

The
Francis Marion
Papers

Volume III
1782-1795

Editor in Chief
David Neilan

Editors
G. Richard "Rick" Wise
Benjamin H. "Ben" Rubin

The
Francis Marion
Papers

Volume III
1782-1795

Editor in Chief
David Neilan

Editors
G. Richard “Rick” Wise
Benjamin H. “Ben” Rubin



South Carolina American Revolution
Sestercentennial Commission
February 27, 2026

Copyright © 2026 by the South Carolina American Revolution Trust
All rights reserved.

Volume III – First Electronic Edition - February 27, 2026
ISBN: 978-1-961813-99-1

Volume I – First Electronic Edition - February 27, 2025
ISBN: 978-1-961813-97-7

Volume II – First Electronic Edition – October 18, 2025
ISBN: 978-1-961813-98-4

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

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

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

Unless otherwise noted, all images used herein
were provided by the SC250 Commission or are
believed to be in the public domain.

Current map data © 2026 Google

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.

Contents

<i>Welcome from the CEO of SC250.....</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>The SC250 Commission</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>From the Editor in Chief</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Descriptive Symbols for Manuscript Sources</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Library of Congress Symbols for the Manuscript Repositories of the Francis Marion Documents</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Publisher's Note</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Introduction to the Francis Marion Papers</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Individual Papers</i>	<i>xiv</i>

The Francis Marion Papers

<i>Biographical Vignettes</i>	<i>358</i>
<i>A Glossary of Military Terms of the American Revolution</i>	<i>366</i>



Welcome from the CEO

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.

This collection of Francis Marion's papers, along with the previous Volumes I and II, 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. It 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 three-volume collection of Marion's papers as a cornerstone in commemorating the sacrifices and triumphs of South Carolina's patriots, inspiring future generations to appreciate and engage with their rich historical inheritance.

Molly Fortune
CEO and Executive Director
February 2026

The SC250 Commission

Chairman

William Grimsley, Maj. Gen., U.S. Army (Ret)

Vice Chairman

Mr. William Davies

Chaplain

Ms. Dianne Culbertson

Treasurer

Mr. Brett Bennett

Executive Secretary

Mr. Duane Parrish

Director, SC Parks, Recreation and Tourism

Deputy Executive Secretary

Eric Emersen, Ph.D.

Agency Director, SC Department of Archives and History

Statutory Partner

SC Archives & History Commission

Dr. Eddie Lee

Mr. Ben Zeigler
Commissioner

Ms. Pam Cazel
Commissioner

SC Representative Neal Collins
Commissioner

Mr. Ken Scarlett
Commissioner

SC Senator Darrell Jackson
Commissioner

Ms. Laurie Funderburk
Commissioner

SC250 Staff

Molly Fortune, CEO and Executive Director

Heather Hawkins, Grants Manager

Vally Sharpe, Publications Manager

Parina Patel, Grants Assistant

Brett Toresdahl, Programs Coordinator

Ben Rubin, Historian

Mike Tyler, Sites Manager

Katherine Pemberton, Education & Outreach

From the Editor in Chief

Before Charles Baxley died, he suggested that I write about the evolution of the *Francis Marion Papers*. Regrettably, I had not prepared the foregoings 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

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
RCS	Records Controls Schedules, National Archives
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 Note

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. He considered the publication of the Francis Marion Papers as a major first step toward realization of his vision.

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.

In Volume III, the transcripts of approximately 313 documents and letters exchanged during from 1782 through the end of Marion's life are presented. The documents are separated into four quarters in 1782 and then by years in which correspondence has been found until 1795, when Marion died. There are 1,326 footnotes, including links—as in Volumes I and II—to brief biographies of individuals mentioned in the papers. For ease of reading, footnote numbers restart at 1 with each quarter/year change.

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, some lists have been presented as tables, remaining faithful to items in the original transcriptions.

A dedicated page for the Francis Marion Papers on the SC250 website (southcarolina250.com) is literally right around the corner—one place on the website where all three volumes of the now-completed Francis Marion Papers will be accessible. Detailed interpretive battle maps and other collateral aids and links will be added in the coming months as we continue development of the website and as more physical sites and battlefield guides come online.

Vally M. Sharpe
Publications Manager
SC250 Commission

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).

List of Individual Papers

List of Individual Papers

January thru March, 1782

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	1
Near Strawberry Ferry 1 st Jan ^y 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	2
Near Strawberry 2 Jan ^y 1781 [1782]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Smith	3
Cummintee 2d. January 1782. 6 °Clock P.M.	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Smith	4
Gen ^l : Orders. To Cap ^t . John Smith 2d. Jan ^y 1782.	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	5
Head Quarters [Round O] 3d of January 1782	
Maj. William Brereton (of the British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	6
(no date) [Daniels Island 4 Jan 1782]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	7
Wambaw 5 th Jan ^y 1782	
General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	9
[Wambaw]7 th Jan ^y 1781 [1782]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	10
[Wambaw] Jan ^y . 10 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Hezekiah Maham	12
Wambaw 11 Jan ^y 1782.	
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene or Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	13
Simons on Wambaw 13 th Janu ^y [17]82	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	14
Jacksonbourg 15 th Jan ^y 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	15
Jacksonbourg 15 th Jan ^y 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	16
Mrs Ellets [Elliott's?] Plantation January 16th 1782	
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion or Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	18
Strawberry Jan ^y 17 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	19
[Jacksonborough]January 18 th 1782	
Governor's Message	21
[Jacksonborough] January 18, 1782	
Response by Senate to Governor's Message	24
[Jacksonborough] January 19, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	25
Near Jacksonborough Janr ^y . 20 th 1782.	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	26
Jacksonborough, Jan ^y 23d 1782	
General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	28
Orders [Jacksonborough] the 25 January 1782 –	
John Nicholson to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	29
Chs Town 25 th Janar ^y . 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	30
Jacksonbourg 26 th Jan ^y 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Gov. John Rutledge	31
[Pon Pon] 27 January 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	32
Head quarters [Pon Pon] January 28 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	33
[Jacksonborough] January 29 th 1781 [1782]	
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	34
[Strawberry?] Jan ^y . 31 st 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	36
[Jacksonborough] Februar ^y 3, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	37
[Jacksonborough] Februar ^y 10 th 1782	
Maj. Isaac Harleston to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	38
St. Stephens, Febru ^y . 12 th 1782	
Capt. John Saunders (of the British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	39
George Town, Februar ^y . 12 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	40
Jacksonburgh Feb ^r 13 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	41
[Jacksonborough] Februar ^y 14 th 1782	
Doughty and Bryan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion / in his absence to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	42
In Camp George Town Februa ^y 17 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	43
Jacksonburg 19 th Feb ^y 1782	
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	44
Wambaw February 20 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	45
[Jacksonborough] Feb 21, 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	46
Jacksonburgh Feb ^r 23 ^d 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	47
Jacksonburgh Feb ^r 23 ^d 1782	
<i>Wambaw Bridge (Durant's Plantation) and Tidyman's Plantation, February 23 and 24, 1782</i>	48
Marion's Orderly Book – Return of Col. Peter Horry's Cavalry	50
A Return of the Killed Wounded and missing of Col ^o Peter Horrys Cavalry after 24 th Feb ^r 1782–	
Marion's Orderly Book - Return of Col. Maham's Legion	51
[No location, no date] [listed after Maham's cavalry on Feb. 25] A Return of the Killed & wounded & Missing of Col ^o Maham's Legion at M ^r Tydimans 25 th Feb ^r 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	52
[Jacksonburgh] Februar ^y 26 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	53
[Jacksonburgh] Februar ^y 26 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	54
Watboo, Feb. 28, 1782	
Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	55
Waxhaws [Wambaw] Febru ^y 28 th 1782	

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion.....	57
Jacksonborough March 1 st 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	58
Head Qrs [Pon Pon] March 1 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	59
Near Murrys Ferry S ^t Stephen, 1 st March 1782	
Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	60
March 1: 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	61
March 2d 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion.....	62
Jacksonburgh March 3d 1782	
Col. John Laurens to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	63
M ^r . Iooors, at the Cypress March 4 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. John Laurens	64
St. Stephens 4 th March, 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	65
Jacksonburgh March 4 th 1782	
Certificate from Francis Marion.....	66
S ^t . Stephens Parish 6 th March 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	67
[St. Stephens] March 7 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	68
S ^t Stephens 8 th March 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	69
S ^t Stephens 8 March 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	70
[On march to Smyth's plantation] March 8 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	71
Smyth's Plantation March 10 th 1782	
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	73
George Town, March 11 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	75
[Smyth's Plantation] March 12 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion.....	76
Jacksonborough March 12 th 1782.	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	77
[Smyth's Plantation?] 13 th March 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	78
[Smyth's Plantation?] March 13 th 1782	
Proclamation of John Mathews, Esq.....	79
By his Excellency John Mathews, Esq; Governour	
John Dorsious to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	81
Georgetown March 14th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	82
[Horry's Plantation, Santee] March 16 th 1782	
Gen. Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	83
Horry's Plantation, Santee 16 th March 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	84
Lower Santee 17 March 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	85
Jacksonborough March 18 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	86
Jacksonborough March 18 th 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	87
Head Quarters Pon Pon March 19 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	88
[Horry's Plantation] March 20 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	89
[Horry's Plantation] March 22 ^d 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. John Grimke	90
[Santee] 23 ^d March, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Samuel Dwight, Esq^r	91
[Santee] 23 ^d March 1782	
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	92
Georgetown [between 19 and 23 March 1782]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	93
Santee 23 ^d March 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke	94
[Santee] 25 March 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	95
Head Quarters near Dorchester [March] 27 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	96
North of Santee River [Lenuds?] Ferry 29 th March 1782 10 OC. AM	
Edward Walsh to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	97
George Town, March 29 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	98
[North of the Santee?] March 29 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	99
[North of Santee river?] March 31 st 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Laurens	100
Lower Santee North of Santee river 31 March 1782 4 OC. PM -	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	101
Head Quarters near Dorchester [S.C.] March 31 st 1782	

April thru June, 1782

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	103
Georgetown, April 1 st 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	104
Cane Acre April 1 st 1782	
Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	105
Strawberry [Ferry], April 4 th 1782	
Secret Correspondent to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	106
[Charlestown?] April 4 th 1782	
Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	108
[Charlestown?] April 4 th 1782	

Lt. Col. John Laurens to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	110
J. Wraggs near Strawberry April 4 st 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	111
[near Lenud's Ferry, S.C.] 5 April 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Hezekiah Maham	112
Lanuds ferry 5 April [1782] 5 OC. P M	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke	113
[Lenuds ferry] 5 April 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke	114
Lenuds ferry 6 ^t Apr 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Maurice Murphy	115
[Lenuds Ferry 6 Apr 1782]	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	116
Head Quarters near Do[r]chester April 6 th 1782	
Capt. Thomas Shubrick to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	117
Head Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge] April 6. [17]82	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	118
James Sinkler S ^t Stephens 8 th April 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry	119
St. Stephens April 9 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke	120
S ^t . Stephens 10 th Ap. 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	121
Cane Acre April 10 th 1782	
Capt. Jno. Howell to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	122
Georgetown April 10 th 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	123
Headquarters near Do[r]chester April 10 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	124
[St. Stephens] April 10 th 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	125
[near Bacons Bridge, 12 April 1782]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	126
St. Stephens April 12 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry	127
[St. Stephens], April 12 th 1782	
Major Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	128
[near Bacon's Bridge] April 12 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	129
Upper part of S ^t Stephens 13 Ap ^l 1782, 6 oC. PM	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry	130
[St. Stephens?] April 13 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to [NC] Gov. Thomas Burke	131
St. Stephen's Parish, 13 th April, 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	132
Head quarters [Near Bacon's Bridge,] April 14 th 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	133
Head Quarters April 15 th 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	134
Parkers Plant ⁿ Wassama[ssa]w 15 th Ap ^l 1782 1 oc PM	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	135
Cane Acre April 15 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	137
Cane Acre April 16 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	138
Ioors Plant ^a 16 th April 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	139
Head quarters [near Bacon's Bridge] April 16th 1782	
General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	140
April 17 th 1782 Porcher's Plantation	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	141
Ferguson Swamp April 18 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	142
Cane Acre April 18 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry	144
St. Stephens April 19 th 1782	
General Orders of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	145
22d April 1782 St. Stephens	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	146
St. Stephens April 22d 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry	147
St. Stephens April 24th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. James Witherspoon	148
St. Stephens, April 24, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. John Grimke	149
[St. Stephens] 24 th April 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	150
Head Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge,] April 28th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to John Waties, Jr., Esqr.	151
[St. Stephens] 29 April 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry	152
[St. Stephens] April 31[May 1] 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	153
[near Bacon's Bridge, 1 May 1782]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	154
Near Bacons bridge May 3d, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	155
Bacon's Bridge, May 11 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Laurens	156
Bacons Bridge 15 May 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	157
[Bacon's Bridge,] 18 May 1782	
Capt. Thomas Elliott (Marion AdC) to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	158
[Bacon's Bridge] 18 May 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	159
Bacons Bridge May 20 th 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	160
[Bacon's Bridge,] 21 May 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	161
Bacon bridge May 21 st 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	162
Cane Acre May 21 st 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	163
Cane Acre, May 21, 1782.	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	164
Cane Acre May 21 st , 1782	
Capt. William Pierce (for Gen. Greene) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	165
Hd. Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge,] May 24 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	166
St. Stephens, May 24, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	167
St. Stephens, May 25, 1782	
Capt. William Richardson to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	168
[Bloom Hill] May 26 th , 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	169
Cane Acre May 27 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	170
Weatherspoons Ferry Lynchs, 1 st June 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Micajah Ganey	171
Lynch's Creek, June 2d 1782	
General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	172
3 June 1782 Orders at Burches Mill	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Micajah Ganey	173
[Burches Mill] June 3d 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. William Richardson, Esq.	174
Murrys Ferry 7 June 1782	
Articles of Treaty Between Gen. Francis Marion and Major Ganey	175
Gov. Alexander Martin (of North Carolina) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	176
[Williamsborough], June 8, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	177
Burches on PD 9 th June 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	178
Head Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge], June 9 th 1782.	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	179
Burch's, June 9, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	180
Burches, June 12 th 1782	
Maj. Bennett Crafton (of North Carolina) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	181
Camp at Conner Dowd [NC], June 13 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	182
Cane Acre June 15 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	183
Burches, June 15 th 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	184
Burches' 16 th June 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	185
Cane Acre June 22d 1782	
Certified Receipt from Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	186
Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	187
George Town, June 29 th 1782	

July thru September, 1782

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	189
[Georgetown or Hampton Plantation] July 4, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke	190
[Murrays Ferry or Georgetown?] 7 July 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	191
Murrays Ferry 8 th July 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	192
Head quarters Mr. Cattles Plantation[Ashley Hills] July 9th 1782	
Col. John Saunders to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	194
[?] July 10 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	195
Sinklers Plant ⁿ S ^t Stephens 16 th July 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	196
Ashley River, July 18 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	198
Ashley River July 19 st 1782	
Maj. Ichabod Burnet (Greene's ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	199
Hd Quarters Ashley Hill July 24 th 1782.	
Maj. Ichabod Burnet (Greene's ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	200
Head Quarters Ashley Hill 26 th July 82	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	201
Head Quarters [Ashley Hill] July 27th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	202
Parkers Plant ⁿ , Wassama[ssa]w	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	203
Uxbridge, Ashley River, July 30 th , 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	204
Head quarters [Ashley Hill] 11 oClock am July 30th, 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	205
Geo Town 1 st August 1782 6 OC. P M	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. William Allston	206
Geo ^r Town 2 Aug ^t 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews and Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	207
Proceedings of the Consolidation of Lt. Col Mahams & Majr James Conyers corps of Cavalry at Capt. Lenuds Plantation Agust. 4th 1782	
Capt. William Pierce, Jr. (for Gen. Greene) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	208
Head Quarters, Ashley Hill, August 4th 1782.	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	209
Geo ^r Town 5 th Aug ^t 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	210
Geo ^g Town 9 th Aug ^t 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	211
[Ashley Hill, 9 August 1782]	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	212
Hd. Quarters, August 10 th 1782	
Certified Receipt from Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	213
Capt. Felix Warley to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	214
Camp Congaree August 11 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	215
Geo ^r Town 13 th Aug ^t . 1782 11 OC. A M ---	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	216
Uxbridge, Ashley River, August 14 th . 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	217
Uxbridge August 20 th 1782	
Col. Lam Benton to Gov. John Mathews	218
St. David's, Great Pee Dee, August 20 th , 1782	
Maj Ichabod. Burnet (Greene's ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	220
Head Quarters [Ashley Hill] August 23d 1782.	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	221
Wadbo S ^t Johns Parrish 23d Aug ^t 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	222
Head Quarters [Ashley Hill] Aug ^t 24 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	223
Wadbo 24 th Aug ^t 1782	
Lt. Col. William Davis to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	224
[Prince Williams Parish] August 24 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	225
Uxbridge August 24 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	226
Uxbridge, August 24 th , 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	227
Lanuds Ferry 27 Aug ^t 1782	
Philip Prioleau to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	228
Governours quarters August 28 th , 1782	
Col. Lam Benton to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	229
St. Davids August 29 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	230
Uxbridge August 29 th 1782	
Col. Lam Benton to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	231
St. Davids August 29 th 1782	
<i>Wadboo Plantation, August 29, 1782</i>	232
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	234
Wadboo, St. Johns, 30 th Aug ^t 1782 6 O C: AM	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews	235
Wadboo, S ^t . Johns, 30: Aug ^t 1782	

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	236
[Ashley Hill, 31 August 1782]	
Secret Correspondent to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	237
[Charlestown, no date]	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	238
Uxbridge, Sept ^r . 1 st 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	239
Watbo 2 nd Sept ^r 1782 8 OC AM	
Capt. James McCauley to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	240
St. Marks September 2d, 1782.	
John Stapleton (Dep.-Adj. Gen.-British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	241
Charles Town September 3d, 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	242
Head Quarters [Ashley Hill,] Sept 4 th 1782	
Robert Blair, Esq. to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	243
Charles Town, September 7 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	244
S ^t Stephens 8 Sept ^r 1782	
Samuel Cantey to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	245
September 9 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	246
S ^t Stephens 10 th Sept ^r 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	247
Uxbridge, September 13 th 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	249
Uxbridge, September 13 th 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	250
[Ashley Hill] Sep ^t 15 th 1782	
Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	251
Camp Blufort 18 th Sept 1782 –	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	252
Uxbridge September 18 th , 1782	
Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	253
Hd. Quarters September 18 th , 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to [Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene?]	254
Watboo 20 th Sep ^t . 1782	
Lt. Col. William Davis to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	255
Prince Williams Salt Ketcher Sep ^t . 20 th . 1782	
Capt. Alexander McGregor to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	256
Echau, September 23d 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	257
Watboo Septem ^r 24 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews	258
Watbo, September 24 th 1782 (Copy)	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	259
Watboo 29 th Sept. 1782	
Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	260
[Ashley Hill 29 Sep-2 Oct 1782] ¹	

October thru December, 1782

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Ichabod Burnet	262
Watbo 3d Oct. 1782	
Maj. Keating Simons to Maj. Ichabod Burnet	263
Watbo October 5 th 1782.	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	264
Uxbridge, October 6 th 1782	
Maj. James Conyers to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	265
(Travellers rest) October 9 th , 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	266
Uxbridge October 15 th , 1782	
Christopher Gadsden to Gov. John Mathews (<i>copy to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion</i>).....	267
October 16, 1782.	
Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	270
Near the Governor's Quarters [Jacksonborough], October 21, 1782	
Lewis DeRosset to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	272
Ch ^s . Town, Oct. 25 th 1782	
Capt. Jacob Milligan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	273
George Town, October 27 th , 1782	
Capt. Samuel Warren to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	274
[Ashley Hill] October 28 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	275
Watboo 28 Oct. 1782	
Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	276
(Near the Governor's Quarters [Jacksonborough]), October 29, 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	279
[Ashley Hill, S.C.] Octr 30 ^h 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	280
Watboo 31 st Oct. 1782	
Capt. Jacob Milligan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	281
Georgetown, October 31 st 1782	
Mr. J. Lockwood to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	282
Charles Town, October 31 st 1782	
Lt. Col. Richard Lushington to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	283
Georgetown October 31 st 1782	
Heriot & Tucker to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	284
Georgetown October 31 st 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	285
Uxbridge, 3 Nov., 1782	
Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	286
[Near Governor's Quarters] 3 Nov., 1782	
97 (Secret Correspondent) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	288
Wando Novemr. 4 th , 1782	
Brig. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	289
[Near Governor's Quarters] Nov. 5, 1782	
97 (Secret Correspondent)¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (presumed)	291
Wando Novem ^r 6 th , 1782	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	292
Watboo 8 Nov ^r 1782	
Capt. Jacob Milligan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	293
[Georgetown] November 8, 1782 [?]	
Heriot & Tucker to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	294
George Town November 9 th , 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	295
Uxbridge November 13 th , 1782	
99 (Secret Correspondent) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	296
Charles Town November 13 th , 1782	
Secret, (no name) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	297
November 13 th , 1782	
Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	298
Head Quarters Ashley Hill November 13 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	299
Watbo 14 th Nov ^r 1782 6 OC. PM	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	300
Watbo 15 th Nov ^r 1782 10 OC. AM	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	301
Headquarters [Ashley Hills], November 15 th 1782	
97 (Secret Correspondent) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (presumed)	302
Wando Nov ^r 16 th 1782	
Lt. George Sinclare Capers to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	303
November 16 th 1782	
Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	304
[Near Governor's Quarters] 17th Nov., 1782	
Gov. John Mathews to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	308
Uxbridge Nov ^r 17.1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. John Warden	309
20 Nov 1782 [Watboo]	
Lt. Col. Edward Barnwell to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	310
Governours Quarters Novem ^r 21 st , 1782	
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	311
Headquarters [Ashley Hills] Nov 22d 1782	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene	312
Watbo 24 th Nov ^r 1782	
Capt. John Cogdell to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	313
George Town, Novemb ^r . 25 th 1782	
General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	314
Dec ^r 15 th 1782 Wadboo	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews	315
Charlestown 21 st Dec ^r . 1782	
<i>The Final Act</i>	316

1783 – 1795

1783

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry	318
Charlestown January 18 th 1783	
Certified Receipt from Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	319
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Benjamin Guerard	320
[Charlestown, 25 February? 1783]	
Senate of South Carolina to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	321
[Charlestown] February 26 th 1783	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to the Senate of South Carolina	322
[Charlestown February 28 th 1783]	
Morton Wilkinson to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	323
[1783]	
Minutes of the Society of the Cincinnati	324
City Tavern [Charleston] Monday October y ^c 6 th : 1783. AM	

1784

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Benjamin Guerard	326
Fort Johnson 20 April[?] 1784	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. T. Watson	327
Pond Bluff 12 Oct. 1784	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. T. Watson	328
Pond Bluff 20 th Dec ^r 1784	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. Watson	329
Pond Bluff 31 st Dec ^r 1784	

1785

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. Watson	330
[Pond Bluff] 22 Jan ^y . 1785	
State of South Carolina to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	331
[April 5, 1785]	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Blake & Bocquet, Treasurers	332
Fort Johnson 2 ^d Aug ^t . 1785	

1786 – 1795

Marriage Notices from the Charleston Morning Post	333
April 20, 1786	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Thomas Pinckney	334
Fort Johnson, 6 th April, 1787	
Gov. Thomas Pinckney to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (commanding at Fort Johnson)	335
Charleston 6 th April 1787	
Gov. Thomas Pinckney to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	336
Charleston 20 th April 1787	
Orders to Brigadier Generals	337
Dated Winnsborough 26 th May 1787	
Ratification of the U.S. Constitution by South Carolina	338
Friday, May 23, 1788.	

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller	339
Fort Johnston, 20 th Sept. 1788	
Census Return by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion	340
South Carolina, September 25th, 1788	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller	341
Fort Johnston 30 th October 1788	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller	342
Fort Johnston 24 th Aug st : 1789	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller	343
F ^t Johnston, 3 ^d Septr. 1789	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Charles Pinckney.....	344
[unknown] 10 Novr. 1789	
Francis Marion Deposition.....	345
[29 April 1790]	
Pay Voucher: Gov. Charles Pinckney to State treasurer.....	346
In Convention, Columbia, June 4 th 1790,	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to an Unknown Recipient.....	347
[Pond Bluff] Dec. 31, 1790	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to a Lady	348
[Pond Bluff] 30 April 1791	
Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Master Francis Marion Dwight	349
[Pond Bluff?] 8 Nov ^r 1794	
Commissioners [of Georgetown County] In Behalf of Winyaw Inhabitants to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion.....	350
Geo: Town Nov. 15 th 1794	
Citizens of Georgetown to Francis Marion	351
[November 15, 1794]	
Death Notice of Francis Marion	352
Tuesday, Mar. 3, 1795	
Will of Francis Marion.....	353
[Original Declaration, October 16, 1787]	
Inventory of Estate of Francis Marion.....	354

The
Francis Marion
Papers

Volume Three
1782-1795

January – March
1782

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

Near Strawberry Ferry 1st Jan^y 1782¹

Sr

Yourse of the 27th Dec^r came to hand yesterday Evening.

I have now with me two hundred and fifty men, which I believe will be nearly the whole which I shall be able to keep in the field; a number of men which came out of town & surrenderd on the Proclimation, have Dispersed themselves in the country & cannot be Easily Collected.² If I had Arms for them I shoud have kept them as they came out, but for want of arms & Amunition I was Oblige to Let them Disp[e]rse themselves where they could get Subsistance.

There is no horses to be had in this Quarter, but a great many Teams & Carts, some Oxen I had drove over Santee at my first coming & Left only one team to a plantation, as they Could not do without. But shall now Order the whole to be sent over the river.³

I hope by this Our reinforcements has Joind you and I shall be able to go to the House of Assemble at Camden.⁴ There is so many of my Principle Officers Elected in the Assemble, that I shall not know what to do in their Absence, without withdrawing my Brigade near Santee in my Absence, or you could spare some force to defend this part [of] the Country.⁵ If it is your Idea [to] do so.

Col. P Horry has some Deserters which he wishes may be tried by a General Court martial.⁶ So many of his men has Deserted that it is nesserary [necessary] to make some Examples, & woud be Glad you woud send an Order for a Court martial.

A M^{rs} Middleton request the Liberty to beat out some rice & send to town to procure Nesserarys & pay a debt which she is Distressed for.⁷ I shall wait your Answer if she may do it. The Ammunition sent me is not sufficient, shall be glad of a further supply, as I make no doubt but a quantity must have come with the troops from the Northwards.⁸

I have the Honour to be with respect Your Ob^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

1. Location confirmed in a letter from Leslie to Clinton on Jan. 29, reporting that Marion was “strongly posted on the borders of a Swamp, near to Strawberry Ferry—suspicious and jealous of our intentions” (Dennis Conrad, Roger Parks and Martha King, eds. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene (PNG)* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 10:147n).
2. Rutledge’s proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, above, pardoned former Loyalists on the condition that they “surrender themselves to a Brigadier of militia of this State, and engage to perform constant duty as privates in the militia for six months next ensuing the time of surrender; and that they actually perform such duty.”
3. Greene replied on Jan. 3, below.
4. The referenced reinforcements were Arthur St. Clair’s brigade, which had marched south after Yorktown. They would reach Greene’s camp three days later. Marion had recently been elected to the State Senate, assembled in Jacksonborough, to represent St. John’s Berkeley County. He arrived on Jan. 14 (*Journal of the Senate of South Carolina, Jan. 8, 1782-Feb. 26, 1782* (Columbia, the State Company, 1941), 3-5; *PNG* 10:147-48n).
5. Indicative of the significant overlap between military leadership and the political class in the 18th century lowcountry, a large number of Marion’s officers had also been elected to the Senate, including Capts. William McCottry and James McCauley, Majs. John James and John Vanderhorst, and Cols. John Baxter, James Postell, Peter Horry, Richard Richardson, Hezekiah Maham, and Arnoldus Vanderhorst (Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution* (New York: The McMillan Co., 1901), 556-61; *PNG* 10:148n).
6. On Jan. 3, below, Greene approved courts-martial for deserters from both Horry’s and Col. Hezekiah Maham’s regiments, despite the fact that Marion had not requested court-martial authorization for Maham’s corps (*PNG*, 10:148n).
7. This probably referred to Elizabeth Middleton, the widow of the late Thomas Middleton, a prominent SC politician and wealthy landowner (*PNG*, 10:148; *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House* (Columbia, SC: University of SC Press, 1974), 2:494-95).
8. See Greene’s reply on Jan. 28, below.

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

Near Strawberry 2 Jan^y 1781 [1782]⁹

Sr

Yourse of the 31st Dec^r with the Proclimations from the Govenor came to hand and have sent Expresses to the Different Parishes.¹⁰

Intelligence from town say that all the Hessians are orderd to Europe 400 from Ch^s Town is Embarked,¹¹ by Deserters I have the same Account I have had twenty Deserters come to me this Eight days. The Inclosed¹² I received from Col. [Screven?] on command at Cain Hoy.

When the House of Assemble meet at Jacksonbourg shall be glad to have Leave to meet them, and Leave Co^l Pt^r Horry the Command here.¹³ I wrought you yesterday per Express & wish to have an Answer.

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

9. The letter was dated 1781, but this is obviously a mistake, given its contents, and should read 1782.

10. See Greene to Marion, Dec. 31, 1781, above.

11. The report was false (*PNG*, 10:149n).

12. The "Inclosure" has not been found.

13. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 15, below. Marion did in fact take his seat in the Senate on Jan. 14, and left Horry in command of his brigade during his absence.

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Smith*¹⁴**

Cummintee 2d. January 1782. 6 oClock P.M.

Sir/

You will Immediately with your whole Corps March and Join Col^l Richardson¹⁵ towards Fagaties [Fogarties] Ferry¹⁶ Call in for A guide and Orders. I mean only your Cavalry—Lose not A Minute¹⁷
I am Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fra^s. Marion

Capt. Jo^h. Smith

[Laurens's?] Plantation¹⁸

LB (NN), Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book.

-
14. John Carraway Smith was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment on Sep. 1, 1775, and promoted to first lieutenant in May, 1776. He became a captain on Sep. 16, 1776, and was wounded at Savannah on Oct. 9, 1777. At some point in 1779 he was transferred to the 3rd SC Regiment. He was taken prisoner in the fall of Charlestown and was exchanged in Nov. 1780 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 878). Afterward, he became a captain in Maham's Dragoons, and resigned on Feb. 26, 1782. He was made a brevet major on Sep. 30, 1783 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 732).
 15. Col. Richard Richardson, Jr., was the son of the late Gen. Richard Richardson. During 1775, he had served in the Snow Campaign as a captain of militia, and by 1776 he was a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. He became a major, was taken prisoner at Charlestown, and paroled. He joined Gen. Marion and was a colonel by the battle at Eutaw Springs. At this time Col. Richardson and a small detachment were at Cainhoy maintaining surveillance on the enemy outpost on Daniels Island. Smith's orders apparently were in response to a request for reinforcements by Richardson (Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 812; Patrick O'Kelley, *BCADM* (Fayetteville, NC: Blacksmith Publishing, 2023), 655n1362).
 16. Fogerty's Ferry was used to cross the Wando River from Christ Church Parish to Cainhoy. Marion maintained a post at both Fogerty's Ferry, presumably on the south side of the river, and at Cainhoy itself. See Marion to Horry, Jan. 10, 1782, below.
 17. The urgency of the orders was a response to the movement of the British from Charlestown across the Cooper River to Daniels Island earlier that day. A force of 350 enemy cavalry and infantry under Maj. William Brereton continued moving northward on the Strawberry Road after crossing Beresford Creek to the mainland. [See a brief bio of Brereton here.](#)
 18. In his previous order to Smith, Marion had directed the captain to camp at Henry Laurens's plantation (Mepkin), one mile above Strawberry Ferry.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. John Smith

Gen^l: Orders. To Cap^t. John Smith 2d. Jan^y 1782.

Sir/

You will Cross Bonneaus Ferry¹⁹ and Proceed downwards to Daniels Island and Join Col^l. Richardson. The Enemy are Landed & said to be Horse & Infantry.²⁰ you will do every thing to retard the Enemy's penetrating and follow such Orders as you will receive from Col^l Richardson, If any horse Should Appear you must Charge them with vigour—at All hazards without there is Infantry Superior.²¹

I am Sir Yours.

Fra^s. Marion

LB (NN), Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book.

-
19. Bonneau's Ferry, owned by Samuel and Mary Bonneau at the time of the Revolution, crossed the East Branch of the Cooper River a few miles above its confluence with the West Branch.
 20. Marion's intelligence alerted him to the movement of the British, but did not indicate the enemy had moved so far into St. Thomas's Parish. Daniel's Island (Daniel Island today) is located across the Cooper River from Charlestown, separated from the mainland by the Wando River. The British had crossed to Daniel's Island earlier in the day. By Jan. 3, the British were well north and rested at Brabant's Plantation near Videau's Bridge.
 21. Presumably because of Smith's relative inexperience, Marion gave him explicit orders to charge the enemy horse, unless infantry was also present.

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

Head Quarters [Round O] 3d of January 1782

Dear Sir

It was not my intention to have the teams removed until the enemy got a reinforcement as I did not wish to distress the inhabitants but from absolute necessity. However if you think they are unsafe where they are as reinforcements may arrive at once and removing the Teams requiring time you will act in the business as you think proper.

Your Assembly is to sit at Jacksonborough; and you must take measures for covering that part of the Country²² with your own force as it will not be in our power to detach for that service as the service of the Virginia line is expird and they are gone home.

As to passes, you will give as you may think proper; and I am happy to hear you are likely to get clothing for us, as our poor fellows are in great want.²³

Inclosed I send you an order for holding a Court Martial upon the Deserters of Col Horrys & Mayums Men.²⁴

With esteem & regard I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:154-55.

22. Meaning the area east of the Cooper River (PNG, 10:155n).

23. The passes mentioned here are the ones Marion had requested for Elizabeth Middleton to ship rice into Charlestown. Marion was not successful in acquiring clothing for the Continental Army (PNG, 10:155n).

24. Greene authorized a general court-martial, to be held at General Marion's direction, for deserters from "Colonels Whorry, & Maham's Corps." In his letter of Jan. 1, above, Marion had asked for a court-martial to try deserters from Col. Peter Horry's regiment but had not mentioned Col. Hezekiah Maham's.

Maj. William Brereton (of the British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

(no date) [Daniels Island 4 Jan 1782]²⁵

Sir,

These prisoners taken by the party under my Command, being badly wounded, Humanity induces me to leave them behind__ There names are Peter M^cGraw James Bicher & Joseph Dickenson, of Course Prisoners of War & you will as soon as they are able to march, & then to the nearest British Post²⁶__ An Officer & one man of mine killed, You will be so good to have buried & you will much Oblidge Sir,

Your Most Obdt. Servant

W^m Brereton Maj^r Commad^t.

Det. B.[Detachment British?] Troops

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
25. Date inferred. The action at Videau's Bridge occurred on Jan. 3. It is presumed Brereton wrote this letter on Jan. 4, based on Marion's letter to Greene of Jan. 5, below, which appears to reference it: "The Enemy came to Quinbey but marched downwards to Cainhoy before day [light], & Left one of their men & two of mine wounded, they Claim these two men as prisoners of war & desire they may be sent to them as soon as able to March."
26. In his letter to Greene of Jan. 5, below, written from Wambaw, Marion informed Greene of the action with Brereton's force on Jan. 3, but only named two POWs.

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

Wambaw²⁷ 5th Jan^y 1782

S^r

On the 2nd Inst. I Was informed of the Enemy Landing in Daniels Island.²⁸ I Order Col^{os} Richardson, & Scriven to make a Junction & sent Col. Mahams Caveldry to Join, & retreat before the Enemy & scrermage with them at every advantageous Ground until I came up to them.²⁹ On the 3d the Enemy by a secret rout got before Col. Richardson and with a rapid march gained Brick-Church before the Col. Found it out they proceed to Parson Gardens & halted to Cook, in which Col^o Richardson got round in their front. The Enemy soon begun their march, and at the muster hous two miles above Gardens,³⁰ their advance Appeard about 12 hourse Lead on by Capt. Cample.³¹ 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 Maj^r Coffin who Charged in turn our men gave way & Dispers'd.³² Captⁿ Smith with four Officers four Dragoons & two Malitia got in a sack from which they Could 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. Our Loss at this time cannot well be ascertain'd, Lieut^{nts} Sam^l Smith³³ & Stephens and ten privates Missing, but have heard of severall, & Believe their is not more than five or six Killed wounded & Missing, and about as many of the Malitia.³⁴ The Enmys force was by the best Account 300 Infantry & 60 horse, which was too superior to me to attack. I thought proper to remove to this place to Collect the scatterd men who are coming in hourly. The Enemy came to Quinbey but marched downwards to Cainhoy before day, & Left one of their men & two of mine wounded, they Claim these two men as prisoners of war & desire they may be sent to them as soon as able to March.³⁵ I just recd Intelligence that a nother party from Haddrells, came over Wappetaw & is at Rose's Plant^a where I suppose the Other party will make a Junction with them, it is said they mean to take post their.³⁶ I forgot to mention that Maj^r Brererton who Commanded the British Detachment sent me a line beging I would Beury their Dead.³⁷

-
27. Wambaw is presumed to be Wambaw Plantation, the home of John Wigfall, who took British protection after the fall of Charlestown, and was given a commission as a colonel. Wigfall subsequently raised a Loyalist regiment that mainly operated south of the Santee River.
28. This referred to Maj. William Brereton's expedition. See immediately above.
29. Cols. Richard Richardson Jr. and Thomas (or possibly Benjamin) Screven been alerted to Brereton's move to James Island, and had called for reinforcements. Marion ordered the cavalry portion of Col. Hezekiah Maham's corps, under Capt. John Carraway Smith, to ride to support them. See Marion's orders to Smith, dated Jan. 2, above (Hugh F. Rankin, *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973), 263; PNG, 10:162n).
30. The location of the referenced Garden's Plantation is not known.
31. This referred to Archibald "Mad Archy" Campbell, who was captured by Smith's cavalry during their initial charge. During the chaos that ensued, he tried to escape but was killed in the attempt (Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences, Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South* (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851), 67-68; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:592n; Terry W. Lipscomb, *Battles, Skirmishes and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina* (Columbia: SC Dept. of Archives and History, 1991), NSC27:18; PNG, 10:163n).
32. Marion gave more detailed casualty figures in his report to Greene on Jan. 15, below. Maham's orderly book listed five killed, two wounded, three captured, and two missing. James reported that "twenty two Americans were buried on the causeway; how many were killed in the pursuit is not known." The British initially claimed to have killed 57 Patriots and captured 20, while they reported their own losses as one killed and three wounded (LB (NN)), *Maham's Legion Orderly Book* (Manuscripts and Archives Division NYPL); 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: Gould and Riley, 1821), 160; *South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Jan. 5 and 9, 1782; Leslie to Clinton, Jan. 29, cited in PNG, 10:163n).
33. This may have been the Samuel Smith who served as a lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment and resigned in Aug. 1779, or one who served as a lieutenant in the Volunteer Company of St. David's Parish Militia during 1776 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 879-80).
34. The reference here was to a detachment of the 63rd Foot that had been sent from Haddrell's Point to reinforce Brereton's expedition, but had not been involved in the fighting. They did not, however, cause any further trouble, and promptly returned to the British lines (PNG, 10:163n).
35. In his undated letter to Marion, above, Maj. Brereton asked that Marion send the POWs, two according to Brereton's letter, to "the nearest British Post" when "able to march."
36. Marion to Greene, Jan. 15, 1782, below.
37. The letter from Maj. Brereton of Jan. 4 is above.

Shoud the Enemy Advance, I shall be Oblige to retreat as One half of my Brigade was with Col. Richardson when they ware Despers & Many are not yett come in. The want of Ammunition will also prevent me from make^s the Opposition as I ought do. In my Next will give you a perticular Account of our Loss.

I have the Honor to be

Your Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

NB I have Just heard of L^t Stevens³⁸ & Some Dragoons bein safe.

The 25 horse sent to Escort the governor will be much Wanted here, as Mahams Corps will require rest before they can Act.³⁹

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:161-62.

38. Jervis Stevens served as an assistant deputy commissary general of issues from 1779-80, and was a lieutenant and adjutant in Maham's cavalry regiment during from 1781-82. Stevens fought at Quinby Bridge and Eutaw Springs in Jul. and Sep. 1781. In the consolidation of Col. Maham's and Maj. Conyers' regiments in Aug. 1782, Stevens was listed as a 2nd lieutenant of infantry. At some point, he was captain of the brigantine *Richard* (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 895-96; Marion to Mathews and Greene, Aug. 2, 1782, below Cy).

39. In a Dec. 24, letter to Greene, Rutledge had requested an escort to Jacksonborough for the Jan. 8, 1782 meeting of the South Carolina legislature, which had not met since the fall of Charlestown in 1780 (Rutledge to Greene, Dec. 24, 1781, PNG, 10:101).

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Wambaw]⁴⁰ 7th Jan^y 1781 [1782]

The General court Martial ordered to Sit to day is ordered to be postponed untill further orders⁴¹ –

Col^o Horry's and Maham will come to my quarters to morrow, to Settle the rank of their respective Regiments & Officers and produce their orderly books⁴² –

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 711.

January 9, 1782 – Admiral de Grasse, back in the Caribbean, captures Basseterre, St. Kitts, from its British garrison.

-
40. Location inferred. Marion's Orderly Book showed him as being at Wambaw on Jan. 6 and 10 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 711). Letters written by Marion on Jan. 5, above, and Jan. 11, below, also show Wambaw as the heading.
41. The Court Martial was to hear charges against John Nesmyth, Sr., and David Snow who were accused of having fought with the British (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 558). The hearing was held Jan. 10. As seen in Marion to Horry of Jan. 23, below, the two men were acquitted.
42. Horry and Maham had been involved in disputes, not only over their respective ranks, but also over the question to whom they each reported, since Jul. 1781. The first squabble began on Jul. 19, 1781, when Gen. Thomas Sumter ordered Horry to "to take Command of Several Regiments...among w^c was Col. Mayams Militia Horse—This Gentleman desired a Sight of my Cont'l Cavalry's Commission & finding his own Commission . . . to be of the Same date, disputed my commanding him...." Horry reported the event to Greene in a Jul. 19, 1781, letter, above. The date of the Lt. Col. commissions for both Horry and Maham was Jun. 22, 1781. Horry, however, retained his rank in the Continental Army, while Maham had resigned his Continental commission, although this was actually a moot point as Horry's commission as lieutenant colonel outranked Maham's as a captain in the 1st SC Regiment. However, Maham refused to concede defeat. In addition, Maham believed that he was not compelled to follow orders from Marion, since his state regiment had been raised under the Continental establishment. There is no subsequent mention of a meeting among Horry, Maham and Marion to resolve the issue of rank.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Wambaw]⁴³ Jan^y. 10th 1782

Sir,

You will take the Command of my Brigade untill I return.⁴⁴ You will keep the Guards at Cainhoy & Fogarties, their Orders are to prevent any boats or persons from going to or from Town without a written pass from me or yourself,⁴⁵ Such persons who already have my pass to Get out goods for the Army must be permitted to pass & re-pass for that purpose, & the Goods brought up you receive, & send over Santee to M^r. Joseph Leg[a]re⁴⁶__ You will not permit any men to have leave of Absence, with out they are Relieved or have Served two months__ You will endeavour to Cover this part of the Country as much as possible & may remove to my place where you may get subsistence & forage__ Colo. Maham's Corps will be ordered to Mepkin, to remain there until my further Orders⁴⁷__ I think in a few days you may Remove to my old Quarters at Comingtee & Get your forage for the Brigade from the other side of the River at Nisbets, but that position may only be taken when the forage about this neighbourhood is Expended.⁴⁸ I expect M^r. Lockwood will send out some Goods for me,⁴⁹ & I have given Lt. James Simmons a permit to send Boats to Town to get

43. Location inferred. Marion's General Orders of the same day are from Wambaw (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 711). Horry's correspondence also indicates he was in the Wambaw region. Due to forage considerations, it is likely that Horry was at a different plantation than Marion, perhaps Hampton Plantation or his own on Winyah Bay, known later as Belle Isle.

44. Gen. Francis Marion had been elected to the Senate of South Carolina. The Legislature attempted to convene on Jan. 8 but could not meet as a quorum was not present. Marion eventually attended the assembly on Jan. 15. During his absence, Lt. Col. Peter Horry was left in charge of Marion's Brigade, including Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham's State cavalry regiment. Maham, who had been elected to the House, rode with Marion to the first session.

45. Marion had established outposts at Fogarty's Ferry and Cainhoy to combat enemy foraging missions like the one that, on Jan. 3, had routed Richardson and Smith.

46. This may have been Joseph Legare, who served 243 days as a lieutenant in the militia from Sep. 17, 1780 to May 17, 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 561). It is not known to what use Legare was to put the goods.

Passage to American territory could only be approved by brigadiers of militia, or by Gov. Rutledge.

47. Placing Maham's State Cavalry regiment at Mepkin Plantation would prevent British troops from marching up the Strawberry Road. In addition, any British river traffic on the West Branch of the Cooper River would be impeded. Although Marion told Horry earlier in this letter that he (Horry) would be in charge of Marion's brigade in the general's absence, he exempted Maham's State regiment from that order, a clear sign that Marion was attempting to avoid any further conflicts between Horry and Maham.

48. Marion's advice to Horry to move to Comingtee on the north side of the West Branch of the Cooper River was, perhaps, in response to the Jan. 3, foray by the British northward toward the Cooper. In the event of subsequent attacks in the area, Horry would be able to cross at Bonneau's Ferry and engage the Enemy. In light of his imminent absence, Marion probably did not want to leave a large contingent on the south side of the West Branch. His troops had already been surprised once. Note that Horry did not move to Comingtee. His correspondence continued from Wambaw until at least Feb. 28. Nisbets may refer to property of the heirs and devisees of Sir John Nisbett. The name appears on the lists of persons on the Confiscation Bill "who have petitioned, and whose cases have been favourably determined in the Senate; and others who have been favourably reported on in the Hosue of Representatives." Nisbet's property fell into Class I of the Confiscation Act: "confiscation of property of British subjects who did not submit to the American government." The property might also have been William Nisbet's. He had signed a congratulatory letter to Clinton and Arbuthnot upon the surrender of Charlestown. William Nisbet's petition was also favorably acted upon (Thomas Cooper ed. *Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: A.S. Johnson, 1838-39), 4:553, 6:633-34; *South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1782, compiled by J. G. Braddock, Sr.).

49. This may have been Joshua Lockwood, a watchmaker turned ship's captain and former member of the Provincial Congress (Richard Walsh, *Charleston's Sons of Liberty* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959), 79-80). Controversy surrounded his activities, as seen in eight letters through Nov. 13. Other letters were dated Oct. 31(2), Nov. 3, Nov. 8, Nov. 9, and Nov. 13. Lockwood was the son of Commodore David Lockwood. He arrived in Charlestown in Dec. 1781. When trade began between Charlestown and Georgetown in 1782, he sent out goods for Marion. In Jun. 1782 a Lockwood was in Georgetown with a pass from Gov. Mathews to trade his cargo for rice. Lockwood was contracted by merchants Heriot & Tucker to move product from Georgetown to Charlestown, using passes issued by Mathews on Jul. 13. Lockwood's sloop was later detained in Georgetown, released, then detained again. Gov. Mathews had ordered that Lockwood's ship be detained after confusing it with another. Not only was there confusion about the identity of the ships involved, but apparently the Lockwood passes were used twice. Mathews attributed the fraud to someone in Charlestown and not Lockwood himself. Not surprisingly, the confusion over the ships resulted in claims of loss. James McDouall, a British merchant, who presumably came to Charlestown after the town surrendered in 1780, submitted a petition to the SC House in February 1787, requesting payment for goods supplied to the state forces, which had been carried by Lockwood. McDouall claimed his goods were seized by Gen. Marion's order and detained for four weeks. Another schooner was detained by Marion for two months. McDouall claimed he paid Lockwood £200 sterling as demurrage. In Mar. 1787, the House approved payment of almost £800 for all McDougall's losses (Horry to Marion, Jun. 29, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts:DLC); Milligan to Marion, Nov. 8, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Mathews to Marion, Nov. 3 and 13, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

out Goods, whatever you Can Get for Soldiers Cloathing you will Embrace by all means.⁵⁰ Serg^t. Matthew Smith has a small Command in Goose Creek & is to remain to Give us Intelligence & prevent women & others from Going in Town, his Orders are to take all their horses & send them back a foot__ I wish you to send him 4 men.⁵¹ Phillips' Schooner has my passport to come up to Quinby with M^{rs}. Pinckney & M^{rs}. Sinkler & Doughty, with their Goods & the Vessell to return.⁵² You will Let me know every Occurrence pr. Express.

I am Your Obdt. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion, Brig^r. Gen^l. Militia

Guard at Fogartee Commanded by Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb –

Guard at Cainhoy Commanded by Cap^t. John Nelson⁵³

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
50. This may have been James Simons, who served as a captain in the light dragoons under Col. Maham during 1782. Simons (1761-1815) began his military career as a cadet and aide to Count Casimir Pulaski. After the siege of Savannah, in Oct. 1779, he joined the 3rd Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons, and rose to brigade major before resigning to join the militia. He then served as an aide-de-camp to Gen. Marion. In Jan. 1782, Marion assigned Simons the responsibility for advancing permits "to send Boats to Town to get out Goods." Simons was promoted to captain in March, and commanded the 4th Infantry Troop of Maham's Dragoons. Simons resigned from the regiment in Oct. 1782, in the midst of a dispute with Capt. Samuel Taylor, as a result of the earlier consolidation of Maham's and Conyers's regiments. The exact nature of the dispute is unknown. Both Taylor and Simons were infantry captains in the regiment, but Taylor's commission pre-dated that of Simons by three days. After the war Simons operated a mercantile firm in Beaufort before moving to Charleston in 1788. Simons was elected to the SC House four times, but served only part of one term. At various times he held the posts of brigade inspector of the state militia, naval officer for the port of Charleston, and collector of customs for South Carolina. He was a brother of Keating and Maurice Simons (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 730n1629); Moss, *SC Patriots*, 864; Marion to Mathews and Greene, Aug. 4, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Conyers to Marion, Oct. 9, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:648-50).
51. Mathew Smith served in the 1st SC Regiment as a private under Capt. William Hext and Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney from 1779-80, and as a corporal under Capt. Henry Lenud and Lt. Col. Peter Horry during 1781. In January and February 1782, Smith commanded a small outpost, as referenced here, near Goose Creek Bridge, about 17 miles above Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 879).
52. Mrs. Frances S. Pinckney, widow of Roger Pinckney, wrote Greene on Jan. 5, requesting permission to have a schooner take her family, herself, and possibly Mrs. Elizabeth Cantey Sinkler to St. Thomas parish and return to Charlestown. Apparently, Mrs. Doughty was not mentioned in the letter. The route of the schooner was up the Cooper River before taking the East Branch upriver to Quinby (Pinckney to Greene, Jan. 5, 1782, *PNG*, 10:163n).
53. The small outposts at Cainhoy and Fogerty's Ferry served as early warning systems enabling Marion to gain intelligence that had not been available only one week earlier, when Capt. Smith of Maham's Regiment and Col. Richard Richardson Jr. were surprised at Videau's Bridge. Presumably, Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb's troop was stationed at the ferry on the south side of the Wando River, since Capt. John Nelson's Cainhoy outpost would have been less than one-mile from the river.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Hezekiah Maham

Wambaw 11 Jan^y 1782.⁵⁴

Sir/

After the Court Martial is finished you [will] send the Proceedings by the Judge Advocate, and you will take Post at Mepkin near Strawberry with your Legion until further Orders

I am Sir Your Ob^t Sv^t.

Fra^s. Marion

To

Col^l. Hezekiah Maham

LB (NN), Hezekiah Maham Orderly Book.

January 12, 1782 – General Anthony Wayne, recently arrived in the South from Washington's army, arrives in Georgia to take command of American forces there and to operate against British outposts guarding Savannah.

54. At this time Maham was at Gaillard's Plantation on the Wambaw River. Maham marched on Jan. 14, and was encamped at Washington Plantation three miles above Strawberry on Jan. 16 (LB (NN), Maham Orderly Book). Washington was owned by Maurice Simons. Maham stayed until Jan. 26.

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene or Brig. Gen. Francis Marion⁵⁵

Simons on Wambaw 13th Janu^y [17]82

D^r General

I Inclose you two Letters of Intelligence, w^c [which] from other Accounts I believe is Right,⁵⁶ I Shall Order my two Guards at Cainhoy & Forgarties to watch the Enemies motions. They are about One hundd in Number mostly new made Wigs.⁵⁷ I have about One Hundred more in my Camp besides ab^t 80 Cavalry of my Own. By Accounts the Great[er] part of the Enemies Horse if not all is at Haddrills. [It] is Impossible for me to do much against the Enemy, particularly as the Militia begin Already to desert. Fourteen went off together & Several Since. I Shall tomorrow Remove to Strawberry & Order my Guards to Retire To me Should the Enemy Appear in force & Endeavour to Ambuscade & Skirmish w^t [i.e., with] them if they advance towards Strawberry. General Marions presence is much wanted & I hope he will not delay Coming[;] the Militia will be more Satisfied w^t his Command, than mine & the juncture Requires his Command.⁵⁸ Am well informed that a Letter from N York from a friend in this parish, writes that four Thousands troops from thence will Soon be Sent as a Reinforcement for this State. If it is true or not I am Ignorant, Perhaps you Know the Certainty.⁵⁹

Am D^r Gen^l Your Ob^t Serv^t

P. Horry

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

55. The address to "Genl Greene or Genl Marion" is Horry's original heading and is interesting, given that the two recipients were not encamped together. Horry was here reporting to both his superiors, but it is unclear whether he sent two letters or just one, and if the latter what the instructions to the courier would have been.

