greene to Boudinot, Dec. 19, 1782, PNG, 12:301-03.

Nathanael Greene

Nathanael Greene (1742-86) was a Rhode Island Quaker who worked in his family's forge and foundry before the war. He was suspended from the Quaker Church in 1773 and the next year helped in raising a militia company. After not initially being given a commission due to a foot injury, Greene enlisted as a private.

A year later, he was promoted directly to brigadier general and commander of three newly-raised militia regiments. By the middle of Jun. 1775, Greene was commissioned a brigadier general in the Continental Army, and served at the siege of Boston.

He was incapacitated by illness during the Battle of Long Island in Aug. 1776, but was promoted to major general at that time, taking command of all Continental forces in New Jersey. The loss of over 3,000 men at Fort Mifflin was due in large part to Greene's unwillingness to abandon the post before it was cut off. However, he redeemed himself at Trenton, where he was the tactical commander of one of the columns that surprised the Hessians on Dec. 26. Greene also distinguished himself at Brandywine and Germantown during the Philadelphia Campaign.

Washington tapped Greene to be quartermaster general in 1778, a role in which he excelled. His attention to detail and logistical mind would prove decisive during his campaign in the South. As QMG, Greene made significant improvements in materials administration, improving the army's transportation system and mobility. However, many of his reforms led him to clash with Congress, where he remained unpopular. As a result, a plan to reorganize the Quartermaster Department was approved in Jul. 1780 without his input and he resigned in protest.

When the Southern Army was destroyed at Camden in August of that year, Washington named Greene to succeed Gen. Gates. Upon his arrival at Charlotte on Dec. 2, Greene took over a situation that at the outset presented little, if any, potential for success as he had a shell of an army. The militias were still active, but, as he would soon find out, very independent.

The British had established a strong system of posts across the interior of South Carolina and, despite significant losses, like the one at King's Mountain, were still the dominant force in South Carolina.

Greene immediately recognized another problem. The land would not sustain any large concentration of force,

especially in winter. As a result, he divided his army, putting Gen. Daniel Morgan in command of his western flank with half the army. Greene himself commanded the other flank, setting up in Cheraw. He felt that if the British chose to attack one flank, the other could quickly fill the void, and advance.

Morgan's victory at Cowpens on Jan. 17, 1781, gave the new Southern Army its first major victory. Cornwallis immediately pursued Morgan. During the 200-mile race to the Dan River through North Carolina, Greene's army eluded Cornwallis, aided by his meticulous planning and attention to detail which allowed his force to stay one step ahead of its adversary, and passed safely into Virginia on Feb. 14. One month later, Greene was back in North Carolina and after a number of minor actions, finally met Cornwallis in battle at Guilford Courthouse on Mar. 15.

Although Guilford Courthouse was a tactical victory for Cornwallis, his army was depleted and worn out. Instead of following up on the victory, the British general chose to withdraw, not back into South Carolina, but, instead, to Wilmington, N.C., and then into Virginia. Although Cornwallis was gone, a strong British presence remained.

Greene next set about liberating South Carolina, approaching Camden in April in anticipation of giving battle to Lord Rawdon, who now commanded in that state. On Apr. 25, Rawdon attacked at Hobkirk's Hill just outside of town. Greene was again tactically defeated but Rawdon's losses forced the evacuation of Camden.

Victories by South Carolina militia forces under Francis Marion—in cooperation with Henry Lee's Legion and by Thomas Sumter—put a chokehold on British supply lines during the spring of 1781.

With the Santee River free of British activity, Greene set his eyes on Ninety Six, the last significant Loyalist outpost in the backcountry and initiated a siege in May. While the siege progressed, Lee and Gen. Andrew Pickens captured two forts at Augusta, thereby ending British control of the Georgia backcountry.

Marion had reoccupied Georgetown at the end of May when the British evacuated. Greene, however, was not making sufficient progress in the siegeworks. After learning that Rawdon was on his way to Ninety Six to relieve the garrison, Greene made a failed attempt to assault the fort and then abandoned the siege and withdrew to the High Hills of the Santee, arriving on Jun. 19. Greene's Continental infantry rested, while Gen. Sumter carried out a series of raids that carried him nearly to the gates of Charlestown.

By September, Greene's army was on the move again. On Sep. 8, after being reinforced by Marion's and Pickens's militia, Greene marched after the British, now commanded by Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, who was bivouacked at Eutaw Springs on the Santee. The Americans enjoyed the early advantage in the battle and nearly swept the field, but the enemy counterattack pushed the Americans back. Just as with Guilford Courthouse and Hobkirk's Hill, Eutaw Springs ended with the British controlling the field.

However, the casualties the British incurred proved irreplaceable and, once again, they retreated. After Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October, the war in the South became much more one of maneuver. The British put up little significant resistance.

In December Greene moved his army to Round O, about 35 miles from Charlestown, and acted as a screen for the SC General Assembly when it convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. Greene lacked the strength to attack Charlestown directly, but he had effectively excluded the British from the rest of the state. When the enemy evacuated Charlestown on Dec. 14, 1782, Greene marched his troops into the town. He remained in Charlestown until Aug. 1783.

Greene returned to Rhode Island for two years to get his affairs in order, after which he returned to the South. In 1786, at the age of 44, Nathanael Greene died of sunstroke at his estate near Savannah.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia* 1:448-52, 2:1076-87; Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2005); Gregory Massey and Jim Piecuch, eds., *General Nathanael Greene and the American Revolution in the South* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2012); Buchanan, *Road to Guilford Courthouse*.

John Hamilton

John Hamilton (1740-1816) emigrated from Scotland to North Carolina in 1760. Early in the war, he was persecuted due to his Loyalist politics, especially for smuggling supplies to Loyalists and for his participation in the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge in Feb. 1776. He was imprisoned but given a pass to leave the state.

Hamilton eventually made it to New York after stops in Jamaica and East Florida. He returned with Archibald Campbell when Campbell invaded Georgia and captured Savannah in Dec. 1778 and was promoted to major in Feb. 1779. After mustering his Royal North Carolina Regiment, made up of Loyalist refugees from that state, at Ebenezer, Ga., in April, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in October, and marched with Gen. James Paterson to the siege of Charlestown in Mar. 1780.

Hamilton was captured by dragoons under Lt. Col. William Washington at Rantowle's Bridge, near SC Royal Lt. Gov. William Bull's plantation, at the end of March, and exchanged shortly after the fall of Charlestown.

Hamilton's N.C. regiment fought at Hanging Rock and Camden, where he was wounded. In September, one hundred of Hamilton's regiment joined Maj. James Wemyss in his campaign through the Black River region. He was later ordered to rejoin the British army at Camden.

In October, Col. Robert Gray, who was then commander of the Cheraw Loyalist Militia Regiment, suggested that Hamilton, as a result of his popularity in North Carolina, be given command of a force charged with seizing Wilmington and gaining control of the Cape Fear River area, but Hamilton and his regiment remained at Camden, where at the end of October, the temporary commander, Lt. Col. George Turnbull, advised Cornwallis that should Hamilton be ordered to join Cornwallis. "Our garrison wou'd be rather too much weakened," he wrote.

By the time Cornwallis entered North Carolina in 1781, Hamilton's corps had been augmented by new N.C. recruits, and consisted of seven companies. Cornwallis left all but the light company at Wilmington

before marching on to Virginia in 1781. Hamilton himself surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The balance of his regiment was evacuated to Charlestown when Wilmington was abandoned. In Oct. 1782, the southern provincial regiments sailed from Charlestown to St. Augustine, where Hamilton served as commander of the garrison. He and his Royal N.C. Regiment set sail from Saint Augustine, landing in Nova Scotia in Nov. 1783. In 1794, Hamilton was named British consul to Norfolk, Va.. He returned to England at the outbreak of the War of 1812

—Rutledge to Delegates to Congress, May 24, 1780, "Letters of John Rutledge," Joseph Barnwell, ed., *SCHGM* 17 (1916):131-36; Cornwallis to Hamilton, Aug. 28, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:226; Hamilton to Cornwallis, undated, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:226; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 20, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:214-15; Gray to Cornwallis, Oct. 7, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:223; "An Introduction to NC Loyalist Units," Loyalist Institute, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/ncindcoy/ncintro.htm> (accessed Aug. 12, 2024); Robert S. Davis, "Colonel John Hamilton of the Royal North Carolina Regiment," *SCAR Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 2006, 32-34.

William Harden

William Harden (1743-85) was a planter in the Beaufort District, who served in the 2nd Provincial Congress and 1st General Assembly. In 1775, he was a captain in the Granville County militia. He was the commander of Fort Lyttelton for 14 months and captain of the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery Company. He later became colonel of the Georgia militia.

After the capture of Charlestown in May 1780, according to minutes of the SC Senate in 1782, Harden "(finding it impracticable to escape) did submit to the British and became one of their Subject" but "some time in July 1780" Harden had a change of heart, and by Jan. 1781, Gen. Pickens, who commanded the western militia, had given him a commission as colonel of the Upper Granville County militia.

Harden did not have sufficient men to go against the Loyalist strength in the Beaufort area. Instead, he joined Marion. By the middle of March, however, Harden's regiment had grown large enough to begin operations. With no higher-ranking officer to command the militia in the southern part of the state, Harden took command, and later came under the overall command of Francis Marion. Harden had some success in countering the Loyalist superiority, winning the day at the battles of Wiggins Hill, Four Holes, and Red Hill, but being repelled at Saltkecher (Patterson) Bridge in the first two weeks of Apr. 1781. These raids culminated in Harden's capture of Fort Balfour on April 13, an action that resulted in the surrender of 100 Loyalists.

Despite these impressive victories, in a July letter to Greene, Sumter reported that Harden was a prisoner on parole, having been captured by a small force from Port Royal Island. Whether Sumter was referring to the circumstances around which Harden originally submitted to the British in 1780, or a new second parole, is not

known. Apparently, Harden was ambivalent about the situation, for Sumter wrote, "[H]e Considers himself at liberty to act—the enemy say he Gave his Word & honour to Consider himself a prisoner on parole."

