

VOLUME II

1781



The
Francis Marion
Papers



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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 to Volume Two

As we approach the 250th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the SC250 Commission is committed to preserving and honoring South Carolina's pivotal role in securing that 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
October 2025

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Note from the Editor in Chief from Volume One

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 handled 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. 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 has come to fruition. I hope that your journey delving into the *Francis Marion Papers* is as fulfilling as mine has been.

David Neilan

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; craftsman.

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.

Cremaille 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.

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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 foilage.

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).

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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.

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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.

A Glossary of Military Terms of the American Revolution

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 used herein are characteristically those 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
FMU	Francis Marion University
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

Publisher's Notes for Volume Two

As noted in Volume I, Charles Baxley'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 and the US 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 additional notes and information would strive to bring the “Swamp Fox” and other patriots alive for citizens and students across the state and country. Although the primary focus here is the most complete and comprehensive collection of transcribed documents and correspondence relating to Francis Marion, the editors have included narrative to provide context for information mentioned specifically in a document and of the sieges, skirmishes, and battles which took place during the most prolific year of Revolutionary engagements in South Carolina.

In Volume II, the transcripts of approximately 318 documents and letters exchanged during 1781 are presented, including some between British officers referring to Marion and others between Marion and those British officers. The documents are separated into four quarters by date, i.e., January – March 1781, April – June 1781, etc. In total, there are 1,378 footnotes, including links—as in Volume I—to brief biographies of 56 men mentioned in the papers. For ease of reading, footnote numbers restart at 1 with each quarter change. On the following page, instructions for navigation are provided for those viewing the papers on-screen.

As in Volume I, the majority of documents have been formatted 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. To build on the goal of making the letters, orders, resolutions, and proclamations even easier to digest for readers, a few changes have been implemented in Volume II. Each document now explicitly appears on its own page (or two for longer documents), making footnotes specific to the individual papers themselves clear. This arrangement also results in ample white space for scholars who download and print copies of the papers to record their own notes and impressions relating to particular documents.

In this initial release of Volume II, against the backdrop of the Henry Mouzon map of 1775, a map of the locations of noted 1781 battles is included. More detailed interpretive battle maps and other visual aids and links will be added in the coming months as more physical sites and battlefield guides come online.

We look forward to publishing the digital edition of Volume III of *The Francis Marion Papers* (1782 and afterward), currently scheduled for release in spring 2026.

Vally M. Sharpe
Publications Manager
SC250 Commission

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

Click a blue hyperlink like this in a footnote or elsewhere and, if internet service is available, 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 “Click here for a brief bio...” you’ll be taken to a page like that shown below to a biographical section where you can read more about him.



87. On Oct. 16, Rutledge wrote to Marion, above from militia duty.” On Oct. 24, 1781, below, up...to endeavor to contract for several articles of great hopes we may get supplies on much better terms.
88. Sevier arrived on Oct. 24, and Shelby shortly thereafter.
89. [Click here for a brief bio of John Sevier.](#)
90. Greene wrote to Sumter on Oct. 3, 1781, advising that he had been in the field for three months. Rutledge actually directed Sumter to the field.

New in Volume II:

Each biographical vignette appears in a separate text box, with Continental/Patriot names in **blue** and British/Loyalist names in **red**.

On a desktop or laptop computer, to return to the previous page, press Alt (PC) or Cmd (MAC) and the left arrow key.

Return to the SC250 site to check for updated versions 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 to the appropriate volumes.



John Sevier

John Sevier (1745-1815) was a Virginian who emigrated to western North Carolina in 1773. A member of the Provincial Congress, he rose to colonel of militia by 1777.

In Oct. 1780, Sevier led 240 Overmountain Men to King's Mountain, where he joined with other militia units from Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia in surrounding and capturing Maj. Patrick Ferguson's Loyalist force. After returning from King's Mountain, Sevier went on to fight in a number of actions against the Chickamauga branch of the Cherokee.

After peace was established, Sevier and Col. Isaac Shelby brought their Overmountain Men to Marion's command in Oct. 1781. Like Shelby, Sevier participated in the action at Fair Lawn. Marion released the Overmountain Men shortly afterwards.

After the war ended, Sevier joined with his Holston and Watauga neighbors in attempting to establish a new state—Franklin—of which Sevier was elected the first governor. After three years, Sevier went into a forced exile farther into the frontier, when his new state was condemned by North Carolina.

Although a political pariah after the failed attempt to establish Franklin, Sevier took advantage of the tumult around North Carolina's failure to ratify the US Constitution to re-establish himself in the political arena as a Federalist in 1788.

He was elected to the NC Senate, pardoned by Congress and then elected to the US Congress. When Tennessee gained statehood, he was elected the state's first governor (1796-1801). He served again as governor from 1803-1809, before being re-elected to Congress, where he served until his death.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1049; Sevier to Greene, Aug. 6, 1781, PNG, 9:143; Marion to Greene, Nov. 18, 1781, PNG, 9:589-90.

Introduction to the Francis Marion Papers

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).

Introduction

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).

The Francis Marion Papers – 1781

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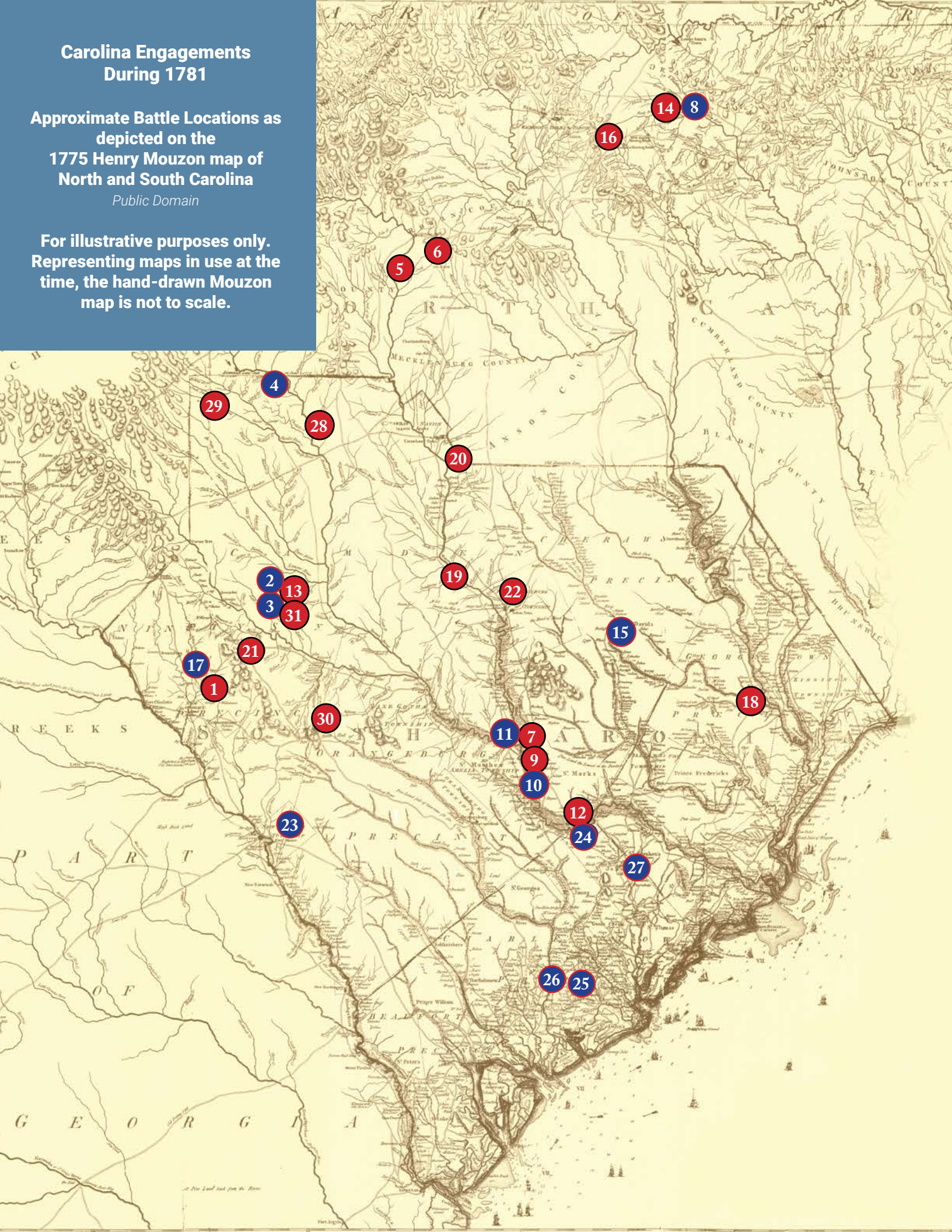
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Carolina Engagements During 1781

Approximate Battle Locations as
depicted on the
1775 Henry Mouzon map of
North and South Carolina

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For illustrative purposes only.
Representing maps in use at the
time, the hand-drawn Mouzon
map is not to scale.



Noted Battles of 1781
Continental/Patriot Victories in Blue
British/Loyalist Victories in Red

LEADING INTO 1781

- 1 Long Cane Creek ~ December 12, 1780**
- 2 Hammond's Store ~ December 30, 1780**
- 3 Fort Williams ~ December 31, 1780**

1781

- 4 Cowpens ~ January 17, 1781**
- 5 Cowan's Ford ~ February 1, 1781**
- 6 Torrence's Tavern ~ February 1, 1781**
- 7 Fort Granby ~ February 19-21, 1781**
- 8 Haw River (NC) ~ February 25, 1781**
- 9 Thompson's Plantation ~ February 22, 1781**
- 10 Big Savannah ~ February 23, 1781**
- 11 Fort Motte ~ February 24, 1781**
- 12 Fort Watson ~ February 27, 1781**
- 13 Mudlick Creek ~ March 2, 1781**
- 14 Wetzell's Mill ~ March 6, 1781**
- 15 Scape Hoar ~ March 6, 1781**
- 16 Guilford Court House ~ March 15, 1781**
- 17 Beattie's Mill ~ March 23, 1781**
- 18 Snow's Island Assault ~ March 27, 1781**
- 19 Dutchman's Creek ~ March 1781**
- 20 Burning of the Waxhaws ~ April 10, 1781**
- 21 Hobkirk's Hill ~ April 25, 1781**
- 22 Siege of Fort Ninety Six ~ May 22 - June 19, 1781**
- 23 Americans Retake Augusta ~ May 23 - June 5, 1781**
- 24 Biggins Church ~ July 16, 1781**
- 25 Quinby Bridge / Shubrick's Plantation ~ July 17, 1781**
- 26 Battle of Parker's Ferry ~ August 30, 1781**
- 27 Eutaw Springs ~ September 8, 1781**
- 28 Wofford's Iron Works Destroyed ~ November 1781**
- 29 Gowen's Fort ~ November 1781**
- 30 Cloud's Creek Massacre ~ November 17, 1781**
- 31 Hayes' Station Massacre ~ November 19, 1781**

January – March
1781

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion¹ to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Lynches Creek P D.² 1st Jan^y 1781

Sir,

I send You an Intercepted Letter to Gen^l Lesley.³ The day before yesterday he was still at Sumpters house near Nelsons Ferry.⁴ Report say he had not more than three hundred men with him, they keep very close to their camp; a party from George Town was at Black Mingo two days agoe collecting horses, but made such hast in returning that I could not come up to them. Their is such a verietty of reports of the Numbers Gen^l Lesley Brought in that there is no telling, till those men I have sent over Santee returns. I have been told there was but 850 men landed in Ch^s Town.⁵ I hope soon to give you an Exact account of them.⁶

Lord Cornwallis was the 27th Dec^r about Eight miles from Camden. I could not learn on which side.⁷

I am Oblige to keep so many of my men in Detachments to prevent Stock being drove off, that I have been Oblige to call on Col^o Kolb for part of his regement which I expect dayley.⁸

The delay of the Ammunition which Col^o Wade⁹ Promis to send me, prevents me from moving from this Place, & Expose me to Danger should the Enemy advance.¹⁰

I have heard of 150 Bushels salt on Waccoma[w] which the Enemy Intend to make use of to Salt 60 head oxens they have collected; I have sent a party to Bring It off & hope it will arrive today.¹¹

1. On Jan. 1, 1781, Marion learned of his appointment as a brigadier general in the South Carolina militia, and that Gov. John Rutledge had given him authority over all militia forces north of the Santee, east of the Wateree/Catawba, and south of the North Carolina border (Richard Showman & Dennis Conrad eds. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (Chapel Hill: Univeristy of North Carolina Press, vols. 7-10, 1994-98), 7:36; Rutledge to SC Delegates to Congress, Dec. 30, 1780, Russell's Magazine 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1857), 270; High F. Rankin, *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox* (New York: Crowell, 1973), 147-48; John Oller, *The Swamp Fox: How Francis Marion Saved the American Revolution* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2016), 108).
2. Based on the stated location, it can be presumed that Marion was writing from his encampment on Snow's Island. A number of Marion letters indicate Snow's Island, Lynches Creek, or Pee Dee River. It is uncertain whether or not they all point to the same encampment. (See Steven D. Smith, *Francis Marion and the Snow's Island Community*, for an extensive discussion of the location of Marion's encampments). Snow's Island is roughly five miles long by two miles wide, and is located halfway up the Neck formed by the Pee Dee River, Lynches River, and Clark's Creek. Very little 18th century military 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, east of the Pee Dee River 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 refer to the general region between the Pee Dee and Lynches Rivers, and not specifically to Snow's Island itself (Steven D. Smith, *Francis Marion and the Snow's Island Community: Myth, History, and Archaeology* (Asheville, NC: United Writers Press, 2021), 186, 205).
3. The intercepted letter was from Capt. Denis Kelly of the 64th Foot, informing Leslie that his detachment had reached Singleton's Mill. (PNG, 7:37-37; MiU-C) The site of Singleton's Mill was in present-day Poinsett State Park, on SC-261, in Sumter County, SC. Its mill pond is extant. Lord Cornwallis had ordered Leslie to join him near Winnsboro by marching overland via Nelson's Ferry and Camden. The route was indirect, but Cornwallis hoped to mislead Greene, camped near Cheraws, about his intentions (PNG, 7:36-37; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1901), 2:26-27).
4. Gen. Thomas Sumter had a house on the north side of the Santee River near Nelson's Ferry. Its precise location is not known, but it is likely under Lake Marion today, just north of current Eutawville. It is shown simply as "Sumpter" on the 1775 Mouzon map of North and South Carolina. Sumter's home had also been the site of the Marion's first victory as a partisan, known as Great Savannah on Aug. 25, 1780. See narrative above.
5. Marion's intelligence was incorrect. Leslie had landed with 2,300 men, and was marching to join Cornwallis with 1,500 of them (PNG, 7:37; Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (Dublin: Colles et al, 1787), 184; Cornwallis to Balfour, Nov. 30, 1780, PRO 30/11/82(128), *The Cornwallis Papers* (Uckfield, UK: The Naval and Military Press, 2010), 3:95-96).
6. If Marion sent Greene an "Exact account" of Leslie's force, it has not been found.
7. In fact, Cornwallis was still at Winnsboro at this time, approximately 30 miles northwest of Camden (PNG, 7:37).
8. Col. Abel Kolb was the commander of the Cheraw militia.
9. Thomas Wade (1720-1786) was a colonel in command of a militia regiment in Anson County, NC. He assumed command of the NC militia formerly commanded by Gen. Henry Harrington when Harrington was not confirmed by the NC Legislature in November 1780. Later in the war he also served as a purchasing agent for the Continental Army in South Carolina and North Carolina. Wade raised a party of men in Aug. 1782, but they were ambushed and scattered at Bettis's Bridge by Loyalists under David Fanning and Hector McNeil on Sep. 1 of that year (PNG, 9:387n; Harrington to Greene, 4 Dec 1780, PNG, 6:519; PNG, 7:205; David Fanning, *The Narrative of Col. David Fanning* (New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865), 52-53).
10. As per PNG: "After receiving this letter, Greene arranged to have North Carolina militia Col. Thomas Wade of Anson County, NC send ammunition. Marion acknowledged its receipt in his letter of Jan. 14, 1781 below." See Greene to Marion, Jan. 4, 1781 below (PNG, 7:37).
11. The salt was successfully recovered, and given to Patriot families in the area (PNG, 7:37; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 147).

The Enemy is Collecting a great Number of horses on boath sides of Santee where they have they command.

I beg leave to mention the want of a Surgeon & a few medcines. My people are remarkable healthy notwithstanding they are without tents or any Rum. They have had neither this five Months past.

I have a few Continentals of this state which are useless without cloaths. I coud wish a dozen suits of Cloaths & as many Blankets coud be procured.

I have the honour to be
with respect y^r ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

NB. I am quit[e] out of paper.¹²

ALS (MiU-C)

12. Greene replied on Jan. 4, 1781 below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on the Pedee¹³ Jan^y 4th 1781

Dear Sir

I am favoured with yours of the 1st. Col. [Thomas] Wade is now with me & promises to send you a stock of ammunition in the morning, if he is not disappointed in getting a boat this evening, it being his intention to send it by water that it might be the sooner with you.¹⁴

Inclosed I send you an order to collect a number of horses which I beg You to have executed as soon as possible as well for the supplying our Army as preventing the Enemy from getting them.¹⁵

I beg you will take every possible measure for obtaining intelligence, especially of detachments that the enemy may send out as it should be our endeavour, to check that business as much as possible, & I am in hopes to be able to give them a Stroke in a little time, as Colonel Lees Legion is near at hand.¹⁶

I beg you to have collected all the boats fit for transportation, down as low towards Georgetown as you may think it safe to send for them, & to keep them in readiness until you hear farther from me or Col. Wade, on the subject.¹⁷ But in the mean time, if you think the boats are liable to be retaken by the Enemy or you should want to remove your people from their present position, please to send them up the river such a distance as they will be out of the way of the Enemy & leave a small guard over them.

Please to send me a return of your Strength & the condition of your troops.¹⁸ I am Sorry to inform you, that we have not one single suit of Cloathes in Camp, & hundreds of our Soldiers are unfit for duty, for want of them.¹⁹

I am Sir,
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servt.

Nathaniel Greene

Tr (Greene Letter Book: DLC), Parks.

13. Presumably, Marion's encampment on Snow's Island (See note 2 on letter immediately above).

14. Marion acknowledged receiving the ammunition in his letter of Jan. 14, 1781 below (*PNG*, 7:48).

15. Marion replied on Jan. 9, 1781 below. The referenced order was from South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge (*PNG*, 7:48). See Greene to Marion, Jan. 16, 1781, below.

16. Marion described the "detachments" that the British had sent out from the post at Georgetown in his reply of Jan. 9, 1781 below. Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee's Legion arrived in Greene's camp on Jan. 8, 1781 and was dispatched to join Marion almost immediately. [Click here for a brief bio of Henry Lee.](#)

17. Marion replied on Jan. 9, 1781, below. On Jan. 16, 1781, below, he ordered Capt. John Postell, (Jr.) to destroy all boats from Black Mingo Creek to the Peedee River (*PNG*, 7:48). See Marion to Postell, Jan. 16, 1781, below.

18. Marion evidently included a return in his reply of Jan. 9, 1781, but it has not been found.

19. Marion's plea for clothing was a continuing theme. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 1, 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Lynches Creek Peede²⁰ 4 Jan^y 1781

Sir,

Yourse of the 31st Dec^r came to hand.²¹ I wrought you the 2nd Inst.²² & shall continue to acquaint you with every perticular respecting the Enemy which comes to my knowledge. Col^o Kolb will send a party for Ammunition which I am, greatly in want off.

By report of a man out of George Town I learn that part of the troops which came there last week was crossing George Town ferry towards Ch^s Town the Day before yesterday.²³

I have the Honour to be

Y^r Ob^t serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

20. See discussion of the location of Snow's Island above.

21. Greene's letter, Dec. 30, 1780, in Volume I..

22. Marion's letter, Jan. 1, 1781, above.

23. For more details on the composition of the British garrison, see Marion to Greene, Jan. 9, 1781 below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Cheraws Jan^y 7, 1781

Dear Sir

I have received your letter of the 4th Inst and hope the ammunition has arrived before this.²⁴ I wish to know the Corps in garrison at Georgetown & the name of the commanding officers.²⁵ The Bearer Andrew Winsler[?] is sent by Col. Wade to collect Cattle. I beg you will give him every assistance in your power to enable him to carry his orders into execution.

I am D^r Sir

your humble Serv^t N Greene

P.S. I have just received a letter from Gen^l Morgan²⁶ informg me that he had detached L^t Col. Washington with his regiment and 200 Militia horse after 250 Georgia tories who were advancing. He overtook them at Hammonds Store House on the 30th ult and entirely defeated them, 150 were killed and wounded & 40 taken prisoners without the loss of a man. N. G.

Tr (Greene Letter Book: DLC), Parks.

24. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 14, 1781 below.

25. Marion had sent information about the British garrison at Georgetown, S.C. even before he received this request. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 9, 1781, below, which was sent before this letter was received. Marion had already forwarded details about the garrison (PNG, 7:60).

26. [Click here for a brief bio of Daniel Morgan.](#)

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Lynches Creek²⁷ 9th Jan^y 1781

Sir

Yourse of the 4th Inst: came to hand. Inclosed is the returns agreeable to your orders.

I have been collecting horses for some Time past but have got no more then will serve the troops with me. A few more may be got & will send them to you.

Since my Last Gen^l Lesley has marched to Camden Leaving two hunderd men under the command of Col^o Watson²⁸ at Wrights Bluff, five miles from Nelsons Ferry.²⁹

Captain Bluke³⁰ Left Georgetown with Eighty men Crossed Lenus [Lenud's] Ferry on Santee where he Left about twenty men as a guard on the South side of that river & marched the rest to Nelsons Ferry & was to cross there this day to Join Col^o Watson. There is now in Georgetown two hundred men Including fifteen regular horse & twenty mounted Infantry.³¹ They keep so close in their redoubt, that I have not had any oppertunity to attack them. I keep parties of men constantly near them, to prevent forraging, or driving off Stock.

I have sent a detachment on Waccamaw Neck³² for the same purpose as I find they draw all their Subsistance from there.

All the boats on Waccamaw & Lower part of Peedee River will be brought up; with what rice Lay near the Enemy, & the Cattle will be drove at a distance from them, which I hope will answer a good purpose.³³

I have the Honour to be

Y^r Ob^t serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

27. Presumably, Marion's encampment on Snow's Island.

28. [Click here for a brief bio of John Watson Tadwell-Watson.](#)

29. Watson's post at Wright's Bluff would ultimately include a fort built atop an ancient Indian Mound named Fort Watson, which would serve as his base for operations against Marion. (PNG, 7:86n)

30. [Click here for a brief bio of John Bluke \(Bluke\).](#)

31. Maj. James Moncrief of the Engineers, who had reinforced the British defenses of Charlestown, had been dispatched to Georgetown in September to evaluate (or construct) defenses. "I have now done all I can to punish the People in the lower parts of this Country," Moncrief wrote, "The disposition of the people does not require so strict a guard, but, at all events, we cannot be too guarded at present. Have therefore weeded out the violent spirits." He sent prisoners to both Charlestown and Johns Island. Moncrief's defenses enabled Capt. John Bluke to hold the town with a small force of 80 regulars and James Cassells's Loyalist Georgetown militia. The appearance of Marion and 500 men before Georgetown, however, did give the town's commandant, Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, pause. He ordered further work on the redoubts and directed Lt. Col. George Campbell's King's American Regiment and John Saunders's troop of the Queen's Rangers to Georgetown, the total contingent amounting to 230. Bluke was then transferred to Camden (Moncrief to Balfour, Sep. 20, 1780, and Moncrief to Cornwallis, 28, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:266).

32. Waccamaw Neck, located north across the confluence of the Pee Dee and Black Rivers from Georgetown, became critical in supplying the British post after Marion sealed off supplies from the areas to the west.

33. By retrieving all boats in this section of the Waccamaw and Pee Dee Rivers, Marion was removing the most efficient means for transporting supplies to Georgetown. Not only could boats hold more than wagons, but due to the shortage of wagons and horses, and the cost of maintaining the horses, moving supplies overland was much more difficult and expensive than doing so by water.

Which One Was Which?

A difficulty often encountered by historians of the 18th and 19th centuries is that of resolving names in the absence of clear guidance.

Marion dispatched Lt. Col. Peter Horry and a detachment of the Williamsburg County militia to Waccamaw Neck on Jan. 12, 1781. Near Kingston (current Conway), S.C., the detachment crossed the Waccamaw River to Waccamaw Neck, where the plantations had remained relatively untouched. A troop of 65 dragoons from the Queen's Rangers, along with the King's American Regiment, and the South Carolina Rangers, all commanded by Lt. Col. George Campbell³⁴ were also on the neck.

On Jan. 13, 1781, Horry's advance guard, led by Capt. John Clarke was surprised by a small contingent of the South Carolina Rangers, leading to Clarke's surrender. Horry responded to the sound of gunfire with the rest of his command, and charged the Rangers.

During the combat, Horry was thrown from his horse. A British sergeant went after him but pulled back when he could not positively identify him as a Patriot. Horry's uniform was so similar to that of a British lieutenant-colonel's that the trooper rode off instead.

The British dragoons fell back, leading Horry to think the day was won. But shortly thereafter, a surprised Horry was again confronted by Campbell returning with the rest of his command. The Patriots quickly retreated.

A Sgt. McDonald (first name unknown) gave his horse to Horry to allow him to escape, while McDonald himself fled into the swamp on foot. Horry lost one man, wounded, and two horses killed, while Campbell suffered three men and four horses killed, and with the loss of two prisoners.³⁵

"Sgt. McDonald" would become a larger-than-life figure in the Marion lore, identified only by his rank and surname in all biographies except Rankin's—he used Allen as the man's first name. With that said, it is more likely that the sergeant in question was Sgt. Maj. Alexander McDonald, who commanded the "Colonel's Company" of the 2nd SC Regiment during the siege of Charlestown, and had previously served in Marion's Light Infantry Company at the assault on Savannah in Oct. 1779. Similarly, Rankin stated that his Sgt. Allen McDonald salvaged the red flag of the 2nd Regiment from the berm in front of the Spring Hill Redoubt when American forces retreated at Savannah.

On the other hand, one "Allen" McDonald had evidently been demoted to private in Feb. 1779 "for Drunkness on Guard & Quitting the same without Leave." He first appeared in the history of Marion's partisan brigade in Oct. 1780, when Marion dispatched Peter Horry to reconnoiter Georgetown.

After stopping for breakfast, Horry's troop was surprised by a contingent of the Queen's Rangers. Horry's men counter-charged putting the enemy in disarray. Maj. Micajah Ganey's Loyalist cavalry rode out from the town to assist the Rangers. The force of the Patriot attack was too great for the Loyalists, who turned back toward the town.

Most accounts then relate some version of Sgt. McDonald chasing Ganey back to Georgetown and driving a bayonet into Ganey's back. Marion reported the incident a bit more simply: "My advance party met Captain Gainey

34. Lt. Col. George Campbell of the King's American Regiment was the commanding officer at Georgetown. [Click here for a brief bio of Campbell.](#) In addition to the local South Carolina Loyalist militia commanded by Col. James Cassells, the Loyalist contingent at Georgetown included a troop of Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe's Queen's Rangers commanded by Capt. John Saunders. Saunders wrote in his report to Simcoe that: "On the 6th January following, Lt. Col. [George] Campbell having marched some distance into the country, saw about a dozen mounted men on the road: he order Lt. [John] Wilson with his party to charge them. They instantly went to the right about, and retreated with precipitation within a corps and taken a strong and advantageous post in a swampy thick wood on each side of the road. Lt. Wilson and his party received a heavy and unexpected fire from this ambuscade, but impelled by their wonted spirit and intrepidity, and unaccustomed to defeat, they continued the charge and obliged the rebels to betake themselves to their horses, and to flight. Serjeants Burt and Hudgins, having charged through them, were carried off by them; Corporal Hudgins was killed, covered with wounds; two or three of the men were wounded, and three horses killed" (John Saunders report, quoted in John Graves Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal: A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, Called the Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieut. Col. J.G. Simcoe, During the War of the American Revolution*, [New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844], 243).

35. Robert Bass, *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion* (Lexington, SC: Sandlapper Press, 1974), 128-130).

and his Lieutenant Evans about two miles from the town. They pursued them and killed the latter, and mortally wounded the Captain.” (Rumors of Ganey’s demise also turned out to be exaggerated.)

During the Bridges Campaign in March, McDonald allegedly demonstrated his skill with a rifle. When the British encamped at Witherspoon’s Plantation, after being repulsed at the Lower Bridge on the Black River, McDonald picked off a British lieutenant—reportedly at a range of 300 yards.

On Apr. 24, 1781, McDonald, who had been promoted to lieutenant by that time, received a commendation in the Orderly Book for assisting in tearing down the abatis before the fort, an act that finally convinced the British to capitulate.

He was killed at the siege of Fort Motte in May 1781, one of only two of Marion’s Brigade who perished. Thus ended the quite remarkable fighting career of someone whose first name, at least, is not definitively recorded.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Snows Island 14th Jan^y 1781

Sir,

Yourse of the 7th Ult: I have received. The Amunition came to hand. In my last I acquainted you that Col^o Campble commanded in Geo^town. But what Corps I cannot Learn.

I sent a Detachment of forty men under Col^o Petr Horry on Waccomaw Neck to collect the boats & Drive off the Cattle;³⁶ near Captⁿ Allstons³⁷ he met with the British. About 20 horse run'd his advance party to his main body which gave them a fire & repulsed and persued them to their Main body, Consisting of Sixty men under Col^o Campble, which Obliged Col. Horry to retreat. The Enemy had three men & four horses Killed & we took two prisoners, which proved to be the Queens rangers. We had one man Slightly Wounded and two horses killed.³⁸ I have sent a reinforcement to Col^o Horry, who since informed me the Enemy had one Galley & an Armed Vessel come up to Murreles Plantⁿ Eight Miles higher up the river than where he met the Enmy the day before & by his Information they had Landed fifty Infantry, & a body of horse said to be fifty Joined them from below.³⁹

But I Believe it to be the same party as I do not think they could spare so many from Georgetown, & I have not learnt they have had any late reinforcement. My Opinion is that they mean to come up to Butts [Bulls] Creek & have the Command of Waccomaw & Peedee River down to Georgetown⁴⁰ & to cooperate with a body of Torey which Lay at Aimeys Plantⁿ⁴¹ on Drowned Creek near the line of North Carolina. This body of Toreys Consist by report of 150 men Commanded by one Hector McNeil.⁴²

I think this body of men are dangerous as they will collect a Large number of toreys from N. Carolina & the Enemy possessing themselves of Waccomaw Neck will give them a large Extent of Country which Contains a Great quantity of provisions of all kind.

I shoud have marched my whole body against those toreys, but I shoud be Oblige to with Draw all my Detachments, which woud leave fifty miles Open to the Enemy, and the Inhabitants finding their property & familys Exposed will Desert me allmost to a man. Last week I had orderd Col^o Kolbs regiment to march to Little Peedee & sent Maj^r Vanderhorst with a Detachment to meet him, & to Disperse the toreys under McNeil, but Col^o Kolb never obeyed the orders & the Maj^r after going up as far as Maidendown high up the Catfish was Oblige to return. I have again Orderd Col^o Kolb⁴³ to Join me with all his regiment; if he comes in time I hope to remove the toreys and oblige the British in Waccomaw to retire to their garrison but am much

36. As Marion related to Greene in his letter of Jan. 9, above, his plan was to cut off the supply of provisions coming from Waccamaw Neck in an attempt at weakening the British supply line.

37. This probably referred to Capt. William Allston's plantation, Brookgreen, the current site of Brookgreen Gardens. Capt. Allston was called "Gentleman Billy." His cousin William of Clifton was known as "King Billy." Allston had served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. He was also at one time in Lt. Col. Peter Horry's regiment of dragoons of Marion's Brigade. "Gentleman Billy" died of a fever shortly after becoming sick in camp in 1781 (Bobby Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994), 16; Alberta Morel Lachicotte, *Georgetown Rice Plantations* (Columbia: State Publishing Co., 1955), 55).

38. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 615; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 38, 106-07, 145, 150-151, 170, 206, 341; William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion* (New York: Henry Langley. 1844), 157; Marion to Gates, Oct. 15, 1780, LB (MH), MS Sparks 22, 152-54; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 122-23).

39. The incursions by Marion's brigade to Waccamaw Neck greatly disrupted Georgetown's utility as a supply base. The British adapted their foraging tactics to send transports from Georgetown to land up the neck. This method created coordination problems. Additionally, since seagoing vessels could not travel up the Waccamaw River, they were forced to venture into the Atlantic Ocean for the short trip to Murrells Inlet, which made them subject to attack by American privateers.

40. On Jan. 18, below, Marion reported that the British had in fact withdrawn to Georgetown instead.

41. North Carolina militia quartermaster Capt. Thomas Ami's Mill on Drowning Creek, now Lumber River, about three miles upstream of Fair Bluff, North Carolina, was a popular landmark for Patriot troops during the Revolution. After the Battle of Blue Savannah on Sep. 4, 1780 when Marion defeated South Carolina Loyalist militia Maj. Micajah Ganey and his force of 250 South Carolina Loyalists militia, Marion retreated northward, passing through Ami's Mill on his way to the Great Whitemarsh in North Carolina. After the victory at Black Mingo Creek in late September, Marion again marched northward, stopping at Ami's Mill for two weeks, instead of pushing on to Great Whitemarsh.

42. [Click here for a brief bio of Hector McNeil here.](#)

43. South Carolina militia Col. Abel Kolb, commander of the Cheraw District militia, characteristically had difficulty supplying Marion's brigade with soldiers. As implied by the tone of Marion's Feb. 6, 1781 letter to Greene's adjutant, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, below, Marion was becoming increasingly frustrated with Kolb.

Affair of the Dilatoryness of this officer, & I think it absolutely necessary they should be attacked without loss of time. If it cannot be done by a force from you I must Draw in my Detachments.⁴⁴

As soon as I hear more particularly of the Enemy from Col^o Horry will Acquaint you.

I have the Honour to be
Y^r Ob^t serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

44. Marion expressed his urgent need for support from the Continentals. As it turned out, his pleading was unnecessary. Greene had already detached Henry Lee and his Legion with orders to cooperate with Marion. Lee proposed operations against McNeil's Loyalists, but as Marion reported on Jan. 20, 1781, below, the North Carolina Patriot militia dispersed McNeil before Marion and Lee had a chance. As always, capturing Georgetown was Marion's white whale (*PNG*, 7:121).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Postell⁴⁵

Snow's Island, 19[14]th Jan., 1781⁴⁶

Dear Sir:

I rec'd yours by Mr. McPherson with the prisoner Lewis Owens, and am glad to have that villain in custody. I send you all the men belonging to your company and cannot reinforce you with any more as yet. I rec'd a letter from Col. Howley [Horry], who acquaints me he was informed that the enemy and a Galley and an armed vessel came as far as Manels [Murrells] above Laurel hill⁴⁷ and they had landed fifty infantry, and that a party of horse 40 or 50 had come up from below to join the other party, but I believe the information is not right, as I cannot think they can spare so many from Georgetown without a late reinforcement, however, it may be possible. The Galley may attempt coming up to Bull's creek⁴⁸ to command both rivers down. I am apprehensive the boats you have sent may fall in the enemy's hands, for I am told that a Tory boat from Little Pee Dee with eight hands went down two days ago and if they meet your boats they may be too strong for them. I think it would be best you would go to Euhaney⁴⁹ and protect the boats you send and to intercept those of the enemy.

I am dear sir, your obedient servant,

Francis Marion

Copy of Tr (*The Collector*, New York, 23, no. 8 [June 1910])

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45. The transcription from *The Collector* names the addressee as Capt. John Parker. The transcription from *Historical & Literary Autograph Letters & Manuscripts* names the addressee as Capt. Jno. Porter. The only John Parker found in Marion's brigade only achieved the rank of 1st lieutenant, and, even so, not until Feb. 18, 1781. It is unlikely Marion would have mis-identified him as a captain (Patrick O'Kelley, *Be Cool and Do Mischief: Francis Marion's Orderly Book* (Fayetteville, NC: Blacksmith Publishing, 2023), 657n1378. The only John Porter was a member of the rank and file, finally advancing to corporal in Dec. 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 698n1354). The most likely identity of the actual addressee is Capt. John Postell (Jr.).
46. The correct date is probably Jan. 14, 1781. The extract used shows Jan. 19. However, an auction catalog advertisement shows Jan. 14, 1781 (*Historical & Literary Autograph Letters & Manuscripts*, Robert Dodd, NY, Mar. 1918). Examining the letter of Jan. 14, 1781, above, from Marion to Greene suggests that the letters were probably written on the same day, based on the repetition of parts of the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs of the Greene letter in the Parker [Postell] letter.
47. Laurel Hill Plantation was on the Waccamaw River, just below the mouth of Bull Creek on the west side of the river (*The Collector*).
48. Bull Creek is a secondary channel of the Pee Dee, which flows into the Waccamaw several miles north of where the main stem of the Pee Dee meets the Waccamaw. The three streams together create a series of islands in the space between them, including Bull Island, Sandy Island, and Rabbit Island. The mentioned fleet coming down the Little Pee Dee River might have been cut off at Yauhannah, SC which is on the main stem of the Pee Dee, just below where Bull Creek divides from it.
49. "Euhany" is Yauhannah, which was the ferry on the old King's highway from Charlestown to Philadelphia (*The Collector*).

John Postell, Sr., to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion⁵⁰

Postell plantation, Lower Peedee 14 January 1781

My honor is all I have left...My family has been reduced to beg their bread

Fragment of Letter, Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 130.

50. This note was written after John Postell (Sr.)'s plantation was plundered by Capt. James De Peyster of the King's American Regiment, in response to Postell's sons' activities. The 71-year-old Postell (Sr.) had been paroled after the surrender of Charlestown and returned to his plantation (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 161). Two of his sons, South Carolina militia Maj. James Postell and Capt. John Postell, Jr., had significant roles in Marion's militia. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 31, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Postell, Jr.

Snow's Island 16th Jan^y 1781

D^r Sir

Yourse of yesterdays date⁵¹ came to hand; and I believe the Enemy is retired to their garrison in G. town,⁵² as they went down the neck & have Informed you by M^r Boon this morning who is to Join you with three men of Your company, I shall if possible send you a few men tomorrow --- I am sorry that good pollicy will not permit me to grant your request in respect of Captⁿ. Wright & M^{rs}. Coachman, any further than there taking All their waring apperrell only, and I must request You will take Captⁿ. Wright a prisoner & send him to me as he has taken the Oath of Allegence to the British --I think Captⁿ Wright must think very Little of our conduct, to request his property which is in our power, to put it in our Enemys ---⁵³

You must not Let any person whatever cross black river, to wards G. town,⁵⁴ that you can possible prevent and Mr. Stitt must be forbid to go there on any Acc^t. You must also forbid the Inhabitants between Black river & P.D. to beat out any of their [rice] Crop, until further Orders—I hope you will have an Opportunity to send me all the boats with rice You can – those you mentioned was sent with Salt, rice &^c. I have not heard any thing of them, but suppose the fresh in the river has Impede their progress up.⁵⁵

I think you are perfectly Right in thinking the Enemy may pay you a visit --- but hope Col^o Horrys going Low down Waccamaw will prevent their Attempting it at present, Let that be as it will I am Certain they will not take you Naping

You will please collect all the boats you can & send them up the river to me I mean such only as are rowing boats, those hevey flats must be Either put away in some Secret places or Destroyed⁵⁶

It is my Intention, that there shoud be no Communication between the Inhabitants of y^t. District & Geo^t. Town—⁵⁷

Mr. N. Boon is [gone on?] Command, I send a key but don't know if [tis?] the one you want---
Mr Futhys [Lt. William Futhy⁵⁸ or Capt. John Futhey] Gun shall be sent as Desired

I am with Esteem D^r S^r.
Y^r Ob^t S^t.

Fran^s Marion
BGM

ALS (ScU) (Transcribed photocopy had handwritten note: original in Orangeburg Historical Society. As of Oct. 2008, the original was not at the Salley Archives in Orangeburg, South Carolina.)

51. The letter from Postell has not been found. Marion and Postell had been communicating over the previous few weeks. See Marion to Postell, Dec. 30, 1780 and Jan. 14, 1781, both above.
52. This presumably refers to the return of Lt. Col. George Campbell to Georgetown following his unsuccessful attempt to clear the area on Waccamaw Neck of Patriots, as related by Marion to Greene on Jan. 14, 1781 above.
53. Postell's requests regarding Capt. Wright and Mrs. Coachman implied that both were Loyalists who wanted passes to travel to British lines, presumably at Charlestown, with some of their personal property. In the case of Capt. Wright, his actions are not known. However, Marion may have considered him as subject to Gen. Horatio Gates's proclamation, which Marion had repeated on Nov. 3, 1780, above. The proclamation stated that all men who had received British parole but had not actually been taken under arms, and who did not appear before him by Nov. 9, 1780 to explain their situation, would be considered enemies of the state and treated as such. Further compromising Wright's case was the fact that he had taken the oath of allegiance to the British cause. The final disposition of the two is not known.
54. Marion may have been preparing for the subsequent attack on Georgetown by attempting to prevent intelligence of Patriot activities reaching the town.
55. Marion was directing that the 'beating out' of the rice be delayed, until he could determine whether the British would come out from Georgetown to get it. Rice that had already been 'beaten' was to be sent up river to Marion on Snow's Island, where he was building up a supply depot for his headquarters. Flooding ('fresh') was evidently delaying delivery of the provisions.
56. The "hevey flats" were barges meant for transporting rice, but they could also be used to transport troops. By destroying them, Marion hoped to prevent their falling into enemy hands, further reducing the potential for movement on the rivers. He did want the retain the smaller "rowing boats" to transport his own ground troops, and they would be used in the combined Militia-Continental attack on Georgetown on Jan. 24, 1781. See narrative section below.
57. Marion may have been attempting to close off Georgetown from any intelligence that might suggest his plan of attack on the town.
58. William Futhy (Futhey) served as a lieutenant and captain in Marion's brigade. In early Mar. 1781, then Lt. Futhey accompanied Capt. John Postell when they attempted to make a prisoner exchange under a flag of truce at Georgetown. Postell was subsequently taken and imprisoned for breaking his parole (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 338; Ervin to Georgetown Commander, Mar. 3, 1781, Cy (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp [on the Pee Dee], Jan. 16, 1781

Sir:

I have your favors of the 9th and 14th: the first came to hand a day or two since, the last this moment.

Col Lee has been with you, I imagine before this and concerted measure for promoting the public service. You will give him all the aid in your power to carry into execution all such matters as may be agreed on.⁵⁹

I wish you to take measure to ascertain as nearly as possible the numbers and situation of Watson's Corps and the troops with him; and let me know which route a detachment from this Army can march to be least discovered and where detachment from your troops can join them.⁶⁰ This information I wish to obtain as soon as possible. I hope you paid particular attention to the order sent you by Governor Rutledge for collecting the horses. Please to let me know what number you have and what addition you expect. And I also wish to be informed if a number of horses cannot be procured on the East side of the Pedee upon the Waccamaw; and whether they might not be had by the enemy; and if it is not probable, from the disposition of the Inhabitants the Enemy will not get a number from that quarter should they be left there.⁶¹

I think I mention'd to you in one of my former letters that Col Washington had defeated a party of Tories.⁶² By a letter from General [Thomas] Sumter I learn Lord Cornwallis was in motion toward [Gen. Daniel] Morgan.⁶³ A party of the enemy under General Philips have landed in Virginia and were within 20 miles of Petersburg up James Rivers. This is all the news I can give you at present.⁶⁴ Always keep, if possible twenty days provision, on hand [in] a condition to move with you if the service require it. This may be of great importance and I beg you to pay particular attention to it.

I wish you to inform me whether a party of Negroes cannot be got to man the boats you have collected. If there can I beg you to have the boats loaded with corn[,] rice or other provisions and sent up to this place as soon as possible. Provisions com[e] in slow and it is with difficulty we can get a sufficiency to subsist on.⁶⁵

I am sir

Your humble ser.

Nathanael Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 7:130-32.

59. Lee had in fact not reached Marion's camp by this point, presumably due to high water. Greene reported to Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan in a letter of Jan. 19, 1781, that the Pee Dee River had risen "25 feet the Last week in 30 hours." (PNG, 7:136).
60. In his letter of Jan. 9, 1781, above, Marion informed Greene that Lt.-Col. John Watson-Tadwell Watson was building a post at Wright's Bluff on the Santee. Watson named the post Fort Watson after himself. Greene had already begun planning for Marion and Lee to attack the post before he received this letter. See Greene to Marion, Jan. 19, 1781 below (PNG, 7:131n; Marion to Greene, Jan. 20, 1781, below; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 157; Oller, *The Swamp Fox*, 130).
61. Greene had enclosed a letter from South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge, in his letter of Jan. 4, 1781, above. This is probably the letter referred to here but it has not been found. The relationship between Greene and Marion was generally excellent. However, the question of chain of command between the Continental commander and South Carolina militia officers, who technically only answered to Gov. Rutledge, was always complex and delicate. The order from Rutledge about collecting horses seems to have been an effort to reinforce Greene's directive to Marion via the militia chain of command. Marion responded to Greene on Jan. 20, 1781, below. Providing horses to Greene became an ongoing priority for Marion's brigade (PNG, 7:131n).
62. For more on William Washington's victory at Hammond's Old Store, see Greene to Marion, Jan. 7, 1781, above.
63. Greene had learned of Cornwallis's movements in a Jan. 11, 1781 letter from Col. Charles Myddelton, a militia cavalry commander attached to Sumter's brigade (PNG, 7:96, 7:132n).
64. Greene was wrong about the opposing commander. Recent turncoat Gen. Benedict Arnold was actually in command of the invasion force, which had landed on Dec. 31, 1780 with the intent of disrupting the flow of supplies to the Southern Army by establishing a permanent presence in Virginia. Coincidentally, Arnold was reinforced and superseded in command of the expedition by British Maj. Gen. William Phillips on Mar. 27, 1781, meaning that at the time of this letter, Greene's mention of Phillips's presence was inaccurate but also oddly prophetic. Phillips died of disease in Petersburg, Virginia, on May 13, 1781 (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:910).
65. Marion replied on Jan. 20, 1781, below. Lee wrote that the camp he and Marion shared "abound[ed] with supply for man & horse." But transporting military supplies was near impossible due to the swollen rivers (PNG, 7:132; Lee to Joseph Reed, Jan. 9, 1781, ViHi).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on the Pee Dee, [Jan. 16, 1781]

Sir:

Since writing you this morning I have been with Gov^r. Rutledge, who informs me you have written to him for authority to try by a Court Martial some offenders who were taken marauding. If you will acquaint me with the circumstances, & whether you mean to try them Capitally, I will give you authority to hold the court. The Governor can give you no legal [authority] and therefore don't choose to give you any at all. Military Courts are upon a different principal & may be in some sort accommodated to the nature of the offence. If the trial is not meant to be capital, you have sufficient authority to try for less offences as Brigadier Gen. of the State. But if the trial is meant to be capital, I will forward you a commission for holding such a court.⁶⁶ Please to inform If you & Col. Lee cannot detach a party to rouse the Tories upon Downings' Creek, without interfering with your other plans; I will send a detachment from the army; but the distance is so great, & there being no horse with the army, it will be imposibble to move so rapidly as to surprise them; without which little benefit will result from the attempt.⁶⁷

I am sir,

Nathanael Greene

ALS (NcU).

66. As per *PNG*: "Marion said nothing about a court in his reply of Jan. 20, 1781 below, nor has a 'commission' from Greene been found." (*PNG*, 7:132n).

67. Greene did dispatch a force to disperse the Drowning Creek Tories. However, by the time they arrived, the North Carolina Patriot militia had already accomplished the goal. See Greene to Marion, Jan. 19, 1781, and Marion to Greene, Jan. 20, 1781, both below (*PNG*, 7:132n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Snows Island 18 Jan^y. 1781

Sir,

Since my last the Enemy on Waccamaw retreated to Georgetown, we are informed their Loss with Col^o. Horry is one Officer & four privates Killed & Six wounded.⁶⁸

L^t Col^o. [John] Ervin who Commands a Detachment Near Nelsons ferry, Informes me that he Sent Captⁿ. Conyers with Ten men to reconotre the Enemy at Wright Bluff. He fell in with fourteen of Harrisons Corps Killed four & took two men, five horses & four muskets.⁶⁹ Several men got off wounded, Captⁿ Conyers had not a man hurted. I have not heard any thing of McNeils party since my last.⁷⁰

Captⁿ. Walter sent Mr Laguoux with a flagg, I have sent with Lieu^t Taylor⁷¹ to You, as the Business he goes on will not permit them to remain here untill they can hear from You.⁷²

The river is so high I am [o]blige to remove a few miles near M^{rs}. Ports ferry on the South of Peedee where I shall remain a few d[a]ys. I am Affaird I shall not be Able to collect fifty horses for you & those very Ordinary, as the British has taken all that was good fir any thing some time since.⁷³

I have the Honour to be Y^r. Ob^t S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (ScU).

68. For more on this combat, see Marion to Greene, Jan. 14, 1781 above.

69. [Click here for a brief bio of John Harrison.](#)

70. North Carolina Loyalist militia Col. Hector McNeil was the leader of the Loyalist contingent in North Carolina that Marion believed were planning to join local Loyalists in preventing him from controlling the flow of supplies from Waccamaw Neck to Georgetown. Before a junction could be made with the local Loyalists, McNeil's troops were dispersed in North Carolina by North Carolina militia.

71. Samuel Taylor (d.1815) first served under Marion in the militia at the age of 16. In 1781, he was a lieutenant. He was promoted to captain in the light dragoons under Col. Maham in Feb. 1781. He was riding with Sgt. McDonald, when McDonald allegedly stuck his bayonet in Loyalist Micajah Ganey's back in Oct. 1780. See Marion to Harrington, Nov. 17, 1780, above. Taylor became commander the 3rd Infantry Troop of the State Cavalry when the regiments of Maham and Conyers were consolidated in Aug. 1782, and served in the dragoons until the end of the war (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 656n1371, 730n1628, 732; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 919; Samuel Taylor, Pension Statement W22363; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 106-107; Marion to Taylor, Jul. 28, 1781, *Charleston Yearbook 1888*, "Mayor Smyth's Annual Review," 380).

72. In his letter of Jan. 6, 1781 to Greene, Nathaniel Russell wrote that Thomas Walter's purpose in visiting Greene was to lobby for the exchange of friends who were prisoners in North Carolina. Apparently, Russell, a former Rhode Islander, was an acquaintance of Greene. Russell, who originally supported the Revolution, ultimately switched his support to the Crown As noted in his reply of Jan. 22, 1781, below, Greene turned the matter over to his Commissary of Prisoners, Continental Maj. Edmund Hyrne (*PNG*, 7:58n).

73. Greene ordered Marion to gather horses for the main army in his letter of Jan. 4, 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Postell, Jr.

Goddard's Plantation, Pedee⁷⁴ Jan. 19, 1781

Dear Sir,

I send Lieut. King with fifteen men, to reinforce you.⁷⁵ I would have all the flats and boats you can collect, loaded with rice, and sent to Mr. Joseph Allston's plantation, on Bull's creek, to the north of Pedee, where there is a ferry to Euhaney; and the rice is to be there stored, and the boats kept going until all that is beat out in your district is carried. From there I will send for it up higher.⁷⁶ You must take such negroes for the boats as belong to those persons who may be with the enemy, or from those estates which the enemy think forfeited. Gen. Greene is in want of a number of negroes – say fifty -- for the use of the army. You will collect them in your district, and send them to me; taking care not to distress any family, but taking them where they can be best spared.⁷⁷ I shall detain those negroes that came up with the boats you have sent. One boat has arrived, and I have sent to assist in getting up the others. I beg you would give me intelligence of the movements of the enemy in Georgetown, and, if possible, their particular strength: what corps of horse and foot, and how many militia, and if there are any cannon mounted on their redoubt, and whether they are making any new works. You will send Capt. W[right?], and Mr. S[titt?], and all such men (who have taken, or are suspected of having taken part with the enemy) to me.⁷⁸ You must not suffer any person to carry property where the enemy has possession, or have any intercourse with them.

I am, with regard, dear Sir, Your obedient servant,

Francis Marion

James, *Francis Marion*, 84. Letter Extract

On the day Marion wrote the letter above to Postell, British Gen. Charles Cornwallis learned of Banastre Tarleton's defeat at Cowpens. Hoping to recover the over 500 men held as American POWs, he marched into North Carolina from his camp near Turkey Creek—on current day S.C. Hwy 322 in York County, S.C.

And thus began the "Race to the Dan River."

74. Goddard's Plantation may have referred to the property owned by William Goddard just north of Snow's Island between Lynches Creek and the Pee Dee River (Smith, *Marion at Snow's Island*, 76-77, 175, 287).

75. In his letter to Capt. John Postell, Jr. of Jan. 16, 1781 above, Marion advised Postell that he would send a few men the next day. Marion also informed Postell he would be further reinforced by the arrival of Mr. Boon and three men of Postell's company, who were dispatched that day.

76. Marion was focused on systematically harvesting rice, processing the yield, and delivering it to his men in such a way as to prevent the British from taking advantage of the bounty of the fertile Lowcountry. Georgetown could still be supplied by sea, but the ability of the garrison to project power into the countryside would be severely limited by reducing the available forage. And with the French in the war, even control of the coast could not be taken for granted.

77. Since hard currency was non-existent, Marion gave receipts for provisions requisitioned from the Patriot plantations. He had learned that there was a very tenuous balance that needed to be maintained in relationships with the conflict's non-combatants. Deprive them of food, stock, or slaves, and he risked converting a lukewarm Patriot or passive Loyalist to active enemy service. He was careful to ensure that the provisions of the inhabitants were not totally exhausted. These receipts were theoretically redeemable at the end of the war. However, many went unreimbursed.

78. In Marion's Jan. 16, 1781 letter to Postell above, the Patriot captain was directed to send Capt. Wright to Marion's camp as a prisoner, since he had taken the oath of allegiance to the British. In the same letter Marion directed Postell that "Mr. Stitt must be forbid to go there (Georgetown) on any Acc^t."

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Postell, Jr.*⁷⁹**

[Goddard's Plantation, Pedee]⁸⁰ January 19, 1781

Dear Sir,

Your father may keep the canoe you mention. I have received the prisoners [Depeyster's company of grenadiers],⁸¹ by Mr. McPherson, and shall give them the pleasure of seeing head quarters.

I am, dear Sir, Your obedient servant,

Francis Marion

James, *Francis Marion*, 84-85.

79. This letter was in response to Postell's request in his letter of Jan. 15, 1781 above.

80. Location inferred. Marion wrote a separate letter to Postell from this location on this date, seen above.

81. [Click here for a brief bio of James de Peyster.](#)

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Camp on the Pee Dee], January 19th 1781

Dear Sir,

The enclosed letter from Capt Odingsells came to hand last evening. I have directed him to apply to you for orders, on the subject.⁸²

I have detached Major Anderson with 100 regulars and 100 Virg^a Militia to attack and disperse the Tories at Amis Mill on Drowning Creek. The party marched yesterday, with orders to endeavour to surprise them.⁸³ Perhaps you might be able to make some detachment that would contribute to the success of the party.

By the last accounts L^t Col. Tarlton was in motion with about 1000 troops towards Gen^l Morgan, who is in the fork of Broad River, Lord Cornwallis is moving in force to cover him.⁸⁴

I wish your answer respecting the practicability of surprizing the party near Nelson's, the routes & the force you will be able to detach. This enquiry is a matter that requires the greatest secrecy.⁸⁵

I am Dear Sir,

Your Most Obed^t Humble Serv^t

N Greene

DfS (MiU-C), Parks; PNG, 7:145-46.

82. As per PNG: "Neither Charles Odingsell's letter nor Marion's orders to him have been found." (PNG, 7:145n).

83. Anderson was probably Maj. Archibald Anderson of the Maryland Line. Marion had reported in his letter of Jan. 14, 1781, above, that North Carolina Loyalist militia Col. Hector McNeil commanded the Loyalists on the Little Pee Dee. Before Maj. Anderson arrived, however, a force of North Carolina militia had scattered the Loyalists. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 20, 1781 below (PNG, 7:121-22n).

84. Greene did not know that Morgan had already defeated Tarleton at Cowpens on Jan. 17 (PNG, 7:146n).

85. Marion wrote Greene before he received this letter that he did not believe it "practicable" to surprise Lt. Col. Watson's force at Wright's Bluff. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 20, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Goddards Plantⁿ Peedee 20th Jan^y 1781

Sir, I rec^d two of yourse of 16th Ult: I have seen an Officer from Col^o Lee,⁸⁶ but find that that there is no Occasion to go at the torrey on Little Peedee as Col^o Kenan from North Carolina is there & has Disperst them. From <the Situation of> Col^o Watson I do not think it <practicable to> surprise him in his present post, which is Difficult to Approach. His rear is coverd by a Large Lake[,] his front is an Old field grown up thick with haw trees not Easily penetrated, his right and Left is by a narrow road which Lead to his Encampment. He has by the best Information two hundred & fifty men, about thirty of them Harrisons Corps mounted. I do not think it practicable to march a Number of men from You down there without being Discovered. Shoud you think of making an Attack on that post, the best meathod woud be for your men to Come by water to this place & march over Kings tree Bridge which is the only pass over Black River; in two days I can Collect the most of my Detatchments.⁸⁷

I have sent partys on Wacomaw, Black River & Santee to Empress all the horses that can be found But find the British has taken every horse fit for Saddles or Draught. I have twenty small horses very poor & ordinary. I do not think they will be of any Service, or woud send them. Before your arrival on Peedee I had Collected every horse I coud find to mount my Brigade, & they are now badly mounted.

As I had kept only <a flying party> I coud not Lay in any provisions <untill Lately, & am> forming magazines in two places on the North of Peedee. The rice to be had is Low down this & Wacomaw river within Six or Eight miles from the Enemy.

I am making use of every meathod in my power to get all the rice out of the Enemys power, but the river is so high, that a boat woud not go up to you in three weeks.⁸⁸ It is a fortnights vo[y]age when the river is Low, and none but small boats Carrying ten or twelve <Barrels> of rice can go up.

I have sent to collect 50 negroes to put in boats & will make an Attempt to send you some rice as soon as the river is fallen. At present it is Impracticable.

I send up a Number of prisoners taken at Different times, which youll see by the Inclosed List. The toreyes are such as has been Active against us & the most of them taken in Arms. Benjⁿ Guest has been twice taken by Me. At first he was a Lieut. under Col. Tyne & made his Escape & was preferd to A Captⁿ. I took him plundering Negroes horses &c &c. Shoud he Now Escape he will ruin all the good men in his Neighbourhood.

When I find an Oppertunity to do any thing against the Enemy I will Inform Col^o Lee & will <give him all> the assistance I can. Shoud I Join in duty with him I expect to Command, not from the Malitia commission I hold, but from an Elder Continental Commission.⁸⁹

I mention this as it may not in any Juncture be Disputed, which may be of hurt to the service.

I have the Honour to be Y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (DLC) some words illegible, between <> were taken from GWG transcript, CSmH, Parks.

86. Lt. Col. Henry Lee sent Capt. Michael Rudolph in advance of the rest of his Legion. Lee's plan was to attack Georgetown. In his update to Greene of Jan. 20, 1781 Lee reported that "One of my officers [Capt. Rudolph] just returned from Gen. Marion. The interview was not so favorable to my intentions as [I] had flattered myself. However; I mean to pass the Peedee & see further into things & measures." Although Greene acknowledged in his Jan. 21, 1781 letter to Lee that "The difficulties you say are greater than you expected....," he expressed complete confidence in Lee and Marion. He opined that "There is not the least danger of the Enemies attempting any thing against you for eight or ten days after you have made your attack." Ever one to leave his trusted subordinates latitude to act on their own information, Greene also offered an alternative. "Don't forget Watsons corps upon the Santee. Perhaps all things considered that may be the most inviting object." (Lee to Greene, Jan. 20, 1781, and Greene to Lee, Jan. 21, 1781, *PNG*, 7:164, 166-67; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 152 [Rankin incorrectly identified Michael as his brother, John]; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1007).
87. Marion was responding to Greene's two letters of Jan. 16, 1781, concerning the dispersal of the Loyalists on Drowning Creek (N.C.), and the potential for an attack on Fort Watson, respectively. Marion had informed Greene on Jan. 9, 1781, above, that Gen. Alexander Leslie had "marched to Camden Leaving two hunderd men under the command of Col^o Watson at Wrights Bluff, five miles from Nelsons Ferry."
88. In his letter of Jan. 16, above, Marion had ordered Capt. John Postell, Jr. to "forbid the Inhabitants between Black river & P.D. to beat out any of their [rice] Crop, until further Orders."
89. Marion was appointed by the S.C. General Assembly, and had served as a captain in the initial 1775 organization of the 2nd SC Regiment. The S.C. regiments were put on the Continental service by the colony on Sep. 20, 1776. Marion's promotion to major in the 2nd S.C. was first mentioned in the Orderly Book of Jul. 21, 1776. His subsequent promotion to lieutenant colonel appeared in the Orderly Book of Nov. 23, 1776. (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 136, 181) Upon the resignation of the 2nd S.C.'s commander, Col. Isaac Motte, in 1779, On Apr. 12, 1782, Benjamin Lincoln, then serving as Secretary of War, backdated Marion's Lt. Col. commission to Sep. 16, 1776. A copy of this commission was reissued and is in the special collections at Francis Marion University, Florence, S.C. (DS (ScU); Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 45). Lee's commission as Lieutenant Colonel dated from Nov. 6, 1780—more than 4 years after Marion's.

Lt. Col. George Campbell (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town 21st Janu^y 1781.

Sir,

A flag of truce⁹⁰ from you dated the 19th is just come to hand, By whom I have Received the Letters and papers Contained in the Inclosed Receipt. I have Already sent out Thomas Hunter & has every right to Expect M^r. Riddle as soon as you are Informed of Hunter's being out. A Captain Clarke of yours fell into my hands at the Waccamaw, I have a right to Expect he will come & surrender himself to me as a prisoner of War. If he has any Spark of honour, he must from my own Generosity to him think it a Duty.⁹¹ The two Soldiers of the Queen's Rangers taken at the Waccamaw, I should wish were sent in, as they are distant from the Corps & may be Likely not to have the necessary supplies, as if their Corps were nearer. I have a Godfrey in my hands taken on the Waccamaw, whom I will send out for the one & a Griggs for the other.

I have the honour to be Sir,
Your Most humble Servt.

George Campbell
Lieut. Colo. & Command^r, George Town.

P.S. Major Irvin personal Cloathing I think Decending. I acknowledge to have received from you some papers of Major Irvin's & eight dollars addressed as follows, viz^t: Lt. Colo. Stephen Moore, Brigd^r. General M^cIntosh, Colo. W^m. Russell, Col. DeLaumoy, Inclosing a Bill for four Hundred Dollars, Honble Brig^r. Gen^l Scott, Brig^r. Gen^l Moultrie, Mr. Dart⁹² & Capt. James Frazer.⁹³

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

90. A flag of truce was the standard method for official communications between opposing forces. In an earlier instance, Thomas Walter had come into Marion's camp under a flag of truce, and Marion had sent him to Greene, presumably to discuss a prisoner exchange. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 18, 1781 above. In this incident six prisoners were exchanged. A secondary motive for a flag of truce was often to gather intelligence while in the enemy's encampment. To prevent this, messengers under flags often met on neutral ground instead of being admitted to camp, or if they were escorted through camp, they would often be blindfolded. See Greene to Marion, Jan. 23rd, below, for further discussion of this practice and its countermeasures.
91. John Clarke led the advance guard of Col. Horry's detachment on Waccamaw Island in Jan. 1781. Capt. Clarke was captured as a result of gross negligence when he mistakenly identified the sounding of a bugle as signifying a deer hunt in progress, when it was actually the Queen's Rangers in pursuit of him and his five troopers. Instead of taking him prisoner, Lt. Col. George Campbell gave Clarke his parole, after which the Patriot captain immediately disappeared into the swamps. As a parolee, Clarke was considered a prisoner and thus was subject to being ordered to come in to be confined at any time. The practice was only haphazardly adhered to, especially by the militia. In many cases, parolees simply returned to their homes to await being called out for militia duty again. Breaking parole theoretically subjected the parolee to execution, though this punishment was rarely applied in practice. Instead, parolees who were re-captured would often be imprisoned. Apparently, Clarke's capture and parole were not communicated to Marion, for he did not report any prisoners taken by the British to Greene. Clarke did surrender, as evidenced in a letter to Marion from the new commandant of Georgetown Capt. John Saunders, who, in late February, offered to exchange Capt. Clarke for Capt. De Peyster. Clarke had not been exchanged by the first week in March, when Marion threatened Saunders, "...your conduct in closely confining Capt. Clark in a place where he cannot stand up nor have his Length [stretch out], & not Giving him half rations, will Oblige me to retaliate..." (Marion to Greene, Jan. 14, 1781, ALS (MiU-C), Parks; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 128-130; Campbell to Marion, Jan. 21, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Saunders to Marion, Feb. 25, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781, ALS (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman).
92. [Click here for a brief bio of John Dart here.](#)
93. Marion apparently captured personal belongings of SC Loyalist militia Maj. Alexander Irvine, who was reported killed during the combined South Carolina Militia-Continental force attack on Georgetown during the night of Jan. 24-25, 1781 (Lee to Greene, Jan. 25, 1781, PNG, 7:198). Since in many cases prisoners of war were responsible for their own upkeep, the "eight dollars" was presumably intended for the American POWs in order to obtain provisions above the standard provided. Apparently, Continental Brig. Gen. Charles Scott of Virginia, Continental Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, Mr. Dart, and Capt. James Frazer, all prisoners of war in Charlestown, had arranged to obtain provisions on credit. This "bill" was the invoice for those provisions. It is presumed that the bill came to Marion, because, to the best of Campbell's knowledge, he was the highest-ranking Continental officer in the area.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp [On Pee Dee]⁹⁴ January 22^d 1781

Sir

I have your letter of the 18th containing an account of the several little skirmishes between your people and the enemy; which were cleaver and do them a great deal of honor.

I am sorry that so few horses fit for service are to be had in your quarter as we are in great want. Get as many as you can and let us have fifteen or twenty sent to camp without loss of time, they being wanted for immediate service.

Major Hyrne who is appointed Deputy Commisary General of prisoners has settled the business with Mr Walter.⁹⁵

I beg you'll please to favor me with weekly returns of the Militia serving under you and the number of horses you have in service and the particular duty in which they are employed: I also wish a seperate return to be made out every Monday morning of the Continental troops serving with you and the rank and names of the officers if any are with you and the Corps to which they belong.⁹⁶

I am Sir with esteem

Your Most Obedt humble Serv

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

94. Location taken from *PNG*, 7:168n.

95. As reported to Marion in his letter of Jan. 21, 1781 above, Georgetown commander, Lt.-Col. Campbell, followed through with the prisoner exchange. Thomas Walter had been sent on to Greene after coming into camp under a flag of truce (*PNG*, 7:169n).

96. Periodically general officers would request returns of the troops under their command. It would be the responsibility of the subordinates to follow through. After the fall of Charlestown, Continental troops that had not surrendered but whose parent units had ceased to exist often joined militia units. A small number of Continentals also joined Marion's brigade when he intercepted the prisoner convoy at Great Savannah on its way to Charlestown after the Battle of Camden on Aug. 16, 1780. Many Continentals preferred the easier duty of service in the militia. However, if they were still bound by the terms of Continental enlistment and were not prisoners (on parole or otherwise), they were technically AWOL from their parent units, and Greene presumably wanted them sent back to the main army.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Postell, Jr.

[Snow's Island] January 23, 1781

Sir,

Particular circumstances make me desire that you will immediately march all the men under your command to join me at the Kingstree; you must proceed by forced marches until you come up to me, for no time is to be lost. Leave your post as secretly as possible, without letting any one know where you are going, or of your intention to leave it.⁹⁷

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

Francis Marion

James, *Francis Marion*, 86.

97. In anticipation of his attack on Georgetown, in conjunction with Lee's Legion, Marion called in the various detachments he had sent on assignments.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp [on Pee Dee,] January 23^d 1781.

Dear Sir

I have the particular satisfaction to congratulate you on the entire defeat of the Enemy under L^t Col. Tarlton.

Major Giles this moment arrived brings the glorious intelligence which I have the pleasure to transmit. On the 17th at day break, the enemy consisting of 1150 British troops and 50 Militia attacked General Morgan who was at the Cowpens between Pacolet and Broad River with 290 Infantry, 80 Cavalry and about 600 Militia. The action lasted about 50 Minutes. Our brave troops charged the enemy with bayonets, and entirely routed them killing near 150 wounding upwards of 200 and taking more than 500 prisoners exclusive of the <wounded> prisoners with 2 pieces of artillery[,] 35 Waggon, upwards of 100 of the Dragoon horses & 70 Negroe's, and with the loss only of 10 men killed and 55 wounded. Our intrepid party pursued the enemy upwards of 20 Miles. About 30 Commissioned Officers are among the prisoners. Tarlton had his horse killed was wounded but made his escape with 200 of his troops.

This important intelligence I wish you to communicate to L^t Col. Lee if possible. I have not time to write him. If he has not attacked G.T. [George Town] I wish he could privately transmit it to the Garison.⁹⁸

I am With esteem

Your Most Obed^t Humble Serv^t

N Greene

Df (MIU-C), Parks.

98. As per *PNG*: "Lee and Marion attacked Georgetown on Jan. 24, 1781 before Greene's letter could have arrived. On Jan. 25, 1781, Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, the British commandant at Charleston, sent Lt. Col. George Campbell, the British commander at Georgetown, the "earliest information" of Cowpens so that Campbell could "guard against any bad consequences." (*PNG*, 7:173).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on Pee Dee, January 23^d 1781.

Dear Sir,

I wish that orders may be given to the Officers commanding your detachments to prevent flags, sent by the enemy, from passing through Country.

They should be halted as soon as they are discovered, their papers received, and they ordered to return immediately or wait for their answer as circumstances may render it necessary: but should never be permitted to advance without particular orders. It is to be supposed the Enemy have always some private objects to answer which ought to be counteracted as much as possible.⁹⁹

I am With esteem

Your Most Obed^t Humble Servant

N Greene

Df(MiU-C), Parks.

99. As per *PNG*: “Just eight days earlier, Greene had reprimanded another officer for having allowed an enemy ‘flag’ to enter Salisbury, in western NC.” (*PNG*, 7:173).

Georgetown
January 24-25, 1781

Let Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee and his Legion arrived in Gen. Nathanael Greene’s camp at Cheraw on Jan. 9, 1781. Greene immediately ordered Lee to rendezvous with Marion. Details of his orders are not known, but a letter to Greene of Jan. 20, 1781, suggests that already Lee had a mind to attack Georgetown. Lee sent one of his trusted subordinates ahead to communicate his arrival and intent to Marion. Lee wrote to Greene on Jan. 20, 1781 that “One of my officers (Captain Michael Rudolph)¹⁰⁰ just returned from Gen. Marion. The interview was not so favorable to my intentions as [I] had flattered myself.”¹⁰¹

For his part, Greene seemed to take a hands-off approach to the question of seniority, which ultimately proved wise, as Marion and Lee quickly formed a cordial and professional relationship, with Lee ultimately accepting a subordinate role but acting as a vocal, and valued, participant in planning their operations. Lee found that Marion already had designs on Georgetown, and now with support from regular infantry and cavalry, taking the city seemed plausible for the first time. Marion biographer William Dobein James, who, as a teenager, rode with Marion’s Brigade, wrote:

“On the day the last letter of Greene, of the 23^d Jan. was written, Gen. Marion and Col. Lee projected a joint expedition to surprise Georgetown. Cpts. Carnes¹⁰² and Rudolph, with ninety men, dropped down the Pedee from Snow’s island in a boat, to fall in on the back of the town by Winyaw bay, while Marion and Lee were to come down with main body by land. – Carnes with his party went ashore at Mitchell’s landing, and marched over his rice-field bank into the town at day light. The surprise would have been complete, had they pushed up directly to the redoubt, but they delayed too long on the Bay. They took the commandant, Col. Campbell, out of his bed, and killed Major Irvine and some others; but Marion and Lee could not arrive in time to cooperate. The redoubt was alarmed and placed in a state of defence, and Carnes was obliged to retreat. The great cause of delay was the inclination to take the commandant, by which they lost the fort and the town. Lieut. Cryer killed Irvine, by whose orders he had received five hundred lashes some time before, for attempting to take away his horse from Georgetown.”

The attack failed in holding the post, but showed the vulnerability of the town, and caused the British to expend resources to secure it.

Further operations were impacted by the outcome of the Battle of Cowpens and Lee’s recall back to the main army. Sgt. Maj. Henry Nase left a brief account of the raid from the other side, noting that “About four o’clock in the morning Rebel Colo. [Henry] Lee, Surprized the Garrison of G. Town, in which Colo. Campbell, Ensn. Young & Adj. Crookshank were made Prisoner, the latter was Dangerously wounded.”¹⁰³

100. [Click here for a brief bio of Michael Rudolph here.](#)

101. Lee to Greene, Jan. 20, 1781, *PNG*, 7:164-65.

102. Patrick Carnes was a captain in Lee’s Legion infantry. Capt. Carnes was to lead the Legion infantry with Capt. Rudolph as his second-in-command. At the siege of Fort Watson, in April, Carnes was the Continental Army’s representative who, along with Patriot Capt. John Milton, arranged the terms of capitulation. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 152-56, 189; Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 223-25)

103. Henry Nase, *Diary of Henry Nase*, Charles Baxley ed. Published online for *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. <https://www.southern-campaigns.org/diary-of-henry-nase>. Accessed Nov. 19, 2024.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on the Pedee January 25th 1781

Sir,

Your letter of the 20th is before me. Before this I hope you have received the agreeable news of the defeat of Lt Colonel Tarlton by General Morgan. After this nothing will appear difficult. I find it is your opinion however that Colonel Watsons Corp is so posted that it will be difficult to either to surprise or attack them. But I should suppose from your description of the place they will be more easily surprised than if they lay where they were less covered. People are apt to be off their guard in proportion as they imagine themselves in security. I cannot give up the Idea of an attack upon them, and wish you to get the best intelligence you can of their numbers; and consult with Col Lee upon the subject. If your force aided by the Infantry of the Legion, is not sufficient to make the attack to advantage, I will send a party down the river agreeably to your advice.¹⁰⁴

I wish to have your opinion upon the practicability of crossing the Santee with a party of three or four hundred horse and whether they would be much exposed by being in the rear of the enemy. Also whether the party could not make good their retreat if it should be necessary and join our people towards Ninety Six. If the thing is practicable, can your people be engaged to perform this service? It may be a matter of the highest importance connected with other movements, and therefore I beg you to give me all the information upon the subject you can, with[out] hinting the design to any person whatever except Lt Col Lee who I wish you to advise with upon all occasions.¹⁰⁵ You may place the highest confidence in him with perfect security; and I persuade my self there will be no disputes between you respecting rank.

All the provisions in the lower Country should be brought up the river as fast as possible; and I beg you to take every measure in your power to have it done. Those posts low upon the river are exposed to sudden invasions by water and besides which they are very insecure posts for an Army while the Enemy hold posts so high up in the Country.

I am Sir with esteem & regard your most humble S^{er}

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 7:194-95.

104. For more on Watson's post at Wright's Bluff, see Marion's letters to Greene of Jan. 27 and 31, 1781, both below.

105. See Marion's reply on Jan. 31, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Santee near Murrays Ferry 27 Jan^y 1781

Sir

I Just rec^d yourse of the 23^d Ult: with The Glorious and Annimating Account of the Victory Gained by General Morgan.

Col^o Lee Informed you Yesterday per Express of our Little Success on Georgetown, which could not be greater without artillery.¹⁰⁶

Col^o Watson Left his post Last Wednesday Leaving forty men, which is on a very Steep hill, picquetted & double abattis.¹⁰⁷ Col^o Watson is gone to Camden.¹⁰⁸ Col^o Lee is with me & we are going Against the post at Wrights Bluff.¹⁰⁹

We made an Attempt to Cross Santee to [burn?] Some Stores at Col^o Thompson, but the river is so high that it was Impracticable.¹¹⁰

I hope soon to Acquaint you of our successes. Col^o Lee's Interprising Genuis promises much.¹¹¹

I have the honour to be

Y^r most Ob^t H: Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

106. Marion, who outranked Lee by the date of his Continental commission, even if his militia rank were discounted, was not mentioned in Lee's official report to Greene. (Lee to Greene, Jan. 25, 1781, in *PNG*, 7:197-98) Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, commandant of Charlestown, and immediate superior of Lt. Col. George Campbell, advised the Georgetown commander in a "Secret" letter written one day after Campbell's capture, "If you secured within your Redoubt, a Quantity of Provisions it wou'd be a good measure, and provide, at all Events, against the very worst which can happen [to] you." The same letter revealed that Campbell's forces were shortly to be augmented by the addition of Capt. John Saunders's troop of the Queen's Rangers (Balfour to Campbell, Jan. 25, 1781, in *Balfour Letterbook*, DSoC (Society of the Cincinnati)). Balfour also reported the action to Gen. Henry Clinton, noting the capture of Campbell and "one or two officers of Fanning's Corps," but downplayed the fact that Patriot soldiers moved freely through Georgetown. (Balfour to Clinton, Jan. 31, 1781, in *Balfour Letterbook*, DSoC) The engagement was also mentioned in the diary of Henry Nase, Loyalist Sgt. Maj. in the King's American Regiment, who noted that "About four oClock in the morning Rebel Colo. [Henry] Lee, Surprized the Garrison of G. Town, in which Colo. Campbell, Ensn. Young & Adj. Crookshank were made Prisoner, the latter was Dangerously wounded." (Henry Nase, *Diary of Henry Nase*, Charles Baxley ed., *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, southern-campaigns.org, accessed Nov. 19, 2024).
107. Watson built Fort Watson on top of a Mississippian period Indian mound on the north side of the Santee River, at Wright's Bluff, between Nelson's Ferry and Fort Motte. The Indian Mound is extant and visitable in the Santee National Wildlife Refuge near where I-95 crosses Lake Marion.
108. Tarleton's stunning defeat at Cowpens devastated Cornwallis and altered British operations from a systematic advance against the Patriot forces to an all-out chase. Watson was ordered to Camden to provide protection for the post and to potentially provide reinforcements for Cornwallis.
109. The British pursuit of Morgan into North Carolina caused Greene to recall Lee and prevented Marion from attacking Ft. Watson. South Carolina militia Gen. Thomas Sumter attacked, but failed to take, the fort in late February (*PNG*, 7:207).
110. A detachment from Marion's Brigade, under the Postell brothers, crossed the Santee and destroyed British supplies at Manigault's Ferry. See Marion to Greene, Feb. 2, 1781 below (*PNG*, 7:239).
111. Marion was impressed with Lt. Col. Lee, despite significant personal differences—Lee came from the Virginia aristocracy and, at 24, was half Marion's age. Lee had made his mark in the operations with Gen. George Washington around New York City, establishing a good military reputation with his Legion. Though Marion's role had transformed to that of a guerrilla commander leading an insurgency campaign, his background was as an experienced Continental officer and he respected Lee's approach, as he noted on several occasions.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cheraws Janu^y 28th, 1781

[Dr Sir]

General Huger sends you by Capt. Snipes an Extract of Genl. Greene's letter¹¹² by which you will perceive what the General wishes you to attempt. Capt. Snipes is desirous of Raising men to the Southward, westward, of Santee, & requests to have the Command of an Independent Company. I have no Objections to giving him a Company & to his bringing away all the Spirited Young men to the southward whom he can get to Join you, or Genl. Pickens as circumstances will admit, but I Refer Capt. Snipes to you for instructions. You will determine whether you can Comply with the Generals wish or not & Give Capt. Snipes such Instructions as you think proper when you have determined on your plan. Capt. Snipes may Receive Brevets from you for himself and Officers, as I have no Commissions by me & Can't detain him till any can be wrote out.¹¹³

I am in haste Sir,
Your Most Obdt. Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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112. The extract of Greene's letter has not been found, but was summarized in the letter from Huger to Marion of Jan. 28, 1781, below. Greene had proposed a similar idea in his letter to Marion of Jan. 25, 1781, above, "I wish to have your opinion upon the practicability of crossing the Santee with a party of three or four hundred horse and whether they would be much exposed by being in the rear of the enemy." The real difference here was that Huger indicated that Greene ordered Marion to go over the Santee, instead of simply asking for an opinion. Marion had apparently already crossed to the south side of the Santee, as seen by his orders to Capt. John Postell (Jr.) from Cordes Plantation on Jan. 29, 1781 below. Marion announced the success of Capt. Postell's mission to Greene on Jan. 31, 1781 below. He also sent Maj. James Postell on a separate mission across the Santee. Marion announced the success of Maj. Postell's mission to Greene on Feb. 2, 1781 below.
113. William Clay Snipes felt aggrieved about losing his command when Marion re-organized his brigade in Jan. 1781 (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 160). Snipes had gone to Gov. John Rutledge, who wrote Marion on Jan. 28, 1781 that he had no objection to Snipes' raising an independent company. Rutledge implied, however, that Snipes would serve under Marion (Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC). In replying to Huger on Feb. 6, 1781 below, Marion opposed such a command for Snipes, who, he said, would "do no other Service than plunder the Inhabitants, which will make more Enemys." (ScU) Col. William Harden was organizing a militia regiment in the Beaufort area of South Carolina. Marion's biographer, Hugh Rankin, speculated that Snipes wanted to serve under Harden because Harden exercised less control over his subordinates. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 161) In the end Marion did give Snipes a major's commission (PNG, 7:208).

Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp Hicks Creek Jany. 28th, 1781.

D^r Sir,

Gen^l. Greene wishes that you will Attempt to Cross the Santee & if Possible, reach some of the Enemys Magazines & destroy them.¹¹⁴ I am persuaded you will not Leave any practicable measure unattempted to Effect this business. The Execution is Left Entirely to your Judgment & Address.

I am D^r Sir,

With much Esteem

Your most humb Serv^t

Is. Huger.

PS. Capt. Snipes has received an Invitation from Colo. Harden to join him on the south of Charlestown with 150 Men. If you think this will Answer the Generals Intention of Alarming the Enemy & distroying their magazines, you will promote it. Capt. Snipes has permission to proceed on the Expedition.¹¹⁵ Is. Huger, B.G.

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC)

114. In a letter dated Jan. 30, 1781 Greene directed Huger: "If General [Francis] Marion cannot cross the Santee give him orders to move up towards Cambden upon Lynches Creek that he may be at hand to cooperate with us if necessary (Greene to Huger, Jan. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 7:221). As seen in his letter of Jan. 29, 1781 below, Marion sent a detachment under Capt. John Postell well into British territory to attack enemy supply depots on the 29th. Greene's letter is apparently misdated, since the Huger-to-Marion letter of Jan. 28, 1781, and the Marion-to-Postell of Jan. 29, 1781, are dated before Jan. 30, 1781.

115. For more on the Snipes affair, see Carolina Gov. John Rutledge's Jan. 28, 1781 letter to Marion, above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Postell, Jr.

Cordes' Plantation, Jan. 29, 1781¹¹⁶

Dear Sir,

You will cross Santee river with twenty-five men, and make a forced march to Watboo bridge, there burn all the British stores of every kind; it is possible you will find a small guard there, which you may surprise, but bring no prisoners with you. You will return the same way, and recross the river at the same place, which must be done before daylight next morning. After effecting my purpose at Watboo, it will not be out of your way to by Monk's corner, and destroy any stores or wagons you may find there. You can learn from the people at Watboo what guard there is at the corner; if it should be too strong you will not attempt that place. In going to Watboo, you must see if there is guard at the church; if there is you will shun it; you will consider provisions of all kinds British property. The destruction of all the British stores in the above-mentioned places is of the greatest consequence to us, and only requires boldness and expedition.¹¹⁷ Take care that your men do not get at liquor, or clog themselves with plunder so as to endanger their retreat.¹¹⁸

I am with regard, dear Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Francis Marion

James, *Francis Marion*, 87-88.

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116. A day earlier Huger relayed Greene's desire, above, that Marion cross over to the south side of the Santee. Marion may very well have already been over the Santee at the time, since this letter was written from Cordes's Plantation, a favorite Marion encampment on the south side of the Santee. Cordes was his mother's family.
117. Six months later, Wadboo Bridge, the Parish Church of St. Johns Berkeley, often called "Biggin" Church, and subsequently Shubrick's Plantation, would be scenes of intense combat between much larger forces of Patriot and British forces.
118. Drunkenness and plunder were two continual issues faced by both Patriot and British commanders. Marion's effectiveness was hampered more than once because of the failure of his officers to check the soldiers' thirst when confronted with a supply of liquor. Most notably, in Dec. 1781, a detachment led by Lt. Col. Peter Horry stopped at a tavern to rest on its way to reconnoiter South Carolina Loyalist militia Col. Samuel Tynes's new encampment in the High Hills. The Loyalist tavern keepers gave freely of their liquor, resulting in a drunken troop resuming its mission. When Horry realized the state of his men, he called off the pursuit and was not able to complete the mission (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 106-107).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

[Cordes Plantation]¹¹⁹ Santee 31 Jan^y 1781

Sir

I rec^d yourse of 25th Ult [sic, inst.]: and I have the pleasure of Acquainting you that on the 29th I sent over Santee River two partys of horse of thirty men each one under Maj^r [James] Postell the other under Captⁿ [John] Postell, the first to burn the Enemys Stores at Col^o Thompson the other to burn that at Wadbo [Wadboo] Bridge. The Captⁿ has Effected his Orders with great Spirit & Conduct, at Wadbo was 15 Hh^d rum, a quantity of pork, flouer, rice, salt and turpentine. He marched from there to Keith field near MoncksCorner attacked a British Guard, Killed 2, wounded 3, took and brought off two Surgeons, 1 Q. Mastr, 1 waggon master, 7 wagoners, 1 Stewart and 25 noncommissioned off^{ers} & privates, of the 7th, 23^d, 33^d, 63^d, & Seventy-First Regiments. He had not one man hurted. He Burnt at Keith field 14 wagons loaded with Soldiers Cloathing & Baggage, 20 hogsheads of rum, & returned with his prisoners yesterday morning.¹²⁰ The Major [has] not yett returned[.] I expect him this night & make not the least doubt of his Success.¹²¹

Col. Lee's retreat to Peede has put it out of my power to attack the post at the Lake, untill I can Collect my Detachments, which is now coming in. I wrought you in my Last that Col. Watson was gone to Camden; but he halted at W^m Moors about 23 miles from it, & was there three days agoe. By two Deserters from him, he is not to go to Camden but to wait for Lord Rodneys [Rawdon] horse, who is to Attack me in rear. If Col^o Lees Caveldry is with me I shall be glad to see him, but I believe he is or will go with you to Dan. However I hope to be able [to] try Col Watson, if his Lordship is not in the way.¹²²

The number of horse you mention to cross Santee cannot be done yett untill the river is fallen & then it will take two days to cross. Shoud they be any great opposition, they will not be able to recross that river. The men I believe woud go with me provided their familys are not Exposed to the Enemy, in their Absents, but if that must be the Case I shoud get but few.¹²³ However if you think it is nessasery I will cross with one hundred & go to the S^oward, where there is a number of men I am sure will Join me. I shall send Captⁿ Snipes over immedeatly to collect the men. When Collected he will Let me know & I then can fix on some Enterprise which may serve as a Diversion to Lord Cornwallis Army who I hear is now going Northwardly.¹²⁴ You may Depend on every thing which I can possible do for the good of my country.

I have the honour to be

Y^r H S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (PNG: DLC), Parks.

119. Location inferred. A receipt dated Feb. 1, 1781, below, was certified by Gen. Marion at Cordes Plantation.

120. Lt. Col. Balfour reported Greene's new tactics to Gen. Clinton, "I learn, his intentions, are to distress this Country, by making frequent inroads of Cavalry into it, one of which yesterday Morning, destroyed the Waggons & Quarter Master Gen^{ls}. Stores, at Moncks Corner." Balfour went on to compliment the Patriot insurgency commanders, "Two very enterprising Officers (Lee & Marian) are employed on this Service..." (Balfour to Clinton, Jan. 31, 1781, *Balfour Letterbook*, (DSOC)).

121. For more on this mission see Marion to Greene, Feb. 2, 1781 below.

122. A series of raids by Sumter, called Sumter's Rounds, temporarily prevented Rawdon's designs to trap Marion (PNG, 7:230n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 165-79).

123. As per PNG: "In his letter of Jan. 25, above, Greene had asked Marion about the practicality of sending a force across the Santee River into the rear of the enemy to operate in connection 'with other movements.' Greene, probably anticipating Marion's reluctance to attempt such an expedition, sent alternative orders for the partisan in his letter to Gen. Isaac Huger of Jan 30 (PNG, 7:219-21). As seen in his letter to Marion of Feb. 11, 1781 below, however, Greene continued to advocate the movement." (PNG, 7:230n).

124. As per PNG: "Marion wrote Gen. Isaac Huger that Capt. William Clay Snipes and Col. [John?] Baker had "collected the georgians & some other to go over Santee." Marion, however, was not pleased, complaining that he was "Sertain" that Snipes and Baker "will do no other Service than plunder the Inhabitants, which will make more Enemys" and that their going would "frustrate" Marion's own plan to raise militia "to the S^oWard." He added that Snipes and Baker "say they have Orders from head quarters." See Marion to Huger, Feb. 6, 1781 below. Greene denied that Snipes and Baker had acted under his order in a letter to Marion of Feb. 16, 1781 below." (PNG, 7:230n).

***Receipt Certified by Francis Marion*¹²⁵**

Camp Coards Plantation Santee Fe[b] 1st 1781¹²⁶

Received of M^r. Jearns Coards four hundred # of Beaf, eight hundred # of poark – one hundred & one bushels of Clean pease, Fifty bushel of Corn, one hundred bushels of potatoes, twenty four Bushels of oats seven thousand # of Corn blades¹²⁷ twenty five Bushels of Beef rise¹²⁸ for the use of the troops under the Command of Franse. Marien B G Gen

W^m Swinton
C. P.¹²⁹

Certified
Fran^s Marion
Brigad^r Gen^r. Militia

ALS (ScCoAH)

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125. Throughout the war, when Marion needed provisions, his method for obtaining them involved “requisitioning” from plantation owners, whether willingly or forcefully. In exchange for the provisions, the quartermaster or other soldiers would issue a receipt. For Marion’s Brigade, Brig. Gen. Marion would often sign the receipts. After the war, the holder would be entitled to submit the receipt to the South Carolina Legislature for compensation.
126. Marion may have been planning to stay at Cordes’s for an extended period of time, or he may have been trying to acquire all the foodstuffs in the area to deny them to the British. James Cordes was Gen. Marion’s uncle on his mother’s side. In the letter of Feb. 1, 1781 below, Marion apologized for taking provisions, and for the damage done by his militia. Whatever the case, Marion withdrew to the safer confines of the Black River by Feb. 2, 1781.
127. “Corn blades” referred to the shocks of corn, used as silage for the horses.
128. It is not known whether “Beef rise” meant a pre-made stew, rice intended for making such a stew, or rice meant to be fed to cattle.
129. William Swinton served in the volunteer militia under Capt. Benjamin Screven during 1775 and as a commissary and quartermaster during 1780, 1781, and 1782. In Sep. 1781, Swinton wrote to Gen. Marion about the general’s requisition, “I shall set off this Week to Get you some peach Brandy & some flour. Sir, I beg you will send for the Liquors as fast as possible as it is very hard for me to find an honest man to take care of it.” Swinton was apparently also a recruiting officer on the Pee Dee in 1782 (Joseph Forsyth, Pension Statement S23636; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 912; Swinton to Marion Sep. 9, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to James Cordes

[Cordes Plantation Santee Feb 1st 1781]¹³⁰

D^r S^r.

You will see by the above I have been Oblige to make use of your provisions, for the Service of the state. Some other Damages has been made, but you well know the unruly Militia which [cann]ot be at all times restrained¹³¹ –

I am D^r S^r. y^r. Ob S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (ScCoAH)

130. As noted in the Feb. 1, 1781 receipt, above, Marion's quartermaster William Swinton gave James Cordes a receipt for the provisions the brigade removed from the Cordes plantation. This James Cordes may have been Francis Marion's first cousin, the son of Marion's mother's brother, Thomas Cordes (Emma B. Richardson, "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," *SCHGM*, vol. 43, no. 3 (1942), 3:134, 136-37).

131. The phrase "[cann]ot be at all times restrained" provides a hint at how tenuous Marion's control of his troops really was. As the war progressed, his attitude toward the lack of discipline became much more critical.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Black River Febr^y 2^d 1781

Major [James] Postell who was ordered to Co^l Thompson's found no Stores there, all had been carried away a few days before; but on his return he heard of a great quantity of rum, Sugar, Salt, flour, pork, Soldiers Cloathing and baggage at Manigaults Ferry. The guard had gone after Cap^t [John] Postell, and left only four men in a redoubt of wood, which the Major took and entirely destroyed all the Stores and redoubt without any loss or hurt. He spoke with several inhabitants on that side of the river. They seem all disposed to join us the first opportunity. A party of them will be with me in a few days.¹³²

Fragment: (DNA: PCC, item 172, 1:67), Parks.

132. Marion mentioned in his letter to Greene of Jan. 31, 1781, above, that he had dispatched James and John Postell to raid British posts south of the Santee. Greene forwarded this communication on to his own superior, Gen. George Washington in a letter of Feb. 9, 1781 (PNG, 7:239, 7:267-70).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger (ADC to Greene)

Fork Black River 6th February 1781

D^r Sir

Yours 1st Inst. I rec^d & shall take post at L[unintelligible]'s Plantⁿ near Captⁿ Dubose¹³³ on the north Lynches Creek I suppose by this you have rec^d. my two Last with the Account of Maj^r. & Captⁿ. Postell' Success over Santee. Since that I have been Indeavouring to collect the militia to attack Col. Watsons who is now at [Raften?] creek, 15 miles from Camden, but all my Indeavour has proved fruitless for they are so alarm'd at General Greene moving upwards there is no doing any thing with them, I have not 200 men at present.¹³⁴ Col^o Kolb has not nor will not send me one man.¹³⁵ Captⁿ. Snipes & Col^o Baker has collected the Georgians & some others to go over Santee, & am Sertain will do no other Service there plunder the Inhabitants, which will make more Enemys & will frustrate a plan I had on foot of raising the Militia to the S^oWard & sending a party under Col^o Horry, to spirit them up --- they say they have Orders from Head Quarters —¹³⁶

I am D^r. S^r. your Ob^t Sev^t.

Fran^s Marion

ADS (ScU)

133. Both Dubose's identity, and the location of his plantation are unknown. There were several men named DuBose who served as Captains under Marion, including: Abraham DuBose, Andrew DuBose, Jr., Elias DuBose, and Peter DuBose, as well as David DuBoius. Isaac DuBose, who became a captain at some later point, was still a lieutenant at this time. (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 269-270) (Encl. in Marion to Mathews and Greene, Aug. 4, 1782, Cy (MiU-C), b elow) Plantations of D. Dubose and P. Dubose are shown on Mills's 1825 atlas of Darlington District on Lynch's Creek ("Darlington District," in Robert Mills, *Atlas of the State of South Carolina*, (Reprint Columbia: 1938)).
134. In the aftermath of Tarleton's disastrous defeat at Cowpens on Jan. 17, 1781 Cornwallis, moved to intercept Greene's army. The local Patriots feared that yet another Continental army would soon be destroyed, thereby leaving the country at the mercy of the British. This concern likely kept the militia from turning out in support of Marion's movements, and also likely impacted the turnout of Sumter's men when he called out troops during the same period. In fact, Greene's Army was at this time in full retreat across North Carolina toward the Virginia border.
135. Marion first reported the lack of support from the Cheraw militia commander in his Jan. 14, 1781 letter to Greene, above. The failure of South Carolina militia Col. Abel Kolb may be attributable to a number of factors: the perceived withdrawal of Greene's army into North Carolina, the reluctance of the Patriot militia to turn out, Kolb's reluctance to weaken his own force in the face of the potential rising of the Loyalist militias in his district, and/or further erosion of Kolb's recruiting efforts in preference to those of Capt. Snipes. All these factors were mentioned in a letter from Kolb to Snipes written sometime prior to Apr. 16, 1781. See letter, below, and Snipes' reply of Apr. 16, 1781 below.
136. As will be seen in correspondence beginning prior to Apr. 16, the controversy Snipes ignited in ignoring the chain of command by appealing directly to Gov. Rutledge for permission to join Col. Harden (see Rutledge to Marion, Jan. 28, 1781, above) continued to cause friction. Gen. Thomas Sumter, the overall commander of the South Carolina militia weighed in late in April. See Sumter to Marion, Apr. 30, 1781 below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Guilford Court House Feb 11th 1781¹³⁷

D^r Sir

I Received your favor of the 31st Ultimo¹³⁸ & beg you to Give my particular thanks to Major & Capt Postell¹³⁹ for the Spirit & Address with which they Executed your Orders over the Santee.¹⁴⁰ Your Crossing the Santee must depend upon your own discretion.¹⁴¹ I think it would be attended with many Advantages, if it can be Executed with Safety. Genl. Sumpter is desired to call out all the Militia of South Carolina & Employ them in destroying the Enemies Stores & perplexing their Affairs in South Carolina.¹⁴² Please to Communicate & Concert with him your future operations untill we have a better opportunity to have a more free Intercourse.¹⁴³ Great Activity is Necessary to keep the Spirits of the people from Sinking, as well as to Alarm the Enemy Respecting the safety of their posts. We formed a Junction at this place Last Night, but our force is so much Inferior to the Enemys, that we dare not hazard a General Action, if it can be Avoided but I am not Certain that it Can. The Enemy are within Thirty Miles of us up towards the Shallow Ford on the Yadkin.

I am D^r Sir

your most obedient humbl Ser

N Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Letter Extract

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137. Greene's handwritten draft of the letter (MiU-C) was dated Feb. 10, 1781. The editors of *PNG* chose to use the Peter Force Transcript, which appears to have been taken from the recipient's copy, and shows the 11th (*PNG*, 7:281). The editors of this work have chosen to follow their lead.
138. A copy of this letter from a Greene letterbook (NcU), displays this letter being written "Feb^r. 10 1781." Instead of "31st Ultimo" however, it displays "10th ult." There is no extant Jan. 10, 1781 letter from Marion to Greene, nor is there a record of one, providing further evidence to the hypothesis that this letter was written on Feb. 11, 1781. The letterbook copy is probably a draft. The final letter was written Feb. 11, 1781 in which the corrected date—31st Ultimo—was used.
139. [Click here for a brief bio of James Postell, Sr. here.](#)
140. For more on the Postells' missions see Marion to Greene, Jan. 31 and Feb. 2, 1781 above.
141. An earlier request that Marion cross the Santee is in Huger to Marion, Jan. 28, 1781 above.
142. In his Feb. 9, 1781 letter to Sumter, Greene declared that the actions of the militia "may serve to convince the Enemy that while they attempt new conquests they lose their old possessions." Greene was hesitant to put much reliance on Sumter's appearance, since he was still recovering from injuries suffered at the end of the Patriots' convincing victory over Lt.-Col. Banastre Tarleton at Blackstock's Plantation on Nov. 20, 1780, "But I am persuaded [the] fatigues would be too [great] for you..." (*PNG*, 7:266).
143. Rankin claimed that this order irked Marion causing him to dismiss his brigade and refuse to serve under Sumter. (*PNG*, 7:281; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 162-63) Letters from Feb. 20 to Mar. 6, 1781, both below, which Rankin and Bass likely did not have access to between Marion and Sumter, undercut that interpretation.

Capt. John Saunders (Brit.)¹⁴⁴ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[George Town] 12th Feb 1781

[Sir]

I am authorised to offer in exchange for Sergeants Burt and Hudgins of the Queen's Rangers Dragoons and Joseph Sherwood, John Farrington and William Moore, privates in the King's American Regiment, for 2 Sergeants and 3 privates in Charleston.¹⁴⁵

[I am Sir,

Your Most Obdt humbl Servant

John Saunders, Capt.

1st A. Regimt Commandg at George Town.]

Kenneth Donovan, "John Saunders, A Loyalist Captain in South Carolina, 1780-1782," *Proceedings of The South Carolina Historical Association* 1982:105.

144. [Click here for a brief bio of John Saunders here.](#)

145. Saunders repeated the offer on Feb. 22, 1781, below, since no reply was forthcoming. Marion responded on Feb. 22, 1781, below, after receiving both letters. This exchange was the beginning of a virtual war of letters between Marion and the British chain of command of Balfour, Watson, and Saunders, about the taking of prisoners under a flag of truce, and the rules and conduct of war.

Brigade Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Camp Peedee]¹⁴⁶ Orders 16th Febr 1781

It is ordered that each regiment do raise one troop of Light horse to be Equipt with Swords & pistols & to act as kept horse to the Brigade as soon as they are compleated they are be Organized in One Corps the Command of which is Given to Col^o. Peter Horry.¹⁴⁷ He is Desired to procure caps & swords as soon as possible –

Captains of each troop are to chose the men from the regiment giving a Certificate to each men of his Entering in said troop which Shall be Sufficient Discharge from the Company he formerly belong.

Each troop is to consist of forty rank & file, three Sergt^s & three Corperols & two trumpeters, the uniform is a Short homespun coat with cuffs & cape thus M^cDonalds red, Richardson Blue, Giles yellow, Kolb green, Kershaws Black, the Colour of the Coats Blue & White lined.¹⁴⁸ After a man has Entered in S^d troop he is not to Leave it without Leave of the Commanding officer of the Brigade –

Col^o Horry will be given a warrant to Impress such horses as may be needed for Present Service,¹⁴⁹ the General hopes that Every young man will show their Zeal for their Country by Entering in S^d troops which is so necessary at this Junction.

Lt. Daniel Conyers is Appointed Captⁿ of the Light horses in Col^o M^cDonalds regim^t. He is to be Obey^d as Such –

Captⁿ John James is Appointed a Major in Col^o M^cDonalds Regim^t in Room of Maj^r Horry promotion,¹⁵⁰ he is to be respected and – Obey^d as Such –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 655-56.

146. Presumably Marion was encamped on Snow's Island.

147. The organization of the troops of light horse may have been in response to Greene's request to Sumter "to call out the Militia of S. Carolina..." See Greene to Marion, Feb. 11, 1781 above.

148. The description of the Light Horse is a rare window into the formal organization within Marion's command. It can be inferred that Marion commanded five infantry regiments, as well as the new regiment of Light Horse. The actual numbers of soldiers in each regiment at any one time are not known, and likely changed daily. Francois Benoist wrote in his pension application that he enlisted in Giles's troop of Maham's regiment of cavalry in Aug. 1781, and that he believed this formation to be "on the Continental establishment," further muddying the waters surrounding the question of which units belonged to the Militia vs. State Troops vs. Continental line. It is also possible that Benoist misremembered, or that he embellished his statement to qualify for a better (Continental) pension (Francois Benoist, Pension Statement, R773).

149. Horses were high priority resources for both sides, and impressment was the only reliable way to obtain them. When impressment from Loyalists failed to meet the needs of the Light Horse, commandeering from friendly plantations was often necessary, resulting in objections from plantation owners, and subsequent friction between Patriot officers and civilians. Though theoretically civilians were compensated for their livestock, certificates were often redeemable only at the end of the war, and only if the Americans won. In addition, by 1781, Continental currency had drastically inflated almost to the point of worthlessness. Greene's shortage of horses in the main army often caused friction between himself and Marion, but horses were in short supply for all, and the partisans in particular relied on speed to evade pursuing regular forces, so it was a necessity that Marion's force be fully mounted (though most of the brigade would dismount to fight).

150. The reference here is to Maj. Hugh Horry, Peter Horry's younger brother, and an officer upon whom Gen. Marion greatly relied, and who had just been promoted to major.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp Hallifax Court House [Va.] Feb: 16^h 1781.

Dear Sir

I have seen your letter to Gen^l Huger of the 6^h Ins^t and am surprised that Col Baker or Capt Snipes should pretend that they had my directions for crossing the Santee.¹⁵¹ I beg you will encourage the Militia and engage them to continue their exertions; if the supplies expected from the Northward arrive in season we shall be able to assist you.

The movements of the enemy were so rapid that few of the Militia joined us on our march from Pedee which reduced us to the necessity of passing the Dan or risque an action on very unequal terms. The enemy are upon the banks of the river and the people of this Country appear to be in earnest. I hope we shall soon be able to push Lord Cornwallis in turn. I wrote you from Guilford which I hope you have recieved.¹⁵²

I am D^r Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

N Greene

DfS

(MiU-C), Parks.

Receipt Certified¹⁵³ by Francis Marion

Camp Peedee river February 19th 1781

Received of M^r W^m [*unintelligible*] Cooper eighty four Bushels of Corn for the use of the troops under the command of B^rD G Marion

Certified

Fran^s Marion

W^m Swinton CP

ADS (ScU)

151. See Huger to Marion, Jan. 28, 1781, above.

152. The referenced letter from Greene on Feb. 11, 1781 is above.

153. Neither the Continental Army nor the State militias had significant hard currency. As a result, officers gave receipts for supplies requisitioned. In this case the actual Commissary, William Swinton, gave a receipt, but it was certified by Marion. After the war the receipts could be submitted to the State for repayment.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Fridays ferry, Feb^{ruy} 20th 1781.

D^r Sir,

Hurry of business oblidges me to be Laconick. I arrived at this Place Yesterday Morning about four O Clock. Shortly after, Attacked the fort,¹⁵⁴ with [which] I have been ever Since Engaged. Everything hitherto favourable & have no doubt but I shall succeed, if not interrupted by Lord Roden [Rawdon] who I know will strip his post as bear of men as Possible to Spare to obviate which, as far as may be in your power, it is my wish that you would be pleased to Move in such a Direction as to Attract his Attention & thereby prevent his Designs. Timely Assistance in this way portends much Good to this State. [I] have also to Request that every Inhabitant of this State westward of Santee be permitted to Join their Respective Regiments, or rather Immediately Repair to my Station. I desired Colo. Marshall,¹⁵⁵ with what men he could Collect to March down Eastward of Camden & will probably fall in with you in Good time. I wish & beg that you may Suppress every Species of Plundering, as the Greatest Evils to the public, as well as Individuals are Experienced thereby. You cannot be too particular. The enemy oblidge the Negroes they have to make frequent Sallies. Circumstance alone is Sufficient to Rouse & fix the Resentment and detestation of Every American who Possesses common feelings. I shall be happy to Receive an Account of the state of things to the East & Northward. If you can with propriety, advance Southwardly so as to Cooperate, or Correspond with me, it might have the best of Consequences.¹⁵⁶ I am, D^r Sir with the Greatest Regards,

Your Most Obdt, Humble Servt, Thos. Sumter¹⁵⁷ P.S.--I am extremely short of ammunition: if you are well supplied, should be much obliged to you to send some into the neighborhood of Buckingham's ferry.¹⁵⁸

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

154. The fort mentioned here was Fort Granby, located in present-day Cayce, South Carolina, across the Congaree River from Columbia. Although Sumter laid siege to the fort on Feb. 19, 1781, he was unable to force its surrender without artillery. Lord Rawdon dispatched Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle and the Volunteers of Ireland to rescue Granby. Sumter withdrew on Feb. 21, 1781, when word reached him of Doyle's approach.
155. John Marshall served as a captain, major, and lieutenant colonel in the militia in 1780 and 1781. He fought with both Sumter and Marion, and presents a perfect illustration of the confusion that ambiguity in the chain of command could cause, when he was suspended or cashiered for disobedience of orders and plundering in Jun. 1781. Marion wrote that Marshall had removed slaves from the plantation of Sylvester Dunn. After Marshall refused to return the slaves, Marion "then sent another Order to S^d. Col^o. Marshall that if he did not Deliver up All the property of S^d. Dunn, that I woud send a party of men & take him prisoner as a plunderer & treat him Accordingly he then wrought me for Answer, he was not a plunderer but, that he took those negroes by Order of Gen^l Sumter & he had them then In possession & woud not Deliver them to any Orders but Gen^l Sumter, I then sent Col^o. James Postell with a party to Arrest him for that offence & for Disobediance of Millitary Orders." (Sumter to Marion, Feb. 20, 1781, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 680; Francis Marion Deposition, Apr. 29, 1790, ADS (ScU)).
156. The tone of this letter suggests that Gen. Sumter was somewhat tentative about issuing his first orders to Gen. Marion, recognizing that Marion had been acting independently and was probably not pleased about an officer other than Gen. Greene being made his superior. The insertion of Gen. Sumter into the chain of command, by making him commander of all South Carolina militia forces, was meant to reduce coordination issues among the different partisan bands, but it also removed Marion's direct channel to Gov. Rutledge, with whom he generally had a better working relationship than with Sumter.
157. Historians have made much of Marion's moodiness during this period, and his reluctance to serve under Sumter's command. Perhaps the unavailability of Marion's letters to Sumter led them to this interpretation. However, the letters included in this collection should put this outdated misunderstanding to rest. Sumter's letter of Feb. 20, 1781 took six days to reach Marion. Communication between the two had to cross at least two rivers and travel over 140 miles through territory patrolled by the British. Much of the evidence for Marion's reluctance comes from the fact that he dispersed his troops widely rather than concentrating them to come to Sumter's aid. What this interpretation fails to consider is that until Sumter recalled his men in mid-Feb. 1781, Marion's Brigade east of the Wateree had attracted Rawdon's and Watson's full attention, as his was the only viable Patriot force in the field at the time. Marion dispersed his troops in order to make them a more difficult target. Recall of those same troops was a delicate matter, especially given the uncertainty of the disposition of Greene's army outlined above. The exchange of letters here and below will show that in fact Marion promptly responded to Sumter's correspondence, but time, distance, the enemy, and the fog of war prevented their union. Any further plan Marion had for such a junction was shelved in early March, when Lt. Col. Watson marched against him (McCrary, *History of SC*, 110; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 163; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 141-42; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 124).
158. Buckingham's ferry was located just below the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree.

***Capt. John Saunders (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion*¹⁵⁹**

George Town, Feb^y 22^d [17]81

Sir,

I wrote you sometime since¹⁶⁰ relative to the Exchange of two Serjeants of mine and three private Soldiers of the K^s. A. Reg^t. [*King's American*], but not having heard from you I am Induced to believe that it hath never come to your hands__ I have therefore inclosed a Copy of that Letter__ Being informed that several wounded Prisoners taken by you at Monks Corner are destitute of the proper medicines and necessaries which I am told are not in your power to obtain for them.¹⁶¹ Humanity therefore causes me to request that you would permit them to be sent in here or to any other [of] his Majestys posts to remain till they may be sufficiently recover'd__ I am,

Sir,

Your mst. Ob^t H. Servant

[John Saunders]

ALS, University of New Brunswick, John Saunders Papers.

159. This letter was delivered by an unknown British soldier whom Saunders instructed as follows: "You will imm^y. proceed taking with John P. H. to the first post of the en^y & then deliver to the comm^g. Off^r. present the enclosed letter should [indecipherable] not be there you will request other [indecipherable] off^r. to [indecipherable] the Letter as quickly as possible." The instructions were attached to the letter above in the Saunders Papers. Apparently, the letter was delivered to Lt. Col. Peter Horry, who notified Saunders the same day that the letter would be forwarded to Marion (ALS, University of New Brunswick).

160. Saunders here referred to his letter to Marion of Feb. 12, 1781 above.

161. Marion reported to Greene in his letter of Jan. 31, 1781 above, that three British soldiers were wounded during Capt. Postell's assault on the British supply depot near Moncks Corner on Jan. 29, 1781. The nature of Marion's guerilla activities and his ongoing lack of surgeons prompted Saunders to request the temporary return of the wounded prisoners to Georgetown for care.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Saunders

[Huges Plantation]¹⁶² 22 Feb^y 1781

Sir,

Yours of this days date I received, also that of the 12th. Inst. he two Serjeants of the Queens Rangers are by this in Virginia__¹⁶³

There is several Prisoners taken at Monks Corner in my possession which I will Exchange for John Tomplat, Henry Griggs and Willson Godfrey & M^r John Postel[l].¹⁶⁴ This last I am induced to exchange on account of his age, and hope Humanity will Induce you to treat him like a Gentleman.¹⁶⁵ The Prisoners will be sent you any day you mention when you will send the others at the same time.

I am Sir

Your Hb^{le}. Serv^t.

Fran^s. Marion

Brigad^r. Gen^l. Militia

ALS, University of New Brunswick, John Saunders Papers.

162. Location inferred. The heading for *Marion's Orderly Book* of this date is "Huges Plantⁿ Febr^y 22nd 1781." Hughes's plantation was located near present day Oatland, in Georgetown County, S.C. (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 659n1381).

163. Saunders indicated the two sergeants were "of mine," while the three privates were in the King's American Regiment. Marion indicated the two sergeants were from the Queen's Rangers, which matches the earlier correspondence. Marion had no secure structures in which to hold prisoners. As a matter of course, prisoner convoys were dispatched to Virginia prisons shortly after capture.

164. Marion held over 30 prisoners taken at Moncks Corner. It is ambiguous from his wording whether he intended to exchange all of these prisoners for the four named Patriots or whether he was offering to trade 1 to 1 from among them, which would have been more typical.

165. "Mr. John Postell" refers to the 71-year-old father of Maj. James Postell and Capt. John Postell (Jr.), two of Marion's Brigade, who had made successful raids on British supply depots south of the Santee River at the end of January. The British under Capt. James De Peyster had plundered John Postell Sr.'s plantation to the point that he wrote "my family are reduced to beg their bread." (see letter fragment of Jan. 14, 1781 above). When the elder Postell had been imprisoned and why is not clear. Since he had been paroled after the fall of Charlestown, his imprisonment probably had to do with breaking his parole.

Capt. John Saunders (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town Feb 23^d 1781

Sir, I am willing to Exchange the prisoners you mention but as Capt. DePeyster his party have fallen into your hands,¹⁶⁶ I wish to Enclude that party in Exchange. Whatever the defficiency of Prisoners may be at this post, I am Authorised to say that it will be Immediately made up from the prisoners in Charlestown.¹⁶⁷ Should you Incline to prosecute the Exchange.I am Sir,

Your Obt. & Very humbl.
Servt.

John Saunders,
Capt. 1st A. Regt.
Commandg at George Town.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

166. Capt. James DePeyster had been detached by Col. George Campbell, along with 29 grenadiers from the King's American Regiment, to counter the guerilla operations of Marion's brigade, specifically the troop commanded by Capt. John Postell (Jr.). Postell captured the British at his father's plantation near Hasty Point on the Pee Dee River. After arriving at the plantation with only 14 men, Postell demanded De Peyster's surrender. After the British captain refused, the Patriots set the detached kitchen on fire to demonstrate the seriousness of their threat. De Peyster quickly surrendered when the Patriots took the next step in preparation for burning them out by piling straw around the house in which the British waited (Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 131-32).

167. At the fall of Charlestown, on May 12, 1780, 3,371 Patriots surrendered. The roughly 800 militia were paroled and allowed to return to their homes with the proviso they would not bear arms against the British. The Continentals, who constituted the remainder, became prisoners. Many were transferred to prison ships. Others were imprisoned on the various sea islands off the coast of South Carolina. Still others were sent to English prisons or volunteered for the British army to fight in the Caribbean in exchange for their freedom. The number remaining at Charlestown at this time is not known.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Saunders

[?]¹⁶⁸ 24th Feb^y 1781

Sir

I rec^d Yours 23^d Inst. and will send all the prisoners in my possession to you, but those taken with Captⁿ Depeyster I am assured is too far to recall. If not I will Exchange them for the men of the Second Regiment, taken in Charlestown.¹⁶⁹

Those prisoners mentoned in my last I hope will be sent, to me and as many will be sent in Exchange as soon as possible they can be brought.

I am S^r. Your Ob^t. Serv^t

Fran^s Marion
Brig. Gen. Malitia

ADS, University of New Brunswick, John Saunders Papers.

168. No location was given. Based on his orderly book, Marion would have been somewhere between the head of the Sampit River (Georgetown Creek) and Green's Plantation on the Pee Dee River near Port Hill Ferry. (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 661-62) Port Hill was due east of present-day Oatland.

169. Apparently, the prisoners taken by Postell, as mentioned in Saunders's letter to Marion of Feb. 23, 1781, above, had already begun the march north to a Patriot prison, probably in Virginia. By the wording here it seems that Marion was prepared to make an attempt to reach the prisoner convoy and have the desired prisoners turn around. Regardless, the then-prisoners under Patriot guard would be exchanged for Patriot prisoners held by Saunders. If the prisoner convoy could be turned around, Marion proposed exchanging them for members of his own 2nd South Carolina Continental Regiment, who had surrendered at the fall of Charlestown on May 12, 1780. The preference for his own unit likely had no meaning beyond his own personal loyalty to his former comrades, but it could be that Marion believed their previous association might make these men more likely to join his brigade.

Capt. John Saunders (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George town February 25 1781

Sir, I am willing to send you as many of the Second Regimt as you have prisoners of mine in your hands, but I cannot think of making a partial exchange Except in the Instance of Captain De Peyster who has my Authority to Offer you Captain Clark or any other person I have here in Exchange for himself.¹⁷⁰ If you are as Anxious to relieve your Prisoners as I am mine, the Exchange will Immediately take of which I have no doubt. I am Sir

Your Obdt. humbl. Servt. John Saunders, Capt. Commandg G. Town. N.B. Capt. Campbell, a volunteer, has fallen into your hands, I am willing, as he does not belong to this post, to give you Griggs for him.¹⁷¹

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

170. The meaning here about the partial exchange is unclear. It might mean that Saunders was not willing to make any exchange unless it included Capt. James DePeyster. He was explicitly willing to exchange Capt. John Clarke, who had been captured and paroled on Waccamaw Neck on Jan. 13, 1781 and then re-captured in mid-February, for DePeyster. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 14, 1781 above (John Graves Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal* (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844), 243).

171. Further information about Capt. Campbell is not known. Henry Griggs was the prisoner requested for exchange in Marion's letter of Feb. 22, 1781, above, to Saunders. Marion asked for four Patriots in exchange for the prisoners captured in Capt. John Postell's raid on the British supply train at Keithfield Plantation near Moncks Corner on Jan. 31, 1781. Postell had captured over 30 British soldiers during the attack.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Saunders

Black River 26 Feb^y. 1781

Sir, I received yours [of] the 25th Instant & will Exchange four men which were Taken near Monks Corner, for the four Prisoners mentioned in my Letter, of the 22^d inst.¹⁷² & have sent for those men; when that Exchange takes place, I will Let you know my intentions respecting a further Exchange. Any other Mr. Griggs but the one I mention, I do not know anything of. I am

Your humbl Servt

F. Marion,
B.G.M.N.B.

--The men taken with Capt. De Peyster is so far off, It is not in my Power to Convey the Cloathing for them.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

172. In his letter of Feb. 22, 1781 to Saunders, Marion seemed to imply that he would exchange all the prisoners he currently held for the four Patriots. This was probably just due to inartful wording on his part, but Saunders seemed to have interpreted the offer that way as well. Here, Marion corrected the misunderstanding by definitively proposing a one-for-one exchange. Saunders's expressed desire for the exchange of DePeyster and Clarke was not acknowledged.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

[Black River]¹⁷³ 26 Feb^y. 1781 – AM--

D^r Sir

Since I wrought You this morning I find by the Bearer, that you Desire I should make a Junction with you, On the S^o. Santee—but Col^o. Watson force¹⁷⁴ is now on the high hills of Santee at Col^o. Richardsons¹⁷⁵ & have possession of that part of the country, & is too strong for me to remove— I shall however go as near him as possible & Indeavour to cut off any foraging partys & be in the way of hearing further from You— The Bearer tells me you have failed in your Attack on the Post [unintelligible] & that you have come down [to] Col^l. Thompsons¹⁷⁶

I had forget to acquaint you that [150] men Left Geo^r. town last fryday Crossed over Santee & I suppose it may be intended to reinforce Nelsons ferry or Col^l. Thompsons¹⁷⁷

I wish to hear from you and I shall be the 29th at Scape hore on the head of Black river¹⁷⁸

Col. Harden say there is but one post of the S^o Ward & that is at Pocotalago of 50 men¹⁷⁹

I am with esteem D^r. S^r. Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (Courtesy of George J. Turak, Nottingham, PA)

173. Location inferred. The letter of this date addressed to Saunders, above, was headed “Black River.” Marion indicated that this was the second letter he wrote to Sumter that morning, but the first one has not been found.