56. The editors of *PNG* posit that these two enclosures were one letter from Col. Thomas Lacey, and another from an unknown writer, both dated Jan. 13, which reported a British force had been embarked to attack Georgetown, and another sent to Haddrell's Point. Both reports were mistaken (*PNG*, 10:191n).

57. "Forgarties" referred to Fogerty's Ferry on the Wando River, twelve miles north of Charlestown, (*PNG*, 10:191n)

58. Marion did not rejoin the militia at this time, as he was preoccupied with legislative matters in Jacksonborough. See Greene to Marion, Jan. 16, and Marion to Geene, Jan. 15, both below.

59. The report was false.

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

Jacksonbourg⁶⁰ 15th Jan^y 1782

S^r

Inclosed is the return of the Action of the 3d Inst: which is much Greater than I first Expected,⁶¹ the Enemy retreated with Great precipitation, that I could not collect my scatterd troops before they got over to town.

I have Left the Command to Col: Petr Horry, with such Orders as I thought Nessesary.⁶²

Col^o Horry & Maham Dispute their rank as boath their Commissions is one date,⁶³ your Answer to Col. Horry on that subject Col: Maham will not admit as he Look upon his former Commission as Void, & he says you promist to make his Regiment Independant of any Command but, Yourse.⁶⁴ If this Later take place I woud wish You to take them as I cannot think of having men who are not Oblige to Obey Orders without reserve or being Oblige to ask them to go on any service.⁶⁵ The few Infantry of the Continental line I hope will be Left with me as a Right I have to Command them, as my Malitia Command is temporary, and what I shall decline as soon as that Line is Increased or surcomstances will permit.⁶⁶

The Dispute between the two Col^{os} is very Injurious to the service at present as I have been Oblige to Detatch Col^o Maham, to prevent Disputes, which weaken the force there & hope you will Determine the point & Give Orders.

I have the honor to be

y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

-
60. Senator Francis Marion presumably arrived in Jacksonborough on Jan. 14, the day before this letter was drafted. In a second letter of this date, below, he referenced this letter as being written in the morning. He did not attend the Senate until Jan. 16, although no business was transacted. The Senate had first attempted to convene on Jan. 8. However, a quorum of 13 senators was not present until Jan. 18 (*Journal of the SC Senate 1782*, 1-5)
61. A copy of the return is in *BCADM*, dated Jan. 8, 1782. Marion listed 9 killed, 6 wounded, 15 missing, and 29 horses lost (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 711).
62. Marion had ordered Horry to command his brigade while he was in the Senate. See Marion to Horry, Jan. 10, above.
63. For more on Maham and Horry's dispute, see Marion's orders of Jan. 7, above.
64. The referenced letter was one from Greene to Horry, on Jul. 30, 1781 (*PNG*, 9:107). In a Jan. 4 letter to Greene, Maham had argued that his regiment should be answerable only to Greene, writing "I Have enclosed you a Letter from Col^o Lee wherin he mentiond that you would make my Regement [or Regiment] an independant Coars [Corps] to be subject to the Command of the Commander in Chief only..." Maham reassured Greene that he would not be opposed to serving under Marion if necessary (Maham to Greene, Jan. 4, 1782, MiU-C, excerpted in *PNG*, 10:157-58).
65. Greene unambiguously denied the validity of Maham's claim in his letter to Marion of Jan. 16, below.
66. Marion continued to serve in the militia through the end of the war and even after. Although he disbanded his unit on Dec. 14, 1782, it is unclear when, or if, he resigned his commission. It could be inferred his commission terminated when he sent his letter of resignation as Commandant of Fort Johnson to Gov. Charles Pinckney on Nov. 10, 1789, below.

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

Jacksonbourg 15th Jan^y 1782

S^r

Sinc I wrought You this morning I recd the Inclosed Letters,⁶⁷ and shall as soon as possible return to my District but am affaird I cannot be in time, If the Information is true, as I have very particular Buisness to represent to boath houses.⁶⁸ By Col. Horrys Letter You will find the Nesessity of Determen the Dispute between him & Maham.⁶⁹

I beg to mention to You the want of Ammunition in my Brigade, & if you can supply me as [has?] Left but very few rounds p^r man, which must Oblige them to retire & Leave that part of the Country to the Mercy of the Enemy.

I shall wait today to hear from You.⁷⁰

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

67. The referenced letters have not been found, but the context suggests that one of them was Horry's to Greene or Marion of Jan. 13, above (*PNG*, 10:197n).

68. Marion was currently serving in the SC Senate. See Marion's letter of this date, immediately above. The editors of *PNG* speculate that he may have also had a particular interest in a motion related to Continental recruitment, based on his later service on a committee assigned to that task (*PNG*, 10:197n; *Journal of the SC Senate 1782*, 30)

69. See letter of this date immediately above.

70. On Jan. 26, below, Marion repeated his request for ammunition.

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

Mrs Ellets [Elliott's?] Plantation January 16th 1782⁷¹

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 15th has this moment come to hand.

I cannot imagine upon what principles Lt. Col Mayum [Maham] presumes to dispute rank with Lt Col Horry.⁷² The latter has been a Lt Col in the Continental service and still claims his rank in that line. But supposing his claim not to be well founded, he is out of service not of choice but of necessity and is a supernumery officer on half pay and therefore his claim to rank must be good when ever called into service. There is a great difference between the claims of an officer who resigned and one who goes out of service upon the half pay establishment. On this ground I think Col Horry has clearly the right of out ranking Col Mayum. Much is due to the merit and exertion of Col Mayum but no less is due to the rights and claims of Lt Col Horry.⁷³

It was never my intention that Lt Col Mayums Corp should be subject to no order but my own but in the first instance.⁷⁴ This would be totally incompatible with the nature of service. My intention with respect to that Corp was that it should stand upon the same footing as Lt Col Lees Legion, which is called an independant Corps. No body has a right to command them but the commander in Cheif unless by him placed under some others command. Lees Legion is frequently put under particular Officers command according to the nature of the service, and to be otherwise would be burthening the public with a useless expence; for many things which are practicable with a combined force could not be attempted without it. I am persuaded when Lt Col Mayum thinks more fully on this subject he will, he must be convinced his ideas of the constitution and nature of his Corp is totally inadmissable.

The care and expence he has been at claims every indulgence that the nature of the service will admit; but the public finance dont admit of show in preferance to substantial service. It was my wish that you should use the Corps only upon the most material service that they might be always in readiness for the most important calls and these are my wishes still.⁷⁵ At any rate, I cannot think of removing them from the quarter they are employed as I am but too sensible of their utility there.

I receivd a line from Lt Col^o Horry to day informing me of the Militias having deserted him in great numbers since you came away; and the Col begs you to return as soon as you possibly can consistent with the public good. And this is my request also. Lt Col Horry writes that the enemy have detached a large body of

71. A copy of this letter is in the papers of Nathanael Greene at the University of North Carolina shows Jan. 17, but Jan. 16 is the date of the letter as included in both Gibbes, *Documentary History* and PNG, (Thomas Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution* (New York: Appleton, 1853-57), 1:229-30; PNG, 10:202-03). Since the letter in the UNC collection appears to be from a letterbook, it is reasonable to presume that the draft of Jan. 16 was not signed until Jan. 17. Location probably refers to the plantation of Sabina Codner Elliott, widow of William Elliott, which was located near the army's encampment, and which an officer named Thomas Anderson referred to as "Mrs. Elliott's Green Plantation" in his journal (Thomas Anderson Journal, entries for Jan. 4 and 9, DLC, cited in PNG, 10:203n)

72. Horry wrote to Greene on Jan. 12 that the latter's letter of Jul. 30, 1781, had settled the dispute over rank with Maham in Horry's favor. Since Maham refused to accept the letter or Gen. Marion's opinion, Horry asked Greene to settle the issue (Horry to Greene, Jul. 30, 1781, PNG, 9:107-08) Greene repeated the clarification to Maham on Feb. 1, his impatience clearly expressed, "More than once or twice, I have given my opinion on the subject that Lt Col Horry was intitled to superior rank; but still I find the matter is contested. I am so clear in the principles, and the right appears to me so obvious, that I have been not a little at a loss to account for the disputes still subsisting. . ." (Greene to Maham, Feb. 1, 1781, PNG, 10:297)

73. On Feb. 10, Horry wrote to Greene that "These words are so Expressive, they need no Comment...this much however, give me Leave to Mention—I never deserted my Cohoars [Cohorts], the Cause of my Country, or any Command Intrusted to me—but I Fled the State when we had no Longer a force to repel the Enemy & they in Possession of it and Risked my All, Chusing rather to fight with the few Virtuous of my Countrymen, for redemption of my Country & Property, than meanly & Serviley Submit to British Tyranny—As to Exertions I Cannot Accuse myself with any want of it, having done to the Utmoot of my Power—I hope you'll Excuse my writing you thus freely—I never Should have drawn Such a Line, had you not done it yourself, & that in a manner, as I assure you hurted very much my feelings, & therefore I Could not refrain Offering you such Truths as I Conceived to be in my behalf—I Submit them to your Candor, if I am wrong, attribute it to my Over warmth of Zeal for the Service of my Country for which I Yield to no Officer, tho' his abilities may be very Great & mine but Inconsiderable." (Horry to Greene, Feb. 10, 1781, MiU-C, excerpted in PNG, 10:349-50)).

74. In a letter to Greene of Jan. 4, Maham had requested that he be placed under Greene's direct command, and not subject to anyone else's orders (PNG, 10:157-58).

75. "And these are my wishes still" was added as an interlineation (PNG 10:203n).

troops to George Town but I believe the intelligence to be premature.⁷⁶

In your report of the action of the other day you dont mention the loss of the enemy as you mentiond in a former letter that they had requested you to bury their dead. I am sorry to find your loss greater than you first expected, and wish to learn the enemies.⁷⁷

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obedt humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:202-03.

76. In his letter to Greene and Marion on Jan. 13, above, Horry complained of desertions among his force that consisted of 100 “new made Wigs” and that Marion’s presence was “much wanted” because the militia were “more Satisfied” with him in command. Despite the desire by both Greene and Horry for Marion to return to his command, the lack of a quorum in the Senate necessitated Marion’s absence. On the predicted British expedition against Georgetown, which was false, see Horry to Marion and Greene, Jan. 13, above.

77. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 5, above. Col. Richard Richardson Jr. commanded a troop of Maham’s dragoons while Col. Thomas (or Benjamin) Screven led a troop of “new made Whigs”—former Loyalists. Although surprised at Videau’s Bridge by a force led by Maj. William Brereton, Richardson was able to regroup his cavalry and drive the British cavalry back over the causeway. At the bridge, however, the British infantry opened fire on the Americans, throwing them into confusion, and causing them to retreat in disorder.

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion or Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene⁷⁸

Strawberry Jan^y 17th 1782

D^r Gen^{ls}

I wrote you on Monday Last per Morgandoller an Express, but am without Your Answer or his Return.⁷⁹ I am Informed that One Hundred men Came from Town two days ago to Daniels Island. The Enemy forrages ab^t Twelve Miles from Haddrills, the Report of the Enemies Going to Santee or George Town is groundless.⁸⁰ I Suppose they went S^o Wardly, tis Said they were 800 w^c [which] took boat.⁸¹ I have Accounts from Good Authority that a Reinforcement Said to be two Thousand men is Absolutely arrived at Ch^s Town from New York.⁸² Tis Said to be three Regiments, others Say tis' only to fill up Regiments that were here. The fleet was Seen Several days ago at Wacomaw Said [*damaged*] thirty or forty Sail.⁸³ I wish for Gen^l Marions Return as the Militia Seems very Uneasy at his Absence. I wish to hear from Either of you as Soon as possible. Tis Said the Enemy Lately Received five Thousand Barrells of Rice from Georgia.

[I] am D^r Generals

Your Ob^t hum Serv^t

Peter Horry

PS A Great firing is this Afternoon heard towards the Q^r House. I have Sent to Ser^{jt} Smith, at Goose Creek for Intelligence.

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

78. Like Horry's last letter, this one was addressed to Greene or Marion.

79. "Monday Last" referred to Jan. 14. But presumably he meant his own letter of the 13th, above, which had apparently not been answered.

80. In his letter to Greene and Marion of Jan. 13, above, Horry related that intelligence he had received prompted him to assign guard parties at Fogerty's Plantation and Cainhoy, consisting of 100 former Loyalists to watch the enemy motions. It is curious that this mission would be entrusted exclusively to former loyalists. It would have been more logical to either split them up among men of more proven loyalties, or employ them in logistical duties in the rear, but this does appear to be the case. Most of the British cavalry had been posted at Haddrell's Point.

81. This report was false.

82. According to Gen. Washington, the reinforcement from New York numbered no more than 550 men (Washington to Greene, Dec. 19, 1781, excerpted in *PNG*, 10:81).

83. Again this appears to have been hyperbole. According to Col. Friedrich von Benning, a Hessian colonel, who travelled on this expedition, the fleet was made up of only seven transport ships, one frigate, and a shallop (Benning to Baron von Jungkenn, Jan. 27, 1782, translated by Henry J. Retzer, *von Jungkenn Papers*, MiU-C, cited in *PNG*, 10:214n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Jacksonborough]⁸⁴ January 18th 1782

Dr Sir,

I send you the proceedings of the General Court Martial __ You will dissolve the Court & put the sentence in Execution. I send you Gen^l Greenes letter in Answer to mine sent him as soon as I arrived here & is determined as I Expected __ You will keep the Letter & if the Enemy should approach your Quarters & you find it necessary you must call on Col^o. Mayhams Troops & horse as Reinforcement & wish he may not be Called on for no other purpose.⁸⁵ If you find the men desert you, a small party of six men, or two such Parties sent to bring them back & put them in Confinement will have the best Effect. I fear your patience must be something longer Tried with the Militia,⁸⁶ as I cannot be spared without stoping the whole proceedings of the house. We have but 13 Senators, which is the least number can do business.⁸⁷ The other house has 74--69 can do business, but it requires 202 members of both Houses to Chose a Governour.⁸⁸ As soon as they can spare me I will Return. You did very right to send M^{rs}. John Harleston back, & hope you will send every one who has their husbands with the Enemy.⁸⁹ I am Informed that a pass is Given to Capt. Phillips, of the Schooner which Came up to Carry produce down & she is to be up again in a few days⁹⁰ to Carry M^{rs}. Pinckney; if she comes up without your pass or mine, she must be taken & sunk, & if M^{rs}. Pinckney goes down she must not be suffered to return __ The pass I Allude to above is said to be Given by Col^o. Mayham, which I cannot beleave⁹¹ __ Gen^l Wayne is gone to Georgia with White's Cavalry.⁹² The Enemy has Evacuated Johns Island & Wadmalaw, they took a subaltern & 6 privates of Col^o. Washington's horse at Dorchester,⁹³ through

84. Location inferred. Marion was attending the session of the SC Senate in Jacksonborough at this time.

85. Marion had transferred authority for his brigade to Lt. Col. Peter Horry in his letter of Jan. 10, above. Maham disputed the change, just as he had disputed Horry outranking him, as evidenced in Marion's order of Jan. 7, above, and subsequent correspondence. Perhaps Maham felt that only Gen. Greene could change the command structure, since Maham's regiment (as well as Horry's) was originally created by Gen. Greene's authority. Maham and Horry had both been placed under Marion's operational command by Greene's letters of Oct. 23, 1781, above. However, Maham simply refused to accept Marion's authority. Horry had had difficulties with Maham accepting his own superior rank in the past, dating back to the summer of 1781 (Horry to Greene, Jul. 19, 1781, *SCHM*, 38:5-6). Marion, sensitive to Horry's practical need for documented authority, enclosed Greene's letter of Jan. 16, above, in which the general had unequivocally written that Horry outranked Maham. Since both Marion and Maham were both attending the legislative session, Marion had no choice but to transfer authority for Maham's regiment to Horry. Marion's sensitivity to Maham's ego is evidenced by the general's direction that Horry call out Maham's men only if necessary to reinforce his own troops. Conflicts between Horry and Maham continued through the spring of 1782, and neither Marion nor Greene were successful in resolving the situation. Only Maham's capture by Loyalists on May 16 ultimately ended his insistence on independent command. See Marion to Greene, May 18, below.

86. Horry had brought up the issue of desertion among the militia in his Jan. 13 letter, above, to either Greene or Marion. Greene had also apprised Marion of the situation in his own Jan. 16 letter, above.

87. The Senate needed 13 members (out of 28) to transact business. On this date (Jan. 18) the quorum was finally achieved.

88. The source of Marion's numbers is not known. They do not match the presumptive sole source for the members of the general assembly that convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. Josiah Smith's Diary includes the only known extant list of legislators. It shows 28 Senators and between 196 and 198 Representatives (Josiah Smith and Mabel Webber eds. "Josiah Smith's Diary," *SCHM*, vol. 34, no. 1:200-05). Whatever the case, the House had its quorum on Jan. 18 (*Journal of SC House*, 1782, 3-5). No elections had been held since 1779, as a result of the British capturing Charlestown in May, 1780. John Rutledge retained his position as a result of "An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly", No. 1140, passed Feb. 3, 1780. The new ordinance continued to give Rutledge near-dictatorial powers, although it granted less power than a similar bill the previous year (*Statutes*, 4:470-72, 504-06). The main difference between the two acts was that the clause allowing the governor and Council to take away the life of a citizen without a legal trial was not included, as it had been in the earlier ordinance (Robert J. Barnwell, "Rutledge the Dictator," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 7, no. 2, 217).

89. John Harleston was a Loyalist sympathizer, whose property was presumably amerced (*Statutes*, 6:633).

90. The identity of Capt. Phillips is not certain.

91. Greene approved Mrs. Frances Pinckney's request for a pass to come up from Charlestown to Quinby on a schooner and return (See Pinckney to Greene, Jan. 5, 1782, *PNG*, 10:163). In his letter of Jan. 10, above, Marion informed Horry that "Phillips' Schooner has my passport to come up to Quinby with M^{rs}. Pinckney & M^{rs}. Sinkler & Doughty, with their Goods & the Vessel to return." It is clear he only approved one trip. In his letter to Horry of Jan. 29, below, Marion related that Maham had not given Phillips's schooner a pass.

92. Gen. Washington sent Gen. Anthony Wayne and his Pennsylvania Continentals to the South as reinforcements after Yorktown. After his arrival, Greene sent Wayne into Georgia to organize the remnants of the Georgia resistance, stifle Loyalist sentiment, and hopefully re-capture Savannah. He took with him Col. Anthony Walton White's dragoons and a number of South Carolina and Georgia militia. His aggressive tactics drove the British into Savannah, but failed to bring about the surrender of the town.

93. The evacuation of Johns Island and Wadmalaw Island were significant events in the gradual re-occupation of the area around Charlestown. The British abandoned these two islands south of the city, an area where Patriot control was not as strong as it was to the

carelessness & bad Conduct they have also taken John Glaze & young Parker⁹⁴ __ If you can spare Capt Gough I wish he may come to the House, or Major Benson, I think one may be spared⁹⁵ __ The account of the Enemies Going to George Town, I believe is not true, tho' it is probable they may try to have a blow at you, or your parties of Observation down the Neck.⁹⁶ We have in the Philadelphia papers an account of the Combined fleet taking a 90 gun ship & three frigates & 83 Sail of the Jamaica fleet.⁹⁷ Anything material I wish you would let me know per Express. Col^o. Severn had Leave of Absence for a few days to move his family, but if he is wanted, I wish he may be Called on to take the Command Nelson has,⁹⁸ I am so perfectly satisfied that you can Command these as well as myself that I shall be very Easy in every Respect & I know you only want patience with Militia, which you will Gain by Experience.

I am with Esteem,
Your obdt^t Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

north of the city. On Jan. 15, forces commanded by Lt. Col. John Laurens and Lt. Col. Henry Lee attempted to surprise the British on Johns Island. However, logistical issues resulted in the foray failing to achieve its tactical objectives. The outcome, however, proved favorable to the Patriot cause. The British withdrew from Johns Island, thereby eliminating a potential base from which to threaten the Legislature that was convening in Jacksonborough. On Jan. 14, a contingent of the New York Volunteers surprised and captured eight men from the 3rd Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons (Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, (Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1828), 362-64; William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion* (New York: George F. Cooledge and Bro., 1846), 170-71).

94. John Glaze (d.1818) was a member of the Council of Safety before the war. He resigned his commission in the Continental Army in Jul. 1779. After the fall of Charlestown, he joined Marion's Brigade, and later was a lieutenant in Maham's cavalry regiment. In Jan. 1782, Glaze was captured by the British along with John Parker. After the war he returned to planting, operating Spring Grove plantation in St. James, Goose Creek, and The Ponds in St. George's, Dorchester. He served in both the SC House and Senate and was a delegate to the SC convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 363; N. Louise Bailey, Mary L. Morgan, and Carolyn R. Taylor eds., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 228; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:273-74). The identity of Parker is not known. However, he may have been the son of John Parker, a prominent Goose Creek planter and politician, who fired on a Loyalist marauding party on his plantation in 1782 (*Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 286).
95. Gough and Benson were officers in Marion's Brigade, who had been elected to the SC House of Representatives. Presumably, they were needed at Jacksonborough to ensure a quorum in the House.
96. At this time rumors still persisted that the British intended to raid the area around Georgetown, including Waccamaw Neck, for food. No raids occurred.
97. The reports were completely inaccurate. Adm. De Grasse had only 29 ships under his command in Jan. 1782, while Adm. Rodney had only 19 ships (Piers Mackesy, *The War for America 1775-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 457).
98. Marion had assigned Capt. John Nelson to the guard at Cainho. Appointing Col. Screven marked the post as being equal in importance to that at Fogerty's Ferry, one-half mile away on the Wando River, where Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb commanded.

Governor's Message

[Jacksonborough] January 18, 1782⁹⁹

Honorable Gentlemen of the Senate, Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

Since the last meeting of a General Assembly,¹⁰⁰ the good people of this State have not only felt the common calamities of war, but, from the wanton and savage manner in which it has been prosecuted, they have experienced such severities as are unprecedented, and will scarcely be credited by civilized nations.

The enemy, unable to make any impression on the northern States, the number of whose inhabitants and the strength of whose country had baffled their repeated efforts, turned their view's towards the southern, which, a difference of circumstances afforded some expectation of conquering, or at least of greatly distressing. After a long resistance the reduction of Charlestown was effected by the vast superiority of force with which it had been besieged. The loss of that garrison, as it consisted of the Continental troop of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of a number of militia, facilitated the enemy's march into the country, and their establishment of many posts in the upper and interior parts of it; and the unfavorable issue of the action near Camden,¹⁰¹ induced them vainly to imagine, that no other army could be collected which they might not easily defeat. The militia commanded by the Brigadiers Sumter and Marion, whose enterprising spirit and unremitting perseverance under many difficulties, are deserving of great applause, harassed and often defeated large parties, but the numbers of whose militia were too few, to contend effectually with the collected strength of the enemy. Regardless, therefore, of the sacred ties of honor destitute of the feelings of humanity, and determined to extinguish if possible, every spark of freedom in this country, they, with the insolent pride of conquerors, gave unbounded scope to the excess of their tyrannical disposition, infringed their public engagements and violated the most solemn capitulations. Many of our worthiest citizens were, without cause, long and closely confined; some on board of prison ships, and others in the town and castle of St. Augustine;¹⁰² their properties disposed of at the will and caprice of the enemy, and their families sent to a different and distant part of the continent, without the means of support; many who had surrendered as prisoners of war, were killed in cold blood; several suffered death in the most ignominious manner, and others were delivered up to savages and put to tortures, under which they expired. Thus, the lives, liberties, and properties of the people were dependant solely on the pleasure of British officers, who deprived them of either or all, on the most frivolous pretences. Indians, slaves, and a desperate banditti of the most profligate characters, were caressed and employed by the enemy to execute their infamous purposes. Devastation and ruin marked their progress and that of their adherents; nor were their violences restrained by the charms or influence of beauty and innocence; even the fair sex, whom it is the duty of all, and the pleasure and pride of the brave to protect, they and their tender offspring were victims to the inveterate malice of an unrelenting foe; neither the tears of mothers nor the cries of infants, could excite in their breasts pity or compassion. Not only the peaceful habitations of the widow, the aged, and the infirm, but the Holy Temples of the Most High were consumed in flames, kindled by their sacrilegious hands. They have tarnished the glory of the British army, disgraced the profession of a British soldier, and fixed indelible stigmas of rapine, cruelty, perfidy, and profaneness

99. The General Assembly convened in Jacksonborough, only 36 miles from Charlestown. The first scheduled day of the General Assembly was Jan. 8. However, a quorum in the House was not reached until Jan. 18, at which time Gov. Rutledge delivered the address above. The address was delivered in the Masonic Hall, where the House was holding its session, while The Senate met nearby at DuBose's Tavern. There were never more than 17 Senators present during Marion's attendance. He left Jacksonborough after the Feb. 20 meeting to join his Brigade at Wambaw.

100. The General Assembly had adjourned on Feb. 12, 1780 in the face of the imminent surrender of Charlestown, and of the Continental Army of the Southern Department under Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

101. The Battle of Camden, fought on Aug. 16, 1780, saw the complete rout of a second Continental Army under Gen. Horatio Gates.

102. Numerous officers and enlisted men were being held on prison ships, where many died of disease. A number of prominent South Carolinians were transferred to St. Augustine, Florida, to prevent the dissemination of rebellious communications from Charlestown. Among the notables imprisoned in St. Augustine were Lt. Gov. Christopher Gadsden, privy councilors Thomas Ferguson, Richard Hutson and David Ramsay, Signers of the Declaration of Independence Edward Rutledge and Thomas Heyward, and editor of the *Charlestown Gazette* Peter Timothy ("Josiah Smith's Diary" *SCHM*, vol. 33, no. 1:3).

on the British name. But I can now congratulate you, and do so most cordially, on the pleasing change of affairs, which, under the blessing of God, the wisdom, prudence, address, and bravery of the great and gallant Gen. Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers and men under his command, have happily effected a General who is justly entitled, from his many special services, to honorable and singular marks of your approbation and gratitude. His successes have been more rapid and complete than the most sanguine could have expected. The enemy, compelled to surrender or evacuate every post which they held in the country, frequently defeated, and driven from place to place, are obliged to take refuge under the walls of Charlestown, and on Islands in its vicinity. We have now the full and absolute possession of every other part of the State,¹⁰³ and the Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers, are in the free exercise of their respective authorities.

I also most heartily congratulate you, on the glorious victory obtained by the combined forces of America and France, over their common enemy; when the very General who was second in command at the reduction of Charlestown, and to whose boasted prowess and highly extolled abilities, the conquest of no less than three States had been arrogantly committed, was speedily compelled to accept of the same mortifying terms,¹⁰⁴ which had been imposed on that brave, but unfortunate Garrison; to surrender an army of many thousand regulars, and to abandon his wretched followers, when he had artfully seduced from their allegiance, by specious promises of protection, which he could never have hoped to fulfil, to the service or army of their country; on the naval superiority established by the illustrious ally of the United States a superiority in itself so decided, and in its consequences so extensive, as must inevitably soon oblige the enemy to yield to her the only post which they occupy in this State on the reiterated proof of the sincerest friendship, and on the great support which America has received from that powerful monarch--a monarch whose magnanimity is universally acknowledged and admired, and on whose royal word we may confidently rely, for every necessary assistance on the perfect harmony which exists between France and America; to the stability which her independence has acquired and on the certainty that it is too deeply rooted ever to be shaken for animated as they are, by national honor, and united by our common interest, it will and must be maintained.

What may be the immediate effects on the British nation, of the events which I have mentioned, of their loss of territory in other parts of the world, and of their well founded apprehensions from the powers of France, Spain and Holland, it is impossible to foretell. If experience can teach wisdom to a haughty and infatuated people, and if they can be governed by reason, they will have learned that they can have no solid ground of hope, to conquer any State in the Union; for though their army have obtained temporary advantages over our troops, yet the citizens of those States firmly resolved, as they are, never to return to a domination which, near six years ago, they unanimously and justly renounced, cannot be subdued; and they must now be convinced, that it is the height of folly and madness to persist in so ruinous a war. If, however we judge as we ought of their future, by their past conduct, we may presume that they will not only endeavor to keep possession of our Capitol, but make another attempt; howsoever improbable the success of it may appear, to subjugate this country. It is therefore highly incumbent on us, to use our most strenuous efforts to frustrate so fatal a design, and I earnestly conjure you, by the duty which you owe, and the sacred love which you bear to your country by the constant remembrance of her bitter sufferings, and by the just detestation of British government, which you and your posterity must forever possess, to exert your utmost faculties for that purpose, by raising and equipping, with all possible expedition, a respectable permanent force, and by making ample provisions for their comfortable subsistence. I am sensible the expense will be great, but a measure so

103. At this time, the British then held Charlestown Neck up to the Quarter House, James Island, and the area around Haddrell's Point across the Cooper River from Charlestown. Johns Island had been evacuated as a result of an attack made by Lt. Col. Lee and Lt. Col. Laurens on Jan. 11 (Greene to Rutledge, Jan. 16, 1782, *PNG*, 10:206-09). See also Marion to Horry, Nov. 28, 1781, above. Although it could not be said that the Americans controlled the areas on the eastern side of the Cooper River and Christ Church Parish, as evidenced by subsequent British foraging expeditions, American forces were, nevertheless, gradually gaining a foothold on this previously British-held territory.

104. The reference here is to Charles Lord Cornwallis and his surrender of the British army at Yorktown to a combined Franco-American force on October 19, 1781. Cornwallis had previously been second-in-command to Sir Henry Clinton during the siege of Charlestown.

indispensible to the preservation of our freedom, is above every pecuniary consideration.¹⁰⁵

The organization of our militia is likewise a subject of infinite importance; a clear and concise law, by which the burdens of service will be equally retained, and a competent number of men brought forth and kept in the field, when their assistance may be required, is essential to our country, and therefore justly claims your immediate and serious attention. Certain it is, that some of our militia have, upon several occasions, exhibited instances of valor which would have reflected honor on veteran troops. The carriage and conduct of the Generals whom I have mentioned; the cool and determined bravery repeatedly displayed by Brigadier Pickens, and indeed the behavior of many officers and men in every Brigade, are unquestionable testimonies of the truth of this assertion. But such behavior cannot be expected from militia in general, without good order and strict discipline, nor can that order and discipline be established, but by a salutary law steadily executed.¹⁰⁶

Another important matter for your deliberation, is the conduct of such of our citizens as, voluntarily avowing their allegiance, and ever glorying in their professions of loyalty and attachment to his Britannic Majesty, have offered their congratulations on the success of his arms, prayed to be embodied as Royal Militia, accepted commissions in his service, or endeavored to subvert our constitution and establish his power, in its stead; of those who have returned to this State, in defiance of a law by which such return was declared to be a capital offence, and have abetted the British interest; and of such whose behavior has been so reprehensible, that justice and policy forbid their free readmission to the rights and privileges of citizens.

The extraordinary lenity of this State has been remarkably conspicuous. Other States have thought it just and expedient to appropriate the property of British subjects to the public use, but we have forbore to take even the profits of the estates of our most implacable enemies. It is with you to determine, whether the forfeiture and appropriation of their property should now take place. If that be your determination, though many of our firmest friends have been reduced for their inflexible attachment to the cause of their country, from opulence to inconceivable distress, and if the enemy's will and power had prevailed, would have been doomed to indigence and beggary, yet it will redound to the reputation of this State, to provide a becoming support for the families of those whom you may deprive of their property.¹⁰⁷

The value of paper currency became of late, so much depreciated, that it was requisite, under the powers vested in the Executive during the recess of the General Assembly, to suspend the laws by which it was made a tender.¹⁰⁸ You will now consider whether it may not be proper to repeal those laws, and fix some equitable mode for the discharge of debts contracted whilst paper money was in circulation.

In the present scarcity of specie it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to levy a tax to any considerable amount, towards sinking the public debt, nor will the creditors of the State expect that such a tax should, at this time, be imposed. But it is just and reasonable, that all unsettled demands should be liquidated, and satisfactory assurances of payment given to the public creditors.

The interest and honor, the safety and happiness of our country depend so much on the result of your deliberations, that I flatter myself you will proceed, in the weighty business before you, with firmness and temper, with vigor, unanimity and dispatch.

J. Rutledge

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:233-37

105. As the war wound down, it became more and more difficult to supply the army to fight a war of containment. The scarcity of provisions affected the enemy as well. In order to obtain provisions, the British made frequent forays into areas around Charlestown that they had previously relinquished, but which had not yet been completely put under Patriot control.

106. The Legislature passed a new militia law on Feb. 26, 1782.

107. Rutledge had issued a proclamation on Sep. 27, 1781, above, in which pardon had been granted to most citizens who had shown loyalty to the British. By Feb. 26, the Legislature passed a series of Confiscation Acts that dealt with the most severe offenders with varying degrees of severity.

108. Rutledge issued a proclamation on Sep. 13, 1781, above, in which he suspended "the several Resolves & Acts of the Legislature which make the said paper Currency a Tender in Law for or in payment of any Debt or demand whatever."

***Response by Senate to Governor's Message*¹⁰⁹**

[Jacksonborough] January 19, 1782

May it please your Excellency

We beg leave to return your Excellency the thanks of this House for your Speech—

Any Words that we might adopt would convey a very faint idea of the Satisfaction we feel on the perfect re-establishment of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers in this State—It is with particular pleasure that we take the earliest opportunity to present to your Excellency our Unfeigned thanks for your unwearied Zeal and attention to the Interest of this Country, and to testify our entire approbation of the good Conduct of the Executive, since the last Meeting of the General Assembly—

We see and revere the goodness of divine providence in frustrating and disappointing the attempts of our Enemies to conquer the Southern States, and we trust that by the blessing of the same providence, on the valour and intrepidity of the free Citizens of America, their attacks and enterprises will continue to be repelled and defeated—We reflect with pleasure on the steady resolution with which Charles Town was defended, by a small body of brave Men, against such a vast superiority of Force,¹¹⁰ and we gratefully acknowledge the meritorious conduct, and important services of officers and privates of the Militia, who stood forth in the hour of danger, and whose coolness, perseverance and ardour under a complication of difficulties most justly entitle them to the applause of their Country—

We flatter ourselves that the blood which the Enemy has inhumanely spilt, the wanton devastation which has marked their progress, and the tyrannical system that they have invariably pursued, and which your Excellency hath so justly and pathetically described to us, will rouse the good people of this State, and will animate them with a spirit to protect their Country, to save their rights and Liberties and to maintain at all hazards their Independancy—

It is with inexpressible pleasure that we receive your Excellency's congratulations upon the great and glorious events of the Campaign, on the happy change of affairs and on the pleasing prospect before us¹¹¹-- and, we assure your Excellency that we concur most sincerely with you, in acknowledging and applauding the meritorious Zeal, and very important services which have been rendered to this State, by the great and gallant General Greene, and the brave and intrepid officers and men under his command, and to whom we shall be happy to give the most honourable and singular testimonies of our approbation and applause—

We are truly sensible of the immense advantage, which the United States derive from the magnanimous Prince¹¹² their ally—We have the most perfect confidence on his Royal word, and on the sincerity of his Friendship, and we think ourselves much indebted to that illustrious Monarch for the great and effectual assistance that he hath been pleased to give the Confederate States, and by whose means they have been enabled to humble the pride of Britain, and to establish their independancy on the most permanent basis—

The importance several matters which your Excellency hath recommended to our consideration is so evident that we shall proceed to deliberate upon them, with all possible dispatch, and we flatter ourselves that our business will be carried on with Temper, Firmness and Unanimity¹¹³—

Journal of SC Senate, 1782, 11-12.

109. Following Gov. Rutledge's address to the joint assembly, the Senate moved that a committee composed of John Lloyd of St. Bartholomew's, General Marion of St. John's, Berkeley, Samuel Smith of Prince Frederick's, Simon Berwick of Upper or Spartan District, and Dr. David Olyphant of St. George's, Dorchester, "prepare an address in Answer" to Rutledge. The extent of Francis Marion's input to the address is not known. After the committee presented its proposed address, the full Senate debated it "paragraph by paragraph," until the address above was finalized and read into the record on Jan. 19. (*Journal of SC Senate, 1782, 10-11*).
110. The force that unsuccessfully defended Charlestown from the siege laid by the British was one-half the size of that of the invaders.
111. By the beginning of 1782, the ultimate outcome of the war was not in doubt. Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, in Oct. 1781, concluded Britain's active attempt to reconquer the colonies. And in South Carolina, the Crown's pyrrhic victory at Eutaw Springs had been quickly followed by their retreat to Charlestown and nearby islands. The British invasion of the South had failed. The "pleasing prospect before us" was of course the evacuation of Charlestown, peace, and the optimism of self-government in the "Confederated States."
112. The referenced "Prince" was King Louis XVI, who, after ascending the throne in 1774 at the age of 20, became America's strongest ally, officially declaring war on Britain in 1778.
113. The House's response to Rutledge's address, a more pointed document, was entered into the record on Jan. 22. While the Senate only summarized the actions of the British, perhaps recognizing that further attacks might aggravate the situation, the House made its stand crystal clear: "The Black Catalogue which your Excellency has given of British Barbarities, form but a small part of the whole: when ever the Historic Page shall be stained with their Story, it will exhibit a Nation devoid of faith, with whom Oaths, Treaties and the most Solemn compacts were considered as trifles; who without Scruple or remorse had abandoned all regard to humanity, honour, justice and every ennobling sentiment of the human breast. It is hardly possible to conceive any circumstances that would aggravate the atrocious Wickedness of their Conduct, there is not left a Step in the degradation of National Character to which they can now descend, The name of a Briton must hence forward be a Term of reproach among all Nations—" In addition to lauding Nathanael Greene, the House also identified South Carolinians, "The Generals, Sumpter, Marion and Pickens with the Brave Militia under their Commands—Those Virtuous Citizens who did not despair of the Common Wealth in her greatest extremity, are deserving of the highest commendation—" The House was presumably aware of the contents of the Senate response, at least of the final sentence. Both the Senate and the House used the words "dispatch," "temper," "firmness" and "unanimity" in the conclusion, mirroring the final sentence in Rutledge's address, above (*Journal of The House of Representatives of South Carolina, Jan. 8, 1782-Feb. 26, 1782, (Columbia: The State Company), 19-21*).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Near Jacksonborough Janr^y. 20th 1782.

D^r Sir,

I wrote you a few days ago by Morgandollar who I kept a day or two to Get an Answer from Gen^l. Greene, he went from here the 10th & I suppose he is with you before this, I wish you would send me every occurrence, as Gen^l. Greene cannot Give the

necessary Orders to you, being Unacquainted with the situations in that part & the particulars of the Brigade & the Gen^l. is not more than five miles from me, so I can Easily Acquaint him with such particulars as may be Essential for him to know¹¹⁴ I Expect in a Day or two you will receive a reinforcement by Cap^t. B[enjamin] Waring, all six Months men.¹¹⁵ The Assembly is falling on a method to fill out Continental Regim^t. which I hope will Answer the purpose, that & a number of other business oblige me to stay a little longer from Relieving you, Especially a New Militia Law & that if I go away the Senate Can do no business for want of Members, as we make but a bare house, so you must have patience,¹¹⁶ It is reported that three transports are arrived with two Hundred men, but that is Uncertain & I wish you Could learn the Truth of it. I beleave it is Certain that all the Hessians are Embarked. The three transports which are Come are said to be a part of fifteen Sail from New York.¹¹⁷ I beleave our Army will draw near Dorchester in hopes the Enemy may come out to Give battle, which we must wish for, Smith¹¹⁸ I hope will give you the Earliest Notice of the enemies approach on his side & if your parties of observation do their Duty you need not fear a surprize. I hope to hear from you as often as possible.

I am with Esteem,

Your obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
114. During Marion's absence, Horry had been left in command of the brigade, including his own and Maham's cavalry regiments. Horry's sphere of activity was north and northwest of Charlestown. Greene, who was at that time encamped at Col. William Skirving's Oaklawn plantation between Charlestown and Jacksonborough, understandably had no knowledge of enemy movements in the area. Marion was undoubtedly referring to the difficulties Horry was having in maintaining control over the militia in his absence, as well as the difficulties faced in commanding Maham's regiment.
115. Militia Capt. Benjamin Waring had the difficult task of commanding a troop of "six months men," the name given to former Loyalists who, to receive pardon, had to serve six months in the state militia.
116. The new Militia Law was a major part of Gov. Rutledge's recommendations to the Legislature in his address of Jan. 18, above. The law was not passed until Feb. 26.
117. According to Col. Friedrich von Benning, who came from New York on one of the vessels, the "fleet" consisted of seven transport ships, sailing under the protection of a frigate and a "war shallop." (Benning to Baron von Jungkenn, Jan. 27, 1782, quoted in *PNG*, 10:214n).
118. Earlier in January, Marion had notified Peter Horry that "Serg^t. Matthew Smith has a small Command in Goose Creek & is to remain to Give us Intelligence & prevent women & others from Going in Town, his Orders are to take all their horses & send them back a foot." See Marion to Horry, Jan. 10, above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Jacksonborough, Jan^y 23d 1782

D^r Sir,

Yours of the 21st came to hand this Morning,¹¹⁹ I will see Gen^l Greene & Endeavour to settle the dispute between you & Colo. Maham, who I think has Acted in a very Extraordinary manner¹²⁰ __ I think you had best move to Wambaw where forage can be had, if you could send half or more of your Cavalry down at Cainhoy, they may very Probably Cut off the enemies Horse, which go out a foraging, as your new position at Wambaw will be more secure your men will not be so much harassed & you can better detach your Cavalry than at present,¹²¹ I wrote you in my last that no boats or persons should pass from or to Ch^s. Town without your or my Passport & you will therefore regard no other __

Col^o. Hugh [Horry]¹²² has seen your Letter to Gen^l Greene & thinks as I do, that it is not proper to send it as it seems to be wrote in too much heat and I can do the business better in person,¹²³ you may send M^r. Herriott a Passport for one Barrel Indigo for M^{rs}. Huger in Charlestown & grant M^{rs}. Lesesne her Request, taking Care that no more is sent than five or six barrells of Rice. Vardell cannot be Released, you may Give Nesmyth & Snow a pass to Pee Dee to Get their Arms & old Nesmyth must be sent to the Enemy, with Orders not to Return.¹²⁴

When you go to WamBaw __ send Orders to the plantation on Santee not to Thrash out or beat any Rice, but what may be Necessary for plantation or your Use.¹²⁵ I have wrote to Mayham, to try if he can take the Enemies Horse which Go out a foraging, but you may, Notwithstanding form any plan for that purpose

119. The referenced letter has not been found.

120. The dispute over rank between Horry and Maham first began in the summer of 1781. Although both Marion and Greene felt the issue had been resolved, it arose again at the beginning of 1782. As seen in his Orderly Book entry of Jan. 7, above, Marion ordered the two disgruntled lieutenant colonels to meet with him. A follow up letter to Greene from Marion on Jan. 15 did not indicate that the issue had been resolved. Marion's letter of Jan. 18, to Horry, above, noted that the latter should keep the letter in the event he needed to utilize Maham's regiment. Greene finally wrote with firmness to Maham on Feb. 1:

"Representations have frequently been made of the disagreeable consequence of a dispute subsisting between you and Lt Col Hory respecting rank. More than once or twice, I have given my opinion on the subject that Lt Col Horry was intitled to superior rank; but still I find the matter is contested. I am so clear in the principles, and the right appears to me so obvious, that I have been not a little at a loss to account for the dispute still subsisting, especially when I take into consideration the great modesty and moderation of Lt Col Mayum in all other concerns. As I have a high respect for you as well as a great sense of your services and singular exertions I wish to put you right in this matter not by authority but by conviction. Lt Col Horry was in the Continental line and still claims rank upon that establishment. But should he fail in that claim he has still a preference as a supernumery officer." (Greene to Maham, Feb. 1 1782, PNG, 10:297).

121. Horry's camp was at Strawberry on the west Branch of the Cooper River. The Wambaw Creek flowed into the Santee River. Marion's recognition that the British cavalry would be out foraging proved correct. However, as seen by the actions at Durant's and Tidymen's plantations on Feb. 24 and 25, below, Horry's forces were not secure.

122. Col. Hugh Horry was Peter's brother, a trusted confidant of Marion's, commander of a militia regiment, and member of the SC Senate from Prince George Winyah and All Saints parishes.

123. Horry apparently had drafted a letter to Greene that he had shown to his brother Lt. Col. Hugh Horry. The letter has not been found.

124. Robert Heriot (or Herriot) served as a colonel in the militia. After the surrender of Charlestown, Heriot took parole (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 441). When Georgetown was re-occupied, he began to supply provisions to both the Patriot army and the militia (Greene to Heriot, Nov. 24, 1781, (PNG, 9:617); Rutledge to Greene, Dec. 25, 1781, (PNG, 10:105)). The identities of Mrs. Huger and Mrs. Lesesne are unknown. Since neither name appeared on the confiscation list published in the South Carolina *Royal Gazette* of Mar. 20, 1782, nor in any of the acts or appendices of the *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, these women may have been wives of Patriots who wound up spending the period of occupation in Charlestown. The identity of Vardell is also not known. John Nesmith (or Nesmyth), Sr. and David Snow stood before a court martial, charged with being spies for the British. They were acquitted (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 710). At least four Nesmiths served in Marion's brigade: John Sr., John Jr., Lemuel, and Robert. According to William Boddie, a Marion historian-folklorist, the Nesmith brothers became body guards to Francis Marion. After his acquittal, and without explanation, John Nesmith Sr. was sent to the enemy in late January (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 724; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 710n1538; William Boddie, *Traditions of the Swamp Fox* (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 2000), 110-11). Why Marion would send John Nesmith, Sr., to Charlestown after acquitting him of being a spy is unclear, but it is possible that the general still suspected him and simply wanted him out of camp. Or it is possible that he had had a change of heart and his former contacts among the British made him a valuable asset.

125. In a similar letter of Jan. 27, below, Gen. Greene asked Gov. Rutledge to control the thrashing of rice to ensure a supply of forage for the Patriot horses.

Seperately from him. Gen^l. Wayne is Gone to Georgia with Col^o. White's Cavalry & to take Command of the Militia there. We are told that there are 200 Troops arrived in Ch^s. Town & the Hessians are Actually going away, Let me know whatever you Learn from Town, I shall Return in a very few days.¹²⁶

I am, with Esteem,
Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

126. As seen in Marion to Horry of Jan. 18, above, after Wayne's arrival Greene sent him into Georgia to organize the remnants of the Georgian resistance, stifle Loyalist sentiment, and hopefully re-capture Savannah.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Orders [Jacksonborough] the 25 January 1782 –

Ordered that all the men in Berk[e]l[e]y county and Charlestown Regiment do immediately Join the Brigade otherwise parties will be Sent Out to take them into and will be punished for their Neglect notwithstanding any order they may have Recd from any Officer whatsoever¹²⁷ –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 712.

127. The motivation for calling out the Berkeley County and Charlestown militia regiments at this time is unclear. It may have been simply to supply more troops to control British foraging. It also may have been a way to force the so-called neutrals to reveal their allegiance. All those who did not report were to be considered as British sympathizers and, as such, by Gov. Rutledge's proclamation of Sep. 27, ordered to the British lines. All others, if deemed pardonable, were enlisted to serve in the militia for six months.

John Nicholson to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Chs Town 25th Janar^y. 1782

Sir,

I have the honour of your Excellencies Letter of the 7th Inst. & beg leave to assure your Excellency, that I have never served either as an Officer or Private in the British Army & that I have never been subject to any other power, but that of Great Britain; under the Circumstances I think myself perfectly free to take Advantage of your Excellencies kindness in Releasing me from Parole Given to Cap^t. Withers. I request your Excellency will be pleased to Accept my warmest thanks for the Indulgence you have thought proper to grant me.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect Respect,

Your Excellencies most Obed^t humble Serv^t.

John Nicholson¹²⁸

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

128. The circumstances surrounding Nicholson giving his parole to Capt. William Withers are not known. Quite possibly Nicholson was taken prisoner by Withers, as a suspected Loyalist. Once paroled, Nicholson returned to Charlestown. The fact that Marion apparently sent Nicholson a letter indicated that he was a man of some status. The letter has not been found.

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

Jacksonbourg 26th Jan^y 1782

Sr

I wrought you some time agoe requesting You to Exchange Captⁿ Campble, for Captⁿ Postel & if that Coud not be done to Parole the former to Cha^stown, that the Latter may be paroled in the Country,¹²⁹ & was in hopes the Last had taken place but by the Inclosed Letter I find Captⁿ Conyers have been preferrd before Postel who have Long Sufferd.

I shall Esteem it a great favour If you coud Grant Postel his request that he may not be Oblige to go to town, untill I can get some Officer to Exchange for him.¹³⁰

You will See by the Inclosed Letter from Col. Maham to Col. Horry the Obstnacy of the former in not giving up the rank, untill your possitive Orders.¹³¹

I wish this Dispute Was Determind as it may be of Great Prejudice to the service, Even if I was there.

We Shall Chose a Govenor on Tuesday[;] after that I mean to Join my Command, if no Orders from the Govenor prevents.¹³²

I Mention to you the want of Ammunition, but have not your Answer¹³³ if you can supply me, if you cannot I must send all Malitia home, & Depend Intirely on the Caveldry.¹³⁴

I have the Honor to be

your Obt s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C)

129. If a previous letter from Marion on this topic exists, it has not been found. Gov. John Rutledge had written to Greene on Dec. 15, 1781, however, proposing an exchange of Capt. John Postell for Capt. Colin Campbell (Rutledge to Greene, Dec. 15, 1781, *PNG*, 10:60).

130. The referenced letter has not been found. Greene responded on Jan. 28, below.

131. The enclosed letter from Maham claimed that he outranked Horry because of the dates when their regiments were established, rather than the dates of their commissions. Neither Horry, Marion, nor Greene ultimately accepted this interpretation. On Jan. 23, above, Marion wrote to Horry that he would "see Gen. Greene and endeavor to settle the dispute between you and Col. Maham, who I think has acted in a very extraordinary manner." Maham still refused to obey Horry, but the issue became somewhat moot when Maham left his command to take his seat in the legislature (*PNG*, 10:266n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 270).

132. Marion wrote Horry on Feb. 10, below, that he had "asked leave of the House to return [to his command] but they would not grant it; there are three laws now on the carpet, which they insist I should stay until finished." He returned on Feb. 24.

133. Marion had previously complained to Greene of his shortage of ammunition on Jan. 1, 5, and 15, all above.

134. See Greene to Marion, Jan. 28, below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Gov. John Rutledge

[Pon Pon] 27 January 1782

Dear Sir:

I am informed that the people in general are thrashing out their rice.¹³⁵ Should they pursue it, and thrash out all they have, we shall be distressed on account of forage, as the rice in the straw is much preferable to the grain.

I must beg you will give orders to prevent the thrashing it for any other than indispensable purposes.¹³⁶

I am, with very great esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

N. Greene

Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 1:243.

-
135. On Jan. 19, Lt. John Bell Tilden of the Pennsylvania Line wrote: "Awakened this morning by a great noise which proved to be a number of negroes belonging to the farm preparing rice. Dressed myself and went to the barn, where I saw a sight entirely new to me; thirty negroes male and female naked, some shelling the rice, other pounding and cleaning it." (Tilden, *Diary*, quoted in *PNG*, 10:270n).
136. In his response, newly elected governor John Mathews informed Greene on Feb. 10, that the South Carolina legislature had authorized him (Mathews) to take immediate action concerning supplying the Southern army. Mathews estimated that 250 barrels per month would be needed, but that, due to the lack of forage, Mathews had ordered that threshing of rice be stopped and the remainder used for forage. Mathews had received multiple complaints about the waste of forage by the cavalry. He asked Greene to suggest a system to prevent waste (Mathews to Greene, Feb. 10, 1782, *PNG*, 10:352-53).

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

Head quarters [Pon Pon] January 28th 1782

Dear Sir

I am very sorry that you should suppose that I would prefer any person to Mr Postel. Cap^t Cambell went in long before Mr Conyers came out.¹³⁷ Major Frasier made a proposition for an officer to be sent in and Capt Conyers should be sent out; but not before the british Officer first appeared. The proposition conveyed such a mean distrust that I told Capt Shubrick to whom the letter was addressed to reject it with disdain and since the receipt of that letter the Enemy let Mr Conyers out without any conditions on our part.¹³⁸

I feel for Capt Postel[!]; but you know his peculiar situation. He of right has been exchanged. He bore a flag and ought not to have been made a prisoner. It is intolerable therefore that we should be subject to these impositions. But notwithstanding my desire is so great to relieve him from a sense of his sufferings¹³⁹ that I should not have hesitated a moment to have given another person to have obtained his release but you know the affair of Col Haynes has suspended all exchanges in the regular way; and that matter is still before Congress undecided on.¹⁴⁰ These reasons have been the true cause of Mr Postels long captivity and I hope neither you nor he will suppose I want inclination to do justice to such singular merit. If you do, you are a stranger to my feelings and to the attention I wish to pay to the rights and claims of every individual in the Military department. You will inform Capt Postel that I have lately ordered in the British Officers from the Waxhaws on condition that all ours on parole be permitted to continue out.¹⁴¹ But be that as it may tell him he shall not return to his parole until he has my permission and that I will <take the> justification of his conduct upon <my>self.

<We> can supply you with <ammunition> and will forward it the moment an escort can be had to convey it. I will also write to L^t Col Mayum decidedly upon the dispute respecting his rank.¹⁴² I am sorry the Col carries that matter to so disagreeable a length. Rank is not what constitutes the good officer but good conduct. Substantial services gives reputation not captious disputes. A Captain may be more respectable than a General. Rank is nothing without it is accompanied with worthy actions.