If this capture was different from his submission in 1780, it would explain why Col. Harden did not fight at Parker's Ferry at the end of August. However, there is no mention of Harden's capture in Marion's correspondence, only of his absence due to illness.

Gov. John Rutledge questioned Harden's ability to command, writing Greene in September that Harden, though brave, "keeps up no discipline or Authority." In late 1781, Rutledge replaced Harden with John Barnwell as commander of the new southern militia brigade, at which point Harden resigned his commission. Harden's partisans refused to acknowledge Barnwell's authority.

Harden served as a senator when the General Assembly convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. After the war, he served as ordinary of Beaufort District until his election to the SC Senate, where he served in the 4th, 5th, and 6th General Assemblies from 1782-85.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 413; Harden to Greene, Nov. 7, 1781, *PNG*, 9:544-45; Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, *PNG*, 9:288-91; Rutledge to Greene, Sep. 6, 1781, *PNG*, 9:304-05; Salley, *Journal of the SC House*, Jan. 8, 1782-Feb. 26, 1782, 91-92; *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:314-15; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 18-20, 231; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:314-15.

Henry Harrington

Henry Harrington (1747/48-1809) emigrated from England to Jamaica and then to the Pee Dee region of South Carolina.

In Aug. 1775, Harrington joined the Cheraw militia as a captain. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly.

In Jun. 1776, he was at Haddrell's Point across the Cooper River from Charlestown when the first British invasion force threatened the town. He was not in the action at Fort Sullivan in Jun. 1776, but did attend the General Assembly in that year. At the end of 1776, he moved to North Carolina, where he became a colonel in the NC militia in Nov. 1779.

Harrington was at the siege of Charlestown with the NC Brigade, however before the city's surrender, he was dispatched to North Carolina to take his seat in the general assembly with the intention of raising more troops.

In May 1780, he became acting brigadier general in the NC militia at Cross Creek. Shortly thereafter, he moved his headquarters to Cheraw, S.C.. Gen. Gates unofficially gave command of the SC militia in the Pee Dee region to Harrington when he arrived in July.

Marion voiced his disapproval of the appointment, in part because Harrington failed to communicate effectively or supply him with provisions necessary to carry on the war. Marion wrote to Gates in November, "I have wrought to Genl. Harrington to spare me his horse...to remove the post at Kings tree...but from what I know of the Genl, I do not expect he will part with them. I beg leave to mention to You, that Genl. Harrington has not done any service

with the troops he commands, while I have been Oblige to act with so few as not to have it in my Power to do any thing Effectual for want of Ammunition & Men." Harrington resigned in Dec. 1780, when the NC Legislature did not confirm his rank of brigadier general. Harrington served in the NC House in 1780 and the NC Senate in 1781, 1783, 1785, and 1798.

—Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:220-21n16; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 301-02; Gates to Marion, Oct. 11, 1780, LB (DLC) Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 2, Horatio Gates Letterbook, 1780-1781, image 133-34; Marion to Gates, Nov. 4, 1780, AL (NN), Horatio Gates Collection, 12:1083, David Library of the American Revolution; Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, ALS (MiU); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:318-20.

William Henderson

William Henderson (1748-88) was a native of the Ninety Six district. He began his military career as a private in Thomas Woodward's rangers and participated in the "Snow Campaign" against the Loyalists in 1775. He became a major in the 6th SC Regiment in 1775 and a lieutenant colonel in Sep. 1776, when his regiment was annexed to the Continental Army.

In Feb. 1780 he was transferred to the 3rd SC Regiment as second-in-command when his own 6th Regiment was eliminated, but not without some controversy. Initially, Henderson indicated he would not accept the position. As a result, Gen. Lincoln ordered Lt. Col. Peter Horry, the former commandant of the 5th SC Regiment, whose regiment had also been eliminated, to fill the position. Henderson subsequently changed his mind and accepted the position.

Horry did not learn of the reversal until he was on his way to take command. Henderson was taken prisoner when the British captured Charlestown in May 1780 and was held at Haddrell's Point for several months. Exchanged in Nov. 1780, he joined and temporarily commanded Gen. Thomas Sumter's Brigade after Sumter was wounded at Blackstock's Plantation.

In early Aug. 1781 Henderson again assumed temporary command of the South Carolina State Troops, which Sumter had recruited, when Sumter withdrew from his brigade after the fiasco at Shubrick's Plantation. After being wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs in September, Henderson temporarily withdrew from the field. After his return to active duty, he became embroiled in another chapter of the controversy concerning Horry's rank, when a new brigadier general and commander of Sumter's brigade was to be appointed.

Marion wrote to Greene on Mar. 13, 1782, "If Col. [William] Henderson is made a Brigadier probable he will give up his rank in the 1st Regemt as Col. Horry has some Pretentions to be retained in service before him when the first Arrangemen[t] took place, under Genl Benjamin Lincoln, which he told me some time agoe he made you Acquainted with it."

However, Henderson chose to retain his rank. Henderson remained in service until Nov. 1783. He served at various times in the 2nd Provincial Congress,

the SC General Assembly, and several offices on the local level

—McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:416; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:328-29; Marion to Greene, Mar. 13, 1782, PNG, 10:498-500; Greene to Marion, Mar. 19, 1782, PNG 10:526.

Thomas Heyward, Jr.

Thomas Heyward, Jr., (1746-1809) studied law at the Middle Temple in London and was admitted to the English bar. He returned to Charlestown in 1771 and joined the provincial bar. Heyward represented St. Helena Parish in the last four royal assemblies. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd General Assemblies.

Heyward was elected to the 2nd Continental Congress upon Christopher Gadsden's resignation and was one of four South Carolinians to sign the Declaration of Independence on Jul. 4, 1776. A captain in the Charleston Artillery regiment, he was wounded at the Battle of Port Royal (Beaufort) in 1779. After the fall of Charlestown, he was captured and imprisoned at St. Augustine.

When released, he was sent to Philadelphia in Sep. 1781, but eventually found his way back to South Carolina, where he took a seat in the Senate when it convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782.

Heyward served in the Senate continuously through the 8th General Assembly in 1790. He also served as a judge of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas from 1779-89. Soon after, in 1790, he retired from public service.

Heyward's pre-Revolutionary War house is still a major attraction in Charleston

—*Biographical Directory of the US Congress*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=H000555> (accessed Aug. 13, 2024); Moss, *SC Patriots*, 442.

George Hicks

George Hicks was a colonel in the Cheraw Militia. He moved from Virginia to South Carolina in 1747 and was a captain in the militia by 1752.

Hicks fought in the Cherokee War (1759-61). By 1777 he was a colonel and served as a member of the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies. In Feb. 1780, Hicks marched to Charlestown with the balance of his militia regiment. The Cheraw Regiment remained in Charlestown until it fell. It is not known whether he was present when the town surrendered.

In Aug. 1780 he was unable to muster at Gen. Gates's headquarters, because of Loyalist activity in his area. Hicks replied to Gates, apologizing for not being able to send his militia because of the necessity of guarding prisoners and protecting the families in his district against continuing Loyalist activity. At the end of August, Hicks came upon 21 prisoners captured at the end of July by the Britton's Neck Regiment when it intercepted boats on the Pee Dee River on the way to Georgetown. He forwarded them on to the jail at Hillsborough, N.C.. Before October, Hicks took leave to remove his family

to Virginia. Apparently, he returned, but did not resume command of his regiment, which had been taken over by Lt. Col. Abel Kolb

—Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 285, 301, 327; Hicks to Gates, Aug. 9, 1780, *NCSR*, 14:537-38; Hicks to Nash, Aug. 24, 1780, *NCSR*, 15:63; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:337-38.

Hugh Horry

Hugh Horry (1744-95) was the brother of Lt. Col. Peter Horry. Horry served as a major and lieutenant colonel of the Lower Craven County Regiment from 1779-83 and was at the fall of Charlestown. As a militiaman, he presumably was paroled.

In a 1790 letter Gilbert Johnstone reminisced that Horry had been present at Johnstone's home in late summer 1780, when a group of militia officers, including Peter Horry, Hugh Horry, Francis Huger, and Hugh Giles, agreed that Marion should lead the militia. Horry assumed temporary command of the militia regiments mustering at Kingstree in Aug. 1780, until Marion's arrival.

In Marion's earliest action at Thomas Sumter's plantation (Great Savannah) on Aug. 25, 1780, Horry's troop was the first to encounter the British, when the Americans surprised the detail of 150 prisoners captured at Camden as it marched to Charlestown. After promotion to lieutenant colonel in Feb. 1781, Horry assumed temporary command of Archibald McDonald's regiment, since McDonald was a prisoner on parole. Horry was a close friend, confidante, and adviser to Marion. Hugh Horry's riflemen, along with those of Capt. William McCottry, were instrumental in slowing the enemy's progress through Mount Hope Swamp during the Bridges Campaign in Mar. 1781. After Lt. Col. Doyle destroyed Marion's lair on Snow's Island while Marion was harassing Lt. Col. Watson in the Bridges Campaign, Horry was dispatched after the British with 70 men. Horry caught up with a group of foragers, killing six and wounding nine, dispersing them and chasing them to Witherspoon's Ferry. Horry's regiment fought on Marion's left at Shubrick's Plantation in July.

In Aug. 1781, Horry accompanied Marion on his campaign to assist Col. Harden. Horry's efforts at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30 were applauded by Marion in his report to Gen. Greene, "Colo Stafford who sustained [the heaviest] fire & Colo [John] Ervin & [Hugh] Horry behaved Like the Sons [of] Liberty." Horry was wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781.