174. Marion was here responding to Sumter’s request that he “Move in such a Direction as to Attract his [Rawdon’s] Attention & thereby prevent his Designs.” (Sumter to Marion, Feb. 20, above). Sumter wanted Marion to march toward Granby in the hopes that Rawdon would reverse his relief march to Granby. The delay in receiving the message made it impossible for that response to help Sumter. Marion’s desire to support Sumter was tempered by Lt.-Col. John Watson’s position at the High Hills. Balfour kept Gen. Clinton informed of the activity at Granby, reporting that Lord Rawdon dispatched Lt.-Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle and 700-800 men to relieve Maj. Andrew Maxwell and the force of 200-300 militia and soldiers of the Prince of Wales Regiment garrisoning Granby (Balfour to Clinton, Feb. 24, 1781, *Balfour Letterbook*, DSoC).

175. Col. Richard Richardson, who had died of natural causes in 1780, owned a plantation in the High Hills of Santee near Fort Watson. From that position, Watson could threaten Marion’s efforts to unite with Sumter.

176. After three days Sumter abandoned his siege at Fort Granby on Feb. 21, 1781 and marched to Belleville, the plantation of Col. William Thomson, where he was again repulsed.

177. No other evidence of the activity of the 150 enemy soldiers has been found.

178. The year 1781 was not a leap year. Therefore, Marion presumably meant Mar. 1. He reached Scape Hore Swamp, a tributary of the Black River, on the afternoon or evening of Mar. 1, 1781 exactly where he said he would be. Sumter had crossed over the Santee and, after failing to take Ft. Watson, encamped at Farr’s Plantation, before moving on to his own plantation at Great Savannah. Sumter started toward Scape Hore Swamp on the evening of Mar. 2. Ironically, probably in the early morning hours of Mar. 3, Sumter’s band passed very close to where Marion and his brigade were bivouacked at Hungary Hall in the High Hills of the Santee. As noted in his reply of Feb. 28, 1781 below, Sumter intended to make a junction with Marion (Bass, *Gamecock*, 132-133; *BCADM*, 662-63).

179. Col. William Harden, commander of the militia south of Charlestown, was at Marion’s camp conferring on strategy.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Farris Feb^y. 28th, 1781

D^r Sir,

I have received your favour of the 26 & Instant¹⁸⁰ am Extremely Glad to hear you are so far Advanced this way. I passed the River last night at M^{rs}. Flud's.¹⁸¹ have been at Col^o. Watson's station.¹⁸² & find that he has Collected his whole force to that place. I think Advisable that we should form a Junction, or at Least approach so near each other as to Co operate upon the shortest Notice, Nothing can at this time be more Essentially Necessary to the Interest of this Country, than to form a well regulated Army in the Interior parts of this State, while the Enemy's principal force is so far removed. I hope it will not Interfere with any plan that you might have Laid to come this way. From the Idea I have of the state of things in this quarter, think it Expedient for you to proceed to this place. I shall wait impatiently for the happiness of an Interview with you.

I have, D^r Sir, the Honour to be
Your most Obdt humbl. Servt

Thos. Sumter

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

180. After engaging the garrison at Fort Watson, Sumter retreated to nearby Farr's Plantation. Marion's letter of Feb. 26 has not been found.

181. After leaving Belleville, Sumter found himself on the south side of the flooded Santee River. He and his men used a pair of dugout canoes to ferry approximately 280 men across the river. That action took most of Feb. 26 and 27 to accomplish.

182. Col. Watson's "station" referred to the fortifications erected by Watson on top of an old Indian mound and named "Fort Watson." Sumter approached Fort Watson without a proper reconnaissance, not knowing Watson had returned to the post with his entire command. The result was Sumter's repulse with 18 killed, 38 wounded, and the loss of about 40 horses (McCrary, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution*, 109; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 4:48).

General Order by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Salem, 1st March 1781

Where as a Number of men go about the Country plundering the Inhabitants under pretence that they are my men,¹⁸³ This is to inform the Publick that I will publish the names of all Such men who I know have Plundered Either on the north or South of Santee, after which it will be lawfull for any man to put them to Death where they are Not without being able to called to account for it – for Such Detestable practices, I have ever forbid & prevented as much as in my Power,¹⁸⁴ and that I never sent any Party without a Proper Officer and Orders in wrighting –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 662-63.

183. In his letter of Feb. 20, 1781 above, Sumter had asked Marion to do everything he could to halt the plundering that continued to be carried out by both Loyalists and Patriots alike.

184. Marion's proclamation, investing powers to punish in "any man," far exceeded his authority as brigadier general.

Sumter and Marion

Sumter's request that Marion move closer to him did not result in a meeting. Marion's orderly book shows that he was at Green's Plantation near Indiantown (in current Williamsburg County, S.C.) on Feb. 26, 1781, at which place he likely received and responded to Sumter's letter of Feb. 20, 1781. Marion said in his response that he would be at the headwaters of Black River at Scape Hore Swamp by Mar. 1, 1781 (technically his letter stated Feb. 29, but 1781 was not a leap year). Marion's orderly book showed him at Salem (Black River Presbyterian Church) on Feb. 28, and Mar. 1, 1781—in the area where he told Sumter he would be.

Sumter's letter of Feb. 28 to Marion must have been received there. Marion marched toward Sumter on Mar. 1 or 2, moving southward and bivouacking at Hungary Hall on Mar. 2, and likely sending another letter to Sumter from there. Sumter wrote in his letter of Mar. 4, below, that he received letters from Marion dated Feb. 26 and Mar. 2 (neither of which is extant).

By the time Marion received the letter of Feb. 28, Sumter, feeling threatened by Rawdon and Watson, had already marched north towards the High Hills of Santee. The route Sumter took is unknown—there were two main roads through the High Hills. Sumter presumably took the one Marion did not because they missed each other. Based on his Mar. 4 letter below, Sumter may have taken the route through Kingstree presuming that was the route Marion would take. Either way, Sumter likely started toward Scape Hore Swamp on Mar. 2, 1781.

Sumter went to Cane Savannah to retrieve his wife and son, then marched another 40 miles to Bradley's Plantation on Black River (Bass, *Gamecock*, 132-133; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 123-125; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 662-63).

It is not known when Marion next corresponded with Sumter, although it is clear that Sumter was not pleased with Marion, as evidenced by the tone of his letter of Mar. 28, below, and another letter to Greene in which he stated that he "received no assistance from Genl. Marion" (Sumter to Greene, Mar. 9, 1781, *PNG*, 7:417-18).

Marion's biographers have generally alleged that Marion was also not enthusiastic about being under Sumter's command and was uncooperative, to the point of deliberate disobedience (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 162-64; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 142-43; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 124-25).

The editors believe the correspondence presented here undercuts that interpretation. Though Marion may have been moody, there is no indication that he let that impact his actions as a professional officer. During the Rounds Campaign, Marion acted as soon as he received Sumter's first letter, and promptly responded to subsequent letters.

Delays were caused by the time it took messages to reach Marion, and the same in responses back to Sumter. It took Sumter's letter of Feb. 20 six days to get to Marion (Robert Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution* [Columbia, SC: Banner Steam-Powered Press, 1953], 2:23-24). He recalled his militia, whom he had dispersed when threatened by Rawdon and Watson.

In short, Marion was *exactly where he said he would be* and marched over 100 miles in an effort to comply with Sumter's requests. The enemy also played a role in miscommunications, as Lord Rawdon stated in his Mar. 7, 1781 letter to Lord Cornwallis, "Our movement ... prevented Marion from attempting to interfere..." (Rawdon to Cornwallis, Mar. 7, 1781, PRO 30/11/69[7] *Cornwallis Papers*, 4:48).

Marion appears to have made every reasonable effort to comply with Sumter, but circumstances and fog of war prevented their junction.

Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Chs. Town March 2^d, 1781

Sir, Repeated Informations, reaching me of the very Ill treatment which such of the King's Militia, whose misfortune it is to be Captured by you, are daily Receiving, Especially those taken at Black Mingo.¹⁸⁵ I am Compelled, however abhorrent to my feelings, by the Calls which those people have on me for protection, & the Justice due to such who attach themselves to his Majesties service, not only to declare to you my intentions, but actually to put in force a Retaliation of all severities imposed by any of your people on such prisoners of War; and for this purpose I have directed the militia to be seperated from the Continental prisoners, that they may Experience those Hardships and Ill usages in their full degree, which too many of ours Labour under. At the same time be Asured Sir I shall with more pleasure mitigate the Sufferings of their Captivity whenever I have a Sanction from your Conduct so to do, Since only the wish to remove from War any unnecessary Calamities, & to Afford his Majesties Subjects that Relief in their distress, which it is my duty to Attempt, could Induce a measure so Contrary to my feelings and the wish I have to soften rather than Aggravate the Misfortunes of the Prisoners.

I am sir
Your most Obdt. Servt.

N. Balfour.

ACy (Force Transcripts: DLC); Abstract

185. Throughout the war, accusations concerning abuse of prisoners by both sides flew back and forth. British Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour specifically referred to the Loyalist prisoners taken at the Battle of Black Mingo Creek around midnight on Sep. 28, 1780. Marion would voice his own complaint about the treatment of prisoners in a letter to British Capt. John Saunders, on Mar. 7, 1781 below, and in a letter to Lt. Col. John Watson also on Mar. 7, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Benhaws [Benbow's],¹⁸⁶ March 3, 1781

Informing Greene of the situation at the Cheraws and was obliged to send Col Kolb to defend that place from the Tories, and that his militia were leaving to go home to plant, he thinks it not probable that Tarleton will advance in the state without Cornwallis and that he will go to Charlestown by Water. "I shall cross the Pedee at Wrights Bluff."¹⁸⁷

Abstract of ALS (Grolier Club), *Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*, Samuel T. Freeman & Co., Philadelphia: Jun. 23, 1911, Catalogue 1036.

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186. The location is presumably Benbow's, which likely referred to a plantation between the High Hills of the Santee and Nelson's Ferry, since the location would have to have been between Marion's stop on Mar. 2, 1781 in the High Hills and his encampment on Mar. 3 at John Cantey's, on the north side of the Santee (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 663). However, no clear interpretation of this letter is consistent with the geography of the area. Something must be in error. Marion apparently was at Benhaw's [Benbow's] during the day, before camping at John Cantey's plantation on the north side of the Santee, between Nelson's and Murray's ferries, that night. Benbow's could have referred to one of two different locations, the first of which was a ferry on the Black River north of Kingstree, a cross-country distance of over 30 miles. From Benbow's Ferry it was more than 25 miles to Cantey's Plantation. All told, Marion's men would have ridden nearly 60 miles (over half of which was in country without roads) to get to Cantey's from Benbow's Ferry. The other possible location was south from the High Hills. This Benbow's--a plantation that did exist near present-day Paxville--would have taken the brigade to the Santee River Road and on to Cantey's plantation, a distance of nearly 50 miles, but over existing roads. A problem with this second route was that it would take the Patriots within five miles of Fort Watson and even closer to the north end of Nelson's Ferry.
187. Another issue with this letter was that Marion indicated he was crossing Wright's Bluff. It is possible this letter was a mis-direction as Wright's Bluff is on the Santee, not the Pee Dee River. Marion may have simply been meaning to write Santee, but wrote Pee Dee by mistake. It is also possible that the mistake was made by the author of the abstract, since the original letter has not been found.

***Lt. Col. John Ervin to the Commanding Officer in George Town [Capt. John Saunders]*¹⁸⁸**

PeeDee¹⁸⁹ 3^d March 1781

Sir/

By Capt. John Postell (Accompanied by Lt. Futhey) I send a flag [of truce] desiring to Exchange for John Tomplat, Wilson Godfrey and Henry Griggs of Gen^l Marions Brigade who I am informed are Prisoners in Geo. Town, for which I will give in Exchange Archibald Watt of the 63^d, George Reid and John Drummin of the Seventy-First British Reg^{ts} ¹⁹⁰

I am S^r. Y^r. Most Obd^t. [S^t.]

John Ervin¹⁹¹ Lt. Col.
G. Marions Brigade

ALS (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection.

188. The letter is addressed "The Commanding Officer in Geo. Town By Capt. Postell with a flag." It was enclosed in the letter of Mar. 7, 1781 below, from Marion to Saunders, in which Marion protested the arrest of Postell and the retention of his flag. It is presumed that the letter is a copy made contemporaneously with the original.

189. Presumably, Marion's encampment on Snow's Island.

190. Marion believed he had arranged an exchange of prisoners with Capt. John Saunders, Commandant of Georgetown. See correspondence beginning Feb. 22, 1781 above. This is the letter written by Marion's commander at Snow's Island, from whence the exchange party originated. In Marion's Feb. 26, 1781 letter, above, he stated that he would first exchange four men captured at Moncks Corner, before any further exchange. It may be that Marion had not received the Saunders letter written the day before, in which the latter wrote that he would not accept a partial exchange. Saunders not only did not exchange the prisoners, but he also arrested Capt. Postell, despite his being under a flag of truce. Postell had been paroled to his plantation after the fall of Charlestown. See correspondence beginning with Mar. 7, 1781 below, further describing the dispute that arose upon Postell's retention. Saunders responded to Ervin on Mar. 6, 1781 stating that he had not agreed to any partial exchange of prisoners and that he was justified in arresting Postell because he had broken his parole (Saunders to Ervin, Mar. 6, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)).

191. It is unclear why this letter was sent by John Ervin, since his uncle, Lt. Col. Hugh Ervin, was the commander at Snow's Island, where the prisoners were held. It is conceivable that John Ervin was manning the redoubt at Dunham's Bluff across the Pee Dee River from Snow's Island, but there is no definitive evidence of this.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp M^r. Bradleys 4 March 1781

D^r Sir,

Yours of 2^d instant has this moment come to hand. I am very Sorry to be so far out of the way of Meeting with you at a time when there is the Greatest Occasion for it.¹⁹² I made no Doubt but your rout to me would be by the way of Kings tree or the ferry, & after Receiving yours of the 28th Ultimo,¹⁹³ Informing me what the Number of your men were, [I] found you to be very weak & the Enemy near at hand in force, Determined me to move on to meet with you, to Concert measures for our further operations which is still absolutely necessary. I shall therefore remain at or near this place for that purpose & beg that you may come this way with all posible speed; if Convenient with all your men to facillitate an Interview, please to come with a few. My horses are so worn out that I can scarce move at All, and Officers & men quite discouraged finding no force in these parts, not even men Enough to Join to Guide me through the Country. But Notwithstanding Little may be done now, Yet much Good might be Expected to Result hereafter from a personal Consultation, which I hope to have the favour of by to-morrow Night. You will readily agree with me that the worst of Consequences are to be apprehended from my having to return without Seeing you & fixing upon a proper mode for our proceedings in future, & as you are unacquainted with my Inability to go to you, hope you will Undertake to do the needful in that case.¹⁹⁴ The Accounts you Give Respecting L^d. Cornwallis are very pleasing, God Grant a Speedy Confirmation. If you return upon the same side of the River that you now are, perhaps you may Collect men about the hills & take some of the Tories about Black River, which I am informed are Venturing out. Near this place I mean to remain untill I hear from you again.

I am D^r. Sir with Great Esteem
Your Most Obdt humbl Servt

Thos. Sumter

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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192. On Mar. 2, 1781, Gen. Marion was at Hungary Hall in the High Hills of the Santee, through which Gen. Sumter may have passed on his way to his Mar. 4, 1781 encampment, though this letter suggests that Sumter may have taken the eastern route he described. Although Sumter lamented the distance between the two brigades, on Mar. 2, 1781, they very well could have actually passed each other on different roads. But by the date of this letter, and based on his orderly book, Marion was either on his way to Cordes Plantation on the south side of the Santee River, or about to cross the river at Murray's Ferry on his way to Cordes.
193. Neither the letter of Mar. 2, 1781 nor that of Feb. 28, has been found.
194. Marion's troop strength as communicated to Sumter is not known. Sumter's phrasing seems again to have been a diplomatic effort at coaxing Marion's cooperation, though the above letters show that Marion was making the best effort he could under the circumstances to comply with Sumter's orders. Without Marion's letters, historians and biographers have inferred that Marion deliberately refused to cooperate. These letters refute that interpretation. It proved impossible for Marion to make a junction with Sumter at this time. He received a final summons in the early morning hours of Mar. 6-7, 1781. Marion again crossed Murray's Ferry on Mar. 7, 1781 likely enroute again to meet Sumter. But he quickly changed direction upon learning that Lt. Col. Watson's detachment had been set in motion by Rawdon to engage him, likely with the intent of driving him back to Snow's Island, where Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle might catch him between two forces. Rawdon had in fact begun in earnest to try to trap the Swamp Fox.

Lt. Col. Lord Rawdon to Lieut. Col. Watson [Intercepted Letter]

Camden, March 7, 1781

Sir:

I arrived here about noon on the 5th, and on the same evening detached Major Frazer with South Carolina Regiment to Radcliff's Bridge. The cavalry were to have accompanied him, but just as they were to March, the report of a body of the enemy being within a few miles of us, occasioned my detaching them another way; ordering them, however, to join Major Frazer after they had fulfilled their first object. Frazer, yesterday in with Sumter (who was advancing this way) between Scape Hoar and Radcliff's Bridge. A smart action ensued, in which the enemy were completely routed, leaving ten dead on the field and about forty wounded. Unfortunately none of our Dragoons had joined Frazer, so that he could not pursue his victory. Sumter fled across Lynch's Creek and continued his retreat northward; he has his family with him, so that I think he has entirely abandoned the lower country. By the accounts of the prisoners, Marion has but a very trifling force, and is not likely to increase it. If your intelligence corresponds with this.

33, 16, 41—17, 5, 64, 22, 57, 19, 18, 3—65, 24, 3, 14, 16, 25, 14—51 23, 5—25, 14, 11, 8, 15, 16, 11, 53, 11, 18, 74, 11, 26, 25—1, 14, 26, 23, 4, 18, 23, 4, 14, 1—57, 16, 25, 51—29, 22, 18, 12, 2, 57, 16, 25, 51, 24, 5, 26, 18, 7, 3, 14—and 25, 2, 16, 3, 25—74, 2, 16, 53, 17—1, 14, 23, 22, 1, 11—51, 235—2, 5, 11, 21, 25, 12, 5, 1, 11, 14, 1, 54.¹⁹⁵

I have the honor to be, sir
Your most obedient

R. [Lt. Col. Lord Rawdon]

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:31-32; Email from Ian Saberton to Charles B. Baxley, Feb. 14, 2019.

195. The enciphered words read: "You'll please to send Fanning's Regt here and Small's may return to Monk's Corner." Fanning's Regiment was the King's American Regiment and Small was Maj. John Small, commandant of the 2nd Battalion, 84th Reg. of Foot (Royal Highland Immigrants). Explanation by Ian Saberton in email to Charles Baxley follows:

"The cipher is what we in the trade call 'The Camden Cipher.' It was for use by the commanding officers at Camden, firstly by George Turnbull and then by Lord Rawdon. To set the cipher, an enciphering device had two concentric rings, the outer of which consisted of the letters of the alphabet in a permanently fixed order, and the inner a series of numbers, again in a permanently fixed order. To form the cipher the numbers in the inner ring were aligned with the letters in the outer, and the key to the cipher was the number aligned with the letter "A", which always appeared first in an enciphered document. It was therefore a simple matter for the recipient to make the same alignment, and so decipher the document. Numbers not part of the cipher were inserted to confuse an unauthorized recipient, in this case any number from and including "30" onwards, which had no meaning. Occasionally, but not here, other numbers were added to those that were part of the cipher. For example, if "O" were "1" it might sometimes be enciphered as "51". As to the use of the cipher here, the key is the number "16" in the opening series "33, 16, 41", with "16" being aligned here to the letter "A". As I have previously explained, "33" and "41" have no meaning."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	12	13	14
R	M	L	H	O	V	B	D	X	N	C	Z	E
15	16	17	18	19	21	22	23	24	25	26	29	
F	A	Y	I/J	W	K	U	T	P	S	G	Q	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Saunders (British)

[Cordes Plantation]¹⁹⁶ 7th March 1781

Sir By my Orders L^t Col. [John] Ervin sent Captⁿ John Postell with a flagg [of truce] to Exchange the men You agreed to, and [I] am greatly Surprised, to find You not only refused to make the Exchange but have Violated my flagg by taking Captⁿ. Postell Prisoner contrary to the Laws of Nations ¹⁹⁷

I shall Immediately Acquaint the commandant of Ch^s. town,¹⁹⁸ & if Satisfaction is not given I will take it in every Instants [Instance] that may fall in my power.

I have ever used all the officers and men taken by me with humanity but your conduct in closely confining Captⁿ. Clark¹⁹⁹ in a place where he cannot stand up nor have his Length [stretch out], & not Giving him half rations, will Oblige me to retalliate on the Officers & men which is or may fall in my hands which nothing will prevent but Your releasing Captⁿ. Postell immediately; and using my Officers as Gentlⁿ & Your prisoners as Customary in all Civilized nations__

I am S^r. Y^r Ob S^t

Fr^s Marion

Brigad^r. Gen^l. Militias

Am: Serv:ALS (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection.

196. Marion crossed the Santee at Murray's Ferry on Mar. 4, 1781. The choice of Murray's was presumably made as a result of intelligence reaching Marion that British Lt. Col. John Watson was already in the High Hills. See Marion to Sumter, Feb. 26, 1781, above. Marion may have felt that the British could come up against his brigade as they were crossing the Santee. With Watson encamped below Nelson's Ferry on Mar. 5, he likely missed catching up to Marion by just one day (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 664; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 165; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 127).
197. Capt. John Postell (Jr.), had been paroled at the surrender of Charlestown, before joining Marion's Brigade. His actions in attacking the supply depot at Moncks Corner and capturing Loyalist Capt. James De Peyster of the King's American Regiment, likely contributed to Saunders's decision to arrest him and refuse to exchange the prisoners as outlined in John Ervin's March letter to the "Commanding Officer in Geo. Town," of Mar. 3, above. Whether or not Marion knew that Postell was being held as a parole violator is not clear, but his anger at Saunders's actions is. It is also unclear whether Marion's appeal to the "Laws of Nations" refers to a general conception of the norms of European warfare of the age, or to the specific treatise *Law of Nations*, by Emerich de Vattel, published in 1758, which codified the rules of war, and which was widely read among officers on both sides. On the question of flags of truce, Vattel's voluminous work opined that "...by displaying a white flag, a parley is demanded, as expressly as it could be done by the use of speech. Security is tacitly promised to the enemy who advances upon this invitation." However, exceptions to the flag's protection did exist, including that "A safe-conduct granted to a person for *himself and his retinue*, cannot give him a right of bringing with him persons...[who] have fled on account of any crime..." Therefore, Saunders's incarceration of Capt. Postell appears not to have violated the *Law of Nations* since, in the British view, Postell had committed a crime by breaking his parole (de Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 2:235, 3:417). On the specific question of parole, Vattel wrote "Concerning prisoners of war, a distinction is to be made. If they were entirely free on their parole, the single circumstance of their coming again into the power of their own nation does not release them—since, even if they had returned home, they still would have continued as prisoners. The consent of the enemy who had captured them, or his total subjugation, can alone discharge them." (de Vattel, *Law of Nations* (Philadelphia: P. & J.W. Johnson & Co., 1856), 3:394). The issue of Postell's parole was again raised in Watson's letter to Marion of Mar. 9, 1781, below. In a Sep. 15 letter to Marion, also below, South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge seemed to agree with Saunders's interpretation of the *Law of Nations*. On Oct. 5, 1781 below, he wrote Marion, "that no man that is within the district of any Regiment out of Charles Town shall be Excused from militia Duty under a pretence that he is on parole...unless the former has been fairley taken in Arms & paroled as an officer..." Rutledge gave no opinion about Continental officers on parole, but it is hard to imagine why their circumstance should be any different.
198. Marion forwarded his protest directly to Charlestown Commandant Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour through Lt. Col. Watson, an insult to Capt. John Saunders.
199. Marion continued on the offensive, chiding Saunders for his treatment of Capt. John Clark. Ironically, in his letter to Marion of Mar. 2, 1781, above, Balfour had similarly criticized Marion for his treatment of British prisoners and threatened retaliation against Patriot militia prisoners. The conclusion of Capt. Clark's story is not known with certainty, but he may be the Clark referred to in William Abbott's pension application:

"In the month of May I returned home, having been out from February say four months soon after that this Captain Clark died the Company was for a short time without a Captain, and some confusion ensued, in fact the County in that section being overrun with British soldiers & Tories I was told if I did not join them I would be hanged at my own door, this I refused to do and went off to General Marion's [Francis Marion's] Army and attached myself to Captain Armstrong's [John Armstrong's] Company for a few days until Richard Singleton was appointed Captain of the company formally commanded by Captain Clark, the Lieutenant was by the name of Kields." (William Abbott, pension statement S30239)

If this Clark is indeed Capt. John Clark (and the timeline does seem to suggest that this is at least plausible), it is possible that Clark was recaptured and executed as a parole violator. However, if this is the case, neither Marion nor any of his British counterparts in the epistolary war ever mentioned it. It is also possible that Abbott was mistaken about his death, or that he was referring to a different Capt. Clark.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Watson (British)

[Cordes Plantation] Santee March 7th 1781

Sir, Inclosed is a Letter which I wish may be forwarded as soon as possible.²⁰⁰ I make no doubt but you will be surprised to see a flagg sent at the head of an Armed party.²⁰¹ The reason of it is that Capt. Saunders Commandant of George Town has Violated the Laws of Nations by detaining, taking, & imprisoning Capt. Postell, who carried Prisoners to Exchange, which was Agreed to by him. The hanging of men taken prisoners, & the violation of my flagg will be retaliated. If a stop is not put to such proceedings, which is disgraceful to all Civilized Nations. All your Officers & men which have fallen in my hands have been treated with Humanity & Tenderness; & [I] wish sincerely, that I may not be obliged to Act Contrary to my Inclinations, but such treatment as my unhappy followers whom the Chances of War have thrown in my Enemies' hands meet with such; such must those experience who fall in my hands.²⁰²

I have the honour to be
Yr. Obdt. Servt.

Frs. Marion,
B.G. Militia

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Enclosed in the March 7 letter to Lt. Col. Watson

200. By sending a letter of protest to Lt. Col. John Watson, and enclosing a formal protest to Charlestown Commandant Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, Marion escalated the war of words.

201. Normally a flag of truce from an enemy officer was sent without armed escort as a demonstration of peaceful intentions. In this case, Marion made his point regarding his feeling that the British had not respected his flag when incarcerating Postell and not releasing the prisoners. The flag's accompaniment by an armed escort clearly conveyed Marion's contention that the American flag had been violated and that it would be protected in the future. Explaining his rationale in writing for using an armed escort left no room for misunderstanding Marion's position on what he saw as the violation of his flag. Saunders, on the other hand, viewed Postell's parole violation as justification for seizing and holding him despite the flag.

202. The war of words (Epistolary War) over retaliation for ill treatment of prisoners continued. The statement that Marion's militia had never ill-treated British prisoners was obvious hyperbole, as was the similar contention on the part of the British.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour (British)

[Enclosed in the March 7 letter to Lt. Col. Watson (above)]

[Cordes Plantation] Santee,²⁰³ March 7th. 1781

Sir, I sent Captⁿ John Postell with a flag to Exchange some prisoners which Captⁿ Saunders Commandant of George town had agreed to, but Contrary to the Laws of Nations he Seized Captⁿ. Postell & Detained him as a prisoner; as I cannot Emagine his conduct will be Approved of, by you, I hope you will give orders to have my flag Discharged, or I must Immediately Acquaint Congress of this Violation, the Ill consequences of which is now in your power to prevent__²⁰⁴

I am sorry to complain of the Ill treatment my Officers & men meet with from Captⁿ. Saunders, the Officers are closely confined in a Small place where they cannot Either Stand up or Lay at Length, nor have they half rations__ I have treated your officers & men in a Different Manner which fall in my hands, should these evils be not prevented in future It Will not be in my power to prevent retaliation taking place.

Lord Rawdney & Col^o. Watson has hanged three of my Brigade for supposed Crimes which will make as many of your men in my hands suffer.²⁰⁵

I hope this will be prevented in future for it is not my wishes to Act but with humanity & tenderness to the unfortunate men, which the Chances of war may throw in my power. I have the Honour to be Your Ob^t Serv^t.

Fran^s. Marion

Brigad Gen^l. Malitia Am: Serv:

ALS (NN), Emmett Collection, EM 6625.

203. Location inferred. The entry in *Marion's Orderly Book* for Mar. 7, 1781 is from Coards [Cordes] Plantation on the Santee River. A copy of this letter was included. Marion's mother was a Cordes, and this location is thought to be the plantation owned by Marion's uncle, James Cordes. It is located on SC-45, near Pienville, SC (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 663-65).

204. Gen. Marion took his case directly to Balfour, the acting commander-in-chief in South Carolina, since Cornwallis was still pursuing Greene's army in North Carolina. His complaints were directed at Capt. John Saunders, specifically, and not the British army generally.

205. As in the Mar. 7, 1781 letters to Saunders and Watson, above, Marion protested the ill treatment of American prisoners, countering British accusations, notably those presented by Balfour in his letter of Mar. 2. Marion stated directly that retaliation would be the response, specifically in the case of three of Marion's men who were hanged. This sort of threat of reciprocity was the standard response to perceived injustices by both sides, though it was rarely followed through.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Haw River [NC]²⁰⁶ March 8th, 1781

D^r Sir, The present Situation of Affairs rendering it Impracticable for me to return Immediately into South Carolina, not seeing any prospect of being able to go thither very soon,²⁰⁷ & it being Impossible if we could Penetrate that country to Re-Establish the Civil Government for some time, & my Remaining here being of no Service to the State, I have determined to set off in a few days for Philadelphia, with a View of procuring, if Possible, some Supplies of Cloathing for our Militia, whose distress for want of it Give me great concern, & of Obtaining such Effectual Aid, as may soon restore both the Town & Country to our possession.²⁰⁸ My utmost Endeavours for these purposes shall be exerted, & I flatter myself that I may succeed by personal Applications. I am persuaded of the continuance of your utmost Attention and hope you will cultivate a Good Understanding with Genls. Sumpter & Pickens & do every thing in your Power to forward to formers views²⁰⁹ & shall be Glad to hear from you when anything material Offers under Cover to Genl. Greene & shall write to you under Cover to him when I have anything material to communicate. I have not yet received the Blank Militia Commissions w^c. I Expected out. If I do not Get Some before I arrive at Richmond, I will have some printed there & transmitted to you. In the mean time you will Give Brevets & in Order that you may carry Sufficient Authority over the Several Officers in your Brigade, you may Remove any of them & appoint others in their Stead from time to time as you think proper.²¹⁰ I have sent some Linen to be distributed amongst the Militia of your, Genl. Sumter's & Pickens Brigades as a free Gift from the States, according to their number and services. I wish it was more worth their Acceptance; without doubt you must want many Articles of Cloathing &c. for your own Use. I therefore request that you will send me a list prExpress to Genl. Greene (with a request to him to forward it pr. express to me) of whatever you wish to have procured for yourself,²¹¹ & you may depend on my Obtaining it at Philadelphia; but dont delay this matter, as I perhaps may Stay but a Little time there. I hope it will not be necessary for me to remain long there.²¹²

I am with Great Regard D^r sir,
Your Most Obdt. Servt,

J. Rutledge.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

206. At this time, South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge was encamped with Greene's army at High Rock Ford on the Haw River, following the battle at Wetzel's Mill on Mar. 6, 1781.
207. Prior to the Battle of Camden on Aug. 16, 1780, Gov. Rutledge had been at Rugeley's Mills at the home of South Carolina Loyalist militia Lt. Col. Henry Rugeley. After that disastrous defeat Rutledge's exile from the state was sealed. Once Gen. Nathanael Greene took over command of the Southern Army in Dec. 1780, Rutledge was often found in his camp.
208. Prior to the surrender of Charlestown, the SC General Assembly had endowed Rutledge with near dictatorial authority. Rutledge saw, however, that with the British stranglehold on his state, his powers were illusory. Noting first that the purpose of his trip to Philadelphia was to obtain "some Supplies of Cloathing for our Militia," Rutledge was clearly sensitive to the political nature of the war. Undoubtedly, Rutledge lobbied for clothes, but the more important goal of the trip was to obtain "such Effectual Aid, as may soon restore both the Town & Country to our possession." Without ammunition, guns, food, additional troops, and the assistance of the French, Rutledge would have understood that the delivery of clothing to his militia would have had little effect on the outcome of the war.
209. The encouragement to Gen. Marion was presumably duplicated in letters to Rutledge's other key generals. The "Good Understanding with Genls. Sumpter & Pickens" would develop later in the war, but at this time, before Greene returned to South Carolina, the three were still largely strangers with an only tenuous mutual trust and an ambiguous chain of command. At this time, Gen. Thomas Sumter was the highest-ranking militia officer in the state by virtue of the date of his commission. Marion was second in the chain of command, and Gen. Andrew Pickens was third. The relationship between Pickens and Marion is not known. No correspondence between the two is extant, though both were present with the army at the battle of Eutaw Springs.
210. The signed commissions were necessary to officially commission officers into the SC militia. Until the blank documents were printed, Rutledge gave Marion authority to unofficially commission officers via brevet promotions. But such appointments would not be official unless signed by the governor. Rutledge also gave Marion the autonomy to commission or remove officers as he saw fit.
211. Whether Marion ever received the linen or sent Rutledge a list of his needed supplies is not known.
212. Gov. Rutledge left for Philadelphia shortly before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on Mar. 15, 1781. He returned to South Carolina by Aug. 1, 1781 (James Haw, *John and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 152-153).

The Bridges Campaign²¹³
March 8-20, 1781

Since taking the field as a militia commander in the summer of 1780, Francis Marion had been one of the principal impediments to Lord Cornwallis's efforts to subdue South Carolina. Reacting to the unconventional challenges he faced, Marion employed tactics that would come to help define modern guerilla warfare, attacking British Regular and Provincial troops and Loyalist militias when he had the advantage of surprise and withdrawing to safety when the enemy appeared to have the upper hand. But Marion also proved himself capable of more traditional operations, such as when he and Lt. Col. Henry Lee embarrassed the garrison of Georgetown by rushing into the town on Jan. 25, 1781. Now that he had become a more or less permanent obstacle to British communications between Camden and the coast, the high command decided on a new plan to end Marion's dominance in the region between the Santee and Pee Dee Rivers.

When Maj. Robert McLeroth was removed from his command after failing to neutralize Marion with the 64th Foot in the fall of 1780, Cornwallis settled on Lt. Col. John Watson Tadwell-Watson and his Provincial Light Infantry (PLI) Battalion to protect the routes of communication between Charlestown, Georgetown, and Camden. Watson's command also included detachments from the King's American Regiment, the 84th Foot, two three-pounder "grasshopper" guns, the South Carolina Rangers under Major John Harrison, 80 mounted volunteers who acted as scouts, 150 South Carolina Loyalist Militia under Colonel Henry Richbourg,²¹⁴ and the remainder of the 64th Foot.²¹⁵

Shortly after reaching Nelson's Ferry on the Santee in Dec. 1780, Watson constructed a fortification on top of a 30-foot-high Indian mound situated about ten miles northwest of the ferry. The post, called Fort Watson, gave the British a strong defensive position to secure river and overland transportation, as well as a hub from which to deploy troops in all directions.²¹⁶

With Watson firmly implanted at Fort Watson, Lord Rawdon put in place his latest plan to neutralize Marion. In the past, the Swamp Fox had escaped British attempts to envelop his force in part because of the poor leadership and inexperience of the Loyalist militia. This time Marion would face veteran British troops. Rawdon sent Watson eastward along the Santee Road early in March. Later in the month, he would dispatch Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle²¹⁷ with the Volunteers of Ireland east toward the Pee Dee River from Camden.

213. The flurry of letters surrounding prisoner exchange and the seizure of Capt. Postell that had been initiated among Marion, Suanders, Watson, and Balfour before and during the Bridges Campaign included a letter from Watson to Marion on March 9, from John Candy's Plantation (below), and the correspondence continued as did the fighting. Remarkably, neither Marion nor Watson left any correspondence about the engagements themselves, beside Watson requesting that his wounded be allowed safe passage to Charlestown, as well as a letter to Sir Henry Clinton some time afterwards that spoke of Sampit River Bridge. Perhaps there was a lack of paper for Marion (a perpetual challenge), or maybe he was too involved in his dispute over the Postell situation, and with fighting, to send reports to superiors who were too far from the situation to affect it. Regardless, the most credible information about the events of the Bridges Campaign comes from William Dobein James and Capt. Tarleton Brown, whose account of Wyboo Swamp is especially interesting.

214. Henry Richbourg came from a Hueguenot family that had originally settled in Virginia in 1700 before moving to South Carolina and settling near the High Hills of the Santee. Richbourg was originally a Patriot captain of an independent company that was incorporated into the 6th SC Regiment in Oct. 1776, but resigned in 1778. Both Henry and his brother William became Loyalists in late 1780. Three other brothers remained Patriots. His active conversion, according to Rawdon, occurred in Dec. 1780, "Henry Richbourg is thoroughly incensed against the enemy" he wrote, "and has thrown himself decidedly into our party." According to another Loyalist, Isham Moore, Richbourg was "as active and as popular an officer as Marion, with more abilities." Richbourg remained with Watson through the Bridges Campaign. Richbourg continued to reside in South Carolina after the war, and neither he nor his brother were ever punished by the state for their service with the Loyalists. (Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:161n; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2:812-13; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Dec. 18, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:216; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 165-66)

215. McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*, 111; Simms, *The Life of Marion*, 134; Dornfest, "John Watson Tadwell Watson and the Provincial Light Infantry, 1780-1781," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 75, No. 304 (Winter 1997), 220-29).

216. McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 111; Dornfest, "Watson," 220-29.

217. [Click here for a brief bio of Welbore Ellis Doyle here.](#)

Should Marion face off with Watson, Doyle could destroy his post on Snow's Island and fall upon his rear. If Marion instead withdrew in the face of Watson's advance, Doyle would be in a position to serve as the anvil to Watson's hammer, catching Marion between the two forces in a pincer attack. The plan hinged on giving Doyle enough time to get behind Marion to prevent him from escaping.

At the outset, the British held the advantage. In response to Sumter's orders of Feb. 20, Marion had marched from Lynches Lake Swamp to Salem Church, where he camped until heading north to Scape Hore Swamp. He traversed the swamp and crossed Black River, moving cross-country to Hungary Hall in the High Hills of the Santee by Mar. 2. Unfortunately, Sumter, who was marching away from Watson, began his ride the night of March 2, and either passed near Marion during the night, or missed him entirely by marching east of Black River.

Marion's next movements are not entirely clear. He wrote to Greene from Benbow's on Mar. 3, which would have been a hard ride, and then he wrote again from John Cantey's Plantation later the same day. For a detailed explanation of the various routes Marion may have taken, see footnotes to his letter to Greene of Mar. 3, above. Whatever the case, Marion was then east of Watson. From there, he withdrew to a more secure camp, crossing the Santee at Murray's Ferry and marched to Cordes's Plantation, where he likely stayed from Mar. 4-7.²¹⁸

The partisan commander rested for three days on the south side of the Santee, likely receiving Sumter's letter of Mar. 4, again requesting that he join him on the night of Mar. 6-7. Marion re-crossed Murry's Ferry on March 7, very likely en route to meet Sumter. There Capt. Zachary Cantey informed him that Watson was camped in strength near Nelson's Ferry. Watson set out after Marion on Mar. 5 with around 400 men and two three-pounders, marching from Fort Watson to a bivouac below Nelson's Ferry, where Cantey observed them. Now with good intelligence on Watson's numbers and location, Marion's analysis showed potential to ambush the British as they crossed the causeway at Wyboo Swamp. He and his 500 men likely spent the night at John Cantey's Plantation, then went into position to surprise Watson by ambush at the causeway on Wyboo Swamp on March 8.²¹⁹

Watson apparently spotted Marion sitting on his horse on the causeway a quarter mile away. Marion calmly turned his horse and rode away, prompting the British commander to order Lt. Col. Henry Richbourg's Loyalist militia to charge the Patriot leader. Marion countered with Peter Horry's South Carolina cavalry, which charged into Harrison's Rangers from a hidden position. After a brief clash on the causeway, the two sides withdrew. Marion again ordered Horry to charge, this time backed by a line of infantry. With the Patriots in confusion, Watson ordered Harrison's 30 South Carolina Rangers to charge. One of Horry's men, reportedly Gavin James, held the causeway alone to cover the retreat of the rest of the Patriots. James's actions became legend, as he killed at least three of the British while blocking the causeway. The delay gave Marion time to initiate an attack with the remainder of the American cavalry. The counterattack under Capt. Daniel Conyers and Capt. James McCauley,²²⁰ sent the enemy fleeing back to the protection of Watson's main line. In this action, Capt. Conyers reportedly killed Loyalist Maj. John Harrison of the Rangers in hand-to-hand combat.²²¹

Watson then advanced with his experienced Provincial infantry. Marion, perhaps recognizing that his militia could not stand up to a bayonet attack by hardened veterans, retreated back to Cantey's Plantation, having met his objective of checking Watson's advance. The Patriots suffered the worst of the fighting, incurring six killed and 12 wounded. The British had at least three killed and an unknown number wounded. The next day Watson continued his march down the Santee Road, while Marion retreated a short distance ahead, harassing the British as he went. Watson then camped at Cantey's on Mar. 9. According to Marion's orderly book, the Patriots had an encampment

218. See letters and notes, Feb. 20-March 4 above

219. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 143; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 128; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 164-65.

220. [Click here for a brief bio of James McCauley here.](#)

221. James, *Francis Marion*, 55-56; 143-145; Tarleton Brown, "Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, Captain in the Revolutionary Army," Charles Baxley ed. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, 12-13; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 143; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 128-30; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 165-66.

at Micheau's²²² Plantation, near Lenud's Ferry, a safe distance of 35-40 miles down the Santee Road from Watson's encampment at Cantey's Plantation.²²³

About March 10, the march of the two adversaries resumed. Marion destroyed the bridge at Mount Hope Swamp to impede the progress of Watson's force and to present the opportunity to take potshots at the enemy. The rifle companies of Lt. Col. Hugh Horry and Capt. William McCottry opened fire when the British approached the bridge. Watson countered by firing cannister across the stream, forcing the Americans to withdraw. Watson was forced to repair the bridge at Mount Hope Swamp and rest his men. He likely did not march again until the morning of Mar. 12. When he did resume the march, headed east down the Santee River Road, Marion's rearguard was there, keeping just ahead of Watson's march column. Marion had no way of knowing whether Watson's intent was to continue to Georgetown, to head north and cross Black River at Lower Bridge, or to cross closer to Kingstree. Watson initially marched past the road to Lower Bridge, then quickly reversed his route, forcing the Patriots to move cross country to reach the bridge ahead of him. Watson had the easier approach, with a clear road to Lower Bridge, and then on to Kingstree after crossing the Black River. Winning the race to the bridge and ford over Black River at Lower Bridge would cut Marion off from his support north of the river and improve the probability of linking up with Lt.-Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, and the Volunteers of Ireland, who were presumably on their way toward the Pee Dee River and Marion's refuge at Snow's Island.²²⁴

Maj. John James commanded the rearguard, composed of his mounted infantry and 30 of McCottry's riflemen, and they now rushed to prevent Watson from crossing the Black River. James, a Williamsburg native who knew the country intimately, beat Watson to Lower Bridge. Watson's rationale for approaching the Bridge, instead of marching toward the crossing at Kingstree, which would have been closer, is not known. By reaching Lower Bridge first, James was able to cross the river, remove the planks and set fire to the stringers. Marion arrived later and forded Black River downstream from the bridge. The damage to the bridge forced Watson to attempt to cross at another downstream ford. The British artillery was brought up to drive the Patriots away, but this time the terrain was not cooperative. The bank on the British side, much higher than the one across the river, did not allow them to depress the cannons enough to be effective. That, coupled with the accuracy of McCottry's riflemen against the gunners and infantry, foiled the British crossing. Watson had no choice but to withdraw. He moved his force to Witherspoon's Plantation,²²⁵ slightly upriver from the bridge, while Marion lay up on "General's Island," described by James as "a ridge below the ford of the river..."²²⁶

The skirmish at Wyboo Swamp may have been a tactical Crown victory, and Mount Hope a draw, but the rebuff of the Loyalists at the Lower Bridge was a clear-cut victory for the Patriots. The next day Marion's sharpshooters crossed Black River and resumed harassing the enemy from the safety of the foliage surrounding the farm. Legend has it that Sgt. McDonald (first name unknown), from a perch in a tree 300 yards away, shot Lt. George Torriano²²⁷ in the knee as he sat on the porch at Witherspoon's Plantation. Watson, realizing he was in a compromising position, moved his badgered troops to Blakely's Plantation, a short distance from Witherspoon's. He stayed at Blakely's for somewhat

222. Paul Michau (also Micheaux) (d.1812) was a planter from the Georgetown District. Michau may also have been a lieutenant of militia in 1782. He was a member of the SC House for two years and the SC Senate for ten years. Michau's plantation is located near where the CSX train line crosses the Santee, south of Andrews, SC (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 666; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 272).

223. Watson to Marion, Mar. 9, 1781, below.

224. James, *Francis Marion*, 56.

225. This was the plantation of John Witherspoon (1742-1802), brother of Gavin and James, who served briefly as a private in the Britton's Neck militia regiment. He was a member of the 3rd General Assembly before the fall of Charlestown, and eventually became a captain in Marion's Brigade. Simms described John and Gavin Witherspoon similarly: "like him [Gavin], [William was] distinguished for great coolness, strength, and courage. Both of the brothers delighted in such adventures, and were always ready to engage in them,—the rashness of the attempt giving a sort of relish to the danger, which always sweetened it to the taste of our partisans." After the war Witherspoon was elected to the State House for the 5th General Assembly (1783-84) (Simms, *Francis Marion*, 136; William Boddie, *Traditions of the Swamp Fox* Reprint Co., 2001), 122; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 170-71; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:783-84).

226. James, *Francis Marion*, 56-57.

227. [Click here for a brief bio of George Torriano here.](#)

less than a week, during which Marion's militia continued to fire on and harass his troops. By Mar. 18, the British had probably consumed the available provisions, and began to march toward Georgetown.²²⁸

At Ox Swamp, southeast of Lower Bridge, the Patriots destroyed another bridge. Watson turned off the road and began a forced march toward the Santee River Road, while Marion's militia harassed them at every opportunity. Once back on the Santee River Road, Watson resumed his rapid march toward Georgetown. After passing the road to Lenud's Ferry, he turned onto the Georgetown Road. It probably took him two days to reach Chovin's Plantation. He resumed the march from Chovin's on Mar. 20, fully confident that he would reach Georgetown unopposed by the afternoon, as evidenced by his letter of that date, below. Marion may have split his force either at Ox Swamp or, more likely, at a fork on the road leading to Georgetown. The left fork would have sent his riders north, to where they could turn and get behind the advancing British, before reaching the Sampit River Bridge, Watson's last major hurdle before reaching Georgetown.²²⁹

The Patriots under Peter Horry beat Watson to the Sampit. Watson latter described the confrontation:

"Over Sampit Creek was a bridge rising in pyramid form, so that till upon it, you could not see that the boards had been taken up on the opposite side. Ordering therefore a few Light Infantry to get over upon the rafters and make that examination, so suspicious a circumstance warranted. They soon discovered the enemy behind the thickets and railings of a house adjoining; who upon this came out and began firing upon the troops at the Bridge, whilst Mr. Marion at the same instant appeared formed to attack our rear. Having ordered one gun up with Major [Thomas] Barclay of the Light Infantry to face the Bridge, I formed the Sixty-Fourth to receive Mr. Marion."²³⁰

Accounts differ as to what occurred next. Horry and Weems wrote that Lt. John Scott²³¹ failed to order a volley at the British as they forded the Sampit. Instead, they retreated in the face of the British bayonets. Lt. Scott, in his pension application, reported that he had "orders to fire up when the enemy advanced, but retreated, being outflanked."²³² About this time, Marion's militia began firing on Watson's rear. Watson turned his artillery and sprayed cannister along the American front. When the Americans retreated, part of the 64th Foot pursued. Watson, along with Harrison's South Carolina Rangers began to advance, but before they could charge, the Rangers turned and rapidly withdrew. Watson himself was left at the mercy of the American riflemen after his horse was killed, and only a timely shot by his servant at one of the Patriots prevented Watson from being killed himself. The Americans in both front and rear left the field to the British, who plunged across the ford, leaving 20 dead on the banks of the Sampit. The exhausted British troops continued on toward Georgetown, camping nearby at Trapiers Plantation²³³ on the night of March 20.²³⁴

Patriot casualties at Sampit River Bridge were one killed. British casualties were estimated at 20 killed and 38 wounded. Watson did not officially report his losses for the four engagements now called the Bridges Campaign. However, it can be assumed that their number was significant, as William Dobein James wrote that "he [Watson] is said by tradition, to have sunk them [his dead] in Black river [or an abandoned quarry] to hide their number."²³⁵

228. James, *Francis Marion*, 58 (James says that Lt. Torriano was shot at Blakeley's Plantation, but chronology and terrain suggest that it most likely was at Witherspoon's Plantation).

229. G. Rick Wise, "Last, Best Chance to Corner the Swamp Fox: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign Against Marion's Brigade, Mar. 1781," (M.A. thesis, American Military University, 2019).

230. Donald J. Gara ed., "Narrative of John Watson Tadwell Watson Lt. Colonel of the Provincial Light Infantry in South Carolina 1780-1781," *SCAR Magazine* 4, no. 2.1, (Apr-Jun 2007):57-58.

231. John Scott was a lieutenant in Peter Horry's militia regiment. He was wounded at the Battle of Black Mingo Creek in late Sep. 1780. At the Sampit River in Mar. 1781 Scott failed to order his men to fire, as the British under Col. Watson began to wade through the Sampit River. His failure denied Marion the knock-out blow that would have destroyed Watson's regiment. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 84-86, 174)

232. John Scott, Pension Application S32508.

233. [Click here for a brief bio of Paul Trapier.](#)

234. Weems, *Francis Marion*, 165-70.

235. James, *Francis Marion*, 58; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 154; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 173.

Watson left a detailed journal of his activities prior to the Bridges Campaign, but surprisingly, the three-week period in which Marion bedeviled the British colonel was not included. Watson took up his account at the action at Sampit Bridge, where he reported that he “broke his [Marion’s] line and put them in confusion.”²³⁶ Though Watson could find solace in that, he was still driven back into Georgetown. Watson complained to his host at Trapier’s Plantation that evening about Marion’s way of fighting: “They will not sleep and fight like gentlemen, but like savages are eternally firing and whooping around us by night, and by day waylaying and popping at us from behind every tree.”²³⁷

Although Marion had gotten the best of Watson’s Provincial Light Infantry and parts of the 64th Foot, shortly afterward he learned of the destruction of his headquarters at Snow’s Island by Lt. Col. Doyle’s troops. While Marion’s attention was focused on Watson, Doyle had been able to slip down the Pee Dee and, with the aid of local Loyalists, locate the Patriot camp and overwhelm the small force Marion had left. McCottry’s riflemen later drove Doyle’s infantry away from Witherspoon’s Ferry, near Snow’s Island, while they were destroying the ferry boat. Marion pursued them to the vicinity of Willow Grove (near current Lynchburg), when Doyle suddenly burned his baggage and retreated back to Camden. Marion and his exhausted men returned to camp, and the Swamp Fox considered his situation. The loss of supplies at Snow’s Island made continued operations difficult. The biggest issue was lack of ammunition, as many men had only two rounds remaining. Morale was low due to recent losses, and Watson was now resupplied and in pursuit, reinforced by local militia under Micajah Gainey.²³⁸

Marion addressed his men, highlighting their accomplishments, and boosting morale. But he knew that his situation was desperate, as his militia began to again slip away to check on their homes and families. With Watson nearby, Marion discussed potential courses of action in a council of war with his trusted leaders. He considered dispersing his men again, or even retreating back into North Carolina to escape the British. But in the midst of this deliberation, word arrived from one of Marion’s men that revealed the rationale behind Doyle’s hasty retreat several days before. Nathanael Greene was returning to South Carolina with the bulk of the Southern Army, and Lt. Col. Henry Lee was en route to join forces with Marion again. The same information had reached Watson, and the Loyalist militia disappeared as quickly as they had arrived. Instead of retreat, Marion was now ready to take on the enemy in what would become called the “War of the Posts.”

The Bridges Campaign marked a transition in Marion’s operations. Until that point, when faced with a sizable enemy, he had generally withdrawn to avoid battle. But in Mar. 1781, Marion had nearly 500 men under his command, the largest number he would command at any point during the war. He had shown confidence in their ability to delay the enemy at Wyboo Swamp and Mount Hope Swamp, had relied on capable subordinates who used initiative and speed to block Watson at Lower Bridge, and then harassed the British before pursuing and driving them across Sampit River. Afterward, Marion’s Brigade conducted siege operations and fought in a conventional pitched battle at Eutaw Springs. This diversity of action attests to the strength of Marion’s military leadership and the training of his subordinate leaders and men by this point in the war.

Parson M.L. Weems and Hugh Horry, *The Life of General Francis Marion* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1809), 165-70; James, *Francis Marion*, 41-44; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 165-75; Tarleton Brown, “Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, Captain in the Revolutionary Army,” Charles Baxley ed. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, 12-13; O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 665-72; *Henry Nase Diary*, 15; Donald J. Gara, “Narrative of John Watson Tadwell Watson Lt. Colonel of the Provincial Light Infantry in South Carolina 1780-1781,” *SCAR Magazine* 4, no. 2.1, (Apr-Jun 2007):57-58; John Scott, Pension Statement S32508; Oller, *The Swamp Fox*, 126-143. G. Rick Wise, “Last, Best Chance to Corner the Swamp Fox: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign Against Marion’s Brigade, Mar. 1781 (M.A. thesis, American Military University, 2019).

236. Gara ed., “Narrative of John Watson,” 57-58.

237. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 140.

238. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 143; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 128; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 164-165.

Lt. Col. John Watson (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Canteys House March 9th, 1781²³⁹

Sir,

It is with Less Surprize that I find a Letter sent by you in all the apparent forms of a flagg of truce, attended by an Armed party, who Concealed themselves within a Certain Distance of a place that pointed itself out for the delivery of it, than to See the Contents of it Exhibit a Complaint from you against us for violating the Law of Nations. I believe sir it would be as difficult for you to name an Instance of a breach of it in his Majesties troops, as it would for them to discover one where the Law of Arms or Nations has been properly attended to by any of your Party. An Enumeration of the various particulars of such practices on your side, beginning w^h. the very disgraceful Conduct of Congress Respecting the Convention troops & the incessant Instances that from that time to this hour have Occurred in the different provinces, would be needless.²⁴⁰ I think it however right to mention one, as I meant to Inform Genl. Sumpter of it. A few days ago, after General. Sumpter had taken some Waggons on the other side of the Santee & the Escort to them had Laid Down their Arms, a party of his Horse who said they had not discharged their pieces came up, fired upon the Prisoners & killed seven of them.²⁴¹ A few days after we took Six of his People & Enquire how they were treated. As to reflecting on our practice of hanging your followers whom the Chance of War puts into our hands, I have to answer, that if your followers are Composed of our People (for all People upon Parole to us I call ours) who have broken their Paroles, they must Expect to suffer that punishment (which in Opposition to the late Cruelties Exercised by those who Say they belong to you) it becomes Necessary for us to Inflict & which the Law of Nations Justifies.²⁴² The houses of desolate Widows have been laid Waste, even burnt by these people. By these people too, many individuals defenceless without Arms & taking side with neither Contending party, but residing Peaceably in their own Houses have been Murdered. By what Law are these proceedings Justified? Does Martial any more than Civil Law Countenance such people? If ever they fall into our hands they will meet with the punishment due to their Crimes. When noble Enemies make War, such men are protected by no side. You say it was Agreed that an Exchange of Prisoners should take place at George Town & that Capt. Postell went with a flagg for that purpose in consequence of that agreement. But I Conceive it was not Agreed that a Man on Parole to us should become our Enemy. Capt. Postell was, I Understand, taken at Charlestown & Admitted to the Country on Parole; if so, his detention, with all its Consequences, is Justifiable.²⁴³ With respect to your threat of Retaliation--So long as you will permit us by a return of Similar Behaviour, we will make war with that Generosity; that is the boast of Britons is the Characteristic of their Nation. Men like his Majesties troops fighting from principle for the good of their Country, with hearts full of Conscious Integrity, are fearless of any Consequences. War itself bears with it Calamities Sufficient. Take care then Sir, that you do not by Improper Behaviour to our people, who may from the Chance of War become your Prisoners, Add to its Natural Horrors.²⁴⁴

I am sir Your very humbl. Servt.

Jno. Watson

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

239. On Mar. 8 or 9, 1781, one day or two after the skirmish at Wyboo Swamp, Watson continued his advance against Marion to the east along the Santee Road. Throughout the day Marion's militia harassed the British, but no major actions occurred. Watson halted at Canteys Plantation, taking over the site where Marion had encamped after the fight at Wyboo Swamp.

240. In the continuing epistolary war, Watson pointed out the irony of an armed guard escorting a flag of truce with a letter protesting the breach of the "Laws of Nations," which was, in Watson's mind, itself a clear violation of the same. According to Watson, the Postell affair and the armed escort were just two in a long line of "rebel" violations.

241. Watson here referenced an incident on Feb. 23, 1781 in which Sumter's men shot seven British soldiers after they had raised a white flag in surrender, during the capture of a supply convoy near Big Savannah on the south side of the Santee.

242. Watson reiterated the British policy, justified by his understanding of "The Law of Nations," legitimizing the hanging of rebels who had taken up arms after accepting parole.

243. The British obviously did not accept the American contention that the parole given to SC militia Capt. John Postell (Jr.) at the fall of Charlestown had been voided by their destruction of his father's plantation.

244. Watson countered Marion's threat of retaliation with one of his own, although, like Marion, he protested that the British would rather fight a war with humanity.

Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour to Capt. John Saunders (both British)

[Discussion of John Postell's parole and Saunders' response]

Chs. Town March 12th 1781

Sir, I am favoured with yours & have wrote you by two Opportunities one of which by Mistake was by Sea. 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. No Sanction whatever can defend him against a breach of the Parole by which his liberty was Allowed him & by trusting to his honour, permitted him to use the means of making his Escape. If he chose to break it & take advantages of those means, he takes the chance of falling into our hands & feeling the punishment due to his breach of the Laws of War.²⁴⁵ I wish you to Send him by Land, but if inconvenient, you may Send him by water in Dorrells Vessell or any other fast Sailor, when she returns with a Guard; but of this do as you will, only be so Good as not to Allow him to have a Chance of Escaping. I send you an Answer to a letter Received from Marion by a flagg of truce, sent into Col. Watson's post & I also Send you a Copy of his letter to me.²⁴⁶ In Sending it out be so good as to be carefull who you send; a Non commissid Officer will be best for fear he detains the person sent on Account of Postell, which I forgot to mention to you in my Last.²⁴⁷

I am with regard sir,
Your Most Obdt Servt.

N. Balfour

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

245. Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, Commandant of Charlestown, reiterated his interpretation of the parole agreement as explained to Marion in the Mar. 12, 1781 letter, above.

246. The Mar. 7, 1781 letter from Marion to Balfour is above. The Mar. 12 letter responding to Marion is below.

247. Normally an officer would accompany a flag of truce. However, in this case Balfour ordered the letter be delivered by a non-commissioned officer for fear Marion would take an officer prisoner in retaliation for Capt. John Postell's arrest. Saunders ignored Balfour's advice and dispatched Cornet Thomas Merritt to deliver the letter, below. After arriving across Clark's Creek from Marion's haven at Snow's Island and being invited into the redoubt that had been constructed earlier in the war, Merritt was unceremoniously made prisoner, just as Balfour had predicted, and transported across the river. Whether Marion had ordered, or was even aware of, the violation of the British flag of truce is not known (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 152-53; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 138-39).

Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Chs. Town March 12th 1781.

Sir, I have Received your Letter of the 7th Instant, Respecting the detention of Capt. John Postell, when Charged with a flagg of truce to George Town and Complaining of the same as a breach of the Law of Nations. The best Answer I can Return to which is transmitting you his Parole, which will Clearly Evince that the breach of Such Laws, as well as those of honour rests Solely with that Gentleman, who has Acted in a Military Capacity when Engaged by the Solemnest Ties to Remain in a Neutral State, I therefore trust when you represent this Case to your Congress, you Accompany it with so Essential a Document as the Inclosed.²⁴⁸ I shall Certainly make Enquiry into the Ill treatment you Complain your prisoners at George Town receive & if well founded, most Certainly have it redressed, but from the Confirmed Good Character of Capt. Saunders I must as yet doubt the Accuracy of your Information Respecting the hanging of Three of your men by Lord Rawdon & Col. Watsons, as it is a point of which I am wholly unacquainted, So I can Specifically make no Reply to, but have Generally to Observe, that if such Executions took place on Good Grounds it will require Reasons Equally Cogent to Justify a Retaliation. My wishes of Rendering the situation of Prisoners in all Respects, as little Irksome as possible & Mitigating on All Occasions the honours of War--perfectly Coincide with those you Express & therefore this part of your Letter Gives me Great hopes, mine of the 2^d. Instant will be attended with the very best Consequences & Settle that humane Line of Conduct which it is the duty of all parties to Observe.²⁴⁹

I am Sir,
Your Most Obedt. Hum. Serv^t.

N. Balfour

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); In Reference to Above Letter of 3/12/1781 from Lt. Col. Balfour to Brig. Gen. Marion

248. By South Carolina militia Capt. John Postell's parole of May 19, 1780, below, he clearly pledged to remain on his plantation and to do nothing "prejudicial to the Success of his Majesty's Arms." He would be on parole until "Exchanged or otherwise Released therefrom." Postell viewed the confiscation of his property, and the destruction of his father's plantation by the British as a violation of the parole agreement, falling under the category of "otherwise Released therefrom."

249. Balfour reiterated his position from his letter of Mar. 2, 1781 above. He had previously protested the ill treatment of British forces, threatening retaliation but professing the desire to "mitigate the Sufferings of their Captivity." Balfour's stated wish was "to soften rather than Aggravate the Misfortunes of the Prisoners."

***Copy of Capt. John Postell, Jr.'s Parole*²⁵⁰**

I do hereby Acknowledge myself a Prisoner of War upon my Parole, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton & that I am thereby Engaged untill I shall be Exchanged or otherwise Released therefrom, to Remain at my Plantation in the Parish of St. Marks in the County of Craven in the Province of South Carolina. And that I shall in them continue[,] do or cause anything to be done prejudicial to the Success of his Majesty's Arms, or have Intercourse or hold Correspondence with his Enemies²⁵¹ & that upon a Summons from his Excellency, or other person having Authority there so that I will surrender Myself to him, or them at such time & place as I shall Hereafter be required.

Witness my hand this 19th day of May 1780.
Jno. Postell.

Lt & Adj^t. Craven County -- Witnesses John Gillon M^cKillop, Major Stewart, Commissary Prisoners, John Hamilton--

A true copy taken from the Original in my office this 12 May, 1781.
Lewis DeRosset, Commissary Prisoners.²⁵²

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

250. According to the document, it appears Postell was paroled at the conclusion of the siege of Charlestown. But soon after the parole was issued, the British or Tories stripped him of all his property, which he understood as a breach of the agreement on their part, and thus he believed himself released from any obligation under it. In a letter to Gen. Marion, on Jan. 14, 1781 above, his father, John Postell Sr., who had recently had his home destroyed, wrote, "my honour is all I have left — my family has been reduced to beg their bread." (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:36).

251. The parole clearly prohibited Postell from leaving his plantation, taking up arms against the British, or even communicating with British enemies.

252. Lewis DeRosset was a North Carolina Loyalist, who owned Rose Hill plantation, six miles from Wilmington on the Cape Fear River. In 1758, DeRossett was a member of a committee tasked to lay out and construct a new capital for North Carolina at Tower Hill, though the act was later repealed and New Bern became the capital in 1766. DeRossett was at the Battle of Alamance in 1771, helping to end the Regulator movement in North Carolina. In 1779, DeRossett sold his plantation back to the family from whom he had purchased it. He subsequently was named British commissary general of prisoners. At the end of Oct. 1782, shortly before the evacuation of the British army from Charlestown, DeRosset informed Marion that "The Commissioners appointed by Gen'l Leslie & Gen'l Greene having settled the Exchange of Prisoners. The purport of Dr. Neufville's coming to Town is by this means settled, and I have in pursuance of that agreement sent out all the prisoners I had in the prison ship & those that were here on Parole__ You will be pleased on your part to send in here all the Regulars & Militia that may be with you." (DeRossett to Marion, Oct. 25, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

Lt. Col. John Watson (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Blakelys March 15th. 1781²⁵³

Sir,

The very Extraordinary method you took of Sending the Letter I received from you makes it Rather difficult to Gess in what way you mean to Carry on this War & therefore induces me to take the mode of Addressing you through a Neutral Person. The Bearer is a Little boy of John Witherspoons.²⁵⁴ We have an officer & some men wounded whom I should be Glad to send where they could be better taken Care of, I wish therefore to know, if they will be permitted to Pass, without Interruption from any of your parties, to Charlestown.²⁵⁵

I am Sir

Your very humb Servt.

John Watson

P.S. – If you have no Objection to their going, you will be so good as to send a pass for them.²⁵⁶

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

253. Research conducted in Feb. 2022 by Rick Wise, using information from Dave Neilan, George Summers, Jack Parker, and John Oller, helped narrow the search for Witherspoon's Plantation. Using the memoirs of local resident Henry Edwards Davis, *A Southern Sportsman*, the location for John Witherspoon's Plantation was determined to be about a quarter mile northwest of Bryan's Crossroads at the intersection of current US Hwy 521 and South Carolina Hwy 377. Analysis of the Bridges Campaign gives a rough timeline from Mar. 8, 1781 (Wyboo Swamp) to Mar. 20, 1781. (Sampit River Bridge) There are no primary sources giving a detailed description of the actions or movements, except Watson's undated account of the fight at Sampit River Bridge. In addition, Marion's movements are also not entirely clear. On Mar. 9, 1781 Marion camped at Micheaux' Plantation, near Lenud's Ferry on the north side of the Santee River, roughly 40 miles from Watson, who was at John Cantey's home, based on his letter to Marion. Two days later Marion's orderly book had him at Glover's Plantation, on Georgetown Creek, although the orderly book incorrectly identified it as being on the Pee Dee River. Marion's actual location during this time is not certain.
254. Gen. Marion had sent a letter of protest to Watson via an armed escort under a flag of truce. See Marion to Watson, Mar. 9, 1781 above. The escort of the flag was a statement of protest against Capt. John Saunders's arrest of South Carolina militia Capt. John Postell for parole violation while under a flag of truce to carry out a prisoner exchange. See Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781 above, and subsequent correspondence among Watson, Balfour, and Marion, above. It is unclear whether "a Little boy of John Witherspoons" referred to the plantation owner's son or, more likely, his slave. But in either case, the choice to use a civilian as courier was presumably a precaution to avoid retaliation upon a soldier for the British treatment of Postell. Whether Marion or Watson was aware of the violation of the flag of truce in the holding of Cornet Thomas Merritt by Marion's Brigade at Snow's Island at this time is not known.
255. It is not known whether the soldiers had been wounded during the running battle or during the harassment by Marion's men while Watson was encamped at Blakely's Plantation.
256. The pass to allow the wounded to travel to Charlestown is dated Mar. 16, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Watson (British)

[Black River?]²⁵⁷ March 15, 1781

Sir, Yours of this days date I received.²⁵⁸ in Answer, I wish to carry on this War as Usual, with all Civilized Nations. The Violation of my flagg is a good reason to believe it may a second time be done & Oblidge me to Act as I did; when my flagg is Released, I will have Faith & Act in the usual way.²⁵⁹ If Capt. Postell was a prisoner, it was no Reason for the Violation of my flagg, Especially when it was sent to Exchange prisoners agreed to by Capt. Saunders,²⁶⁰ but this matter I Expect Lord Rawdon will set to rights.²⁶¹ The Inclosed Letter Gives me Reason to believe it & you may be Assured I will not Act in any other way, than what I find is done by the British troops.²⁶² If you will send me the Number of wounded you wish to send to Ch^s. Town, I will send you a pass for them.²⁶³

I am Sir,
Your Obed^t. Serv^t

Francis Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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257. Location inferred. Gen. Marion's location was not included in this letter. However, it is presumed he stayed very close to Lt. Col. Watson's encampment at Blakely's Plantation, since Watson's response is below. Presumably Marion was at the same location on Mar. 16, 1781 when he issued a pass to the wounded British soldiers, below. His whereabouts are uncertain for the following nine days as well, until he surfaced somewhere on the Pee Dee on Mar. 24, 1781 (See Marion's Orderly Book, Mar. 24, 1781, below).
258. Watson's letter of Mar. 15, 1781 is above.
259. After eight days without responding to the British letters, Marion renewed the war of words with Watson, making no mention of the back-and-forth threats of retaliation over ill treatment of prisoners. However, Marion conditioned his resumption of the normal rules of warfare upon the release of Capt. John Postell (Jr.), who had been detained, as related in correspondence beginning Mar. 7, 1781, above.
260. Marion for the first time acknowledged the British claim that Postell had broken parole. However, it was his contention that the issue was separate from the prisoner exchange.
261. In his second letter to Marion of Mar. 15, 1781, below, Watson referred to a letter (not found) from Lord Rawdon to Marion, responding to the latter's protest regarding the violation of Postell's flag of truce and breach of parole.
262. It is unclear from whom the "Inclosed Letter" originated or what information it contained. It may have been from Rawdon, although no record of such a letter exists. If the referenced letter was the one from Balfour to Marion of Mar. 12, 1781, above, Marion meant to warn Watson that if the British retaliated, he would respond in kind.
263. Marion here was responding to Watson's first letter of Mar. 15, 1781 in which the latter requested free passage for his wounded. See the pass dated Mar. 16, 1781 below. Whether the men were wounded during the running battle from Wyboo Swamp or during the harassment by Marion's sharpshooters at Blakely's Plantation, where Watson had been encamped since Mar. 11, 1781, is not known.

Lt. Col. John Watson (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Blakely House, March 15th. 1781

Sir, I am just now favoured with your Answer, & take the Earliest opportunity of Inclosing you the Names of the officer & the Number of men I wish to send to Ch^s. Town Consisting of one Officer & 6 privates wounded with their Attendants. As you have Received Lord Rawdons oppinion in a direct Line his Lordship being Always as Clear in his Expressions as he is just in his Sentiments there Remain nothing for me to Explain upon that Subject. Were we to differ it would be of Little Consequence as Lord Rawdons Judgment must direct my Conduct, I am happy however that you Sir, have by this means an Opportunity of seeing the perfect consonance of our Ideas respecting the treatment it is meant to hold towards your troops. It is not worth mentioning because probably sooner or Later we shall be even with them.²⁶⁴ That your people are daily doing what is not Customary, but as you say, You wish to Carry on War as usual with Civilized Nations, We must suppose You Ignorant of Numberless [*numerous?*] transactions of the People under your Command & take it for Granted that you never heard of people whipped by Maynard [*Maham?*] & others of your followers.²⁶⁵ Of two Prisoners taken on the 13th January by a party under the Command of Capt. Daniel Conyers, one of which was Whipped almost to Death Thomas Wise, a Militia man & the other John Stillwell of Harrison's Corps whoes horse threw him, he Got upon his Legs & was desired to Surrender which he did, he was Asked for his Pistols, he Delivered it up & was Instantly Shot through the body with it, he complained of this behaviour he was abused & Ordered to deliver his Sword, he did, & was Cut through the Skull in five or six places with his own Sword & when a party brought him home, who went out for that purpose, his brains, that is part of them, were two Inches Issued from his head, he preserved his Senses perfect for two days & told regularly the same story then Died.²⁶⁶ Genl. Sumpter, after his lying before the post at Scots Lake,²⁶⁷ sent a flagg to say if we would let him have four men, he would Exchange four he had taken at Nelsons Ferry for them, three of those he sent for were killed, but we sent him Six others & requested he would Get from you Thomas Wise & another man if you had him, for the other two sent more than he had men to exchange for this the flagg took upon himself to Answer for, If therefore you thought proper, I should be Glad to have that Wise & another man. Genl. Sumter did not send the four men he promised to me but that I presume must have been owing to some Accidental circumstances previous to his affair with Major Frazer & as that Meeting has prevented his doing it at present It appears to me Equitable that you should return us what prisoners you have till we have Six men for those I delivered to his flagg. The men we took from him all but one or two who were badly wounded were on their way to Ch Town but Reposing Perfect Confidence in you & him I Remanded them & Let them Go as I before mentioned. I must therefore request of you that number, those two you took the other day you can send to us immediately & the others as soon as you can conveniently. You seem to be satisfied the business of George Town will be properly Settled, it certainly will, meantime Give us no Reason to want Confidence in you & I assure you, you may place it fully in us. You know the dictates of Lord Rawdon. I shall do my Endeavours to put them in Execution as Closely as Possible.

I am Sir,
Your very humbl. Servt
John Watson

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

264. Lord Rawdon, the commander of field forces in South Carolina in Cornwallis's absence, presumably responded either to Marion's protests, or to Watson's or Balfour's requests for clarification, regarding the arrest of South Carolina militia Capt. John Postell, Jr. on Mar. 6, 1781 in Georgetown, while under a flag of truce for the purpose of exchanging prisoners.

265. After Marion and Balfour had traded assurances that both sides would follow the Laws of Nations regarding the treatment of prisoners, Watson here recounted alleged irregularities committed by Marion's officers, perhaps as a way of suggesting that he did not have control over his subordinates.

266. The reference here was to the skirmish between Lt. Col. Peter Horry's militia and a contingent of cavalry under Lt.-Col. George Campbell at Waccamaw Neck on Jan. 13, 1781. During the action, Horry was nearly captured. Conyers was apparently in command of the detachment that captured South Carolina Loyalists Thomas Wise and John Stillwell (Simms, *Francis Marion*, 116-17; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 128-30).

267. SC militia Gen. Thomas Sumter attacked Fort Watson on Feb. 28, 1781, without a proper reconnaissance. He did not realize that Watson's entire force of roughly 400 were currently at the post. Sumter withdrew after taking significant casualties.

Lt. Col. John Watson (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Blakelys House, March 7th [Probably actually 16th],²⁶⁸1781

Sir, I am to make my Apologies to you that a propper list of those Going to Charlestown has not been sent before, you will find one Inclosed which you would have Received sooner, but it was Either left out by mistake or dropped by Accident from the Second Letter addressed to you.²⁶⁹

I am, sir,
your hum. Serv't,

Jn^o. Watson

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

268. The correct date was most likely Mar. 16, 1781. In his letter to Marion of Mar. 15, above, Watson indicated he had enclosed the list of wounded and attendants for whom he wished passes to travel to Charlestown.

269. The list has not been found. How Watson ascertained that Marion had not received the referenced Mar. 15, 1781 letter with the list is not known.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion's Pass to Nelson's Ferry & Charlestown

[Black River 16 March 1781]

[G]ranted Lieut. Torianno and 12 Privates²⁷⁰ Viz: One officer & 6 wounded men with Six attendants of the British troops is permitted to pass to Nelsons ferry, from thence to Charlestown Unmolested. dated Black River 16 March 1781. F. Marion, B.: G.: M.

Lt. Torianno Wounded, 3 Soldiers & a Negro Servant to Attend the Lieutenant. 6 Soldiers wounded, & 2 Soldiers as Attendants to the wounded Soldiers.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

270. Lt. George Torianno of the 64th Foot was shot at Witherspoon's Plantation, purportedly by Sergeant McDonald, from a tree at a distance of 300 yards. When the other six mentioned soldiers were wounded is not known. However, the continual harassment of Watson's troops while encamped at Witherspoon's and Blakely's plantation undoubtedly resulted in additional casualties.

Lt. Col. John Watson (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Blakelys House, March 16th, 1781.

Sir, I do not think it Necessary to Enter further into a Detail of your Conduct or by words to Justify our Own. Your mentioning that you wished to Carry on the War as Usual with Civilized Nations Led me to Mention the Circumstances I did. Care is taken to prevent anything being taken from those who do not bear Arms against us, or who do not Secretly assist our Enemy whatever other people are deprived of we do not call Plunder, but property fairly taken from the Enemy & what Cannot be Carried away conveniently we destroy, if we think proper the burning of Houses & the property of the Inhabitants who is our Enemy is thought right & is Customary in all Countries but farther than the distress that Occasions to their families the distressing Women Or Children is so far from being either countenanced or Connived at by any officers in our Service that on the Contrary every Assistance posible is Afforded them.²⁷¹ Your pass only mentions Nelsons ferry. I believe Nelsons ferry to be is Impracticable for men in their Situations & therefore should be Glad you would Give it for Murrays, or any other ferry they may find they can pass with Least inconvenience in their way to Charlestown.²⁷² I will Inform Lord Rawdon of your Inclination respecting a General Exchange of Prisoners.²⁷³

I am Sir Your humbl. Servt.

John Watson

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

271. Watson took another shot at Marion by again reiterating his complaints from letter of the previous day, above, in which he criticized the Americans' treatment of prisoners, specifically the commands of Maj. Hezekiah Maham and Capt. Daniel Conyers.

272. Marion had delayed issuing the pass for the wounded going to Charlestown because the initial list sent by Watson had been lost. The geography of the area supports Watson's contention and revised request. Perhaps, in a passive-aggressive response to his berating at the hands of Balfour, Saunders, and Watson, and to demonstrate his control over the area, Marion chose to give the British wounded a pass that would take them in a circuitous route to Charlestown. Crossing the Santee River at Nelson's Ferry instead of Murray's Ferry would have resulted in traveling 40 additional miles out of the way. Whether Watson received a response to this letter before marching toward Georgetown on Mar. 18-19, 1781 is not known.

273. No correspondence with Rawdon concerning an exchange of prisoners has been found. However, there were ongoing talks between Greene and Cornwallis about a general prisoner exchange at this time. Permissions were obtained from Continental authorities and a final prisoner exchange cartel of the Southern Department was reached between Capt. Frederick Cornwallis, representing his Gen. Cornwallis (no known relation), and Continental Lt. Col. Edward Carrington representing Gen. Greene at Capt. Claudius Pegues' home (extant, off of US Hwy #1 near the SC-NC border) on May 3, 1781. This prisoner exchange brought relief to thousands of soldiers on both sides in hard captivity. For more on the plight of prisoners, see Carl Borick, *Relieve us of this Burthen: American Prisoners of War in the Revolutionary South, 1780-82* (Columbia: USC Press, 2017).

Lt. Col. John Watson to Capt. John Saunders (both British)

Chovin's House 20th March, 1781²⁷⁴

Sir,

I shall be this afternoon, with the Corps under my Command, at George Town, or very near it,²⁷⁵ & will be obliged to you to have some forage ready for us. Rum, Salt, & flour, if you have it, we shall want to take with us. If there are any mens' Shoes to be purchased in Town, we shall be Glad to get them. You will be pleased to have some Chests of Musket Cartridges ready for us. The Officers would be extremely obliged If you could send them an Intelligent man who would Inform them of the proper People to send to, to Get those Little supplies all Troops must want who have been in the field for three Months, Such as Wine, &c., &c.

I have the honor to be sir Your Very hum. Servt.

Jno. W. Watson

(A Negro of Mr. Chovins was sent with this Letter who was Pursued & killed by one of Marion's Scouts.)²⁷⁶

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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274. The reference here is presumably to Alexander Chovin's plantation east of Lenud's Ferry on the north side of the Santee. Chovin's, situated in the vicinity of the Sampit Road, was a 20-mile march from Blakely's, eight miles from the Sampit Bridge and 18 miles from Georgetown. Chovin was a Charlestown factor. He inherited two plantations on the south side of the river, in addition to the plantation mentioned here on the north side. He served in the Senate of the 3rd General Assembly from 1779-80. During the war he contributed supplies to the Patriot cause from 1780-82. Afterward he was elected to the 6th General Assembly, but declined to serve (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:142-43; Watson to Saunders, Mar. 20, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)).
275. Despite continued sniping by Marion sharpshooters, the British force continued to bivouac at Blakely's Plantation until likely pulling out on the night of Mar. 18-19, 1781. In a reversal of roles, Watson became the pursued. After disposing of his dead in the Black River or an abandoned quarry, the British marched toward Georgetown under constant fire from the Patriot militia (James, *Francis Marion*, 58). Watson was forced to leave the Georgetown Road after the militia destroyed the bridges through Ox Swamp (near present-day Manning, SC).
276. The courier was presumably a friend of the British cause. The details of his killing are not known. Likely Watson made copies of his correspondence, not only as a record of his actions, but also in the event a letter was intercepted, as this one was. His postscript on this letter indicates this was a follow up letter to Capt. John Saunders (Queen's Rangers) after the first, carried by the messenger from Chovin's, was captured.

Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ch^s. Town March 21, 1781²⁷⁷

Sir, I am Greatly astonished to find you should have detained an Officer [Capt. Merritt]²⁷⁸ of ours sent out with a flag of truce to you & Acting under its Sanction. This indeed is an Infraction of the Laws of Nations & of War, as you Complain in the Case of Captain Postell, & such a one as if not Immediately Redressed I shall be obliged to Punish in the most Exemplary manner by the severest Retaliation.²⁷⁹ If in this Action you could for a moment have Alluded to the Case of Captain Postell, my Letter of the 12th Instant, must surely have Convinced you, how truly dissimilar in every Respect they are, but as from such Conduct I must Conceive Sir this Letter may not have Reached you, I now Enclose a Copy for your Information & Conviction.²⁸⁰ Let me Observe, as faith had been Violated by Captain Postell, he naturally became to us, an object for Capture & Punishment, under what circumstances soever he might be met; & to Argue from his Justifiable detention, a right to Extend the Like to those most Unimpeachably Upright in their Conduct is a Confounding of all right & wrong & a Violation of all Principles, under which any Intercourse subsist between Powers at War with Each other.

I am Sir,
Your Most Obt. hum. Serv^t.

N. Balfour

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

277. This letter is the one presumably referred to in Capt. John Saunders's letter to Marion of Mar. 24, 1781 below.

278. [Click here for a brief bio of Thomas Merritt.](#)

279. Just when the British seemed satisfied that the issues of prisoner treatment and Capt. John Postell's arrest had been settled, Cornet Thomas Merritt's detention re-ignited the controversy. Gen. Marion's location at this time is not known, nor is his level of awareness of Cornet Merritt's arrest, which Balfour considered to be a blatant violation and an illegitimate retaliation for British Capt. John Saunders' arrest of Capt. John Postell (Jr.), as expressed in his Mar. 12, 1781 protest letter, above, to Marion. In Balfour's mind, his only recourse was to threaten his own retaliation.

280. Balfour was outraged that Marion could consider Capt. John Postell's case, in which the Patriot captain had broken his parole, to be analogous to Merritt's, in which the British officer had been detained for no acceptable reason. Balfour wondered, perhaps sarcastically, whether Marion had received his Mar. 12, 1781 letter, because Marion could not possibly have detained Merritt after reading it. Balfour wrote that he was re-sending the Mar. 12 letter.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

24th March 1781 Orders at Peedee²⁸¹

I have thought proper for the good of the Service to appoint Hezekiah Maham²⁸² Major Commandant of a Corps of light horse to be raised the S^o. of Santee River, but such young men who May Incline to Enter this corps that are Inhabitants of the North of Santee Must first obtain permission from the Commanding officer of the regiment they belong to. Otherwise they cannot Enter in S^d Corps and for the Incoming of Such who may Enter in Either of the corps of Light Horse All horses are goods taken from the Enemy in Actual Arms Shall be the property of Such Corps or party, which may take them, provided that such horses & goods do not belong to any Inhabitant friends to America.²⁸³

O'Kelley, BCADM, 669.

281. Brig. Gen. Marion's movements during the Bridges Campaign are somewhat unclear. He encamped on Mar. 9, 1781 at Micheaux's Plantation, in the vicinity of Lenud's Ferry, a safe distance of 35-40 miles down the Santee Road from Watson's encampment at Cantey's Plantation. From this location, Marion approached the British force after Watson set off down the Santee Road toward Georgetown. Whether he came near and then withdrew to draw Watson toward Georgetown is not known. South Carolina militia Maj. John James acted as a rearguard, keeping an eye on Watson as he advanced. When Watson turned toward Kingstree, Maj. James's detachment had to race to get ahead of Watson before the latter reached the Lower Bridge over the Black River.

282. [Click here for a brief bio of Hezekiah Maham here.](#)

283. In the midst of debating the Postell parole violation, ill treatment of prisoners, and the detainment of Cornet Merritt, Marion was still hovering near Watson. He took the time to reorganize his forces by creating a new corps of light horse to begin activity specifically on the south side of the Santee River. Adding regiments of light horse had first been mentioned in Marion's Brigade Orders of Feb. 16, 1781, in which he had directed that a regiment of light horse, commanded by Lt. Col. Peter Horry, be formed out of his five militia regiments. No mention of plans to create a second Maham-led force are extant prior to this entry. However, beginning on Jan. 28, 1781 a controversy began over the assignment of a similar corps of light horse to be headed by Capt. William Clay Snipes. See Rutledge to Marion letter of Jan. 28, 1781, above. Interestingly, Marion anticipated Sumter's orders regarding the organization of the light horse. In his Mar. 28 letter, below, Sumter directed Marion to form two mounted regiments within his brigade.

Capt. John Saunders (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town March 24th 1781

Sir, The Inclosed were Received from Lt. Col. Balfour, with Orders to forward them to you.²⁸⁴ There is Such an Apparant disimilarity in the Cases of M^r Merrit & M^r Postell that I am Confident M^r Merrit will be Immediately sent in.²⁸⁵ I am happy to hear by Capt. Spencer²⁸⁶ who fell into my hands Yesterday, that the detention of M^r Merrit Equally in that Act as in sending an Impropper person with a flagg.²⁸⁷

I am, sir, Your Obdt humb. Servt.

John Saunders
Commanding George Town.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

284. The “Inclosed” letter was presumably the letter from Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour to Gen. Marion, dated Mar. 21, 1781 above.

285. Capt. John Saunders echoed Balfour’s letter of Mar. 21, 1781 above, perhaps sarcastically implying that Marion must see the obvious difference in the cases of Merritt and Postell. Coincidentally, about this time, Merritt escaped from his incarceration on Snow’s Island (*Simcoe’s Journal*, 245; Oller, *The Swamp Fox*, 141).

286. [Click here for a brief bio of Calvin Spencer.](#)

287. Details surrounding Spencer’s capture are not known, other than that he was captured near Georgetown, by British dragoons. What Capt. John Saunders meant by the second reference to Merritt is unclear.

Surprise at Snow's Island
March 27, 1781

While Marion's forces skirmished with those of Lt. Col. John Watson during the Bridges Campaign, a second British force proceeded undetected in pursuit of the Swamp Fox. On Mar. 22, these British troops under Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, including elements of the Volunteers of Ireland, marched eastward from Camden toward the Pee Dee River. Lord Rawdon's plan was to trap Marion between Watson and Doyle. Marion on two previous occasions had retreated to his lair when faced with a larger force west of Black River. If he did the same again when pushed by Watson, he would find himself caught between two sizable forces with the chance of being destroyed. The plan failed when Marion chose instead to block Watson's path and fight at Lower Bridge. While the British did not succeed in putting Marion's Brigade out of action, the operation did result in the successful assault on Marion's encampment at Snow's Island and the destruction of most of his supplies.

Once he reached the Pee Dee River, Doyle pointed his force southward toward Marion's encampment on Snow's Island at the confluence of the Pee Dee River and Lynches Creek. Marion had first established his safe haven in that area in Nov. 1780, and had used it effectively as a base of operations ever since in his successful guerrilla war against the British. Some recent research, particularly that of archaeologists Lawrence Babits and Steve Smith, points toward the idea that "Snow's Island" may have referred to a general area, which included the surrounding sites of Port's Ferry, Dunham's Bluff and Britton's Neck as well as the island itself.²⁸⁸

When Marion set off in pursuit of Watson at the beginning of March, he left a small force under Col. Hugh Ervin in command at Snow's Island to protect the cache of supplies and armaments and guard Loyalist prisoners. The Patriots learned of Doyle's movements and had just enough time to dump the ammunition and armaments into Lynches Creek. Doyle may have been guided by local Loyalist Hugh Miscally (or Miskally). It is also possible that passage to Snow's Island was revealed by British Cornet Thomas Merritt, who had been taken prisoner while under a flag of truce in retaliation for Capt. John Postell's retention at the beginning of March. Merritt escaped from the jail on the island, called the bullpen, with roughly 25 other Loyalists around the time of Doyle's appearance, but it is unclear whether his escape was before or after the attack.²⁸⁹

Whatever the case, Doyle crossed Clark's Creek to Snow's Island around Mar. 27. Despite being warned of the British presence, the small force of defenders commanded by Col. Hugh Ervin was easily overwhelmed. When Ervin recognized that Snow's Island was not defensible, he began the evacuation of the island. The Patriots lost seven men killed and 15 prisoners in the failed attempt to preserve the enclave. Doyle destroyed the encampment, and Marion would not use it again. Ervin, Marion's second-in-command, resigned from the service following the action, explaining that he was too old for the physical requirements of the position.²⁹⁰

Presumably, based on distance traveled, Marion had already moved away from Georgetown after the arduous campaign against Watson's British Regulars. He apparently marched up the Pee Dee because the Mar. 24 entry in his orderly book was written from Pee Dee. Marion likely did not know that he was on a potential collision course with Doyle.²⁹¹

Likewise, Doyle was oblivious to Marion's movements. He withdrew his 300 men from Snow's Island shortly after the fight, and began the return march northward.

Marion's scouting parties alerted him to the assault on Snow's Island, and he sent Capt. William McCottry with his riflemen in hot pursuit. They reached Witherspoon's Ferry only to find the British rear guard on the other side of Lynches Creek, scuttling the ferryboat. The Patriots scattered the surprised British, who fired ineffective volleys at the sharpshooters. The British marched to the Pee Dee, then hurried upstream along the western bank.

288. Steven D. Smith, *Francis Marion and the Snow's Island Community*, 205.

289. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 140-41.

290. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 140-41.

291. See entry dated March 24, above.

Marion could not cross at the ferry due to high water. After marching five miles upstream he found a suitable place to swim across, then renewed the pursuit of Doyle.²⁹²

The British encamped at Burch's Mill on Jefferies Creek at the end of March. When Marion's force reached the site the next day—the orderly book shows an Apr. 1 entry--Burch related to them that after a messenger had arrived from Camden, Doyle quickly broke camp and renewed the march. Rawdon had presumably ordered Doyle to rush back to Camden to reinforce the British in response to Greene's approach from the north. Doyle altered his course and began a rapid march toward the British base, while Marion renewed the pursuit, sending detachments after the British. A local tradition holds that these detachments caught up with Doyle at Willow Grove, near current day Lynchburg. The two sides exchanged fire across a branch of Lynches Creek until dark. At dawn the Americans realized that Doyle had withdrawn in the middle of the night. However, there is little reliable evidence that this engagement ever actually took place. The British reached Camden without further incident on Apr. 1, completing a 70-mile march from Burch's Mill.²⁹³

292. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 140-41.

293. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 141; *Henry Nase Diary*, 16; *Evan Pugh Diaries*, 205; Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781, above; Smith, "Snow's Island," 189, 230-31n52; William W. Boddie, *Traditions of the Swamp Fox*, (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 2000), 173-76; Orderly Book Entry, Mar. 24, 1781, below; *SC Royal Gazette*, Mar. 31, to Apr. 4, 1781; Orderly Book Entry, Apr. 1, 1781, below; Marion to Greene, Apr. 21, 1781, below; James, *Francis Marion*, 43-44; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 145; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 175-79; *Simcoe's Journal*, 243-246; J. A. Rhame, "Marion at Willow Grove," *The State*, Jun. 13, 1915.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

New Acquisition²⁹⁴ 28th Mar., 1781

D^r Sir, It was Exceedingly mortifying to me after so much pains taken to be deprived of a Conference with you, a circumstance much to be Lamented, as both Individuals & the publick are Consequently much Injured thereby. Your Advice & Assistance in framing, digesting & Laying down a proper plan of Operation against the Enemy in future might have produced the most happy Events.²⁹⁵

My unfortunately failing here in & with all finding Contrary to my Expectation that you had neither men or Supplies of any kind, & the force I had with me but Small & from many Causes decreasing Rendered my Retreat at once both necessary & difficult,²⁹⁶ I find that the disorders are prevalent in your Brigade, which have for sometime past been practised on the frontiers with such avidity as to threaten the State with Inevitable Ruin. To Obviate which Evil as far as Possible, I have adopted measures truly disagreeable, Such as can only be Justified by our Circumstances & the necessity of the Case.

But it is Clearly my oppinion Unless this or a Similar Method be Immediately Carried into Effect, that n[one] of the State or the Welth thereof will be in the power or possession of the deserving Citizens After a few Weeks. The dissoluteness of our pretended friends & the Ravages Committed by them, is as Alarming & distressing as that of having the Enemy Among us. It is therefore necessary Immediately to discriminate, who are Enemies and who are Real friends; the former treated as their baseness & perfidy authorize, the Latter to be known only by their Conduct, that is, by bearing Arms & doing duty when thereunto required by proper Authority & in Case of Refusal or Neglect, both person & property to be treated & delt with Accordingly.²⁹⁷

Nothing can be more Unwise or Empolitick than to suffer all the Welth of our Country to be so basely & unfairly Appropriated for the sole Purpose of Accumulating our Misfortunes & finally compleat our Ruin. When it is in our power at Once to Check, if not totally prevent, the Evils & disadvantages Resulting therefrom, to which End I propose Raising several Regimts. of Light Dragoons upon the State Establishment, agreeably to the Inclosed Scatch[Sketch] of a plan for that purpose. I therefore request that you would be

294. Boundary issues between the Carolinas lay dormant in the early-and mid-18th century. There were so few settlers in the western border areas of both colonies that other issues were more pressing than surveying the borders. A boundary dispute between North and South Carolina had finally been resolved in 1772, in response to the increasing settlement of the back country. As a result, what was referred to as the "New Acquisition District" of South Carolina was created, effectively annexing land originally thought to be part of North Carolina into South Carolina. It was roughly coterminous with current York County, SC, immediately south of Charlotte, NC.
295. In letters of Feb. 20, Feb. 28, and Mar. 4, 1781, Gen. Sumter had requested that Gen. Marion join him so that they could discuss strategy. Previous letters show that Marion attempted to meet Sumter during the period starting when he received Sumter's first letter on Feb. 26, 1781 while encamped at Green's Plantation. See letters between the two of that date and after, above. Examining both Marion's and Sumter's letters, it is easy to envision the difficulty a courier would have faced trying to deliver letters between the two Patriot commanders. With letters taking days to travel between the camps, it is no wonder that the fog of war interfered with the much-desired meeting. Mar. 2 would have been the best time for Marion and Sumter to meet. Sumter appears not to have acknowledged Marion's correspondence in his accounting of this time period. By telling Greene that he could "...get No assistance" in a Mar. 9, 1781 letter, Sumter did not tell the full story. Marion does not appear to have provided a report to Sumter or Greene about the Bridges Campaign. If he did, no record of it or reference to it has survived. It is unknown why he would have neglected to report, but it could have been as simple as a lack of paper or a safe route by which to dispatch a courier. (See narrative on page 46.)
296. Sumter's Brigade was at this point badly in need of rest and refitting. It had been repulsed in its attempted siege of Fort Granby, driven back at Belleville, and defeated in its attempt to take Fort Watson. Sumter's request for a junction at this time was presumably in response to the reduction in his troop strength, caused by the repeated defeats, accompanying casualties, and ensuing desertion. Acknowledging Marion's small force, Sumter, nevertheless urged him to join him. Whether or not it would have made any difference is a counterfactual on which the editors will not speculate. Sumter was confronted by Maj. Thomas Fraser and his SC Royalist Regiment, and defeated again, withdrawing with 10 killed and 40 wounded left on the field.
297. By this point, the civil war in the back country had escalated. Loyalties were often ambiguous, and it was not uncommon for ambivalent citizens to change their affiliation depending on which side was occupying their local area. In addition, opportunists saw the upheaval as an opportunity to appropriate the property of Loyalists and Patriots alike. Marion's views on plunder were quite clear, as communicated in his general orders of Mar. 1, 1781 above: "This is to inform the Publick that I will publish the names of all Such men who I know have Plundered Either on the north or South of Santee, after which it will be lawfull for any man to put them to Death where they are..." Marion presumably re-issued this letter as part of his General Orders to his Brigade of Apr. 1, 1781. Sumter did not go so far as to declare the penalty for plunderers, only that such men would be "treated as their baseness & perfidy authorize." He also ordered that even the Patriots who refused or neglected to serve in the militia would have "both person & property to be treated & delt with Accordingly." The authorization to create and enforce these punitive measures is not known. Late in 1781, Sumter would utilize the basics of this policy, soon to be called "Sumter's Law," when offering the spoils of war to new recruits. (Justin Liles, "Thomas Sumter's Law: Slavery in the Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution," (PhD dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2011)).

pleased to Cause to be Immediately Raised in your Brigade two Regiments agreeable thereto.²⁹⁸ I have also to request that you Give Orders & oblige every person with you to join their proper Regiments or Brigades, & that None of the Enemy when taken be paroled, or Set at Liberty, but in Cases of Extreme necessity—that all the property Captured or Taken from the Enemy be securely kept for Public purposes, Except what is allowed to & is appropriated for the use of the troops in Service, agreeable to the Terms proposed. Nothing can be more Essential to promote the happiness & secure the peace & tranquility of the people of this Country than treating with the Utmost Severity, All Persons who Contrary to Orders & to the Total Subversion of all Authority take upon themselves to form parties to go a plundering & distressing the Resources of the Country Necessary for the use & support of an Army. I Recommend that too Great a Number of Servants, Idle persons and Led Horses may not be Suffered to follow the Army. You will be pleased to let me know what your Present Strength is & what you Judge it may be 10 Days hence, what your Views are, what are the Situation of the Enemy & what position you think will most Effectually tend to distress the Enemy by Vesting of or preventing their being supported with Beef, Cattle &c.—which at Camden they Stand in Great Need of at present.²⁹⁹ It is my desire that you should take a position higher up on Black River, which is very Necessary to not only prevent the Stock from being drove to Camden but also to facilitate my plans & designs on the west side the Wateree—the more speedy your movements are, the better they will Answer. The Enemy are taking Great pains to Raise a number of Horse, a Circumstance that should by every posible means be prevented. If men were to Turn out chearfully so that large Bodies might pass through different parts of the Country, it would at this time very materially injure the Enemy. News from the Army & Northward I have no doubt you have had,³⁰⁰ I have just Received accounts that Col^o. Clark with a party of Georgians & S^o. Carolinians fell in with Capt. Dunlap of the Legion near Savannah River, Killed & made Prisoners the Captain & about 70 more out of 80. Some add that Capt. Dunlap was recruiting for the Legion.³⁰¹ The Governour has probably mentioned something to you Respecting some Stores; they were Stored up in Virginia & will be of but very Little Consequence when brought forward, as what Little there was, has been much Pillaged, the Dry goods he requested you might have a part of, if you chused to take them. I am apprehensive that the whole will not be sufficient to Cloath one Regiment.³⁰² The Day I Received your letter, Col^o. Marshall joined me with about [missing] men, chiefly N^o. Carolinians, Chiefly of [missing] Regiment that left the Waxesaws with him & deserted some days before. I doubt you will Get but few out of that Regiment to Join you until you are higher up, after our Joining they might perhaps remain, if not too Leniently treated; they are an untoward Set of People.³⁰³ If Col^o Harden is still with you, I think it Advisable for him to Come this way. General Pickens has Gone to take Command of his Brigade. Col^o. Harden may be wanted upon some particular Occasion.³⁰⁴

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298. No hint of the formation of additional light regiments was contained in correspondence between Marion and Sumter, nor between Marion and Rutledge. It is possible that a letter, now missing, from Sumter to Marion, touched on the subject of adding light regiments.
299. Shortages of provisions at Camden indicated that the guerrilla activities of Marion and Sumter were having their desired effect of hindering the supply line from Charlestown.
300. Sumter was likely referring to news of the inconclusive clash between forces of Greene and Cornwallis on Mar. 15, 1781 at Guilford Court House, NC. (See Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, 1781 below.)
301. Sumter referred to the action at “Beattie’s Mill” (often called Dunlap’s Defeat) on Mar. 21, 1781, where the forces of Col. Elijah Clarke of the Georgia militia and Lt. Col. James McCall of the SC State Dragoons, who were riding in advance of Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, surprised a foraging expedition led by British Maj. James Dunlap near the headwaters of Long Cane Creek in western South Carolina. Maj. Dunlap’s actions in (allegedly) burning Pickens’s farm and abusing McCall’s wife had motivated Pickens to abandon his parole and both men to return to active duty in fighting for the Patriot cause in 1780. The American forces rushed the mill, surrounded it, and ultimately, after a firefight of several hours, forced the remaining Loyalists to surrender. The Loyalists sustained 40% casualties. Dunlap himself was later murdered in captivity in Gilbertown, NC. Elijah Clarke (1733-99) was born in South Carolina but had moved to Wilkes County, GA before the war. He played prominent roles in the Patriot victories at Kettle Creek, in 1779, and Musgrove’s Mill in 1780. After the war, he was heavily involved in both diplomatic relations with, and military operations against, Georgia’s Indian neighbors (*DAB*; *PNG*, 8:325n).
302. In his letter of Mar. 8, 1781 above, South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge indicated he would be sending “some Linen to be distributed amongst the Militia of your, Genl. Sumter’s & Pickens Brigades.” The stores, apparently held in Richmond, turned out to be of little use to the militia, more desperate than ever for provisions.
303. Gen. Sumter indicated in his Feb. 20, 1781 letter to Gen. Marion that Col. John Marshall (acting commander of the Kershaw militia) was en route to join him “in Good time,” gathering men along the way. Apparently, after five weeks, Marshall reunited with Sumter, who was not pleased with the volunteers Marshall had gathered.
304. Based on South Carolina militia Col. William Harden’s letter to Marion of Apr. 7, 1781, below, it does not seem that he visited Marion. Apparently, Sumter had put Harden under the command of Gen. Andrew Pickens, as implied by Harden: “I shall remain here about, till I can hear from you. As I have not been able to take Orders from Genl. Pickens, as he is at Ninety-Six.” See Harden to Marion, Apr. 7, 1781, in the next section.

I heartily Congratulate you upon the happy Advantage Gained by Major Gen^l. Greene & the Army under his Command Over Lord Cornwallis near Guilford Court House.³⁰⁵

I am D^r Sir
Your Most obedient humbl. Servt.
Thos. Sumter

N.B. I shall be happy to hear frequently & fully from you. I shall make some movements in about six days, I write in so much pain as hardly to know my own meaning, or read what I write.³⁰⁶

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

305. It is telling that even at this early date, Sumter was describing Guilford Courthouse as a strategic victory. Technically, the British had been left in control of the field, but Cornwallis's victory was a hollow one, for he experienced 25% casualties, enabling the Patriots to gain the overall advantage in the Southern Campaign. Cornwallis's subsequent movement toward Wilmington, NC, and then into Virginia as a result of the damaging blow, is often viewed as a significant turning point in the war in the South, which permanently shifted momentum from the British to the Americans. (See notes on Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, below.) For a full account of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse see Lawrence Babits and Joshua Howard's excellent work, *Long Obstinate and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

306. This letter marks the first from Thomas Sumter that is unambiguously an order rather than a suggestion, marking a clear transition in their roles from equals to superior and subordinate.

April - June 1781

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Gen^l. Orders at Burkes mill¹ 1st Apr^l 1781 –

All Such person who are Draughted to Serve in my Brigade and Refuse to comply, the Commanding officer of Company will Give in their names to the Commanding officer of the Brigade and such persons May be assured that their names will be published as Enemy to the State after which their persons & property will be Seizt and authority Given to the friends of America to apply their property to their own life.²

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 670; Oller, 141-42.

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1. This was actually Burch's Mill, near present day Pamplico, SC. Marion learned of the British assault on his "secret" base at Snow's Island by Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle and the Volunteers of Ireland shortly after Lt. Col. John Watson limped into Georgetown on Mar. 20, 1781, following two weeks of failing to subdue Marion. After learning that Doyle had hurriedly left Burch's Mill on Mar. 31, 1781, Marion likely accepted that he would not be able to catch Doyle before the latter reached Camden. He, nevertheless, sent two mounted troops after the retreating British. One, under a Capt. Nelson (probably John Nelson (or Neilson), who served as a captain under Marion from Aug. 22, 1780 to Nov. 30, 1782), and the other under (Daniel or Clement) Conyers (not to be confused with James Conyers, mentioned immediately below) caught up with Doyle at Willow Grove 30 miles away, where after skirmishing across Lynches Creek, or perhaps a wooded branch of water, the two sides ceased firing at nightfall. By dawn the British had withdrawn, reaching Camden later on Apr. 1, 1781. Rawdon, suspecting he might be the next target of Gen. Greene at Camden, South Carolina attempted to call in his detachments to reinforce Camden (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 721; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 744n1709; *Henry Nase Diary*, 16; Rhame, J. A. "Marion at Willow Grove," *The State*, June 13, 1915).
 2. Throughout Marion's partisan war he faced problems with maintaining a consistent force, especially during planting and harvest times, and when enemy troops were present in the various districts from which he drew his militia. Unlike Sumter who enlisted men using a bounty of slaves as a reward, Marion had only the charisma of his officers and himself, the spirit of patriotism, and the threat of sanctions, to maintain his troop quotas.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael. Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on Deep River [N.C.] April 4th 1781

Dear Sir

This will be handed you by Capt Conniers [James Conyers]³ who will inform you of what we have in contemplation. He is sent forward to collect provisions for the subsistence of the Army and I beg you will assist him in this necessary business.⁴

The Army will march to morrow⁵ and I hope you will be prepared to support its operations with a considerable force. General Sumter is written to and I doubt not will be prepared to cooperate with us.⁶

The Capt can give you a full history of Lord Cornwallises Manoeuvres in this State and of the several skirmishes as well as the battle of Guilford, which finally terminated in a retreat of the enemy, and his Lordship was oblige in turn to run lustily.

I am Sir

your most obed^t humble Sr^t

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

3. [Click here for a brief bio of James Conyers.](#)

4. In a letter to Greene on Apr. 14, 1781, Conyers wrote that he was searching for Marion, who “Marched Last Night.” So it is likely Marion did not receive this letter until after that. Conyers was also intent on acquiring horses that had been taken by militia, presumably Marion’s (Conyers to Greene, Apr. 14, 1781, *PNG*, 8:95). That same day, Marion joined forces with Lt. Col. Henry Lee, who undoubtedly informed him of Greene’s plans and recent operations. See Marion to Greene, first letter of Apr. 23, below). Conyers did join Marion by Apr. 21, as the latter reported to Greene. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 21, and Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, 1781, both below (*PNG*, 8:47-48n).

5. Greene’s Southern Army did not actually march until one day later, on Apr. 6, 1781 (*PNG*, 8:48n).

6. Greene wrote Sumter on Mar. 30, 1781 informing the latter of his plan to return to South Carolina, and asking for his help: “I beg you therefore will give orders to Genls. [Andrew] Pickens and Marion to collect all the Militia they can to cooperate with us.” Greene wrote further, “I am [in] hopes that by sending forward our Horse and some small detachments of light Infantry to join your Militia, you will be able to possess yourself of all their little outposts before the Army arrives.” (Greene to Sumter, Mar. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 8:12-13).

Lt. Col. William Harden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp near Godfrey Savnna 7th April 1781.

D^r. Gen^l.

Yours of the 21st of last Month, came Safe & am very Glad to here Our Affairs are in so prosperous a way.⁷ I have not been able to do much since I wrote you I have stopt three Schooners, one of which was loaded with Rice, that I had Unloaded & Stored. The other two I had Scuttled. I Also Stopt a Sloop, Got 4 Can^s. Salt that was Coming to Blakes plantations, I Ordered that not to be Touched till I could hear from you.⁸ Col. Balla[i] ingall came up with One Hundred Regulars & Sixty Horse to Pon Pon a few days ago & said he would Run me off However I sent a small Party to See how he was situated as I purposed to surprize him that Night; my Party went in & brought off two British Prisoners, within three Hundred Yards of his main Body & that Evening he made a precipitate retreat to Parker's ferry & the next day to Dorchester & Yesterday heard he was moving to Town. I shall send a party down to See.⁹ I have been able to keep from Purisburg to Pon Pon Clear, that two or three men may ride in Safety & would have went lower down, but was in hopes you would have been over the River & been in their Rear,¹⁰ when we might have been sure of them. I shall remain here about, till I can hear from you. As I have not been able to take Orders from Genl. Pickens, as he is at Ninety Six. The day before I Received your Letter, I Received a Letter from Col. Williamson to form a junction with him & sent up to him as I mentioned to you.¹¹ I heard Last Night that Augusta & the fort at Galphins & one other fort Composed of Militia, were all Besieged, that we had about Six hundred men & those in the fort was deserting daily & Expect Every Hour to hear from that Quarter of the surrender of One or all of them. You will Receive a letter from Col. Hayne,¹² with the Commission. You will hear his reasons for not Accepting it. This Gentleman has kept many from Joining me. On his Staying on too much formality. I have Given the Command of the Regiment to Major Ladson, who turned out the day I Crossed the River, without Hesitation. I hope you will not take it amis, as Col^o. Skirving¹³ wont be seen & the Lieut. Col^o. Saunders is to the Northward, Ladson to Act as his Major On his old Commission,¹⁴ I find the Leading men very backward,

7. The letter of Mar. 21, 1781 has not been found. Harden was presumably referring to Marion's running fight with Watson during the Bridges Campaign, as Marion likely did not know of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse until he received Sumter's letter of Mar. 28, above. See notes on Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, above.

8. Harden was operating well south of the Santee River, within a triangle bounded by Charlestown, Savannah, and Augusta. He presumably captured the referenced boats on the Savannah River.

9. Col. Robert Ballingall of the Colleton County Loyalist Militia and 130 Highlanders of the 71st Foot made a brief foray after Harden as a result of his successful raids. However, the British quickly retreated back to Charlestown. Ballingall was a prosperous planter in South Carolina's St. Bartholomew's parish. Cornwallis appointed him a colonel in 1780. Ballingall fled to Charlestown in Dec. 1781. Col. Ballingall, as secretary of the committee of South Carolina loyalists, signed a report, dated July 8, 1784, regarding the losses sustained by loyal subjects of the colony due to the depreciation of South Carolina's paper currency. Ballingall was awarded £2,070 as compensation by the British Government for the loss of his property in South Carolina, well short of his initial claim for £3,974. In 1788, he was living at Montrose in Scotland (Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 15, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:76-77; Jones, E. Alfred, ed., *The Journal of Alexander Chesney, a South Carolina Loyalist in the Revolution and After* (Columbus, OH: The University of Ohio Press, 1921), 94; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 25).

10. Since beginning to re-organize the militia in the area south of Charlestown in January, Harden had made significant progress in opening up a 60-mile corridor friendly to the Patriot cause from Pon Pon (Parker's Ferry over the Edisto River), near Jacksonborough, to Purysburg on the Savannah River. By "lower down" Harden probably meant down the Savannah River from Purysburg toward Savannah. One reason Harden had not been even more active was that he was relying on Marion's Brigade to be on the south side of the Santee River to support him, whereas Marion had in fact been operating primarily north of the Santee.

11. The chain of command among the militia in the southern part of South Carolina was just as confused as the one involving Sumter and Marion.

12. Isaac Hayne refused a commission in the state militia, choosing to honor his parole. He would later determine that his parole was no longer valid. [Click here for a brief bio of Isaac Hayne here.](#)

13. William Skirving (c.1745-1812), who served in the Provincial Congress, was a captain of the Willtown company of the Colleton County Regiment of Foot, during 1775 and later colonel of the regiment. When Isaac Hayne initially refused to accept a commission to raise a regiment in 1781, Col. Harden moved to appoint Col. Skirving, but he declined. Next in line was Lt. Col. John Saunders (not to be confused with the British captain of the same name), but he was out of the area, forcing Harden to place temporary command of the regiment in the hands of Major James Ladson, under a former commission (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 870; Harden to Marion, Apr. 7, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Middleton, Margaret Simons, *Jeremiah Theus: Colonial Artist of Charles Town* (Columbia, SC: USC Press, 1991), 165).

14. Given Capt. John Postell's recent arrest, it is not surprising that Hayne declined to accept his commission.

which keeps many others, So hope you will send me or some other officer, some proclamations or Orders what is to be done on this Occasion. They all say they wait for your Army to Come this way, then they will all turn out, but I find too many of them is waiting for Commissions, they Cant turn out without. I shall Give you a particular Account of them when I see you, I beg to hear from you Immediately when you may be Assured your Orders shall be punctually Obeyed.¹⁵ I am, dear Sir, with Compliments to all the Officers in your Camp & you will please Accept the same from

Dr. Sir,
Your most Obd^t. hum. Serv^t.

W^m Harden, Col^o.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

15. In response to the more timid Patriots who claimed they would join the militia when Marion appeared, Harden took the cynical view that they were just waiting for officer commissions, whereas he, who had already been promoted colonel of militia after the fall of Charlestown, was ready to follow Marion.

Col. Abel Kolb to Capt. William Snipes

[prior to April 16, 1781]

Sir,

I am informed you are taking all the young men that I have Ordered to join General Marion with you to the Southward. I must now beg Leave to Inform you of Gen^l. Marion's Orders against Such proceedings which I have Just Received forbidding any persons leaving his Brigade without his Leave.¹⁶

I am Sir,

Your hum. Servt.

A.A. Kolb.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

Capt. William Snipes to Col. Abel Kolb

[Answer to the letter above]

16 April 1781

Sir,

I Received yours, & this will Inform you that I have Instructions from General Sumter,¹⁷ who Commands General Marion, to Raise men where I can; & as to General Marion's orders, in this Case it avails nothing.¹⁸

I am Sir,

Your most humb^l. Serv^t

W^m Clay Snipes

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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16. South Carolina militia Col. Abel Kolb was commander of the Cheraw militia, including a regiment of light horse, formed by Marion's brigade orders of Feb. 16, 1781, above. The orders clearly prohibited transfers without Marion's approval, "After a man has Entered in S^d troop he is not to Leave it without Leave of the Commanding officer of the Brigade." In late Jan. 1781, South Carolina militia Capt. William Clay Snipes, apparently responding to a request for his help from Lt. Col. William Harden, who was at the time organizing a militia regiment in the Beaufort area, went over Marion's head to Gen. Greene, requesting that he be allowed to command a troop of light horse south of the Santee River. Neither Greene nor Gov. Rutledge objected to Snipes's acting in this capacity. In replying to Huger on Feb. 6, 1781 above, however, Marion opposed such a command for Snipes, who, he said, would "do no other Service than plunder the Inhabitants, which will make more Enemys."
17. South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge had written Marion on Jan. 28, 1781 above, that he had no objection to Capt. Snipes raising an independent company, but "I Refer Capt. Snipes to you for instructions. You will determine whether you can Comply with the Generals wish or not & Give Capt. Snipes such Instructions as you think proper when you have determined on your plan. Capt. Snipes may Receive Brevets from you for himself and Officers, as I have no Commissions by me & Can't detain him till any can be wrote out." (Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)) Writing for Gen. Greene on Jan. 18, 1781 above, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger echoed Rutledge's and Greene's opinions that Snipes would fall under Marion's command. It appears that Snipes, recognizing that Sumter outranked Marion, lobbied Sumter to extract his regiment from Marion's Brigade. The instructions from Sumter to Snipes have not been found. Whether Sumter ever communicated Snipes's orders to Marion is not known.
18. Snipes was from the Horseshoe/Pon Pon area of Colleton County, and of course wanted to fight for his home and neighbors, especially with Col. William Harden active in the field and successful in reactivating the area's Patriot militia. Marion was angry at Snipes for going around him in the chain of command, and at Sumter, etc. for encouraging the defection of his best men into the state troops.

Brig. Gen. William Moultrie to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ch^s. Town April 16th 1781

Sir,

I have this day Received information from Lieut. Col^o. Balfour in Ch^s. Town, that your troops have been Guilty of many Cruelties upon the people in the Country, particularly in the Murders of M^r John Inglis, M^r Caten, Cap^t. Clarke, & John Frazer (M^r. Maxwell's Overseer). As I know you are well acquainted with the Customs of War & that your disposition will not Countenance such Cruelties Especially as it Cannot answer any good Purpose I am therefore to request the favour you will Give Such Orders as will prevent private animosities from taking Revenge at this time, by such unwarrantable practices, as Can only serve to disgrace the Generous & brave. I dare say the people that have been Guilty of these Outrages will be Called to a proper Acct.¹⁹

I am Sir,

Your Most obedient hum. Serv^t.

W^m Moultrie

Brig^r. Genl.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

19. In an undated letter, probably written during the last week of March, Lt. Col. Balfour, commandant of Charlestown, complained to Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, the ranking prisoner of war in the city, about Marion's treatment of Loyalist militia prisoners. He threatened to retaliate "unless speedily redressed." Balfour had previously complained to Gen. Marion concerning the treatment of prisoners in a letter of Mar. 2, 1781, above. Moultrie's response of Mar. 31, 1781, characterized abuse of prisoners by Marion as "contrary to his natural disposition: I know him to be generous and humane." Balfour and Watson on the British side had engaged with Marion in an exchange of letters regarding the retention of the American flag of truce and arrest of Capt. John Postell, as related in correspondence starting Mar. 7, 1781 above. Balfour directed his complaints to Brig. Gen. Moultrie, presumably for a wider audience, concerning what Balfour concluded was a breach of the "Law of Nations." (Moultrie to Balfour, Mar. 31, 1781, in William Moultrie, *Memoir of the American Revolution So Far as it Related to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia* (New York: D. Longworth, 1802), 2:172-74).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion²⁰

Headquarters, Widow Shoemakers April 17th, 1781

Dear Sir:

We are on our march for Camden and shall be there next day after tomorrow. I am greatly in the dark respecting the enemies strength and situation in South Carolina, and also of Lord Cornwallises motions. This last circumstance is of the highest importance to the safety of our army, and I beg you to communicate to me all the intelligence you can obtain, and take measures to get all you can. Lt. Col. Lee is gone towards the Santee,²¹ intelligence to him is equally as necessary as to me. You will please therefore to send him information accordingly. Dont spare either time or pains to get the earliest information, & to forward it as soon as possible. Your present force & situation I should be glad to have a particular account of. Please to give me an official account of Col. Horry's²² attack upon a party of Watsons detachment.

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Serv^t

N Greene

ALS (ScC), Charleston Library Society

20. Note on Library Society copy: "Highly important War Letter."

21. See Marion's reply on Apr. 21, 1781 below.

22. Col. Hugh Horry with 70 men engaged a detachment of 60 British and Tory foragers near the Pee Dee River. The account is in Marion's Apr. 21, 1781 letter below.

Col. Abel Kolb to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

April 18th 1781

D^r Sir,

Through much difficulty I have sent you Captain John Wilds,²³ with a few men, tho not the number you Expect. Something Express a few days ago that I should not be able to send you a Single man, as soon as the men were Ordered to join you, Snipes & some officers whom he had appointed out of this Regiment, Indeavored to prevent their Joining you by telling them some fine Stories & speaking rather disrespectfully of you as I have been informed, to prevent their joining you. As soon as I received your Last Orders, I Immediately Informed Lieut. Lyons,²⁴ who I had Ordered to join you with the Young men that was to have been Continued with you of your Orders Informing him that I thought the young men that was Ready in turning out with him to Join Gen^l Sumpter, would receive the same Advantage by Joining you, but this did not reveal anything. When I found this to be the Case, I wrote him again, also wrote Captain Snipes, a Copy of which I have Inclosed you, also Snipes Answer.²⁵ I saw Lyons Yesterday myself, I Asked him about the men that he had Raised, he said he had sent them to Genl. Sumpter and that he would send every other man of the Regimt. that he could Recruit to him, Notwithstanding they were Ordered other ways, he Damned himself if he would serve under any officer but whom he pleased, that he disregarded any Orders that might be Issued to the Contrary;²⁶ as soon as I receive your Orders I ordered my Captains to have half of their men in Readiness to join you, by Certain time. Just as they were ready to March the said Lyons Immediately Imprest several of their Horses & sent them Immediately off, which prevents many of them coming to you, the Scarcity of Horses at this time & place prevents their being Replaced. I should be Glad to know what method you would have me to take with such persons. I shall Indeavour to send some few men on to you as soon as Horses can be had, as we are obliged to Stop Plows to Get Horses at this time to do Patrole duty,²⁷ we have no News at this time only of a party of Tories who have been in Capt. Murphies Company, commanded by a Captain John [B]rockinton.²⁸

I am D^r Sir,

Your Most hum. Servt

Abel Kolb

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

23. John Wilds served as a captain under Lt. Col. Lemuel Benton of the Cheraw District South Carolina militia regiment and Gen. Marion during 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 992).
24. William Lyon had been a corporal in the 2nd SC Regiment. He was promoted to lieutenant in Marion's Brigade in Mar. 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 671n1442).
25. The letter to Lyons has not been found. The letter from Kolb to Snipes, date unknown, and Snipes's Apr. 16, 1781 response are above. It is unclear whether Snipes or Lyons initiated the decision to send troops to Sumter, instead of Marion. The primary motivation for sending troops to Sumter was likely his custom of using what became known as "Sumter's Law," whereby recruits were given slaves as a bounty for joining his brigade, a practice Marion opposed.
26. Marion experienced serious breaches of discipline among his officers. However, Lyons' behavior, if true, is certainly one of the most egregious examples.
27. Kolb, obviously angry and frustrated at the tactics employed by Sumter's officers and his own subordinates, notified Marion that the lack of horses, now scarcer than ever, would prevent the militia from joining him. In desperation, Kolb asked Marion what to do.
28. Capt. Maurice Murphy was a Patriot company commander. The meaning of Kolb's statement is unclear. The most literal reading would seem to suggest that Brockington and the other Tories had perhaps infiltrated the Patriot force. However, based on Brockinton's known service in the Loyalist militia until Feb. 1782, this seems unlikely, and it is probable that Kolb means that they had fought against Murphy (Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.), 1:492).