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C) PNG, 10:275-76. In transcribing this letter, our interpretation concurs with that of the editors of PNG, who explain: "A small part of the draft has faded and has been written over by Greene's early biographer, William Johnson, who, as was his habit, wrote a précis of the letter directly on the the ADfS. This portion of the text, unreadable in the draft, was taken from the letterbook copy of the letter in the PNG (DLC) and appears in angle brackets" (PNG, 10:275n).

137. Marion's objection here was that Conyers had been exchanged before Postel, for whose return he had been pushing for months. See Marion to Greene, Jan. 26, above.

138. James Fraser, was most likely the author of the letter to which Marion was referring. Fraser migrated from Scotland to South Carolina in the 1760s, and established a medical practice in Beaufort. Lt. Col. Balfour, commandant of Charlestown, had officially made Fraser his assistant by Sep. 1, 1780. By 1782, he was also serving as commissary of prisoners. (Saberton, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:25n; PNG, 9:531n). Capt. Thomas Shubrick was the American commissary of prisoners. Neither Fraser's nor Shubrick's letter has been found (PNG, 10:275-76n).

139. As per PNG "This phrase, 'from a sense of his sufferings,' was added as an interlineation (PNG., 10:276n).

140. The execution of Col. Isaac Hayne had resulted in the suspension of prisoner exchanges. Hayne, an officer in the Colleton County Patriot militia regiment, had been taken prisoner and paroled to his plantation at the fall of Charlestown. Hayne initially refused to join the militia for fear of violating his parole, and took an oath of loyalty to the Crown. When the Americans re-captured the area in which Hayne's plantation lay, he considered himself released from his parole, rejoined the militia, received a colonel's commission, and raised a militia regiment. One of Hayne's first actions was to capture Gen. Andrew Williamson, a former Patriot leader who had also accepted British protection. Maj. Thomas Fraser surprised Hayne's camp, freeing Williamson and capturing Hayne on Jul. 7. Originally, Hayne was to be tried by a court of inquiry. However, ultimately the decision was made by Lord Rawdon and Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour to execute Hayne without a trial. He was hanged on Aug. 4. For more on this issue, see letters of Jul. and Aug. 1781, above.

141. Greene paroled to Charlestown the British officers being held at the Waxhaws as a result of a band of robbers plundering the officers' belongings on Jan. 11. One of the robbers was apprehended. However, whether or not he was punished is not known (British prisoners of war to Greene, Jan. 12, 1782, PNG, 10:189).

142. In a letter of Feb. 1, 1782, Greene again informed Col. Hezekiah Maham that Col. Peter Horry outranked him. Greene, disgusted with the seemingly unending dispute, chastised Maham when he wrote, "I beg leave to observe that rank is not what determines the character or consequence of an officer, it is actions...No officer ought to give up his rank where he is intitled to it upon just principles; but to claim it upon any other will not add to his glory." (Greene to Maham, Feb. 1, 1781, PNG, 10:297-98).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Jacksonborough] January 29th 1781 [1782]¹⁴³

Dr Sir,

Yours by M^r. Morgandollar came to hand. I have just Received Gen^l. Greene's answer & he promises to write to Col^o. Mayham Decidedly.¹⁴⁴ (We have chosen M^r. John Matthews Governour,¹⁴⁵ (Gen. Gadsden declining) M^r. Hutson, L^t. Governour, to-morrow we shall Elect Councillors & delegates after which I will return as soon as I Can Get Orders from our New Governour which may be the Latter end of this week or beginning of next,¹⁴⁶ tell Dr. Neufville, I sent his letter, & by this opportunity send him a packet & three letters¹⁴⁷ I shall Order proper Receipts to be Given for the Rice of M^{rs}. Middleton, Give M^{rs}. Caw a pass to Town & also M^{rs}. Frazer at Strawberry, or any other you think proper,¹⁴⁸ I find that Colo. Mayham did not Give Phillips or any other passes to or from Town¹⁴⁹ I am Collecting the Charles town militia & Dorchester & will go there with me, Give my Compliments to the Gentlemen with you, in particular Major Muller¹⁵⁰ & Dr. Neufville.

I am with Esteem

Your obld^g Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

143. The letter was erroneously dated 1781.

144. The ongoing dispute between Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham and Lt. Col. Peter Horry continued to be a thorn in the sides of Marion, Greene, and Rutledge. In his letter of Jan. 28, above, Greene told Marion he would write to Maham. He was clearly becoming disgusted with Maham's refusal to accept Horry as his superior officer. Greene did write Maham "Decidedly" on Feb. 1, below.

145. The Senate and House of Representatives elected John Mathews governor on Jan. 28. Mathews's term as governor lasted through 1783. After Christopher Gadsden, long-time radical Patriot, who had been imprisoned at St. Augustine, declined his election as Lt. Governor due to his age, Richard Hutson was elected.

146. Marion underestimated how long his presence would be required at Jacksonborough. Instead of leaving during the first week of February, Marion did not leave until the evening of Feb. 20 or the morning of Feb. 21. See Marion to Horry, Feb. 21, 1782, below.

147. William Neufville was a surgeon during 1779 and 1780. After being taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, he was exchanged on Jun. 14, 1781. Dr. Neufville continued to serve with Marion through at least Oct. 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 725).

148. The identities of Mrs. Middleton, Mrs. Caw and Mrs. Frazer are not known.

149. In Marion's letter to Horry of Jan. 18, above, he implied that Lt. Col. Maham had given a pass to allow Phillips's schooner to make a second trip up to Quinby on the East Branch of the Cooper River. Marion had issued a pass for one trip only.

150. Albert Ærny Muller (d.1793) was promoted to brigade major in Marion's Brigade in Aug. 1781, and served in that role until the end of the war. After the war Muller continued in the militia in various capacities. In Sep. 1788, Marion directed Muller to act as coordinator for the gathering of the census data of all white men 16 and over, that had been ordered by the Senate in February of that year. From Marion's letter to Muller of Oct. 30 1788, below, it may be inferred that Muller acted as Marion's adjutant at Fort Johnson. In Marion's resignation letter to Gov. Charles Pinckney on Nov. 10, 1789, below, he recommended Maj. Muller to succeed him as commandant of Fort Johnson. Muller served one term in the SC House from 1789-90 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 709; Marion to Muller, Sep. 20, and Oct. 30, 1788, "Mayor Smyth's Annual Review," *Charleston Yearbook*, 1888, 381-82; Marion to Pinckney, Nov. 10, 1789, Tr (SoCoAH), Governor's Message S165009. # 512-35; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:519).

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Strawberry?]¹⁵¹ Jan^y. 31st 1782

Dr General,

Morgandollar, my last Express to you, is not yet returned. Inclosed is a letter to you from Major Ganey, Sent by a flagg which I have detained till I Receive your Orders, I am told that altho' Ganey is now of oppinion that the truce with you ought to be binding on the N^o Carolinians, yet after it was made some of his party Actually did surprise & kill some of the N^o Carolinians¹⁵² you best know his Conduct. The Invalids, with a few Vessells from Ch^s. Town sailed a few days past for England. I am Informed from my Posts at Cainhoy that 60, some say 100 sail of Vessells are Ordered to Wood & water & be in Readiness to sail in a very few days, That persons Employed in Town to Build boats are Ordered to Desist, that the wood Cutters no longer cuts wood & that every Information from town Indicates an Evaquation, how far those Informations may be relied on, I know not, but such is Given me.¹⁵³ I assure you your presence is much wanted here, tis impossible for me to Comply with your Orders in Covering this part of the Country, Col. Mayham Interferes with my Commands so much that I can Scarcely Act, he Gave passes to Several Ladies to go to Town without my Leave & they accordingly went to Town in a boat which boat since Returned & the Ladies since have come up, Phillips Schooner also without my Leave. This Schooner I sent a Command on board as a safe Guard untill I Examined her passports Letters &c. Col^o. Mayham Came there, the Letters were taken away & Mayham told my Officer that he was Commanding Officer, & that he had Given the Vessell Leave to return & that he must Leave the Vessell¹⁵⁴ & threatened to send for a party of his Troops & force my Guard I sent Orders to my Officer to do his duty in Complying with my Orders to him & that he should sink the vessell as by your Orders to me Since which I have heard no further from this Officer Yesterday an Officer of mine wt. a Command at Strawberry sent me word by one of my Officers, that Colo. Mayham told him that he was Commanding Officer & that he would send & relieve him, as he Chose to Occupy that post himself, he likewise Gave permission when he went to Cainhoy to a person from Town to pass to M^{rs}. Daniel Horry¹⁵⁵ & there to remain for several days. This person I am informed is making Enquiries of what Rice can be had on Santee, I have just sent an Officer in quest of him, after my Officer had taken M^r. Theodore Gaillard at John Huger's house Maham sent two dragoons & took him away to his Camp.¹⁵⁶ Thus you see he Enterferes wt. my outposts & Gives passes to persons Going & Coming from Town without my knowledge, so that I cannot be acquainted with matters which I apprehend are Transacted in this part of the country I really believe h'll force my out Guards & take away their Posts. It is an insult & I could Repel force by force,

151. Location inferred. Horry's previous letter was written from Strawberry on the West branch of the Cooper River.

152. At Marion's direction, Lt. Col. Peter Horry negotiated a truce with Micajah Ganey, who represented the Loyalists in the Greater Pee Dee region, on Jun. 17, 1781. Although not a perfect solution, it did substantially reduce the unrest in the region. The referenced letter has not been found. Apparently, Marion communicated the current situation to Gov. Mathews because on Feb. 3, Mathews wrote to NC Gov. Thomas Burke that "they [the Loyalists] have since remained very quiet and still seem disposed to continue so, but they have lately been alarmed, as they say, by some preparations making in the State [NC] over which you preside." (Mathews to Burke, Feb. 3, 1782, *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, NC, 1886), 16:182-83).

153. The information was incorrect. The evacuation did not occur until Dec. 14, 1782.

154. There is some confusion here, for on Jan. 10, above, Marion wrote Horry, informing him that he had given Phillips's schooner his "passport to come up to Quinby with M^{rs}. Pinckney & M^{rs}. Sinkler & Doughty, with their Goods & the Vessell to return." It is not known whether Horry never received the letter, whether he forgot, or whether the incident mentioned here occurred when the schooner returned the first time.

155. Mrs. Daniel Horry was Harriott nee Pinckney, sister of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the wife of Daniel Horry, who was himself a cousin of Peter and Hugh Horry. Daniel was a former staunch Patriot and colonel of the South Carolina dragoons who, after the surrender of Charlestown, changed his loyalties. He was allowed to return to South Carolina and pardoned, but his estates, the most famous being Hampton Plantation—referenced here--were amerced 12%.

156. Theodore Gaillard was a Loyalist sympathizer, whose name appeared in the Mar. 20, 1782 edition of the South Carolina *Royal Gazette*. He was listed as one of "Those who have borne commissions, civil or military, under the British Government, since the conquest of this Province." His name was eventually removed from the Confiscation List, his property was amerced 12%, and he was disqualified from holding key public offices for seven years. John Huger, one of four brothers who took an active part in the Revolutionary War, served as a captain in the militia from 1776-77 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 470). The identity of the person to whom Maham gave a pass is not known. The description here implies that he was a Loyalist, probably formerly a person of status in the state, who may have been reconnoitering the Santee region to determine where the British could raid to obtain rice.

but this would be Injuring my Country. I Leave his Conduct to you to Judge of.¹⁵⁷ Bennets,¹⁵⁸ Toomers¹⁵⁹ Pinckneys¹⁶⁰ & Murrell's¹⁶¹ companies are without any Officers on Cainhoy & they Cannot be kept in Camp, those & several, indeed all the Gentlemen of any note in that part of the Country, says they have leave to move & neither they nor their men will stay in Camp. Col^o. Irvin & Cap^t. Warren¹⁶² Command those Guards & complains very much of them¹⁶³ __ Your Brigade lessens daily, I assure you my patience is near Exhausted & if tis possible you Can Leave the house, the Command here waits your Presence. To morrow I shall hear further of Mayham's Conduct & of the person at M^{rs}. Horry's when I shall send you another express.

I am D^r. General,
Your Obd^t. humble Serv^t.

Peter Horry

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
157. The reference here may be to outposts set up following the fiasco at Videau's Bridge on Jan. 3. Guard posts were established at the village of Cainhoy, and at Forgarties Ferry, a short distance from the village, which was the primary crossing point over the Wando River.
158. This was most likely William Bennett, who served as a captain in the militia during 1782, and who would unsuccessfully attempt to warn Marion before the Battle of Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 24. Less likely, Bennett may instead have been Thomas Bennett (Bennet), who served as a captain in Marion's brigade during 1781, but does not appear in 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 64).
159. Joshua Toomer (1740-96) was a member of the 1st General Assembly. He enlisted in the St. Helena Militia under Capt. John Jenkins in Oct. 1775. Toomer was at Haddrell's Point as a 1st lieutenant in 1776. He continued to serve in the militia and was promoted to captain. After the fall of Charlestown, he joined Marion's Brigade. In 1782 he was a captain under Col. Vanderhorst and Gen. Marion. After the war he served in the SC House for two terms. He voted to ratify the US Constitution in 1788, and attended the State Constitutional Convention in 1790 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 936; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:718-19).
160. The referenced Pinckney may have been Thomas, since he was the only actively serving Pinckney at this time.
161. Daniel (Murrell) served in the militia from 1779-82. During 1782 he served as a captain under Col. Archibald McDonald (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 702).
162. Samuel Warren (1761-1841) was sent to England to be educated around the beginning of the Revolution. He returned to South Carolina and joined the army as a lieutenant in Jun. 1778. Warren became a captain in the 5th SC Regiment in Aug. 1779. He was wounded twice, losing his right leg, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Savannah in Oct. 1779. After being exchanged, and despite his injury, Warren continued his military service. In 1782 he was appointed by Gen. Greene as deputy commissioner general of prisoners for the Southern Army with the rank of colonel. He was a delegate to the state convention that ratified the US Constitution in 1788, and to the state constitutional convention in 1790. After the war he served six terms in the SC House between 1783 and 1799, after which he was elected to the SC Senate from 1800-13, the final five years of which he served as President of the Senate before resigning due to ill health. After a 5-year hiatus Warren served in the House again from 1818-23 and in the Senate from 1831-36. He was also a delegate to the Nullification Convention of 1832-33. In a likely apocryphal story, Warren's crutches were said to be made of oak from the U.S. frigate *Constitution*. He apparently valued them greatly, "for I have always supported the Constitution to the best of my ability & now [that] I am old, weak & infirm the Constitution supports me." (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 969; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 328-29; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:747-49).
163. This may have been Capt. Benjamin Waring, who commanded a group of reinforcements composed of former Loyalists, or six months men, whom Marion reported in his letter to Horry of Jan. 20, above, were "due in a Day or two." John Ervin (1754-1810) 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 fought in the battle of Snow's Island and the defeat of Doyle's Volunteers of Ireland (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 296).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Jacksonborough]¹⁶⁴ Februar^y 3, 1782

Sir

Yours of the 31st ultimo I Received. I sent you an Answer by Morgandollar__ I am surprized at Col^o. Mahams Interfering with your Command.¹⁶⁵ I have wrote him positive orders not to do so in any respect whatever, & was in hopes Gen^r Greene would have prevented such Evils before this.¹⁶⁶ My presence here is Absolutely Necessary for a few days, untill the Militia Act & that of Raising our Continental Quota of troops is past which is now in debate & will be over soon, there is also a Confiscation & Sequestration Bill in hand & untill they are past I cannot get Leave to Return¹⁶⁷__ You will detain Phillips' Schooner & let me know by what Authority he came up whether by Huger's pass from some officer¹⁶⁸-- as Colo. Mayham denies he gave any__ You will Order the Militia to be dismounted, Except such a Number as may be Necessary for the two outposts below,¹⁶⁹ & no forage will be Allowed to any other Except field Officers; they are Allowed two.

I am in haste

Your Obd^t Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
164. Marion attended the session of the South Carolina Senate in Jacksonborough from Jan. 14 or 15 until Feb. 20. See Marion to Greene, Feb. 21, 1782, below.
165. In a Jan. 31 letter to Marion, above, Horry complained that Maham gave passes for some women to travel to Charlestown without his permission. In light of the earlier disputes between Horry and Maham over rank, Horry's report that Maham told his officer at Strawberry that he (Maham) was the commanding officer was probably particularly irritating.
166. The dispute between Horry and Maham dated to Jul, 1781, when Maham objected to Horry taking command of his cavalry, despite an order to that effect from Gen. Sumter. On Oct. 23 Greene had ordered Horry "to put your self and Corps under the command of General Marion." (Greene to Horry, Oct. 23, 1781, *PNG*, 9:467). Greene also issued similar orders to Maham the same day (Greene to Maham, Oct. 23, 1781, *PNG*, 9:468). When the issue of rank surfaced again at the beginning of 1782, Marion was quick to confront both regimental commanders. The Jan. 7 entry in his Orderly Book, above, is cryptic, "Col^o Horry's and Maham will come to my quarters to morrow, to Settle the rank of their respective Regiments & Officers and produce their orderly books." Maham, however, was apparently not satisfied. Finally, Greene wrote a very straightforward letter to Maham on Feb. 1, expressing his surprise that even after he had given his opinion on the matter multiple times, Maham still disputed it. Greene lectured Maham on the assessment of a soldier, "I beg leave to observe that rank is not what determines the character or consequence of an officer, it is actions. . . No officer ought to give up his rank where he is intitled to it. . . but to claim it upon any other will not add to his glory." (Greene to Maham, Feb. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 10:297-98).
167. Marion was unable to leave the Senate for fear of invalidating the session for lack of a quorum. The General Assembly was in the midst of critical discussions on creating a more effective militia law, and developing a process for filling the Continental battalions, both of great urgency for winning the war in the South. The confiscation bill would be the mechanism for punishing Loyalist sympathizers but, more importantly at this time, also a method for generating money to finance the war.
168. In his letter of Jan. 31, above, Horry noted that Phillips's schooner had come up from Charlestown without Horry's permission. Maham countermanded Horry's orders concerning the retention of the schooner, releasing it to return to Charlestown. He even threatened an officer subordinate to Horry, who was guarding the schooner. Ironically, Marion apparently issued the pass himself and informed Horry of that fact in his Jan. 10 letter, above.
169. The militia had been ordered dismounted mainly as a way to reduce the need for forage.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Jacksonborough] Februar^y 10th 1782

Dr Sir,

Yours of the 7th came to hand¹⁷⁰ I Asked leave of Absence of the House to return but they would not Grant it there is three Laws now on the Carpet which they insist I should stay untill finished__ If I leave the House the business will be over, as many men will go with me & they will not be able to make a House, our Material business is the three Laws above hinted at, these Reasons oblige me to stay untill Wednesday next when I hope I shall sett out,¹⁷¹ If your health is such as to Require your Absence from Camp, you will leave the Command of the Brigade to Col^o. Maham.¹⁷² I hope the orders I sent to the different Commanders of Regim^{ts}. will bring the men in Camp, You may let the present set of men retain their Horses, but the next Relief must Come without, as I will not permit them to keep their Horses on the publick Expense, The Governour has Ordered me positively to dismount them.¹⁷³ The new Militia Law turns every man who disobeys Orders or Deserts, in the Continental Service for the War. Two Regiments are to be raised as our Continental Quota Giving them a Negro p^r. year which is to be taken from the Confiscated Estates. The number of Large Estates is down on this list & others are Emerced which will Give us at least a Million sterling as a fund. If you find any Reinforcement arrives in Town, let me have the Earliest notice. I hope soon to Get through the business here & return. I assure you I am tired of Legislating, & wish myself with you, Inclosed are two Letters please forward. A party of the Enemy Came as far two days ago as Bacon's Bridge they took old M^r. Singleton of Ch^s. Town & three others at Dorchester twenty of their men deserted from them in this Excursion¹⁷⁴ & they are daily Coming in from Ch^s. Town & Georgia, this last are kept Close within their lines. Gen^l Wayne is watching their motions.¹⁷⁵

I am D^r Sir

Your obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

February 11, 1782 – Lord George Germain resigns his post as secretary of state for the American department.

170. The letter has not been found.

171. In his letter to Horry of Feb. 3, above, Marion explained that he could not leave the Senate for fear others would follow, preventing a quorum. The three laws referenced were a new militia law, completion of the Continental battalion, and a confiscation bill. Marion expected to leave the Senate on Feb. 13. However, his last day in Jacksonborough was Feb. 20.

172. In his letter of Jan. 31, above, Horry mentioned that his "patience is near Exhausted." However, he gave no indication of a physical ailment. Undoubtedly, taking leave was impossible, as the thought of Maham commanding his regiment would have been abhorrent to him.

173. Marion gave similar instructions in his letter of Feb. 3, above.

174. There is no other record of this action.

175. Gen. Anthony Wayne and his Pennsylvania Continentals were sent to the South after Yorktown. Gen. Greene sent Wayne into Georgia to organize the remnants of the Georgia resistance, stifle Loyalist sentiment and hopefully re-capture Savannah. Wayne's aggressive tactics drove the British into Savannah, but failed to bring about the surrender of the city.

Maj. Isaac Harleston to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

St. Stephens, Febru^y. 12th 1782

[Dr Sir,]

I flattered myself that I still Claimed so much of your attention, as to be favoured with the proceedings of the Legislature, with such other Occurrences in your absence as are Interesting, but to what cause am I to Ascribe your silence,[?] pray be more communicative, & afford me as heretofore an oppertunity of Conversing with you, tho' at a distance.¹⁷⁶

I am D^r Sir

Yours Sincerely

Isaac Harleston

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

176. Maj. Isaac Harleston served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment until his promotion to major in the 6th SC Regiment in 1778. He returned to the 2nd Regiment when the five infantry regiments were consolidated into two in February, 1780, but was taken prisoner three months later at the fall of Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 415). He was exchanged and elected to the Senate in 1781 from the parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis, but did not attend any of the sessions ("Josiah Smith's Diary" 34, no. 1:203).

Capt. John Saunders¹⁷⁷ (of the British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town, Februar^y. 12th 1782

Sir,

I am Authorized to Offer in Exchange for Serjeants Burt & Hudjins of the Queens Ranger Dragoons & Joseph Sherwood, John Farrington & Will^m. Moore, privates in the Kings Ar[tillery] Regiment any two Serjeants & 3 Privates in Charles Town having been Informed by Lt. Colo. Campbell of your wishes for an Exchange,¹⁷⁸ I am induced to hope your prisoners may very soon be here those that you name, shall be forwarded to you as soon after Receiving your Letter as an Express can be sent to Ch^s. Town.

I am Sir, Your most obd^t. Serv^t.

John Saunders,

Cap^{tn}. 1st A^r. Regiment

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

177. This is the same Capt. John Saunders who arrested Capt. John Postell when he appeared before Georgetown under a flag of truce to complete a prisoner exchange on Mar. 3, 1781. In a letter of Mar. 7, above, Marion responded to the perceived illegal retention of Postell, "By my Orders L^t Col. 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." Saunders claimed Postell had violated his parole signed at the surrender of Charlestown. His actions in attacking the supply depot at Moncks Corner and capturing Capt. James De Peyster of the King's American Regiment at Postell's father's house, undoubtedly contributed to Saunders's decision to arrest him and not exchange the prisoners as planned.

178. Lt. Col. George Campbell had been on parole since he was captured by Marion and Lee when they raided Georgetown on Jan. 25.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonburgh Feb^r 13th 1782

Sir/

You will be pleased to give orders Immediately in the District of your Brigade to put a Stop to any more provisions of any kind Being Sent to Charlestown, without a permit either from Gen^l Green or myself¹⁷⁹

I am Sir,

Your most Obed^t Serv^t

John Mathews

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 716. This letter followed the general orders of Mar. 1 at Camp St. Stephens Murry's ferry in *Marion's Orderly Book*.

179. Citing the "avarice" of some individuals, who had persisted in "supplying the enemies of the United States," Mathews issued a proclamation on Mar. 14 in which he prohibited the carrying of "provisions of any kind . . . within the enemies lines." According to Mathew's proclamation, vessels, wagons, livestock, and slaves used in such trade were subject to seizure, and owners of the same, as well as any other citizens caught taking part in the trade, were subject to arrest (Mathews to Greene, Feb. 13, 1782, *PNG*, 10:361-62).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Jacksonborough] Februar^y 14th 1782

Dr Sir,

Yours per Bearer Came to hand & am sorry that I cannot yet return, my going away will break the House & put a stop to all business, but hope will Get through by the beginning of next Week.¹⁸⁰ Cap^t. Waring, with the Ammunition only, Set off yesterday.¹⁸¹ Inclosed is an Order from Governour Matthews, which must be attended to.¹⁸² I have wrote you fully by Cap^t. Edwards who returned with Morgandollar__ I wish you Could find a man that may supply the place of Sergt. Smith, he must Be active & know the Country.¹⁸³ It is said a Vessell is arrived lately from Yarmouth. The Captain is Sworn to Secrecy & the Crew not permitted to come on shore.¹⁸⁴ Get all the Intelligence you can & forward the letter to Plowden Weston.

I am with Esteem

Your obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

180. In a letter to Horry of Jan. 29, above, Marion wrote that he expected to return to the brigade by the first week of February. However, his presence was necessary to maintain a quorum in the Senate, so he had been unable to leave.

181. Capt. Benjamin Waring commanded a group of former Loyalist sympathizers, who, in order to obtain pardons, enlisted in the militia for six months.

182. Gov. Matthews's order, dated Feb. 13, is above. In it he directed that no provisions be sent to Charlestown, unless the bearer had a pass from Gen. Greene or himself.

183. Sgt. Mathew Smith commanded an outpost at Goose Creek. By implication of this letter and that of Jan. 20, above, Horry seems to have understood that his primary mission was to gather intelligence.

184. The veracity of the report is not known.

Doughty and Bryan¹⁸⁵ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion / in his absence to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

In Camp George Town Februa^y 17th 1782

Sir,

Captain Bryan & myself are just Arrived from Bermuda & Turks Island, with a Load of Salt 1500 Bush. last Wednesday at this bar. A New England privateer took possession of us & with the utmost difficulty we could prevail on him to let us come in here,¹⁸⁶ that our Country & Army might reap the good of this most necessary Article__ We are very apprehensive they will still take the Vessell¹⁸⁷ out of Port & our Virtuous suffering Countrymen now in the field will be deprived of this most Necessary Article__ We therefore Sir beg your protection of her by sending down a Detachment of 50 Or 60 Men as soon as possible into George Town. We ask this of you as fellow Citizens of America. Claiming your protection & lastly & above all, that we had a protection from Congress for this Vessell & Cargo,¹⁸⁸ which the Captain has thought proper by force to detain from us, the Vessell & Cargo is wholly owned by us a Gentleman of Virginia & one now residing in St. Thomas's a Neutral port, in every Respect deserving your Protection & assistance, M^r. Ashley¹⁸⁹ will come down with the party in the most Private manner.

We are with Great Respect Sir,
Your Most Obdt Servts

William Doughty
John Bryan

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

185. William Doughty and John Bryan were Georgetown merchants (Ron E. Bridwell, *That We Should Have a Port: A History of the Port of Georgetown South Carolina 1732-2018* (Georgetown, SC: *The Georgetown Times*, 1982), 28).

186. It was not unusual for licensed privateers to capture ships purported to be owned by Americans and carrying provisions for the Patriots. The privateer in question, commanded by Cornwallis Thomson was the brigantine *Chace* from Salem, Massachusetts. Although its claim to Doughty and Bryan's ship, the *Hope*, was denied, the *Chace* continued to harass the Atlantic coast. It captured a schooner, *Good Intent*, two miles off Winyah Bay shortly after the episode with the *Hope*. Despite intercession by Peter Horry, since the *Hope* purportedly was carrying supplies for the Continental Army, Thomson would not release the ship. Shortly after putting back to sea, both ships were captured by a British sloop. They sailed to Charlestown, where they were condemned by a British court of admiralty (Bridwell, *That We Should Have a Port*, 29). Although a dangerous activity, privateering could also be very lucrative, since the captain and crew would share the benefits of the sale of the ship and cargo with Congress.

187. The ship was indeed captured by a British privateer and eventually taken to Bermuda, where the cargo and ship were sold (Bridwell, *That We Should Have a Port*, 28-29).

188. By "protection from Congress" Doughty and Bryan implied they possessed a letter of marque from the Continental Congress. Letters of marque were official documents from a governmental body (in this case the Continental Congress) giving sanction to private ship's captains to attack and seize vessels flying the flag of a nation with which that government was at war. Although letters of marque had been in use by many European states since the Middle Ages, they were especially crucial to the American war effort during the American Revolution because the Continental Navy was always much smaller than, and significantly outgunned by, its British counterpart. The seizure of British commercial shipping was important not just because it hampered the enemy war effort, but also because it brought in much needed specie and materiel, which captains were generally required to split with Congress.

189. The identity of Mr. Ashley and what is meant by this sentence are not known.

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

Jacksonburg 19th Feb^y 1782

S^r

I Just now received the Inclosed the bearer will give You further perticulars, of Seeing A Large trail from Moncks Corner through Wadboo, going towards Hugers Bridge which is the rout towards Col. Horry at Wambaw.¹⁹⁰

I shoud have returnd to my Brigade but going woud brake the Houses & stop all Bussiness here.¹⁹¹

I have the Honor to be Your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

-
190. The enclosed letter has not been found. The referenced British movement was almost certainly Col. Benjamin Thompson's force heading to attack Marion's Brigade. Horry reported to Marion on Feb. 20, below, that an American guard detail and a number of livestock had been captured at Strawberry Ferry, an engagement which Thompson also reported to his superior, Gen. Alexander Leslie the same day (Thompson to Alexander Leslie, Feb. 20, in *PNG*, 392n). [See a brief bio of Benjamin Thompson by clicking here.](#)
191. Feb. 10, Marion had written Horry, above, that he could not rejoin his brigade because "there are three laws now on the carpet which they insist I should stay until finished. If I leave the House[,] the business will be over, as many men will go with me, and they will not be able to make a House; our material business is the three laws above hinted at." The Journal of the Senate recorded Marion's departure the day after this letter, on Feb. 20 (*Journal of SC Senate*, 1782, 106; *PNG*, 392n).

*Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion*¹⁹²

Wambaw February 20th 1782

D^r. General,

The enemy Yesterday Came Round Watbo wth. their Cavalry & am afraid took a Lieut & 6 Men at Strawberry w^c I had Posted there, at the Same time a Number of their Infantry appeared on the other Side of Strawberry & I Suppose Crossed over Last night—also ab^t. fifty Cavalry & 300 Infantry yesterday Evening was at Guerins Bride[*Bridge?*], it appears to be their Intention to make a junction & to [*pushing?*] Major Sabs Party in near Sd. Bridge, & Capt Brown Commands on Cainhoy¹⁹³ I heard nothing of a Capt Waring being up Santee above Lenuds ferry. I am necessitated to Move upwards & join him¹⁹⁴-- when I shall make a disposition to Receive the Enemy Should they [text missing, paper torn] M^r. Pouteaux[?], & Bonneau[?] & M^r. B. Simons I hear is taken – I wr[text missing, paper torn][wrote you?] Yesterday that I have Sent a Command of forty men to Geo. Towne the Reason Why I hope you have received Sd. Letter¹⁹⁵—Col^o Mayham is Gone to the S^o. Ward & I assure you I am very Unwell, & wish you to relieave me—however I Well [sic, Will] do as well as I Can till you Come¹⁹⁶

am D^r. General

Your Ob^t Serv^t.

P Horry

PS, I wish you if Convenient to Give Gibham[?] Leave to Go home for a few Days¹⁹⁷

ALS (MiU-C)

192. Horry addressed this letter to Marion, but in his absence to General Greene. Marion was still at the SC Senate in Jacksonborough on this date. The date on this letter is written over as Feb. 20th. The '2' looks correct. However, the second digit could be a '1.' It is uncertain when Marion received this letter, since his last day in attendance at the SC Senate was dated Feb. 20 (*Journal of the SC Senate*, 1782, 106). He was in Jacksonborough with Lt. Col. Maham on Feb. 21, as inferred from Marion to Greene, Feb. 21, below. Since there is no notation that Greene received the letter instead of Marion, it is presumed that, either the letter reached Marion before he left Jacksonborough, or more probably, at some point on his ride to take over command of his brigade. From Feb. 21 to 24, Marion and Maham covered nearly 90 miles, joining up with Maham's regiment on the Santee above Tidyman's plantation on the evening of Feb. 24. See Maham to Greene, Mar. 1, below.
193. Marion's letter to Greene of Feb. 19, above, reported the movement of British troops under Col. Benjamin Thompson. Thompson's circuitous route through Moncks Corner may have been a diversion to shield the total force he employed. Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb had been at a guard post at Fogerty's Ferry. Capt. Thomas Brown presumably relieved Capt. John Nelson at Cainhoy, although in Marion's letter to Horry of Jan. 18, he indicated his preference for Col. Screven, who had been covering the area in the past.
194. Capt. Waring was to join Horry with reinforcements made up of former Loyalists. Marion expected them to join Horry on Jan. 21 or 22. See Marion to Horry, Jan. 20. It is unclear what he meant by the latter sentence.
195. Horry presumably sent the 40 men to Georgetown in response to the urgent request of Feb. 17, above, by merchants William Doughty and John Bryan, concerning the capture of their ship carrying provisions to Georgetown, by a New England privateer.
196. Lt. Col. Maham, recognizing that he would have to take orders from Lt. Col. Horry, in Marion's absence, settled the issue, at least for the time being, by riding to Jacksonborough to take his seat in the SC House of Representatives. Ironically, as soon as Maham rode off, Horry, who had been sick, requested a leave of absence, left his command and rode to his plantation at Belle Isle.
197. The identity of Gibham is not known.

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

[Jacksonborough] Feb 21, 1782

Marion forwards a letter of Col. Peter Horry¹⁹⁸ and is “going immediately to Join my Brigade.”¹⁹⁹

Tr (American Antiquarian Society), *Autographs Letters*, Forest H. Sweet, Battle Creek, MI:1938, Retail Price List, No. 48.

198. Marion had received a letter reporting the enemy movements on Feb. 19, above. It is not known whether the letter came from Horry. It is unlikely that Horry's letter written at Wambaw on Feb. 20, above would have reached Marion in one day, a distance of approximately 70 miles through an area that was only nominally controlled by the Patriots.

199. In January, Marion was unable to leave the Senate because his absence would have prevented the Senate from reaching a quorum. At this point in the session, however, Marion felt his attendance was necessary, both to participate in drafting legislation regarding the militia law, filling the Continental regiments, and confiscation of Loyalist property, as well as to prevent a mass exodus by other legislators should he leave.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonburgh Feb^r 23^d 1782

Sir,

Inclosed is Twenty Blank Commissions which I Sent to your discretion to be filled up for the vacancies in your Brigade. Rank ought to be preserved except in cases of glaring inability. Should any such arise you'll first inform me before you proceed to an appointment out of the usual instances²⁰⁰

I am Sir,

Your most Obed^t Serv^t

John Mathews

O'Kelley, BCADM, 712.

200. Mathews recognized the need to organize a strong militia. He was lobbying for a new militia law in the Legislature, as well as providing Marion with the necessary documents to ensure his officer corps was complete.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonburgh Feb^r 23^d 1782

Sir

Inclosed is a Resolution of the Legislation for supplying the Widow & Orphans of persons killed in the Service of this State and of such as have been Disabled in the Service with Provisions.²⁰¹ I therefore must request you will take the necessary measures for carrying the same into Execution.

I am Sir,

Your most Obed^t Serv^t

John Mathews

In the House of Representatives

Feb^y 7th 1782 –

1 Copy /

Resolved That his Excellency The Governor be empowered to order a Sufficient Quantity of Provisions to be purchased at the Publick Expense & distributed amongst the Widows & Orphans of such person as have been killed in the Defence of this State & also of Such Persons who have been Disabled in the said Service as may be Deemed proper Objects of Relief –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 712-13.

201. This is an example of the reorganization of civil government in South Carolina. The formation and operation of the new government in Jacksonborough brought about needed relief for those whose husbands and fathers were killed during the revolution. Note that no relief was authorized for Loyalist families.

***Wambaw Bridge (Durant's Plantation) and Tidyman's Plantation
February 23 and 24, 1782***

While Francis Marion was absent from his brigade attending the session of the South Carolina Senate in Jacksonborough, morale soured in his brigade and in the State Cavalry regiments of Peter Horry and Hezekiah Maham, over which he had command. Maham refused to take orders from Horry, although Horry was unambiguously the senior officer by virtue of his supernumerary status in the Continental army. Both Marion and Greene had informed Maham that Horry outranked him. The Jan. 7 entry in Marion's Orderly Book, above, commanded that: "Col^o Horry and Maham will come to my quarters tomorrow, to Settle the rank of their respective Regiments & Officers and produce their orderly books." Marion, sensitive to Horry's need for documented authority, in a letter of Jan. 18, enclosed Greene's letter of Jan. 16, both above, in which Greene unequivocally confirmed that Horry outranked Maham.

Maham, however, was apparently not satisfied, leading Greene to write another letter to Maham on Feb. 1. Maham's response was to abdicate responsibility by taking his seat in the SC House of Representatives. About the time that Maham left his regiment, Horry came down with an undisclosed illness that prompted him to go to his plantation on the north side of the Santee River to recuperate. At that point, Marion's Brigade and its attached cavalry regiments were in shambles. Maham's and Horry's dragoons were disillusioned and the cohesion of Marion's militia was diminished by the continuing absence of its leader.²⁰²

Marion received word from Horry, above (letter dated Feb. 20) that the British were moving. He and Maham left the Senate and rushed toward the Santee. They stopped at Mepkin Plantation on the Cooper River below Moncks Corner to pick up Maham's regiment. Upon hearing that the British had withdrawn, Marion rested, while Maham rode off to his plantation. Shortly after Maham's departure, a rider brought Marion the news that the British had routed his brigade at Durant's Plantation near Wambaw Bridge.

Thomas Broughton recalled that "Marion left his brigade under the command of Colonel Horry [Peter Horry], of the light horse; the whole Regiment and light horse were surprised at Wambaw – Colonel Maham's Regiment was left under the command of Captain John Carraway Smith – we lay about 25 miles above Marion's Brigade and Horry's horse on the Santee, at James Sinclair's plantation – on receiving the news of the surprise, Captain Smith marched off to cover the retreat of those who might be squandered – but as soon as we got to the ground where Marion's brigade lay, we also were surprised."²⁰³

The British forces were commanded by Col. Benjamin Thompson, a New Hampshire Loyalist, recently arrived from the Northern Theater, who had assembled a mixed force consisting of detachments from the 3rd and 30th Foot, Hessian Jagers, and multiple Loyalist infantry and cavalry units. Thompson sought to take advantage of the disorganization in the Patriot forces in a series of raids in the area south of the Santee. In the absence of Marion, Horry, and Maham, the Patriot Brigade was led by Col. Archibald McDonald.

Patriot scouts under Maj. William Benison informed McDonald of the approach of the British, but was largely ignored. Benison, in command of Horry's dragoons attempted to hold Wambaw Bridge, but was routed. In the fighting that ensued, Benison himself was killed and the Patriot forces retreated, but not before dismantling part of the bridge, and holding until the setting sun forced the British to abandon their pursuit. Thompson claimed to have killed 40 Americans, at the cost of one of their own killed.²⁰⁴

202. Some portion of Marion's Brigade also missed the Battle of Wambaw Bridge, as Ephraim Gaudy wrote "that he served at Wamboo and its vicinity 12 months, under the said officers, that he was in no action during that time, that a flight did take place during his service as above between the Americans & British at Wamboo Bridge that this deponent was at the time off with several others in pursuit of provisions (Ephraim Gaudy, Pension Statement S17971)."

203. Thomas Broughton, Pension Statement W897.

204. PNG 10:420; Robert Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, 2011), 219-22; James, *Francis Marion*, 69-70; Simms, *Francis Marion*, 172-76)

Sergeant Isaac Lefever elaborated that “Here [Wambaw] we were surprised by the British while General Marion was absent at Britts plantation where the assembly was then sitting. I commanded a guard & had charge of the prisoners. The Army was commanded by Colonel McDaniel [McDonald] an old man. I was then on a Bluff at widow [illegible] plantation on Santee & took a flat & crossed the River with the prisoners under charge.” Robert Lowrimore claimed to have lost a bridle and a pair of pistols to the enemy worth seventy dollars.²⁰⁵ See Marion to Greene, Mar. 13, below.

Marion met Maham’s dragoons, under Capt. John Carraway Smith on Feb. 25, and hastily reforming them to march to the relief of McDonald. En route, the cavalry of Marion’s and Thompson’s forces collided at Tidyman’s Plantation, and both were startled. Marion ordered Smith’s (Maham’s) Regiment to charge. However, perhaps due to their inexperience, they failed to execute a maneuver as Thompson’s cavalry counter-attacked. The Americans turned and fled in disorder. Some were killed by British sharpshooters as they tried to swim across the Santee. Others drowned.

Thompson reported Patriot losses at 10 dead and 12 captured, while Marion’s own estimates, reported to Horry, were not “more than Lieut. Smizer and three men.” (See Marion to Horry, Mar. 2, below) Marion accused Smith of not telling “his officers and men what they were going about,” and Smith resigned his commission the day after the battle. Not accustomed to losing battles, Marion noted that “the disgrace was great.”²⁰⁶ On the other hand, Maham blamed the defeat on Marion, who, in his words, should have “file of[f] to the Rite,” instead of charging, “which [so] struck the officers & men, that they went to Retret, which thay did in Greatest Confution.” (See Maham to Greene, Mar. 1, below).

James Stanaland wrote that “In that battle we lost a great many of our men, and among the number of the slain was Major [John] Benson who then had the command of our squadron. That he and some others made their escape & rendezvoused at Georgetown” John Brockington, William Brunson, and William Vaughan also mentioned Benson’s death, and Lewis Stubbs claimed that “The Americans had to retreat & Marion himself was so closely pushed that had to swim his horse across the Creek to save his own life,” likely confusing the general for one of the other American officers, since he was not actually present at the battle.”²⁰⁷

James, *Francis Marion*, 69-70; PNG, 10:420-22; Simms, *Life of Francis Marion*, 172-76; William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (New York: D. Longworth, 1802), 2:297; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 270-76; Thompson to Leslie, Feb. 25, PRO 30/55 #9953; *South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Mar. 2, 1782.

205. Isaac Lefever, Pension Statement S13726; Robert Lowrimore, Pension Statement SC 5016

206. Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 275.

207. John Brockington, Pension Statement S9286; William Brunson, Pension Statement, S21655; James Stanaland, Pension Statement S18215; Lewis Stubbs, Pension Statement S21999; William Vaughan, Pension Statement W11691.

Marion's Orderly Book – Return of Col. Peter Horry's Cavalry

A Return of the Killed Wounded and missing of Col^o Peter Horrys Cavalry after 24th Feb^r 1782²⁰⁸–

Killed	Wounded	Missing	Horses Missing
4	6	7	24

Major Ben[i]son
Tho^s Broughton
Mayes _ _
Volunteers

O'Kelley, BCADM, 717.

208. As described immediately above, the cavalry regiment of Lt. Col. Peter Horry was surprised and routed at Durant's Plantation at Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 24 by a force of 700 British regulars, provincial infantry and cavalry, loyalist militia, and Hessians under the command of Col. Benjamin Thompson. British estimates of casualties are far greater. Thompson claimed a total of 40 killed during his foray from Charlestown. This would include the ride from Charlestown and the action at Tidyman's Plantation the following day, as well as the action at Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 23, noted here. All of the American casualties were suffered by Horry's dragoons (PNG, 10:420n). For more on casualties, see Marion to Greene, Mar. 13, below. Horry reported in a letter to Greene of Feb. 28, below, that prior to the engagements he had gone to a plantation on the north side of the Santee to recuperate from an undisclosed illness.

Marion's Orderly Book – Return of Col. Maham's Legion

[No location, no date]²⁰⁹ [listed after Maham's cavalry on Feb. 25]

This return followed the general orders of Mar. 1 at Camp St. Stephens Murry's ferry in Marion's Orderly Book. In the Orderly Book, the return of Horry's cavalry, as a result of the action of Feb. 24, is listed after that of Maham's cavalry on Feb. 25.

A Return of the Killed & wounded & Missing of Col^o Maham's Legion at M^r Tydimans 25th Feb^r 1782²¹⁰

	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Horses Missing
Cavalry			2	7
Infantry	4	1	4	
Total	4	1	6	7

NB L^t Smiser of Col^o Horrys Reg^t drowned in crossing the River Militia –

L^t Martin & one man killed at Strawberry & one Wounded 20th Feb^r [,] Cap^t Browns party reconnoitering two men Killed 22d Feb^r [,] L^t Herds²¹¹ party reconnoitering the 24th in the morning two killed one Wounded

O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 717.

209. This return followed the general orders of Mar. 1 at Camp St. Stephens Murry's ferry in *BCADM*. In the Orderly Book the return of Maham's cavalry, as a result of the action of Feb. 25, is listed after that of Horry's cavalry of Feb. 24. The actual entry into the order book was probably made sometime after Mar. 2, since by Marion's letter to Horry of that date, below, he had still not learned the details of casualties, "I cannot Learn our Loss on the 25th Februar^y is more than L^t. Smizer & three men."
210. Maham and Marion left the General Assembly at Jacksonborough to respond to the British advance. They did not ride to Wambaw, given the animosity between Maham and Horry, but instead rode directly to the camp of Maham's forces. There Maham "askd Leave of the Genl to go home to Make out my Returns & whould joine Him the Next day: before he March of[f]." Shortly thereafter, Marion learned of the defeat of his forces and marched immediately with Maham's men toward Wambaw. See Maham to Greene, Mar. 1, below. Maham expressed displeasure that Marion had chosen to proceed without him. (*PNG*, 10:420n). Marion arrived at Tidyman's Plantation, a short distance north of Wambaw Bridge, shortly before the British launched a second attack. See the summary of the action above. Col. Thompson's foray into territory Marion previously controlled was a multi-pronged attack. It appears that British troops may have approached the American positions from four directions. As revealed in Horry's report to Marion of Feb. 20, above, Horry had knowledge of the incursion of the enemy as early as Feb. 19. British troops rode up the West side of the Cooper River. Some crossed at Strawberry Ferry and others crossed at Moncks Corner. "The enemy Yesterday [Feb. 19] Came Round Watbo wth. their Cavalry & am afraid took a Lieut & 6 Men at Strawberry w^c I had Posted there." Thompson himself led a force from Daniels Island. Another contingent was intercepted by a Capt. Thomas Brown, the commander at Cainhoy on the Wando River.
211. Charles Herd served as a private and a lieutenant in the militia from 1779 to 1783. He was in Col. Maham's State Cavalry regiment. On Feb. 22, 1782, while on a reconnoitering mission, Herd lost two killed and one wounded. On the following day it is presumed he was involved in the rout of Maham's regiment at Tidyman's Plantation (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 440; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 717n1549).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Jacksonburgh] Februar^y 26th 1782

Sir,

The Legislature having Requested me to have the Number of white Inhabitants in this State ascertained as soon as possible, I therefore request you would take the Necessary Measures for this purpose & transmit the Returns to me without Delay;²¹² Distinguishing men, women & Children & men able to bear Arms. Altho' I Could wish to have the business done speedily, Yet I would not have it hurried in such manner as to render the return inaccurate. On the Contrary, I must desire them to be made with the Greatest Exactness²¹³

I am Sir

Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jn^o. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

212. As he had been at the end of Rutledge's tenure, Marion quickly became a valued right hand to Gov. Mathews. Mathews had been out of the state since 1778 as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Lacking a network of civilian bureaucrats who could carry out a census, Mathews looked to the commander of his State Militia to accomplish the project. It is not clear how Marion was to take a census of the area occupied by the British

213. Mathews's meticulousness is evident here from his directive to emphasize the need for accuracy over speed in obtaining the census.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Jacksonburgh] Februar^y 26th 1782

Sir,

As some little trade has began to flow into Georgetown & our Necessity Requiring every Encouragement to begin it & as nothing will tend more Effectually to do so than a proper protection given the Vessell & goods brought in__ I therefore desire you would have a party under the Command of an Active & Vigilant Officer, stationed at & about Georgetown, so as to be always in a situation to Give the most prompt assistance when requisite. I must leave to you to Judge what Number of men will be sufficient for this Service.²¹⁴

I am Sir,

Your most Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jn^o. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

214. Mathews had probably learned of the capture of the ship owned by Bryan and Doughty by a New England privateer. See Doughty and Bryan to Marion, Feb. 17, above.

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

Watboo, Feb. 28, 1782

There is a number of prisoners of war with me. I do not know if they are exchange in the last exchange made. Shall be glad to know, or what must be done with them. The names I inclose.²¹⁵ The day before yesterday the State Legion took two British soldier at the quarter house, one a dragoon, the other had the inclosed order as a safeguard, but was taken two miles from his post escorting a cart from Charlestown, from whence he went to go once a week. Capt. Thues thought proper to bring him away as he was not where he was ordered. Shall be glad to know if he may be detained as a prisoner. I asked General Moultrie, who is of the opinion he ought to be detained as such²¹⁶.... A number of boats with a strong covering party Was Zulikes Creek, five miles from Charlestown.... The redoubt at Hadd[r]ell's is evacuated and burned²¹⁷

Copy of fragment transcription from ALS (*Catalogue of Autograph Letters Signatures*, John Heise: Syracuse, NY, 1912, No. 62, lot 50)

-
215. The last formal prisoner exchange was agreed to on May 3, 1781. It took effect on Jun. 15, 1781. Gen. Marion issued a statement to initiate the exchange on Jul. 28, 1781, above. Prisoner exchanges had been officially stopped by Greene as revealed in Rutledge's letter to Marion of Oct. 24, 1781, above. However, even that policy was loosely applied, as evidenced by Greene giving Rutledge freedom to arrange exchanges, "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." Despite the formal general prisoner exchange and orders to the contrary, prisoner exchanges continued on a haphazard basis.
216. The Quarter House was approximately five miles north of Charlestown. This passage provides an indication of how far the Patriot forces regularly patrolled at this time. A safeguard could be issued to a particular soldier by his commanding officer to serve as a protector of a neutral party or property. Normally, the opposing side would approve the safe guard. See Doyle to Marion, Nov. 9, 1781, above, for a discussion of the use and mis-use of safe guards.
217. Haddrell's Point was across from Charlestown at the mouth of the Cooper River. Withdrawal from it indicated the British inability to defend it in the face of increasing pressure from the Patriots.

Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Waxhaws [Wambaw]²¹⁸ Febru^y 28th 1782

D^r General

I Received your Last favour of Feb^y 11th Inclosing Copy of a Regimental Return. The Deputy Adjutant General Shall the first day of the every month present a Return from my Regiment agreeable to Said form.²¹⁹ The Principal Subject of your Letter I Shall pay attention to & Endeavour to Conform to your Recommendations & wishes. While I Continued in Service my Rank is dear to me, & I Contested for my Right therein. You have Given me my Right in the Settlement thereof & I am Satisfied.²²⁰ It was not my Intention that my men Should Receive more Pay than the Continental Cavalry, but as much as they did, which being told was 20 Doll^s per Month. I told them they were to Receive the Same as the Con^t Cav^y. w^c [which] I was Informed was twenty Dollars per Month. I think they will be satisfied to [Receive as much?] as the Con^t Cavalry. It would be Unreasonable in them to Expect more.²²¹ A few days past the Enemy Attempted & in part Succeeded in a Surprize on Gen^l Marions Brigade, Encamped on Wambaw. The Particulars of that evening as well as an Attempt on Mayhams Legion & part of my Cavalry the next morning At M^{rs} Tiddimans[,] General Marion being Present I Suppose you are fully Acquainted with.²²² Unhappily a few days before it happened, I was so Sick as to Oblidge my Retiring from the Brigade & Giving the Command thereof as also my Cavalry to Col^o McDonald.²²³ I am told his Conduct in this Affair was Proper & Uncensurable, that Major Benison (by neglect of duty) was the Cause of the Enemies so near Approach Undiscovered.²²⁴ The Major is killed & L^t Smyser also of my Regim^t Drowned in Attempting to Swim over Santee River.²²⁵ The Militia am told Suffered no Loss of men, my Regiment am told Suffered most, tis Supposed I Lost 2 Officers, two Volunteers, & ab^t 10 Killd & a few Wounded. The Enemy took no prisoners. Mayhams Loss am told is very trifling. General Marion I make no doubt has or will firnish you w^h a Return of the [*indecipherable*] Loss.²²⁶ I am Getting better & as soon as my health Admits Shall join my Regiment now under my Eldest Captain [Gough^t?], who is with General Marion.²²⁷ I am Sorry that the General Could not have joined his Brigade

218. The transcription in *PNG* lists Horry's location as "Waxhaws" but this is clearly an error. Most likely his actual location was Wambaw. He had relinquished his command to Col. McDonald, but rode to his plantation on the Santee. Waxhaws was nearly 200 miles from Horry's previous camp, and he had no reason to be there, whereas Wambaw was where he had camped prior to leaving his command and going to his plantation, a much more logical distance to ride given the necessary time constraints.

219. It is unclear whether the reference here was to Greene's deputy adjutant general, Josiah Harmar, who would receive the reports, or to Horry's own, who would be charged with drafting them. The editors of *PNG* believe the former, but our reading suggests the latter.

220. As far back as 1780, Peter Horry experienced confusion over his rank. When the SC Continental regiments were consolidated in Jan. 1780, Horry lost his command due to his regiment, the 5th SC, being eliminated, and he became a supernumerary officer. He went to his plantation near Georgetown to await a recall from Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, then commander of the Continental Army in the Southern Department.