He was elected to the SC Senate for the 1782 session at Jacksonborough, the first general assembly that had convened since the fall of Charlestown. After the war, Horry became a Justice of the Quorum and focused his efforts on the advancement of Georgetown District.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 239; Gilbert Johnstone to Susanna Johnstone, Mar. 8, 1790, ALS, Francis Marion University; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 463; James, *Francis Marion*, 18, 25, 38; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 52, 65-66, 165-66, 168, 176-77; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 702n1512; Marion to Greene, Jul. 19, 1781, ALS (MiU-C); Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, PNG, 9:288-91.

Daniel Huger

Daniel Huger (1742-99), brother of, John, Benjamin, Isaac, and Francis Huger, and first cousin, once removed, of Francis Marion, was a prominent Charlestown planter and politician. He served in the SC House during the war and as a member of Gov. Rutledge's Privy Council.

On Apr. 13, 1780, Huger left Charlestown with Rutledge, and fellow Council members John Gervais and Charles Pinckney, to ensure that the executive branch of the government would survive should the town fall.

Following the surrender of Charlestown, Huger had a change of heart after avoiding capture by Tarleton at Rugeley's Mill. He surrendered at Camden, swore allegiance to the British, and published his congratulations to Cornwallis on the victory at Camden in the *Royal South-Carolina Gazette*.

Huger moved to England, but returned in 1782 to a cold reception. Surprisingly, however, his name was not placed on the confiscation list nor was his property amerced, a testament to the strong familial and political ties of the Huger family. After the war he served in the SC Senate, the Continental Congress and was elected to the 1st and 2nd US Congresses after the ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

—Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2; 105; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:145n47; Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:629-34; Withington. 1914. "South Carolina Gleanings in England," *SCHGM* 15(2), 92-93; Richardson. 1942. "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," *SCGHM* 43(3), 133-40; A.M. Smith. 1911. "The Baronies of South Carolina," *SCHGM* 12(1), 8-9.

John James, Sr.

John James, Sr., (1732-91) emigrated from Ireland to South Carolina around 1733. A captain in the provincial militia, he served in the Cherokee War. A member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st General Assembly, he was commissioned as a captain in the local Williamsburg militia in 1775. He was present during the siege of Charlestown in 1780, but was sent to recruit prior to the surrender.

When Clinton altered his policy about militia paroles, forcing Patriots to fight for the Crown or flee, James, at the behest of the citizens of Williamsburg, ventured to Georgetown to elicit clarification. At the time, Capt. John Ardesoif of the Royal Navy was the ranking officer in the town. According to tradition, when James requested clarification, Ardesoif became angry. Weems, in his 1809 Marion biography, wrote that James quickly picked up a chair and hit the surprised Englishman, knocking him to the floor. James's son William Dobein James, in his 1821 Marion biography, wrote that the senior James "seized the chair on which he was seated, brandished it in the face of the captain," then rushed to his horse and made his escape. The story is almost certainly exaggerated.

James, Sr. was a captain, then major in Archibald McDonald's regiment in Marion's Brigade, and was present at the attack on Snow's Island in Mar. 1781. He fought at the Battle of Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781, and was later promoted to lieutenant colonel. James

resigned prior to the end of the war to return home to rebuild his plantation.

After the war he served in the SC House during the 4th and 6th General Assemblies.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 493; Weems, *Francis Marion*, 101-03; James, *Francis Marion*, 17; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:376-77.

Alexander Leslie

Alexander Leslie (c.1740-94) was lieutenant colonel of the 64th Foot at Halifax, Nova Scotia, before the Revolution.

In 1775, he served in Boston, and was a brigadier general in the campaign for New York in the autumn of 1776. His troops were quartered in Maidenhead, NJ, when Washington's army marched past on the way to their victory at Princeton in Jan. 1777.

In the summer of 1780, Leslie, now a major general, was dispatched to the Chesapeake by Gen. Clinton to serve as a diversion for Cornwallis's actions in the Carolinas. Shortly after arriving at Portsmouth, Va., with, among others, Loyalist units under Edmund Fanning and John Watson, Leslie received orders from Cornwallis to come to Charlestown. Leslie arrived in the town in the middle of December, and quickly marched with 1,500 troops to Camden early in Jan. 1781. He joined Cornwallis shortly after the army left Winnsboro to support Lt. Col. Tarleton's force that was pursuing Daniel Morgan and marched after Gen. Greene and in the "Race to the Dan."

At the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on Mar. 15, Leslie commanded the British right. In late July, Leslie was back in Charlestown, apparently for health reasons. Clinton ordered him back to New York, where he remained until sailing to Charlestown as Cornwallis's successor after the British surrender at Yorktown. Leslie oversaw the drawdown into Charlestown, the evacuation of Savannah, and finally the evacuation of Charlestown in Dec. 1782

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:620-21.

Richard Lushington

Richard Lushington (d.1790) was a militia officer and a Charlestown merchant prior to the city's capture. He had been lieutenant and captain of the Charlestown militia in 1775, 1778, and 1780. Captured at the fall of Charlestown, he was sent to St. Augustine where he was paroled along with a number of other prominent Patriots.

After his release and return to South Carolina, Lushington attended the General Assembly when it convened in Jacksonborough in 1782. Later in the year he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and became the commander of the post at Georgetown after the retirement of Lt. Col. Peter Horry in the summer of 1782.

In Jul. 1782, Lushington asked Gen. Greene to exchange "Sixty marine Prisoners" jailed in Georgetown for seamen then held on prison ships in Charlestown harbor. He claimed he intended to recruit crews to sail Continental ships and privateers. Apparently, a proposal for exchange was transmitted to Gen. Alexander Leslie, for on Jun. 27, he assented to the exchange.

Lushington became upset with Marion in late Oct. 1782, when Marion gave orders to his subordinate, Capt. Jacob Milligan, regarding the use of passes for ships to travel to and from Charlestown. Lushington felt that Marion should not have departed from the chain of command, actually suggesting that Marion felt Lushington was benefiting from issuance of passes. Much of the anxiety surrounding this situation arose as a result of Gov. John Mathews mistakenly identifying to whom he gave his passes. After the war, and as late as 1788, Lushington continued to serve as a lieutenant colonel in Marion's militia brigade. He voted in favor of ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1788 and served in the SC House from 1783-90.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 587; "Captain Richard Lushington's Company," *SCHGM* 3 (1902):113-14; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:444-45; Lushington to Greene, Jun. 26, 1782, *PNG*, 11:373; Lushington to Greene, Jul. 24, 1782, *PNG*, 11:455; Leslie to Greene, Jun. 27, 1782, *PNG*, 11:377; Lushington to Marion Oct. 31, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); Mathews to Marion, Nov. 3, 1782, "Marion-Gadsden Correspondence," *SCHGM* 41(1940):49-50; Mathews to Marion, Nov. 13, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Census Return, Sep. 25, 1788, ADS (PHS), Charles Roberts Autograph Collection.

William McCottry

William McCottry was a captain in the Williamsburg militia regiment commanded by Maj. John James prior to Marion's re-entry into the war. When Marion took overall command of the militia in the Pee Dee region in mid-Aug. 1780, he created an independent rifle company with McCottry as its commander.

McCottry's riflemen played a major part in Marion's guerrilla activities. Most notably in Mar. 1781, when British Lt. Col. John Watson arrived at the Lower Bridge on the Black River near Kingstree, McCottry's sharpshooters prevented the British cannons from moving into position to support a British crossing of the river.

McCottry's Rifles were also at Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Shubrick's Plantation, and Eutaw Springs. At Fort Watson, it was McCottry's Riflemen who fired into the British fort from the Maham Tower, forcing the enemy to surrender. When the General Assembly convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, McCottry represented Williamsburg in the House of Representatives. He was elected to the 5th General Assembly, but declined to serve.

—O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 648n1354; Garden, *Anecdotes*, 131-32; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 132-35, 149-52; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:275, 280, 290-91; James, *Francis Marion*, 39-40; Clark, *Loyalists*, 1:463; Hamilton to Cornwallis, undated, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:226; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:453-54; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 4, 12, 52.

Robert McLeroth

Robert McLeroth received his captain's commission in the 64th Foot in 1766. In 1776, he was promoted to major.

He commanded the 64th in the New York campaign and distinguished himself at the Battle of Brandywine in Sep. 1777. He came south with Clinton's expedition and participated in the siege of Charlestown. After the city's surrender, McLeroth became part of its garrison.

In Nov. 1780 he was at Kingstree with 300 men, replacing Wemyss who had been wounded at Fishdam Ford on Nov. 9. McLeroth's role was to protect transportation on the Santee River and the land routes between Charlestown and Camden. In addition, he had been ordered to secure two ferries: Britton's on the Pee Dee River and Port's on Lynches Creek.

Although Nisbet Balfour had dispatched McLeroth, he soon became disenchanted with the latter's inactivity, complaining to both Cornwallis and Rawdon. He wrote to Cornwallis on Nov. 24, 1780, "In the movements of McLeroth I hoped for much satisfaction and real service to your Lordship's operations, but how I am dissatisfied in my man!...and here I must in justice say that he is by no means to be trusted to act for himself...With any other good man I should be easy in undertaking such a movement. With him I am uneasy."

Even with a substantial force, McLeroth apparently felt he could not move toward Port's Ferry, instead withdrawing to the Santee, much to Balfour's chagrin. His purported actions at Singleton's Mill on December 13, 1780, became part of the folklore of Francis Marion. After continuing harassment by Marion's guerrillas, McLeroth allegedly proposed a duel between 20 men from each side. As Marion's men marched toward McLeroth's contingent, the British-picked soldiers turned and withdrew. By the next morning the British had retreated.

In his report to Rawdon, McLeroth said he was attacked by 700 rebels at Singleton's Mills [a laughable overstatement] and requested reinforcement from Capt. John Coffin, who Rawdon sent to support him. Although he initially had little positive to say about McLeroth, Rawdon ultimately admitted: "In justice to McLeroth I should mention that his mild and equitable behavior to the inhabitants of that country has been of great service."