Lt. Col. William Harden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on Salt Ketcher April 18th 1781.

Dear General:

This will be handed to you by M^r. Cannon, who will acquaint you of many particulars, which I cant Mention at this present, On Saturday [April 7] on the For

holes[Four Holes],²⁹ I came to a musterfield where I took a Captain and 25 men & paroled them & on Sunday night [8 April] Got within 6 miles of Capt. Barton & six men to guard him__ I detached Major Cooper³⁰ & fifteen men who surrounded his Horse & ordered him to surrender, but he refused__ a smart fire Commenced & Major Cooper soon Got the better, wounding Barton who is since dead & one other & Killed three Dead & took two prisoners, the Major got Slightly wounded & one of his men & lost a fine youth, (Stewart) who rush^d up & was Killed Dead³¹__ I then heard Col^o. Fenwick & his Core of Horse Dragoons was at Pocotaligio, 35 In Number, I proceed on my March to surprise them but the Colonel had heard I was Coming, & he Attempted the like on me__ Our Advance party met & hailed, when I ordered my men to Turn out in the woods, but Unluckily, went too far from the road. I fired a few shots when they retreated; I rusht out, but they Charged. & my men gave way. I had one man taken & two wounded, I Killed one of his men Dead & wounded Seven.³² next morning took two of his Dragoons & retreated back about Ten Miles & stayed two Days when I marched on & got within sight of fort Balfour at Pocotaligo, at 12 OClock in the day__ I placed my men & sent Ten of the best Horses to draw them out, but Luckily Colonels Fenwick and Letchmere were at Vanbibers & were taken & seven of the Dragoons & brought to me, the Rest of them were in the fort, I then sent Captain Harden³³ with a flagg to Demand a Surrender of the fort & the men in it, they Sent for Answer they would not Give it up I sent the second time & told them that if I was Obligated to Storm it, that I would give no Quarter; Col. Kelsel then desired half an hour to Consider, I gave him Twenty Minutes, they then agreed to Give up the fort on terms which I Granted & in two hours the fort with one Militia Colonel, one Major, three Captains, three Lieutenants, and sixty privates of Colo. Fenwicks, One Lieutenant & 22

29. Col. Harden did not mention that two days earlier, on Apr. 5, 1781, his force had been dispersed by South Carolina Loyalist Capt. Edward Fenwick (or Fenwicke) (d.1785), a wealthy sea island planter, who had been educated in England. In Jan. 1781, Fenwick was commissioned a captain in the SC Light Dragoons, a Loyalist regiment operating in the area between Charlestown and Beaufort. Despite being outnumbered, he and 35 dragoons foiled Harden's ambush attempt at Patterson Bridge over the Salkehatchie River. Fenwick was captured a few days later at Fort Balfour, see below, and paroled, after which he clandestinely converted to the Patriot cause, supplying intelligence regarding troop movements and strength. He was, nevertheless, included on the Confiscation List after the war. Support from Nathanael Greene and Henry Laurens resulted in his name being removed from the list. By Act 1280 of the General Assembly, dated March 24, 1785, Fenwick's property was returned to him with the stipulation that he leave the state within 12 months (Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 397; McCord, *Statutes*, 6:631; Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:687; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 4:171n).
30. John Cooper served as a major in Col. William Harden's Upper Granville County militia regiment, and rode with Harden during the actions of Apr. 1781. Harden had just organized his regiment, having served with Gen. Marion since the beginning of 1781.
31. Harden and his troops rode south the day after the fight at Four Holes, and met up with Loyalist militia Capt. John Barton and his force at Barton's Post at Red Hill, approximately two miles east of Saltketcher Bridge. Although Barton had only six men, he was able to hold off Maj. John Cooper's troops for an hour, surrendering only after three men were killed and two wounded, including Barton (Simms, *Francis Marion*, 135; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:274).
32. After the fight with Barton, Harden prepared to ambush Fenwick at the Saltketcher Bridge. The ambush did not materialize, but despite his command being dispersed, Harden was still able to gain the upper hand on the Loyalists, obtaining a measure of revenge for the defeat he had suffered in his first encounter with Fenwick.
33. At least three Hardens fought as partisan militiamen. A Capt. Harden served in Marion's brigade during the Bridges Campaign. This may have been Capt. Charles Harden, who served in the Beaufort militia under his brother Col. William Harden. Harden served 428 days in the militia as a captain and a major from 1780-82. When Gen. Marion rode to the South to reinforce Col. Harden in Aug. 1781, he found him bedridden. Sumter, however, reported that Harden was a prisoner on parole, having been captured by a small enemy force from Port Royal Island. Whatever the case, Col. William Harden sent 80 militiamen under the command of Maj. Charles Harden to serve under Marion. Additional militia joined Marion before the surprise attack at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30, an action that decimated the British cavalry. In his orderly book written after the battle, Gen. Marion reported the victory, but with some dissatisfaction, "Had they [his force] been Assisted by the Officer of the cavalry [Charles Harden] And the night Division agreeable to Orders, he is Certain that Very few of the Enemy would have Escaped --" In a letter to Greene Sep. 3, below, Gen. Marion again expressed further criticism of Harden, "Had Majr Harden with his Div[ision] & Majr Cooper with the Cavaldry Obey'd O<rders,> It is probable the Greatest part if not th<e wh>ole must have been Destroy'd or taken, but <the> first never fired a Gun & the Second was not in sight by which means I Lost above one third of my force & in the two most material points." (O'Kelley, *BCADM* 691n1497), 693-94; Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, PNG, 9:288-91).

Dragoons & their Horses gave up to me & they marcht out & piled their Arms without the Abbatees & I marched in and took possession of it & that night & the next day had it destroyed,³⁴ as I had Intelligence of a Party Coming from Town which did the day after Colo. Be[a]llingall with One Hundred of the Seventy first, thirty Highlanders mounted & about forty militia mounted I could not give them battle as I had sent a party up Savannah River with Captain Barton & McKoy in pursuit of seven boats going to Augusta & they have not yet returned,³⁵ but hope they will Join me to-morrow at farthest__ The Enemy left Pocotaligo & is now lying at Blakes Plantation I imagine for some of the Tories to join them; however I hope but few will join, as I have been about them & they all took the swamp__ I am Oblidged to hall off Southwardly to Collect all the men I can in them parts & am in hopes the most of the men near the Okaties will Join me, the men about Pon Pon³⁶ is the backwardest tho' when I first visit their, I heard they were all to be in Arms, only was waiting till they could send a man to you for Commissions, when they were to turn out. I beg you will send some Immediately with your Orders; it seems they wait for Colo. Haynes & he says he can't without a Commission & is sure if he turns out that at Least two hundred will join him, if so am very sure that this part of the Country may be held,³⁷ I beg to hear from you as soon as Possible & in the mean time you may be assured I will do every thing in my Power__ I would be glad if you would send a party over the River again as I am told they want to bend all their force to Run me off, & a Command there will Stop them.³⁸ I have not had time to go to the River to see about the powder, & there was but little in the Fort. however, if McKoy takes those boats, I can supply you with a Good Deal³⁹ I have not heard from General Pickens as yet but Expect to hear by McKoy, when I will send to him,⁴⁰ I have no more to add at present, but my best & all the Officers compliments to all the Officers and Acquaintances, & you will please to Accept the same from

D^r Sir Your
Most Obdt. Servt.

W^m Harden
Colo.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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34. After a brief rest, Harden drove his force to Fort Balfour, opportunistically capturing Capts. Edward Fenwick and Nicholas Lechmere outside the fort at nearby Vanbiber's Tavern where sick or wounded men were recovering, effectively eliminating the senior command of the Loyalist fort. Harden demanded the post's surrender. Within two hours the fort was in American hands. Patriot Capt. Tarleton Brown attributed the quick surrender to the large percentage of the Loyalist force with covert Patriot sympathies. Harden's declaration that he would give no quarter if the fort was not surrendered undoubtedly had a strong effect as well (Tarleton Brown, *Memoirs*, 21-23).
35. Harden sent some of his men to find the British supply boats and destroy them. In the process they learned that a relief force under South Carolina Loyalist militia Col. Robert Ballingall was on its way from Charlestown. Harden quickly withdrew in the face of the superior force.
36. The Pon Pon was a region along the Edisto River near Jacksonborough.
37. South Carolina militia Col. Isaac Hayne of the Colleton County Regiment had taken parole after the fall of Charlestown in May, 1780. Despite being reluctant to break his parole, he changed his mind when the Americans re-captured the area in which his plantation lay. Hayne rejoined the militia, received a colonel's commission, and quickly raised a militia regiment.
38. Harden hoped Gen. Marion was planning to cross the Santee River to support his efforts. As a result of his successes at Four Holes, Red Hill, Saltketcher Bridge, and Fort Balfour, he knew it was only a matter of time before the British would send more regular troops and reorganize the Loyalist militia in his area.
39. Harden's comment about gunpowder makes clear the importance of taking the seven boats on the way from Savannah to Augusta. Apparently, he was also sensitive to Marion's logistical needs.
40. It is not clear why McKoy would have knowledge of Gen. Pickens's activities. The militia commands of Pickens, Sumter and Marion operated in largely separate regions of South Carolina, with Pickens's command covering the far western part of the state. After the skirmish at Wetzell's Mill in North Carolina on Mar. 7, 1781, Pickens and his troops left the main army. He returned to his home, increased recruiting, and continued to launch attacks on the British. Pickens was also present, but not in command, at Dunlap's Defeat (or Beattie's Mill) on Mar. 21, 1781, in which Col. Elijah Clarke's riflemen forced the surrender of a Loyalist force (John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse* (New York: Wiley, 1997), 367-68).

Siege of Fort Watson April 15-23, 1781

After the clash at Guilford Courthouse, Gen. Greene sent Lt. Col. Henry Lee and his Legion to join Marion in reducing the British posts in the northeastern part of South Carolina. This union could not have come at a better time, as Marion was short on ammunition, supplies, and morale. Though he had rallied his exhausted troops after the Bridges Campaign, it was the planting season, leading many to depart for home, and the superiority of Watson's Loyalist forces caused Marion to consider desperate options, including retreating to North Carolina. The arrival of one of Lee's officers with news that the Legion were soon to join him must have greatly relieved Marion. He wrote to Gen. Greene on Apr. 23, above, that he and Lee had united on Apr. 14 on the Santee, and the next day they invested Fort Watson.

Although the garrison under Lt. James McKay⁴¹ numbered only 80 regulars and 40 militia, the Loyalists held the terrain advantage. The 30-foot-high Indian mound on which it was built, along with the stockade fort, the triple abatis, and the extensive clearing around the fort gave the enemy a formidable defensive position. It was not surprising that Lt. McKay rejected the Americans' summons to surrender. On the first day of the siege, a skirmish ensued, during which the British lost one man. Firing continued throughout the week, but losses on both sides were minimal.⁴²

The primary challenges for the Loyalists were their lack of artillery and a water source within the fort. McKay believed the absence of artillery, which had been taken by Watson for the Bridges Campaign, would not hurt his defense. But the only source of water was from Scots Lake, which posed a serious problem. Early in the siege, Marion's sharpshooters picked off any British soldier who attempted to bring water to the fort. On Apr. 18, McKay solved the water problem by digging a well within the fort's abatis at the foot of the mound.⁴³

On the American side Marion commanded the joint force consisting of about 80 partisans and 340 veterans from Lee's Legion. No entrenching tools were available to carry out a traditional siege, and the absence of trees close to the fort neutralized Marion's sharpshooters. His men averaged only two rounds apiece, further minimizing their value in taking Fort Watson.

Lee recognized that without entrenching tools, the fort could not be taken by conventional siege methods. He notified Greene of the situation and requested artillery, predicting that he would make short work of the British with a single gun. Greene quickly dispatched a cannon. However, the gun crew became lost on the way to Fort Watson.

On the evening of the 18th the Americans re-took some of the baggage of the 63rd and 64th regiments, which had been captured by Sumter and subsequently re-captured, but by the sixth day of the siege, smallpox swept the camp. While the Continentals had mostly been inoculated, the militia had not. Desertion increased to the point where Marion threatened to classify anyone who left camp as a deserter. As the siege dragged on, morale sank.

At the suggestion of Maj. Hezekiah Maham, construction of an enclosed scaffold that would tower over the fort was started. During the afternoon of Apr. 21, according to the diary of the British commander, assembly of the structure, later known as the Maham tower, began within rifle range of the fort. The British response was to build a "Traverse to counteract the enemy's Scaffold..." After raising the tower to a height such that Marion's riflemen could fire down on the fort, a floor was laid and the logs assembled on the sides facing the fort.⁴⁴

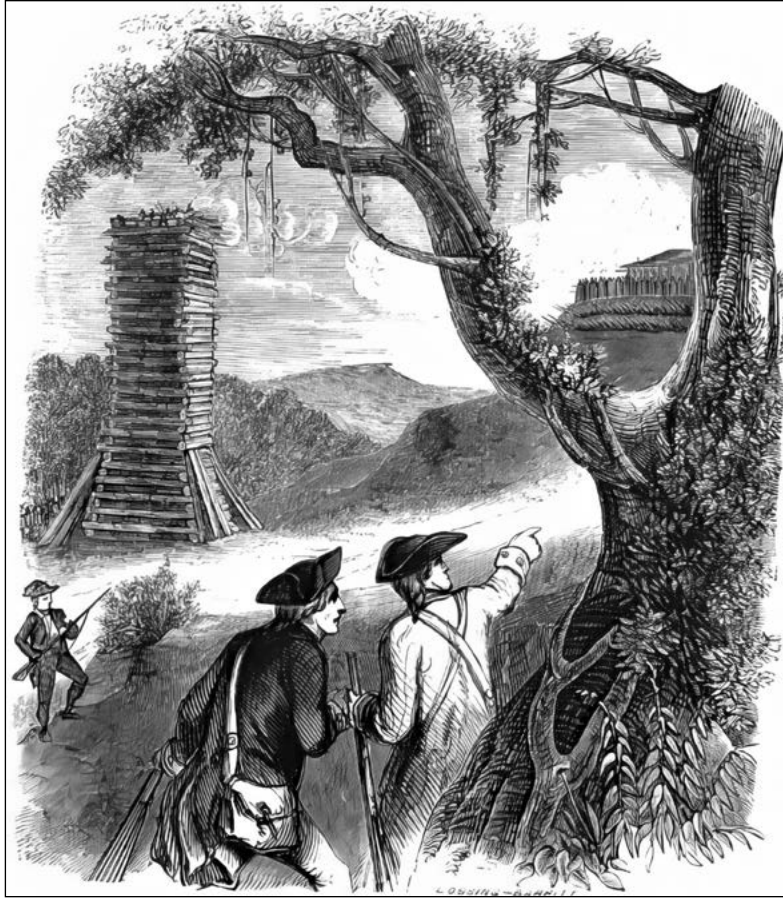
On April 23, the eighth day of the siege, the Maham tower was completed. The tower yielded immediate benefit. After finishing it, the Americans began a "Lodgement" under the fort in an attempt to undermine the wall. While McCottry's riflemen deterred the British from showing themselves, two volunteers rushed to the base of the mound, pulled away a section of the abatis and began chopping away at the logs of the fort. The British were unable to prevent

41. [See brief bio for James McKay.](#)

42. Lt. James McKay, "Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake [SC] Fort Watson" *SCAR*, Vol. 4 No. 2.1, Apr.-Jun. 2007, 52; Lee, *Memoirs*, 331-332.

43. McKay, *Journal*, Apr. 16-18.

44. McKay, *Journal*, Apr. 21-22.



Engraving of the Siege of Fort Watson. Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons

the American advance. Soon thereafter McKay was summoned to surrender and ran up the white flag. American accounts do not report it, but McKay, in his journal kept during the siege, reported that the capitulation was due to “the Cowardly & Mutinous behavior of a Majority of the Men having grounded their Arms & refused to defend the Post any longer...”⁴⁵

The Americans lost two killed and six wounded. The British lost seven killed, two wounded, and 114 captured.⁴⁶

Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 186-89; James McKay, “Journal of the Blockade at Scott’s Lake, Fort Watson Apr. 15-23, 1781,” British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers, transcribed by Walter T. Dornfest, *SCAR Magazine* 4, no. 2 (Apr-Jun 2007): 47-55; Oller, 144-52; Lee, 325-32; John Booth, Pension Statement W25258.

45. Lee, *Memoirs*, 332; McKay, *Journal*.

46. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 23, below; McKay, *Journal*; Peckham, *The Toll*, 85.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

Letter Summary [Original not found]

[April 18, 1781]

[Marion complained of Snipes' calumny and Lyons' insubordination. He was indignant at Sumter's interference with his militia. He did not accept "Sumter's Law."⁴⁷ He threatened to appeal to Gov. Rutledge.]⁴⁸

Summary taken from Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 173.

47. In Col. Abel Kolb's letter of Apr. 18, above, he related that "as soon as the men were Ordered to join you, Snipes & some officers whom he had appointed out of this Regiment, Indeaavored to prevent their Joining you by telling them some fine Stories & speaking rather disrespectfully of you as I [Kolb] have been informed, to prevent their joining you." One officer, Lt. Lyons, not only refused orders to join Gen. Marion, but also convinced new recruits to join Sumter instead of Marion, and impressed horses from Kolb's militia for use by the recruits destined for Sumter's command. Sumter instituted a policy of giving slaves to new recruits as a bounty for joining the state forces. The policy, known as "Sumter's Law, proved very popular, but Marion rejected it, presumably over concerns that the policy would encourage plundering of Loyalist estates.

48. It is not known whether Marion appealed to Rutledge. Very little correspondence between Marion and Rutledge is extant during this period.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

before Fort Watson Lake near Wright bluff 21 April 1781

S^r.

Yours of the 17th Inst. I this moment receivd; as soon as Captⁿ [James] Conyers Arrived I sent men to collect Cattle for your Army. Five days ago Maj^r. [Alexander] Swinton⁴⁹ from Peedee informed that he had sent you one hundred head & in three days you will receive as many more with Sixty head hoggs⁵⁰ by Captⁿ [John] Nelson⁵¹ who covers the Drivers. I hope you will not want in future.

I shoud have Acquainted you with the Enemys force in this Country as soon as I heard of your Coming into it, but Col^o. Lee (who I made a Junction with near on Santee the 13th Inst.)⁵² I expected had informed You as I made him Acquainted with every Surcomstance.

L^t Col. Watson was in Brittons neck the 17th Inst. with two hundred & fifty British & fifty torrys & two field pieces--fifty of his men are mounted; in Geo. Town is thirty men, in fort Watson 69 British, 37 Torrys--redoubt at Nelsons ferry is fifty men, in St Johns Church near Monks Corner is mag^a Small with two hundred Infantry 2 field ps. --at motts four miles above Col^o. Thompson is Major Maxwell⁵³ with 60 Men; at Nelsons & this Last place are strong redoubts --- in Ch^s. Town it is S^d. is not more than 500 men; the Congarees & ninety Six I have no knowledge of [unintelligible] the Coppy of this Letter from Col^o. Harden who I sent to the South ward with Seventy Choice men will give the State in that part.⁵⁴ A Small Detachment which I sent to watch the Enemys movements in Camden, took at the mouth of Raften [Rafting]⁵⁵ Creek a boat Loaded with Corn, Killed 2 wounded 4 & took 6 British soldiers & one torry

The Account you Desire is, that I sent Col^o. Hugh Horry across Peedee with 70 men to intercept the torrys who I expect intended to Join Col Watson in his march up Peedee; he fell in w^h. party of thirty Forragers & as many More to cover them. He Charged them on horse Back in W^m M^cphersons Plantⁿ. He killed two & took thirteen British Soldiers, two torrys, & five Negroes, without the loss of one man but was forced to retreat under a heavy fire for they was reinforced from the opposite of the river.⁵⁶

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49. Alexander Swinton (1736-1814) was at the siege of Charlestown and was presumably paroled when the city surrendered. He served as a major in the militia under Gen. Marion, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel in Jun. 1781. Swinton was wounded at Quinby Bridge in July (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 911; Marion to Greene, Jul. 19, 1781, ALS (MiU-C); O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 682n1473, 689).
50. As per *PNG*: "On Apr. 21, 1781, Conyers wrote to Greene's aide-de-camp, Capt. William Pierce, that Swinton had sent 50 cattle and 100 hogs to North Carolina militia Col. [Thomas] Wade. Conyers said he had given orders for the additional cattle and hogs collected by Marion's men to be sent 'under a proper guard[:] those must be with you in three Days.'" (MiU-C) (*PNG*, 8:129n).
51. Nelson led a detachment during a skirmish with the British under Lt. Col. Doyle at Willow Grove at the end of Mar. 1781. See description of this clash in "Surprise at Snow's Island," above (J.A. Rhame, "Marion at Willow Grove," *The State*, Jun. 13, 1915).
52. In his Apr. 23, 1781 letter to Greene, below, Marion wrote that he made a junction with Lee on Apr. 14, 1781. It is likely that the later date is correct, since he did not begin the march from the Pee Dee until Apr. 13 (Conyers to Greene, Apr. 14, 1781, *PNG*, 8:95).
53. [Click here for a brief bio of Andrew Maxwell.](#)
54. The enclosure was probably Harden's letter to Marion of Apr. 18, 1781 above, in which he reported the capture of Ft. Balfour and the fighting that preceded it (*PNG*, 8:129).
55. The transcript obtained from Roger Parks, editor of the *PNG*, indicates "Raften" was written, but the presumed correct name was in brackets, "Raftons." An Apr. 30, 1781 letter from Marion to Greene simply shows "Raften." The name of the creek used in the abstract in the *PNG* for the Apr. 30, 1781 letter was "Rafting Creek." A letter of May 6, 1781 from Lt. Col. John Ervin to Greene uses "Rafting Creek." (ALS (MiU-C)) "Rafting Creek" is shown on Map 2 of *PNG*, 8:260, between the Wateree and the High Hills of the Santee. The name of the creek has also been identified as any of the following: "Kershaw's" (*Publications of the Southern History Association* 11, (Jan. 1907):195); "Raften" or "Raftons" (Parks, *PNG*); and "Big Raften Creek" (a plat of land surveyed for John Lenoir in 1802. [(SoCoAH, Series: S213192, Vol. 0039, p.76, Item 1).
56. Marion had moved to the east side of the Pee Dee River at Wahee Neck by Apr. 9, 1781, in response to Watson's aggressive march up the same side of the river. He sent Col. Hugh Horry back across the Pee Dee, where he surprised the foragers on William McPherson's plantation, on the south side of Jeffry's Creek. (Smith, "Snow's Island," 189-194; "Marion District, South Carolina" Mills Atlas, 1825, David Rumsey Collection) Greene had asked for information about the engagement in his letter to Marion of Apr. 17, 1781, above. (*PNG*, 8:129) Marion biographers Robert Bass and Hugh Rankin mistakenly included this skirmish during the period when Marion was chasing Lt. Col. Doyle, immediately following the destruction of his Snow's Island "fortress." Bass and Rankin located the action incorrectly, placing it between Indiantown and Snow's Island (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 165-166; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 176-177).

I Just now rec^d accounts from Major Swinton I left to watch Watson, is that he Crossed the Potatoe-bed ferry, on Little PeeDee on the 18 Inst.[unintelligible] and is going to Georgetown.⁵⁷

I shall use my utmost Indeavours to give you the Earliest Intelligence of the Enemys movements Perticularly from North Carolina.

My Strength at present Including the several Detatchments is three hundred men, but Expect to be reinforced from Col^{os} Kolb⁵⁸ & Marshalls reg^{ts}. This last Reg^t. I have never been able to command a man in it.

I am and have been for some time past in great want of Ammunition I never could procure more than three rounds per man since you Left the Cheraws which is the reason I Never could do any thing. At Present many of my men have not one Charge & the most but three rounds. I sent to Gen^l Sumter but have heard nothing from him, shall be Glad of a Supply.

If it would not Interfer with your plans should be glad to Cross Santee River and give the Inhabitants on that side an opportunity to Join me. I would not wish to have any but my Malitia.

I am S^r. Y^r. Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (CSmH), Huntingdon Library.

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57. The enemy foragers belonged to Lt. Col. John Watson's force, though Rankin misidentified them as Doyle's. After regrouping in Georgetown following the arduous Bridges Campaign, Watson renewed his march up the Pee Dee River, arriving at Britton's Neck on Apr. 7, 1781. He then moved up the east side of the Pee Dee and, on Apr. 12 or 13, 1781, he was encamped at Catfish Creek, across from Marion. Shortly thereafter, Lt. Col. Henry Lee and his Legion moved into the area. As soon as Watson learned of the reinforcements, he changed course and returned to Georgetown (Smith, "Snow's Island," 189-94; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 176-7).
58. Abel Kolb's letter to Marion of Apr. 18, 1781, above, made it clear that Marion would not be receiving a sizable number of reinforcements. Thus, it can be inferred that he had not yet received that letter when he wrote this one.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Scotts Lake 22nd April 1781

Commanding Officer of the Reg^t to Enter in a book all the mens names Who have Joined their agreeable to proclamation of the 10 Inst – And those who is yet obstinate and will not Serve their Country.⁵⁹

Of their names to the Adjutant Gen^l Reg^t they may be Published & meet with such punishment as they Deserve.

Any man who quit the camp without Leave & return home Will be Deemed a Deserter & his name will be published as an Enemy to the united States and Suffer as Such⁶⁰ –

No person to go out of Camp in the Morning to forrage Until after roll call –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 673.

59. No record of a proclamation issued on April 10 has been found. Marion was likely referring to the contents of his general orders of Apr. 1, 1781, above, which may or may not have been reissued on the 10th, in which he stated in no uncertain terms the punishment for refusing service in the militia: “All Such person who are Draughted to Serve in my Brigade and Refuse to comply, the Commanding officer of Company will Give in their names to the Commanding officer of the Brigade and such persons May be assured that their names will be published as Enemy to the State after which their persons & property will be Seizt and authority Given to the friends of America to apply their property to their own life.”

60. Gen. Marion was known as a strict disciplinarian when commanding the 2nd SC Regiment before the fall of Charlestown. In dealing with militia, however, he faced a different set of challenges. While he did discipline some “deserters,” the number of part-time soldiers who came and left his force was so great that it served little purpose to enforce such stringent regulations. In this case, many of the militia presumably grew bored due to the lack of activity characteristic of a siege, or returned home because they had been away too long and their farms needed attention.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Fort Watson 23^d April 1781

Sir

Lieu^t Colonel Lee made a junction with me on Santee the 14th Ins^t after a rapid march from Ramsey's Mill on Deep River which he performed in Eight days. The 15th we marched to this place and Invested it[.] Our hopes was to cut off their Water, some Rifle men and Continentals immediately took post between the Fort and the lake. The Fort situated on a Small Hill forty feet high Stockaded, with three rows of Abbatis around it, no trees near enough to cover our men from their fire.

The third day after we had invested it we found the Enemy had sunk a well near the Stockade which we could not prevent them from as we had no Intrenching tools to make our Approaches. We immediately determined to raise a Work equal to the heighth of the Fort. This Arduous work was compleated this Morning by Major Maham who undertook it.

We then made a Lodgment on the side of the Mount near the Stockade. This was performed with great spirit and address by Ensign Johnson⁶¹ and M^r [Robert] Lee a Volunteer in Col^l Lee's Legion who with difficulty ascended the Hill and pulled a way the Abbatis which induced the Commandant to Hoist a flag[.]⁶² Colonel Lee and myself agreed to the inclosed Capitulation which I hope may be approved of by you.

Our loss on this was two Militia killed and three Continentals Wounded.

On this Occasion I am particularly Indebted to Col. Lee for his advice and indefatigable diligence in every part of this tedious operation against as strong a Little post as could be made on the most advantageous spot that could be wished for.

The Officers and men of the Legion and Militia performed every thing that could be expected, and Major Maham of my Brigade had in a particular manner a great share of this Success by his unwearied Diligence in executing a Tower which was the principal occasion of the Reduction of the Fort. In Short sir I have had the Greatest satisfaction from every one under my Command.

Inclosed is a List of the Prisoners and Stores taken.⁶³ I shall without loss of time demolish the Fort, after which I shall proceed to the High Hills of Santee and halt at Captain Richardsons plantation untill further orders.

I have the Honor to be with the Greatest respect sir

Your Mo. Ob^t Hbl serv^t Fran^s Marion

LS (MIU-C), Parks.

61. Baker Johnson was an ensign in Marion's Brigade. His efforts at the siege of Fort Watson were instrumental in bringing about the surrender of the fortification (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 521).

62. Henry Lee gave a more detailed description of Maham's Tower and its effect on the garrison:

"He [Maham] proposed to cut down a number of suitable trees in the nearest wood, and with them to erect a large strong oblong pen, to be covered on the top with a floor of logs, and protected on the side opposite to the fort with a breastwork of light timber. To the adjacent farms dragoons were dispatched for axes, the only necessary tool, of which a sufficient number being soon collected, relays of working parties were allotted for the labor; some to cut, some to convey, and some to erect. Major Maham undertook the execution of his plan, which was completely finished before the morning of the 23d, effective as to the object, and honorable to the genius of the inventor. The besieged was, like the besieger, unprovided with artillery, and could not interrupt the progress of a work, the completion of which must product immediate submission.

"A party of riflemen, being ready, took post in the Maham tower the moment it was completed; and a detachment of musketry, under cover of the riflemen, moved to make a lodgment in the enemy's ditch, supported by the Legion infantry with fixed baynets. Such was the effect of the fire from the riflemen, having thorough command of every part of the fort, from the relative supereminence of the tower, that every attempt to resist the lodgement was crushed. The commandant, finding every resource cut off, hung out the white flag" (Lee, *Memoirs*, 332).

63. As per PNG: "The list of prisoners has not been found, but a summary was appended to the copy of Marion's letter that Greene sent to Congress. It included five officers and seventy-three British and thirty-six Loyalist rank and file. (DNA: PCC, item 155, 2:171) As seen in a second Apr. 23, 1781 letter from Marion to Greene, a large quantity of ammunition was also seized." (PNG, 8:141n)

Terms of Capitulation of Fort Watson

Terms of capitulation proposed by Lieut McKay Commandant of Fort Watson

1st The Officers to be permitted their parole to wear their side arms and to possess their private baggage.
Agreed---

2^d The British Soldiers to be permitted to march to Charlestown where they are to continue perfectly out of service till exchanged and liable to be ordered elsewhere by the Commander in Chief of the American Southern Army.⁶⁴ Agreed

3^d The irregulars to be treated as prisoners of war. Agreed⁶⁵

4th All public stores to be delivered to the legion Quarter Master and the Fort to be delivered up to Captn Oldham who will take possessin this evening with a detachment of Marylanders.---

The capitulation is acceded to as it now stands in compliment to the gallantry with which it has been defended.---

(Signed)

Patrick CarnsJames McKay

Capt. Legion InfantryLieutenant

April 23, 1781 –

A List of prisoners taken at Scotts lake 23^d April 1781

Commd Officers – Lieut McKay Command Fort

Surgeon Campbell, Kings Am^r Regiment

Ensign Robinson, Loyal American regiment

Lieut Lewis, S^o Carolina Rangers

Ensign & Q.M. McKallam –

73 British privates

36 Tories –

Total 5 Commissioned officers and 109 privates

Tr (DLC:JCC)

64. The terms of surrender were quite generous, as demonstrated by Article 2, wherein it was stipulated that the British soldiers were to be returned to Charlestown “to continue perfectly out of service...” Such terms were in marked contrast to the treatment of Continentals after the fall of Charlestown, who were kept on prison ships, many of them subsequently dying from disease.

65. Interestingly, the Loyalist militia were not paroled. Perhaps, by this point in the war, Marion and Lee feared that paroles would be ignored. John Booth wrote that “The British were parolled and the Tories sent off under a guard towards Cheraw Hills.” (John Booth, Pension Statement W25258).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Fort Watson, 23^d April 1781

Sr

In my last to You I gave the Perticular force & Situation of the Enemy.⁶⁶

Watson cannot by any means move towards You & Shoud he come This way I think Col. Lee & my Brigade Can give a good Account of him, & if we had one field p^s [i.e., piece] We coud reduce the redoubt at Nelsons & S^t Johns Church.⁶⁷

I have [Ordered?] in such manner as to know the first movements of L^d Cornwallis.

I have got a table [i.e., code] of Col. Lee which you may wright when any thing is perticular you wish to communicate to me.

The Bearer M^r Slater who was a British officer I beg Leave to recomend to you. He has been with me for two months past & his behaviour has given Satisfaction.⁶⁸

The Ammunition we got at Fort Watson will be a Sufficient Supply at present.

Enclosed is a view of Fort Watson.⁶⁹

I [have Sir the honor?] to be

Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

Facsimile (Robert F. Batchelder, Catalog *71 [1989]), Parks

66. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 21, 1781 above.

67. Lee had also requested a field piece from Greene (*PNG*, 8:142).

68. Slater was evidently a British deserter who had changed sides and joined Marion. He was likely being forwarded to Greene for the intelligence he could provide on the enemy.

69. This sketch has not been found.

Entry in Orderly Book of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Scotts Lake 24th April 1781

Gen^l Marion returns his thanks to Col^o Lees Legion and the militia for their Spirited behaviour in the Reduction of fort watson, and in particular to Major Maham for his unwarried Diligence in the Executing of a work which was the Principal occasion of the Reduction of the Fort and to Ensign Johnson & M^r. Lee who commanded the party which made a Lodgement Near the Stockade, to Lieut^s M^cDonald & L^t Coutirice Who assisted Such Bravery can only be Equalled

O'Kelley, BCADM, 673-74.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp before Camden April 24th 1781

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 21st has just come to hand.

When I consider how much you have done and suffered, and under what disadvantage you have maintained your ground[,] I am at a loss which to admire most[,] your courage and fortitude, or your address and management. Certain it is no man has a better claim to the public thanks or is more generally admired than you are. History affords no instance wherein an officer has kept possession of a Country under so many disadvantages as you have, surrounded on every side with a superior force, hunted from every quarter with veteran troops, you have found means to elude all their attempts, and to keep alive the expiring hopes of an oppressed Militia, when all succour seemed to be cut off. To fight the enemy bravely with a prospect of victory is nothing; but to fight with intrepidity under the constant impression of a defeat, and inspire irregular troops to do it[,] is a talent peculiar to your Self. Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to do justice to your merit, and I shall miss no opportunity of declaring to Congress, the Commander-in-chief of the American Army and to the World in general[,] the great sense I have of your merit and services.⁷⁰

I thank you for the measures you have taken to furnish us with provisions and for the intelligence you communicate. A field piece is coming to your assis[tan]ce which I hope will enable you and Col Lee to get possession of the fort. With the Artillery you will receive 100^{wt} of powder and 400 ^{wt} of lead. I wish my present stock would enable me to forward you a larger supply but it will not having sent you near half we have.

I have reason to believe the Enemy has evacuated their post upon the Congarees,⁷¹ and if there is no object very important on the other side of the river it is my wish you should move up on this [side] in order to enable us to invest Camden to more advantage[,] the Garrison of which I have good reason to believe is short of provisions.⁷²

I have this moment got intelligence that Lord Cornwallis crossed the Cape fear river last week in order to begin his march towards this State.⁷³ I beg you to take measures to discover his route and approach and have me constantly advis[e]d of both.

Col Horees [Horry's] attack upon a party of Watsons detachment does him great honor.⁷⁴

With the highest respect
& esteem
I am dear Sir
Your Most Obed.
humble Ser

N Greene

ADfs (MiU-C)

70. The editors of *PNG* point out that Greene likely wrote this because Col. Henry Lee's suggested in an Apr. 20, 1781 letter that Marion had become despondent (*PNG*, 8:145).

71. Greene was mistaken. The British had not evacuated Fort Granby.

72. Per *PNG*: "After consulting with Capt. James Conyers, Greene changed his orders as to where he wanted Marion to take post." See Greene to Marion, Apr. 27, 1781 below (*PNG*, 8:145)

73. The report was incorrect. Cornwallis would, in fact, continue on to Virginia, never returning to South Carolina.

74. This referred to Horry's attack on Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 21, 1781, above (*PNG*, 8:145).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Captⁿ Will^m Richardson⁷⁵ High Hills [Santee] 25th April 1781⁷⁶--10 OC AM

Sir

I have Just come here & find the Express sent by Captⁿ Conyers to you is returned with the Account of y^r moving from this side Camden, & that you have moved entirely from Camden, where was not known[.] This is so misterious & Conjecturs various that we cannot tell what to conclude.⁷⁷ I shall be happy to hear from you, & clear up my Apprehension of Ill consequences.

L^t Col. Lees Caveldry is here[,] his Infantry I left last night ten miles below & Expect them up this morning. If I hear nothing from you by tomorrow Evening I shall make a Sudden movement, to prevent Ill consequences.

I have the honour to be Y^r Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

I send the Dispatches mentioned above.

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75. This address heading refers to Bloom Hill plantation owned by Capt. William Richardson, who was commissary of military stores to the South Carolina state troops. Bloom Hill was located in present-day Wedgefield, in Sumter County, SC off SC-261 (PNG, 12:223).

76. Marion moved to the High Hills of the Santee immediately after destroying Fort Watson (PNG, 8:147).

77. Marion's information was false. Not only had Greene not left Camden, but that very day he was fighting Rawdon just north of the town at Hobkirk's Hill.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Hd. Quar. April 26th 1781

Dr Sir

I have to Acknowledge the receipt of your two Letters dated 23 & 25th Instant. I Congratulate you on your success against Fort Watson. The Articles of Capitulation I highly approve of, & feel myself particularly indebted to you, & all the officers & men under you, for their spirit, perseverance, & Good conduct upon the Occasion.⁷⁸ The Enemy Advanced upon us yesterday & Gave us battle. ***The conflict was Short & seemed once to promise us advantage, but we were Obligated to retire & Give up the field tho' with no material Loss.*** [EDITORIAL EMPHASIS. SEE EXPLANATION IN NARRATIVE ON FOLLOWING PAGE.] We are now within five Miles of Camden & shall Closely invest it in a day or two again. That we may be Enabled to operate with more Certainty against this post, I should be Glad you would move up Immediately to our Assistance, & take post on the North side of the Town.⁷⁹ I have detached a field Piece to your assistance, with an Escort of a few Continental troops, under the Commd. of Major Eaton. I should be Glad you would send them a Guide, & Conduct them to your Army.⁸⁰

I am, Sir with Great Esteem & Respect,
Your most obdt. hum Servt Nath: Greene

N.B. I should be Glad you would move up within 7 miles of Camden.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC), Parks.

78. Marion had included a copy of the Fort Watson articles of capitulation in his letter to Greene of Apr. 23. Here Greene responded that he approved of the terms (PNG, 8:152).

79. Greene revised these orders the next day. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 27, 1781 (PNG, 8:152).

80. As per PNG: "Maj. Pinketham Eaton, hearing of the capture of Ft. Watson, halted and wrote Greene for further instructions. Greene first ordered him to rejoin the army but then sent him new instructions to join Marion." (PNG, 8:152).

Hobkirk's Hill / Second Battle of Camden

“The conflict was Short & seemed once to promise us advantage, but we were Oblidged to retire & Give up the field tho’ with no material Loss,” wrote Greene in the letter above, dated April 26. Following is more detail about the situation of which he spoke:

After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, the American army briefly followed Cornwallis, before bivouacking at Ramsour’s Mill. Cornwallis’s movement to Wilmington, North Carolina, opened a clear path to Camden. Greene rested for one week before marching back into South Carolina and going on the offensive.

The Continental army encamped at Hobkirk’s Hill, overlooking Camden, on Apr. 24, and Greene prepared for battle. Rawdon, now commanding the remnants of the British army in the interior of South Carolina, recognized Greene’s superiority of numbers. An American deserter provided information about Greene’s situation.

Instead of waiting for the Americans to attack, Rawdon took the initiative. On the morning of Apr. 25, the American army had just completed morning drills, and having been resupplied after several days, were eating breakfast. Rawdon believed that Greene had no artillery or supplies, as reported to him by the deserter. Unknown to him, both had arrived that morning.

A guide led Rawdon’s late morning march from the stockaded town of Camden, up Big Pine Tree Creek, toward the American left-rear. The British marched noiselessly toward the Americans, planning to attack from behind, but the guide turned them too soon, and they were detected about a mile from camp. Greene initially ordered a maneuver to extend his line and attack which, if successfully executed, would have enveloped the entire British force.

The American plan initially succeeded, but Rawdon moved his second line up, extending beyond Greene’s flanks. Greene ordered a downhill bayonet attack by the Virginia Continentals under Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger against the British left, while Rawdon’s center and right were attacked by the Maryland Continentals under Col. Otho Holland Williams.

Col. William Washington’s cavalry made a wide swing around the enemy and captured a number of prisoners but did not hit Rawdon’s rear as ordered. The 1st Maryland Regiment halted prematurely in its advance and the regiment’s commander attempted to withdraw and reform, which spread confusion to the neighboring 2nd Maryland.

Rawdon took advantage of the tactical situation and pushed his advance. Despite being outnumbered, the British were able to turn the tide of battle. After a short, spirited fight, the Americans retired. During the melee, Gen. Greene was almost captured as he attempted to assist in the withdrawal of the three artillery pieces. Although technically beaten, Greene’s army was not as damaged by the fight as Rawdon’s was. Of the 1,200-1,500 Americans engaged in the battle, 270 were casualties. Although they won the battle, the British suffered about 258 casualties, or over 25% of their total force. After the battle, Col. Washington returned to the battlefield, where he ambushed the dragoons of the New York Volunteers under Maj. John Coffin, killing or wounding 20 of the 40 total mounted infantry.

Though Greene had lost, the attrition inflicted on the British troops dealt a severe blow to the Crown’s capabilities and strategy. The victory for Lord Rawdon was hollow. Despite retaining control of Camden at battle’s end, the British commander recognized the futility of holding this second most valuable British post in the South. In the face of supply lines that were continually interrupted, a decreasing force with which to defend the territory held, and with little chance of reinforcement, Rawdon chose to give up Camden. On May 10, he would abandon the fortifications, setting fire to the village as he withdrew.

Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:508; Greene to Samuel Huntington, Apr. 27, 1781, PNG, 8:155-60).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

W^m Richardsons High Hills Santee 27 April 1781

Sir

I wrought you three Letters p^r Expresses but, have heard nothing from you. The Last was to Acquaint you of the reduction of Fort Watson on Scots Lake.⁸¹ Not hearing from you has made us very uneasy and we begin to conclude you have retreated[.]⁸² If so our situation is Dangerous as Lord Rawden is superior to us.

Intelligence from below is that Watson Crossed the Lower Santee Ferry Last Tuesday & marched for Monks Corner where Col^o Doyle is with three hundred men.⁸³ Col Ballfour came out of Ch^s Town with two hundred men & took the Dorchester road, and I suppose he is going Either after Col^o Hardin to the S^o Ward or to reinforce the Congarees or Camdan.⁸⁴

I wait here for your Orders with great impatients & have the honour to be
your Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

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81. Greene wrote Marion on Apr. 26 and 27. In his own letter to Greene on Apr. 30, 1781, Marion confirmed that he had received both letters, so they must have arrived sometime between the 27th and 30th (*PNG*, 8:163).
82. “Us” referred to Marion and Lt. Col. Lee. Lee and Marion apparently traveled together after the successful siege at Fort Watson. In his letter to Greene of Apr. 28, 1781 from Long Branch, a tributary of the Pocotaligo River in present-day Sumter County, SC, Lee indicated that he and Marion had moved to within 30 miles of Greene, per his orders. As far as the enemy’s movements, Lee felt that Marion was the best source for obtaining intelligence on the Pee Dee River and eastward toward Wilmington, NC (Lee to Greene, Apr. 12, 1781 *PNG*, 8:171).
83. As per *PNG*: “On Apr. 26, 1781 Nisbet Balfour wrote Lord Cornwallis that Watson, who had been ordered to Camden from Georgetown, had crossed to the south side of the Santee ‘in order to proceed up towards McCords Ferry & there wait events as his crossing would be very dangerous until we know more of Greene’s Movements.’” (PRO 30/11/6, *PNG*, 8:163).
84. As per *PNG*: “Balfour reported to Cornwallis on May 17, 1781 that he had assembled in Charlestown and placed a force of 300 infantry and 100 cavalry under the command of Maj. Archibald McArthur, some of whom were ‘convalescents.’ Balfour sent these troops to ‘Eutaws’ to ‘facilitate Lord Rawdons retreat, over the Santee.’” (PRO 30/11/6, *PNG*, 8:163).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Rughlys⁸⁵ April 27 [28]th⁸⁶ 1781

Dear Sir

Capt Conniers [Conyers] has just arrivd in Camp, and says that reports are below that we were routed and totally dispersed.⁸⁷ You will take measures to have the account contradicted and the public properly informed. By mistake we got a slight repulse. The injury is not great. The Enemy Sufferd much more than we did. What has happened will make no alteration in our plan of operations and therefore I wish you to pursue the same plan as you had in contemplation before.

In my last I desird you to move up within 7 miles of Camden, but Capt Conniers thinks that fifty Men below at the distance of fifteen or twenty Miles of it[,] all the supplies can be as effectually cut off as if you were at a less distance; and that if you cross the Santee you can take all the posts upon the Congaree and those posts that lies between Camden and that river.⁸⁸ I have therefore sent Cap^t Conniers to conduct the Artillery to you which I was informed this morning by Express was on its return[,] Maj Eaton having heard of the reduction of the fort.⁸⁹

You will cross the river Santee or detach Lt Col Lee and direct your force as information and circumstances may direct either towards George Town or elsewhere as shall appear to be necessary keeping me constantly advisd of your situation;⁹⁰ and leaving a guard of about sixty Men at or about the High Hills of Santee to prevent supplies from going to Camden.

Get all the good dragoon horses you can to mount our Cavalry[:] those for Col Washingtons Corps Capt Conners will take care of. This is a great object and I beg you pay particular attention to it.⁹¹

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (*Greene Papers*: DLC; also in PNG, 8:161)

85. Loyalist Lt. Col. Henry Rugeley, 's home was located just north of Grannies Quarter Creek, about 13 miles from Camden.

86. A letter from Marion to Greene on Apr. 30, 1781 below, indicated this letter's date as Apr. 28, 1781. Gibbes also used Apr. 28, 1781. (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:61) The date is noted as Apr. 28, 1781 in the Bancroft Collection, which was copied from Gibbes' letters (NN, Bancroft Collection, 280:47).

87. James Conyers had been serving as liaison between Greene and Marion throughout the period since Greene's return to South Carolina. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, 1781, above. The battle referenced is the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, fought above Camden and won by the British over Greene's superior force on Apr. 25, 1781.

88. As per PNG: "The posts between Camden and the Congaree River were Ft. Motte, Belleville, and Ft. Granby. Marion was occupied for a time with concerns that Lord Cornwallis was returning to South Carolina and with an unsuccessful attempt to keep a British reinforcement from reaching Lord Rawdon at Camden. He and Lee began operations against Ft. Motte, the most important of these posts, on May 6, 1781." (PNG, 8:161; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 197-20; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 153-59).

89. Upon learning that Fort Watson had been taken, and that Marion and Lee were marching to the High Hills of Santee, Maj. Pinketham Eaton halted and wrote to Greene on Apr. 27, 1781 asking for clarification of his orders. As seen in Capt. William Pierce's orders to Eaton on Apr. 28, 1781, Greene had sent two sets of orders. Pierce ordered Eaton to disregard the first order and to go with Capt. Conyers to join Gen. Marion (PNG, 8:162, 164).

90. Marion replied on Apr. 30, 1781 below.

91. Greene desperately needed cavalry horses, and wanted Marion to forward them for the use of the regular cavalry, not understanding that the partisans provided their own mounts. Marion objected that they would desert rather than be dismounted. The situation was not helped by Lee's repeated insistence that Marion had excess horses. See Greene to Marion, May 4, and Marion to Greene, May 6, 1781 both below (For Lee's claims about horses, see also Lee to Greene, May 2, 1781, in PNG, 8:192).

Maj. Alexander Swinton⁹² to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camps P D 28th April 1781

Sir,

Received yours of yesterday of the 24th Istant I am happy to here that the fort has surrendered⁹³ I [covered up] Scott & Maj^r Benson with a flag thay [covered up] in north Carolina in sarch of Lord [Cornwallis] & Ginniral [General] Scott Sayd he had reasons to [believe?] that he was imbarked and has asked me if I heard Any thing of Tarltons horse Cuming along by the way of Georgetown⁹⁴ I Should have asked Him Some more Questions bu[t] did not think he would be a Liberty to answer me tho I believe thay ha[ve] Sertinty of this__ I have sent Some Good men towards Wilmington & I Expect to intelligence I have Sent for the Toryes to go as you demand __⁹⁵ I have 40 Foot men I have all my horse men Except the Guards agathering Cattle I Expect in a few days to have 200 head to Send up__

I am y^{or} Obd^t
Hm^l. Ser^t

Alex^r Swinton

ALS (MiU-C)

92. Alexander Swinton had served in the volunteer militia since 1775. He was in the Britton's Neck Regiment of Militia from 1780-1782, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel in Marion's militia brigade on Jun. 28, 1781. He was wounded at Quinby Bridge on Jul. 17, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 682n1473).

93. Swinton was referring to the capitulation of Fort Watson on Apr. 23, 1781.

94. Even after Cornwallis marched to Virginia, there continued to be speculation that he would return to the South, and that when he did, Lt. Col. Tarleton would lead his advance guard. Neither British officer ever returned, both were captured along with the entire British force at Yorktown on Oct. 19, 1781.

95. The details of Marion's orders referenced here are not known.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Salem 30 April 1781

Sr

Yours of the 28h Inst. Come to hand.⁹⁶ I had proceeded quit[e] away to take the post you Desired on the North of Camden, but shall return to Santee where I hope to have an Opertunity of doing something.⁹⁷ I have sent Eighty men to remain at Raften Creek to prevent any provisions being carryed into Camden.⁹⁸ The Inclosed will Inform you [of] all the Intelligence I have yett been able to Learn. I shall Indeavour to Intercept Tarlletons horse if he come the Geo'town rout.⁹⁹

Col. Watson must by this Join Small at Monks Corner, which make a body of at Least Six hundred men & four field pieces.¹⁰⁰ There is a post of two hundred men at Dorchester; in a few days shall be able to give you more perticular Account.

I have the Honour to be y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

96. Greene's letter of Apr. 27, 1781 is above.

97. As per PNG: "In his letter of the Apr. 27th, 1781 Greene directed Marion to cross the Santee and proceed against "the posts upon the Congaree." That was a change from the order he had sent to Marion on Apr. 26 to cooperate with the army in the vicinity of Camden." (PNG, 8:179).

98. In his letter of Apr. 27, above, Greene had ordered Marion to leave a detachment at the High Hills.

99. The intelligence that Tarleton was marching to Georgetown was false. He was in fact marching the opposite direction with Cornwallis's Army in Virginia (PNG, 8:179).

100. See Marion to Greene, May 6, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp Congaree April 30th 1781

Sir,

I have received yours of the 18th Instant wherein you observe that you wrote me on the Sixth, which letter is not Lost, as you Alledge.¹⁰¹ You Gave your oppinion in that it is true with Respect to Rasing troops upon the State Establishment which Oppinion it appears you have Rescinded. Not from the Ill policy of the Measure but because Major Snipes might have disoblidged you.¹⁰² Whether he Gave Cause of umbrage I know not; he was Acting by no Particular direction of mine. If he Transgressed, he is ameanable, & may as an officer be punished with Great propriety, Notwithstanding there is neither Executive or Legislative Bodys in the State. Yet I think their powers Exist & who ever denies it is dilating the Almost mortal wound our Laws have received & directly admits what Major Snipes may have done to be just, or that which he prevented another from doing was Unjust. I Revere the Citizen who is tenatious of the Laws of his Country. I lament their being so much Abused If I have Done it I think myself accountable & shall no doubt be Called upon by the Gentleman [Gov. Rutledge] to whom you say you shall Represent the matter & if he is Unacquainted with my Motives & the step I have taken should be happy to have his oppinion upon that head to his Judgment & Authority I pay the Greatest Respect; but I have not a Doubt but he & all Impartial men will applaud an Undertaking which promised so much good to the United States & this in particular, Especially as it was the last & only Measure that could be Adopted for its Security, or posesion of even the least part of it.¹⁰³ As to the Powers by which I act, they Ought not to be Called in question by any man untill Gentlemen whom it might Concern had Used proper means to Obtain information.¹⁰⁴ I am sorry the post you Allude to, is not Likely to be taken. Gen^l. Greene wrote me a few days ago that Col^o. Lee had made his appearance very near so that he could take it in a few Minutes with a piece of Artillery, which he had sent him, since which I hear it is Taken.¹⁰⁵

I am Sir,

Your most hum. Serv^t,

Thos. Sumter

P.S. Permit the Bearer to pass the guards

Nath^l. Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

101. Neither letter (the 6th or the 18th) has been found.

102. Sumter insinuated that Marion's problems with Snipes stemmed from his having embarrassed Marion, rather than any principled objection to the policy of awarding slaves as recruitment bounties for the state troops.

103. South Carolina was having difficulty recruiting for the State Troops, in part due to a lack of funds with which to pay them. Here Sumter implied that the force was in such dire straits that the use of the slave bounty was the only way to recruit troops.

104. Sumter here accused Marion of calling into question the legal authority under which he practiced "Sumter's Law." Without Marion's previous correspondence, it is impossible to know whether this was actually Marion's position. Sumter in turn criticized him for making assumptions without complete information, suggesting, albeit cryptically, that his actions here were officially sanctioned.

105. The post Sumter referred to was probably Ft. Watson. The forces of Marion and Lee combined to lay siege to the fort. Though the artillery never arrived, the ingenuity of Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham and his 'Maham Tower' led to the surrender of the fort anyway.

Capt. William Snipes to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

April 30th 1781

General Marion,

I have seen your Letter to Genl. Sumpter, where you mention, that I had Insinuated & made Great promises to those men that joined me.¹⁰⁶ Sir, this will Inform you that I have done on my Instructions informed me but not as you have wrote to the General,¹⁰⁷ I should think that if you were so good a friend to the Cause, as you pretend you would encourage the matter that was on hand, but must really tell you General that the commission you have received is really puffed you up so much that you have Intirely forgot the Cause, which I am sorry for.¹⁰⁸ If I have Offended you I am to be found, & Let the matter be at an End.¹⁰⁹

I am Yours &c

W^m Clay Snipes.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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106. Capt. William Clay Snipes had been a valued subordinate in Marion's brigade. As Gen. Huger related in his letter of Jan. 28, above, Snipes had received an invitation from Col. William Harden to bring 150 men to assist him in the area near Beaufort. Snipes's plantation, the Horseshoe, was located nearby. He suggested to Gen. Greene and Gov. Rutledge that he (Snipes) be allowed to form a troop of dragoons to assist Harden. Greene and Rutledge approved of the concept, but deferred to Marion, who was Snipes's commander. Snipes apparently also discussed the plan with Sumter, who also agreed. Snipes then began impressing horses, utilizing Sumter's Law, and actually taking recruits that Marion's other subordinates, such as Col. Abel Kolb, had trained and planned to use. Marion, who was opposed to the plan, eventually sent Snipes across the Santee River, indicating he was going to follow behind. See Kolb to Snipes and Snipes to Kolb, both of April 16, 1781, and Kolb to Marion, April 18, 1781, all above.
107. Neither Gen. Greene, Gov. Rutledge, nor Gen. Sumter acknowledged giving Snipes the referenced instructions. Marion presumably described the situation to Sumter in his letter of Apr. 18, which has not been found.
108. Snipes appears to have been referring to Marion's commission as brigadier general in the South Carolina militia, a promotion he received at the end of Dec. 1780.
109. The meaning of this sentence is unclear. Snipes was known for having a violent temper, and for acting impulsively. In 1785, Snipes killed Charlestown Merchant and South Carolina legislator Maurice Simons in a duel over testimony Simons had given in a lawsuit between Snipes and former Gov. Rawlins Lowndes. Snipes was convicted of manslaughter but pardoned by Gov. William Moultrie. Given this context, it is entirely possible that Snipes was challenging Marion. If so, no such matter of honor ever took place (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:652-54; PNG, 11:590n).

Capt. Tristan Thomas to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Kolb's Ferry 30th April 1781

Sir,

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 and likewise The gard at the Same Time, they took and reliev'd 4 Tories and the British Prisoners you sent up last all except of five [or four] who would not go with them, 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 [untelligible] 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 Catfish¹¹⁰

[Y]ou have requested in your Letter a relief for our Millitia that are with you. But Sir in the Situation we are in it Seems Impossible to Send any there being a great number of the Inhabitants now with Gen^l. Greene at Camden Our Situation Seems Deplorable expecting every Knight when parties will be in upon us We are now embodied what few men we can collect in Order to go out after the Bloody Wolves, We Shall endeavour to put an effectual Stop to them We would beg your good advise on this Occation what would be best for us to do¹¹¹ There is at this Time a Large Quantity of Meat and other provisions for the use of the Army amongst us and Should those Fiends of Hell come in 'twould Instantly all with Our lives and properties fall into their Hands Could we have One of Our Field officers with the rest of Our Regiment at home I think we wuld Quell Them¹¹² We have nothing from L^d. Cornwallis only his being in Willmington, I have Sent of two men That way as you directed for intelligence as you directed and will from them Send you all the Intelligence I can get¹¹³

We Stand in great need of Ammunition pray help us if Possible____
I shall wait your answer to this with Impatience and am Sir your

M^t Ob^t. humb^e Serv^t.____
Tristan Thomas Cap^t..

P. S. Those Villians in their retreat fell in with Our Patrole near Cosway and Kill'd two and wounded One¹¹⁴

ALS (MiU)

110. Col. Abel Kolb was commander of the Cheraw Militia. A band of about 40 Tories under the command of Capt. Joseph Jones surrounded Kolb's house on Apr. 27, according to this letter (although most accounts put the date as Apr. 28). When the Tories threatened to burn his house, with his family and two visitors inside, Kolb agreed to surrender. After coming out, and in the process of giving up his sword, Kolb was shot by one of the Tories. After murdering Col. Kolb, the Tories attacked a nearby blockhouse and successfully released several British prisoners being held there (Alexander Gregg, *History of the Old Cheraws* (New York: Richardson and Co., 1867), 360-67).
111. Marion had apparently ordered Kolb to send him part of the Cheraw militia. However, Capt. Thomas, who had taken command, was desperately in need of reinforcements himself. From this letter and that of Kolb to Marion of Apr. 18, it is clear that the Cheraw Regiment was severely depleted, as a result of supplying troops both to Marion's Brigade, and to Greene at Camden, as well as the "requisitioning" of recruits by Snipes. See Snipes to Marion, Apr. 30, above.
112. Echoing the plea of other militias, Capt. Thomas felt that retaining the militia in its home district would enable the Patriots to fend off the savage attacks by their Tory neighbors. This was a frequent point of contention between local militia leaders, whose priority was protecting or liberating their home regions, and regular army officers, who wanted cooperation from militia units in accomplishing larger strategic aims within the theater. As a continental officer commanding militia forces with authority stemming from the State of South Carolina, Marion was in a particularly delicate position with respect to balancing these aims.
113. After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, the badly damaged British army under Cornwallis limped to Cross Creek and then to Wilmington, NC. There Cornwallis rested before marching on to Virginia and his eventual defeat at Yorktown. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, above.
114. After leaving Kolb's plantation in flames, the Tories continued their spree, killing two on the way to Brown's Mill, where they expected to find Col. Maurice Murphy's troop. Most of Murphy's men had left the post. However, at least one of those who remained was killed. (Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 366) Whether this is the action to which Thomas referred is uncertain.

Lt. Col. Henry Lee to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Swamps of Black River [30 April 1781]¹¹⁵

Dear Gen^l

Gen. Marion has determined his route towards Santee.¹¹⁶

From hence we march to Benbows Ferry on the Black River, thence to Wright Bluff near Fort Watson, where we cross the Santee. Whether we move down that river or up the Congaree future intelligence will determine.¹¹⁷

You do me great honor in calling the adopted plan of operations mine.¹¹⁸

I have no pretence to such distinction. It gave me great pleasure to know that my sentiments coincided with your intentions, & this honor I claim.

I am so convinced of the wisdom of the operations, that no disaster can affect my opinion. Hitherto all is well, & nobody to blame but Genera[l] Sumpter. I do not conceive how you can assimilate any part of my conduct to this gentleman,¹¹⁹ especially when you recollect that by my own request I am under General Marion & that next to the Commander in chief, the com: officer of an expedition has praise.

If we are baffled in our scheme, it will be owing to the [de]lay in creation.

Gen: Marion has wrote you the report concerning Cornwallis.¹²⁰

We have nothing further.

I have the honor to be most aff^y your ob ser

Henry Lee Jun

LS (DLC), PNG, 8:178-79.

115. As per PNG: "The letter was docketed "30th or 31st Apr." There was no Apr. 31, of course, and the 30th was verified as the date from the contents and from Marion's letter to Greene of Apr. 30, above." Lee and Marion were encamped in close proximity to one another. Thus, Lee's camp at "Swamps of the Black River" is the same as Marion's at Salem (PNG, 8:179).

116. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 30, above.

117. As it turned out, they would march up the Congaree River to Ft. Motte. See Marion to Greene, May 6, below.

118. Marion and Lee had developed their plan of operations against the British posts together, and Marion was actually the superior officer, based on the date of his Continental commission.

119. Lee blamed Sumter for not coming to Greene's aid at the Battle of Hobirk's Hill (PNG, 8:179).

120. The report has not been found.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp near Rughlys Mill May 1, 1781

Dear Sir

Yours of the 30th came in last evening: Keep a good look out for Tarlton. I think it is probable he has come by the way of George Town, but it is possible he may be on the uper route.¹²¹

General Sumter is on the Congarees with a considerable force and dayly increasing. Please to communicate with him and if necessary for any capital purpose form a junction of your forces.¹²²

I hope the Artillery is with you before this and you will employ it in such manner as you may think will most effectually promote the service.¹²³ Should Tarlton get into Camden Col Lee must immediately join this Army. Major McArthur¹²⁴ is on his way to Camden and I fear has passed Sumter.¹²⁵ If all those detachments get in[,] the enemy will be strong.

The Marquis de la Fayette with a large detachment from the Northern Army and the Pennsylvania line are on the March to the Southward. We shall be strong by and by.¹²⁶

I am dear Sir

your Most Obedt humble Serv^t Nath Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

121. Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton was in fact with Cornwallis.

122. Considering the disputes over Snipes raising a troop of horse and Marion's irritation with Sumter's Law, it is not surprising that Sumter made no mention of the Swamp Fox joining him in a letter to Marion of Apr. 30, 1781 above. But as outlined above, Marion did make the attempt to join Sumter.

123. As per *PNG*: "Greene's letters arrived at Marion's camp a few hours before the artillery did. Marion used the field piece in his successful siege of Ft. Motte." (*PNG*, 8:184).

124. Archibald McArthur had been a captain in the 54th Foot in 1771. He was promoted to major and transferred to the 71st Foot in 1777, coming South with that regiment in 1779. McArthur was dispatched to Cheraw sometime after the fall of Charlestown in May, 1780. By the end of July, however, his regiment had grown "so exceedingly sick" that he sent around 60 of the invalids in boats down the Pee Dee toward Georgetown under the command of militia Col. William Henry Mills. The boats were intercepted by local Patriot militia, commanded by Capt. Tristan Thomas, near Hunt's (Mars) Bluff. Loyalists, who had "just before taken the oaths of allegiance," mutinied and ensured the surrender of the remaining British soldiers. As a result, Cornwallis reported to Clinton on Aug. 6, "The whole country between Pedee and Santee has ever since been in an absolute state of rebellion. Every friend of Government has been carried off and his plantation destroy'd." McArthur was captured at Cowpens in Jan. 1781. Apparently, he was exchanged by April, when he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 60th Royal American Regiment. In mid-May, Balfour wrote that he had given McArthur a new force of 300 infantry and 100 cavalry, including some "convalescents." (Cornwallis to Clinton, Aug. 6, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:177; Balfour to Cornwallis, May 21, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:275; *PNG*, 8:163n).

125. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 27, 1781, above.

126. In a letter of May 1, 1781 Greene ordered Lafayette to remain in Virginia, as the Pennsylvania Continental line had not yet marched. (Greene to Lafayette, May 1, 1781, *PNG* 8:182) Lafayette had been involved in a cat-and-mouse campaign with the British army in Virginia since his arrival there at the end of Apr. 1781, but his small force of 1,200 Continentals was incapable of doing battle with the enemy. By May 20, 1781 Cornwallis had arrived from the South to raise the British force to around 7,200, compared to Lafayette's increased force of 3,000. The Frenchman's goal was survival until Washington and the French brought reinforcements to Virginia (Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York: MacMillan, 1952), 870-73). Needless to say, Lafayette would not be coming to South Carolina.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

[Letter Fragment]

[Black River?], 3 [May] 1781¹²⁷

[S^r]

[“...I have been Oblige to send all Col^o Horrys regimt. to [the Eutaws] to Defend that part of the country from the Torrys which weaken my force and am sorry to inform you that a Number of my Militia have left Principle owing to the time of year which make them Antious to plant, Notwithstanding I shall proceed to Cross the river where I hope to do some service...]

Which may be Depend on --L^t. Col. Ervin with 80 men is posted at rafton Creek to prevent the Enemy from geting provisions from the high Hills.

Maj^r Eaton not coming up sooner has made us lose a great deal of precious time.

I shall cross the Santee at Wrights Bluff tomorrow, & Shall take care to Acquaint you with my movem^{ts}. ”¹²⁸

I have the Honor to be Yr.

Obt. St.

Frans Marion

at Begin Church 60 men

Col^o. Watson & Maj^r. M^cCarter formed a Junction at the Eutaws Last Monday

the whole 40, one 6 pounder & 1-4 [pounder]

Nelsons ferry 160 men & 4 p^s. Cannon

at Motts 105 men

Tr (Sotheby's, New York, 19 May 1997, lot 227)

127. The docket of this letter corrected the address. It was originally dated Mar. 3, instead of May.

128. Marion wanted to confront Watson again and renew their struggle. But he was waiting for orders from Greene, which surely slowed his ability to react quickly. However, Major Eaton with his infantry and Captain Finley with his artillery reached the Black River and Marion on May 2. Eaton brought orders for both Marion and Lee to cross the Santee (Lee to Greene, May 2, 1781, *PNG*, 8:192).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on the west side of the Wateree May 4th 1781

Dear Sir

Last night I got intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was on the March towards Cross Creek on the East side of Cape Fear River and it was expected would direct his Motions this way; however this is uncertain, as he may be moving towards the line of our Stores upon the uper route.¹²⁹ In either case it is necessary to collect our force. I have therefore given Lt Col Lee orders to join us immediately with the field piece he has in possession.

It would be my wish to fight Lord Cornwallis if our force would warrant it. I beg you therefore to give me an account of your strength as near as you can and how far they can be depended on to cooperate with us and in the field in time of Action, as you are the best judge of the quallity of your troops.

Several times I have written you respecting Dragoon horses. We are in the utmost distress for want of a number. I beg you will furnish us with all you can. I am told the Militia claim all they take from the Tories; and many of the best horses are collected from the Inhabitants upon this principle. I cannot think the practice warranted either in justice or policy. If the object of the people is plunder altogether, Government can receive but little benefit from them. The horses would be of the highest importance to the public in the regular service.¹³⁰

I am dear Sir Your Most Obed^t sr

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

129. As it turned out, this intelligence was incorrect. The British army recuperated at Wilmington after the “victory” at Guilford Courthouse. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 4, 1781 below. On Apr. 25, 1781 after nearly three weeks, Cornwallis turned his army north to Virginia on Apr. 25, 1781 (Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, 383).

130. As per PNG: “Hugh Rankin, Marion’s biographer, has written that the portion of Greene’s letter concerning the horses “carried a tone of reprimand, or even of censure.” It did “little to soothe” an “irritable” Marion, who was already disturbed by the recent desertion of many of his men. That letter, as mentioned above, was prompted by Lee’s letter to Greene claiming Marion had an abundance of horses. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 201-202) Marion’s heated reply of May 6, 1781 below, was the result.” (PNG, 8:198-199).

Siege of Fort Motte ***May 6-12, 1781***

After Fort Watson surrendered on Apr. 23, Marion and Lee initially rested at Bloom Hill, the plantation of William Richardson in the High Hills of the Santee. By the end of the month, they had moved eastward across the Black River to Salem, presumably to quell the Loyalist uprising in the Cheraws, as well as to reconnoiter the area in the face of the potential arrival of Cornwallis back into South Carolina.

By early May, Marion had received Greene's Apr. 27 letter above, ordering him to cross the Santee with Lee and begin operations against the British outposts between the Congaree River and Camden. Marion wrote Greene on May 3, above, that his force would cross the Santee at Wrights Bluff the following day. The Americans finished crossing the Santee early on the morning of May 5. Marion had hoped to intercept Lt. Col. Watson, who was traveling along the south side of the Santee after marching south from Georgetown, but Watson crossed over to the north side at Buckingham's Ferry, just downstream of the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree, putting him once again on the opposite side from Marion.

Marion and Lee abandoned their pursuit and turned their sights to fulfilling Greene's orders, arriving at Fort Motte on May 6. By the 8th the "fort" was under siege. Prior to its occupation by the British, Fort Motte had been the home of Rebecca Motte, mother-in-law of Continental Maj. Thomas Pinckney, who had been wounded at the Battle of Camden and was a prisoner of war. Motte had been evicted by the British and forced to move to an overseer's house, situated on an adjoining hill. Lee posted his men there, north of the fort. Marion's men, along with a six-pounder cannon, were encamped east of the fort. The Americans boasted an overwhelming superiority in numbers. Marion commanded the operation based on his former Continental rank. Though in actual command of only his 150 militia, he was the ranking officer and so commanded Lee with the 300 men of his Legion, 140 North Carolina Continentals, and an unknown number of Virginia Continentals manning the 6-pound cannon to direct the siege. This was the same cannon that had been lost on the way to Fort Watson.¹³¹

The outpost was fortified with a stockade, a ditch, and an abatis. The Crown forces, under Lt. Charles McPherson,¹³² consisted of British regulars of the 84th Regiment of Foot, Hessian dragoons, and Loyalist militia. The total garrison numbered around 180. The parallel trenches were started within 400 yards of the fort. By the 10th, Lee gave McPherson a formal summons to surrender, which he refused.¹³³

While the siege progressed, Lord Rawdon, perhaps with renewed confidence after the victory at Hobkirk's Hill, and now reinforced by Watson's regiment, sallied from Camden in an attempt to draw Greene into battle again. When Greene did not take the bait, Rawdon returned to Camden, packed up all the supplies his troops could carry, burned much of the town and the surplus supplies, and abandoned the post on May 10. Rawdon's troops marched toward the Santee, stopping for the night in the High Hills. From there the garrison of Fort Motte saw their campfires, and thought that relief was near. When the Americans besieging the fort also saw the enemy campfires, Marion and Lee recognized their tactics needed to be altered quickly if the fort was to be captured before Rawdon could relieve it. They decided to set fire to the mansion, forcing the British to surrender.¹³⁴

The method used for igniting the house is subject to some controversy, even among those who were present at the siege—Lt. Col. Lee claimed that he and Marion used a bow and arrow from India, provided by Mrs. Motte, while Weems referred to "African arrows." William James stated that Nathan Savage,¹³⁵ a private in Marion's

131. Lee, *Memoirs*, 345-46.

132. Charles (sometimes misidentified as Donald) McPherson (1755-1820) was the commander of Fort Motte. [Click here for a brief bio of McPherson.](#)

133. Lee, *Memoirs*, 345-46.

134. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 156-57.

135. Nathan Savage was a commissary of purchases, and a private in Marion's Brigade. At Fort Motte in May 1781, according to Francis Marion's biographer William Dobein James, it was Savage who was responsible for setting the roof of Rebecca Motte's house on fire, an act that quickly forced the surrender of the fort. After the war Savage served one term in the General Assembly. He was also a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790. (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:635-36; James, *Francis Marion*, 64)



Mrs. Motte Directing Generals Marion and Lee to Burn Her Mansion. John Blake White, public domain.

brigade, “made up a ball of rosin and brimstone, to which he set fire, slung it on the roof of the house.” It has also been suggested that the burning arrows were shot from a rifle, and archaeology at the site has produced artifacts that appear to be barged arrows made from bayonets that could be fired from a musket or rifle. South Carolina historian David Ramsay wrote in 1785 that Mrs. Motte “presented the besiegers with a quiver of African arrows to be employed for that purpose. Skewers armed with combustible materials were also used, and with more effect.” The artifacts seem to confirm Ramsay’s last statement about the “skewers.” C. C. Pinckney, Mrs. Motte’s grandson, wrote in a letter to the *Columbia Carolinian* in 1855 that, “The arrows were discharged from a rifle; the two first did not ignite; the third set the roof on fire...”¹³⁶

Whatever the case, the siege quickly ended on May 12, as related by Lee, “It was now about noon, and the rays of the scorching sun had prepared the shingle roof for the projected conflagration. The return of Irvine (Doctor Mathew Irvine of the Legion cavalry, who had delivered an ultimatum to McPherson) was immediately followed by the application of the bow and arrows. The first arrow struck, and communicated its fire; a second was shot at another quarter of the roof, and a third at a third quarter; this last also took effect; and like the first soon kindled a blaze. McPherson ordered a party to repair to the loft of the house, and by knocking off the shingles to stop the

136. Ramsay, *Revolution of SC*, 2:234-35; Weems, *Francis Marion*, 207-08; James, *Francis Marion*, 51; Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 344-49; Steven D. Smith, “Obstinate and Strong: The History and Archaeology of the Siege of Fort Motte, South Carolina,” *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology*, 26:31-42.

flames. This was soon perceived, and Captain Finley was directed to open his battery, raking the loft from end to end. The fire of our six-pounder, posted close to one of the gable-ends of the house, soon drove the soldiers down; and no other effort to stop the flames being practicable, McPherson hung out the white flag.”¹³⁷

The entire garrison were made prisoners. The Americans lost two officers during the siege, one of them the legendary Sergeant McDonald, now promoted to lieutenant, who likely served as a sharpshooter with this rifle during the siege. British casualties are not known. After the surrender, however, a number of Loyalists were murdered in retaliation for similar crimes against Patriots. Marion was livid over the actions of both his and Lee’s men. As suggested in Lee’s letter to Greene of May 8, by the beginning of the siege the relationship between Marion and Lee had begun to deteriorate.

Ramsay, *Revolution of SC*, 2:234-35; Weems, *Francis Marion*, 207-08; James, *Francis Marion*, 51; Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 344-49; A.S. Salley, “Col. Miles Brewton and Some of His Descendants,” *SCHM*, 2, no. 2 (Apr. 1901):148-51; Bass, *Gamecock*, 173; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 200-08; Oller, 158-59, highlights the hanging of Hugh Miscally and states that McDonald’s name was Allen; Steven D. Smith, “Obstinate and Strong: The History and Archaeology of the Siege of Fort Motte, South Carolina,” *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology*, 26(2010):31-42.

137. Lee, *Memoirs*, 348.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Mottes Congarees 6th May 1781

S^r.

Yourse of the 4th Inst I rec^d & am sorry to Acquaint You that I brought here but one hundred & fifty men, the rest have Dropt away, waried with Duty & I believe Dispirited; in not seeing greater Support.

I acknowledge that you have repeatedly mention the want of Dragoon horses & wish it had been in my power to furn[is]h them but it is not nor never had been. The few horses which has been taken from Torreys [Tories] has been kept for the Service & never for private property, but if you think it best for the Service to Dismount the Malitia now with me I will Direct Col [Henry] Lee & Captⁿ. [James] Conyers to do so, but am certain we shall never git their service in future, This would not give me any uneasyness as I have for a time Determin to relinquish my command in the militia as soon as you arrived in it & I wish to do it as soon as this post is Either taken or abandoned[.]¹³⁸

I Shall assist in reducing the post here & when Col. Lee returns to you I [will] Take that opportunity in waiting on you when I hope to get permission to go to Philadelphia.¹³⁹

Our purpose in crossing Santee was to fight Watson but unluckily We was one day to[o] Late. He crossed at Buckenhams Yesterday & is gone toward Camden with about two hundred men & two field p[ie]ce[s].¹⁴⁰

Serwerall Drowes of Cattle is On their way to you at Rugelys but am affaird they will fall in the Enemy hands.

Col. Lee has rec^d your Orders & will not be detained by me, he thinks that we are so near You he can at the Shortest Notice Join you.¹⁴¹

I have the Honour to be Your

Ob S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C); PNG, 8:215-216.

138. Marion biographer Hugh Rankin believed that Marion was offended by the tone of Greene's letter of May 4, above (PNG, 8:215n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 199).

139. Greene replied on May 9, 1781 below.

140. Watson had moved toward the Santee in the days after his pursuit of Marion. He wrote to Cornwallis that his force was "much reduced in Number, thro' Casualties, Sickness and a Reinforcement which he had left to strengthen the Garrison at Georgetown." (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:288-90) He crossed at Lenud's Ferry and halted for a few days in case Cornwallis or Tarleton were returning to South Carolina (Watson and Balfour were just as uncertain of Cornwallis's plans as the Americans), before continuing on to Nelson's Ferry. (PNG, 8:215-16n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 200) Lee wrote in his memoirs that he and Marion expected Watson to head west and cross the Congaree at Fort Motte before heading up the Wateree toward the High Hills (Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 341). So they crossed the Santee and moved to intercept him (PNG, 8:215-16n Lee, 341-42; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 201). But Watson actually crossed the Santee east of the Wateree and moved north on the east bank, slipping past the Americans. Had Lee and Marion remained north of the Santee and east of the Wateree, they likely would have intercepted Watson (Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 341-42; PNG, 8:215-16n).

141. On May 4, Greene ordered Lee to join him immediately. He had received intelligence that Cornwallis was moving toward Cross Creek (NC) with his eye on Camden. Greene advised Lee to move to the west side of the Wateree River to avoid collision with Cornwallis. Greene had reports that the British were on their way to Camden. In fact, Cornwallis was marching to Virginia. (Greene to Lee, May 4, 1781, PNG, 8:198) In Lee's response, on May 6, 1781, he informed Greene that he had received the general's letter on May 5, and would wait a day or two before marching to Greene, unless the latter ordered him otherwise (Lee to Greene, May 6, 1781, PNG 8:214).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at 25 Miles Creek May 6th 1781

Dear Sir

I wrote you day before yesterday that Lord Cornwallis was in motion, and that it was uncertain which way he meant to operate, but in any case it was necessary for us to collect our force for which purpose I had given L^t Col Lee orders to join the main Army immediately with the several detachments and the field piece.¹⁴²

I am not determined yet what line of conduct to pursue supposing Lord Cornwallis to move Northwardly;¹⁴³ and therefore wish you to continue at or near the Congarees so as to prevent supplies from coming to Camden until you hear further from me. I expect more full intelligence toNight which will enable me to decide.¹⁴⁴ Dont forget to give me an account of your numbers; and you would promote the service greatly if you could furnish us with sixty or Eighty good Dragoon horses.¹⁴⁵

I am sorry for Col Kolbs death and the necessity there is for detaching a part of your Regiment.¹⁴⁶

With esteem & regard I am
your Most Obed^t humble Se^r

N Greene

ALS (ScC), PNG, 8:211.

142. See Greene to Marion, May 4, above.

143. In actuality, Cornwallis was marching north as Greene now seems to have understood.

144. See Greene to Marion, May 7, below.

145. On Marion's "numbers" and the horses, see Marion to Greene, May 6, above.

146. Col. Abel Kolb was murdered by Loyalists on Apr. 28. A party of fifty Tories surrounded his house. After a fierce fight, Kolb, who had a reputation for cruelty in dealing with the Loyalists, reportedly accepted an offer to surrender but was shot and killed when he emerged from his house. Marion had already sent a party after his killers (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 197-199; PNG, 8:211n).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at 25 Miles Creek May 7th 1781.

D^r Sir

Colo. Watson I find is on his way to Camden.¹⁴⁷ This is rather an Unfortunate Circumstance as the Enemy will begin to be impudent & to Shew themselves without their works, which they have never ventured upon since the Action of the 25th.¹⁴⁸ Our force divided & the Enemies collected puts matters upon an UnMilitary footing. There is no further Intelligence from Lord Cornwallis, which induces me to beleave that he is marching Northwardly. Major Hyrne will Inform you of my plan Supposing that to be the Case.¹⁴⁹ The Major will Inform you also how far Lieut. Colo. Lee is at Liberty to Continue to Opperate with you against the fort you was Yesterday firing at.¹⁵⁰ I Should be Exceeding Glad to have an Account of the probable operating force you may Expect to Act with you for some Months to Come. This will Enable me to Judge with more Certainty, the propriety of the plans I have in Contemplation.¹⁵¹

With Esteem, I am D^r Sir,
Your most obedt. humble Servant
Nath^l Greene.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC), PNG, 8:219-20.

147. See Marion to Greene, May 6, above.

148. This refers to the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill on April 25.

149. Greene's plan was outlined in his letter to Lee of May 9, 1781, which implied that Greene intended to relinquish his command in South Carolina and assume command of the American forces in Virginia. "The plan being laid, and a position taken, the rest will be a war of posts, and the most that will be left to be performed by the commanding officer until we come to Camden, is to make proper detachments, and give the command of them to proper officers." (Greene to Lee, May 9, 1781, PNG, 8:228). Lee agreed with Greene on the operational strategy, but did not feel it could be accomplished without Greene retaining command (Lee to Greene, May 6, 1781, PNG, 8:214).

150. This reference is to Ft. Motte, which Marion and Lee were currently besieging.

151. Marion's report has not been found (PNG, 2:220n).

Lt. Col. Henry Lee to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

NOTE: Words in brackets following numbers indicate deciphered code. Deciphering appears to have been done after the Revolutionary War, as the “w” in Charlestown was not dropped until after 1783, when the city was incorporated.

[Motte’s Plantation, May 8th 1781]¹⁵²

My dear Gen^l.

Major Hyrne presented me last evening with your let^r, in answer to my report from this post, & communicated to me your intentions & wishes.¹⁵³

If 306 [Cornwallis] takes the 224 [road] 291 [you] apprehend 1 [and] 291 [you] 34 [decide] 145 [not?] 112 [?] us 272 [we] 122 [may] 220 [reduce] this state [.]¹⁵⁴

If 291 [you] 34 [decide] 112 [?] 263 [us], 272 [we] shall 114 [?] ourselves. It will be some time before 243 [the] B...T....n [British] 26 [can] 94 [join], 1 [and] 272 [we] be 220 [reduce]ed by disertion.

Consider, 81 [in] what point 151 [of] view 243 [the] soldiers will 241 [take] up the step.

If it is necessary to detach 77 [horse?] to 244 [that] 10 [army]. My 77 [horse] with the militia will be fully sufficient here –

If 291 [you] 7 [agree] with my opinion, & 241 [take] a position in this country, 291 [you] 122 [may] expect 243 [the] most 63 [fortu]nate 46 [effect]s. Any advantage which 306 [Cornwallis] 122 [may] 65 [find] by 165 [go?]ing north, will 77 [fade?] away—

310 [Greene] can finish his business soon here--¹⁵⁵ 310 [Greene] only can do it.

I find myself deceived in 312 [Marion]– He is inadequate & very discontented– this discontent augers from his nature.¹⁵⁶

I have a worse opinion of 311 [Sumter]. It is indispensably necessary that a third person should 18 [be] 207 [assign?]ed.

Major Maum [Maham] possesses every quality & qualification. Give him orders & authority & he can raise a Legion equal to mine in one month – then you will have one corps in the State which will be capable to Serve you.¹⁵⁷

I enclose the Strength of Ch^s. town. Should 291 [you] 241 [take] post where I recommend, 303 [Charlestown] invites 44 [?].¹⁵⁸

I am trying to introduce Myself to an acquaintance with 303 [Charleston] – I have hopes it will answer--

[cont’d next page]

152. Marion and Lee arrived at Fort Motte on May 6, 1781 (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 201).

153. Greene’s specific ‘intentions & wishes’ are not known. Greene sent Maj. Hyrne to consult with Marion and Lee. In his letter of May 8 to Greene, Hyrne stated that he had discussed Greene’s future plans, and that a plan for recreating the South Carolina Continental Line was discussed with Marion. However, it did not appear to be feasible at that time (Hyrne to Greene, May 8, 1781, *PNG*, 8:222).

154. It is clear from Greene’s reply of May 9, 1781, that he now believed (correctly) that Cornwallis’s army was heading toward Virginia. (*PNG*, 8:227) Greene had earlier received intelligence that Cornwallis was marching back to South Carolina. See Greene to Marion, May 4, above.

155. In his letter to Lee of May 9, Greene revealed that he was planning to take command in Virginia, leaving a subordinate to command in South Carolina just as Cornwallis had done (Marion to Lee, May 9, 1781, *PNG*, 8:227).

156. See Marion to Greene May 6, 1781 above, and May 11, 1781 below.

157. On Jun. 22, 1781 Greene issued Maj. Hezekiah Maham a commission as Lt. Col. Commandant to raise a regiment of cavalry. See Greene to Maham, Jun. 21 and 22, 1781 (*PNG*, 8:433, 438). At the same time Greene issued a similar commission to Lt. Col. Peter Horry. These cavalry regiments would provide critical services to the American cause in the next year. At the same time, disputes between Maham and Horry over rank would significantly limit their effectiveness. Issues with Maham partially explain the disappointing losses at Wambaw Bridge (Durant’s Plantation), and Tidyman’s Plantation on Feb. 24 and 25, 1782.

158. Lee’s estimate of British forces in Charlestown has not been found. (*PNG*, 8:223n)

I did not intend to give my opinion on the principal matter, as I know my personal feelings have too much influence on my decisions.

But finding myself this morning in a very philosophic mood I have honestly given you my sentiments-- I beg your Consideration of it, as I conceive the [matter?] to be so full of importance, that no deliberation should be wanting before the measures is taken.

I have the honor to be
with the most aff. respect
Your ob: h: Serv^t.
Lt C Hr^y Lee Jun^r

Things here were [wear] a good
Countenance. Tomorrow will decide --¹⁵⁹
May 8th. 81 --

ALS (MiU-C), Parks, J.D. Lewis.

159. Lee underestimated the time required to bring about the capitulation of Fort Motte. The joint efforts of Marion's Brigade and Lee's Legion resulted in the surrender of the fort on May 12, one year to the day after Charlestown had fallen to the British.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Colonels Creek May 9th 1781

Dear Sir

I am favord with yours of the 6th. I am sorry the Militia are deserting because there is not greater support. If they were influenced by proper principles and were impressed with a love of liberty and a dread of slavery they wou'd not shrink at difficulties. If we had a force sufficient to recover the Country their aid would not be wanted and they cannot be well acquainted with their true interest to desert us because they conceive our force unequal to the reduction of the Country without their assistance.

I shall be always happy to see you at head Quarters; but cannot think you can seriously mean to solicit leave to go to Philadelphia. It is true your task has been disagreeable; but not more so than others. It is now go[in]^g on seven years since the commencement of this war. I have never had leave of absense an hour nor paid the least attention to my own private affairs. Your State is invaded, your all is at stake. What has been done will signify nothing unless we persevere to the end. I left a family in distress and every thing dear and valuable to come & afford you all the assistance in my power, and if you leave us in the midst of our difficulties while you have it so much in your power to promote the service it must throw a damp upon the spirits of the Army to find that the first Men in the State are retiring from the busy scene to indulge themselves in more agreeable amusements.

However your reasons for wishing to decline the command of the Militia & for going to Philadelpha may be more pressing than I imagine. I will therefore add nothing more on this subject until I see you.

My reasons for writing so pressingly respecting the Dragoon [horses] was from the distress we were in. It is not my wish to take the horses from the Militia if it will injure the public service, the effects and consequences you can better judge of than I can.

You have renderd important services to the public with the Militia under your command; and done great honor to yourself and I would not wish to render your situation less agreeable with them unless it is to answer some very great purpose and this I perswade my self you would agree to from a desire to promote the common good.

I wish you success at the fort you are besieging.¹⁶⁰

Lord Rawden was out yesterday. We had the night before taken a new position on Sanders [Sawney] Creek and imagine he came out to attack us expecting to find us on the 25 Mile Creek. We did not like the position on Sanders Creek to risque an action in and therefore took a new position at this place leaving the horse[,] light Infantry and Piquets at the old encampment. The Enemy came and drew up on the other side of the Creek but did not attempt to cross; but retird into Camden before night.¹⁶¹

We are in dayly expectation of a large reinforcment of Virginia Militia and some Continental troops. When these arrive we shall push operations with more vigor.¹⁶²

No further news from Lord Cornwallis.

With esteem & regard I am Sr
Your hu^{bl} S^r

N Greene

ADfs (MiU-C), PNG:8:230-232.

160. The reference here was to Fort Motte, which Marion and Lee were still besieging.

161. Rawdon left Camden on May 7, 1781, and crossed the Wateree River in an attempt to turn Greene's flank at Twenty-Five-Mile Creek, but learned on the march that he was mistaken about Greene's location and that the latter was now at Sawney's Creek. He abandoned his advance rather than risking, in his own words, "such loss as must have crippled my force for any future enterprize." (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:289). Rawdon tried to bait Greene into attacking him, but when the Americans withdrew instead, Rawdon also fell back to Camden. On May 9, Rawdon announced the evacuation of Camden, and by the next day the British had left (For a more in-depth discussion of these maneuvers, see PNG, 8:229-230n).

162. As per PNG: "Most of the Virginia militia force that Greene expected to join him never left the state. The 'Continental troops' were presumably the Pennsylvania line, which had been ordered to join Greene; they, too, would remain in Virginia." (PNG, 8:232).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

10th May, 1781

S^r.

I wrote you last night¹⁶³ that a Number of men were seen at Serg^t. Campbells coming up. my reconitering partys have not let me know any more of it since, & I begin to think it may be a Small party, & returnd or turned off in the Orangebourg road I send you this as I fear may have prevented your Intention on Orangebourg.¹⁶⁴

I am S^r. Y^r. Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion.

P^r. M^r. Davis.

Tr (Thomas Sumter Papers: DLC), microfilm copy at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute, York, SC.

163. The letter written “last night” has not been found.

164. The British force to which Marion referred had no impact on Sumter’s “Intention.” In a letter to the Gamecock later that day, below, Marion notified his commander that the enemy had retreated to “Utaw.” (Eutaw Springs). Sumter invested Orangeburg on May 10, 1781. Although strongly fortified in a brick courthouse and jail, the initial artillery shots at the structures quickly resulted in the Loyalists’ surrender the following day.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter (at Orangeburg)

10th May, 1781. 6 OC. PM.

S^r:

I rec^d. a Letter from Gen^l Greene of yesterdays date__ he says Lord Rawdon Crossed the Watteree, & Came in sight of him but returned the same night. Gen^l. Greene is at Col^o. Creek__.¹⁶⁵

Just now I rec^d. Intelligence from the Hills that Lord Rawdon has Evacuated Camden, Last night was at Swift Creek, & to-night is to be at Singletons mill. if So, Maxwell is retreating your way, & will certainly be with You__¹⁶⁶

The Enemy mention in my Last retreated basumck to Utaw¹⁶⁷

I am S^r Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fra^s. Marion

Tr (Thomas Sumter Papers: DLC), microfilm copy at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute, York, SC.

165. In his May 9, 1781, letter, above, Greene informed Marion that Lord Rawdon had marched to 25 Mile Creek, where the American army had been encamped the previous day. Greene moved his force, less the cavalry, light infantry and pickets, to Sawney's Creek because he did not like his position at the former location. After surveying the American position, Rawdon, thinking that the entire American army was present and that it was too strong to attack, withdrew back to Camden.

166. Rawdon evacuated Camden on May 9-10, 1781. See Pendleton to Marion and Sumter, May 10, 1781, below (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:289).

167. "Utaw" was Eutaw Springs.

Maj. Nathaniel Pendleton¹⁶⁸ (ADC) to Brig. Gens. Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter¹⁶⁹

Head Quarters Colonels Creek

May 10th 1781. 11 oClock P.M.

Sir

General Greene has this moment received Information that the Enemy have evacuated Camden. They moved out this morning very early, after destroying the Mill, the Goal [i.e., gaol or jail] and all their Stores, together with many private houses.¹⁷⁰ What may have induced this unexpected and precipitate movement is uncertain; but the General is of opinion that the same motives which has induced Lord Rawdon, to this step, will also induce the evacuation of all the out Posts, which the enemy have at Ninety Six, Augusta and on the Congaree.¹⁷¹ The General begs you will take such measures if possible as will prevent Maxwells escapeing.¹⁷²

The Army was to have moved towards Friday's Ferry tomorrow morning. It will move that way still, tho pirhaps by a different Route and more slowly.¹⁷³

It is uncertain which way Lord Rawdon took his Route. It was either to George Town, or Charles Town, but most probably the latter.¹⁷⁴

You will please to send an express to the commanding officer before Augusta, & let him know this circumstance, that he may take his measures accordingly; as the General is firmly persuaded they will, if they can, leave all their out Posts.

I am Sir with high respect

Y^r. Mo: Obed^t Hble Serv^t

Nath^l. Pendleton, ADC

Gen^l Sumpter will please to send an express immediately to Gen^l Pickins with a Copy of this Letter.

N.P.

ALS (Sumter Papers: DLC) PNG, 8:236-237.

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168. Nathaniel Pendleton (1756-1821) had been a lieutenant in the 11th Virginia Continental Regiment and was captured at Fort Washington, NY in 1776. He was exchanged in Oct. 1780, and went south in Feb 1781 to serve as an aide-de-camp to Greene. After the war he practiced law in Savannah, GA. He remained close with Greene until the latter's death in 1786. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Nine years later, he moved to New York City, where he was named as Alexander Hamilton's second in the duel with Aaron Burr that killed Hamilton (PNG, 7:308n).
169. According to a notation on Pendleton's draft (MiU-C), copies of this letter were sent to both Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion.
170. On May 24, 1781 Rawdon informed Cornwallis that a covering force had remained in Camden until 10 A.M. on May 10, 1781, and that he had destroyed the works. (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, PRO *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:289) He also burned the town, sparing only Joseph Kershaw's mansion (PNG, 8:237n; Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden. Part One: Colonial and Revolutionary*; Columbia, SC: The State Co., 1905, 277).
171. Rawdon wrote to Cornwallis on May 24, that he abandoned Camden because "the whole interior Country had revolted." (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:288) Greene was correct in assuming that the British meant to abandon all their interior posts (PNG, 8:237).
172. This particular line referred to Sumter, rather than Marion. The former was currently besieging Maj. Andrew Maxwell at Ft. Granby.
173. Greene's army left Camden on May 12, 1781. On May 15, they were at Friday's Ferry (PNG, 8:237n).
174. On May 13, Rawdon reached Nelson's Ferry, and was reinforced by nearly 400 men. From there he marched to relieve Fort Granby (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781 and Balfour to Cornwallis, May 21, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:276-77; 288-90). However, after receiving a (false) report that Greene was marching toward Orangeburgh, he changed direction and marched to Monks Corner to cover Charlestown (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:288-90; PNG, 8:270n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Motts 11th May 1781

Sr, Yourse of the 9th Inst. came to hand & I assure you I am serious in my intention of relinquishing my Malitia Command, not that I wish to Shrink from fatigue or trouble, or for any private Interest but because I found Little is to be done with such men as I have, who Leave me very Often at the very point of Executing a plan & their Late infamous behaviour in Quitting me at a time which required their service must confirm me in my former Intentions. If I cannot act in the malitia I cannot see any service I can be, to remain in the state & I hope by going to the Northward to fall in some employ where I may have an Oportunity of serving the United States, in some way that I cannot be in this Country.¹⁷⁵

I rec^d Intelligence yesterday, that Lord Rawden Left Camden the day before yesterday with his whole force and Lay at Swift Creek & Last night was to be at Singletons Mill & mean to retreat over Nelsons Ferry, but I believe it must be only a Large foraging party. I expect to know the certainty of it today.¹⁷⁶

Gen^l Sumter is gone against the post at Orangeburg. Our approaches here is almost up to the Enemys abbattis. Today we shall make Lodgement at the foot of their work & make no Doubt we shall carry the post.¹⁷⁷

I send by Maj^r Heyrne a horse for yourself. He is very tender foot, & must be shod before he can be of use. As soon as it is in my power to procure more I will send them.¹⁷⁸

I have the Honour to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C) PNG, 8:242.

175. Evidence suggests that Greene may have convinced Marion not to resign during an in-person meeting shortly before this letter (PNG, 8:242n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 208; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 159).

176. Rawdon had in fact abandoned the post at Camden.

177. Fort Motte surrendered on May 12, 1781.

178. Greene had been strongly pressing Marion for dragoon horses. However, in Edmund Hyrne's letter of May 8, 1781, Greene's adjutant related that Marion reported it was "out of his power to furnish the dragoon horses." He would obtain a few for Greene's personal use, since the general's had been stolen. (Hyrne to Greene, May 8, 1781, PNG, 8:222) The subject was closed by Greene's letter to Marion of May 9, 1781 above, in which Greene gave Marion the authority to use his own best judgment on the question of supplying dragoon horses, writing "It is not my wish to take the horses from the Militia if it will injure the public service, the effects and consequences you can better judge of than I can."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

before Mottes house 12th May 1781

S^r

Inclosed is a Letter from Gen^l. Sumter who, have Reduced the post at Orrangbourg.¹⁷⁹

We find the post here Obstinate, and strong[.] our approaches is now to their Abbittis & hope by tomorrow at furthest to reduce it.¹⁸⁰

L^d. Rawdon incamped Last night at Maj^r. James¹⁸¹ on the High Hills, it appears his Intention is to cross Nelsons ferrey where they have collected a Number of boats.¹⁸²

Gen^l. Sumter informs me that some troops have Just come out of Ch^s. Town, but do not yett Know their Destination.¹⁸³

I have the Honour [to] be Your Ob^t. S^t. Fran^s Marion

ALS (Harlan Crow Library)

179. Sumter's letter to Marion has not been found (*PNG*, 8:246).

180. Ft. Motte surrendered later that same day.

181. The reference to Maj. James may be John James, who served as a major and colonel in the militia under Cols. Marion and Richardson from 1779 to 1781. However, the editors could not find any evidence that he owned property in the referenced area.

182. The fires from Rawdon's encampment were visible from Ft. Motte. The bluff that Rebecca Motte's house sat upon gives clear visibility even today across the Congaree Swamp of twenty miles or more. Lee and Marion, surmising that Rawdon would reach them within 48 hours, realized they needed to act quickly to take the fort or abandon the siege. With time becoming critical, they ordered the burning of Motte's home (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 193; Oller, 156-58). Marion was correct that Rawdon was marching toward Nelson's Ferry (*PNG*, 8:246).

183. On May 21, 1781, Nisbet Balfour wrote to Cornwallis that he had dispatched 150 men to Dorchester (Balfour to Cornwallis, May 21, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:276; *PNG*, 8:246n).

Lt. Col. William Harden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Horshoe 12th May 1781

D^r General,

Your favour by M^r. Greaves came Safe to hand & am happy to hear the Agreeable News Of the fall of Fort Watson & that the Marques¹⁸⁴ is on his way with so Large a Body of troops.

Agreeable to your Order have Sent a Command to the Island & brought off[f] Upwards of One hundred & twenty Negroes but twenty has since made their Escape, the particulars I must Refer you to the bearer as he went On the Command & they have not come down to me, but, is to wait at Indian Land to hear what is to be done with them. Shall have them stopt their till I can hear from you.¹⁸⁵

I have sent commands One in the Fort Saltkecher; they kild two Sad Villains & Took a Capt Jones¹⁸⁶ Prisoner. Since I Parole[d] him, tho he wanted to Join me, would not let him till I hear from you. The Other is Just come from Over Edisto who were within Ten Miles of Orangeburg, they kild two & took a Lieut: he seems on the Stool of Repentance & Sais he will Answer to a Parole, but woud rather Join. The third Command is gone toward Stono but not returnd, Expect them this Night. Am told the Enemies Force at Dorchester now dont exceed thirty men.¹⁸⁷ I mean to go down in few days & Visit them. Their Strenth at Savanna is by good Accounts One Hundred & Sixty Hessians & 28 of Major Wrights core [corps] is all the Regulars they have—a Small guard at Ebenezer of Malitia. I have not herd from A[u]gusta since I wrote you but Expect a Answer to a Letter I wrote Last Tuesday. If any thing particular from that Quarter shall immediately acquaint you.¹⁸⁸ My Command Just now is upward of two Hundred & the Chief well Mounted.¹⁸⁹ I long to See you, when I hope we may go Verry near Cha^s Town. I this moment am told there is a flag a Coming to me, which is Now at Ashepoo, the Purpose I dont know, but Expect it is Relating to an Exchange of Some Prisoners that I wrote to Col^o Ballangall about last week. I beg to hear from you as soon as this Reaches your hands When you may be Assured your Order shall be Obeyd. I am with Compliments to All friends & You will pleas Accept the Same from

Y^r. Most Ob^t Serv^t

William Harden Col^o

Should be verry glad of some proclamations to let men Know what they may Expect, if they dont turn Out, as I have done Every thing in my power but cant get some Out. They say they wait to see you.

ADS (NcD), Francis Marion Letter Collection.

184. Presumably Col. William Harden referred to the Marquis de Lafayette, who was at that time countering the British invasion of Virginia. The source of Harden's mis-information is not known.

185. It is uncertain to which island Harden was referring. It may have been nearby John's Island. Some of the slaves could also have been taken from former Patriot Robert Gibbes's plantation on Kiawah. Indian Land likely referred to a parcel of land on Kiawah (now Seabrook) Island, that the Kiawah Indians had petitioned for and received from the colonial government in 1743 (Ashton Cobb, *The History of Kiawah Island* (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 27, 45).

186. The skirmish at Fort Saltkecher may refer to the one that occurred around Saltketcher Bridge on Apr. 5, 1781. However, other reports of the action do not coincide with Harden's brief account, so it is possible the reference is to another fight at that location. On Apr. 5, 1781 Harden, with a force of 100 men, met up with Capt. Edward Fenwick and 35 South Carolina Loyalist Dragoons. Although outnumbered, the Loyalists dispersed Harden's militia force.

187. The strength of the Dorchester post was reinforced with an addition of 150 men, on May 21, 1781, ordered by Balfour from Charlestown. See Marion to Greene, May 12, 1781 above.

188. Harden presumably had received important information from Augusta. He went to Augusta instead of joining Marion, despite orders to the contrary on May 16, as noted in Marion to Greene of May 16, 1781 below.

189. As seen in Marion's letter to Greene of May 17, 1781 below, Harden's force was undoubtedly much larger than Marion's at this particular time.

Maj. Gen. Nathanel Greene's Orders

Camp Huks Farm [S.C.] Monday 14th May 1781

The General has the pleasure to inform the Army that the British Garrison at Orangeburgh Surrendered to General Sumpter the 11th Ins^t, by which one Colonel[,], two Captains[,], 4 Lieutenants and Eighty-three Non Commissioned Officers and Privates became Prisoners of War. The address of Gen^l Sumpter upon this occasion, Intimidated the Enemy and Saved him the loss of even a Single Man. The General has also great Satisfaction in reporting the Capture of the Garrison Fort Mott, which was Reduced to Surrender at discretion the 11th Ins^t by the Gallant Exertions of Gen^l Marion, and L^t Coll Lee,¹⁹⁰ who's perseverance in Military Conduct in carrying on the approaches, with great dispatch under many difficulties deserves the highest Encomiums. Seven Commissioned Officers, and one Hundred and Seventy-three Non Commissioned Officers and Privates were taken at this post, with the loss of only one Man killed on our Side.¹⁹¹

After Orders 6 o'Clock

The Heads of the Staff Departments will please to make a return of all their Deputies and Assistants, with the Dates of their Commissions[,], Warrants &c.

Lamar Orderly Book (OCIWHI), Parks.

190. Marion's militia and Lee's Legion laid siege to Fort Motte on May 6, 1781. The date of capitulation was actually May 12, 1781 (James, *Francis Marion*, 64).

191. William Dobein James, who may have been at Fort Motte, states that Marion lost two men, including a Sgt. McDonald, who has been identified as the one who allegedly thrust a bayonet into the back of Loyalist officer Maj. Micajah Ganey while chasing him before Georgetown, S.C., in Oct. 1780. McDonald had recently been promoted to lieutenant (James, *Francis Marion*, 64). See page 7 for more.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Ferg[us]on Swamp¹⁹² 16th May 1781 3 OC PM

S^r

Lord Rawde[n blo]wed up the fort at Nelson yesterday & Encamped at Martins Last night[.]¹⁹³ He is gone down to Monks Corner, part of his Baggage is gone a Different rout to Wadboo which I hope [to] Intercept.¹⁹⁴ Rawden seems in Great fright.¹⁹⁵

This morning I left Fourholes¹⁹⁶ & Sent an Order to Col^o Harden to Join me[.]¹⁹⁷ He was at Parkers Ferry. Inclosed is a Letter I rec^d since, & one taken from Col^o DoYLES Servant.¹⁹⁸

I have the Honour to be y^r Ob^t s^t

Frans Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

192. Ferguson Swamp was located between Nelson's Ferry and Moncks Corner.

193. Lord Rawdon had evacuated and burned Camden on May 10, 1781. He learned of the siege of Fort Motte, but by the time he crossed the Santee at Nelson's Ferry, that post had fallen. Despite being unable to reach the fort in time, Rawdon began marching up the South side of the Santee toward Fort Granby. But that fort had also recently fallen (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:288-90).

194. See Marion's letter to Greene of May 19, below.

195. Rawdon's hasty movements were due to the fact that he believed Greene was advancing on Charlestown. This intelligence turned out to be false (*PNG*, 8:274n).

196. Marion referred to Four Holes Swamp. He presumably was encamped at the bridge over the swamp, a key position on the main road between Dorchester and Bacon's Bridge.

197. Harden went to join the siege of Augusta instead of joining Marion (*PNG*, 274n).

198. It is quite possible that Harden's letter to Marion of May 12, 1781 above, is the letter to which Marion referred. The letter from Doyle's servant has not been found.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Ferguson Swamp 17 May 1781

S^r.

I wrought you yesterday; Just after I seen the rear of Rawdon pass the Swamp & sent after them till they got within four miles of the Corner __ Col^o. Doyle who took a Different rout, but our horses was so tired we could not proceed after them.¹⁹⁹

They have sent there boats Down Santee with their sick & some baggage, but they have too much Start to over take them _

I shall take post in S^t. Stephens near Murreys ferry to Collect the men & refresh my horses __ at present I have so few men that I cannot pretend to do any thing but hope my last Effort may Increase them in a few days²⁰⁰ __

I have the Honour to be Y^r. Ob^t S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (Harlan Crow Library)

199. After the siege of Fort Motte, Marion's troops went back into action. They followed Rawdon's force on a circuitous route from the Santee to Moncks Corner. Once Marion realized that he could not inflict any damage on the main British force, he, considered trying to overtake Doyle, but by then his horses were spent.

200. Marion's new headquarters was in St. Stephen's Parish at Peyre's Plantation on the south side of the Santee (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 677).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Ancrums Plantation May 17th 1781

Dear Sir

Upon consulting Gen^l Sumter respecting the mode of raising and paying the 10 months troops which he has been endeavoring to effect for some time past, I find he had mentioned the matter to me by Col. Hampton,²⁰¹ and that it originated with Governor Rutledge in substance tho not in form.²⁰² But upon the whole I think it will have its advantages and I find that great care is taken not to apply any Negroe property but such as can admit of no dispute respecting their principles and intentions.²⁰³ As Continental troops can not be had this may be the best substitute which could be adopted. I wish you therefore to give it all the countenance you can until the Governors pleasure is further known in the matter or the State has it in its power to contribute to the support of the war on a more permanent footing than the Militia service. If we can gain our Country by this means the purchase will be small although at a high rate upon the common calculation for military service.

I am dear Sir

your most Obedient humble Ser

Nath Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 8:276-77.

201. Capt. John Hampton, not Col. Richard or Wade Hampton, was Sumter's intermediary with Greene (Sumter to Greene, Apr. 7, 1781, PNG, 8:66).

202. Sumter had devised a plan to raise mounted troops under Continental Articles for ten months. Under Sumter's plan, those who enlisted were to receive a certain number of slaves taken from Loyalists. Payment was to vary by rank, from "one grown negro" for a private to "three grown negroes and one small negro" for a regimental commander. In addition, each company was to receive "two-thirds of all articles captured from the enemy except negroes and military stores; and salvage allowed them for all the articles belonging to our friends which we may capture from the enemy." (Richard Hampton to John Hampton, Apr. 2, 1781, Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:47-48) Instead of five regiments, Sumter was only able to raise three. "Sumter's Law" gave rise to a number of lawsuits and legal challenges for nearly a decade after the war. Gen. Marion refused to be included in the release-from-liability legislation, claiming that he had not utilized the practice (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:144-148; PNG, 8:67n-68n, 8:277; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 181, 220, 291).

203. Greene wanted to guarantee that the militia would not use "Sumter's Law" as carte blanche to plunder their neighbors. Only those with clear, unambiguous loyalist attachments were to be subject to confiscation (PNG, 8:277n).

Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour (British) to the American Command

Charlestown, May 17, 1781

Gentlemen:

Many have been the representations which the outrages committed by the American troops, and their violations of all the humaner principles of war, have compelled me to make to such of their officers as commanded parties in this province; but more particularly have I been obliged to remonstrate against the rigorous treatment, in many cases extending to death, which the loyal militia, when made prisoners, most invariably experience.²⁰⁴

These representations, gentlemen, having been grounded on the truest principles of benevolence, and which it behoves each side equally to have advanced, I was as much surprised as I was mortified, to find them in all cases practically disregarded, and in many, wholly neglected. It is therefore become my duty, however irksome to myself, to try how far a more decided line of conduct will prevail, and whether the safety of avowed adherents to their cause, may not induce the American troops to extend a proper clemency to those whose principles arm them in defence of British government.

Induced by these motives, I have conceived it an act of expediency to seize on your persons, and retain them as hostages for the good usage of all the loyal militia who are, or may be made prisoners of war, resolving to regulate, in the full extent, your treatment by the measure of theirs, and which my feelings make me hope hereafter be most lenient.²⁰⁵

And as I have thought it necessary that those persons, who some time since were sent from thence to St. Augustine, should, in this respect, be considered in the same point of view as yourselves, I shall send notice there, that they be likewise held as sureties for a future propriety of conduct towards our militia prisoners.²⁰⁶

Reasons, so cogent, and which have only the most humane purposes for their objects, will, I doubt not, be considered by every reasonable person as a sufficient justification of this most necessary measure, even in those points where it may militate with the capitulation of Charlestown; though indeed the daily infractions of it, by the breach of paroles, would alone well warrant this procedure.

Having been this candid in stating to you the causes for this conduct, I can have no objections to your making any proper use of this letter you may judge to your advantage, and will therefore, should you deem it expedient, grant what flags of truce may be necessary to carry out copies of it to any officer commanding American troops in these parts, and in the mean time the fullest directions will be given, that your present situation be rendered as eligible as the nature of circumstances will admit.

I am, gentlemen,
your most obedient humble servant,
N. Balfour

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:72-74.

204. In an undated letter, probably written during the last week of March, Lt. Col. Balfour, commandant at Charlestown, had complained to Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, Marion's former commander, and the highest-ranking prisoner of war in Charlestown, taken at the city's surrender in May 1780, about Marion's treatment of Loyalist militia prisoners. He threatened to retaliate "unless speedily redressed." Balfour had previously complained to Gen. Marion concerning the treatment of prisoners in a letter of Mar. 2, 1781, above. Moultrie's response of Mar. 31 characterized abuse of prisoners by Marion as "contrary to his natural disposition: I know him to be generous and humane." Moultrie had written to Marion on Apr. 16, above, appealing to him to treat the British and Loyalists with humanity. Since Moultrie was, at that time, a prisoner in Charlestown, it is unclear how much influence Balfour exercised over the drafting of that letter. In this letter, Balfour focused on the Loyalist militia. However, abuse of both Loyalists and Patriots, both military and civilian, was an ongoing issue dating back to the beginning of the war.

205. Balfour's letter notified American commanders that he was planning on revoking previously issued paroles and requiring paroled American officers to resume their captivity in Charlestown, in order to retain them as hostages for American good behavior toward similarly held British and Loyalist prisoners. As evidenced in Marion to McDonald and James, May 19, below, Balfour followed through on this threat.

206. Balfour referred here to 54 Patriots who were given parole after the surrender of Charlestown. These men, prominent citizens of Charlestown, including Lt. Gov. Christopher Gadsden, were accused of holding "correspondence with the armed enemies of England, or had indefatigably engaged in secretly advancing the interest of Congress throughout South Carolina." Their actions were considered as breaking parole. As a result, they were sent to St. Augustine in Aug. 1780 and Nov. 1780, where they were held in loose confinement, excepting Gadsden, who refused to accept a second parole and was confined in the dungeon at the fort. They were ultimately freed in Jul. 1781 ("Josiah Smith's Diary" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 33, no. 1:3-4, vol. 33, no. 2:100; vol. 34, no. 1:31-39). For more on the Patriot officials held in captivity, see *Patriots in Exile*, by James Waring McCrady and C.L. Bragg (Columbia: USC Press, 2020).

Maj. Ichabod Burnet (ADC to Greene) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters Congaree²⁰⁷ May 18th 1781

Sir

I am directed by Gen^l Greene to inform you of the surrender of Fort Granby--five pieces of iron ordinance[,] nineteen Officers & three hundred & twenty nine privates were taken.²⁰⁸ The Army will move this morning on the route to Ninety Six.

The General has directed Gen^l Sumter to continue at this post to organize the Militia & command at this place. You will be pleased to continue to harrass the enemy and to receive Gen^l Sumters orders.²⁰⁹ You will please to arrange your Militia with expedition [and] be in readiness to cooperate with this Army should an opportunity offer.

I am with respect

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

I. Burnet

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

207. Greene had marched his Continental force from Camden and encamped at Sumter's recent bivouac, Ancrum's Plantation, across the Congaree River from Fort Granby.

208. Fort Granby was a supply depot and defensive fortification, situated near the Congaree River, just below the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers. It had originally been invested by Gen. Thomas Sumter on Feb. 19, 1781. He attacked Granby again on May 2. After initiating the siege, Sumter left Col. Thomas Taylor to manage the operation and returned to Ancrum's Plantation across the Congaree. He briefly returned to Granby but, after receiving a field piece from Greene, marched to Orangeburg on May 10, as Marion and Lee were investing British forces at Fort Motte, a day's ride down the Congaree. After the surrender of Fort Motte on May 12, Lee marched to Granby, arriving on May 13. With Sumter at Orangeburg, Lee assumed command of the Granby siege from Taylor. Upon learning that Rawdon had retaken Fort Motte and was only a day from Granby, Lee accomplished its surrender on May 15, but only after giving very generous terms (Bass, *Gamecock*, 162-74; Oller, 159-60; Lee, 349-52).

209. When Sumter arrived at Granby on May 16, 1781, he was indignant that Lee had brushed aside his own militia and given such generous terms, thereby denying Sumter the glory of victory at Granby and the supplies to be used in part to pay his men. Sumter demonstrated his fury by submitting his resignation to Greene, who was at Ancrum's Plantation. But Greene refused to accept it (Bass, *Gamecock*, 175).

Capt. William Pierce, Jr.²¹⁰ (ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [Weaver's Ferry] May 18th 1781²¹¹

Sir

Your Letter of the 16th instant to General Greene came to hand this Evening. He thanks you for the intelligence it conveys, & for the intercepted Letter it inclosed. You will please to continue in the lower Country, making use of every means in your power to procure the best intelligence of the Enemys future movements and should they advance out in force it is the Generals wish that you should join General Sumter, and continue with him untill you shall receive orders to the contrary.²¹²

Our Army is on its march for Ninety Six, & Lieut^t Col^o Lee is sent with a Party to assist in the reduction of Augusta.

I have the honor to be sir

Your most ob^t [serv^t]

W^m Pierce j^r

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

210. William Pierce, Jr. (1740-89), a Virginian, was an artillery captain in 1776 before joining Gen. John Sullivan's staff. Sullivan resigned in Nov. 1779, and Pierce left the service as well. He returned to work for Greene in the South and was acknowledged by Congress for bravery at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. After the war, he stayed in the South, moving to Savannah, GA, where he served in the State House and was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention (*PNG*, 6:523n; *Biographical Directory of the US Congress*).

211. Greene's location inferred by the editors of *PNG* based on his other orders of this date (*PNG*, 8:279n).

212. As seen in Greene to Marion, Jun. 25, 1781 below, Marion did not join Sumter. See Greene to Marion.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Archibald McDonald²¹³ & Maj. John James, Sr.²¹⁴

St. Stephens 19th May 1781 –

Sir

I find the British has ordered all their Prisoners to go in to them agreeable to the paroles we have Ordered at that Period which obliges us to Know if Such Men will obey the Summons, if not their Parole is Broken. Consequently they are liable to be Called on duty by the Americans as I am determined Every man who is a Prisoner to the British Shall go Into there and Remain until Exchanged, as they shall not Remain neuter in the State.²¹⁵

I may inquire your determination on the Point I wish to be as delicate as possible in Every respect But hope you will see the Necessity of the Measure

Francis Marion

O'Kelley, BCADM, 677.

213. [Click here for a brief bio of Archibald McDonald.](#)

214. [Click here for a brief bio of John James, Sr.](#)

215. The specific British order is not known. Throughout the Southern Campaign, instead of imprisoning those captured, the British policy was to grant paroles. The parolee could then, in most cases, return to his home and continue to live as a citizen under British rule. In this case Marion notified McDonald and James that all prisoners on parole had been ordered to Charlestown. Any who did not comply would be considered as having broken parole and would be subject to service in the Loyalist militia. Marion asked for feedback from the two officers. What motivated this letter to these two in particular is unclear. This action on the part of the British was presumably ordered by Balfour, fulfilling his threat in his letter to Marion of May 17th, 1781, above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens May 19^h 1781

S^r: Lord Rawden is yett at Monks Corner, some straggling partys has been about the neighbours plundering. We took four boats they sent down Santee but their was very Little stores, and only Six British & some torrys and Negroes.

I Just now received Intelligence that L^d Cornwallis was at Hallifax, and that George Town is not Evacuated. I beg Leave to go & Reduce that place which has not more than 80 British soldiers & a few torrys. The Latter is very troublesom over Peedee & Waccomaw & by the fall of Geo^r Town will make them quiet. I will Leave a party here under Maj^r Maham to Watch Lord Rawdon & Give You Intelligence. Our movements must be quick or I apprehend that the Enemy will Evacuate Geo^r Town which I wish to prevent.

The safe guard sent with the Officers taken at Motts was Ill treated[,] their cloaths taken away & themselves put under confinement for Several hours but released with threats of being cut to pieces if they ware seen ten minuits after they was Left at Liberty. This S^r with the Detention of my flagg in the Person of Captⁿ Postell, Determine me to retalliate in every instants & shall not in future have any Communication with these people untill reperation is made & hope such off^{rs} who may fall in my hands, will by your Leave Experiance the Insult.²¹⁶

I wish to hear from you as quick as Possible that the Garison in Geo^r Town may not Slip through my hands.