In his letter of Feb. 10, above, Horry wrote to Greene, "I never wished to command Col^o Mayham, or any Officer in Particular, but my Rank I ever wished to Preserve – Delicacy is due to every Officer, & I think I have not been wanting in that respect to Col^o Mayham or any other Officer." In his reply of Feb. 14, Greene attempted to clarify the current claim for Horry's superior rank over Maham. He wrote, "If Mayum fou[n]ded his claim upon right yours was superior; if upon Merit yours was equal." (Greene to Horry, Feb. 14, 1782, *PNG*, 10:363). The dispute between Horry and Maham continued, as Maham refused to accept Horry's superior rank. Not until Maham's capture at his plantation, on May 16, did the command disagreement end (Maham to Greene, May 16, 1782, *PNG*, 11:225-26).

221. In his letter of Feb. 1, Greene informed Horry that he had just learned that both Horry and Maham had organized their cavalry regiments on a pay scale different from that of the Continental cavalry. Greene presumed incorrectly that "what ever extraordinary allowance was made, was in the bounty and not in pay" (Greene to Horry, Feb. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 10:293). Greene wrote an expanded letter to Maham first explaining why Horry outranked Maham, then broaching the subject of his men's pay (Greene to Maham, Feb. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 10:297-98).

222. If Marion submitted a report directly to Greene it has not been found.

223. The Patriots had been alerted to Thompson's move by spies in Charlestown, but when Horry sent out scouts to verify the reports, they came back with nothing, so the warnings were ignored. Horry then went home to convalesce, leaving Marion's Brigade to Col. Archibald McDonald, and his own regiment under Maj. William Benison (*PNG*, 10:419-20n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 271; James, *Francis Marion*, 69-70; Lipscomb, *SC Battles*, 19).

224. See summary of the action at Wambaw Bridge, above.

225. Benison died at Durant's Plantation, while Lt. John Smiser had been killed at Tidyman's (Lipscomb, "SC Battles," 27 (1980):19; *PNG*, 10:420n).

226. Patriot losses, according to Marion's orderly book entry, undated above, were eight killed, seven wounded, and thirteen missing.

227. Horry would soon return to the field. See Marion to Horry, Mar. 7, below.

Sooner. I Repeatedly wrote him the Necessity of his Presence & urged as much as Possible his Return to his Brigade & that I was fearfull the Enemy would take Advantage of his Absence, but found from the Generals Letters in Answer to mine That the House would not dispense w^h his Absence. I think was the General w^h the Brigade the Enemy would not Have Returned in triumph, they would have met w^h Some Loss as well as ourselves, as it is, am afraid they have every thing, to boast of, & we must be silent.²²⁸

Am w^h much Respect D^r General

Your Ob^t hum Serv^t

P Horry

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:417-22.

228. See Marion to Greene of Feb. 19, above. Rankin argued that this statement was Horry's attempt to deflect blame for the defeat onto Marion (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 275; PNG, 10:422n).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonborough March 1st 1782

Sir,

The Commissioners appointed for disposing of Certain Confiscated Estates conceiving the personal property of some of them to be in Danger of being lost, for want of proper assistance to secure the same, have applied to me for the Necessary Aid. I have therefore to desire That you would afford these Gentlemen such Military or other support in prosecuting this business as they shall from time to time require of you.²²⁹

I am Sir

Your most obd^t. Serv^t.

Jn^o. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

229. By Act 1153, dated Feb. 26, 1782, the South Carolina legislature confiscated the property of certain persons deemed enemies of the state. By Act 1155, dated Feb. 26, 1782, the South Carolina legislature authorized the commissioners of confiscated estates to amerce other estates at 12%. By Act 1157, dated Feb. 26, 1782, the South Carolina legislature granted pardon to those who applied between Dec. 17, 1781, and Feb. 26, 1782, contingent on paying an amercement of 10% on their holdings. Mathews requested assistance from Marion and his militia to secure such properties from plunder by citizens of South Carolina (*Statutes*, 4:516-28).

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

Head Qrs [Pon Pon] March 1 1782

Dear Sir

I recieved your letter giving an account of the enemies movements in St. Thomas's.²³⁰ I am sorry they have succeeded so well as it will revive the drooping spirits of their troops and give a disponding temper to our Militia. But there is no guarding against so superior a force. Please in your next to give me as accurate an account of your loss as possible and the enemies also.²³¹

Would you wish to have part of the Militia of General Sumters brigade? They are at Orangburgh and Four Holes. Please to inform me.²³² I suppose you are informed of the Generals resignation. Col Henderson is thought of to succeed him.²³³

I have written to the Merchants of Georgetown to move all the stores as fast as they arrive in that place as high up the rivers as may be; and to leave nothing valuable in the town.²³⁴ This and this only will prevent the enemy from paying a visit there. Please to recommend it also, as I hear the enemy are meditating a stroke there.²³⁵ Lt Col Laurens had orders to march to your support the moment I got your letter with the whole of our light troops. But has halted as consequence of information from Town that the enemy had returned.²³⁶ Should they attempt to penetrate again, write to Col Laurens, as well as me of the situation of matters, as he will have discretionary orders to act upon the occasion and it will save a great deal of time.²³⁷ He commands our horse and light troops.

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble S^r

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:427-28.

230. Marion's letter has not been found. See Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, above.

231. For a discussion of Marion's casualties, see Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, above, and Marion to Greene, Mar. 1, below.

232. Marion's response of Mar. 8, below, did not acknowledge this question. William Henderson, who had had taken over Sumter's Brigade retained command of these troops (PNG, 10:428n).

233. When Sumter resigned his commission, Gov. Mathews named Col. William Henderson to replace him. Henderson wrote to Greene on Mar. 10 that Sumter's "Brigade is in the greatest Confusion for want of Some person to reduce it again to order." (Henderson to Greene, Mar. 10, 1782, PNG, 10:480; PNG, 10:416n). Although Henderson had been injured at the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781, Greene nevertheless requested that he accept the position, "Upon the whole you must accept the appointment. Another cannot be found; and tho your wound is not well enough to permit you to be active in the field you may attend the rendezvous of the Militia and regulate their oeconomy and order." (Greene to Henderson, Mar. 17, 1782, PNG, 10:512; PNG, 10:428n).

234. On Mar. 1, Greene addressed a letter "To the Merchants of Georgetown, South Carolina," outlining his views on the safety of stores held at Georgetown, writing "I am very apprehensive the enemy have it in contemplation to send a detachment to George town for to destroy the Stores there. The best mode that can be adopted until the place can be fortified which we have in contemplation is to send the Vessels and Stores as high up the rivers as possible." (PNG, 10:426-27).

235. See Marion to Greene, Mar. 8, 1782, below.

236. Greene did not indicate when he sent his order to Laurens. However, Laurens did apparently receive the order, as well as a report from Marion, on Feb. 27. In two letters to Greene on Feb. 28, Laurens said he would rendezvous with Marion, although he admitted that he did not know the area well enough to predict the outcome. Marion's report indicated he thought the British under Thompson that had defeated his troops in the two skirmishes on Feb. 24 and 25 would return via Moncks Corner. Laurens's second letter, written when he halted his march at the east bank of the Cooper River, mentioned intelligence that gave the impression that the British were already preparing to re-cross the Cooper (Laurens to Greene, Feb. 28, and Mar. 3, PNG, 10:422-23, 436).

237. Based on the reported return of Thompson to Charlestown, Laurens wrote Greene on Mar. 1, that he had canceled his plan to join Marion. On Mar. 3, however, he resumed his march after opening a letter from Marion to Greene, in which the former wrote that Thompson had not yet returned to Charlestown (Laurens to Greene, Mar. 1 and 3, PNG., 10:429, 436). Marion reported to Greene on Mar. 8, below, that the enemy "went off a few day[s] since."

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

Near Murrys Ferry S^t Stephen, 1st March 1782

S^r

I wrought you the 26th Last month²³⁸ by L^t [Benjamin or Hugh or William?] Postell; Captⁿ Smith was Down Yesterday at M^{rs} Tydeman's, the Enemy is Yett at M^r. Duxsaint, said to be, two hundred horse (but very Ordinary) & 500 Infantry & two field pieces.²³⁹ I cannot yett Learn that they took any prisoners, for they give no quarters, to Either Continentals or Malitia; our Loss the 24 is not yett ascertained, as many is not come in, but cannot find any Malitia was killed Except three which fell in With them a reconetering. The 25th we had one man killed in a Barn & another in a stable which went their to hind themselves & one man more. L^t [Jacob] Smiser of Col Horrys Corps is drowned in Crossing the river. The militia is collecting. Col. M^cDonald who Crossed over Lower ferry brought me an hundred men a good many Lost their Arms, an Article we much want; I have sent Orders to the regiments to Join me immideatly, & hope soon to be out against our Infamous Enemys.

I have not returns yett, that I cannot tell the Number of horses Lost, but believe it is not more than 12 or 13 of Horrys & three of Mahams.

The Enemys Intention is stock & Cattle & Appear to be very Secure where they are. As soon as I can git returns will transmit them to you.

We Lost a Glorious Opertunity the 25th of Cuting up the British Caveldry, if Our troops Woud have Charged; for I had no Idea of a retreat when they broke & was myself within four men of the Colum in front on their right flank.²⁴⁰

I have the Honor to be

y^r ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:431-32.

238. This letter has not been found (PNG, 10:431n).

239. The reference here is presumably to Capt. John Caraway Smith of Maham's regiment. Paul Douxsaint's plantation was in St. James Santee Parish. Col. John Laurens renewed his march to Marion based on the information contained here (PNG, 10:431n-32n)).

240. In his letter to Greene of Mar. 1, below, Maham, who was angry that he was not in the engagement, wrote, "Instead of ordering a charge Which was the only thing that Could possibly of Savd our men, had the Enemys of done there duty, thay ware ordered to file off[f] to the Rite which struck the oficers & men, that thay wast to Retret, which thay did in the Gratest Confution." Maham, who, after moving his regiment in preparation for attacking the British, received leave from Marion to go to his plantation—12 miles away--and to return the next day, expressed his dismay, writing that upon Marion learning of Horry's surprise at Wambaw, "The Genl Emeadiately March off[f] at 10 Oclock at night, without giving Me the First notes [notice] not Even Left one of my dragoons To go down with me, he March down within Five miles of the enemy..."

Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

March 1: 1782²⁴¹

D^r Gen^l

Inclod youl plesse Rec^e the Return Of my Reg^t agreeable to your orders;²⁴² Whold of sent it sooner, but the situation of the lines whould not Admit.

When I was attending the assembly, an Express Arrvd that the Enemy was advancing towards Gen^l Marians brigd, the Gen^l & my Self Emeadiately tok of[f] to Join our Commands. When we got Near them we was informed that the Enemy had Returnd.²⁴³ Gen^l Marian Then agreed with me to Stay & Rest ourselves And my Reg^t one day: as we had join'd up 12 Miles from My Plantation, I askd Leave of the Gen^l to go home to Make out my Returns & whould joine Him the Next day: before he March of[f].

In 5 hours after I left him, an Express arrvd to [him?] of Col^o Horry's Cavalry being Surprised. The Girl Emeadiately March of[f] at 10 Oclock at night, without giving Me the First notes [notice] not Even Left one of my dragoons To go down with me, he March down within Five miles of the Enemy to get Provisions for his men & forrag his horses, & when our People was busey a providing Vitals [vittles] & there Horses all a feeding, the hole British Cavalry Came down on them. As soon as Even the Enemy discovered our people thay Emeadiately halted, And formd. Had thay not of halted thay whould of taken the hole Reg^t as there was no way for them to make there Escape but by swimming the Rivar. But there Halting, gave our men Time to Git there Horses & mount and form, And Expected to Charge. Instead of ordering a charge Which was the only thing that could possibly of Savd our men, had the Enemys of done there, thay ware orderd to file of[f] to the Rite which struck the officers & men, that thay wast to Retret, which thay did in the Gratest Confution. NotwithStanding the Enemy force was above double to that or our, thay did not persue till the Last of our men, was getting over the fence, & then followd but a Very Little ways.²⁴⁴

Col^o Horrys Reg^t Sufford Considerabley the day Before. I have not assertan'd my Loss as yet. We have Six dragoons Still missing & Six of the Infantry.²⁴⁵ A grate number of my men Got dismounted owing to a verry bad crick thay had to go throu. In [swords?] we have sufferd very mutch, all our men that got dismounted was oblige to throw away there brod swords an Every other incombrance to Swim the Rivar. We have allso lost a good many of our best Horses. I have taken the Liberty to enforme your Honour of the present situation of my Reg^t. If your Honour thinks it may be proper to Replace the Loss of Stores Will be glad to get an athoratrey to Empresss them, alltho it is But Little Satisfaction to me to Endeavour to Keep up the Reg^t. When other people has To Expend: with them, without giving me the Satisfaction of being present.

I have the Honour to be D^r Ge^l

Your most Ob^t Hbe Sat

H Maham

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:429-31.

241. No location listed.

242. Greene had initially requested a return of Maham's regiment a month earlier (Greene to Maham, Feb. 1, 1782, PNG, 10:297-98). Greene's aide, Cap. William Pierce, made a second request for the return two weeks later (Pierce to Maham, Feb. 16, 1782, PNG, 10:372). The return has not been found.

243. Presumably this referred to Thompson and his return to Charlestown (PNG, 10:431n).

244. See Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, above.

245. See Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, Marion to Greene, Mar. 1, and undated entries in Marion's Orderly Book, all above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

March 2d 1782

Dr Sir,

Yours of the 28th February came to hand²⁴⁶ __ 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 about²⁴⁷ __ I Rallied a part of the Horse less than half a Mile & sent them to Cover the Scattered men. The Enemy never followed us out of the plantation, I cannot Learn our Loss on the 25th Februar^y is more than L^t. Smizer & three men.²⁴⁸ I shall pay every attention to your Regim^t. you can provide Caps & Swords where you are. Cap^t. Mitchell can tell you what passed in the Assembly.²⁴⁹

I am

Your obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

246. Horry's letter of Feb. 28 to Marion has not been found. However, presumably much of what was in it was identical to his letter to Greene of Feb. 28, above, detailing the actions at Durant's and Tidyman's plantations.

247. The explanation for the failure at Tidyman's differed between Marion and Maham. As seen in Marion to Greene of Mar. 1, above, Maham blamed the failure on an order to file off, interpreted as an order to retreat. Maham implied that the order came from Marion.

248. The return in Marion's Orderly Book, undated but presumably written shortly after Feb. 25, above, showed Jacob Smizer as the only casualty from Horry's regiment during the fighting at Tidyman's Plantation. Smizer served as a lieutenant in the cavalry under Lt. Col. Peter Horry during 1781, and drowned while withdrawing from Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 24, 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 882). However, Horry's regiment suffered four killed, six wounded, seven missing, and 24 missing horses in the action at Durant's Plantation Feb. 24 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 717).

249. This may refer to Capt. Thomas Mitchell, nephew and aide-to-camp to Francis Marion during 1782 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 734n1658).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonburgh March 3d 1782

Sir,

Maj. Gen^l Greene has applied to me for a body of Militia as a permanent force, & on which he can Rely in support of his operations__ I therefore desire you will Immediately proceed to draught your Brigade into Three Classes the first Class to Rendezvous at your head Quarters on the first day of April next & to Continue in Service for one month from that day, the 2d you are to hold in Readiness to Relieve with punctuality, the first on the day their time of service shall Expire, & in the same manner the 3d. to Release the 2d.²⁵⁰ Your Brigade is to Continue this Routine of duty untill further Orders from me. If your Brigade has been already Classed into three Classes & are now serving under that Arrangement I would not wish to break in upon it, as it must Create some confusion, but Rather continue it, only that they must be Released Every month instead of every two months, agreeable to the New Militia Law;²⁵¹ but if they have not been thus organized, then you must pursue the Instruction I have above laid down, which altho' attended with some inconvenience in the first Instance, must be submitted to as the good of the service renders it Absolutely Necessary. I must Insist, sir, that you pay the Strictest attention to the bringing into the field all Persons in your Brigade liable by law to bear Arms agreeable to their Drafts & that the law be Carried vigorously into Execution against all delinquents. Unless this is done it is Impossible for me to Comply with my Engagements to Gen^l. Greene the service must suffer & Confusion Necessarily Ensur__ I must also Insist that you oblige all those persons who have come from within the Enemies lines & are liable to do duty in your Brigade under the late Gov^r. Rutledge's proclamation & the Law lately passed for pardoning such as Came out after the said proclamation to Comply with the conditions on which they are to be pardoned as far as Relates to their Military Engagements.²⁵² As soon as you can ascertain the Number of men in Each Class you are to make me a Return & continue so to do as is directed by the Militia Law.

I am Sir,

Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

John Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

250. Mathews conveyed similar directions to Greene on Mar. 3 (Mathews to Greene, Mar. 3, 1782, *PNG*, 10:436).

251. It appears that Gov. Mathews violated the new Militia Law, passed Feb. 26, 1782, only a week prior to this letter. The new law called for the militia to be divided into four groups, rather than the three Gov. Mathews directed here. The militia would serve "for one month from the first day of April to the last day of July, and for two months at every other season of the year" (*Statutes*, 9:682-87). Mathews justified the revision with the need for additional troops to support Gen. Greene.

252. By the proclamation of Sep. 27, 1781, then Gov. John Rutledge granted "a full and free pardon" to those who surrendered to a brigadier of militia within 30 days and served in the militia for six months. The legislature saw fit to augment that proclamation by Act 1157, dated Feb. 26, 1782. The South Carolina legislature granted pardon to those who applied between Oct. 27 and Dec. 27, 1781, contingent on paying an amercement of 10% on their holdings.

Col. John Laurens to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Mr. Ioores,²⁵³ at the Cypress March 4th 1782

Dr General,

I have this moment arrived here with Washingtons Cavalry & the Cavalry of Lees Legion, the Infantry of the Latter Corps & the Delaware Battalion have halted at Rump'; after a night March we require a few hours refreshment & Repose & shall put ourselves in motion at 10 OClock, my Guides advise me to take the road from hence to Daniel Ravenels Sen^r. A movement on your part to that place or as much further towards us as you please would I apprehend secure our Junction, My Corps is by no means as strong as I would wish, but it is Composed of Good Soldiers, we are Rather fatigued & will Esteem it a favour, if you will save us in Marching. I mention the Junction above simply from the Information of Mr. Glaize²⁵⁴ __ Your views Relative to the Enemy may require a Junction in another point, The sooner I Can hear from you on the subject the better able I shall be to Execute your Intentions.²⁵⁵ My Infantry amount to about 170, my Cavalry to 94.

I have the honour to be, with the Greatest Attachment & Respect, Dr General,
Yours Sincerely,

Jn^o. Laurens

P.S. Excuse a letter written with sleepy eyes & very Cold fingers

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

253. Mr. Ioores at the Cypress referred to a plantation at the head of Ashley River at Cypress Swamp.

254. A John Glaze served in the cavalry under Col. Maham (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 363).

255. According to the diary of one soldier serving under Laurens, the army camped near Bacon's Bridge on Mar. 6, and marched to "Mr. Izard's plantation on the 7th, where they camped until Mar. 12. "Mr. Izard's plantation" was probably that of Ralph Izard, a leading planter and politician (Seymour, "Journal," quoted in *PNG*, 10:461n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. John Laurens²⁵⁶

St. Stephens 4th March, 1782

5 OC. PM

S^r.

Yourse of the 1st and 4th Inst. this moment came to hand –

Yesterday Evening a reconitiring party came in they have been as low down as M^{rs}. Hasel,²⁵⁷ and round M^r Quash's, the only Intelligence he could Gain is from a Nigro that the Enemy was at M^r. Dan^l. Lesesnes on Cainhoy about ten miles from Daniels Island & twenty five to haddrells; they are so near these places that they may retire in a few hours or reinforce in as few. Horrys Caveldry is so [exhausted?] I have Sent them to PeeDee to refit,²⁵⁸ Maham about Sixty Fit for Duty is with me, and the relief of malitia Just now taking place I have not one hundred men a Great many not Armed²⁵⁹—

I Shall learn tomorrow for a Certainty where the Enemy are When I will Let you know as soon as possible—in my present Situation I can give very little Assistance, Except with Maham Caveldry, & am at a Loss what to Advise Either to halt or Come on to Ravenels²⁶⁰—

I am Y^r. &.

Frans Marion

ALS (MiU-C)

256. This letter was enclosed in a letter from Laurens to Greene of Mar. 6 (PNG, 10:460-61). The Mar. 4 letter from Laurens to Marion is above. The Mar. 1 letter has not been found.

257. There was a Hasel plantation on the south side of the Wando River across from Cat Island. Robert Quash owned Cypress Pond, a large plantation adjacent to Quinby Plantation, which belonged to the Shubrick family, the site of the Patriot defeat on Jul. 17, 1781.

258. Horry's cavalry took a beating at Durant's Plantation on Feb. 24. At Tidyman's Plantation, the following day, his regiment suffered additional losses. Horry pegged his losses at 14 killed in his Feb. 28 letter, above, to Gen. Greene.

259. The relief referred to was the change in militia being called up. On Feb. 26, the legislature passed a revised militia law, in which one-fourth of the militia served at a time in two-month intervals from August through March, and one-month intervals from April through July. Since this law was just being enacted, it is very probable there were start-up issues. Marion implied that a new one-month rotation of the militia began the first of March, accounting for his negative outlook about his capabilities.

260. Ravenels referred to Wantoot Plantation, approximately six miles northwest of Moncks Corner.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonburgh March 4th 1782

Sir,

Col^o Senf²⁶¹ waits on you to Confer on the necessity & practicability of fortifying the harbor of George Town. Gen^l Greene is very desirous it should be done immediately. After Confering with you Col^o Senf is to proceed to make a survey & Report to me Accordingly.²⁶²

I am Sir,

Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jn^o. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

261. Col. Johann Christian Senf was the Continental Southern Army's chief engineer, who had recently returned after serving at the siege of Yorktown.

262. In a Mar. 3 letter to Greene, Mathews expressed his ideas about protecting the trade at Georgetown, "I have also directed the Vessels that come in there, to run up some of the rivers & land their goods, (instead of landing them at the town) under the protection of this detachment. This mode appears to me better calculated to protect the trade at that place, than by fortifying the harbour. However, if you think otherwise, I will give the necessary orders for carrying your views into execution" (Mathews to Greene, Mar. 3, 1781, *PNG*, 10:436-37). Apparently, Greene thought otherwise. As seen in his first letter to Greene of Mar. 8, below, Marion also thought it unwise to fortify. However, he later agreed to let Senf build a post for the protection of Georgetown's harbor because of the "difficulty of removing prejudice in traders, and Carrying the trade higher up the country." (Marion to Greene, Jun. 1, below; *PNG*, 10:436-37n).

Certificate from Francis Marion

St. Stephens Parish 6th March 1782

Certify, that M^r William Doughty, surrender'd himself to me the 22^d of May 1781 & on Account of his Ill State of health I gave him permission to go to Burmuda _____

Fran^s Marion

DS (ScCoAH)

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[St. Stephens]²⁶³ March 7th 1782

Dr Sir,

Yours of the 4th ulto. came to hand Yesterday afternoon²⁶⁴ __ I have sent Captⁿ. Gough to Join you, & hope you will with all Expedition, Equip & put your Regim^t. in Order for duty & I cannot be Easy untill I have satisfaction of our Cruel Enemy²⁶⁵ __ I wrote you before I came from the So. Ward of my Approbation in sending Captⁿ. Pinckney to George Town, had you not done it you would have been wanting in your duty²⁶⁶ __ As you are in the Vicinity of George Town, You will take the Command of that place & you Are to Act as Commandant of George Town & its vicinity²⁶⁷ __ Captⁿ. Weyman²⁶⁸ will show you my Orders which you will attend to. You will be particular in defending the Trade & every Vessell which may come in, & Give Orders for the good Regulation of Trade & every other matter which may be for the good of the service __ You will be particular in not suffering any person to Go to Ch^s. Town without the Governour's, Gen^l Greene's, or my permission. I have Inclosed an Order to Captⁿ. Bossard to reinforce Captⁿ. Weyman's Artillery & that the Ch^s. Town Militia which I have Ordered to take post in that town,²⁶⁹ I wou'd advise to remove every Vessell & goods out of the town to black mingo & send a Guard there for their protection from the Tories.²⁷⁰ Every Article that is brought in for sale I wish to have Regulated, that it may not be sold at too Extravagant prices, Giving such a Generous profit to the Importers as to Encourage the Trade as much as possible, __ Salt must not be more than four hard Dollars per Bushell. Every Article that is or may tend to Luxury at whatever price the seller pleases & my meaning is to Regulate nothing but what may be Absolutely Necessary for the support of Life, such as Salt, Sugar, Coffee, Tea & Medicines. I hope that your disorder is not so Great as to prevent you from presiding over the Necessary business above & you are hereby Authorized & Empowered to take the Command of all the Troops in George Town, or in its Vicinity, which is not Ordered otherwise by me.²⁷¹

I am with Esteem Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

263. Location Inferred. Marion wrote from St. Stephens on Mar. 4 and Mar. 8.

264. The letter has not been found.

265. Richard Gough served as a captain in the regiment of light dragoons raised by the Assembly in 1779, and was a captain in the militia under Lt. Col. Peter Horry and Gen. Marion during 1780-82 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 376). Gough remained with Marion after Horry's regiment was decimated at Durant's (Feb. 24) and Tidyman's (Feb. 25) Plantations, before being dispatched to Horry. It is unclear whether Horry had returned to duty, despite his illness, or remained at his plantation. Marion revealed here his desire to exact revenge on the British for the embarrassing losses to his brigade, especially the loss at Tidyman's where Marion himself had been present.

266. Horry wrote Marion on Feb. 20, above that he had sent the 40 men to Georgetown, presumably, in response to the urgent request of Feb. 17, above, by merchants William Doughty and John Bryan, concerning the capture, by a New England privateer, of their ship carrying provisions to Georgetown.

267. By his letter of Feb. 26, above, Gov. Mathews directed Marion to place "a party under the Command of an Active & Vigilant Officer, stationed at & about Georgetown, so as to be always in a situation to Give the most prompt assistance when requisite." Three days after Mathews's directive to Marion regarding the assignment of a militia force to Georgetown, Gen. Greene wrote the merchants of Georgetown, advising them "to send the Vessels and Stores as high up the rivers as possible; and I hope you will not omit to do it from a vain persuasion that the enemy may not come; for be assur'd nothing but the plan propos'd will secure you from a visit" (Greene to Merchants of Georgetown, Mar. 1, 1782, PNG, 10:426-27). As implied by Mathews's letter of Mar. 4, above, both he and Gen. Greene intended to fortify Georgetown harbor to fend off British vessels.

268. Edward Weyman (1730-93) emigrated from Pennsylvania to South Carolina sometime before 1756. He worked as a glass grinder and upholsterer and was a member of the Sons of Liberty. Weyman was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses and 1st and 3rd General Assemblies. He served as a lieutenant and captain in the Charlestown Battalion of Artillery from 1779-80. He was also a marshal on the Admiralty Board. After Charlestown fell, Weyman was one of a group of Patriots who were exiled to St. Augustine. After his return, he rejoined his militia unit. By his letter of Dec. 15, 1781, above, then Gov. Rutledge annexed the Charlestown militia to Marion's brigade. Marion thereafter assigned the artillery battalion to Georgetown. Weyman was apparently the commander of the battalion. He was elected to the House for the General Assembly convened at Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782. In Mar. 1782 Marion advised Horry, who was then commandant of Georgetown, that Weyman would temporarily carry out Horry's order, until he resumed his health (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 981; Rutledge to Marion Dec. 15, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Marion to Horry Mar. 13, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

269. Marion dispatched Capt. Edward Weyman to deliver his letter. He presumably enclosed Mathews's letter of Feb. 26, above, as "my Orders."

270. Marion followed up on Greene's letter to the merchants of Georgetown, re-emphasizing the urgency of moving all goods and vessels from Georgetown up Black Mingo Creek, where he felt they could be better protected from British foraging expeditions.

271. The last sentence served to reinforce Horry in his new duties, demonstrating that he had the full support of Gen. Marion.

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

S^t Stephens 8th March 1782

S^r

I am Just now moving to take a position near my former on the Lower Santee where I may be secure & have it in my power to send patrols Down Country & be so near George Town as to protect the trade there.²⁷² His Excellency the Governor has Sent me Orders to Draught one third of the militia;²⁷³ which make[s] an Alteration in the Draughts now coming out & will take some Days to reduce them to a third. This will not be sufficient to lay so close to the Enemy as I wish or as I formerly was.

As soon as the Division come out will make you a return. I shall Leave Col^o Maham's Corps here for a few days untill I can provide forage below for them.

The Intelligence I recd respecting the Enemy, that they went down [i]mmedeatly without any halt, to Daniels Island where their horse Embarked for Town Neck, & by Crowding too many horses in the boats fifteen of them & two men got Drowne.²⁷⁴ They camped with them a Number of Cattle & Negroes.

I am Informed that thirty Empty transports is arrived but not a Soldier. The Letter wrought to Col. Laurens & refired [i.e., referred] to in my last returned to me without finding its way to him, owing to not knowing where to find him. I have Inclosed it for your further Satisfaction.²⁷⁵

Col^o Senf arived here yesterday on his way to Geo^r Town to see if that place can be fortified,²⁷⁶ which in my Opinion [it] Cannot with the Number of men we can spare from the field. I have advised him to Black Mingo where vessells can with great Ease go up from Geo^r Town, & be safe as the river is very Narrow (but Deep) and the Difficulty to Approach it by Land [*torn*] must Pass two rivers besides Santee, & around that spot is inhabited by our best Citizen[s], my Old first followers.²⁷⁷

I had sent Orders to the Merchants & Inhabitants in Geo^r Town to remove their property to Black Mingo.

I have the Honor to be

Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

272. After the twin debacles at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation, Marion withdrew, first to a camp near Murray's Ferry from where he wrote Mar. 1, above. He then moved to Cantey's Plantation on the north side of the Santee. He was presumably at Cantey's when he wrote this letter. In his letter of Feb. 26, above, Gov. Mathews had ordered Marion to "have a party under the Command of an Active & Vigilant Officer, stationed at & about Georgetown, so as to be always in a situation to Give the most prompt assistance when requisite." (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 275).

273. Mathews wrote to Greene on Mar. 3, reporting that the new Militia Law had been passed by the South Carolina legislature, creating three militia brigades serving alternately and reporting on the first day of the month for one-month duty "untill further orders." (Mathews to Greene, Mar. 3, 1782, PNG, 10:436).

274. This presumably referred to Col. Benjamin Thompson's retreat (PNG, 10:463n).

275. Marion's letter earlier to Greene has not been found. Laurens enclosed Marion's Mar. 4 letter to himself, above, in his own Mar. 6 letter to Greene (Laurens to Greene, Mar. 6, 1782, PNG, 10:460). Laurens was on the way to form a junction with Marion when the Mar. 4 letter came to hand. As a result, he did not resume his march and, instead, turned around and marched to Bacon Bridge (PNG, 10:460n, 463n). See also Marion to Greene, Mar. 8, immediately below.

276. For more on Senf's mission, see Mathews to Marion, Mar. 4, above.

277. Presumably, the referenced rivers were the Pee Dee and the Waccamaw. In a letter to Greene on Mar. 3, Mathews echoed Marion's plan "to run up some of the rivers & land their goods," rather than fortifying Georgetown (Mathews to Greene, Mar. 3, 1782, PNG, 10:436).

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

S^t Stephens 8 March 1782

S^r

I wrought You this morning since [which?] I recd yourse of the 29th Ult^o.²⁷⁸ I have had reconitering partys down to Wapetaw, and Figarties Ferry & in Different places of S^t Thomas & find the Enemy went off a few day[s] since the day before. My Letter this morning p^r Express will fully Inform You of every perticular of my movements & Intentions & [I] shall always make point of giving you every Intelligence Interesting which may come to hand. Col. Laurens since the date of yourse above wrought me he was on his way back to his Old position as he was too late for the Object.²⁷⁹ I shall Continue my march down as Informed you this Morning; & am Just this moment going to march.

I have the Honor to be
your Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

278. Marion's letter of "this morning" is the previous letter of Mar. 8, immediately above. Greene's letter of "the 29th" presumably meant Mar. 1, above. The date was obviously an error since 1782 was not a leap year.

279. Marion's earlier letter of this date, immediately above, explains more about Laurens's movements.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[On march to Smyth's plantation]²⁸⁰ March 8th 1782

Sir,

I Received yours of the 7th Ult^o. You will Order Captⁿ. Allstons & Murrells companys to Join you at George Town²⁸¹__ I mean one third of Each, as only that proportion is now Ordered out;²⁸² for the George Town Company I gave you Orders in my last__ M^r. White who Acts as Commissary will want Drivers that know the Country, Let him have a sufficient Number.²⁸³ M^{rs}. Wilson must be Ordered to Ch^s. Town Immediately with only such property as come with her or attends her with all her wearing Apperall, Nothing of Beard's Estate, or such as is her husbands by marriage, she must take away.²⁸⁴ A Number of negroes I am told is going Northwardly, you will Stop all such negroes & prevent as much as possible negroes Travelling any where without a pass from me or some Officer Commanding any Detachment in the Continental Service,²⁸⁵ Fishburn[e]²⁸⁶ I sent on business to the So. Ward, the Rest I know nothing of. I Expect particular Orders Respecting Empressing Horses, till that Come, nothing can be done.²⁸⁷

I am Your Obed^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

N.B. I am on my March for Smyth's Plant^a.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

280. Location inferred. Presumed to be St. Stephens, since Marion wrote from there on Mar. 4, and a second letter of Mar. 8, below was also addressed from St. Stephens.

281. The letter has not been found. However, it is clear from context that Horry had requested additional troops.

282. Although the new militia law, passed Feb. 26, required the militia to be called out one-fourth at a time, Gov. Mathews quickly made an executive decision to call out one-third at a time, presumably due to the request made by Gen. Greene for militia to support his operations. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 3, above.

283. The identity of Mr. White is not certain but it may refer to Col. Anthony Walton White, former commander of the 1st Continental Dragoons, who had returned to Georgetown in Oct. 1781, after his exchange. See Horry to Marion, Oct. 5, 1781, above.

284. Mrs. Wilson may refer to the wife of Dr. Robert Wilson, whose name appeared on the original confiscation list. His name was eventually removed, but he was amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 6:633-34). Marion again ordered Horry to send Mrs. Wilson to Charlestown on Mar. 10, below. As related in his letter of Mar. 18, below, Mathews apparently responded to Marion's query about "what is to be done with M^{rs}. Wilson & all others in like Circumstances" in a letter written Mar. 9, but not found. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 18, below. Mrs. Beard is presumed to be the wife of Robert Beard, who is listed on the confiscation list as one who presented a congratulatory address to Sir Henry Clinton and Adm. Mariot Arbuthnot upon the surrender of Charlestown in May, 1780 (*South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1782). Beard's name was subsequently removed from the confiscation list and his estates were amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 6:634).

285. It is unclear whether Marion meant slaves accompanied by a white person or slaves who left their plantations. As the revolution wound down, it was quite common for slaves, especially those bound to Loyalist estates slated for confiscation by the state, to migrate to what they thought would be a better life in British custody. Lt. Col. John Laurens introduced a motion to enlist slaves as soldiers. However, it was soundly defeated. Instead, the South Carolina legislature passed legislation authorizing the use of confiscated slaves for enlistment bounties for filling the two SC Continental regiments, and for use by the Continental Army in support capacities:

"XI. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That the said commissioners, before they proceed to sell any slaves or other personal property belonging to any persons mentioned in the said lists, shall set apart a sufficient number of slaves to raise the quota of continental troops required of this State, and to pay such State troops as have bounties due to them, and four hundred and forty of the male slaves belonging to such persons, which shall be fit and proper for the use of the continental army, as pioneers, wagon drivers, artificers and officers' servants..." (*Statutes*, 4:520).

286. [See a brief bio of William Fishburne by clicking here.](#)

287. Marion reported 24 horses lost by Horry's cavalry regiment during the debacle at Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 24 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 717). In a letter written only the day before, above, Marion had urged Horry to re-equip his regiment. Impressment of horses had been an ongoing issue among Marion, Horry, Greene and then Gov. Rutledge. In response to the need for horses, Marion's request for permission to impress was grudgingly approved by Gov. Mathews on Mar. 12, below, "I hope this Incorporation will prevent the Necessity of your making use of the powers I lately Gave you to impress horses; it is Grevious to the cavalry regiments of Horry and Maham."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Smyth's Plantation²⁸⁸ March 10th 1782

Sir,

Yours of this date is before me²⁸⁹ __ The Orders Respecting not Thrashing out Rice Extend to every part of my Brigade, those who presume to disobey that Order must be taken prisoners & sent to me under Guard & all such Rice thrashed Contrary to Order must be seized for the Use of the publick²⁹⁰ __ I would wish M^{rs}. Stewart may be Indulged to remain with her friends as long as her behavior is not Inconsistant with the good of the Americans. M^{rs}. Wilson must Immediately go to Ch^s. Town as before directed-- persons coming from Ch^s. Town (I mean men) must Join our forces in George Town or be made prisoners of War __ Women who may come from there & have husbands or fathers in Ch^s. Town must be sent back to them,²⁹¹ Respecting M^r. & M^{rs}. Horry, I shall as a friend Give my private Advice & favour them as much as may be Consistant with my duty²⁹² __ Captⁿ. Chaney & Crew must be Absolutely made prisoners & put in Close Confinement & the Vessell & Cargo sent to black Mingo under Guard & be taken Care of untill settled by a Court.²⁹³ Rains & his Accomplice, if taken, must be put in Irons & kept as felons, & every Negro, in Custody of whatever person, that has not a pass from Governour Matthews, General Greene, or myself must be Stopt & kept in Close confinement until further Orders,²⁹⁴ I believe the Galleys was not at Se[e]wee as mentioned in my last, if they were there they are gone __ I heard yesterday from Daniels Island & Wappetaw __ The Enemy are Returned to Town²⁹⁵ __ This day I have Accounts that an Order of General Leslie, that one half of the British Troops are to hold themselves in Readiness to Embark by the 15th Ult^o, for New York __ The[is?] comes from a person in Town, attached to the British, & that they are Carting down to the Water, provisions & Officers baggage,²⁹⁶ I shall remain here some time²⁹⁷ __ were you may direct every Occurrence as soon as I can settle my Camp, which may

288. In his letter of Mar. 8 to Horry, Marion indicated he was on "on my March for Smyth's Plantⁿ." He indicated later in this letter that he would "remain here some time." This may have been John or James Smyth's plantation. It was common for Patriot forces to encamp at Loyalist plantations, so that the reimbursement for provisions gathered on the plantation would not be required. Both Smyths were included on the Confiscation List and had their penalty reduced to 12% amercement.

289. The referenced letter has not been found.

290. The issue of "thrashing out rice" first appeared in a Jan. 24 letter, above, from Marion to Horry. In an effort to control the generation of forage for the military horses, Marion sent "Orders to the plantation on Santee not to Thrash out or beat any Rice, but what may be Necessary for plantation or your Use." On Jan. 27, above, Greene lamented the problem of "thrashing out" rice to then Gov. Rutledge, "Should they pursue it, and thrash out all they have, we shall be distressed on account of forage, as the rice in the straw is much preferable to the grain. I must beg you will give orders to prevent the thrashing it for any other than indispensable purposes."

291. The identity of Mrs. Stewart is not known. She may have been the wife of Charles Augustus Steward, who appeared on a "List of the names alluded to in the Act for Amercing certain persons" (*Statutes*, 4:523). Marion's stance concerning spouses of Loyalists seems to have been inconsistent, since in the next case, involving Mrs. Wilson, he clearly directed that she be sent back to Charlestown. See Marion to Horry, Mar. 12, 1782, below.

292. This referred to Daniel Horry, who had taken British parole after the fall of Charlestown.

293. In his response of Mar. 11, below, Horry mentioned a "NC cutter and the flagg schooner." Apparently, Capt. Chaney was captain of the cutter. The flag schooner was presumably a merchant vessel flying the American flag. The implication is that Chaney, probably operating under a letter of marque from Congress, captured a ship that claimed it was either neutral or American. Marion ordered the ship moved to Black Mingo out of the reach of British foraging expeditions to await a hearing in the Admiralty court. The Admiralty Court was re-established by Ordinance 1158, dated Feb. 26, 1782 (*Statutes*, 4:528).

294. In his letter of Mar. 18, below, Gov. Mathews supported Marion in his treatment of Richard Rains and his accomplice, who had stolen a number of slaves.

295. Marion referred to the foraging expeditions made by the British under Col. Benjamin Thompson during late February and early March. He related steps he was taking to gain intelligence in his letter to Greene of Mar. 8, above. He had sent reconnoitering parties to Wappetaw Ferry, which was located approximately 20 miles up the coast from Charlestown, and to Daniels Island, on the Wando River. Intelligence that the British had passed southward would give the Patriots relief, since they were still trying to recover from the losses received at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation. Reports of the British passing across Daniels Island would be well-received, since from Daniels Island the British would be ferried across the Cooper River to Charlestown.

296. Marion gave more general intelligence of an impending evacuation to Greene and Horry in letters of Mar. 13, both below.

297. As seen in Marion's Mar. 16 letter to Horry, below, he moved his encampment to Daniel Horry's Hampton Plantation.

be in a day or two, will send you a Reinforcement from here__ Chaney & his Crew must at all Events be secured in Jail__ If you can send a small Detachment of Men of your Cavalry after the Villains, Rains & his Accomplices, do it without delay.

I am Sir

Your hum.Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

N.B. I am but this moment arrived here.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town, March 11th 1782

Dr General,

I am favoured with yours of the 9th & 10th Instant.²⁹⁸ your Orders Respecting the No. Carolina Cutter & the flagg Schooner shall be Complied with.²⁹⁹ I have sent Captⁿ. [Henry] Lenuid with Every horse that Can be of Service.³⁰⁰ Captⁿ. [William] Withers is very wrong to suffer Officers under his Command to send off any man whatever without his permission & on very Urgent Necessity.³⁰¹ M^r. Wragg³⁰² is an assistant of M^r. Waties,³⁰³ who is Gone to Virginia as Continental Agent; he only went out as a temporary Volunteer to act Immediately should there be any Action he is Returned but I supposed with leave. M^r. Gueny [or Guerry?] I have not seen lately__

M^r. Lesesne & every other Volunteer but Blamyner [or Blaqmeyer?] I have sent you, he is a good writer, & has so much to do in that way that he Acts as my Secretary or Clerk.³⁰⁴ I do not much wonder at Gen^l. Greenes delays Respecting me, it is as Usual, difficulties always arose whenever anything was to be determined Relative to me, however by your Urging him, I suppose he may determine sooner than he otherwise would do. I shall put myself in the way to Equipt & Cloath my men & wish for full Orders so to do³⁰⁵__

I have sent Col^o. Grimkie³⁰⁶ your Order for Rice, but have not yet had his Answer__ None of the Merchants or Vessells want Rice, they all want Indigo, If I can you will Rely on it, I will get you Rum, Sugar & Coffee__

I beg you to write to N^o. Carolina, or to the General Governor & Councill of this State to Endeavour to put a Stop to the depredations committed on our Coast by N^o. Carolina privateers, no Vessells can come in here, a flagg, Gen^l. Greenes the Governours or your pass or protection to Vessells coming in this harbour, are of no Signification, they are Captured by those plunderes Continually.³⁰⁷ Howell & his crew & a number of other sailors he collected on Shore has behaved in a very Riotous manner Respecting the flagg Vessell. I have

298. The letter of Mar. 9 has not been found.

299. In his Mar. 10 letter, above, Marion informed Horry that a Capt. Chaney and his crew should be arrested and their ship and cargo sent to Black Mingo. Here Horry was probably referring to Chaney's ship as the "No. Carollina cutter." The identity of the "flagg schooner" is not known.

300. It is curious that Horry was sending horses to Marion since Horry himself was having difficulty equipping his regiment after the defeat at Tidyman's.

301. It is unclear what was meant by this sentence.

302. Joseph Wragg was the assistant Continental purchaser at Georgetown, in Jun. 1782. He was also a planter in Prince George Parish (George C. Rogers, *The History of Georgetown County, South Carolina* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 166; PNG, 11:305n).

303. John Waties Jr. (1758-98) was a merchant and planter who lived along the Pee Dee River near Georgetown, and the brother of Thomas Waties. He was one of the American prisoners released in Jun. 1781 from the prison ship *Torbay* in Charlestown harbor. After his release Waties served as a Continental agent, who secured supplies from North Carolina. Waties negotiated an agreement with John Banks to ship supplies to Georgetown. Banks's firm later defaulted on a loan Gen. Greene had guaranteed for supplying materials to the army, prompting whispers that Greene himself was part of the firm (Bull, H.D. "The Waties Family of South Carolina," SCHGM 45 [1944]:17; PNG, 11:64n, 105n; Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2006, 308-09). In an Apr. 9 letter, below, Marion advised Horry that M^r. Wragg was absent without leave, "if he is a Volunteer, he must be discharged & not suffered in future to be on the Comm^y. Dep^t. M^r. Guerry is absent without leave, & must be Dismissed."

304. William Blamyner (Blameyer) served as a captain in the 5th SC Regiment and resigned in Nov. 1778 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 76).

305. Here Horry was offering to pay for his men's clothing and equipment, but wanted orders to do so, presumably so he could claim reimbursement later. His letter to Greene of Feb. 28, above, would appear to have settled Horry's concerns over Greene's assessment of his rank. See Horry to Greene, Feb. 28, above.

306. Presumably Marion's 'requisition' was for rice that he expected Horry would be able to supply. Apparently, Horry could not, and forwarded the responsibility on to John Faucheraud Grimke. It was Grimke's responsibility to manage confiscated estates, using them as sources of provisions for the Patriot army. [See a brief bio of John Faucheraud Grimke by clicking here.](#)

307. Although the Patriots had re-occupied Georgetown in May, 1781, they were helpless to protect vessels that attempted to engage in trade. Without a functioning American navy, merchant ships were at the mercy of British naval vessels, British privateers, and even American privateers who opportunistically attacked merchant ships. Here Horry accused North Carolina privateers of taking over legitimate commercial vessels. Many of these ships actually carried letters of marque, but in this period of the war, many acted as unlicensed privateers as well. As seen in the Feb. 17, 1782 letter, above, from Doughty and Bryan to Marion, a New England privateer captured their ship the *Hope*, as it was entering Winyah Bay. This ship was freed. However, others were not so fortunate. Another merchant vessel, the *Good Intent*, was captured by the same American privateer that had taken the *Hope*.

been Oblidged to Confine some of them in Gaol, & under a Guard, Meyers is on board the flagg,³⁰⁸ Moor's Case is desperate, he deserted the British with his Arms, & was endeavouring to make his Escape, he was taken off a sea Island & brought here, his family is at black River, if he is sent back he will be hanged, he & Broderick, the Inhabitants have petitioned me to suffer them to remain on Shore till your further Orders they also petitioned you in their favour, as the flagg Vessell has not a fair wind I have Indulged their petition.³⁰⁹ 'Tis likely the Enemy will make another sally soon, as they find Col^o. Laurens Retired from this Quarter to General Greene. They appear in their designs to harass us as much as possible, by sending Alternately on both sides of the River, against yourself & Col^o. Laurens.³¹⁰ M^r. Lesesne has D^r. Hynes House without his knowledge or Consent & Refuses to pay the rent of Thirty Guineas, (asked by Hyrne) & says you promised him a billet in Town__ If you do not approve his billet, he says he will leave the work Col^o. Senmf has Given him the Superintendence of, & do his duty as a Soldier w^c. will be a loss to Senmf. I think Lesesne should pay the rent & the publick pay him for his work. Yu'll please determine this matter by your Orders to me,³¹¹ Solomon Miller³¹² formerly a Volunteer of my Cores, has never produced the man whose attestation he delivered me, I have every Reason to think he forged it, Welch of this place has been Exempted from duty on said Accounts, as having Given substitute, Miller I before wrote you of, he went away to No. Carolina before I could put your Orders in Execution which was to Confine him in Goal as a Cheat. Your former Orders to Confine him is now put in Execution let me know if he is to be continued in Goal. Cap^t. Gough I Gave leave of Absence to Go to his Santee plantation, I expected him to Join you³¹³__

four Casks of Indigo is left at M^r. Trapiers plantation (publick) the former Governour Empressed it__ It is under no direction__ if you Give me a Sanction, I will take it for publick service.³¹⁴ I assure you General I am sensible of furnishing you with every man as I know you want them, was you here you would be Convinced that the Trust you repose in my Command here require them little less than yourself__

my Exertions for my Country I need not Inform you of, whatever is in my power you may Rely on.

I am, Dr. General,

Your Obd^t Serv^t.

Peter Horry

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
308. Capt. John Howell commanded a North Carolina cutter. Marion responded on Apr. 9, 1782, below, advising Horry on actions to take. The flag schooner was South Carolina-owned, not a private merchant ship. It is presumed "Myers" was Mordecai Myers, a Georgetown merchant, who had begun active trading as early as Oct. 1781. See Myers to Marion, Oct. 6, 1781, above. It is presumed that the ship in question was carrying goods commissioned by Myers. Marion's letter to Horry of Apr. 10, below, clouds Myers's identity, since Marion ordered that Myers be put on board the flag schooner, sent to Charlestown and prohibited from returning.
309. One month later, on Apr. 10, Marion ordered Horry to put Moore on the flag schooner with Myers, send him to Charlestown and prohibit him from returning. This may have been Isham Moore, whose name appeared on the amercement list generated as a result of Act 1155, passed by the Legislature on Feb. 26, 1782 (*Statutes*, 4:523; 6:633).
310. Lt. Col. Laurens had aborted his planned junction with Marion. He turned southward and marched to Izard's plantation on the Ashley River, where he stayed until Mar. 12.
311. Thomas Lesesne had been a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. In 1782, he was superintendent of the construction of fortifications designed by Continental engineer Col. Christian Senf. The issue of his billet came up again in Marion's letter to Horry of Apr. 13, below.
312. Solomon Miller was a volunteer in Marion's Brigade, who served with Peter Horry. In Mar. Miller had produced a forged document, presumably one that stated that he had provided a substitute and therefore need not serve in the militia any more. Before Horry could confine him, Miller fled to North Carolina.
313. Capt. Gough showed up again in Marion's letter to Horry of Apr. 13, below. According to Gough, "he had leave of absence for a month."
314. That indigo was being taken from Paul Trapier with no mention of compensation indicated that Trapier was probably a Loyalist. Trapier did indeed take protection after the fall of Charlestown, although his property was not confiscated by the SC General Assembly in 1782. In Jul. 1780, when Maj. James Wemyss arrived in Georgetown a week after its capture, he was presented with 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." Among the signers were Paul Trapier, George Heriot, Daniel Tucker, John Allston, Jr., and Paul Hasell (Bridwell, *That We Should Have a Port*, 27; *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 2:679). Horry did not receive a response until Apr. 13, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Smyth's Plantation]³¹⁵ March 12th 1782

Dr. Sir,

Since I wrote you the Inclosed I Received yours of Yesterdays date, Mrs. Wilson will send you a note respecting her.³¹⁶ M^{rs}. Sody must be sent to Town Immediately & if she do not go or ever come back she must be Confined to Jail. M^r. Browns age Intitles him to Pardon, he has mine, & will Give him a Certificate as soon as I see him.³¹⁷ Captⁿ. Matthews will carry round the Schooner for the purpose you mention & I wish the Galley could be got up; it would be of great Service; every Effort must be made to Get her up, & if Got up to put her in Order³¹⁸ ___ I shall send you in a few days those I have mentioned in the Inclosed, such of Postells Company which are gunmen, you will order to join you, I mean the division which ought to be out, which is one third³¹⁹ ___ The rate of Salt, sugar, & Coffee as mentioned I approve of & ought not be sold higher. I wish you to procure me all the paper you can for publick use.³²⁰

I am Your hum. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
315. In his letter of Mar. 8 to Horry, above, Marion indicated he was on "on my March for Smyth's Plant^a." He indicated later in a Mar. 10 letter, above, that he "shall remain here some time."
316. In letters of Mar. 8 and 10, above, Marion ordered Horry to send Mrs. Wilson to Charlestown. The other contents of this note are not known. Based on Gov. Mathews's letter of Mar. 18, below, in which he referenced a Mar. 9 letter, Marion was made aware of official government policy. Based on the Apr. 22 entry in Marion's orderly book, below, Marion had the authority to determine who should receive passes, "Whereas a number of women & other persons go to Char^s Town without permission Contrary to the good of our Service It is ordered that no person, or women whatever go to Cha^s Town, without my written pass, such as may person to go, without such pass Shall be if a woman, not suffer to Return..."
317. The identity of Mrs. Sody is not known. Mr. Brown may have been Archibald Brown or Malcom Brown. Both names appeared on the Confiscation List (*Statutes*, 6:630-31).
318. On Feb. 17, 1782, Raven Matthews was ordered by Capt. James Withers to take command of a schooner purchased by former Gov. Rutledge and bring ordinance stores from Havana. Matthews found the ship sunk and unfit for duty. Thereafter, he was ordered by Gen. Marion to fit out gunboats on the Santee River. Later he brought stores from Georgetown to Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 666; Marion to Horry, May 25, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).
319. Gen. Marion was presumably referring to specific militiamen from Maj. James Postell's Company. Gov. Mathews ordered out one-third of the militia at a time for one-month rotations. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 3, above.
320. By his letter of Mar. 7, above, Marion appointed Horry Commandant of Georgetown. One of the latter's responsibilities was to regulate prices of provisions.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonborough March 12th 1782.