Rawdon continued to employ McLeroth, keeping him closer to the main force in future operations. In early Mar. 1781, Rawdon granted McLeroth's request to go to New York, writing to Cornwallis that "It was become too necessary." McLeroth was later promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 57th Foot. A year later he sold his commission and retired.

—Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:77n31; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 24 and 25, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:91-92; Coffin to Rawdon, Dec. 13, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:211; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 15-16 and 18, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:213-17; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Mar. 7, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 4:47-49; James, *Francis Marion*, 39-40; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 110.

John Melton

John Melton served as a captain in Marion's Brigade from 1780 to 1782. He joined Marion shortly after the latter formed the brigade and apparently was a valuable officer.

Melton was at Black Mingo when Marion surprised Loyalist Col. John Coming Ball and his militia in Sep. 1780. Melton commanded the detachment that included Lt. Gabriel Marion, the general's nephew, on Nov. 15, 1780, when the younger Marion was killed.

Late in November, Marion sent Melton to Gates's headquarters with a letter that included Marion's assessment, "The Bearer Captain Melton will Inform you what Difficulty I have & do now Struggle with, and can give full Satisfaction of my conduct, as he has been with me ever since I left You. I Beg leave to recommend him to You as a Brave and Worthy man, who merits much from his country."

As Marion's courier, Melton was able to provide Nathanael Greene, the new commander of the Southern Army, with a summary of Marion's guerrilla methods and his accomplishments. When Marion reorganized his brigade in Jan. 1781, he made Melton his chief aide.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 673; Marion to Gates, Nov. 22, 1780, ALS (MiU-C); Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 117-19, 137, 148; Greene to Marion, Dec. 4, 1780, PNG, 6:519-20; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 78-80, 90-93.

James Moncrief

James Moncrief (also spelled 'Moncrieff') (1744-93) was appointed "practitioner engineer and ensign" in 1762. He served in the 100th Foot in North America and the West Indies in the years before the Revolution.

Although related by marriage to NY governor William Livingston, a staunch Patriot, Moncrieff remained in the British Army. In 1776, while stationed on Staten Island, he was named "engineer extraordinary and captain-lieutenant." He was captured on Long Island in 1778 and later exchanged.

By 1779 he was in the South. Moncrieff was responsible for the fortifications at Savannah that enabled the outnumbered British to hold off the siege and final assault of the joint Franco-American force in September and October. He was promoted to brevet major in Dec., 1779, and assisted in planning the siege works that led to the surrender of Charlestown in 1780.

After Georgetown was captured at the end of June, Cornwallis sent Moncrieff, a brevet colonel at the time, to fortify it. The British had constructed a redoubt as well as other works to protect the harbor.

Moncrieff carried away about 800 slaves to the West Indies upon the evacuation of Charlestown. After returning to England, he continued in the army as deputy quartermaster general. He directed siege operations in Holland in 1793, where he was mortally wounded.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:731; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:661; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 72, 82; Richard Walsh, ed., *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1966), 184.

Maurice Murphy

Maurice Murphy was a volunteer in Capt. Robert Lide's company of militia of St. David's Parish in Oct. 1775. He then served as a captain under Cols. George Hicks and George Gabriel Powell during 1776. In 1780 and 1781 he was a major in the Cheraw Militia of Marion's Brigade under Col. Abel Kolb and then Col. Lemuel Benton. In the fall of 1780 Col. (then Captain) Maurice Murphy brutally enacted vigilante reprisals on Loyalists. In this letter to Gates, Marion lamented Murphy's actions. Likely, Murphy was retaliating for the plantations burned by Maj. James Wemyss in his march through Williamsburg. Later in the month Marion again reported that Murphy was burning houses. In a Sep. 1781 letter, Loyalist Maj. Micajah Ganey implied that Murphy's actions against him prompted Ganey to abandon the Patriot cause and join the Loyalists. Despite these actions Murphy was promoted to major by Marion prior to Apr. 1, 1781. As a result of the murder of Col. Abel Kolb by Loyalists on the night of Apr. 27-28, 1781, Murphy was promoted to lieutenant colonel, in which role he served through the following year.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 712; 1901. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party of South Carolina, June-November 1775," *SCHGM* 2(4), 265; Marion to Gates, Oct. 4, 1780, ACy (NN), Horatio Gates Collection; Marion to Gates, Oct. 15, 1780, LB (MH), MS Sparks 22, 152-54; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 671n1439; Ganey to Marion, Sep. 8, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

Philip Neyle

Philip Neyle (1750-80) studied law at Cambridge and was admitted to the English bar before returning to Charlestown between 1774 and 1776. He was a member of the 2nd and 3rd General Assemblies and commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Jun. 1775. A 1st lieutenant by 1776, he became an aide to Brig. Gen. Moultrie. He was killed by a cannonball "which took away a part of his head" during the siege of Charlestown in Apr. 1780.

—Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:64; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 50n147; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:526-27.

Dr. David Oliphant

Dr. David Oliphant (Olyphant) (1720-1805) studied medicine in Scotland and served as a surgeon at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. He immigrated to South Carolina and established a medical practice.

Oliphant was a surgeon to the three Independent Companies of Foot from 1747-55. In 1749, he established a hospital in Charlestown. He served in the Commons House of Assembly continuously from 1761-75. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly.

He resigned from the General Assembly in Mar. 1776, when he was elected to the Legislative Council. When he was appointed Director General of Hospitals in the Southern Department in 1776, he resigned from the Legislative Council. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown and was later exchanged. When he

returned to South Carolina, he was appointed Director of American Hospitals of the Army under Gen. Greene and later Deputy Director of the Medical Department of the Southern Army.

Oliphant was present at the battles of Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk Hill, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs. After the war he served on Gov. Benjamin Guerard's Privy Council and then in the SC Senate through the 1788 session. Oliphant sold his property in South Carolina and moved to Newport, RI, to recover his health in 1786 or 1788.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 741; McCrady, *History of SC in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, New York: Macmillan (1901), 83; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:494-96; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 284.

John Parker

John Parker (1735-1802) was a rice planter who owned Hayes Plantation in Goose Creek, Dorchester. He served in the Commons House of Assembly from 1761-75.

During the war he was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies, the Legislative Council, the Privy Council, and the SC Senate from 1779-80.

Although there is no record of his service during the war, Parker supported the war effort by loaning South Carolina £100,000 in 1779. He was captured at the fall of the city in May 1780. Parker was imprisoned in early September at St. Augustine for 11 months, along with 28 other Patriots as a result of perceived rebellious activity.

After his release, Parker returned to South Carolina. After the war he served in the SC Senate for two years.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 286; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:504-05.

John Peyre

John Peyre (1751-1807) owned Laurel Hill Plantation on the Santee River in St. Stephen's Parish. Before the war he was on the committee charged with enforcing the Continental Association in St. Stephen's.

Like his brother, he took British protection after the fall of Charlestown, and joined Col. John Wigfall's Loyalist militia. He was captured at Black Mingo, along with his brother Charles and his father-in-law Charles Cantey, in Sep. 1780. The brothers were sent to Lancaster, PA, for imprisonment. Charles died in captivity and John was released after 18 months and returned to South Carolina. His property was not confiscated or amerced.

Peyre was elected to the SC House for the 7th and 8th General Assemblies, but only served in the latter, from 1789-90. He was elected to the SC Senate by a special election in 1791, serving through 1795. Peyre was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788, voting in the affirmative. It is presumed that Francis Marion made either the plantation of John or John's brother Charles his encampment in mid-1781.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:550-51; Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, ALS (MiU); McCord, *Statutes*, 6:629-35.

Thomas Pinckney

Thomas Pinckney (1750-1828) studied law at the Inner Temple in London, after which he established a law practice in Charlestown in 1774. When war broke out, he was commissioned a captain in Jun. 1775, and became major of the 1st SC Regiment in May, 1778.

In 1779 he was an aide-de-camp to Gen. Lincoln. Pinckney, in part because of his fluency in French, was a liaison between Lincoln and D'Estaing during the siege of Savannah. He provided the best American account of the failed attack, although he did not witness the assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt.

In Aug. 1780, he was an aide-de-camp to Gen. Gates and was wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of Camden. After being exchanged in December, he served until the close of the war.

Pinckney was governor of South Carolina from 1787-89. He presided over the state ratification convention in 1788, was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1791, and United States Minister to Great Britain from 1792-96. He was also Envoy Extraordinary to Spain from 1794-95. He negotiated the treaty settling the boundary between the United States and East and West Florida, and between the United States and Louisiana.

Pinckney was elected as a Federalist to the 5th Congress, serving two terms from 1797-1801. He returned to Charlestown to practice law, but was called into military service during the War of 1812, in which he was a major general.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 774; *Biographical Directory of the US Congress*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=P000357> (accessed Aug. 13, 2024).

John Postell, Jr.

John Postell, Jr. (d. 1797) was a planter in St. Mark's Parish, and a Charlestown factor. Along with his brother James, he organized the Postell's company of volunteers, a unit that evolved into a regiment in Georgetown District. At the fall of Charlestown, Postell was a lieutenant and adjutant field officer of militia. He was paroled since he was a militia officer rather than a Continental.

When the British destroyed his property, Postell considered his parole void and joined Marion as major and adjutant. While guarding the lower Pee Dee River, Postell set his sights on combating the British plundering campaign. The British under Capt. James De Peyster of the King's American Regiment plundered Capt. John Postell, Sr.'s, plantation on the lower Pee Dee to the point where he wrote "my family are reduced to beg their bread."

The 71-year-old Postell, Sr., had also been paroled after the surrender of Charlestown and returned to his plantation. Capt. John Postell went to his father's rescue in mid-February. After arriving at the plantation with only 14 men, Postell demanded De Peyster's surrender. When the British captain refused, the Patriot captain set the detached kitchen on fire to demonstrate the seriousness of his demand. De Peyster, presuming that he and his 29 men were outnumbered, quickly surrendered when the Patriots began preparations for burning the house proper.