I have the honour to be

Y^r hbl s^r

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

216. See Greene's reply of May 26, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 20^h May 1781

S^r: Yours of the 17th & 18 Inst. came to hand and shall Observe your orders.²¹⁷ I had the honour of wrighting you Yesterday informing of Lord Rawdon is yett at Monks Corner. Their Patrolling partys come ten miles up every day.²¹⁸ I have not yett been able to Learn what the Enemy is doing at the Corner. The most of the malitia is gone home for a few days when I Expect to be stronger then I ever have been.

George Town is not yett Evacuated[.] It is Garison'd with about one hundred British. Shoud be Glad to have the Liberty of going against it, but will wait your Orders.²¹⁹

Intelligence from North Carolina say that L^d Cornwallis crossed New River Last Munday Week in his way to Halifax.²²⁰

I have the Honour to be
y^r H^b s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

217. Ichabod Burnet and William Pierce, had both written to Marion May 18, 1781, above.

218. Rawdon occupied Moncks Corner tin order to protect the low country and its abundant supplies. He also desperately needed the chance to refit and resupply (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:288, PNG, 8:288n).

219. Marion did not, in fact, wait for Greene's orders. Instead, he moved against the city on his own initiative (PNG, 8:288n).

220. Marion's intelligence was out of date (PNG, 8:288).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 22^d May 1781

Sr: Since my last Rawdon went to town with part of the troops Said gone to Dorchester, the remainder about four hundred Including one hundred horses is Incamp at Monks Corner.²²¹ The Church is Evacuated & all their bagages sent to town. Their horse patrol up the road Eight or ten miles every day.²²² The malitia Expected is not yet come in & I have been Oblige to Let the men I had with me go home, but expect in a few days to be strong when I mean to Lay close to the enemy & Harress them, provided you do not think it proper to permit me to go to George Town, which is not yett Evacuated.²²³

I have the Honour to be
your ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

221. Rawdon did not stay in Charlestown long if he went at all, because he wrote to Cornwallis from Moncks Corner on May 24, 1781 (Rawdon to Cornwallis, May 24, 1781). Loyalist officer Henry Nase noted arriving in Dorchester on the 20th (PNG, 8:294n; Henry Nase, *Diary*; Charles Baxley ed. *SCAR*, 12/7/2013).

222. The referenced Church was Biggin Church. Marion's intelligence was false. This British continued to occupy the site (PNG, 8:294n).

223. Marion moved against Georgetown without waiting for permission from Greene (PNG, 8:294n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene²²⁴

[S^t. Stephens]²²⁵ [24] May 1781²²⁶

Sir, By a letter from Col. Horry²²⁷ I find the Enemy is about evacuating Georgetown & as I cannot do any thing by remaining here I have thought it most for the service to go to Georgetown & leave Maj. Maham here to give you the necessary intelligence of the Enemys movements who are yet at Monks Corner.

If I should be wanted I will immediately march to whatever place you will appoint & can with ease make a junction with Gen. Sumter from geo[rge] town if necessary.

The Enemy keeping just in Georgetown commands a number of men which would join us & keep an operation alive on Peedee which must cease as soon as that Garrison is removed, with the advantage of taking as many of The Enemy, is my reasons, for not waiting any longer for your approbation, & hope it may be a sufficient excuse.

I have procured a few horses for the Dragoon service & delivered them to Captn. Conyers & hope to get more in a little time –

A number of deserters is come from The Enemy I am informed there has been a sharp action in Virginia. The Enemy was drove back, the particulars I have not learned.

I have the honour to be your
Obedient. Servant.

Francis Marion

Tr (ScHi)

224. Note on transcript: On reverse (the outside cover of the letter): “From Genl. Marion May 24th 1781.” (docketed – probably in the hand of Gen. Greene’s ADC).

225. Location inferred. Marion wrote Greene from St. Stephens on May 22, 1781 above.

226. In his letter of Jun. 10, 1781 below, Greene referenced letters of May 22, 24, and 29, 1781. The dates of the first and last are clearly written, leading to the conclusion that this letter is from the 24th.

227. The letter from Col. Peter Horry has not been found.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp before Ninety Six May 26th 1781

Dear Sir

I am favord with your letters of the 19 and 20th.

I am surprisd at the enimies conduct towards the party sent as an escort to the Prisoners taken at Fort Mott and the more so as the party was for their protection and at their request.²²⁸ The insult offerd to our people deserves resentment and you have my full consent to treat their officers as they treat ours. But at the same time it is my wish to carry on the war upon the most liberal principles and as correspondent with the laws of humanity as the nature of the service will admit.

If the enemy are making no preparation to interrupt the siege at this place or Augusta and General Sumter dont think himself exposd in consequence of your moving to George Town of which I have desird him to inform you, that I have no objection to your making the attempt you propose. But if Lord Rawden is making preparations for offensive operations which may interrupt the sieges now carrying on, or expose General Sumter in his present position, I would not wish you to make the attempt as that is but an inferior object.²²⁹

Before this reaches you, you will be better informed of the state and intention of the enemy below. The last account I had of Lord Cornwallis he was at Hallifax in North Carolina and seemed disposd to rest there for sometime; probably with a view of concerting a plan for forming a junction with General Philips.²³⁰

I beg my most respectful complements to Col Horee and Major Mayam and the rest of the Gentlemen with you.

I am Sir with esteem & regard

Your Most Obed^t humble S^r

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 8:312-13.

228. See Marion to Greene, May 19, 1781 above.

229. Marion was already on the way to Georgetown, as noted in his orderly book entry of May 28, 1781, below. See his letter to Greene of May 29, 1781 below, in which Marion reported the city's capture (PNG, 8:313n).

230. Cornwallis had already joined the British forces in Virginia. He had reached Petersburg on May 20, 1781, but Gen. William Phillips had died of typhoid fever one week earlier (PNG, 8:313n).

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Before George Town²³¹ 28th May 1781

All the guards and Piquits to keep their Arms so near as to be able to take them at an instant and without Confusion Night and Day. No Officer to leave his guard on Any pretence. Should an alarm take place all guards & Piquits must be ready to make the utmost opposition and Not to quit their posts but on the greatest Necessity or by Orders from the Commandant or Field Officer of the day Are to visit all Centrys every hour During the night By either the Officer of the night or patrol from their own Guard -

The first alarm the time is to turnout, when it is Expected they will make the almost opposition against every attack, that may be made their Arms must be put in such places as they may take them with the greatest ease without Confusion every officer to remain with his men during the night And dispose their men in such a Manner as to have them at Command in a Moment. Every Officer is to be answerable for the Good Order of their men and the greatest attention must be paid to Every part of duty and it is hoped both Officers and Men will Cheerfully do their Duty and prevent the ill consequences which Must attend carelessness or Neglect -

No man to be absent from Camp at any time or any Pretense whatever without order from the Comandant or Field Officer of the Day -

All horses must be piqueted in the rear of the Incampment at Night-

Forage will be Brought to Camp and regular Issued²³² –

Cap^t Gough²³³ is appointed Confidential in room of Cap^t milton he is to be respected and Obeyd as Such – wine

Parole Washington: watchful

O'Kelley, BCADM, 678.

231. After an extensive correspondence with Greene about his desire to take Georgetown, Marion finally took the initiative and moved on the town without Greene's approval.

232. Though Marion's orderly book has less frequent entries during his time as a partisan commander than during his Continental days, it is worth noting that he never entirely gave up the practice of keeping it. These general orders were issued and expected to be obeyed the same way they would have been for the 2nd SC Regiment before the siege of Charlestown.

233. Richard Gough was a captain in the militia under Col. Peter Horry and Gen. Marion during 1780-82. [Click here for a brief bio of Richard Gough.](#)

General Orders by Brig^d Gen^l Marion

Camp near George Town 1781 –

Col^o Peter Horry will take the Command of Geo Town And keep good order in it.²³⁴ He will give such orders as may be Necessary for that purpose —²³⁵

He will see all the works of the Enemy demolished as soon as Possible —²³⁶

O'Kelley, BCADM, 678-79.

234. The British abruptly abandoned Georgetown by sea without a fight. With their interior forces driven south of the Santee, the city had become irrelevant to larger strategic aims, and their dwindling manpower in the state demanded the garrison be re-deployed to the defense of the area around Charlestown. Gen. Marion promptly appointed Lt. Col. Peter Horry commandant of Georgetown to coordinate its transition.

235. See Marion's orders of May 28, 1781 above.

236. Marion outlined his plans to destroy the British fortification in his letter to Greene of May 29, 1781, immediately below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Georgetown 29 May 1781

Sr

In my last I acquainted you of my Intention of marching to this place,²³⁷ Yesterday I arrived and immediatly begun to open Intrinchment, but the Enemy thought proper to step on board of their vessels at 9 OC. at night & fell down towards the Bar. they had a Galley[,], two gun boats and an Armed skooner. I immediatly took possession of the redoubt & town, in the first was three 9 pounders & a canoneer[,], their trunnions knocked off & Spiked, their Baggage all carryd off.

I shall only stay to Levell the works when I will immediatly cross santee river and take post near Monks corner and wait your orders.²³⁸

The Enemys Leaving this post has saved a great deal of provissions & Stock & prevent the toreyes from destroying our friends & Leave them at Leasure to persue their planting--

It cannot be conceived the Joy this event has given our friends.

I have the honour to be Y^r ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (CLjC)

[Confirmation of items left behind by evacuating British troops Assumed communicated to Marion]
G.O. of Col. Peter Horry

Georgetown 31st May 1781 –

I have reasons to believe there is a quantity of Arms and ammunition lodged in this Town, the property of the Enemy. You will please have a search made, for them if found they must be taken for the use of our Service –

Also a quantity of Spiritious Liquors, Dry goods & Salt Belonging to persons gone with the Enemy which must also be taken, a particular account must be kept and Deposited in some place untill ordered, otherwise all goods found in the possession of any Resident now in town Must prove by Oath their property, and nothing taken But from those Person mentioned above. The Flats and Boats must be Collected in one place under Guard And no Boats allowed to cross the River without your Pass-

Col^o Peter Horry –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 679.

237. See Marion to Greene, May 20, 1781 above (PNG, 8:329).

238. Despite his intention to leave as soon as possible, Marion remained in Georgetown for over a week. It may have had something to do with the death of his brother Isaac Marion on May 31, 1781, an event which is nowhere directly mentioned in his correspondence (PNG, 8:329; Richard Yeadon, "The Marion Family," *Southern & Western Magazine & Review*, 1845, 1:212).

*By the right Hon. Francis Lord Rawdon,
Col. commanding a corps of his Majesty's forces in South Carolina, &c.,
and Nesbit Balfour, Esq., Lieut. Col. and Commandant of Charlesto[w]n, &c.*²³⁹

Charlestown, June 2, 1781

Although attention to the general security of the province has obliged his Majesty's troops, for the present, to relinquish some of the upper parts of it, we trust, that it is unnecessary for us to exhort the loyal inhabitants of those districts to stand firm in their duty and principles; or to caution them against the insidious artifices of an enemy, who must shortly abandon their fate, those unfortunate people whom they have deluded into revolt.

But being well informed, that many persons, sincerely attached to his Majesty's cause, have, notwithstanding, been forced to join the enemy, as the only means of preserving themselves and their families from the savage cruelty of the rebel militia, until escape should be practicable; we desire all such to be confident, that they run no risk of suffering from us, through indiscriminate vengeance; reminding them, that the British government never extends its hand to blood, without the most convincing proofs of intentional guilt.²⁴⁰

And we advise all persons in the above predicament, as likewise who, from the oppressions of the enemy, have been obliged to quit their possessions, to take the earliest opportunity of coming in, with their arms, to any post or detachment of the royal army.²⁴¹ We give them assurances of every support, and of every endeavor on our part, to mitigate their present sufferings; further declaring to them that we shall feel ourselves no less bound to reward the fidelity of those who have remained unshaken in their allegiance, than to inflict the punishment due to reiterated perfidy. Nor should we give them this invitation, were we not certain that, in conjunction with the army, daily expecting powerful reinforcement, their exertions will very shortly reinstate them in the full and peaceable possession of that property, which they will thus have only yielded for a time, to receive again with confirmed security.

Given under our hands in camp, at Monk's Corner, the twenty-fourth day of May, 1781. And in the twenty-third year of his Majesty's reign.

Rawdon
N. Balfour

By order of his lordship and the commandant,
H. Barry, Dep. Adj't. Gen'l.²⁴²

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:88-89.

239. Lord Rawdon and Lt. Col. Balfour attempted to fill the leadership vacuum left when Gen. Cornwallis decided to march to Virginia, instead of returning to South Carolina. Lord Rawdon commanded operations in the back country, while Lt. Col. Balfour continued as commandant in Charlestown. In addition to managing both civil and military affairs in the town, he also directed the movements of troops in the Lowcountry.
240. The evacuation of Camden, followed by the surrender of Orangeburg, Fort Motte, and Fort Granby, had a devastating impact on the psyche of the Loyalist population in the back country. The Tories had staked their lives and fortunes on the success of the British cause. Now they were on the defensive. It was not unusual for Loyalists to join the Patriot militias to avoid retribution should they attempt to remain neutral. These covert Loyalists were, in many cases, also trying to protect their families and property.
241. At least four motivating factors contributed to this declaration: First, Balfour and Rawdon were trying to prevent Loyalists in Patriot militias from converting their sympathies to the Patriot cause. Second, by inviting Loyalists to join the British, they aimed to increase the strength of their own militia force. Third, Balfour and Rawdon may have anticipated that Loyalists who had attempted to remain neutral, but now felt that the tide was turning, were more likely to come into the British lines than to maintain their previous loyalties in enemy occupied territory. Finally, the British command was also attempting to reassure their back country supporters that recent setbacks were not permanent, and that only the imminent arrival of reinforcements was needed to re-establish control over those districts so recently lost.
242. Henry Barry (1750-1822) was promoted to captain in the 52nd Regiment in 1777. He served as aide-de-camp to Lord Rawdon and was most likely at Bunker Hill and in the New York campaign. After Rawdon left South Carolina for England during the summer of 1781, Barry became secretary to Lt. Col. Balfour. He was also deputy adjutant general in the South. Barry was captured at the Battle of Eutaw Springs while he was on a mission to Gen. Greene's headquarters. He was held as a hostage, given Greene's view that the British were not honoring the prisoner exchange cartel. In Feb. 1782, Barry became an unwitting part of the controversy over the execution of Isaac Hayne. Barry was ordered to be confined until prisoner discrimination issues were resolved. He gained his freedom as part of the exchange for Robert Stark and Capt. John Postell of Marion's brigade in Mar. 1782. Sometime after the war Barry served in India, but was back in England by 1794 (*DNB*, 3:320; Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War In America*, (Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1828), 145-47; *PNG*, 10:60n, 276n; Greene to Leslie, Feb. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 10:295-96n; Pierce to Barry, Mar. 5, 1782, *PNG*, 10:444 and 444n, Greene to Leslie, Mar. 9, 1782, *PNG*, 10:466 and 466n).

Maj. Hezekiah Maham to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

St. Stephens Junn 3^d [or 4] 1781²⁴³

D^r. Gen^l.

John Ray left Charlestown friday Last—He says that Col^o. ball²⁴⁴ had all the Cuntry Militia that was in town Summoned Last Thursday, & he was to march them up to joine Col^o. Watson on a Route To burn and Destroy all the Houses & provisions in the upper End of S^t. Johns & S^t. Stephens —²⁴⁵

There was a strong party of horse & infantry a Saterdag [June 1] up as far as old M^r. Tho^s Sabs, & Drove of all his stock, thay do not move out with Less then one hundred horse or more.²⁴⁶ Thay have made Mulbury there Head Quarters²⁴⁷-- If thay Should destroy the provisions in this part of the Cuntry, it Will Nearly Ruin us, as there is Scarce any below.

I have the hon^r. to be

D^r. Gen^l. Your Most Ob^t. Hb Sv^t

H Maham

ALS (MiU-C)

243. The ALS is very difficult to read. References were found for both Jun. 3 and Jun. 4 letters from Maham to Marion. The letter is cataloged as Jun. 3, 1781 by the Clements Library, although a similar letter to Isaac Huger, which likely would have been written at the same time, is dated Jun. 4.

244. Gen. Marion had dealt John Coming Ball a decisive defeat near Dollard's Tavern on Black Mingo Creek on the night of Sep. 28-29, 1780. The short battle culminated in the disorganized retreat of Ball's larger force into the nearby swamp. At this battle, Marion had captured Ball's fine horse, which he re-named "Ball" and rode throughout the balance of the war. More importantly, the victory had given the Patriots a much-needed success after the devastating loss at Camden in August.

245. The intelligence that Ball's Loyalists were en route to join Lt. Col. John Watson may have been mis-information. Watson was with Rawdon during the withdrawal from Camden to Charlestown. Marion's letters to Greene of May 20 and 22, 1781, above, indicated Rawdon had gone to Charlestown between those dates, but it is unclear whether that was true. Since Rawdon would shortly march to reinforce Ninety Six, it is doubtful he would have dispatched Watson to St. Johns and St. Stephens near the Santee River. Maham was still expecting Ball to join Watson, as noted in his Jun. 5, 1781 letter to Marion, below. Rawdon was at Moncks Corner on May 24, 1781 (PNG, 8:294). On Jun. 5, Watson was in temporary command of Rawdon's force, due to Rawdon's illness, as revealed in Maham's letter to Marion of Jun. 5, below.

246. South Carolina militia Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb's plantation was in the vicinity of Fort Motte.

247. Mulberry Plantation is still extant, and is 3.9 miles (as the crow flies) southeast of Moncks Corner on the west bank of the West Branch of the Cooper River.

Big. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Geo^r[ge] Town 5^t June 1781

S^r

My last informed you of my being in the possession of this place, since that I have been busy in Levelling the works & sending the salt in a secure place for the use of the Army.²⁴⁸

The Enemy went down to the bar where they now are and am Apprehensive they will return if I should leave this and destroy all the provisions round about²⁴⁹ which is the only place where we may draw any Quantity of subsistence for the Army or I should have returned on the South of Santee afore.

Inclosed is a Letter from Maj^r Maham which will give you the Situation of the Enemy, & their Intentions of destroying every kind of provisions,²⁵⁰ without some immediate assistance, which I fear will not be in my power to do it Effectually as all the militia Expected is not come in, but with a few regular horse Join'd with my force may prevent Great Destructions.

I shall Leave a small force here & march tomorrow to Join Maj^r Maham over Santee.

I have the honour be y^r ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C)

248. See Marion to Greene, May 29, 1781 above.

249. "The bar" referred to the mouth of Winyah Bay, where the Black, Peedee, Waccamaw, and Sampit Rivers combine and enter the Atlantic downstream from Georgetown. The British had already evacuated the town, but their ships remained anchored at the mouth of Winyah Bay, blockading the harbor and threatening to return (*PNG*, 8:351n; George C. Rogers, *History of Georgetown County, SC* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 143).

250. Maham's letter of Jun. 3, 1781 is above.

Alexander McGregor²⁵¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Unknown] June 5th 1781

D^r. Gen^l.

Just now Received intelligence of the Enemy has Recev^d, a Reinforcemant of near two Thousand Men in Charls Town this information may be Depend upon from good athority which is from two officers from the [Haddrells] pint [sic, Point] who Says they Seen ten of the transports go up afore the night and after night Seen Seven More²⁵² and likewise Ninety Six is fallen.²⁵³

I am D^r. Gen.

Your Most Ob^t.

H^b. Sv^t.

Alex^r. M^c.Gregor

ALS (MiU-C)

251. Alexander McGregor was a trusted spy for the Patriot cause. The intelligence related here originated with officers of the 1st SC Regiment, who had become prisoners at the fall of Charlestown, and who were, at this time, being held on Sullivan's Island (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 200).

252. Rawdon reported to Cornwallis on Jun. 5, 1781, that "On the 3^d Ins^t, the fleet from Ireland arrived; having aboard the 3^d, 19^h, & 30^h Regiments, A Detachment from the Guards, & a considerable body of Recruits: The whole under the command of Colonel [Paston] Gould of the 30^h...." (Rawdon to Cornwallis, Jun. 5, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:290-92).

253. McGregor's intelligence regarding the fall of Ninety Six was false. Greene had invested the Loyalist stronghold on May 22, 1781. After a nearly one-month siege, however, the Americans abandoned the attempt after a frontal assault on the star fort failed on Jun. 19.

Certified Receipt of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

State of South Carolina

To John Johnston D^o

5th June ____ 9 Beeves Valued @ £90 Curr^y.£11 5 87 _
Certified.

Fran^s Marion For my Com^d. L^t N^o
BG

Gilb^t Johnstone²⁵⁴

ADS (Francis Marion University)

254. Gilbert Johnstone served as a captain in the militia (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 502). In a Mar. 8, 1790 letter to his daughter-in-law, Susannah Barefield Johnstone, he described how militia colonels Hugh Giles, Hugh Horry, Peter Horry, and Francis Huger met at his house and chose Marion to command the militia in the Pee Dee region (Johnstone to Johnstone, Mar. 8, 1790, ALS, Francis Marion University).

***Maj. Hezekiah Maham to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion*²⁵⁵**

St. Stephen Jun 5th 1781

D^r. Gen^l.

The Enemy mov^d. from the Mulbury yesterday Morning & has taken post at monks Corner,²⁵⁶ Col^o. Watson Commands, Lord Rawden is Very Sick in town²⁵⁷ They have sent a strong Guard to the twenty three Mile House Commanded by Cap^t. Dennis O'Kelley. Col^o. Ball is Expected up daley to join Watson²⁵⁸—our parthey fell in yesterday with there for^g. Parthey at Wantoot, But Was Oblige to withdraw Their Numbers being treble to ours--

I am afraid thay Will have time to put there plan of destroying & burning into Execution—

I have the Hon^r to be

D^r. Gen^l.

Your Most Obt.

Hum^b. Srv^t.

H Maham

ALS (MiU-C)

255. Marion enclosed this letter with his letter to Greene of Jun. 6, 1781 below.

256. The new site provided the British with more flexibility in troop movements. From Moncks Corner troops could readily march to confront threats from four directions: Orangeburg, Nelson's Ferry, Murray's Ferry, and Lenud's Ferry.

257. In his letter to Marion of Jun. 3, 1781 above, Maham implied that Rawdon was at Mulberry Plantation, south of Moncks Corner, with the rest of the British contingent. Here Rawdon was identified as being in Charlestown. His illness was apparently not as severe as reported, since Rawdon wrote to Cornwallis on Jun. 5, 1781 that he planned to "march on the 7^h towards Ninety Six..." (Rawdon to Cornwallis, Jun. 5, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:290; Greene to Lafayette, Jun. 9, 1781, *PNG*, 8:369).

258. Maham had notified Marion of intelligence he had received of an expected rendezvous between Loyalist Col. John Ball and Col. John Watson in his letter of Jun. 3 [or 4], 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

Geo^r. Town 6th June 1781

S^r

Yesterday I wrought you p^r. Express that I had Levelled all the works here & Should march tomorrow to Murrays ferry,²⁵⁹ also that Maj^r. Maham had informed me that Rawdon was at Mulberry below the Corner, their horse frequently come up to this last place that Large partys was sent round that post of the Country Collecting stock & Grain; that Col^o. Ball with a body of malitia was to have marched last Thursday out of Ch^s. Town to Join Col. Watson with an Intention to destroy the houses & provisions between Santee and C. town, & that I should not be able to prevent their designs__²⁶⁰

This moment I rec^d. Intelligence from one of my Off^{rs}. near Haddrells point that Seventeen transports with troops S^d to be two thousand had Arrived in Ch^s. Town, which Information he had from two of our officers, who S^d they had seen the vessells go in__²⁶¹

I am S^r Y^r Ob S^t
Fran^s. Marion.

On Public Service.
Express. M^r.

Ab. Poole²⁶²

Tr (Thomas Sumter Papers: DLC), microfilm copy at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute, York, SC.

259. Marion had informed Greene of his intentions to move on Georgetown, but had not received affirmative orders to do so from either of his superiors, Greene or Sumter, before making the move. The referenced letter of Jun. 5, 1781 to Sumter has not been found.

260. The information relayed here had been transmitted in Maham's Jun. 3, 1781 letter, above. It is not known whether Loyalist Col. John Coming Ball actually joined Lt. Col. John Watson, who had withdrawn from Nelsons Ferry to Moncks Corner by May 24, 1781 (Donald J. Gara, "Narrative of John Watson Tadwell Watson Lt. Colonel of the Provincial Light Infantry in South Carolina 1780-1781," *SCAR Magazine* 4, no. 2.1 (Apr.-Jun. 2007):57-58).

261. Information about the arrival of 2,000 reinforcements from Ireland had been received in Patriot spy Alexander McGregor's letter to Marion of Jun. 5, 1781, above. McGregor obtained the intelligence from imprisoned officers of the 1st SC Regiment, who were being held on Sullivan's Island.

262. An Abraham Pool served in the Rangers under Capt. Edward Richardson and Col. William Thomson during 1775 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 778). Whether this is the same Pool(e) is not known.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Geo^r Town 6th June 1781

Sir

Yesterday I wrought p^r Express, that I had Levelled all the works here & shoud march tomorrow for Murrey's Ferry, also that Maj^r Maham had inform me that Rawden was at the Mulberry below Monks Corner, their horse frequently come up to this Last place, that Large partys was sent round that parts of the country collecting stock & grain, that Col^o Ball was to have marched Last Thursday with a body of Militia from Ch^s Town to Join Col. Watson, with an Intention to destroy all the houses & provissions between Santee & the town, and without the Assistance of Some regular horse I shoud not be able to prevent their Intentions.²⁶³

I have sent partys in every part of the country to Collect horses for the Dragoons[;] what could be got I have Deliverd Captⁿ Conyers.²⁶⁴

This moment I rec^d the Inclosed which is the first Intelligence I have received of the Enemys receiving reinforcement.²⁶⁵

I have not received a line from you since you Left the Congarees which make me think it has miscarryd.²⁶⁶

I have the honner to be with due respect
your Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

NB Inclosed is a Letter I this moment rec^d from Maj^r Maham²⁶⁷

ALS (MiU-C)

263. The first paragraph of this letter is the same as the one sent to Sumter on this date, above.

264. On May 4, 1781, Greene had written to Marion asking him to gather horses for the Continental army (PNG, 8:356).

265. The enclosure, a Jun. 5, 1781 letter from Alexander McGregor, a trusted Patriot spy, to Marion is above. It noted that 2,000 reinforcements had arrived at Charlestown from Ireland.

266. Per PNG: "Greene had written Marion on May 26, 1781. It is not known if that letter 'miscarryd.'" (PNG, 8:356).

267. The referenced letter is dated Jun. 5, 1781, above.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ancrums,²⁶⁸ June 9th, 1781

Sir: I have just Received your favour of the 6th Instant, but have not that which you mention of the preceeding day.²⁶⁹ I find the Enemy disposed to do us every possible Injury. I am glad to hear you succeeded against George Town, & that you think of Passing the Santee soon, which will in some Measure Check the progress of the Enemy.²⁷⁰ I have two Regiments moving downwards, with Orders to Co-operate with Major Mayham; others move to day. No perfect plan of Operation Can at present be Laid Down. I shall be happy to have the Earliest Advices from you, after you pass the River & have obtained proper accounts of the situation of the Enemy. I am sorry to hear of a Reinforcement having arrived; have hopes it may not be so Considerable as is suggested. The post at 96 & Augusta are not as yet taken; they are obstinately defended, but Consequently must fall in a few days;²⁷¹ we have certain accounts that all Pensacola is in posesion of the Spanards, that all the enemies out works, at St. Augustine, are posed by them; thro' the same Channel of Intelligence we Learn that Admiral Rodney has been defeated, in the Wst. Indies, & that a fresh fleet is or will be on our Coast very Soon, which will Give us a Superiority at Sea.²⁷² I Recollect I Received yours of the 5th yesterday, & sent your packet for General Greene on immediately.

I am, sir,

Your most obd't. humble Servt

Thos. Sumter

N.B. The Increase of the Enemys force may Render it Expedient to Collect our force; & Unless your Brigade, (that is the division called upon for), are out,²⁷³ we shall be but Weak. Gen^l. Greene has four Regiments from my Brigade with him, besides some Detachments.²⁷⁴

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

268. After Gen. Greene marched from Ancrum's Plantation on May 18, 1781, Sumter established a training headquarters there shortly thereafter. He remained at Ancrum's until Jun. 16, when he began an ultimately futile march to join Greene.
269. At the end of this letter Sumter "remembered" he had received Marion's letter (not found) of Jun. 5, 1781, in which Marion had enclosed a packet for Greene as well.
270. Although Sumter was probably glad that Georgetown was now in Patriot hands, it undoubtedly infuriated him that Marion, who was his junior, had not waited for orders/permission to attack Georgetown. If so, he showed the good sense not to mention it.
271. Sumter would be proven wrong about the outcome at Ninety Six, which would resist a prolonged siege by Greene through the middle of June. Augusta, on the other hand, had already fallen at the time of this letter. Augusta was protected by two forts: Fort Grierson and Fort Cornwallis. Fort Grierson was commanded by Col. James Grierson, a Georgia Loyalist who had been promoted to colonel by Royal Gov. James Wright in 1780. A combined force of South Carolina Militia and State troops commanded by Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens attacked Fort Grierson on May 23. Facing overwhelming force, Grierson attempted to lead his men through the Patriot line to safety at Fort Cornwallis a half-mile away. Grierson lost around 50% of his troops before surrendering and was murdered after the fort surrendered. After taking Fort Grierson, the combined force of Pickens's South Carolina troops and Henry Lee's Continental Legion laid siege to Fort Cornwallis on May 24. The Loyalists under Lt. Col. Thomas Brown, commandant of the King's Rangers, put up a determined defense, nearly overcoming the Patriots on more than one occasion. Finally, on Jun. 5, the Loyalists surrendered. Sumter had clearly not yet learned of the capitulation when this letter was written (Pickens to Greene, May 25, 1781, PNG, 8:310-12; Pickens and Lee to Greene, Jun. 5, 1781, PNG, 8:351-52; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 144).
272. The Spanish had forced the British garrison at Pensacola (West Florida) to surrender in early May 1781, after a short siege. They did not, however, attack St. Augustine. It is unclear how Sumter came by this information, but this part of it at least was false (PNG, 8:337n). Adm. George Rodney had turned over operational command of the British fleet in the Caribbean to his second-in-command, Adm. Sir Samuel Hood (1724-1816), an English Admiral, who had seen service during the French and Indian War, and was promoted to rear admiral in 1780. In Jul. 1781, he sailed north to support Adm. Graves in Virginia. After the fleet's defeat at the Battle of the Chesapeake Capes at the hands of French Adm. De Grasse—and Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown—Hood returned to the West Indies. In Apr. 1782, he exacted revenge by defeating De Grasse. He then sailed for Charlestown, arriving off the bar in Sep. 1782. Instead of fighting, his ships became a convoy to cover the evacuation of the town. For his victory over De Grasse, Hood was made an Irish peer, and was promoted to full admiral in 1794. (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:513-14; PNG, 8:342n; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 4:657) The "fresh fleet" referenced in this letter was that of de Grasse. However, De Grasse's force did not prove strong enough to take St. Lucia (Greene to Lee, Jun. 24, 1781, PNG, 8:453).
273. The meaning of "the division called upon for" is unclear. According to militia law "the length of militia service was not to be increased and only one-third of the militia could be called out at a time except within eighty miles of the portion of the state invaded." (Barnwell, "Dictator," 216) A march from the Pee Dee/Waccamaw area to Ninety Six would have been significantly more than 80 miles. Therefore, unbeknownst to Sumter and (probably) Marion, they would have been in violation of state law if they were to order out additional militia and march to Ninety Six. South Carolina Gov. Rutledge blatantly violated the militia law, and the Feb. 3, 1780 emergency act, which had given him broader executive power but still imposed some limitations, as seen in his letter to Marion of Sep. 1, 1781, below.
274. Greene had called out four of Sumter's regiments, those of Colonels Brandon, Hayes, Thomas, and Lyle. He attempted to deflect any antagonism from Sumter when he wrote, "I am sorry to break in upon your arrangements, but I flatter myself you will be persuaded it is for the good of the service." (Bass, *Gamecock*, 179).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp Before 96, June 10th 1781

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of the 22^d, 24th and 29th ultimo.²⁷⁵ It gives me great pleasure to hear the enemy have left George Town and I am of opinion with you that it will be attended with many good consequences to that part of the country.

After you have completed the demolition of the Enemies works, you will collect your force and take the position you mention and act in conjunction with Gen^l. Sumter, agreeable to the advice I gave you before.²⁷⁶

I have the pleasure to congratulate you on the reduction of the Enemies Post at Augusta.²⁷⁷ This event took place on the 5th Instant by Capitulation and I hope in a few days to have the pleasure to congratulate you on the reduction of this place, but we are opposed to many difficulties, and the garrison resists with great obstinacy.

I am Sir,
with every sentiment
of respect and esteem
your very huml Serv^t.

Nath. Greene

Df (NcD), PNG 8:373.

275. Marion's letter of May 24, 1781 has not been found (PNG, 8:373).

276. Marion planned to march toward Moncks Corner. He had already destroyed the Georgetown fortification (PNG, 8:373). See Marion to Greene, Jun. 5, 1781 above.

277. A combined force of South Carolina militia and state troops, commanded by Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, attacked Fort Grierson on May 23, 1781. Facing an overwhelming force, Georgia Loyalist militia Col. James Grierson, attempted to lead his men through the Patriot line to safety at Fort Cornwallis, one half mile away. Grierson lost around one-half of his troops on the way. After taking Fort Grierson, the combined force of South Carolina militia Gen. Pickens's South Carolina troops and Lt. Col. Henry Lee's Continental Legion laid siege to Fort Cornwallis on May 24, 1781. After the erection of a tower, or platform, similar to the one that turned the tide at Fort Watson, the British were helpless to prevent the Americans from firing into the fort. Finally, on Jun. 5, 1781 the Loyalists under Col. Thomas Brown, surrendered (Pickens to Greene, May 25, 1781, PNG., 8:310-312; Pickens and Lee to Greene, Jun. 5, 1781, PNG, 8:351-52; Steve Rauch, "A Judicious and Gallant Defense: The Second Siege of Augusta" SCAR, vol. 3. No. 6-7-8, 32-50).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp before 96 June 10th 1781

Dear Sir

Yours of the 6th I have recieved with the inclosures. I had information of the arrival of a reinforcement at Charlestown before your letter came to hand. Accounts are various respecting their numbers. By private information the enemy intend to attempt raising the Seige of this place which I hope will terminate in our favour.²⁷⁸ Should the enemy attempt to penetrate the Country I beg you to collect all the force you can and join General Sumter without loss of time²⁷⁹ and give the enemy all the opposition you can until we form a junction with our collective force it being my intention to fight then, and I wish them to be cripled as much as possible before we have a general action.²⁸⁰ Send me all the information you can get.

With esteem & regard I am dear Sir
your most obed hum^l Ser

N Greene

ADfs (MiU-C), PNG, 8:374.

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278. Greene wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette on Jun. 9, 1781 that the British reinforcement of a reported 2,000 men had arrived on Jun. 2, 1781 in Charlestown, and was marching toward Ninety Six to relieve the siege. In a Jun. 10, 1781 letter to Sumter, Greene indicated reports that the reinforcements amounted to 3,000 men. He felt, however, that the force probably amounted to only 700 to 800 men (Greene to Lafayette, Jun. 9, 1781, *PNG*, 5:366-69; Greene to Sumter, Jun. 10, 1781, *PNG*, 5:374-75).
279. In this second letter of Jun. 10, 1781 Greene countermanded his orders from earlier in the day, above, directing Marion to join Sumter immediately, rather than moving to Moncks Corner, and to act in conjunction with Sumter.
280. In his letter of this date to Sumter, Greene directed him to “give positive orders for Gen^l Marion’s force to join if the enemy attempted to penetrate the Country.” (Greene to Sumter, Jun. 10, 1781, *PNG* 5:376) In the Jun. 13, 1781 letter to Marion below, Sumter ordered Marion to march toward Ninety Six. Subsequently, Sumter countermanded the orders on Jun. 14, below, advising Marion to halt until the enemy’s movements could be better ascertained. On Jun. 15, below, he advised Marion to call out three-fourths of his brigade and move higher up the Congaree River. Marion in turn was surely frustrated by the constant change of orders.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Ancrum's]²⁸¹ June 13th, 1781

Sir, I find the Enemy still Advances,²⁸² & in all probability 96 is their object. That place is not yet Taken; to have the Siege Raised would be of great injury to us. You will be pleased to disincumber yourself of all heavy baggage, & march with all possible Expedition on towards 96, So as for our whole force to Act together if Requisite.²⁸³ You will find plenty of Meal and Corn at Sailor's [probably Taylor's] Mill, near the Congaree.

I am, Sir, with esteem,
Your most obed^t. hum Serv^t,

Thos. Sumter

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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281. Sumter had been at Ancrum's Plantation since the middle of May. Sumter used the month-long bivouac to continue recruiting and training his militia force. It is curious that he did not march to join Greene sooner. Sumter's Jun. 11 letter to Greene, in which he wrote that "My indisposition in Creases so fast as Not to have any hopes from the Nature of it, to be able to Remain with Troops Many days longer. . .", suggests that lingering pain from the wound suffered at Blackstock's Plantation in Nov. 20, 1780 was still troubling him (Sumter to Greene, Jun. 11, 1781, *PNG*, 8:378).
282. After arriving at Charlestown from Cork, Ireland on Jun. 3, 1781, three new British regiments, the 3rd, 19th, and 30th Foot, marched to Moncks Corner. On Jun. 7, a relief-force composed of the balance of Rawdon's force plus the flank companies of the newly arrived British reinforcements, an estimated 2,000 in all, set off to relieve the Provincial troops at Ninety Six. Despite the intense heat that plagued the wool-clad recruits, the British relief column made the 160-mile march from Moncks Corner in 14 days, arriving on Jun. 21, 1781 (*PNG*, 8:xiv-xv; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Jun. 5, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:290-92; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Aug. 2, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:63).
283. This order was in response to Greene's orders of Jun. 10, 1781 for Sumter to order Marion to join him (Greene to Sumter, 2nd letter of Jun. 10, 1781, *PNG*, 8:376). The urgency of Sumter's directive is implied by the order to "disincumber yourself of all heavy baggage."

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree,²⁸⁴ June 14th 1781

Sir, I have this Morning Received Accounts, that the Enemy are not moving upwards;²⁸⁵ the parties that have been discovered are said to be Tories; in Consequence of which I advise you to halt untill this matter can be Clearly ascertained. In the meanwhile beg you may collect as large a force as you Can, that we may Act Offensively, if the Enemy remain in & Cover so much of the Country. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon, untill which I have nothing further to Recommend, but that of Gaining the best Intelligence you Can of the Enemy's Strength situation, Covering the Country & being Ready to move if the designs of the enemy & Gen^l. Greene's particular Circumstances should Render it Necessary. The enemy at 96 is very Obstinate; they Sally almost Every Night, have suffered Considerably by it of late. I dont Expect to hear of the Reduction of that Post for some days yet.²⁸⁶ The Tories have been troublesome towards Savannah River. Col^o. R. Hampton²⁸⁷ has lately seen Two of their parties upon Edisto, & near the Salt Ketcher.²⁸⁸

I have the honour to be,
with Great Respect, Sir,
Your Most Obed^t hum. Serv^t.

Thos. Sumter

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

284. Sumter used "Congaree" interchangeably with "Ancrum's" to identify his encampment below where the Broad and Saluda Rivers join to become the Congaree. The camp was on the north side of the Congaree across the river from Fort Granby.

285. Sumter's intelligence that Rawdon's relief force had halted was incorrect.

286. The siege at Ninety Six was characterized by strong defensive actions by Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger's Provincial garrison. Cruger sent out sorties to sabotage the Americans digging the approach trenches.

287. Richard Hampton (1752-92) moved from Virginia to the South Carolina back country as a child, along with his brother Wade (also a future significant SC militia leader), by 1773. Richard Hampton was a member of the 3rd General Assembly (1779-80), who joined the Orangeburg militia after the Cherokee killed his parents and a brother in 1776. By early 1780, he was a captain. He was eventually promoted to lieutenant colonel in Sumter's brigade. Hampton was elected to the General Assembly that convened in Jacksonborough in 1782 and after the war he served another term in the SC House. He continued to accumulate land, owning nearly 40,000 acres by 1788 (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:306-09).

288. Sumter had sent Hampton, as well as Col. Charles Myddleton, from Ancrum's on scouting and raiding forays with the intention of slowing the progress of Rawdon's relief column. Here Sumter mentioned Hampton seeing Tories closer to the Savannah River. The parties on the N. Edisto River could have been part of Rawdon's army, which had taken the road parallel to the river on the way to Ninety Six.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree, June 15th, 1781

Sir:

I have written you since the letter of mine wherein you Mention having Received, that the Enemy were not Advancing.²⁸⁹ It again appears probable they are, & from the Accounts you have of their Reinforcements there is Every Reason to think they mean to Repossess themselves of this Country again. I therefore think it Advisable that we keep in the field as Large a force as Possible. I Recommend that you do Call out at least three fourths of your Brigade, & move higher up the River, in Readiness to Cross, if the Enemy Continue Advancing.²⁹⁰ I have but little powder, will divide what I have, but Cannot send it just now, the Uncertain State that things are in puts it out of my Power to write accurately, even if I had time. If the militia are Obstinate & faithless, it will be necessary to make Examples of Some, Great Severity must be used which if done we have little to apprehend from the Enemy.²⁹¹ 96 is not taken.

I am with Esteem,
Your Most Obd^t. servant,

Thos. Sumter

N.B. If any person, either officer or private, who may Consider themselves in my Brigade, I beg you will Cause Notice to be Given that I request them Immediately to Join their proper Regim^{ts}, as Nothing is more Injurious to public service, than that of People detaching themselves.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

289. The previous day's letter, above, advised Marion to halt his march because Sumter had received reports that Rawdon had halted.

On Jun. 13, 1781, above, Sumter had implored Marion to "march with all possible Expedition on toward 96." Based on the extant correspondence, it is not clear whether Sumter had any idea of Marion's whereabouts. Sumter had not heard from him since a Jun. 6, 1781 letter, above, written from Georgetown. In that letter Marion planned to leave Georgetown the next day.

290. Sumter's change in orders presumably stemmed from more current intelligence reports, as well as from Greene's Jun. 10 letter, above, in which he directed Marion "to collect all the force you can and join General Sumter without loss of time."

291. Sumter, like Marion, had ongoing problems with maintaining a reliable force in the field. While Marion impatiently waited for his militia to reappear, Sumter was more willing to punish his own soldiers when they did not turn out.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Rocks Plantⁿ S^t Johns²⁹² 16th June 1781

S^r

Yourse of the 10th Instant Just came to hand. In Consequence of an Order from Gen^l Sumter I marched thus far in my way to Join him & Left all the men not mounted at Murrays as I Expected I shoud be wanted in hast.²⁹³

I rec^d a Lettr dated 14 Ult: from Gen^l Sumter to halt untill further Orders.²⁹⁴ I am apprehensive If I Leave this part of the country that the Enemy will destroy all the provissions on this Side Santee which will be a great Loss to our Armys as it is all the provissions which can be had in the country (except Waccomaw) 'till the new Crops come in.²⁹⁵

I sent Col. Petr Horry with one hundred men to Quell the troops on Peede & I expect his return in two days.²⁹⁶

I shall this Evening Send Major Maham to the Four Holes to disperse some torrys which is Embodied there & from thence I gave Orders he Shoud make a push as Low down as the Quarter House & Take off a Small guard there & at Goose-Creek.²⁹⁷

There is at present about 400 men at Monks Corner, all new raised troops,²⁹⁸ Maj^r Maham pursud Some horse men in the main body & was Saluted with a few platoon, but without Effect.

If I am permitted to remain here & can get Ammunition from Gen^l Sumter, I shall be Able to keep them so close in, that they will not be Able to get any Subsistance from the Country. They are Oblige now to bring all their provissions from Ch^s Town for I have had all the Cattle around them Drove on the North side of Santee; & am doing the same in S^t Thomas and near Haddrells Point.²⁹⁹

I shall remain about here untill farther Orders from you or Gen^l Sumter.

I have the honour to be y^r Ob^t s

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

292. Marion was the owner of Rocks Plantation. See Marion to Greene, May 10, 1781 above.

293. In his second Jun. 10, 1781 letter, above, Gen. Greene ordered Marion to march to join Sumter as soon as possible. Marion then referred to Sumter's Jun. 13 letter, above, in which he had ordered Marion to march toward Ninety Six as expeditiously as possible.

294. Sumter advised Marion to halt his march on Jun. 14, 1781, above, based on intelligence that Rawdon had stopped as well.

295. Marion's apprehension was valid. He undoubtedly also recognized that the slow turn-out of his brigade would continue. It would not have been surprising to experience an actual reduction in the militia force, once his men learned that Ninety Six was their destination.

296. As seen in the Jun. 17, 1781 agreement, below, Horry was successful in quelling the anti-revolutionary sentiment in the area.

297. Maham routed a body of Tories at Four Holes Swamp, east of Dorchester. See Marion to Greene, Jun. 23, 1781 below.

298. The referenced forces were part of the British 3rd Foot, newly arrived from Ireland. The flank companies (grenadiers and light infantry) from that regiment, along with those of the 30th and 19th, marched with Rawdon (Paston Gould to Lord Cornwallis, Jun. 7, 18, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:296; PNG, 8:394n).

299. Patriot militia forces often sought to limit the scope of British advances by eliminating their source of provisions, rather than confronting them directly. Although the British did have access to supplies from Charlestown and some intermediate supply depots, in order to maintain a forward position or to support an extended march, provisions had to be obtained from the surrounding plantations. Due to the season, there were few crops available for the soldiers. By driving the cattle over the Santee River, the British would be forced to forage ever further from their line of march.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree, June 16th, 1781

Sir,

I have just received yours of the 14th Instant.³⁰⁰ I am Glad you are Moving up there is the Greatest Occasion for Forced Marches. I wrote you to day that the Enemy were upon the way to 96, they go very Slow.³⁰¹ You may join me in time.³⁰² You will get Meal & other provisions at Saylor's [Taylor's] Mill, south side the Congaree River & ten Miles from the Fort [Granby], or at Ancrums,³⁰³ on the 7th. I left with Col^o. [Thomas] Taylor³⁰⁴ some Ammunition for you. This is a Grand Push the Enemy is making. I beg you may Move with all the force you Can & Order out at least three fourths of your Brigade, The whole might be the most Eligible,³⁰⁵ Those living high up, might pass through the [Dutch] fork,³⁰⁶ & I am yet at the Congaree.

I am Sir,

Your most Obedt. Servt.

Thos. Sumter

NB. Pray be so oblidge. as to forward M^r. Davis Letter.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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300. Marion's letter of Jun. 14 is not extant. It may have been written from Murray's Ferry, where Marion had indicated he was heading after he left Georgetown on Jun. 7, 1781. See Marion to Sumter, Jun. 7, 1781, above.
301. Sumter had written Greene in an undated letter sometime before Jun. 13, 1781 that the British force might be marching to Ninety Six. Even after receiving Sumter's letters of Jun. 13 and 14, in which he reiterated the belief that Rawdon's goal was Ninety Six, Greene wrote Sumter on Jun. 15 that he could not "persuade myself that the enemy mean to pay a visit to this place [Ninety Six]." (Sumter to Greene, Jun. 13, and 14, 1781, *PNG*, 5:387-88, 390-91; Greene to Sumter, Jun. 15, 1781, *PNG*, 5:392).
302. Sumter marched this day or the next (Jun. 17, 1781), after spending nearly a month at Ancrum's Plantation. He clearly expected Marion to march to a junction with him, whereas, as seen in his letter to Greene of Jun. 25, below, Marion was waiting at Ancrum's for the arrival of his militia, before setting out to join Sumter.
303. Sumter was unsure on which side of the Santee Marion would be traveling. As it turned out, Marion presumably crossed at Murray's Ferry, and marched to Rock's Plantation near Eutaw Springs by the day this letter was written. See Marion to Greene, Jun. 16, 1781, above.
304. South Carolina militia Col. Thomas Taylor was a trusted commander of one of Sumter's regiments. He fought in most of the significant actions in which Sumter's Brigade took part, including Hanging Rock, Fishing Creek, Fish Dam Ford, and Orangeburg. He was superseded in command during the siege of Fort Granby by Continental Lt. Col. Henry Lee, much to Sumter's ire. Following the Battle at Shubrick's Plantation on Jul. 17, 1781, in which Taylor's men were placed in an exposed position that resulted in significant losses (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 208; Draper, *Sumter Papers*, 16VV35).
305. Sumter repeated his message of the previous day, above, in which he suggested Marion call out three-quarters of his brigade. In this letter he went one step further suggesting that Marion's entire brigade should be brought into this action. Repeating an order from one letter to the next was not necessarily unusual, since letters were often intercepted.
306. The Dutch Fork, a corruption of Dortch, was between the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers centered on present day Irmo, South Carolina.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree, June 16th, 1781

Sir,

The Enemy are yet Advancing, are some distance above Orangeburgh their force Considerable;³⁰⁷ 96 Not Yet Taken, everything with respect to the seige going on well, time is all that is Needed. I have written to Gen^l. Greene for Ammunition for you, which if he furnishes I will have forwarded to meet you.³⁰⁸ In One day more the Enemys designs must be known, whether their object is 96, or my party to which they have Already given much trouble in Marching & Counter Marching,³⁰⁹ As their movements have been very Singular & with uncommon Caution, they are strong in Horse.³¹⁰ By Express this moment from Gen^l. Greene, the post not Reduced, but in a fair way.³¹¹

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obd^t. Hum. Serv^t.

Thos. Sumter

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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307. Sumter wrote to Greene on Jun. 16, 1781, that Rawdon's relief column "was twelve Miles above orangeburg Last Night their Number in all probability Near fifteen hundred Commanded by Lord Rawdon. they have a Considerable number of Cavalry—said four hundred, & eight field pieces—" Sumter continued, indicating that he was "just Moving upwards, have been detained, for some men to Join from below—which are not yet come." He was having problems raising men, much like Marion, who was himself "Moving up but at a Great distance and but weak—" (Sumter to Greene, Jun. 16, 1781, *PNG*, 8:403).
308. Sumter's letters of Jun. 13 and 14, 1781 to Greene mentioned that Marion had little ammunition. However, they did not explicitly request ammunition for him (Sumter to Greene, Jun. 13-14, 1781, *PNG*, 8:387-88, 390-91).
309. In this letter Sumter implied that Rawdon's destination was still not clear. Curiously, in a letter to Greene of the same date, he said, "[T]here is scarce a doubt but 96 is the place of their destination." (Sumter to Greene, Jun. 16, 1781, *PNG*, 8:403).
310. Whether intentional or not, Rawdon's haphazard movements since beginning the march to Ninety Six contributed to both Greene's and Sumter's uncertainty about his intentions. Greene surmised in a Jun. 17, 1781 letter to Sumter that "The tardiness with which they advance, may be owing to the difficulty of getting provisions and means of transportation. . ." (Sumter to Greene, Jun. 17, 1781, *PNG*, 8:408).
311. Greene wrote Sumter on Jun. 12, 1781 "Our approaches are going on very well nothing but time is wanting to compleat the reduction of the garrison..." (Greene to Sumter, Jun. 12, 1781, *PNG*, 8:382).

Articles of agreement made & Concluded between Col^d. Peter Horry, in behalf of General Marion, & Major Ganey, Commanding Officer of the Tories or Kings Subjects, Inhabitants lying between Great Pee Dee River & North Carolina.³¹²

[June 17, 1781]³¹³

Article 1st. That from & after Signing these Articles, all Hostilities on both sides shall Cease.³¹⁴

2^d. That both parties shall have free Entercourse to Trafick together Unmolested.

3^d. That Injuries Committed on persons or property on Either side shall, by the Captain or Officer Commanding the Complainant be made known to the Officer Commanding the defaulter, when a Jury Composed of five men, two to be wigs & two Tories, with an Officer from the side of the Complainant shall be Called on to Sit as a Court Martial to Judge & determine the matter between them, & to Inflict such punishment as shall appear Reasonable and just.³¹⁵

4th. That property taken not in Action (but Plundered) on being proved by either party, shall be Restored.

5th. That these Articles of Agreement & Association shall Continue for three Months Certain, or for any longer time, not Exceeding Twelve Months, & be Valued & binding on both parties, as shall Be Ratified by the Honourable General Marion. Given under our hands, at Pee Dee, June 17th, 1781.³¹⁶

Peter Horry, Col. Gen. Marion Brigade.

Micajah Ganey, Major.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

312. There is no extant correspondence discussing the potential for, or authorization of, such an agreement by the American command.

313. In a Jun. 16, 1781 letter to Greene, above, Marion mentioned that he had dispatched Horry to curtail Loyalist activity in the Pee Dee region. Horry's solution, whether authorized by Marion or not, was to arrive at a "peace treaty" with Micajah Ganey, the leader of the Loyalists in that region.

314. Prior to this treaty, Marion was never able to fully utilize his various militia regiments due to ongoing Loyalist forays in the region. The tenuous control held by the Patriots in the region was underscored by the murder of South Carolina militia Col. Abel Kolb, commander of the Cheraw militia, in late Apr. 1781. Although the peace was not absolute, a period of relative calm did occur. It did not last, but on Jun. 8, 1782, a new treaty very similar to this one was signed by Ganey and Marion.

315. This point is particularly interesting. It is hard to imagine the members of the court being unbiased, given the extreme animosity between Patriots and Loyalists. Since the side of the complainant would always have a 3 to 2 majority, it might be expected that a very high percentage of cases would be decided in favor of the Complainant. The signers may have calculated that few injuries would occur if the perpetrator always faced the virtual certainty of "punishment as shall appear Reasonable and just."

316. There are no records of the number or details of complaints that were ultimately heard.

Siege of Ninety Six May 22 – Jun. 19, 1781

As early as May 18, 1781, when he received a letter from Greene's adjutant Ichabod Burnet above, Marion had been apprised of the Southern Army's intent to capture Ninety Six, the last major British outpost outside of Charlestown. While Marion was communicating back and forth with Greene about his desire to attack Georgetown, Greene began his siege of Ninety Six on the night of May 23-24, 1781.

The post contained two separate fortifications. Early in the Revolution, a stockade fort known as Fort Williamson had been constructed, which Cornwallis had expanded when the British took control of the post, and renamed Fort Holmes. But the key to the fort's strength was the newer "Star Fort," an earthwork 200 feet in diameter, surrounded by a ditch and an abatis.³¹⁷

When Rawdon abandoned Camden and withdrew to Charlestown, he sent letters to the fort's commandant, Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger,³¹⁸ directing him to abandon the fortification and draw back toward Charlestown, but all his letters



Illustration of the Star Fort. National Park Service.

were intercepted. Greene surrounded and invested the post on May 22, 1781, with the goal of capturing not just the fort but the entire garrison. The Americans initiated a siege beginning just 70 yards from the British lines, which quickly became a problem when the Loyalists attacked the work party the first night. The siege lines were restarted 1,200 yards out, and the drudgery of traditional siege operations begun. By Jun. 3, the second parallel was complete, just 180 yards from the Star Fort.³¹⁹

The Americans attempted various tactics to accelerate the fort's surrender. A mine dug underneath the walls was discovered and the Americans driven away. A Maham tower, similar to that built at Fort Watson, also proved unsuccessful when the British piled sandbags and created loopholes to allow them to fire at the Americans.

But unlike at Fort Watson, the British were unable to dig a well to obtain water. Greene attempted to cut them off from their water supply. Instead, the Loyalists sent slaves out at night to get water from a nearby stream.³²⁰

On Jun. 11, a messenger rode into Greene's camp and delivered the unsettling news that Lord Rawdon was leading a relief column of 2,000 soldiers from Charlestown. Greene ordered Marion and Sumter to delay the march to buy him time to take the fort.

Sumter thought Rawdon's objective was Fort Granby, so he stayed there. Marion was frustrated by conflicting orders from both Greene and Sumter. He also worried that his militia would not follow him so far from home, and he wrote Greene that leaving the area would likely imperil their supply sources south of the Santee.

The result was that Rawdon advanced unmolested toward Ninety Six. Greene, recognizing that Rawdon would now almost certainly arrive before the siege operations forced the surrender of the Star Fort, planned an assault.³²¹

317. Lee, *Memoirs*, 358-60; John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 209-11.

318. [Click here for a brief bio of John Harris Cruger.](#)

319. Pancake, *This Destructive War*, 209-11.

320. Lee, *Memoirs*, 373-75.

321. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 163-67.

On Jun. 17, the Americans began an artillery barrage against Fort Holmes. Under the withering fire, the Loyalist militia withdrew from the stockade fort. The next day American artillery resumed its fire and within an hour, the American assault force of Lee's Legion infantry and the North Carolina and Delaware Continentals broke through the stockade walls and captured the fort.

Greene then sent the Maryland and Virginia Continentals to attack the Star Fort. Initially, they were able to pull down the sandbags that had shielded the British from the Maham tower, but Lt. Col. Cruger counterattacked, sending detachments of DeLancey's loyalists out from the fort to charge the American flanks in the ditch surrounding the fort. The Americans were caught by the crossfire in the ditch. Recognizing that the attack had failed, Greene retreated with heavy losses.³²²

With Rawdon now bearing down on Ninety Six and facing the potential of being caught between two forces, Greene lifted the siege and withdrew on Jun. 19, 1781. Rawdon made it to the fort two days later, at which point he pursued Greene, despite having already marched his exhausted troops 13 days from Charlestown.

The pursuit did not last long. Although Greene did not greatly distance himself from the British, he eliminated much of the potential food supply along the way when he destroyed the mills in the British path forcing Rawdon to turn back.

After coming to the relief of Ninety Six, Rawdon proceeded to have the fort evacuated and destroyed on Jun. 29, 1781, and returned to the Lowcountry. Cruger followed him with the rest of the garrison and Loyalist sympathizers in the area on Jul. 8.

Once again, Greene—though unsuccessful in his initial effort—ultimately achieved his strategic objective.³²³



The Struggle for the Star, June 18, 1781. Robert Wilson, 1977.

322. Lee, *Memoirs*, 375-77.

323. Lee, *Memoirs*, 377-79; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:838-40.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

Ancrum's, Congarees, 23^d June, 1781

S^r: Agreeable to your orders I have sent to summon the whole militia of my Brigade, to meet me here as immediately as possible.³²⁴ I marched here with a few men; the most deserted me on the road that I had not more than an escort.³²⁵ I shall wait here to see if they will come to join, or receive further orders from you.

I left Maj^r. Maham³²⁶ with 50 men to watch the motions of the Enemy at Monk's Corner.

In an excursion on Four Hole Swamp he met with a body of Tories, just collected; he cut to pieces nineteen, and took six prisoners.³²⁷

I shall be glad to hear from you – and am, Sir,

Y^r. ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion

Tr (WHi), Draper, 7VV381.

324. The orders to which Marion referred were included in Sumter's letter of Jun. 16, above. In his letter the day before, above, Sumter suggested Marion call out 3/4 of his brigade.

325. Typically, the further a militia force had to march, and the longer they were asked to remain in the field, the fewer could be depended on to turn out. Once those who did turn out realized the situation confronting them, many, as Marion observed, deserted. Unlike Continental soldiers, militia recruits were not normally punished for desertion.

326. Maj. Hezekiah Maham and Col. Peter Horry were issued commissions by Gen. Greene as lieutenant colonels commandant of cavalry regiments on Jun. 22, 1781. This organizational change was meant to raise more dependable State Troops to better support the Continental army. As it turned out, the fact that the commissions were issued on the same date muddled the chain of command, leading to ambiguity that would become significant in the latter part of 1781 and the early part of 1782, between Maham and Horry.

327. In a letter to Greene of Jun. 16, 1781, above, Marion notified the general that he had sent Maj. Hezekiah Maham on a sweep of the country south of Moncks Corner. The encounter mentioned here was presumably west of Moncks Corner around the bridge over Four Hole Swamp, near Dorchester.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Ancrums Congarees 25th June 1781

Sr: I wrought you the 22nd Instant³²⁸ Informing You of my Arrivall in Consequence of Gen^l Sumters Orders of the 16th Ult. I brought but a few men with me, but Expect they will Join me at this Place tomorrow.

Maj^r Maham who I Left with fifty men down the country to watch the movements of the Enemy and gain Intelligence, Informse me that Col^o [Alexander] Stewart³²⁹ Left Moncks Corner with two hundred and fifty men Last Tuesday [19 June] & marched to Dorchester report Say to Join the Army.³³⁰

At S^t Johns Church is three hundred Infantry & fifty horse.³³¹

The Inhabitants of Charlestown are greatly Disstressed for fresh provissions.

I am uneasy in my present Situation as I have no Certain Intelligence of the Enemys movements upwards nor of your Designs what I shall do.³³²

Reports are various of the Enemys rout, if they Cross Broad River & you shoud retreat towards Charlotte I may be hemed in between this & the Watteree Rivers. I hope to hear from you as soon as possible.³³³

I have the honour to be
your Ob^t Sr

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

328. The letter of the 22nd has not been found.

329. [Click here for a brief bio of Alexander Stewart.](#)

330. Lt.- Col. John Watson, commander of the Provincial Light Infantry, was recalled by Clinton in early May, 1781, according to a letter from Lt. Col. Balfour. It is unclear when he gave up command, or the circumstances around his summons to return to New York, but it was likely in early Jun. 1781 that he departed, after the arrival of reinforcements (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 222; Balfour to Germain, May 1, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:273; Rawdon to Cornwallis, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:293).

331. Lt. Col. James Coates, with his own British 19th Foot, and the mounted infantry of the South Carolina Rangers, had fortified the parish church of St. John, Berkeley, also known as “Biggin Church”. It stood east of Biggin Creek near the headwaters of the Western Branch of the Cooper River, about a mile and a half from Moncks Corners, and was a key post in maintaining the British line of retreat down the east side of the river (Terry Lipscomb, *Battles, Skirmishes, and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Dept. of Archives and History, 1991), 25:31; Balfour to Clinton, Jul. 20, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:249).

332. Greene sent orders to Marion in a letter of this date, below.

333. Greene responded to Marion on Jun. 28, 1781, below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp on Sandy Run June 25th 1781

Dear Sir

I am favord with your letter of [blank] dated at the Congarees.³³⁴ The enemy have obligd us to raise the seige of 96 when it was upon the eve of surrendering.³³⁵ It was my wish to have fought Lord Rawden before he got to 96 and could I have collected your force and those of Generals Sumter and Pickens I would have done it; and I am perswaded we should have defeated him. But being left alone I was obligd to retire. I am surprisd the people should be so averse to joining in some general plan of operation. It will be impossible to carry on the war to advantage or even attempt to hold the Country unless our force can be directed to a point, and as to flying parties here and there they are of no consequence in the great events of war. If the people will not be more united in their views they must abide the consequences for I will not calculate upon them at all unless they will agree to act conformable to the great plan of recovering all parts of the Country and not particular parts.

General Sumter is preparing for a manoeuver down into the lower parts of the State, and he requir[e]s your aid to carry it into effect. You will therefore call out all the force you can and cooperate with him in any manner he may direct.³³⁶

With esteem and regard
I am Sir Your humble S^{er}

N Greene

PS Count de Grass has defeated Admiral Rodney in the West Indies and taken St Lucia. These are facts and you may propagate them.³³⁷

ADfS, (MiU-C)

334. The letter mentioned was likely the one that Marion wrote to Greene on Jun. 22, 1781, above.

335. The Continental army laid siege to Ninety Six on May 22, 1781. Slow progress in excavating the siege lines, the tardiness of Sumter and Marion to respond to Greene's requests for support, and the rapid advance of a British relief force of 2,000 commanded by Lord Rawdon, put Greene in a precarious position. On Jun. 18, 1781, Greene, knowing that Rawdon was only days away, launched an attack. Although nearby Fort Holmes was quickly taken by Lee's Legion, the Star Fort (redoubt) held, despite a brutal attack by the Virginia and Maryland Continentals. After the British countered the attack on the fort itself by flanking the American attackers in the ditch around the fort, Greene ordered a withdrawal. The next day the Americans retreated. Rawdon arrived to relieve the fort on Jun. 21, 1781 (*PNG*, 8:xiii-xv).

336. Marion wrote Greene on Jun. 28, 1781 above, that he had marched to Singleton's Mill in response to orders from Sumter, and would wait there to hear from Greene (*PNG*, 8:457-58). Sumter had ordered Marion to move northward, while Greene implied Sumter would want Marion to move down the Wateree to support Sumter's imminent actions.

337. In a letter to Henry Lee on Jun. 24, 1781, Greene related that North Carolina Gov. Abner Nash had written to him the night before, informing him that "Rodney is certainly defeated in the West Indies and St. Lucia taken." Nash's information regarding St. Lucia was incorrect. De Grasse's force was not strong enough to take the island (Greene to Lee, Jun. 24, 1781, *PNG*, 8:453).

General Order by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Ancrums Plantn at the Congarees 26 June 1781 –

All the Horses to be piquetted to Night the whole Brigade to March to Morrow morning at 4 OClock precisely —³³⁸

The Commissary to get the Salt & other Baggage ready to Move at the above hour –

Those Men Just come in to make return immediately for Ammunition –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 681.

338. As noted in Marion's letter to Greene of Jun. 28, 1781, below, Marion received orders from Sumter on Jun. 26, 1781 to march to the High Hills of the Santee.

General Order by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp high hills of Santee June 28th 1781 –³³⁹

Whereas a Number of men Paroled by the Enemy in the district of my Brigade and it has been thought hurtful to the American service It is therefore to order all Such Men to Repair to the first Enemys Port in this State and their to Remain till exchanged –³⁴⁰

All Officers of Regiment & Companys are hereby ordered to take every paroled man who will not obey the above orders And convey them to me or the first port of the Enemy –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 682.

-
339. Per Marion's General Order of Jun. 26, 1781, above, his brigade began to march at 4:00 a.m. on Jun. 27. The next entry in the Orderly Book is from Jun. 28 at Farman's [Furman's or Freeman's] Plantation, which is closer to Lynches River than to the Wateree River. Marion apparently took a direct route on a road not shown on any maps of the day, from Ancrum's Plantation to the Wateree, likely crossing at Simmons Ferry, midway between Camden and the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree Rivers. This entry at the "high hills of Santee" on the same day as the one from Furman's Plantation suggests that the date may be incorrect. In addition to the locations being different it would be unusual to have separate entries for General Orders on the same day. The letter below of the same date was written at Singleton's Mill High Hill Santee, approximately 11 miles south of the estimated location of Furman's Plantation.
340. The reason for the timing of this order is unclear. According to Marion biographer Hugh Rankin, the British "had deliberately paroled men with instructions to begin a whispering campaign against the Swamp Fox." Sending the paroled Americans to the British posts would neutralize this rumor campaign. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 221) Rankin's speculation was that the British gave captured Americans the choice of either suffering a harsh imprisonment or "enjoying" a parole at the cost of spreading propaganda about Marion. The editors have been unable to discover any primary source evidence confirming such an operation by the British.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Singletons Mill High Hill Santee 28 June 1781³⁴¹

Sir

In consequence of Gen^l Sumters Order Received 26th in the evening I marched for this place³⁴² where I shall remain untill I receive your Orders.³⁴³

I have now with me four hundred men & Expect the two upwd [upward?] reg^{ts}³⁴⁴ will Join me in a day or two with severall Companys of the Lower which could not come up yett.

I wish to hear from You as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be
your Ob^t s^r

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

341. Marion marched from Ancrum's Plantation on Jun. 27, 1781, stopping at Furman's Plantation on Jun. 28, before marching the final 11 miles to Singleton's Mill. As suggested in his General Orders of Jun. 28, above, it is possible that the dates of the two general orders are incorrect.

342. The letter containing Sumter's orders to Marion has not been found.

343. Greene replied on Jul. 2, 1781. That letter appears in the next section.

344. The makeup of the "two upwd" regiments is uncertain. *Marion's Orderly Book* entry of Feb. 16, 1781 above, noted five regiments identified by commander as Archibald McDonald's, Richard Richardson Jr.'s, Hugh Giles's, Abel Kolb's, and Joseph Kershaw's. Kolb was murdered by a Loyalist band on the night of Apr. 27-28, 1781. Upward regiments could have been those of Kolb (Cheraw) and Kershaw (Camden). Peter Horry commanded a sixth regiment of five troops formed from parts of each of the former five regiments (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 655-56). In addition, Hezekiah Maham had been appointed "Major Commandant of a Corps of light horse" on Mar. 24, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 669). Maham's regiment was undoubtedly one of the lower regiments, since he had been dispatched to shadow the enemy around Moncks Corner.

July - September
1781

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at the Cross Roads,¹ July the 1st 1781

Dear Sir

I am favord with your letter of the [25?] ultimo dated at the Congaree.² We shall march from this towards the Congaree in the morning. I wish you to have in readiness all the force you can possibly collect to join us at that place. Should an opportunity offer to give the enemy a blow in conjunction with General Sumters troops and those with Col Washington you will give all the assistance in your power. My last intelligence was that Lord Rawden was moving towards the Congaree with only 400 Men.³ If so he may be defeated with great ease. Don't spare any pains to collect your force as it is my determination to give the enemy battle the moment I can collect our force. Have [your] men equipped and ready for action that no time may be lost when a junction is made of our forces.⁴

I am with esteem

Your Most Obed humble S^r

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 8:479-80.

1. Cross Roads refers to the current location of Chester, South Carolina.
2. The letter from Marion was probably that of Jun. 25, 1781 above.
3. Lee wrote to Greene on Jun. 30, 1781 that Rawdon's detachment numbered almost 900 men (Lee to Greene, Jun. 30, 1781, PNG, 8:477).
4. See Greene to Marion on Jul. 2, 1781 (PNG, 8:479-80).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters Lee's old place July 2^d 1781.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 28th Ultimo I have this moment recieved. It is repeated that Lord Rawdon is moving towards the Congaree. The Army is marching with rapidity to that place where I hope to be able to collect all our troops. You will please to march your Brigade, and form a junction with this Army near Fryday's Ferry as early as possible. I hope you have recieved my letter of yesterday. You will order a plentyfull supply of provision to be brought on with you.⁵

I am Dear Sir with regard

Yours &c

N Greene

Cy (MiU-C), Parks.

5. As indicated in Col. William Washington's Jul. 4, 1781 letter to Greene, Marion had written Washington [letter not found] that he would cross at McCord's Ferry on Jul. 5, and join him and Lee with 400 mounted men (Washington to Greene, Jul. 4, 1781, *PNG*, 8:494). He had been at Singleton's Mill near McCord's Ferry as of Jun. 28. The march from McCord's to Friday's Ferry was approximately 35 miles.

Col. Thomas Wade⁶ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Pee Dee July 6th 1781

D^r Sir

I wrote you the 4th which will be handed you by the bearer hereof on publick business. And now have to Address you Sir, on Account of the Slaves of one Capt. Kinborough [John Kimbrough]⁷ who before Gate's defeat withdrew himself from his plantation in this State with part of his property & Twenty seven Slaves to Camden as did many others from this River, where he remained late after the defeat, when he returned home without his Slaves, & about the Twentieth of September, I by Order of Governor Nash⁸ took post on the Pee Dee, to protect the Inhabitants, & our Scouts being Constantly on Duty, he could not Get back, if it was his Choice, tho' he Lay out till the 22^d November, when he surrendered himself to me a prisoner, subject to be tryed by his Country, & seemed very sorry for his Past Conduct. On which I promised him to permit him, or some other person, to go to bring in his property, & I in December Gave him a permit to send for his Slaves home; on which he Gave a Bond payable to the Governor or his successors for five Hundred Thousand pounds, with five able Securities for the producing the said Slaves whenever the sense of the Legislature should be known but he, taking the small Pox, was not able to go after his property till the Return of General Greene to the Siege of Camden, some of whose Officers carried M^r. Kinborough to Camp, & General Greene paroled him till Called by the Commanding Officer of the Southern Army or the Legislature of this State. Now the Asembly of this State [North Carolina] is sitting, & M^r. Kinborough & others are Called on in like Circumstances & will be Judged Guilty & their properties Confiscated or Acquited & Restored to their priviledges and when Gen^l. Greene paroled him, he Directed him to Apply to me for a pass for M^r. Gaynor to go for his Slaves, & I thought the Negroes ought to be retained till the sense of the Legislature should be known on M^r. Kinboroughs Case. Then I Gave the Order I should have adrest you, but Expecting you then to be at G. Town, and sundry persons being taken in the Congaree fort of Property, who had withdrawn themselves from here, who was suffered to Inlist out of Custody into Gen^l. Sumters Brigade & then hired substitutes, & have not served two Weeks & are come home here, & some of them the most Inveterate Tory Officers, we was troubled with & have brought home their own Slaves & no doubt some that they plundered from Good men. Now Kinborough has hired a Certain Continental Souldier during the War and if M^r. Kinboroughs Estate should be Confiscated Its no doubt with me that he being an Inhabitant of this State, that the personal Estate, will always go with the Landed Estate & the Commisioners of the Confiscated Estates have a right to Collect the persons property that Reside in their Districts from any place in the United States, where ever it may be found, of which I am a Commisioner, for the district of Salisbury, or I would not

6. Peter Force, from whose collection this transcript is drawn, felt the sender was Thomas Sumter. Robert Gibbes noted the letter coming from an "unknown sender." However, comparing this letter to that sent by John Kimbrough to NC Governor Thomas Burke in Feb. 1782, provides evidence that it was written by Col. Thomas Wade, who was commander of the Anson County, NC, militia regiment (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:103-05; Kimbrough to Burke, Feb. 4, 1782, Walter Clark et al, eds., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, NC: Nash Brothers, 1886), 22:612; See Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, above).

7. John Kimbrough served as a captain of the St. David Parish Patriot Militia during 1775. Apparently, he moved to Montgomery County, N.C., by 1780 because Gates's army encamped at a Kimbrough plantation on Jul. 29-30, 1780, leading up to the Battle of Camden. Surprisingly, Kimbrough switched his allegiance to the Crown at some point, and served in the Loyal militia, but recanted in 1781. After turning himself in to Wade, he was paroled by Col. Otho Williams on Apr. 11, 1782. Kimbrough pledged "myself as a prisoner of war on my honor that I will remain at and within the limits of ten miles of my own house upon Little River until exchanged or called for by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina or the Commanding Officer of the Southern Army to remain within ten miles of his house until exchanged or called for by the legislature of the state of North Carolina or the commanding Officer of the Southern Army..." (University of North Carolina: Charlotte, Special Collections) He was re-captured by Gen. Griffith Rutherford, jailed in Salisbury, NC, but later paroled by Gov. Alexander Martin. According to a letter from Wade in Apr. 1782, "Kimbrough was Tryd and Cleard" of the crime (Wade to Greene, Apr. 8, 1782, *PNG*, 11:23; Kimbrough to Burke, Feb. 4, 1782, *NCSR*, 22:612; Wade to Marion, Jul. 6, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); *NCSR*, 22:612; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2:534; *Magazine of American History*, 1880 5, 292-95; Tr (American Antiquarian Society), John Heise, Syracuse, 1925-S955, item 30).

8. Abner Nash (1740-86) was born in Virginia and served two years in the House of Burgesses before moving to North Carolina in 1762, where he became a lawyer and politician. Nash became governor in the spring of 1780. He was nominated for a second term but declined, though he did later serve in the US Congress. His brother was Brig. Gen. Francis Nash, who commanded North Carolina troops in the northern campaigns and was killed at the battle of Brandywine (*DAB*; *PNG*, 6:505n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 2:780; *Biographical Directory of the US Congress*).

have sent for them.⁹ So that if you Judge that the state have a right to Retain the property of the Inhabitants of the State under the Confiscation Act. Carried into it, they would loose in their Accounts by it, as there is large numbers of Slaves brought to this State from Yours, the property of the disaffected Judged when taken by Plundering parties which our Laws puts in the power of the County Sheriffs to take into their Care for the benefit of your State, or the Owners of Good men. Now Sir if you think proper to Order those Negroes into my posession out of the hands of the several Persons that have them I will Employ them in the State of South Carolina--in the Commisary Department, & be Accountable for them to your State or ours, as the Case may be determined, As I am Creditably Informed they are now all in bad hands only a few in the hands of Captain Span in whose hands, if you dont Chuse to send them to me. I hope in Justice to the publick you will Order them, tho' I have Sundry Negroes in my Care, that I took from People that plundered them from your state as the Governor Rutledge Ordered me to take those kind of Slaves, till Legally Called for which I have Employed in beating out Corn.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC). This Peter Force Transcription breaks off at this point. The note below then follows. (End of this 1st Book No 1) [Letter ends at this point.] The subsequent volume of Force's transcriptions does not resume at this place.

9. This letter highlights the difficulty faced by the states in resolving the repatriation of slaves taken from one state to another. In this case the slaves were actually removed from North Carolina by their owner. In other cases, the slaves in question had been plundered from Loyalist plantations and taken to another state. Since plundering of Loyalist property was often seen as justified by Patriots, who themselves saw their property destroyed, it became more difficult to force the return of the slaves.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Sabbs Plantⁿ 7 July 1781

Sr

Captⁿ D.[aniel] Conyers who I sent to Orrangebourg Left L^d Rawden there at 4 OClock yesterday After noon & brought off two prisoners, who give the Accont that their troops are so fatigued they cannot possible move, three regem^{ts} where going to Lay down their Arms & they believe they will today if they are orderd to March,¹⁰ they have no Idea of any force being near them & they straggle three miles from Camp. Col Stewart the day before yesterday was at Walnut Hill four miles the West of Forehold [i.e., Four Holes] their horses so poor they cannot proceed to Join Rawden.¹¹

I shall proceed immediatly to Col^o Stewarts post & hope I may be Able to do something with him or at least prevent him from Joining Rawden, who I will follow down to Dorchester & make no doubt I shall be Able to take a number of prisoners.

If you think to make an Attack on his Lordship I may be found on the Orangebourg Road at or near Walnut Hill.¹²

I have the honour to be
y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

10. According to one source, fifty of Rawdon's men died en route to Orangeburg. While this number is probably hyperbolic, it certainly illustrates the devastating effect that the heat of a South Carolina summer could have on 18th century armies ("Annual Register—1781," in *Rebellion in America: A Contemporary British Viewpoint, 1765-1783*, David H. Murdoch ed., 865; PNG, 8:505n).

11. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, 1781, below.

12. Walnut Hill was Henry Hyrne's plantation in current-day Colleton County (PNG, 8:505n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Whitemans on Foreholds¹³ 13 miles from Orrangebourg, 7 July 1781 4 OC. P.M.

Sr

Not certain of your Intentions of advancing against the Enemy I sent Col Horry with 100 men to Orrangebourg to pick up the Stragglers of the British with an Intention to make a Junction with him below Orangebourg. I shall proceed to Sandles Seven miles below Orangebourg on the road Leading from There to Ch^stown. I shall move immedatly & wait at Sandle's for your further Orders.

I have the honour to be
your Ob^t S^t
Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

13. "Foreholds" referred to Four Holes Swamp near Orangeburg (PNG, 8:505).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

11 Miles from Orangbourg one OC: A.M. 8 July [1781]

Sr

Yours at 5 OC. The Last Evening¹⁴ I rec^d this moment. I moved here in hopes to Intercept Col. Stewart but he pass yesterday & made a Junction with L^d Rawden with 300 Infantry & 50 Caveldry,¹⁵ his Lordship do not appear to make any disposition to move, but I [?] in few hours I shall be able to give a better Account as soon as Col^o Horry Joins me. There was a Mutiny in Dorchester & Maj^r Maham informs me there was 30 killed & 60 wounded,¹⁶ which I believe may be Depended on. The two prisoners taken yesterday Say that three regemt^s was ready to Lay down their Arms & was fatigued, that the most of them was Exceedingly Discontented.¹⁷

Captⁿ Heatly I sent off with every perticular I coud learn & to inform You I woud be at Moris fifteen miles down the Road Leading from Orangbourg to Ch^stown where I think will be the best place to make a Junction.

I cannot learn there is at this time any post from here to Dorches[ter].

You shall hear from me in a few hours.¹⁸

I have the honour to be

Y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

14. Greene's letter of the previous day has not been found.

15. Marion pursued Stewart, marching on Jul. 8, 1781, but Stewart evaded him by marching on a parallel road (PNG, 508-09n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 222-23).

16. Incredibly, there seems to be no record of this event in any other source (PNG, 8:508-09n).

17. See Marion to Greene, first letter of Jul. 7, 1781 (PNG, 8:508-09n).

18. See Marion to Greene of Jul. 8, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Whitemans 8 July 1781 8 OC. A.M.

Sr

I rec^d yourse, of yesterday 6 OC, PM[.] [not found] I wrought at one Clock this morning Since which Col^o Horry return'd[.] He took three waggons with rum & Wine¹⁹ three miles from Orrangbourg. He confirms Col. Stewart Joining L^d Rawden Yesterd^y but coud not take any prisoners, nor get any further Intelligence that what have already sent you.

I shoud have waited at Morris, but the Country round there is Intirely Distitute of subsistance & forrage & our horses has starved Since Yesterday Morning.²⁰

I shall go to Snills Mill & wait your further Orders.

I have the Honour to be

y^r ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

The Waggons taken belongs to Sutlers[;] we have brought them off.

ALS ((MiU-C), Parks.

19. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 9, 1781 below.

20. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 7, 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Holmons 9th July 1781

Sr

Yours of the 8th Ult^o [i.e., Instant] I rec^d Late Last Evening at Snells Mill where I went agreeable to your Orders[.] My horses & men where so fatigued I could not proceed agreeable to your Last Order Untill this morning, When I sent off Maj^r Maham with 100 Men to watch the motions of the Enemy & to give You at Beaver Creek every movement, & to meet me at this place when I shall be ready to Join you Either at Beaver Creek or on Your way to Orrangbourg, or any other rout You will please to Appoint.²¹

I have the honour to be

y^r Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

21. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 9, 1781, immediately below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Holmans 9th July 1781 8 OC PM

S^r

Yourse 8^t Inst^t at 5 OC: PM I rec^d. I will Join you at any time or place you please Mention; if You mean to proceed to Orangbourg on the East side of Beaver Creek I can Join you between that and Orangbourg which will save us twenty miles.

Inclosed is the Account which Maj: Maham Gives of the Enemy the prisoners appear very Intelligent.²² They keep so close that no stragglers are to be seen.

There was but two Hogshead of rum and one small Cask of Wine, two small barrels of Shrub taken in the Waggens.²³

I shall be Happy to receive Your Commands, & shall wait for it At Whetstone mill thre miles from this, where I propose moving tommorrow morning for the Advantage of subsistance & forrage.²⁴

I have the honour be Y^r. Ob^t. s^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C)

22. The report is immediately below.

23. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, 1781 above. As per *PNG*: “Shrub” was “a prepared drink with the juice of orange or lemon (or other acid fruit), sugar and rum (or other spirit).” (*PNG*, 8:513).

24. See Pierce to Marion and Greene to Marion, both Jul. 10, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

[Intelligence Report included in 9 Jul 1781 letter, above.]

[Holmans] 9th July 1781

Intelligence Received from Two British Prisoners Taken this Day Neer the Town of Orangebourg
Belonging to the Seventy-First Regiment,

The British Army is Incampt at Orangebourg

[No] Works of any Kind Carrying on there²⁵

Lord Ra[w]dons Core [Corps] Consists of 250 Men

3 Companies of Grenadiers Consisting of 140 men the Whole Commanded By Major Abbicromby

3 Companys Light Infantry-----140

Commanded by a Collonal

A Part of the 17th Regiment 100 Commanded by Major B[unintelligible]ker

Major M^cArthurs Detachment -----200

Hessians -----140

British Cavalry -----20 Commanded By Lt Davis

Militia Core [Corps] Commanded by Major Commins 150

Collonal Stewarts Regiment found them a few Days ago²⁶ But Cannot Tell their Numbers,²⁷ they Say its thought they will March Up for the Congarees in a few Days, as they find it Difficult to Get Provisions where they are, Ra[w]don is to Go to Town in a Short time & Diol [Doyle?] is to Take the Command²⁸

ALS (MIU-C)

25. The lack of fortification efforts suggests that the British had no intention of staying at Orangeburg, SC. Gen. Sumter had taken Orangeburg on May 11, 1781 and presumably destroyed the fort there (For a description of the fortification at Orangeburg, see Ferguson to Cornwallis, Jun. 14, 1780 (*Cornwallis Papers*, 1:106).
26. Marion wrote Greene on Jul. 8, 1781, above, that his reports indicated Stewart had joined Rawdon on Jul. 7, 1781.
27. The total of 1,140 men noted in this intelligence report exceeds that of Lt. Col. Lee's report of Jun. 30, 1781, in which he noted that Rawdon's detachment numbered almost 900 men. (Lee to Marion, Jun. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 8:477-78) Greene wrote to Marion on Jul. 1, above, that Rawdon had only 400 men.
28. This was probably Maj. John Doyle of the Volunteers of Ireland, the elder brother of Lt.-Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, who had overrun Marion's camp at Snow's Island in March. At Orangeburg, Rawdon turned over his command to Stewart. He returned to Charlestown and left for England on Jul. 20, 1781. The ship on which he sailed was captured by a French privateer, and Rawdon was held as a prisoner of war at Brest, France, until his exchange in 1782. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 224) Doyle later took over command at Ft. Dorchester, likely as a result of wounds Stewart presumably received at Eutaw Springs.

Capt. William Pierce, Jr., to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Beaver Creek, July 10th, 1781

Sir

The Army under General Greene is on the point of a very important move, and only waits for you to arrive in season to form a junction. The General wishes you to hurry your march, and intersect the Orangeburg Road at any convenient place where we may join you. We were in expectation of your arrival last Evening, and for that reason held the Army in readiness to move at 3 oClock.²⁹ No steps can or will be taken untill we hear from you. Every moments delay is dangerous.

I have the honor to be sir

Yours &c

W^m Pierce Jr

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

29. See Greene to Marion, Jul. 10, 1781 below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters at Beaver Creek July 10th 1781

Dear Sir

Your two letters of the 9th dated at Holmans were both receivd this morning.

Letters are so subject to miscarry either by the delay or unfaithfulness of the expresses that I fear to hazard a movement which depends on conveyance of letters punctually. In my letter wrote at Heallys I desird you to meet me at this place.³⁰ Had it been deliverd punctually we could have marched this morning to attack Lord Rawden. We were to march this morning at 3 o Clock and only waited for you; but not hearing from you until some hours after the time appointed to march, I was obligd to postpone the march until tomorrow morning when we shall march for Orrangburg on the [Bridle?] road, and I wish you to join us with out fail at Colstons on the Bridle road to which place we shall march. But should the enemy advance this way you will form a junction with us between this and that place, or at our Camp here, according as the movements of the enemy may permit. Let nothing but the enemies retiring prevent your joining us. And should they retire you will follow them.

Inclosed I send you our order of battle and you will please to have the necessary dispositions made accordingly in your brigade, that we may be prepard for action the moment we meet as there can be no doubt of the enemy moving towards us, the moment they get intelligence of our advancing if they wish to fight us.³¹ Have all your Men supplied with a proper quantity of ammunition, they ought to have if possible Eighteen or twenty rounds a man.

With esteem & regard I [am] Sir
your humble Ser

N Greene

NB Capt Pearce wrote you this morning to join us here, but as you are contrary to my expectation at so great a distance, I think it best to shorten your march by form^g a junction at Colstons.³²

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 8:514.

30. Greene's letter has not been found.

31. The order of battle has not been found.

32. See Pierce to Marion, Jul. 10, 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Colston 10th July 1781 6 OC. PM

Sr

Yours of this days date I received on the road from Holmans upwards, agreeable thereto I have come to this place.³³

If you consider that I rec^d your order to Join you yesterday forty miles from Beaver Creek, and all the horses near tired by being two days without forrage or Grass, you will admit that it was Impossible to Join you yesterday & I was in hopes my last Letter woud find you yett at Middletons when I Shoud have recieved orders last night if I could be permitted to shorten my march.³⁴

I have not heard any thing from Orrangebourg today, by the morning I Expect some Intelligence.

I have the honour to be s^r

Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

NB I have but Six rounds p^r Man.

ALS (NcU), Parks.

33. Most likely this refers to the letter from Greene, above, and not the one from Pierce, also above (PNG, 5:518).

34. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 9, 1781 above.

Quinby Bridge/Shubrick's Plantation

Jul. 17, 1781

After the failed siege of Ninety Six, Greene withdrew his army far enough from Rawdon's reach to recuperate. By Jul. 11, he was in the vicinity of Orangeburg, awaiting the arrival of Lee, Sumter, Marion, and William Washington, in anticipation of a battle with Rawdon. The British, who were strongly fortified at Orangeburg, made no effort to dislodge the Americans.

At Greene's camp, Sumter proposed to utilize the Continental cavalry of Washington and Lee, the newly created State Cavalry regiments under Peter Horry and Hezekiah Maham, Marion's militia, and Sumter's own militia to harass the British from Moncks Corner to the environs of Charlestown. By the middle of July, raids by Washington and Lt. Col. Wade Hampton³⁵ of Sumter's militia had wreaked havoc on small posts as close to Charlestown as the Quarter House, just five miles from the town, where Hampton surprised a garrison of South Carolina Royalists, capturing 150 and killing three.³⁶

On July 16, Horry, Maham, and Edward Lacey of Sumter's Brigade were encamped near Wadboo Bridge, with orders to destroy it when Maj. Thomas Fraser³⁷ and the South Carolina Royalists, stationed at St. Johns, Berkeley Parish Church also known as "Biggin Church," surprised the Americans. With help from Lacey's mounted militia, however, Horry was able to counterattack, driving back the dragoons. As Horry continued the attack, the 19th Foot arrived with a cannon. Horry quickly withdrew in the face of the British artillery.³⁸

In the ensuing hours, Lt.-Col. James Coates³⁹ of the 19th Foot loaded the available wagons, set fire to the church, and began to withdraw toward Charlestown. As it turned out, the Americans had failed to completely burn Wadboo Bridge south of the church, thereby giving the British an escape route. By midnight they were well on their way, and had burned the bridge after crossing it. Coates divided his force, leading his infantry personally, and directing the SC Royalists toward Strawberry Ferry. Hampton failed to catch up with the dragoons before they crossed the river.⁴⁰

The infantry marched toward Quinby Bridge, an 18-mile trek in the scorching July heat. A mile north of the bridge Lee and Maham's cavalry caught up with the rear guard, consisting of 100 men from the 19th Foot. Lee charged the regulars, who were predominantly new recruits. Although they were deployed in line and ordered to fire, the inexperienced soldiers immediately threw down their arms and surrendered.⁴¹

The Americans continued on to the bridge, where a British fatigue party was frantically loosening the boards. Coates had placed a howitzer at the end of the bridge on the British side. The leading troop commanded by Capt. James Armstrong,⁴² including dragoons from Maham's regiment, charged the British and, while leaping across the

35. [Click here for a brief bio of Wade Hampton.](#)

36. Lee, *Memoirs*, 387.

37. [Click here for a brief bio of Thomas Fraser.](#)

38. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 168-71.

39. [Click here for a brief bio of James Coates.](#)

40. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 171-72.

41. James, *Francis Marion*, 68-69.

42. James Armstrong commanded the 1st Troop of Dragoons in Lee's Legion. He fought at Guilford Courthouse, Augusta, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs. He served with Marion when Lee's Legion joined with Marion's Brigade at Georgetown in Jan. 1781, and at Fort Motte in May. Armstrong's spirited attack at Quinby Bridge nearly carried the day. After chasing Lt. Col. Coates and his 19th Regiment from Biggin Church, Armstrong, commanding Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham's SC state dragoons, charged through a fatigue party throwing planks from Quinby Bridge, where he engaged in personal combat with Coates himself. When Lee arrived with the rest of his Legion, the British had recovered enough to thwart his attempt to cross the bridge. Meanwhile, Armstrong realized that his troops were cut off from the rest of the Americans and made his escape by riding through the British troops and into the safety of a nearby woods. At Eutaw Springs, Armstrong led the advance of the American army. When he encountered Maj. Coffin's cavalry, he led Coffin into an ambush. In Dec. Coffin retaliated by luring Armstrong into an ambush near Goose Creek., where he was captured when his horse fell, making him the only one of Lee's officers captured during the war. Lee wrote, "Armstrong was one of the most gallant of the brave, too apt to bury in the confidence he reposed in his sword, those considerations which prudence suggested. Eager to close with his flying foe, he pursued vehemently, and fell into the snare spread for his destruction." Armstrong was a prisoner until the end of the war. (Lee, *Memoirs*, 538)

bridge, knocked additional planks into the creek. The second troop of Americans also crossed the bridge, creating an impassable chasm by dislodging more planks. Most of the British infantry quickly withdrew, despite Coates's courageous attempts to fend off the American charge.⁴³

The Americans initially enjoyed a decided advantage due to the element of surprise. The most intense fighting occurred around a wagon where Coates and his officers halted to defend themselves. When the balance of the American cavalry led by Lee appeared, however, they were unable to leap the chasm created by the displacement of planks from the bridge. Despite attempts to replace the planks, the rapid recovery by the British prevented Lee's remaining cavalry from going to the assistance of the first and second troops. Armstrong fought his way through the enemy infantry and continued on the road away from the bridge. To avoid the killing fire of the British at the bridge, militia under Col. Thomas Taylor⁴⁴ of Sumter's Brigade attempted to cross the creek via a flatboat. They eventually made the crossing despite British attempts to retake the boat.

Coates and the remnants of the 19th Foot withdrew to Shubrick's plantation, located on higher ground a short distance from Quinby Creek. Coates formed his men in a square, using the outbuildings for cover. It is presumed that the British deployment surrounded the plantation house and fence line, and included artillery, but no specific description is extant.⁴⁵

By the time Marion arrived with the infantry, Coates had his men securely positioned in and around the plantation house and outbuildings, reported by Marion in his letter of July 19 to Greene, below, as being "Clay Walls." Coates placed men along a rail fence to provide additional protection, and a howitzer gave the British an added advantage. After reconnoitering the site, Marion and Lee determined that the house was too well-fortified to attack without artillery. At that point Lee determined to wait until the arrival of Sumter and the artillery to renew the fight. He withdrew his cavalry to the rear.⁴⁶

Sumter arrived around 3:00 p.m. with his infantry, but had left his artillery to follow, and it was still farther in the rear. Marion and Lee reported the situation, but Sumter made the decision to attack, even though the British held a strong position. As he described it: "... their position was the most advantageous that Could have fallen their way, lodged in a long line of Houses on an Eminence."⁴⁷

Despite the enemy's advantage, he ordered Taylor to attack across open ground, while Marion's militia advanced on the left through a corn field. Hugh Horry and his mounted militia were stationed on the right. Sumter and the rest of his brigade took the center position. Sumter's men had the advantage of making use of the slave quarters that were in front of the house. Marion took heavy fire but was at least able to utilize the fence at the end of the field for some shelter. Col. Thomas Taylor's regiment on the left, faced the most destructive fire. The initial attack by Taylor's men pushed the enemy into the house, but his militia was forced to fall back when their ammunition was largely spent. Marion directed his force to move toward Taylor to support them as they withdrew. As his militia moved at an angle toward a fence 50 yards from the house, they came under heavy fire. Casualties were high as they crossed the open ground. The firing continued, but the Americans could not overcome the British advantages of cover, greater firepower, and the howitzer. Suffering extensive casualties and exhausting their ammunition, Marion and Taylor withdrew as darkness fell, ending the attack.⁴⁸

Lee, who had been held in reserve, captured 50 prisoners when they circled the house and surprised the enemy. Lee joined Marion and they encamped that night about 15 miles away from Shubrick's. Neither informed Sumter of their withdrawal. The Americans suffered 62 casualties, including eight killed and 19 wounded out of the approximately 180 militia of Marion's brigade. One of them was Lt. William Cooper, who was wounded and captured. In addition to Sumter's report of 150 captured, the British reported six killed and 38 wounded.⁴⁹

43. James, *Francis Marion*, 68-69.

44. [Click here for a brief bio of Thomas Taylor.](#)

45. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 173-74.

46. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 174.

47. Sumter to Greene, Jul. 17, 1781, *PNG*, 9:51-52.

48. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 206-09; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 174-75; James, *Francis Marion*, 69.

49. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 206-09; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 174-75; James, *Francis Marion*, 69; Moss, *Patriots*, 199.

There was significant fall-out after the battle, at least if traditional accounts are accepted. As a result of Sumter's order to attack without artillery support, Taylor is reputed to have told Sumter that "I will never more serve under you!" Another report had Taylor complaining that Sumter sent him "on a forlorn hope", implying that Sumter "designed to sacrifice me." However, this story is notably absent from the primary literature.⁵⁰

Marion and Lee's men also complained about the exposed position they had been forced into, compared to Sumter's men who had the cover of slave outbuildings. James wrote, "The attack was made against Marion's opinion, who blamed Sumter afterwards for wasting the lives of his men."⁵¹ To make matters worse, in the wagons captured by Sumter's men was a paymaster's chest containing over £700. Sumter divided the money among his own men, undoubtedly infuriating those of Marion and Lee.⁵²

Marion's letter of Jul. 19, below, provides a snapshot of the action. Although he made no mention of the disagreement with Sumter, the wording of Marion's letter clearly implied that he was not in favor of attacking, given "the strong Situation of the Enemy." The next day Marion rode off to Peyre's Plantation on the Santee, and Lee went to the High Hills. Sumter also withdrew in the face of a rumored reinforcement of Coates' regiment.

50. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 206-09; Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 174-75; James, *Francis Marion*, 69.

51. James, *Francis Marion*, 69.

52. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 176.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 19th July 1781

Sir

After parting with You we marched down to S^t Johns [Biggin] Church, the Enemy retreated with great precipitation Burning the Church and all their stores. The particulars I make no Doubt will be given you by Gen^l. Sumter.⁵³ The 17 Ult.⁵⁴ we over took Col^o Coats [James Coates] at Quinbey Bridge in S^t Thomas Parish. L^t Col^o. Lee & some of my Malitia horse Charged their rear & took some prison[er]s the number I do not know pr[e]cisely on this Occasion. I had L^t. Postell & one private Wounded, our main body coming up Gen^l. Sumter Determined to attack the Enemy posted in houses with Clay Walls which was very Difficult to penetrate without a field piece (the one we had was sent back from the Church) and where Our Cavaldry Could not possibl act, our Disposition being made I was Orderd to Advance with my Brigade on the Left, L^t. Col. Hugh Horry⁵⁵ with his regiment advanced under a hill on the right in Such a position as to be Opposite to my troops which wheeled to the right, and faced the Enemy in an Oblong square, in the Center between my right & L^t Col^o. Horrys Left Gen^l. Sumters Brigade Occupied with the Houses in their front which was a cover to them, my front & Col Horrys was intirely Open. I marched my men to a fence about fifty Yards of the Enimy under a very heavy fire, we soon made them take shelter in and behind the houses, but was fired on from the stoop of the Houses & through the doors[,] windows & Corners, our Amunition being Intirely Expended I was Oblige to retire__ My loss on this Occasion was L^t. Col: [Alexander] Swinton⁵⁶ [,] Maj^r. [John] Baxter and ten men wounded and five killed; on the Left with L^t Col. Hugh Horry one Captⁿ. Killed & three privates; woud^d one Captⁿ. and five wounded, I have the pleasure to acquaint You that every man of my Brigade behaved well and am very Sertain that had the Action been in an Open field we should have gained the Day without the Assistance of the Caveldry__ I cannot give any particulars of Gen^l. Sumters Brigade as they was too great a distance from me with fences & Corn fields which Interrupted the sight but by all I can learn they behaved well & our not succeeding was wholly owing to the strong Situation of the Enemy and the want of Amunition; our Men & horses being Greatly fatigued we have retired, to refresh them.⁵⁷ Gen^l. Sumter

53. In his letter to Greene of Jul. 17, 1781, Sumter offered a descriptive report of the events, later entitled the campaign of “The Dog-Days,” by 19th century author William Gilmore Simms. (William Gilmore Simms, *The Forayers, or the Raid of the Dog-days*, (New York: 1855), 7) Sumter wrote:

“Col^o [Peter] Horry Commandant of the party tarried within about three Miles of Biggin all Day Yesterday, in the Afternoon about 5 OClock the Enemys Cavalry under Major Fraser came out in force and full charge on Colo Horry; but fortunate for us they made a most confused dastardly Attempt; For notwithstanding our brave fellows were taken somewhat unawares, they repulsed them immediately, & drove the Heroick Major & his terrified Clan into their amazed Brethren at Biggin, killing some & taking two Sub^s & light Dragoons, of Col^o Inns’s Corps; Noble Militia what think you Sir of their Charging British Dragoons with Rifles & pursuing them too their lines in short the Command is highly praise worthy & nothing but the fleetness of their Horses saved them, both Officers & men discovered the greatest Intrepidity.” (Sumter to Greene, Jul. 17, 1781, PNG, 9:51)

54. “Ulto” is a common abbreviation of ultimo, or the preceding month. However, the actual engagement took place on Jul. 17, the same month this letter was written. It is clearly a mistake (PNG, 9:48n).

55. At least two of Marion’s biographers—Robert Bass and Hugh Rankin—implied that Lt. Col. Peter Horry and his cavalry regiment took the position opposite Marion (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 207; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 226-28). Here Marion clearly identified Lt. Col. Hugh Horry’s regiment, not Peter Horry’s. Peter and Hugh were brothers. Peter Horry had been involved in the skirmish with Maj. Thomas Fraser near Biggin Church on Jul. 16 (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 226).

56. Alexander Swinton served as a major in the militia under Gen. Marion and was wounded at Quinby Bridge on Jul. 17. In addition, he was a lieutenant colonel in the Britton Neck Regiment of Militia from Jan. 10, 1780 to Jan. 17, 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 911).

57. The reading of Marion’s comment here raises a question about why he did not know more about Sumter’s losses from the action, but this may be explained by Marion’s having left the field without reporting to Sumter. Consequently, Sumter in his report to Greene did not list Marion’s casualties as part of his overall count. Sumter himself said surprisingly little about the participation of Marion’s force at Shubrick’s Plantation. In a nota bene to his Jul. 17, 1781 letter, not written until Jul. 19, Sumter claimed “...Gen^l Marians Brig^d diminish’d fast from the time I left you. When we overtook the Enemy, he had Scarcely 100 left...” It is noteworthy that Sumter did not specifically address the actions of Marion’s men in the attack, but only addressed his numbers, and then with a negative connotation. He also spoke negatively of Lee in a letter to Greene on Jul. 25. One can only speculate as to the reason for this striking omission. The only way Greene knew of the actual actions of Marion’s Brigade at Shubrick’s Plantation was Marion’s report to Greene in his Jul. 19 letter (Sumter to Greene, Jul. 17, 1781, PNG, 9:52; Sumter to Greene, Jul. 22, 1781, PNG 9:62-64).

is in S^t Johns near Wantoot Ravenels Plantⁿ.⁵⁸ I shall wait here untill the relief of my Malitia take place__

I have the Honour to be

Your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

NB I have not Amunition for my men.

ALS (MiU-C)

58. Wantoot was Daniel Ravenel's plantation, the site of which has since been covered by Lake Moultrie (Lipscomb, "SC Battles" 26 (Winter 1979):34).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters High Hills Santee July 21st 1781

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 19th giving an account of the operations below I have had the pleasure to receive. The gallantry and good conduct of your men reflects the highest honor upon your brigade. I only lament that men who spilt their blood in such noble exertions to serve their Country could not have met with more deserved success. I beg you will communicate my particular thanks to the Officers and men of the respective Corps. I am fully sensible of their merit and shall take pleasure in doing them justice.⁵⁹ It is true your success was not compleat yet I think the advantages will be great. Had the intentions of the enemy not have been mistaken at Monks Corner you would have had the whole prisoners; and a glorious affair it would have been.⁶⁰

If the Enemy continues at Orangburg, I propose to post your brigade at or Near Nelsons Ferry, keeping such parties upon the Enemies lines as you may think proper.⁶¹ General Sumter I propose to post at Frydays Ferry and to have all the grain moved from the lower to the uper side of the River.⁶² If this can be effected it will prevent the enemy from taking post there, unless they hazard every think [i.e, thing] which I think they will not venture upon.

I beg your opinion upon the practicability of embodying a certain proportion of the Militia for a given time say four Months. A standing force will be of great importance to this Country for a few Months to come.

Matters are coming to a crisis in which this State is deeply interested; and I am afraid the enemy will take advantage of some critical moment to ruin our prospects and recover the advantages they have lost. I beg you will consult your principal officers on this point and advise me of the result as soon as possible.⁶³

With esteem & regard I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:54-55.

59. Marion published this portion of Greene's letter in his brigade orders of Jul. 23, 1781 (PNG, 9:55; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 689-90).

60. The reference here is to the activities described in the footnotes in Marion to Greene, Jul. 19, 1781 above.

61. Marion did not take post at Nelson's Ferry, but instead, continued to encamp in upper St. Stephen's Parish, south of the Santee, rather than north of the river as ordered by Greene. He first camped at Cordes Plantation, near where he was born, but moved on to his more permanent camp at Peyre's Plantation, adjacent to Gaillard's Island near the South side of the Santee River (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 683n1478). As seen in his letter of Aug. 1, 1781, below, Marion occupied Georgetown in compliance with a later order from Greene (PNG, 9:55n). Other than forays to Georgetown, Marion stayed at Peyre's Plantation until Aug. 22, when he and about 200 of his men went to assist Col. William Harden, resulting in the action at Parker's Ferry. He then returned to Peyre's Plantation, where he was on Sep. 5, 1781 before marching to Eutaw Springs.

62. Greene wrote Sumter on Jul. 21, 1781 proposing that the partisan commander move his troops to the upper side of the Congaree River, taking along with them as much grain as possible. Greene felt that with Sumter positioned at Friday's Ferry, any British attempt to cross the Congaree would result in victory for the Americans. Greene continued, writing that if the enemy had left Orangeburg and moved toward Charlestown, then Sumter was free to continue where he was. If not, he was ordered to the north side of the Congaree. On Jul. 21, Sumter wrote Greene from Nelson's Ferry, indicating he would camp between Nelson's and Manigault's Ferries. He did not move to Manigault's Ferry until after a Jul. 27 letter from Maj. Ichabod Burnet, Greene's adjutant, repeating the general's order (Greene to Sumter, Jul. 21, 1781, PNG 9:55-56; Sumter to Greene, Jul. 21, 1781, PNG, 9:57; Burnet to Sumter, Jul. 27, 1781, PNG 9:89).

63. Marion replied on Jul. 24, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

St Stephens 24 July 1781

Sr

Yourse of the 21st Inst. came to hand and have Consulted my Officers about Engaging the malitia to stay in the field Longer than one month at a time but find they Cannot be Induced on any Account.⁶⁴

When I wrought you last I had not an Exact Account of the Killed and Wounded on the 17th Ult. I have now Inclosed a return.⁶⁵

My Numbers are very much Reduced but the men are Coming and hope in two Days to have half of my Brigade out. I shall be glad to know if I can git a supply of Ammunition, from you. The most of my men is intirely without any.⁶⁶

I shall wait here untill Your further Orders.⁶⁷

I have the honour to be
Yr Obt st

Frans Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

64. In his letter of Jul. 21, 1781 above, Greene asked Marion for his opinion regarding keeping a portion of his militia brigade on duty for a four-month period, instead of the normal one-month.
65. Marion had reported on the engagement at Shubrick's Plantation in his letter to Greene of Jul. 19, 1781 above. The return sent to Greene has not been found, but there is a copy of it in the orderly book of Marion's brigade, which reads as follows:

	Lt. Cols.	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants		Privates	
	Wounded	Wounded	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded
Richardson's					1		
McDonald's			1	1		3	5
Postell's				1		1	
Ervin's	1	1			1	2	1
Horry's					1		1
Total	1	1	1	2	3	6	13*

**It is unclear as to where this total was derived from.*

Below the chart Marion also noted one private captured, for a total of 28 casualties. Based on a total force of 180 in Marion's brigade, his casualties were over 15% (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 689).

66. In the Jul. 19, 1781 letter, above, to Greene, describing the action at Shubrick's Plantation, Marion stated that one reason why he withdrew was the lack of ammunition. Sumter also mentioned his men running short of ammunition in his report. Greene did send more. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 8, 1781, below.
67. Greene's orders are in his letter to Marion of Jul. 30, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

[St. Stephens?] 26th July 1781

S^r.

Yours of this days date I received and have the pleasure of Informing you I have not the Least service for Captⁿ. W.R. Davis, and Look on him as belonging to your Brigade.⁶⁸ I find the service you are going to send Captⁿ. Davis on in George town may Interfer with my Command but suppose I must Submit.⁶⁹ I only Inform You I have an Officer which Commands there, & have sent this Day L^t. Col. Hugh Horry with my [or]ders respecting that part of the [country].⁷⁰

I am S^r. Your Ob^t. [Serv^t.]

Fra^s. Marion.

Tr (Thomas Sumter Papers: DLC), microfilm copy at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI), York, SC.

68. [Click here for a brief bio of William Ransom Davis.](#)

69. Sumter dispatched Capt. William Ransom Davis to seize the slaves, horses, indigo, salt and medical supplies of Loyalists in Georgetown. The motivation for this move may have been a result of the aftermath of the Battle of Shubrick's Plantation. Marion was upset with Sumter for not taking the advice of his subordinate officers who recommended waiting for the cannon to arrive before attacking the well-fortified plantation house. He left the area shortly after the battle without notifying Sumter, who was his superior officer. Sumter's action in plundering Georgetown proved to be the final straw for the relationship between the two generals. When the British learned of the treatment of the Loyalists, a ship dispatched from Charlestown entered Winyah Bay on Aug. 2, 1781 and bombarded Georgetown, burning 42 houses.

70. The details of Lt. Col. Hugh Horry's orders are not known.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

St. Stephen 28 July 1781

Sir

Yours of Yesterdays date came to hand, Inclosed is a return of the men in the Action of the 17th Instant⁷¹

I sent an Officer & Some men yesterday for the Ammunition & hope they will be dispatcht, as I am in a Defenceless Situation for want of it⁷²

I received a Letter from M^r. Frazier Commissary of prisoners mentioning a small port manteau of Cloaths which was sent to Captⁿ. Campbell, which Col^o. Coates Desires may be sent to him by the first flagg going to town, Which I suppose may be with some of your Brigade, for I never heard any thing of it before⁷³

The Accounts I rec^d by the return of my flagg who went as far as Nightingale in town neck, say tht Col^o. Coates Lost fourteen men killed & thirty wounded; they got in town the Sunday after the Action.⁷⁴

on Thursday [July 26] last five hundred men, with a great many Waggon came out of town suppose gone to Dorchester as they were not on the road to the [Moncks] Corner Yesterday.⁷⁵

I am S^r

Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion.

By Moses Haise. Public Service

Tr (Thomas Sumter Papers: DLC), microfilm copy at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI), York, SC.

71. The original return sent to Sumter has not been found, but there is a copy of it in the orderly book of Marion's Brigade. According to the return, Marion had two officers killed, six others wounded, and six privates killed, thirteen wounded, and one captured (See O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 689). Marion also seems to have sent the return to Greene on Jul. 26, two days before he sent it to Sumter.

72. Since the actions at Quinby Bridge and Shubrick's Plantation, in which Marion's Brigade exhausted its ammunition, Marion had requested a re-supply.

73. Captain Colin Campbell was captured about a mile north of Quinby Bridge on Jul. 17, 1781, when Lee's Legion and Maham's state cavalry regiment overtook the 19th Foot. The portmanteau mentioned here was probably part of the baggage captured at this skirmish, which occurred before the engagement at Quinby Bridge.

74. Lt.-Col. James Coates was the commanding officer of the 600-strong 19th Regt. of Foot. He fought stubbornly to prevent a likely defeat at Quinby Bridge. His force withdrew to Shubrick's Plantation, a short distance from the bridge, where the strong defense presented by the plantation house and surrounding structures enabled the British to hold off the American attack.

75. The identity and makeup of this British force is unknown. Lt. Col. Stewart and the remnants of the British army that relieved Ninety Six and unsuccessfully pursued Greene left Orangeburg on Jul. 29, 1781, so Stewart's force could not be the one referenced here (Huger to Morris, Jul. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:114). On Jul. 30, Sumter reported to Greene that 15 wagons were observed going toward Orangeburg to re-supply the post, commanded by Lt.-Col. Alexander Stewart. The convoy escort went as far as Four Holes Bridge, where it separated. Part of the command, under Maj. Archibald McArthur, returned to Dorchester (Sumter to Greene, Jul. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:116-17). Col. William Washington reported a similar movement the same day. And on the following day, Aug. 1, he informed Greene of a 20-wagon train escorted by 300 men, and corroborated Sumter's intelligence about Maj. McArthur separating from the convoy, informing Greene that the British major was in the vicinity of Charlestown (Washington to Greene, Jul. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:118; Washington to Greene, Aug. 1, 1781, *PNG*, 9:124).

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. A.P. (Peter) Taylor*⁷⁶**

[St. Stephen], [28 July, 1781]⁷⁷

Sir.

You will proceed with your party as near Dorchester as possible and get all the Intelligence of the Enemys Situatio[.] Strength and Number of Men in Dorchester, & who Commands,⁷⁸ you will also learn if any of the Enemy is yett at Orangeburg & how many, with every particular You can gain⁷⁹—in your return you will fall in the road leading from Ch^s town to Monks Corner; If you could fall first in the road to Dorchester to town you may pick up a waggon or find some small party--any party, you may fall in that is not greatly Superior to you—if you Charge them Briskly you will assuredly carry it.

You must not Sleep at any house or Stay above an hour at any plantation, allways be careful to take up your grown [ground] to rest after dark.⁸⁰

Constantine can carry you through the woods to within a few miles from Dorchester, if you Can bring off his family I wish you would do it.⁸¹

any particular you can learn of the Enemys moving up towards us you will Let me know by Express -- You will return as soon as possible.

I am Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s Marion.

[verso]:

A List of the Command⁸² –

Isaac Keels Serg ^t .>	~~Will^m. Young~~ >	Willm. McMudrow>
Cap ⁿ . Conyers Troop	Cap ⁿ . McColley [McCauley] Troop	Cap ⁿ . Greens Troop
John Rhodus	Rich ^d . Whilborn	John Mckwun
Stran Conyers	Seth Poole	Robert Griggs
Arch ^d . Jolley	Philip Canty	Zesikiah Nettels
John Thompson	Patrick Copeley	L ^t . Peter Tayler

ALS (ScC), Tr (ScC) also used to confirm ALS.

76. According to David Ramsay, this letter was written to Lt. A.P. (Peter) Taylor (Ramsay, *History of SC*, 2:611, 621).

77. Location inferred. The date written by Marion is unintelligible. The date Jul. 28, 1781 is written in another hand under Marion's. If Jul. 28, 1781 is accepted as the correct date, then Marion presumably wrote this letter from St. Stephen's, the same location as the one to Sumter of this date, above.

78. In his letter to Sumter of the same day, above, Marion casually mentioned a force of 500 British coming out of Charlestown. These directives to Taylor are in response to the appearance of that force. No reply from Sumter is extant.

79. According to a letter from Greene to Sumter of Aug. 1, "the Enemy at Orangeburg are in motion; and that it is doubtful which way they are directing their course." The complete makeup of the British force at Orangeburg at this time is not known (Greene to Sumter, Aug. 1, 1781, *PNG*, 9:121-22).

80. The detail of the directions implies that Taylor was inexperienced in carrying out such scouting forays.

81. Constantine was probably a slave who had run away from a Loyalist plantation.

82. It is not known how the listing of three troops of Marion's light horse appeared on the opposite side of this letter. It is possible that since paper was always at a premium, Marion may have simply recycled the page on which the troop listing had been previously reported.

General Exchange (of Prisoners)

Whereas, in Pursuance of Adequate powers Respectively delegated to us to Carry into Execution Articles of a Cartel made on the 3^d Day of May, in this present year between Captain Cornwallis on the part of Lieut. General Earl Cornwallis & Lieut. Col. Carrington⁸³ on the part of Major General Greene for the Exchange & relief of Prisoners of War taken in the Southern department;⁸⁴ We the Under written have mutually agreed, that all the Militia, Prisoners of War, Citizens of American, taken by the British Arms in the Southern Department from the first Commencement of this present War to the 15th Day of this present month of June, Shall be Immediately Exchanged for all the Militia prisoners of War subjects of Great Britain taken by the American Arms in the said Department, within the above mentioned term⁸⁵ ___ Now Publick Notice is hereby Given, that all the above mentioned British & American prisoners, where soever they may at present be, are hereby declared to be fully, Absolutely, & Reciprocally Exchanged; & such of them as are on parole within the Lines of their Respective parties are hereby declared to be released therefrom; & such as are within the Towns, Garrisons, Camps, Posts or lines of the powers who Captured them, shall be Immediately Liberated & permitted to Pass without Restriction to the party to whom they belong.

Edward Mas. Hyrne⁸⁶ Dep^y. Commissary General Prisoners, James Frazer, Commissary Prisoners,
June 22^d 1781⁸⁷

Orders by General Marion----All persons on parole to the Americans are Ordered within the British Lines agreeable to the above.⁸⁸

Fr^s Marion B.G.
July 28th 1781⁸⁹

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

83. Edward Carrington (1749-1810) was Greene's quartermaster general. He was initially an artillery officer, but Gen. Gates had assigned him to overseeing the supply network linking the Southern Army to its supply bases in Virginia. Greene was so impressed with his work that he promoted him to QMG, a position the general himself had earlier held for the main Continental Army. Carrington was largely responsible for organizing the collection of boats during the rest to the Dan, which ensured Greene's success in outrunning Cornwallis, and he also negotiated the prisoner exchange cartel with the British that resulted in the blanket exchange of the Patriot and Loyalist militia prisoners in May, 1781 (PNG, 6:517n).
84. The referenced prisoner exchange cartel dated May 3, 1781 specified the makeup of the officer exchange on a one-for-one basis based on rank. In the situation where there was not an officer of similar rank on the other side to be exchanged, the prisoner would be paroled. Regular troops were to be exchanged for regulars, militia for militia. American prisoners were to be released from Charlestown starting Jun. 15, and would sail to Jamestown, VA. British prisoners were to be released at the end of July from Jamestown (PNG, 8:234-235n).
85. The cartel served as a blanket release of all Patriot and Loyalist regular and militia prisoners, whether in captivity or on parole. Note that this particular proclamation referred only to militia prisoners. The 11th article of the cartel stated: "That the first delivery of American Prisoners shall embark at Charles Town on or before the 15th of Jun., and Sail immediately for James Town in James River, Where the first delivery of British prisoners shall embark on or about the first week in July, and Sail immediately to the nearest Brit[ish] port." (Prisoner Exchange Cartel between Carrington and Cornwallis, May 3, 1781, ALS (MiU-C)) Although the cartel called for the physical release of all prisoners to be carried out at Jamestown, VA, this proclamation clearly altered that article for militia, calling instead for the militia to be "Immediately Exchanged". It did not call for a one-for-one exchange, instead requiring simply that all prisoners be "Immediately Liberated."
86. In addition to his responsibilities as Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners, Maj. Hyrne had served as deputy adjutant general for the Southern Army since 1778. (PNG, 6:594-95n) Ironically, Hyrne himself became a prisoner when he was captured by a British raiding force under Maj. Thomas Fraser in late Mar. 1782. See Marion to Greene, Mar. 29, 1782, below.
87. This proclamation may have been an addendum to the original agreement, since it is dated Jun. 22, 1781, seven days after the specified date of embarkation by American prisoners from Charlestown (Prisoner Exchange Cartel between Carrington and Cornwallis, May 3, 1781, ALS. (MiU-C)). It is unclear why this notice was issued five weeks after the date of the cartel, other than that the time for the exchange to reach Charlestown, and subsequent negotiations surrounding the process for carrying out the cartel may have consumed the intervening time.
88. As commander of all South Carolina militia at this time, Brig. Gen. Marion was responsible for issuing the formal orders to release those Loyalist prisoners whose confinement would have been supervised by the South Carolina militia.
89. Following this exchange proclamation, almost five weeks passed before Marion received official notice concerning the prisoner exchange.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters High Hills Santee July 30th 8 oClock PM 1781

Dear Sir

I this moment got intelligence that the enemy at Orangburgh are in motion. The point to which they have moved which is to the widow Strowman's renders it equivocal which way they are going as they are at a place from whence they can move either to Do[r]chester Nelsons or McCords Ferry.⁹⁰ I confess I think it most probable that they are coming to the last mentioned place. Take care of the Boats agreeable to what I wrote you in my former letter on that subject.⁹¹ Have as large a force collected as you can to operate with us and be in readiness as soon as possible. Try to find out whether the enemy have any reinforcements coming up to Orangburgh and if they have what the strength is and whether it is joined or where abouts it is. Be attentive also to the enemies movements from Orangburgh. I think they are certainly not going to Town as their sick are at Orangburgh.⁹² Desire L^t Col Horry and L^t Col Mayum to use all possible diligence in filling their Corps.⁹³

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

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90. Gen. Isaac Huger wrote to Greene through his aide, Col. Lewis Morris, on this date, informing him of the British movements. For details, he referred Greene to Col. William Washington, who provided similar information to Greene on this date as well (Washington, to Greene, Jul. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:118n).
91. Greene had written to both Marion and Sumter on Jul. 21, 1781, directing the former to take post at Nelson's Ferry and the latter at Friday's Ferry. In the letter to Sumter he had also ordered that both Marion and Sumter control the boats to prevent the passage of the British over the Santee and Congaree, respectively, at those locations (Greene to Marion and Greene to Sumter, both Jul. 21, 1781, *PNG*, 9:54-56).
92. Marion replied on Aug. 1, 1781 below.
93. Both officers were to raise regiments of dragoons under terms similar to those for the governance of Continental cavalry units. Greene had issued lieutenant colonels' commissions to both Horry and Maham on Jun. 21, 1781. Horry's precedence came from having been commissioned a Continental officer in Jun. 1775, at least six months before Maham became an officer in a state regiment. Maham did not yield in the matter of rank and again challenged Horry's right to seniority in late December 1781 and early January 1782 (Greene to Horry, Jul. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:107-08).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 30th July 1781

S^r

A party which I sent to Fore Hole [Four Hole] near the bridge Informs me a Large body of the Enemy was there the day before yesterday on their way to Orrangbourg but could not learn who Commanded they had a number of Waggons.