Sir

I have consulted Gen^l Greene on the plan you propose of Incorporating Mayhams & Horrys Corps into one & forming them into one Legion. The General & myself both approve of the plan & you are therefore authorized to carry it into Execution & to make such arrangements as you shall think will best tend to promote the service,³²¹ I hope this Incorporation will prevent the Necessity of your making use of the powers I lately Gave you to impress horses; it is Greivous to the inhabitants & ought to be avoided if Possible,³²² Therewith send you one dozen of Copies of the Militia Law & some of the Recruiting Acts.³²³

I Sir with much Regard

Your most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC), Parks.

-
321. Marion apparently sent his proposal for the consolidation of the two regiments to Gov. Mathews early in March, and the governor passed an extract of the letter to Greene for his review on Mar. 9. It is not clear whether Marion's consolidation proposal was solicited by Mathews or whether Marion initiated the idea himself. Greene responded to Mathews with his approval the following day. Greene felt Marion should decide who should command (Greene to Mathews, Mar. 10, 1782, *PNG*, 10:477).
322. Marion requested authorization to impress horses, presumably as a result of the significant losses suffered by Horry's regiment when his cavalry was routed at Wambaw Bridge on Feb. 24.
323. A new Militia Law was passed by the Legislature on Feb. 26 (*Statutes*, 4:523).

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

[Smyth's Plantation?] 13th March 1782³²⁴

Sir

Inclosed is a Monthly return of Col. [Peter] Horrys Reg^t with his Loss the 24th of Last Month, Except the horses which I cannot as Yett git a proper return of.³²⁵

Col. Horry Complains much of his men Deserting for want of the remainder of their bounty, & Cloathing; If It could be done with propriety I think this Corps woud be of more service to through [throw] them in Col. [Hezekiah] Mahams & make them Legonary, as the Latter is much the best Caveldry officer, but the Difficulty woud be, what was to be done with Col. Horry who is first.³²⁶

If Col. [William] Henderson is made a Brigadier probable he will give up his rank in the 1st Regem^t as Col. Horry has some Pretentions to be retained in service before him when the first Arrangemen[t] took place, under Gen^l Benjamin Lincoln, which he told me some time agoe he made you Acquainted with it.³²⁷

I hope you will Excuse my freedom in mention these particulars as I wish only the Good of the service.

I am sertain Col Horry is the b[est] Infantry Officer & Col. Maham the preference in Caveldry & w[ould] keep his Corps in better Order than the Othe[r] can do.

I have nothing sertain to Acquaint you from town, many surcumstances appear that a part or the whole of the Enemy is about Evacuating this Country.³²⁸

M^r Daniel Horry is Arrived from England but is kept in Close Observation & cannot come out.³²⁹ M^{rs} [Harriett Pinckney] Horry is gone to town, & hope in a few days to hear some thing sertain, which I shall communicate to you.³³⁰

I have the Honor to be your Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:498-500.

324. Location inferred. Marion informed Peter Horry on Mar. 10, above, that he would be at "Smyth's Plantation" for "some time." (PNG, 10:499n).
325. Horry's return has not been found. However, Marion's undated return extracted from Marion's Orderly Book, above, showed 24 horses missing from Horry's unit. In his letter to Horry of Mar. 13, below, Marion wrote that he could not believe Horry had lost "35 horses, as in the return," providing a hint that this was the number Horry had claimed in his missing return.
326. Marion had apparently proposed merging Horry's and Maham's regiments in an earlier letter to Mathews, which has not been found, but which Mathews mentioned in his own letter to Greene of Mar. 9 (Mathews to Greene, Mar. 9, 1782, PNG, 10:474). Presumably the losses at Tidyman's and Wambaw had reduced Horry's strength beyond any utility as a force. As noted in Mathews to Marion, Mar. 12, above, Greene had already approved the consolidation. However, the differences between Maham and Horry over rank rendered this consolidation difficult. Here, and in his letter to Greene of Mar. 23, below, Marion expressed the opinion that Maham was better suited to command the combined unit, despite his junior rank. But Marion, sensitive to the egos involved wanted Greene or Mathews to issue the order rather than himself. Such a move would likely have rendered Horry a supernumerary officer again, a position he had already been put in after the consolidation of the SC line following the losses at Savannah in 1779. In his letter to Horry on Mar. 31, below, Marion denied "preferring" Maham, a claim which is undercut in the historical record by this letter. Greene supported Marion's decision but stopped short of issuing the order directly. See Greene to Marion, Mar. 27, below. In his letter to Marion of Apr. 1, below, Horry, predictably accused Marion of having him "turned out" of service. Ultimately Horry was allowed to keep the infantry portion of his regiment, which he took with him to Georgetown when he assumed his new role as commandant of that city. His cavalry was turned over and incorporated into Maham's corps (PNG, 10:499-500n).
327. Henderson was promoted to brigadier general in the militia, but Greene had assured him in a letter of Mar. 6, that his Continental rank would not be affected (Greene to Henderson, Mar. 6, 1782, PNG, 10:454-55; PNG, 10:500n). Interestingly Marion here referred to Henderson's "rank in the 1st Regem^t", which was his role in the planned re-organization of the SC Continental regiments. Marion was here advocating for Horry to receive that role as a consolation prize for losing his cavalry regiment. However, this did not pan out, as Greene later informed Horry, "There are only two regiments to be raised by this State[,] and Pinkney [Col. Charles C. Pinckney] and Marion command them..." (Greene to Horry, Mar. 29, 1782, PNG, 10:558).
328. In his letter to Horry of the same date, immediately below, Marion wrote that the British in Charlestown were "getting all the sea stock they can and packing up all the stores they have." Thomas Farr sent similar intelligence in his letter to Greene of this date (Farr to Greene, Mar. 13, 1782, PNG, 10:495). News of a British evacuation was false.
329. Daniel Horry was a prominent rice planter, who had been an office holder and Continental officer. He became a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment on Jun. 17, 1775 and was a colonel in the light dragoons during 1779. One source says he was in the 1st SC Regiment. After the fall of Charlestown, he had sworn an oath of allegiance to the British. His estate was considered for confiscation by the South Carolina legislature. Through the intervention of his in-laws, it was instead amerced at 12% (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 463; *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 2:329-30; PNG, 10:188n).
330. Marion relayed the intelligence in his letter to Greene of Mar. 17, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Smyth's Plantation?] March 13th 1782³³¹

Dr Sir,

In your Return of your Horses, you did not mention how many as lost on the 24th & 25th of last month in the actions, which I wish to know separately from the wanting to Compleat, as I cant think you lost 35 Horses, as in that return; if you have, let me know, that I may transmit it to Gen^l. Greene.³³² I send you all the men of Bossards, Murrells & Allstons Companies that is in camp with 8 British prisoners of War, which you will keep in the Jail in Georgetown or at Black Mingo with a Guard,³³³ I think it will be best to have a Guard at black Mingo, as the Salt & other Merchandize will be kept there the Greater part of your men, should be kept there & the prisoners only keep a small party at George Town for observation, in Order to secure the post at Black Mingo, a small party Redoubt should be made to prevent the Tories from attempting to surprize them. I wou'd prefer a Circular Redoubt made very high well abbatis in the Center, a block House, made with Square Timber, so high as to Overlook the parpt of the Redoubt, the block House to be 17 feet square; with Loopholes to fire through, it should stand on Large posts, the Lower part to be open in the middle of the second Story, to be open one foot across to fire under the House. you will collect Negroes for the above purpose & get Col^o. Senmf, who is now up that way to lay out the Redoubt, there should be no gate way to the Redoubt, but the going in & out must be by Ladders, that the outward one may be taken in every night. Your situation should be such as to command the River within Musket shot.³³⁴ If I can spare time I will be with you in a few days. Capt. Weyman will Carry your Orders into Effect & take off the trouble from you, as you are not yet Well. From various intelligence from Town the enemy is preparing to Evacuate; they are Getting all the sea Stock they [can] and packing up all the Stores they have. It is said that Daniel Horry³³⁵ says that it is worse in England than here. Mobs are going about in every part, & the King is openly cursed & threatened; that there is no living in England. This I hope, will produce us a peace on our terms.

I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

331. See Marion to Greene, same date, immediately above.

332. Horry's monthly return has not been found, but according to a return in Marion's Orderly Book, above, Horry's regiment showed a total of 24 horses missing as a result of the action on Feb. 25 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 717).

333. These prisoners were presumably the ones referred to in Marion's letter to Horry of Mar. 22, below.

334. Marion was of the opinion that Black Mingo should be the location for a supply depot because it could be defended more easily than Georgetown. Col. Senf was on his way to Georgetown to supervise the construction of fortifications, including a supply depot, there. See footnote to Mathews to Marion of Mar. 4, above.

335. Daniel Horry, Peter Horry's brother and a former Continental cavalry colonel, had taken British protection and gone to England, but returned in 1782.

Proclamation of John Mathews, Esq
STATE of SOUTH-CAROLINA

**By his Excellency John Mathews, Esq; Governour
and Commander in Chief of the said State:**

A P R O C L A M A T I O N

Whereas such measures only, have been hitherto pursued to prevent provisions from being carried within the enemies lines, as were truly consistent with that mild and lenient exercise at all times, and on all occasions, of the extensive powers vested in the executive authority of this State. And whereas some ill disposed persons, regardless of the true interest of this country, and blinded by avarice, have taken advantage of the moderation with which offenders against the orders hitherto issued, have been treated, have persisted in the unwarrantable and infamous practice of supplying the enemies of the United States with provisions.³³⁶

And whereas a due regard to the welfare of this State requires such measures to be now pursued as will immediately and most effectually remedy this growing evil. I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of the Privy Council, to issue this my Proclamation, hereby strictly forbidding provisions of any kind being carried or attempted to be carried within the enemies lines, at the same time forewarning all persons whom it might concern, that the vessels, carriages, horses, oxen and negroes, which shall be taken carrying, or attempting to carry, provisions of any kind, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, together with the loading on board such vessel, or carriage, will be liable to seizure, and on conviction, forfeited, the one half to the person or persons, so seizing the same, and the other half to the use of this State:--And all persons whatever within this State, are hereby ordered and commanded, to be vigilant in endeavouring to detect all offenders against this Proclamation.—And on seizing any such vessels, carriages, horses, oxen, negroes or provisions as aforesaid, to bring the said carriages, horses, oxen, negroes and provision, if practicable, before the nearest magistrate, who is hereby required to take cognizance of the premises, and to summon three freeholders to sit in judgement with him, and well and truly try, whether the property so seized ought to be forfeited according to the true intent and meaning of this Proclamation; and on conviction, to adjudge the one half thereof, to the person or person so seizing the same, and the other half to be sold for the benefit of this State, and the neat proceeds lodged in the Treasury thereof.

And whereas it may be fond impracticable to carry such vessels loaded as aforesaid, before such magistrate, the person or persons so seizing the same, are directed to lodge the vessel and cargo so seized as aforesaid, in some secure place, and as soon as may be, give information to the nearest magistrate of such seizure, and where the same is deposited; which said magistrate with three freeholders as aforesaid are hereby required to repair to the said place of deposite, and there sit in judgement, determine, and adjudge, as is herein before directed.

And whereas some of the citizens of this State may at the time of seizing such vessel or carriage as aforesaid, be found on board of, or accompanying the same, the person or persons so seizing such vessel or carriage or carriage as aforesaid, are hereby ordered and commanded to take into custody, and convey or cause to be conveyed, the person or persons so found and taken as aforesaid, to the nearest Militia guard, and

336. As the war drew to a close, the communication between Charlestown and the plantations outside the city increased. The Americans cordoned off the city such that it became increasingly difficult for the British to gather needed provisions from the countryside. The appropriateness of trading with the town was an ongoing point of contention. From the civilian point of view, prices in the city were significantly better than those the Patriots could offer, and even more importantly, the British paid in specie. But civilian trade with the British effectively denied access to provisions desperately needed by the American forces. Black market activity persisted between the plantations and their associated family members in Charlestown. Provisions became even more scarce as British control of the seas was increasingly compromised, and as a result of the uncertain supply demands created as the evacuation date continued to be extended. The British were interested in purchasing provisions from the American countryside to avoid making forays into lands now held by the Continental Army. On Aug. 13, Gen. Leslie wrote Gen. Greene putting the blame for British foraging actions on the Americans who refused to allow them to trade with many willing plantation owners. Leslie proposed that Greene supply rice and other provisions to the garrison in exchange for an end to British foraging (Leslie to Greene, Aug. 13, 1782, *PNG*, 11:538). Greene rightly forwarded the request to Gov. Mathews, since Leslie's request was a civil matter. It is not known whether Leslie wrote directly to Mathews, since no response to Leslie is extant. However, in Mathews's reply to Greene, he curtly responded, "the proposals made by Genl Leslie, ought on no consideration to be complied with." (Mathews to Greene, Aug. 14, 1782, *PNG*, 11:546-47).

delivered into the custody of the officer commanding such guard; who is hereby ordered and commanded, to keep such person or persons in safe custody, until he shall receive further orders from me, or the Commander in Chief for the time being.³³⁷

GIVEN under my hand and great seal of the State, at Jacksonburgh, this fourteenth day of March, in the year of Our Lord, 1782, and in the Sixth year of the independence of the United States of America.

JOHN MATHEWS.

South Carolina Royal Gazette, Mar. 27, 1782.

337. Other than confiscation of the goods seized, it is not known whether additional penalties were applied to those convicted of carrying provisions “within the enemies lines.”

John Dorsious³³⁸ to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Georgetown March 14th 1782

Sir,

I take the freedom of Addressing a few lines to you, Respecting the Orders Gen^l. Marion is pleased to Issue, Relative to the trade of this place. My Indisposition prevents me waiting upon you. Those Orders do Immediately operate to the Prejudice of everyone concerned in trade, as well as myself & done without the least Enquiry or Concurrence of those it Injures. I must therefore acquaint you that I have been at a great deal of trouble to ride thro' N^o. Carolina (attended with heavy Expenses) and there pledged my honour to the Gentlemen interested in trade, that if they would send Vessells with Cargoes here, they should be at full Liberty to dispose of their Cargoes to the best Advantage, without Restriction, or hindrance whatsoever, which I made the Agents Acting for Gen^l Greene's Army & the State acquainted of, & Received their approbation; two or three Vessells, I so passed my honour for, have already arrived here & more may be daily Expected. Some of the Articles which the General is pleased to lay Restrictions on belong to Gentlemen in N^o. Carolina, I have still by me in Store. I cannot help judging no good can arise to the State from Gen^l Marion's Orders, but that they will be the means of putting a total stop to the Small trade Established here, as I shall be under the necessity of Informing the Gentlemen concerned in trade to this place hereof. I am Certain that all Vessells coming to this port will be Stopped, indeed it is so Repugnant to the principles upon which I have acted, as will Oblidge me to decline trade. I could therefore wish the General would be pleased to withdraw his Orders, being³³⁹

Respectfully Sir,

Your most Obed^t. hum. Servt.

John Dorsius

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

338. John Dorsius was a Georgetown merchant. John Waties, agent for the Continental Army, wrote Greene, indicating that Dorsius could be helpful in obtaining supplies for the army (Waties to Greene, Feb. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 10:300-01n).

339. In his Mar. 7 instructions to Peter Horry, above, Marion painted a completely different picture of the regulation of commerce through Georgetown, "Every Article that is brought in for sale I wish to have Regulated, that it may not be sold at too Extravagant prices, Giving such a Generous profit to the Importers as to Encourage the Trade as much as possible, Salt must not be more than four hard Dollars per Bushell. Every Article that is or may tend to Luxury at whatever price the seller pleases & my meaning is to Regulate nothing but what may be Absolutely Necessary for the support of Life, such as Salt, Sugar, Coffee, Tea & Medicines."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Horry's Plantation, Santee]³⁴⁰ March 16th 1782

D^r Sir,

Your letter to D^r. Buchanan³⁴¹ mentions some persons of Tompsons parolled to Ch^s. Town__ I dont beleave they can be of any hurt to us from the Intelligence they may Give of George Town__ You may permit them to pass to Ch^s. Town by the way of Lenuds ferry, the other prisoners desiring Exchange I cannot agree to it, as no Exchange takes place at present.³⁴² Gambell lost a Letter yesterday, I do not know if it Came from you or Mitchell__ You will not Give passes to any women to go to Ch^s. Town.³⁴³ A party down the Neck yesterday killed 3 Tories & took one a Deserter who had Gen^l. Greenes pass last month to go to the N^o. ward, but was Returning to the Enemy with the three killed, they were a M^cLeod, M^cNeal, & suppose they Came from the N^o. Carolina Scotch, they passed Georgetown & landed at Middleton's plantation Santee, which is a common route for all Tories from P:D.; the prisoners taken is to be tryd by a General Court of Militia today.³⁴⁴

I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

340. Location inferred. Marion's general orders for Mar. 16, below, are addressed from Horry's Plantation, Santee, presumably Hampton Plantation, owned by Peter Horry's brother Daniel Horry.

341. John Buchanan, a physician from Georgetown, served as a surgeon in Horry's State Regiment from Aug. 1781 to Jul. 1782. He also provided rice and pork during the war. Buchanan was elected to the SC House for the 6th General Assembly (1785-86) (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:102; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 118; Marion to Horry, Mar. 16, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

342. The identity of the prisoners mentioned here is not known. Thompson did not report any of his troops taken prisoner during the actions at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation on Feb. 24 and 25.

343. A number of letters above mentioned women returning to their plantations from Charlestown. Most were assumed to be the wives of Loyalists. This is the first case where the subject arose. The reason for not giving passes is not clear. However, it may have been to prevent intelligence of Patriot positions and strengths from reaching the British command. It also may have been an attempt to quell the illegal transport of goods to and from Charlestown. Gov. Mathews sent Marion guidelines regarding how to handle such situations in a letter of Mar. 9, not found. Marion in his general orders of Apr. 22, below, stated, "It is ordered that no person, or women whatever go to Cha^s Town, without my written pass..."

344. The court martial resulted in a sentence of death by hanging for the spy named Norman McDonald, see general orders immediately below.

Gen. Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Horry's Plantation, Santee 16th March 1782

A Gen^l Court martial to set to day for the trial of Norman M^cDonald,³⁴⁵ taken as a Spy & going to the Enemy –

L^t. Sinkler Capers & Will^m Cleland Evidence. Cap^t Elliot, Judge Advocate –

Col^o tho^s Scriven President, and twelve officers From the Brigade members, Cap^t John Palmer, Cap^t John Norwood, Cap^t Will^m Bennett, Cap^t Jacob All, Lieutenants B. Davier Ja^s Witherspoon, Will^m Lewis, Ja^s Jenkiman Edwd Tho^s, Will^m Skilling Pet^r Hubbard, Henry Kuhn, Members

The Gen^l Court which Col^o Scriven is president are of Opinion the Prisoner Norman M^cDonald is guilty of the Charge & do Sentence him to death by being hanged. The Sentence is Approvd & Sd M^cDonald is Ordered to be Executed on Monday 18th Inst. at 1 oClock in the forenoon before the Camp, the Officer of the day to see it Executed.³⁴⁶

The Court is Dissolved --

17th March 1782 –

Francis Marion
Brigd Gen^l Militia

O'Kelley, BCADM, 718.

345. In a Mar. 17 letter to Greene, below, Marion provided a brief description of McDonald's actions.

346. There are only two cases in Marion's Orderly Book of a court martial resulting in a sentence of execution. The other was a case against Conrade Bessinger, a private in the 3rd South Carolina Regiment who was convicted of "Desertion & being in Arms Against his country" and executed on Nov. 12, 1779. See general orders of Benjamin Lincoln, of that date, above.

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

Lower Santee 17 March 1782

Sr

The day before Yesterday one of my patrols came up with four men who had taken boat at Wacomaw & Landed at Middletons Plantⁿ a few miles below me & pushed in within [9?] miles of the Enemys post at Hadrells. Three was killed, two Named M^cCloud and M^cLane, the other not known, the fourth Named Norman M^cDonald a British Deserter of the 71^s who had your pass the 22d Feb^y to go to Philadelphia[.] He has been at Camden, & North Carolina with the Scotch & with Gainneys torrys on Peedee[.] He was brought in, & by the Authority Given me by the Late Militia Law, I had him tried by a Gen^l Court, for a spy, was found Guilty & is to suffer Death tomorrow.³⁴⁷

Every Intelligence from Ch^s Town Indicates an Evacuation of that town taking place. Some say only 3 reg^{ts} of Hessians & two British is to Embark for New York or the West Indias. Sertain it is the refugees have wrought [wrote] [*damaged*] Letters to their friends in the Country that they are going off.³⁴⁸

Inclosed is a return of horses Lost the 24^h Feb^y many of which I am informed was Carry'd away by some of the Militia.³⁴⁹

In my Next will Give you a return of the Militia under my Command. A Galley & Schooner which our people sank at Wacomaw when the town fell, I am in hopes to get up. One field p^s & 4 swivells is got up, and as soon as the waters are a Little fallen, I hope [to] git the rest.

I have the Honor to be

your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

347. The authority for trying and executing McDonald derived from the most recent Militia Law, which stated "any Justice of the peace or Militia officer" had the right to apprehend a person suspected of being a spy, while the brigadier general of the applicable district (in this case Marion) was charged with holding a court martial and carrying out sentence (*PNG*, 10:514n; *Journal of SC Senate*, 1782, 67).

348. Marion sent additional intelligence on Mar. 23, below.

349. The return has not been found.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonborough March 18th 1782

Sir,

I have this moment received your Letter of the 13th Instant.³⁵⁰ I was informed you had in Charge a Considerable quantity of Rice, was my reason for desiring you to supply Herriot & Tucker with the quantity I mentioned, however I shall Change the mode of procuring it³⁵¹ only desire you to Afford any Military aid that might be necessary. You have Acted perfectly right with respect to the stolen Negroes, such as you have received that belong to any of the Confiscated Estates must be delivered to the Commissioners, if there are any others they should be delivered to their Owners, they paying the Charges for Recovering them. I will Endeavour to have Richd. Raines apprehended³⁵² The proclamation herewith delivered you & my letter on the subject, will Answer your Questions whether Rice is Allowed to be Exported.³⁵³ My letter of the 9th Inst. as soon as it reaches you will inform you what is to be done with M^{rs}. Wilson & all others in like Circumstances.³⁵⁴ I only wait to hear from Gen^l. Huger what Arrangements he has made for the recruiting service³⁵⁵ I shall be Ready whenever I hear from him to do my part of the duty which is to give Orders for the delivery of the Negroes.³⁵⁶ You will Let me know as soon as you can the result of your Enquiry respecting Ganey's harboring the N^o. Carolina Tories. I apprehend this fellow will bring us & himself too into trouble very soon.³⁵⁷

I am Sir,

Your most Obedt. Serv^t.

Jno. Mathews

P.S. Gen^l. Gadsden has just informed me he will want a Waggon to return with the waggon that Comes on with his Baggage, I should be glad you would supply him with one.³⁵⁸

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

350. The letter has not been found.

351. Mathews had apparently negotiated a deal to exchange rice for other provisions the army needed, employing the firm of [George] Heriot and [Daniel] Tucker of Georgetown for that purpose. [See a brief bio of Daniel Tucker by clicking here.](#)

352. Marion brought up the case of Rains in his letter to Horry of Mar. 10.

353. The proclamation has not been found.

354. Gov. Mathews's letter of Mar. 9, regarding how to handle the wives of Loyalists who desired to go to their plantations, has not been found. In letters of Mar. 8 and 10, above, Marion had earlier ordered Peter Horry to send Mrs. Wilson to Charlestown. Mathews's final decision is not known.

355. Isaac Huger (1743-97) was the highest-ranking Continental officer in the Carolinas or Georgia to have avoided capture at Charlestown. At this time he was responsible for recruiting Continental soldiers in South Carolina. The legislature passed a Recruiting Act on Feb. 26, calling for the raising of 1,300 troops to fill the South Carolina Continental regiments. Recruits received a slave for each year of service as a bounty.

356. The slaves referred to here were the ones mentioned in Marion's letter to Horry of Mar. 10, above, in which he ordered "...every Negro, in Custody of whatever person, that has not a pass from Governour Matthews, General Greene, or myself must be Stopt & kept in Close confinement until further Orders."

357. Marion and Loyalist Micajah Ganey had battled a number of times in the Pee Dee region since the Fall of 1780. In Jun. 1781, with Marion's approval, Lt. Col. Peter Horry negotiated a truce with Ganey and his Loyalists.

358. Christopher Gadsden refused election as Lt. Gov. of the state, due to age. He was, nevertheless, a member of the State House of Representative, sitting in Jacksonborough.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Jacksonborough March 18th 1782

Sir,

The Legislature having [not] come to a Determination during the last session on what terms those persons were to be received who should come in & surrender themselves after their Adjournment³⁵⁹__ I have submitted the matter to the Councill for their opinion & after a very serious & full Consideration of the subject they advised the following mode to be Adopted with Regard to such Persons__ That all those who had come from within the Enemyies lines & surrendered themselves since the rising of the Legislature, or who might hereafter come in should be brought to me to be Examined & their Cases be determined on & such as were in Arms in any other part of the Country, or who had not before surrendered themselves shall be Examined by the Brigadier to whose Brigade they belong, & if they should think them proper objects of Mercy, to receive them on the following terms__ To Enter into Recognizance with two Good & sufficient Sureties to Abide the Determination of a future Legislature³⁶⁰ & in the mean time to do no Act prejudicial to the Interest & welfare of the United States, or any of them, to find two substitutes to serve in the line of this State for the time specified in the recruiting Act & to perform their duty in the Militia, the same as any other man, And if he cannot find the two substitutes within a Reasonable time, then he is to do six months Constant duty himself in the Brigade to which he belongs & to be Oblidged to perform such duty untill to [he] finds the two substitutes³⁶¹__ but if on Examination any of the persons herein before mentioned, should be thought undeserving of this favour, they are to be Returned within the Enemyies lines, with Notice that if they are afterwards found out of them, they will be lyable to be punished as spies__ I have therefore to desire Sir, that you will pay a strict regard to this determination & Consider it as the Rule of your Conduct with regard to the persons above Described.

I am Sir,

Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

359. Mathews apparently left out the word "not", i.e. the legislature had not decided what to do with men who surrendered after the adjournment of the Legislature. Act No. 1157, entitled "An Act for Pardoning the Persons therein Described, on the Conditions therein Mentioned," was passed by the Legislature on the last day of the session, Feb. 26, 1782. It called for the pardon of all those former Loyalists who "since the seventeenth day of December, withdrawn from the enemy and borne arms in defence of this State..." The penalty was a 10% amercement. Added militia duty was not a specific penalty for those with property. The penalty for those without property was service in the militia for nine months. The act did not specifically mention men who surrendered after the date of the act. Apparently, Gov. Mathews interpreted the wording of the act to mean that those surrendering after its passage did not qualify for pardon (*Statutes*, 4:526-28). As a result, the subsequent procedure for handling new surrenders was developed by Mathews and the Privy Council. Instead of amercing property at 10% and thereby obtaining funds for the war effort, Mathews's policy attempted to address the continuing problem of obtaining soldiers for the war.

360. Mathews was careful not to give the impression of abusing his powers, as the previous governor John Rutledge had been accused of doing. Mathews did not specify any financial penalty, leaving the determination to the state. He did, however, protect the state by stipulating that anyone who surrendered would utilize two sureties to guarantee any future penalties assessed by the Legislature.

361. Mathews did depart from past practice when he specified that anyone who surrendered must supply two substitutes for service in the militia. Substitutes were disapproved by former Governor Rutledge. Effective utilization of this tactic would effectively double the number of recruits from the former Loyalist ranks.

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

Head Quarters Pon Pon March 19th 1782

Dear Sir

I am possessed of your two letters of the 8th and one of the 13th of this month with the returns inclosed.

Governor Mathews³⁶² had informed me that it was your wish and that you recommended incorporating Horrys and Mayums Regiments into a Legionary Corps and that you recommended Mayum for the commanding Officer. I wrote the Governor that nothing would be more agreeable to me than such a measure as we had sufficient Cavalry coming on and that it was impossible to fill the Regiments. I also wrote the Governor that you might prefer which of the Officers you thought most suitable. If you can incorporate them it will be exceeding agreeable to me. I do not pretend to be a judge of the abilities and merit of the two commanding officers. You have served with them and know which deserves the preference. Most people think Mayum the best Cavalry officer and that he has it more in his power to be useful than Horry.³⁶³

It is true Col. Henderson is appointed a brigadier, but that is not to operate to his prejudice in the line of the army, nor will he resign his commission on any account. I have a letter from him on the subject.³⁶⁴ Therefore you cannot calculate on that as a provision for Col Horry should the incorporation take place. What ever right Col Horry had upon any former claims shall be attended to when ever an investigation of his claims can be had or he is ready to attend to the matter.

I have forwarded to you some letters of importance for Governor Burke and I beg you to send off a good trusty hand with them who may be depended on for their safe and speedy delivery.³⁶⁵

I am Dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser^t

N Greene

ADfs (MiU-C), PNG, 10:526.

March 20, 1782 – Lord Frederick North resigns as British Prime Minister.

362. Greene originally had originally written "Governor Rutledge." (PNG, 10:526n).

363. See Marion to Greene on Mar. 13, above. Maham was given the command (PNG, 10:526n).

364. Marion wrote to Greene, Mar. 13, above, "If Col. [William] Henderson is made a Brigadier probable he will give up his rank in the 1st Regem^t as Col. Horry has some Pretentions to be retained in service before him when the first Arrangemen[t] took place, under Gen^l Benjamin Lincoln, which he told me some time agoe he made you Acquainted with it." As Greene related, however, Henderson chose to retain his rank.

365. Marion wrote Horry on Mar. 22, below, requesting someone to carry the letters to North Carolina, Marion claimed he had "not a man in camp that knows the way." (PNG, 10:526n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Horry's Plantation]³⁶⁶ March 20th 1782

Sir,

The petition in favor of M^{rs}. Fullerton is Granted on Account of the Great Service she may be to those venerable old single Ladies the petitioners. I think it best to keep all your men at George Town, also prisoners until Col^o. Senf returns³⁶⁷ I will send a guard at the mouth of Muskettoe Creek to Stop boats. The Militia Law I will send in my next³⁶⁸ I will Endeavour to get Captⁿ. Weyman the Necessaries wanting for the field piece. M^r. Waynes Bill will be sent to the Governour for his approbation, but think Handk^s. Coffee & Sugar, will not be Allowed in Publick Accounts,³⁶⁹ In respect to Chamberlains Breach of trust in disposing of his boat he must proceed agreeable to law. You will send your deserters & as many Officers with Evidences as you can spare. I did Let Mayhams Officers have one p^s. blue Cloth & the other I Reserved for your Use, but it is lost Any Intelligence from Ganey let me know without Loss of time.³⁷⁰

I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

366. Location inferred. Marion's general orders for Mar. 16, above, are addressed "Horry's Plantation, Santee," presumably Hampton Plantation.

367. Col. Senf designed improvements to the fortifications of Georgetown, despite Marion's contention that the port could not be securely fortified. Presumably, Marion suggested keeping all soldiers in Georgetown, including prisoners, until Senf returned to supervise construction of the defensive improvements.

368. A revised militia law was passed by the legislature on the last day of its session, Feb. 26.

369. William Wayne was a Georgetown merchant who was supplying the Continental and State Troops with supplies.

370. Although a ceasefire agreement in Jun. 1781 had brought relative peace to the Pee Dee region, Loyalists, many from North Carolina, who began using the area as a safe haven, were beginning to become a problem. Marion implied here that Loyalist leader Micajah Ganey, a former Continental soldier in his own 2nd SC Regiment, was feeding information to Horry regarding Loyalist activity in the Pee Dee region.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Horry's Plantation]³⁷¹ March 22d 1782

Sir,

I send you some letters which Gen^l. Greene desires may be forwarded to N^o. Carolina³⁷² by some safe hand Immediately & to return with an Answer, as you have the Waccamaw Companies, you may find a man for that purpose for I have not a man in Camp who knows the way__ You will send a man off without Loss of time. I send some proclamations which you will distribute in proper places; from them you will know what line of Conduct to pursue.³⁷³ I have heard nothing lately from Town. A man from Seewee says that Seven Vessells came to Anchor off Bulls two days ago, five of which he took to be men of War. There is a Report that a fleet is off Ch^s. Town bar, but not know what they are.³⁷⁴ I have sent a Guard at Cat Island to stop Boats going through Misketo Creek from whence you may have the Earliest Notice of any vessell coming.³⁷⁵

I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

371. Marion's general orders for Mar. 16, above, were addressed "Horry's Plantation, Santee," presumably Hampton Plantation.

372. In a letter of Mar. 19, above, Greene asked Marion to send enclosed letters to NC Gov. Thomas Burke. After being captured by Col. David Fanning in Sep. 1781, Burke was taken to Charlestown and paroled. As a result of an incident in which a fellow parolee was killed by British soldiers, Burke, fearing for his life, determined that his parole had been violated. He escaped from James Island on Jan. 16 and sought safety in Gen. Greene's camp at Round O. Burke alerted Gen. Leslie to his situation and pledged "to procure for you a just and reasonable equivalent in exchange for me, or if that cannot be effected, I will return within your lines on parole, provided, you will pledge your honor that I shall not be treated in any manner different from the officers of the Continental Army when prisoners of War." (Burke to Leslie, Jan. 18, 1782, *NCSR*, 16:178). Before a resolution of his status could be determined from Gen. Leslie and Gen. Greene, Burke left for North Carolina, where, despite Leslie's protests, he resumed his duties as governor. The letters mentioned here undoubtedly included: Greene to Burke, Mar. 18; Greene to Burke, Feb. 6; Greene to Leslie, Feb. 1, and Leslie to Greene, Jan. 27. Leslie's Jan. 27 letter asked Greene to "immediately order him [Burke] to return, and deliver himself up to the commissary of Prisoners in Charles-Town" (Leslie to Greene, Jan. 27, 1782, *PNG*, 10:271-72). Greene's Feb. 1 reply, although not countenancing Burke's breaking of parole, did provide the extenuating circumstance that Burke felt his life was endangered, a situation not unlike the one that the British argued had existed in the American prison at the Waxhaws (Greene to Leslie, Feb. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 10:295-97). The Feb. 6 letter to Burke from Greene enclosed the two former letters, as well as Greene's proposal to exchange Burke (Greene to Burke, Feb. 6, 1782, *PNG*, 10:321). Among other matters, the Mar. 18 letter reiterated Greene's views on Burke and informed the governor that two attempts to exchange him had yielded no positive results (Greene to Burke, Mar. 18, 1782, *PNG*, 10:517-21). Burke had responded to the Feb. 6 letter on Mar. 5. However, it had not reached Greene by the time he dispatched his letter of Mar. 18. In the Mar. 5 letter, Burke asked Greene not to attempt to negotiate an exchange for him (Burke to Greene, Mar. 5, 1782, *PNG*, 10:448-53). Burke was finally officially exchanged with Greene's assistance in October (Greene to Burke, Oct. 29, 1782, *PNG*, 12:122-23; "Articles of Agreement between Alexander Leslie and Nathanael Greene concerning an exchange of prisoners...Oct. 23, 1782, *NCSR*, 16:661-62).

373. Referenced "proclamations" may have included:

—The new Militia Law referred to in Marion's letter to Horry of Mar. 22, above.

—Mathews's proclamation of Mar. 14, above, "strictly forbidding provisions of any kind being carried or attempted to be carried within the enemies lines. . ." According to Mathew's proclamation, vessels, wagons, livestock, and slaves used in such trade were subject to seizure, and owners of the same and any other citizens caught taking part in the trade were subject to arrest. The proclamation was printed in the South Carolina *Royal Gazette* on Mar. 27.

—Guidelines for the export of rice, mentioned in Mathews's first letter of Mar. 18 to Marion, above.

—Mathews's revised guidelines for granting pardons to Loyalists, as outlined to Marion in the second letter of Mar. 18, above.

374. In his letter to Greene of Mar. 23, below, Marion provided more detailed information regarding the reports of British naval activity.

375. Mosquito Creek separated South Island from Cat Island near the head of Winyah Bay at Georgetown. It served as a link between the bay and the North Santee River, an inland waterway route that protected ships from privateers roaming the SC coast.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. John Grimke³⁷⁶

[Santee] 23^rd March, 1782

[Sir]

Enclosed is the order you request³⁷⁷ & am
Your Ob st.

[Frans Marion]

Tr (American Antiquarian Society), *Godspeed's Catalogue*, Boston, MA: Nov. 1914, Catalog No. 106.

376. Lt. Col. John Grimke, who had been taken prisoner at the surrender of Charlestown, was assigned to manage the confiscated Loyalist estates in 1782.

377. The referenced order is presumably the letter to Samuel Dwight of Mar. 23, immediately below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Samuel Dwight,³⁷⁸ Esq^r.

[Santee] 23^rd March 1782

S^r

You will Deliver all the Sequesterd Estates put under your Care to Col. Grimke, with the Acc^{ts} of the Produce Delivered for Public uses or Expenses for the Plantations & taking Receipts ---

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

Fran^s Marion

ALS (ScU)

Abstract

378. Samuel Dwight served as an assistant commissary of issues for the Continental Army at Georgetown. Dwight was a commissioner of the Committee of Peace for Little River, the district on the border of North and South Carolina near the coast. In Mar. 1782, Dwight apparently was administering some confiscated estate. Dwight was the husband of Gen. Marion's niece Rebecca Marion Allston, daughter of the general's eldest brother Isaac. After Dwight's death, Marion provided for his second son and namesake, Francis Marion Dwight (Marion to Committee, May 9, 1775, *NCSR*, 9:1238-39; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 278; Marion to Horry, May 24, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Marion to Dwight, Mar. 23, 1782, ALS (ScU); *Statutes*, 5:348).

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Georgetown [between 19 and 23 March 1782]³⁷⁹

Horry writes to Greene about the re-organization of the regiments.

“...from Genl. Marion; he writes me that the Governor and yourself think to consolidate Col. Maupom’s [Maham’s] and my regiments in one__ Also that Col. Henderson is to be a Brigadier in roome of General Sumter resigned³⁸⁰__ You will be pleased, Sir, to remember my application to you in respect to the manner of Gen’l Lincoln’s turning me out of service...I hoped you would redress my grievance...and do me justice³⁸¹... I hope you will consider me as the eldest cavalry officer and give me the command...my long, and I hope, faithful services entitles me to justice If not the favour of my country...”³

Tr (American Antiquarian Society), John Heise, Syracuse 1925-S955, item 31.

379. The letter is not dated. The editors of the *PNG* deduced the time span from Greene and Horry’s other correspondence (*PNG*, 10:533n).

380. The letter from Marion to which Lt. Col. Horry referred has not been found. It is not clear when Horry learned of the reorganization of the cavalry and the modification of his duties.

381. Horry’s mention of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln refers to the time immediately before the fall of Charlestown, when Horry, then the commander of the 5th SC Regiment, became a supernumerary officer due to the six Continental regiments were consolidated into three. Both Horry and Henderson were left without commands. Henderson retained his rank, but took a demotion to become second-in-command of the 3rd SC Regiment. Horry became a supernumerary officer. Horry felt he had been unfairly treated. On Apr. 20, he wrote a letter of grievance to Gen. Greene, protesting the decision by Greene’s predecessor, Gen. Lincoln, a decision that had resulted in Horry being denied command of the 3rd SC Regiment in Jan. 1780. Based on his service in the Continental Army and the South Carolina State Regiments, Horry felt he should have the command, instead of Col. William Henderson, since Henderson had resigned his commission (ALS (Mi-U)). There is no extant response from Greene to this specific letter.

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

Santee 23d March 1782

S^r

Yourse of the 19th came to hand. I wrought Governor Mathews the Embarrasment Attending the Incorporating Horry & Mahams Corps in one.³⁸² By the rule Congress Obse[rves] when regiments are reduced, the Oldest Officers are Retained, Which Col. Horry will Expect If service is Offerd to Col. Maham [who] has the Prefferance as the best Cavaldry Officer and who will always keep up a Corps in Better Order than Horry can do. If Maham is retained he Expect to keep all his Officers & the vacancies only filled with Horrys.

I hope You & the Govenor will give me Possitive Directions in what manner I must Act.³⁸³ The two Commanding Officer is Equall in my Esteem, & woud not wish to do any thing that may be Disagreable. And my Oppinion is what I conceive to be for the Good of My Country, which private partiality Cannot make me do any thing Contrary to that Good. Col. Maham have taken such pains in Mounting Equiping & Cloathing his Corps that it would be hard to Dismiss him when that Corps is so much superior to the Other & Can Act with Advantage without Horrys but the Latter Cannot without the former; It is the wish of most of Horrys Officer to act with Col. Maham, & it is also their Opinion that Horry is not so good a Cavaldry Officer as the Other. I shall not Determine any thing respecting this Business until I hear from You.

Gainey's men Over Pee Dee is Yett quiet. He is gone to North Carolina to settle some Complaints of that state.³⁸⁴

From Different Information, the Embarkation taking place in Ch^s Town are the remains of the 63d, 71st & New York Volanteers & the Volanteers of Ireland, & a Number of Supernumery Officers, & Refugees, some say that Col. [Benjamin] Thompson & Maj^r [John] Coffin with the Queens Rangers are Embarked.³⁸⁵

Seven ships the day before Yesterda[y] was seen passing Bulls Island tow[ard] [Charles?] Town Bar five of which appeared Ships of war, & by several persons I am informed there is a fleet off the Bar but is not known what Number.³⁸⁶

I have the Honor to be
Your Ob S^r

Fran^s Marion

NB The Letters I sent to North Carolina p^r Express.³⁸⁷

ALS (MiU-C), PNG, 10:534-35.

382. Marion's letter to Mathews has not been found (PNG, 10:535n).

383. As noted in Marion's Mar. 13, letter to Greene, above, Marion believed Maham to be the stronger candidate, but wanted to have positive orders from either Greene or Mathews to that effect, in order to absolve himself of responsibility for passing over Horry.

384. Maj. Micajah Gainey had agreed to a "treaty" with Horry in 1781, which declared the Pee Dee Region neutral ground. However, the North Carolina Loyalist militia continued to lurk in the area and raid the Patriots. Loyalist partisan David Fanning arrived in the area in May, 1782, and reignited the fighting. See Marion to Greene, May 21, below, as well as "Articles of agreement made and concluded between Col^o. 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" of Jun. 17, 1781, and "Treaty between General Marion in behalf of the State of South Carolina, & Major Ganey & the Inhabitants under his command, which were Included in the treaty made the Jun. 17, 1781," both above (PNG, 10:535n).

385. Marion overstated the magnitude of the evacuation. Royal Lt. Gov. William Bull wrote Lord George Germain on Mar. 25 that only Col. Benjamin Thompson "with some of Tarleton's Legion and other horse" and was about to sail for New York (PNG, 10:535n).

386. No evidence has been found of the arrival of a British fleet at this time (PNG, 10:535n).

387. See Greene's letter of Mar. 19, 1782, above, in which he instructed Marion to deliver these letters to North Carolina Gov. Thomas Burke.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke

[Santea]³⁸⁸ 25 March 1782

S^r.

A Detachment of forty men, under L^t Col^o [Lemuel] Benton³⁸⁹ marched this day for the Negroes,³⁹⁰ & Suppose they may return in three days ---

I am Y^r Obt S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (PHC), Haverford College, Charles Roberts Autograph Collection.

388. Location inferred. Marion was encamped at this location on Mar. 23, as his letter of that date, above, indicates. His letter of Mar. 29, below, placed him at Lenud's Ferry on the north side of the Santee River. It may be that he learned of the movement of Thomas Fraser in his direction and moved across the Santee to shield himself from the superior Loyalist force.

389. Grimke misidentified Benton's rank here. Lemuel (Lam) Benton was promoted to colonel in the South Carolina militia on Apr. 28, 1781, according to the Jun. 5, 1781 entry in Marion's Orderly Book (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 679). He took command of the regiment in Marion's brigade formerly headed by Col. Abel Kolb, who had been murdered by Loyalists.

390. The reference here is vague, but these may have been slaves obtained from confiscated estates to be used as laborers in service to the Patriot cause, thus freeing up white men to serve in the militia or resume duty as active Continental soldiers.

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

Head Quarters near Dorchester [March] 27th 1782³⁹¹

Dear Sir

I recieved your favor of the 23d of this instant upon the subject of incorporating Col^o Horrys and Mayums regiments of Cavalry. The incorporation of those Corps will undoubtedly add to their strength and lessen the expence. Your proposition therefore meets with a ready assent. I wrote you in addition to what I wrote the Governor on this subject, that you might prefer which of the Officers you thought would be most useful;³⁹² I see by your letter that you are fully of opinion that Mayum is by far the best cavalry officer and that the opinion of the officers of both Corps as well as the state of Mayums regiment gives him a preference. If Mayum is the best Cavalry officer and the officers of both wish him to command in preference to Col Horry I think the good of the service will authorise a preference to be given to Mayum altho Col Horry is the oldest officer and equally meritorious.³⁹³ The distress of this Cavalry and critical situation of affairs rendered it absolutely necessary that every aid should be given to the Army that could possibly be drawn from the resources of the Country. This could only be done by establishing temporary Corps to aid the service until the Continental force in the regular establishment was more equal to the service. The distress of the Country and the necessity of the case would warrant the measure and us have derivd considerable advantage from those Corps. But the same principle that led to their first establishment should decide their term of continuance and plan of reduction.³⁹⁴ I think Col Horry a very deserving man and wish it was in my power to regulate the business upon a plan of public utility without offering any violence to his feelings.³⁹⁵

If the incorporation takes place I think the officers of each Regiment should be continued according to the men belonging to the Regiment. I must question whether Congress will recruit for the Regiment even if it is incorporated after the terms of the Mens enlistments expires.³⁹⁶ If the incorporation can take place I shall be glad, but if not matters must go on as they stand.³⁹⁷

I am with esteem

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

391. The original date omitted the month. The docketing of the letter is "March 27th," which can be confirmed by the letter's context (PNG, 10:547n).

392. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 12; and Greene to Marion, Mar. 19, both above.

393. See Marion to Greene, Mar. 23, above.

394. See Greene to Maham, Jun. 21, 1781, and Horry to Greene, Jun. 28, 1781, both above.

395. Greene wrote Horry on the same date, trying to explain the situation (Greene to Horry, Mar. 27, 1782, PNG, 10:543-46), as did Marion on Mar. 31, below. Horry continued to feel wronged.

396. Greene echoed similar sentiments to Mathews on a letter of this date, suggesting that he was uncertain how long the consolidated corps would exist, and that they might be eliminated if the Continental regiments were filled. The Continental units were never brought up to strength (Greene to Mathews, Mar. 27, 1781, PNG, 10:547-48).

397. Marion chose, rather than combining the two regiments, to transfer Horry's cavalry to Maham, while ordering the infantry to accompany Horry to his new command in Georgetown. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 8, below (PNG, 10:547n).

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

North of Santea River [Lenuds?] Ferry 29th March 1782 10 OC. AM

S^r

I wrought Govenor Mathews Yesterday Morning of the Enemys Intention of making Excursion in S^t Thomas & Christ Church, they are now in S^t James Santea Near [Lewis?] Ferry, taking all the negroes from every place & making waist the Country. It is Said they have one hundred & fifty horse & a body of Infantry I canot learn the Number. The river is so high I cannot Easily Cross, nor have I strength to Oppose them, the few Malitia cannot make but Little Opposition. However I shall pass the river at Lenuds and Indeavour to do all I can.

The Caveldry is Said to Command'd by Major Coffin; shoud you want me to make a Junction with any troops, send to Lenuds Ferry. If you shoud send a Detachment the best rout will be by Moncks Corner, through Wadbo to M^r Quarks [Quash's] near Hugers Bridge from thence to M^{rs} Wigfalls on the road Leading from [Lenuds] Ferry to Haddrells.³⁹⁸

I have the Honor to be

Your Ob^t S^r

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C), Parks.

398. Greene's letter of Mar. 31, below, informed Marion that he had dispatched Col. John Laurens to pursue Coffin (PNG, 10:561n).

Edward Walsh³⁹⁹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town, March 29th 1782

Sir,

My present situation I hope will apologize for the Liberty I take in Troubling you in this manner to acquaint you, that I have been a prisoner of war upon parole as a private man since the 14th of last Septem. being taken at that time with Governour Burke & others at Wilmington in N^o. Carolina, by a body of Tories Commanded by Col^o. Fanning⁴⁰⁰__ now Sir as my feelings are much hurt by not having it in my power to be of any service to my Country__ and as it is thought that an Exchange of Prisoners is to take place shortly, any favours which you may be good enough to show me on this occasion will be most gratefully Remembered.⁴⁰¹ I should have done my self the pleasure of waiting on you in person but am prevented by a slight indisposition, which I have been attended with for some days.

I have the honor to be,
with the Greatest respect D^r Sir.
Your very hum. Serv^t.

Edwd. Walsh

N.B. If you will be oblidging enough to favour me w^h an answer.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

399. An Edward Walsh served as a captain in the 5th SC Regiment, and resigned in May, 1778, but whether this is the same Edward Walsh is unclear (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 964).

400. Loyalist Col. David Fanning executed a surprise attack on Hillsborough, NC, on the morning of Sep. 12, 1781. The operation went so smoothly that by 9 AM, Gov. Thomas Burke, the city council, a number of Continental officers, and 71 Continental soldiers were prisoners (David Fanning, Thomas Wynne ed. *The Narrative of Col. David Fanning* (New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865), 127-34; Rankin F. Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1971), 364; Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 1:410) Walsh mistakenly listed the date of this attack as Sep. 14.

401. Walsh's subsequent status is not known. If still on parole (as a private citizen) in October, he would have been freed as a result of the prisoner exchange agreement between Greene and Leslie of Oct. 23 ("Articles of Agreement between Alexander Leslie and Nathanael Greene concerning an exchange of prisoners...Oct. 23 1782, *NCSR*, 16:661-62).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[North of the Santee?] March 29th 1782

Dr Sir,

Yours by Sampson is before me, whatever negroes may be wanted for publick service you will first make requisition of the inhabitants in proportion that no unequal Burden may fall on any persons, the Negroes will be paid whatever has been usual. A Certificate must be Given for their term of service if the number of Negroes required is not furnished we must be obliged (however disagreeable) to send parties & take them. The number of Males Each man has may be nearly ascertained; if it cannot, you must rate them by Guess, & let the Owner make it appear they have not the Number, every district around George Town must furnish their quota; and if not sufficient, to Extend it to the North of Santee up to Lenuds ferry⁴⁰² I have no objection to your going to Black Mingo, or Elsewhere, when your business can permit of which you are the best Judge. I have never Empressed any Rum, Sugar or Coffee for myself, but you may apply to Col^o. Grimke⁴⁰³ for a few barrells Rice from the Confiscated Estates & purchase them & wish you could get Enough of those Articles for us both, & tell the Colonel, it is my request for rice for the publice use.⁴⁰⁴ I wrote you yesterday, Since which we have had nothing new.⁴⁰⁵

I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

402. Marion provided Horry with guidelines for the use of slaves to support the American cause. In his Mar. 13 letter, above, Marion directed Horry to impress slaves for the purpose of building a redoubt on Black Mingo to protect the supply depot there, as well as to prevent British ships from raiding plantations farther upriver. Slaves were also impressed to build the fort at Georgetown.

403. In an Apr. 5 letter, below, to Lt. Col. John Faucheraud Grimke, Marion requested that he give Col. Peter Horry five barrels of rice for the garrison Horry commanded at Georgetown, not mentioning that the rice was also for Marion's use.

404. In an Apr. 8 letter to Grimke, Horry enclosed this letter (American Antiquarian Society, *The Collector*, Apr.-Jun. 1945, vol. 58).

405. The letter has not been found.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[North of Santee river?] March 31st 1782

D^r Sir,

I Received yours of this date & find you reflect on me very much.⁴⁰⁶ I should have been Glad if you had suspended your opinion untill you heard the whole & then formed your Judgment__ I did propose to Gen^l. Greene & the Governour to Incorporate the two Regiments, but did not say which of the 2 Officers was to be preferred. I think what I said was nearly this, That Col^o. Maham was the best Cavalry Officer & you was the best Infantry & purposed that your Corps should be dismounted & serve as Infantry in George Town, as that post was to be kept & the Horses, Saddles & Swords be Given to Maham. In this I thought I Consulted the Good of the Service, without throwing you out of Service, when I see you I can Give you the whole which passed & my Reasons & I dare say it will be Satisfactory, the making any Alterations in Either of the Corps is not determined on, neither shall I do any thing which may not be agreeable to you__ I therefore must Insist that you keep the command of George Town & when you think proper to ride as far as this will give you every reason to be satisfied.

I am

Your Obd^t. Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

406. Horry's letter is not extant. However, he wrote to Gen. Greene on the same date, below, paraphrasing Gen. Marion's letter to Horry.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Laurens

Lower Santee North of Santee river 31 March 1782 4 OC. PM -

S^r, This moment I recd. yourse of yesterday & this date⁴⁰⁷ __ I am sorry I cannot give you a particular Account of the Enemys force, my Intelligence is Contradictory, Last night I heard a part of the Enemy was at Captⁿ. Richd. Withers 14 miles from Lewis's [Lenuds] ferry the Other at Bonds Plantation Wambaw __ after their Excursion in the North of Santee they retired towards Oindow Bridge where I Learnt their Infantry was left.⁴⁰⁸ Since which I heard the[y] had come up to the above places __ Yesterday Morning I sent Col. Maham with his Corps Horrys & some Malitia horse in the whole about 150 Caveldry fit for Service. The waters being high (and I fear not that Diligence which the Occasion required) has Empeded their passing the river at Lanuds ferry, the only place practicable at this time, & they will not pass the whole before Late this Evening __ I have sent orders to Col. Maham to make a Junction with you at Hugers Bridge & to find Conditions for your party.⁴⁰⁹

My Infantry is not 150 men unmounted & cannot possible git up in time to be of Service __ but on your Advancing Shud You find it nessisary I will march & make a Junction with you at any place you will point out __ Col. Maham who know the Country can give you what you may want in that way __

I acquainted the Govenor & Gen^l. Green p^r. Express three days agoe of the Enemy Intention of Coming in to the Country & of their being In S^t James at Lewis [Lenuds] ferry. I believe their Strength consist in their Caveldry not more than 150, what their Infantry may be is not known. They took at M^{rs}. Motts Maj^r Hyrne Judge Pendleton⁴¹⁰ & a Number of negroes & quantity of plunder⁴¹¹ __ I think the Greatest probability of Success Is with Caveldry __ Shoud they retire to[o] Soon to cut off their retreat, perhaps the redoubt at Haddrells may be an Object worth attention.