Postell made a number of raids into British-held territory. At the end of January, Marion sent the two Postells on separate missions. He ordered John Postell to cross the Santee River with 25 men and burn the stores at Wadboo Bridge and Moncks Corner. Marion reported Postell's successful raid, during which he did not lose a man. Gen. Greene wrote Marion regarding the achievement of penetrating the Loyalist strongholds south of the Santee, "beg you to Give my particular thanks to Major & Capt Postell for the Spirit & Address with which they Executed your Orders."

At the beginning of March, Postell was seized by Capt. John Saunders, commander at Georgetown, on the pretext of having violated his parole, while under a flag of truce trying to arrange the release of his father. A controversy ensued regarding the legality of imprisoning Postell. Letters of protest were lodged by Francis Marion with Capt. Saunders, Lt. Col. Watson, and Lt. Col. Balfour, the commandant of Charlestown. Despite Marion's protests, Postell remained incarcerated. He was still a British prisoner in Aug. 1782, when Gen. Greene, based on a complicated exchange of other military prisoners, wrote that he considered Postell "fully exchanged and free from their paroles and at full liberty to go on duty."

Postell was a member of the SC Senate from 1782-84 and the House from 1788-90. He was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788. Either he or his cousin John was one of 148 signers of the letter of thanks to Gen. Marion from "Citizens of Georgetown" in Dec. 1794.

—Marion to Postell, Jan. 29, 1781, James, *Francis Marion*, 87-88; Marion to Greene, Jan. 31, 1781, ALS (PNG, Parks; Greene to Marion, Feb. 11, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Saunders, Mar 7, 1781, ALS (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection; Marion to Watson, Mar. 7, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Balfour, Mar. 7, 1781, ALS (NYPL), Emmet Collection, EM 6625; Balfour to Marion, Mar. 12, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Balfour to Saunders, Mar. 12, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 293; PNG, 10:276n; To Whom It May Concern, Aug. 14, 1782, PNG, 11:544; Citizens to Marion, Dec. 15, 1794, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:576-78.

David Ramsay

David Ramsay (1749-1815) grew up in Pennsylvania, graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) in 1765, and the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1773. He moved to Charlestown to open a medical practice in 1773.

During the war he was a surgeon of the Charlestown militia artillery regiment. Ramsay was a member of the Council of Safety, the 2nd General Assembly, and the SC House. He was captured at the fall of the city in May, 1780, and imprisoned at St. Augustine for 11 months.

Upon his return to Charlestown, he was elected to the Continental Congress in which he served from 1782-86. He returned to South Carolina, serving in the SC House and the Senate from 1790-1800, of which he was president for seven years.

Ramsay was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

In 1785, he published *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina*. During his lifetime he published a number of other books, including *The History of the American Revolution*, *History of South Carolina*, and *Life of George Washington*. In 1802 he introduced smallpox vaccination to Charleston.

He was shot in Charleston in May 1815 by a man he had earlier certified as insane, and died two days later. After his death, friends published *History of the United States*, and *Universal History Americanized* in eight volumes to support his impoverished family.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 295-96; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:590-94.

Francis Rawdon-Hastings

Francis Rawdon-Hastings (1754-1826), known at this time as Lord Rawdon, was described by the military historian Sir John W. Fortescue as the ablest British officer in America.

A member of a noble Irish family, Rawdon had left Oxford for military service in 1774 and had been in America since before the battle of Bunker Hill.

In 1776, Gen. Henry Clinton, newly appointed commander-in-chief of the war in the southern provinces, named Capt. Rawdon aide-de-camp and deputy adjutant general. Rawdon accompanied Clinton and his expeditionary force in the first attempt against Charlestown, culminating in the utter defeat of Adm. Peter Parker's fleet in Jun. 1776.

In 1778, Gen. Clinton authorized the organization of the Volunteers of Ireland as a royal provincial regiment to be commanded by Rawdon, who was simultaneously promoted to colonel on the provincial establishment.

Quickly Rawdon brought together "above 380 deserters from the rebel army," who surprisingly developed into a well-disciplined regiment. Clinton wrote that "Rawdon is wedded to his Irish Volunteers, and thinks they are perfect." Clinton disapproved of Rawdon's protectiveness of his regiment, a rift that resulted in Rawdon resigning as Clinton's adjutant general in Sep. 1779. Rawdon did not sail south with Clinton's invasion force at the end of Dec. 1779, but he did land in Apr. 1780 with reinforcements.

Clinton put him under the command of Cornwallis. After the capture of Charlestown, Rawdon accompanied Cornwallis to Camden as his second-in-command. Rawdon resigned his commission as lieutenant colonel in the regular army in June in preference for his colonelcy in the provincial regiment.

However, in July, King George, in marked departure from policy, allowed Rawdon to retain dual commissions. At the Battle of Camden in Aug. 1780, Rawdon commanded the left side of the British line, consisting of the Volunteers of Ireland, Tarleton's infantry, the Royal North Carolina Regiment and four cannon.

When Lord Cornwallis began his second invasion of North Carolina in Jan. 1781—after the debacle at Cowpens—he left Rawdon to command the post at Camden and maintain control of the South Carolina and Georgia frontier.

After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse and Cornwallis's subsequent movement into Virginia, Rawdon's position as operational commander of military affairs was solidified.

Although Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour outranked Lt. Col. Rawdon due to seniority, Cornwallis specifically limited Balfour's span of control to south of the Santee, Congaree, and Saluda Rivers.

At the beginning of March, Rawdon dispatched Lt. Col. John Doyle with the Volunteers of Ireland, and Lt. Col. John Watson with the Provincial Light Infantry on a two-pronged mission to put an end to Francis Marion's activities.

Marion foiled Watson's attempts, eventually driving him to Georgetown with significant losses during the Bridges Campaign. When threatened by Greene's Army in April, Rawdon, despite being significantly outnumbered, made a bold move to initiate a surprise attack on the better-positioned Americans on Hobkirk's Hill. Rawdon's ingenuity turned a certain loss into a narrow victory, but the victory did little to improve the British situation.

Rawdon evacuated Camden in May, and sent word to abandon Ninety Six as well. Rawdon alerted Cornwallis to his intent to give up his command for health reasons in June 1781, writing that "Hayes declares to me I could not outlive the summer in this climate." After arduous, forced marches in June and July to relieve Ninety Six, chase Greene, and then withdraw to Orangeburg to defend against an attack that never materialized, Rawdon turned over the army to Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart at Orangeburg and marched back to Charlestown with his Volunteers of Ireland, intent on finally taking the leave of absence Clinton had granted him early in the year.

After Rawdon left for England on Aug. 23, his commission as brigadier general arrived. During his return voyage, Rawdon's ship was captured by a French privateer and he was taken to France. In December, he arrived in London on parole.

In later life, he commanded troops in the Napoleonic wars, served in Parliament, and was governor-general and commander-in-chief in India in 1813. Rawdon's victory over the Maratha and Pindari gave the British control of India. He was made Knight of the Garter and Marquess of Hastings for his distinguished service. At the time of his death, he was governor of Malta.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia* 2:966-68; Nelson, Paul D. Nelson, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings Marquess of Hastings, Soldier, Peer of the Realm, Governor-General of India* (Madison, N.J.: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005) 35, 36, 39-41, 60-61, 66-67, 73, 87-88, 102-05; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 285, 399-400; Rawdon to Cornwallis Jun. 7, and Aug. 2, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:292-93, 6:63-66; PNG, 8:152-53n.

Edward Rutledge

Edward Rutledge (1749-1800) was the youngest of the seven children of Dr. John Rutledge. His brothers included John and Hugh Rutledge. He studied law at Middle Temple in London and was admitted to the English Bar in 1772. When he returned to South Carolina in 1773, he opened a practice in Charlestown.

He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly in 1776. Rutledge was a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1774-1777, and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He returned to Charlestown and served in the SC House from 1778-80.

Rutledge had been a lieutenant in the Charlestown Battalion of Artillery in 1775 and he served as captain from 1776 to 1782. He and his artillery regiment were at the Battle of Port Royal in 1779, along with another signer of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Heyward, Jr.

By May, 1780, Rutledge had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, imprisoned at St. Augustine and exchanged in Apr. 1781.

He served in the SC House from 1782-96 and in the SC Senate from 1796-98. He resigned from the Senate when he was elected governor in Dec. 1798, and served until his death in 1800.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 302-03)

Hugh Rutledge

Hugh Rutledge (1745-1811) was a brother of John and Edward Rutledge. Admitted to the Middle Temple in London in 1765, he returned to South Carolina and was admitted to the bar in 1768. Rutledge was elected judge of the Court of Admiralty in 1776 and was a member of the 2nd General Assembly. He was speaker of the Legislative Council from 1776-78 and a member of the SC House from 1778-80.

At the fall of Charlestown, he was captured and imprisoned at St. Augustine. After his exchange he was again elected to the SC House, where he served from 1782-90. A delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788, Rutledge was chancellor of the Court of Equity from 1791 until his death in 1811.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 303).

Johann Christian Senf

Johann Christian Senf (c.1754-1806), was a European volunteer in American service (he may have been Danish or Swedish).

In Nov. 1778, he was appointed a captain and engineer in the Continental Army. He became the chief military engineer in South Carolina in Feb. 1779, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel by May 12, 1780, but was not in Charlestown when it fell.

Senf attended Gen. Horatio Gates on the march to Camden and was at the battle, after which he was sent to Virginia. He became chief engineer for the state of Virginia and played a key role in the Siege of Yorktown.

In Mar. 1782, Senf returned to South Carolina and was sent to Georgetown by Gov. Mathews to assess "the necessity & practicability of fortifying the harbor of George Town." Marion thought it unwise to fortify the town, writing to Peter Horry, "I dislike Colo. Senmf's [Senf's] plan of fortifying George Town, I shall Visit it soon & probably Throw it wholly aside." However, he later agreed to let Senf build a post for the protection of Georgetown's harbor.