I Emagin it is the party I heard Left Ch^sTown last Thursday Said to be five hundred.⁹⁴

Inclosed is the bill of the Articles which Captⁿ Withers has got for you in Georgetown.⁹⁵ They are ready whenever you send for them. I think they May be lost if not taken away soon, as I hear that a Galley is in Geo^stown Bay.⁹⁶

I have the honour to be
yr Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

-
94. Greene requested information confirming this in his letter to Marion of this date, above. In Sumter's letter of Jul. 30, 1781 to Greene, he related that fifteen wagons were involved. The detachment separated with part of that escort, under Maj. Archibald McArthur, returning to Dorchester with the balance under James Abercromby moving on (Sumter to Greene, Jul. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:116).
95. Withers, possibly actually meaning Georgetown resident George Withers, not Capt. William Withers, was to use bills on Congress, payable in specie (Pierce to Withers, Jul. 10, 1781, *PNG*, 8:515).
96. The appearance of the enemy galley was in response to Sumter's dispatching Capt. William Ransom Davis to seize the slaves, horses, indigo, salt and medical supplies of Loyalists in Georgetown. By Col. Nisbet Balfour's order, Capt. Daniel Manson was ordered to destroy Georgetown. After being refused permission to land by Davis, Manson bombarded the town on Aug. 2, 1781, burning 42 houses to the ground. Marion wrote Rutledge on Aug. 6, below, that "The distressed inhabitants saved nothing, as a constant fire was kept up whilst the houses were burning. The vessel was commanded by one Manson, and manned mostly, if not quite, by tories." The plundering of Georgetown by Sumter raised the ire not only of Marion, but also Gov. Rutledge. As a consequence of Sumter's actions (through Davis), Rutledge issued a proclamation forbidding the plundering of Loyalist property. Sumter soon retired as a result (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 231-232; *Pennsylvania Packet*, Sep. 6, 1781).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[St. Stephen's]⁹⁷ August 1, 1781

Dear Sir:

As you are Getting Clothing for your men on Continental Expense, will be oblidge to you to Let Sergeant Davis of my Regiment have a Suit with your men & such other Cloathing as you see he is in want of & you will particularly oblidge.

Your humble Serv^t.

Fr Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

97. Location inferred. Marion's location on this date is uncertain. He was in St. Stephen's on Jul. 30, 1781. However, his letter to Rutledge of Aug. 6, 1781, below, suggests that he had just returned from a meeting with Gov. Rutledge at the High Hills of the Santee.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Rutledge

[Extract]

St. Stephen's, August 6, 1781

[S^r]

On my return from you, the last evening,⁹⁸ I found a letter from colonel Peter Horry, giving an account of an armed vessel of ten guns, from Charlestown, coming before Georgetown and burning it. By some neglect of the men who were to oppose their landing, they got on shore and set it on fire; the wind blew high, and all the houses from the bay to the church are in ashes, only a few houses on the right and left are standing. On the enemy's retreat, some that were posted on the point, who fired on the boat towing the vessel, killed and wounded most of the men in her, several were killed and wounded in the vessel. We had one man killed and three wounded, one mortally. The vessel fell down to Newtown, where she lay yesterday. The distressed inhabitants saved nothing, as a constant fire was kept up whilst the houses were burning. The vessel was commanded by one Manson, and manned mostly, if not quite, by Tories.⁹⁹

[I have the Honour be
Your Obt s't

Frans Marion]

Pennsylvania Packet, Sep. 6, 1781.

98. Gov. Rutledge had just returned to South Carolina from the north. See Rutledge's Proclamation of Aug. 5, 1781, below.

99. Greene reported the burning of Georgetown to Thomas McKean, President of Congress, on Aug. 25, 1781, writing "The Enemy came into George Town Bay with a Tender the first of this month and run in close to the heads of the Wharfs and under the fire of their Cannon set the buildings on fire upon the Wharfs, which soon communicated to the Houses in Town, and reduced the greater part to Ashes." (Greene to McKean, Aug. 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:241) On Sep. 20, 1781, three days after Greene's letter to McKean reached Congress, delegate (later governor) John Mathews of South Carolina introduced a resolution condemning and urging retaliation for "horrid and unprovoked acts of cruelty lately committed by the British Commanders in America, by burning defenceless towns, and most inhumanly butchering the inhabitants." Mathews's resolution, together with a letter from Connecticut Gov. Jonathan Trumbull reporting the burning of New London, and "that part of General Greene's letter relative to the burning of Georgetown," were referred to a committee consisting of Elias Boudinot, James M. Varnum, and himself (*JCC*, 21:977-78). They submitted another resolution on Sep. 27, 1781, which listed thirteen instances of "wanton conflagrations" of American towns by the British. This resolve called on the War and Marine Departments to "take order for the demolition of cities and villages in Great Britain" in retaliation, and directed that anyone in the British army or navy "taken in such acts of burning, be immediately consigned to the flames, or afterwards if captivated to be put to death." (Worthington Chuancey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 21:1017-18) Some scholars have argued that the British were retaliating for the plundering of Loyalists by irregulars commanded by Gen. Thomas Sumter (Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (Columbia: R.L. Bryan Co., 1931), 182). But others maintained that Nisbet Balfour, concerned that a Patriot-held Georgetown might become a center for attacks on British shipping and a port for supplying Greene's army, had ordered the destruction of the town preemptively (James, *Marion*, 141; William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* (Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1822), 2:215-216; Lipscomb, "SC Battles" 26 (Winter 1979):33; *PNG*, 9:244n).

SOUTH-CAROLINA

*By his excellency John Rutledge,¹⁰⁰ esquire, governor
and commander in chief of the said state.*

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas many persons taking advantage of the late disturbed and unsettled condition of the state, and hoping in the confusion and disorder occasioned by the calamities of war to escape punishment, have committed the most wanton and rapacious acts of plundering; some under colour of indemnifying themselves for losses which they have sustained; other, under pretence that the persons to whom such property belonged are tories or enemies of the state; and others, from a wicked and inordinate desire of acquiring wealth by any means, however unjustifiable, and from any persons, whether friends or foes: and whereas the publick safety requires that the most effectual measures should be taken for suppressing such an unwarrantable and pernicious practice, inasmuch as good and faithful subjects should be secured and protected in the full and free enjoyment of their property, and no man, although criminal, should be despoiled of his estate but by due course of law: I have therefore thought fit to issue this proclamation, strictly forbidding all persons from plundering, taking, or holding the property of others under any pretence, or for any cause whatever; warning persons possessed of such property, of the danger which they will incur by continuing to withhold it, and charging them immediately to restore such property to the owners of it, unless such owners are with the enemy; and in that case, to deliver it to the brigadier-general of the district in which it is, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; for speedy and effectual punishment shall be inflicted on the offenders: and I do direct all justices of the peace diligently and faithfully to execute their office, and to use all lawful means that may be necessary for apprehending, securing, and bringing to justice such persons as are or may be accused of the above-mentioned, or any other criminal offence.¹⁰¹ I do moreover command all military officers of this state to give such aid and assistance to the civil magistrates, as they may require for that purpose: and I do exhort all those who know, or have reason to believe, where any plundered property is concealed or secreted, or by whom it is possessed, to make discovery and give information touching the same to the nearest magistrate, in order that proper steps may be taken for the recovery thereof.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal, at the High Hills
of Santee, this fifth day of August, 1781, and in the sixth
year of the independence of America.¹⁰²

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

By his excellency's command,
John-Sanford Dart, pro secretary.

Ramsay, *Revolution of SC*, 2:506-08.

100. Gov. Rutledge embarked for Philadelphia shortly before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on Mar. 15. He was in Richmond on Mar. 22, before traveling on to Philadelphia. His intended stay in the de-facto capital was extended by an illness in early May. Rutledge left Philadelphia to confer with Gen. Washington on May 27, and returned to Philadelphia on Jun. 5, disappointed that increased support for the Southern Army would not be forthcoming until naval superiority was established. After returning to Philadelphia, Rutledge conferred with Robert Morris who, as the director of Congressional finances, was attempting to raise needed funds by establishing a Bank of North America. He also obtained an exemption to the embargo on importing salt, before leaving for the South on Jun. 27. He arrived at Greene's headquarters in the High Hills of the Santee on or before Aug. 1 (Greene to Sumter, Aug. 1, 1781, PNG, 9:121-22; Haw, *Rutledge*, 152-53).
101. Although the proclamation could not be expected to eliminate the plundering of Loyalist estates by incensed Patriots and those who simply used the situation for their own profit, its issue was necessary for establishing civil government within the state. A secondary effect was the elimination of the confiscation of slaves for use as bounty in raising state regiments, a practice that Marion abhorred, but one that Sumter felt was required in order to keep sufficient numbers in the field.
102. This proclamation effectively suspended the practice of giving a bounty of a slave to each recruit in the state troops, a practice instituted by Gen. Thomas Sumter as the only means to raise troops to fight the British. The suspension was short-lived, however, for Act 1151—to Procure Recruits and Prevent Desertion—was passed by the legislature on Feb. 26, 1782. Its purpose was to provide incentives for enlisting “in the regiments of this State, in the continental service, for three years, or during the war.” The bounty for enlistment was “one sound negro between the age of ten years and forty” for each of the three years served (*Statutes*, 4:513-15).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

High Hills Santee, Aug^t. 7th 1781

D^r Sir,

I am very sorry for the Affair at George Town, I am Inclined to think that If the Enemy leave Ch^s. Town, they will serve the place in the same manner.¹⁰³ The Orders you have Given Respecting the Inhabitants who have suffered by the Destruction of George Town are very proper; it is our duty to Alleviate their Distresses as much as possible. I will speak to Gen^l. Sumter about Adding the Lower Regiment to your Brigade, & write to you shortly on that point.¹⁰⁴ Col^o Henderson Undertook at Capt. Richardson's to Get a proper man for Sheriff of Camden district, I will mention Kemble to him; & if none better is found, he shall have the appointment¹⁰⁵ If your Information about the Embarkation at Charles Town is well founded,¹⁰⁶ I think it is probable that the Enemy will soon leave this part of the Country & Go to Town. However I hope we shall not suffer them to do so I Entirely forgot, when I saw you last, to Mention what I intended before we met, that if a Little hard Money, 30 Or 35 Guineas, would be Usefull for Getting Intelligence or other services, I had that sum ready for you¹⁰⁷ If you will let me know by whom it may be sent to you it shall be--

I am with Great Regard, D^r Sir,
Your Most Obdt. Servt

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

103. In presumed retaliation for Patriot militia captain William Ransom Davis confiscating supplies from the Loyalists around Georgetown under orders from Sumter, the British bombarded the town on Aug. 2, 1781. Fort-two houses were burned to the ground. Rutledge expressed concern that the British would burn Charlestown on their departure. In a letter of Jul. 26, 1781 above, Marion diplomatically notified Sumter that he felt Davis's actions would have a negative effect on his own ability to manage the Georgetown area. Sadly, Marion was correct.

104. After the debacle at Shubrick's Plantation on Jul. 17, 1781, Sumter withdrew from the Lowcountry. After a meeting with Rutledge and Greene, he temporarily relinquished command of the state militia to Col. William Henderson. As seen in Rutledge's letter to Marion of Aug. 13, 1781 below, the governor did re-assign the 'Lower Regiment' militia between Charlestown and Marion's brigade to the Swamp Fox. Sumter formally resigned his commission in late Feb. 1782, immediately following the end of the session of the South Carolina General Assembly. Henderson was promoted to Brigadier General and took over Sumter's brigade.

105. As the Patriots regained control of more territory, Rutledge began the process of re-establishing civilian government.

106. The information Rutledge referred to is probably that mentioned in Marion to Greene of Aug. 8, 1781 below. It may have been gathered as a result of the intelligence gleaned by Lt. Samuel Taylor on his foray to the outskirts of Charlestown. See Marion's Jul. 30, 1781 letter, above, to Taylor.

107. When Rutledge saw Marion last is not known. The most recent extant letter between them is dated Mar. 8, 1781.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 8th Aug^t 1781

Sr

Agreable to your Desire I Let Col^o Maham know that all his horse will be required for service in two days[;] his Answer is that he had not one man Mounted but what is gone out with his Officers a recruiting, the rest have neither Saddles nor Swords. I have sent to Col. Horry.

I have received the powder but no Lead without which it is useless to me.¹⁰⁸

By the best Information from Ch^s Town¹⁰⁹ there is very few troops in there; some (mostly Invalids) are at Wappetaw Meeting, & at Jacksonbourg, very few in Dorchester,¹¹⁰ the whole must be at Browns Mill Except those you seen at Thompson[.]¹¹¹ They Destroy all the provisions boath Dry & Green not a field of Corn Standing[;] they move Often, and do not stay two Days in one place Except once at Holmans where they stayed three days, it is Said Belfour Commands. Rawdon is Sailed[;]¹¹² transports are cleaning to cary three Regiments to New York.¹¹³ The town is very sickly & many are Buried every Day. Provisions there is plenty.

If you can spare me any Lead Capt Richardson will forward it.¹¹⁴

I have the Honour to be
your Ob^t s^t
Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

108. This was Marion's second request for lead, but Greene did respond and send some shortly after. See Greene to Marion, Aug. 10, 1781 below (PNG, 9:151).

109. The "best Information" may have been obtained as a result of the foray by Lt. Samuel Taylor described in Marion's letter to Taylor of Jul. 30, 1781, above.

110. "Wappetaw Meeting" referred to Wappetaw Congregational Church near the headwaters of the Wando River, northeast of Charlestown (PNG 9:151).

111. As per PNG: "Col. Alexander Stewart's troops were at Thompson's, near McCord's Ferry. Brown's Mill was about halfway between Orangeburg and McCord's." (PNG: 9:151).

112. Rawdon had departed on Aug. 21, 1781 due to illness. In his absence Nisbet Balfour, Commandant at Charlestown was the ranking officer in South Carolina (PNG: 9:151).

113. There is no evidence any British forces left the city at this time, so either Marion's intelligence was mistaken, or the plan was scrapped (PNG, 9:152).

114. In a letter to Greene of Aug. 9, 1781 Richardson informed him he would send wagons immediately (Richardson to Greene, PNG, 9:154). Greene replied to Marion on Aug. 10, 1781, immediately below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

At Mr Richardsons plantation August the 10th 1781

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you a letter from Col Harden, the Express that brought it could not find you and therefore brought it on to camp.¹¹⁵ If it is practicable I wish you to give support to Col Harden. You know the Colonels force[,] your own and the enemies; and will do as you may think proper. Your force and Hardens appear to me competent to the business; and if you undertake it you must move with the utmost secrecy and expedition. However you are best acquainted with the natural difficulties attending the attempt and must govern your self accordingly. But it will be of the greatest importance to check the enemy in the progress of this business; for if they are permitted to pursue it with impunity theyll soon possess themselves of all the rice of that country and totally dispirit the Militia.¹¹⁶

Your letter of the 8th I have receivd and sent you more than one half the lead I have.¹¹⁷ I am in hopes this will answer your present demand. In a few days we expect a fresh supply. The lead I now send would have come with the powder but for a mistake of one of my Aids who gave the order.

You will see by Col Hardens letter, that the enemy have hung Col Hanes. Dont take any measures in the matter towards retaliation, for I dont intend to retaliate upon the Tory officers but the british.¹¹⁸ It is my intention to demand the reasons of the Colonels being put to death; and if they are unsatisfactory as I am sure they will be; and if they refuse to make satisfaction as I expect they will, to publish my intention of giving no quarter to british officers of any rank that fall into our hands.¹¹⁹ Should we attempt to retaliate upon their Militia officers I am sure they would persevere in the measure in order to increase the animosity between the whigss and tories that they might stand idle spectators and see them butcher each other. As I dont wish my intentions to be known to the enemy but through an official channel; and as this will be delayed for some few days to give our friends in Saint Augustine time to get off, I wish you not to mention the matter to any mortal out of your family.¹²⁰

Neither Col Shelby or Col Lock have arrivd; nor can I tell when they will.¹²¹ Lt Col Lee crossed the Santee a few days ago, and took [between] fifteen & twenty prisoners of the enimies horse.¹²² Please to let me know whether you go to the releif of Col Harden or not, that I may take some other measures should it be out of your power to succour him.¹²³

Most respectfully yours N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:158-59.

115. The letter from Col. William Harden has not been found.

116. In a letter of Aug. 12, 1781, to Colonel Henderson, Greene alerted him that the British were “upon Ponpon getting off the rice from that quarter.” (Greene to Henderson, Aug. 12, 1781, PNG, 9:169).

117. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 8, 1781, above.

118. Greene wrote to Balfour on Aug. 26, 1781 promising “an immediate retaliation” for “the cruel and unjust execution” of Col. Isaac Hayne on Aug. 4. Greene indicated that he had wanted to consider all who were found in arms, as prisoners of war and believed Cornwallis did as well. He confirmed to Balfour that he would inform Cornwallis of the heinous action, “publish to the world my intentions,” and on whom he would retaliate. Additionally, Greene discontinued any prisoner exchanges not then already in process (Greene to Balfour, Aug. 26, 1781, PNG, 9:249-52).

119. In his proclamation of Aug. 26, 1781, below, Greene promised to retaliate “for all such inhuman Insults...make British Regular Officers, and not the deluded Inhabitants who have joined their Army, Subject of retaliation.”

120. Cornwallis had imprisoned 29 prominent South Carolinians after the battle of Camden, claiming they had corresponded with Gates on a plot to burn Charlestown. Initially they were held on prison ships but later he sent them to St. Augustine along with another 30 Patriot ringleaders (PNG, 6:311n).

121. Col. Isaac Shelby wrote Greene on Aug. 3, from “Camp on Watauga,” Washington Co., NC, that he had expected to begin the march (from Washington Co., NC) by Jul. 15, 1781. However, he did not feel it was appropriate until after the Cherokee Treaty was signed on Jul. 29. Afterward, he did embark with a force of 700 mounted riflemen, but halted shortly thereafter when he learned from Col. Andrew Pickens that the British were retreating “perhaps as far as Charlestown.” Due to the “warm season” and the uncertainty of events, Shelby decided to suspend his march until the situation became clearer. Col. Francis Locke, in his response to Greene’s criticism of his failure to reinforce the Southern Army, wrote the general on Aug. 10, 1781 from Salisbury, NC, explaining that orders Locke had sent to other NC militia colonels had gone unheeded and that he did not have the authority to force the militia to serve (Shelby to Greene, Aug. 3, 1781, PNG, 9:129; Locke to Greene, Aug. 10, 1781, PNG, 9:162).

122. In a letter of Aug. 8, 1781, Col. Lee described the outcome of two actions. In the first Lee attacked an enemy convoy of 300 men and 32 wagons. Unfortunately, the Legion was outmanned, and even though initially the Americans overwhelmed the cavalry escort, the regular British troops held their ground and Lee withdrew. In the second action, sixty Loyalists attacked a detail of Lee’s legion, recapturing 17 of 20 prisoners that had been captured at Orangeburg (Lee to Greene, Aug. 8, 1780, PNG, 9:150-51).

123. Marion did in fact decide to assist Harden, as seen in his letter to Greene of Aug. 20, 1781, below (PNG, 9:159n).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

H^d Quarters High Hills Santee Augt. 13th, 1781

D^r General

By a Letter from Colo. Parker to Governour Burke,¹²⁴ I learn a Great part of the British troops in Virginia had Embarked for New York, which is Closely beseiged by Genl. Washington & the french Army. The same writer says the British fleet have Got another drubbing in the W^t Indies. If those accounts are true, as no doubt they are, The Enemy have every thing to fear & little to hope in this quarter.¹²⁵ You will forward the Letter that Accompanies this to Colo. Balfour as soon as possible,¹²⁶

with Esteem & Regard I am, D^r Sir,
Your Obdt. Servt.

Nath Greene.

124. Thomas Burke (1744-83), had recently been elected governor of North Carolina. He would go on to be captured by Loyalist partisans David Fanning and Hector McNeil at Hillsborough, NC on Sep. 13 in an absolute coup where, according to Fanning they inflicted 35 casualties and captured 200 prisoners, including not just Burke but the "Councel, and part of the Continental Colonels, Several captains and subalterns & 71 Continentals soldiers." Burke was transported to Wilmington, NC, after which the city's British commandant, Maj. James Craig, sent him on to Charlestown by sea. Burke escaped and made his way to Greene's Army by Jan. 1782, and then resumed the governorship (Fanning, *Narrative*, 8, 55; *PNG*, 9:365n).

125. Both reports were false (*PNG*, 176n).

126. The enclosure was probably a letter to Balfour dated Aug. 2 and included in the Greene Papers, which detailed British abuses of the Cartel, including the Postel affair, and threatening retaliation for British irregularities (Greene to Balfour, Aug. 2, 1781, *PNG* 9:124-25).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 13 Aug^t 1781

S^r

Yourse of the 10th Inst: came to hand and woud Certainly Set off to Join Col^o Harden if the movements of the Enemy did not prevent at present.

A party of the British Came up to Fair-Lawn a Frydy night [Aug. 10] but their Numbers cannot be Assertaind[;] only one Markee & five tents are pitched, two waggens came up and has returnd to town.

Yesterday a party of the Enemy came to Eutaw, by a prisoner taken Say that five hundred Infantry & one hundred horse, from Thompsons under the Command of a Major Richardson;¹²⁷ they are Invalids going to Ch-town, but beleive they are Come to Gather Cattle & destroy the Provisions. I intended to have gone close to them this morning but the Excessive rains prevented[;] as soon as it holds up, I will Advanc & Indeavour to Annoy them. When I set out for the Southward I will Lett you know.¹²⁸

Your intentions respecting the unhappy Col^o Haynes shall be observed.

I have the Honour to be y^r Ob S^t

Fran^s Marion

NB The prisoner say they Left two thousand men at Thompsons under the Command of Col. Stewart[.]¹²⁹ Col. Horrys horse is not yett arrived.¹³⁰ I think Cavedry may do great service Near Eutaw.

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

127. As per *PNG*: "Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart's British army was at Thompson's (Belleville) Plantation. In a letter to Greene of Aug. 16, 1781, below, Marion added details about both of the enemy parties mentioned here." (*PNG*, 9:180n).

128. In his letter of Aug. 20, below, Marion informed Greene that he was headed to the south of Charlestown to support Harden (*PNG*, 9:180n).

129. Henry Lee wrote Greene on this date, estimating Stewart's force at 1,600 (Lee to Greene, Aug. 13, 1781, *PNG*, 9:177).

130. Horry's dragoons did not join Marion until later in the month. See Marion to Greene, August 20, 1781, below (*PNG*, 9:180n).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

High Hills of Santee, August 13th 1781.

D^r Sir:

We really want a press so much, that I request you will Loose no time in Getting the paper & all other requisites for Walter, & send him up here with them and his press, that he may go to work as soon as possible. It would be best to get the Oil and Lam[p] Black where you procure the paper; but if they cannot be Got there, I am told the Latter may be made here & so may neatsfoot Oil which I suppose will Answer the purpose.¹³¹ I have heard of M^r. Lewis Dutarque passing this way, he is one of the Addressers to Clinton on the reduction of Charlestown. I think we should be very Cautious how we admit such People to join us. I dare say there are many of them who would gladly do so, not for our Sakes but their own. However, I wish to know from you upon what footing this man stands in Consequence of anything which may have passed between you & him.¹³² You will Consider the Militia between Charlestown & your Brigade as annexed to it, but I would not have any appointment which Gen^l. Sumpter may have made of Officers Revoked, while they behave properly.¹³³ The Governour of N^o Carolina writes, but with what truth I know not, that 2500 had Embarked in Virginia for New York, which was Closely besieged.¹³⁴ A man arrived at Camden Last Friday, who landed at James Town in Virginia with several other prisoners of War who had gone thither from Charlestown, so that we may soon expect to see several of our friends from thence. I request that you will send Immediately to Col^o. Harden & Get as full & Authentick account of the Execution of Col^o. Hayne, with every material Circumstance relative to that Unhappy affair. I am told that his son is possessed of Copies of Letters which pased between the Colonel & Balfour; pray have them all transmitted to me as quick as possible with that Account & Copies of Col^o. Haynes speech to his Regiment, which I understand was the matter Laid to his Charge & of the petition to the Commandant of Charlestown for his pardon, with the names of the petitioners.¹³⁵ (I think of appointing Immediately an Ordinary in Each district by whom Wills may be proved & Letters Testamentary & Administration granted & other business within the Ordinary's Jurisdiction transacted. The Constitution directs that this shall be done & I think it a Measure absolutely necessary, for a number of Reasons.) I wish you would Recommend proper persons who will Undertake the Office of Ordinary for George Town, Cheraws, & Charlestown Districts. Write to Col^o. Harden to do so for Beaufort District.¹³⁶

I am with Great Regard,

D^r Sir, Your Most Obd^t Serv^t, J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

131. Just as the printed word was an important tool in the provocation that began the Revolutionary War, so was it a necessity to carry on the war and to re-establish the government in South Carolina. The details surrounding 'Walter' and his press are not known.
132. Lewis (or Louis) Dutarque became a first lieutenant in the 3rd SC Rangers under Capt. Edward Richardson on Jun. 17, 1775, and resigned on Jan. 30, 1776. As seen in Rutledge's letter to Marion of Oct. 10, 1781 below, the governor ordered Dutarque's arrest. Apparently, Marion sent Dutarque to Rutledge, who sent him on to a sheriff for incarceration. Dutarque is not listed on the confiscation or amercement lists passed by the South Carolina General Assembly on Feb. 26, 1782. Dutarque also does not appear on the list of estates accompanying the Confiscation Acts, as printed in the Loyalist newspaper *The South Carolina Royal Gazette* of Mar. 20, 1782, but his name does appear as an active Loyalist on an enclosure sent by Clinton to Cornwallis in Jun. 1780. After the war he lived near Georgetown, SC. A notice in *The State Gazette of South Carolina* on Jan. 26, 1786 announced a reward of three guineas each for the return of four slaves to Dutarque in Georgetown or to the Warden of the Workhouse in Charleston (*South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1782; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 277; Enclosure, Clinton to Cornwallis, Jun. 8, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:68-69; Rutledge to Marion, Aug. 10, 13, and Oct. 16, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:629-35; "Eighteenth Century Slaves as Advertised by their Masters," *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Journal of Negro History*, Vol. I, No. 2, (January 1916)).
133. South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge had mentioned the possibility of adding the militia to Marion's brigade in his letter of Aug. 7, 1781, above. In retaining officers previously appointed by Sumter, Rutledge demonstrated his sensitivity to the friction between the two brigadiers.
134. Gov. Rutledge was apparently encamped with Greene or close by, since he reported the same false information written by North Carolina Gov. Thomas Burke. Burke was captured along with 200 Patriots during a Loyalist raid on Hillsboro, NC, on Sep. 12, 1781.
135. South Carolina militia Col. Isaac Hayne was executed on Aug. 4, 1781, for breaking his parole. See Harden to Marion, Apr. 7, 1781 above.
136. The responsibilities of an Ordinary (a judicial officer) included the administration of estates. It was the equivalent of a Judge of Probate Court in present-day South Carolina. Rutledge's directive to Marion to choose the men to fill the positions represented the beginning of Marion's dual role as military commander and civic leader in the new South Carolina government. Since the fall of Charlestown in May 1780, civil law had been suspended. Now that the Patriots controlled a majority of the state, Rutledge intended to restore it.

Lt. Col. William Harden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Oglevie's 15 August 1781

D^r Sir,

I wrote you the 13 Inst. Acquainting you the Enemy Still lay at Deas'es [?], at Combahee Ferry.¹³⁷ They Still Occupy the same place they have got Know [no] Rice as yet. Tho their Boats is Not Arrived I imagine its Owing to the bad weather.¹³⁸ their was A Boat with about fifteen men come to the Ferry yesterday, which Say they Came from the Boats thats On their way for the Rice. they say what Rice they cant get away they will burn, & by what I can learn their Orders if when they Return to lay wast[e] as they go, I should be verry happy if I could get some Assistance. As the People this way seems to be discouraged as we have not force Enough to do any good.¹³⁹ We have accounts from Town that New York is Capitulated, the Shipping had all their Sails bent. & took in wood & water, & by the Storm a Friday they Received Considerable damage. I hope in a day Or two more to hear particular from town, the Enemy have made Know[no] movement from Ebenezer. Many People this way have made Application to me to go in the State Service, if I had Orders, I could Rais[e] two troops of Horse in a little time, be glad to hear from you, as Soon as possible __¹⁴⁰

I am Dr Sir with Esteem Your Most
Obt. Humble Serv^t.

Will^m. Harden

ALS (MiU-C)

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137. Harden had written Marion prior to Aug. 10, 1781, probably on the same subject. Neither that letter nor the Aug. 13, 1781 letter noted here have been found. The Combahee Ferry crossed the Combahee River on the main road between Charlestown and Savannah, now US Hwy-17.
138. A tropical cyclone hit South Carolina on Aug. 10, 1781. The same storm reportedly hit Wilmington, NC, the next day. "A gale prevailed for forty hours at Wilmington, NC, moving slowly northward just inside the coastline." ("August 11, 1781," *Eighteenth Century Virginia Hurricanes*, 781, Vance A. Meyers, *NOAA Technical Report NWS-16: Storm Tide Frequencies on the South Carolina Coast* (1975), 17).
139. In his Aug. 10, 1781 letter, above, Gen. Greene requested Marion give assistance to Harden, both to bolster the morale of the inhabitants and to serve as a deterrent to the British in their missions to gather rice from the region below Charlestown. At this time Harden's force was the only opposition to British control of the area south of the city.
140. Greene's inquiry about whether Marion would go to Harden's assistance, in his letter of Aug. 13, above, was probably motivated by the knowledge that the Patriots in the Beaufort area waited only for orders to accelerate the guerilla war against the British.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to John Palmer, Jr., Esqr.,¹⁴¹ Chas. Town District

[St. Stephens after 13th]¹⁴² August 1781

Sir:

You will conform yourself agreeable to his Excellency John Rutledge Esq^r's Proclamation dated the fifth day of this present August--¹⁴³

You will prevent all persons from carrying any property out of this State which are Enemies to the said State, and are hereby Authorized to call on the Militia of your District to Aid & Assist you, in preventing such property being carried away, or in any part of your business as Justice of the Peace-- And all Officers of the Militia are hereby ordered to give you that assistance which you may require--

You will put all movable property belonging to persons who joined the Enemy, in the hands of such persons, as may take the best care of Them for the Use of this State, keeping an Account what property is intrusted to such persons as you may appoint as Overseers, or other persons--¹⁴⁴

I am, Sir,
Your Ob^t. Serv^t.

Fran^s Marion,
Brigr. Genl. Militia,
& Justice Comm^{rs}.

ALS (ScC)

141. John Palmer, Jr., presumably refers to John Pamor (1715-85), a planter from St. Stephen Parish, SC. Pamor had been a justice of the peace for Craven County dating back to 1756. He was named a justice of the peace for Charlestown District, as a result of Gov. Rutledge's early attempt to install civilian government in the state in 1781. Marion named other justices for the Cheraw and Georgetown districts. Pamor apparently had some eccentricities. In his will he stipulated "that my 3 sons, instead of spelling their Names *Pamor*, shall for ever hereafter spell their Names *Palmer*." Since this letter is addressed to John Palmer, Jr., Esqr., there is also the possibility that it was addressed to this John Palmer's son, who was identified both as John, Jr., and Sr. The younger John was, however, a captain in Marion's Brigade by 1782, and it is questionable whether Marion would have transferred him from the judicial side to the military. It also should be noted that the letter is not addressed to Capt. John Palmer, Jr., but instead to John Palmer, Jr., Esq., implying the addressee was a civilian and a lawyer (Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:502; Joseph Russel Cross, *Historic Ramblin's Through Berkeley*, (Berkeley Count, SC: Berkeley County Historical Society, 1985); Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 233; Marion to Palmer, unknown date after Aug. 13, 1782, *Charleston Yearbook 1888*, "Mayor Smyth's Annual Review," 381).
142. The exact date of this letter is not known, only that it was written after the letter from South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge of Aug. 13, 1781 above, in which Rutledge directed Marion to recommend candidates for justice of the peace. Marion would presumably have received the Rutledge letter at most a few days later. It is presumed also that he would have acted quickly to contact Palmer. At this time Marion was encamped in St. Stephen's Parish.
143. South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge, who had spent the summer of 1781 in Philadelphia attempting to obtain supplies, arrived in Camden, South Carolina, on Aug. 1. He then traveled south to Gen. Greene's encampment in the High Hills of the Santee. There he went about re-establishing the civil government of South Carolina. Gov. Rutledge's proclamation of Aug. 5, 1781, above, "strictly forbidding all persons from plundering, taking, or holding the property of others under any pretence, or for any cause whatever," was a clear refutation of Sumter's Law, a policy conceived by South Carolina militia Gen. Thomas Sumter, in Rutledge's absence. It had been approved by Greene and later Rutledge--but not Marion--to obtain the necessary recruits to organize the South Carolina State Troops, and was widely implemented. In many cases it became a license to plunder both Loyalist and Patriot estates in the name of obtaining necessary provisions at any cost.
144. After the revocation of Sumter's Law, Gov. Rutledge quickly added a number of civil responsibilities to Marion's military duties. As seen in the letter from Rutledge of Aug. 13, 1781 above, the Governor directed Marion to identify men to serve as Justices of the Peace for South Carolina. Presumably, the duties outlined by Marion were designed by Gov. Rutledge. As implied in the Aug. 7 letter, above, from Rutledge, Marion also had a part in selecting the sheriffs for the various districts. Rutledge also enlisted Marion's assistance in filling the post of Ordinary (judge) for the various districts, as seen in his letter to Marion of Aug. 13, above, and Sep. 14, below. The justice of the peace handled petty criminal and general civil cases. The ordinary was responsible for the administration of wills.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

St Stephens 16th Aug't 1781

Sr

Yourse of the 13th Inst. came to hand the Last evening and hope the Intelligenc given may be true.¹⁴⁵

The Evening afore last the Enemy came down to Burdells Seven miles above Eutaw, my party reconitird them at night and by the Extensiveness of the ground they took up, must [be] the main body.¹⁴⁶ The party mentioned in my last went only as far as Martins where they mett with a party from Fairlawn and returned yesterday, in Each party was about three hundred men and one field piece.¹⁴⁷

Since I wrought the above a party and a deserter Came in which Inform me, that the body of men seen at Burdells was only a detachment which come to meet the one going up, with Eight Hogshead rum and flower and salt, boath partys went upwards togeather. Their stores came up in a sloop near Fairlawn and the works they are making their is only a temperary one to secure them from any sudden Attack.

The Govenor will inform you the particulars to the So Ward to him I have Inclosed Col Hardens Letter.¹⁴⁸ I shoud go to the southward shall be Glad to have what horse Cols Horry and Maham may have ready. The former has sent me fifteen but one half without swords the Latter in two or three days will have twenty Compleat with Elegant horses.¹⁴⁹

I have the Honour be
Your Obt s't

Frans Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

145. The intelligence in Greene's letter was false (*PNG*, 9:191n).

146. John Burdell's home was southeast of current Vance, SC, off of current State-Route-6, upstream from Eutaw Springs.

147. Martin's Tavern was 15 miles southeast of Eutaw Springs (*PNG*, 9:191n; James, *Marion*, 137).

148. Intelligence included in Harden's letter, which has not been found, as related by Greene to South Carolina militia Col. William Henderson on Aug. 12, 1781 was that "The Enemy have a party out upon Ponpon getting off the rice from that quarter. Harden had apparently intercepted an Aug. 12, 1781 letter from Col. Nisbet Balfour in which Balfour informed Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart that all available dragoons had been dispatched "to the Southward getting Provisions Rice &^{ca}." (Greene to Henderson, Aug. 12, 1780, *PNG*, 9:169-70).

149. As per *PNG*: "Marion was preparing to go to Harden's assistance when he wrote to Greene on Aug. 20, 1781 below. As seen there, he took Maham's and Horry's dragoons with him." (*PNG*, 9:191).

Receipt Certified by Brig Gen. Francis Marion

Rec^d. of Estate Gabriel Marion¹⁵⁰ five Steers weighing fourteen hundred & twenty W^t. for the use of Gen^l
Marions Brigade ---
16 Aug^t. 1781

Certified The^d Blackwell¹⁵¹

Fran^s MarionC & q^r M
Brig^r Gen^l Malitia

ADS (FMU)

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150. Francis Marion was probably encamped at Peyre's Plantation on the Santee at this time. The steers may have been taken from Belle Isle, a plantation belonging to Marion's brother Gabriel, who had died in 1777. By his will, Gabriel's Sr.'s property was equally divided among Gabriel Jr., Robert Marion, and Benjamin Marion. Money was also set aside for Gabriel's wife and two daughters. Francis was bequeathed £500 (Charleston County Will Book, 1776-1784 (ScCoAH), 248). Gabriel, Jr., had been murdered by a Loyalist after being captured on Nov. 15, 1780, outside Georgetown. See Marion to Harrington, Nov. 15, 1780, and Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, both above (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 117-19). Gabriel, Jr.'s will bequeathed 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 Jr. (Charleston County Will Book A, 1783-86 (ScCoAH), 367). There is no record of this receipt being submitted to the State of South Carolina for payment after the war ("Gabriel Marion," Audited Account, ScCoAH).
151. Theodore Blackwell was Commissary and Quartermaster of Marion's Brigade.

Capt. Nathaniel Pendleton (for Greene) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [High Hills Santee] August 17th 1781

D^r Sir

Your two letters of the 12th & 14th inst: have arrived safe, together with the packetts of papers & letters mentioned; I congratulate you on your success.¹⁵²

General Greene desires that the Officers, may have their paroles to come immediately to Camp at this place but nevertheless let them be accompanied by an officer in whose company they will be more circumspect on the Road.¹⁵³ You will please to send all Officers you may take in future to Head Quarters in the same manner as the above.

I have the honor to be Sir
y^r most Ob^t Ser^t

N Pendleton

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

152. Neither of these letters has been found. The referenced “success” was probably Col. John Ervin’s capture of a British supply convoy (*PNG*, 9:195n; Johnson, *Greene*, 2:193-194).

153. As per *PNG*: “According to William Johnson, Greene’s first biographer, Capt. [Colin?] Campbell and two subalterns were sent to camp and held in the provost as possible objects of reprisal for the execution of Col. Isaac Hayne by the British.” (*PNG*, 9:195n).

Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Charlestown August 18th 1781

Sir:

In answer to your Letter Relative to M^r. Postell, I must beg Leave to Inform you, that he has been detained for being in Arms when upon parole, Contrary to the Laws of all Nations & the matter with the Consent of your Commissioners of Prisoners referred to Gen. Greene.¹⁵⁴ M^r. Cooper who was taken the 17th July & Every prisoner of War in this Town will be Liberated & sent out with a flagg of Truce Tomorrow According to the Cartel. Nothing can astonish me more than your Offering to Release a British Soldier for M^r. Cooper.¹⁵⁵ I presume you must have been furnished with a Copy of the Cartel, & if so, I am truly at a Loss to know on what principles any British Soldiers can be detained by you; this has already been complained of & if such practices are persevered in the Cartel must be at an End.¹⁵⁶

I am, Sir,
Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t,

N. Balfour

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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154. John Postell, Jr., served as a captain and major in the militia. He had been taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 781). He was paroled but continued to serve in the militia under Gen. Marion. When he went under flag to Georgetown to carry out a prisoner exchange on Mar. 2 or 3, 1781, Capt. John Saunders, then commandant in Georgetown, arrested him for violating his parole. Marion claimed that Saunders violated the Law of Nations by holding Postell. However, Saunders had ample precedent for considering that Postell broke his parole. See Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781 above. Balfour apparently felt that because Postell had violated his parole, he was not eligible for the militia exchange dated Jun. 22, 1781. See General Exchange of Prisoners, Jul. 28, 1781, above.
155. Details of Mr. Cooper's identity and arrest are not known.
156. By the Prisoner Exchange Cartel, dated May 3, 1781 it would seem that Marion could refuse to free a British regular officer if no American Continental officer of equal rank was in captivity. However, he would also be obligated to parole such an officer (*PNG*, 8:234-35n). After the hanging of South Carolina militia Col. Isaac Hayne on Aug. 4, Gen. Greene vowed not to permit prisoner exchanges. Apparently, he altered his thinking, as suggested by Nathaniel Pendleton's letter to Marion of Aug. 17, above, in which Marion was directed to send captured officers with their paroles to Greene's camp. Marion did not send the officers as requested, as seen in Marion's letter to Greene of Aug. 18, below, as he was attempting to bring about the release of Capt. John Postell.

Maj. Edmund M. Hyrne¹⁵⁷ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters High Hills Santee 18th August 1781

Dear General

I am directed by Gen^l Greene to inform you, that he approves of your calling such of Col^o Horry's or Col^o Mahams dragoons into service, should you march southwardly, as are properly equipp'd, but wishes that they may not be worn down before they are in a condition to join the old regim^t of Cavalry.¹⁵⁸ He leaves it to your judgement whether to march to the relief of the southern district, or to make a detachment, or in short to act as you shall think most conducive to the public good.¹⁵⁹

The Governor is so very much indisposed, that he can not write and has reserved your letter to General Greene, he desires me to add, that he had had it in contemplation to send a detachment round the Congaree to aid Col^o Harden but is afraid it will not be practicable, as most of Gen^l Sumters Brigade were furlough'd without his knowledge.¹⁶⁰

I have the honor to be D^r General
yours &c

Edm M Hyrne

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

157. Edmund Massengbird Hyrne served as Greene's aide de camp, and often drafted correspondence on behalf of the general.

158. This was in response to Marion's request to Greene on Aug. 16, above, to use the State Dragoons in his operations in support of Col. Harden (PNG, 9:199).

159. Greene followed up on Aug. 20, below, reiterating his approval of Marion's plan to use the dragoons (PNG, 9:199).

160. Col. [William] Henderson assumed command of Sumter's brigade upon the Gamecock's temporary resignation. Prior to leaving the service, and unbeknownst to Henderson (and presumably Greene and Rutledge as well), Sumter furloughed the state troops. In his first letter to Greene on Aug. 14, 1781, Henderson lamented "With expectations of Seeing at least four or five hundred men fit for the field, I came to take command of the *Brigade of State Troops*, but I find Gen^l Sumter has play'd the *old Soldier* with me, for I have not been able to Collect quite Two hundred fit for action, and they in a most Shatter'd condition." (Henderson to Greene, Aug. 14, 1780, PNG, 9:181-82).

Capt. William Pierce, Jr.,¹⁶¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters on the High Hills of Santee August 18th 1781

Sir

Upon application of our Commissary General Major [Robert] Forsyth, General Greene wishes you to furnish one of the Assistants in that department M^r Gillard, with 12 good Men for the purpose of collecting and driving Cattle to this Army. He would wish that they might be continued as Cattle Drivers as long as Major Forsyth should think their services necessary.

I have the honor to be sir with great respect

Your most ob^t serv^t

W^m Pierce J^r

161. William Pierce, like Hyme, was Greene's aide, and carried on correspondence on his behalf.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 18 August 1781

Sr

I rec^d your Orders of yesterday and have Orderd Captⁿ [William R.] Davis¹⁶² to Carry the prisoners to You¹⁶³ and hope they will not be given up untill Captⁿ Postell is released which was one reason I woud not give them Paroles to Ch Town.¹⁶⁴

Inclosed is a Letter from Col^o Harden,¹⁶⁵ he is Exceeding Anxtious to git assistance, if you think proper I will go to him with two hundred men, if I can git Col Maham & Horrys Cavalry that is ready to go with me & think with them, the Enemys horse there will probable fall in our hands. If this should be agreable I wish to sett out on munday morning. [August 20]¹⁶⁶

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

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162. This was presumably the same Capt. William Ransom Davis who, at Sumter's command, plundered the Loyalists of Georgetown, South Carolina in late Jul. 1781. His actions resulted in the bombardment of Georgetown and burning of 42 houses on Aug. 2, 1781. Davis had been in Marion's Brigade, then had been transferred to Sumter's. As of this letter, however, he appears to have been back in Marion's Brigade.
163. See Pendleton to Marion, Aug. 17, above.
164. South Carolina militia Capt. John Postell was being held as a parole violator, and would not be released until the war was over (Hyrne to Greene, 1 Aug. 1781, *PNG*, 9:123; *PNG*, 9:204n; *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:577).
165. This was presumably Harden's letter to Marion of Aug. 15, above.
166. Greene had given Marion permission to go to the aid of Harden, and to take the State Dragoons. See Hyrne to Marion, Aug. 18, above, and Greene to Marion, Aug. 20, 1781, below (*PNG*, 9:204n). As per *PNG*: "Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour wrote Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart on Aug. 12, 1y81, that he was planning to use boats to bring supplies to Stewart's army and was therefore going to put the "Depot near Monks Corner [i.e., Fair Lawn]...in a State of Defence as soon as possible." The false report that troops from Charlestown were to be sent to New York may have been occasioned by the imminent departure of Lord Rawdon from Charlestown. Rawdon sailed for England on Aug. 21, 1781 (*PNG*, 9:205n)

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters High Hills Santee Aug^t 20th 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 18th by Capt Davis with the three british Officers have just arrivd in Camp. You may depend upon my not giving those officers back into the hands of the enemy until Postel and the others are enlarged; and until I am satisfied respecting the execution of Col Hanes.¹⁶⁷

The distressed situation of that quarter where Col Harden commands induces me to wish you to give him support as soon as possible. Our force is collecting fast perhaps we may be in motion soon.

Such of Mayums and Horrys Horse as will be useful to you, you will take with you.¹⁶⁸ I wish the intelligence respecting New York having capitulated may be true and I think it not unlikely.¹⁶⁹

With the most sinsere esteem & regard

I am dear Sir

your most obed humble ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

167. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 18, 1781, above. South Carolina militia Capt. John Postell was being held in Charlestown, and the British had refused to exchange him due to his status as a parole violator. Greene wrote to Balfour on Aug. 26, 1781, promising “an immediate retaliation” for “the cruel and unjust execution” of South Carolina militia Col. Isaac Hayne on Aug. 4 (Greene to Balfour, Aug. 26, 1781, *PNG*, 9:249-51). Greene had not decided what his ultimate response would be. As a result, he put a moratorium on prisoner exchanges.

168. Here Greene was again repeating his permission to Marion to go to Harden’s support and to take the State Dragoons with him. See Hyrne to Marion, Aug. 18, 1781 above.

169. The intelligence of New York’s capture was false.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 20^h Aug^t 1781

S^r

I wrought you a few days past,¹⁷⁰ Inclosed a Letter of Col^o Hardens, & by the tennor I find if some assistance is not sent the Malatia in that part will be so Dispiritted as will be of the worst consequence, which Determin me to march to them (tho' I do not git any of the Cavildry of Horrys or Maham, which woud Insure me success) on Wednesday morning [Aug. 22] Leaving my foot under the Command of Col. Maham.

If you Approve of my going You will Let me know before that time, and if you wish any of the above Cavildry to go with me you will please send me a possitive Order to take them as they will not go without[.]¹⁷¹ I want only a Show of regular horse; Other Services I coud do without. You are too sensible of such adventages to say more.

The Enemy have had no movement since my last. I shall Leave a few men to keep up the Enemys Apprehension of my being Still in this post[;] make forced Marches too and from the S^oWard.¹⁷² Your answer will Oblige him who have the Honour to be

y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

NB I am told the Malitia under Col^o Harden is Dispersing, out of 400 men, the Last Acc^t he had not more than 200. Col^o Maham can furnish twenty Elegant horse & Equipt[.] Horry have fifteen here which I can Supply with swords.

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

170. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 16, 1781 above.

171. Greene had already responded to both requests in his Aug. 20, letter above.

172. Capt. George Cooper was part of Marion's plan to make a surprise march to aid Col. William Harden to the south. Cooper, leading a party of mounted militia, raided the area around Dorchester and Moncks corner, scattering the local Loyalist militia, driving off cattle, and taking prisoners. They suffered no casualties themselves. His actions provided the cover that Marion needed to ride south undetected, ultimately achieving a stunning victory over the Loyalists at Parker's Ferry. After the war Cooper served in the SC House from 1787-90. He was also a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790 (James, Marion, 54; *PNG*, 9:217n; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:152-53).

The Officers of the Army to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Camp, Southern Army, High Hills of Santee, August 20, 1781

The subscribers, commissioned officers serving in the Southern army, beg leave to represent to the Hon. Major Gen. Greene, that they are informed not only by current reports, but by official and acknowledged authority, that, contrary to express stipulations in the capitulation of Charlestown, signed the twelfth day of May, 1780, a number of very respectable inhabitants of that town and others were confined on board prison-ships, and sent to St. Augustine, and other places distant from their homes, families and friends. That notwithstanding the general cartel signed for exchange of prisoners in the Southern department, and agreed to the third of May last, several officers of militia and other gentlemen, subjects of the United States, have been and still are detained in captivity; that the commanding officer of the British troops in Charlestown, regardless of the principles, and even the express tenor of the said cartel, hath not only presumed to discriminate between the militia and other subjects of the United States prisoners of war, partially determining who were and who were not objects of exchange,¹⁷³ but hath even dared to execute, in the most ignominious manner, Col. Hayne, of the militia of the State of South Carolina, a gentleman amiable in character, respectable in his connexions, and of eminent abilities; and this violent act, as cruel as it was unnecessary and unjust, we are informed is attempted to be justified by the imputed crime of treason, founded upon the unfortunate sufferer's having, in circumstances peculiarly distressing, accepted of what is called a protection from the British government.¹⁷⁴

If every inhabitant of this country who, being bound by the tender ties of family connexions, and fettered by domestic embarrassments, is forced to submit to the misfortune of falling into the hands of the enemy, must therefore become a subject of such inhuman authority, and if such subjects are liable to be tried by martial law for offences against the said civil government of the British nation, their situation is truly deplorable; but we conceive forms of protection which are granted one day, and retracted, violated, disclaimed or deserted the next, can enjoin no such condition or obligation upon persons who accept them. We consider the citizens of America as independent of the government of Great Britain as those of Great Britain are of the United States, or of any other sovereign power, and think it just the severities and indulgences to prisoners of war ought to be reciprocal. We therefore, with submission beg leave to recommend that a strict enquiry be made into the several matters mentioned, and if ascertained, that you will be pleased to retaliate in the most effectual manner by a similar treatment of British subjects which are or may be in your power.

Permit us to add, that while we seriously lament the necessity of such a severe expedient, and commiserate the sufferings to which individuals will necessarily be exposed, we are not unmindful that such a measure may, in its consequences, involve our own lives in additional dangers; but we had rather forego temporary distinctions, and commit ourselves to the most desperate situations, than prosecute this just and necessary war upon terms so unequal and so dishonorable.¹⁷⁵

We are, sir, with the greatest regard, and most respectful sentiments of esteem,
Your most obedient and most humble servants,

Signed by all officers of the army.

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:128-30.

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173. Greene had protested the continued detention of certain officers in his letter to the British commandant of Charlestown, South Carolina, Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour of Aug. 26, 1781 (*PNG*, 9:217-18).
174. Balfour replied to these charges in his letter of Sep. 3, 1781. He related that the execution of Isaac Hayne on Aug. 4, had been ordered by both himself and Lord Rawdon, based on "the most express directions from Lord Cornwallis, to us, in regard to all those who shou'd be found in Arms after being at their own requests received as Subjects since the Capitulation of Charles Town, & the clear conquest of the Province, in the Summer of 1780." (Balfour to Greene, Sep. 3, 1780, *PNG*, 9:284).
175. Greene enclosed a copy of this petition with his letter of Sep. 2, 1781, to Thomas McKean, the President of Congress (Greene to McKean, Sep. 2, 1781, *PNG*, 9:218).

Maj. Edmund Hyrne to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters High Hills of Santee 21st August 1781

D^r General

Your favor is just come to hand¹⁷⁶ and General Greene desires me to answer it by informing you that he had written by Cap^t Davis desiring you to undertake the southern expedition immediately, and directing that all of Horry's and Mahams Dragoons that are equip'd should accompany you.¹⁷⁷ You will therefore be so obliging as to acquaint those Gentlemen that such is General Greene's particular direction.¹⁷⁸

I have the honor to be Dear General
your most obedient and humble servant

Edm. M. Hyrne

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

176. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 20, 1781 above.

177. The referenced letter is the letter from Greene to Marion, of Aug. 20, 1781, above.

178. In his letter of Aug. 20, 1781, above, Marion had asked Greene to issue orders to Horry and Maham to join him "If you Approve of my going You will Let me know before that time, and if you wish any of the above Cavildry to go with me you will please send me a possitive Order to take them as they will not go without[.]" Here Hyrne confirmed that this was Greene's intention and that Marion was authorized to convey those orders directly.

Maj. Micajah Ganey (British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Augt. 25th 1781.

Sir:

Agreeable to your letter, I grant the truce to Continue for Twelve Months Betwixt us, with this Restriction: The property taken by the British themselves & Confiscated about the Country, I cannot Engage to Restore, for that is out of my Power to do;¹⁷⁹ but the Articles I mean to Observe with diligence. I hope your honor will be so kind as to send me an Answer when you receive this, which Answer I hope to receive by the 8th of September Ensuing, as I hope we do not mean to take Advantage of each other, & your compliance will very much oblige.¹⁸⁰

Your hum servant,
Micajah Ganey, Major Militia

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

179. Col. Peter Horry, under orders from Marion, negotiated the original treaty with Ganey on Jun. 17, 1781, above. In this letter Ganey agreed to the maximum term of 12 months, in Article 5: "That these Articles of Agreement & Association shall Continue for three Months Certain, or for any longer time, not Exceeding Twelve Months." Ganey asked for a change in Article 4 of the treaty: "That property taken not in Action (but Plundered) on being proved by either party, shall be Restored." He objected that he had no control over the British Army, and therefore could not take responsibility for their actions, agreeing that he would, however, abide by the terms in cases where property had been taken by Loyalists.

180. Marion did respond to Ganey on Sep. 5, 1781 (not found), as acknowledged in Ganey's Sep. 8, 1781 letter to Marion, below.

PROCLAMATION

**By Nathanael Greene Esquire, Maj. Gen^l.
commanding the American army In the Southern Department**

Whereas on the fourth day of the present month Colonel Isaac Haynes [sic], commanding a Regiment of Militia in the Service of the United States was Captured by A party of British Troops and After a Rigorous Confinement in the Provost in Charles Town most cruelly and unjustifiably condemned & Executed in open violation of the Cartel agreed on between the Commanders of the two armies for the relief And exchange of prisoners of war;¹⁸¹ and whereas it is no less the duty than the Inclination[sic] of the Army to resent every violence offered to the good citizens of America and disclaim those distinctions set up for discriminating between different orders of men found in arms in Support of the Independence of the United States; And as those violences are intended to deter the good people from acting Agreeable to their political interest And private inclinations, and as the mode of trial and punishment which follow those discriminations Are no less opposite to the spirit of the British Constatution than the[y] are an Unwarrantable attack Upon the Laws of Humanity & the rights of the free Citizens of these United States I have thought fit to Issue this my proclamation Expressly declaring it to be my intention to retaliate for all such unhuman[sic] insults As often as they may occur, and whereas the Enemy seem willing to Expose the few deluded Inhabitants who adhere to Their interests if they can but have the opportunity of Sacrificing the Many who appear in Support of our cause, I do further declare it my intention to make british regular officers, and not those deluded inhabitants who have joined their army, Subjects of retaliation. But while I am determined to resent every insult that may be Offered to the Citizens of the United States for Supporting their independence, I can not But regret the necessity of appealing to measures so hurtfull to the feelings of Humanity and so Contrary to those liberal Principles on which I would choose to Carry on the war¹⁸²--

Given at Head Quarters at Camden the 26th. day of August 1781 In the Sixth year of American independence.

By the Generals
Nath. Greene (signature)
Command

[Also signed]
W^m. Pierce, j^r.
Aid & Sec^y.

ADS (University of Amsterdam), Diederichs-Collection.

181. Hayne was actually captured on Jul. 7, 1781 and executed on Aug. 4.

182. Greene's proclamation was printed as a broadside and reprinted in a number of newspapers. Greene never actually retaliated against British prisoners, despite numerous threats to do so. See Greene's letter to Marion of Aug. 10, above. The publication of this proclamation was likely delayed until the American command could guarantee the safe return of 62 Charlestown residents being held in St. Augustine, Florida. Nevertheless, Greene hoped his threat to retaliate would prevent future executions by the British. This tactic turned out to be effective, and may have saved the lives of a number of American officers, including Capt. Postell, who survived the war and his captivity despite the charges against him being essentially the same as those against Hayne (PNG, 9:252-53n).

Battle of Parker's Ferry

Aug. 30, 1781

Marion's letter to Greene of Aug. 16, 1781, above, continued the ongoing dialogue between the two about sending reinforcements to augment his militia who were outnumbered in the area around Parker's Ferry. As early as Aug. 10, 1781, above, Greene asked Marion to let him know whether he could assist Col. William Harden, who commanded the Granville militia in the area south of Charlestown. Harden sent word to South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge to report increased Loyalist foraging activity. He had apparently intercepted an Aug. 12 letter from Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour in which Balfour informed Col. Alexander Stewart that all available British dragoons had been dispatched "to the Southward getting Provisions Rice &^{ca}."¹⁸³

Harden had sent earlier requests for assistance, as noted in his Aug. 15, 1781 letter to Marion, above. Perhaps, as a means of motivating Marion to aid Harden or simply to reorganize the militia after Sumter took leave following the debacle at Shubrick's Plantation, Gov. Rutledge informed Marion that he would talk to Sumter about Marion taking command of the "Lower Regiment," of which Harden's militia was a part.¹⁸⁴

Marion finally headed south on Aug. 22, 1781, with a force of about 215 men, a combination of his own mounted militia and Peter Horry's SC State cavalry regiment. Marion made a wide circle to the west to avoid Loyalist troops and maintain some element of surprise. He marched 100 miles, meeting Harden, who was ill at the time, at Round O. Harden's militia had not been called out, but he had sent Maj. Charles Harden and 80 militia with Marion. On Aug. 26, Marion moved about 12 miles south to the Horse Shoe, where he waited until Col. William Stafford¹⁸⁵ and 150 militia arrived, swelling his force to over 400 riders.¹⁸⁶

Marion made preliminary sorties to ambush or draw out the British, but none were successful. The ferry at the Edisto River was too strongly fortified, with a force of over 500 men, including Maj. Thomas Fraser and his SC Royalist dragoons. By Aug. 29, 1781, the two combatants were still jockeying for position. Marion followed the British to Isaac Hayne's Plantation. Then on Aug. 30, 1781, Marion set a trap on the causeway heading eastward to Parker's Ferry, hiding his men in the adjacent swamp. He sent Maj. Samuel Cooper¹⁸⁷ and 60 dragoons with orders to attack the rear of the approaching enemy once the firing had begun. William Dobein James described the action:

When sufficiently near he [Marion] drew up his men in a swamp upon the road near Parker's ferry, and sent out some of his swiftest horse to lead the British into the ambushade. While lying there a small party of Tories crossed at the ferry, and in passing on one of them called out that he saw a white feather, and fired his gun. This occasioned an exchange of a few shots on both sides; but (as is supposed) it was thought by Major Fraser, who commanded the British, to be only Harden's party that was in the swamp; he pursued the horsemen sent out as a decoy, and led his corps in full charge within forty or fifty yards parallel to the ambushade. A deadly fire from the swamp was the first notice he had that a greater force than Harden's was there. He attempted to wheel and charge into the swamp, but only exposed his men the more, as they were thus delayed before the fire, and were wedged up on a causeway so closely that every shot had its utmost effect. Finding all his

183. Greene to Henderson, Aug. 12, 1781, *PNG*, 9:169-70

184. Gibbs, *Documentary History*, 2: 124.

185. William Stafford served as a captain, lieutenant colonel, and colonel in the Lower Granville County regiment from 1779-82. At the end of Aug. 1781 when Gen. Marion rode south to provide support for Col. William Harden's militia, Col. Stafford joined Marion at the Horse Shoe with 150 men. Stafford fought with Marion at the Battle of Parker's Ferry, after which Marion's Orderly Book noted, "Genl Marion returns his thanks to Colo Stafford, Ervin, and Horry & the Officers & men of their Division for their Spirited and good Behaviour in the Action of Yesterday." Stafford was wounded at the battle. [Click here for a brief bio of William Stafford.](#)

186. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 235-38.

187. Samuel Cooper served as a major in the militia from 1779 to 1781. At Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30, 1781, Cooper was posted with 60 dragoons to attack the British rear once the ambush commenced. Inexplicably, Cooper strayed too far from the battle line and failed to get into the fight. Cooper left the area and returned to Marion's camp at Peyre's Plantation in St. Stephens Parish. (Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, *PNG*, 9:288-91; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 199)

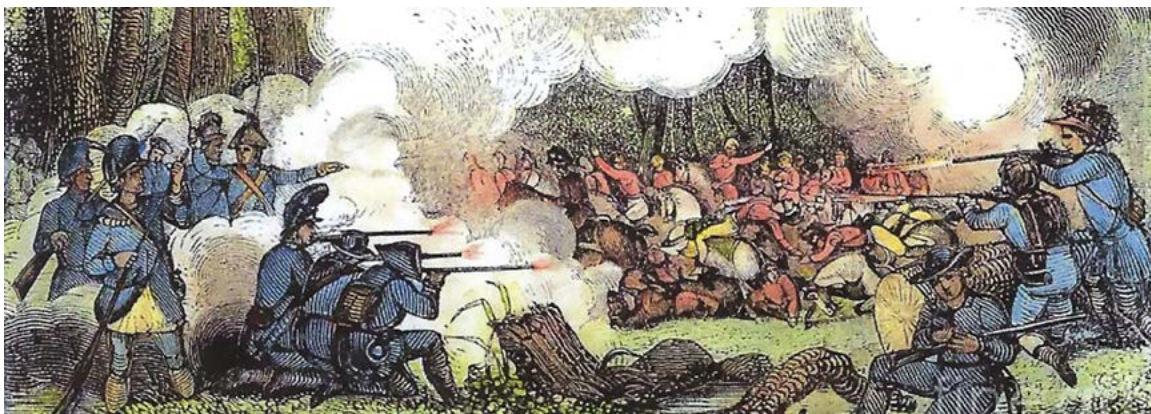
efforts ineffectual, Fraser at length retreated along the road to the ferry, and thus passed the whole ambushade.¹⁸⁸

As stated in Marion's letter of Sep. 3, 1781, below, his men fired at Fraser's dragoons from a near point-blank distance of 40 yards, pouring in three volleys before the Loyalists could re-group and head back down the causeway. As related by James, Fraser's cavalry was devastated. The arrival of British and Hessian infantry along with a cannon cut short Marion's control of the battle site. After exchanging fire with the enemy, including cutting down the entire artillery company, the Americans triumphantly withdrew.

Lt. Stephen Jarvis of the SC Royalist dragoons, who led the charge, had this to say about the ambush:

We proceeded as far as the Combahee (South Carolina) River. This was a foraging party to procure rice, etc., for the hospitals, and after completing the object intended we commenced our march back and we halted at Colonel Haines' Plantation the night after he was brought home and buried in his garden. I saw his grave. In the afternoon of the next day we left his plantation, and as we had got intelligence that General Marion was collecting a body of Troops to give us annoyance on our route, the order of march was changed, the Infantry and Artillery in front, and the Cavalry in the rear. We marched in this order until we came to a long swamp, a mile or so from Parker's Ferry, when we heard some few shots in front, and Major Fraser ordered the Cavalry to advance, and seeing some Troops at a long distance off, and supposing them to be the enemy, charged over this long causeway and fell into an ambushade, laid by the enemy, and we received the most galling fire ever Troops experienced.

We only saw the flash of the pieces the enemy was so complete hid from our view, and we had only to push forward men and horses falling before and behind. We lost one hundred twenty-five killed and a great many wounded, and the enemy retired without the loss of a man. All our Artillery were killed or wounded before they could bring their guns to bear upon the enemy — we halted at Parker's Ferry that night, dropped our wounded, and the next morning collected our dead and buried them, and then proceeded on our route until we reached Dorchester without any molestation from the enemy.¹⁸⁹



Engraving of Francis Marion defeating Major Fraser at Parker's Ferry, South Carolina. Public Domain.

When Marion wrote a postmortem on the action in a September 3, 1781, letter to Greene, below, he proudly recounted the actions leading up to and during the ambush at Parker's Ferry. He also lamented the failures of Maj. Cooper of his militia and Maj. Harden of the Granville militia, asserting that "Had Maj^r Harden with his Div[ision]

188. James, *Francis Marion*, 69-70.

189. Col. Stephen C. Jarvis, "Revealing the Life of the Loyalists who Refused to Renounce their Allegiance to the King and Fought to Save the Western Continent to the British Empire," *Journal of American History* (Excerpt), 1, no. 3 (1907):728.

& Maj^r Cooper with the Cavaldry Obey'd O<rders,> It is probable the Greatest part if not th<e wh>ole must have been Destroy'd or taken, but <the> first never fired a Gun & the Second was not in sight by which means I Lost above one third of my force & in the two most material points."

Marion's losses were one killed and three wounded. British losses, on the other hand, were substantial: 125 killed and 80 wounded. In addition to the dead and wounded, the British had lost a significant number of cavalry horses. The losses at Parker's Ferry were so damaging to the British cavalry that its effectiveness was significantly limited in the Battle of Eutaw Springs, eight days later.¹⁹⁰

190. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 182-85.

Gen. Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Orders near Jenkins Ferry 31st Aug^t 1781 –

Gen^l Marion returns his thanks to Col^o Stafford,¹⁹¹ Ervin and Horry & the Officers & men of their Division for their Spirited and good Behaviour in the Action of Yesterday. Had they been Assisted by the Officer of the cavalry And the night Division agreeable to Orders, he is Sertain that Very few of the Enemy would have Escaped¹⁹² –

A Return of the Killed & wounded in the action At Parkers ferry the 30th Aug^t 1781 –
Col^o Staffords reg^t three privates wounded & one Killed

The Loss of the Enemy, 18 men Killed & one negro taken
23 horses d^o and five wounded and Seven taken –

Maj^r Frazer¹⁹³ wounded & Cap^t [Archibald] Campbell,¹⁹⁴ by the best accounts they had Eighty men wounded

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 694.

191. William Stafford served as a captain, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel in the Lower Granville County Militia Regiment from 1779-82. He was wounded at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 31, 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 889).

192. In his letter to Greene of Aug. 20, 1781, above, Marion requested orders to ride to South Carolina militia Col. William Harden's assistance in the Beaufort area. As noted in Greene's response via Maj. Edmund Hyrne of Aug. 21, 1781 above, the general was very supportive of the proposed movement. In a classical guerilla action on Aug. 22, 1781, Gen. Marion rode undetected from his base at Peyre's Plantation on the Santee River to join Col. Harden. Harden was unable to enter the field due to illness, but sent Maj. Charles Harden to assist Marion. Col. Stafford joined Marion at the Horseshoe, presumably the plantation of Capt. William Clay Snipes, who had ridden with Marion prior to being given permission to raise and command an independent company of his own troop earlier in the year. After four attempts to engage the British, on Aug. 30, 1781 Marion ambushed the South Carolina Royalist dragoons under the command of Maj. Thomas Fraser, the British officer who had captured South Carolina militia Col. Isaac Hayne.

193. Maj. Thomas Fraser was injured when his horse fell after being shot and the rest of his cavalry rode over him. Capt. Archibald "Mad Archy" Campbell was wounded twice at Parker's Ferry. Both recovered, but Campbell was killed at Videau's Bridge in Jan. 1782, as he attempted to escape capture. See footnote 194 below.

194. In June, Archibald Campbell, commanding the SC Royalists and the Queen's Rangers, attacked William Clay Snipes's Plantation. The Loyalists surprised Snipes, killing 18, some possibly after they had surrendered. Capt. Campbell was at Parker's Ferry and was also in the action at Garden's Plantation in December, where a small force of Loyalist cavalry commanded by Maj. John Coffin captured Capt. James Armstrong of Lee's Legion. Campbell fought his last battle at Videau's Bridge at the beginning of Jan. 1782, where he commanded the vanguard of the cavalry. Joseph Johnson wrote of him: "Of Mad Archy, or Mad Campbell, we know nothing, except while the British occupied Charleston; we believe that this appellation was given him by his brother officers" (Clark, *Loyalists*, 2:510; Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 67-69). [Click here for a brief bio of Archibald Campbell.](#)

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camden, September 1st, 1781

D^r. Sir,

I have appointed Capt. Richardson¹⁹⁵ to procure Indigo¹⁹⁶ & Specie for public use, & request that you will Give him every assistance in your power to Aid him in this business; & if he should want an Escort or any Military Aid, you will be pleased to furnish him with what he may Require.

I am, D^r. Sir,

Your Most obdt servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

195. Captain William Richardson was commissary of military stores for the South Carolina state troops (*PNG*, 12:223n).

196. Indigo, the plant from which was extracted prized blue dye, was as good as money for the debt-ridden state. In addition, it was a crop that could be cultivated in the back country and after the plants were processed on the farm, it was a light and compact dye that could readily be exported, unlike bulk commodities like rice and salt, which were also needed by the Patriots for subsistence.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ackermans, September 1st, 1781

Sir,

You will put your men in two Divisions, the 1st. to serve one month & be relieved by the second¹⁹⁷ Such men who are to serve should not be Given leave of absence on any account whatsoever, Except Sickness. You will punish any man who shall take, destroy, or waiste any provisions, & such men who may be found spoiling the property of any persons, must be taken up and prosecuted as felons. Every man who refuses Serving when called upon must be deemed an Enemy, & taken prisoner & sent to the British, & a receipt taken for them, & must not be permitted to return. their property must be taken Care of for the Use of the State, and no part suffered to be Conveyed away on any pretence whatever. Such private men which the enemy have Parolled without the faith of an Officer & a Receipt Taken is Void & they are Liberated by the Cartel, & if such men Refuse to take Arms & do this Duty when Called on, must be an Enemy & must be Dealt with Accordingly. Any person who goes to Town or the Enemy without a permit from you or an officer, must be treated as Carrying Intelligence to the Enemy & suffer Accordingly. any woman who will go to Town or in the Enemy's post without leave must not be permitted to return. Severe Examples must be made of all negroes who Carry any provisions of any kind, Aid or Assist or carry any Intelligence to or for the Enemy--agreeable to the Laws of this State all such negroes shall suffer Death. I Recommend that particular attention be paid to the saving of provisions, & forage must not be Given to any man for more than two Horses (Except field Officers) who may be allowed to forage for three, & the Commanding Officer of the Brigade or Division is allowed six Rations. Whenever the Enemy March in your District in force you will Call out the whole of your Militia to Oppose them & if too weak you will Let me know & I will March to your Assistance. You will appoint Justices of the peace in every district Immediately.

I am Sir,

Your hum Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

197. Previously, only a third of the militia could be legally called out at one time. When the British threatened Charlestown in early 1780, the Legislature gave Gov. Rutledge more extensive powers by way of a Feb. 3, 1780 act entitled "An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly" (Robert Barnwell Jr., "Rutledge, the Dictator," Vol. 7, No. 2 (May, 1941), 215-224). Here, by organizing the militia into two divisions, Rutledge was clearly in violation of that act. In Jun. 1781, Marion called out his entire brigade to march to Ninety Six. In this instance, Marion violated two elements of the act. See Sumter to Marion, Jun. 9, above.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camden, Sep. 2^d, 1781.

D^r Sir,

Upon over looking the List of Persons who addressed Genl. Clinton after the surrender of Ch^s. Town I find the name of Benjamin Tucker,¹⁹⁸ pray is this the person mentioned in D^r. [William Alexander] Hyrnes letter to you,¹⁹⁹ which the Heriots brought up to me some time ago with a letter from you²⁰⁰ If so, His Case is Extremely different from what it was Represented to me, so much so indeed that I can scarcely beleave the persons are the same I therefore suspend Giving any orders about him untill this matter is Ascertained; & request to know from you per first opportunity whether this is the man who signed the Address or was the Addressor some other person of the same Name

I am, Sir

Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

198. The name Benjamin Tucker is not contained on the official list of those who presented a congratulatory address, dated Jun. 5, 1780, to Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot as a result of the successful siege of Charlestown. (Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:630) Tucker was, however, listed in an enclosure to Clinton's letter to Cornwallis, describing the address (Clinton to Cornwallis, Jun. 8, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers 1780-1781*, 1:67-68; Subscribers to the address, Jun. 5, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:68-70).

199. Dr. William Alexander Hyrne of Charlestown married Sarah Marion Mitchell, the daughter of Marion's sister Esther by her second husband Thomas Mitchell (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 2:51-58).

200. Neither the letter from Dr. Hyrne nor the letter from Marion have been found.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, in his absence to Col. Horry or the officer commanding at George Town.

Camden, Sep. 2^d, 1781.

D^r Sir,

I understand there is at George Town a M^r. William Wayne who I find was one of the Addressers to Clinton after the surrender of Ch^s. Town, & that he has brought a Quantity of Goods from thence with which he is Trading at George Town.²⁰¹ I really am amazed at the Impudence of these people, to dare, after such an Atrocious Act, to come out & reside amongst us, without making their Application to proper Authority, & knowing whether they would be Received or not; as if they had really been Guilty of no Offence whatever, tho, in my opinion, they have Acted in the most Criminal Manner. For my part I dont desire to have any of them with us, & will not receive any of them, for I should not beleave them to be sincere, even if they pretended to Conversion. They only came out to serve their own or the Enemy's purpose; & even if they be sincere, I woud not have them, for we can do very well without them. Every one of us should Loose all his property for such Infamous Conduct. I therefore desire that you will immediately have this M^r. Wayne taken & sent up to me, under a proper Guard, & that you will make the Necessary Inquiries, & having discovered what property he has with him, or which may be come at, take the whole of it,²⁰² Let it Consist of what 'ever' it may, Money, Goods, Negroes, Boats, or any other Articles whatever, & send to me all such as may be recovered, hither, & dispose of all the Rest for the Public Account, be pleased to Inform me per safe hand Quickly what is the Result of your Conduct in Consequence of this Order.²⁰³

I am, Sir,
Your hum. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

201. William Wayne was not on Clinton's original list, as it appeared in the *South Carolina Royal Gazette* of Mar. 20, 1781. *Richard Wayne*, however, was added to the later confiscation list and Rutledge was most likely confused about which Wayne to which he referred. Richard Wayne served in the Charlestown Militia Regiment under Capts. Richard Lushington and James Bentham during 1778. He was captured at his plantation on Goose Creek by the British in 1780. He received his parole on condition that he report for duty with the British army when called upon. He then migrated to Savannah, GA. In 1782 Wayne was added to the confiscation list. When Wayne and Dr. James Lynah were ordered to be confined as Loyalists, Marion interceded with Gov. Mathews, writing, "I wish to Inform Your Excellcy. that the above Gentlm. has for some time past render the Public most Essential Services & rund the risk of their Lives in so doing, had it not been for them My Situation with the troops under my Command woud been very Critical & Dangerous, they Several times prevented the Enemy from taking Advantage of my Situation & Strength, by a timely notice Given." With Marion's intercession Wayne successfully petitioned to have his name removed from the confiscation list in 1784. Instead, his property was amerced 12%. According to William Swinton's letter to Marion of Oct. 9, below, it appears that *William Wayne* served as a factor for the Patriots. Although no explanation is extant concerning how Gov. Rutledge was mis-informed about Wayne, it is apparent that the issue was cleared up, since William Wayne continued to serve as an agent for the South Carolina government. See letters, all below: Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 24, 1781, Marion to Horry, Mar. 20, 1782, Marion to Horry, Apr. 12, 1782, Mathews to Marion, Apr. 15, 1782; and Capers to Marion, Nov. 16, 1782 (*South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1781; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 973; Marion to Mathews, Dec. 21, 1782, ALS (PHi), Simon Gratz Collection; Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:631, 633, 635).
202. In lieu of a functioning legislative body or judiciary in South Carolina at this time, as the British controlled much of the State, Gov. Rutledge (in exile) had been granted broad powers, by the South Carolina General Assembly in its Feb. 3, 1780 Ordinance No. 1140. Gov. Rutledge had by this time acquired the derogatory nickname "Dictator John." Although there were statutory limitations on use of the militia, short of executing a white citizen without trial, individual rights were subject to Gov. Rutledge's good judgment, and he could, and frequently did, order private property confiscated at his direction, as he did here. Gov. Rutledge continued to use Marion as the sounding board for his evolving thoughts on what to do about South Carolina Loyalists, as Greene continued to force the British back into a handful of enclaves. In a second letter of this date, below, he reiterated this punitive approach in the case of Mr. Wayne. He softened his hardline stance somewhat later in the month when he issued a proclamation on Sep. 27, 1781, below, "offering to pardon those who had taken British protection and had not returned to state allegiance, on Condition they surrender within thirty days and perform six months service in the militia." (Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:504; Barnwell, "Dictator," 217, 221).
203. No response from Marion has been found.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camden, September 3^d, 1781.

Sir,

On full consideration of the Matter, I think Justice to our friends, whose wives and families the Enemy have sent out of the State, & policy, Require that we should send into the Enemy's Lines the wives & families of all such men as are now with and Adhere to the Enemy. I Lament the distresses which many Innocent women & Children may probably Suffer by this Measure; but they must follow the fate of their husbands & parents, & blame can only be Imputed to them & to the British Commanders, whose Conduct on the principles of Retaliation, justifies this Step, which, all Circumstances considered, is an Indispensable one. You will therefore Give the Necessary orders for Enforcing this Measure within the district of your Brigade, without delay or Exception.²⁰⁴ I am much dissatisfied with the present allotment of the several Brigades in this State, & think a fourth might be formed to the Southward,²⁰⁵ & that the other three might be better divided. I wish you would Consider this matter well, & Give me your sentiments as soon as Convenient on the best manner of Establishing four Brigades. I also request that you will furnish me as soon as you Can have it made out, with an Accurate Alphabetical List of all persons having property within your Brigade [district] who come under the following heads or description, distinguishing which heads they Respectively fall under, viz:

1st. Such as have held or hold British Commissions, remarking what the Commission is.

2^d. Such as have Gone over & Adhere to the British Government, or whose Conduct has Manifested them to be Notorious & Dangerous Enemies to their Country.

3^d. British Subjects residing abroad.²⁰⁶

[I am, Sir,
Your hum. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge]

N.B. Please send off an express immediately to Colo. Harden, with the enclosed.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

204. Following up his comments in the letter of Sep. 2, 1781, above, Gov. Rutledge decided to retaliate against Loyalists by forcing them and their families to go to British-held territory. Note that in neither of these letters did Rutledge provide a process for rehabilitating repentant Loyalists. Such a process was elaborated on in yet another proclamation on Sep. 27, below.

205. The specifics surrounding Gov. Rutledge's dissatisfaction regarding the "several Brigades" is not certain. The three militia brigades operational at that time were commanded by South Carolina militia Gens. Francis Marion, Andrew Pickens, and William Henderson, acting for Gen. Thomas Sumter. Subsequently, a fourth militia brigade was formed, encompassing the militia district south of Charlestown, and awarded to Col. William Harden. Although from the standpoint of seniority and track record, Harden was the logical choice, Gov. Rutledge was partial to Col. John Barnwell to serve as its commander. Barnwell had returned to South Carolina after being exchanged in Jun. 1781. Rutledge did not make his decision on a commander until Nov. 1781. See Rutledge to Greene, Nov. 1, 1781 in *PNG*, 9:516-17.

206. The list is not extant, but it may have served, in 1782, as a blueprint for identifying men to be included on the lists developed subsequent to the passage of "An Act for Disposing of Certain Estates, and Banishing Certain Persons Therein Mentioned." (Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:516-23; 6:629-32).

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene*²⁰⁷**

S^t Stephens 3^d Sept 1781

Sr

In my last I Acquainted You of my Intentions to march for the S^o Ward to assist Col^o [William] Harden on the 22^d Aug^t I sett out & the next day I arrived at the Round O, where I expected [to] make a Junction with the Col^o but found him very sick, & his troops not Collected.²⁰⁸ I halted the 24th, next day marched to the Horse Shoe; the twenty sixth at night I was joined by Col^o [William] Stafford with one hund^d fifty men & Major Harden [William Harden, Jr.] with Eighty, which made me four hundred men.²⁰⁹ The 27th I crossed the great Swamp the head of Ashepo, & Encamped within five miles of the Enemy at Middleton's plant^{on} on the South of Godfrey Savana[.]²¹⁰ The day before I Detached Col Hugh Horry to Chehaw where I was informed was three schooners taking in rice with a Guard of thirty men but unluckily they heard of my Approach & went down the river the day before.²¹¹ I sent out partys to recon[o]iter the Enemy who found them in post too strong to make any Attempt on them.²¹² Their force by All the Intelligence I could get consist of One hundred & Eighty Hessians & one hundred fifty British; one hundred & thirty Toreys and Eighty horse under Maj^r Frazier [Thomas Fraser] all of the Queens Rangers.²¹³ I was Determin to take all Advantages of situation, the Causeway at Godfrey Savanna was a good one, & I placed a guard there (my whole body Lay about two miles from it) with orders to Defend that pass untill I could come up.

That night [of the] 27th about twelve OClock my patrols met the Enemy two miles from this pass coming down, & before I could get my troops in motion the Guard Quitted their post without fire a Gun & the Enemy past it, & proceed to M^r Heyrne's [Edmund M. Hyrne's] Plantⁿ near the fish ponds.²¹⁴ The 28th in the morning I marched after them & found the post too Advantageous to Attempt them there. I drew up in a wood in sight of them & some few Shotts past between my r[e]coineters & their picquets, they had two men wounded. A party of their horse came out, but a few Shots sent them back with the Loss of one horse. I remaine[d] several hours finding that nothing was to be done I retired to my Camp. They Immediatly marched to Ashepo; the 29th they pass the river & marched to Col^o [Isaac] Hayne's Plantⁿ. I at the sa[me] time passed the fish ponds five miles above Ashepo & encampt within three [miles] of them. The 30th I went below them & formed an Ambuscade in a thick wood Within a mile of Parkers Ferry within forty yards of the road which the Enemy must come, here I was Informed of upwards of one hundred toreys under a Col. [William?] Cuninghame from Dorchester & Stono Laying on the banks of the river at Parkers Ferry waiting for L^t Col^o De Bennin who Comman[d]ed the Enemys force. My right Division of about Eighty men was Commanded by Maj^r [Harden] who I orderd to retire one hundred yards from the Line, & to march up when the firing began on the left; my Swordsmen of Sixty horse I sent under Maj^r [Samuel] Cooper to fall in the rear of the Enemy

207. Note on transcription, as per PNG: "Marion's letter has been heavily edited by another hand, which appears to be that of Greene's aide Edmund M. Hyrne. The edited version was the one that Greene sent as an official "report" to Congress with his letter to President Thomas McKean of Sep. 5, 1781. The changes are discussed in the notes that follow. There is also a hole in the LS, and some words and parts of words are missing. The missing portions were taken from a copy of the letter in DNA: PCC, item 155, 2:309, and appear in angle brackets." All transcription notes in italics below are from the PNG editors (PNG, 9:291n).

208. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 20, 1781, above. Hyrne circled "Intentions" and wrote above it "being ready." Here, circling a word likely meant that it was to be eliminated or replaced. Hyrne also indicated that "the support of" was to be used in place of "assist." He added the period after "Harden," used "began my march" instead of "sett out," and deleted an "I" before "arrived at."

209. Hyrne indicated that "our numbers" was to be substituted for "me" and that "men" was to be deleted.

210. Hyrne added the period here.

211. The phrase "the day before" is circled, and written above it is the phrase: "before the party arrived there." In response to requests from Col. William Harden, and with the urging of both Greene and Rutledge, Marion marched to Harden's aid South of Charlestown. Marion and Harden disrupted British attempts to carry off rice (See Greene to Marion, Aug. 10, 1781, and Hyrne to Marion, Aug. 18, 1781, both above). In his letter to Henry Lee on Aug. 12, 1781, Greene wrote, "I got intelligence day before yesterday of the enemies being out towards the Salketchers upon Ponpon, covering a number of Schooners employed in taking off the Rice, and I ordered General [Francis] Marion if he found his force competent to the business to march immediately to the relief of Col [William] Harden." (Greene to Lee, Aug. 12, 1781, PNG, 9:170).

212. Hyrne indicated that "on them" was to be eliminated.

213. Marion presumably meant that the "Eighty horse" belonged to the Queen's Rangers. This view is strengthened by Hyrne's editing, which eliminated the word "all."

214. The opening of this sentence was edited to read: "The night of the 27th." Hyrne also added a superscript "g" to "fire." From this point, the letter is heavily edited to make the chronology of events clearer and the text more grammatical.

to Draw their Attention that way & to follow them whenever they moved, & to keep in sight, with possitive orders to Charge their Enemys rear at all hazards, as soon the firing became Generall. Here I waited untill sunsett when part of the toreyes from the ferry came on which I Intended shoud pass, but they discovered one of my men & Challenged, not Answering[,] they fired, & I could not restrain the men longer they returned it which made them immediately return back on the spur. I sent a few horse after them which rund them a Cross the river. The Enemy hearing the fire & being on their way down Immediatly sent their Cavalry to resque them & came on full speed, & receved the fire of the whole Line Runing The Gauntlet through them. The Infantry Immedia[tely] Appeared before us & a heavy fire Insued which Continued for Some time, but unluckily some Villains Cryed out they ware flankings on the right & penetrating the wood[;] they immediatly broke & while We ware rallying them & forming the secon[d] Line in front of the horses, which was piquetted two hundred yards from the first line[,] the Enemy took that Oppertunity, carry off their field p^s & wounded & retreated on a trot, Leaving twenty men & twenty three horses Dead on the spott. We Immediatly marched up to the road, & took possession of the Ground & remained three hours, but my people having been without provisions for 24 hours I retired two miles to refresh them. Early on the next morning I sent a party to Burry the Dead, but the Enemy coming up with their field p^s & a superior force[,] they withdrew. I have the pleasure of inform[ing] you that Col^o Stafford who sustained <the heaviest> fire & Col^o [John] Ervin & Horry behaved Like the Sons <of> Liberty, & Had Maj^r Harden with his Div[ision] & Maj^r Cooper with the Cavaldry Obey'd O<rdrs,> It is probable the Greatest part if not th<e wh>ole must have been Destroy'd or taken, but <the> first never fired a Gun & the Second was not in sight by which means I Lost above one third of my force & in the two most material points.

The Enemy lost no time, passing the river & A party Sent after <them found a number of horses dead> & wounded on the road, Amounting to forty in the whole. Three only was not Dragoon horses which was known by the Brand CLD. All of them Capital horses[.] A man who they took from the ferry & Carry'd some miles Give an Account of fifty men being badly wounded & many others which I think cannot be Less than Eighty in the whole. Captⁿ Campbell was wounded in the Arm & thigh[;] Maj^r Frazier had his horse killed and his whole Cavalray rode over him & is greatly Bruised.

I stayd the 31st to give some Orders to Col^o Harden, & put that part of the Country in a better & more regular way of Doing their Duty, & on the 1st Inst. at 11 OClock I Left the Round O, & marched forty two miles that night. Yesterday I arrived here, & found the Enemy at Eutaw. As soon as my horses are a little recovered from their fatigue, I shall Indeavour to Annoy them.²¹⁵

I have the Honour to be with respect
Your Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

LS (PNG: DLC), PNG, 9:288-91.

215. On Sep. 4, below, Hyrne sent orders to Marion to join Greene; in a letter to Marion [of Sep. 5, 1781], below, Greene responded to Marion's report of his southern expedition.

Maj. Edmund Hyrne to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Mottes, Sep^t 4th 1781

Dear General

General Greene desires me to inform you that he is collecting his force and means to march from hence tomorrow to attack the enemy. He wishes to be join'd by you, and [for] that purpose M^r Lewis Thompson is to be [w]ith a flat to accomodate your passage, [a]t the Widow Richardsons,²¹⁶ by Thursday [Sep 6] morning in the neighborhood of which place expects that the junction may be formed. The General [b]egs that you will not fail to be at the [pl]ace in time as the army will move [in] expectation of it.²¹⁷ He also desires me to congratulate you on your success at the southward.

I have the honor &c

E M Hyrne

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216. The Widow Richardson was the wife of the late Brig. Gen. Richard Richardson, who had died in Sep. 1780. Their home, near Wright's Bluff just north of the Santee had also played an important role in Tarleton's pursuit of Marion in Nov. 1780. See Marion to Gates, Nov. 9, 1780, above (*PNG*, 9:293).

217. See Greene to Marion, Sep. 6, 1781, below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters Mabricks Creek, 6 Miles below Col Thomsons Sept 5th 1781

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your report yesterday of your southern expedition.²¹⁸ Your exertions and success upon that occasion reflects the highest honor upon your command and I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks and such of the troops under you as merit your approbation for their gallant behaviour[.] Your success will be of very great importance and nothing could have happened more seasonably as it will check the progress of the enemy and confirm the Militia in their attachment. The report will be forwarded to Congress and inclosed is a copy of the General orders of the day upon the occasion.²¹⁹

I desird Major Hyrne to inform you of the enemies having retird from Col Thomsons to Nelsons Ferry and of our intention to attack them there, and to desire you to cross the river at the Widow Richardson where Boats will be provided to expedite your passage.²²⁰ I beg you will please to form a junction with us as soon as possible; and with our collective force I think we can give a good account of them.²²¹ It was my intention to have attacked the enemy at Thomsons, but they retird from there with great precipitation.²²² Since which I am told they are reinforced, otherwise I should not wait your arrival. Should the enemy retire from Nelsons Ferry to Monks Corner or Fair lawn you will give me intelligence thereof; and you need not March up to form a junction with us.

With the greatest esteem and regard

I am dear sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:298-99.

218. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781 above.

219. On this date Greene also wrote Thomas McKean, President of the Continental Congress, explaining that Marion had been “dispatched on a secret expedition towards Ponpon.” His efforts merited “the highest encomiums for his good conduct, Judgment, and personal bravery.” (Greene to McKean, Sep. 5, 1781, PNG, 9:299). Greene’s general orders mentioned that Marion had reported his victory against the British “near Parker Ferry on Ponpon River” on Aug. 30, 1781. Marion’s force “attacked & beat upward of three hundred British & Hessians, Eight Dragoons & a considerable Body of Tories, Killing twenty Men & woundg above Eight.” They also killed or captured forty horses (General Greene’s Orders, Sep. 5, 1781, PNG, 9:298).

220. See Hyrne to Marion, Sep. 4, 1781.

221. Marion’s troops joined Greene on Sep. 7, 1781 just before the Battle of Eutaw Springs.

222. British Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart informed Cornwallis that a lack of supplies had forced him to fall back from McCord’s Ferry (i.e. Ft. Motte), downstream toward Eutaw Springs (Stewart to Cornwallis, Sep. 19, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:166-67; PNG, 9:299n).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Mrs. Mottes]²²³ Sept^r. 6th 1781

D^r Sir,

In the words, “Send the wives & Families of those who are with & Adhere to the Enemy in to them,” you’ll understand my meaning to be, that they be sent into Charles Town, & Give Orders Accordingly,²²⁴ be pleased to send the Inclosed (which Contains a similar Explanation of the Orders to Colo. Harden on that subject) to him Immediately by a Trusty person, in haste.

Yours, &c.,

J. Rutledge.

The following paper found Inclosed in the above (Supposed written by Gov^r. Rutledge)²²⁵

1st. When did you begin & what methods did you take to form a party; what public Measures increased & what decreased your force?

2^d. How did you get Ammunition & how Support your troops?

3^d. What are the particulars of your late Action, the Prisoners & of your leaving the State after the battle of & of your return to it?

4th. How defend yourself against the Enemy?

5th. What are the methods taken by the British to annihilate your force; House burnings & murders how many on both sides?

6th. What particular Expeditions have you Undertaken when alone, & your force when Co-operating, & your numbers at different times?

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

223. Location inferred. Rutledge and Greene both wrote letters from this location on this date.

224. In his letter of Sep. 3, 1781 above, Rutledge had directed Marion to “send into the Enemy’s Lines the wives & families of all such men as are now with and Adhere to the Enemy.” Rutledge expressed his belief that the action was necessary as “Justice to our friends, whose wives and families the Enemy have sent out of the State.”

225. This questionnaire was presumably to be used to obtain information from militia officers. Its ultimate purpose and its utilization are not directly explained.

Capt. William Pierce, Jr., to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head quarters [Halfway Swamp] Sepr 6th 1781²²⁶

Sir

I am desired by General Greene to inform you that the Army marched to the Halfway Swamp this Morning where we still remain, and the General wishes to know where you are and at what particular point would best suit you to form a junction with this Army. Your immediate answer will be necessary in order to enable us to take decisive measures.²²⁷

I have the honor to be &^c

Wm Pierce j^r

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

226. Location inferred by PNG editors based on its contents. (PNG, 9:303) There were two Halfway Swamps, one on the west side of the Santee River and one on the east side. Greene's camp was undoubtedly at Halfway Swamp on the east side of the Santee River.

227. The answer to this inquiry was addressed in Marion's letter of the same date, immediately below. It is clear from the text of both letters that each was drafted before the other was received.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Laurences Plantⁿ 6 Sept [1781] 5 OC: AM

S^r

I rec^d Yours of the 4th Inst.²²⁸ yesterday at 10 OC: & marched all night to this place.

The Enemy is at Eutaw, they sent two Detachments to Monks Corner one yesterday the other the day before.

I was twenty miles below Eutaw when your Letter came to hand & was Oblige to go round the Enemy, my men & horses are Greatly fatigued, I will wait here untill I receive your further Orders.²²⁹

I have the Honour to be you Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

228. The referenced letter, actually written by Greene's aide, Maj. Edmund Hyrne, directed Marion to join Greene by crossing the Santee at the Widow Richardson's, near Wright's Bluff. The apparent target was the British army under Lt.- Col. Alexander Stewart, which Greene believed was marching toward the British fortification at Nelsons Ferry on the northeast side of the Santee River. At the end of his letter to Greene on Sep. 3, 1781 above, Marion, writing from St. Stephens (Peyres Plantation) indicated he would rest his horses following the recent foray to Parker's Ferry, after which he would "Indeavour to annoy them."

229. It is presumed then that Marion's Brigade was still at Peyres and that "twenty miles below Eutaw" referred to 20 miles down the Santee River. Greene's reply has not been found. In his letter of Sep. 11, 1781 to McKean, Greene noted that Marion "joined us on the evening of the 7th at Burdell's Plantation, 7 miles from the Enemies Camp." (Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, *PNG*, 9:328; *PNG*, 304n).

Maj. Micajah Ganey (Loyalist) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Pee Dee Septemb. 8th 1781.

Sir,

Your answer of the 5th of Septemb. came to hand this day & in Perusing the same, I understand that your honor wrote Concerning the Acquaintance you Gave to the North Carolinians concerning our Truce which I never yet received or heard of before, it has miscarried by some Means or other. My full desire Sir is to be at peace with all parties, if they will with me.²³⁰ I am very sorry Sir to Acquaint your honor, that I am under the disagreeable necessity of Complaining to you of Colo. Murphy,²³¹ I wrote several Orders to him to Restore their plunder, which they Refused to do,—Except such as is of no service to themselves. All that is of Value they keep, so that I found there a Stumbling block in the way just about the time that Murphy first broke out & ruined me & broke me up, for which Reason I first revolted my Constancy to my Country, he took some Horses from me, one of which he has yet in his possession, then I wrote an Order & sent to him for said Horse which he refused to send without I would Hunt up & Get all his horses that he has Lost, which was Six Or Seven heads he says; & I don't know his horses, I never saw them & in the like manner, they detain several Horses & Negroes & number of plows to prove their prosperity at all which Gives me reason to think they have Lost none,²³² I have no Reason to Complain of any of your men, save that same Regiment of Murphy's the list you wrote to me about, you shall faithfully have Given up very shortly to Colo. Irvin's Orders.

I am, with Respect, Sir,
Your very humbl. Servt,

Micajah Ganey
Major of Militia

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

230. On Jun. 17, 1781, South Carolina Loyalist militia Maj. Micajah Ganey and Lt. Col. Peter Horry, on behalf of Gen. Marion, signed a truce calling for an end to hostilities between Loyalists and Patriots. The agreement also called for the return of possessions taken from either side, as well as a prohibition against plundering in the future. The original agreement called for the truce to last between three and 12 months. In a letter of Aug. 29, 1781, above, Ganey agreed to the time frame, but asked for a revision to the agreement, pointing out that: "The property taken by the British themselves & Confiscated about the Country, I cannot Engage to Restore, for that is out of my Power to do; but the Articles I mean to Observe with diligence." He asked Marion to respond by Sep. 8, 1781. By this letter Ganey implied that Marion's referenced Sep. 5, 1781, response [not found] revealed that he (Marion) had informed North Carolina authorities of the agreement. Ganey had not yet received a copy of Marion's message to the North Carolinians.

231. Murphy's actions, as related by Ganey, provide a clear example of why the truce agreement was needed, not just because of Loyalist looting but also to prevent similar actions on the part of vigilante Patriots. The agreement spelled out a method for resolving grievances. Articles 3 and 4 read:

"3rd That Injuries Committed on persons or property on Either side shall, by the Captain or Officer Commanding the Complainant be made known to the Officer Commanding the defaulter, when a Jury Composed of five men, two to be wigs & two Tories, with an Officer from the side of the Complainant shall be Called on to Sit as a Court Martial to Judge & determine the matter between them, & to Inflict such punishment as shall appear Reasonable and just.

4th. That property taken not in Action (but Plundered) on being proved by either party, shall be Restored."
("Articles of Agreement..." Jun. 17, 1781, above)

This letter should have served as the complaint and should have resulted in a hearing, as constituted in Article 3. It is not known whether a hearing was ever held. As seen in Marion's Apr. 9, 1782 letter, below, to Lt. Col. John Grimké, who was put in charge of confiscated estates, Murphy apparently continued plundering as he saw fit.

232. Lt. Col. Maurice Murphy was second-in-command of the Cheraw District Patriot Militia. In the fall of 1780, (then Cap.) Murphy had enacted significant vengeance on Loyalists. In an Oct. 4, 1780 letter to Gen. Horatio Gates, above, Marion lamented Murphy's actions, "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." At that time, it was likely that Murphy was retaliating for the plantations burned by Maj. James Wemyss in his march through Williamsburg Township. In an Oct. 15, 1780 letter to Gates, also above, Marion again reported that Murphy was burning houses. Ganey implied here that Murphy's actions had prompted him to abandon the Patriot cause and join the Loyalists. Murphy was promoted to major by Marion sometime prior to Apr. 1, 1781. (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 671) As a result of the murder of his commander, Col. Abel Kolb, by Loyalists on the night of Apr. 27-28, 1781, the very next day Murphy was promoted to lieutenant colonel and second-in-command under the regiment's new colonel, Lemuel Benton (O'Kelley, *BCADM* 699n1376).

Battle of Eutaw Springs September 8, 1781

Following the Battle of Parker's Ferry, Marion moved back to the Santee. Upon receiving Greene's orders of Sep. 4, above, he marched to "Laurences Plantn," 17 miles upstream from Eutaw Springs, as related in his letter of Sep. 6, above.

Greene had hoped to confront British Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, who had succeeded Lord Rawdon, higher up the Santee. On Sep. 7, 1781, after learning that Stewart had moved down to Eutaw Springs, Greene marched 20 miles, camping at John Burdell's Plantation in anticipation of attacking the British the following day. The American army began the march to battle at 4:00 AM on the 8th. Col. Otho Holland Williams wrote that the column halted after three miles to receive a ration of rum, and then resumed the march.²³³

Stewart, unaware of the proximity of the Americans, sent out a foraging party around 5:00 AM. He finally learned of the enemy position when two deserters came into his camp. Though skeptical, he sent out Maj. John Coffin and a detachment of 140 infantry and 50 recently-mounted cavalry of the New York Volunteers to reconnoiter. Most of the cavalry attached to Stewart's command had been cut down a week earlier by Marion's Brigade at Parker's Ferry.²³⁴

At 8:00 a.m., Coffin observed some of Lee's cavalry four miles from the British camp. The American horsemen under Capt. James Armstrong retreated to the advance guard of the American army, ultimately leading Coffin into a trap. Using Armstrong and his men as bait, Lt. Col. Lee set up a hasty ambush. The British cavalry rode right into the waiting Americans. When the foraging party heard the gunfire, it rushed to Coffin's aid. The British force was devastated. Coffin and most of his cavalry escaped, but 40 of his infantry detachment, along with their captain, were captured. The foraging party was drawn to the sound of the engagement, and 300 or more were captured, many from the elite flank companies of Stewart's regiments. The loss of those troops likely affected the outcome of the battle.²³⁵

Greene deployed his army into three lines: Brig. Gen. Francis Marion commanded the first line, consisting of his own brigade on the right, North Carolina militia in the center, and Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens's South Carolina brigade on the left. Two three-pounders were positioned in the center of the first line. The second line was made up of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland Continentals, with two six-pounders in the center. Lee's Legion was on the right flank, while South Carolina State Troops under Col. William Henderson and dragoons under Lt. Col. Wade Hampton were on the left. Lt. Col. William Washington's Continental Dragoons and the Delaware Continentals were held in reserve. Once formed, the Americans resumed the march east through the wooded terrain.²³⁶

Stewart put a light infantry detachment a mile ahead of the main body to slow the Americans, and positioned his main force in one line across the road about 100 yards in front of the camp. The British were also in wooded terrain, except for an open field in front of a two-story brick mansion (the McKelvey house) on the north side of the road. The house and camp bordered a deep creek bed through which the three springs which gave the area its name flowed into the Santee River.

233. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:144-45; Lee, *Memoirs*, 466.

234. Oller, *Swamp Fox*, 189.

235. Lee, *Memoirs*, 466; Robert M. Dunkerly and Irene B. Boland, *Eutaw Springs: The Final Battle of the American Revolution's Southern Campaign* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), 34-36.

236. Lee, *Memoirs*, 467.

On his right flank Stewart placed Maj. John Marjoribanks,²³⁷ whose detachment of 300 grenadiers and light infantry took advantage of the Eutaw Creek bed and blackjack thickets that provided virtually undetectable movement and impenetrable cover.²³⁸

Greene's force outnumbered Stewart's, roughly 2,300 to 1,800. Many of the survivors of the 310-man foraging party that had been engaged with the advance of the American army did not make it back to the battlefield in time, further reducing the British force, which likely numbered about 1,400 during the battle.²³⁹

The light infantry Stewart sent out to delay the American advance was met by Marion's line two miles from the springs. The militia drove back the skirmishers and continued forward. When the Americans met the British front line, an intense firefight developed. The militia held their ground, unlike in many previous pitched battles. William Dobein James was present, and wrote, "The British shot generally about five feet too high but the wind blew favorably that day for Marion's marksmen, and they did great execution. They fired from fifteen to twenty rounds, each man" against the regulars of the British 63rd and 64th Foot. Marion's men advanced and pushed the British back, only retreating before a bayonet charge, at which point the Continentals passed through them and engaged in hand-to-hand combat.²⁴⁰

As the battle progressed and the summer sun blazed, the Americans continued to push the enemy east back into their camp. Greene's left did not fare as well. Maj. Marjoribanks, safely ensconced in the ravine and blackjack thickets, poured a galling fire on Pickens's militia and Henderson's state troops. After Henderson was wounded, Lt. Col. Wade Hampton took command and went on the offensive, capturing 100 prisoners, according to Greene. Greene sent Washington and his cavalry to charge Marjoribanks. As he led his men toward an opening that would expose Marjoribanks rear and flank, Washington's horse was shot from under him, and he was pinned under it, bayoneted in the chest and captured.²⁴¹

The Americans, still pinned down by Marjoribanks on their left, gradually pivoted to face them. But in the center, the Continentals rushed the wavering British line. Stewart retreated to the open area in front of the brick house. Just as the victory was in sight, the Americans passed through the British camp. The advance faltered as the militia and Virginia Continentals stopped to loot the tents. The British took advantage of the delay to regroup.²⁴²

A charge by dragoons from Lee's Legion was repulsed. Lee, himself, apparently with his infantry, could not be found. The confusion of the American surge put some of their artillery too far forward, and the two pieces were captured when Marjoribanks and Stewart counterattacked. The British counterattack pushed the Patriots back and the Americans rummaging through the British camp fled. Greene, seeing the confusion of his exhausted army, ordered them to fall back. The Delaware and Virginia Continentals, along with Wade Hampton's dragoons, formed the rear guard to protect the retreating army. The dragoons were charged by Maj. John Coffin's Loyalist cavalry. Hampton counter-charged, but came too close to the garden wall at the brick house. Marjoribanks, whose men had performed spectacularly in saving the British army that day, fired into Hampton's dragoons, inflicting considerable casualties. Hampton fell back and continued to protect the rear, but the British were in no shape to pursue.²⁴³

237. John Marjoribanks (pronounced 'Marshbanks') was a career soldier. In Oct. 1749, he was an ensign in the Scotch-Dutch Brigade. He was a lieutenant in the 19th Foot by 1757, and in 1763 he was a captain. In 1777 he was promoted to brevet-major and in Nov. 1780 to full major. He arrived in Charlestown from Ireland with Stewart's reinforcements in Jun. 1781. At Eutaw Springs, Marjoribanks commanded the British right flank, consisting of the flank companies of the 3rd, 19th, and 30th Foot. His heroic actions turned the tide of the battle, which had previously looked like a clear victory for the Americans. His ad-hoc battalion commenced enfilading the American left, disrupting the Patriot advance. The heavy fire decimated Lt. Col. William Washington's cavalry and, when the latter counterattacked, resulted in the capture of Washington himself. Marjoribanks was mortally wounded during the fighting and died on Oct. 23. As late as 1821 an old headboard marked his resting place. A monument on the battlefield, erected in 2011, now memorializes his bravery and leadership during the battle. (Stewart to Cornwallis, Sep. 26, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:169; Christine Swager, *The Valiant Died: The Battle of Eutaw Springs* (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2006), 106-13; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:680-81)

238. Dunkerly and Boland, *Eutaw Springs*, 36-40.

239. Dunkerly and Boland, *Eutaw Springs*, 31.

240. James, *Francis Marion*, 73-75;

241. Dunkerly and Boland, *Eutaw Springs*, 61-63.

242. Dunkerly and Boland, *Eutaw Springs*, 64-67.

243. Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, *PNG*, 9:330-33.



Battle of Eutaw Springs. New York Public Library Scan, Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.

Greene retreated 7 miles west, back to his camp at John Burdell's Plantation, which was a prime location for much needed drinking water. Stewart claimed the victory, since the British held the field around the springs and the strong brick McKelvey House, but taking over 40% casualties effectively destroyed his army's offensive capability. In the bloodiest battle in the South, Greene's losses were also extremely high, constituting almost 25% of his army. Greene wanted to follow up and attack again, but rain the next morning prevented any such operation by dampening his gunpowder. Stewart, fearing a renewed attack from Greene, destroyed his supplies on Sep. 9, 1781, leaving his dead unburied, and his 70 wounded to Greene's care in or near the McKelvey House, and withdrew toward Moncks Corner, while Marion, Hammond,²⁴⁴ Maham, and Lee were sent in pursuit. Reinforcements from Moncks Corner saved the British from further losses. Greene and Stewart both claimed the victory, but neither army was capable of engaging in battle again without significant rest, recuperation, and reorganization.²⁴⁵

Greene had hundreds of POWs to attend, many sick and wounded soldiers from both armies, and many officer losses in his command structure. The Battle of Eutaw Springs effectively ended any hope the British might have had of re-taking the South. Though Greene did not achieve a clear-cut tactical victory, he once again achieved strategic success when he forced the British to fall back toward Charlestown due to their high casualties.

Marion's militia had proven themselves in an entirely new context at Eutaw Springs. They had gone from raw partisans and guerilla fighters to a disciplined force that had stood and fought British regulars in a conventional battle. That discipline did not come overnight. It was the product of a year of hard-fought operations and training that allowed them to achieve combat success where other bodies of Patriot militia had almost always failed. There is no clear record of how those men were trained to achieve this pinnacle of achievement at Eutaw Springs, but undoubtedly Marion's background in the Continental Army prior to 1780 had been a contributing factor.

244. Samuel Hammond (1757-1842) was originally from Virginia. After joining an independent militia company, he returned to his home in Richmond County, and joined the militia there, where he was elected a lieutenant. From Dec. 1775 to Dec. 1778 he served as a captain in the Virginia State Troops. In 1779, he moved to Edgefield, SC, and joined the army there. In Mar. 1779 he was promoted to captain, and was frequently attached to his brother Col. LeRoy Hammond's regiment. Afterward, he rose from captain to colonel in the SC state troops and was at many of the major battles of the Southern Campaign, including Stono Ferry, Savannah, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse, and Eutaw Springs. (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 408)

245. Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, PNG, 9:332; Dunkerly and Boland, *Eutaw Springs*, 113-18.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Sender Spring Porchers Plant^a 9 Septr 1781 1 OC PM

S^r

McArthur made a Junction with Colo Stewert this morning about two miles above Fergusons Swamp. They Immediatly turn'd down the road & Crossed that Swamp, & is now there halted.²⁴⁶ McArthur is Said to have four hundred men. We have taken 24 British & 4 torey's prisoners, 14 of them dragons they was taken by Six men of Lee's & Mahams. Col^o Lee & Maham is gone in their Enemys front.

My horses are so tired they cannot scar[ce]ly move.²⁴⁷

I have the Honour to be y^r Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:309-10.

246. In a letter to McKean of Sep. 11, 1781, Greene related that on the evening of Sep. 9, 1781, he dispatched Gen. Marion and Lt. Col. Lee to pursue the remnants of the British army after the Battle of Eutaw Springs. Marion's pursuit was unable to intercept Stewart before he joined with Maj. Archibald MacArthur, because of the superior numbers of the British force. However, the aggressiveness of the American pursuit did convince the British to retire "to the neighbourhood of Charlestown." (Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, *PNG*, 9:328-33).

247. Marion informed Greene about his, Lee's, and Maham's attempts to intercept the retreating enemy in a letter on Sep. 11, 1781 below (*PNG*, 9:310n).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene's Orders

Camp at Burdle's 9th Sep^r [17]81

The Gen^l presents his most grateful thanks to all the Officers & Soldiers of the Army for their extraordinary exertions in the well fought Battle of Yesterday.²⁴⁸ He has infinite pleasure in acknowledging himself satisfied in the highest degree with the troops in General. The Militia Com^d by B. G. Marion & Pickins & Col. Malmady answered his most sanguine Expectations. The state troops Com^d by Col^{os} Henderson, Hampton, Middleton,²⁴⁹ Polk & Hammond behaved with that gallantry & firmness which Characterized the advocates for Liberty. The N Carolina Brigade Com^d by B.G. Sumner²⁵⁰ & consisting of three Batalions Com^d by Lt. Col. Ash & Majors Armstrong and Blunt discovered a Confidence which does honour to Young soldiers. The Maryl^d Brigade Com^d by Colonel Williams consisting of the 1 & 2 Reg^{ts} com^d by Lt. Col. Howard & Major Hardman & the Virginia Brigade Com^d by Lt. Col. Cambel consisting of the 1 & 2 Reg^{ts} com^d by Maj^r Snead & Cap Edmonds exhibited lively examples of that intrepidity & Military perfection which is seldom Equald by the Oldest troops. The light Infantry Corps com^d by Capt^{ns} Kirkwood and Rudolph deserve the highest applause for their great activity. The Cavalry Com^d by Lt. Col^{os} Washington & Lee supported in the most courageous Manner that high reputation Which they have acquired by repeated & gallant services; & the Corps of Artillery Com^d by Captains Brown and Gains (tho Unfortunate) merit particular Notice for Chearful execution of all Orders. The very great advantage of a strong Brick House was the only cause of preserving the whole british Army from Captivity. And tho the want of Water made it requisite after the Action to retire to this place, Yet the Victory is Complete, & We have only to Lament the loss of several of Our brave Officers & soldiers whose death are to be Envied. The Gen^l presents his thanks to Major Hyrne, Captains Pierce, Pendleton & Shubrick his a. d. Camps from whose Activity Material services were derived.

The Gen^l conceives himself particularly oblig'd to Col Kosczko²⁵¹ & Maj^r Forsyth for their voluntary services in the field; & as he cannot be More particular at present, he hopes that the Gentlemen in several Staff Departm^{ts} will consider that he cannot be Unmindful of their respective Endeavours in promoting the service.

The Officers of the Army will make returns of the Names, rank &c of the British Officers Paroled in the field. Returns also of the Killed Wounded & Missing are to be made Immediately.²⁵²

Pendleton Orderly Book (DLC), PNG, 9:306-307.

248. The Battle of Eutaw Springs was fought on the plantation of Patrick Roche, the husband of Martha Marion, daughter of Francis Marion's brother Benjamin (Emma B. Richardson, "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," *SCHM*, 42 (Jul. 1942), 154).

249. [Click here for a brief bio of Charles Myddleton.](#)

250. [Click here for a brief bio of Jethro Sumner.](#)

251. [Click here for a brief bio of Thaddeus Kosciuszko.](#)

252. In his letter to Thomas McKean, President of Congress, on Oct. 25, 1781 Greene mentioned that the army had "now in our possession more than twenty officers (most of them taken at the late action of Eutaw, which I forgot to mention in my official letter of that battle)." (Greene to McKean, Oct. 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:482). The referenced report to McKean had been sent on Sep. 11. (Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, *PNG*, 9:328) Greene, using the undated return of casualties provided by Lt. Col. Otho Williams, reported the following American casualties to Congress: 138 killed, 376 wounded, and 41 missing, for a total of 555 casualties. Note that *PNG*, quoting the same source, showed 139 killed, 375 wounded and eight missing, a total of 522 casualties. However, tabulation of Otho Williams's totals clearly reflects the former numbers as accurate. The difference between the two reports in killed and wounded is presumably the result of a militia brigadier general noted as wounded being put in the killed column, probably due to its location in the spreadsheet. This referred to Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens. The mistake in the total missing appears to be a matter of not including the total Continental soldiers missing. Thirty-three missing Continentals were not included in the total count (DNA: *PCC*, item 155, 2:330, 333).

William Swinton (Commissary) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Septemr. 9th 1781.

Honoured Sir,

I Received your Orders dated the 5th of this Instant & accordingly I have sent M^r. Tomlinson²⁵³ with a Hogshead of Brandy & a Cask of Salt, there is no such thing as Getting any Gin at all or any kind of Spirits out of George Town. I shall set off this Week to Get you some peach Brandy & some flour. Sir, I beg you will send for the Liquors as fast as possible as it is very hard for me to find an honest man to take care of it.²⁵⁴ Sir there is at Old Mr. W^m. Davis's, one Cask of Salt & at Colo. Richardsons two Casks & have Inclosed the names of the different men where the Salt is stored.

I am Sir, Yours to serve, with due Respect,
W^m. Swinton²⁵⁵

N.B. Sir, I shall wait on you the last of this Week for Orders.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

253. John Tomlinson served an unknown number of days in the militia during 1780 as well as 128 days during 1782. In addition, he supplied provisions for the Continental Line during 1781 and 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 935).

254. Not surprisingly, alcohol was a valuable commodity, which needed to be protected.

255. William Swinton was apparently also a recruiting officer on Pee Dee River in 1782 (Joseph Forsyth Pension Statement S23636, footnote 41SC).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

[near Ferguson's Swamp] 11 September 1781, 5½ OC. P.M.²⁵⁶

S^r

Just now I heard from Col^o. Lee & Maham, they went within four miles of the Corner, & fell in with a party of three hundred Infantry & about 15 horse going down they rec^d a fire from them & Captⁿ. Eagleson²⁵⁷ & a Sergeant had their horses killed, & two men wounded[.]²⁵⁸ The Enemy's main body is still where they was in the morning. I Emagin the party going down is to meet a reinforcement & will return up. I have Directed Col^{os}. Lee & Maham to come on the Ground you Left me until you farther Orders. I am now near Fergusons Swamp opposite the Enemy -- & if you think it may be any Advantage I will march & fell in between Monks Corner & Goos Creek Bridge. & should be glad to have at Least Co^{ll} Mahams horse with me as I am not more than one hundred men.²⁵⁹

I have the Honour to be
Y^r ObS^t

Fran Marion

Tr (GWG transcript: CSMH)

256. Date and location inferred. Time of day included in original. As per PNG: "Only the time of day was given in the transcript. Marion's location was taken from the contents, and the date from a note in the margin of the transcript, which is confirmed by the contents." (PNG, 9:341n).
257. Joseph Eggleston (1754-1811) joined the Continental Army after graduating from the College of William and Mary. He joined Lee's Dragoons as a paymaster with the rank of lieutenant in Apr. 1778. He rose to captain in Sep. 1779, but was captured at Elizabethtown, NJ, in late Jan. 1780. After being exchanged he joined Lee's Legion and participated in the Southern Campaign. Eggleston commanded the 2nd Mounted Troop of Lee's Legion. He fought at Guilford Courthouse, Augusta, Ninety-Six, and Eutaw Springs. He may have been involved in beginning Pyle's Massacre in Feb. 1781. He fought alongside Marion when the Legion joined with his Brigade at Georgetown in Jan. 1781, and afterward at Fort Motte in May, and Quinby Bridge in July. At Eutaw Springs Eggleston "had his horse killed under him and five balls pierced his clothes and equipment." He was promoted to major in 1781, and served until the end of the war. After the Revolution he served in the Virginia legislature, as well as the U.S. Congress for two terms from 1797-1800 (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:334).
258. Two very different versions of the story of this engagement exist, one written by Lee in his memoirs, and the other by Samuel Hammond. (Lee, *Memoirs*, 2:298-991; Hammond in *Charleston Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1826, Draper Microfilm 1DD, 234) For an in-depth summary of both accounts and the discrepancies between them, see PNG 9:341-42n.
259. Marion did not wait to hear from Greene before advancing to Mepkin Plantation, belonging to Henry Laurens, in an attempt to cut Stewart's water connection with Charlestown. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 13, 1781, below (PNG, 9:342n). Mepkin is located off current Secondary Road 44, near Moncks Corner, SC. Laurens (1724-92) was a Charlestown native who studied both law and business in London. Once he returned to South Carolina, his partnership with George Austin and then George Appleby made him one of the richest men in the province. He purchased a number of indigo and rice plantations, the largest of which was Mepkin. During the Cherokee campaign in 1761 he was a lieutenant colonel in the provincial regiment. He served in the 1st Provincial Congress in 1775 after 16 years in the Commons House of Assembly. He was elected president of the Executive General Committee, the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 2nd Council of Safety from 1775-76, after which he was member of the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies and was vice-president of South Carolina from 1776-77. He attended the Continental Congress from 1777-79 and was its president 1778-79. He was also a member of the SC House from 1778-82. On a voyage to Holland to negotiate a loan and a treaty he was captured by the British, taken to England and imprisoned in the Tower of London from Oct. 1780 to Dec. 1781, at which point he was exchanged for Lord Cornwallis. Upon his return he was sent to Paris as one of the peace commissioners. After the war he served as an unofficial minister to England from 1783-84. After returning to New York in Aug. 1784, Laurens retired from politics to his Mepkin plantation. Laurens was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788. He was also the father of Lt. Col. John Laurens. (Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 253).

Capt. William Richardson to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Mexico Plant^a.²⁶⁰ Sept^r 12th, 1781.