I am Y^r Ob^t S^t Fran^s Marion

D^r. Colonel

I have taken the Liberty of oppining this letter __ & as it may have some Influence on our movement. Have sent it on by a Dragoon⁴¹² __ I have halted the troops at Thomases Where we will Draw & Cook provision __

I am Sir your Most Obd^t Srv^t

[James] Moore⁴¹³

ALS (Harlan Crow Library)

407. Neither letter has been found.

408. Marion was referring to the foray made by Maj. Thomas Fraser to capture slaves from Patriot plantations. See Marion to Greene, Mar. 29, above. If the reference was to Withers's Friendship Plantation, this action would signal a foray north of the Santee River, since the plantation was on the Sampit River near Georgetown. Bonds plantation may refer to Springfield, owned by Jacob Bond. Oindow is an Indian word, also transliterated as Awendaw. The Oindow bridge probably refers to a bridge over the Awendaw Creek on the road between Georgetown and Charlestown in the vicinity of the current State Route 17. By sending Maham South to meet up with Laurens at Huger's Bridge, the Patriot forces would cut off any movement westward by Fraser's Loyalists. At Huger's Bridge, Laurens and Maham would be in a position to quickly move eastward or southward depending on the position of the British.

409. Lt. Col. Laurens marched from Dorchester on Mar. 30.

410. Henry Pendleton (d.1788), a brother of Greene's aide Nathaniel Pendleton and a native of Virginia, had relocated to South Carolina by 1771, when he was admitted to the Charlestown bar. A leading figure in South Carolina judicial circles, he was elected a judge in 1776. In Mar. 1782 Pendleton was captured by Loyalists led by William Cunningham at Daniel Horry's Hampton Plantation and put in the Provost in Charlestown. Pendleton was paroled by Gen. Leslie in late June. [See a brief bio of Pendleton's life after the war by clicking here.](#)

411. Maj. Fraser's capture of Mrs. Motte, Maj. Edmund Hyrne, Judge Henry Pendleton, and Maj. Thomas Pinckney was a symbolic victory for the British. Mrs. Motte was probably Rebecca Motte, who had given Marion permission to set her own house on fire, and purportedly supplied the bow and arrows used to bring about the surrender of Ft. Motte in May, 1781. Maj. Edmund M. Hyrne was serving as deputy adjutant general of the Southern Department, a post he held until the end of the war. At the time of his capture, he was also commissary of prisoners. Maj. Thomas Pinckney (1750-1828) was aide de camp to both Gen. Benjamin Lincoln and Gen. Horatio Gates. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Camden and exchanged in Dec. 1780.

412. Presumably Laurens separated from the bulk of his troops to ride ahead. This letter apparently found its way to his main camp.

413. In an Apr. 2 letter to Laurens, Greene revealed that he had not been aware that Maj. James Moore of the Pennsylvania Line, who had commanded a detachment bringing supplies from Camden, was with Laurens (Greene to Moore, Jan. 20, 1782, PNG, 10:226; Greene to Laurens, Apr. 2, 1782, PNG, 10:574).

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

Head Quarters near Dorchester [S.C.] March 31st 1782

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 29 has this moment come to hand.⁴¹⁴ Lt Col Laurens marched yesterday with all the Cavalry and light troops to intercept the party out in St Thomas's. They carried one field piece & Col Laurens was to inform you of his route and to fix a point to form a junction with you. If you can give the enemy a blow it will be of great importance; but be careful and not engage to a great disadvantage. Our light troops are excellent and will beat near double their numbers if you only give them a fair chance in the manner of engaging.⁴¹⁵

Is there no possibility of forming a post at Monk's Corner. It would contribute greatly to the security of the country.⁴¹⁶

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed humble S^t

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

414. This refers to Marion's letter of Mar. 29, above (See also Laurens to Greene, Mar. 30, 1782, *PNG*, 10:564-65).

415. Laurens's pursuit of Fraser, who returned to British lines during the afternoon of Mar. 30, was unsuccessful, as was that of Col. Hezekiah Maham, whom Marion sent in pursuit of Fraser (Fraser to Nisbet Balfour, n.d., (NN), Emmet Collection; *South Carolina Royal Gazette*, Mar. 30; Maham to Marion, Apr. 4, below; Laurens to Greene, Apr. 2, *PNG*, 10:576).

416. Marion's reply of Apr. 5, is below.

April - June
1782

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Georgetown, April 1st 1782

Dr Sir, I received last Evening a letter from Gen^l. Greene, as you saw the Contents it is needless for me to Relate any part thereof further than that I am sensible to whom I am Indebted for being turned out of service & Maham Continued.¹ My Conscience tells me that I have in no Instance been wanting in my duty to my Country & have served it to the utmost of my Abilities__ It is welcome to all my past Services. It only hurts my feelings that Maham who is both younger in Service & Rank should be continued & myself turned out, Yet if 'tis for the good of the service, which from Gen^l Greenes letter you say it is, I am satisfied & must Endeavour in future to attend my own Interest with as much Assiduity as I have here to done for my Country.² The Remaining part of the Regimt lies at Austin's [Allston's], under Command of Lieu^t. Stephenson, Adjutant Huggins³ has the Regimental Book, shortly I shall deliver you up whatever papers Relates to the Regiment. I Consider myself no longer as Commanding Officer thereof.⁴ I have left Cap^t. W^m. Allston Commandant here & Give him the Necessary Orders until further Orders by you.⁵ I am going to Black Mingo for a few days & as my Negro man is at Santee have taken one Dragoon to wait on me till he returns.⁵ I hope you will not take such Liberty amiss. In a few days I will wait on you at Santee. I am Dr Sir

Your Obd^t Serv^t. P. HorryP. S. Herewith you will receive for Gen^l. Greene a letter, I will be obliged to you to forward it.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

1. Between Mar. 17 and 23, Marion informed Horry of the planned consolidation of his and Maham's regiments. The letter is not extant, but in a letter written to Greene between Mar. 19 and 23, Horry reported that Marion had written to him, informing him that Gov. Mathews and Gen. Greene intended to consolidate the two regiments (Horry to Greene, between Mar. 19 and 23, 1782, *PNG*, 10:533-34). Apparently, Marion did not initially reveal his role in the command change. Whether Greene was aware that Marion had not yet informed Horry is not known. However, Greene made it perfectly clear to Horry when he wrote on Mar. 27 that Maham would be the new commander. "I confess for my own part that I think they [the cavalry regiments] would be more useful in one than two; and therefore readily gave my consent for incorporating them when it was proposed by General Marion and recommended by the Governor." Greene continued, "I recommended to the General to continue which Officer he might think would be most useful. . . that a choice founded on ability could not be displeasing to a generous Mind and satisfactory to one that regarded the interest of his Country more than private advantage and that he that did not ought not be gratified." Greene reinforced Horry's notion regarding "to whom I am Indebted for being turned out of service & Maham Continued", when he continued, "General Marion thinks Mayum is better qualified for the Cavalry service than you are..." (Greene to Horry, Mar. 27, 1782, *PNG*, 11:543-45).
2. Horry put on his best face in rationalizing Greene's comments of Mar. 27, attributable to Marion, that the retention of Maham over himself was in the best interest of the Country and for the good of the service. On Mar. 27, Greene had written directly to Horry "if the public good and the condition of the Corps and the wishes of the Officers of both are to operate in the decision Col Mayum has an undoub[t]ed claim to the preference" (Greene to Horry, Mar. 27, 1782, *PNG*, 11:545).
3. This may have been James Stevens, who served as a private, lieutenant, and captain in the militia during 1781 and 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 896). Benjamin Huggins served in both the 2nd and 3rd SC Regiments, rising from private to ensign. In 1782 he was promoted to lieutenant and served as Horry's adjutant (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 470).
4. Upon learning of the consolidation of the cavalry regiments commanded by Maham and Horry into one regiment under Maham, Horry presumed that he no longer had a command.
5. William Allston served as a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment from 1779 to 1781, and was in Horry's regiment of dragoons of Marion's brigade (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 16).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre April 1st 1782

Sir, I Received your letter of the ult^o. and I now Inclose you Copies of a letter from Gov^r Burke, which Explains what Ganey has been for some time past complaining of.⁶ I hope you will pay a particular attention to Gov^r Burkes requisition, that none of the disaffected of his State may be suffered to harbour with Ganey & his party & it would be well to apprise him that if, when Driven out of No. Carolina they are Sheltered by any of his party in this State it will be deemed an infraction of the Truce & consequently the No. Carolinians will have a right to enter the Neutral ground & apprehend the fellows wherever they are found. If it can be Clearly proved that the Truce has been violated on their part, how far it might be advisable for you to Co-Operate with the No. Carolinians & by one Decisive Blow crush this Infamous Banditti, I must leave with you to determine.⁷ As to the proposal you make Respecting Mayhams & Horry's Corps, Gen^l. Greene & myself having fully considered that matter, have Given you our Oppinion thereon which I suppose you have received ere this. But should there be any Great difficulty in carrying our determination into Execution, I have no Objection to Adopting the mode you now propose. If Gen^l Greene approves of it, Except that part "to recruit Mahams Corps to one hundred & twenty men," as the time of Service of the men will Expire in July, therefore it would not be worth while to incur the Expen^{ce}.⁸ I am very Glad you have Got some Negroes for the recruiting service. I wish Col^o. Grimke would Continue to furnish you with them & not wait for my orders w^c. I can give him hereafter, when I know the quantity delivered you.⁹ The Orders you have lately received from me Render it Unnecessary to say any thing now Respecting M^r. Philip Porcher.¹⁰ Since writing the above I have seen Gen^l. Greene & he approves of Horrys Corps being Continued, as infantry agreeable to your proposal.¹¹ I am Sir Your Most Obed^t. Serv^t.

John Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

6. Gov. Burke's letter has not been found. In his Apr. 13 letter to Burke, below, Marion mentioned that Ganey's concern was with North Carolina Loyalists using the Pee Dee region as a safe haven to initiate attacks on Patriots in both South Carolina and across the border into North Carolina. Burke wrote to former Gov. Rutledge on Mar. 6 about the same subject: "Though I do not admit that any treaty of neutrality made by the officers of one State with people inhabiting such State, can be obligatory on the citizens of any other State, yet I am very far from being disposed to contravene any measures taken by Gen. Marion, for his character sufficiently assures me they were judicious....An officer from the county of Blanden [Bladen], which borders on the State of South Carolina...has represented to me, that about one hundred of the people who...are the most desperate and destructive of those who were put in motion against this State by the enemy, had taken shelter among the people, to whom Gen. Marion had granted a neutrality, and from thence infested our people. I had intended writing to the Executive magistrate of South Carolina on this subject, requesting that Gen. Marion might cause the abuse of his compact to be remedied, and that he would co-operate with us in measures which are now nearly ready for execution..." (Burke to Rutledge, Mar. 6, 1782, in Gibbs, *Documentary History*, 1:265-66)

7. In his Apr. 13 letter to Burke, Marion informed the NC governor that he had received a response from former Loyalist leader Maj. Ganey, who indicated he would drive the NC Loyalists back to North Carolina.

8. Both Gov. Mathews and Gen. Greene were in favor of Marion's plan for the consolidation of the cavalry regiments commanded by Horry and Maham. They were, however, cognizant of the inherent sensitivities in the decision to retain the less senior officer, and of issues with the integration of the officer corps. As the controversy dragged on, Greene concluded, "If the incorporation can take place I shall be glad, but if not matters must go on as they stand" (Greene to Marion, Mar. 27, above). Marion had been having second thoughts, as Mathews implied here. The new plan here referenced may have been some version of that suggested to Greene on Apr. 8, below, in which included dismounting Horry's corps, and transferring the horses to Maham, with Horry retaining control of the entire dismounted force.

9. Act 1151—to Procure Recruits and Prevent Desertion—was passed by the legislature on Feb. 26. 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). This law was very similar to the policy implemented by former State Militia Commander Thomas Sumter, known as Sumter's Law. While initially approved by both Rutledge and Greene, it had been retracted by Rutledge's proclamation of Aug. 5, 1781. Ironically Marion, who was vehemently against the policy, now became an implementer of it. Marion had expressed his distaste as early as Apr. 18, 1781, above, in a letter to Sumter, above, after which Sumter responded on Apr. 30, above, advising him that the policy had been approved by Rutledge. By his letter of Apr. 24, 1782, below, however, Marion was at least passively accepting of the new recruiting tactic. He advised Peter Horry that "several of your men wishes to Inlist in the Infantry on the new bounty... I send two men with their attestations, which Cannot be sworn to untill your Discharge is obtained, which please see done & Give them the Inclosed Orders to Swinton for their Negroes, & grant them one Month furlough."

10. It is unclear to what orders Gov. Mathews was referring. Philip Porcher appeared on the Confiscation List under the category of "those who have borne commissions under his Britannic majesty and are now with the enemy." Ultimately, his name was removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced 12%. (*Statutes*, 4:516-25, 6:632-35)

11. Marion experienced second thoughts about the original plan for consolidating Horry's regiments with Maham's.

Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Strawberry [Ferry], April 4th 1782

Sir, I take the Liberty of Informing you, that we pursued the Enemy with my Cavalry down to Haddrels,¹² they had all got over, not more than 2 or 3 hours before we Got down, I was on my return to you the next day as far as Balls Wambaw¹³ when I Received an Express from Col^o. Laurens to Join him as Quick as possible at Strawberry ferry. Col^o. Laurens has Rendezvous [at] Strawberry. I still Remain at Col^o. Harlestons,¹⁴ near the ferry untill I hear from Col^o. Laurens again.¹⁵ I have the honor to be

Your Most Obd^t. hum Serv^t.

H. Maham

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

April 4, 1782 – Sir Guy Carleton replaces Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief in America, with orders to suspend offensive operations and begin evacuating American territory.

12. Haddrell's Point, directly across the Cooper River from Charlestown, was the site of a strong defensive position maintained by the British garrison.

13. The reference here is to Ball's plantation on Wambaw Creek.

14. Maj. Isaac Harleston owned Fish Pond plantation near Strawberry Ferry, lying between Comingtee and Bonneau Ferry on the east side of the eastern branch of the Cooper River ("Cooper River Historic District, Berkeley County, South Carolina," National Register of Historic Places, sect. 7, 27; Harriette Kershaw Leiding, *Historic Houses of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1921), 74).

15. Maham was known to be an independent-minded officer. He had resented being transferred to Marion's Command by Gen. Greene. It is not known what his orders from Marion contained. In this situation, he may very well have taken it upon himself to remain in the area and attach his troops to Laurens.

Secret Correspondent to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Charlestown?] April 4th 1782

Sir, I forwarded you Yesterday a Small packet by M^r. MDowle, to which I refer. I am now in the Country and at liberty. I must, therefore, thank you again for your kindness & attention in forwarding me a protection & for saving me from impending destruction.¹⁶ Your late worthy Brother, whose memory I shall ever Revere, I considered as my father & best friend, & Esteemed him beyond all other men__ and you Sir, by your Generous Conduct, have laid me under such Obligations as entitles you to my affection & best services.¹⁷ I now answer your favour of the 7th ultimo, Received the 23d. When it Came to hand, I revolved the Subject over & over in my mind, & came to this Conclusion__ That it would be impossible for me alone to carry your Views into their full Extent, for the following Reasons---First, Because, as I followed no kind of business, the purchasing goods alone in any quantity, would Create suspicion---Secondly Because I am much Suspected already, not by those in Authority, but by busy people, who are ever prying into other people's business, I have been told I am suspected, & that my Conduct is watched---Thirdly, because I think I want Resolution for such an Undertaking, Laboring as I do, under a Great Infirmary of Face (having in all my Concerns walked in a Strait Path) in so much if any danger arose, I should sink under it, if the Truth was against me. These considerations determined me to Consult a Second person. I knew of none so proper as my friend M^r. W^m. Smith,¹⁸ N^o. 33 on the Bay__ I therefore in Confidence made him acquainted with the subject of your letter__ This produced a return of Confidence from him & he acquainted me Cap^t. Theus¹⁹ had Already wrote to him on the subject & that he had made the Necessary applications, That the answers were more favourable than he expected & that he only waited for an opportunity to write Cap^t. Theus. I enclosed M^r. Smith's answer to C. T. [Charlestown] to you yesterday. I wish it may be satisfactory.²⁰ In my former letter I mentioned a M^r. Warrington, gone in a flag to George Town, he has a Large Stock, & I fancy has had large Concerns in the Country already. I am of Opinion good Business may be done with him if he is not Returned. I lament much I could not Advise you of this man before but it was Impracticable. I am in hopes your business may be done by mutual consent of parties; if it can you will be much better served & there will be no Risk, which always is Great, for only two or three days ago a Vessell Loaded with Rum was Seized at Roper's Wharf, Cap^t. Keaton & Dicka[er]son Confined in the provost & M^r. John McQueen oblidged to Abscond²¹__ Excuse me Sir for

16. The meaning of "saving me from impending destruction" could mean the sender had been included on the confiscation lists and that Marion had intervened to have him/her removed. Possibly, his/her crops were slated for use by the military, or were to be sold to obtain currency to support the military. It is also possible that his/her slaves had been slated for use as bounty for recruiting to fill the state regiments and Marion was able to stave off the action. It is also possible that the sender's secret identity had been compromised and that Marion had taken some action or caused a misdirection that had protected it.
17. The writer was clearly well known to Gen. Marion. The brother referred to may have been Francis's elder brother Gabriel, who died in 1777, since he/she mentioned Dr. Lynah and Philip Porcher. Lynah and Porcher owned plantations in the vicinity of Belle Isle.
18. This may have been William Smith, an English merchant living in Charlestown. In Aug. 1782, he was among 70 merchants who petitioned Gov. Mathews and Gen. Greene, seeking security for themselves after the evacuation of Charlestown. The merchants asked permission to remain in town for an additional 18 months to complete their business of selling remaining inventory and collecting outstanding debts (Petition on Behalf of the Charlestown Merchants, Aug. 11, 1782, PNG, 11:519).
19. Cap^t. Theus may have been Simeon Theus who was a captain and paymaster in 1780. After the fall of Charlestown, he was captured and later exchanged (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 924). Theus may have been in Charlestown prior to being exchanged, thus being a confidante of the secret correspondent.
20. Apparently, Gen. Marion had suggested to the secret correspondent that he/she engage in some type of commercial trade between Charlestown and the Patriot-occupied territory. At the time such transactions were illegal, although their de facto legitimacy was often determined on a case-by-case basis. The informant's subsequent statements indicate that he/she was not a merchant. His/her systematic analysis of the proposition clearly places him/her among the upper classes of Charlestown. The writer implied that Cap^t. Theus had been similarly contacted by Marion, and appeared to be in a better position to carry out Marion's strategy. It is highly likely that the writer was also on the confiscation list.
21. The writer went on to describe two scenarios. Both seemed to involve movement of goods by ship. Warrington (identity unknown) was well organized and succeeded, while Cap^t. Keaton and Cap^t. Dickerson apparently failed. John McQueen supplied intelligence to both Laurens and Greene, although he was also suspected of being a British agent. McQueen (1751-1807) was the English-educated owner of a plantation in St. Paul Parish. He was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st General Assembly. McQueen served as a captain in the Ranger company of the Charlestown Militia during 1775 and 1776. In 1778 he was elected captain in the South Carolina Navy. In the spring of 1779, he served as a liaison between Gens. Washington and Lafayette. Although questions had been raised about his loyalty following the fall of Charlestown, a letter he wrote Greene on Apr. 18, 1782 showed that he had been engaged in spying for Greene. He also provided intelligence to John Laurens. By mid-Apr. 1782 McQueen's ability to pass freely between American and

Offering to Give Advice. But supposing Cap^t. Theus was to write to M^r. Smith for such Articles as he wanted to be paid in produce. It will be M^r. Smiths Interest to serve you, or rather himself. I perhaps may succeed in a small Concern also, if you approve it. Fresh meat sells at an Enormous price; A good Creature would fetch in quarters Twenty Guineas or Upwards. If permission could be had to bring proper goods in return from Town, a few Creatures would procure you a Great many Necessaries & bear triffling & temporary Relief to the Town. I do not know this can be done, but if you desire it I will try & desire no Advantage from it. At all Events, I can Get many Goods out with passes, as I [did] the hoes.

To conclude I will Render you all the Services in my Power & when the plan & Correspondence is settled, the Conveyance of letters from hence will be Regular. I could wish Lieut. Capers might Convey all letters, & accompany any Person on this business; as he is known by my People & often here, it will not create any suspicion for I only wish to Trust one Negro.²² I must now beg leave to Execute a Commission in behalf of a very much distressed man. I mean my worthy friend, M^r. Phillip Porcher. He is much hurt by the late Act that Effects him. I do think if ever man was deserving of favour, he is of the number, as you know him well, I shall only say, He is determined to throw himself on your protection & I Expect he is now on his way to you to Solicit your kind Offices to rank him amongst the number you have made happy.²³ I am also desired to forward you a letter from my friend Dr. L. He is a true Penitent, & sincerely desirous of making his peace, & of following your directions in all things; his Lady is coming out to Effect it if Possible.²⁴ This freedom in me, needs Every Apology I can make, my wish to serve my friends will I hope plead it. I shall only further add, that I am, Sir,

Your Obedient hum. Serv^t.

P. S. Please to destroy this letter, for fear of Accidents.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

British lines was coming to an end, apparently as a result of the seizure by British authorities in Charlestown of a vessel loaded with smuggled rum. McQueen moved to Georgia after the war, served in the Georgia House, fled to St. Augustine to avoid creditors, and eventually swore allegiance to the King of Spain. He was very successful in East Florida and became known as Don Juan McQueen. McQueen was the brother of Alexander McQueen. In Mar. 1780, Francis Marion leaped from the second floor of Alexander's home to exit a party after his host had barred the doors. In the leap Marion's foot or ankle was injured, which resulted in his leaving Charlestown with other supernumerary officers before the town fell in May, 1780 (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:464-66; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 643; Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 2:152; PNG, 10:570, 11; 28-29n, 74, 91).

22. George Sinclair (also Sinkler, Sinclare) Capers (d. 1809) served as a captain in the militia and State Troops under Marion. At the action at Videau's Bridge on Jan. 4, 1782, Capers took three sword thrusts through the body, but survived his wounds. He was back with Marion by Mar. 16. In April, Marion was using Capers as a courier receiving intelligence from the unnamed correspondent. In Aug. 1782 Capers routed a group of 26 Black dragoons with 12 of his troopers. He was in command of a company at Wando. Capers was elected to the House for the 5th General Assembly (1783-84). A William Capers was one of the 148 signers of the letter of thanks to Gen. Marion from "Citizens of Georgetown" in Dec. 1794, but it is uncertain whether this was the same individual (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 709 (FN1535), 734; Capers to Marion, Nov. 16, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Citizens to Marion, Dec. 15, 1794, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:129).
23. Phillip Porcher was included on the confiscation list printed in the South Carolina Royal Gazette of Mar. 20, 1782 on list No. 5, "men who still hold, or have held, commissions under his Britiannic majesty, and are now with the enemy; all which offenses, by the said Sedition Act [Act 1017], are declared to be capital" (*Statutes*, 4:343-46, 519; 6:631). Porcher was ultimately taken off the Confiscation list and amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 6:635).
24. Dr. L was probably Dr. James Lynah (1735-1809), a native of Dublin, Ireland, who served as a surgeon under Col. Joseph Maybank in the Berkeley County regiment of cavalry after Dec. 4, 1776, and was a surgeon in the cavalry under Col. Daniel Horry from 1779-80. At the siege of Savannah, in Oct. 1779, Lynah reportedly helped remove Col. Casimir Pulaski from the battlefield after he was wounded, and extracted the bullet that ultimately caused his death. About 1780—prior to the fall of Charlestown—he was under Lt. Col. Marion. [See more about Dr. Lynah by clicking here.](#)

Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Charlestown?]²⁵ April 4th 1782

Sir,

It was with deep Concern I viewed on the proceedings of the Last Session of your Assembly, Acts for amercing the property of some persons & Confiscating that of others whose principles had Attached them to the Cause of their Sovereign.²⁶ Yet alarming as these public resolutions appeared, I was in hopes Humanity as well as policy would have arrested their Execution, that I should not have been compelled to take measures for their counteraction, injurious to the Country & therefore painfull to me, but when these hopes were disappointed & I found the Effects of the Loyal & well affected removed from their Estates & carried to parts far distant from them, I could no longer remain a quiet spectator of their distress, but in Order to induce a more Juster line of Conduct, have Employed a part of the force intrusted to my Charge for their protection in Seizing the Negroes of your friends that restitution may be thereby made to such of ours as may suffer under these Oppressive & ruinous resolutions.

This, Sir, was the object of the late Excursion towards Santee, & these principles will greatly mark the future operation of this Army unless a Relinquishment of this assumed right on your part should Justify less destructive measures on mine.²⁷

To point out to you or the world the distinction between temporary sequestration & Actual Confiscation would be impertinence but will by no means be so to Observe on the opposite Conduct, pursued by each party in carrying into Execution these very different measures, for whilst you have endeavoured to involve in perpetual ruin the persons & Estates of those whose violent opposition to the Kings Government compelled the withholding from them for a time their possessions in this Province for the great attention which has been invariably paid to their property—the Connected state in which it was preserved & the Liberal Allowances that were made to their families in so much that whilst other Estates were running to waste by the distractions of the Country these have greatly thriven at the Expense of Government.

Thus far I have deemed it Necessary to Urge the motives of Humanity, Policy & Example, for your Suspension of such Rigorous procedures & should you think a meeting of Commissioners on each side might tend to Lessen the devastations of War & Secure inviolate the property of Individuals, I shall have a peculiar happiness in Embracing proposals that may Accomplish such benevolent purposes, but if, notwithstanding this Earnest, you should still persevere in executing these Acts of your Assembly, I trust this letter will hold me Justifiable to the world for any measures which necessity may adopt, in Counteraction of Steps unjust in their

25. Location inferred. It is presumed Leslie was in Charlestown.

26. Leslie referred to at least three acts dealing with the confiscation and amercement of estates held by Loyalists. Act 1153, passed on Feb. 26, 1782, called for the confiscation of estates for six classifications of enemies of South Carolina. All except Class I were banished in addition to confiscation. The categories were:

- I. those who are known subjects of his Britannic Majesty;
- II. those who immediately after the surrender of the garrison of Charlestown, presented congratulatory addresses to Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot on the reduction of that fortress;
- III. those who withdrew their allegiance and requested to be permitted to serve as royal militia;
- IV. those who congratulated Earl Cornwallis on the success of his Britannic majesty's arms (at Camden);
- V. those who have borne commissions under his Britannic majesty and are now with the enemy;
- VI. those who have avowed their allegiance to his Britannic majesty and have proved themselves inveterate enemies of South Carolina (*Statutes*, 4:516-23; 6:629-32).

Act 1155, passed on Feb. 26 1782, called for amercing those included in Act 1153 the amount of 12%. In addition, the act added another category: Those who subscribed or paid any sum of money toward mounting a Loyalist force. The estate of those in this classification were amerced 30% (*Statutes*, 4:523-25; 6:633).

Act 1157 included: those covered under Class II, IV and V of Act 1153 who were excepted from then Gov. Rutledge's Sep. 27, 1781 proclamation, but who had surrendered and those who had not surrendered by the time limit of Dec. 17, 1781, but had done so in the time since and "borne arms in defence of this State." Offenders in the above two categories were amerced at only 10% (*Statutes*, 4:525-28).

27. Leslie stated that British policy was one of temporary sequestration of rebel estates by those who were in arms against England. During the period of sequestration, he claimed, the estates were given great attention, and were actually thriving.. Great Britain's care for both the land and the families of its enemies contrasted, in Leslie's view, with South Carolina's policy which "endeavoured to involve in perpetual ruin" Loyalists who stood with Great Britain.

principles & personally distressfull in their Consequences & that whilst I only endeavour to secure to those who, with Respectable Steadiness, have attached themselves to our Cause, the full possession of their Effects, or, in Case of Losses to provide an Equitable restitution for them, I shall be Clearly exculpated from all the honors & Calamities which the road you now point out unavoidably leads to.²⁸ I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obdt. and hum. Servt.

Alexr Leslie

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

28. There was no change in policy by South Carolina as a result of Leslie's letter, nor was there any meeting between commissioners for each side.

Lt. Col. John Laurens to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

J. Wraggs near Strawberry April 4th 1782

D^r General, The letter & Intelligence from Gen.²⁹ Greene, enclosed herewith, Altho' it was probably his first upon the subject of the Enemies movement & the foundation of all his anxiety, did not reach me till late last night.¹ I must Confess I am not much Inclined to beleave that the Enemy meditate any such enterprize as his information Alludes to, however it is possible, & the Collecting our force within a proper distance, for a General Reunion or Cooperation, is a point of Prudence, & Cannot be attended with any ill Consequences.³⁰ Monk's Corner is said to be a very exhausted Country; there is nothing to be had.³¹ Col^o. Maham's Cavalry [propose] from Crossing Strawberry ferry, where boats are provided & L^t. Troops Can always Cover his return by the same way, which will save him some distance in Marching. I think it agreeable to the spirit of Gen^l Greenes letter, that the part of your Brigade now in this Vicinity should Cross Strawberry & be somewhere in a position to communicate with us, & have given this as my opinion to him,³² Should anything serious happen, your Counsel & support are too Important not to be wished for by the General & army. I am with sincere Esteem, D^r General Yours,

J. Laurens.

P. S. The Enemy had not moved Yesterday or discovered any Signs of it.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
29. In the enclosed letter of Apr. 2, mentioned here, Greene informed Laurens that recent intelligence indicated that the British planned to attack the main army. He ordered Laurens to join his command, and also mentioned his wish that Marion would move closer to Moncks Corner. Greene asked Laurens to write to Marion to apprise him of the situation (Greene to Laurens, Apr. 2, 1782, *PNG*, 10:574-75n). Laurens had just returned from an attempt to intercept Maj. Thomas Fraser's Loyalist cavalry in St. Thomas Parish. See Greene to Marion, Mar. 31, above.
30. Laurens's pursuit of Fraser, who returned to the British lines during the afternoon of Mar. 30, was unsuccessful, as was that of Col. Hezekiah Maham, whom Marion sent in pursuit of Fraser (Fraser to Nisbet Balfour, n.d., (NN), Emmet Collection; South Carolina Royal Gazette, Mar. 30; Maham to Marion, Apr. 4, below; Laurens to Greene, Apr. 2, *PNG*, 10:576).
31. In Greene's Mar. 31 letter, above, he suggested that Marion gather his troops in the vicinity of Moncks Corner. From there his troops could head off British actions on either side of the Cooper River.
32. Laurens moved his base of operations farther down the Cooper River to the area on both sides of the river at Strawberry Ferry, presumably due to a better supply of forage.

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

[near Lenud's Ferry, S.C.] 5 April 1782

S^r

I have seen the Letter sent to Col Laurens wherein you wish I could take post at or near the Corner³³--- around that place is intirely Exhausted, for upwards of thirty miles there is not forage for a troop of horse nor any Subsistance for troops which was the reason I took this position. Col. Mahams Caveldry is near Strawberry, & I shall march my Brigade (which is very small) to Join him, that Shoud the Enemy come out as you Suspect I may be near at hand to Obey your Orders³⁴ – by tomorrow I shall cross the river at Lanuds Ferry --- the river is to high I cannot get all over today.

I have the honor to be yr Obt St

Frans Marion

ALS (ScU)

33. In Greene's letter to Laurens of Apr. 2, he voiced concern over intelligence that the British planned to attack his army. Greene wished Marion would move near Moncks Corner in the event the latter's brigade was needed. Greene ordered Laurens to join the army and asked him to write Marion about the situation. Laurens did write Marion on Apr. 4, relating to Marion his doubts about the British threat (PNG, 10:574-75).

34. See Greene's new orders to Marion, Apr. 6, below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Hezekiah Maham³⁵

Lanuds ferry 5 April [1782] 5 OC. P M

S^r--

I Just recd Yourse of this date³⁶ & shall cross the river with part of the troops tonight, & the rest tomorrow as Early as possible --- I wish to hear from Gen^l. Green or Col. Laurens which may save a Disagreeble march³⁷ --- I wrought you this morning --- I beg Youd Look out where most Forrage as near Wadboo or the Cordes as possible -- as the Gen^l. wishes me to take a position in [the] vicinity & Let me know tomorrow on My way down the Strawberry road³⁸

It is said some firing was heard this forenoon towards the Quarter house, if so & you can give any Acc^t. who is the Occasion Let me know.³⁹

I am Your Ob^t S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (Harlan Crow Library)

-
35. In his general orders of Mar. 24th, above, Marion noted the appointment of "Hezekiah Maham Major Commandant of a Corps of light horse to be raised the So. of Santee River." The formation of Maham's corps of light horse was in response to Thomas Sumter's letter of Mar. 28, above, directing him to form two regiments of light horse from his brigade. The second light regiment may have been one commanded by Capt. William Snipes who, as early as the end of January, had been lobbying for a command of light horse, contrary to Marion's plans. See Huger to Marion, Jan. 28, and Rutledge to Marion, Jan. 28, both above.
36. No letter from Maham of Apr. 5 is extant. Marion presumably referred to Maham's letter of Apr. 4, above, in which the latter notified Marion that he was near Strawberry, awaiting word from Laurens.
37. Marion was on the North side of the Santee River. He had written Laurens on Mar. 31, above, that he had only 150 infantry. Gen. Marion had been carrying on his own war with only incidental instructions from Sumter. He had not heard from Gen. Greene, since Feb. 16 or from Gov. Rutledge since Mar. 8. His only contact, other than with the British, was a Mar. 28 letter, above, from Sumter. The location of Col. John Laurens at this time is not known.
38. This statement implies that Marion had had communication from Gen. Greene. Marion directed Maham to scout out a camp for his brigade. Cordes was Marion's birthplace, adjacent to Murray's Ferry on the south side of the Santee River. Wadboo was across the West Branch of the Cooper River from Moncks Corner, strategically located at the intersection of the roads from Nelson's Ferry and Murray's Ferry. In Sumter's letter of Mar. 28 to Marion, below, the latter was ordered to move higher up the Black River to thwart British efforts to drive cattle to Camden. Yet one week later he was moving in the opposite direction, south of Moncks Corner.
39. Marion wrote to Horry on Apr. 9, below, informing him that the firing, presumably at the Quarterhouse, was "within the Enemies lines & proved to be a field day with them."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke⁴⁰

[Lenuds ferry] 5 April 1782

Sr

I am in want of Some rice for the Public Service will be Oblige to you to give Col. P Horry an Order for what he may want for the Garrison of Geo^r Town, from the forfeited Estates —⁴¹

I am Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (NjMoHP)

40. Lt. Col. Grimke was in charge of managing the estates confiscated from Loyalists. The estates became the source of provisions for both the militia and the Continental army.

41. Gen. Marion directed Col. Peter Horry to apply to Grimke for rice from the confiscated estates for both Marion and Horry's garrison in Georgetown in a letter of Mar. 29, above. This letter was enclosed in Horry's letter to Grimke from Georgetown of Apr. 8 (Horry to Grimke, Apr. 8, 1782, *The Collector*, Apr.-Jun. 1945, vol. 58, from the American Antiquarian Society).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke

Lenuds ferry 6^t Apr 1782

S^r

The bearer M^{rs}. Blair, who's Housband property is Confiscated,⁴² I am informed there is a fellow & Wench which were Given her Child by a M^r. Chamberlain. She wishes to keep that Property, but Col. [Maurice] Murphy⁴³ has taken them. I have wrought to him, to Deliver them & forbid any part of that Estate to be touched without your Orders.⁴⁴

I am Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

Col. Grimke

Comm: C.E. [Confiscated Estates?]

Copy of ADS held by Joe Rubenfine.

-
42. Robert Blair was on the confiscation list as one who "held a commission under his Britannic majesty" and was "now with the enemy." Blair was a Loyalist lieutenant in the Cheraw Militia. Blair's wife appealed to Gen. Marion for return of two slaves confiscated by Maj. Maurice Murphy of the Cheraw District Militia of Marion's Brigade. Marion agreed to her request, because the slaves were her child's and not her husband's. Marion's policy of treating loyalists with more leniency than many of his peers was demonstrated in his letter to Murphy, immediately below, in which he demanded the return of the slaves, "otherwise you will be liable to prosecution for Plundering. It is also forbid positively to any Person to take possession of any of the Confiscated Property either [Public?] or Personal." The slaves were returned. Blair's name was removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced 12%, in large part because of the heartfelt appeal he sent to Marion on Sep. 7, 1782, below. Blair is shown as a "refugee lieutenant," from May 1 to Dec. 31, 1782, and was presumably in Charlestown prior to its evacuation on Dec. 14, 1782 (Clark, *Loyalists*, 502-03; Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:516-25; McCord, *Statutes*, 6:632-35; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 37; Blair to Marion, Sep. 7, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts:DLC)).
43. Lt. Col. Maurice Murphy was a member of the Cheraw District Patriot Militia. In the fall of 1780, (then Capt.) Murphy actively campaigned against his Loyalist neighbors and gained a reputation for brutality. In an Oct. 4, 1780 letter from Marion 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." It is conceivable, given the timetable, that Murphy's motivation was retaliation for the plantations burned by Maj. James Wemyss in his march through Williamsburg Township. In an Oct. 15, 1780 letter to Gates, above, Marion again reported that Murphy was burning houses. In a Sep. 8, 1781 letter to Marion, above, Loyalist Maj. Micahah Ganey implied that Murphy's actions against him prompted Ganey to abandon the Patriot cause and join the Loyalists. Murphy was promoted to major by Marion 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, Murphy was promoted to Lt. Col. on Apr. 28, 1781 (O'Kelley, *PNG*, 699n1376).
44. Marion's letter to Murphy, immediately below, was included in this letter to be forwarded by Grimke to Murphy.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Maurice Murphy

[Lenuds Ferry 6 Apr 1782]

Sir.

M^{rs}. Blair has informed me that you have possessed yourself of a Fellow & Wench which were given to her Child by M^r. Chamberlain & they cannot be considered as any part of M^r. Blairs property.⁴⁵ You will be pleased to deliver them up to her immediately on the rest of this; otherwise you will be liable to prosecution for Plundering. It is also forbid positively to any Person to take possession of any of the Confiscated Property either [Public?] or Personal.⁴⁶

I am Sir

Your H O S^t

[Francis Marion]

An order to collect & keep together her Cattle Horses & H[ousehold] Furniture

Copy of ADS from the private collection of Joe Rubenfne.

45. Marion included this letter in his Apr. 6 letter to Lt. Col. Grimke, commissioner of confiscated estates, immediately above, intending that Grimke forward it to Murphy.

46. Article XVIII of Act No. 1153 clearly stated that unauthorized removal of confiscated property was a felony, punishable by death, "without benefit of clergy" (*Statutes*, 4:521).

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

Head Quarters near Do[r]chester April 6th 1782

Dear Sir

Your letter of yesterday to Col Mayum is this moment handed me.⁴⁷ Lt Col Laurens joined us Night before last;⁴⁸ and I have heard nothing farther of the enemies attack upon you.⁴⁹ While the light troops were absent I was a little apprehensive; but on their return I feel perfectly easy.⁵⁰

Inclosed I send you a copy of a letter from General Leslie, by which you will see what the poor inhabitants have to expect.⁵¹ I gave no other answer to it than by informing him that I had no controul over civil Government and directing him to the Governor and Council who alone possessed powers competent to the business and who would give him such an answer as the honor and interest of Government required.⁵²

If you could subsist with a flying party in the neighbourhood of Strawberry [Ferry] or any where between Cooper River and Santee it would afford great protection to that part of the Country. Our present position is so favorable for affording you support by a rapid march of our Cavalry that I much doubt whether the enemy will venture any bold enterprise against you. And if they should[,] if you move from day to day and with your usual caution and address[,] as you are so perfectly acquainted with the Country you can easily avoid them until our Cavalry can join you. And by fixing upon some place to meet at, you may form a junction with certainty and dispatch.⁵³

But if you think your party will be too much exposed you will take any position you may think their safety requires, giving the inhabitants as full notice as possible, and all the Negroes also of the enemies intentions to steal all the latter they can, and carry off. If the Negroes are advertized of the enemies intentions I think they will get but few of them.⁵⁴

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

47. This letter has not been found.

48. Greene had previously ordered John Laurens to return to the army (*PNG*, 10:589n).

49. This is probably a reference to British raiding parties that Laurens had reported moving toward Marion in his letters to Greene of Mar. 30 and Apr. 2 (*PNG*, 10:589n).

50. Greene continued to express concern about British raids in his future correspondence.

51. Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie wrote to Greene on Apr. 4, complaining about the "the proceedings of the last Session of your Assembly, Acts for Amercing the property of some Persons, & Confiscating that of others, whose Principles had attach'd them to the cause of their Sovereign." Leslie postured, "whilst you have endeavour'd to involve in perpetual ruin the Persons & Estates of those who have differ'd from you in Political sentiments, I can safely appeal even to those whose violent opposition to the King's Government compell'd the withholding from them, for a time, their possessions in this Province, for the great attention which has been invariably paid to their property; the connected state in which it was preserved, & the liberal allowances that were made to their families..." Leslie suggested that "a meeting of Commissioners, on each side, might tend to lessen the devastations of War." If the Americans "still persevere in executing these acts of your Assembly, I trust, this letter will hold me justifiable to the World for any measures which necessity may adopt." (Leslie to Greene, Apr. 4, 1782, *PNG*, 10:582-83).

52. Greene responded on the same day, pointing out that he had "the honor to command the Forces of the United States in the southern Department; but I have nothing to do with the internal police of any State. The Governor and Council only of this State possess the power competent to the business you propose." Mathews also replied to Leslie on Apr. 12, warning him that he would not be "intimidated by threats" (Greene to Leslie, Apr. 4, 1782, *PNG*, 10:585, 585n).

53. See Shubrick to Marion of the same date, immediately below. Marion's letter to Greene of Apr. 8, below, informed the general of his move to James Sinkler's Plantation. On Apr. 12, below, Greene ordered Marion to move toward Dorchester in response to an anticipated British attack (*PNG*, 10:590n).

54. Col. Laurens also understood the capture of Whig-owned slaves as a principal British goal (Laurens to Greene, Mar. 30, 1782, *PNG*, 10:564-65).

Capt. Thomas Shubrick to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge] April 6. [17]82

Sir

The General has received your favor of yesterday⁵⁵ and directs me to inform you that he wrote you fully this morning⁵⁶ & wishes you would take a position as near what he has recommended as possible.

I am with great respect & Esteem &c

Tho: Shubrick

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

55. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 5, above.

56. See Greene to Marion of this date, immediately above.

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

James Sinkler S^t Stephens 8th April 1782

Sr, Agreeable to my last letter I passed the river yesterday.⁵⁷ The river was so high it took me two Days to pass it. This being the nearest place which afford forrage or subsistence to Strawberry, I have halted here. I am 25 Miles from Strawberry & 20 from Hugers Bridge. Should the Enemy again come out, I can with great Eass make a Junction at Hugers Bridge with any troops you may send from the Grand Army. The perticular proceedings of the Enemy in their Last Excorssion I Emagen is fully made known to You by Colo Laurens better then I can give you.⁵⁸

I wrought You about the Incorporation of Horrys & Mahams Corps, that the first may best be Dismounted & serve as Infantry in Geo^town under Col. Horry, the horses &^c &^c to be given to Col. Maham[.] Without such a mode I find so many Difficultys attending this business that I am Determine to abide by the Last Paragraph of your Letter on that subject, "That is to Let them remain as they are and as the Time of service is nearly Expired, I think it is scarcely worth altering untill the Corps are Dassolved.["]"⁵⁹ But will keep all Col. Horrys horse fit for Duty under the Command of Col. Maham & keep Col. Horry Commandant of Geo^town which will answer our purpose Except Cloathing & Equipping them properly which Maham woud soon do If they was his.⁶⁰

I have just heard that a Cutter from North Carolina has seized the schooner which went to Geo^town with your pass for 150 barrels rice. Which I believe Col Horry has stopt, but have not it officially.

If it shoud be true shall be glad to know what I may do in respect of the Captⁿ whos Name is Howell.⁶¹

I shall keep a party patrolling along Addison[,] Cain-hoy[,] & Wappetaw, to get the Earliest Intelligence of the Enemys movements.⁶² As my Malitia is Dismounted it is Impossible, I can move with that Celerity as formerly[.] Consequently, I cannot Lay so Close to the Enemy as formerly or take an Advantage of their Excorsions in the country. My force is not more then two hundred Exclusive of the Horse, but if they was mounted I could now & then give them a fire without risking the whole. But forrage is not to [be] had. As soon as Grass is plenty; I will [ask?] permission to mount them again [for believe?] me sir there is no such thing as to make Malitia make a force March without the Enemy is in pursuit. I have the honor to be y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran Marion

NB Col. Maham is with me⁶³

RCS (CSmH), PNG, 11:20-21.

57. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 5, above.

58. See Marion to Greene, Mar. 29, above, for more on Laurens's movements.

59. Greene replied on Apr. 10, below.

60. The subject of the consolidation of Horry's regiment with Maham's had been a point of contention between the two commanders. Between Mar. 17 and 23, Marion informed Horry of the planned consolidation. The letter is not extant, but in a letter written to Greene between Mar. 19 and 23, Horry reported that Marion had written informing him that Gov. Mathews and Gen. Greene intended to consolidate the two regiments. Initially, Horry took the news reasonably well. He mentioned the promotion of Col. William Henderson to brigadier general, taking over Sumter's militia brigade. Horry reminded Greene of former communications between the two in which Horry had related that Gen. Benjamin Lincoln passed over him for promotion. He also reminded Greene that the general had assured him that his present commission in the cavalry regiment would not be prejudicial to any claims for a command in the infantry. Horry noted that his first preference was an infantry command. If that was not possible, Horry hoped Greene would recognize his seniority as a cavalry officer over Maham and offer him a command (Horry to Greene, between Mar. 17 & 23, PNG, 10:533). The issue went back and forth among Marion, Greene, Mathews and Horry. Marion recognized the problems and suggested another alternative, that of converting Horry's cavalry regiment into an infantry regiment and basing it out of Georgetown. In his letter of Mar. 27, above, Greene indicated that if the consolidation could not be accomplished, then maintaining the current structure would be acceptable. Marion wrote Greene on Apr. 8, above, advising him that he would transfer Horry's cavalry to Maham and retain Horry as commandant of Georgetown.

61. Marion had already ordered Horry to confine Howell and his crew for "infringing a flag contrary to Gen. Greene's passport" (Marion to Horry, Apr. 9). In a letter to Marion protesting his detention by Horry, Howell argued that he had a "Continental commission" and that his activities were sanctioned (Howell to Marion, Apr. 10, below). On Apr. 10, Greene replied that Howell had been operating under a pass from S.C. Gov. John Mathews, to whom he would defer but that Horry's actions were appropriate (Greene to Marion Apr. 10, below). On the other hand, Mathews claimed that Howell had been under Greene's flag, and that the continental general should decide what to do with him (Mathews to Marion, Apr. 15). Marion ultimately decided Howell had tricked the vessel's crew into carrying contraband, but in order to avoid issues with Howell's home state, North Carolina, Marion decided to detain him and his crew only until the schooner had left port and then release them (Marion to Horry, Apr. 10, and Mathews to Marion, Apr. 15; PNG, 11:21n)

62. Marion's patrols described here covered the area generally north and east of the Cooper River.

63. Laurens wrote to Greene on Apr. 4, that Maham's regiment had been operating with him to prevent British raiding parties. Marion's letter to Greene of Apr. 5, above, noted that he planned to join Maham (Laurens to Greene, Apr. 4, 1782, PNG, 10:586).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens April 9th 1782

Dr Sir, I am informed that a Cap^t. Howell in a N^o.Wd. Cutter has taken the flagg schooner which Gen. Green Ordered to Load with Rice. I hope you have prevented her being Carried away. You will Confine Cap^t. Howell for Infringing a flagg contrary to Gen^l. Greenes passport, his Vessell & Crew must also be secured & Confined as plunderers untill I have Gen^l Greenes & the Governours Orders & directions, & the Schooner be permitted to Sail without delay for Ch^s. Town.⁶⁴ I have heard from Gen^l Greene, there has not been any Action, as was Reported; the firing heard was within the Enemies lines & proved to be a field day with them,⁶⁵ as it is possible the Enemy may make another Exertion in the Country__ You will send me every horse you have that Can be of the least Service as I am determined to Oppose them at all Events,⁶⁶ there is only two Officers & twenty Eight non commissd privates here, the rest have been sent away by the Officers on frivolous pretences. M^r. Lesesne is absent without leave. M^r. Wragg also; if he is a Volunteer, he must be discharged & not suffered in future to be on the Comm^y. Dep^t. M^r. Guerry is absent without leave, & must be Dismissed. I Expect every Officer & private will be sent me that is able to Act.⁶⁷ I have had no Answer from the General respecting the Reduction of the Corps & have again wrote him on that subject yesterday. You will go on in Equipting & Arming your men as Usual, & as soon as I hear from Gen^l. Greene will send you a power to Empress horses to make up your Losses. I wish you would procure the Rum, Sugar & Coffee, formerly mentioned to you. If a stop is put to the injurious proceedings of the N^o. Wd. privateers I shall be able to procure Cloathing &c., &c., for our Army & again compleat your men with those Articles. I shall Remain here some time. I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
64. Capt. Howell commanded a North Carolina cutter that had captured the flag schooner, as related by Horry on Mar. 11, above. Capturing a flag schooner, especially one ordered by Gen. Greene, was a serious breach of naval ethics, since the vessel was a South Carolina-owned vessel, not a private merchant ship. Howell provided a different explanation for his actions in his letter of Apr. 10 to Marion, below.
65. In a letter of Apr. 4, above, to Lt. Col. Maham, Marion mentioned that he had heard of firing “towards the Quarter hose” and asked him for any information about it.
66. Lt. Col. Horry had been made commandant of Georgetown, although his cavalry regiment still officially existed. Marion recognized that Horry’s cavalry was not as critical to the security of Georgetown as it was to blocking any potential raiding or foraging action by the British.
67. Marion presumably had been absent from this encampment when his officers dispatched the majority of the militia. As related in Horry’s letter to Marion of Mar. 11, above, “Mr. Wragg is an assistant of Mr. Waties, who is Gone to Virginia as Continental Agent; he only went out as a temporary Volunteer to act Immediately should there be any Action he is Returned but I supposed with leave.”

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke

St. Stephens 10th Ap. 1782

S^r

Yours of the 6th came to hand, I am Sorry to inform you that the negroes of Thom[as] E[illegible last name] we took from, are all gone to Ch^s town Sarah Colletons are also gone in the woods, or town, but believe the former.⁶⁸

I could wish to have thirty or forty negroes more, Just now, to Send up towards Camden & post in Camp.⁶⁹ When...⁷⁰

Fragment of AD (DLC), John Grimke, W11088, Federal Pension Application, transcribed by Will Graves.

68. Marion here referred to slaves he planned to take from confiscated estates.

69. What purpose he had for them "up towards Camden" is not known. Likely they were being used for manual labor.

70. The fragment in Grimke's pension statement ended here. Although the letter is not signed, it is clear from the context that it was written by Marion.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre April 10th 1782

Sir, I Received yours of the 8th Inst. late last Evening.⁷¹ I now write to Heriot & Tucker about the indigo, which you will forward to them.⁷² I answered your former letter respecting M^r. Phillip Porcher, by Referring you to the Orders I had Given respecting those who should come from within the Enemies lines; lest any Accidents should have happened to that dispatch, I now inclose it. These Orders are general, therefore unnecessary to observe upon the other.⁷³ I have Already Informed you that Gen^l Greene & myself agreed to the last proposition you made respecting Mahams & Horrys Corps, which was to Continue Horrys dismounted to Act as Infantry. If the matter cant be accommodated upon this plan, I shall Give myself no further trouble about it, as they have so little time to serve.⁷⁴ Whilst I am on this subject, I must take notice of the conduct of M^r. Thomas Drayton,⁷⁵ who was sent to the southward to Empress horses; he has made so improper a Use of the Authority given him, that I have been Oblidged to Order him on no account to Empress another horse & to return such as he had Empressed. The reason of my Ordering him to return those he had taken was, that at all Events Maham would have Horrys horses & Consequently could not want more; However, whether the thing takes place or not, the Empressing of Horses is attended with such ruinous consequences that I am determined not to Countenance it. You will, therefore, Sir, look upon the Authority given you on the 6th of March Last, for impressing horses as hereby Revoked.⁷⁶ I have given no Commissions in the 2d Reg^t. I did Give M^r. Thomas Pinckney a Certificate for a Commission in the first Regim^t.⁷⁷ before I knew of the form observed for Commissions in the Regiments of this State. You say the application can only be made to the Colonel of the Reg^t. in this Case the Gove^r, who has the sole right to appoint if he Choses to Exercise it, becomes a mere machine. At all Events, I shall Expect a Decent regard to be paid to any recommendation from me. This is a point I do not think I am at liberty to Give up.⁷⁸ I should be Glad M^r. Halls baggage was sent forward, as the publick papers in it are much wanted.⁹ I am, Sir, with Esteem & regard,

Your most Obd^t. Servan^t.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

71. The letter has not been found.

72. Presumably, Marion had written to Gov. Mathews about the indigo in question. The South Carolina government attempted to trade indigo for other provisions needed by the militia and Continental Army. Heriot and Tucker was a merchant firm operating out of Georgetown.