After the war, Senf became temporary commandant of Fort Johnson, before Gen. Marion was awarded the post. Senf became active as a builder of and advocate for canals. He built the Santee Canal, completed in 1800, a venture linking the Santee to the Cooper River in an attempt to shorten the transport time from the backcountry to Charleston.

—Webber. 1927. "Col. Senf's Account," *SCHGM* 28:8-10; *PNG*, 10:556n; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 854; Mathews to Marion, Mar. 4, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Greene, Mar. 8, 1782, ALS (MiU-C), Parks; Marion to Horry, May 25, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Greene, Jun. 1, 1782, RCS (MiU-C), Parks; Edwards, *Journal of the SC House of Representatives*, 6 January 1784-26 March 1784, 462.

Keating Simons

Keating Simons (1753-1834) worked in the factorage business started by his father and served as an ensign in the Royal Militia in 1775, prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. When the war broke out, however, he sided with the Patriot cause.

By 1780, he had served two terms in the General Assembly. At the fall of Charlestown, Simons was paroled to the Sea Islands. Smallpox broke out on his plantation before he left, and as a result, in Aug. 1780, he petitioned Cornwallis to be allowed to stay on his plantation and see to his family's health. Presumably, the petition was granted if he was carrying messages for Marion.

The honorific "Mr." used here suggests that he was not at this time in active service. Nevertheless, carrying messages between two Patriot officers would certainly have been considered a violation of his parole had he been caught.

In 1781, he did join Marion's Brigade, eventually serving as a major and aide to Marion. Simons returned to the factorage business after the war and served briefly in the legislature. He attended the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788 and the state convention to ratify a new S.C. Constitution in 1790. A very close friend of Gen. Marion's wife Mary Videau, being heir to one-half of her estate and executor of her will, he was also president of the Bank of South Carolina for eight years. At the age of 79, in 1832, he chaired a committee in support of states' rights. He was a brother of James and Maurice Simons.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 865; Simons to Cornwallis, Aug. 11, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:377; Will of Mary Esther Marion, Charleston Co. Will Book E-1807-1818, 528, SoCoAH; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:650-52.

William Clay Snipes

William Clay Snipes (1742-1806) was a planter from the Horseshoe in St. Bartholomew's Parish. He was a captain in Col. Joseph Glover's Colleton County Regiment of Foot in 1775, then served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. He apparently transferred to the 3rd SC Regiment (Rangers) in 1776, and served until the fall of Charlestown, after which he joined Marion's Brigade.

Following the action at Tearcoat Swamp on Oct. 25, 1780, Marion dispatched him to the High Hills to apprehend the escaped Loyalist leader, Samuel Tynes. Snipes returned with Tynes, as well as "Several Other prisoners, who have Commissions in the Militia or Civil [service]; also some who have been very Active against us, & Great plunderers..."

Snipes rode with Marion's Brigade until receiving approval in spring 1781—going over Marion's head to Rutledge, Greene and Sumter—to organize a company of dragoons to assist Col. William Harden south of Charlestown.

Marion opposed such a command for Snipes, who, he said, would "do no other Service than plunder the Inhabitants, which will make more Enemys." Although Marion was officially given authority to approve the plan by Rutledge and Greene, Snipes ultimately presumed approval and bypassed Marion. Sumter implied in a Jun. 7, 1781 letter that Snipes had been promoted to major.

Snipes's independent command was short-lived. In May, 1781, a British detachment surprised him at his plantation. Most of his men were killed, although Snipes was able to escape. In 1784, Maurice Simons testified against him in a lawsuit between Snipes and Rawlins Lowndes. Snipes publicly offended Simons, and Simons challenged him to a duel. The duel took place in Nov. 1785, and ended with Simons mortally wounded.

Snipes was convicted of manslaughter but pardoned by Gov. William Moultrie in 1786. He then served in the SC House from 1787-88. In 1788, he voted against ratification of the U.S. Constitution. He was in the SC Senate 1788-90. William Snipes was one of the 148 signers of the letter of thanks to Gen. Marion from "Citizens of Georgetown" in Dec. 1794.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 883; Marion to Gates, Nov. 4, 1780, AL (NN), Gates Collection, 12:1083; Marion to Huger Feb. 6, 1781, ADS (ScU); Sumter to Greene, Jun. 7, 1781, PNG, 8:360; "Citizens to Marion," Dec. 15, 1794, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Moss, *SC Patriots*, 883; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 65n184; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 313; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:679-80.

Banastre Tarleton

Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833) came from a wealthy family in Liverpool, where his father was mayor of the city. Tarleton studied at Oxford, but took advantage of the gift of a cornet's commission to join the King's Dragoon Guards in 1775.

He accompanied Gen. Clinton on the first attempt to take Charlestown in 1776, but saw no action. After returning to New York, Tarleton joined the 16th Light Dragoons, taking part in the capture of Gen. Charles Lee in December. For the next two years, Tarleton learned his trade and received promotions, eventually being promoted to lieutenant colonel of the British Legion in 1778. Tarleton led his legion during the Charlestown campaign in 1780, and scored a stunning victory at Monck's Corner on Apr. 14, surprising the American cavalry and capturing much needed cavalry horses.

In May, at Lenu's Ferry, he again surprised the American cavalry. Tarleton's name was rendered infamous among the Patriots when he decimated Col. Abraham Buford's Continentals at The Waxhaws on May 29. The alleged massacre that followed inspired widespread American resistance. According to the most common narrative of the battle, Tarleton's dragoons gave no quarter, cutting down the Patriots whether they had surrendered or not, giving birth to the term "Tarleton's Quarter" (meaning no quarter) and contributing to kicking off a cycle of future retaliatory murders on both sides.

Tarleton's Legion pursued the Americans after the Battle of Camden in Aug. 1780, after which Cornwallis sent them after Thomas Sumter, whom Tarleton caught and routed at Fishing Creek two days later. Cornwallis next dispatched Tarleton after Francis Marion, a mission which ended far less successfully. Marion reported Tarleton's activities during the brief period when they faced one another: "Colo. Tarleton has burnt all the Houses, & Destroyed all the Corn from Camden down to Nelsons ferry...the militia...are...in Great Dread of Tarletons horse...Colo. Tarleton has behaved to the poor Women he has Distressed with great Barbarity. He Beat Mrs. Richardson the relict of Genl. Richardson to make her tell where I was; & has not Left her a shift of Cloaths, he not only Destroyed all the Corn, but burnt a Number of Cattle in the houses he burnt..."

When Marion found out the size of Tarleton's force, he quickly withdrew. Tarleton gave chase, writing later that: "A pursuit was immediately commenced, and continued for seven hours through swamps and defiles: Some prisoners fell into the possession of the legion dragoons, who gained ground very fast, and must soon have brought the enemy to action, when an express from Earl Cornwallis, who had followed the tracks of the march, recalled Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton." Upon reaching Camden, Tarleton was immediately dispatched after Sumter. He caught up with him at Blackstock's on Nov. 20. Tarleton prematurely initiated an attack before the arrival of his infantry. The British Legion was dealt a severe blow when the cavalry was picked off as it attempted to ride up a hill in the face of the deadly accuracy of Sumter's riflemen.

Tarleton blundered even more dramatically when

his command was devastated at the Cowpens on Jan. 17, 1781, and his infantry was entirely captured when it fell into a double envelopment. Only Tarleton's cavalry escaped. At the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, he lost two fingers. Tarleton marched with Cornwallis to Virginia. There he carried out one of his most famous actions, nearly capturing Gov. Thomas Jefferson and members of the General Assembly at Monticello on Jun. 4. His last action of the war was at Gloucester, across the James River from Yorktown. In this purely cavalry battle, Tarleton was unhorsed and nearly captured. He was able to remount and reassemble his cavalry, but was forced to withdraw.

Tarleton was captured at the surrender of Yorktown on Oct. 19. He was paroled to England in 1782. Between 1790 and 1806 he served off and on in Parliament. He formed a long-lasting romantic relationship with Mary Robinson, the most famous actress (and author) of the day. She had been the mistress of the Prince of Wales, and a drinking and gambling companion of Tarleton's. She assisted him in writing his *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America*. Tarleton returned to the army as a colonel in 1790. In 1812 he was promoted to full general and in 1815 he became Baron Tarleton. He was knighted in 1820 by his old drinking partner, now George IV. He eventually married a duke's daughter, but died childless in 1833.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1139-41; Tarleton, *History of the Campaigns*, 171-72; Marion to Gates, Nov. 9, 1780, ALS (MH); Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 111-15; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 331.

Robert Thornley

Robert Thornley (d.1805) was a major, who commanded a militia company throughout the war. He joined Marion's Brigade shortly after the latter returned to action in Aug. 1780. His regiment under the command of Col. Abel Kolb had done service during the siege of Charlestown, but was not among the militia captured at the fall of the town.

He moved to Wassamassaw soon after the war. He was a Justice of the Peace and Justice of the Quorum. He served in the SC House from 1792-96 and in the Senate from 1796-1800.

—Loftus Munnerlyn Pension Statement S18136; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 321.

Peter Timothy

Peter Timothy (1725-82) emigrated from Holland to Philadelphia in 1731. In 1734, his father Lewis partnered with Benjamin Franklin in starting the *South Carolina Gazette*. A year after his father's death in 1739, Peter's mother purchased the newspaper and established Peter in the publishing business.

In 1748, Timothy was one of the 17 founders of the Charlestown Library Society. He was also the postmaster, beginning in 1756. Timothy continued the practice originated by his father as official printer of South Carolina until 1758. During the Revolution, Timothy was the official printer for the state.