D^r. Sir,

The Governour sent me on the business of Purchasing all the Indigo in this State & to Obtain an Acco^t of all the provisions on the Rivers, with directions to apply to you for a party to Go on this business & to Escort two Waggon down to Strawberry to fetch up Some things from thence.²⁶¹ Capt. Lesesne²⁶² with a small party on my Application to him Assisted me three days in Getting Indigo but his Anxiety to be with you & fears of a Rebuke, induced him to Leave me which puts a Stop to my progress; for without a party I apprehend great difficulties may arise; people are not inclined to part with Indigo on the public Security, so that I fear I shall be reduced to the Necessity of Impressing; in that Case a Party will be Absolutely necessary, therefore Request you will be so Oblidging as to Let Capt. Lesesne, with a Small party, assist me in this business²⁶³ & your Advice whether it will be safe to send the Waggon down to Strawberry for the Governor's things at this Critical Juncture. They are now waiting at Murray's ferry, & will there Remain until I Receive your Orders. I most Sincerely Congratulate you on your success on Saturday last. Report says your Militia behaved like old Veterans.²⁶⁴

I am, D^r Sir,

Your Most Obdt Serv^t,

W^m. Richardson

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

260. Mexico Plantation was on the south side of the Santee River in Berkeley County. It was owned by Samuel Porcher during the Revolution.

261. In his letter of Sep. 1, 1781, above, Rutledge notified Gen. Marion that he had "appointed Capt. [William] Richardson to procure Indigo & Specie for public use. . ." Rutledge continued, asking Marion to give Richardson "every assistance in your power to Aid him in this business.."

262. As revealed in Marion's letter to Peter Horry of Mar. 28, 1781, above, Horry intended putting Lesesne before a court martial, assuredly contributing to the anxiety Capt. Richardson mentioned. Whether Greene was contacted about Lesesne is not known. There is no mention in his correspondence.

263. Indigo was the only major crop that could be used to exchange for supplies to support the South Carolina troops. Plantation owners were reluctant to part with the only product they could turn into money, especially since they were skeptical whether they would ever be repaid.

264. Richardson was referring to how well Marion's Brigade fought during the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781. Marion commanded the first line, composed of militia, who fought valiantly, holding their own against the onslaught of the British Regulars.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 13th Sep. 1781

Sr

After going down to Monks Corner Col^o Maham told me you had Left me to act as I thought proper,²⁶⁵ I then Crossed Begin Swamp & went down to Col^o Laurens Plantⁿ at Mepkin, where was a very high Bluff[.]²⁶⁶ With an Intention of Intercepting six Schooners & a Galley which I was informed was to go down that night with the Wounded & Baggage of the Enemy I intrinced on the Bluff that night & waited untill 12 O Clock next day but unluckily only one small Open Boat with four White men and four Negroes, which we took[;] the boat I had Destroy'd[.] The Negroes Gave the Enemy Intelligence of our position & the rest of the Vessells did not come; finding the Enemy had discovered our Intentions & the place Difficult to make a retreat from shoud they send a party round me I marched off to this place, by several persons from town I Learn that Col^o Gold With four hundred men had Joined Col. Stuart from Ch^s Town.²⁶⁷

By the Enemys landing their stores at Fair Lawn, I Emagin their Intentions to continue some time there or probable march up the Country again to save their Honour. By a [framd?] bill they give the Public an Acc^t of Defeating you & Killing two hundred men of the rebels & took Col. Washington, & the rebell horse sufferd Greatly.

Col. Maham has returned to his Camp, & I shall wait here to rest my men & horses, or your futher Orders.²⁶⁸

I have the honour to be
y^r Ob S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

265. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 11, 1781, above.

266. Mepkin was owned by Henry Laurens and is located off current Secondary Road 44, near Moncks Corner, SC.

267. As per *PNG*: “Col. Paston Gould, now the senior British field officer in South Carolina, had succeeded Stewart as overall commander in the theater.” (*PNG*, 343n).

268. Orders came from Greene on Sep. 17, 1781, below.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree Septem^r. 14th 1781

D^r Sir,

Upon Consideration of the matter, it appears to me that the Inclosed allotment of your Brigades, is the best that Can be made. I wish to know from you as soon as possible, whether you are of the same opinion, or whether you would Recommend that any & which Regiment should be thrown into different Brigades than they are in According to this Alotment; for I wish much to have the several Regiments throughout this State, properly Brigaded, the Militia Classed & draughted, the Regiments properly & fully Officered, & such other Regulations Established as may be most Expedient for Rendering the Militia serviceable.²⁶⁹ I shall Expect to hear from you in Answer to this Letter & several others lately wrote you, as soon as the busy Seine [scenes] in which you are now Engaged²⁷⁰ will allow you leisure for the purpose.

I am Dear Sir,
Your very hum Servt.

J. Rutledge.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have Received yours of the 3^d inst.²⁷¹ I am sorry to find that the Southward militia behaved Ill, I hope, however, we shall soon reform them.²⁷² We must endeavour to have them better Officered. Pray Recommend (If you Can) some Good man on the west side of Santee River for Ordinary of Ch^s. Town district, who will not be Afraid to Undertake the office. I presume such a man may be found near Santee River, as he will be under your wing, & safe. I wish to make this appointment as soon as possible, having fixed on Proper persons for all the other districts; therefore let me know if you please as soon as Convenient whom you Recommend for this District.²⁷³

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

269. In his Sep. 15, 1781 letter, below, Rutledge requested Marion's input on re-organizing the South Carolina Militia. The governor's letters of Sep. 17 and 26, 1781, both below, included revisions to the 1779 militia law.

270. The "scenes" to which Rutledge referred dealt with the aftermath of the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781. Marion remained busy shadowing the British Army as it withdrew to Charlestown, as described in his letters to Gen. Greene of Sep. 9, 11, and 13, 1781, above.

271. The referenced letter has not been found.

272. Rutledge referenced the inaction of a force of the Upper Granville County militia during the ambush of a mixed force of British Regulars, Loyalists and a regiment of the Hesse-Kassel Fusiliers at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30, 1781. Although Marion's forces inflicted significant damage on the enemy force, he also lamented that "Had Maj^r Harden with his Div^{ision} & Maj^r Cooper with the Cavaldry Obey'd O^{rders}, It is probable the Greatest part if not th^e wh^{ole} must have been Destroy'd or taken, but <the> first never fired a Gun & the Second was not in sight by which means I Lost above one third of my force & in the two most material points." (Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, above). Maj. Charles Harden had taken over for Col. William Harden who, according to various reports had either been captured by the British or was unable rejoin his regiment due to illness (Sumter to Greene, Jul. 25, 1781, PNG, 9:82; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 236).

273. After his arrival in Camden on Aug. 1, 1781, Gov. Rutledge began re-organizing civilian government in South Carolina. As ranking commander of the State Militia, Gen. Marion was called upon to recommend new justices of the peace, ordinaries, and sheriffs. In his letter of Aug. 13, 1781, above, Rutledge requested Marion recommend candidates for ordinary, a judicial office responsible for administering wills.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Congaree] Sept^r. 14th 1781.

D^r Sir,

I had thought of Requesting Colo. Mayham to Accept the Office of Ordinary for Charlestown district,²⁷⁴ but it is necessary that the Ordinary should Reside in the district for which he is to Act, & I was told Colo. Mayham Resided on the East side of Santee, but since my letter to you of this morning I understand he lives on the west side & Consequently in Charlestown district;²⁷⁵ you need not therefore take the trouble of Looking out for a proper man for that district as I shall appoint him, & will in a few days send a Commission to him, which I hope he will Accept, as it will not Enterfere with his Militia Duty.²⁷⁶

I am D^r Sir,

Your Obdt Servant

J. Rutledge.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

274. It is doubtful that Marion would have approved Rutledge's choice for Ordinary. Given Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham's refusal to recognize Marion's authority over him, as reflected in Marion's Aug. 20, 1781 request, above, the fiery cavalry commander was a curious choice to serve as ordinary. His temperament was not well suited to such a position. In 1784, Maham was served by a Deputy from the Camden district. He proceeded to make the Deputy eat the summons. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment and a £100 fine. After petitioning the South Carolina General Assembly and Senate, however, he was pardoned by Gov. Benjamin Guerard in 1786 (Michael Stevens, "Wealth, Influence or Powerful Connections: Aedenus Burke and the Case of Hezekiah Maham," *SCHM* 81, no. 2 (Apr 1980), 163).

275. Lt. Col. Maham owned a plantation near Marion on the south side of the Santee River at current Pineville, SC.

276. Rutledge mistakenly identified Maham as a militia officer. In Jun. 1781, he had been commissioned as a Lt. Col. Commandant of Light Dragoons by Gen. Greene. See Greene to Maham, Jun. 21, 1781, above, and commission of Jun. 22, 1781, above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens Septem. 14th 1781.

D^r Sir,

Yours of the 7th & 8th Inst. came to hand last Night.²⁷⁷ It is Intirely out my Power to pay any Attention to the Tories, as I have not one Sixth of the men out that ought to be this Month.²⁷⁸ Inclosed is an Order for the Leather; I had wrote you formerly that all Saddles, Arms & Horses may be taken from such men as have Given substitutes²⁷⁹--I am sorry to find you have so few men Mounted & Accoutred. I was in hopes to have had a Troop at least in action.²⁸⁰ I have been so harras'd lately, that neither my Horses or men can move.²⁸¹ In the Action of the 8th Inst. the Enemy Lost at least One Thousand men, upwards of five Hundred is prisoners. Our Loss is one hundred & sixty-five killed, wounded & missing. Colo. Washington fell in the enemies hands by Accident, having his Horse killed & fell on him. Colo. Cambell, of the Virginia Line was killed; Genl. Pickens slightly wounded, Colo. Henderson thro the leg, Lt. Colo. Hugh Horry wounded thro the flesh part of his Leg. Many Valuable Officers Got wounded. The Action was Close & lasted an hour;²⁸² my Brigade Behaved Well, but the North Carolina Militia under Colo. Malmady run the third fire; all the Troops Except his, fought like heroes, & the Enemy was drove above a Mile. We took Three pieces of Cannon, one was Retaken, & we Lost two pieces by Advancing too far to Batter the Eutaw House. The Enemy Retreated with Great precipitation to Monk's Corner, where they Received Reinforcements from Town; they Left 70 wounded at Eutaws.²⁸³

I am with Regard,
Your Obdt Servnt

Fra^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

277. These letters have not been found.

278. According to the Militia Law of 1779, militiamen were required to serve at the will of the governor, but for no longer than three months at a time. (*SC Statutes*, 4:513) The total number of Patriot militia members is not known. However, as the war progressed and the British threat appeared to diminish, the proportion of them who turned out when called for duty rapidly decreased.

279. Recruiting became so desperate that for a short time men who did not wish to serve were encouraged to supply substitutes. This policy changed shortly after Rutledge's return to South Carolina in Aug. 1781. In his letter of Sep. 26, below, Rutledge informed Marion that it was against militia law to hire substitutes. Gov. Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, below, specifically and officially prohibited the use of substitutes. Ironically, in a letter from Capt. William Pierce, to Horry on Sep. 14, below, Greene's aide urged Horry to use his best judgment whether to accept substitutes or not. Since Horry commanded a state cavalry regiment under Gen. Greene, he was not necessarily subject to militia law.

280. Horry continued to have difficulty organizing his regiment of dragoons. One of the reasons he missed the Battle of Eutaw Springs was because he was in Georgetown District recruiting and training his regiment. The subsequent prohibition against utilizing substitutes dealt his recruiting a crippling blow.

281. In the previous two weeks, Gen. Marion and his Brigade had been in constant motion. He had ridden from Peyre's Plantation on the Santee River to the relief of South Carolina militia Col. William Harden, south of Charlestown on Aug. 22, 1781. His appearance energized the local militiamen, culminating in the overwhelming victory at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30. He left Parker's Ferry Aug. 31, and arrived at Peyres Plantation Sep. 2.

282. Marion stated the fighting lasted only an hour. Henry Lee, on the other hand, wrote that, "The battle lasted upward of three hours, and was fiercely contested (Lee, *Revolution in the South*, 472). Other accounts state that the battle lasted four hours (e.g. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 249-50).

283. For a comprehensive first-hand summary of Eutaw Springs, see account furnished by Continental Col. Otho Williams, with additions by Cols. W. Hampton, Polk, Howard, and Watt in Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:144-58.

Loyalist Actions During this Period

In the letter above, dated Sept. 14, 1781, Marion wrote to Lt. Col. Peter Horry: “It is Intirely out my Power to pay any Attention to the Tories...”

Three months prior, on Jun. 17, 1781, Horry, on behalf of Gen. Marion and Loyalist Maj. Micajah Ganey, signed an agreement calling for the cessation of hostilities in the Pee Dee region. The specific actions by the Loyalists referenced here are not known. However, they may have been in response to Col. Maurice Murphy’s plundering, as mentioned in Ganey’s letter to Marion of Sep. 3, 1781, above.

It is also possible that Horry was referring to Loyalist activity across the border in North Carolina. The tension in the Pee Dee region is evidenced by South Carolina Loyalist Col. Robert Gray’s comments, “When the truce was first made the inhabitants of the Northern parts of that country furtherest [sic] removed from Marion’s adherents, refused to accede to it—looking upon it as a timid and ignominious measure, and blamed Capt. Gainey the officer who made it with Marion.”

Gray had been a Justice of the Peace in the Cheraws District in 1766. By Sep. 1775, he was on the rolls of a volunteer company of rangers for the Camden District. In Sep. 1780, Gray, then lieutenant colonel of the Cheraw Loyalist Militia, went to Cheraw with Maj. Wemyss to “assist Colonel [Ambrose] Mills in embodying the militia.” Cornwallis promoted Gray to colonel at this time. Lt. Col. Balfour, commandant of Charlestown, felt Gray was “much the best Militia man I have seen.”

Gray was quick to propose a plan for putting down the rebellion in the Cheraws. He proposed the utilization of an independent militia composed of 100 dragoons and 300 militia “from some other part of the province.” On Oct. 7, he suggested sending Col. Hamilton and the Royal North Carolina Volunteers into the Cape Fear area to pacify the Patriots there (Gray to Cornwallis, Oct. 7, 1780, Cornwallis Papers, 2:223).

There is little description of Gray’s actual operations during this period. However, his own explanation provides a Loyalist view: “While the rebel militia were every day growing more troublesome, the loyal inhabitants of Little Pee Dee [River] had become in their turn extremely troublesome to Marion and his brigade. They inhabit the country betwixt the North side of Pee Dee [River] and North Carolina in one direction and from the Cheraw Hill to Waccamaw Lake in the other. Their numbers are about 500 men fit for war. They had arms put into their hands when the post was established at Cheraw Hill before Gen. Gates arrival. When that post was withdrawn to Camden at his approach they were the only people on the North side of Santee [River] who did not join in the general revolt. They carried on a continual predatory war against the rebels and sometimes surprised them at their musters ... and harassed Marion’s brigade so much that he was obliged to leave the inhabitants of the Cheraw District at home to protect their properties” (“Loyalist Colonel Robert Gray’s Observations on the War in Carolina,” *SCHGM*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July 1910), 139-59).

Gray mentioned making “my escape from the rebels” into North Carolina and the Cape Fear River in Oct. 1780. An indication of the tension in the Pee Dee region was evidenced by his observations, Gray removed to Charlestown in Nov. 1781. He described Marion as “timid & cautious & would risk nothing.”

Gray’s property was confiscated by the Jacksonborough Assembly, and he was listed in Class V, one of “Those who have borne Commissions, Civil, or Military, under the British Government, since the conquest of the Province.”

Lt. Col. Robert Gray was listed as a refugee at the evacuation of Charlestown in Dec. 1782.

Additional references for the above: Gray to Cornwallis, Sep. 30, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:217-18; Cornwallis to Gray, Oct. 2, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:219; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 90; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 142, 425.

Capt. William Pierce (ADC) to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Mr^s. Mott's Sep. 14th 1781.

Sir,

Your two letters of the 26th Ultimo and 4th Inst. directed to Genl. Greene, have been duly received. I am desired by the General to Assure you that if more Horses should arrive from North Carolina than are Engaged for the two Established Corps of Cavalry, you shall undoubtedly Claim his first Attention,²⁸⁴ but as yet none have arrived. As to your sending Officers into North Carolina to recruit, it is a scheme that he can only Countenance, but not by any means Authorize. If your prospects are good, he thinks you had better make the tryal, for the great Object is the same to Every State, & no Local Advantage or Disadvantage can arise from it.²⁸⁵ Inclosed is an Order from the Governour on Capt. Richardson for as much of the Public Indigo as may be sufficient to procure necessary Equipments for your Regiment of Dragoons.²⁸⁶ The General Depends much on your Judgment & prudence in Calculating the Quantitys, & hopes you will keep in View the Strictest Economy. Instead of the two Companies of Rifflemen that you wish to have attached to your Corps, the General wishes you to Raise only one, & engage them for as long a time as you can. You may continue to receive or not receive Substitutes for the Militia, as you may Judge best Calculated to promote the public good.²⁸⁷

I have the honour to be sir,

With Great Respect

Your Most Obdt. and most hum. Servt.

W^m. Pierce, Jun.

Aid D. Camp.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

284. Horses were a precious commodity by this point in the war. In order to outfit his state dragoons, Horry was forced to turn to impressment from local plantations. The actions of his officers in impressing horses resulted in Horry being roundly criticized by both Gov. Rutledge and Gen. Marion. Letters of accusation flew among Rutledge, Marion, and Horry throughout Oct. 1781. See letters below, Rutledge to Horry, Oct. 10, 1781; Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 10, 1781; Marion to Rutledge, Oct. 23, 1781; Greene to Horry, Oct. 23, 1781; Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 24, 1781; Rutledge to Horry, Oct. 27, 1781; and Horry to Rutledge, Oct. 31, 1781, all below.

285. It is not known if Horry followed through on his plan of recruiting in North Carolina (PNG, 9:345).

286. On Sep. 1, 1781, Gov. Rutledge wrote that he had appointed Capt. William Richardson to "procure indigo and specie for public use." Much of the indigo was sent north, but some was used to pay local merchants for provisions (PNG, 9:345n).

287. While Greene may have considered the use of substitutes, Gov. John Rutledge did not. See Rutledge to Marion, Sep. 26, 1781 below (PNG, 9:345n).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree Sep. 15th 1781.

D^r Sir,

I think after the Glorious victory at Eutaws,²⁸⁸ it would be Expedient to Issue a proclamation offering to All who have joined & are now with the Enemy, Except such as signed the Congratulatory Addresses to Clinton and Cornwallis, or have held, or hold Commissions under the British Government, a free Pardon & permission for their wives & families to return and re-occupy their possessions, on condition that such men appearing at our head Quarters, or before a Brigad^r. or the Colonel of any Regiment & those subscribing an Engagement to serve the State faithfully as Militia men for Six months & declaring, in Case of their deserting within that time, that their wives & families shall be sent into Charlestown or the Enemyies Lines.²⁸⁹ I apprehend such a Measure would be well timed at this Juncture, & might Induce some perhaps many, to return to their Allegiance & behave well, which would not only deprive the British of their services, but turn those Services to our Advantage. However this is a nice point, & I don't know how it will be Relished by our friends. You know mankind Generally Judge of the propriety of measures from Events. Those we cannot foresee, but it is our Duty to Consider what they probably will be & to take such Steps as are most likely to produce the best Effect.²⁹⁰ I now Request that you will favuor me by Bearer with your opinion on these several points.²⁹¹ 1st. Whether you think it Advisable to Issue any proclamation or Offer of Pardon. 2^d. Would it not be best to make any Condition at all of a Pardon, if a condition is made should it be the person Entering into the Continental service for a Certain time, (that I am afraid they would not like) Or would it be sufficient to require them to serve as Militia for a Certain time, after the Expiration of which they would be liable to do Duty as the other Inhabitants Are Six Months service long Enough I think a time ought to be limited for their Coming in. Suppose Twenty Days: would that be long Enough,²⁹² Wou'd it not be best that they should appear & subscribe the Agreement at one Certain place, say the head Quarters of the Army, or should it be either there or before any Brigadier or Colonel, or before a Brigadier only?²⁹³ Pray give me your Sentiments fully & freely on this matter, also with Respect to the Allotment of Brigades, about which I wrote you yesterday,²⁹⁴ by Return of the Bearer & dispatch him as soon as you can for I keep General Pickens²⁹⁵ only till I hear from you on these points & he is very Anxious to Get away.

I am Sir

Your Most Obdt Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

288. Rutledge considered the Battle at Eutaw Springs to be a Patriot victory. Although the British held the field at the end of the fighting, from a strategic standpoint the expeditious withdrawal of the British to Charlestown meant that the Patriots significantly increased the territory they controlled immediately following the battle.

289. The eventual proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781 that evolved from this letter is below.

290. Gov. Rutledge recognized the sensitivity of the populace to the idea of a mass pardon to Loyalists, many of whom had retaliated viciously against Patriots. He predicted that many Loyalists would convert to the Patriot cause, given the withdrawal of the British to a perimeter around Charlestown and rumblings of Patriot victory in Virginia. At the same time, he was uneasy in predicting how the Patriots, who had been abused by Loyalist militia, would react to such a lenient punishment.

291. Marion's response to Rutledge's proposal, if one was ever drafted, has not been found.

292. The final proclamation called for six months' service in the militia, rather than Continental service but, instead of 20 days, Rutledge granted 30 days to appear.

293. In the final version, repentant Loyalists were to report to a brigadier of militia, namely, Marion, Henderson, Pickens, or Harden.

294. In his first letter of Sep. 14, 1781, above, Rutledge asked for Marion's recommendations regarding re-organization of the militia brigades. Marion was now the senior militia officer in South Carolina after Sumter's resignation.

295. Brigadier General Andrew Pickens was the commander of the militia brigade operating in the western portion of the State.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Congaree September 17th 1781

D^r Sir,

I have Alloted to your Brigade the following Regiments, Viz Col^s. Tate, McDonalds, Richardson's,²⁹⁶ Ervin's, & Benton's,²⁹⁷ & the Regiment formerly Mayham's.²⁹⁸ You will receive herewith a number of Blank Commissions: be pleased to have the Regiments fully & properly Officered, Mustered & Clased, or draughted, as soon as possible & march one third of them with the utmost Expedition to Head Quarters, or such other place as the Honourable Major Gen^l. Greene shall direct, to do duty under his Orders for two months from the time of their Arrival thereat.²⁹⁹ Inclosed are such Extracts from Several Laws as are necessary to be made known to the Militia, you will have each Colonel furnished with a Copy of them & Order they be publickly red at the head of his Regiment & a Copy taken by each of his field Officers & Captains that none may pretend Ignorance of them.

The Militia Laws may Certainly be made much better than they are Generally supposed to be.³⁰⁰ You will therefore appoint the most proper men in your Brigade for Officers & have the laws Carried strictly & Steadily into Execution. You will direct that the men come on foot, for they are to do duty as Infantry, & their horses Cannot be kept in Camp, nor can any draughted men be spared to Convey them back.³⁰¹ If the Number of Commissions herewith sent are Insufficient, let me know how many more are wanted, & I will send them as soon as they can be printed; in the meantime you will give Brevets to officers for whom there are no Commissions. I have wrote to Capt. Arns Vanderhorst to come & take Command of the Regiment, formerly Maybank's & will keep the Commission of Colo. open till I hear from him.³⁰² You will appoint a Lieut. Colo. & other necessary officers for that Regiment.

296. [Click here for a brief bio of Richard Richardson, Jr.](#)

297. [Click here for a brief bio of Lemuel Benton](#)

298. In his letters of Sep. 14 and 15, 1781, above, Rutledge requested Marion's feedback concerning the allotment of the militia brigades. Here, Rutledge identified six regiments as being within Marion's brigade. Richardson's and Donaldson's [or McDonald's] were holdovers from Marion's original brigade, as described in *Marion's Orderly Book* entry of Feb. 16, 1781, above. Lemuel Benton succeeded Lt. Col. Abel Kolb after the latter was murdered in Apr. 1781. Ervin had served with Marion since 1780. Maham commanded a regiment of dragoons in Marion's brigade until he was commissioned by Gen. Greene as a lieutenant colonel and ordered to form a regiment of cavalry in Jun. 1781. Col. [Samuel] Tate was a veteran militia officer, having served as a colonel in Sumter's Brigade. He also fought at Kings Mountain and was wounded at Guilford Courthouse (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 702n1515).

299. The transfer of authority over the militia from Rutledge to Gen. Greene was a sensitive issue. The act that gave Gov. Rutledge his so-called dictatorial powers did not specifically state that South Carolina militia could not be transferred to the command of a Continental officer. The ordinance—Act No. 1140: An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly," dated Feb. 3, 1780, gave Rutledge the power to do "all other matters...to secure the liberty, safety and happiness of this State...Provided, it does not extend to subject the militia to articles of war for the regulation of the Continental or State troops." (*Statutes*, 4:505).

300. Rutledge undoubtedly was referring to Article VII when he suggested the militia laws could be made much better. Article VII allowed the use of substitutes to avoid doing militia duty. Such substitutes were required to enter a Continental regiment of the state, not the militia, which further reduced the supply of needed militiamen. By his letter to Marion of Sep. 27, 1781, below, Rutledge outlawed substitution.

301. South Carolina militiamen generally rode their horses to the designated muster location. Rutledge's order that the militiamen were prohibited from keeping horses at camp undoubtedly hampered Marion in recruiting. The dearth of forage was the main reason for the regulation, although Rutledge explained the change as part of the conversion of the militia to infantry. Heretofore, in the event of a planned action against the British, Marion's brigade rode to the location, tied their horses, and fought as infantry. As the amount of territory controlled by the British continued to shrink, this kind of mobility became less essential.

302. Col. Arnoldus Vanderhorst (1748-1815) had been a captain in the Berkeley County militia until 1780. In Jan. 1776, Vanderhorst and his militia were under the command of Francis Marion at Haddrell's Point, across the Cooper River from Charlestown. He served with Marion for 91 days in 1782 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 76n215). He was detained in a "flagg" ship on a voyage to Charlestown and then lost the little he had when the British captured Wilmington, N.C. (Vanderhorst to Greene, Feb. 20, 1781, *PNG*, 7:326) Vanderhorst held numerous state offices after the war, culminating in the governorship from 1794-96.

I will send you printed Copies of 3 proclamations which are enclosed as soon as a press can Go to work.³⁰³ In the Enterim pray have a Copy taken & delivered to such Colonel, with Orders to have it read at the head of his Regiment & Circulated thro' the district of it. Pray have the Inclosed Letter to Colo. Hugh Horry & the papers forwarded. My proclamation of this date suspends untill ten days after the next meeting & sitting of the General Assembly, the Acts which make Continental & State money a tender in Law. All fines must therefore be paid in Specie. By the Militia Law of 1778 & 1779, Offenders are liable to be fined in Sums not Exceeding those which are therein mentioned. As they are imposed in Current money & the fines hereafter to be Levied are to be paid in Specie, it is necessary to ascertain to what amount in Specie the Court may fine. In 1776, the Militia were Entitled to Ten Shillings current money a Day. There was at that time no difference in the Value of Specie & paper money. In March 1778 the pay of the militia continued the same. It is therefore to be presumed that no difference had then taken place between paper money & Specie, at least there is no Legislative Acknowledgement of any depreciation. But in February 1779, the pay of militia was raised from 10/ to 32/6 per day, the paper money having & being admitted by the Legislature to be depreciated in that Proportion. From these observations we may fix the following Rule as the most Just & Equitable for determining how far the Court may fine in Specie, Viz : for fines imposed by the Act of 1778 to the Amount of the sums mentioned in the Law. Thus £100 in Specie (according to the old Currenty Rate of Gold or Silver) for £100 Currency. But for fines under the Act of 1779, they must not exceed in Specie the Sums therein mentioned, as £150 Specie (According to the old Currency Rate of Gold & Silver) for £500 Currency.³⁰⁴ You will Order all offenders who may be Condemned to the Continental Service, to be sent under a sufficient Guard to Head Quarters. Persons against whose bodies Executions Issue are to be Committed to the Gaol at Waxsaws. You will Give Orders that no person be suffered to pass from this State into any other thro' the district of your Brigade without a permit from me the General commanding the Continental troops, one of his aids, or a Brigadier of Militia, & that all Persons, taken prisoners, or stopt on suspicions, be thoroughly Searched to prevent the Enemy's carrying on a Correspondence by their means.

I am with Great Regard D^r Sir
Your most Obdt Servant

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

303. By his proclamation of Aug. 5, 1781, Rutledge prohibited plundering of any estate, whether it be Loyalist or Patriot. He also ordered that all plundered property be returned to the owner, or to the state if the owner was not available, or was a Loyalist (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:407-09). This proclamation directly targeted Gen. Sumter, who used slaves taken from Loyalist estates as bounty for recruiting soldiers for the State regiments, a practice that had gained the title of "Sumter's Law." Rutledge's second proclamation, dated Sep. 17, 1781 as noted above, suspended the laws of the State and Continental Congress that made paper money legal tender in law. Specie became the only currency for payment of fines. The proclamation also suspended legal actions concerning repayment of debts in light of the depreciated currency.

His third proclamation, dated Sep. 27, 1781, below, provided pardons for all those Loyalists who turned themselves in to a brigadier, and subsequently served six months in the militia.

304. The Militia Law of 1779 recognized the difference in the value of specie (coin) over currency (paper). By Article IV of the Militia Law of 1779, failure to report for militia duty resulted in a fine of £150 specie or £500 currency, if a substitute was not supplied, who would serve in the Continental army for sixteen months. (Article VII) If a man did not report for militia duty, supply a substitute, or pay the fine, he was "obliged to serve as a common soldier in one of the continental regiments raised in this State for not less than four or more than twelve months." (*SC Statutes*, 4:466-67).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Septem^r. 17th, 1781.

D^r Sir,

I received yours of the 12th by Davis, & had answered every Part two days ago.³⁰⁵ W^m. Johnston,³⁰⁶ as you describe, is a soldier in the 12^d Regiment for the war. You may keep him to do Duty with your Regiment untill Called for. It is true Col^o. Mayham had sixty Dragoons out Elegantly mounted & well Cloathed & Armed, in Ten days he will have twenty more fit for the field.³⁰⁷ The workmen you Employ, I suppose you may do as you think proper to Exceed ones power on Emergency may be Warrantable.³⁰⁸ The Enemy has Collected all their force & is again at Eutaw,³⁰⁹ there is a fine field at present for Cavaldry

I am D^r Sir,

Your hum. Serv^t.

Fra^s Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

305. Neither the Sep. 12, 1781 Horry letter nor the Sep. 15, 1781 Marion response have been found.

306. William Johnston enlisted in the 2nd SC Regiment on Nov. 4, 1775 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 507). He was wounded at the Battle of Savannah during the attack on the Spring Hill Redoubt (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 604n1178).

307. Although Horry and Hezekiah Maham were commissioned on the same date, Maham made more rapid progress in recruiting, outfitting, and training his regiment of dragoons. Marion referred to Maham's troop strength as 40 riders with 20 more to be ready shortly, nearly a troop and a half. Horry, on the other hand, by Marion's letter of Sep. 14, 1781, above, had less than a full troop ready for action. Less than satisfactory recruiting was probably the reason why Horry had asked Greene for permission to enlist troopers in North Carolina, as referenced in the Sep. 14 letter, above, from Greene's aide Capt. William Pierce.

308. Horry had apparently hired various craftsmen to make the necessary equipment to outfit his cavalry regiment.

309. It is not certain to which force Marion referred. The post referred to is the area around the McKelvey Plantation house, the site of the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

St. Stephens 17 Sep. 1781

Sir

Yesterday at Eleven OC the Enemy Came up & take this old post at Eutaw. It Appears they have Collected their whole force; I am of Opinion this movement is only a Brevade, for they Cannot subsist long at that place, Espacially if I had horse sufficient to Intercept their Supply from the Corner [Moncks] & prevent them from foraging.³¹⁰ If they should take post at Murrays ferry in St. Stephens they may subsist a long time as there is a great Quantity of Old Corn & Large fields; the Loss of which will be the greatest hurt to Our future Operations.³¹¹

I have the Honour to be
your Ob^t S^r

Fran^s Marion

NB. Col. Maham is on the North Side of Santee

ALS (MB), Collection of J. C. Brevoort, Cab. 21.15.4.

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310. Marion was incorrect in his assessment of British intentions. Gen. Paston Gould marched “to force the Enemy to Action, or force them to cross the Santee.” (Gould to Clinton, Sep. 30, 1781, PRO CO 5, vol. 104, cited in *PNG* 9:357n). Gould marched to Henry Laurens’s Mt. Tacitus Plantation (now Santee State Park), 17 miles west of Eutaw Springs, where Marion had stopped early on Sep. 6, 1781, after marching all night to join Greene before the battle there. Marion provided more details in his letter of Sep. 21, 1781 below.
311. Adequate supply of provisions for the troops and forage for the horses was a continuing problem affecting the location of encampments. Gould did march towards Murray’s Ferry for exactly the reason Marion predicted he would (Gould to Clinton, Sep. 30, 1781, CO 5, vol. 104, DLC, cited in *PNG*, 9:357n).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

High Hills, Sep. 17th 1781

D^r Sir,

I have the pleasure to Congratulate you on the Arrival of Count D^eGras[se] in Chesepeach Bay with 28 Sail of the Line, a number of Frigates & 6000 Land forces General Washington is also arrived in Virginia to take Command of the Army, from these Circumstances & from some further Intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's movements, it is highly probable that his Lordship will Endeavour to Retreat thro' North Carolina to Ch^s Town.³¹² I must therefore entreat that you will Use Every Exertion to Collect as large a Body of Militia together & as Speedily as Possible that we may be able to Entercept his Lordship & frustrate his design; I need not urge further the necessity of dispatch as his success must wholly depend on the Rapidity of his movements. You will let me hear from you Immediately on this subject & hold yourself ready to Join the Army at the Shortest notice.³¹³

I have the honour to be
Your Most Obdt. Humb Servt.

Nath. Greene.

Df (NNPM), Parks.

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312. On the possibility that Cornwallis would try to retreat through the Carolinas, Maj. James McHenry wrote Greene on Sep. 16, 1781 that Cornwallis "seems to hesitate between a brilliant defence, and the chance of being relieved, and abandoning every thing to risqué a retreat." (McHenry to Greene, Sep. 16, 1781, *PNG*, 9:352). Cornwallis was forced to choose whether to wait for the promised relief from Clinton or take his chances in attempting to retreat to the Southward. Ultimately, he opted for the former, and the result was the defeat and capture of his entire army at Yorktown.
313. See also Greene to Marion, Sep. 19, and Marion to Greene, Sep. 21, 1781, both below. Greene sent similar letters to Cols. Peter Horry and Hezekiah Maham, whose cavalry were under Greene's command, alerting them to the situation, imploring them to gather as many men as they could, and asking for a report as soon as possible. However, he did not specifically order them to join him (Greene to Horry, Greene to Maham, Sep. 17, 1781, *PNG*, 9:357). In an order that may have further confused the command structure among Greene, Marion, Horry, and Maham, Gen. Greene directed Marion to order Horry and Maham to join him (Marion) should the British cross the Santee River (Greene to Marion, Sep. 19, 1781, *PNG*, 9:375).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

St Stephens 18 Sep^t 1781

Sir,

I rec^d yours of yesterdays date with great Pleasure; and shall use my utmost to Collect all the Malitia I possible can, & Join you as Speedily as possible³¹⁴ –

The Enemy has moved up to Moultries Plant^a.³¹⁵ Two hundred horse is gone up the river s.^d to be with Intentions to retake the prisoners sent up by water;³¹⁶ it is given [out?] that the the enemy mean to pass the Santee river³¹⁷ -

I have the Honour to be Your

Ob^t Serv^t

FranMarion

ALS (DSOC)

314. Gen. Greene informed Marion on Sep. 17, 1781, above, that the French fleet was in Chesapeake Bay, and that Gen. George Washington had arrived in Virginia. As a result, Greene expected Cornwallis to attempt a retreat to Charlestown. Marion would serve as the advance guard to confront Cornwallis, since his forces were closest to the path Cornwallis would be expected to pass.

315. Brig. Gen. William Moultrie owned Northampton Plantation in Berkeley County, on the way from Moncks Corner to Eutaw Springs. Marion was probably referring to Gen. Paston Gould and the 30th Foot, which had marched recently from Charlestown. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 2, 1781, below.

316. Marion here referred to prisoners captured during the Battle of Eutaw Springs.

317. The British made no attempt to cross to the north side of the Santee River due to a lack of boats (Gould to Clinton, Sep. 30, 1781, CO 5, vol. 104, DLC, cited in *PNG*, 9:357n). Gould then marched toward Murry's Ferry, as Marion had predicted in his letter of Sep. 17, 1781 above.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

H^d Quarters, High Hills Santee, Sepr 19th 1781.

D^r General

I thank you for your ready & Chearful Compliance in Calling out the Militia & I beg you to take a Position so as to be able to Join us should the Enemy cross the Santee as they give out, which I can hardly suppose they will attempt in the desperate situation of their Affairs in Virginia.³¹⁸ If they will Give us a few days to breath, refresh, & take Care of our wounded, I shall have no Objection to another Touch; our prisoners amount to upwards of Five hundred, & I will Venture to say their Loss in killed & wounded is not less than 600 more. Another such Stroke will Give us quite a peaceable possession of all the Country. By the last accounts from Virginia, which have arrived since I wrote you, I am in Great hopes it will be out of the Power of Lord Cornwallis to make good his Retreat through N^o Carolina, but don't Let that relax your preparations for fear of Accident, & we may want the Militia here for our own defence[.]³¹⁹ Should the Enemy Cross the Santee, Give Mayham & Horry orders to join you immediately, both being directed to hold themselves in Readiness.³²⁰

With the most perfect Esteem & Regard

I am D^r Sir

Your most Obdt humble Servt

N. Greene

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC), PNG, 9:375

318. Marion responded on Sep. 21, 1781 that he had taken position at Murray's Ferry, around 50 miles downstream on the Santee from Greene's camp in the High Hills. Greene's assumption that the British would not cross turned out to be correct (PNG, 9:375n).

319. The intelligence had come from the Marquis de Lafayette, who was currently facing off against Cornwallis in Virginia. In fact, Cornwallis's army never left Virginia, but was bottled up and captured at Yorktown on Oct. 19, 1781 (PNG, 9:375n).

320. On the same day (Sep. 17, 1781) that Greene had last written to Marion, he also wrote to Cols. Peter Horry and Hezekiah Maham, advising them that Cornwallis could be heading back to Charlestown. Greene implored Horry and Maham to call out their troops to counter the potential arrival of cavalry that would precede Cornwallis (Greene to Horry, Greene to Maham, Sep. 17, 1781 PNG, 9:357). Maham reported to Greene that he had only 40 dragoons fit for duty (Maham to Greene, Sep. 19, 1781 PNG, 9:375). Horry responded a day later with a return of 106 men, and the disturbing news that the South Carolina Loyalists under Maj. Micajah Ganey and North Carolina Loyalists under Col. Hector McNeil were becoming much more active in the Pee Dee area (Horry to Greene, Sep. 20, 1781 PNG, 9:379-80).

Maj. John James to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Indian Town³²¹ 20 Septem^r. 1781

Honoured Sir,

Inclosed I send you a letter from Captⁿ. Snow to Messrs. Rhodes & Jones.³²² The Contents will fully inform you of Snow's design & the method he is taking to Accomplish it. Mr. Rhodes was in Camp³²³ when the message Came to his house. M^{rs}. Rhodes, his wife, being doubtfull of the matter, came to me about it. I forewarned her or any other person from Meddling with Tory Property untill your pleasure should be known. I also desired for her to Acquaint her Husband with it at his home.³ Since I came from Camp we have been much Alarmed by the Tories, I have been twice out in scout against them, once up Lynch's Creek, where they had made robberies & Shed Blood, but I could find none, they having all Fled to their Shelters; the 2nd alarm was that two Hundred were in full march to destroy or carry our Stores at Black Mingo.³²⁴ As Quick as possible I collected upwards of 30 men & made all speed to Endeavour to prevent them. The Tories aforesaid came only down Waccamaw, where they have done, as I am informed, a Deal of Mischief. A small Party came down Briton's neck, & Carried off some Horses; they took off all M^r. Gibson's. at the Earnest Request of the Inhabitants of Lynch's Creek, I Gave Orders to Eight men, Chiefly of Capt. Brown's company, to Assist those people in keeping up Constant Scouts against the Tories, untill you are pleased to Give other Directions. I am Ready & should have set out for Camp to-morrow with the Relief,³²⁵ but for orders from my Colo., Concerning the Torys women, which will Give me some trouble. If I am wanted in Camp or any other Command you may have for me, I am willing to Comply with as far as I am Capable. I sincerely Congratulate you on the late Additional honor you have Acquired to you & your Brigade,³²⁶ and am,

with due Respect, Sir,

Your very hum. Servt.

John James

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:170-71.

321. Indiantown referred to the general area around Indiantown Church, which had been burned by Maj. James Wemyss in Sep. 1780, as had Maj. James's home also in the vicinity. The site of the church is off of SC-261 just west of its intersection with SC-512 in Williamsburg County, roughly midway between Kingstree and Hemingway, SC (John C. Parker, *Parker's Guide to the Revolutionary War in South Carolina* (Patrick, SC: Hem Branch Publishing, 2009), 366).

322. This may have been William Snow, who served as a captain in the militia during 1776 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 884). The identities of Rhodes and Jones are not known.

323. The phrase "in Camp" referred to being in the active phase of the standard rotation of militia duty.

324. A supply depot was created on Black Mingo Creek. Once Georgetown was re-occupied and trade commenced, provisions accumulated for the Patriot forces were moved to Black Mingo to keep them out of the hands of marauding British galleys and rogue privateers.

325. The term "Relief" referred to the rotation of militia groups. Maj. James related here that he had planned to head out to relieve the militia "in Camp."

326. James congratulated Marion on his overwhelming victory at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30, 1781 and on the performance of Marion's Brigade in the strategic victory at Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Murrays Ferry 21st Sept 1781

Sr

Yourse of the 19th Inst Came to hand. I this Day past the Santee River, & have sent Expresses to every Officer of my District to Join me with all their men & hope in a few days I shall have a good Collection. When I will move near Nelson's Ferry, Opposite the Enemy. Last Tuesday a Large party Joined them from Ch^s Town.³²⁷ M^cArthur with three hundred men is taken his Old post at Fair Lawn, they are Building a store house within their works.³²⁸

Maj^r Doyle³²⁹ Commands the main body at M^{rs} Fludds (within three miles of Eutaw) they are Collecting Negroes to Intrench, but give out they Intend to pass the river.³³⁰ Their Army is much Scatterd, a part is at Maj^r Olivers at Eutaw, & M^r Roches, Either of them is three miles from the main body at M^{rs} Fludds. A Negroe I took Last night³³¹ Just from M^cArthur say they are dayly sending their Baggage to town, their w^d [wounded] went by Water. I Lay serverall days within 10 miles of them, & had reconitering partys constantly in sight, but woud not stir out.

Stewart is wounded & in Ch^s Town.³³²

A Letter from Charlestown say there is not two Months provisions in town, this Letter is from a man in my Imploy.³³³

I have been very sick this four days past & have the fever every day, but hope it will not prevent me from doing my Duty. If Cornwallis do not come this way I think we may do very well with what is here.

I have the honour to be
y^r Ob S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:382-83.

327. This letter was written on a Thursday, so technically "Last Tuesday" would have been two days earlier (Sep. 18th). However, colloquially, "Last Tuesday" would probably have referred to the previous week, meaning Sep. 11. The editors of *PNG* agree, pointing out that Gould had joined Stewart at Fair Lawn with the 30th Foot on the 12th, which is almost certainly the party to which Marion referred here (*PNG*, 9:383n; Gould to Clinton, Sep., 30, 1781, CO 5, vol. 104, DLC).
328. Gould wrote to Clinton that the move was preparatory for a renewed offensive campaign. However, the British advance never materialized, likely due to news of Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown (Gould to Clinton, Sep., 30, 1781, CO 5, vol. 104, DLC, cited in *PNG* 9:383n).
329. John Doyle was the elder brother of Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle, the latter best known for the overrun of Snow's Island. [Click here for a brief bio of John Doyle.](#)
330. Gen. Paston Gould actually commanded the main British force at this point, not Doyle, and he did not end up crossing the Santee (*PNG*, 9:383n).
331. The "negro" Marion took most likely referred to Harry, the slave that Marion's men decapitated and placed his head on a post along the lower Santee road. See, Steven D. Smith, "Beheading of Harry" in *Military Collector & Historian*, Volume 68(4):337-340, (2016).
332. Gould outranked Stewart anyway, based on his local rank, but given Stewart's serious injuries at Eutaw Springs, it also became necessary for Gould to take direct control of the army in the field.
333. Nisbet Balfour wrote to Henry Clinton on Oct. 2, 1781: "I shall now observe, because I feel it much my Duty, that the Number of Refugees & Militia thrown on our hands, by many parts of the Province being wrested from us, will greatly contribute to exhaust our resources, especially of Provisions." (PRO 30/11/109, cited in *PNG*, 383).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Murray's Ferry Sept 23, 1781

D^r Sir

Genl. Greene desires me to call on you for all your Cavalry as soon as I shall march from here.³³⁴ As the Enemy is Expected to cross Santee, you will be ready at a moment's warning to join me. Indeed I think it will be much for the good of the Service, that you send all the men you have that is mounted & Equipt immediately to me, as the Enemy may Cross suddenly without having time to send to you. I am Informed that you or some of your Officers have Ordered a Tar kiln of Brockington's to be set on fire to make Coals for your workman. If it is done those that Ordered it shall pay the Value of it. Capt. Linnd [Lenud] has Given M^r Snow an Order respecting his property. If I find it true, that Gentleman shall be Immediately put under Arrest & tryed by a General Court Martial for assuming a Power which is only Invested in the Governour, & delegated to me. I have heard a number of Liberties which your Officers have taken out of their sphere & Line of Duty, & shall in future take such Steps with them as will bring them to their senses; for I think they are intirely out at present.³³⁵ I am informed of a Great Number of men which is in your Infantry, all of them not doing the service of one third. You will please send me the Names of all such Artificers you have Employed & is actually at work, & their different Callings, that I may not only know who make it a pretence from doing duty as Militia, but to Judge what Numbers may be sufficient for your purpose, as it stands at present you ought to have a third of a Regiment.³³⁶ None but such as you Give their names shall be Admitted to stay from Camp; you will therefore Send it me p^r Bearer. You will retain as few men as possible, as we shall want every man that can be Got; for if the Enemy Cross the River, an Action must Ensue.

I am, D^r Sir, your hum. Servt.

Fr^s Marion

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC), Parks.

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334. Greene, concerned that Cornwallis could be returning to South Carolina, ordered Marion to call out his militia on Sep. 17, 1781 above. In a letter written four days later, above, Marion wrote, "I this Day past the Santee River, & have sent Expresses to every Officer of my District to Join me with all their men & hope in a few days I shall have a good Collection. When I will move near Nelson's Ferry, Opposite the Enemy." The tardiness in calling out the militia may be attributable to an illness Marion had been experiencing. Horry, who reported directly to Greene since the formation of his and Maham's cavalry regiments, apparently had not received Greene's orders for him to join Marion. In his letter of Sep. 28, 1781, he indicated receipt of this order to join Marion, but since confirming orders were not enclosed in Greene's orders of Sep. 24 and 26, 1781, Horry requested clarification (Horry to Greene, Sep. 28, 1781, *PNG*, 9:406).
335. Marion, was struggling to get Horry and Maham to respect his authority and recognize his orders as such. In a letter to Greene of Sep. 20, 1781, Horry indicated he had sent out five parties to impress horses (Horry to Greene, Sep. 20, 1781, *PNG*, 9:379-80; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 255-58). Horry seems to have caught wind of misbehavior on the part of his newly formed regiment, as implied by his request from Greene for a copy of the Continental Articles of War, as several of his officers and most of his men are "young soldeiers," who "may Trespass Ignorantly." (Horry to Greene, Sep. 28, 1781 *PNG*, 9:406).
336. The return showed a total of 106 officers and men in Horry's regiment (MiU-C; Horry to Greene, Sep. 20, 1781, *PNG*, 9:379-80).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Near Murays Ferry, 23 Sept 1781

S^r

The Last evening I was informd that the Enemy has built two boats at M^{rs} Fludds & is Building more. Their Intentions is certainly to Cross & am Apprehensive they will before I can collect the Malitia they come in Very Slow.³³⁷ The Cheraw Reg^t is So Disturbed with the torrys I am affaird they will not come out, most all the Inhabitants there has been Oblige to Leave the East side & come over on the West. Hector M^cNeil & Fanning³³⁸ has possession from their to Deep river. They Latly gave Col^o. Wade a flogging, killed 11 and wounded & took 30 with 100 horse.³³⁹

By the best Accounts the British is two thousand men incamped at M^{rs} Fludds.

I shall still Indeavour to get all men out I can.

I am so poorly with the fever Every Night I can scarce do any thing.

I have the honour to be
your Ob. S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (NcD), PNG 9:386-87.

337. Greene's aide-de-camp, Capt. Nathaniel Pendleton, wrote to Col. Wade Hampton on Sep. 17, 1781 "that a party of the enemy have got up as high as Eutaw." (Pendleton to Hampton, Sep. 17, 1781, PNG, 9:357).

338. [Click here for a brief bio of David Fanning.](#)

339. Col. Thomas Wade had raised some 450 men by the end of August, and led them against a Loyalist party on Drowning Creek. While encamped near Bettis's Bridge on Sep. 1, 1781, they were attacked by a force of about 225 Loyalists, led by Cols. David Fanning and Hector McNeil. (Fanning, *Narrative*, 52-53) The Loyalists easily broke Wade's troops, who fled across the bridge (PNG, 9:387n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Murrays 25th Septr 1781 7 OC: PM

Sr

This Evening at 5 OC. PM a party of the Enemy fired on my men a Cross the river at the ferry two hours before Colo Maham Informed me he Seen a Number of Waggon and men passed this house on the West side of the river at 11 OC: AM this day he thinks it is the whole Army but I believe its only a part for I recd Accounts from my Officer at Nelsons this date that their was no movements but they had built two boats Coverd, as intending to be muskets proof, which shew'd an Intention of some Interprize, Either to surprise Colo Maham or my self.³⁴⁰ There taking every Negroe that they can find Grown or small and sending them to town Appears to be only on a plundering plans.

I shall Watch their motions and shoud they Attempt to Cross I am Determin'd to Dispute the pass; In the mean time you may Depend on having the Earliest notice of every Movement.

I have the honour to be yr ob sr

Fran Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

340. The intelligence from Maham described the movement of a detachment to Moncks Corner. But the main British force remained camped in the vicinity. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 27, 1781, below (*PNG*, 9:397n).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee]³⁴¹ September 26th 1781

Sir,

I am informed that several persons liable to do Militia duty, have found substitutes to perform it for them, & that others have paid money to Officers to procure men in the Continental or State Service, by which means, such persons have been Excused by their Officers from Militia Duty. As this practice has Introduced & must Occasion, great Irregularity & Confusion, I think proper to Issue a special & particular Order on this head, & to Give reasons against the practice above mentioned, & for the propriety of the Order. The Law does not Allow any man the Privilege of sending a Substitute, nor does it Exempt him from Militia Duty, by paying such a Sum as his Officer may think proper to Receive, Either in Lieu of Personal service, to find a Continental or State Soldier, or for any other purpose. Therefore if an Officer's taking on him to Give an Exemption from Militia Duty to one who provides a Substitute, or pays money to procure a Regular Soldier, is Illegal & Unwarrantable, such Conduct never did, or will receive my Sanction or approbation.³⁴² The Militia are to be divided into three Classes, in one or other of which every man must be. Each of these Classes is liable to be Called out for Two months. This makes every Militia man liable to march twice a year (I mean those who are above 80 miles from the Enemy, for if within that distance, the draught may be Greater & the term of Service longer) if he refuses or neglects to march, he is liable to a fine not Exceeding one hundred & fifty pounds Specie, being about the Specie Value (at the time when the Militia Act of the 13th Febru^y. 1779 was passed) of five Hundred pounds current money & to a further fine, not Exceeding a third part in Specie of treble the amount of his tax. Such third part being about the Comparative Value (upon the principal laid down) between Specie and paper money, in the Latter of which he was liable to be fined not Exceeding treble his Tax, the only alternative then, is to do Militia Duty or Undergo his Tryal by a Court Martial & pay such fine in Specie (not Exceeding the Amount above mentioned) as they may Adjudge for his Neglect or Refusal. You will Give the necessary Orders for observing this Rule within your Brigade. No other Regard is to be had to those who have found Substitutes or paid money to procure men or for Publick purpose, than if they do not chuse to perform Militia Duty, to allow them Credit on Account of their fine, for the Specie Value of what they paid to procure a substitute or for public purpose. You will order a regular Account to be kept of all monies Received, or to be Received on the score above mentioned, which is to be paid into your hands, by those who originally receive it, & be pleased to make a Return to me of whatever has been Received, & Every two months of all which may be Received that a proper disposition of it may be Ordered. I hope these Instructions & those of the 17th Instant are sufficiently Clear & Extensive. I will Endeavour to make them so, if any doubt should Remain, or arise or any Explanation be Requisite, upon your Communicating them to me.

I am Sir,

Your Obdt Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC)

341. Location inferred. Rutledge wrote Greene from this location on Sep. 25. His proclamation of Sep. 27 indicated Rutledge was at the High Hills of the Santee. See his letter of Sep. 17 to Marion, above.

342. The Militia Law of 1779 allowed the practice of supplying substitutes in place of performing militia duty. Such substitutes, however, would not serve in the militia, but in a SC Continental regiment for a period of 16 months (*SC Statutes*, 4:467).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] September 27th [1781]

Dr Sir,

I have been very much Puzzl'd about a proclamation to Offer pardon to the tories. I have, however, determined upon the whole, to Issue one with Certain Exceptions.³⁴³ It is Inclosed; be pleased to have it properly Circulated. I will send you some printed Copies as soon as they can be struck off. You will have a Regular Account kept of all who surrender themselves within the time limited & Transmit it to me as soon as the time is Expired.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC)

343. Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, below, was also issued from High Hills of Santee.

***Proclamation – S^o Carolina, by his Excellency John Rutledge, Esq^r.,
Governour Commander in Chief of the Said State***

A PROCLAMATION³⁴⁴

Whereas, the Forces of the United States having compelled the Troops of his Britannick Majesty to Surrender or Evacuate the several Strong posts which they held in the upper & Interior Settlements,³⁴⁵ & Retreat to the Vicinity of Charles Town & the Enemy being therefore unable to give that protection & support which they promised to their Adherents, left many inhabitants of this State, who had taken up Arms with them (Induced so to do by their Artful representations) to become Victims to their Injured Country__ Whereupon such persons to Escape or Avoid the Effects of its Just Resentments, followed & Remained with the British Army, or lurk & Conceal themselves in Secret places: And whereas, the Commandant of Charlestown having sent beyond Sea, the Wives & families (who were in the said Town) of all the avowed friends of America, the several Brigadiers of Militia were Ordered, as a Retaliation of such Treatment, to send the wives & families within their Respective districts of all persons who had Joined or Adhered to & Remained with the Enemy into their Lines.³⁴⁶ And Whereas, it is Represented to me in behalf of the unhappy men who are with the British troops, or secreting themselves as aforesaid, that they are now convinced, (being Reduced with their families to Great distress & poverty) that they Relied on false & Specious Engagements & were flattered with Vain expectations & delusive hopes, & that they are therefore anxious (if they may be admitted) to Return to their Allegiance & use their utmost exertions to support American Independence. On duly weighing & Considering the premises I have thought fit, by & with the Advice & consent of the Privy Councils to issue this Proclamation, offering & I do hereby Offer to all persons who have bore Arms with the Enemy & who now Adhere to or are with them in this State, or are lurking or Concealing themselves in Secret places in any part of the State, Full & Free Pardon and Oblivion for such their Offence of having bore Arms with or Adhere to the Enemy upon the Conditions following, that is to say, That such Persons do & shall within Thirty days after the date hereof Surrender themselves to a Brigadier of the militia of this State & Engage to Perform Constant duty as Privates in the Militia for Six months next Ensuing the time of such Surrender, & that they Actually perform such duty, and do further offer to the wives & Children of such persons, upon their husbands or Parents complying with the Conditions first above mentioned, License & permission to return to their habitations & to hold & Enjoy their property in this State without Molestation or Interruption: provided Always, that if such persons shall desert from the Militia Service within the time above Limited, their families shall be Immediately sent into the enemies Lines & neither they or their husbands or Parents suffered to return to Or Reside in this State.³⁴⁷ Nevertheless, I do Except from the pardon hereby offered & from every benefit of this Proclamation, all such persons, as, having Gone over to or Joined the Enemy were called upon by me in & by two Several proclamations, to surrender themselves to a Magistrate within forty days after the Respective dates of those proclamations, in pursuance of an Ordinance Entitled an Ordinance to prevent persons withdrawing from the defence of this State to join the enemies thereof__ All such as were sent off or obliged to quit the State for refusing to take the Oath required of them by Law, who have returned to this Country. All those who subscribed a Congratulatory Address, bearing date on or about the 5th day of June 1780 to Gen^l. Sir Henry Clinton & Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, or another Address

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344. The civil government of South Carolina had, for all intents and purposes, ceased to exist after Charlestown's surrender in May, 1780. Prior to the fall, and before the recess of the General Assembly, however, the legislative body passed an ordinance giving Gov. Rutledge near-dictatorial powers. The ordinance for "the Better Defence and Security of this State" enabled the governor, with the advice and consent of the Privy Council (if available) to use his best judgment to defend South Carolina, short of taking away the life of a citizen without a "legal trial," or putting the militia under the articles of war followed by the Continental army (Ordinance No. 1140).
345. After Charlestown fell in May, 1780, the British moved quickly to set up a strong line of posts throughout South Carolina. After the joint Continental and SC Militia force under Francis Marion and Henry Lee captured Ft. Watson in Apr. 1781, however, the skeleton of the British occupation fell quickly. By the end of July, all the British fortifications outside a small perimeter around Charlestown had succumbed, either by outright capture or British withdrawal.
346. In his letter of Sep. 3, 1781 above, Rutledge ordered Marion to send the families of Loyalists to the British in retaliation for Lt.-Col. Nisbet Balfour's sending Patriot families away from Charlestown.
347. In his letter of Sep. 15, 1781, above, Rutledge had mentioned his idea about a pardon for Loyalists "after the Glorious victory at Eutaws" on Sep. 8, 1781.

All such as hold or have held any Commission, Civil or Military under the British Government, & are now with the Enemy, And all those whose Conduct has been so Infamous as that they cannot (Consistently with Justice or policy) be admitted to partake of the Privileges of America notwithstanding which last mentioned Exception such persons if they be deemed by me, or the Governour & Commander in Chief, for the time being, Inadmissible to the rights & privileges of subjects will not be detained as prisoners, but shall have full and free Liberty & a pass or permit to return³⁴⁸ __ At a Juncture when the force of the Enemy in this State tho lately Considerable, is nearly Reduced, by the many defeats which they have suffered, & particularly in the late Important action at Eutaw, when they are dispossessed of every post except Ch^s. Town Garrison __ When the formidable fleet of his most Christian Majesty in Chesapeach bay & the Combined Armies of the King of france & of the United States under the Command of his Excellency Genl. Washington, in Virginia, afford a well-grounded hope that by the joint Efforts of these Armies, this Campaign will be happily terminated & the British power in every part of the Confederated States soon totally annihilated³⁴⁹ __ It is Conceived that the true & real motive of the offer here made will be Acknowledged, It must be allowed to proceed not from Timidity (to which the Enemy affect to Attribute every Act of Clemency and mercy on our part) but from a wish to Emprass with a sense of their Error & Reclaim misguided subjects, & give them once more an opportunity of becoming Valuable members of the Community, instead of banishing them or forever cutting them off from it __ for even the most disaffected cannot suppose that the brave & determined freemen of this State have any dread of their Arms. With the persons to whom pardon is thus offered the Choice still remains, Either to return to their Allegiance & with their families be restored to the favor of their Country & to their Possessions, or to abandon their properties in this State for Ever & go with their wives & children whether, for what purpose, on whom to depend, or how to subsist they know not, most probably to Experience in some strange & distant land all the Miseries & horrors of Beggary, Sickness & despair. This alternative is now for the last time Submitted to their Judgment. It will never be renewed.³⁵⁰

Given under my hand and the Great Seal at the High Hills of Santee, this 27th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1781, & in the sixth year of the Independence of America.

By his Excellency's Command.

J^{no}. Sanford Dart, Secretary

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC)

348. In his letter to Marion of Sep. 3, 1781, above, Rutledge noted potential exceptions to the general pardon:

1st. Such as have held or hold British Commissions, remarking what the Commission is.

2^d. Such as have Gone over & Adhere to the British Government, or whose Conduct has Manifested them to be Notorious & Dangerous Enemies to their Country.

3^d. British Subjects residing abroad.”

349. Rutledge's prediction would soon be validated when the combined American-French force began the formal siege of Yorktown on Oct. 6, 1781 (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1291-1295; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, 888).

350. Rutledge did not mention another reason for the offer of pardon at this time. A condition of pardon was service in the militia for six months. At a time when recruiting for State and Continental regiments was in decline, and the turnout of the militia when called was also low, the pardon and subsequent rehabilitation of Loyalists provided a substantial, albeit forced, influx of new soldiers.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Near Murrays Ferry 27th Sept 1781

S^r

The bearer brought me a Letter from Col^o Stafford, he makes Application for some powder which is not in my power to supply him, I have very little[;] not sufficient for guard Duty.³⁵¹

The Enemy is Left M^{rs} Fludd[;] a part is gone down to the Corner I believe by the trail must be the main body[,] the Other part is incamped at Beaufort M^r Pet. Sinklers plantation & from there they are scattered within a mile of Murrays Ferry, a party has been as low down as M^r James Sinkler, he & his Brother & severall other men is taken, tho I sent to hasten them in Camp two days before.³⁵²

My men not coming in yett is the reason I am Oblige to Let the Enemy do as they please.

I know Col^o Staffords necessity is great for want of powder. He informs me there is 150 British Lately come to Port Royale & the toreys from Salt-Catcher is very troublesome; without he gets a supply of Ammunition he will not be able to stand his ground.³⁵³

I have the Honour to be
your Obed^t Serv^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

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351. Col. William Stafford was the commander of the St. Peter's militia, which had recently been transferred from Harden's Brigade to Marion's. Since Marion had no powder to spare, Greene forwarded some to Stafford directly. See Greene to Marion, Oct. 1, 1781 below (PNG, 9:403n).
352. Greene's adjutant, Nathaniel Pendleton, wrote to Col. Wade Hampton on Sep. 17, 1781 "that a party of the enemy have got up as high as Eutaw." (Pendleton to Hampton, Sep. 17, 1781, PNG, 9:357).
353. James Sinkler owned Belvidere Plantation on the Santee, halfway between Eutaw Springs and Murray's Ferry in St. John, Berkeley Parish. "Salt-Catcher" referred to the Saltketcher River in Beaufort District south of Charlestown (*Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:659, cited in PNG, 9:403).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters High Hills Santee Sept 28th 1781

Dear Sir

I have receivd your favor of the 25th. As the enemy appear to be dispersing themselves over the Country for the convenience of plundering, I wish you to get the best information you can of their position and force, and if practicable we will endeavor to give them a blow.³⁵⁴

Col Malmedy³⁵⁵ is here with about 100 Militia from the State of North Carolina if they will give you any security or advantage over the enemy they shall march to your assistance.³⁵⁶

General Washington has arrived at the Camp in Virginia and Lord Cornwallis closely hemmed in.

I am dear Sir
your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N. Greene

ALS (ScU), Parks.

354. For more on this British force, see "Marion to Greene," Sep. 27, 1781, above.

355. Francois Marquis de Malmedy was a 2nd lieutenant in the French Army when he arrived in America at the end of 1775. By Dec. 1776, he was a brigadier general in the Rhode Island State Troops. In May 1777, he was commissioned a colonel in the Continental Army. Malmedy commanded the NC Dragoons at Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779. After the battle of Camden, he went to Philadelphia, but returned shortly before Greene took command in Dec. 1780. Malmedy eventually found his way into the North Carolina militia, which he commanded at Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781 (*PNG*, 6:336n, 7:92n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:672).

356. See Greene to Marion, Oct. 1, 1781.

October to December 1781

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of Santee]¹ October 1, 1781

Dear Sir

I have just received your letter of the 27th of last month. I have sent the powder to Col Stafford agreeable to your request. I am sorry the militia come out so slow. In my last I mentioned Col Malmadys having a body of North Carolina militia that might join you.² But on enquiry find their term of service is out and therefore I am afraid I have led you into a mistake.

No news from Virginia.

With esteem I am dear sir Yours

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

1. Location inferred from other letters sent on dates immediately before and after.

2. See Greene to Marion, Sep. 28, 1781, above.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

October 5th, 1781

Dr Sir,

I Received your letter of the 2^d Inst. the day before Yesterday & should have Answered it sooner, but have been disabled by sickness. The Order Respecting Militia marching on foot was General to all the Regiments, but as the movements & Employment of your Brigade are different from those of any other, I think the reason good for your Continuing to Act on Horsback. You will therefore order them to do so.³ By your Order of the 2^d Inst. to Colo. Richardson I perceive you have mistaken my intention, which was, not to bring to a Trial by Court Martial (in Order that they may be fined in Specie) such persons as have refused to do Duty.⁴ My desire is that the Regiments be mustered & Classed or draughted & the Extracts of the Militia Law, my Orders respecting the Militia, and the proclamation Suspending the Tender Acts, read at the head of Each Regiment, in Order that they may be publickly notified & no person hereafter pretend Ignorance of them. This being done, the Instructions are to Opperate against all future Offenders, whether they have found substitutes in the Militia, provided Regular Soldiers, or paid money for those or other purposes; but until this be done Persons who have Refused to do Duty are only fineable in Paper Money & I am rather of opinion that it is most Expedient, not to Inquire into past Offences, but to begin upon the new plan which I have Laid down. As to Persons who have found substitutes or done any other Act which they were made to believe would Exempt them from Militia Duty & who have therefore Refused to perform it, the bringing them to Court Martial for such past Offences, would be Extremely hard, if the Court Martial fine largely, & might Give Umbrage to many officers who probably conceived that they had a right to Receive money, or substitutes for Exemptions from duty, & that in so doing they were Rendering the most Effectual Service to their Country; but it is likely that, under such Circumstances, the Court would Either Acquit or fine him in a very Small sum; for these Reasons I would recommend the Overlooking of all past offences or neglect of duty; and you will therefore alter your Orders to Colo. Richardson & any other similar Orders, which you may have given to other Colonels, & make those Orders Conformable to this Explination; but Enjoin the Strictest & stediest Execution of Orders in future.⁵ Genl. Greene Informs me that he is in much want of a more Chaussee Corps or Militia, to patrol in the Vicinity of his Camp & prevent the Soldiers from strolling or offering any Injury to the Inhabitants. You will be pleased to Order Colo. Richardson to go to the General, know from him what number of men he will want, & to furnish them for that purpose out of his first draught; the performance of such duty to Exempt the men Employed in it (whilst they are so Employed) from any other. My Idea is, tho' I presume no doubt has Arisen with you on the point, that no man that is within the district of any Regiment out of Charles Town shall be Excused from militia Duty under a pretence that he is on parole, or a British subject unless the former has been fairley taken in Arms & paroled as an officer, any other men who are on parole or Insists on their being British Subjects, & therefore Refuse to do militia, may take their Choice, either of doing it or Going into the Enemies Lines, & if they will not go & refuse to do duty, they must be tryed and fined, as it is directed with respect to other privates; you will not, however, Consider this Instruction (it being a General one) as any prohibition to you to suffer such persons in either of the prediciments last mentioned, as you may think propper to permit to Remain out of the British Lines without doing any Militia duty at all for

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3. Marion's letter of Oct. 2, 1781, has not been found. In his letter to Marion of Sep. 17, Rutledge wrote that militiamen were prohibited from keeping horses in camp. It is unclear why Marion's Brigade was here judged to be different from other militia brigades, but in reality, depriving Marion's Brigade of their mobility would not have served the cause well. It is possible that Rutledge chose to consider Marion's Brigade differently simply to avoid upsetting his most trusted militia commander, though it is hard to imagine another victory like Parker's Ferry being possible without Marion's men being mounted.
 4. Marion's order to Col. Richardson has not been found. It is possible, based on the details in Rutledge's letter of Sep. 17, 1781, that Marion presumed Rutledge wanted him to enforce the militia law of 1779. Since the State of South Carolina had no hard currency, one way to generate money was to levy fines based on the Militia Law in specie only, rather than paper currency. In Rutledge's letter of Sep. 17, above, the governor referred to his proclamation that set the conversion rate of specie to currency as 30:100. Rutledge clarified that the revised regulations referred to subsequent violators only.
 5. Rutledge here wiped the slate clean regarding past violations under the various militia laws in an attempt to obtain recruits, weapons, horses, and other provisions.

some more Valuable purpose__ this being a matter which I leave to your discretion⁶__ I find there are many Gentlemen riding about the Country under the description of Volunteers who render no kind of Service to it. This practice being very Injurious, should be Immediately Suppressed; & no man is to be Excused from doing militia duty in the District of the Regiment to which it belongs, unless he is actually Enrolled & oblided, for some Certain time, to serve in some Regular Corps of Cavalry, not merely as a Volunteer, but to do the same duty & subject to the same articles as the rest of the Corps are oblided to do or are subject to__ The Blankets & d Cloth you mention will Certainly be wanted for public use; you will therefore have them safely kept, somewhere under your Orders; & Indeed we shall want more than you can procure I shall therefore be Glad that you obtain all you possibly can & have that also kept in the same manner. Be pleased to forward the Inclosed letters to Cols. Horry and Mayham, There are several other matters which I shall write to you about, as soon as I consider & Arrange them__ I am unable at present to do so. Capt. Richardson Informs me that he has not above three bushells of Salt left. As three Barrels or Twenty-four bushells will be absolutely necessary for the use of my self & the Gentlemen of the Council whom I daily Expect here,⁷ I shall be much oblided to you to send in your first letter to me, an Order on the Person who has the Charge of any salt of yours (the nearest to the place) to deliver that Quantity to such Person as I may send for it.

I am D^r. Sir,
Your Most Obd Serv,

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

6. By "some valuable purpose" Rutledge may have had in mind men who would be more valuable in intelligence-gathering or supplying provisions to the troops than in militia service.

7. It is presumed Gov. Rutledge referred here to some members of the Privy Council. As seen in Rutledge's letter to Marion of Oct. 24, 1781, the members of his Council arrived at the High Hills on Oct. 23.

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[5 Oct 1781⁸ Georgetown]

D^r. General,

In your letter of the 23^d. Sep. You say that none but such as I Give in their names, shall be Admitted to stay from Camp & that I do therefore send it you per Bearer I therefore at that time, answered your letter & sent You the names of such as I then had in Employ for my Regim^t. & I hoped you would have suffered such as I find industrious to have Continued working, as you must know 'tis Impossible to Equipt my Regim^t. without Employing Artificers,⁹ whether it is your Order or not, I am Ignorant, however the workmen in this part of the Country (& am told General all my workmen) say they can work no longer as you have Ordered them all to stand their Draft for the field & several are drafted & the rest say they must stay at home, without working for me, as the next Month will be for their Going out¹⁰ I am sorry for such Orderes & believe there must be some Mistake, as I do not suppose your Intentions Can be to prevent my Equiping my men for the field, which must be the Case if you debar my Employing workmen In a few days I hoped the workmen I had Employed here, wou'd have Enabled me to take the field, by finishing me off a Number of Scabbards, Bridles & Halters, and binding the Scabbards with Iron, but they have stopt & Unless you will Suffer them to go on I Cannot send you mounted above half as many men as I would otherwise do, here under are the names of such as I wished you to Suffer me to Continue & to Give me your own Exemptions for them, which I suppose your Officers will pay some respect to__ which they will not do for mine, my Pee Dee Command is not yet Returned I Expect them in Thursday or friday next & then I will send you all the men I can mount & Equip, I am D^r General, Your Obdt. Servt.

Peter Horry at
George Town

Gauf boot maker & 3 workmen as above, Names are 2 Hancocks & Crone, are 4. At Brittons Neck__ Brown Case maker 1. At lower P.D. Wort. (Currier) & 3 Rozolonger (boot makers) are 4. At Upper P.D. Dewet & Labrael Sword Makers 2. At Township 3 Nesmyths & Scot are Smiths & Sword makers, Knox & Kirkpatrick Sadlers 2 Total 17. Anthy. W. White Acts for me as agent & quarter master & procures me at George Town whatever I write for.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

8. No date is given in the Force Transcript. The date Oct. 5, 1781, is taken from Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:181-82.

9. Marion's letter of Sep. 23, 1781 above, ordered Horry to have as many men of his regiment as possible ready to march with Marion. Following this directive Marion chastised Horry for the poor management of his infantry and officers. Horry had earlier been criticized for using substitutes to fill the ranks of his regiment and for accepting payment from militiamen in exchange for exemption from service. In an Oct. 31, 1781 letter to Gov. Rutledge, Horry wrote that he had responded to Marion's Sep. 23 letter. Since the burning of Brockington's tar kiln and the issue with Mr. Snow were not mentioned in this Oct. 5 letter, it is presumed that an earlier Horry response was written.

10. Horry here referred to Rutledge's revision of the militia law that called for the calling out of one third of the militia each month. Horry apparently told the artificers working to manufacture equipment for his State Cavalry that their work in equipping his regiment would take the place of service in the militia. Word must have reached them from other sources that they would instead be called out as regular militia.

Mordecai Myers¹¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Georgetown, Octr. 6th 1781

Honoured Sir:

Agreeable to your letter by Captn. Mitchell of the 15 September & your Order of the 1st Inst., I have supplied Commissary Swinton with the following Articles as pr Bill Inclosed. I can assure you I have Charged the Goods at the same rate I sold them last fall for Cash to the Inhabitants of this part of the Country, which any of them can testify__ The Indigo you were so oblidging as to promise me in payment for these Articles you receive for the publick use should be glad to receive when convenient, as there is now a Trade Commenced between this post & some of the northern States, that I may be able to supply the publick as well as individuals with necessaries¹²__ but it will be of little Consequence for me to receive Indigo in payment, unless your honour would be so kind as to Give me a protection for it, as Major Vanderhorst is here at present, pressing all of that Article that he can lay his hands on¹³__ Your honor must be sensible that unless the Traders of this place are Indulged to keep what produce they have in hand or what they may Receive from time to time they cannot barter with those masters of Vessels before mentioned & of Course will not come to this Port which will be of Infinite disadvantage to the people at large, as well as the publick; & as I have no other dependance, must of Course perish, unless your honor will take this matter into your Consideration, & give me some Relief. I have also supplied Colo. Peter Horry's Regiment of Light Dragoons to a Considerable Amount, also Captn. Ransom Davis, which I should be Glad to receive payment for in Indigo, as it will Enable me to Give you further assistance in supplies, as I Entend being Concerned in a Vessell to trade at present to Newburn, there being a large quantity of Captured Goods there at present;¹⁴ & if your honour should think me worthy should be happy in Importing any Articles from thence that your honour or the publick may stand in need of.

I am, with the Greatest Esteem & Respect,

Your honours very humble Servant,

Mordecai Myers

P. S. I dl^d. your handk to Capt. Mitchell some time ago.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

11. Mordecai Myers (d.1788), along with brothers Abraham and Solomon Cohen, were among the founders of the early mercantile industry in Georgetown. Each in turn, also became the city's postmaster. Jews arrived in Georgetown in the mid-1700s, and by 1800, were a small but important portion of the population of the Lowcountry. Mordecai Myers moved from Rhode Island to Charlestown before opening a store in Georgetown in 1772. Myers's activities early in the war are not known. In Jul. 1780, however, he signed a petition together with other inhabitants of Georgetown, including the Cohens, stating that the signers wished to be considered British citizens as a result of a Jun. 1 Clinton-Arbutnot proclamation. The Georgetown petition stated, ". . .as we are assured that we shall not be taxed but by our representatives in General Assembly, we are therefore desirous of becoming British subjects. . ." In autumn, 1780, he was apparently still acting as a merchant, presumably in Georgetown. In Oct. 1781, after Georgetown was retaken, he began supplying goods to both the SC and Continental troops. (Wemyss to Cornwallis, Jul. 14, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:306-08; Georgetown Citizens to Wemyss, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:308).
12. In his letter of Sep. 1, 1781, above, Rutledge informed Marion that Capt. William Richardson had been appointed to purchase all the indigo in the state for public use. It is not known how Richardson's responsibilities coincided with Myers's new role trading indigo for needed provisions, now that Georgetown was again open as an American port.
13. Myers was probably referring to Maj. John Vanderhorst, who rode with the Marion's Brigade throughout the latter's time as a partisan commander, from Aug. 1780 through Dec. 1782 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 19n34). Vanderhorst is said to have commanded 20 partisans in the infamous (but probably apocryphal) duel with British Maj. Robert McLeroth's picked men at Halfway Swamp, 20 miles above Nelson's Ferry during the middle of Dec. 1780. According to the story, Marion's men overtook McLeroth's 64th Regiment, many of whom were raw recruits. To buy some time to allow reinforcements to join him, McLeroth used the excuse of Marion's men shooting pickets to challenge Marion to meet him in an open field. When the 20 American sharpshooters marched to within 100 yards of the British, the enemy turned and withdrew. McLeroth snuck away during the night. (Rankin, 131-33) Marion's letter to Greene of Dec. 22, 1780, above, mentioned nothing of a ruse and many current scholars and military historians believe that this story was a fictional invention of Parson Weems.
14. New Bern, situated on the Neuse River in North Carolina, was taken by British Maj. John Craig on Aug. 19, 1781, during a raid from Wilmington northward along the coast. After burning Patriot plantations and undoubtedly plundering as well, Craig withdrew to his base in Wilmington upon word that American Gen. Anthony Wayne was moving southward. (Clark, *Loyalists*, 1:355; Fanning, *Narrative*, 108-09). New Bern was a favorite port of call for Patriot privateers, due to its protected deep-water access.

William Richardson (for Brig. Gen. Francis Marion) to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

High Hills 9th Octbr 1781

Sir

Gen. Marion desires me to make a personal application to you which a fever now on me prevents --- Give me leave to Inclose you his letter¹⁵ & to request that you will furnish the articles therein desired, & permitt me to observe that on a former Occasion, Powder was sent without Ball, that there may be no omission now¹⁶ ---

A Waggon under the conduct of M^r Johann Nibles will wait on you for it.---

I am very respectfully ---

Sir

Your Most Obed^t Serv^t

W^m Richardson

Covered Waggon are not to be had, will you furnish one for the above purpose

Tr, (SCHi), 30-4 Marion, Francis.

15. The letter to which Richardson referred follows, also dated Oct. 9, 1781..

16. Marion, who was constantly in need of ammunition, wrote Greene on Aug. 8, 1781, above, that he had received a supply of powder, but no lead. Without lead, the powder he had just received was of no use.

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene*¹⁷**

Doughty's Plant^{nt} Santee¹⁸ 9th October 1781

Sir:

Col^o. Maham has returned without meeting with any party of the Enemy, he was within a mile of the main body____

The night afore last the Enemy moved their boats from Porchers but cannot yett find where to,

I have been Oblige to move for want of Ammunition as I have not one round p^r. Man & shud the Enemy Attempt crossing a party I must retire____ I have sent the Bearer for a supply of Ammⁿ. if you cannot spare it I must get under your protection.¹⁹ I hear there is two Vessells of fever off the Bar of Ch Town,²⁰ an Embargo is laid on the Ships--& orders to Gen^l Gold [Gould] to hold himself in readiness to march to Charles town at the shortest notice; which is the reason of their keeping so Close.²¹ The Gen^l [i.e., Gould] is very Ill, at Mahams or the Army was to make a movement on Saturday last.²²

I have the honour to be
your Ob^t. Sv^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (Harlan Crow Library)

17. This letter was enclosed in the one from Capt. William Richardson to Greene on Oct. 9, 1781 above.

18. The location of Doughty's Plantation is unclear. The camp was mentioned in John China's pension application (S46593), where it was identified as being "10 or 12 miles" upstream from Cantey's (John China, Pension Statement S46593).

19. Otho Holland Williams wrote Greene on Oct. 10, 1781 that the army was "destitute" of ammunition, but at some point they must have acquired some because on Oct. 15, Greene wrote Rutledge that he had forwarded ammunition to Marion (PNG, 9:439n; Williams to Greene, Oct. 10, 1781, PNG, 9:440; Greene to Rutledge, Oct. 15, 1781, PNG, 447).

20. This probably referred to three British warships, one of which was the *Solebay*, which the *South Carolina Royal Gazette*, announced the arrival of on Oct. 10. There is no mention of "fever" in the report or in any other source (*South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1781).

21. Marion's information was correct.

22. "Saturday last" probably referred to Oct. 6, 1781 (PNG, 9:439n).

William Swinton (Commissary)²³ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Octobr. 9th, 1781

Honoured Sir,

I Received yours dated the 2^d of this Ins^t. & according to your Order I have been to George Town, & have received the Articles which you desired me to receive of M^r. Myers, of which I have Inclosed a List.²⁴ I have likewise purchased a puncheon of Rum & a Cask of Sugar for your use. Sir, I would have Empressed the Rum but as there is a trade just open in that place, I was afraid that if I went to press, it would be the means of Stopping the Trade w^c. I thought would be a hurt to the publick in General;²⁵ in the next place Capt. Putnam, which I got the liquor of, says that if the Publick will make him Returns in Indigo, Rice or Negroes, he will supply them with a Great Quantity of Liquor, Blankets, Cloth, and Saddles, w^c. he will bring in the Course of Three weeks, his price for the Liquor will be two Dollars a Gallon, the Saddles Twenty-five Dollars & the Blankets he could not tell what they would come at, he will Likewise take bills on France in payment. Sir, the Liquor I purchased is at a very high Rate, it is at \$3-2/3 per Gallon and the Indigo 3/ Sterling per pound. If the Price is too high, would be Glad if you would send me word what I should Give & if your desire is that I shall not pay for it in Indigo, I beg you will send me a positive order against it as I have Given my obligation for the same & M^r. Wayne is my security & I would not be Willing to suffer, nor yet would I wish my security to suffer.²⁶ I have likewise agreed to give 2/6 Ster^s for the Sugar to be paid in Indigo at 3/ Ster^s. Capt. Putnam has 9 or 10 Puncheons of Rum now by him; would be Glad to know whether I shall Impress that or Purchase it & what I shall Allow pr. Gallon.

I am, sir,

Yours to Serve at all times, wt due respect,

Wm. Swinton

P.S. Sir I have taken one of your knives & a stick of Sealing Wax, as there was none other to be had, & I hope you will not take it amiss. There was but one Cask of the Wine & that I kept for your own use as there were but 26 Galls. of it. Sir I would be Glad of one Bushell of Salt for my own use.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

23. William Swinton served in the volunteer militia under Capt. Benjamin Screven during 1775, and as a commissary and quartermaster from 1780-82 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 912).

24. In his letter to Marion of Oct. 6, 1781, above, Mordecai Myers claimed that he had conveyed the requested supplies to Swinton.

25. Swinton echoed the concerns expressed by Myers on Oct. 6, 1781, above, regarding the negative impact on trade the practice of impressments would have.

26. Swinton here referred to William Wayne, who in Rutledge's letter to Marion of Sep. 2, 1781 above, had been falsely accused of being a Loyalist sympathizer. Rutledge had been informed that Wayne's name was on the list of those who had congratulated Gen. Sir Henry Clinton on the surrender of Charlestown in May, 1780. Wayne's name was in fact, *not* on the list.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee]²⁷ October 10th 1781

Dr Sir,

Inclosed are several printed Copies of the Proclamation [of Sep. 27] of which I have sometime ago sent you a Written Copy, offering Pardon to the persons therein Described. You will be pleased to have them as Generally Circulated as possible, that all who may be desirous of taking the benefit may be apprized of it & Enabled to do so within the time limitted for surrendering themselves²⁸ __ As I have no Intention of Extending that time. You will have an Exact Account kept of all such as Surrender themselves to you within that time & as soon as it is Expired have such Account transmitted to me.

I am Sir, Your very humble Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

27. Location inferred. The Oct. 10, 1781 letters from Rutledge and Williams, both below, confirm that Greene's camp was in the in the High Hills.

28. Rutledge's Proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above, gave a full pardon to Loyalists, with a few exceptions. They had 30 days to present themselves to a brigadier of the militia to take advantage of Rutledge's offer.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee]²⁹ October 10th 1781.

Dr. Sir,

I Received yours yesterday by M^r. Boone & wrote in the most pressing terms to Colo. Williams,³⁰ Genl. Greene being not yet returned from Charlotte for which place he set off Last Friday [Oct. 5] for a supply of Ammunition, sending at the same time an Extract of such parts of your Letter as were material on that head. I am sorry to find by Colo. Williams Answer Inclosed, which he sent open for my perusal, that it is absolutely out of his Power to Comply with your Request Immediately.³¹ I wish to God it was within my power to send you Ammunition Instantly, but it is not. I shall not fail to have it sent to you as fast as any arrives at head Quarters & you observe Colo. Williams says he Expects a sufficient stock every hour. our situation in this respect being unknown to the Enemy, they will not profit of it, nor Can I say that I expect they will attempt any measure against us. I Rather think they will be apprehensive for their own safety. However I wish this Circumstance had not Entervened to Prevent your Crossing the River, as I think your doing with your People would have a good Effect. This, I imagine in the present situation of affairs, you Cant attempt. However I know you will do all that you Can. If M^r. Withers³² had sent the Schooner which was Pattersons³³ to Havannah, agreeable to my directions, which I sent to him Immediately on Receiving your Letter by Patterson, We should have had a Large Stock of Ammunition for you & others long ago, but he had delayed the matter I think very Long, However, I am taking & shall Continue to take Steps which I hope will be Effectual in several directions for procuring Ammunition for Employ without depending on the Continental Stock which is I find in General small & often exhausted. You certainly may Cloath all the Continental Soldiers of our Line who join you.³⁴ From something I have lately heard about Dutarque³⁵ I am more anxious than formerly to have him taken, lest he should Escape, be pleased therefore to Order this matter to be Effectually & Speedily attended to. I am also devising means for a supply of Arms & hope to obtain some very soon. I am sensible that some men are destitute of Arms. However you know it is an old Trick of men Coming to Camp to pretend they have none. I need not give you a hint that it would be well to be sure that men really have not, & that they can't provide Arms, before they are discharged for want of them. Indeed altho' men without Arms are not of use in Camp, yet they may Occasionally be detached from it on service with the Arms of some who remain in Camp. Inclosed is a Brigadiers Commission__ I don't recollect the date of the former, but I dare say you do, be pleased therefore to Ensert it.³⁶ I think Colo. Horrys Conduct very Extraordinary & have Enclosed a letter to him upon the subject you mention. I send the Letter open for your perusal when you have red, be pleased to Seal &

29. Location inferred. The Oct. 10, 1781 letters from Rutledge and Williams, below, confirm that Greene's camp was in the in the High Hills.

30. Otho Holland Williams was Gen. Nathanael Greene's adjutant. He had previously served as deputy adjutant under Gen. Gates.

31. Williams's letter, to which Rutledge referred follows.

32. William Withers served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment and as a private, lieutenant, and captain in the militia (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1007).

33. Two days later, Rutledge wrote to South Carolina's delegates to the Continental Congress:

“[Robert Patterson] was not only an Addresser [one of those who presented a congratulatory address to Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot upon the surrender of Charlestown in May 1780] ... but that he was King's Pilot in Geo: Town, & is a very great Scoundrel—Had I known these Circumstances, before he went away, I sh^d. have put him into Gaol, & applied his property, to the publick Use ... I had no doubt, however, in my own Mind that he wd prove, as he professed himself, innocent—It seems he is otherwise--”

Patterson's name does NOT appear on the list of addressers. At the beginning of the letter Rutledge referred to, an earlier letter [date unknown] was sent to the delegates regarding Patterson, who apparently had convinced Rutledge earlier that he was not an Addresser (Barnwell, “Letters of Rutledge,” (1917):161-62).

34. It is unclear which Continental soldiers Rutledge was referring to. Perhaps he meant former Continentals, whose enlistments had run out and who subsequently enlisted in the militia. Or he might have been referring to the SC State Troops serving on detachment under Marion.

35. Lewis (Louis) Dutarque became a first lieutenant in the 3rd SC (Rangers) under Capt. Edward Richardson on Jun. 17, 1775 and resigned on Jan. 30, 1776 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 277).

36. Marion had received word on Jan. 1, that Gov. John Rutledge had appointed him a brigadier general in the South Carolina militia at the end of Dec. 1780. Marion was the commander of all militia regiments north of the Santee and east of the Wateree and Catawba rivers (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 147-48; Oller, 108).

forward it,³⁷ he is not yet a Continental officer & his Regiment is not yet on Continental Establishment,³⁸ but if he was I know of no Authority that any Continental officer, or any other person (whoever he may be) has to Empress in this State without a power from me.³⁹ Genl. Greene it is true did before my return direct him to Empress, but he has never (I believe & indeed I am well persuaded of it) since my return Given any such power to any one. He knows better, so far from it, that he requested me if I approved the power which he had Ordered--Colo. Horry to Exercise of Empressing Horses & Articles necessary for the Equipment of his Regiment to Confirm what he had Directed.⁴⁰ I accordingly sent him a press warrant in which the power was particularly confined to Horses fit for the Dragoon service & not in publick service,⁴¹ informing him also that your Regimt. are to do duty on horse back this therefore wd. Give him no power to take breeding mares & yearlings; in order to Exchange them for Horses such not being fit for his Regit, nor the only horse a man has who is Required to do Militia Duty on horse back, I am afraid if all plow horses were Exempted, an Exclusion wd. prevent our Getting any Horses at all for all may be brought under the description, however it is certainly extremely hard & ought not to be suffered, that the plow Horses be necessarily Employed to Raise bread for the poorer kind of People, who use Horses as a substitute for Negroes should be taken this would be very oppressive, I find every Authority may be abused, & perhaps that which I have Given on this head may be, Therefore, to Cut the matter short__ Wherever you find that it is wontonly Exercised & an Oppressive & Improper use of it made, within the District of your Brigade__ I give you full Authority to Order the officer attempting to Empress, such subjects to Cease from it, or to have them restored, if Impressed. It would Give me Great pleasure to remove every Incroachment on the Liberties of the people & I shall Certainly do so, as far as my power Extends in any of the Cases which you say you will mention to me when we meet, Unluckily Colo. Lee went to Virginia last Friday [October 5], If he was here I should have immediately Enquired into M^r. Ravenels Case & had it Redressed. However, pray Inform me, if you can, where the mare is, & I will Endeavour to have her taken & Restored. I shall, before I hear from you, as soon as I see Genl. Greene or any of Lee's officers, Enquire into this matter.⁴² I daily Expect to hear officially of Cornwallis being Reduced, & hope Ch^s. Town will be the next object of the Combined Army. It is not Improbable that Count D^e Gras[se] may have sent or send some Ships to block up the harbour.⁴³ Pray Give us what Intelligence you Can from below, that you think may be depended on. I will send you that from Virginia if Good (as it must be) as soon as we can Get it.

I am with Great Regard
Dr Sir
Your Obdt Servt,

J. Rutledge.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

37. The letter to Horry of Oct. 10, 1781 follows.

38. Lt. Col. Peter Horry received a commission from Gen. Greene, dated Jun. 22, 1781, to raise a regiment of cavalry. By Rutledge's statement it may be inferred that the question of whether Horry's regiment fell under State or Continental regulations was solved. Rutledge clearly considered Horry as under the State establishment. It is unclear how Gen. Greene (Continental) could give a commission in a state regiment.

39. In response to Greene's request to supply dragoon horses to the Continental Army, Marion informed him on Jan. 20, 1781, above, that he was impressing horses, writing "I have sent partys on Wacomaw, Black River & Santee to Empress all the horses that can be found But find the British has taken every horse fit for Saddles or Draught." In his brigade orders of Feb. 16, 1781, Marion gave Horry permission to impress horses for a troop of light dragoons to be raised in Marion's brigade.

40. Gov. Rutledge had left South Carolina for Philadelphia in Mar. 1781, to lobby the Continental Congress for supplies. He did not return to the State until the beginning of August. Gen. Greene gave both his new cavalry commanders, Horry and Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham, permission to impress horses by his letter of Jun. 21, 1781 (Greene to Maham, Jun. 21, 1781, PNG, 8:433; Greene to Horry, June 28, 1781, PNG, 8:471).

41. Gov. Rutledge wrote to Horry on Sep. 25, 1781, giving him permission to impress horses as described. In addition, Rutledge affirmed Greene's previous order authorizing Horry to "procure articles for the equipment of your corps." (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:173).

42. Greene sent Lt. Col. Henry Lee to Virginia on Oct. 6, 1781 to report on the situation in South Carolina to Gen. Washington. It may be surmised that one of Lee's officers had impressed a breeding mare, a practice not allowed by any impressment order. Rutledge apparently took care of the problem with Peter Ravenel's horse, as explained in his letter to Marion of Oct. 24, 1781 below.

43. Rutledge's hope that De Grasse would sail his fleet to block Charlestown harbor did not materialize.

Col. Otho Williams⁴⁴ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee Oct. 10, 1781?]⁴⁵

Dr. Sir,

As Gen^l Greene is not in Camp⁴⁶ I took the liberty of Opening your letter of the 9th. Inst. ___ Our stock of Ammunition is quite Exhausted, we have not a Cartridge, nor an ounce of Powder in Store. The arrival of some Military stores which we Expect every hour, will put it in the Generals Power to supply you amply. His Excellency Gov^r. Rutledge has intimated that you meditate an Expedition over the Santee, in making your determination, if tis not settled by this disappointment, permit me to Recommend to your Consideration⁴⁷ ___ That the General depends entirely upon you for Intelligence of the Enemies Motions & that a Junction of all is absolutely Necessry, if they Cross Santee I will not fail to send you Ammunition as soon as it arrives. We have good News every day from Virginia, but all wants Confirmation, I Consider every Report as a prognotic of the best that can happen, with Great Esteem I am D^r General.

Your most Obdt. Servant

Oth: Williams

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

44. Col. Otho Holland Williams was Gen. Greene's adjutant general.

45. Location inferred. This letter was enclosed in Rutledge's letter to Marion of this date, above.

46. As revealed in Rutledge's second letter to Marion of Oct. 10, 1781 above, Gen. Greene was in Charlotte, attempting to obtain ammunition for both the Continental Army and the South Carolina Militia.

47. In Rutledge's second letter of Oct. 10, 1781 above, he acknowledged that making a foray across the Santee would give a tactical advantage to the Patriots.

Gov. John Rutledge to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[High Hills of the Santee]⁴⁸ October 10th, 1781

[Dr Sir,]

General Marion informs me, that some of your officers have behaved very much amiss in Empressing Plow Horses, breeding Mares two years old, & Yearlings. I should not have Given a Press warrant for Procuring Horses for your Regiment if I could have conceived that the power would have been so abused by any of your officers, who Certainly upon Reading the warrant must have known better, if they did not before__ as the warrant Extended only to the Horses fit for Dragoon Service which the Creatures above described surely are not,⁴⁹ I request you will have them Restored to the Owners & direct that in future no Horses be Committed under the head of Impressions.⁵⁰

I am Sir,

Your Very humble Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

48. Location inferred. Given the context of his letters of Oct. 10, 1781 above, it is presumed that Rutledge was at Greene's camp in the High Hills of the Santee at this time.

49. This letter was enclosed within the second letter Rutledge sent to Marion on Oct. 10, 1781, above.

50. The practice of impressing plow horses, etc. instead of dragoon horses to outfit his regiment was just one of "a number of Liberties which your Officers have taken out of their sphere," as Marion wrote Horry on Sep. 23, 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Doughty's Plantation]⁵¹ October 11th 1781

Sir,

It was not my Intention to prevent you from Equipping your Regiment by Issuing the Order you Allude to, but to prevent a number of Idle men who make it a plea that they are working for you & Check the Liberty some of your officers take in Stopping any men they please from coming out on Duty.⁵² Inclosed is permission for such workmen as I think are necessary for you, & I Gave a few days ago one Dukes, near Lenuds ferry, who says he is preparing Leather for you, a permit to Continue to Work for you.⁵³ I think an Agent to procure what you want from George Town may be Appointed from your Corps, as you must have a Number of officers who must be Idle at present.⁵⁴ The time is Lost when your horse would have been of service to me.⁵⁵ You will therefore send your men to General Greene agreeable to his Orders.

I am Your Obdt Serv^t.

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

51. Location inferred. Marion wrote to Greene on Oct. 9, 1781 above, and his Orderly Book showed him at Doughty's on Oct. 17, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703).

52. In his letter to Horry of Sep. 23, 1781, above, Marion enumerated a laundry list of complaints about Horry's management of his regiment, from members of his regiment destroying a tar kiln to the employment of too many artificers. Horry was also already far behind his colleague Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham in recruiting, equipping and training his regiment.

53. The name "Dukes" did not appear in Horry's list of artificers, which was supplied to Marion on Oct. 5, 1781, above.

54. In his letter of Oct. 5, 1781, above, Horry mentioned that Anthony Walton White was acting as agent and quartermaster for him at Georgetown. This is the same Col. Anthony Walton White whose 1st Regiment of Continental Dragoons, along with Col. William Washington, and his 3rd Regiment of Continental Dragoons, was surprised and routed at Lenud's Ferry by Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton on May 6, 1780.

55. Marion's frustration with Horry's inability to provide cavalry support for his activities showed through when he directed Horry to send his troops to Greene.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee]⁵⁶ October 11th 1781.

Dr Sir,

Lest upon the Construction of the Militia Act of February 1779, which makes offenders liable to pay a Sum not Exceeding what is therein mentioned, & Treble their Last Tax, a Doubt should arise about what Tax is meant, whether the last which was paid previous to the passing of the Law or what is paid since it passed, that being the Least Tax which has been paid, I think it necessary to Intimate to you that the Law must be Continued to mean the Last Tax which was paid Antecedent to the passing the Act, and not that which has been paid since. You will therefore have this Explanation properly made known throughout your Brigade as a Rule by w^c. Court Martials are to be Governed in their determinations.

I am Sir Your hum. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

56. Rutledge spent the last half of September, and all of October and November in Greene's camp at the High Hills of the Santee (Haw, *Rutledge*, 155).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the] Santee October 12th 1781

Dr Sir,

The Captains of several Vessells with Commissions of Letters of Marque from Congress⁵⁷ have some time ago made a practice of Landing on our Islands or Sea Coasts, & others of Coming up the Rivers & taking away from plantations, Negroes & other property, under pretence of their Owners being Tories, tho' several persons whose property has been so taken were well known to be friends to the United States, & this practice being highly Elegal & unwarrantable even as to Tories, whose property (if they have been Guilty of a Capital offence) is forfeited to the State & not plundered to any freebooter who can lay hold of it,⁵⁸ I desire that you will be pleased to Give the necessary Orders & have the most Effectual Measures taken (within the district of yr Brigade) for having all Masters of Vessells & their Crews, who shall Commit or Attempt to Commit the offence above described, apprehended & sent under a sufficient Guard to me, with the Witnesses to prove the fact, that they may be properly tryed for it. You will have the Vessells in which such Captains & Mariners come with their Cargoes, Secured untill you shall receive directions from me what is to be done with them, & make a report to me of what the Cargoes Consist.

I am Sir

Your most obdt Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

57. A letter of marque was a document issued by a government, granting the recipient the right to seize or destroy the property of an enemy party. It was most often issued to private ship captains, granting them the right to seize enemy shipping. By Apr. of 1776, the Continental Congress issued its own commissions, including strict rules about prizes, prisoners, and reporting. Congress also required that one-third of a privateer's crew be landsmen, possibly to protect the Continental navy from losing too many enlistees to the much more lucrative practice of privateering. When the bearers of letters of marque sold their prizes, some portion of the profit went to Congress. During the Revolution, both sides freely commissioned privateers but the practice was much more common on the American side, given the small size of the regular Continental Navy. Draft instructions to the captains of private armed vessels were presented to the Continental Congress on Apr. 7, 1781. Article I of the proposed act stated:

“You may by force of arms attack, subdue, and seize all ships, vessels and goods, belonging to the King or Crown of Great Britain, or to his subjects, or others inhabiting within any of the territories or possessions of the aforesaid King of Great Britain, on the high seas, or between high-water and low-water marks. And you may also annoy the enemy by all means in your power, by land as well as by water, taking care not to infringe or violate the laws of nations, or laws of neutrality.” (*JCC*, 21:1199-1200).

This last sentence presumably was used to justify the seizure of plantation property by privateers.

58. Rutledge admitted that plundering in the name of carrying out the dictates of Congress via letters of marque had been occurring. Once the British hold on the American coast was loosened, however, it is presumed that the privateers, or as Rutledge called them, “freebooters,” became more active. The fact that some actions described by Rutledge were taken against known Patriots would indicate that the vessels were essentially operating opportunistically as pirates as opposed to true privateers, and that regulation of the practice was woefully inadequate. Regarding the care and ultimate disposition of the goods seized, Article VII stated:

“You shall keep and preserve every ship or vessel and cargo by you taken, until they shall, by sentence of a court properly authorized, be adjudged lawful prize, or acquitted; not selling, spoiling, wasting or diminishing the same, or breaking the bulk thereof, nor suffering any such thing to be done” (*JCC*, 21:1199-1200).

It is unclear how the disposition of captured goods belonging to Tories would be handled. Contemporary practice was to turn the property over to the State.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] October 12th 1781

Dr Sir,

Policy dictates our preventing the Enemy in Ch^s. Town from obtaining any supplies, which may Either afford them Subsistence or the means of making Remittances to the British Dominions.⁵⁹ You will therefore be pleased to Give the necessary Orders & Cause the most Effectual Measures to be taken (within the district of your Brigade) for that purpose & for securing to the publick use all such Articles as may be taken in going to the Enemy. You will Order a Return to be made to me of whatever may be seized, & the best Care taken of it untill you receive my Instructions in what manner it shall be disposed of.

I am Sir,

Your Most Obd^t Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

59. Rutledge anticipated an ongoing need for provisions by both the American and British armies at a time of decreasing supply. Although trade between Charlestown and the liberated portions of South Carolina would have been a boon to the planters, such a practice would have starved the Continental Army, since crops would have been diverted to the specie-rich British army at the expense of the virtually bankrupt American army. In addition, Rutledge recognized that supplying Charlestown would extend the war. As the conflict wound down, increasing numbers of Loyalists traveled to Charlestown as a safe haven. The influx put increasing demands on an already taxed supply system. Gen. Alexander Leslie made forays into the Lowcountry to obtain provisions. As a result of the demands of the Continental Army, the SC militia and the British Army, the country surrounding Charlestown was stripped of basic foodstuffs. By Aug. 13, 1782, the situation became so critical that Gen. Leslie suggested that the Americans sell supplies to Charlestown. If they would not, Leslie affirmed that he would have to resume the past practice of raiding the countryside (Leslie to Greene, Aug. 13, 1782, *PNG*, 11:538-39) Then Gov. John Mathews presented Leslie's letter to his Privy Council, which refused to consider the proposal. (Mathews to Greene, Aug. 14, 1782, *PNG*, 11:546-47).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] October 13th 1781

Dr Sir,

M^r. Joseph Allston⁶⁰ has represented to me (by his son William)⁶¹ that his Ill state of Health will not Admit his doing Militia Duty, but that he would Gladly render any other service in his power to the State, As my Private Instructions give you sufficient Authority on this head, I have Referred young M^r. Allston to you, as the person to whom the application should be made, probably you may know some line in which his father's Services may be of much more benefit to the Country than any which he Could Render as a Militia man, even if his health would Enable him to stay in a Camp. You will, I am persuaded, Exercise the Discretionary power lodged with you with Judgment & propriety.

I am, D^r Sir,

Your Most Obdt Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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60. Joseph Allston, Sr., (1733-84) was one of the wealthiest planters in South Carolina. At one time or another, his many plantations included Fairfield, Prospect Hill, and The Oaks, of which the current Brookgreen Gardens is a part. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and the 1st General Assembly for Prince George Winyah Parish (Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:35-36).
61. William Allston (1757-1839), son of Joseph, Sr., served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment from 1779-80 and was at some time in Horry's regiment of dragoons. Allston was also a captain in Marion's Brigade. He commanded Georgetown after Horry's retirement in 1782. After the return of peace, he married the daughter of Rebecca Motte, owner of the home that had become Fort Motte, and was a successful planter and a large-scale slave-owner. Around 1792, he changed his name from "Allston" to "Alston." He was a member of the SC House of Representatives, as well as a delegate to the South Carolina Constitutional Convention. He served in the South Carolina Senate three different times for a total of ten years. He lived at Clifton Plantation on Waccamaw Neck, where Pres. Washington visited during his Southern Tour in 1791 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 16; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 172).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] October 16th 1781

Dr Sir,

The Bearer Mr. Edwards⁶² (son of M^r. John Edwards⁶³ who we all know was a stanch friend to America, & a very worthy man) wishes to serve his Country under you. I am persuaded that as well out of Regard to the memory of his father as to Encourage the zeal of this young Gentleman, you will Either take him (if you have a Vacancy) into your family, or Give him some proper Appointment which I would be Glad that you would.

I am D^r. with Great Regard,
Your most obdt Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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62. John Edwards Jr. (1760-98) enlisted in the 1st SC Regiment in 1775. He was later a captain in Marion's Brigade. Marion's Oct. 17, 1781 orderly book entry noted the appointment of John Edwards as "Aid De Camp." He served at least through Aug. 7, 1782. After the war Edwards served three terms in the General Assembly. He was a commissioner of the SC treasury and a delegate to the convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703n1519); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:209-10).
63. John Edwards, Sr., was imprisoned at St. Augustine after the fall of Charlestown. His house in Charlestown became the headquarters of British Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot (Alice Ravenel Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott: 1917), 200).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] October 16th 1781

Dr Sir,

I have just now Received yours of the 13th Inst.⁶⁴ by the Bearer. You was misinformed w^h. respect to young Allston's business with me, But had it been what you were told, the Waccamites would have been disappointed, for my Sentiments Correspond Exactly with yours on the point you mention. The Orders that no Substitutes be admitted will Answer the End you propose, & make them as well as others of the same Stamp, either go into the British Lines, do Militia duty, or pay fines, as a Court Martial may Inflict, unless you think proper to make use of my Private Instructions with Respect to them. I am told that an offer is to come from the Waccamaw men about furnishing a quantity of Salt in order to be Excused from Militia duty.⁶⁵ If it should, I shall refer it to you to fix the matter with them. D^r. Neufville⁶⁶ was taken sick at Salisbury on his way from the northward. He may probably be recovered ere now. I will write to him to come on directly in Order to be your surgeon & in the mean time will Endeavour to Get one for you from Camp, tho' I fear I cannot, as the Troops are Exceeding Sick and in want of Doctors.⁶⁷ Yours of the 15th is also just come to hand by Cap^t. Greene with Mr. Dutarque,⁶⁸ whom I have sent to Sheriff Kimball.⁶⁹ You will be pleased to Consider the Directions Respecting Belin's Estate as Extended to Dutarque & Give the same Orders about the Latter as you have done about the former. You will Either Confine M^r. Walter⁷⁰ where you think proper & he will be safe, or send him with the proofs of the Charge you mention against him under Guard to me & pray send M^r. James Sinclair,⁷¹ into the Enemys Lines, & do the same with Every man who is taken at home. I would make the Rule General, as to every man so taken, but it may happen that good men will sometimes be taken at their own Houses, & it would be hard to send them in to Remain with the Enemy. This is no time to be Trifled with; we must be in Earnest, therefore all men thus taken who are Reasonably suspected of not being friends to the State, are to be dealt with as above mentioned. I wish M^r. Peter Sinclair could be Immediately Exchanged.⁷² Genl. Greene is to be here to-day, & will speak to him on the subject, tho I fear it Cannot be done as Majr.

64. This letter has not been found.

65. It is not known what Marion had been told about William Allston's business with Rutledge. Based on the context of the letter, it is presumed that the misinformation had to do with Loyalist pardons and militia substitutes. As stated in Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above, all Loyalists who desired a pardon had to serve six months in the militia. The "Waccamites" referred to were likely the same as the Loyalist residents of Waccamaw Neck, who proposed exchanging salt for their militia duty.

66. Dr. William Neufville had been a surgeon with the Continental Army during 1779-80. After being taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, he was exchanged in Jun. 1781. During his return to South Carolina he became ill, and recuperated in Gov. Rutledge's camp at Salisbury, NC. Dr. Neufville continued to serve with Marion through at least Oct. 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 725; Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 16, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); DeRossett to Marion, Oct. 25, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)).

67. Despite encamping in the High Hills of the Santee, away from the deadly mosquitoes of the swamps along the river, malaria and other diseases were still quite common.

68. Lewis Dutarque was identified by Rutledge in his Aug. 13, 1781 letter to Marion, above: "I have heard of M^r. Lewis Detarque passing this way, he is one of the Addressers to Clinton on the reduction of Charlestown. I think we should be very Cautious how we admit such People to join us." Dutarque in fact does not appear on the confiscation lists.

69. This may be Frederick Kimball (1746-1812), a Patriot from the Camden district, who served as a lieutenant, captain, and major in the militia during 1780-81, under Lt. Col. John Marshall, Maj. James Postell, or both. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel when Marshall was cashiered for plundering in Jun. 1781. Early in 1782, Gen. Greene encouraged Kimball to give more support to the militia details in the Waxhaws. He served in the SC legislature for one term after the war, before moving to Louisiana in 1796 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 680n1466); Francis Marion Deposition, Apr. 29, 1790, ADS (ScU); Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 16, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Greene to Kimball, Jan. 28, 1782, *PNG*, 10:274; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:399-400).

70. The charges against Mr. Walter and his identity are not known. He may have been John Allen Walter, who resigned his commission as a lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment on Sep. 22, 1775. He later served as assistant commissary of supplies (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 20n40).

71. Capt. James Sinkler (or Sinclair) was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775. By Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above, Loyalists who did not pledge allegiance to the American cause were to be sent out of the country. In practice, this meant being sent into the British lines. Sinkler had taken parole on May 24, 1780, upon the surrender of Charlestown. Why Rutledge ordered that he be sent to the British is uncertain. In a May 19, 1781 letter, above, to two of his commanders, Col. Archibald McDonald, and Maj. John James, Marion had written, "I am determined Every man who is a Prisoner to the British Shall go Into there and Remain until Exchanged, as they shall not Remain neuter in the State." Since he was "taken at home," perhaps, Sinkler, although a Patriot at heart, did not want to break his parole. There is no record of his lands being confiscated.

72. Peter Sinkler (or Sinclair), a wealthy planter in the Eutaw Springs area, was taken by the British and imprisoned in the Old Exchange in Charlestown. Unfortunately, he could not be exchanged, as he had died of typhus shortly after his imprisonment (Harriette Kershaw Leiding, *Historic Houses of South Carolina* [Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1921], 140).

Barry⁷³ is come up for he Cannot (tho' a Favorite) Get Exchanged for Washington⁷⁴ & I presume from that Circumstance the Cartel is suspended for the present.⁷⁵ I have the pleasure to Inform you that Congress have at last, on the 18th Ultimo, Ordered the board of War, to have the mines at Limsburg in Connecticut prepared for the Reception of Five hundred British Soldiers to Remain there as Prisoners un-exchangeably, untill the American Soldiers who were forced into the British Service at Ch^s. Town & Elsewhere are Returned to the United States. This measure or putting these men on board the french fleet as Mariners is what I have often & strenuously recommended long ago, but it never could be Effectuated sooner. It is, however better late than never & tho' so long postponed will I hope produce Good Consequences. The General writes to me that he has received a letter from the President of Congress informing him that the French fleet had sunk a 74 Gun ship, disabled five more & drove the rest of the British fleet into the hook at New York.⁷⁶

We have no later Intelligence from Virginia than to the 25th ultimo, when General Washington had Twenty-six Thousand men half of them Regulars & was to begin his operations by Regular approaches on the 27th.⁷⁷ God Grant that he may be successful there & soon give us peaceable & Quiet Possession both of our Town & Country.

I am, D^r. Sir,
Your hum. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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73. This may have been Henry Barry, deputy adjutant general, captain in the 52nd Foot, and secretary to Lt. Col. Balfour, Commandant of Charlestown, who was captured at the Battle of Eutaw Springs (Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War In America*, (Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1822), 145-47).
74. "Washington" here is Lt. Col. William Washington, commander of the 3rd Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons. Washington, a cousin of George Washington, was captured at the Battle of Eutaw Springs.
75. After the execution of South Carolina militia Col. Isaac Hayne, Gen. Greene had suspended all prisoner exchanges.
76. Rutledge received the same information from Greene on Oct. 15, 1781. (Greene to Rutledge, Oct. 15, 1780, *PNG*, 9:447) Greene himself received it in a letter from Thomas McKean, President of Congress. McKean was referring to the *Terrible*, a ship that was so badly damaged during the Battle of the Capes, on Sep. 5, 1781, that it had to be scuttled. Four other British ships were also severely damaged in the battle (McKean to Greene, Sep. 21, 1781, *PNG*, 9:381-82).
77. The source of this information is not known. Washington wrote to Greene on Sep. 28, 1781, that he intended to begin his operations "by the 1st Oct^o[ber] I hope to open the Trenches upon the Enemy's Works." (Washington to Greene, Sep. 28, 1781, *PNG*, 9:409).

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] October 16th 1781

Dr Sir

As some of the Waggon from George Town can bring the four Barrls. of Indigo of Mr. Sinclairs⁷⁸ which you mentioned, I wish you would send it by them. They will pass by you in two or three days.⁷⁹ I must also request the favour of you, if or as soon as the situation of the Enemy will admit of your so doing to have all the Indigo brought from the S^o. side of Santee to the N^o. side & lodged at M^r. John Canteys⁸⁰ or some other safe place, where M^r. Richardson⁸¹ will send for it. This will, I hope, add Considerably to our supply, which falls much shorter from below than I Expected. Our Salt here is Reduced to the Last half Barrell. Be pleased to think of us & send the Order to Swinton,⁸² The Ammunition you wrote for went down yesterday.

I am, D^r Sir

Your Most Obdt Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

P.S. I will think of what you say about Putnam, and give you an answer in a day or two, being at present much hurried.⁸³

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

78. This probably refers to James Sinkler, referenced in Rutledge's letter of Oct. 16, 1781 above. Sinkler owned Old Santee plantation, located in either St. Stephens or St. James Parish, near Georgetown.

79. It is presumed that Marion was at Doughty's plantation below Nelson's Ferry on this date, since his Orderly Book shows him at that location on the following day (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703).

80. John Cantey's plantation on the north side of the Santee was the encampment of both Gen. Marion and British Lt. Col. John Watson at different times during the Bridges Campaign in Mar. 1781. Marion also used Cantey's as an encampment at other times during the war, since it was on the Santee River Road. In Sep. 1781, Gov. Rutledge, who had recently returned to South Carolina, suggested that Marion move any indigo from the south side to the north side of the Santee at Cantey's. In Oct. 1781, Marion stayed for over a week at Cantey's. Cantey had also served under Marion in the 2nd SC Regiment from 1775-77 (Watson to Marion, Mar. 9, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Greene, May 24, 1781, Tr (SchH); O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 190n471); Marion to Greene, Nov 10, 1781, *PNG*, 9:557).

81. By his letter of Sep. 1, 1781, above, Rutledge informed Marion that Capt. [William] Richardson would "procure Indigo & Specie for public use."

82. Rutledge here referred to William Swinton, who served as commissary and quartermaster for Marion's brigade.

83. Swinton wrote to Marion on Oct. 9, 1781 above, about the commencement of trade with Capt. Putnam.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

H^d Quarters High Hills of Santee Oct. 16th 1781

D^r Sir

Your letter of the 14th & the prisoners have arrived,⁸⁴ Col^o Mayham's success is highly honourable to himself & Corps, & I hope will be followed by future strokes of Good fortune.⁸⁵ We have Got a small supply of Salt, but it comes on heavily from the N^o W^d owing to the difficulty of Obtaining transportation.⁸⁶ I should be Glad, therefore, to have it Reduced to a Certainty whether salt can be had at Waccamaw & whether Putnam can supply us with that Article, as well as Rum & Sugar, all of which we are in want of & will pay in Bills⁸⁷ for since I wrote you before I have been up to Charlotte, where I Expected to meet Cols Shelby⁸⁸ & Severe,⁸⁹ with about 1000 militia but they had not arrived,⁹⁰ I am ancious to Collect a force to drive the Enemy into Ch^s Town & for this purpose urged General Sumpter to Collect his militia & State troops as soon as possible, but I am afraid it will be some time before either the Mountain Militia or Genl. Sumpter will be ready to Join us in the attempt.⁸ I am Glad to hear the Enemy are moving down into the lower Country & I wish it was more in our power to hasten them. The president of Congress writes me that the french fleet have sunk one British 74 & disabled five more & drove the whole into the Hook at New York. Gen^l Washington's operations against Lord Cornwallis is Carrying on with all Imaginable Deligence & by the fifteenth or Twentyeth at farthest it was Expected the whole British Army would be prisoners. Col. Lee is Gone to solicit a Southern Expedition which I hope will take place & Release this unfortunate & distressed Country.

I am D^r Sir,
Your most Obedt. hum. Servt

Nath^l Greene

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC), Parks.

84. Marion's letter of the 14th has not been found.

85. In a letter to Thomas McKean of Oct. 25, Greene wrote: "Light parties sent out from our advanced post by general Marion have made a number of prisoners." The capture of these prisoners was undoubtedly the "success" Greene referred to here (McKean to Greene, Oct. 25, 1781, PNG, 9:483).

86. Gov. John Rutledge told Marion in his letter of Oct. 16, above, that the army was down to its "last half barrel" of salt.

87. On Oct. 16, Rutledge wrote to Marion, above, concerning the "Waccamaw men...furnishing a quantity of salt in order to be excused from militia duty." On Oct. 24, 1781, below, Rutledge wrote to that he had heard that Georgetown merchant Henry Putnam was "coming up...to endeavor to contract for several articles; however from the specimens I have had of him, I believe he is extravagant, and am in great hopes we may get supplies on much better terms from others." (PNG, 9:448n).

88. Sevier arrived on Oct. 24, and Shelby shortly thereafter. [Click here for a brief bio of Isaac Shelby.](#)

89. [Click here for a brief bio of John Sevier.](#)

90. Greene wrote to Sumter on Oct. 3, 1781, advising him to follow Gov. Rutledge's orders about calling out one-third of the militia for three months. Rutledge actually directed Sumter to march one-third of the militia to Greene's headquarters for two months. The purpose of calling up the militia was to thwart any return to South Carolina by Cornwallis and, if Cornwallis did not return, to push the remaining British army into Charlestown (Greene to Sumter, Oct. 3, 1781, PNG, 9:423).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham

[Doughty's Plantation]⁹¹ October 18th 1781

Sir,

I am not a little surprized to find you have refused Giving up M^r. Jno. Oliver's⁹² horse which you have Emprressed, when I sent an Order for that purpose & I am much more surprized to think that you beleave I have Assumed more power than I have a right. To convince you, I have sent the Governours Orders to me, as I wish not to have any difference with a man who I have long had the Greatest regard for,⁹³ but in the meantime, if you do not Return M^r. Oliver that horse, which I now Repeat the Order to do without any further hesitation, I shall & will try the matter in a General Court Martial,⁹⁴ which would Give me great pain & Uneasiness, but must do, through necessity. I have ever Endeavoured to do every thing to Compleat your Corps, & shall still Continue to do so, notwithstanding any difference of opinion may arise between us; but I think it high time that you & I should know whether I have the power of Commanding you or not,

This is so Essential a point in our Country's Service, that I cannot put it off while it is Contested.

I am Sir Your Obdt Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

NB. You will please send me the Governours letter as soon as you have perused it, & your final determination about the horse.— Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

91. Location inferred. It is presumed that Marion was at Doughty's Plantation on the Santee River on this date, since his Orderly Book shows him at that location on the day before (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703).

92. John Oliver's identity is not known.

93. Maham, who had served in Marion's Brigade, was promoted by Gen. Greene on Jun. 22, 1781, to lieutenant-colonel-commandant, and directed to raise a new regiment of cavalry. The first hint of a problem between Marion and Maham surfaced in a letter from Marion to Greene of Aug. 8, 1781, above, in which Marion requested that Greene notify Maham that "all his (Maham's) horse will be required [by Marion] for service in two days." On Aug. 20, above, Marion wrote to Greene, requesting he notify Horry and Maham that Marion would need their troops, "...please send me a possitive Order to take them as they will not go without[.]" The situation with Maham continued to be a thorn in Marion's side. The problem became increasingly uncomfortable until, in a letter of Oct. 23, 1781 below, Greene wrote Maham: "You will please to consider [yo]rself under the command of General Marion [a]nd you cannot oblige me more than by endea[v]oring to promote his views[.]" Lt. Col. Peter Horry, who had been promoted at the same time as Maham, received similar instructions from Greene on Oct. 23, 1781 below, to "put your self and Corps under the command of Gen. Marion." Greene's order seemingly ended the question of rank and chain of command. However, problems with Maham and Horry would continue to fester through Apr. 1782.