73. The legislature ended its session on Feb. 26, without setting a policy for Loyalists who surrendered after that point. Gov. Mathews used his executive powers to put in place a policy to handle such applicants, as outlined in his letter to Marion of Mar. 18, above. Philip Porcher appeared on the Confiscation List under the category of "those who have borne commissions under his Britannic majesty and are now with the enemy." Ultimately, his name was removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 4:516-25; 6:632-35).

74. The original plan was to consolidate the cavalry regiments of Maham and Horry into one regiment under Maham. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 12, above. After further thought Marion proposed that Horry's regiment be converted into infantry instead and any remaining cavalry be sent to Maham. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 8, above. The debate over the various plans continued for over six weeks. When Mathews learned that the enlistments of most of the regiment were expiring, he was content to let the time run out without any reorganization.

75. Thomas Drayton was a cornet in the cavalry under Col. Maham in Feb. 1782. He was promoted to lieutenant after Aug. 4, 1782. At some time in 1782 he earned John Mathews' ire, with the governor writing: "I must take notice of the conduct of Mr. Thomas Drayton, who was sent to the southward to Empress horses; he has made so improper a Use of the Authority given him, that I have been Oblidged to Order him on no account to Empress another horse & to return such as he had Empressed." (Encl. in Marion to Mathews and Greene, Aug. 4, 1782, Cy (MiU-C); Moss, *SC Patriots*, 268; Mathews to Marion Apr. 10, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

76. Impressment of horses had been a touchy subject since the spring of 1781. It is surprising, therefore, that the Militia Law of 1782 included a provision that "every brigadier, field officer, or captain, when on actual service, may impress, by warrant . . . any provisions, forage, horses..." (*Statutes*, 9:682-87).

77. Thomas Pinckney had been a major in the 1st SC Regiment and had been with Comte D'Estaing at Savannah in 1779. He served as an aide-de-camp to Gen. Lincoln in 1778 and to Gen. Gates in 1780. Pinckney had been captured at the Battle of Camden and exchanged in Dec. 1780 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 774).

78. After the original formation of the six State Regiments in 1775, subsequent promotions and commissions were at the discretion of the colonel of each respective regiment. The issue here appears to deal with the two SC Continental regiments that were inactive after the fall of Charlestown in May, 1780. During the most recent legislative session, an agreement was made to revive the regiments. However, little progress was made. Although Marion was the commander of the state militia, he also held the highest commission of any officer in the Continental regiments of South Carolina. The reason why Gov. Mathews would give Pinckney a certificate for a commission in the then inactive 1st SC Regiment is also not clear.

Capt. Jno. Howell to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Georgetown April 10th 1782

Sir, Having the honour of bearing a Continental Commission, I have, agreeable to my Instructions from Congress, Seized a Certain Vessell now here under the sanction of a flagg from Ch^s. Town, for having Contraband Goods.⁷⁹ As I have in all former Cases of this kind applied to the Judge of the Admiralty where Civil Government was Established, so I have in the present one wrote to the Judge of the Admiralty of this State in order that she may be Legally tried, but am apprehensive, from the behaviour of Col^o. Horry (his ordering my Cutter under the Guns of the battery, when she might be at Sea, & other matters which I Conceive to be Entirely out of his Line,) that the Military mean to Enterfere with the Civil Authority. I think it needless to trouble you much further about the matter, as I conceive it to be altogether of a Civil nature. I just beg leave to trouble you with the enclosed copies of my Comm Orders & Instructions, for your perusal, by which you will see & I hope readily agree, That I have only acted in the line of my duty, & that the Vessell & Cargo are Lawfull prizes in Consequence of her having on board goods for which no license or permission has been Given;⁸⁰ & do therefore request you will Give Orders for the discharge of my Cutter, in Order that I may send her to Sea. I beg, Sir, that you would not have that unfavourable oppinion of my conduct as the misrepresentations of some people might Induce you to Entertain. I have always been a friend to my Country, & have acted as such. I am, Sir,

Your most Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jno. Howell

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

79. Marion wrote Horry on this date, below, that the contraband goods were candles, apparently carried by the flag schooner at Howell's request as an excuse to seize the ship.

80. After the capture and delivery of the ship to a Continental port, in this case Georgetown, Capt. Howell followed protocol by putting his case before the Admiralty Court that had just recently been re-constituted. His issue here was that the seizure was a civil matter, not a military one, since he opined he had found illegal contraband aboard. Thus not only should the military have no part in the disposition of the dispute, but it should not be permitted to retain Howell's cutter. Lt. Col. Horry, as Commandant of Georgetown, undertook to make a disposition of the case, based on the complaints lodged by the captain of the schooner. By rights he probably should have referred the dispute to the Admiralty Court, instead of involving Gen. Marion. In Greene's letter to Marion of this date, below, Greene was more emphatic about Howell's cutter, ordering Horry to prevent Howell from carrying it away, using force, if necessary.

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

Headquarters near Do[r]chester April 10th 1782

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 8th was handed me yesterday morning. Lt Col Laurens has given me an account of the enemies last movement and Gen Leslie has explained the object to me in a letter a copy of which I enclosed to you in my last.⁸¹

With respect to the incorporation of Horrys and Mayums Corps I have said all upon it that I can say. If you cannot effect the incorporation upon the first plan pursue your second and if you cannot accomplish that employ the force in any manner you can most for the benefit of the service and in a way the most pleasing to the Officers.⁸²

The Schooner that went to George Town for rice has the Governors pass and not mine. However be it one or the other tell Col Horry not to let the Cutter have anything to do with her; and if they attempt to carry her away by force to repel force by force.⁸³

What ever position you take with your troops it will be necessary frequently to change it which will keep the enemy in the dark and prevent their enterprising anything against you. Should the enemy move out after you, our Cavalry shall form a junction with you at the place you mention, or any other you may advise to upon the spur of occasion.

Col Pinkney has arrivd in Camp.⁸⁴

With esteem and regard

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser^t

Nath Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

81. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 6, above.

82. The "first plan" referred to the combination of Horry's Maham's into one legionary corps under Maham's command. The "second plan" involved transferring Horry's cavalry to Maham, with Horry retaining his infantry and assuming command at Georgetown. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 8, above.

83. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 8, above.

84. Col. Charles C. Pinckney had surrendered at Charlestown in May, 1780, and was paroled, at which point he travelled to Philadelphia. In Feb. 1782, he was exchanged and returned to South Carolina (PNG, 11:28n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[St. Stephens]⁸⁵ April 10th 1782

Dr Sir, Yours of the 8th Ultimo came to hand,⁸⁶ By the papers just sent me it appears that Captⁿ. Howell, had the Candles sold to the flagg people on purpose to have a plea of seizing of her⁸⁷ — You will therefore Order the flagg to sail Immediately as possible & Captⁿ. Howell & his Vessells & Crew to be detained as I wrote you Yesterday untill I hear from Gen^l Greene or the Governour.⁸⁸ If Botard should take her at Sea, we have nothing to do with it. You will put Moore, Broderick & Myers on board the flagg Vessell, to Return to Ch^s. Town with Orders not to return within our Lines,⁸⁹ In answer to your last post, I wrote you Yesterday; have not heard from Head quarters since.⁹⁰ A letter from Captⁿ. Pinckney⁹¹ Cainhoy says the British Horse were crossing to Haddrills on Saturday, but it comes by such a hand that I don't beleave it. I shall hear more to-day. I am, Sir, Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

85. Location inferred. Marion's letter to Lt. Col. John Grimke of this date, above, was addressed from St. Stephens.

86. Horry's letter has not been found.

87. On this date, Capt. Howell wrote to Marion, above, complaining of the illegal seizure of his ship. He claimed he was just following "my Instructions from Congress, Seized a Certain Vessell now here under the sanction of a flagg from Chs. Town, for having Contraband Goods."

88. On Apr. 9, above, Marion directed Horry that Howell's "Vessell & Crew must also be secured & Confined as plunderers untill I have Genl Greenes & the Governours Orders & directions."

89. The identity of Botard is not known. From the context, it appears to be either a ship's name or a ship's captain. "Moore" may have been Isham Moore, whose name appeared on the Amercement list generated as a result of Act 1155, passed by the Legislature on Feb. 26, 1782 (*Statutes*, 4:523; 6:633). According to Horry's letter of Mar. 11, above, Moore petitioned Marion for a pardon. He claimed to have deserted from the British, then been captured by the Americans and delivered to Georgetown. He claimed he would be hanged if returned to Charlestown. Broderick's claims are not known. Although not certain, Myers is presumed to be Mordecai Myers, a Continental agent, who somehow had gotten involved in the affair with the capture of the flag schooner by NC privateer Capt. John Howell.

90. Marion referred to Horry's request for clarification from Gen. Greene about the disposition of his regiment.

91. This was presumably Thomas Pinckney, who had just been given a commission in the 1st SC Regiment by Gov. Mathews. See Mathews to Marion, Apr. 10, above.

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

[near Bacons Bridge, 12 April 1782]

Dear Sir

I have been of opinion for some time and got intelligence last evening that the enemy were preparing to come out and attack us. It seems the Refugees are pushing the General very hard for the purpose. What serves to confirm me that the enemy have some offensive operations in view is they have taken uncommon pains for a few days past to find out our position by sending flag after flag and by searching out and interrupting every channel through which we might get intelligence. The refugees are ordered to be embodied to do Garrison duty while the Army takes the field. It may all end in smoke; but I seriously believe they mean to give us battle; and as they will have all their force collected so I think it prudent to draw ours to a point until their intentions are better understood.⁹² You will therefore move over towards Do[r]chester with all your force as soon as possible and let me know from time to time where you are. You will leave only a very small Patrole to watch the motions of the enemy in that quarter and to forward intelligence of all matters of discovery. Have your men in the best order you can put them for action; and send me a note of the force you will be able to bring to our aid.⁹³

I am dear Sir

Your most Obedt humble Ser^t

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

92. The British did not undertake offensive operations (*PNG*, 11:36).

93. According to his letter of Apr. 13, below, Marion received this letter that day, and prepared to move his force to Dorchester. The next day, Greene rescinded his order when it became clear the British were not advancing.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens April 12th 1782

Sir, Yours by M^r. Cest came to hand. I wrote p^r. Dragoon respecting Cap^t. Howell & the flagg,⁹⁴ Messrs. Doughty & Ancrum is not to do duty your way. I shall have such men returned as have served their month.⁹⁵ I cannot send you the Militia Law, have none by me. I wrote you before that Cap^t. Weyman had it & you might get it from him. I sent Cap^t. Stephens to George town, only to stay untill his Corps returned.⁹⁶ I wrote the Governour Respecting M^r. Waynes Account & think he is rather impatient.⁹⁷ I have had no Answer yet to my Letters & hope you will make yourself Easy untill I can fully satisfy you, which will be as soon as I Get an Answer from the General.⁹⁸ I have some accounts of the Enemys coming over to S^t. Thomas & wish I had every horse you have that can be of any Service, As I find I am under the Necessity of Attacking them.⁹⁹ I am Your Obd^t Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

94. In letters of Apr. 10, both above, Greene directed Marion, and Marion directed Horry, to release the flag schooner and detain Capt. Howell of the cutter that had captured it.

95. This reference was likely to doing militia duty. A William Doughty was a Georgetown merchant who began trading with privateers shortly after the re-capture of Georgetown in May, 1781. See Doughty and Bryan to Marion, Feb. 17, 1782, above. Marion indicated to Horry that he would release members of the Georgetown militia, whose one-month stint was ending, to do patrol duty in Georgetown district. The Militia Law of 1782 provided for specific rotation of the militia companies. After serving the specified period, the discharged militia could be called upon to carry out patrols in the militia district. Ancrum may have been William Ancrum, who appeared on the Confiscation list as one of "those who immediately after the surrender of the garrison of Charlestown, presented congratulatory addresses to Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot on the reduction of that fortress..." His name was removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 4:516-23; 6:630, 634).

96. In his Apr. 1 letter to Marion, above, Horry noted that "The Remaining part of the Regimt lies at Austin's," which was likely actually Allston's, in the vicinity of the present Brookgreen Gardens.

97. Marion here referred to William Wayne, a Georgetown merchant with whom the Patriots had begun trading.

98. Horry was anxious to learn the fate of his regiment. He had made numerous requests for clarification. In his second letter of this date, below, Marion provided Horry with the determination he had reached, based on three alternatives given by Gen. Greene.

99. As seen in his letter to Marion of this date, above, Gen. Greene was wary of an attack by the enemy, ordering Marion to move to Dorchester.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry

[St. Stephens], April 12th 1782

Dr Sir, Since I wrote the Inclosed I have received a letter from Gen^l. Greene; his Orders is, not to suffer the flagg schooner to be taken or detained. You will follow my former Orders respecting that business.¹⁰⁰ I have Answered Cap^t. Howells Letter by this opportunity.¹⁰¹ In Respect of your Corps, the Gen^l. & Governour approves of the plan of Dismounting Your Corps, to Act in Georgetown as Infantry, but will not Empress any more horses for the service of either Corps, as their time will so soon Expire which it seems not their Intention of keeping them up Longer.¹⁰² I shall write you fuller in my next. I am with Esteem

Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

100. Marion wrote Horry on Apr. 10, above, before advising him to order the flag schooner to sail. Gen. Greene gave a similar opinion to Marion on Apr. 12, above.

101. The letter has not been found.

102. In his Apr. 12 letter, Greene commented on Horry's situation, "If you cannot effect the incorporation upon the first plan [consolidation of regiments with Maham as commander] pursue your second [converting Horry's regiment to infantry and sending the horse to Maham] and if you cannot accomplish that employ the force in any manner you can most for the benefit of the service and in a way the most pleasing to the Officers." The inclusion of the third option is clear evidence that Greene was done discussing the issue.

Major Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[near Bacon's Bridge] April 12th 1782¹⁰³

Dear Sir

I am directed by Gen^l Greene to request you will be pleased to order all the Officers and troops belonging to the S. Carolina Line who are now serving under your command to join General Huger and consider themselves as immediately under his orders.

I am D^r Sir with respect

Your Most Obed^t

I. Burnet

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

April 12, 1782 – Peace negotiations officially begin in Paris. British Admiral Sir George Rodney engages a French fleet under the Comte de Grasse in the Battle of the Saintes, between Guadeloupe and Dominica. Rodney's overwhelming victory puts an end to French and Spanish efforts to attack Britain's West Indies possessions and weakens the French and American position in the peace negotiations.

103. Location inferred. The editors of *PNG* have established the location of this letter from other letters written by Greene on this date (*PNG*, 11:36n).

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

Upper part of S^t Stephens 13 Ap^l 1782, 6 oC. PM

S^r

I have Just arrived here when I recd yours of the 12th Ult. I shall agreeable thereto proceed with all Expedition to Dorchester & make a Junction with you as soon as possible. My force at present consist of two hundred Infantry, forty of which have no Arms, and one hundred & twenty of Horrys & Mahams Caveldry. I shall Leave a few men to Observe the Enemys motions. I have been Oblige to Leave fifty of the Country Malitia besides the Cha^s Town Malitia & Artillery which do not amount to twenty men in Geo Town which is Exclusive of the above Number.

Our horses for want of forrage since I Came on this side the [Santee?] has sufferd Extreemly, this Country being Exausted in that article.¹⁰⁴ I hope to be with you if a General Action take place, which I Confess I have no Idea of at present as they have every thing to Lose & nothing to gain.

I have reason to believe they mean to make another Excorsion in S^t Thomas & S^t James, & Expect by some Information that a Galley & some troops will come up Ashley River. Notwithstanding you may Depend on my Joning you, for I woud [not] wish to be Absent in a General Engagement when we may Expect so much.¹⁰⁵

I have the honor to be

yr Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MIU-C), Parks.

104. Marion wrote to Greene on Apr. 8, above, that he had finished crossing the river on the day before.

105. Greene altered these orders by his letter of Apr. 14, below (*PNG*, 11:56n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry

[St. Stephens?]¹⁰⁶ April 13th 1782

Sir, Yours of the 11th Ult^o. is before me,¹⁰⁷ if you suffer Moore & Broderick to Remain, They must Give Bail for their good Behaviour each to give two good Surities, bound in five hundred Guineas Each & to do Six months duty in the Militia, the Bond to be Executed before a Justice of the Peace.¹⁰⁸ Mr. Lesesne must Certainly pay his rent, but it is a matter I have nothing to do with; as it is a Civil affair between Citizen & Citizen, there is a way pointed out by Law. He never had any promises from me of a Billet which ought not to be done but on the greatest Necessity, as it is a Grievance to the people which at all times ought to be avoided when it can.¹⁰⁹ If it can be proved that Solomon Miller has Cheated or Defrauded the publick, he should suffer agreeable to Law, which is to have a hearing before a Justice of the Peace & if found Guilty must go to Jail or give Security to appear at the next Sessions.¹¹⁰ Captⁿ. Gough told me he had Leave of Absence for a month. As the Governour & Gen^l. Greene have come into the plan of dismounting your Corps to Act as Infantry under you if it is agreeable to you if not to remain as they are, without the Liberty of Empressing any horses for them, for their time of Service is so short, it is not worth going to that Expence, neither will they let Mayham Empress any more Horses, & without more Horses &c., &c., the few you have cannot be of any service. I will make the proper arrangement, but will not do it without you signify your approbation, which I will wait for.¹¹¹ The four Barrels Indigo in the hands of Paul Trapier, Es^q., You will take for public Uses and may procure Cloathing for our Troops & Rum & Sugar &c.¹¹² I wish the flagg could sail, that Cap^t. Howell & Crew may be dismissed.¹¹³ In my last I mentioned the British being up in St. Thomas's, but beleave it is premature, as my party of Observation, who is down towards Cainhoy, has given me no account of it.¹¹⁴ For want of forage & subsistance, I shall remove today above Murray's ferry, in St. Stephens__ Indeed I shall be oblidged to move often to prevent the Enemies forming any plan against me. I am very sensible the trouble you must have in your Command in Georgetown, but your well known Abilities & Zeal for your Country will surmount every thing.¹¹⁵ I am with Esteem

Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

106. Location inferred. Marion's location is presumed to be St. Stephens, since he wrote a letter to NC Gov. Burke from St. Stephens on this date, below. However, the specific location is not known. Near the end of this letter he indicated he was moving from the current location to above Murray's Ferry in St. Stephens. This route would presumably be along the south side of the Santee River.
107. The letter has not been found.
108. Moore and Broderick were undoubtedly former Loyalists who had presented themselves to Horry. This may have been Isham Moore, whose name appeared on the Amercement list generated as a result of Act 1155, passed by the Legislature on Feb. 26, 1782 (*Statutes*, 4:523; 6:633).
109. Thomas Lesesne had been a captain in the 2nd SC Regiment. In 1782, he was named to supervise the construction of improvements to the fortifications at Georgetown, which Marion implied would not secure the port. Apparently, Lesesne took over the house of Dr. Hyrne without his consent and refused to pay rent. See Horry to Marion, Mar. 11, above.
110. On Mar. 11, above, Horry wrote Marion suggesting that Solomon Miller had produced a forged document, presumably one that stated that he had provided a substitute and therefore need not serve in the militia anymore.
111. Marion took the third option presented by Gen. Greene in his letter of Apr. 12, above, although he only mentioned two options to Horry, clearly ignoring the original plan of folding Horry's regiment into Lt. Col. Maham's. After all the hard feelings about consolidating and dismounting Horry's regiment, Marion left it up to Horry whether to convert his regiment to infantry or leave the regiment as it was, with the understanding that no more horses would be impressed to outfit the units.
112. In his letter to Marion of Mar. 11, above, Horry requested permission to sell the indigo in order to obtain provisions for the militia. The indigo was stored at the plantation of presumed Loyalist Paul Trapier.
113. In his letter of Apr. 10, above, Marion directed Horry to have the flag schooner set sail for Charlestown, but to detain Capt. Howell and his cutter.
114. The activities of the British at this time are not known. The observation post at Cainhoy at the lower end of St. Thomas parish would not provide access to enemy movements like those made by Col. Benjamin Thompson's troops on Feb. 20. During that foray, a portion of the enemy cavalry rode up the west side of the Cooper River to Moncks Corner before riding down the east side and crossing to St. Thomas Parish. The Loyalists forced their way through St. Thomas into St. James Santee, where they surprised the cavalry regiments of Horry and Maham on Feb. 24 and 25 at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation.
115. Horry's cavalry regiment was facing a severe morale crisis. Six weeks before it had been dealt a crushing blow at Wambaw Bridge where, in addition to significant loss of riders, the regiment also lost more than 20 horses. The regiment had gone to Georgetown to re-equip. However, Horry was not allowed to impress horses, thereby crippling his effort to recruit new riders or re-mount existing troops. In addition, the change in detail, whereby Horry was made commandant of Georgetown, undoubtedly sowed the seeds of doubt in the minds of his existing troops.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to [NC] Gov. Thomas Burke

St. Stephen's Parish, 13th April, 1782

Sir:

Governor Mathews has favored me with a Copy of your letter respecting the men of your State being harbored in the District of those men who are under a treaty of neutrality.¹¹⁶

I have wrote to Major Gainey who commands these men. He promises to drive all the men of your State out of the neutral ground.¹¹⁷ Should he not perform his promise, I will readily co-operate with you in obliging him, and shall be very glad to know whenever your force march for that purpose that I may be on the Pee Dee at the same time and chastise those banditti for the infracion of the treaty.¹¹⁸

My motives for coming into the measure of granting them a neutrality were compulsory by my being always kept near the British Lines and not having time to subdue them.

Had I removed so far as that District, I should have laid open a considerable part of this Country which the Enemy would destroy.¹¹⁹

I shall at all times readily co-operate with your force against these people whenever you give me notice.

I have the Honor to be,

Your Excellency's

Obedient Servant

Francis Marion

Copy of transcribed Letter (NcU) from Executive Letter Book, NCSR, 16:283.

116. Gov. Mathews had sent Marion NC Gov. Thomas Burke's letter on Apr. 1. The "treaty of neutrality" refers to the treaty negotiated between Lt. Col. Peter Horry (at Marion's direction) and Loyalist Maj. Micajah Ganey, signed Jun. 17, 1781, above.

117. North Carolina Loyalists to whom the truce did not apply began using the upper reaches of the Pee Dee region as a safe haven from which to initiate attacks against Patriots in southeastern North Carolina. The foray of Sep. 14, 1781 resulted in the capture of Gov. Burke and a number of government officials.

118. That Marion acknowledged he would "openly cooperate" with a force sent by Gov. Burke in the event the NC Loyalists continued to break the truce, was likely a case where Marion wanted to maintain control over all military units in his militia district. He obviously wanted the outlaw Loyalists cleared from the Pee Dee, but also felt the need to exert his own authority over the situation.

119. Marion demonstrated his pragmatism in explaining that the reason he agreed to the provisions of the truce was to enable him to focus his limited resources on the continuing fight south of the Santee River.

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

Head quarters [Near Bacon's Bridge,] April 14th 1782

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 13th this moment came to hand. The prospect of a general action is not so immediate as I expected a few days ago. You will therefore halt in the neighbourhood of Strawberry and wait there or in that neighbourhood until you hear further from me.¹²⁰ I dont think the enemy will make another ex[cu]rsion soon into St Thomas's; but they may. I should be obliged to you to get an account of all the forage in that quarter. With us it is scarce[.] I begin to feel afraid our Cavalry will be obliged to cross the Edisto for subsistence.¹²¹

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

120. On Apr. 15, below, Greene asked Marion to meet with him. Marion noted in his own letter of the Apr. 16, below, that he had not yet received this letter (*PNG*, 11:62n).

121. American cavalry had been forced to withdraw due to the lack of forage. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 15, immediately below (*PNG*, 11:62n).

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

Head Quarters April 15th 1782

Dear Sir

I wrote you yesterday to return to Strawberry; but as you are so near before you return I wish to see you providing you come to Mr Blakes tonight;¹²² but if you should meet with your first express and halt short of Mr Blakes you may return to the position recommended in that letter.¹²³ However I am of opinion from a variety of reports the enemy mean to take the field in a few days and that they have got little less than 700 Negroes armed for the purpose.¹²⁴ The british horse were in Dorchester yesterday but returned last night.

I am dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t humble S^r

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

122. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 14, above. This line suggests that Greene had received Marion's letter of this date, below, which identified his destination as Blake's, before writing this one (*PNG*, 11:64n).

123. The proposed meeting did not take place. See Marion to Green Apr. 16, below.

124. It is uncertain where this number came from, but Greene was mistaken about the number of slaves and free blacks with the British, which was actually significantly lower (*PNG*, 11:64n).

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

Parkers Plantⁿ Wassama[ssa]w¹²⁵ 15th Ap^l 1782 1 oc PM

Sir

Agreeble to your orders I am thus far in my way towards Dorchester & shall march from here in a few hours,¹²⁶ after refreshing my men who are much fatigued having come from Santee yesterday & the roads overflowed.

I intend to be at M^r Blakes Plant^a on the cypress near M^r Glase to night or near their.¹²⁷

I have the honor to be your Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

Cy (MIU-C), Parks.

125. The dateline clearly reads "Parker's Plantn, Wassamaw," but neither the editors of *PNG*, nor of this work have been able to locate a Parker's Plantation near Wassamassaw Creek. The editors of *PNG* believe this may refer to Porcher's but there is no way to know for sure. This interpretation is, however, further supported by Marion's general orders of Apr. 17, below, which was dated from Procher's (*PNG*, 11:67n).

126. Marion here was confirming that he was following the orders Greene sent him on Apr. 12, above. These orders had been changed by Greene's letter of this date, immediately above, which is convincing evidence that that letter had not been received by the time this one was written.

127. Marion appears not to have reached Blake's. This is presumably because he received Greene's countermanding orders, immediately below. See also Marion to Greene, Apr. 16, below.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre April 15th 1782

Sir, Your letter of the 10th Inst. came safe to hand two days ago.¹²⁸ The Commanders of Privateers, knowing their Authority & regardless of our Unfortunate Situation, are determined to add to our distresses, instead of contributing towards their Relief__ Indeed, the men who Usually Command those Vessells are Needy & Avaricious to the last degree, & come out with a view of Making money by any means, That does not subject them to be hanged; humanity is a thing they are totally unacquainted with.¹²⁹ By a late Act of Congress, all British property wheresoever found is made liable to Seizure.¹³⁰ How far the Vessell in question, having Gen^l. Greene's flagg might have violated, I will not pretend to Judge, if it is put upon this Issue; then it rests with Gen^l Greene to take Cognizance of the Affairs. But in the light of the matter at present strikes me, we have gone far Enough in Confining the Captⁿ. & Crew, more rigorous measures may probably bring us into a dispute with the state of North Carolina, what we have already done is a mere Act of Power & in our Circumstances highly excusable. I would therefore recommend that the Captⁿ & Crew be discharged & the Vessell be permitted to depart as soon as the flagg has sailed & got beyond all danger of being taken.¹³¹ I should be extremely Glad, if you could Contract for any quantity of Cloathing from the quarter you mention & I will Engage to have produce returned for it, that is, if it can be spared. I have Employed M^r. Robert Heriot¹³² to take an Account of the provisions in the district of Georgetown; as soon as I can get his Return, I shall be able to let you know what Rice is to be spared; all the S^o. Wd. parts of the Country is stripped very bare, & it is very probable we shall be Oblidged to draw some provisions from Santee for this Army.¹³³ The same objection lies against paying M^r. Waynes Account, untill I can get the Return above mentioned,¹³⁴ I inclose you an order on Captⁿ. Richardson at the High Hills of Santee, for 500 lbs Powder & 1500 Lead, 50 Muskits & Bayonets, 50 Cartouch Boxes & 1000 Flints, which You may send for as soon as you please.¹³⁵ As to Cannon Ball, I know not where to procure them, if you can point any mode that promises a probability of success I will undertake to have the Experiment made. I have already wrote you fully respecting M^r.

128. The referenced letter has not been found.

129. Mathews was undoubtedly making a broad generalization about privateers in light of Capt. Howell and his cutter capturing the flag schooner and claiming it as a prize. The ship had taken on candles at Howell's urging. He subsequently captured the ship, exposed the unrecorded cargo as contraband and claimed the ship as a prize. See Marion to Horry, Apr. 10, above.

130. On Jan. 2, 1782, the Continental Congress passed legislation "earnestly" recommending "to the Legislatures of the several States to pass laws providing for the seizure and forfeiture of all goods wares and merchandizes of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or of any territory depending thereon, imported within their respective jurisdictions, in any ship or vessel belonging to Citizens of the United States or to the subjects of any neutral power." (Journals of the Continental Congress (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 22:3).

131. Two days earlier, on Apr. 13, Marion wrote Horry, above, "I wish the flagg [schooner] could sail, that Capt. Howell & Crew may be dismissed."

132. Robert Heriot was a partner in the firm of Heriot & Tucker, merchants in Georgetown. The firm supplied the Patriots with provisions from the liberation of Georgetown, in May, 1781, until the end of the war.

133. As the last year of the war passed, provisions became more and more dear. Marion had mentioned the dearth of supplies in Moncks Corner in his letter of Apr. 5 to Greene, above. On Apr. 8, above, Marion wrote Greene from the south side of the Santee River, explaining that his location was necessary due to the lack of forage farther south. Here Mathews mentioned similar scarcity south of Charlestown. Clearly Georgetown was looked on as a major supply avenue to support both the militia and Continental armies.

134. Marion's letter to Horry of Mar. 20, above, hints at issues with Georgetown merchants, particularly William Wayne. Marion wrote "Mr. Waynes Bill will be sent to the Governour for his approbation, but think Handks. Coffee & Sugar, will not be Allowed in Publick Accounts..." Marion wrote Horry again on Apr. 12, above, that "I wrote the Governour Respecting Mr. Waynes Account & think he is rather impatient."

135. At then Gov. John Rutledge's direction, Capt. William Richardson (1743-86) was responsible for purchasing all the indigo in the state to be used to trade for provisions needed by the army. He had inherited Bloom Hill Plantation in the High Hills of the Santee, and had expanded his holdings before the Revolution, acquiring over 5,000 acres from 1770-75. He was elected to the Commons House of Assembly in 1773, but failed to qualify. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses from 1775-76 and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd General Assemblies from 1776-80. After the fall of Charlestown, Richardson became a captain in Marion's Brigade. When Gov. Rutledge returned to South Carolina in Aug. 1781, he made Richardson's plantation his headquarters. In Sep. 1781 Rutledge appointed Richardson to obtain indigo and specie for use by the state. His responsibilities expanded as commissary of military stores to the South Carolina state troops. He maintained the supplies at Bloom Hill (Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 2:560-61; PNG, 11:155n).

Porcher,¹³⁶ Also Respecting Mayhams & Horrys Corps & my determination about Empressing Horses.¹³⁷ M^r. John Warings situation at present being so Exceedingly distressing that, I have given him permission to remain at home, on his Engaging to join you again as soon as possible. M^{rs}. Hall sends on a Horse for his wagon, I therefore request you would furnish the necessary Escort & send it forward without delay¹³⁸ I am Sir, Your Obedt. Serv^t.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

136. The reference here is to Loyalist sympathizer Philip Porcher. See Mathews to Marion, Apr. 10, above.

137. On Apr. 10, above, Gov. Mathews wrote Marion concerning the reduction in the cavalry regiments, "I have Already Informed you that Genl Greene & myself agreed to the last proposition you made respecting Mahams & Horrys Corps, which was to Continue Horrys dismounted to Act as Infantry. If the matter cant be accommodated upon this plan, I shall Give myself no further trouble about it, as they have so little time to serve." Regarding the impressment of horses, Mathews wrote, "the Empressing of Horses is attended with such ruinous consequences that I am determined not to Countenance it. You will, therefore, Sir, look upon the Authority given you on the 6th of March Last, for impressing horses as hereby Revoked."

138. The issues with John Waring and Mrs. Hall are not known.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre April 16th 1782

Sir, The Bearer, M^r. Shrewsb[u]erry, you are better acquainted with than I, therefore I shall say no more concerning him than recommending him to be disposed of as you shall think proper. If you think he can be Usefully Employed in his profession, you will do so, if not he must do his duty as a Militia man; if you approve of Neither, you may either send him back to Town, or do what you please with him.¹³⁹

I am Sir

Your most Obed^t. Serv^t.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

139. As related in Marion's letter to Horry of Apr. 24, below, Shrewsberry, a shipwright, was a reformed Loyalist whose current allegiance was uncertain. He had presumably gone to Gov. Mathews to take advantage of the amnesty policy enacted after the legislative session ended on Feb. 26. Mathews wrote Marion on Mar. 18, above, informing him of the process he and the Privy Council had established for granting such amnesty. The first step was for Gov. Mathews to interview the Loyalist. Then the brigadier general of the applicable militia district would examine him. If accepted by the militia general, the Loyalist would then obtain two sureties to guarantee the penalty that would be imposed when the legislature re-convened in Jan., 1783, as well as two substitutes to serve in his place in the militia. Undoubtedly, the purpose for obtaining two substitutes, instead of simply having the former Loyalists serve in the militia, was to increase the number of men at any given time when the ranks were sorely understrength. Presumably, Patriot leadership also didn't want former loyalists in the ranks for fear of spies.

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

Iloors Plant^a 16th April¹⁴⁰ 1782

Sir

Yourse of yesterdays date came to hand Late Last night, and shoud have gone to see you, but am much fatigued & find I cannot now go through what I formerly did.

A Letter from a Gentleman in town to a perticular frind, informs that the Enemy had a reinforcement of two hundred horse, but does not say from where. I Emagin it must be from Savanna, or those which Embarked with Col. Thompson. If this should be true we shall have Occasion for more Caveldry.¹⁴¹ The Govenor has put a stop to Empressing & those of Horrys Corps are so Ordinary that not more then 13 are fit for Dragoons.¹⁴² The frequent Excorsion of the Enemy on my side requires a much stronger body of horse than what I have.¹⁴³

Inclosed is the state of the Enemy in town brought out by a man who has been sometime Imploy'd in making up the Commisarys Accounts.¹⁴⁴

I have not recd your Letter of the 14th & am Affaird he is taken by the Enemys horse when out that day.¹⁴⁵

I Expect the Enemy will be out on my side, as soon as they here I am Absent & ravage all that part of the Country, which make me Anxtious of returning & shall proceed with utmost Expedition.¹⁴⁶

As Horrys Caveldry will be Dismounted on my return, they will want muskets. Shall be Glad to know if You Can furnish me, as they will be servisable in Geo^r Town, & save me sixty malitia which are now there. The few p[iece]^s Cannon in Geo^r Town is useless for want of Ammunition. If that port is to be kept It will be nessesary to have it furnished, that it make some Defence or the Enemy will certainly Destroy all the provisions,¹⁴⁷ an Article we must be in a short time Distressed for. It is the only place I believe which is not Exausted.

I shall be Oblige to be in S^t Stepens As the Lower part of S^t Johns & all S^t Thomas & Christ [Church] is Intirely Exausted, & cannot subsist any troops[.]¹⁴⁸ My patrolling partys are Oblige to Carry some with them.

I have the honor to be
your Obed^t serv^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

140. In his letter of Apr. 15, above, Marion had written Greene from 'Parkers [possibly Porcher's] Plantation Wassama[ssa]w.' His expected route would have been southward through Moncks Corner to Glaze's Plantation before Dorchester. Greene's camp was at Blakes on the other side of Dorchester. From the address heading of this letter, it would appear that Marion altered his route and took unmarked roads on the west side of Cypress Swamp, where he spent the night at Iloor's Plantation.

141. This report was false (PNG, 11:72n).

142. Marion wrote Col. Peter Horry on Apr. 12, above, that Gov. John Mathews had ended the practice of impressing horses for either Horry's or Maham's regiments, "as their time will so soon expire, and it seem not their [i.e., Mathews' and Greene's] intention of keeping them up longer."

143. "My side" would have been the east side of the Ashley River.

144. The enclosure outlining "the state of the Enemy" has not been found.

145. On the enemy movement toward Dorchester, see Greene to Marion, Apr. 15, above. Greene also wrote Gen. Washington on Apr. 13, "I am afraid some of the Northern dispatches have been taken by the Enemy, and carried into Charles Town. It is certain they have taken a packet coming to me, but where from I cannot learn." (Greene to Washington, Apr. 13, PNG, 11:53; PNG, 11:72n).

146. Marion wrote Horry on Apr. 18, below: "I have got thus far in my return from the So.Wd. I have been within 8 miles of Bacon bridge & have had a Hard March for no purpose, the General Imagined the Enemy was Coming out, & is still of the opinion they will take the field soon; but I think they will not without a Reinforcement, which it seems they Expect, as they have done for Six months past."

147. Greene's reply is immediately below.

148. Marion was in St. Stephen Parish by Apr. 19. See Marion to Horry, Apr. 19, below (PNG, 11:72n).

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

Head quarters [near Bacon's Bridge] April 16th 1782

Dear Sir

I am favord with your letter of this day.¹⁴⁹ I know of no way of reinforcing you but by Col Hamptons Corps. I will speak with the Governor on the subject. At present I believe we have no spare Arms; however I will make more strict enquiry and let you know. Arms are expected from the northward but they will be a long time on the road if we are to judge of the future by the past.

To enable me to give any orders respecting the Cannon at George Town you must send the size of the Caliber.¹⁵⁰ Every measure should be taken to preserve the provisions for I am very apprehensive there will be a scarcity.

I thank you for the enemies returns of rations drawn. I think it large; but perhaps their force may be greater than I imagine.

I am dear Sir

Your most Obed^t humble ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 11:72-73.

149. This letter was a reply to Marion's of the same day, immediately above.

150. Col. Peter Horry, commandant of Georgetown, informed Greene on May 28, that he had found the necessary powder (Horry to Greene, May 28, 1782, PNG, 11:259).

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

April 17th 1782 Porcher's Plantation¹⁵¹

As Great Irregularities have been made by the different Corps under my command, Contrary to the Rules & Articles of war & the Militia Law ____ It is Hereby Order'd that no Soldier shall be admitted to go in to Any Plantation for Provisions & forage with out a Commision'd Officer or Quarters Master from each Reg^t or Corps – all Commanding Officers are ordered to Observe the above with the Greatest strictness¹⁵² –

The Quarter Master of the Brigade will Issue Provisions, Forage & Potts & every other Article necessary For the troops to the quarter Master of Reg^{ts} or Corps According to their Returns¹⁵³

Any Soldier of any Denomination who is found taking any Article from Any Plantation wither from white or Black will be Deem'd A Marauder & Plunderer & Shall suffer immediate Death.¹⁵⁴ Orders will be given to parties for that purpose. Any Soldier found Burning Fences or destroying Orchards shall suffer agreeable to the Article of war – Which says If an Officer be cashier'd, If a Soldier corporate Punishment according to Sentence of a Court martial and turn'd in the Ranks, and Oblig'd to double the Duty he was Liable to do on failure of which to be turned in the Continental Service not exceeding one Year¹⁵⁵ –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 720.

151. It is likely that Porchers Plantation was the same location as “Parkers Plantation,” where Marion encamped on Apr. 15, above.

152. These orders may have been a response to the unacceptable behavior by Marion's militia, as implied in his letter of Apr. 9 to Horry, above, in which he lamented the lack of order at the encampment in St. Stephens parish, “there is only two Officers & twenty Eight non commissd privates here, the rest have been sent away by the Officers on frivolous pretences.” In addition, three men, presumably officers--although Marion addressed each as ‘Mr.’--were absent without leave.

153. The strict language of this order was at odds with the actual state of affairs at the time. Here Gen. Marion described a rigid procedure for the control of provisions. Previous letters indicated the supply of provisions was scarce. Gov. Mathews wrote Marion from Cane Acre on Apr. 15, above, “all the So. Wd. parts of the Country is stripped very bare, & it is very probable we shall be Oblidged to draw some provisions from Santee for this Army.” In his letter of Apr. 16 to Gen. Greene, above, Marion outlined the situation north and south of the Santee River, “If that port [Georgetown] is to be kept It will be nessesary to have it furnished, that it make some Defence or the Enemy will certainly Destroy all the provissions, an Article we must be in a short time Distressed for. It is the only place I believe which is not Exausted. I shall be Oblige to be in St Stepens As the Lower part of St Johns & all St Thomas & Christ [Church] is Intirely Exausted, & cannot subsist any troops[.] My patrolling partys are Oblige to Carry some with them.”

154. Then Gov. John Rutledge's proclamation of Aug. 5, 1781, above, strictly forbade plundering for any cause whatsoever. His proclamation did not, however, stipulate the penalty, only that “all justices of the peace...use all lawful means...for...bringing to justice” those accused of plundering. It is unclear what legal source Marion used to justify his order. The most applicable regulation was the Militia Act of 1782. However, the penalty cited there was not “immediate Death.” Instead, it stipulated that a violating non-commissioned officer or private “shall serve in one of the continental regiments for any time not exceeding twelve months, as to a court martial shall see fit.” (*Statutes*, 4:684).

155. Marion's source for this order is not known. It may have fallen under the same section of the Militia Law of 1782 as the former, regarding “plundering or taking the property of the inhabitants of this State, contrary to orders.” If convicted, a regular soldier could be forced to serve in the Continental army for not more than twelve months. An officer would be cashiered and forced to join the Continental army for one year (*Statutes*, 4:684).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Ferguson Swamp¹⁵⁶ April 18th 1782

Dr Sir,

I have got thus far in my return from the S^o.Wd. I have been within 8 miles of Bacon bridge & have had a Hard March for no purpose, the General Imagined the Enemy was Coming out, & is still of the opinion they will take the field soon; but I think they will not without a Reinforcement, which it seems they Expect, as they have done for Six months past,¹⁵⁷ I hope the flagg Schooner is Sailed; if so discharge Captⁿ. Howells crew & Cutter.¹⁵⁸ Col^o. Moultr^y. is to stay in Georgetown & Collect his regiment he will be of service to you at least will not keep you so much Confined.¹⁵⁹ I shall send Col^o. Mayham for the horses of your Corps as soon as I hear from you. I Intend to leave you 13, but they must not be the best.¹⁶⁰ I will send you Arms as soon as I Get them from the high Hills of Santee.¹⁶¹ I am Y^{rs}. &c.,

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

156. Ferguson Swamp was located between Nelson's Ferry and Moncks Corner. This encampment was actually a little south of where Marion had encamped the previous night.

157. By his letter of Apr. 12, above, Greene ordered Marion to ride to Dorchester to fend off an anticipated foray by British cavalry. Marion's movements are outlined in Greene's letter to him of Apr. 15, above, "I wrote you yesterday to return to Strawberry; but as you are so near before you return I wish to see you providing you come to Mr Blakes tonight; but if you should meet with your first express and halt short of Mr Blakes you may return to the position recommended in that letter." Marion did not reach Greene's camp.

158. On Apr. 9, above, Marion directed Horry to release the flag schooner, but to detain Capt. Howell and the crew of the cutter. In his letter of Apr. 15, above, Gov. Mathews 'recommended' that Marion release the flag schooner, but hold the cutter until the schooner was out of harm's way.

159. This was presumably Col. Alexander Moultrie, the youngest brother of Brig. Gen. William Moultrie. The younger Moultrie also later served as Attorney General of South Carolina and was a member of the SC House of Representatives (Henry W. DeSaussure, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of South-Carolina: From the Revolution to December 1813 Inclusive*, (Columbia, 1817), 2:1).

160. In his letter of Apr. 13, above, Marion gave Horry the option of either converting his remaining cavalry regiment into an infantry regiment or continuing to function as a trimmed-down cavalry regiment, since Gov. Mathews had prohibited further impressment of horses. Marion wrote that "without more Horses &c., &c., the few you have cannot be of any service. I will make the proper arrangement, but will not do it without you signify your approbation, which I will wait for." Whether Horry understood that Marion was talking about transferring his horses to Maham's regiment is not known.

161. In a letter of Apr. 15 to Marion, above, Mathews enclosed an order for ammunition that Marion could obtain from the Patriot supply depot commanded by William Richardson.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre April 18th 1782

Sir, The manner which you mentioned M^r. Porcher Gave me no kind of apprehension of his being on the Confiscation list, therefore, wrote to you respecting him as one of those who had not been noticed by the Legislature. I am however very Glad you have proceeded no further & this mistake of mine will serve to make me more guarded in future. It is Utterly out of my power to grant M^r. Porcher any Indulgence, as the Act in which he is Included is Clear & positive; were I to suffer him to remain in the country It would be a partial suspension of the Law which cannot be done. I must therefore desire that M^r. Porcher be immediately ordered into Charlestown.¹⁶² An application has lately been made to me in favor of M^r. Alex^t. Rose, who had been banished the Town by the British, but I was obliged to Refuse it. If M^r. Rose should come out you must Order him Immediately to Return,¹⁶³ Before this reaches you, you will have received my Order for the Arms & Ammunition you want.¹⁶⁴ My reasons for Ordering the Horses to be returned that were impressed by order of Col^o. Mayham was that Horrys Horses were to be turned over to his regiment, I thought it Impossible that more Horses could be wanted after having those of a whole Regiment. I am sorry to find that this Regiment has proved so very Insignificant as not to be able to supply more than 12 Horses. However, Mayham's order was for no more than fifteen, which makes a difference of only three horses, consequently the service cannot suffer for want of so trifling a number of Horses; another reason was that I found the authority put into very improper hands, instead of its being intrusted to very discreet persons; The thing in itself is odious & ought to be Avoided if possible; but if such a Necessity arises as renders the measure indispensable, it ought to be Exercised with Caution & Lenity. If I am rightly Informed, the Gentlemen who had the press warrant, did by no means Confine themselves to taking horses from such only as shewed no disposition to serve their Country; & another reason that induced me to countermand the order, was that I found it Created very great discontents, to find that horses which were immediately to be attached to your Brigade, should be taken out of another; &, as it was likely to be productive of many inconveniences & having already full Enough to struggle with, & not Conceiving the Horses to be substantially Necessary, I thought It best to put a stop to any further Embarrassments on this Account.¹⁶⁵ As to Col^o. Mayham's threatening to resign, because he is not permitted to do as he pleases, he must use his pleasure, I can assure him, these kind of threats are by no means calculated to operate with me in the manner they are intended to do, but the Reverse.¹⁶⁶

I am very sorry to find so few of the Ch^s. Town Militia at Georgetown, there is now a News paper Regularly Published. Suppose you Issue General orders for those men to Join their Several Corps within a

162. From earlier correspondence it is clear that Gov. Mathews understood that Philip Porcher was a Loyalist who had come out from the enemy lines after the session of the legislature ended on Feb. 26, 1782. On Apr. 10, above, Mathews wrote Marion "I answered your former letter respecting Mr. Phillip Porcher, by Referring you to the Orders I had Given respecting those who should come from within the Enemies lines..." Philip Porcher appeared on the Confiscation List under the category of "those who have borne commissions under his Britannic majesty and are now with the enemy." Ultimately, his name was removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 4:516-25; 6:632-35).

163. Alexander Rose found himself in a most uncomfortable predicament. As seen in this letter, the British had turned him out of Charlestown. However, his name appeared on the confiscation list as "those who congratulated Earl Cornwallis on the success of his Britannic majesty's arms (at Camden)," explaining why Mathews would not receive him. Ultimately, Rose was removed from the confiscation list (*Statutes*, 4:516-25; 6:632-35).

164. In a letter of Apr. 15 to Marion, above, Mathews enclosed an order for ammunition that Marion could obtain from the Patriot supply depot commanded by Capt. William Richardson at his Bloom Hill Plantation.

165. Lt. Col. Maham had sent members of his cavalry regiment to the south to impress horses, probably before he learned that most of the remaining horses in Lt. Col. Horry's regiment were being transferred to his own. The small number of Horry's horses transferred to Maham did not meet the needs of the new cavalry regiment. In actuality, Mathews seemed more upset with the method of impressment. He had written to Marion on Apr. 10, complaining about impressments, and concluded by prohibiting further use of the method for raising horses. "I must take notice of the conduct of Mr. Thomas Drayton, who was sent to the southward to Empress horses; he has made so improper a Use of the Authority given him, that I have been Oblidged to Order him on no account to Empress another horse & to return such as he had Empressed. The reason of my Ordering him to return those he had taken was, that at all Events Maham would have Horrys horses & Consequently could not want more; However, whether the thing takes place or not, the Empressing of Horses is attended with such ruinous consequences that I am determined not to Countenance it."

166. Maham had a fiery personality. In the past he had refused to take orders from Marion and Horry. Using the need for him to take his seat in the SC House of Representatives to avoid taking orders from Horry, Maham had turned over temporary command of his regiment to a junior officer in Jan. 1782.

certain limited time, & such as do not, to send a party, & to take them into Custody, & if on tryal they are convicted, send them to the Continental Line; a few Examples perhaps may bring them to their Senses. It is disgraceful in the highest degree, that men should require to be thus goaded to their duty.¹⁶⁷ An Express is this day arrived from Philadelphia & brings letters from Gillon, who is arrived at the Havanna with five prizes worth 150,000 Hard Dollars. It is not unlikely he may send a Vessel or two to Georgetown, therefore could wish a good Lookout may be kept there, that if they arrive they might not be detained for want of a Pilot.¹⁶⁸ They talk much at the N^o.Wd. of the french fleet coming either here or to New York Early this Spring. Let either be the object the Issue will be highly Important. I could wish Ch^s. Town to be the first not only as most interesting to us but because I beleave the attempt here would be successful & I have very great doubts about the other & because I fear if our Allies were to meet with a rebuff in one place, they will not be so ready to attempt another, as success is always a stimulus to Encounter new dangers.¹⁶⁹ I suppose you will think I have little to dio, to write so much about politicks; this is not the fact, but my pen Naturally runs into its old Channell before I Recollected myself.¹⁷⁰ I wish I had time to Give you these Occurrences oftener than I do; however, if you will Give me leave, I will subscribe to our News paper for you, from whence you will stand a better chance of Getting News than from my pen.¹⁷¹ I am, Sir,

Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

J Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
167. In a letter of Mar. 7, above, Marion informed Horry that he had ordered the Charlestown militia to Georgetown. Gov. Mathews hoped to convey his message about militia responsibility to the masses. In sending to the Continental line those who refused to report, Mathews was going beyond his powers as defined in the Militia Law of 1782. The penalty for failure to report for duty in the law was "to serve double the length of time for which he [the enlistee] was draughted" but only in the militia, transfer to Continental service was not authorized (*Statutes*, 4:683).
168. This was presumably Alexander Gillon (1741-94), who had been a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress (1775-76) and the 1st General Assembly in 1776. He served as a captain and was the first commander of the German Fusiliers of Charlestown from 1775-76. He resigned to become commodore in the state's navy in 1778. [See more about Gillon by clicking here.](#)
169. Any plans for sending the French fleet to Charlestown were thwarted as a result of the French fleet's devastating defeat at the Battle of the Saints on Apr. 12. By the loss of five ships, including the French flag ship, plus the capture of Admiral De Grasse, the British regained their superiority on the high seas.
170. Gov. John Mathews had held a variety of state offices before his election to Congress in 1778.
171. This may have been the South Carolina Gazette, published by Benjamin Dunlap at Parker's Ferry, which began publication in Apr. 1782. However, only one edition is extant: May 15, 1782, which is vol. 1, no. 6. It is believed that the newspapers ceased publication before the end of 1782 (Robin Copp, Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens April 19th 1782

Sir, Yours of the 12th came to hand Yesterday.¹⁷² On my march here,¹⁷³ I wrote you afore respecting Brodrick & Moore to take bail for their appearance at Court & good behavior.¹⁷⁴ The Georgia refugees must do duty, if they have been in this State 3 months. No excuse to be taken for not doing duty,¹⁷⁵ Let me know if the flagg has sailed & if you have discharged Howell & Crew, it must be done Immediately.¹⁷⁶ Send me the Calibre of the different pieces of cannon you have, that I may procure Shot for them, also other Articles which may be wanted.¹⁷⁷ I wrote you yesterday by Col^o. Moultrie. I am Your hum. Srv^t.

F. Marion

P. S.— If you have any Coffee & Sugar, send a little by first Opportunity. as you have Rice & Indigo you may pay off small accounts, such as is Inclosed.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

172. The letter has not been found, although it may have been the one referred to in Marion's letter to Horry of the same date.

173. Marion's general orders for Apr. 19 are addressed from "Camp St Stephens on Apr. 19, 1782, Bluford." The modern location of Bluford Plantation is the Oakland Club in Berkeley County, between Pineville and Eadytown, SC (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 720n1574).

174. On Apr. 10, above, Marion instructed Horry to put Broderick, Moore, and Myers on the flag schooner sailing for Charlestown and not allow them to return. Horry presumably petitioned Marion to review the cases of Broderick and Moore. On Apr. 13, above, Marion gave the directions cited here, "if you suffer Moore & Broderick to Remain, They must Give Bail for their good Behaviour each to give two good Surities, bound in five hundred Guineas Each & to do Six months duty in the Militia, the Bond to be Executed before a Justice of the Peace."

175. Presumably Marion referred to Loyalists who had fled Georgia as a result of Gen. Anthony Wayne's renewed offensive. As early as Feb. 10, Marion wrote Horry, above that men were "daily Coming in from Chs. Town & Georgia, this last are kept Close within their lines."

176. Marion had ordered Horry to release the flag schooner on Apr. 9, above.

177. On Apr. 15, above, Gov. Mathews advised Marion that an order for ammunition had been placed with the Patriot supply depot in the High Hills of the Santee. No cannon balls were available. Marion mentioned the need to Greene on Apr. 16, above. The latter responded on the same day, also above, saying he could do nothing without knowing the caliber size.