Prior to the beginning of the war, the *Gazette* served as the political organ of the Patriots. Timothy became quite political, serving in the Commons House for two years. He carried on correspondence with northern Patriots, such as Franklin and Samuel Adams. In 1774 he was named to the "General Committee to correspond with the Committees of other Colonies." He became secretary of the General Committee, the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, and the Council of Safety.

The 2nd Provincial Congress recognized his contributions by passing a resolution awarding "Thanks of the Congress to *Peter Timothy*, their Secretary." When the 2nd Provincial Congress evolved into the General Assembly, Timothy was elected clerk, serving through the final assembly in 1780.

The Charlestown fire of Jan. 15, 1778, destroyed Timothy's print shop and caused a six-month suspension in publication of the *Gazette*. When the British besieged Charlestown in 1780, Timothy served as an observer, climbing to the steeple of St. Michael's to report British movements. When the town surrendered, Timothy was paroled, but refused to sign an oath of allegiance. In August, Timothy was sent, along with other Patriots, to St. Augustine. After nearly a year he and the others were released and shipped to Philadelphia. In 1782 he sailed for St. Domingo with two daughters and a grandchild. The ship foundered in a gale and all of them perished.

—Hennig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 241-47.

Charles Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie

Charles Armand Tuffin Marquis de la Rouerie (1750-93), was a French-born volunteer in the Continental service. He got his start as a troop commander in Pulaski's Legion and took over command of the entire legion after Pulaski's death at Savannah in Oct. 1779.

Avoiding capture at Charlestown, Armand and his depleted legion became the only regular cavalry in Gates's army but underperformed at the Battle of Camden. Armand clashed personally with Gates, whom he blamed for the defeat. When Greene took over the army in Dec. 1780, it had been reinforced by William Washington's 3rd Continental Dragoons, so the general sent Armand to Virginia to rebuild his legion. But Congress had already granted him leave to travel to France to procure further supplies and munitions for the Continental Army.

He returned to America in time to lead his refitted legion at Yorktown in 1781, and was promoted to brigadier general and given the task of reorganizing the American cavalry. After the war, he returned to France, married, and became a colonel in the French army. He sided with the Royalists during the French Revolution but died of natural causes in 1793.

—Smith to Williams, Oct. 4, 1780, MdHi; Washington to President of Congress, Mar. 7, 1783, in John Fitzpatrick et al., eds., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1931), 26:197; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1173-74; Townsend Ward, "Charles Armand Tuffin, Marquis De La Rouerie," *PMHB* 2 (1878):1-34; "Letters of Col. Armand [Marquis De La Rouerie], 1777-91," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1878):287-396; PNG, 11:48-49n.

Samuel Tynes

Samuel Tynes (d.1795) commanded a militia regiment from the High Hills of the Santee as its lieutenant colonel from Jun.-Dec. 1780. At the end of Aug. 1780, Cornwallis ordered Capt. Frederick DePeyster to join Maj. Wemyss in trying to "model the militia of Major Tynes and Colonel Mills."

Cornwallis wrote that "Major Tynes is a weak, well-intentioned man." He advised DePeyster to regulate "the few honest loyalists...and disarming the rest in the most rigid manner." He advised Wemyss that he had directed DePeyster to "make something of the militia under Major Tyne." De Peyster met with Tynes's regiment at the beginning of September and set about reorganizing it. A key element in that organization was the signing of a loyalty resolution.

In October, Balfour ordered Tynes to call out the Loyalist militia along the Black River upriver from Kingstree to fill the void left when Wemyss was recalled to Camden. Gen. Marion learned of the encampment at Tearcoat (or Tarcoat) Swamp and, after midnight on Oct. 25, attacked, surrounding the surprised Loyalists, some still sitting around the fire playing cards.

Col. Tynes was one of the few who escaped into Tearcoat Swamp. Marion dispatched Capt. William

Clay Snipes to the High Hills of the Santee for Tynes. Snipes caught up with Tynes and brought him to Marion at Kingstree, along with other militia officers and two Justices of the Peace. The captives were quickly sent off to North Carolina for incarceration, since there were no long-term jails in South Carolina at the time. Shortly after arriving in North Carolina, Tynes made his escape.

When he returned to the High Hills, he began construction of a post called Fort Upton. In December, Marion sent Peter Horry with a troop to reconnoiter. Horry's troops over-imbibed during a stop at a tavern on the way to the fort. As a result, he did not obtain any intelligence about the post. Apparently, the noise made by Horry's drunken riders was the genesis for intelligence relayed to Tynes that Gen. Harrington and his entire force were on the way.

Tynes's militia deserted, leaving only 20 in camp. He abandoned the post, rode off to Camden, and submitted his resignation to Rawdon. Cornwallis wrote, "I find Tyne's Militia has again squandered."

After resigning he went to Charlestown, where he remained for the balance of the war. Tynes apparently received a pardon from South Carolina. After the war he and Thomas Sumter were partners in a merchandising operation in the Back Country near Land's Ford.

—Resolutions, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:143-44; Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug. 31, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:210; Cornwallis to De Peyster, Aug. 31, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:211-12; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 74, 103-05, 125, 128-30; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 94-95; Marion to Gates, Nov. 4, 1780, AL (NN), Horatio Gates Collection, New York Public Library, 12:1083; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 342; Clark, *Loyalists*, 1:493-96; Draper, *Sumter Papers*, 3VV58-63.

William Washington

William Washington (1752-1810), was a Virginian and a cousin of Gen. George Washington. Henry Lee described him as six feet tall, "broad, strong, and corpulent," possessed of a "good humored...generous, and friendly" disposition. Washington, according to Lee, did not choose to "bestow much time or application" to the "cultivation" of the "mind." Lee considered him a "Bold, collected, and persevering" officer, "better fitted for the field of battle than for the drudgery of camp and the watchfulness of preparation."

Washington saw considerable service in the North in the first years of the war. He was sent to the South in 1779, where he skirmished with Col. Banastre Tarleton's troops in the early phases of the defense of Charlestown in 1780. Following the defeats at Moncks Corner and Lenud's Ferry, he withdrew to North Carolina to recruit and re-equip his force. He was not actively involved in the Southern Army's campaigns again until after the Battle of Camden in August.

In the months after Greene took command of the army in December, Washington won victories at Rugeley's Mill and Hammond's Store. He also played important roles in the Battle of Cowpens, the race to the Dan River, and the engagements at Guilford Court House and Hobkirk's Hill. In Sep.1781, his regiment was decimated and he

himself was wounded and captured at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. While a prisoner in Charlestown he met his future wife and remained in South Carolina after the war. Washington served in the South Carolina legislature but is said to have refused to run for governor "because he could not make a speech." His served in the SC House from 1786-92 and the SC Senate 1792-99 and 1800-04. He served as a delegate to the state convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution in 1788. He entertained his kinsman Pres. George Washington on his Southern Tour in 1791. Washington was promoted to brigadier general in the US Army in 1798.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1241; PNG, 8:389n; Lee, *American Revolution in the South*, 587-89; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 329.

Thomas Waties

Thomas Waties (1760-1828), brother of John Waties, Jr., whose family lived near Georgetown, entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1775. A year later he became captain of a company of his fellow students.

He received a commission as a midshipman from Commodore Alexander Gillon, who was on his way to Europe to fit out a ship for the state of South Carolina. On that voyage in 1778, Waties was captured by a British warship. When he was released, he went to Paris, where Benjamin Franklin assisted him in returning to South Carolina. Upon his return in 1779, Waties joined Marion's Brigade, in which he rose to the rank of captain and served as aide-de-camp.

After the war, Waties studied law in Charleston and was admitted to the bar. He served in the House during the 7th and 8th General Assemblies, resigning in 1789 when he was elected associate judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1788 he was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution, voting in the affirmative. He also was a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790. In 1811 he was appointed Chancellor of the Court of Equity. After a reorganization of the court system in 1824, Waties returned to the bench, where he served until his death.

—H. D. Bull, "The Waties Family of South Carolina," *SCHGM* 45 (1944):17-18; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:753-55.

James Webster

James Webster (c.1743-81) was one of the most skilled and successful British field officers of the war. He rose in the 33rd Foot from lieutenant in 1760 to lieutenant colonel by 1774. When war broke out he was in command of the regiment, whose colonel was Gen. Charles Cornwallis. Lt. Col. Webster fought extensively in the campaigns around New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He distinguished himself at Monmouth in 1778, receiving the admiration of Gen. Henry Clinton.

Webster participated in the siege of Charlestown, commanding a task force of 1,400 men that sealed off the northern approaches to the city. At Camden, in Aug. 1780, Webster again excelled, chasing the inexperienced militia from the field before flanking the Continentals commanded by Gen. Johann De Kalb. At Guilford Courthouse,

in Mar. 1781, Webster distinguished himself for the final time. He was mortally wounded and died two weeks later.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1250.

James Wemyss

James Wemyss [pronounced, and occasionally spelled, 'Weems'] (1748-1833), born in Edinburgh, had served in the 40th Foot and the Queen's Rangers, and as Aide-de-camp to Gen. Robertson and Gen. Tryon, before joining the 63rd Foot as a major in Aug. 1778.

In Jul. 1780, Cornwallis dispatched Wemyss to quell the revolutionary fervor in the Pee Dee region. Part of his orders was to organize the Loyalist militias in the region commanded by Colonels Mills and Cassells. In his Jul. 14, 1780 letter to Cornwallis, Wemyss enclosed a petition from 33 inhabitants of Georgetown expressing their desire to become British subjects.

Cornwallis ordered Wemyss to the Pee Dee again in late August with strict orders regarding the punishment of rebels. (Those who Wemyss determined had broken parole were to be hanged. Those who concealed weapons were to have their plantations burned.)

Wemyss reported to Cornwallis on Sep. 20 that he had burned 50 plantations, as well as the Indiantown Presbyterian Church. In his mind Wemyss rationalized not capturing Marion: "I have done every thing in my power to get at Mr Merrion, who with Giles commanded about 150 men...Altho I never could come up with them, yet I pushed them so hard as in a great measure to break them...The few that still continue together have retreated over the Little Pedee."