94. There is no subsequent mention of John Oliver's horse or of a court martial.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Rutledge

Letter Fragment⁹⁵

[Doughty's or Cantey's Plantation]⁹⁶ October 23, 1781

[Sr]

“Since the letter you sent to Col. Peter Horry respecting impressing horses,⁹⁷ his officers sent to a general muster, which Col. Irvin⁹⁸ called of his Regiment in order to draught the men for duty, that those officers took their horses, saddles and swords, which they resented and drew up and obliged them to give up, or they would have been fired on; since that, some men coming to camp on duty, had their horses, saddles and arms taken from them. It is out of my power to do anything, as they believe they are to obey no other power than Gen. Greene's orders....”⁹⁹

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

95. This fragment was included in an Oct. 31, 1781 letter from Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Gov. John Rutledge.

96. Marion's location at this time is not known. His Orderly Book showed him at Doughty's on Oct. 17, 1781, and at Cantey's Santee on Oct. 25. It is not clear when he moved (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703).

97. The letter to which Marion referred is probably the one of Oct. 10, 1781, above, in which Rutledge chastised Horry, writing “Gen. Marion informs me that some of your officers have behaved very much amiss in impressing plow horses, breeding mares two years old, and yearlings. I should not have given a press warrant for procuring horses for your Regiment, if I could have conceived that the power would have been so abused by any of your officers, who certainly upon reading the warrant must have known better...”

98. John Ervin served as a lieutenant, major, and colonel in the militia from 1780-82. He captured three British officers and one private on Aug. 16, 1781. In addition, he had been in the Battle of Snow's Island and the defeat by Doyle's Volunteers of Ireland (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 296).

99. The situation here was one in which the recruits for Horry's new cavalry regiment took it upon themselves to ‘plunder’ their own fellow soldiers in the militia. A similar situation occurred in Apr. 1781, in Marion's Brigade, when Maj. William Clay Snipes began recruiting a troop of cavalry, claiming authority directly from Greene and Sumter. See Kolb to Snipes, Apr. 16, 1781, or shortly before, Snipes to Kolb, Apr. 16, 1781, and Kolb to Marion, Apr. 18, 1781, all above.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head quarters High Hills Santee October 23^d 1781

Dear Sir

I have just received your letter of the 21st and have inclosed you two letters for Horry & Mayum which you will please to seal and forward.¹⁰⁰ I have such entire confidence in your principles and prudence that I am confident you will put those Corps upon no duty which is not necessary for the public good and that you will afford them every opportunity to recruit and discipline that circumstances will admit. No man can command them better than your self and no one more interested to promote those Corps than yourself as they form a kind of head to the Militia which was the first and great object of raising them. I have only to recommend them to your particular care and to beg every indulgence that you may conceive can be granted consistent with the good of the service.

A large body of rifle men are on the march from the Mountains to join us. I shall send them to you to be employed as you may think proper. You must give them something to do or else they will get dissatisfied.¹⁰¹

Governor Gadsden and Mess^{rs} Ferguson, Cattle,¹⁰² Hudson have arrived in Camp.¹⁰³ No news from General since my last.

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obedt humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (PNG: DLC), PNG, 9:468-69.

100. Marion's letter has not been found.

101. Greene wrote to Sevier on Oct. 21, 1781, expressing his happiness that the latter was on his way to join the Southern Army. Greene mentioned that he had also asked Gen. Griffith Rutherford to release Col. Isaac Shelby in the event Shelby was with him. Greene had received reports that Rutherford had dispersed Loyalists around Cross Creek, NC. The movement of the Overmountain Men was in response to letters sent to Sevier and Shelby on Oct. 11. Greene also cautioned Sevier to prevent his men from plundering (Greene to Sevier, Oct. 21, 1781, PNG, 9:462).

102. Benjamin Cattell (1751-83) was a wealthy landowner with several plantations, including three on the Ashley River. He was elected a captain in the 1st SC Regiment in Jun. 1775 and served until resigning in 1778. He rejoined the army, this time in the 2nd SC Regiment, in 1779, and became Gen. Moultrie's aide-de-camp. Cattell was a member of the SC House from 1776-80 and served on the Privy Council. After Charlestown fell, Cattell was initially paroled to his home in the city. However, he was soon sent to St. Augustine along with Lt. Gov. Christopher Gadsden, other Privy Council members and Patriots. Cattell and his fellow prisoners were released in Jun. 1781. By Oct. 23, 1781, Gadsden, Ferguson, Hutson, and Cattell had joined Rutledge at his headquarters in the High Hills of the Santee. Cattell was elected to the House for the General Assembly that convened in Jacksonborough in 1782. Cattell, whose health was declining, was refused permission by Gen. Leslie to travel to two of his plantations behind British lines, despite intercession by Greene. Leslie did grant Cattell's request to go to Philadelphia for his health (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:135-36; PNG, 9:316-17, 468-69; 11:78, 82, 309).

103. Christopher Gadsden was currently serving as lieutenant governor of South Carolina. Thomas Ferguson, Benjamin Cattell, and Richard Hutson were members of the Privy Council. All of them had been captured and paroled at the fall of Charlestown. In Aug. 1780, they were accused of among those 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." (Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 156-57). Gadsden, Ferguson, and Hutson—and 26 other South Carolinians—were sent to St. Augustine, Fla., on Sep. 5, 1780. ("Josiah Smith's Diary" 33, no. 1:3-4, 8) Under the Cartel, they were exchanged but had been sent to Philadelphia by sea, and were just now making their way back south (PNG, 9:469n; Jerome Nadelhaft, *The Disorders of War: The Revolution in South Carolina* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1981), 74; Bragg and McCrady, *Patriots in Exile* (Columbia: USC Press, 2020).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Head Quarters [High Hills of the Santee], Oct. 23^d 1781

Dear Sir:

I have received your favor of the 4th, the man that brought it did not wait for an answer. I am sorry you met with such embarrassments in procuring horses. I find a difficulty in accommodating to the prejudices of the people the idea of stripping the Militia of their horses for the regular Corps being necessary to promote the public service.¹⁰⁴ Both the Militia and regulars are requisite to support the service, and it seems to them like robbing Peter to pay Paul to disqualify the Militia for service to equip the regular force. [I] know of no other mode but the middle path which is to take the horses of those only who don't go into the field. The Governor and my self have had several conversations on the subjects of horses and he appears perfectly disposed to do all in his power, but his means are small and the demands are great.¹⁰⁵ This is a crisis of affairs, a few days and we can better tell what is best to be done with respect to horses. I expect intelligence daily from Virginia, of the most interesting nature.¹⁰⁶

You will please put your self and Corps under the command of General Marion; and follow his orders.¹⁰⁷ Such of your Men as you cannot Mount you will have armed as Infantry and serve on foot. A large body of riflemen are on their march to join General Marion and I am in hopes soon to drive the enemy into Charles Town.¹⁰⁸

With esteem I am dear sir
your Most Obed^t humble ser

N Greene

ADfs (MiU-C), (PNG, 9:466-67)

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104. Horry's letter has not been found. Of note here is the fact that Greene saw the value of militia operating mounted, and the hazard of denying them their horses, which was a marked reversal from his position when he was arguing this point with Marion before and during the siege of Fort Motte, above.
105. Gov. John Rutledge wrote Francis Marion on Oct. 10, above, concerning Horry's impressment of horses, denying he had ever given Horry approval to take such action. Rutledge contradicted himself in a letter of the same date, above, to Horry, in which he wrote, "I should not have Given a Press warrant for Procuring Horses for your Regiment if I could have conceived that the power would have been so abused by any of your officers..."
106. Greene was no doubt referring to news of the successful conclusion of the siege of Lord Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, VA (PNG, 9:467n).
107. Rutledge wrote to Marion on Oct. 24, 1781, below, to tell him he had asked Greene to inform Horry and Maham that they were under Marion's command. See Greene to Marion, this date, above (PNG, 9:467-68).
108. See Greene to Marion, Oct. 23, 1781, above.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham

Head Quarters [High Hills of the Santee] Oct. 23^d 1781

Dear Sir

You will please to consider <yo>urself under the command of General Marion <a>nd you cannot oblige me more than by endeavoring to promote his views; for I have the fullest <con>fidence in his zeal and disinterested conduct being perswaded that nothing but the good of the service is the leading object of all his <me>asures. In filling your Regiment much will <de>pend upon the countenance he shall give <a>nd the service at large should be the object of all.¹⁰⁹ I am told you have suffered greatly on your plantation. It is the fate of war and like a philosopher you must take it with patience. A large body of riflemen <are on> the march to join General Marion, a<nd I> am soon in hopes to drive the enemy low into the County if not into Charles Town. No further news from the Northward, but <t> great events are expected.¹¹⁰ With esteem I am dear Sir

Your Most Obedt humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C); As per PNG: "The ADfS is torn along its edges; missing portions are taken from a GWG Transcript (CSmtt) and are supplied here in angle brackets."

109. See Greene to Horry, Oct. 23, 1781, above. Greene forwarded this letter to Marion, and instructed him to read and deliver it to Maham. See Greene to Marion, Oct. 23, above.

110. Here, Greene referred to the siege of Lord Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, which unbeknownst to him, had already ended with Cornwallis's surrender.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[William Richardson's]¹¹¹ October 24th 1781

D^r. Sir,

I mentioned M^r. Peter Sinclairs case to Genl. Greene. Exchanges between the two Armies are now Stopt, but (between our Selves) the General Consents to your proposing, as without his knowledge, the Exchange of any particular person whom you have, or Can Get for M^r. Sinclair, & I hope you may by this means, fall on some means of speedily releiving him.¹¹² I have sent your letter w^c. mentions Colo. Mahams taking Olivers horse, to Genl. Greene¹¹³ & recommended his signifying to Horry & Mayham that they are under your Orders, & to Acquaint you of that matter also. This will prevent all such & any other disputes with them in future & make them serviceable. I have not heard from the General since, but I have no doubt that he will do this, as in a Convention w^h. him lately upon Horrys Conduct We agreed that he should.¹¹⁴

All the Gentlemen of our Councill, arrived Yesterday.¹¹⁵ No news from Virginia but I Imagine Colo. Lee will be back with in a week, by him I hope we shall have something Important.¹¹⁶ I wish, when you Can get at the Commissions of the Peace which I Gave you, that you woud send them to me, after writing in them the names of as many persons as you think fit for Magistrates. I want to have a List of the new Magistrates published, that people may know who they are, & that the old may forbear Acting, many of them being very improper persons.¹¹⁷ Maj^r. Vanderhorst tells me that the 2^d Cask of Wine which you were so oblidging as to Give Colo. Postell an Order for, had been removed by M^r. Swinton. I wish you woud have it sent to me or if you will let me know where it may be Got & will Inclose an Order for it, when next you write, I will have it sent for. I am told that Putnam is coming up to me to endeavour to Contract for several Articles, However from the Specimens I have had of him I beleave he is very extravagant & am in Great hopes we may Get supplies on much better terms from others, but of that I shall soon judge.¹¹⁸ I have given M^r. Clay, who is gone to Newburn, powers & Instructions to treat with the owners of the prizes lately carried into that port, also with M^r. James Nelson & others about supplies. I have also sent for Wayne to Come up here. I Expect to see him soon, as I am told he went to N^o. Carolina to bring in some

111. Location inferred from Rutledge's presumed location of Oct. 21 (Rutledge to Greene, Oct. 21, 1781, *PNG*, 9:463). In the following Rutledge letters, "William Richardson's Plantation," "Bloom Hill," and "High Hills of the Santee" probably refer to the same location.

112. Gov. Rutledge had voiced his desire to have Peter Sinclair (Sinkler) exchanged in his letter to Marion of Oct. 16, above. Efforts to gain Sinclair's freedom did not succeed. Sinclair died of typhus in the Old Exchange before negotiations could be completed.

113. In his letter of Oct. 18, above, Marion criticized Maham for refusing to obey his order to return Oliver's horse. Marion went so far as to threaten Maham with a court martial if he did not return the horse.

114. Gen. Greene wrote both Horry and Maham on Oct. 23, above, putting them on notice that they were to obey any orders from Gen. Marion.

115. It is not clear if the Privy Council members who left Charlestown with Rutledge had returned to the state with the governor. Charles Pinckney and Daniel Huger, who left Charlestown with Gov. Rutledge, and John Gervais on Apr. 13, 1780, subsequently took British protection. Remaining in Charlestown were Lt. Gov. Christopher Gadsden and Privy Council members David Ramsay, Thomas Ferguson, Richard Hutson, Roger Smith, and Benjamin Cattell. They were shipped off to St. Augustine later. By Jul. 17, 1781, they had been freed and were on their way to Philadelphia (*PNG*, 9:469).

116. Gen. Greene had recently sent Lt. Col. Henry Lee to confer with Gen. Washington in Virginia. Greene's purpose was to provide Washington with a first-hand account of the situation in South Carolina. Lee stayed with Washington as a witness to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on Oct. 19, 1781, and did not return to Greene's headquarters "with in a week." In November, Greene wrote Gen. Arthur St. Clair, "Colonel Lee had just returned from Virginia and brings me the agreeable information that you are on your march to join this Army at the head of the Pennsylvania & Maryland lines." (Greene to St. Clair, Nov. 21, 1781, *PNG*, 9:603).

117. By this time Gov. Rutledge began reforming the civilian government of South Carolina. He enlisted Marion's aid in nominating reliable men to perform key tasks, such as sheriff, justice of the peace, and ordinary. Marion was responsible for nominating officials for Charlestown, Georgetown, and Cheraw districts (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 233).

118. Marion's commissary, William Swinton, wrote to Marion on Oct. 9, 1781, above, informing him that Putnam, a Georgetown merchant, would initiate trade with him, exchanging indigo, rice, or slaves for liquor, blankets, cloth, saddles, and sugar. In the same letter, Swinton mentioned that he had kept the only cask of wine for Marion's use.

Articles, with which he is daily Expected at George Town.¹¹⁹ I sent Mr. Ravenels Mare¹²⁰ to you by Antigua¹²¹ the day before yesterday. I am told one M^cComber, in a Cruising Galley, is on our Coast. I wish this man may not attempt to Carry off negroes & Commit such other Outrages as Anthony & the like have done. I hope however you have Issued Orders, agreeable to my Instructions to the militia officers in your district on this subject. I wish you would send to me per first opportunity a Discharge for one Thomas Ackin, of the 2^d S^o. Carolina Regiment (Conti.) he is unfit for duty & I have promised a friend of his to procure him a discharge in Consideration of his Rendering some Important service to the State.¹²²

I am Sir,
Your most Obdt Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

PS. Be pleased to have the proclamation herewith sent. Circulated in your Brigade.¹²³ Oct. 27 -- Since writing the within, I have received yours of the 23^d Inst. & that which mentions the Conduct of Horry's officers with respect to impressing. I have wrote to the General requesting that he will Consent to your proposing an Exchange of as many of the privates taken by Cap^t. M^cCoomber as will Redeem your other men, besides M^r. Peter Sinclare who are prisoners in Ch^s. Town, & I think he will. I shall Inform you what he says as soon as I see or hear from him,¹²⁴ I have also sent to him your Letter, concerning Colo. Horry & have informed him that If I have any other complaint against Horry, I will revoke the press warrant, & never give him another. Inclosed is a letter for Horry, w^c. I request you will have forwarded (after you have read & Sealed it). but I think the best way would be to send Horry to you & hear what he has to say for such Conduct & talk the matter fully over with him & If he does not Give you satisfactory assurances that he will not abuse the press warrant in future I will immediately withdraw it. be pleased to inform me if you should send for him, what passes on the Occasion.¹²⁵ I find poor M^cCollough is in the provost, However it is Impossible to help him. An offer of an Exchange as the Enemy consider him as one of their subjects, would Injure instead of benefiting him.¹²⁶

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

119. In his letter to Marion of Oct. 6, 1781, above, Mordecai Myers, a Georgetown merchant, mentioned that trading had begun with New Bern, NC. Mr. Clay apparently was representing Rutledge in New Bern to administer the disposition of prizes captured by American privateers. James may have been a New Bern merchant with whom Clay was to work at obtaining supplies for the army. William Wayne was also a Georgetown merchant who Rutledge, in his Sep. 2 letter to Marion, had mistakenly accused of being a signer to the congratulatory letter to Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot upon the successful siege of Charlestown.
120. In his letter to Marion of Oct. 10, 1781, above, Rutledge alluded to an apparent case of unauthorized requisitioning of horses by one of Lt. Col. Lee's officers.
121. Antigua was a trusted slave of Gov. John Rutledge. As a reward for his service, and presumably with Rutledge's consent, the legislature granted freedom to his wife Hagar and their child on Mar. 12, 1783, though not, apparently, to Antigua himself (*Statutes*, 4:545).
122. The identity of Thomas Ackin is not known.
123. The proclamation to which Rutledge referred is not clear. It may have been the one issued on Sep. 27, 1781, above, in which Rutledge offered a pardon to those former Loyalists who chose to serve in the militia for six months. Surprisingly, although implied, the proclamation contained no express requirement that such a Loyalist, after reporting to a Patriot brigadier in accordance with the proclamation, and serving in the militia as specified, must disavow his allegiance to England.
124. Capt. McCoomber may have been a British privateer, who plundered Patriot estates. In the process he presumably captured some of Marion's men.
125. Rutledge referred to Marion's letter of Oct. 23, 1781, extant fragment above, in which Marion complained about Horry's officers impressing horses and equipment from Marion's militia. The original impressment approval came from Rutledge on Sep. 25, and read "You are hereby empowered to impress and take what horses are wanted for your corps, except such as are in the Dragoon service, necessarily employed on duty or belonging to the public." (Rutledge to Horry, Sep. 25, 1781, Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:173) Rutledge's letter to Horry, dated Oct. 27, is below. The letter from Rutledge to Horry was probably enclosed in the first of Marion's Oct. 29 letters to Horry, below. As Rutledge suggested, Marion asked Horry to come to his camp to discuss some "Matters of complaint against your officers."
126. The identity of McCullough is not known with certainty. He might be John McCullough, who was taken prisoner at the Battle of Black Mingo on Oct. 4, 1780. See Marion to Gates, Nov. 21, 1780, above. Capt. James McCullough served in the 1st Regiment of Camden (Loyalist) Militia. The possible reason why an offer to exchange him would be detrimental involved McCullough's status with the British. If the British considered him a British citizen held by civil authorities, and not a prisoner of war, then the request for exchange could have resulted in McCullough being classified as a spy, which would potentially subject him to summary execution. There were also four different William McCulloughs (or McCullochs) who served under Marion. Two of them were killed at Spring Hill Redoubt, but of the other two at least one served some time in Marion's Brigade. Little else is known about them (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 612n1274).

Gov. John Rutledge to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[William Richardson's Plantation]¹²⁷ October 27th 1781

Sir,

Inclosed is an Extract from a Letter which I have Received from Genl. Marion.¹²⁸ It appears very Extraordinary that notwithstanding my Orders with Respect to Empressing, your officers should Act in the manner which the General represents. I desire to hear from you who the officers Alluded to are & what they can possibly can offer in Extenuation of Conduct which may be productive of the most mischievous Consequences, I assure you that if I ever hear another Complaint of the Abuse of the press warrant, which, Confiding in your discreet Exercise of it, I gave you, I will Instantly Revoke it & never Let you have another.¹²⁹ I am very sorry for such Repeated Complaints from Genl. Marion, respecting the officers of your Corps, who appear to take every Step in their power to Abuse, Insult & Exasperate the militia. surely you must see the evil Tendancy of such behaviour & ought to Check it by the most determined Conduct & I hope you will, If not I shall very speedily take such a Step as will most Effectually stop it.

I am, Sir,
Your hum. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

127. Location inferred. Rutledge's location is presumed to be Richardson's Plantation, where he had been encamped on Oct. 24, 1781. See Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 24, above.

128. The letter to which Rutledge referred may have been the one of Oct. 23, 1781, fragment above, in which Marion informed Rutledge that, despite admonishments from the governor, some of Horry's officers forced newly drafted members of Col. John Ervin's militia to give up their horses, arms and equipment for the use of his dragoons. Had the militia resisted giving up their horses and equipment, Marion said that Horry's men would have taken them by force.

129. Rutledge had given Horry impressment authorization by letter on Sep. 25, 1781 (Rutledge to Horry, Sep. 25, 1781, Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:173).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. William Richardson

[The following is a summary of the letter's contents.]

[Cap^t Canteys Santee]¹³⁰ October, 28, 1781

Most interesting letter in which Marion tries to make arrangements for the shipment of Indigo to Philadelphia¹³¹ “for the support of my nephews in the College...I wish it could be soon as my boys are suffering from want of winter cloths...”¹³²

Tr (American Antiquarian Society), *Books & Autographs*, Carnegie Book Shop, New York: 1948, Catalog 134.

130. Location inferred. Marion was probably at Canteys's Plantation, since he was encamped there on Oct. 25, 1781, and wrote a letter from there on Oct. 29, below.

131. Marion may have written this letter from his plantation at Pond Bluff or another Marion plantation in the area, such as Belle Isle or Walnut Grove, since the inquiry was about sending his own indigo to Philadelphia. By his letter of Sep. 1, 1781, above, Rutledge informed Marion that Capt. [William] Richardson would “procure Indigo & Specie for public use.” It is presumed that Marion had received approval from Gov. Rutledge to send indigo from his Pond Bluff plantation, or one of the plantations owned by one of his deceased brothers' estates, of which Marion was the executor. By this time, however, it would not have been surprising if Marion's plantation had been ravaged, since it had been sequestered by the British (George Smith McCowen, *The British Occupation of Charleston* (Columbia, SC: University of SC Press, 1972), 153-54). It is presumed that the plantations of his Marion relatives on the south side of the Santee River, if not sequestered, were undoubtedly plundered as well. As a result, there may not have been much indigo left.

132. The “boys” were likely Marion's nephews, for whom he was responsible. Robert Marion was the son of Francis's brother, Gabriel, and Theodore Samuel Marion (b.1764) was the son of his brother Job. Both graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1784. Francis Marion left Theodore a bond in the amount of £177, payable in 1796, a year after his own death (Univ. of Pennsylvania archives; Francis Marion Estate Inventory, 21 Sep 1795, Tr [SoCoAH]); Marion, Mary Esther, Exrx. of Francis Marion vs. Theodore S. Marion, Judgment Roll, SoCoAH, Record: 76 of 196 records; Series L10018, Year 1800 Item 0365A date 1800/06/20).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Cap^t Canteys Santee]¹³³ October 29th 1781

Sir,

I have the pleasure to Inform you from Authority, that Lord Cornwallis & his Army surrendered prisoners of War to Gen Washington on the 17th Instant.¹³⁴

Some of your officers have taken two Swords & saddles from Brown & Orr, of Capt. Green's Company, which you will Order Restored as they are my lighthorse & Constantly on duty, & must not be disarmed.¹³⁵ I wish to see you as soon as possible, that I may know for a Certainty if the Complaints against your officers are to be depended on. I am told that Captⁿ. Black is with you please Order him to come to me to Answer for his Conduct, which has been much Complained of, if he does not come I shall send & take him.¹³⁶ Colo. Mayham is on Command over the River with 70 of his horse, Compleat & equipt, he will do something. I shall be Glad to know how many of your Cavalry is Compleatt for duty, that I may know how to Call on you if necessary.¹³⁷

I am, with Regard,
Your obdt Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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133. Marion's location is presumed to have been John Canteys's Plantation on the north side of the Santee River. Marion encamped at Canteys's Plantation on Oct. 25, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703). In addition, a second letter of Oct. 29, to Horry, below, was written from Canteys's.
134. Marion's information was generally accurate but his date was incorrect. Charles Lord Cornwallis surrendered his entire army to George Washington at Yorktown on Oct. 19, 1781. Cornwallis's submission ended weeks of anticipation that a combined Franco-American army and naval force would overwhelm the British army. The surrender marked the permanent end of the possibility of a British counter-offensive in the South. From that point on, the outcome of the war was no longer in doubt. Subsequent military actions did take place. However, their purpose was driven more by the need to obtain provisions for an army under a loose siege, rather than offensive actions designed to occupy territory.
135. In a letter of Oct. 23, 1781, fragment above, Marion related that some of Horry's officers had taken horses and equipment from Col. John Ervin's militia. It is not known whether Greene's Company was part of Ervin's regiment.
136. William Black served as a captain in Col. Horry's light dragoons (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 73). As noted in Horry's letter to Rutledge of Oct. 31, 1781, below, Black was previously a member of Marion's Brigade. At the time of the incident at Col. Ervin's muster, Black was assisting Augustus Elholm in recruiting. Elholm had served in Pulaski's Legion from Apr. 1778 and was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown in May, 1780. He was exchanged in Jun. 1781, and then served as a cornet and lieutenant in the cavalry under Capt. Richard Gough and Col. Peter Horry from Aug. 1781 through Jul. 1782, but at this time he was serving as Horry's recruiter. His assignment was cut short when Rutledge changed the recruiting policies, forbidding the use of substitutes and also the option of men paying a fee to avoid service in the militia. Horry had used both tactics in an effort to raise troops for his cavalry regiment. Horry unsuccessfully recommended to Gen. Greene that Elholm be commissioned in a SC Continental Regiment. Despite meeting with Greene, Elholm was denied the commission by Gen. Isaac Huger, the commander of the new South Carolina Line. Greene indicated that, based on his conversation with Huger, Elholm could not join the regiment, since he did not have the approval of a majority of the officers of the regiment (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 288; Horry to Rutledge, Oct. 31, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Greene to Horry, Mar. 29, 1782, *PNG*, 10:558; Horry to Greene, May 28, 1782, *PNG*, 11:259; Greene to Horry, Jun. 8, 1782, *PNG*, 11:306-07n).
137. In a less than subtle barb, Gen. Marion informed Horry that at least part of Maham's new regiment was prepared to support Marion. Horry had been having difficulty in recruiting, training, and equipping a similar regiment.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Cantey's Plantation, October. 29th 1781

Sir,

I Received yours of the 28th Ult^o.¹³⁸ with the return of your Corps. I this day wrote you for it, but find you are not yet in a Condition to Act & shall not Call on you but when necessity oblige me. Just now I have a large body of Cavalry & can Give you time to Compleat the most of your men, I have not one Musket to spare & you may take any Arms from men who have Given substitutes or money to procure one, but no other.¹³⁹ You will Receive my letter wrote this morning wherein I desired to see you to settle some Matters of complaint against your officers & If Convenient you will come whenever you think your Corps is in a state to Act¹⁴⁰__ I shall find Employment for them.

I am

Your humbl. Servt

Fr^s. Marion

NB. I have plenty of ammunition.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

138. The letter of Sep. 28 has not been found.

139. The issue of improper impressment, whether from indifference, a misunderstanding of the authorized process, or from a perceived urgent necessity to complete the regiment, had recently been a subject of major controversy. Here, Marion clarified the conditions under which Horry could impress horses and equipment, and that current militia soldiers were not to have their horses or equipment impressed.

140. In the first letter of this date, above, Marion was forceful in expressing his need to see Horry. Here, however, his tone was not at all demanding, implying that the apparent dissatisfaction with Horry was not as great as earlier indicated.

Resolution of Congress

[Philadelphia] October 29, 1781

Resolved, That a sword be presented to Colo. Williams of the Maryland line¹⁴¹ for his great military skill and uncommon exertions on this occasion.

Resolved, That a British standard be presented to Major General Greene, as an honorable testimony of his merit, and a golden medal emblematical of the battle and victory aforesaid.¹⁴²

That Major General Greene be desired to present the thanks of Congress, to Captains Pierce and Pendleton, Major Hyrne and Captain Shubrick, his aids de camp, in testimony of their particular activity and good conduct during the whole of the action:

That a sword be presented to Captain Pierce, who bore the general's despatches, giving an account of the victory, and that the Board of War take order herein.

Resolved, That the thanks of the United State in Congress assembled, be presented to Brigadier General Marion, of the South Carolina militia, for his wise, gallant and decided conduct, in defending the liberties of his country; and particularly for his prudent and intrepid attack on a body of the British troops, on the 30th day of August last; and for the distinguished part he took in the battle of the 8th of September.¹⁴³

Resolution, Oct. 29, 1781, JCC, 1085; DNA: PCC, No. 19, II, folios 471 to 477.

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141. Col. Otho Holland Williams was Gen. Greene's adjutant general. He also commanded the Maryland Continental Brigade, consisting of the 1st and 2nd MD Regiments, which, at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, were instrumental in nearly driving the British from the field. Greene wrote of Williams's leadership that "...the Maryland Troops under Col^o Williams were led on to a brisk charge with trailed Arms, through a heavy cannondade, and a shower of Musquet Balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both Officers and Soldiers upon this ocasion. 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." Greene continued, "I think myself principally indebted for the victory we obtained to the free use of the Bayonet made by the Virginians and Marylanders, the Infantry of the Legion, and Captain Kirkwood's Light Infantry..." Greene concluded his commendation by writing, "I cannot help acknowledging my obligations to Col^o Williams for his great activity on this and many other occasions in forming the Army, and for his uncommon intrepidity in leading on the Maryland Troops to the charge, which exceeded anything I ever saw." (Greene to McKean, Sep. 11, 1781, PNG, 9:331)
142. Although the British under Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart held the field, the Continental Congress considered the action at Eutaw Springs to be a victory for the American forces, because of the devastating losses by the British and because the British marched southward shortly after the battle, leaving the Americans to bury the dead.
143. Brig. Gen. Marion commanded the first line at Eutaw Springs. It consisted of SC Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens's militia on the left, Col. Francois Malmedy's NC militia in the center and Marion's own SC Brigade on the right. The militia fought valiantly, holding steady and firing 17 rounds before withdrawing (Rutledge to SC Delegates, Sep. 9, 1781, "Letters of Rutledge," 18 (1917):139; PNG, 9:335n). The reference to Aug. 30 is to Marion's stunning victory over the British cavalry at Parker's Ferry.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Q[uart]ers, High Hills Santee, 30 October 1781]¹⁴⁴

D^r Sir

I congratulate you on the glorious [news of] the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his whole army. It is said to have happened on the 17th. An official account has not yet come to hand, but the report comes through such a channel that I have no doubt of its authenticity. The particulars are dayly expected.¹⁴⁵

The prisoners you sent up the other day not taken in arms are by the approbation of the Governor [John Rutledge] and Council released. Inhabitants not taken in arms were never considered proper subjects of exchange and the practice of making prisoners on either side of such can only lead to increase the Miseries of war without producing any [rational?] advantage. I have remonstrated against the practice to General Gould¹⁴⁶ and informed him of the release of those prisoners you took and demanded that those of the fore going description taken on the Santee should be set at liberty, and at the same time have informed him that if he countenances the practice of confining unarmed Citizens, which is contrary to the Customs of all Nations at war, that it will necessarily produce it on our part however disagreeable.¹⁴⁷ Such as belonged to the Staff of their Army and to their regular Corps are continued prisoners as objects for exchange.¹⁴⁸

I am dear sir your most obed^t humble ser

Nath Greene

ADfS (NNPM), PNG, 9:496-97.

144. Date and location inferred, date from docketing, and location from other letters of this date (PNG, 9:497n).

145. The date of Cornwallis's surrender was actually Oct. 19, 1781. An official report from Gen. Washington was drafted on Oct. 24, but had apparently not yet arrived (Washington to Greene, Oct. 24, 1781, PNG, 9:479-81). Marion was in fact already aware of this news, as evidenced by his letter to Horry of the previous day, above.

146. Paston Gould (?-1783) was a career infantry officer. He was a captain in 1755, a major in 1762, a lieutenant colonel in 1764, and was promoted to full colonel in the 30th Foot in 1777. He became the senior British officer in South Carolina upon his arrival in the state in Jun. 1781, having recently been given the local rank of brigadier general. He gave little support to the attempt to relieve Ninety Six that month, but in July he exercised some initiative when he went to the aid of Lt. Col. James Coates at Shubrick's Plantation. Gould marched after Greene's army following Eutaw Springs, going as far as Laurens's plantation on the Santee River before heading down the Santee to Murray's Ferry and back to Charlestown. British high command recognized Gould's shortcomings and replaced him with Gen. Alexander Leslie in Nov. 1781. He left the army in 1782 due to illness and died a year later (Gould to Cornwallis, Jun. 2, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:294; Gould to Clinton, Sep. 30, 1781, PRO CO 5, Vol. 104; Greene to Gould, Oct. 29, 1781, PNG, 9:495; PNG, 9:310n, 9:531n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 440).

147. It is clear from Rutledge's letters to Marion on Oct. 16 and 24, 1781, both above, that Marion was trying to obtain the exchange of Peter Sinclair, a Georgetown merchant (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:191, 196). The prisoners referred to here may have been taken in an attempt to force the British to release Sinclair. In a letter to Marion of Nov. 5, below, Greene apparently referred to those prisoners when he wrote: "Officers of Militia not in Arms are upon the same footing as privates. Those you sent up are put upon parole until the enemy gives an Answer upon the subject." Greene complained to Gen. Paston Gould on Oct. 29, writing "Taking up and confining unarmed Citizens is a practice so contrary to the customs of all nations at war..." Greene pointed out that in the North unarmed citizens were not harmed by either side. He threatened Gould, writing "You taking up unarmed Citizens on your part will necessarily produce it on ours." He requested Gould release all the citizens "upon the Santee lately taken by your Army." (Greene to Gould, 29 Oct 1781, PNG, 9:495).

148. Rutledge wrote to Marion on Oct. 24, above: "Exchanges between the two armies are now stopped." Marion replied to Greene on Nov. 2, below.

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Gov. John Rutledge

[Indiantown] October 31st 1781¹⁴⁹ [from a Copy]

Sir,

Yesterday & to-day, three of your Excellencies Letters came to my hands dated 5th, 22^d and 27th Insts. In the first I am directed to Inlist no more men for a less time than three years.¹⁵⁰ As substitution is Stoppt, I have Ordered in all my officers having no more money. The second prevents my taking any more substitutes, as you are of opinion a better method may be fallen on to recruit Cavalry than Exempting the militia from duty for Trifling sums. General Greene directed no particular sum to be received, but only Giving a substitute, which was done Either by money or otherwise & Gen^l. Greene nor myself could at that time devise no better method to procure Regular Cavalry which was much wanted as the Enemy appeared to be Augmenting theirs.¹⁵¹ Inclosed please to receive a return of my substituting Concerns & the names of Volunteers that do duty with me. It is needless my mentioning either M^cCormicks or Miller's Cases to Gen^l. Marion as I find him not disposed to Give or Receive any Information from me.¹⁵² Your last letter Inclosed an Extract of a Letter from General Marion which says, These are such Charges that I hope your Excellency will Give me leave to Endeavour to Confute them. A Captain Black, General Marion's officer and not my officer, but a person that assisted Cornet Elholm my recruiting officer on Pee Dee, coming down with some men which Elholm sent me, Called in at the Musterfield & it appears that he behaved much amiss in Endeavouring to Empress,&c. but while he continued with me w^c. was several days I had no Complaint made against him & if he was my officer & acted wrong my quarters was directly in Colo. Irvins route to Gen^l. Marions camp & he or Gen^l. Marion could with great ease have informed me of it, or any person whatever that will Lodge Information to me against any of my officers, will find that I am far from upholding them in any Abuse of the Inhabitants, or of Power Given them, but will Enquire strictly into their Conduct & Give satisfaction to the Complainant. But General Charges are unfair & ungenerous & difficult if not Impossible to Vindicate ourselves against. General Marion charges always say Your officers, but do not name the officer in particular¹⁵³ In Respect to a Contempt of Authority, I never shewed any to your Excellency or Gen^l. Marion, whose Authority I never Doubted or disobeyed,¹⁵⁴ he, a good while ago & then only was pleased (amidst so many general Charges of Complaints made to you against my officers) did write me as follows: "I am Informed that you, or some of your officers had Ordered a Tar Kiln of Brockintons to be set on fire to make Coals for your workmen, If it is done those that Ordered it shall pay the Value of it. Cap^t. Lenud had Given M^r. Snow an Order Respecting his property. If I find it true that Gentleman shall be Immediately put under Arrest & tryed by a General Court Martial for Assuming a power which is only vested in the Governour & delegated to me, I have heard a number of Liberties which yorn officers have taken out of their Sphere & line of duty. I shall in future take

149. The location is taken from Horry's letter to Greene of the same date, below. Gibbes used Oct. 30, 1781 as the date (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:204). However, in his response to Horry of Nov. 4, below, Rutledge referred to Horry's letter of "31st Ult^o."

150. The letter of Oct. 5, 1781 was enclosed in Rutledge's letter of the same date to Marion, above, along with one from Rutledge to Col. Hezekiah Maham. Marion's letter is extant. However, the Horry and Maham letters are not.

151. In his letter of Sep. 14, 1781, above, Greene's aide, Capt. William Pierce, gave Horry the general's approval to utilize substitutes in order to increase recruiting for his cavalry regiment, writing "You may continue to receive or not receive Substitutes for the Militia, as you may Judge best Calculated to promote the public good." Horry's confusion was understandable, considering the criticism aimed at him from both Rutledge and Marion, which contradicted the new instructions from Greene. Much of the ambiguity stemmed from Greene not initially establishing a clear chain of command relationship among Marion, Horry, and Maham, as well as the conflicting guidance from Greene and Rutledge concerning substitutes.

152. The cases of McCormick and Miller are unknown. It is quite possible that they had to do with militia service. Horry's thinly veiled sarcasm about Marion's unwillingness to communicate with him is telling. In his letter of Nov. 9, 1781, below, Marion authorized Horry to take Col. Miller before a magistrate if he felt the forgery charges were true.

153. In his Oct. 27, 1781 letter, above, Rutledge had severely criticized Horry for his handling of his officers and the perceived abuse of the impressment authorization he had given to Horry. The criticism here was a direct result of an Oct. 23 letter, fragment above, from Marion to Rutledge. The complaints about Horry's officers, ironically, were a direct result of actions by Marion's own subordinate, a Capt. William Black. Marion, apparently cognizant of the mistake, had ordered Horry to send Black to his camp in an Oct. 29 letter, above. The letters of criticism and letters of explanation seem to have passed each other, creating follow-up letters and continued discord.

154. A charge of "Contempt of Authority" would have been a serious charge. However, the specific wording is not found in any extant letters to Horry.

such Steps with them as will bring them to their senses, for I think they are Intirely out at present.”¹⁵⁵ On receipt of this Letter I Immediately wrote the General In Answer that Capt. Lenud was absent, that I know nothing of his Order to Snow, nor had I or any of my officers, to my knowledge, ordered any Kiln to be set on fire; That if any of them behaved Amiss they were Answerable, & would suffer for it. Since that I have had no Complaint from Gen^l Marion, & it was very Easy for him to name the officer, which any Complaint was Lodged against & if he did not Confide in my enquiries of the matter, he could write me to send him the officer or to Order him under arrest;¹⁵⁶ however I am since told it was his officer that Ordered the Kiln to be set on fire & not mine; & Capt. Lenud says he only gave Snow a protection for a Horse against any of his parties taking him, as he thought the horse unfit for our service, Thus you see how tales Run to the General & how Ready & Willing he is to hear & beleave them against myself & officers & as readily Conveys them to your Excellency, & under the ungenerous Charge of Colo. P. Horry’s officers. However, after all his Complaints I received his letter Yesterday dated 29th Inst. his words are “I wish to see you (for now I am immediately under his Command & he finds that you have sent me an Extract of his Letter) as soon as possible that I may know for a Certainty if the Complaints against yorn officers are to be depended on,” so that after Endeavouring to Injure us in your Excellencies oppinion & drawing your displeasure on us, he now wishes to know if what he has asserted be true.¹⁵⁷ If General Marion’s Motives for this & other Charges against us do not appear to your Excellency, to me they are obvious,¹⁵⁸ but I wish not to tire your patience; Reprimands I am not Accostemed to, & such your Excellencies letter appears to me to be, & so Severe a One, that in the corse of near seven years’ Service, I never Received from any of my superior officers, & it hurts me much to Receive this unmerited one from your Excellency. I value my Commission as serving my Country with honour & reputation which I have ever Endeavoured to do, free from any other Interested Motives & I assure you my property is no way Augmented by Serving my Country, but much the Reverse. If my Conduct is so offensive, your Excellency or Gen^l Marion had best Order a Court of Enquiry on the same, or that I be tryed by a Court Martial; then I may have an opportunity of Vindicating myself & silence Gen^l Marion’s Complaints. I have by General Marions Orders sent for Capt. Black to come to him to Answer Complaints Lodged against him & no other officer has ever been named to me, but Captⁿ Lenud,¹⁵⁹ Major Benson will wait on your Excellency & fully Inform you of all the grounds of all these Complaints, which I hope will satisfy you, however If not & you do not Rely on my State of the matter, I will Endeavour to Get Leave of my Good friend General Marion & with my papers letters &c. support these my assertions.

I Am Your Excellencies Obdt. Servt.,

Peter Horry

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

155. The Marion letter quoted is that of Sep. 23, 1781, above.

156. Horry apparently responded to Marion’s letter of Sep. 23, 1781, shortly after its receipt but the response is not extant. Horry sent Marion a second letter, dated Oct. 5, above, in which he supplied the names of artificers employed to make the equipment necessary to outfit his regiment.

157. Marion was following the suggestion offered by Rutledge in his Oct. 24, 1781 letter, above: “I think the best way [to resolve the issue] would be to send Horry to you & hear what he has to say for such Conduct & talk the matter fully over with him...”

158. It is unclear as to what Horry’s insinuation here referred.

159. An officer mistakenly identified as a member of Horry’s regiment had accosted militia being mustered by Col. John Ervin. Capt. William Black of Marion’s Brigade, who was assisting Horry in recruiting, was the officer who committed the infraction. Capt. Lenud apparently had exempted Mr. Snow’s horse from impressment. See Marion to Horry, Sep. 23, 1781, and Marion to Horry, Oct. 29, 1781, both above.

Gov. John Rutledge to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[High Hills of the Santee]¹⁶⁰ October 31st 1781

[Dr Sir,]

I have received your letter of the 28th Inst.¹⁶¹ per Lieut. Huggins¹⁶² but I sent to you under Cover to Genl. Marion last Week a full Answer to your Letter on the same Subject of Volunteers & substitutes so that it is Unnecessary to Repeat here what you have Certainly Received some days ago,¹⁶³ M^r. Snipes is much mistaken as to what you mention¹⁶⁴ I have given Orders to the Colos. of the Southern Regiments on that point & desired Colo. Sanders¹⁶⁵ to show Capt. Kirkburn my Letter relative to it.

I am sir,

Your very hum. Servt.

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

160. Location inferred. Rutledge is presumed to have been with Greene at the High Hills of the Santee, from where Greene wrote to Marion on Oct. 30, 1781. In the Oct. 31 letters Horry wrote to Greene and Rutledge, he informed each of them that Maj. William Benison would wait for replies. See Greene to Horry, Nov. 6, (*PNG*, 9:536).

161. The letter of the 28th has not been found.

162. Benjamin Huggins served in the 2nd SC Regiment, under Capt. Charles Motte, from Jul. 1, 1779. During Apr. 1781 he became an ensign and, in 1782, he was promoted to lieutenant. He later served as an adjutant under Col. Peter Horry (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 470).

163. Rutledge probably referred to a letter for Horry, which he enclosed in the Oct. 24, 1781 letter to Marion, above.

164. Snipes was presumably Maj. William Clay Snipes. The subject on which he was “mistaken” is not known.

165. John Sanders (sometimes “Saunders”) should not be confused with Loyalist Captain John Saunders. [Click here for a brief bio of Patriot John Sanders.](#)

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Indian Town, Octob^r 31st 1781 (Copy)

D^r General,

Agreeable to your orders I have put myself & Corps under General Marions Command.¹⁶⁶ I before wrote you that while the Enemy Continued in the Country¹⁶⁷ I was willing to submit to your Commands & be in any manner Employed by you in the Service of my Country that you thought fit. I used to submit to Gen^l Marion's Orders with pleasure, but at present I assure you it is disagreeable to me & all my officers that have Experienced his late usage.¹⁶⁸ That gentleman, for Reasons to me obvious, but which I forbear to trouble you with, Seems to have used every means in his power, by writing to ye. Governour, to prejudice myself & officers in his opinion, & has drawn two severe letters from the Governour to me which are such Reprimands, that the like [I] never in near seven year's Service Experienced from any of my Superior Officers, & which I declare to be Groundless,¹⁶⁹ & which, Indeed, Gen^l Marion writes that he wishes me to Come to his Camp to know for a Certainty 'if the Complaints against my Officers are to be depended on,' after writing them to the Governour as facts,¹⁷⁰ I wish you to Inform me, if myself & Corps are on Continental or State Establishment; if on Continental I shall Receive my Orders from no other person but yourself & wish you to send me Commissions for my officers No more substitutes being allowed & my money being out, I have ordered in all my Recruiting officers, & wish to know how I am to Compleat my Command of men.¹⁷¹ Major Benson [William Benison] waits on you & will Convey your commands to me.¹⁷²

I am Dr General
Your Obdt Servt.

Peter Horry

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

166. Greene wrote Horry on Oct. 23, 1781 above, "You will please to consider [yo]rself under the command of General Marion [a]nd you cannot oblige me more than by endea[v]oring to promote his views; for I have the fullest [con]fidence in his zeal and disinterested conduct being perswaded that nothing but the good of the service is the leading object of all his [me]asures." On Oct. 30, Greene reiterated the order (Greene to Horry, Oct. 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:503).
167. Horry probably referred to his letter to Greene of Jun. 28, 1781 (Horry to Greene, Jun. 28, 1781, 8:471; *PNG*, 9:503n).
168. Marion's and Horry's mutual antipathy during this period stemmed from Horry's impressment practices. See Marion to Horry, Sep. 23, 1781, and Greene to Horry, Oct. 23, 1781 both above.
169. On Oct. 10, 1781, Rutledge wrote to Horry, above, that "General Marion informs me, that some of your officers have behaved very much amiss in Empressing Plow Horses, breeding Mares two years old, & Yearlings." Rutledge wanted the animals returned (*PNG*, 9:504n).
170. Horry and Marion met and apparently resolved this conflict. It is unclear, but likely, that Marion reported Horry's actions to Rutledge and Greene, as Horry was considered to be on either the continental or state establishment, meaning Marion was no longer in his direct chain of command. Apparently, Horry was unclear on this question as well, directly asking Greene to clarify his status in his letter of Oct. 31, 1781 above. Marion and Horry agreed that any further complaints about the militia would first be discussed between them (Horry to Greene, Nov. 8, 1781, *PNG*, 9:546-47).
171. Rutledge wrote Horry, "I think much more money might and should have been paid than I find was by many persons from exemption from militia duty, and I hope a much better method may be taken to recruit our Cavalry than the exempting men from militia for trifling sums." (Rutledge to Horry, Oct. 22, 1781, Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:194-95).
172. Greene replied on Nov. 6, 1781, below, giving no military orders but imploring Horry to mend the rift between Marion and himself, "General Marion cannot wish to injure you after knowing how much you have done and suffered for the cause. It is your interest to be friends. It is the interest of the public that you should be so; and let me beg of you to endeavor to render things as agreeable as possible. The General is a good man. Few of us are without our faults, let his virtues veil his if any he has. Let neither pride[,] passion or resentment hurry you into any thing that may widen the breach between you. Your bleeding Country demands a sacrifice of little injuries and your own good sense will point out the best means of avoiding them."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Canteys 2 Nov^r 1781

Sir

The Enemy is yett at Wanto[ot]¹⁷³ Commanded by Col. Stewart, a party was yesterday at M^r James Sinkler I suppose to Intercept a boat with rice Coming up to me, but she got safe.¹⁷⁴ They are very sickly, & have Lost a great many men & seven Off^{rs} one a Major.

Col. Maham returnd from a tour to Cainhoys, unluckily the Enemys horse was sent to the Army Except a dozen, which came out so little a way that only one was taken near their Abbattis. He burnt One Sloop & a schooner in Cooper river, which Came up for provisions for the Enemy. They are still Collecting all the provisions on the river & sending it down by Water. Their Cavaldry Keep so close their main body that nothing can be done without attacking the whole, which by the best Information is two thousand Including Militia.

Col^o Shelby is Arrived & Wish I coud imploy him to Advantage but cannot at present find an Object, without I make a shew of Investing Dorchester to draw their Army from their present post down. This may be done with safety, If Col. Lees Cavaldry was Joined to Horrys & Mahams.¹⁷⁵

I have thirty barrells rice at Murrays Ferry. If you want, that Article you may have part & can send down the river for any quantity. I rec^d yourse of the 30th & will Observe the Contents.

I have the Honor to be your Ob

Fran^s Marion

LS (MIU-C), Parks.

173. Wantoot Plantation, which belonged to Daniel Ravenel, was five miles west of current Bonneau, SC, and is now under the waters of Lake Marion.

174. James Sickler's Plantation, known as Belvidere, was on the south bank of the Santee, near the Eutaw Springs Battlefield. It is also now under Lake Marion (Lipscomb, "SC Battles" 26 (1979):34, cited in *PNG*, 9:522n).

175. Greene replied on Nov. 5, 1781 below.

Gov. John Rutledge to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[High Hills of the Santee] November 4th 1781

Sir,

I received yours of the 31st Ult. with the several Papers Inclosed in the letter which is Referred to. I am Exceeding sorry for the misunderstanding wc. seems to have taken place between Gen^l Marion & you; however I am in hopes now that you & he are together it will subside & nothing of the sort happen in future. I could not suppose that his complaints of your officers' Conduct were Ill founded, therefore, I Expressed myself as if they were Just__ I am Glad to find your Account of the matter so favorable, & doubt not that General Marion will be Convinced that he has been misinformed¹⁷⁶__ When I was at M^{rs}. Mottes, at Congaree, about 12th September, I Gave Major. Hyrne Commissions for all the officers of your Corps as well as of Colo. Mahams. You may therefore get Commissions for your officers by sending to Major Hyrne.¹⁷⁷

I am Sir

Your very hum. Servt

J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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176. The Oct. 31, 1781 letter from Horry to Rutledge, above, contained a refutation of all the complaints made by Gen. Marion about the conduct of Horry's officers. Rutledge had suggested in his letter to Marion of Oct. 24, also above, that Marion meet with Horry to resolve their differences. Here it may be presumed that Horry had met with Marion. Rutledge had echoed Marion's complaints to Horry, based on his (Rutledge's) presumption that Marion's information was correct, but Marion had apparently been mis-informed.
177. In his letter of Oct. 31, 1781 to Greene, above, Horry requested commissions for his officers. It is curious that the response to the request should have come from Rutledge, but could be explained if the commissions were as State Troops. Maj. Hyrne was aide de camp to Greene, who at that time was also serving as commissary of prisoners.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Mr. Richardson's Plantation Novem 5th 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 2^d I have receivd. Officers of Militia not in arms are upon the same footing as privates. Those you sent up are put upon parole until the enemy gives an Answer upon this subject.¹⁷⁸

General Sumter has orders to take post at Orangburgh to prevent the Tories in that quarter from conveying supplies to town¹⁷⁹ and his advance parties will penetrate as low as Do[r]chester; therefore you may act in conjunction with him or employ your troops on the enemies left as you may find from information they can best employe[d]. Please to give me your opinion on which side you think they can be most useful. Also give me an account of the force you have with including the rifle Men[,] Horry, & Mayhams Corps.¹⁸⁰

With esteem & regard

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obd^t

humble Serv.

Nath Greene

ALS (00xM), Miami University, Oxford, OH, Letter & transcription (corrected)

178. See Greene to Marion, Oct. 30, 1781, above. For more on Greene's back and forth with his British counterpart, Gen. Paston Gould, on the subject of prisoners, see *PNG*, 9:531.

179. In a letter to Sumter of Nov. 2, 1781, Greene wrote that the establishment of a post at Orangeburg would "check their [the enemy's] insolence and prevent supplies from going to Charles Town as well as be in a position to aid and succour the Regiments and Inhabitants upon Ponpon...The Tories will be afraid to go above it, and if they should steal parties into the Forks of the Edisto, they cannot get off the Cattle without the greatest difficulty and hazard." (Greene to Sumter, Nov. 2, 1781, *PNG*, 9:518).

180. Marion replied on Nov. 8, 1781 below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Head Quarters [High Hills of the Santee] Novem 6th 1781

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 30th October by Major Benson [William Benison] I have received.¹⁸¹ Nothing gives me greater pain than to find disputes and disagreements beginning among Officers high in rank or on whom the people have their eyes for examples. Such disputes will weaken our own exertions and encourage the enemy; for they will be informed of all these matters. The high opinion I have of both of you as well in matters of patriotism as good sense, induce me to hope that you have but to meet and all matters will be accommodated to your Mutual satisfaction. General Marion cannot wish to injure you after knowing how much you have done and suffered for the cause. It is your interest to be friends. It is the interest of the public that you should be so; and let me beg of you to endeavor to render things as agreeable as possible. The General is a good man. Few of us are without our faults, let his virtues veil his if he has any. Let neither pride[,] passion or resentment hurry you into any thing that may widen the breach between you. Your bleeding Country demands a sacrifice of little injuries and your own good sense will point out the best means of avoiding them.. I beg leave to recommend harmony and concord between you as the most effectual way of rendering the service most agreeable to your selves and beneficial to the public.¹⁸²

Our public affairs are at such a crisis and the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army will make such a change in our measures particularly in the Cavalry department that I cannot at present decide any thing on that head, nor until I receive General Washingtons dispatches which are daily expected.¹⁸³ As soon as this happens you shall hear further from me on this subject.

I am, dear sir

Your Most Obed^t humble. ser

Nath. Greene

ADfs (NNPM), PNG, 9:536-37.

181. Horry's letter, actually dated Oct. 31, 1781, is above.

182. Horry replied to Greene on Nov. 8, 1781 that he had served under Marion for seven years and greatly admired him but had been deeply hurt by his and Rutledge's censure of his conduct, and he hoped to vindicate himself to Greene. He reported that he had met with Marion in person and that they had agreed that in the future, all complaints about Horry's conduct would be addressed to him directly first (Horry to Greene, Nov. 8, 1781, PNG, 9:546-47).

183. Gen. Washington had written Greene on Oct. 6, 1781, that he intended to send to him "as many of Whites, Moylans and Baylors Cavalry as can be mounted, Cloathed and equipped." (Washington to Greene, Oct. 6, 1781, PNG, 9:428n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Cantey Plantation]¹⁸⁴ November 6th 1781

Dr Sir,

Captain Withers¹⁸⁵ arrived here w^h his Troops Yesterday, 2 OClock P. M. which came too late, for the present design,¹⁸⁶ but a Grand Movement will take place in two or three days, when I shall pass the River. Gen^l. Greene has Called for your Return, which I will send the one you made me, but must take Notice you mention in your last that Cap^t. Withers has all that is fit for duty. If you have any more men fit for duty, I beg you would send them to me Immediately, as I am oblinded to take post low down the Country.¹⁸⁷ Inclosed is what you desire.

I am, w^h. Great Regard
Your Obdt. Servt.

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

184. Location inferred. Marion was encamped at Cantey's Plantation on the north side of the Santee on Nov. 2, 1781. He was also at Cantey's on Nov. 8. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 8, below.

185. William Withers served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment under Col. Peter Horry and as a private, lieutenant, and captain in the militia under Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1007).

186. It is unclear as to what "the present design" referred. In his letter of Nov. 2, 1781 to Greene, above, Marion indicated that, although Col. Isaac Shelby had arrived, he had no duty for him. In his Nov. 5 letter, above, Greene asked Marion for his suggestions on how to proceed.

187. In his letter of Nov. 2, 1781 above, Marion wrote to Greene about making "a shew of Investing Dorchester to draw their Army from their present post down. This may be done with safety, If Col. Lees Cavaldry was Joined to Horrys & Mahams."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Canteys 8th Nov^r 1781

Sr

Yours of the 5th Ult^o [sic. Inst.] came to hand. Inclosed is the returns of the troops under my Command Except Col^o Maham's who is Just now over the river, as soon as can get his return will send it. He has seventy horse fit for service, at present & I believe he can in a Little time furnish ten or a dozen more.

I think it woud be best to take part on the Left of the Enemy, near Hugers Bridge, to prevent the Enemy from supplys from S^t Thomas and S^t Johns; & hope to prevent any boats passing Cooper & Wando Rivers to town.¹⁸⁸

I shall pass the Santee River tomorrow or Next day, at furthes[t]. The Enemy has not yett moved from Wantoot.¹⁸⁹

Captⁿ Postel has been with me and I am anxxious of having him relieved, & hope Captⁿ Campble will not be Exchanged untill he is liberated.¹⁹⁰

I have the Honour to be your Ob^t st

Fran^s Marion

NB. The Enemy has just two regiments to Wappetaw Meeting house; in taking part at Hugers Bridge I must have all Mahams & Horrys horse or I cannot Maintain my ground, as the whole force of the Enemys Cavildry will Operate against me, besides what Infantry they may send from their Main body or Wappetaw, as I shall not be twenty miles from Either.¹⁹¹

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

188. On Nov. 5, 1781 above, Greene had asked Marion whether he thought he would be most useful operating in conjunction with Sumter on the American right near Orangeburg or operating on his own on the left flank. Here Marion chose the left (*PNG*, 9:549n).

189. According to his letter of Nov. 10, 1781, below, which was addressed from Cantey's, Marion had still not left.

190. For more on Postell, see Marion to Greene, Aug. 18, 1781 above. Capt. Colin Campbell's capture had been reported in Marion's letter to Greene of Sep. 3, above.

191. Marion wrote to Horry on the next day, below, that he was waiting "for the Remainder of your Cavalry fit for duty to pass the River." This may explain part of the delay beginning his advance. However, his letter of Nov. 10, below, also mentions that the change of plans was motivated by Marion's belief that the enemy had recently been reinforced in his sector, which turned out to be false (*PNG*, 549n).

Maj. John Doyle*¹⁹² (Dep. Adj. Gen.-British) *to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

H^d. Quarters, Camp at Ravenels plant^{a193} November 9th 1781

Sir,

I am directed by Brigadier General¹⁹⁴ Stewart¹⁹⁵ to state to you an Outrage that has been offered by a party (who style themselves under your Command) to a safe Guard placed at the widow Ravenel's plantation, for the purpose of Protecting her house, altho' her family are avowedly opposed against us.¹⁹⁶ Some day last Week, a Certain M^r. Daniel Ravenel,¹⁹⁷ with some armed men, came to M^{rs}. Ravenel's, & after abusing the safe Guard, left solely for her protection, took from him his Sword which they have carried off & never since Returned. As such Improper behaviour will be the means of preventing the Generals protecting the peaceable, helpless Families as he would wish to do without Respect to Party, he therefore desires me to Represent to you the necessity of Ordering the Sword to be Immediately Returned to the safe guard, which as Consonant to Policy as well as humanity__ the General has no doubt you will Readily Acquiesce in¹⁹⁸__ upon every movement of the British Troops, the General would wish to send safeguards to the neighbouring plantations to protect the harmless neutral Individuals but for the fear of their being ill treated by the mistaken Zeal of the Irregulars of your party¹⁹⁹__ It would seem well worthy the attention of both Armies to prevent as much as possible the horrors of War being carried to Extremes, by Stamping upon safeguards the respect & Sacredness which they Receive in every Civilized Country.

I have the honour to be Sir,
Your most obdt Servt

J. Doyle, Dep: A. Gen^l.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

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192. Maj. John Doyle had developed a close relationship with Lord Rawdon, serving as his deputy adjutant general. It is presumed that after Rawdon left for England in Aug. 1781, his successor, Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart retained him as a valued member of his staff.
193. This may have been Daniel Ravenel's Plantation, known as Wantoot, located north of Moncks Corner, five miles west of current Bonneau, SC. It is now under Lake Moultrie.
194. Stewart was actually still a lieutenant colonel at this date, though he would be promoted to brigadier general shortly after, and was already acting in that capacity. It is curious that Doyle would give him that title here, but presumably the characterization reflected the role, rather than the official reality of Stewart's rank.
195. Stewart had replaced Lord Rawdon as commander of the army outside Charlestown. Stewart arrived in South Carolina in Jun. 1781, but had been seriously wounded at Eutaw Springs, and temporarily incapacitated. Presumably he was back in the field by this date, though he was now serving under Gen. Paston Gould, who outranked him.
196. It is unclear why Stewart would post a "safeGuard" to protect Patriot sympathizers from the Patriots. It is possible that Stewart posted the guard to protect Mrs. Ravenel from roving Loyalists, or that his concern had more to do with the provisions her plantation could provide than with the safety of her family.
197. Daniel Ravenel owned Wantoot Plantation, having married into the family of the original owners, the St. Julien family.
198. There is no record of the sword being returned. This is a very strange story and the editors have no idea what to make of it.
199. By Gov. John Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above, the status of "neutral" had been eliminated. If a "neutral" person or Loyalist did not commit himself to the Patriot cause by pledging allegiance to the United States and South Carolina, and by serving in the militia for six months, he and his family were sent to the British lines and their property confiscated.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Cantey's Plantation?]²⁰⁰ November 9th 1781

Sir

I Received yours of yesterday's date, I only wait for the Remainder of your Cavalry fit for duty to pass the River. My Orders from Genl Greene is to take post on the left of the Enemy and I think to take post at or near Hugh [Huger] Bridge in St Thomas. Genl Sumpter is to take post at Orangeburgh and to penetrate Dorchester. My post will be Active and make no doubt the Enemy horse will try to Remove me, which is the reason I am anxious to Get as many Cavalry as will be a Match for them. You will find me there or about that Quarter and shall be happy to see you if it will not Retard the Compleating your men. If you have Reason to beleave that Col Miller has forged the Certificates, you will have him before a Magistrate and if Proved send him to Jail for forgery and a Cheat; if you are apprehansive he will make his Escape, you will send and take him and then Carry him before a Justice of the Peace; and should nothing be Proved against him, and there is yet presumptive Proof, you will Either keep him in Confinement, or send him to me, and I will Endeavour to make such a Villian suffer for such Attrocious a Crime; which is not to be Past over by any means whatever.²⁰¹ Enclosed is an Order for salt, and beg you will be saving in that Article as my stock seems low, for I have supplied Genl Greene and almost every Corps in the State, for a Considerable time. I am sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing Capt Gough²⁰² who past within half a mile of me, the Reason he Gave for not Calling was, was Angry with the Corps he was in, which I am sorry to find any Gentleman can have so little and dispicable an Idea of me. If I find fault with Officers for any thing I am made to beleave they have Acted wrong. I cannot be Angry with any one, but the very Action itself and I assure you I am not Capable of Anger with individuals. Then I am acting in a publick Capacity, but for publick Errors against the good of my Country.

I am Dr Sir With Esteem
your Obedt Servt

Fra Marion

NB The post I mean to take and that of Genl Sumpter's is a secret²⁰³

Tr, PNG (Parks); This letter was obtained for use in the preparation of the PNG, but was not included in that collection.

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200. Location inferred. As seen in his letter to Greene of Nov. 8, 1781, above, Marion was at Cantey's Plantation on that date. He indicated he would pass the [Santee] River by Nov. 10. According to this letter, he was waiting on the cavalry of Maham and Horry. Apparently, Maham's horse had arrived, since here he mentions only waiting for Horry's regiment to cross the river.
201. Horry complained to Gov. Rutledge on Oct. 31, 1781 above, about an issue with Miller and McCormick. In that letter he implied that relations between himself and Marion were not good, "I find him not disposed to Give or Receive any Information from me." The issue here may have had to do with militia enlistment. However, the tenor of Marion's letter indicated a more serious infraction. There is no record of the resolution of the commission forgery issue.
202. Capt. Gough had been Marion's confidential aide since May 28, 1781. See General Orders of that date, above. His behavior was symptomatic of the entitlement of a large subset of the militia officers, who were mainly made up of the planter class.
203. Marion described generally that he would take a position on the "left of the Enemy," as the American Army tightened the noose around the British at Charlestown. However, taking post at Huger's Bridge in St. Thomas would be on the British right, which would make sense if Sumter was in Orangeburg to threaten more directly the British left in the vicinity of Dorchester. In his letter of Nov. 10, 1781 below, Marion mentioned the danger of taking post on the left, which seems to clearly indicate he meant the *Patriot* left. His reason for the nota bene is unclear, unless it was added to confuse the British should the message be intercepted.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Cantey's 10th Novr 1781

Sr

I this moment have Intelligence from a woman Just from Charlestown that General Lesley Landed there with a number of troops.²⁰⁴ She saw them but could not tell how many. A party of two hundred (one half mounted Infantry) was at Laurenses ferry the day before yesterday took two men & Left one very badly wounded. They were men from the S^oWard.²⁰⁵ Yesterday a large body was in S^t Stephens. The Enemy receiving a reinforcement make it too Dangerous to take post on the Left as mentioned in my last, for i[t] will be impossible to make a retreat in that Narrow Ground when two body are against me; I think proper to postpone my Intended march until I hear from you.²⁰⁶

I have sent severall times Large partys Over the river, to take if possible some of their foragers but they move with all their Caveldry & Six or Seven hundred Infantry. They have taken a great number of Negroes out of S^t Stephens & S^t. Johns.²⁰⁷ I suppose to work on their fortifications. The regiments sent to Wappetaw is the Sixty third & York Vollanteers.²⁰⁸

I have the Honour to be
y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:557.

204. This intelligence was partly correct. Leslie had indeed landed on Nov. 8, to take command in the Southern Theater. He had not, however, brought any reinforcements with him, and his duties primarily involved holding onto Charlestown as leverage in the peace negotiations.

205. This likely referred to either Col. John Barnwell's or Col. William Harden's regiments from the southern region of the state. There does not appear to be any other primary documentation of this engagement (PNG, 9:557n).

206. Greene replied on Nov. 11, 1781, below.

207. Marion dispatched Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham to prevent the British from confiscating slaves in the mentioned parishes. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 18, 1781, below (PNG, 9:557n).

208. Wappetaw referred to both a church and a bridge over the Wando River, sixteen miles north of Charlestown (PNG, 9:557n).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

H^d. Quarters [High Hills], Nov^r 11th 1781

Dr Sir,

I have received your favor of the 8th. It affords me Great pleasure to hear you & General Marion²⁰⁹ have come to a satisfactory Explanation, Men of honest hearts & good Intentions very seldom persecute each other long, after an opportunity of Comparing notes, Especially when both parties are Govern'd by Reason & benevolence__ Blankets are so scarce with us that more than three fourths of our men are without__ M^r. Clay is gone to Newbern to purchase a Quantity, should he succeed Equal to his Orders, & you fail I will try to assist you, tho' the Extent of my Orders will not come up to our demands__ Gen^l. Marion will Inform you of the Enemy's Loss in Virginia.²¹⁰

With esteem I am Dr sir

Your most obedt humble Servt.

Nath. Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

209. The rift between the once close Horry and Marion was, by this point, quite wide. Both Rutledge and Greene had written Horry on Nov. 4 and 6, 1781, respectively, both above, urging him to reconcile. Marion wrote Horry directly on Nov. 9, above, somewhat passive-aggressively that "If I find fault with officers for anything I am made to believe they have done wrong, I cannot be angry with any one, but the very action itself, and I assure you, I am not capable of anger with individuals, when I am acting in a public capacity, but for public errors against the good of my country." (PNG, 9:558n).

210. See Greene to Marion, Nov. 11, 1781 below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [High Hills Santee] November 11th 1781

Dear Sir

I have just received your letter of yesterday. The reinforcement you mention renders your prop[os]ed plan of operations upon the enemies left a little dangerous until you know more of their strength and intentions.²¹¹ By Col Morris I was informed that General Lesley was in New York, but I thought from the circumstances of the storm in which he departed it was much more probable that he was lost.²¹² That the enemy would either evacuate or reinforce Charlestown I had not the least doubt upon the fall of Lord Cornwallis. If the reinforcement is considerable we may have active operations again as there will be a dispute for the Country. We are preparing to get in motion. You will watch the enemy narrowly and let me know if they make any movement. Should the enemy attempt to cross the Santee desire Capt Eggleston who is on Black River to join you.²¹³ I will write to him to that effect. General Sumter is gone to take post at Orangeburgh.²¹⁴ Inclosed is an extract from General Washington Letter from which you may see the enemies loss in Virginia is very great. Further particulars are daily expected.²¹⁵

I am dear sir

your Most Obed humble ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

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211. Marion had reported to Greene on Nov. 10, above, that Leslie had landed in Charlestown with reinforcements, which turned out to be only half true, as Leslie had arrived—but without additional troops. However, operating on the assumption that British strength had been considerably bolstered, Greene urged caution regarding Marion's plan to advance.
212. Morris's letter has not been found. Lee had written to Greene on Aug. 18, 1781 that he had received intelligence from Charlestown that Leslie had arrived but that "A most violent hurricane" had driven him back to sea and he had been obliged to sail to New York, delaying his arrival in South Carolina by three months (Lee to Greene, *PNG*, 9:203, 204n).
213. Joseph Eggleston had been left in temporary command of Lee's Legion, and wrote to Greene on Nov. 14, 1781, confirming that the Legion would accompany Marion (Eggleston to Greene, Nov. 14, 1781, *PNG*, 9:572; *PNG*, 559n).
214. See Greene to Marion, Nov. 5, 1781, above.
215. The enclosure was presumably extracted from Washington's letter to Greene of Oct. 24, 1781. See Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:211-12.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

East of Santee 14th Nov^r 1781

S^r

I rec^d Yourse of the 11th Ult²¹⁶ Tho I did not think it Safe to take post at Hugers Bridge I thought it best to pass the river the 12 Inst. with my whole force & take position from which I could Easisly Annoy the Enemy & Where I shall be Glad to see them Attempt removing me.²¹⁷ Col^o Maham will Join me this Day, which will give me a Superiority of Caveldry, & hope to make their post at Wantoot uneasy to them & prevent their foraging. Yesterday Some of their horse was within two miles of me & another party of two hundred went up the river above Nelsons yesterday Morning[.] They Patrole from James Sinklers up to Lawrences Dayly, & by their taking every Negroe in their way & plundering every person without Distinction, they have no Intention of Crossing the river & it is my Opinion they mean to “Evacuate, & go off with as much property as possible, & I think they will push for Georgia by land with part of their force, for it is impossible they can find shipping to carry off so great a number of Negro[e]s as they have collected. The women and children cannot be of any use to them in town but only increase their want of provisions.²¹⁸ I have hear nothing since my last of Lessley [sic] only he was in town. A prisoner of war, this also comes by two ladys [sic]. The troops arrived in town, I hope [it] is only those from Wilmington as a small reinforcement--a day of two, we shall be certain__²¹⁹

I have the honour to be your Ob^t

Sv^t

Fran^s Marion

NB This is the Last of the papr I have__

The Rendells, Inc., Catalog #165 [18 Apr. 1983], Parks; Closing and NB ALS. (Sotheby's, New York, Nov. 14, 1978, lot 515) Note from the editors of *PNG*: “About sixty percent of this letter was taken from a copy of the ALS, reproduced in a dealer's catalog. The rest is from a transcription of the letter in the same catalog.”

216. Greene's letter of Nov. 11, 1781 is above.

217. After deciding that his original post at Huger's Bridge was too exposed, Marion instead moved to Peyre's Plantation between Murray's Ferry and Lenud's Ferry. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 8 and 10, 1781 both above (*PNG*, 9:573n).

218. As per *PNG*: “Marion was mistaken in assuming that the British were planning to evacuate South Carolina. It is not known why the British were stripping the Santee River plantations of slaves.” (*PNG*, 9:573n).

219. This intelligence was false.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Camp, High Hills of the Santee, 15 November 1781]²²⁰

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 14th is just come to hand: it is now late in the afternoon. As you are at liberty to act as you may think advisable I have no particular instructions to give you; and only wish you to avoid a surprise. General Sumter is gone to Oran[g]burgh and the Army will move on that route the day after tomorrow.²²¹ What you conjecture respecting the evacuation of Charlestown may take place, but if it does the Garrison will not go [to] Savannah nor do I believe an evacuation probable, that of Wilmington I think likely.²²² As soon as we cross McCords Ferry please to give me intelligence of your position and I shall depend upon your guarding our left after we get down as low as Four Holes to which place we shall march by slow and easy marches.²²³ Should the Enemy have in contemplation a retreat to Georgia by land the Four Holes will be a proper place to intercept them on the march. But be assur'd they will not attempt it, nor can I flatter you with the hopes of getting rid of them at so easy a rate. I expect several more good hard fights this winter; and if we hold our ground until Spring possibly an evacuation may take place, for fear of a combined operation with the French fleet; which we can hardly hope for this fall;²²⁴ but let this rest with your self; and also keep our intended position a secret until we are better informed respecting it and its advantages.

I am dear Sir

your most obedient [servant?]

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:577-78.

220. Date and location inferred by the editors of *PNG*: “The date was taken from the docketing; the place from other letters of this time.” (*PNG*, 9:578n).

221. In a letter of Nov. 2, 1781, Greene ordered Sumter to establish a post at Orangeburg. Sumter’s advance troops were repulsed by a Loyalist force led by William “Bloody Bill” Cunningham. The remnants of the Patriot troops came into Sumter’s camp, eight miles from Orangeburg, on Nov. 14 (Greene to Sumter, Nov. 2, 1781, *PNG*, 9:517-18; Sumter to Greene, Nov. 14, 1781, *PNG*, 9:575).

222. Marion had written on Nov. 14, 1781 that he believed the British would evacuate Charlestown. Greene was skeptical, and thought they would evacuate Wilmington instead. Greene turned out to be correct on both counts (*PNG*, 9:578n).

223. Marion replied on Nov. 21, 1781, below.

224. Without naval support, the Americans had little hope of capturing Charlestown, as there was no way to seal it off from receiving supplies by sea. Greene was correct that it was too late in the season for De Grasse’s fleet to reposition from the Chesapeake, where it had recently forced Cornwallis’s surrender. However, he hoped that if they could contain the British to the city itself and liberate the rest of the state, the enemy might evacuate when the 1782 season opened, rather than risk being trapped.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Peyres Plant^a East of Santee 18th Novr 1781

S^r

Finding the enemy Constantly Patrolling on the river and plundering the Inhabitants of S^t Stephens and S^t Johns of Negroes, and every article of Life, I sent Col. Maham with one hundred & Eighty horse & two hundred of Col^o Shelbys and Seviars riflemen, to Indeavour to Intercep them, or Draw out their Caveldry & to recover if possible A Number of Negroes they were sending to town. He Set out on Thursday (Nov. 15) & went around their Incampment, but they kept Close. He then went below Monks Corner, to Fair Lawn where the Enemy had their Hospital. He took one L^t, two surgeons & brought of Eighty Convellessent. Parole the Off^r & two Doctors who was very sick & burnt Fair Lawn house with a Number of Arms & stores which they could not possible bring off. Col. Maham Gives Col^o Shelby the greatest Applause for his readiness & the good order he kept his men.²²⁵

I have sertain Intelligence of Gen^l Lessley, coming to town but with only Six men. He came from New York in a Sloop. His Orderly say they Seen the French fleet in Chesapeak they pass't.²²⁶ The Enemy is yet very Sickley, and it is Said they are to go to town as soon as they hear you are reinforced. The only Advantage of my position will be to keep the Enemy from forraging any Distance from their main body which I hope will Oblige them to move their quarters, as they Draw forrage a great distance at present.²²⁷ If I find it practicable will take post on their Left near Hugers Bridge in a few days.²²⁸

Intelligence from town say the Inhabitants & Hessians will not Oppose us, if we appear before the town, & they will be the greatest confusion as they & the toryes will not fire a gun, many of the Latter is Left them, as they find the Enemys Intention is to git them in town.²²⁹ We are very Impatient to hear of Gen^l Waynes arrival,²³⁰ tho' I expect it is all the Assistance we may depend on, & I believe the town will not be ourse so soon, as I believed Some time agoe & must be content to be in the woods for another year which will Leave very Little property for Either part to Posses.²³¹

I have the Honor to y^r Ob^t s^t
Fran^s Marion

NB Col Shelby has my permission to retire to N^o Carolina.²³²

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:589-90.

225. For a detailed account of the raid by Maham, Shelby, and Sevier on the British post at Fair Lawn Plantation, see Charles B. Baxley, J. Brett Bennett, and C. Leon Harris, "Incident at Fair Lawn Plantation: How a Raid Ordered by Gen. Francis Marion Led to the Burning of a Hospital," *Southern-Campaigns of the American Revolution*, v.1.5.pdf, Vol. 18, No. 1.5, (August 2021).
226. Here Marion revised his earlier intelligence from his letter of Nov. 10, above. Leslie had in fact arrived in Charlestown, but not with any significant reinforcement.
227. Marion was largely successful in this goal, as the enemy abandoned their post at Wantoot only a short time later. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 2, 8, and 14, 1781 all above, and Marion to Greene, Nov. 25, 1781, below (PNG, 9:590).
228. A few days turned into a week, as it was not until his letter of Nov. 25, 1781, below, that Marion confirmed he was moving (PNG, 9:590n).
229. As the British abandoned their back country posts, they had offered protection to the Loyalist refugees they brought with them. Initially they had been promised confiscated Patriot plantations within the British-held perimeter around Charlestown, but that perimeter had grown smaller and smaller, and now they were settled on the very outskirts of the city, in what became known as "Rawdon Town." New orders from the British now required them to move within the city itself, prompting many to abandon the Crown and return to their homes to risk the wrath of their neighbors rather than relying on a doomed military garrison that could not even feed or house, let alone protect them, and which they feared would abandon them as soon as it proved politically expedient (PNG, 9:590n; Lambert, *SC Loyalists*, 174, 216, 227-29; Alexander Leslie to Sir Henry Clinton, Dec. 27, 1781, K.G. Davies ed., *Documents of the American Revolution* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972). 20:287).
230. On Nov. 30, 1781 Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne informed Greene that, because the British had evacuated Wilmington, NC, his arrival in Charlestown would be expedited, that Greene "may therefore expect to see (in the course of a few days) one who is with much Esteem & Affection Your Most Ob^t Hum^l Ser^t..." Wayne reached Greene's camp on Jan. 4, 1782 (Wayne to Greene, Nov. 30, 1781 PNG, 9:644).
231. Marion was correct in his time frame. It would be just over a year before the British finally evacuated Charlestown (PNG, 9:590n).
232. Greene urged Marion to try to convince the Overmountain Men to stay, at least until Wayne's Continental reinforcements arrived. If any attempt was made, it was not successful, as attested in Marion's letter to Greene of Nov. 25, 1781, below.

Maj. John Doyle [Dep. Adj. Gen.-British] ***to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion***

H^d. Quart^{er} Camp at Ravenels, Nov^r 20th 1781

Sir:

I am directed by Brig^r. General Stewart to represent to you an outrage²³³ that has been committed by a party of your Corps under the command of Colo. Mayham upon a parcell of Sick helpless Soldiers, in an Hospital at Colleton's House, on the morning of the 17th Instant²³⁴ __ The burning an Hospital & dragging away a Number of dying people to Expire in Swamps, is a species of Barbarity hitherto unknown in Civilized Nations Especially when that Hospital has been left without a Guard for its defence that could Justify an attack upon its defenceless Inhabitants__ For the sake of humanity sir__ the General is willing to beleave that such unmanly Proceedings could not meet your Countenance & He therefore Expects that those unhappy sufferers may be sent Immediately as Prisoners on Parole to prevent their perishing for want of necessaries & Medicines.²³⁵ The Sick & helpless seem not propper objects for Military prowess, & attacks on Hospitals are, among your own Continental Army, hitherto Unprecedented & the hospital at Camden was by Gen^l. Greenes Order protected, altho' it had an Armed Guard for its internal police.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obd^t hum. Servt.

J. Doyle, D. Adj. Gen.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

233. Doyle had expressed similar outrage in a letter of Nov. 9, 1781, above, in which he complained of a sword being taken from a 'safe Guard' at the widow Ravenel's, by Daniel Ravenel and other armed men.

234. Marion's letter of Nov. 18 indicated that Maham set off on Thursday, Nov. 15, 1781.

235. Maham felt that he was justified in burning the hospital at Fair Lawn, since the building also served as a storage location for guns and other military supplies. In addition, Maham contended that most of the "patients" were really soldiers fit for duty and that in the past British soldiers had been billeted there. In the aftermath, Gen. Greene empaneled a court of enquiry. No decision was ultimately made (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 259; Oller, 209-210). Gen. William Moultrie provided a clue as to what may have actually occurred when he wrote "Colonel Mayhem was constrained to burn the house because his men were making too free with the liquors" (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:296).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 21st Nov^r 1781

Sr

Yourse of the 15th Ult^o came to hand and wish to know where you will want me to take post. If I take post near Manigalts or between the Corner & foreholds [i.e., Four Holes] there is no subsistence for Either man or horse. I think to go Near Bonneaus Ferry to prevent the Enemy Drawing subsistence from S^t Thomas parish, where there is a quantity of provisions & stock.²³⁶

The Enemy Left Ravenels yesterday morning & is gone Downwards, how far I have not yet Learnt, but beleive they will go below Goos Creek.²³⁷

The mounteneers²³⁸ are all to go away the 25th Inst. Col [John] Sevier had proposed to Inlist His men for a twelve month & Continue with us. He wishes to know If you will Give him Instructions for that purpose.²³⁹

I have the Honor to be y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

Greene Orderly Book (NNF), Parks.

236. Bonneau's Ferry was on the East Branch of the Cooper River, very near its junction with the West Branch.

237. In his letter of Nov. 2, 1781, above, Marion reported to Greene that the British were at Daniel Ravenel's Wantoot Plantation, seven miles north of Moncks Corner, writing: "The Enemy is yett at Wanto[ot] Commanded by Col. Stewart..."

238. The "mountaineers" were the Overmountain militia from west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, in what is now Tennessee, Kentucky, and southwestern Virginia, commanded by Cols. Isaac Shelby and John Sevier, who had been serving with Marion. Many of the men who served in this expedition left pension accounts, including Micajah Adams, who wrote:

"in the fall of the year 1781 as well as now recollected he was drafted in the County of Sullivan then North Carolina now Tennessee for the Term of four months enrolled in the said County of Sullivan under Colonel Isaac Shelby & Captain Topp [probably Capt. Roger Topp] was marched to Santee River in the State of South Carolina by way of the Yellow Mountain, Burke County N. C. then to the Tuckaseegee Ford on the Catawba River then through Chestnut [?], Camden South Carolina from there on to Santee where he joined General Marion's [Francis Marion's] Army." (Micajah Adams, pension statement, S1783).

239. Greene replied on Nov. 24, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter²⁴⁰ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Orangeburgh, Nov^r 23rd, 1781

Sir,

I have some reason to think Gen^l. Greene don't mean to move downward untill the lower posts are well Explored & the number & situation of the Enemy very Accurately Ascertained. I am perfectly unacquainted with the Enemy's positions & strength towards Cooper River, to know which & to Confer with you upon several other points of Consequence__ I send Major Bleauford,²⁴¹ the Bearer hereof, to wait upon you, in whom you may Confide & whom I beg you would Give your oppinion upon such matters as I have directed him to Mention to you. The most profound Secrecy is Absolutely necessary, Certain disappointment & Ruin would attend our operations to have the design known__ The Enemy in this quarter are numerous in horse but not formidable, I Refer you to the Major for particulars as he is able to give you the fullest Account of the State of things.²⁴²

I am sir With Great Respect,
Your Most obdt hum. Servt.

Thos. Sumpter

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

240. Gen. Sumter had been out of action since the beginning of Aug. 1781. After his joint force of militia and Continentals led by Marion, Henry Lee, and himself, had been rebuffed at Quinby Bridge in mid-July, Sumter's reputation took a hit. It was further soiled by his order to plunder the Loyalists of Georgetown. Gov. Rutledge, who returned from Philadelphia to South Carolina early in August, quickly asserted his authority. In Rutledge's absence, "Sumter's Law," a policy conceived by Sumter, and approved of by both Rutledge and Greene—but not Marion—to use plunder and slaves as a means of payment to obtain the necessary recruits for the new SC State Troops, was widely implemented. In many cases it became a license to plunder both Loyalist and Patriot estates in the name of obtaining necessary provisions at any cost. On Aug. 5, 1781, Rutledge issued a proclamation, above, forbidding the practice of plundering. Sumter interpreted this policy change as a personal attack. As the overall commander of the South Carolina militia, he traveled to the High Hills of the Santee to confer with Greene and Rutledge. After the meeting, Sumter was sent on a recruiting mission into North Carolina. In his absence Col. William Henderson took over his command. Sumter's absence opened the door for Marion to ascend to the top position in the state militia. Sumter's status upon his return is uncertain. It does not appear that he resumed overall command. There had been no communication between the two militia generals since Marion's letter to Sumter of Jul. 28, above. Sumter returned to the High Hills at the end of October, after hearing of Cornwallis's surrender from Rutledge. Rutledge assigned Sumter and his brigade, whose temporary commander, William Henderson, had been wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, to control the area around Orangeburg.
241. William Bleauford (Buford, Bluford) served as a captain, major and colonel in the militia under Col. William Hill and Gen. Sumter (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 120). Sumter had dispatched him to bring in a Tory leader named Henry Gisendanner. However, Bluford failed in this object (Bass, *Gamecock*, 212; Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter*, 189).
242. Sumter's description of the Enemy as "not formidable" is curious, since after Bluford's failure a second force under Sumter's command was routed by a large force of Loyalists under Maj. William Cunningham near Rowe's Plantation on Nov. 13 1781. Cunningham was in the midst of what became known as the "Bloody Scout," a reign of terror that resulted in the killing of numerous Patriots.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee] Novem^r 23 1781

D^r Sir,

Herewith you will receive several writs, (according to the list underwritten) for Electing Members of the Senate & house of Representatives. I Request that you will be pleased to insert in Each the names of three such persons as you think most proper to Manage the Elections & then have the writs forwarded by Careful hands as soon as possible to those persons, or one of them that they may proceed to the Election of this business.²⁴³ You will observe that where an Election cant be held in the parish or district for which members are to be Chosen, it must be held in the nearest to it where the Greatest Number of Persons intituled to Vote can meet with safety & Convenience__ Upon this point you will be able to form a good Judgmen, & I wish you would Give the Managers whom you appoint your advice with Respect to the places most proper for holding these Elections where they Cannot be held in their own parishes.²⁴⁴ In such cases I should suppose that Elections for several parishes might be held at one place, It would be best to fix on such places as we have good Reason to believe Elections may be held at. However, I have no Doubt that you will have this matter conducted in the best manner.

I am w^h great Regard, D^r. Sir,
Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

J. Rutledge

Writs of Election for the Parishes of Christ Church; St. Johns, Berkley County St. James Goose Creek, St. Thomas & St. Dennis St. James Santee; Prince Frederick, St. Stephen, St. David, for members of the Senate & House of Representatives__ a writ for Electing Members of the House of Representatives for All Saints__ Writs of Election for a Member of the Senate for prince George, Winyaw, & all Saints, members of the House of Representatives for Prince George, Winyaw__ Be pleased to forward Immediately by a Trusty person (& with a Guard if Necessary) the packet herewith sent for General Barnwell.²⁴⁵

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

243. Upon Gov. Rutledge's return to South Carolina around Aug. 1, 1781, he issued various proclamations as one step toward re-establishing civil government in the State. He also enlisted Francis Marion's assistance in naming justices of the peace, sheriffs, and ordinaries. In order to convene the legislature, it was necessary to elect a new General Assembly. As another indication of Rutledge's confidence in Marion, the governor directed him to organize the election of members of the House of Representatives and Senate. In addition to the need to reorganize the government in preparation for the gradual evolution from martial law to civil administration, it was felt that a functioning government in the state would minimize the potential that the British could use their continued occupation of Charlestown as a bargaining chip when peace negotiations commenced.

244. Although not all district seats in the state had been re-captured, it was still necessary to hold elections to enable those districts to be represented.

245. [Click here for a brief bio of John Barnwell.](#)

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters Bucks Head Nov 24th 1781

Dear Sir

Your letters of the 18th and 21st of this month I have received.

The enemy complain of the inhumanity of Col Maham in attacking and dragging off a number of their distressed sick from their hospital. I shall be obliged to Col Mayum to give me a particular report of the condition of the prisoners he made, as well as the manner of making them; also of the special reasons which induced him to burn the hospital. I have not the least doubt but that their charges are groundless as to inhumanity, and that burning the hospital was to destroy the stores, which could not be affected any other way, but I wish to have materials to contradict their charges with.²⁴⁶

I am very sorry the riflemen are going so soon. I understood [from?] Colonel Shelby and Sevier that the men were engaged to stay until Spring or until Charlestown was reduced. In expectation of their cooperation with us we are on our march to the Four Holes.²⁴⁷ If they leave us before our reinforcements arrive it will both embarrass and expose us. They are on the march and will be here before many days. Tell them therefore that I beg them to continue with you until they arrive. Wilmington is evacuated which will give the enemy here a reinforcement; and therefore we shall be the more exposed if they leave us.

Please to inform me how and on what terms Col Sevier can enlist his men; and if upon a consultation with the Governor & Council I can think myself justifiable and the conditions are agreeable I will take the matter under consideration.

I am afraid the position you propose upon the enemies right will expose our left when we move down. We must if possible endeavor to post our troops as to be able to collect and combine our force upon the shortest notice. But if the enemy are gone as low as Goose Creek the danger of your position will be less. At any rate you must keep patrols on the enemies right to make as early discoveries as possible of any movements on our left and let those patrols have orders to give us the earliest intelligence thereof.

If you think the Cattle of St Thomas parish in danger I would not hesitate to have them drove off. Doubtless as the enemy find themselves stretched for provisions they will push for Cattle most under their command and it appears the parish of Saint Thomas is favored [for] sudden descents; and the nearer they draw to town the greater detachments may be made for this sort of service. You can best judge how far the swamps and thickets are to be depended on for security to those Cattle. I would not wait to move them if they are not in danger for they may serve by and by for our own subsistence.

Have you heard of any action to the Southward lately? Reports prevail of two. One at Port Royal, the other by General Twiggs, in both of which we were successful.²⁴⁸

I am dear sir

Your Most Obed humble s^{er}

N Greene²⁴⁹

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:618-19.

246. For more on the hospital incident, see Marion to Greene, Nov. 18, 1781 above; Doyle to Marion, Nov. 20, above; and Marion to Greene, Nov. 30, below (PNG, 9:619n). In a report to Greene on Nov. 27, and in direct contradiction to the description offered by Doyle on Nov. 20, Maham summarized the situation at Fair Lawn, describing the conditions as very unhospital-like—the hospital was surrounded by an abbatis, served as a staging center for troops coming from and going to Charlestown, and stored 300 stand of arms—and outlined the steps he took to provide for the sick and wounded—paroling the surgeons and lieutenant, escorting the 12 prisoners too sick to travel to the nearby fort, and mounting the rest not fit for duty, even though they could walk (Maham to Greene, Nov. 27, 1781, PNG., 9:630-31).

247. Marion wrote to Greene on Nov. 30, 1781, below, that he and Sevier believed the Overmountain Men could be induced to stay, which is curious because on Nov. 27, also below, he reported they were all “returned home.” (PNG, 619n).

248. On Nov. 30, 1781, below, Marion reported to Greene that the Wilmington garrison, “sd to be 300 men and a great many toreyes and Negroes,” had arrived in Charlestown (PNG, 619n).

249. See Marion’s reply of Nov. 30, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Stephens 25 Nov^r 1781

S^r

I sent you a Line p^r Felder to Acquaint you of my situation & the Enemys movements.²⁵⁰ They Left Fair Lawn yesterday morning in great haste & is gone towards town.²⁵¹

Inclosed is a piece of paper of the Enemys Strength taken from G[en. Alexander] Stewarts Orderly Serg^t who we took at Monks Corner near their lines.²⁵²

Two thirds of the mounting men has Left me the Other third I sent under Col. Maham to Attack the redoubt at Wappetaws Meeting House & shall follow them this moment.²⁵³

If you Shoud want me, I will be found in S^t Thomas Parish near Hugers Bridge, and shall be glad to know your particular Commands.²⁵⁴

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^r

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

250. This presumably referred to Marion to Greene, Nov. 21, above.

251. Gen. Alexander Leslie wrote to Sir Henry Clinton on Nov. 30:

“I found the corps under Colonel Stuart consisting of one thousand seven hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry posted a few miles above Monk’s Corner waiting the movements of the rebel army which had been on the High Hills of Santee since the action at the Eutaws: but upon the approach of their reinforcements from Virginia which are now near at hand, Greene has moved across the Santee and I have directed Colonel Stewart to fall down on this side of Goose Creek. This movement I was led to make not only to avoid any decisive action but from the present disposition of the [British] army, which I am with regret obliged to say appears to want confidence in a great degree.” (Leslie to Clinton, Nov. 30, 1781, PRO 30/55, cited in *PNG*, 628n).

252. The count was enclosed with the letter, and reported that Stewart had 1,193 fit for duty, 695 in hospital, and 233 sick in camp, for a total force of 2,121 (*PNG*, 628n).

253. The redoubt was already abandoned. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 27, below.

254. Greene, via his aide Thomas Shubrick, responded on Dec. 7, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Hugers Bridge S^t Thomas 27 Nov^r 1781

Sr

My last of the 25^h Ulto mention that I sent Col^o Maham, to attack the Enemys post at Wappetaw, when he got there he found it Just Evacuated, & the Enemy retreated to town in Great precipitation. The last Account of their main body was they Was below Goos Creek. I shall Indeavour to Drive all the Cattle from the rivers where they may be Easily taken to town & prevent any rice or other Grain being Carried away.

My present position is not more than fourteen miles from the Corner, & can Easily Join you whenever You think it nessesary. The Intelligence from town is the Wilmington troops is not arived Yett, they Sail'd twelve Days agoe;²⁵⁵ In a flag of truce from Virginia came one hundred Officers which was Latly Captured in York Town.

It is reported here that Savana[h] is Evacuated, but have not learne[d] that the troops came to town.²⁵⁶
I have the Honor to be y[our] Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

NB All the mountaneers are returned home. I have not heard from you since you Left the Hills.²⁵⁷

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

255. Per *PNG*: "Gen. Alexander Leslie reported the arrival of the garrison from Wilmington in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton of Dec. 1 1781." (PRO 30/55, cited in *PNG*, 632n).

256. This intelligence was false. The British would hold the city until Jul. 1782.

257. Greene had written Marion last on Nov. 24, above, from Bucks Head, so Marion must not have received that letter by the time he wrote this one. The previous letter from Greene was dated Nov. 15, also above, from the High Hills, which place he had left, according to *PNG*, on Nov. 19 (*PNG*, 632n).

***Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham (for Gen. Marion) to Capt. John C. Smith*²⁵⁸**

Camp at Robert Quashes²⁵⁹ 27 Nov^r. 1781.

Sir/

By An Order from Gen^l. Marion you are hereby desired to Empress or cause to be Empressed thirty Horses, Saddles and Bridles²⁶⁰ for the Use of Cap^t. Joseph Warley's Infantry²⁶¹

H. Maham

L^t. Col^l. Comm^{dt}.

ALS (NN), Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book.

258. John Carraway Smith (1751-1800) was commissioned a lieutenant in Sep. 1775. After being promoted to captain in 1776, he was wounded at Savannah in Oct. 1779, at which point he was in the 3rd SC Regiment. At some point he served under Capt. John Purvis. Smith was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown and was exchanged in Nov. 1780. He commanded Maham's dragoons at Videau's Bridge in Jan. 1782. Marion wrote Greene of the action in which Smith very nearly carried the day, but instead barely escaped with his life:

"Captn Smith who Command Col. Mahams horse Charged them with some of the Malitia, they Immediately fled & Captn Campble & severall others was killed but persuing too far they met a body of fifty horse under Majr Coffin who Charged in turn our men gave way & Dispers'd. Captn Smith with four Officers four Dragoons & two Malitia got in a sack from which they Coud not retreat, twenty five hors was sent after them, & they was on the point of surrendering, but Captn Smith order'd them to Charge which they did Oblige the Enemy to run, they Cut down severall of them, & made their Escape."

See letters of Dec. 28, 1781 (below) and Jan. 2, 1782, in Volume III, for additional correspondence from Marion directly to Smith. Smith was also in command of Maham's dragoons at Tidyman's plantation on Feb. 25, 1782. According to Marion, Smith's leadership was the cause of the Patriot defeat: "We lost a fine opportunity to Cut the Enemies horse to pieces, by Mayhams horse not Charging as it was Ordered; but I beleave it was principally Owing to Captn Smith not telling his Officers & men what they were going about." Smith submitted his resignation the day after the action. But apparently it was not accepted, for he was made a brevet major on Sep. 30, 1783.

After the war Smith served in the SC House from 1785-88. He moved to Savannah some time before Nov. 1791. (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 878; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 493n996; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 273; Marion to Greene, Jan 5, 1782, *PNG*, 10:161-62; Marion to Horry, Mar. 2, 1782, Tr [Force Transcripts: DLC]; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:665)

259. This likely referred to Fishbrook Plantation, adjacent to Huger's Bridge and owned by Robert Quash. Other Marion letters at this time use Huger's Bridge, suggesting that the two locations were one and the same. Capt. Smith was at a plantation owned by Benjamin Simons farther down the Cooper River. See Smith, "Baronies of South Carolina," (*SCHGM*, 1988, v.1), 15-23.
260. The issue of impressment of horses continued to be a problem in raising cavalry units. Maham had gotten himself in trouble for impressing a horse owned by one John Oliver. In an Oct. 18, 1781 letter, above, Marion actually threatened Maham with a court martial if he did not return the horse. Marion apparently also wrote Gov. Rutledge about Maham's actions. See Rutledge to Marion, Oct. 24, 1781, above.
261. Heretofore, all the issues related to impressment had stemmed from the organizing of new cavalry regiments under Horry and Maham. It's not clear why 30 horses would be impressed by an infantry company. Joseph Warley was a lieutenant in the 3rd SC Regiment in early 1777, and became a captain in June of that year. He was captured at the fall of Charlestown in May, 1780, and exchanged in October. Starting in Nov. 1780, Capt. Warley commanded a company in Marion's Brigade (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 967; Maham to Smith, Nov. 27, 1781, ALS (Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book: NY Public Library); Proceedings of the Oct 6, 1783 meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of South Carolina, *Society of the Cincinnati Papers, 1783-1861*, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va.).

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Quashs Plantⁿ S^t Thomas – Nov^r 28th 1781

The Enemy getting great Supplies from the Parishes of S^t Thomas and Christ Church, it is ordered that no Persons Whatever do send any Provisions, Forage, navel Stores, or Lumber to Charlestown. Any Person who may be found Supplying the Enemy with any of those Articles will be Deem'd an Enemy And suffer accordingly. Any Persons who go to Charlestown Without my written permission will be deem'd a Spy and Suffer as such and all Persons are forbid to have any communication With the Inhabitants of the town on any pretence whatever²⁶²

O'Kelley, BCADM, 706.

262. Trade with the British in Charlestown had potentially damaging consequences on both the military and economic front. Goods traded to the British would drive up the prices of those products for the Patriots as well, and potentially delay the eventual evacuation of Charlestown.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Commingtee, Nov. 28, 1781²⁶³

D^r Sir,

I have Received yours with the return of your Corps. I want you to go on Command with your whole Corps from this thro' Wadboo, around Moncks Corner & down towards Goose Creek as low as possible to reconnoitre ye. enemy & Get all the Intelligence of their Situation & movements. I will send you Guides, the rout will be nineteen or twenty miles to Goose Creek bridge, where I heard the Enemy Lay, but probably they are moved Lower down Since you may set out this afternoon or Tomorrow early. if you stay to-night you will forrage in the neighborhood where it is to be had²⁶⁴ In respect to Lesesne it is propper you acquaint Gen^l Greene with his arrest, & he will send me power to Order a General Court Martial.²⁶⁵ I wish to see you before we move

I am with esteem
Your Obdt. Servt.

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

263. The date and location are taken from Gibbes (Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:217). The Force Transcription shows the date as Mar. 28, 1781 and does not show a location. Moncks Corner was securely in the control of the enemy in Mar. 1781, and the Patriots seldom crossed the Santee River at that time, so this date and location are implausible. Commingtee, owned by Loyalist Elias Ball, Sr., was a plantation on the Cooper River at the junction of the east and west branches of the river. Both the date and location provided here are highly speculative on the part of the editors, but they are plausible.

264. At the end of November, Gen. Greene initiated a series of movements that pushed the British to the gates of Charlestown. From the Santee River he moved southward toward Orangeburg, just days after a resurgent Loyalist force left Orangeburg for the Saluda River and Ninety Six. From Orangeburg, Greene rode to Dorchester with Col. Wade Hampton and a force of state cavalry Sumter had been commanding, to surprise the British garrison, which had recently withdrawn from Goose Creek. Hampton surprised a contingent of Loyalists before Dorchester on Dec. 1. The South Carolina Royalist cavalry counter-attacked, but were driven back to the confines of the town. The enemy, anticipating an attack by the entire American army, evacuated that night, retreating to Charlestown Neck (General Greene's Orders, Nov. 26 & 28, 1781, *PNG*, 9:628, 633; Greene to Sumter, Dec. 2, 1781, *PNG*, 9:648-49; *PNG*, 9:650n).

265. Following Marion's advice, Horry wrote Gen. Greene on Dec. 10, 1781 that he had arrested Isaac Lissune [Lesesne], a cornet in his regiment, for "disobedience of Orders, and leaveing the State without Permission." Greene responded on Dec. 14, giving Horry permission for the court martial, but at the same time suggesting that a more effective course would be "to forgive him if he is sensible of his fault and promises to do better in future, but not without; for that wuld be an encouragement to disobedience of orders." (Horry to Greene, Dec. 10, 1781, *PNG*, 10:31; Greene to Horry, Dec. 14, 1781, *PNG*, 10:50).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Hugers Bridge St Parish 30 Nov^r 1781

Sr

Yourse of the 24th Came to hand. Col. Maham has wrought his reasons for carrying of the men from Coleton^s house, but say he forgot to mention that the Lieut^t & Doctr refused giving a receipt for them.²⁶⁶

Col^o Severe went away before yourse came to hand, he offerd to Inlist the men for a Year and Satisfy them in respect of bounty until the state can refund it to him, the bounty to be at what you will fix it, if you Conclude to Employ them, he will raise them as soon as he receive y^r Letter, where he Lives.²⁶⁷

The Enemy two days ago was below the Goos Creek Bridge collecting stock & forage, they Leave nothing for the Inhabitants.

Last Sunday the Wilmington troops arrived in Ch^s Town S^d to be 300 men & a great many toreyes & Negroes, they Came in fourteen Vessels, there is one large ship of the bar, but cannot tell what she is.²⁶⁸ The Enemy is making Works at the Quarter House and finishing their other Works.²⁶⁹ Provisions is very scarce with them rice sells at twelve Guineas the Barrell, & not to be had. They have a post at Haddrells of 100 men in the Barracks, well Abbettis.²⁷⁰

I have Drove severall hundred head of Cattle from about Wando River & the Lower part of St Thomas.

I heard that Port Royall was taken & a Major Cardin killed but nothing of Gen^l Twigs.²⁷¹

Captⁿ John Postell is come up & say they will Exchange him for Captⁿ Campble, if that cannot be Effectuated I will be Oblige to you to Parole C. Campble to town & Postell[I] will be paroled in the Country but shall be glad to Git so Valuable a man Exchanged, as he will be of Great service to me, & he is Exceeding Anxious to Act against the Enimy.²⁷²

[continued next page]

266. On the incident, see also Marion to Greene, Nov. 18 and 30, 1781, both above. In a report to Greene on Nov. 27, Maham summarized the situation at Fair Lawn, describing the conditions as very unhospital-like—"...the hospital was surrounded by an abbatis, served as a staging center for troops coming from and going to Charlestown, and stored 300 stand of arms--and the steps he took to provide for the sick and wounded—paroled the surgeons and lieutenant, escorted the 12 prisoners too sick to travel to the nearby fort, and mounted the rest not fit for duty, even though they could walk." (Maham to Greene, Nov. 27, 1781, PNG, 9:630-31).

267. Greene wanted to retain Sevier's militia in the service and had asked Marion what it would require to accomplish that. Here Marion responded that they had already left, but that Sevier was willing to reconstitute them for the above terms if Greene was willing to meet them. See Greene to Marion, Nov. 24, 1781, above (PNG, 9:642n).

268. British Maj. James Craig had evacuated Wilmington, NC, on Nov. 14, 1781, transporting around 1,000 Loyalists, including many civilian residents of the city, to Charlestown (Carole Watterson Troxler, *The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina*, (Raleigh, NC: NC Division of Archives and History, 1976), 56; PNG, 9:642). Craig (1748-1812) joined the British army when he was 15. By 1771 he was an aide-de-camp to the lieutenant governor of Gibraltar and a captain in the 47th Foot. He arrived in America with his regiment in 1774. Craig was seriously wounded at Bunker Hill, served in the New York campaign, and fought in the first battle of Saratoga in 1777. As a sign of his achievement Gen. John Burgoyne sent him to England, so he was not present for the second battle or Burgoyne's surrender. He was promoted to major in the newly-formed 82nd Foot and returned to Canada in 1779, participating in actions in Nova Scotia. Craig was dispatched to the Chesapeake in Oct. 1780, but was diverted to Charlestown. He subsequently became the commandant at Wilmington, NC, where he served from February to November, 1781. After supervising the evacuation of the town, he took a position on John's Island supporting the defenses around Charlestown. After the war, Craig continued to serve in the army, being promoted to major general in 1794, as a result of his activity in the war against France. He participated in the successful British invasion of the Dutch Cape Colony (present South Africa). He functioned as military governor until 1797, for which he was knighted, and later served in India. After promotion to lieutenant general he returned to England in 1802. Three years later Craig was sent to Naples in the capacity of a "local full general" to join Russian and Neapolitan allies against the French. Due to ill health, he relinquished his command in 1806. He then served as governor general of Canada from 1807 to 1811, and was promoted to full general on January 1, 1812, 11 days before his death (Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 284-85).

269. For a detailed description of the works near Charlestown at this time, see PNG, 9:642-43n.

270. Haddrell's Point gave the British a foothold on the mainland, from which they were able to raid the areas east of Charlestown (PNG, 643n).

271. This report was false.

272. Marion had become obsessed with getting Postell exchanged, and believed Greene was not adequately committed to the goal. Marion wanted no more exchanges unless Postell was included in them, hoping that his refusal to release British captives would induce the British to change their position on Postell. (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 252) Rutledge wrote Greene on Dec. 15, 1781 proposing an exchange of British Capt. Campbell for Postell. None of these efforts were successful in securing his release (PNG, 9:643n; Rutledge to Greene, Dec. 15, PNG, 10:60).

Your Letters I sent to the Enemy. I am very scarce of Amunition & Shall be Glad to know if you can Spare me some & I will send for it.²⁷³ The Men in this part of my District are Joining me fast & a good many have come out of Town.²⁷⁴

I have sent Col. Horry with his Cavaldry of 100 on the Enemys Lines Who will give you what particulars respecting the Enemy.²⁷⁵

Ten Battaus full of men Came up within four miles of Fagartus ferry but returned immediately as they seen my patrolling party.

My postion is much nearer Monks Corner then when I Lay at S^t Stephens if you shoud move Down I can Easyly Join You.

I have the Honor to be y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 9:641-43.

273. Lack of ammuniton was a continuing problem for Marion throughout this period of the campaign, and virtually every letter he sent to Greene repeated the request. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 1 and 9, 1781 and Greene to Marion, Dec. 14, all below.

274. Presumably these were former Loyalists who had seen the hopelessness of their situation and decided to accept pardon in exchange for six months' service in the Patriot militia, as per Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above (PNG, 9:643).

275. According to the editors of PNG, no report from Horry to Greene is extant.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Thomas Parrish Hugers Bridge 1st Dec^r 1781

Sr

I wrought you yesterday by Maj^r Sabb,²⁷⁶ since which I have received from the Govenor Writs of Elections for representatives of Senate & Assemble, & some for Gen^l Barnwell, which is not in my power to Convey from here but by the Way of Orrangebourg, & have sent the Bearer to Gen^l Sumter to forward.

I am sorry to see this Business so soon Enterd on, as I am Clear the Elections Can not be full.²⁷⁷

There is no movements of the Enemy as yett, Except a Galley or two which Came up to Addersons ferry, & returnd.

Col Horry which I sent to Goos-creek to reconiter & Patrole around the Enemies Lines is not return'd.

The Enemy have two hundred men at Haddrells Barracks & is Intrenched & Covering parties at Christ Church of three hundred Infantry & some horse & a party Geting Masts and Yards for shiping. That neck is so Narrow that it is very Difficult to make an Attack or retreat.

If I shoud not be marching soon your way I woud move Lower down towards Wappetaw.²⁷⁸

A M^r Barns Just from Ch^s Town have *Secret* Business to you which he do not Chuse to Let me know, I do not know him, or if he may be depended on, is the reason I send a man to conduct him to you.

I am in great want of Ammunition. I beg to know if you can furnish me.²⁷⁹

I have the honor to be your Ob^t sr

Fran^s Marion

NB If you shoud not come down before the day of Election we shall have the Enemy up to prevent it.²⁸⁰

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

276. Thomas Sabb served 124 days as a major in the militia from May through Sep. 1781. In Oct. 1781, he was promoted to colonel. Sabb's father may have been the subject to whom Lt. Col. Maham was referring in a June letter to Marion, above, when he wrote "There was a strong party of horse & infantry a Saturday [1 June] up as far as old M^r. Tho^s Sabs, & Drove of all his stock." Thomas Sabb's plantation was near Fort Motte. In January, 1782, Sabb was stationed at the post at Fogarties Ferry across the Wando River from Cainhoy. In 1788, Sabb commanded a regiment in Marion's militia brigade and was responsible for taking the census in his district (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 841; Maham to Marion, Jun. 3, 1781, ALS (MiU-C); Marion to Horry, Jan. 10, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Muller, Sep. 20, 1788, "Mayor Smyth's Annual Review," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1888, 381-382).

277. Rutledge decided to hold the first legislative elections in the state in over three years. But the continued British occupation of Charlestown and the captivity of some of South Carolina's most important citizens presented significant challenges. Rutledge's letter to Marion of Nov. 23, 1781, above, includes instructions for organizing the election in the district in which he was operating. Presumably similar orders were sent to the other militia officers. Barnwell alluded to receiving one in his letter to Marion of Dec. 12, below. Individuals "who had taken British protection, were excluded from voting, or having a seat in the legislature." (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:304; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:555-56, cited in PNG, 9:646n).

278. Marion remained in the area of Huger's Bridge until at least Dec. 15, 1781. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 15, below (PNG, 9:646).

279. Greene replied via his aide Thomas Shubrick on Dec. 7, 1781, below.

280. Greene was concerned about a British sortie out of Charlestown disrupting the election. One of Marion's duties was now to protect the integrity of the election.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters near Do[r]chester December the 3^d 1781

Dear Sir

I informed you in my last that the Army was on the march for the Four Holes and that I should advance with a flying party in their front. We appeared before Dochester and had some skirmishing with the Enemy, and they were pushed so close and so furiously by the horse that they took fright, and retreated from Do[r]chester that night (after burning their stores and fortifications) to the Quarter House where the whole of the British Army now are busily employed in completing their fortifications.

I wish to know your position & force and to have your opinion respecting matters in that quarter whether you will be able to cover the Country and prevent the enemy from drawing supplies out of the Country.²⁸¹ I will inform you more fully of my intention hereafter.²⁸²

I am dear sir

Your Most Obed^t humble ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

281. No report from Marion has been found. However, it is clear below, that one was sent and received because Greene, through Shubrick, wrote that he approved of Marion's position.

282. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 12, 1781, below.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[High Hills of the Santee]²⁸³ December 4th 1781

Dear Sir:

I have Received yours of the 1st Inst. by Mr. Villepontoux,²⁸⁴ such men as Gaillards & Wigfalls²⁸⁵ are to be Excepted in the proclamation. You may Either take sufficient bail for their appearance at Court & the Assembly when they meet or send them to me, as you think proper, if they should come out__ I am much of your opinion, that several Scoundrels will quit the Town & surrender themselves, in Order to obtain a pardon by Serving six months in ye Militia but it does not follow that they will be pardoned. Those whose Conduct & Character have been so Infamous, that they cannot, Consistant with policy or Justice be admitted to the privileges of Americans may & probably will be sent back.²⁸⁶ Be pleased to make a return to me, as soon as the time Limited by the Last proclamation expires of all who have surrendered agreeable to it²⁸⁷__ As Gen^l Greene set off last Tuesday for fore Holes & the Lower part of the Country, I am in hopes you have seen each other before now,²⁸⁸ & I am Inclined to beleave that his position will be such, even before his Reinforcements arrive at Head Quarters, that the Enemy will not think it safe to Venture into the Country__ after those reinforcements arrive, I think he will keep them below the quarter house, unless Ch^s. Town should be Reinforced which I do not think it will be immediately.²⁸⁹ The surrender of Cornwallis must perplex Clinton as well as the Ministry & I apprehend he will wait for their directions what step to take next, I do not think however that the Enemy will Evacuate the Town untill they see a force on our part sufficient to Compel them to do so.²⁹⁰ they are under Great apprehension (& I hope with good Reason) for their West India possessions²⁹¹__ You do not say what you have done with Barnes__ you may Either send him under guard to Gen^l. Greene or to me.²⁹²

I am with Great Regard, D^r Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t. J. Rutledge

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

283. Location inferred. Gov. Rutledge was presumably still at the High Hills of the Santee.

284. This was presumably Benjamin Villepontoux, who served as a paymaster of the 4th SC Regiment and was taken prisoner at Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 954).

285. Rutledge here referred to the granting of pardon by his proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781 above, in which he offered “a full and free pardon and oblivion, for such offence of having borne arms with, or adhered to the enemy” except for certain offenses. A pardon would not be granted to “all such as hold or have held any commission, civil or military, under the British government and are now with the enemy...” A list of all who fell into the various categories of offenders was printed in the South Carolina *Royal Gazette* in Charlestown on Mar. 20, 1781 (excerpted from the *Royal Gazette* by J.G. Braddock, Sr., Charleston, 2000).

286. In his proclamation, those exempted from pardon included “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, including former Patriot Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson who, after the surrender of Charlestown and the exodus of Gov. Rutledge to Philadelphia, had been the highest-ranking official in the state, and who surrendered his brigade near Ninety Six in Jun. 1780. Part of Williamson’s surrender terms included taking the oath of loyalty to George III. Williamson took no active part in the fighting for the balance of the war, although it has long been conjectured that he supplied Gen. Nathanael Greene with intelligence. The State of South Carolina granted him leniency, for he was taken off the Confiscation List, had his property amerced 12%, and was disqualified for holding public office for seven years, just as the Gaillards and John Wigfall were. As in footnote 285, read the narrative following this letter for more information.

287. The list referred to is not extant.

288. As attested by Greene’s letter of Dec. 3, 1781 above, the general preceded his army to Four Holes. The rapidity of his “flying army” prompted the British to evacuate Dorchester. Rutledge indicated that Greene began the march south on Nov. 19. However, the American army actually began its advance from the High Hills on Nov. 18, 1781 (General Greene’s Orders, Nov. 18, 1781, PNG, 9:5 86).

289. After Cornwallis’s surrender at Yorktown, Gen. Washington dispatched reinforcements, including Gen. Anthony Wayne and his Pennsylvania Continentals, to assist Greene in mopping up operations outside of Charlestown.

290. The British did not fear that the Americans would attempt a siege of Charlestown. Presumably, the command realized that the Americans had neither the will nor the strength to carry out such an operation. The British garrison received no reinforcements. Any siege of the capital would have resulted in extensive damage to the city. In May, 1780, the citizenry of Charlestown had lobbied the Southern Army’s commander, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, to surrender the city and the army to avoid the destruction of Charlestown in a longer siege.

291. The British were concerned about potential French activity in the West Indies. After Yorktown, De Grasse, instead of continuing to aid the Americans by investing Charlestown, or at least transporting troops south, sailed for the Caribbean. Ultimately, in mid-Apr. 1782, de Grasse was defeated by a larger fleet under Admiral George Rodney, and taken prisoner in the “Battle of the Saints.” (Piers Makesy, *The War for America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 454-59).

292. Barnes’s identity is not known. However, it is quite possible he was a Loyalist sympathizer who came out of Charlestown to obtain a pardon. By Marion’s letter to Horry of Apr. 22, 1782, below, it may be inferred that Barnes’s wife arrived in Georgetown (probably from Charlestown) to take advantage of the pardon offered in Rutledge’s Sep. 27, 1781 proclamation, above.

Gaillards and Wigfalls — On or Off the “Confiscation List”?

The challenge of delineation of names continues.

On the list of those who held commissions, referred to in the letter from Gov. John Rutledge, were the names of John Gaillard and John Wigfall. There may have been an error in the original list since, in the Confiscation List resulting from the Feb. 26, 1782 Act for disposing of confiscated estates, the name Theodore Gaillard appears in place of John Gaillard. (*Statutes*, 6:632) Note that Appendix No. 2 contained the Confiscation List, which had not been included in the original legislation, Act No. 1153. (See *Statutes*, 4:516-25).

By Act 1229, Mar. 26, 1784, John Gaillard, Theodore Gaillard, and John Wigfall were all removed from the confiscation list, but had their property amerced 12 percent and were “disqualified from being elected Governor, Lieutenant Governor, member of the Privy Council, or of either branch of the Legislature, or of holding of any office or place of trust within or under the authority of this State, for and during the term of seven years” (*Statutes*, 6:635).

Theodore Gaillard, Sr. (1710-81) was the father-in-law of Job Marion, an older brother of Francis Marion. Gaillard was a large plantation owner on the lower Santee, who lived on Bruneau Old Field on Wambaw Creek. He also owned a ferry that ran from the south side of the Santee to Murray’s Landing on the north side, presumably Murray’s Ferry. He served in the Commons House of Assembly on four occasions.

Gaillard, Sr. was a member of the 1st Provincial Congress, but took protection when the British captured Charlestown. In spite of his advanced age, he may have been commissioned a colonel or lieutenant colonel in the Loyalist militia—it is unclear whether Gaillard and his son both received the lieutenant colonel’s commission—or if only his son received it. In either case, it does not appear that Gaillard, Sr. ever raised a militia regiment, but rather that he served as a source of intelligence and supplies for the British cause. Some family papers record that the elder Gaillard died in June 1781.

Rutledge’s proclamation in Sep. 1781 excepted “such men as Gaillards & Wigfalls.” In 1782, some portion of the Gaillard properties were confiscated by the legislature, but in 1784, confiscation and banishment were reduced to 12% amercement.

Theodore Gaillard, Jr., (1737-1805) also owned several plantations along the Santee. He served in the Commons House of Assembly during its last two sessions and was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st General Assembly. When the British captured Charlestown, Gaillard, like his father, took protection. He raised a Loyalist militia force, but there is no evidence that it appeared in any military actions.

Future references to Gaillard suggest he, like his father, was a source of intelligence for the British cause. Cornwallis wrote to James Wemyss in late August, “All those who had voluntarily enrolled themselves in Col. Mills or Col. Gaillards Corps and afterwards joined the rebels must be immediately hanged...”

Theodore Gaillard, Jr. was taken by Peter Horry’s cavalry in January 1782. Dragoons from Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham’s cavalry regiment took him “away to his Cam[p].” He is listed on Loyalist records as a refugee from May 1781 to Dec. 1782.

Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. Dir. of the SC House*, 2:267-69; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 130; Cornwallis to Wemyss, Jul. 26, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:316; McKinnon to Cornwallis, Aug. 9, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:366; Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug. 28, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:208-09; Proclamation by Rutledge, Sep. 27, 1781, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); Rutledge to Marion, Dec. 4, 1781, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); Horry to Marion, Jan. 31, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Cooper and McCord, *Statutes*, 6:632, 635.

Gov. John Rutledge to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

High Hills of Santee December 5th 1781.