Only two weeks later Wemyss wrote Cornwallis lamenting the return of Marion, "I am sorry to hear that Merrion has drove the militia from Georgetown and is now there." Cornwallis next ordered Wemyss back to the Pee Dee. "My object is to prevent the enemy from being thorough masters of the country you have left." Cornwallis changed his orders again, ordering Wemyss westward to Ninety Six, then to the Broad River. His 63rd Regiment was surprised at Fishdam Ford on Nov. 9, 1780 by Thomas Sumter. Wemyss was severely wounded during the battle and was captured and paroled. His injuries forced his withdrawal from further military action.

In Jan. 1781 he traveled to New York. He returned to the South in 1782, where he served as Deputy Adjutant General of the British army. To carry out the peaceful evacuation of Charlestown, Wemyss negotiated the process of transition with Continental Gen. Anthony Wayne. After the war, Wemyss was promoted to lieutenant colonel, but sold his commission in 1789 and retired to Scotland. Due to financial constraints Wemyss returned to New York, settling on Long Island, between 1795 and 1799.

—Cornwallis to Wemyss, Jul. 15, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:305; Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug. 28, and Oct. 7, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:208-09, 222; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 20, Oct. 4, and Oct. 29, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:214-15, 219, 224-25; Rawdon to Wemyss, Oct. 31, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:225; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 73-79; PNG, 11:567n; PNG, 12:290-91n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1251; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 355.

Anthony Walton White

Anthony Walton White (1750-1803) was a Continental cavalry officer who was promoted to colonel and commander of the 1st Continental Dragoons in Feb. 1780. Shortly after arriving from Virginia at the end of April, White was ordered to Georgetown along with Lt. Col. William Washington's 3rd Regiment. White assumed overall command, since he was the senior officer.

On May 6, he led the two regiments on a mission to thwart Loyalists plundering south of the Santee River. Since the disastrous defeat of the American cavalry at Monck's Corner in the middle of April, the British horse had free rein south of the river.

White led the cavalry to Elias Ball's plantation, where it surprised a small foraging party. On the return to Lenud's Ferry, White sent ahead to have Col. Abraham Buford's Continental infantry meet him to provide cover in the event the British appeared. Banastre Tarleton and his Legion reached the Patriots at the ferry first, catching the Americans completely by surprise. As Buford's infantry watched helplessly from the opposite shore, Tarleton charged and routed the Patriot cavalry, who were not even able to bridle and mount their horses.

White's failure to take the necessary precautions when he stopped to wait for Buford resulted in one-third of his men being killed, wounded, or captured, and all their horses and equipment lost. White and Washington were able to escape by swimming across the Santee.

After the fall of Charlestown, Gov. Rutledge, who had left the town before its fall, ordered White and Washington to Hillsborough, N.C. White later stood before a court martial and was acquitted for his actions at Lenud's Ferry.

Greene ordered him back to Virginia on a recruiting mission in December. There he served under Lafayette, until returning south in the fall of 1781. In Jan. 1782, White and his 100 dragoons accompanied Gen. Anthony Wayne to Georgia. By May, Wayne's aggressive advance, despite inferior numbers, forced the Loyalists to withdraw to Savannah.

The two forces met on the causeway leading to Ogeechee Ferry around midnight on May 20. White's dragoons charged into a mass of Loyalists, thoroughly dispersing them. He continued with Wayne as he laid siege to Savannah but resigned before the end of the war.

After marrying a South Carolina woman and living in Charleston for a few years, he moved back to his home state of New Jersey. When White was a candidate to become brigadier general, Pres. Washington accepted the recommendations of many of his officers and requested that White not be promoted.

—White to Greene, Dec. 28, 1780, PNG, 7:15; Garden, *Anecdotes*, 384-85; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 19-20; Cashin, *King's Ranger*, 150; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:338; Clark, *Loyalists*, 1:49-85, 443-47.

Otho Holland Williams

Otho Holland Williams (1749-94) became one of Nathanael Greene's most dependable and successful subordinates. As a boy and a young man Williams worked in the county clerk's office in Frederick, Md., and Baltimore. He joined the Frederick City rifle corps as a lieutenant in Jun. 1775, and marched to Boston.

After the consolidation of the Virginia and Maryland riflemen, promotion to major, and the death of his commander, Williams took command of the regiment. He was seriously wounded and imprisoned at New York in Nov. 1776.

After his exchange Williams was promoted to colonel of the 6th Md. Regiment, and led them at Monmouth in December. He marched south with Gen. De Kalb in Apr. 1780.

While encamped in North Carolina prior to Camden, Williams met Francis Marion. At this time Williams was the assistant adjutant general of the army, in addition to his field command. He distinguished himself at the disaster at Camden in August, when the Southern Army was destroyed.

Prior to the arrival of Nathanael Greene, Williams commanded a corps of light troops. Greene made him his adjutant general, detaching the light troops to Gen. Daniel Morgan. During the race to the Dan River, Williams commanded the rear guard, covering the main army and buying Greene the needed time to pass over the Dan into Virginia.

Williams led the return of the Continental Army back into North Carolina. In addition to his duties as adjutant general, Williams commanded Continental regiments at three major battles in 1781: Guilford Courthouse (Mar.), Hobkirk's Hill (Apr.), and Eutaw Springs (Sep.). At the latter battle, he was instrumental in nearly driving the British from the field. Greene lauded Williams's efforts to Thomas McKean, President of Congress: "[T]he Virginians under Lieut Colo Campbell, and the Maryland Troops under Colo Williams were led on a brisk charge with trailed Arms, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of Musquet Balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both Officers and Soldiers upon this occasion. They preserved their order, and pressed on with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them. The Enemy were routed in all quarters."

Williams was finally promoted to brigadier general in May 1782 and retired the following year. After the war, he became Collector of the Port of Baltimore. In 1792 he declined the post as second-in-command of the army due to poor health.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1274; Otho Holland Williams, "A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," included as Appendix B in Johnson, *Sketches, Nathanael Greene*, 1:485; Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, PNG 9:331.

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Acknowledgments

It has been two decades since the genesis of *The Francis Marion Papers*. Many contributors have assisted in presenting the life of Marion through his correspondence. Numerous individuals, publications, and institutions have made a noteworthy impact.

Without doubt, Charles Baxley was the heart and soul of the project. His vision and perseverance were paramount. From just reading a few books and a couple of letters the project mushroomed into a three-volume, digital record of Francis Marion's dedication to the American Revolution. Luckily for me, I have had the good fortune to be part of this endeavor.

Charles and I fully believed that the history books of the Revolution—especially those used for teaching the young—have missed the mark in telling the story of the Southern Campaigns. Francis Marion was one of those stars, seldom mentioned outside of the South.

The timing of the publication of the first volume of Marion's correspondence by the South Carolina American Revolution Sestercentennial Commission (SC250) is perfect. Without the Commission, *The Marion Papers* would have remained gathering dust or lost completely. I give thanks to SC250 and the South Carolina Battlefield Preservation Commission. Their late commissioners—Charles Baxley and Doug Bostick, respectively—were the champions behind the *Francis Marion Papers*. They are missed.

Charles might have found other historians to complete the project, but Ben Rubin and Rick Wise were the right choice: both steeped in the Southern Campaigns—and Francis Marion. Ben and Rick continued to expand Marion's legacy.

A scan of the bibliography shows over 300 sources. From the magnitude of entries in the summary of documents, the following ones stand out, including *The Nathanael Greene Papers* (Rhode Island Historical Society), Patrick O'Kelley's *Be Cool and Do Mischief: Francis Marion's Orderly Book*, the Peter Force Papers (Library of Congress), the South Carolina Historical Society, the Clements Library of the University of Michigan, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina, the Boston Public Library, and the New York Public Library. This abbreviated list does not in any way limit the importance of the contributions to the *Marion Papers* by so many other repositories.

A small brigade assisted the project in one way or another: Judy Baxley, Jack Parker, George and Carole Summers and the Swamp Fox Murals Trails Society, Molly Fortune, John Robertson, Daniel Tortora, Karen MacNutt, J.D. Lewis, Leon Harris, Will Graves, David Reuwer, John Allison, Lew Manigault, Bill Davies, Dean Hunt, Mike Scoggins, Steve Rauch, Nancy Lindroth, Gen. J.B. Burns, Greg Brooking, Charles Price, Roger Parks, Dennis Conrad, Wright Turbeville, Bobby Gilmer Moss, Christine and Bob Swager, Janet Bloom, Kathy Ludwig, Steve Smith, Tom Lannon, John Frierson, Elwood Owens, Jim Piecuch, Steve Smith, Peggy Pickett, Drew Ruddy, Kip Carter, Mike Coker, John Oller, Bill Segars, Mary Boyd, Doraine and Luther Wannamaker, Erick Nason, Joe Rubenfine, Keith Gourdin, Suzanne Singleton, Scott Withrow, Bobbie and Buddy McCutchen, Jeff Dennis, Dick Watkins, Barbara Abernethy, Mike Burgess, Joe Stukes, Bob Barrett, Chip Bragg, Terry Lipscomb, Robin Copp, Graham Duncan, and Sam Fore. Undoubtedly, I have missed many more supporters who have contributed to the campaign. Forgive my omissions.

As I wrote in my note, after Charles's death, the project might have faltered again except for the guidance of Molly Fortune, CEO of the SC250 Commission, and Bill Davies, who among his many titles is vice chairman of the Commission. Together, they undertook the daunting task of holding the project together, reorganizing the contributors, and guiding the vision to fruition.

Finally, I cannot say enough about my wife Roberta, who has witnessed and participated in the adventure that originated on a beach in South Carolina some twenty years ago.

David Neilan
February 2025

Coming in Fall 2025
Volume Two