D^r Sir,

You will Consider the Ch^s Town Regim^t of Militia as Annexed to your Brigade & make the necessary appointments.²⁹³ I am told the troops which are Coming from the N^o W^d. Bring 800 Stand of Arms. If you apply to Gen^l Greene for Arms, it is probable he may on their Arrival spare some to you. I have wrote to Philadelphia for Arms & Ammunition for the States Use & Expect them by Return of the Waggons which Carried Indigo thither, & which I think must be now about Setting off to come back. On their Arrival I hope to Give your Brigade a good supply;²⁹⁴ I wish to procure 12 barrells of Rice for the Use of the Assembly at their intended meeting on the 8th of next Month. Be pleased to have that quantity procured as high up Santee River as it Can be Got, & Let me know as Soon as Possible where it is, that I may order Waggons down to fetch it from thence to Camden in time.²⁹⁵ Capt Bocquet²⁹⁶ says you wish to know what to do with respect to Messrs. John & Francis Huger,²⁹⁷ who desire to remain neuter. They must Certainly do as all others, perform Militia Duty, or pay such a fine for neglecting it as a Court Martial may Adjudge.²⁹⁸ I purpose Setting out for Gen^l Greenes Camp on the first of next month²⁹⁹ & Request that you will send me an Escort of 25 Men & a proper Officer from Mayhams Corps, Let them be here the day before, & well mounted, as I shall travill pretty Expeditiously,

I am D^r Sir,

Your Most Obedt. humble Servt.

J. Rutledge.

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

293. After the surrender of the city in May, 1780, the Charlestown Militia reformed. It is not known who had commanded the Charlestown militia immediately prior to Rutledge's re-organization. The editors of the *PNG* surmised that many of the members of the Charlestown Militia were "redeemed" Loyalists. (*PNG*, 12:184n). After coming under Marion's command, the regiment later served in Georgetown. See Marion to Horry, Mar. 7, 1782, below.
294. Rutledge referred to Gen. Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Continentals, which Gen. Washington had dispatched as reinforcements to the South after Yorktown. In addition to requesting arms from Greene, Rutledge also implored the Continental Congress to assist South Carolina.
295. Initially, Gov. Rutledge planned to convene the South Carolina General Assembly at Camden. Based on a suggestion from Greene, the location was changed to Jacksonborough, a small town 32 miles from Charlestown (Greene to Livingston, Dec. 13, 1781, *PNG*, 10:48; Rutledge to Greene, Dec. 24, 1781, *PNG*, 10:101-02).
296. This was presumably Peter Bocquet (b.1744), a Charlestown merchant and planter. [Click here for a brief bio of Peter Bocquet.](#)
297. John Huger was the captain of the Charles Town Volunteers. He had been a lieutenant colonel of the Charles Town Militia during the siege of Charlestown, in May, 1780. As a militiaman he would have likely been granted his parole when Charlestown surrendered. Francis Huger became a captain in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775. In addition, he was lieutenant colonel and deputy quartermaster-general of the Southern Department from Sep. 1777 until he resigned in Oct. 1778. At the surrender of Charlestown, he was paroled. His status after the surrender of Charlestown is not known. Since he was not a Continental soldier or a militiaman, and there is no record of his having changed sides, it is likely he left the state (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 271n271); "South Carolina Gleanings in England," *SCHGM*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr., 1914, 92-93); Richardson, Emma B., "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants," *SCGHM*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Jul., 1942), 133-140; Smith, A.M., "The Baronies of South Carolina," *SCHGM*, 12, No. 1 (Jan. 1911), 8-9).
298. As a result of Gov. Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above, any Loyalist, defined here as anyone who was not an active Patriot, could be pardoned (with a few exceptions). The proclamation directed that the man must report to a "brigadier of militia" and serve six months in the militia. Rutledge's proclamation included nothing about paying a fine.
299. Before the meeting, Rutledge planned to meet with Greene at his headquarters at Round O, 50 miles west of Charlestown. Rutledge undoubtedly requested the escort because of the heightened Loyalist activity along the 90-mile route between the High Hills of the Santee and Round O.

***Thanks of Congress*³⁰⁰**

Read at Quash's Plantⁿ S^t Thomas Decr 6th 1781 –

The united States in Congress Assembled Octr 24th 1781 Resolved –

That the thanks of the United States in Congress Assembled be Presented to Brigade Gen^l Marion of the South Carolina Militia for his Wise, Gallant and Decided conduct in defending the Liberties of his Country and particularly for his prudent and intrepid Attack on a body of the British troops on the thirtieth day of August last and for the distinguished part he took in the battle of the Eight of September –

Charles Thomson Sec^y –

The letter in which the above resolution was enclosed.

Philadelphia, October 31st 1781

Sir

Your distinguished exertions for the Support and defence of you[r] country in the hour of her distress have often claimed the attention of Congress for which And particularly for you prudence and Gallantry Exhibited on the 10th of August and 8th of Sept^r last –³⁰¹

I have the pleasure to present you their thanks, as Expressd in an act of the 29th instant, of which a copy Is inclosed

I have the Honor to be with the Highest Respect and regard –
your most Obedient
And very humble Serv^t

The Honb^l Gen^lTho^s M^cKean president

O'Kelley, BCADM, 707.

300. A separate letter addressed to “The Honorable Brigadier General Marion” from Thomas McKean, President of Congress, an apparent duplicate of the one above, was sent to Marion, dated Nov. 1, 1781. The actual resolution thanking Marion for his conduct was passed by Congress on Oct. 29.

301. This should read “30th of August.” It is in reference to the ambush of the British cavalry by Marion at Parker’s Ferry and Marion’s actions in leading the first line, consisting of South Carolina and North Carolina militia at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. See summaries of the battles at Parker’s Ferry (p. 230) and Eutaw Springs above (p. 247).

Lt. Peter Foissin³⁰² to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

December 7th 1781

D^r General,

I take my pen in hand with the Greatest pleasure imaginable, to Acquaint you that I have at Length returned home, from a Tedious & disagreeable Captivity, I make no doubt but you have seen Cap^t Dunbar³⁰³ who I hope has Acquainted you with all the distresses & Vicisitudes of fortune that has attended us, Since I have had the pleasure of seeing you; how shall I paint to you the unhappiness I feel in not being able to take on any further active part in the field & to maintain that Rank among my Countrymen which I have Endeavoured to merit, Rely on it that it is not for want of Inclination but rendered incapable by frequent & Severe Returns of that Cruel disorder the Gout which is my inevitable Lot for life, therefore when the Regiments are Consolidated I would wish to retire, notwithstanding still anxious for the publick good, I am & shall be ever willing & desirous to Exert my weak abilities to promote the Glorious Cause we are jointly Engaged in & should there be anything in which I can render my Country any service in these parts, I shall ever Acknowledge it an obligation if you would call upon me, I will chearfully fill any Post that I am capable of holding. I would be very happy to hear from you.

I am Yours Sincerely,

Peter Foissin

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

302. Peter Foissin was appointed a second lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment in Dec. 1777, in Captain Charnock's company. He was promoted to first lieutenant in Jul. 1778, and taken prisoner at the surrender of Charlestown in May, 1781. Upon his exchange, he joined Marion's partisans. He resigned his commission on Mar. 23, 1782. Apparently, the severity of his gout allowed him to serve in Marion's Brigade for only another three months (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 260n588)).

303. Thomas Dunbar served in the 2nd SC Regiment under Marion. See Marion to Harleston, Feb. 27, 1780, above.

Capt. Thomas Shubrick to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

h^d Quarters nea[r] Jacksonborough December 7th 1781

D^r Sir

I am directed by the General to Acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th Inst. & also of the Several others there mentioned & to Inform you that his having been absent from the Army sometime past prevented his Answering them. The Articles you mention being in want of in your Last was very Scarce when he left Camp; if any has arrived since, part of it shall be forwarded you.³⁰⁴ He intirely approves of the position you have taken, but would Caution you against Venturing too low down lest they should throw a Large party in your Rear, but the Reliance he has in your Conduct & prudence renders this precaution unNecessary.³⁰⁵

I am with the Greates Respect & Esteem D^r General
Your most obedt. hum Servt

Th^s Shubrick

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC), Parks.

304. This was Marion's second of three consecutive requests to Greene for ammunition. See Marion to Greene Dec. 1, above, and Dec. 9, below.

305. This was in reference to Marion's post at Huger's Bridge, which he had informed Greene of in his letter of Dec. 1, 1781 (*PNG*, 10:13n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Thomas Parish 9th Dec^r 1781

S^r

I wrought you the 6^h Ulto but have not heard from you since the 3^d[.]³⁰⁶ If the report is true that you have gone to Savanna I fear I shall be pushed & oblige to retreat,³⁰⁷ I have Account from town that a number of small Vessells with soldiers is gone to Savanna.³⁰⁸ The Enemy land^d twenty five horse near the [Hobcaw?] & I Emagin they are forming against me.³⁰⁹ The want of Ammunition will Oblige me to give way, a number of men which is come in is renderd useless for want of it & the Other part of my Brigade have but very few rounds, not sufficient to stand any Attack. I wish to hear from you soon, & know where you are as I am now Acting in the Dark.³¹⁰

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

306. Dec. 3, 1781 was indeed the last time Greene had written Marion in his own hand. However, Thomas Shubrick, his aide had written on the Dec. 7, clearly on the general's behalf. Presumably, this means Marion had not yet received that letter when he wrote this one.

307. This report was false, but it appears the British were also under the impression that Greene was headed to Georgia. It is unclear where the rumor originated, as evidenced by a letter to that effect from Georgia Royal Governor James Wright to Lord George German on Dec. 18, 1781 ("Letters from Sir James Wright," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* 3 [1873], 360).

308. In a Dec. 12, 1781 letter to Gen. John Barnwell, Greene revealed that the British had sent a 500-man detachment to Georgia from Charlestown. Greene surmised that the purpose was defensive in nature (Greene to Barnwell, Dec. 12, 1781, *PNG*, 10:36-37).

309. Marion's concern was well founded. The movement of British troops across the Cooper River to Hobcaw Point, which was on the mainland would have been a logical move in order to open a sortie against Marion's position. In actuality, the post was simply meant to protect foraging parties gathering supplies for the garrison.

310. Greene replied on Dec. 12, 1781, below.

Brig. Gen. Jno. Barnwell³¹¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Port Royal, Dec 12th 1781

Dr Sir,

It is with Infinite pleasure I set down to Address an Old Acquaintance & one to whom not only myself but the whole of my country is so particularly obligated for his unwearied assiduity in the war, at a time when every difficulty which arises from a superior Army & every disadvantage that attends a Diffident, unwilling, & undisciplined body of men, had Caused all hopes even in the most sanguine, to Expire & a General Shamefull submission of every other part of the Country (but that which was inspired by your Presence) was the Natural Consequence & yet my worthy friend arose superior to Every Accumulated disadvantage & shortly I hope will demand at the Gates of Charlestown a Reparation of his Countrys wrongs, there will I do myself the honour of Attending him. Your favour of the second in part I Received yesterday the writs of Election on the 7th Came to hand³¹² & if the Gentlemen to whom I dispatched them, or they in part do their duty will be in time, Except St. Helena, which I was prevented from bringing, by the wind & the Rain, that oblidged me to alter the day of Election to the 24th & 25th, What Influence I have shall be Used, most assuredly to obtain good men for Members, for believe [me] Sir __ I dread the meeting of the house at Camden at a period when our presence is so necessary in the field³¹³ __ I will Issue Orders Immediately that the Charlestown Gentlemen shall Join you, altho' you have been misinformed relative to their doing Duty, being Generally speaking as Constant as the others but all very, very bad, nor will anything but personal Ruin, bellowed from the tongue of a Britton, rouse them, & then to scold, or Continue a short time in the field, a Month is too much for almost any of them to bear.³¹⁴ The Enemy Evacuated this place near a month ago, & I was Informed that Ebenezer was Abandoned, but that was a mistake. The Hessians were Relieved & their baggage going down the River Occasioned the Error, which was natural at that Juncture.³¹⁵ From late information the forces in Georgia Consists of the Hessians, Fannings, Delaneys, Browns, Major Wrights Infantry and Cam[p]bells Horse, amounting to Six hundred, & four hundred Irregulars. These last I cannot but think Exagerated.³¹⁶

311. With Gen. Sumter's resignation as overall commander, Rutledge was unencumbered in his control of the state militia. As seen in Rutledge's letter to Marion of Sep. 3, 1781, above, the governor felt that a reorganization was necessary, writing "I am much disatisfied with the present allotment of the several Brigades in this State, & think a fourth might be formed to the Southward." Despite complaints from Col. William Harden and his officers, Col. John Barnwell was promoted to command the newly created militia brigade.
312. By his letter of Nov. 23, 1781 above, Gov. Rutledge had assigned Gen. Marion the task of organizing the election of representatives to the legislative session that originally was to convene in Camden in Jan. 1782. Enclosed in this letter was a packet containing writs of election for Marion's militia districts. In addition, Rutledge wrote Marion "Be pleased to forward Immediately by a Trusty person (& with a Guard if Necessary) the packet herewith sent for General Barnwell."
313. At Gen. Greene's recommendation and assurance of safety, the site of the legislature was changed to Jacksonborough, only 30 miles from Charlestown.
314. Barnwell might have been referring to former Loyalists, who decided to take advantage of the offer of pardon contained in Gov. Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781 above. A condition of pardon was to present oneself to a militia brigadier. Reformed Loyalists then had to serve six months in the militia to gain pardon.
315. Port Royal and its bay had been in British hands since Feb. 1780, when the local militia had withdrawn. Prior to 1780, the Continental Army maintained the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment there for a period of time, most notably after the failed siege of Savannah. Ebenezer was a settlement on the Georgia side of the Savannah River roughly 20 miles upstream from Savannah. It had been occupied by the British since Jan. 1779, and they did not evacuate the town until early 1782.
316. The British force in Georgia consisted of a combination of local Loyalist militia and British-trained Provincial troops. The men serving under Edmund Fanning (King's American Regiment) and Thomas Brown (King's Rangers) were hardened soldiers who had seen extensive action throughout the revolution. "Delaneys" probably refers to Delancey's Brigade, a Provincial unit formed by Oliver Delancey of the prominent Delancey family of New York. In addition to service in the North, the 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade had been the defensive bulwark for the British defense of the Star Fort at Ninety Six in Jun. 1781. Mark King, a Loyalist deserter, provided the following summary of Loyalist forces in Georgia around this time:

"The deposition of Mark King a deserter from Savannah, belonging to Major Wrights corps. he left Savannah 22nd Decr. 1781. 5 Jany. 1782. A reinforcement has arrived to Savannah from Charles Town of the 7th Regt. consisting of about 150 men; he further says that Major Wrights corps consists of about 35 men fitting for duty, about 40 in the whole. That the Enemy is making every preparation for a Seige, they were making two redoubts one at the spring hill the other at the Trustees Gardens, the Citadel has twenty four guns, of twenty four and twelve pounders. Coll: Campbell has about 36 men 35 of which does constant duty as dragoons. Coll: Browns corps has about 25 dragoons and about 40 infantry many invalids.

Delances corps about 25 men, infantry. Coll: Fannings corps about 40 men. About 300 Hessians, commanded by Genl. Proback. The Present commander in Savannah Lt. Coll: Clark Commandant. [footnote continued, next page]

I Expect to hear from that place in a few days & will write you more particularly. Staffords³¹⁷ Regiment is on Savannah River, Hardens I have Ordered Collected to Join the General,³¹⁸ Wilkinsons³¹⁹ are Employed with the Army about Stono. I make no doubt Gen^l Greene has Informed you by this [time] their number, as I heard were one hundred & fifty exclusive of as many more on Johns Island, Major McClure, of Georgia,³²⁰ Acquainted me he had sent me a Barrel of Porter and a Cheese to Georgetown; will you be so oblidging as to forward it to head Quarters for me.³²¹

I am with Respect & Esteem,
Yours most Sincerely

Jno. Barnwell

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC)

About 200 militia men in Savannah. The commander he does not know. About 150 Negroes, armed and equipt as infantry, commanded by Coll: Brown. The Enemy has eight Platforms round the lines of Savannah with 4 Guns in each, 12 pounders. Four Row Galleys in the River and but very indifferently manned, they are obliged to man them with men from the different Regiments the men on the return of the Galleys to Savannah repair to their corps. The Troops in Savannah are in general very dissatisfied. There was about 5 weeks ago 100 Indians Cherokee & Creeks in Savannah and returned to their nation with a large quantity of Amunition. Three or four Brigs in the Harbour, there is a guard at Cock Spur consisting of 12 men, two small redoubts on the Island of Cockspur, the guard relieved weekly from Savannah. There is a post at Ogechee, likewise one at Habercorn consisting of about 25 men. Pork 8d Pr. lb in Savannah, Salt one dollar pr. bushel. In regard of the different corps he is entirely ignorant off. The Troops in Genl. are dissatisfied. An Account given, by the Head Warior of the Tallasies That he hears that McIntosh, has (or is) Collecting a number of Indians at the standing peach tree, that had about one Hundred & wanted to get about three Hundred from whence he intended to make excursions, on the back parts of this state, that McIntosh had informed the Indians that Brown was to meet them at Augusta and they ware to Come down and get what goods they wanted. That he says that he saw some days agoe, where four Indians had Camped, that there appeared to him that they had the scalp of some white man with them by the appearance at the Camp.” (Georgia Historical Society, Mark King Papers, Collection No. 462, from the Loyalist Institute, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/milit.htm>, accessed Nov. 27, 2024).

317. William Stafford served as a captain, lieutenant colonel, and colonel of the Lower Granville County Regiment 1779-1782. (O’Kelley, *BCADM*, 691n1498) Stafford’s regiment had been under Gen. Marion prior to the formation of a militia brigade in the Beaufort area. Stafford fought with Marion at the Battle of Parker’s Ferry, after which Marion’s Orderly Book entry of Aug. 31, 1781 reported “Gen^l Marion returns his thanks to Col^o Stafford, Ervin and Horry & the Officers & men of their Division for their Spirited and good Behaviour in the Action of Yesterday.” Stafford’s regiment was later incorporated into Gen. Barnwell’s militia brigade.
318. Prior to the Battle of Parker’s Ferry, Col. William Harden had written Gen. Greene requesting assistance in fighting the Loyalists in the region south of Charlestown and east of Beaufort to the Savannah River. His regiment, commanded in his absence by Maj. Charles Harden, had performed poorly at the Battle of Parkers’s Ferry on Aug. 31, 1781. Col. Harden’s regiment was incorporated into Barnwell’s brigade, but not without significant protest from Harden’s officers. Before Gov. Rutledge made his choice, he considered the decision’s impact on Harden and “his Friends.” (Marion to Greene, Sep. 3, 1781, *PNG*, 9:288; Rutledge to Greene, Nov. 1, 1781, *PNG*, 9:517).
319. [Click here for a brief bio of Morton Wilkinson.](#)
320. Maj. McClure may have been “Captⁿ McClure of the Artillery” who had been utilized by Capt. William Richardson to transport supplies to Georgetown. See Richardson to Marion, May 26, 1782, below.
321. Port Royal was situated between Charlestown and the Georgia border. It is unclear where Major McClure was located at this time. Georgetown had been liberated on May 29, 1781, and quickly became a busy American port.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Huger^s Bridge S^t Tho^s Parish 12th Dec^r 1781

Sr

I wrought You a few days agoe.³²² Yesterday a Galley & two armed schooners with a number of Infantry came to Col Laurens's Plant^a a mile above Strawberry & is taking in rice &c &c.³²³ My being without Ammunition prevent me from attempting any thing against them. Captⁿ Shubrick wrote me, that a supply would be sent to me, but is not yet come. I have now sent six men for some, & hope I may get it as soon as possible. I should have sent before but expect to have got a supply, but am Disappointed.³²⁴

Five Large Vessells came in town Empty & took troops in immediately, said for Georgia.³²⁵

It is currently talked that S^t Augustine is Invested by Land by the spanierds, this I had from a Gentl^m out of town.³²⁶

The Enemys horse, has foraged as far as Goos-creek Bridge, unluckily my Caveldry has not been Able to fall in with them tho they patrole as far as the Ten Mile House. Col Horrys Caveldry is now that way.

None of my Expresses sent You have returned Indeed I do not know where to Direct to you.

I have the honor to be

Your Obed^t s^r

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:46.

322. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 9, 1781, above.

323. It's unclear to which plantation Marion was referring. The Laurenses owned more than one plantation above Strawberry, including Mepkin on the east side of the West Branch of the Cooper River and Point Comfort on the opposite side of the river.

324. See Thomas Shubrick to Marion, Dec. 7, 1781 above.

325. In a Dec. 12, 1781 letter to Gen. John Barnwell, Greene revealed that the British had sent a 500-man detachment to Georgia from Charlestown. Greene surmised that the purpose was defensive in nature (Greene to Barnwell, Dec. 12, 1781, PNG. 10:36-37).

326. This intelligence was false.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters at the Round O, Decem 12th 1781³²⁷

Dear Sir

The information of my being gone to Georgia is wrong.² The Army is at this place and Colonel Lee with a flying party but very strong is posted between Ashley and the Edisto to cover that part of the Country. General Sumter is posted at Orangburgh and four holes to cut off the Tories from a communication with the British Army. The Tories are coming in in great numbers dayly. General St Clair is approaching fast with a strong reinforcement as soon as he arrives we shall draw near the enemies lines. In the meantime I hope you will be able to keep your postion and prevent the enemy from drawing supplies from that part of the Country. I am sorry to inform you that the one thing needful has not arrivd but is hourly expected.³²⁸ The moment it comes to hand you shall be furnished.

Such of the Militia as comes out from the enemies lines and engage in our service ought to take an oath of fidelity before they are put upon duty and if it was practicable I should rather have them in a seperate Corps but this is not absolutely necessary.³²⁹

The Enemy have detached a body of troops to Savannah upon the supposition that this Army was moving that way. This mistake arose from our position.

I am, dear sir

Your Most Obedt humble Servt

N Greene

ADfS (NcD); PNG.

327. The ADofS letter is clearly dated Dec. 12, 1781 but it is addressed in a different handwriting from that of Dec. 13, 1781. The Force Transcript is also dated Dec. 13, 1781. The Dec. 12, 1781 date is retained here.

2. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 9, 1781 above.

328. The “thing needful” was presumably the ammunition Marion had been asking for. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 1, and 9, 1781, both above (PNG, 10:39n). The reason for the covert language was most likely a precaution in case the letter was intercepted. Marion’s lack of ammunition was not information he or Greene wanted the British to have.

329. Because of Rutledge’s Proclamation granting pardon to Loyalists who served six months in the militia, Marion was dealing with an influx of new-made Whigs in his camp, many of them coming directly from the British lines. While the increase in his force size was surely welcome, Marion did not fully trust the former Loyalists, and wanted them separated from the rest of his brigade (PNG, 10:39n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 287).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

H^d Quarters Round O, Decem^r 14th 1781.

D^r Sir

I have just Received your Letter of the 12th & have sent you all the Ammunition Arrived, more is Expected daily.³³⁰ I am sorry to find the Enemy have it in their power to take off Rice with Impunity, but it is neither your or my fault, & If we are not supported & supplied with the means to defend the Country we Cannot help it. It is true our Masters are poor & among some of them Inclination is wanting particularly in Virginia but be not discouraged. I look forward for better days.

With Esteem & Regard I am D^r Sir
Your most Obedt. hum Servt.

Nath Greene

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC), PNG, 10:51.

330. Marion acknowledged receipt of the shipment on Dec. 18, 1781 below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

15^h Dec^r 1781, Hugers Bridg 11 OC: A M

Sr

Late the Last evening, the Enemy marched out their Lines with their whole force, & a number of boats, but cannot tell what river the boats are gone. Their Intention from Intelligence out of town is to surprise You or my self.³³¹ It is also s^d their is a fleet off the Barr, which is reported is a Cork fleet.³³²

The Galleys & Armed Vessell we have Drove back, & prevented them from taking any Grain or Stock.³³³ I sent six men to You for Ammunition[;] we are quit out & will be Oblige to give way if the Enemy Make any attempt on me.

I have not rec^d any Letter from you since the 5th wrought by Captⁿ Shubrick near Jacksonbourg,³³⁴ & do not know Where to Direct to you and am at Great Loss, for want of knowing Your position.

I have the honor to be
Your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

331. See Marion's letters to Greene of Dec. 21, and 30, 1781, both below.

332. The Fleet had actually come from Portsmouth, England (*PNG*, 10:60n).

333. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 12, 1781, above.

334. The reference here is to Shubrick's letter of Dec. 7, 1781, above. Marion was mistaken about the date. It is also clear from this statement that Marion had not received Greene's letter of the day before.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

M^r Roger Sanders's Decem^r 16th 1781.

D^r Sir

I have this moment Got Intelligence that the Enemy Embarked about 15 hundred or 2 Thousand troops yesterday at 3 OClock in the Afternoon & came up to Stono last night.³³⁵ I Imagine they mean to Burn the forrage & drive our light parties back. I have Ordered the whole army to be put in motion & wish you to march by the way of Dorchester to Join us.³³⁶ On that Route you shall hear further from me, It is possible the Enemy may have a party there to prevent a Junction of our forces; be on your Guard therefore. I sent off a Quantity of Ammunition to your Camp yesterday; you will take Care to fall in with it; move with as much Expedition as possible, & forward me an Express how soon I may Expect you & the force you will bring.³³⁷

I am, D^r Sir,
Your Obedt hum. Servt.

Nath Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC), PNG, 10:64.

335. In his orders of Dec. 16, 1781, Greene ordered his army to march without baggage to meet the perceived advance of the British forces (General Greene's Orders, Dec. 16, 1781, PNG, 10:63-64).

336. These orders were never acted on. Marion appears not to have received them before Greene reversed them. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 17, 1781, and Marion to Greene, two letters of Dec. 18, 1781, all below (PNG, 10:64n).

337. Marion had asked for ammunition in his letters to Greene of Dec. 1, and 9, 1781.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Roger Sanders' Plant^a Decem^r 17th 1781.

D^r Sir

The Enemy have made no movement into the Country as yet; & as their Object & time of Execution is Uncertain, you will halt at Dorchester, or in the Neighbourhood of it, untill you hear further from me, or Colo. Lee, who will be directed to write you, Should I return to Camp without further Intelligence from the Enemy.³³⁸ It is said a Great many Cattle go in from Goose Creek or the Neighbourhood, Colo Lee keeps a party near the Dorchester road & the Enemy's lines, If you were to keep another on the other Road, few or none Could Get in.³³⁹

I am D^r Sir,
Your most Obdt. Servt.

Nath Greene

Tr (Force Transcript: DLC), PNG, 10:70.

338. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 16, 1781, above. The expected advance by the enemy had not materialized, so he was ordered back to Dorchester. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 22, 1781, below. According to the editors of *PNG*, "Marion...did not even receive the order to join Greene until Dec. 18, 1781." (*PNG*, 10:70n). See Marion to Greene, Dec. 18, 1781 below.

339. The British garrison in Charlestown relied on foraging provisions from the countryside. There were a limited number of roads by which they could transport supplies, especially livestock. The cattle were presumably being sent into Charlestown. Marion confirmed in his letter to Greene of Dec. 18, 1781, below, that he had already blocked the Moncks Corner Road.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Hugers Bridge[?] 18 Dec^r 1781 2 OC. P.M.³⁴⁰

S^r

I this moment rec^d yourse of the 13th[,] 14th and 16th. I shall Draw in my Detachment immediately, & proceed to Join you.

It will be tomorrow morning before I can march,³⁴¹ & tomorrow I shall be at the Corner & hope the day After tomorrow I will Join you at the Cypress on the Four Hole road Leading to Orrangbourg. I shall go by the way of Wassomsaw & shall be Glad to know the place you wish I woud Join you.

The Amm. is not Come to hand. I wish I may not miss it.³⁴² I shall leave a few men here to keep up an Appearance, or this part of the Country will be Intirely ravaged.

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

340. Location inferred. Marion had written Greene from Huger's Bridge on Dec. 15, 1781, above, and there is no evidence that he had left.

341. Apparently, Marion received Greene's three previous letters at same time, the oldest of which was presumably six days out of date (there is no evidence of a letter on the 13th, Marion appears to have meant the 12th). All three of these letters are above. The letters, dated Dec. 12, 14, and 16, 1781, are all above. Greene had already reversed the order to join him, but Marion received that letter after he had written this one. See Marion's second letter to Greene of this date, immediately below (*PNG*, 10:74n).

342. The ammunition reached Marion's camp on the same day, sometime after this letter was drafted. See his second letter of this date, immediately below (*PNG*, 10:74n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Hugers Bridge [?] 18 Dec^r 1781 3 OC. PM³⁴³

S^r

Yourse of the 17^h I Just rec^d. I wrought You two hourse ago³⁴⁴ in Answer to the Yourse of the 16th & shall march of tomorrow agreable to your Orders.³⁴⁵

I have had party on the Monks Corner road, Constantly & they have allways went over Goos-Creek Bridge & had all the Cattle Drove on this side of Stawberry Ferry immediatly as I took post here, & am pretty Clear they have not Carry'd any Cattle from this side.³⁴⁶ The Amm.~ is Just Arrived.

I have the Honor to be

y^r ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

343. Location inferred. See first letter of this date, immediately above.

344. The datelines for these two letters are marked 2 p.m. and 3 p.m., just one hour apart, rather than two.

345. Greene had ordered Marion to march to Dorchester on Dec. 17. He appears to have arrived there by December 21. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 22, 1781, below (*PNG*, 10:74n).

346. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 17, 1781 above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Parkers Plant^a Wassamasaw 21st Dec^r 1781

S^r

I arrived here Last night the badness of the roads, retarded my march. I wish to know if You Desire me to come forwards,³⁴⁷ as you Wrought me to halt in the Neighbourhood of Dorchester. I shall remain here or within a few miles further down, untill I hear from You. I shall send to find out Colo Lee & act in Conju[n]ction with him, untill you think proper to permit me to return or Direct otherways.

I rec^d a Letter from a detachment I Left in S^t Thomas that the Enemy about 500 men was to Land the Night afore last at Heskots Point to penetrate in that parish, in hopes to surprise me but as I had your Orders to march this way I woud not turn back, & I fear that part of the Country will be ravaged in my Absence.³⁴⁸

I have the honor to be

y^r Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

347. Greene replied the next day, ordering Marion to return to Huger's Bridge. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 22, 1781 below (PNG, 10:86n).

348. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 30, 1781, below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

H^d Quart^s Round O. December 22^d, 1781.

Dr Sir

I have Just Received your Letter of Yesterday dated near Dorchester. When I wrote you to move this way, I had every Reason to believe the Enemy intended to take the field; by Intelligence from different people I thought it most Advisable to draw our forces together, that we might not be beat in detachment & that if we did fight, to have it in our power to Give the Enemy a Crippling blow, if we could not obtain Victory. The Enemy Came out, but did not make any Stay & the force was inconsiderable. On hearing this, I directed Col^o Lee to Inform you thereof & that if nothing appeared to Indicate further operations in the Country, that you might return to your Old Station.³⁴⁹ You will therefore after hearing from Colo Lee take your measures According to Circumstances. The Enemy have a body of Cavalry which frequently come out as far Almost as Dorchester. Cannot Lee & Mayham [Hezekiah Maham] concert a plan in Conjunction to Cut them off? I am unacquainted with the ground & Roads & therefore cannot Judge of the practicability. If a blow of this kind Could be Effected with proper, address, it would prevent their further Excursions, which will be more & more troublesome without some Check.³⁵⁰ You will please to Order me a Return³⁵¹ of the two Corps of [Col. Peter] Horry & Maham, as well the Horse as the men & I think there is a Large body of Regular Cavalry coming from the N^o W^d that it will not be worth while to go to the Expence of Equipping any more, Especially as the nature of the war is Changed so as to render infantry much more Usefull than horse, If those Corps could be made Legionary, one half Infantry & the other Cavalry, they will be more Usefull & less Expensive. Since the fall of Lord Cornwallis, I consider the plan of the War as totally changed, & what before was the first object is now only a secondary one, I mean as having a very Great body of Cavalry in the field[.] It will be impossible for the Enemy to Get a Cavalry with every Exertion they can make that will be able to Combat with one half of ours, & the Cavalry in this lower Country, & Especially in a Siege, can be of little use to what Infantry may & they are five times as Expensive. I beg your Oppinion upon the matter.³⁵²

I am Sir

most Respectfully Yours

Nath^l Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC), PNG, 10:87-88.

349. According to the editors of *PNG*: “Greene’s instructions to Lee have not been found” (*PNG*, 10:88n).

350. See Marion’s reply, Dec. 23, 1781, below.

351. Marion’s letter to Greene of Dec. 30, 1781 originally included the returns, but they have not been found.

352. According to his reply of Dec. 23, 1781, Marion agreed (*PNG*, 10:88n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Glazes Plant^a at Cypruss 23^d Dec^r 1781. 4 OC. P.M.

S^r

I Just this moment rec^d yours of yesterdays date. I had wrought to Col. Lee by the same Express which carryd my last to you but he has not made any Answer. I send again to him,³⁵³ & Expect to hear this Night from him. I purpose marching very Early tomorrow [to?] my former post, as that part [of] the Country is liable to be ravaged in my Absence, and I cannot thin[k] the Enemy mean to come out.³⁵⁴ By Deserters, their whole force (Except 300 hessians sent to Stono) is at the Quarter House. If any thing Can be done against their Caveldry we will do it. Col. Maham is at Santee very sick. In respect of his & Horrys Caveldry, I think it much for the good of the service to raise no more, but add some Infantry to Each Corps, for I think we already have more Caveldry than Nessesary[.] Shoud it be hearafter Nessesary to have more, the Militia horse will answer the purpose Just as well.³⁵⁵

As soon as I can Get the Exact returns will transmit them to you.³⁵⁶

I have the Honor to be
y^r ob st

Fran^s Marion

NB I hear there is a great many men who have come from town is at the Southward[.] As they belong to my Brigade I wish they may be Orderd to me.

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

353. The referenced correspondence between Marion and Lee has not been found.

354. Marion's "former post" probably refers to Huger's Bridge, in St. Thomas Parish, where he had been since at least Nov. 30, although he did write Greene from "Parkers Plant^a Wassamasaw" on Dec. 21, 1781, above.

355. Marion echoed Greene's idea of re-organizing the cavalry of both Horry and Maham into legionary corps like Lt. Col. Henry Lee's, consisting of both dragoons and infantry. His mention of using militia to serve as cavalry when needed may have been partly motivated by self-interest, for militia reported directly to Marion, while the regiments of Maham and Horry technically reported to Greene, although they were considered State Troops. Previously this had caused command and control problems that Greene attempted to resolve by directing Horry and Maham to follow Marion's orders.

356. As per PNG: "Greene was still trying to collect the returns in mid-Feb. 1782. The regiments were finally combined into a legion on Mar. 12, 1782. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 12, 1782, below." (PNG, 10:94-95n).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [Round O] December 27th 1781

Dear Sir

By good intelligence from Charlestown I learn the enemy are in hourly expectation of four Regiments of infantry and two of dismounted Dragoons from Cork; and three Regiments from New York.³⁵⁷ Should this intelligence prove true, and it has all the marks of authenticity, I fear it will oblige us to collect our force even tho it should expose some parts of the Country. Please to let me know what Militia force you can keep in the field dismounted.

We shall be much more in want of Infantry than Cavalry a large reinforcement of the latter being hourly expected from the Northward.³⁵⁸ Let me hear from you on this subject as soon as possible; and also inform me whether the Enemy can get any teams or horses in your quarter should they send a detachment upon that service; for if they mean to take the field they will want the means of transportation; and there can be little doubt of their taking the field and pushing of us if they are as largely reinforced as reports say there are coming. To deprive them of the Carriages and horses therefore will be the most effectual way of preventing their operating to our disadvantage. If teams and horses are to be had therefore in your quarter take measures to have them removed out of the enemies way should the reinforcements arrive afore mentioned, for depend upon it, they will try to get there; nor will it be in the power of the people to keep them out of their way if they are left with them, for be assured the enemy will use less delicacy towards the people than ever, as their object will be conquest and not a return to Allegiance.³⁵⁹

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:112.

357. Far fewer British reinforcements were sent to Charlestown from either New York or Cork, Ireland, than Greene had been led to believe. Gen. Washington wrote in a letter to Greene on Dec. 19, 1781 that an English fleet of more than 100 vessels had sailed from New York on Dec. 15. He felt that the British did not intend to reinforce their forces in the South “at present.” (Washington to Greene, Dec. 19, 1781, PNG, 10:81) Greene reported to Washington on Jan. 24, 1782 that he was expecting enemy troops to arrive from both Cork and New York, “near four hundred men.” Greene told Washington that he had sent for more troops from North Carolina and Virginia, and requested 1,000 men from Count Rochambeau, unless “it would still be more agreeable for him (Washington) to move with his whole force this way.” It was confirmed a month later that the British fleet arrived with only 60 artillery men (Greene to Washington, Jan. 24, 1782, PNG, 10:256).

358. Neither Wayne’s nor St. Clair’s reinforcements included much cavalry. The Southern Army did have a large number of mounted regular troops by this point in the campaign, partly due to the creation of Horry’s and Maham’s State Dragoons in Jun. 1781. But that number was not about to increase due to reinforcement.

359. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 1, 1782, in Volume III.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Smith³⁶⁰

Quashes Plantation 28th Dec^r. 1781.

Sir/

You will March your Corps and be at Hugers Bridge today at 10 °Clock where you will Receive Further Orders.³⁶¹

I am Your Ob^t. Serv^t.

Fra^s. Marion

[Addressee:] To Cap^t. Jo^h . Smith

At

Benj. Simons plantation

Tr (NN), Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book.

360. Why Marion was giving orders directly to Smith, bypassing Maham, is not known.

361. The orders are immediately below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Smith

Gen^l: Orders. Quashes, 28th Dec^r. 1781.

Sir/

You will proceed with the Legion to Col. Lauronses [Laurens] Plantation,³⁶² A Mile above Strawberry Ferry³⁶³ there take post and send A guard of Infantry to the Ferry, I shal[l] take post at Cummintre³⁶⁴ A Mile below the Ferry and am Sir: ours.

Fras. Marion

To

Capt. John Smith

Commanding

Tr, (NN), Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book.

362. "Col. Laurens" was Lt. Col. John Laurens, but the plantation to which Marion referred was likely Mepkin, owned by Laurens's father, Henry, former president of the Continental Congress. [Click here for a brief bio of John Laurens.](#)

363. Strawberry Ferry was a major crossing over the Cooper River. Securing the ferry by maintaining forces both below it (Marion's) and above it (Smith's) would cut off a useful line of movement to the British.

364. "Cummintre" (Comingtee) was a plantation owned by the Elias Ball family. It was inherited by Elias Ball, Sr., from his uncle John Coming. The plantation name came from its location at the confluence of the East and West branches of the Cooper River, thus "Coming's T." ("Elias Ball Family," Neal Auction House (New Orleans, Nov. 2009)) At the time of the Revolution it was occupied by Elias Ball III (also known as Elias Jr., or Elias of Comingtee). Elias was a lieutenant colonel in the Berkeley and Craven Loyalist militia regiment, and his father was the colonel and commander of the regiment. Elias of Comingtee's cousin was Capt. John Coming Ball, who Marion had bested at the Battle of Black Mingo during the night of Sep. 28-29, 1780.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

S^t Johns Parish Near Strawberry Ferry 30th Dec^r. 1781

S^r

On my return I found a party of the Enemy had penetrated from Haddrells Point to Boses Plantⁿ. in Cain-hoy,³⁶⁵ with an Intention to Surprise Col^o. Screven³⁶⁶ who I had left with Eighty men to prevent small partys of the Enemy from ravaging the Country on Wando river, but they mist their Aim the Col. followed them down Some distance & had a few scattering fire on them, wounded four, without having one man hurt. Since that no Attempt have been made

I was Oblige to move from Hugers Bridge to this Place for want of Forrage, keeping Large Detachments on the Wando river near Wappetaw & at Fogarties & Addison ferry.

Inclosed is the returns of Col^o. Horry & Mahams Corps,³⁶⁷ which I shall Cloath Compleatly in a Little time having found Means to get Cloathing out of town.

I have been Offerd a great Quantity of Articles for Soldiers, & Expect to receive them soon, & hope to Spare your troops a Large Quantity.³⁶⁸

I have the Honor to be
your Ob^t. S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (ScCMu), Charleston Museum.

365. Marion had responded to an enemy raid toward Dorchester. See Marion to Greene, Dec. 18, 21, and 23, 1781 all above (PNG, 10:137n).

366. It is not certain whether this was Thomas or Benjamin Screven, but it was more likely Thomas. Benjamin served as a captain of militia during 1775 and a dragoon captain in 1779 but there is no mention of him after that. More recent biographies of Marion, dating back to Bass (*Swamp Fox*, 230), identify this Col. Screven as Benjamin. However, neither James nor Simms include a first name. In the pension application of Thomas Jackson, however, Lt. Col. Thomas Screven was referenced as being in command of a militia regiment as late as mid-1780. Benjamin Screven is not mentioned in any pension applications. [Click here for a brief bio of Thomas Screven.](#)

367. The returns have not been found.

368. It is not clear where the clothing supply came from, but the Continental Army was constantly undersupplied in this regard, especially at this late stage of the war. Horry wrote Greene a few months later that his men were “without Cloaths.” (Horry to Greene, Mar. 18, 1782, PNG, 10:522).

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [Round O] December 31st 1781

Dear Sir

I wrote you a day past of some intelligence I got of four Regiments of infantry and two of dismounted Dragoons expected from Ireland and three regiments from New York.³⁶⁹ The Cork fleet have arrivd but no troops except about 60 Artillery Men. The troops from York are hourly expected but one of the Regiments is a Regiment of dismounted Dragoons and I am in hopes the infantry regiments will not be large.³⁷⁰ In consequence of the intelligence of the reinforcement I have detained for a few days the Governors proclamation for the Assembly to sit at Jackson Borough thinking that position might be unsafe if the enemy were to be as largely reinforced as was expected; but as the number falls far short of what was at first expected I have forwarded the Proclamations for you to distribute agreeable to the Governors order and you will please to have them dispersed accordingly.³⁷¹ General St Clair is expected to be at the Mills to morrow upon the Edisto.³⁷²

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble S^r

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:138-39.

369. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 27, 1781, above.

370. As per PNG: "The fleet from Cork, Ireland, anchored outside the bar at Charlestown on Dec. 27, 1781 sent in a 'few Vessels bound for this port,' and 'proceeded for New York' without contacting Gen. Alexander Leslie, the British commander at Charlestown (South Carolina *Royal Gazette*, Dec. 1781; Leslie to Clinton, Jan. 4, 1782, PRO 30/55 #4035; cited in PNG, 10:139n).

371. After Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown and the subsequent withdrawal of British troops to Charlestown and its environs, Gov. Rutledge planned to convene the South Carolina legislature to formalize the new civil government and to send a message to the British that South Carolina had thrown off the British yoke. Originally, Rutledge intended to convene in Camden. However, he and the Privy Council approved Greene's recommendation to convene the government on Jan. 8, 1782 in Jacksonborough, within 30 miles of Charlestown. Greene informed Rutledge in a letter of Dec. 27, 1781 that the threat of British reinforcements prompted him to delay sending out Rutledge's proclamation about the convening of the legislature until "I am more fully informed" (Greene to Rutledge, Dec. 27, 1781, PNG, 10:118).

372. Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair's force arrived on Jan. 4, 1782 (PNG, 10:139n).

The Waiting Begins

While the Revolution in the North continued to stalemate in 1781, the combination of Nathanael Greene's expertly-managed Continental Army and the now veteran militia brigades led by Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens systematically overwhelmed the British Army in actions that hastened the end of British and Loyalist control. The ruinous victory at Guilford Courthouse in March, followed by news of Rawdon's similarly Pyrrhic showing at Hobkirk Hill, convinced Lord Cornwallis to make the fateful decision to march for Virginia, where he would ultimately surrender to the allied army of Washington and Rochambeau in October. With Cornwallis out of the picture, Nathanael Greene and his militia generals were able to concentrate on eradicating the British/Loyalist presence, first from the South Carolina Backcountry, and then from an ever-tightening circle around Charlestown, as British home support for the interminable global war waned.

As 1781 came to a close, the "War of the Posts" had netted the Americans over 1,000 POWs, much needed military supplies, and resulted in a total disruption of the British logistical structures required to maintain occupation of the South Carolina back country. The British command knew that they did not have sufficient manpower to hold the state's hinterland, especially as the Loyalist militia's ardor for battle had already been diminished the year before by their repeated defeats at Thicketty Fort, Musgrove Mill, Kings Mountain, Blackstock's Plantation, Hammond's Old Store, and many smaller actions. When Cornwallis failed to catch Greene in the Race to the Dan, and then continued north into Virginia with the bulk of the southern army, Lord Rawdon found himself without the forces necessary to maintain the Crown's far-flung outposts and sprawling supply lines. One by one, the British posts fell: Cary's Fort, Rugeley's Fort, Ft. Watson, Ft. Motte, Ft. Galphin, Ft. Greirson, Ft. Cornwallis, Orangeburg, and Granby. The British voluntarily withdrew from Hanging Rock, Rocky Mount, Camden, and Ninety Six, leaving the back country Loyalists entirely devoid of support. Then, even the Lowcountry began to collapse, as Fair Lawn, Wappetaw Meeting House, Moncks Corner, Georgetown, Wilmington, and Dorchester were abandoned one by one, their former garrisons pulling into a smaller, more defensible semicircle around Charlestown.

Francis Marion played a key role in forcing the enemy to the gates of the city. The British force of Lt. Col. John Watson was effectively neutralized by the three-week Bridges Campaign. The surrender of Fort Watson on the north side of the Santee and Fort Motte on the south side cut the British supply line to Camden and into North Carolina for good.

The Battle of Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781 was the last major attempt by the British to turn the tide in South Carolina. Marion's destruction of key Loyalist cavalry at Parker's Ferry had given the Americans the advantage needed to overwhelm the British in the early fighting. His command of the front line of Greene's advance, composed of South and North Carolina militia, struck the first blows. Greene followed up with his Continentals. Only the heat and delays as the Americans drove the enemy formations back through the British camp prevented Greene from finally achieving a decisive victory. As it was, after claiming the victory, the British withdrew and made for Charlestown.

Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in October was the final nail in the British coffin. However, low intensity fighting continued in South Carolina for the next ten months. The British army, now cornered in Charlestown, was more intent on obtaining food than capturing territory.

The war had come down to a waiting game. Each side was too weak to conquer the other. To obtain provisions, the British had to venture out to the plantations, setting up skirmishes throughout the Lowcountry. In the face of these surprise raids, the South Carolinians would go about setting up the post-war civil government—only 30 miles from enemy lines...

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John Barnwell

John Barnwell (1748-1800) was elected captain in the 1st SC Regiment on Jun. 4, 1775, and commissioned on Jun. 17. He was involved in one of the first engagements of the war, the expedition to capture powder on a British vessel in the Savannah River in Jul. 1775.

He served in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses in 1775-76, the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies from 1776-78, and the Senate in 1779-80.

As a soldier, he distinguished himself in the fighting near Beaufort on Feb. 9, 1779. Barnwell resigned his commission in the Continental Army and became a major in Col. Benjamin Garden's Granville County Militia Regiment in 1780. He was captured at the fall of Charlestown, but instead of being paroled, as was standard practice for militia, he was imprisoned on the prison ship, *Packhorse*, presumably based on his earlier Continental commission.

After being exchanged in Jun. 1781, he was on a British ship sailing to Philadelphia to complete the transaction when he, along with several other prisoners took over the vessel and landed in North Carolina. On his return to the state, he was made a brigadier general and given command of the Fourth Militia Brigade.

Barnwell's appointment caused such discontent in Col. William Harden's regiment over his being overlooked for the position that Harden and many of his officers resigned. He remained in the militia and after the war was promoted to major general. Barnwell was a delegate to the SC convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788. He was elected to the 4th US Congress, but declined the office. Instead, he served in the SC Senate for 19 years and died as a senator in 1800. In 1808 the name of Winton District was changed to Barnwell in his honor.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:54-56;
Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 176;
McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:529-30; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 48; Burke to Greene, Aug. 31, 1781, PNG, 9:272n.

Lemuel Benton

Lemuel (William Lamb) Benton (1754-1818) was appointed a major in Marion's Brigade in Mar. 1781, after the Battle of Wyboo Swamp. He became a lieutenant-colonel a month later, and at the end of April, after Col. Abel Kolb was murdered, Benton was promoted to colonel and became the commander of the Cheraw Militia Regiment. His unit fought with distinction at the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781.

Apparently, Benton and Gen. Marion had some differences in Jun. 1782, while at Burch's Mill, during the negotiations with Micajah Ganey and his Loyalists, and Benton was accused of neglect of duty. However, upon investigation, Marion was satisfied with his conduct.

In Aug. 1782, Benton was hard-pressed to bring law-and-order to the Cheraw region, due to ongoing issues with Loyalists, despite the treaty signed between Gen. Marion and Micajah Ganey in June. He urged Gov. Mathews to allow him to retain much of his militia to guard the jail and to employ "An armed party to detect & bring to punishment the refractory & disobedient, which my warm desire for that purpose will induce me to engage to have punctually performed with all due moderation for the good of this Country..." Benton also took the opportunity to voice his resentment that the General Assembly had pardoned many Loyalists, "the very Villains that perpetrated this wanton horrid Murder [of Col. Abel Kolb], Burning & plundering, are now, in the face of his distressed family, & friends, received & Restored to Equal privileges with men who have suffered every thing by them that it was in their power & Savage disposition to inflict."

Mathews deferred to Marion, instructing him to take proper action. Presumably, after receiving instructions from Marion, Benton alerted him to the inadequacy of the militia turnout in his regiment, and requested assistance, explaining the situation in two letters on Aug. 29. Benton continued to serve in Marion's Brigade through at least Aug. 1789, when he was ordered to provide "a return of all the white Inhabitants in these District," to Marion. He served in the Cheraw militia until 1794.

Benton served in the 4th General Assembly that met in Jacksonborough in 1782, and continued to serve in the SC House from 1783-88. He supported ratification of the US Constitution in 1788, and was a delegate to the SC State Constitutional Convention in 1790. Benton went on to serve in the US Congress from 1793-99.

—O'Kelley, *BCADM* 664 (FN 1413); Moss, *SC Patriots*, 65; Benton to Mathews, Aug. 20 and 29, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Mathews to Marion, Aug. 24, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Muller, Aug. 24, 1789, ALS (ScU); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:65-67.

John Blucke

John Blucke (Bluke) was a 2nd lieutenant in the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) in Jan. 1774. In 1776, he was promoted to 1st lieutenant and, in Aug. 1780, to captain lieutenant.

Blucke assumed command at Georgetown in Oct. 1780. Along with a garrison of approximately 100 troops and a well-fortified redoubt, a galley patrolling Winyah Bay afforded the British reasonable security. In Nov. 1780, Balfour wrote Cornwallis that, despite the appearance of Marion with 500 men, "Bluck is not alarmed." By the end of December, Blucke was transferred to Camden.

In Mar. and Sep. 1781, Blucke was in Charlestown. There he served as the deputy judge advocate at a number of trials, most notably that of Lt. Anthony Allaire, whose published diary is one of the major sources for details on the Battle of King's Mountain.

—Balfour to Cornwallis, Oct 1. 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:113-14; Balfour to Cornwallis, Oct. 10, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:119-20; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 17, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:85; Balfour to Cornwallis, Dec. 26, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:115; Loyalist Institute, Court Records, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts>, accessed Nov. 18, 2024.

Peter Bocquet

Peter Bocquet served in the 2nd Provincial Congress and the General Assembly from 1775-80. He lent the state £4,500 in 1779. Bocquet was a captain in the Charlestown Militia during 1780. After the fall of the town, he continued to serve in the militia.

Maj. Bocquet was captured by the British in Aug. 1780, and released in Dec. 1781. Upon his release he apparently assumed some function in Gov. Rutledge's re-established government.

In Jan. 1782, Bocquet was elected to the Privy Council at the meeting of the legislature in Jacksonborough. He served in the 5th General Assembly from 1783-84. Bocquet was a commissioner of the treasury of South Carolina from 1784-87.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:75-77; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 79; Rutledge to Marion, Dec. 15, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Salley, *Journal of the SC Senate*, 29; Marion to Blake & Bocquet, Aug. 2, 1785, ALS (Christie's, New York, May 18, 1991, lot 292); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:75-76.

Archibald Campbell

Archibald Campbell (d.1782), known as "Mad Archy" for his violent temper, had been a lieutenant in the 71st Foot prior to becoming a captain in the South Carolina Light Dragoons, which was organized by Charlestown commandant Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour in Jan. 1781. His company was absorbed into the SC Royalists during the summer or fall of 1781.

In June, Campbell, commanding the SC Royalists and the Queen's Rangers, attacked William Clay Snipes's Plantation. The Loyalists surprised Snipes, killing 18, some possibly after they had surrendered. Capt. Campbell was at Parker's Ferry and was also in the action at Garden's Plantation in December, where a small force of Loyalist cavalry commanded by Maj. John Coffin captured Capt. James Armstrong of Lee's Legion.

Campbell fought his last battle at Videau's Bridge at the beginning of Jan. 1782, where he commanded the vanguard of the cavalry.

"Mad Archy" appears to have been one of the more colorful Loyalists. Joseph Johnson wrote of him:

"Of Mad Archy, or Mad Campbell, we know nothing, except while the British occupied Charleston; we believe that this appellation was given him by his brother officers. An instance of Campbell's violence of temper was told to a lady still living (1851) by the Rev. Edward Ellington, rector of St. James's, Goose Creek. Captain Campbell once drove up to his house accompanied by a young lady, who appeared agitated or alarmed; he called for the reverend gentleman to come out to him and asked to be married to this lady. 'Yes' was the answer, & with her consent and that of her friends, Campbell then drew his pistols and swore that he should marry them or be put to death immediately. Such was the character and deportment of Campbell that the minister did not dare to refuse; he married them, and it proved to be a case of abduction. The lady was Paulina Philp, of one of the most respectable families in the State. She told her friends that when Campbell was particular in his attentions, and flattered her, she had considered it nothing more than what all the British officers were in the habit of saying and doing, and supposed that Captain Campbell meant no more to her. That she had never promised to marry him or intended to do so, and never consented except when terrified."

—Clark, *Loyalists*, 2:510; Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 67-69.

George Campbell

George Campbell (1732-99) was an ensign in the 42nd Foot in 1760. He retired in 1769 as a lieutenant, but rejoined the military and was a lieutenant colonel in the King's American Regiment in 1777. He was captured at sea in 1779 and exchanged the same year.

Campbell was captured again in Jun. 1780 and exchanged again. The King's American Regiment, along with a troop of the Queen's Rangers, was sent to garrison Georgetown. They arrived at that location on Dec. 24, 1780 under Campbell's overall command.

The next day, a detachment of King's Americans and Queen's Rangers, under Campbell's command, engaged in a skirmish with 50 mounted militia. Two days after Campbell's arrival at Georgetown, Balfour wrote Cornwallis about the potential for Campbell and Lt. Col. John Watson to carry out an attack on Marion from two directions.

In Jan. 1781, Campbell skirmished twice with Marion's partisans, once near Georgetown and again on Waccamaw Neck. Both times the Patriots bested him. In a third action, Campbell was captured. The joint attack by forces under the command of Gen. Marion and Lt. Col. Lee rushed into Georgetown on the night of Jan. 24-25, thoroughly surprising the unsuspecting British troops.

Campbell was taken in his quarters. After a short time, the Americans withdrew. Campbell's troops made no effort to come to his aid, which was reported as being tantamount to mutiny. By April, Campbell was exchanged for a third time. He commanded the King's American Regiment at Hobkirk's Hill on Apr. 25, and was instrumental in breaking the American 1st Maryland Regiment.

Campbell was in Georgia by the beginning of November in an effort to counter a Patriot attack on the King's Rangers by Georgia state troops under Lt. Col. James Jackson near the Ogeechee Ferry, south of Savannah.

—Don Gara, *Biographical Sketches of Cavalry Officers of the Queen's American Rangers*, www.royalprovincial.com, accessed Dec. 10, 2024; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 464; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 61.

James Coates

James Coates had been in the 19th Foot when he joined as an ensign in 1755. He transferred to the 66th three years later but, in 1775, was back in 19th as its lieutenant colonel and commander.

He arrived in Charlestown in Jun. 1781, with the reinforcements under Gen. Paston Gould. Coates was given command of the post at Moncks Corner. When Lt. Col. Stewart set off for the Santee and his ultimate collision with Greene's army at Eutaw Springs in September, Coates remained at Moncks Corner with his regiment, less the flank companies, which accompanied Stewart.

—Balfour to Clinton, Jul. 20, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:249;; M. L. Ferrar, *A History of the Services of the 19th Regiment, Now Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment), From its Formation in 1688 to 1911* (London: Eden Fisher, c.1911), 97-100.

James Conyers

James Conyers (d. 1782) joined the state militia as a private in 1775. By Jun. 1776, he was a captain in the 5th SC Regiment.

A James Conyers was elected to the 3rd General Assembly (1779-80). However, it is unclear whether the representative was James, Jr., or his father who died in 1815.

After the fall of Charlestown, Conyers joined Gates in North Carolina and became an aide. After Nathanael Greene replaced Gates in Dec. 1780, Conyers often served as a liaison between Greene and Francis Marion.

In Dec. 1781, Conyers was taken prisoner while under a flag of truce. Gen. Leslie apologized for his treatment. Conyers was released in Jan. 1782, although Gen. Marion protested that Capt. John Postell, who had been imprisoned longer, should have been the officer exchanged.

As it turned out, Conyers was not exchanged, but simply freed, presumably due to the recognition that he had been detained illegally. At this time, Conyers was a captain in "Col. Washingtons Light Dragoons."

By Mar. 1782 Conyers had returned to Marion's Brigade and was promoted to major. In Aug. 1782, he took command of the cavalry regiment formerly commanded by Col. Hezekiah Maham, as a result of Maham's capture. Conyers fought at Wadboo at the end of August, Marion's last battle. He was killed in a skirmish around Round O in Oct. 1782, shortly before the British evacuation.

—PNG, 8:161n; Conyers to Greene, Dec. 21 1781, PNG, 10:85-86; Leslie to Greene, Jan. 7, 1782, PNG, 10:166-67; Marion to Greene, Jan. 26, 1782, PNG, 10:265-66; Greene to Marion, Jan. 28, 1782, PNG, 10:275; Mathews to Greene, Feb. 18, 1782, PNG, 10:380; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 730 (FN 1625), 732 (FN 1641); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:150-51.

John Harris Cruger

John Harris Cruger (1738-1807) belonged to a wealthy New York Loyalist family. He was the son-in-law of Oliver De Lancey, who had raised three Loyalist battalions.

Lt. Col. Cruger led one of the battalions as part of the Savannah expedition in 1778. Cruger commanded one of the redoubts against Gen. Isaac Huger during the final assault on Savannah by the Franco-American force in Oct. 1779. He was captured in Georgia in Jun. 1780, and exchanged shortly afterwards.

By the middle of August, Cruger succeeded Lt. Col. Balfour as commander at Ninety Six. For the next nine months, he fortified the post and maintained a semblance of Loyalist control in the area, and commanded the fort during Greene's siege.

When the Americans attempted a last-ditch assault on the fortification on Jun. 19, Cruger was able to hold out long enough to allow the approach of Lord Rawdon's relief force, which drove off the Americans. But despite Cruger's efforts, Ninety Six was evacuated early in Jul. 1781.

Cruger moved his retreating force to Orangeburg, where he joined Rawdon on Jul. 10, with 1,300 men, a reinforcement that possibly dissuaded Greene from attacking Rawdon. Cruger fought at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, and withdrew with the rest of the British army toward Charlestown, where he commanded the defenses around Stono Ferry.

During the summer of 1782, Cruger returned to New York, and after the war he moved to London, where he died in 1807.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:292; PNG, 8:340n.

John Dart

John Dart (1741?-98) was a member of the 1st Provincial Congress (1775). He was appointed commissioner of the treasury by Rutledge and the General Assembly in 1776. In 1777, he was deputy clothier general of the Continental Army. He served as the Southern Army's auditor general, as well as paymaster of the 1st SC Regiment.

He was apparently taken prisoner and paroled when Charlestown surrendered in May, 1780. After his exchange, he joined Gov. Rutledge and served as his secretary. Dart was a member of the SC House during the General Assembly convened at Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782.

In October, he succeeded Joseph Clay as deputy paymaster general for the Southern Department. He served as Clerk of the House from 1783-97. In 1788, Dart served as secretary of the state convention to ratify the US Constitution. He also served as secretary of the state Constitutional Convention in 1790.

Dart died at William Moultrie's Northampton Plantation in 1798.

—Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:361-363; PNG, 11:486n, 12:387; Campbell to Marion, Jan. 21, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); "Rutledge Proclamation" in Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*, 2:506-08; Jonathon Elliott ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787*, (Washington: 1836), 339-441; N.L. Bailey and E.I. Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House* (Columbia, SC: University of SC Press, 1974), 3:171-72.

William Ransom Davis

William Ransom Davis served as a captain in the militia in Marion's brigade during 1780 and 1781.

Marion's wording indicates he did not hold Davis in high regard, or otherwise had no pressing duties for him. If he was in Marion's Brigade, he appears to have been effectively transferred to Sumter's Brigade. A letter from Sumter to Marion, which is not extant, would likely clear up Davis's status with Sumter and Marion.

At some point, if he was not already, Davis joined Marion's Brigade, for he delivered prisoners to Greene later in Aug. 1781, and received supplies from Georgetown merchant Mordecai Myers in September.

In 1783, Davis, Thomas Sumter, Edward Lacey and two others purchased land in the High Hills of the Santee and established the town of Stateburg. They lobbied unsuccessfully for the town to become the new capital of South Carolina. Davis was elected to the SC House from 1785-86 and 1794-95. He resigned to become sheriff of Camden District, serving through 1798.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 239; Marion to Sumter, Jul. 26, 1781, Tr (Thomas Sumter Papers: DLC), microfilm copy at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute, York, SC); Marion to Greene, Aug. 18, 1781, ALS (MiU-C), Parks; Marion to Horry, Sep. 17, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Myers to Marion, Oct. 6, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:174-75.

John Doyle

John Doyle (c.1750-1834) was the elder brother of Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle. He joined the 48th Foot in 1771 and by 1778 was a lieutenant. He resigned his regular army commission to become a captain in the Volunteers of Ireland along with his brother. He served at the siege of Charlestown in 1780 and was named a brigade major under Cornwallis. Doyle had developed a relationship with Lord Rawdon, probably explaining his post as deputy adjutant general. He was left in command of Orangeburg when the main British army withdrew to Dorchester, and then given command of Dorchester when Stewart was incapacitated by his wounds at Eutaw Springs. He was promoted to major in Mar. 1782, and in August, he commanded a highly successful foraging expedition up the Santee. After the war Doyle served in the Irish House of Commons. He raised the 87th Foot in 1793, and served with it in Holland the following year. He was secretary of war from 1796-99 and fought at Alexandria and Marabout in 1801. He returned to England and served as lieutenant governor of Guernsey from 1804-15, becoming a baron in 1806, a knight in 1812, and a full general in 1819.

DNB, 360; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 105.

Welbore Ellis Doyle

Welbore Ellis Doyle (1754-97) was commissioned an ensign in the 54th Foot in 1770 and by 1777 he was a captain lieutenant. The following year, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in Lord Rawdon's newly raised regiment, the Volunteers of Ireland.

Doyle served at the siege of Charlestown in 1780 and remained in the city after its surrender. He was ill in Jul. 1780, which resulted in Cornwallis sending Maj. James Wemyss to reinforce Rawdon at Camden, instead of Doyle. His malady may have lingered, since he was not listed as being present at the Battle of Camden in August. But he had arrived in Camden by the middle of October.

In Feb. 1781, Doyle was sent to relieve Fort Granby, which was under siege by Sumter. In June, Doyle met Rawdon en route to relieve the Loyalists at Ninety-Six. He was captured in August aboard the sloop *Cormorant* and exchanged in November.

After the war Doyle served as a military envoy to Poland. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1789 and saw action in Flanders during the French Revolutionary Wars. He was promoted to major general in 1795, and was made Commander-in-Chief and acting Governor of Ceylon in 1796. He was the younger brother of Maj. John Doyle.

—Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:119n; Cornwallis to Rawdon, Jul. 29, 1780, 1:215; Turnbull to Rawdon, Oct. 20, 1780, , 2:256-57; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Mar. 24, 1781, 4:51-52; Rawdon to Cornwallis Jun. 7, 1781, 5:292-93; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Aug. 2, 1781, 6:63-66; J.A. Rhame, "Marion at Willow Grove," *The State*, 13 Jun 1915; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 106.

James de Peyster

James De Peyster (d.1793) was captain-lieutenant of the grenadier company of the King's American Regiment. He was in Georgetown when Marion and Lee attacked, and briefly occupied the town at the end of Jan. 1781.

De Peyster and his grenadiers were detached to patrol plantations near the town to counter the guerilla tactics of Marion's Brigade. The British under De Peyster plundered Capt. John Postell, Sr.'s plantation on the Lower Pee Dee to the point where the latter wrote "my family are reduced to beg their bread." The 71-year-old Postell had been paroled after the surrender of Charlestown, and returned to his plantation.

Capt. John Postell Jr. went to his father's rescue in mid-February. De Peyster, incorrectly presuming that he and his 29 men were outnumbered, quickly surrendered when the Patriots began preparations for burning the house in which the British waited.

Capt. John Saunders, then the acting commandant at Georgetown after the capture of the previous commandant, Lt. Col. George Campbell, wasted no time attempting to exchange De Peyster, writing to Marion, "I am willing to send you as many of the Second Regimt as you have prisoners of mine in your hands, but I cannot think of making a partial exchange Except in the Instance of Captain De Peyster who has my Authority to Offer you Captain Clark or any other person I have here in Exchange for himself."

Two other De Peysters served in the South: Capt. Abraham De Peyster, of the King's American Regiment, was second-in-command to Lt. Col. Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain. Capt.-Lt. Frederick De Peyster accompanied Maj. James Wemyss on his tour of plunder through Williamsburg Township in Oct. 1780, and was tasked with the training of Maj. Samuel Tynes' Loyalist militia, who were routed by Francis Marion at Tearcoat Swamp on Oct. 25.

—Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 130; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 103-05, 161-62, Cornwallis to Wemyss, Aug 31, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:210-11; Cornwallis to De Peyster, Aug 31, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:211-212; Saunders to Marion, Feb. 25. 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

David Fanning

David Fanning (1755-1835) was in some ways Marion's counterpart on the Loyalist side. Renowned for his ambitious and intrepid style of guerilla warfare, he was also one of the more infamous Loyalists among the Patriots, known for offering no quarter.

An Indian trader among the Catawbans in South Carolina before the war, at the outset, Fanning sided with the Revolution. However, he switched sides when a gang of self-proclaimed Patriots stole his trade goods.

Fanning was captured and imprisoned multiple times during the first five years of the war. Each time, he either escaped or was released and he rose from private to captain in the SC Loyalist militia by early 1781.

In July, he was commissioned a colonel in the NC Loyalist militia by Maj. James Craig, the commandant at Wilmington. In 1781 and 1782, he carried out a series of raids, including attacking Patriot Col. Thomas Wade near Bettis's Bridge on Sep. 1. Shortly thereafter, Fanning executed his most dramatic operation on the morning of Sep. 12, 1781. In a surprise attack on Hillsborough, NC, Fanning's Loyalists captured Gov. Thomas Burke, the state council, a number of Continental officers, and 71 Continental soldiers.

Finally in Jun. 1782, Fanning changed his tactics. He surrendered on the terms of the treaty signed by Marion and Loyalist Micajah Ganey. Despite Fanning's apparent desire for peace, Marion was still cautious. He wrote Horry on Jun. 9 that Fanning had 30 men with him and warned of a possible attack on Georgetown.

Instead, Fanning with some of his followers left the Pee Dee area for Charlestown. Fanning's hatred for Marion is reflected in Greene's advice to Marion: "It is said that Fanning is determined to have you dead or alive therefore, take care of yourself."

After the war, Fanning first settled in East Florida, but when it was ceded to Spain as part of the Treaty of Paris, he moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1784. Fanning submitted claims for losses suffered in the war, in which he stated he had fought 40 skirmishes in North and South Carolina and was awarded £60. He served in the New Brunswick parliament for ten years, but was expelled in 1801.

Fanning was convicted and sentenced to death for a crime against a young girl. However, after an appeal to the governor, he was instead exiled from the province, and moved to Digby, Nova Scotia, where he became colonel of militia.

In 1790, Fanning wrote a narrative of his experiences during the Revolutionary War, which was first published in 1861.

—Fanning, *Narrative*, 52-53; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 284; Marion to Horry, Jun. 9, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); Marion to Greene, Jun. 9, 1782, PNG, 11:313-14; PNG, 9:387n; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:351-52; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 116.

Thomas Fraser

Thomas Fraser (1755-1820) a native of SC, was the brother of Maj. Charles Fraser, Clinton's head of Military Police in Charlestown.

Fraser was appointed a major in the South Carolina Royalists in Aug. 1780. He served under Alexander Innes at Musgrove's Mill, where he was wounded. After recovering, he was at Hobkirk's Hill in Apr. 1781, and marched with Rawdon to relieve Ninety Six.

At Ford's (Horseshoe) Plantation in early July, Fraser surprised and captured Col. Isaac Hayne, who, according to the British, had broken his parole when he accepted a militia commission. He also liberated former Patriot Andrew Williamson, who had switched sides and been recaptured by Hayne.

In July, Fraser and his dragoons surprised Peter Horry's state cavalry near Biggin Church, but were ultimately driven off when the Patriots rallied.

On Aug. 30, at Parker's Ferry, Fraser's dragoons charged impetuously when Marion's men appeared to be retreating, but stumbled directly into an ambush and suffered catastrophic losses. Stephen Jarvis, a lieutenant in Fraser's cavalry, reported 125 killed, and while this seems improbably high, the real number was crippling to the unit, and these losses prevented Fraser's Royalists from fighting at Eutaw Springs a week later.

By 1782, Fraser had only the remnants of a regiment, but his SC Royalists continued to fight. At the British victories of Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation, Fraser had only 22 riders, but by August, his command had risen to 100 dragoons. When he tried to surprise Francis Marion at Wadboo Plantation, Marion turned the tables on Fraser again when his outriders led the SC Royalists into an ambush much like the one at Parker's Ferry.

This time, Fraser was able to extricate his cavalry, but could not rally it to make a second attack on Marion's position. After the War, Fraser stayed in SC without resigning his British commission. He was not favorably thought of by his fellow Carolinians and continued to draw his British pension. He married and built lumber mills along the Edisto River, later becoming a merchant in Charlestown.

—Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 141-42; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 148-49; James, *Francis Marion*, 39; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 127)

Richard Gough

Richard Gough (d.1796) had served as a captain of the regiment of light dragoons raised by the General Assembly in 1779, and was a captain in the militia under Col. Peter Horry and Gen. Marion during 1780-82.

Gough apparently took issue with Marion in Nov. 1781, as implied in Marion's letter to Horry. "I am sorry," wrote Marion, "I had not the pleasure of seeing Capt Gough who past within half a mile of me, the Reason he Gave for not Calling was, was Angry with the Corps he was in, which I am sorry to find any Gentleman can have so little and dispicable an Idea of me."

Gough was elected to the SC House in elections held at the end of 1781. He did not initially attend the General Assembly when it convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, because of the need for officers to remain with their troops. The turnout for the assembly was so low, however, that Marion ordered Horry to send Gough to Jacksonborough to make a quorum in the House.

Gough remained with Marion until Horry's regiment was decimated at Durant's Plantation (Feb. 24) and Tidyman's Plantation (Feb. 25), at which time he was ordered to rejoin them. In Jul. 1782, Gough and another man were ambushed at Mrs. Caw's plantation near Strawberry. Gough was incorrectly reported to be mortally wounded but survived. After the war Gough served in the SC House for one term

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 376; Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:282-83; Marion to Horry, Nov. 9, 1781, Tr, PNG (via Parks); Marion to Horry, Jan. 18, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, 1782, PNG, 10:417-22; Marion to Greene, Jul. 16, 1782, PNG, 11:446-47.

Wade Hampton

Wade Hampton (c.1751-1835) emigrated from Virginia to the Middle Fork of the Tyger River (near modern Spartanburg, SC) by 1773.

In 1776, he was a lieutenant and paymaster of the 1st SC Regiment. He was promoted to captain in 1777, and the following year he was paymaster of the 6th SC Regiment.

He apparently resigned in Feb. 1780, and declared himself loyal to the Crown following the fall of Charlestown. Although his brother Richard was serving as an aide to Sumter, Wade Hampton maintained good relations with the British by furnishing supplies to Fort Granby.

By Nov. 1780, however, the British had become suspicious that he was secretly aiding the rebels, and Cornwallis ordered that he be watched. When fifteen wagons arrived from Charlestown with supplies to restock Hampton's store, Cornwallis ordered them to be impressed and "detained for the public use."

Shortly thereafter, Hampton was reported to have "gone off to the enemy," and the British took possession of his stock. Hampton then joined Sumter and became one of his most valuable subordinates. He was promoted to colonel and given command of a regiment in Sumter's Brigade in 1781.

In mid-July, Hampton's weeklong raids at the doorstep of Charlestown demonstrated the weakness of the British hold on the town. Hampton also fought at Eutaw Springs.

After the war he served in the state assembly, as wells as two terms in the US House of Representatives. By 1786, Hampton and his business associates were granted 238,000 acres near the Alabama and Mobile Rivers, and he was involved in the Yazoo land scheme, acquiring large amounts of land on the lower Mississippi River.

Hampton was one of the earliest adopters of the cotton gin on his plantations, which was instrumental in reputedly making him the richest man in America. In 1808, he was appointed a colonel in the US Army. He became a brigadier general and commander of New Orleans in 1809. By 1813, he was a major general, but resigned the next year amidst controversy. His grandson was the famed Confederate general of the same name.

—Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists*, 162-63; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 484-85; Cornwallis to Rawdon, November 17, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:152; Cornwallis to Rawdon, December 4, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:193-94; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 683 (FN 1479); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:306-11.

John Harrison

John Harrison (c.1751-99) was commissioned a major and given command of the South Carolina Rangers in Jun. 1780.

By August, a detachment of Harrison's regiment had joined Wemyss in his campaign through the Black River region. Ten days later Wemyss expressed his view of Harrison's regiment: "They are if possible worse than militia, their whole desire being to plunder and steal and, when they have got as much as their horses will carry, to run home."

In Dec. 1780, a detachment of Harrison's regiment joined Maj. Robert McLeroth of the 64th Foot, and marched for Nelson's Ferry. In the middle of Jan. 1781, Capt. James Conyers of Marion's brigade surprised and defeated a patrol of Harrison's near Wright's Bluff on the Santee. In March, the Rangers drove off a large force of Sumter's men, who had surrounded a small party of Lt. Col. Watson's Provincial Light Infantry near Fort Watson.

Harrison then joined up with Watson in pursuit of Marion. At Wyboo Swamp, when Watson identified Patriot dragoons on the road in front of him, he ordered Harrison's South Carolina Rangers to charge. Marion countered with his reserve cavalry that drove the Loyalists back to Wyboo.

Maj. Harrison was thought to have been killed in the cavalry fight. However, his death was mis-reported, for there is a record of him being on half-pay as a provincial captain as late as 1789. The Harrison killed was presumably Robert—another captain in the SC Rangers.

Gen. Leslie re-organized the three companies of the Rangers into one troop and attached it to the South Carolina Royalists in October. John Harrison retained command of the troop, but was demoted to captain.

—Robert Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, 2011), 115; Sabine, *Loyalists*, 1:519; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 152, 397; Dornfest, email to Dave Neilan, Aug. 4, 2011; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 20, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:214-15; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Sep. 30, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:216-17; Marion to Greene, Dec. 22, 1780, ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 6:605; Marion to Greene, Jan. 18 1781, ALS (ScU), Caroliniana Library; Marion to Greene, Jan. 20, 1781, ALS (DLC), some words illegible were taken from (GWG transcript, CSmH), Parks; William Dobein James, *Swamp Fox: General Francis Marion and His Guerilla Fighters of American Revolutionary War* (Published by the author, 1821), 31, 41-44, 53; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 73, 165-75; Jim Piecuch, *South Carolina Provincials: Loyalists in British Service During the American Revolution*, (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2023), 112.

Isaac Hayne

Isaac Hayne (1745-81) was elected to the Commons House of Assembly in 1769, and was a captain in the Colleton County militia. In Jan. 1776, Capt. Hayne marched 175 militiamen to Haddrell's Point to defend against the anticipated British attack on Charlestown. He was nominated to be a colonel in the militia, but lost the election. Hayne then resigned his commission and enlisted in the militia as a private, a rank he held until the fall of Charlestown. He was taken prisoner and paroled to his plantation.

In Apr. 1781, Hayne refused a commission in the state militia, choosing to honor his parole. Shortly thereafter Hayne was ordered to Charlestown to take an oath of allegiance. He took the oath because of the threat of imprisonment and then returned to his plantation, where his wife and daughter died of smallpox.

When the Americans regained control of Colleton County, Hayne determined that his parole was no longer valid. Apparently, he contacted Harden and requested a commission. He was commissioned a colonel and took over a militia regiment.

On Jul. 5, Hayne led a raid on former Patriot Gen. Andrew Williamson's plantation, capturing the converted Loyalist. Two days later, Hayne was himself surprised and taken prisoner at Horseshoe, in a raid that also recovered Williamson. Hayne was found guilty of taking up arms against the Crown.

Despite many Loyalists, including Lt. Gov. William Bull, pleading for leniency, Hayne was executed in Charlestown on Aug. 4. Hayne's execution was protested by Americans, from Gen. Greene to the Continental Congress. In his proclamation of Aug. 26, Greene promised to retaliate "for all such inhuman Insults...make British Regular Officers, and not the deluded Inhabitants who have joined their Army, Subject of retaliation."

Three days later the Continental Congress resolved, "And Whereas the officer, commanding the troops of his Britannic Majesty, in the State of South Carolina did cause to be hanged Col. Isaac Haynes an officer in the militia of the State of So Carolina under sentence of his being a British subject, which said act being not only contrary to the laws of War, but highly dangerous to the welfare of these United States if permitted to pass without just retaliation; Therefore Resolved, That the Commander in Chief be directed to cause a British officer, now a prisoner within these United States in the line of the British army of equal rank Col. Haynes not under the rank of a Major immediately to suffer the same death that was inflicted on Col. Haynes."

Although threats of retaliation were made by American authorities, none was ever taken. Ironically given these later events, Harden, in the letter of Apr. 7, accused Hayne of "Staying on too much formality," suggesting that he was taking his parole too literally.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 429; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 75 (FN 213); Balfour to Clinton, Jul. 21, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:250; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:310-11; Harden to Marion, Apr. 7 and 18, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Proclamation, Aug. 26, 1781, PNG, 9:252; JCC, 21:918.

John James, Sr.

John James, Sr. was a major in Marion's brigade, serving in the regiment commanded by Col. Archibald McDonald. He had been at the fall of Charlestown in 1780, and was later promoted to lieutenant colonel. His sons, Capt. John James, Jr. and William Dobein James, were also in Marion's brigade. The latter published a biography of Francis Marion in 1821.

John James, Jr., (1757-1825) was one of Marion's most trusted and accomplished commanders. In Dec. 1776, he enlisted under Capt. John Singleton and Col. Richard Richardson. In the summer of 1777, he was commissioned an ensign under Capt. Mathew Singleton and Nathaniel Moore. In 1779, he became a lieutenant. From the summer of 1780 to the latter part of 1782, he served as a lieutenant under Capt. Singleton, William Dukes, and Gen. Marion. He was at the siege of Fort Watson in Apr. 1781 and the retaking of Georgetown in May, 1782. He was eventually promoted to captain. After the war he became a planter in Williamsburg and served in the SC House and Senate for 12 years.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 493; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 244.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko

Thaddeus Kosciuszko (1746-1817) was a Polish soldier, trained as a military engineer, who came to America in 1776 as a volunteer adventurer. He was transferred to the Southern Department to become chief of engineers under his good friend, Gen. Horatio Gates, with whom he had served at Saratoga. However, before he arrived, Gates was replaced by Greene.

Kosciuszko remained with the army throughout the Southern Campaign. In recognition of his services, he was made a brigadier general in 1783.

After the war, he returned to his native Poland. When that country was invaded by Russia in 1792, he began a struggle to regain Polish independence that would dominate the rest of his life, the last twenty years of which he spent in exile.

—DAB; see also Miecislaus Haiman, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution* (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943); PNG, 6:515.

John Laurens

John Laurens (1754-82) became a volunteer aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington in Sep. 1777 and was wounded at Germantown the next month. He was in the battle of Monmouth in Jun. 1778.

In Mar. 1779, he became a lieutenant colonel, at which point he returned to South Carolina and was elected to the 3rd General Assembly.

Laurens was wounded in the fight at Coosawhatchie Bridge in May 1779 after defying orders and crossing the river to confront the enemy. He led the attack of the American light infantry companies at the siege of Savannah in October of that year.

Laurens was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown on May 12, 1780. After his exchange, he became a special envoy to France at the end of 1780. He returned to America in time to take part in the surrender at Yorktown in Oct. 1781, then went back to South Carolina after Cornwallis's surrender in time to take his seat in the SC House in Jan. 1782. Soon after, he returned to the field, and was killed at Chehaw Neck on the Combahee River on Aug 27, 1782.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 555-56; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:606; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 1:412; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:418-21.

Henry "Lighthorse Harry" Lee

Henry Lee (1756-1818) was a member of the aristocratic Lee family of Virginia. He became a captain in the Continental dragoons in 1776 and, in 1778, was given one of the Continental Army's newly created legions, a mixed force of three troops of cavalry and three companies of infantry.

Lee mastered his partisan role skirmishing in the no-man's-land of northern New Jersey from 1778-80, culminating in his masterful surprise attack on the British garrison at Paulus Hook, NJ, (current Jersey City) in Aug. 1779. The Marquis de Lafayette called him "beyond compare the best officer of light infantry in the English, Hessian, or American armies on the continent."

After his transfer to the South, he quickly made himself indispensable to Greene. He and Francis Marion combined forces on three occasions. Lee's first action in the South came when he and Marion attempted an intricate plan to capture Georgetown in Jan. 1781, as described below. They did successfully storm the town, but a failure by one prong of the assault—and the enemy's reluctance to engage—resulted in the Americans' withdrawal.

In April and May, the combination of Marion's Brigade and Lee's Legion was successful in bringing about the surrenders of Fort Watson and Fort Motte. By the siege of Fort Motte, the relationship between Marion and Lee appears to have turned, for as Lee wrote Greene, "I find myself deceived in Marion—He is inadequate & very discontented—this discontent augers from his nature." Lee went on to force the surrender of Fort Granby.

He resigned from the army in 1782 in protest over what he saw as Greene's failure to properly credit his role in the campaign, but the two later reconciled. He served one term as governor of Virginia.

Later in life, Lee was seriously injured during a riot in Baltimore, and went to the West Indies to try to recuperate. While he was sailing home in 1818, he fell ill, and was put ashore at Cumberland Island, GA, where he was cared for by Greene's daughter, Louisa Greene Shaw. Unfortunately, he soon succumbed to his illness.

Henry Lee was the father of famed Confederate General Robert E. Lee.

—PNG, 6:430-31n; Lee to Greene, May 7, 1781, ALS (MiU-C, Parks).

James McCauley

James McCauley (d.1794) served 468 days as a lieutenant and captain in the militia under Gen. Marion from 1780-82. His cavalry company was active at the Battle at Wyboo Swamp, supporting Peter Horry's horsemen when they were rebuffed by cannon fire.

Shortly after the action, McCauley was promoted to captain. His troops fought at Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781, and he was elected to the SC General Assembly in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782.

In September, Capt. McCauley wrote Marion that Samuel Cantey "has been suspected by almost every Person in this Neighborhood for Carrying on most infamous practices." After the war, McCauley became a Clarendon County court judge. In Apr. 1790, Marion gave a deposition before McCauley, in which he stated that Lt. Col. John Marshall, who had served in his brigade, had removed slaves from the plantation of one Sylvester Dunn.

McCauley served in the SC Senate from 1790 until his death in 1794.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 599; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 165-66, 168; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:558; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 667, 702; McCauley to Marion, Sep. 2, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 266; Deposition, Apr. 20, 1790, ADS (ScU).

Archibald McDonald

Archibald McDonald (1740-85) served in the Cherokee War (1759-61). He was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st and 3rd General Assemblies, and was captured at the fall of Charlestown.

After his release, he became colonel of the Williamsburg Township (Kingstree) Militia Regiment in Marion's Brigade. McDonald's regiment was involved in some of the heaviest fighting at Quinby Bridge and Shubrick's Plantation in Jul. 1781, and at Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781.

In Feb. 1782, when Marion took his seat in the Senate, he left Lt. Col. Peter Horry in command of his Brigade near the Santee River. Horry also left the brigade due to illness, leaving McDonald in command.

Although warned that the British cavalry was approaching, McDonald doubted the reports and did nothing. Despite the best efforts of Maj. John James to hold off the British, the Americans were routed at Wambaw Bridge. Horry reported the incident to Greene and absolved McDonald from any blame. "I am told his Conduct in this Affair was Proper & Uncensurable..."

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 615; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 271-73; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 307 (FN 692); Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, 1782, PNG, 10:417-22; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:456.

James McKay

James McKay was commissioned a lieutenant in the light infantry company of the King's American Regiment in Dec. 1776.

In Dec. 1780, he accompanied Lt. Col. John Watson and his Provincial Light Infantry from Charlestown to Nelson's Ferry. After defeating Sumter in a brief action near Fort Watson at the end of April, Watson marched off in pursuit of Marion, leaving Lt. McKay in command.

The British defenders consisted of provincial troops from the King's American Regiment, British regulars from the 64th Foot, and local Loyalist militia.

In his journal McKay wrote that he was wounded on Apr. 21, the same day the Americans "brought down a Wooden Machine which they had built, & were busy in raising a Scaffold made of Rails & Mold, nearly level with the top of our Works for their Marksmen to pick off our Centinels." Soon thereafter, McKay surrendered.

After the war he continued in the British Army, rising to captain in 1794.

—Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 227; Dornfest "John Watson Tadwell Watson and the Provincial Light Infantry 1780-1781"; "Officers of Provincial Light Infantry"; McKay, "Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake, (SC)," *SCAR Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 2.1, 47-55

Hector McNeil

Hector McNeil (d.1781), along with David Fanning, was a prominent Loyalist leader in eastern North Carolina. In Jan. 1781, McNeil was the leader of the Loyalist contingent Marion believed were planning to join with local Loyalists to prevent him from controlling the flow of supplies from Waccamaw Neck to Georgetown.

On Sep. 1, they surprised and routed a Patriot force under Col. Thomas Wade at Bettis's Bridge on Drowning Creek. Twelve days later, McNeil and Fanning surrounded a church where a body of Continental troops were stationed. With very little loss, the Loyalists took around 200 prisoners, including Gov. Thomas Burke, and members of the N.C. Executive Council.

However, McNeil was killed shortly thereafter when the party he was with was ambushed on its way to Wilmington. His son Hector, Jr., was in his father's regiment at one point. Both rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. It is at times difficult to differentiate the two McNeils in the historical record.

—Fanning, *Narrative*, 52-53; PNG, 9:387n; Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston: Little Brown, 1864), 2:74; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 240.

Charles McPherson

Charles McPherson (1755-1820) was commander at Fort Motte at the time it was burned down. He was a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade.

Rawdon reported the surrender of the fort to Cornwallis, "Lieutenant McPherson had maintained it gallantly till the house in the center of it was set in flames by fire arrows, which obliged his men to throw themselves into the ditch and surrender at discretion. The stroke was heavy upon me as all the provisions had been forwarded from Neilson's to that post for the supply of Camden."

McPherson was promoted to captain-lieutenant in Feb. 1782. After the war he remained on half-pay until 1789. He was Major and Inspector General of Barracks in Scotland in 1812.

—Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 241, 373; "Smith to the Printers of the SC Royal Gazette," *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 44, Jan. 1782, 371; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 187, 189, 193, 194; Bass, *Gamecock*, 130, 131, 165, 266, 173; Rawdon to Cornwallis, 24 May 1782, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:289.

Hezekiah Maham

Hezekiah Maham (1739-89), who had been an overseer before acquiring a plantation of his own on the Santee River in 1771, was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st General Assembly in 1776. Maham served as a captain in the 1st SC Regiment during 1776. He was present at the fall of Savannah in Dec. 1778. Promoted to major of a regiment of Light Dragoons in early 1779, he fought at Stono Ferry in June of that year. After the fall of Charlestown in 1780, Maham joined Marion's Brigade.

In 1781, he was named commander of a troop of dragoons in the brigade. The so-called Maham Tower, which he designed and built during the siege of Ft. Watson in Apr. 1781, brought him to the attention of Greene and other Continental officers. The structure was a tower high enough that Marion's sharpshooters could shoot down on the unshielded troops within the fort, resulting in a quick surrender of the fort.

Edmund M. Hyrne and Henry Lee both recommended Maham for a Continental command, which Greene offered him in Jun. 1781. Maham had also submitted a plan of his own for raising a corps of horse, which Lee had forwarded to Greene. Greene's appointment of Peter Horry to raise a similar regiment eventually led to a sharp dispute between Maham and Horry over rank. Maham refused to recognize Horry's seniority, nor would he accept Marion's orders without approval from Gen. Greene.

Maham and Marion were attending the Jacksonborough Assembly in Feb. 1782 when Marion received word of Loyalist activity near the Santee River. During the ensuing action Maham's dragoons became confused, enabling the British to overwhelm and disperse them. In Mar. 1782, Maham's and Horry's cavalry regiments were combined under Maham's command, although Horry was the senior officer. Horry was made commandant of Georgetown. Shortly after, Maham was given command of the only state cavalry regiment.

"He [Maham] soon was taken ill and withdrew to his plantation." While there on May 16, 1782, he was captured by Loyalists. Maham was paroled but was unable to serve again due to irregularities in his parole.

In 1784, Maham, who was known for a "quick temper," was arrested for forcing a deputy sheriff to "eat and swallow" a summons that the latter was trying to serve on him. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment and fined £100.

After petitioning the South Carolina General Assembly and Senate, however, he was pardoned by Gov. Guerard in 1786. After the war, Maham served in the SC House from 1784-87. He was elected to the Senate in 1787 and served until his death in 1789, before which he voted to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 649; Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:1035-37; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:466-68; Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences, Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South* (Charleston: Walker and James, 1851), 291; PNG, 8:433; Stevens, Michael, "Wealth, Influence or Powerful Connections: Aedenus Burke and the Case of Hezekiah Maham," *SCHGM*, 81 (1980), 163.

Andrew Maxwell

Andrew Maxwell (c.1750-95) was a captain in the Prince of Wales Loyal American Regiment by 1777. The regiment, originally raised in Connecticut in 1776, was devastated at the Battle of Hanging Rock, S.C., in Aug. 1780. One-half of the regiment were killed or wounded.

Maxwell was dispatched in Oct. 1780 to raise a militia force in the Orangeburg area. In that unit he held the militia rank of major. At some point in 1780, Maxwell was promoted to brevet major in the regulars by Cornwallis.

In November, he joined Maj. Robert McLeroth and the 64th Foot at Kingstree, according to Balfour, to "keep him right..." Balfour hoped that the combination of the British troops and Loyalists, as well as "[Marion's] retreat, makes this really an opportunity of turning the scale..."

Maxwell established the British post at Ft. Granby, where he was besieged by Thomas Sumter in Feb. 1781. Sumter broke off the siege when he learned of the approach of a relief force from Camden, but initiated a second siege on May 2. After two days, Sumter left one of his regiments to cut off the garrison's supplies and rode to assault Orangeburg, some fifty miles to the southeast. Before Sumter returned, Henry Lee, fresh from the successful siege of Fort Motte, marched his troops to Ft. Granby and took over Patriot command of the siege.

Lee granted Maxwell very favorable terms of surrender, including a parole that allowed the British officer to retain the considerable amount of plunder he had accumulated. As a result, Maxwell surrendered on May 15, the same day Rawdon marched to relieve the post.

Both Sumter and the British command were angry over Maxwell's premature surrender, Sumter because it denied him the victory and the plunder that fueled his army, and the British for Maxwell's failure to put up a respectable resistance. In 1784, Maxwell received a grant of 800 acres in Nova Scotia.

—"Post War Settlement" and "Prince of Wales Regiment," Loyalist Institute, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/pwar/pwarhist.htm>, accessed Nov. 19, 2024; Balfour to Cornwallis, Nov. 24 and 25 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 3:92; Balfour to Cornwallis, May 21, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:276; PNG, 8:245n; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 210.

Thomas Merritt

Thomas Merritt (1759-1842) was a native of New York. He studied medicine at Harvard College, and joined the British army in 1777, serving as a cornet in Emmerick's Chasseurs until the unit was disbanded in 1779. He then was transferred to the Queen's Rangers infantry as an ensign before being assigned to a new cavalry troop as a cornet under Capt. John Saunders in Aug. 1780.

His troop was sent to Virginia with Gen. Alexander Leslie in October, but was redirected to Charlestown. After arriving in Charlestown in the middle of December, the Queen's Rangers, along with the King's American Regiment, were dispatched to Georgetown. At the end of December, Merritt and a troop of dragoons surprised Lt. Col. Peter Horry's dragoons at a plantation near Georgetown.

Warning fire from pickets alerted Horry to danger. He and his men quickly mounted and met the charge head-on. The outnumbered Queen's Rangers retreated to Georgetown. Merritt became separated from his men, escaped into a nearby swamp, and eventually made his way back to Georgetown.

Capt. John Saunders, commandant of Georgetown, dispatched Merritt to deliver this letter. In retaliation for the violation of Postell's flag, Merritt was made a prisoner, a clear violation of the flag of truce. He was transported across the Pee Dee River to Marion's haven at Snow's Island, which was shortly thereafter destroyed by Loyalist Lt. Col. John Doyle. It is unclear what role Merritt may have played in the attack on Marion's stronghold. One account has him escaping with his fellow prisoners and making it to Georgetown from where he was able to inform Balfour of Marion's location, setting the stage for Doyle's attack. Another has him still at the encampment at the time of Doyle's attack.

Either way, Balfour offered Merritt a lieutenantancy in a new troop of dragoons upon his return to Charlestown. Merritt decided to stay with the Queen's Rangers instead. At the beginning of June, he was with the Rangers under Capt. Saunders when they surprised Patriot Capt. William Clay Snipes at his Horseshoe Plantation. Merritt came under fire as he was successfully opening a gate to allow his fellow Rangers to rush Snipes's men. The normally professional dragoons murdered at least 18 of the Patriots after they surrendered.

Merritt evacuated to New Brunswick along with other Loyalists in 1783 and resettled in Upper Canada (Ontario) in 1796. By 1812, he was a major commandant in the Niagara Light Dragoons.

—Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 122-23, 152-53; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 145-46, 172, 176; Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal*, 244-46; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 241; William Merritt, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt," UEL, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.79327/1>, accessed Oct. 12, 2025.

Daniel Morgan

Daniel Morgan (1736-1802) of Winchester, Va., participated in Braddock's expedition in 1755 as a wagon driver. According to Morgan himself, he was sentenced to 500 lashes after striking a British officer.

When the Revolution broke out, he raised a company of riflemen and marched to the siege of Boston. He served under Benedict Arnold on the harrowing march to Quebec, and was captured in the assault on that city on Jan. 1, 1776.

After being exchanged and promoted to colonel, he served with distinction under Gen. Horatio Gates in the Saratoga Campaign. He left the service in 1779 due to a combination of ill health and indignation over being overlooked for promotion, but returned the following year to join the Southern Army after Camden.

In Sep. 1780, Gen. Gates gave him command of the Southern Army's light troops, and the next month he was finally promoted to brigadier general.

When Nathanael Greene took command of the army in December, he entrusted half of it to Morgan and sent him westward, hoping to goad Cornwallis into pursuing either himself or Morgan. Instead, Cornwallis divided his own army and sent Banastre Tarleton after Morgan, who turned and met his pursuers at the Cowpens, inflicting one of the most complete defeats of the war on Tarleton and destroying most of Cornwallis's light troops.

Morgan did not bask in the victory long. He immediately started marching northward. Shortly after reuniting with Greene, Morgan's chronic infirmity, which may have been sciatica or rheumatoid arthritis, forced him to return home again, marking the end of his service in the revolution, although he did lead militia again during the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794.

He served one term in Congress from 1797-99.

—Harold Selesky, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006), 2:748-49, 1076-87; PNG, 6:529n.

Charles Myddleton

Charles Myddleton (d.1791) first served as a 2nd lieutenant in the Georgia militia. After the fall of Charlestown, he fought in Sumter's militia brigade as a captain, major, and colonel from 1780-81.

He and his SC State Dragoons were caught in an ambush by Maj. John Coffin of the New York Volunteers at Juniper Springs in mid-June 1781. Finding themselves surrounded and without swords, the dragoons were not able to fight their way to safety. Myddleton was soundly defeated, losing 2/3 of his regiment killed, captured, or missing.

Myddleton also fought at Quinby Bridge in July, and was wounded at Eutaw Springs. After the war, Myddleton served two terms in the SC House and was a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2:715; Greene's Orders, Sep. 9, 1781, PNG, 9:306-07; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:521-22.

James Postell, Sr.

James Postell, Sr., (1745-1824) was one of three Postells who served as officers in Marion's Brigade. Before the war, he was a planter from St. Luke's Parish and a member of the Commons House of Assembly from Prince Frederick, Georgetown District. Postell served as an ensign in the Gentlemen Volunteers of St. Bartholomew's Parish.

In Dec. 1775, he and his brother John organized a company of volunteers in Georgetown. The unit later expanded into a regiment, which he commanded.

Postell was a major in Gen. Richard Richardson's brigade in early 1779, and later a major in Col. Joseph Kershaw's regiment, and a brigade major to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh when he was captured at the fall of Charlestown.

After being exchanged in Jun. 1780, he returned to service under Gen. Marion in Dec. 1780. He made a number of raids into British-held territory.

At the end of Jan. 1781, Marion sent the two Postells, James and John, on separate missions across the Santee River. He ordered James Postell to raid Patriot Col. William Thomson's Plantation, a site used as a British supply depot. The stores had been removed a few days before. On his way back Postell raided a depot at Manigault's Ferry, completely destroying the supplies.

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..." Postell was active until the end of the war. Subsequently, he was a member of the SC House, and the Senate from 1797-1804.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2:781; Marion to Greene, Feb. 2, 1781, Fragment: (PCC, item 172, vol. 1:67, DNA), Parks; Greene to Marion, Feb. 11, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Joan Reynolds et al. eds. (Columbia, SC: SCDAH, 1964), *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 292; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:574-76.

Richard Richardson, Jr.

Richard Richardson, Jr., (1741-1818) served as a lieutenant under Capt. Samuel Cantey in Lyttleton's Campaign against the Cherokees during 1759-60.

Late in 1775, he became a militia captain, second-in-command to his father, Col. Richard Richardson in the Snow Campaign.

In 1776, he was a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. He became a major, was taken prisoner at Charlestown, and escaped imprisonment after being paroled to James Island. He joined Gen. Marion's Brigade and was a colonel of the Berkeley County Militia Regiment and fought with Marion at the Battle of Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781.

Richardson was in the SC House from 1782-84, and the Senate from 1784-86. He served as colonel of the High Hills Regiment of militia from 1787-88

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 812; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 299; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:606-07.

Michael Rudolph

Michael Rudolph (1754-95) was a captain in Lee's Legion. He first met Francis Marion in Jan. 1781 as Lee's emissary, ahead of Lee's arrival.

Marion and Lee initiated a surprise attack on Georgetown on the night of Jan. 24-25, 1781. The Legion infantry, with Rudolph as second-in-command to Capt. Patrick Carnes led the attack.

Lee placed the blame for the failure to capture the post on Capt. Carnes, writing, "If, instead of placing Rudolph's division to intercept the fugitives, it had been ordered to carry the fort by the bayonet, our success would have been complete." At the Battle of Eutaw Springs in September, Rudolph's efforts in leading the "Light Infantry" were lauded by Gen. Greene.

Lee left the Southern Theater in early 1782, placing his Legion under Rudolph's command. Rudolph captured three British soldiers in a raid in Oct. 1782, mere months before the evacuation of Charlestown. In response, British general Alexander Leslie held 63 slaves claimed by Carolinians as hostages for the return of the British troops.

In a letter to Marion, Christopher Gadsden commented on Leslie's response, "The British, it seems, make a pretence that it was because Major Rudolph had taken a small party near their lines, and unless Gen. Greene returned them, they would not send a negro out; but this is a mere pretence..."

—Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 152; Greene's Orders, Sep. 9, 1781, *Pendleton Orderly Book* (DLC), PNG, 9:306-07; Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (New York: Arno, 1969), 223-25; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:613-14, 620, 660; David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina* (Trenton: Isaac Collins, 1785), 2:379-84; PNG, 11:56; Gadsden to Marion, Oct 21, 1782, Bancroft transcripts, NYPL, in *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden*, Richard Walsh ed., (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966) 184-85.

John Sanders

John Sanders (d.1790) (also Saunders, but not to be confused with the Loyalist John Saunders) served as a lieutenant in the Horse Shoe Company of the Colleton County Regiment of Foot during 1775. By 1779, he was a captain, and, by 1781, was a colonel.

When Isaac Hayne initially refused to accept a commission to raise a regiment, Col. William Harden moved to appoint Col. William Skirving, but he "would not be see." Next in line was Sanders, but he was out of the area, forcing Harden to place temporary command of the regiment in the hands of Maj. James Ladson, under a former commission.

Upon the resignation of Gen. John Barnwell, Gov. Mathews abolished his brigade and reassigned the "southern" militia (meaning the regiments raised from the area south of Charlestown), to Marion. Sanders had little success in mustering the militia formally commanded by Barnwell.

He served in the SC House from 1789-90.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 843; Harden to Marion Apr. 7, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Mathews, May 21, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Sanders to Marion, Jul 10, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts: DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:632-33.

John Saunders

John Saunders (1753-1834) was originally from Virginia. By 1774, he was a staunch Loyalist. He joined Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore's army in Nov. 1775, and after raising his own cavalry troop, was appointed a captain in the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment.

After the Patriot victory at Great Bridge, Saunders went to New York, where his troop was incorporated into the Queen's Rangers. He was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine.

By Oct. 1780, he and his dragoon troop were detached to accompany Gen. Leslie to Virginia. Shortly afterward, Saunders went with Leslie to join Cornwallis in South Carolina. Once in Charlestown, Saunders's troop was sent to Georgetown. He did not accompany them, but went instead to Winnsboro to obtain leave from Cornwallis for his troop to rejoin the Queen's Rangers, then in Virginia.

Saunders did initially obtain Cornwallis's approval. However, when the news of Tarleton's defeat at Cowpens arrived, Saunders's orders were changed. Balfour sent him back to Georgetown to reinforce Lt. Col. George Campbell. Campbell was captured during Marion and Lee's raid on Georgetown in Jan. 1781. With the capture of Campbell and the absence of his second-in command, Maj. Grant, Saunders became the acting commander. He was charged with forming a Loyalist militia in the area but had little success.

In February, the Patriot harassment of Loyalists around Georgetown became oppressive. Desertion increased and morale sunk. Saunders lost nine men during a skirmish at White's Bridge against Peter Horry's dragoons, after which he unsuccessfully requested to be relieved of his command. Saunders and Marion carried on a dialogue centered around the exchange of prisoners.

At the beginning of March, Patriot Capt. John Postell, who had destroyed the supply depot at Moncks Corner and captured Capt. De Peyster of the King's American Regiment, presented a flag of truce to carry out a prisoner exchange. When Saunders learned that Postell had previously been paroled, the Loyalist captain put him under arrest.

Postell's capture initiated a month-long epistolary dispute between Marion and several British officers, including Saunders, Charlestown commandant Nisbet Balfour, and Lt. Col. John Watson. Although the period of Saunders's command at Georgetown had been less than impressive, Balfour offered him the command of Charlestown in May 1781, but Saunders refused. By the middle of May, he had ridden to Dorchester to take command of a Loyalist force intended to quell the Patriot rebellion south of Charlestown.

His frustration exploded into massacre at Capt. William Clay Snipes's plantation on Jun. 3, when his Loyalists surprised Snipes and his dragoons at daybreak. Snipes escaped, but 20 of his men were killed, including 18 who were allegedly murdered after they had surrendered. Saunders was not at Eutaw Springs in Sep. 1781, as he was still stationed at Dorchester. He and his troop sailed for New York in Apr. 1782, finally rejoining the Queen's Rangers.

After the war, Saunders studied law at the Middle Temple, and was named a Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. By the time of his death, he had risen to the post of Chief Justice.

—Kenneth Donovan, "John Saunders, A Loyalist Captain in South Carolina, 1780-1782," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1782, 100-18; Marion to Saunders, Feb. 22 and 24, 1781, ADS, University of New Brunswick, *John Simcoe Saunders Papers*; Marion to Saunders, Feb. 22 and 26, 1781 Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781, ALS (NNGl), Gilder Lehrman Collection; Saunders to Marion, Feb. 22, 23 and 25, and Mar. 24, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Balfour to Marion, Mar. 2, 1781, ACy (Force transcripts: DLC); Balfour to Marion, Mar. 12 and 21, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Balfour, Mar. 7, 1781, ALS (NYPL), Emmett Collection, EM 6625; Ervin to Commanding Officer, Mar. 3, 1781, Cy (NNGl), Gilder Lehrman Collection; Marion to Watson, Mar. 7 and 15, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Watson to Marion, Mar. 9, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 302.

Thomas Screven

According to Moss, Thomas Screven (1741-1804) served as a colonel (or lieutenant-colonel) during 1775 and was a member of the 1st General Assembly in 1776. The *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives* notes that Thomas Screven was a colonel in Marion's Brigade in 1782. Part of Screven's temporary command at this time, including Maham's dragoons under Capt. John Carraway Smith, was involved in the action at Videau's Bridge on Jan. 3, 1782. It is not clear whether Screven himself was in the fight.

Screven was also at Durant's Plantation (Wambaw Bridge) on Feb 24, 1782. Although not the senior officer in the command, Screven was the senior officer involved in the fight. When the charging British cavalry dispersed the American dragoons before Wambaw Bridge, Screven's detachment of former Loyalists who had sworn allegiance to South Carolina, turned and ran over the bridge, throwing off planks as they ran.

Screven loaned the state £14,700 to help finance the war. After the war, he served in the SC House from 1783-88. He voted for ratification of the US Consitution in 1788 and was a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1790.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 852; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 270; Thomas Jackson Pension Statement S5608; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 272-73; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:640-41; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 852; Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 270.

John Sevier

John Sevier (1745-1815) was a Virginian who emigrated to western North Carolina in 1773. A member of the Provincial Congress, he rose to colonel of militia by 1777.

In Oct. 1780, Sevier led 240 Overmountain Men to King's Mountain, where he joined with other militia units from Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia in surrounding and capturing Maj. Patrick Ferguson's Loyalist force. After returning from King's Mountain, Sevier went on to fight in a number of actions against the Chickamauga branch of the Cherokee.

After peace was established, Sevier and Col. Isaac Shelby brought their Overmountain Men to Marion's command in Oct. 1781. Like Shelby, Sevier participated in the action at Fair Lawn. Marion released the Overmountain Men shortly afterwards.

After the war ended, Sevier joined with his Holston and Watauga neighbors in attempting to establish a new state—Franklin—of which Sevier was elected the first governor. After three years, Sevier went into a forced exile farther into the frontier, when his new state was condemned by North Carolina.

Although a political pariah after the failed attempt to establish Franklin, Sevier took advantage of the tumult around North Carolina's failure to ratify the US Constitution to re-establish himself in the political arena as a Federalist in 1788.

He was elected to the NC Senate, pardoned by Congress and then elected to the US Congress. When Tennessee gained statehood, he was elected the state's first governor (1796-1801). He served again as governor from 1803-1809, before being re-elected to Congress, where he served until his death.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1049; Sevier to Greene, Aug. 6, 1781, *PNG*, 9:143; Marion to Greene, Nov. 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:589-90.

Isaac Shelby

Isaac Shelby (1750-1826) was a militia officer from the frontier area of North Carolina. He distinguished himself in the battle of Point Pleasant during Dunmore's War in 1774.

In 1776, he became a captain of a company of Virginia minuteman. He participated in the Ohio Valley expeditions of Lachlan McIntosh (1778) and George Rogers Clark (1779).

As colonel of militia, he joined Col. Charles McDowell in Jul. 1780, and captured Thicketty Fort, in modern Cherokee County, SC. He joined Elijah Clarke in soundly defeating the Loyalists at Musgrove's Mill on Aug. 19, 1780, and is credited with devising the strategy that resulted in the capture of the Loyalist army at King's Mountain on Oct. 7.

Afterward, he was forced to turn his attention to Indian activities until a treaty was negotiated with the Cherokee in Jul. 1781. Shelby and Col. John Sevier brought their Overmountain Men to Marion's command in Oct. 1781. Shelby participated in the action at Fairlawn near Moncks Corner in mid-November, where the Americans, under the overall command of Lt. Col. Maham, burned a British hospital because it was also being used as an armory. Marion released the Overmountain Men shortly after the action.

Shelby was elected to the NC legislature and attended sessions in 1781 and 1782. In 1782, he was named to a commission to lay out NC's military lands in what is now Tennessee. He was also tasked with surveying 25,000 acres, which were a gift by the NC Legislature to Gen. Greene.

In 1783, Shelby moved to Kentucky and was a member of the convention that led to statehood there. He was elected Kentucky's first governor in 1792, but declined re-election. Shelby re-entered politics in 1812, again being elected governor. In 1817 he declined the nomination to be Secretary of War.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1053-54; PNG, 8:439; Marion to Greene, Nov. 18, 1781, PNG, 9:589-90; PNG, 11:600-601n.

Calvin Spencer

Calvin Spencer (d.1801) emigrated from Connecticut to South Carolina before 1776. He enlisted early in 1776 as a lieutenant, and was a captain in the 5th SC Regiment at Fort Moultrie in June. He resigned in Dec. 1777 and on the same day, was appointed assistant deputy quartermaster general.

He was at the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779 and in 1780, Spencer was promoted to quartermaster general. In Mar. 1781, he was captured near Georgetown by British Dragoons. After a few months' imprisonment, he was exchanged.

He then served as a captain of marines on a privateer until early 1782. After the war, Spencer served two terms in the House from 1785-88, voted to ratify the US Constitution in 1788, and was a delegate to the state Constitutional Convention in 1790. Spencer remained in the state militia from 1794-1801, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 887; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:682-83.

William Stafford

William Stafford (died c.1818) moved from North Carolina to South Carolina about 1766. He served as a captain, lieutenant colonel, and colonel in the Lower Granville County regiment from 1779-82. and was wounded at Parker's Ferry.

After the war, he resumed planting in St. Peter's Parish. Stafford was a member of the SC House when the General Assembly convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. He served in the House in the next General Assembly as well, before moving over to the Senate in 1785-86.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 889; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 314; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:684.

Alexander Stewart

Alexander Stewart (c.1739-94) joined the army in 1755 and fought in Germany during the Seven Years War. By 1781, he was lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Foot, and led an expedition consisting of his own regiment, as well as the 30th, and 19th, that landed in Charlestown in June.

Francis Lord Rawdon had a low opinion of Stewart, saying that he had "too high an opinion of himself to conceive that he ought even indirectly to give way to me, a Provincial colonel..." Rawdon accused Stewart of influencing the new commanding officer in South Carolina, Col. (later Gen.) Paston Gould, to "run rusty," to be obstinate in employing the reinforcements in South Carolina.

Stewart assumed temporary command of the southern field army when Rawdon left for England, and commanded at Eutaw Springs, on Sep. 8. In his narrative of the battle, Stewart made himself out as the hero of the battle, writing "had I not my self rallyed the left wing of the army, carried them on, and exposed myself much, the consequences to my little army, I beleave every one allows, might been fatal."

Stewart, still in South Carolina, thereafter mounted an aggressive campaign for promotion to brigadier, citing his "victory" at Eutaw Springs—and in December he was officially promoted to that rank.

In 1782, Stewart was transferred to Jamaica. In 1786, he took a seat in Parliament, and was still a member of that body at the time of his death in 1794. Stewart was promoted to major general in 1790.

—Alan Valentine, *The British Establishment, 1760-1784* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 2:825; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Jun. 7, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 5:292-93; Stewart to Cornwallis, Sep. 19, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:166-67; Stewart to Cornwallis, Sep. 26, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:168-170; PNG, 9:310-31n.

Jethro Sumner

Jethro Sumner (c.1733-85) served in the Virginia militia during the French and Indian War and was briefly the commander of Fort Bedford. Afterward, he married, became a planter and tavern keeper, and amassed a small fortune. He spent some time in the years before the Revolution as a small time Virginia politician before returning to military service when the war broke out as major of the Halifax County (VA) militia.

In 1776, he transferred to the North Carolina Continental line, and was at the Battle of Sullivan's Island. Afterward, he was sent north and led North Carolina troops in the Philadelphia Campaign. In 1778, he was sent home as an invalid to lead recruitment, but was also promoted to brigadier general. He returned to the field briefly in time to fight at Stono Ferry in 1779, and again in response to Cornwallis's invasion of North Carolina in the fall of 1780, each time returning home after brief service.

In Feb. 1781, he was given command of the newly raised North Carolina Continental Brigade, which he led well at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. He retired for good in 1783, and died two years later.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 2:1128.

John Watson Tadwell-Watson

John Tadwell Watson (1748-1826) joined the British army as an ensign in 1767. He came to America in 1777, and by Sep. 1779, was lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Foot (The Buffs).

During the siege of Charlestown, Watson served as an aide-de-camp to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton. He returned to New York with Clinton, only to sail back to Charlestown in Oct. 1780 as part of Gen. Alexander Leslie's reinforcement.

Watson apparently did not get along with other high-ranking officers in the South, including Nisbet Balfour and Banastre Tarleton. As a result, Cornwallis detached him and his regiment to Lt. Col. Francis Lord Rawdon's command. Watson's regiment reached Nelson's Ferry on Dec. 25, 1780. While awaiting orders from Rawdon, he constructed a fortification on an Indian mound adjacent to Scott's Lake, which he named Fort Watson after himself.

He was sent after Marion in Mar. 1781, with the 3rd and 64th Foot, as part of a two-pronged attack to surround the Swamp Fox. During the ensuing campaign, Marion outmaneuvered and harassed him from Wyboo Swamp all the way to Georgetown.

Watson's force was very nearly eliminated at the action at Sampit Bridge on Mar. 20, 1781. Balfour directed him to join Rawdon at Camden, but those orders appear to have been intercepted. Watson failed to return to Camden in time to participate in the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill on Apr. 25. Rawdon lamented: "I know nothing of Watson."

Balfour suggested that Watson's failure to reach Camden in time allowed Greene to push farther into South Carolina. He felt that Watson "has not only lost us so very considerable a force but the troops have been let down and the enemy of course have gained much ground by it." Watson finally arrived in Camden, and immediately marched to engage Greene, but found the Americans too well-positioned to attack.

In early June, when Rawdon became ill, Balfour wrote Cornwallis, lamenting that the former's illness might require him to go to Charlestown to recuperate, and "If so, Watson must command -- a horrid idea, and which cannot be admitted by any means." Shortly thereafter, Watson relinquished his command and sailed for New York. He left a detailed account of his activities in South Carolina except, interestingly, that he almost entirely neglected to mention the Mar. 1781 Bridges Campaign against Marion.

Watson was promoted to colonel in the regular British army in 1783. He eventually rose to the rank of full general.

—Walter T. Dornfest, *Military Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC, McFarland, 2010), 353, 392-93; Walter Dornfest, "John Watson Tadwell Watson and the Provincial Light Infantry 1780-1781," *SCAR Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 47-51; Donald Gara ed., "Narrative of John Watson-Tadwell Watson Lt. Colonel of the Provincial Light Infantry in South Carolina 1780-1781," *SCAR Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 57-58, www.southerncampaign.org; Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 2:199-200n; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Mar. 24, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 4:51-52; Rawdon to Balfour, Apr. 12, 13, and 15, 1781, *Cornwallis Papers*, 4:173-174; Balfour to Cornwallis, Apr. 20 and 26, 1781, 4:170-73, 177, Balfour to Cornwallis, May 21, 1781, 5:274-78, *Cornwallis Papers*.

Thomas Taylor

Thomas Taylor (1743-1833) moved from Virginia to the area between the Broad and Catawba Rivers at an early age. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses (1775-76) and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies (1776-78).

During the Revolution, Taylor first served in the militia under Capt. Eli Kershaw. He rose to the rank of captain in the 3rd SC Regiment before resigning in 1777.

When Charlestown fell, Taylor joined the militia as a captain. In Dec. 1780, he was promoted to colonel in Sumter's Brigade. Taylor fought under Sumter in a number of actions, including Hanging Rock and Fishing Creek, where he was wounded and captured, after which he and his brother escaped to North Carolina.

After returning to South Carolina, Taylor fought in numerous battles as part of Sumter's Brigade, including Fishdam Ford and Blackstocks. After the war, he served one term in the SC House before serving 10 years in the State Senate, retiring in 1806. He voted *against* ratification of the US Constitution in 1788.

Taylor's land was chosen as the site of the new state capital, Columbia, and he served as one of the commissioners who laid out the planned city. He served as one of George Washington's escorts during his 1791 Southern tour and, in 1825, welcomed Lafayette to Columbia.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 2:920; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 319; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:702-04.

George Torriano

George Torriano was a lieutenant in the 64th Foot, and had been wounded at Brandywine in 1777. Torriano was with Lt. Col. John Watson during the Bridges Campaign in 1781.

The day after the skirmish at Witherspoon's Ferry, Watson applied to Marion for a pass to have Torriano and several wounded men removed to Charlestown. Marion granted the pass. However, he stipulated that the British wounded and attendants cross the Santee, not at Murray's Ferry but, instead, at the more distant Nelson's Ferry.

A month before the British evacuated Charlestown, a secret correspondent informed Marion that the British had landed on Daniels Island. Marion reported the incident to Gen. Greene: "A party Under L^t [Torriano] consisting of fifty men Landed on Daniels Island where there is but a small Defile to get on it, he took a Load forrage & went off in very few hours."

By 1789, Torriano was promoted to captain, transferring to the 43rd Foot.

—Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 170-71; Secret Correspondent to Marion, Nov. 13, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC); Marion to Greene, Nov. 14, 1782, RCS (MiU-C), Parks; Purdon, HG, "An Historical Sketch of the 64th Regiment," <https://img1.wsimg.com/blobby/go/48c324f9-b946-4f66-8d14-02fac1f34c13/downloads/Purdon%20-%20An%20Historical%20Sketch%20Part%203%20-%20May%201777.pdf?ver=1676146854882>, accessed Nov. 19, 2024.

Paul Trapier

Paul Trapier (c.1716-93) was a wealthy merchant and lawyer from Georgetown. He became known as "the King of Georgetown" because of his business acumen and was in the Commons House of Assembly for all but two years between 1748 and 1760.

During the Revolution, he headed a subscription for the relief of the port of Boston when it was blockaded, supplied provisions, and loaned South Carolina funds to finance the war. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, the 1st General Assembly, and the Council of Safety.

When Charlestown fell in May, 1780, Trapier took protection from the British. In Jul. 1780, when Maj. James Wemyss arrived in Georgetown a week after its capture, he was presented with and signed a petition from leading citizens of Georgetown, asking to become "British subjects in which capacity we promise to behave ourselves with all becoming fidelity and loyalty." Trapier's standing remained unblemished, however, as witnessed by his name not appearing on the Confiscation list.

After the war, he served in the SC Senate from 1783-84.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:678-79; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 323; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Jul. 14, 1780, Georgetown Citizens to Wemyss, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:306-08; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 174; David McCord ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: A.S. Johnston, 2836), 6:629-32.

Morton Wilkinson

Morton Wilkinson (c.1745-90), was a wealthy planter in St. Paul's Parish. He held a variety of state and local political posts before the war, including serving in the Commons House of Assembly from 1770-71. He joined the militia as an ensign in the Willtown Company at the beginning of the Revolution and eventually rose to the rank of colonel. In 1780, he loaned the state more than £160,000.

Wilkinson was captured and paroled when the British took Charlestown. In November, he was arrested and exiled to St. Augustine.

After his return, he took command of the St. Paul militia regiment, which was responsible for protecting Greene's supply lines through the early months of 1782.

Wilkinson resigned his command in Apr. 1782 over his support for the unpopular Gen. John Barnwell. He served on the South Carolina Privy Council in 1782, but declined re-election in 1783. He also served in the SC Senate from 1782-84.

Wilkinson served with Francis Marion on a committee to review the amercement of confiscated estates, and was one of the commissioners appointed by the General Assembly to purchase a plantation to be given to Gen. Greene. An avid sportsman, he owned several prized racehorses.

—Edgar, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:715; Wilkinson to Greene, Dec. 3, 1781, PNG, 10:6; PNG, 10:588n; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 333; Webber, Mabel L., ed., "Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781," *SCHGM*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Apr., 1932), 89-90; Webber, Mabel L., ed., "Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781," *SCHGM*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Jan., 1933), 31-32.

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