General Orders of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

22d April 1782 St. Stephens

Whereas a number of women & other persons go to Char^s Town without permission Contrary to the good of our Service It is ordered that no person, or women whatever go to Cha^s Town, without my written pass,¹⁷⁸ such as may person to go, without such pass Shall be if a woman, not suffer to Return but If be sent by a party to the Enemy's Lines & be Oblig'd to Remain there, If a Man or negro be Deemed a Spy & Suffer accordingly¹⁷⁹ –

O'Kelley, BCADM, 721.

178. A number of letters above mentioned women returning to their plantations from Charlestown. Most were assumed to be the wives of Loyalists. Women going to Charlestown became an increasing pattern as the war wound down. The reason for not giving passes was presumably to prevent intelligence of Patriot positions and strengths from reaching the British command. It also may have been an attempt to quell the illegal transport of goods to and from the city.

179. The source of Marion's authority for such strict penalties is not known. He may have adapted Mathews's letter of Mar. 18, above, to the situation. The governor had advised Marion regarding the process for handling cases of Loyalists who sought pardon after the adjournment of the Legislature on Feb. 26, "but if on Examination any of the persons herein before mentioned, should be thought undeserving of this favour [pardon], they are to be Returned within the Enemy's lines, with Notice that if they are afterwards found out of them, they will be lyable to be punished as spies." He may have extracted Article XV of the Militia Law (Act 1154), passed by the Legislature on Feb. 26. The article gave a militia brigadier general authority to convene a court to try cases of suspected espionage. Although the statute did not specify that simply going to the enemy lines and returning was cause to be indicted as a spy, Marion presumably judged that in the process of going to and from Enemy lines, a person would hold correspondence, give intelligence, or act as an emissary from the enemy, thus qualifying as a spy. The Sedition Act, passed on Apr. 11, 1776, could also be utilized, based on the latter presumption (*Statutes*, 4:343-46; 6:516-23). It is not known whether Gov. Mathews was aware of this policy or whether Marion acted on it.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens April 22d 1782

Dr Sir, I Received yours of the 17th.¹⁸⁰ The flagg must be sent Immediately back, with all her Cargo, passengers, attendance, goods, &c., &c., except M^{rs}. Shad, M^{rs}. Barnes & Miss Simmons,¹⁸¹ & their attendants & property & I Positively Order no other man, woman, or Servants, or any property be landed or suffered to come Ashore; but the Vessell ordered Immediately to go out of the harbour on pain of being made a prize in Twentyfour hours after such notice be given you are hereby Ordered to make prize of said Vessell, Cargo &c., &c., & the Captain, Crew & passengers, to put in Close Confinement, without suffering any person whatever to Visit or Speak to Either of said prisoners untill my further orders.¹⁸² M^cClean, with his Companions, must be kept in Close confinement untill a proper opportunity offers to send them to the Governour of No. Carolina. Col^o. Stark¹⁸³ is trading on his private Account & I am not surprized at any thing he has or can do__ he is no friend__ I wrote you respecting the Pilots, & I left you to Act as you pleased respecting the Boat mentioned in my last. M^r. Chatell[e]iat has my pass to go to the No. Wd.¹⁸⁴ You will permit the flagg to carry one Barrel of Rice & a few Poultry for the relief of M^r. John Clements, a prisoner & wounded in Ch^s. Town, he is one of my Brigade.¹⁸⁵ No Officer ever had a right to public Horses, but those you have, you will keep & you have a right to them untill my further Orders. The Officers & men of your Corps here must remain as yet. The Report of Galley or Armed Vessells to go to Georgetown, I do not think true, as I had a letter from Ch^s. Town last Evening that says a french fleet is at Tybee¹⁸⁶ & from the person it came from I have reason to beleave it may be true. I am with Esteem,
Your Obd^t Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

P.S.— Since I wrote the above, I perused the papers sent and find Col^o. R[or B]ay is exchanged he & the others mentioned in Gen^l. Butlers¹⁸⁷ pass is to be Put on board the flagg Vessell, & suffered to proceed to Ch^s. Town.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

180. The letter has not been found.

181. The identities of Mrs. Shad, Mrs. Barnes, and Miss Simmons are not known.

182. The issue of the flag schooner first arose in a Mar. 11 letter from Horry to Marion, above. The flag schooner had originally been taken as a prize by Capt. Jonathan Howell, a privateer. Howell stopped the ship on the high seas, found unrecorded contraband, namely candles, on board, and took possession. Subsequently, it was learned that Howell himself had caused the candles to be brought aboard the flag schooner, ostensibly as an excuse to seize the ship. Numerous letters passed among Horry, Marion, Mathews and Greene in March and April. On Apr. 10, above, Marion ordered Horry to release the flag. Apparently, there was some reluctance by the captain about proceeding to Charlestown, probably because he believed that Howell would follow and capture him again before he arrived.

183. Robert Stark had been the Sheriff of Ninety Six, and served as a militia colonel in 1775. He was imprisoned in the provost, and later in the 'Old Post Office,' before being freed in Apr. 1781. When Stark was detained, presumably for breaking his parole, Gen. Greene responded by detaining Capt. Henry Barry, Lt. Col. Balfour's secretary. Stark was freed at the same time as Capt. John Postell, who had been detained in Mar. 1781 for breaking his parole. In an Apr. 24 letter, Marion notified Lt. Col. John Grimke, commissioner of confiscated estates, that Col. Stark had plundered Wadboo Plantation, and "taken all the houshold goods & 15 Oxens & some Cows from that place." (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 889; Marion to Grimke, Apr. 24 1781, ALS (PHi), Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection, 51, *Soldiers of the Revolution*, 107; PNG, 11:284-85n, 544-45n; Marion to Saunders, Mar. 7, 1781, ALS (NNGl), Gilder Lehrman Collection)

184. The identities of McClean and Chatelleiat are not known.

185. This may have been Private John Clements, who had served in the 2nd SC Regiment (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 179n444).

186. This intelligence was false.

187. Pierce Butler (1744-1822) was born in Ireland, and joined the British army before his 18th birthday. He was in South Carolina with the 29th Foot in 1766. During a second tour in 1771, he married into the Middleton family. He resigned from the army and remained in South Carolina when his regiment was transferred back to England two years later. [See more about Pierce Butler by clicking here.](#)

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens April 24th 1782

Sir, Inclosed is a return of the Companies which are to do Duty in George Town. Wardens & Longs will be sent to you¹⁸⁸ I also send you the Militia Law¹⁸⁹ The Governour wrote you that Commodore Gillon has Carried in five Jamaica prizes in the Havanna worth 150,000 Dollars; two of the prizes are Expected in Georgetown & [the Governour] desires the pilot to keep a good Look out for them.¹⁹⁰ several of your men wishes to Inlist in the Infantry on the new bounty, such as have but two months to serve in your Corps may be discharged on Condition of Inlisting for three years, or during the war. I send two men with their attestations, which Cannot be sworn to untill your Discharge is obtained, which please see done & Give them the Inclosed Orders to Swinton for their Negroes, & grant them one Month furlough.¹⁹¹ M^r. Shrewsbury waits on you; he is a shipwright, & may be useful; but he must be watched, for he has been & is much suspected; he will want to send a boat to Dewees Island for some goods,¹⁹² Oznaburgs & Russia Drab, which is for our Soldiers, you will please give him a pass for that boat & Receive the goods, but himself must not be suffered to go out of Georgetown¹⁹³ I will send 50 stand of Arms & pouches with Ammunition. Col^o. Moultrie will want some of them & you are to take what he may not want at present, untill I Get more from Gen^l Greene.¹⁹⁴ I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
188. Horry's cavalry regiment had all but disappeared by this time, due to losses at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation. The enlistments of the balance expired during the summer of 1782. As a result, Marion transferred militia units to Horry in Georgetown, so that he could maintain order in the area.
189. On Mar. 20, above, Marion wrote to Horry that he would send him copies of the new Militia Law, passed by the legislature in February. On Apr. 12, above, Marion wrote to Horry that he did not have any more copies of the law.
190. In his letter of Apr. 18, above, Gov. Mathews informed Marion of Gillon's success.
191. Many of the remaining troops from Horry's former cavalry regiment, which had now been converted to infantry, would see their enlistments expire in the summer. As a result, they were eager to take advantage of the new Recruiting Act that entitled an enlistee to three slaves for three years' service in the Continental Army (*Statutes*, 4:513-15).
192. Dewees Island was apparently being used as a supply depot. See Marion to Horry, Jun. 9, below.
193. Mr. Shrewsbury was apparently a Loyalist shipwright who had left Charlestown. By his letter of Apr. 16, above, Gov. Mathews requested that Gen. Marion make a decision regarding the fate of Shrewsbury. "If you think he can be Usefully Employed in his profession," Mathews wrote "you will do so, if not he must do his duty as a Militia man; if you approve of Neither, you may either send him back to Town, or do what you please with him."
194. By his letter of Apr. 18, Marion informed Horry that he was assigning Col. Alexander Moultrie and his militia regiment to Horry's command in Georgetown. As Commandant of Georgetown, Horry undoubtedly had much to do to manage the recovery of the city as a commercial port. Moultrie's responsibility was probably to maintain order in the outlying regions, including Waccamaw Neck.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. James Witherspoon¹⁹⁵

St. Stephens, April 24, 1782

Sr Inclosed is a commission to command the Kings tree company¹⁹⁶ and hope you will accept of it, and let no trifling matter induce you to refuse it-- In these times when our country call for men of bravery and ability such as yourn no good man well-wisher to their country aught to resign or shun the service, and it gives me great pleasure to see you at the head of a company; which I know will be lead on by a man who I have been eye-witness to his conduct and spirit, for which I have always had the highest opinion and the greatest regard for__ I am yr. ob. St.

Fran. Marion

Yeadon, "Marion Family," 2:201.

195. James Witherspoon, brother of Gavin and John, served as a lieutenant and captain in the militia under Gen. Marion from 1780-82. When Marion created his militia brigade, Witherspoon became a captain in Lt. Col. Peter Horry's regiment. Witherspoon fought in the Bridges Campaign when Marion drove Lt. Col. John Watson back into Georgetown. He became captain of the Kingstree company in Apr. 1782. Witherspoon also provided food and forage for the American troops (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1008; Marion to Witherspoon, Apr. 24, 1782, Yeadon, Richard, "The Marion Family," *Southern & Western Magazine & Review*, 1845, vol. 2, VII, 201; Boddie, *Swamp Fox*, 122, 167; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 148).

196. The Kingstree Company of Militia were centered in Williamsburg Township.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. John Grimke

[St. Stephens]¹⁹⁷ 24th April 1782

Sir

As I do not Expect you here Soon, will be glad of permission to take some Negroes from Wadbo or Nisbit Estates¹⁹⁸ for the purpose of recruiting men.¹⁹⁹

M^r. Swinton acquaints me that Ten of the Negroes sent him is rund away – 6 or 8 of John Gaillards went of a few days agoe²⁰⁰

M^r. G. Ancrum Attorney for Wadbo Informs me that a Col^o. Stark has taken all the houshold goods & 15 Oxens & some Cows from that place –²⁰¹

I am y^r Obd^t Sr^t

Fran^s Marion

ALS (PHi), Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection.

197. Location inferred. Marion was probably at St. Stephens when this letter was written, as evidenced by two other letters of this date, above, being addressed “St. Stephens.”

198. Wadboo Plantation, near Moncks Corner, was confiscated from Margaret Colleton, the widow of John Colleton. “Nisbit Estate” referred to property of William Nisbett or the heirs of Sir John Nisbett. Both were placed on, but later removed from, the Confiscation Lists (*Statutes*, 6:630, 635).

199. The SC Legislature had passed legislation to enable slaves confiscated from Loyalists estates to be used as bounties to raise enlistments for the Continental army. See Mathews to Marion, Apr. 1, above.

200. 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). The slaves of John Gaillard were presumably confiscated as Gaillard appeared on the confiscation list as one who had “borne commissions, civil or military, under the British Government, since the conquest of this Province.” Gaillard was eventually removed from the confiscation list, but he was subsequently amerced 12% (*Statutes*, 6:632-35). It is not known whether the slaves mentioned here, who ran away after being confiscated, were included in the amercement.

201. Ancrum presumably represented the Colleton family, who owned Wadboo, a plantation confiscated by the legislature. Gen. Marion wrote Peter Horry about Col. Stark in an Apr. 22 letter, above, describing him as a plunderer and no friend to the American cause.

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

Head Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge,] April 28th 1782

Dear Sir

From many different accounts the enemy threaten us with an attack.²⁰² We have had no small uneasiness in our Camp for want of pay[,] clothing and spirits. The discontent has reached the enemy and it is confidently asserted that they are coming out to take advantage of it.²⁰³ I think it necessary therefore as I am not well informed of the full extent of the discontent to call our force together from all points as well to awe the malcontents if any there be as to prevent the enemy from attempting any thing in consequence thereof. I beg you will therefore march and join us as soon as possible with all your force except a small reconnoitering party. And altho this may expose a great part of the Country yet it will serve to secure a greater object. I beg you will lose no time.²⁰⁴

I am dear Sir

Your most Obed humble ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), PNG, 11:134.

According to PNG: "The last page of this draft is written on the left side of a sheet of paper; on the right side of the same sheet, in Greene's handwriting, is part of a paragraph that has been crossed through and appears to have been intended for use in another letter" (PNG, 11:134n).

-
202. One of the referenced letters was from Capt. William Wilmot, written on the same date, which reported that a British fleet bearing 1,000 troops, and including 14 empty transports had arrived in Charlestown from New York. In actuality, the transports were headed for Jamaica (Wilmot to Morris, Apr. 28, PNG, 11:134). Wilmot (c. 1752-82) commanded a forward observation post on Johns Island during this time. A native of Baltimore County, MD, he had been an officer of the Maryland Continental line since 1776. In Nov. 1782, he was killed in a skirmish on James Island that has been termed "the last bloodshed in the American war." (Johnson, Greene, 2:345; PNG, 11:56).
203. The threat of mutiny was dealt with swiftly and harshly. At a court martial on Apr. 21, Sergeant George Gosnell of the Pennsylvania Line had been convicted "For having spoken words tending to excite Mutiny." Gosnell was sentenced to death, and executed by a firing squad on Apr. 22 (Greene's Orders, Apr. 22, 1782, PNG, 10:87-88).
204. Marion's reply has not been found, but his letter to Horry on Apr. 30, below, mentioned that he had been "called to join Genl Greene." In another letter of May 1, below, Greene directed Marion "to take a position in the Neighbourhood of Camp." (PNG, 11:135n).

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to John Waties, Jr., Esqr.*²⁰⁵**

[St. Stephens]²⁰⁶ 29 April 1782

S^r.

Yours of the 26th I this day received,²⁰⁷ In Answer the Amunition I took of [f] M^r. Howell is by Order of Gen^l. Green[e], by which I think, must be put to the Continental Acc^t. ___ as you art for them I dont doubt you will Set[t]le with M^r Howell for it ___ & have Inclosed you the Acc^t. Sent me by the Govenor²⁰⁸ ___

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

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C)

205. John Waties, Jr. (1758-98) was a merchant and planter who lived along the Pee Dee River near Georgetown, and had been one of the American prisoners released in Jun. 1781 from the prison ship *Torbay* in Charlestown harbor (H. D. Bull, "The Waties Family of South Carolina," SCHM 45 (1944):17; *PNG*, 10:104).

206. Location inferred. Marion had encamped at Bluford's Plantation by Apr. 19. It is presumed that he remained there until marching to join Greene's Continental Army, as a result of Greene's request of Apr. 28, above.

207. Waties's letter has not been found.

208. The details surrounding the ammunition are not certain. The reference may be to the order enclosed in Gov. Mathews's letter to Marion of Apr. 15, above, in which the governor related, "I inclose you an order on Captn. Richardson at the High Hills of Santee, for 500 lbs Powder & 1500 Lead, 50 Muskits & Bayonets, 50 Cartouch Boxes & 1000 Flints, which You may send for as soon as you please."

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. Peter Horry

[St. Stephens] April 31[May 1]²⁰⁹ 1782

Sir Yours of the 26th came to hand²¹⁰ you may do as you please with M^r. Shads Daughter.²¹¹ Let Col^o. Moultrie have four Rations -- I wrote you last night & Inclosed Meyers Account but the letter is lost. You will pay him out of the Indigo & Rice you have in your hands if not sufficient, he must wait²¹² -- I am called to join Gen^l Greene.²¹³ you will Keep a good look out lest the Enemy form an attackt against you, & Let it be always a Rule to be ready at a moment, if a retreat should be necessary, as my former Orders -- I shall be absent I fear sometime -- A waggon with 50 Stand of Arms is on its way from

High Hills for you -- Should you want ammunition send to M^r. William Richardson.²¹⁴ I am told your Officers have publick Horses & the best; they must be Given up & all your Horses & men that is out must be Called in Immediately when I will send for such as may be for Dragoon service.²¹⁵

I am in haste Adieu

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

209. Force incorrectly dated the letter as Apr. 31. April only has 30 days. The letter is considered as being dated May 1 as a result.

210. Horry's letter has not been found.

211. In his letter of Apr. 22, above, Marion directed Horry, "The flagg must be sent Immediately back, with all her Cargo, passengers, attendance, goods, &c., &c., except Mrs. Shad, Mrs. Barnes & Miss Simmons, & their attendants & property."

212. Mordecai Myers was a merchant in Georgetown.

213. On Apr. 28, above, Gen. Greene ordered Marion to join him near Bacon's Bridge. There was discontent among the Continental soldiers due to lack of pay, clothing, and poor conditions. Greene intended "to awe the malcontents if any there be as to prevent the enemy from attempting any thing in consequence thereof."

214. On Apr. 15, above, Mathews informed Marion that an order of ammunition would be forthcoming from the supply depot in the High Hills of the Santee.

215. As a result of dismounting Horry's cavalry regiment, the few horses he still had were ordered to be given to the remaining cavalry regiment under Maham. In a letter of Apr. 18, above, Marion wrote Horry that he intended "to leave you 13, but they must not be the best." In Mathews's letter to Marion of the same date, above, the governor expressed his surprise that Horry's regiment had only 12 horses.

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

[near Bacon's Bridge, 1 May 1782]²¹⁶

Dear Sir

I wish you to take a position in the Neighbourhood of Camp that we may join our force on the shortest Notice should the Enemy attempt any thing against us.²¹⁷ The North Carolina troops were discharged today and it is highly probable that if the Enemy attempt anything at all it will be tomorrow; and more especially if they get intelligence our force is collecting to a point.²¹⁸ Col [Le Roy]Hammond²¹⁹ is coming to join us with a body of Militia and I wish you to take command of all the Militia and form a Camp near to ours. If you will give orders for your troops to march in the Morning and com forward we will look at a Camp together.²²⁰ Bring a small party of horse with you.

I am dear Sir

your Most Obed^t humble Ser^t

N Greene

ADfS (NcU), Parks.

216. As per *PNG*: "The date was taken from docketing, the place from other letters written at this time." (*PNG*, 11:148n).

217. See Greene to Marion, Apr. 28, above.

218. More than half the men in the North Carolina line had enlistments that expired in April or May, 1782 (Greene to Burke, Apr. 8, *PNG*, 11:16n).

219. [See a brief bio of Leroy Hammond by clicking here.](#)

220. Marion wrote Horry on May 3, below, that he had occupied a position "two miles in front of the Continental army." He described his role as one of forward outpost for Greene's army and asked Horry to send supplies. Marion wrote "This place is a starving hole, where nothing can be had, and nothing can be expected but hard knocks." Three weeks later he returned to the Pee Dee Region to deal with the new Loyalist uprising there (*PNG*, 11:148n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Near Bacons bridge May 3d, 1782

Sir, I am posted here, two miles in front of the continental Army, within 3/4 of a mile of the above Bridge, the General According to Custom keeps me between him & the Enemy, By what I can learn, we shall not move from here untill the Army move.²²¹ Gen^l Pickens Brigade is here under me²²² ___ Captⁿ. Gee's men is Come here, you will Release those at Cat Island, by some other men²²³ ___ I hope by this you have received the Arms.²²⁴ Send me by the first Opportunity, a General return of your Corps, of men, horses, Saddles & Arms,²²⁵ as you have all the Officers Except Maxwell, you Cannot be at a Loss. If any Officers, or men are on a furlough, you must Call them in & Give no more Leave of Absence on any Account²²⁶ ___ I shall send a Waggon for Rum, Sugar & Coffee, please Get it Ready for me, this place is a starving hole where nothing can be had, & nothing can be Expected but hard Knocks.²²⁷ Gen^l. O'Harra & 17 Empty Transports are arrived, & Gen^l. Leslie is going away--said for Jamaica, Deserters Just come in say, they are levelling their works & is to contract their Garrison; some say part of the Troops is going with Gen^l Leslie²²⁸ ___ I wrote you in my last that you may do as you please with Shad's Daughter, tell Capt. Roux he is retained in the service & is in the 2d Regiment.²²⁹ I have not time to write him.

I am Sir your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
221. In response to Greene's Apr. 28 order, above, Marion moved to a position between Greene and the British. As evidenced by General Greene's general orders of May 4, Marion's militia were responsible for the "Necessary Picketts for the security of the right Flank of the Army." (Greene's General Orders, May 4, 1782, *PNG*, 11:154). Based on intelligence received from Charlestown, Gen. Greene prepared for a renewed British offensive.
222. Although militia Gen. Andrew Pickens had taken parole after the surrender of Charlestown in May, 1780, he renounced his parole when his family was threatened by Loyalists in the area of his plantation in western South Carolina. Since his return to action, Pickens had focused his efforts on quelling the Loyalist activity in the back country, as well as on curtailing Indian activities. As the focus of the British threat narrowed to the area around Charlestown, Pickens was able to bring his militia under Marion's command for a short period. In late May, Pickens returned to the back country to prepare for a campaign against the Cherokee and Chickamauga (*PNG*, 11:367n).
223. Capt. Charles Gee was wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs on Sep. 8, 1781. After suffering a head wound, he lay on the battlefield, his fellow soldiers assuming he was dead (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 702). Apparently, Gee was to relieve an outpost on Cat Island, near the entrance to Winyah Bay at Georgetown. As seen in Marion's letter to Horry of May 20, below, the guard assigned to detect water traffic on Mosquito Creek was not effective.
224. In previous letters, Marion had informed Horry that 50 muskets would be coming to him from the supply depot in the High Hills of the Santee. See Marion to Horry, Apr. 24, and Apr. 30, both above.
225. As a result of dismounting what was left of his cavalry regiment, Horry was to be left with 13 horses. The process of transferring them to Hezekiah Maham's remaining cavalry regiment did not go well. Horry was to send the best horses to Maham. Not only did he not send the best horses but, as it turned out, his earlier return showed only 12 available for Maham's regiment. See Mathews to Marion Apr. 18, above.
226. Josiah Maxwell served as a lieutenant in the cavalry under Col. Peter Horry (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 667). Marion's direction to call in all officers was perhaps a result of his desire not to be under-staffed in the event the British ramped up their activities.
227. The plantations around Dorchester had been picked clean by both Continental and British forces for an extended period of time. The shortage of food, coupled with the Americans' inability to compete with the British on price, further exacerbated the problem. To make matters worse, the transportation of provisions overland from the North was a long, tedious process that often resulted in lower than expected delivery quantities.
228. An earlier report from Capt. William Wilmot stated that 14 transports had arrived in Charlestown. Now it was clear that South Carolina was not their final destination. The two regiments continued on to Jamaica, but Leslie did not accompany them.
229. Albert Roux was commissioned a lieutenant in the 2nd SC Regiment on Dec. 15, 1777 and as a captain on Aug. 4, 1779. He was wounded in the right arm at Savannah on Oct. 9, 1779, but served until he retired on Jan. 1, 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 834). It is unclear how Roux could be retained in the 2nd SC Regiment, if he retired in 1781.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Bacon's Bridge, May 11th 1782

Sir, You will deliver all the horses you have, with the Saddles, bridles, halters, & Swords, Except 14 of the ordinary horses, which you will keep for your crops [Corps]__ The Officers must give up every publick horse they have²³⁰__ Col^o. Mayham will send an Officer to receive them__ M^r. Withers has permission to send to Charlestown some Tobacco to procure necessaries for the Army. You will give him passes when he applies for It, & receive whatever cloathing he may get.²³¹ I sent you a Letter by Comodore Lockwood,²³² informing that the British intend to go to Georgetown, under French Colours & dress__ you will, I dare say, prevent their deception from taking Effect. I am apprehensive they will go to Waccamaw__ you will keep some boats ready at the ferry above Wragg's to Cross over a few men on Waccamaw__ should they go there a fire or two on them may make them go away. The whole of the men around your post should be Called for if they do attempt²³³__ We are perfectly Idle here, nothing new but that Deserters from the British come in every day.²³⁴

I am, Sir,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

230. The controversy surrounding dismounting Lt. Col. Horry's cavalry regiment continued to plague Marion. On Apr. 18, he notified Horry that he could keep 13 horses, but only "ordinary" ones.

231. The identity of Mr. Withers is not known. A letter from Dr. Thomas Tucker to Gen. Greene, dated May 15, mentions a "Mr. Withers", who came from Charlestown with a flag, but had been detained because of questions about the pass (Tucker to Greene, May 15, 1782, *PNG*, 11:195).

232. The letter has not been found. [Click here to learn more about David Lockwood.](#)

233. At this time, Georgetown was an active port of call for privateers bringing needed supplies for the Continental Army and Patriot militia in exchange for indigo. Waccamaw Neck, a peninsula that protected Georgetown from the Atlantic Ocean, was a relatively under-exploited area, especially in terms of the valuable commodities of rice and salt. As a result of the British threat, a galley under the command of Capt. Jacob Milligan was sent to Winyah Bay. In addition to protecting Georgetown from the Royal Navy, Milligan also took action to thwart the practice of illegal trade with Charlestown (Bridwell, Port, 29). See more about Jacob Milligan here.

234. Gen. Greene had ordered Marion to join the Continental Army on Apr. 28, above. Marion's militia served as the right flank of the American force. Greene himself led the force of "Light Infantry and all the Cavalry of the Army" down the Goose Creek and Charlestown Roads, below the Quarter House (*PNG*, 11:182n). The British did not respond. The net effect may have been to reduce forays made by British scouting and foraging parties. It also gave Greene the opportunity to reconnoiter the enemy lines.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Laurens

Bacons Bridge 15 May 1782

S^r

Yours of this days date come to hand²³⁵ ___ I was not at home when it came or would have answered it by him that brought it ___

M^r Francis Cobia is the Quarter Master of my Brigade,²³⁶ and cannot be spared on any Account whatever ___

As you have three or four Guides of my Brigade, I imagined they were sufficient, but if you will send them to me, I will let you have proper Guides which will answer your purpose much better & know more than the broad roads²³⁷ ___

I shall be much obliged to you to give me the names of such Gentl...

Genl. [Nathanael Green's] General Orders forbid Volunteers not for that reason only, but to know who are really such as they will not get any Certificate of their doing Six Months Duty without a full conviction of their performing it agreeable to Law.²³⁸

Extract of ALS (Jay T. Snider Collection of Historical Americana), sold at Christie's auction Jun. 21, 2005, lot 79.

235. The letter has not been found.

236. Francis Cobia was apparently in the quartermaster department as far back as 1780, when he obtained oxen for Marion's regiment at Sheldon on Mar. 22, 1780 ("Records of the Regiments of the S. C. Line, Continental Establishment," SCHM 5, no. 2 (Apr. 1904):26).

237. When Lt. Col. Laurens returned to South Carolina after being exchanged in 1781, he took over command of Henry Lee's Legion. When the regiment advanced closer to Charlestown, Gen. Marion supplied Laurens with guides. Apparently, Laurens was dissatisfied with their level of knowledge of the area.

238. The genesis of this comment is not known. The reference to "doing Six Months Duty" alluded to the practice of pardoning most Loyalists who served six months in the militia and pledged allegiance to South Carolina and the United States.

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

[Bacon's Bridge,] 18 May 1782²³⁹

S^r

Inclosed is Letters Just recvd. You will please give me your Opinion wether Col. Maham is bound by the parole he has given.²⁴⁰

I am y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

NB I shall be Oblige to you send the Inclosed Back that I may give the Governor the [Inteli?].

RCS (MIU-C), Parks.

239. Location inferred. Marion, in several letters written during this time, gave his location as "Bacon Bridge." See Marion to Laurens, May 15, above.

240. The letters have not been found. The author of the letters is not known. However, since Col. Maham's parole was mentioned, presumably one of them was from him. Maham had been captured by a troop of "Bloody Bill" Cunningham's Loyalists on May 16, at his plantation on the Santee River, where he was recuperating. In a letter to Greene of May 20, Maham described his situation, initially asking Greene's assistance to arrange a prisoner exchange and then implying that he felt the parole he signed was invalid, stating "I have inclosed a copy of the Parrole, after it was drawn they Left it with me, taking no copy or form with them." After his signature, Maham informed Greene that he believed the soldier who gave the parole was not a commissioned officer, since he would not give the date of his commission. Maham also mentioned that since the 'officer' could not write, he "got one of the other men to do it (sign the parole)." (Maham to Greene, May 20, *PNG*, 11:226).

Greene replied to Maham on May 23, asserting that he believed the parole was binding (Greene to Maham, May 23, *PNG*, 11:234). Marion was probably glad to pass the request on to Gen. Greene rather than deal with it himself. Although Greene had directed Maham to receive orders from Marion as related to his Legion, his regiment was not part of the militia establishment (Greene to Maham, Oct. 23, 1781, *PNG*, 9:468). Maham's Legion was a state force, organized under the Continental Establishment. Gov. Mathews had delegated authority over Maham to Greene. Presumably, this authority would cover military matters.

However, when it came to the legitimacy of a parole, it is uncertain whether Greene or Mathews was the ultimate decision maker. If he had been captured, it's unlikely the British would consider either of their interpretations legitimate. Maham's captor, William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham (1748-87), was a planter in the back country. At the beginning of the Revolution, Cunningham exhibited pro-revolutionary leanings, accepting a commission and serving in the campaign of 1776. By Feb. 1779, he had changed sides and was a lieutenant in the Royal Volunteers of South Carolina. [Click here to learn more about "Bloody Bill."](#)

Capt. Thomas Elliott (Marion AdC)²⁴¹ to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

[Bacon's Bridge]²⁴² 18 May 1782

Sir,

I am directed by General Marion to acquaint you that a detachment of General Pickens' Men is arrived in his Encampment,²⁴³ &, as they are destitute of Ammunition he desires I will Inclose you the return of their numbers, that you may be enabled to proportion them as you think proper.²⁴⁴

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most Ob^t.

Most hb^l. Ser^{vt}.

Thomast Elliott

Aid de Camp

ALS (MIU-C)

241. Thomas Elliott was promoted to captain in the 2nd SC Regiment in 1777. After the fall of Charlestown, he served as a lieutenant and captain in the militia. He was aide-de-camp to Gen. Marion from Jul. 1781 to Dec. 1782, when Marion dismissed the militia at Wadboo Plantation. In Mar. 1782 Elliott served as Judge Advocate, successfully prosecuting the court martial of Norman McDonald, who was "taken as a Spy & going to the Enemy --" McDonald was executed (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 565-66; 604n30; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 290).

242. Location inferred from Marion's letter of the same date above, and May 20, below.

243. This probably refers to Col. Le Roy Hammond's detachment, which had recently been sent to Marion by Greene. (See Greene to Marion, May 1, above). The return has not been found. (*PNG*, 11:205)

244. Greene's reply has not been found (*PNG*, 11:205).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Bacons Bridge May 20th 1782

Sir, I send you two letters addressed to Gov^r. Martin²⁴⁵ which you will send by Express that may be depended on; it requires Expedition. I send a Letter for Ganey--please forward,²⁴⁶ Mrs. Porcher has abused the trust Reposed in her in making use of the pass more than once²⁴⁷ __ You may permit M^r. Dyer to Bail for his future good behaviour²⁴⁸ __ I am sorry to find the Guard at Cat Island do not do their duty, in suffering boats to pass the Muskettoe Creek. I hope some steps will be taken to prevent such an Evil so much to the prejudice to our Service.²⁴⁹ The few men of yours here, is not to be spared Yet & hope you will make yourself satisfied, as it is not in the power of Government to Get money as yet to pay the Troops in her service, but hope it will be soon.²⁵⁰ Col^o. Moultrie will give you all the news here __ I have not time Just now to write them to you. I am Your Obdt. Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
245. Letters to NC Gov. Alexander Martin were entrusted to Marion by Gov. Mathews and presumably Gen. Greene. On May 18, Mathews wrote to Martin, the new governor of North Carolina, that Marion would lead an expedition against "the Tories of Peedee and Drowning Creek" (Martin to Mathews, Jun. 9, NCSR, 16:689). See also Marion to Greene, May 21, below. Greene sent a congratulatory letter to Martin, dated May 18, in which he encouraged the new governor to "be equally active and Zealous [as the Eastern States], in accomplishing the same important objects (recruitment), for on these we must depend for safety and Independence" (Greene to Martin, May 18, PNG, 11:203). Alexander Martin (1740-1807) was originally from New Jersey, where he attended Princeton University. After moving to Salisbury, NC, Martin became a merchant, lawyer, judge, and legislator. Martin assumed command of the North Carolina Continental brigade during the battle of Germantown in 1777, in which Gen. Francis Nash, Gov. Nash's brother, was fatally wounded. A group of North Carolina officers charged Martin with cowardice in that battle. He was exonerated, but some of the NC Line officers threatened to resign if he were named to replace Francis Nash. A crisis was averted when Martin resigned his commission and returned to North Carolina. He was the nominal head of the NC Board of War and later acting governor of the state during Gov. Thomas Burke's imprisonment from Sep. 1781 to Jan. 1782. Martin succeeded Burke as governor in 1782. He was re-elected in 1783-84, and served again from 1789-92. Martin was also a delegate to Congress and a member of the US Constitutional Convention in 1787 (Rankin, NC Continentals, 118, 122; DAB; PNG, 11:135).
246. The letter has not been found. Micajah Ganey was the Loyalist leader in the Pee Dee Region. On Jun. 17, 1781, he signed a truce with Peter Horry, above. Although the truce did reduce the violence in the region, NC Loyalists also began to use the Pee Dee region as a base of operations from which to strike the Patriots in North Carolina.
247. Mrs. Porcher was probably the wife of Loyalist sympathizer Philip Porcher, a personal friend of Francis Marion's. See Mathews to Marion, Apr. 10, above.
248. On Mar. 18, Gov. Mathews issued directions regarding the treatment of Loyalists who came out from enemy lines after the Legislature recessed in February. Such individuals were to be interviewed by Mathews and then sent to the applicable militia brigadier for a second assessment. If accepted, the Loyalist would have to put up a bond through two sureties and find two substitutes to serve in the militia. Mr. Dyer presumably fell into that category. No Dyer appeared on either the confiscation or the amercement lists.
249. In his letter of May 3, above, Marion advised Horry of the need for a change of assignment at the outpost on Cat Island in Winyah Bay. By this letter it is presumed that the subject was illegal trade. To avoid an ocean voyage, contraband was probably being passed through Mosquito Creek, a waterway between Cat Island and South Island, connecting Winyah Bay and the North Santee River.
250. As mentioned in the letter of May 3, above, Capt. Gee of Horry's regiment was with Marion. Why the troops could not be returned to Horry is not clear. It is possible that he feared if the troops returned to Georgetown before being paid, they would desert.

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

[Bacon's Bridge,] 21 May 1782²⁵¹

S^r

I recd Your Orders Last night to march to Peedee.²⁵² Shall be Glad to know if it is your Intention that Mahams Corps shoud go with me. Gainey's men have sixty five horse well Equipt & Appointed, and I have reasons to Believe that Fanning is Joined them with thirty more.²⁵³

I am Just in motion & shall Call on you. If Mahams horse is to go with me it will be necessary to Call in the Patrolling party at Ashley Ferry.²⁵⁴

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

251. Location inferred by editors of the *PNG*, who note that "In a letter that he wrote to Col. Peter Horry on this date, above, Marion gave his location as Bacon's Bridge. His men had been camped there while serving with Greene's army (*PNG*, 11:232-33).

252. Greene's orders referenced here have not been found but were likely related to containing the North Carolina Loyalists sheltering in the Pee Dee region of South Carolina, under the protection of Marion and Micajah Gainey's truce, and staging raids across the border. Marion wrote to North Carolina governor Thomas Burke on Apr. 13, above, that Gainey had assured him he would "drive all the men of your State out of the neutral ground." On May 21, below, South Carolina governor John Mathews ordered Marion to treat again with Gainey, offering a "full pardon" for him and his men if they would "lay down their arms," turn in their plunder, agree to become "peaceable citizen," serve in the South Carolina militia, and "deliver up" anyone who "contumaciously persist[ed] in rebellion" (Mathews to Marion, May 21, below). Marion wrote Gainey on Jun. 2, below, with just such an offer, accompanied by the threat of an "effusion of blood" if Gainey refused to cooperate. On Jun. 9, below, Marion wrote Greene describing his subsequent negotiations with Gainey (*PNG*, 11:232n).

253. On May 7, Loyalist Col. David Fanning wrote in his journal that he had retreated to "Major Gainnoers truce land" after a successful raid in Randolph Co. North Carolina (Fanning, Narrative, 80), in direct confirmation of Gov. Martin's fears. Marion wrote Horry on Jun. 9, below, to warn him of Fanning's presence near Georgetown (*PNG*, 11:232-33).

254. Greene's reply has not been found. Marion's letter to Greene of Jul. 8, below, suggests that Maham's corps was serving with him at that time. (*PNG*, 11:233n)

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Bacon bridge May 21st 1782

Sir, I have information the enemy intends to make an Attack on your post.²⁵⁵ You will Order all the Militia around you to your Assistance, I am this moment in motion to reinforce you ___ You must make every defence possible untill I arrive. A flagg came here Yesterday from the Enemy on important business to both Army's, what we have not yet Learned; the Officer which came, says we shall very soon take one another by the hand in friendship. Some say there is a cessation of Arms to take place, & that peace is actually on the Carpet,²⁵⁶ send per Express the Letters to Col^o. Baxter & Murphy.²⁵⁷ I hope you have the 25 stand of Arms last Ordered.

I am Your Obed^t Serv^t

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

255. As seen in the letter of this date, above, Marion received orders from Gen. Greene "to march to Peedee" to confront a perceived threat from Loyalists under Ganey and Fanning. It is presumed that Marion dispatched this letter prior to meeting with Gov. Mathews, who visited him at Bacon Bridge the same day. See Mathews to Marion, May 21, 1782, below.

256. In a May 24 letter to Marion, below, Greene's aide Capt. William Pierce enclosed a letter from British Gen. Leslie, commander in the South, to Gen. Greene. The editors of the *PNG* believe it was one of May 23, in which Leslie intimated that peace was at hand, at least in the North.

257. Col. John Baxter and Col. Maurice Murphy were regimental commanders in Marion's brigade.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre May 21st 1782

Sir, I inclose you the Instructions for quieting the discontents of the People on Little Pee Dee, with whom you sometime ago entered into a Truce²⁵⁸— The Express brings you 20 Commissions. I also Inclose you an Order for Arms & Ammunition. I think there is something Else you mentioned to me in the Course of our Conversation to-day,²⁵⁹ but in the multiplicity of business I have Engaged in since I came home, it has slipt my memory, you will therefore be pleased to repeat it to me by the return of the Express I send you tomorrow. I am Sir Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jno. Mathews

P.S.— Be pleased to send me your opinion in writing before you go away, whether it will be best to sell the negroes, and recruit with money, or continue on the old plan of recruiting with negroes.²⁶⁰

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

258. Although the truce signed between Lt. Col. Peter Horry (in Marion's absence, but with his approval) and Loyalist Maj. Micajah Ganey had been in effect for nearly 11 months, British sympathizers from North Carolina continued to stir up trouble in the Pee Dee/Drowning Creek region. See Marion to Greene, May 18, above. The instructions are below.

259. Gov. Mathews visited Marion at Bacon Bridge. He wrote this letter following his return to Cane Acre.

260. Marion's reply, if there was one, is not extant. Marion had expressed his distaste for the policy of using slaves as recruiting bounty as early as Apr. 18, 1781, in a letter to Sumter, above, after which Sumter responded on Apr. 30, above, advising him that the policy had been approved by Rutledge. Apparently, the critical need for troops outweighed Marion's moral stance by this time, as evidenced by his letter of Apr. 24 to Lt. Col. John Grimke, above, in which he asked "permission to take some Negroes from Wadbo or Nisbit Estates for the purpose of recruiting men."

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre, May 21, 1782.

Instructions for Gen^l. Marion for Offering terms of Reconciliation to Major Ganey & others with whom Gen^l Marion entered into a Truce, on the 17th June Last.²⁶¹ 1st. You are to take with you four or five Judicious, Intelligent persons to meet those appointed on the part of Ganey & others to confer on the business herein committed to your charge; but they are not to be considered as Joined with you in this Commission.

2nd. The said Ganey & others with whom such truce was made are to lay down their Arms as Enemies to this State and are not to resume them again untill called on to do so in support of the interest of the United States & of this State in particular.²⁶²

3rd. They are to deliver up all Negroes, Horses Cattle & other property that have been plundered from the Inhabitants of this or any other State.²⁶³

4th. They are to Engage to demean themselves as peaceable citizens of this State & submit themselves in future to be Governed by its Laws in the same manner as the rest of the Citizens thereof.

5th. They are to be allowed two or if you find it Necessary three months, to Remain at home before they are Called on to bear arms in behalf of this State.

6th. They are to Engage to apprehend & deliver up all persons within their district who shall Refuse to accede to these terms & contumaciously persist in Rebellion against the State.²⁶⁴

7th. If these terms are Accepted by the said Ganey & others, you are then to promise them a full pardon for all Treasons heretofore committed by them against the State.

8th. If these terms are Rejected by the said Ganey & others before mentioned, You are then to have recourse to force of Arms or otherwise to compel them to submission.

9th. You are Authorized & Empowered, if you shall deem it for the publick service, to apprehend & send within the Enemy's lines any of the families of persons who Continue in Arms against the State__ Given under my hand at Cane Acre this 21 day of May, One Thousand seven Hundred Eighty-two.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

261. In response to renewed Loyalist activity in the Pee Dee region, mainly fomented by NC Loyalists who used the Pee Dee as a haven for initiating attacks into North Carolina, and also because the agreement entered into by Lt. Col. Horry and Maj. Ganey was set to expire on Jun. 17, Mathews dispatched Gen. Marion to quell any uprising. The existing agreement was more of a truce, since it did not call for actions other than maintaining the peace and punishing those who were guilty of plundering. Given the stronger bargaining position the Patriots now found themselves in with victory at hand, the new terms were much less neutral and reciprocal than they had been in the previous agreement.

262. The existing treaty simply stated that "all Hostilities on both sides shall Cease." There was no mention of joining the Patriot cause.

263. The existing treaty called for plundered property to be restored, regardless of which party was the plunderer.

264. The existing treaty made no mention that Loyalists were to "deliver up" all who refused to agree to the terms of the new treaty.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre May 21st, 1782

Sir: Gen^l. Barnwell having desired to retire from the Command of the Brigade to which he has been appointed²⁶⁵ __ And as I think the service would be best promoted by its being Continued under the Command of a Brigadier in preference to the regiments being Independently commanded by the Colonels __ I therefore desire that you would take the Command of that Brigade & consider it as Annexed to the Brigade at present Commanded by you, Untill you receive orders to the Contrary from me, or the Commander in Chief of this State for the time being

I am, Sir, Your most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

265. As seen in then Gov. Rutledge's letter to Marion of Sep. 3, above, the governor felt that a reorganization of the militia was necessary, "I am much dissatisfied with the present allotment of the several Brigades in this State, & think a fourth might be formed to the Southward." At the time, the militia south of Charlestown were only loosely organized. Despite complaints from Col. Harden's officers, Col. John Barnwell was promoted to command the newly created fourth militia brigade. Gov. Mathews returned command over the southern militias to Marion, who had been put in charge of them by Rutledge following the withdrawal of Thomas Sumter in Sep. 1781. Gen. Marion had experience with Col. William Harden's regiment. In Aug. 1781 at the behest of both Harden and Gen. Greene, Marion undertook a secret mission to the southward to aid Harden. The result was the surprise attack of the British cavalry at Parker's Ferry on Aug. 30.

Capt. William Pierce (for Gen. Greene) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Hd. Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge,] May 24th 1782

Dr Sir,

The Inclosed letter from Gen^l Leslie you may make use of to bring the Tories upon Pedee to a knowledge of their Critical situation & Endeavour to Convince them of the danger which Impends to Cease their depredations & beg pardon for their Offences,²⁶⁶ Spare, if Possible the unnecessary Effusion of Blood, but at all Events the Gen^l desires that the party may be dispersed.²⁶⁷

I am dear Gen^l Yours &^c

W^m Pierce j^r

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

266. See Marion to Greene, May 21, above. The enclosure was presumably a copy of Leslie to Greene, May 23, in which Leslie wrote, "I can have not doubt. . . that a suspension of Hostilities has taken place to the North-ward, and that a treaty to conclude the War is now carrying on. . . that such a cessation should take place here" (Leslie to Greene, May 23, *PNG*, 11:235). Greene replied to Leslie on May 25, saying, "Untill I receive their (Congress's) instructions I do not think myself at liberty to agree to a cessation of hostilities." (Greene to Leslie, May 25, *PNG*, 11:247).

267. The enemy was "dispersed" without further bloodshed (*PNG*, 11:238n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens, May 24, 1782

Sir, Yours of the 17th Ult. came to hand²⁶⁸ The men lately come out from the Enemy for six months duty.²⁶⁹ You must Endeavour to seize M^{rs}. Mottes boat & Negroes & make prize of them agreeable to the Governours Proclamations a few men may do it Easily She has no pass from the Governour, Gen^l. Greene, or myself, nor no other persons. they wish a stop put to it²⁷⁰ I have taken steps with M^{rs}. Tidiman. In Respect to the regulation of Trade we must submit to superior power I believe that Scoundrel you mention has misrepresented to the Governour, I do not know any Letters of yours I have not answered. M^r. Dillon or any other Continental Commissary have nothing to do with the hides or Tallow of the Militia forces M^r. Sam Dwight is appointed by Gen^l. Greene Commissary of Issues for the port of Georgetown in the Continental line, White must Act as Commissary of Purchases. I am sorry to see so few Horses of your Regiment to be had out of so great a number The Officers must Give a particular Account how they are Gone, or it Can never be settled,²⁷¹ Saunders is resigned You certainly have a right to make what [regulation] you think proper in your Corps I shall march from here on Sunday for _____ [left blank]. The news is, that the parliament have unanimously resolved that whoever Advises the King to continue the war in America, shall be deemed a Traitor & Enemy to the country, & have petitioned him to discontinue the American war, his Answer is that he will Comply with the wishes of his parliament All the offensive Ministers are put out & Lord Rockingham is at the head of the Administration & it is Expected Peace will soon be Concluded²⁷² The letter sent by Gen^l. Leslie to Gen^l. Greene proposes Cessation of hostilities, it is said this has taken place at the No[rth].²⁷³ It is believed that Count de Grass & six ships of War is taken in the west Indies

in the late fight, but the french & spaniards have yet Got the superiority of those Seas,²⁷⁴ please Send the Letters to Murrell & Allston & Long.²⁷⁵ It is necessary their Companies should all be with you, to prevent the Enemy from taking advantage when the Troops are distant I think there is little danger of the Enemy attempting your post at this time.²⁷⁶ I am Your Obdt. Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

P. S.—Postells men I shall take with me. Warden,²⁷⁷ Murrell & Long, will send you half of their Companies.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

268. The letter has not been found.

269. The letter of May 23 referred to in Pierce to Marion of May 24, above, mentioned that Gen. Leslie was confident that a ceasefire had begun in the North. Such a report would certainly have sparked a rapid exodus of Loyalist sympathizers from Charlestown to take advantage of the offer of pardon after serving six months in the militia and pledging allegiance to the state and to the United States.

270. The situation with Mrs. Motte is not known. Maj. Thomas Fraser captured Mrs. Motte, Maj. Edmund Hyrne, Judge Henry Pendleton, and Maj. Thomas Pinckney during a raid in late Mar. 1782. See Marion to Greene, Mar. 29, above.

271. As a result of dismounting what was left of his cavalry regiment, Horry was to be left with 13 horses. The process of transferring the horses to Hezekiah Maham's remaining cavalry regiment did not go smoothly. Horry was to send the best horses to Maham. Not only did he not send the best horses, but, as it turned out, his earlier return showed only 12 available for Maham's regiment. See Mathews to Marion Apr. 18, above.

272. On Mar. 4, 1782, the House of Commons had passed such a resolution, but not unanimously. Opposition in Parliament finally brought down the Ministry of Lord North. The Rockingham Ministry took office on Mar. 27, 1782. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton was replaced by Gen. Guy Carleton as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and Carleton was directed to begin the evacuation of New York, Charlestown, and Savannah. He was also authorized to notify the Americans of the intended withdrawal (Mackesy, *War for America*, 468-72). See a brief bio of Sir Guy Carleton here.

273. As explained in Pierce to Marion, May 24, above, Gen. Alexander Leslie suggested a cessation of hostilities.

274. After the siege of Yorktown, Comte De Grasse, instead of continuing to aid the Americans by investing Charlestown, or at least transporting troops South, had sailed for the Caribbean. In mid-Apr. 1782, De Grasse was defeated by a larger fleet under Admiral Rodney and taken prisoner in the "Battle of the Saints." (Mackesy, *War for America*, 454-59).

275. Marion was possibly referring to the May 23 letter from Gen. Leslie referred to above, and this letter.

276. Only three days earlier, on May 21, above, Marion wrote Horry to alert him to potential enemy movement toward Georgetown, and that he would be marching there himself. The reason Marion downgraded the potential threat is not clear.

277. John Warden served in Marion's Brigade from 1780-82, attaining the rank of major. Warden delivered 44 Pee Dee Loyalists to Georgetown in Sep. 1782. In November, Marion gave Warden approval to impress food to feed the families of militia on duty with Marion's Brigade. After the war Warden served one term in the SC House (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 966; PNG, 11:659; Marion to Burnet, Oct. 3, 1782, RCS (MiU-C), Parks; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:741).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

St. Stephens, May 25, 1782

Sir, Yours of the 25th came to hand. I wrote you Yesterday.²⁷⁸ It would be Capital to take these Tories gone to Town about the mouth of Waccamaw will do it.²⁷⁹ I approve much of your sending Captⁿ. Matthews in Santee. I am Glad to hear the Galley is Got up, She must be fitted & Manned for Service as soon as possible & stationed in the Conflux of Waccamaw, Pee Dee & Sandpit [Sampit] Rivers. I inclosed you Brevets for Captⁿ. Milligan & two lieut^s.²⁸⁰ The armed Schooner will be a great Addition to our Strength & security at your Post__ All the sails & riggings &c. belonging to the Schooner three friends must be to fit up the Galley. The Hulk sell or dispose of to the best Advantage for the State.²⁸¹ I dislike Col^o. Senmf's [Senf's] plan of fortifying George Town, I shall Visit it soon & probably Throw it wholly aside.²⁸² I am sorry to see you have so few men, but I refer you to my last letter. I will Acquaint the General & Governour respecting Cap^t. Putnam's Vessell. The powder & Lead from Capt. Putnam is seasonable.²⁸³ Let me know every thing you learn of the Tories movements & preparations, & take Steps to know it by sending proper persons amongst them for the purpose, I believe your danger, if any, will be by Water & Pee Dee.²⁸⁴

I am Your Obd^t. Serv^t.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

278. This letter has not been found.

279. Marion's meaning is unclear.

280. To protect Georgetown, Winyah Bay, and the rivers that fed it, a galley was commissioned. Lt. Col. Horry appointed Jacob Milligan to command the it. Gov. Mathews approved of Horry's choice in a letter of Jun. 2 (Mathews to Horry, Jun. 2, 1782, Gibbes, Documentary History, 3:183-84).

281. Details about the armed schooner "Three Friends" are not known. This may have been the brig Two Friends that was captured at Cape Fear in late Feb. 1776 (Bridwell, Port, 25).

282. Marion was not optimistic about the practicality of fortifying Georgetown. See Mathews to Marion, Mar. 4, 1782, above. Marion met with Senf in St. Stephen's parish on Mar. 8. Whether he ever met with Senf in Georgetown is not known. Work on the fortifications had begun by Mar. 11. See Horry to Marion, Mar. 11, above.

283. Henry Putnam was a Georgetown merchant with whom the Continental Army had been trading since the Oct. 1781 re-occupation of Georgetown. On Oct. 24, then Gov. Rutledge wrote to Marion, above, about the high prices Putnam was asking, "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."

284. Marion's reference to "the Tories" was in anticipation of his planned attempt to negotiate a more permanent treaty than the ceasefire reached in Jun. 1781 between Peter Horry and Micajah Ganey.

Capt. William Richardson to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Bloom Hill]²⁸⁵ May 26th, 1782

Sir, By Mr. Harris's Waggon You will Please receive two Chests Containing 50 Muskets & Bayonets Six pigs & part of a pig lead, quantity 618 lbs., 50 Cartouch Boxes & one Cask powder weight 252 lbs. Gross in care of Lieut. Skilling.²⁸⁶ I sent to Georgetown agreeable to your former orders, 20 Muskets & Bayonets by Captⁿ McClure of the Artillery,²⁸⁷ I could not procure the Baggage Wagon you desired, neither of the Gentlemen you mentioned had one, the one now sent with the Stores I have contracted for provided you take it, which you will please let me know by M^r Harris's return, he is to proceed to Georgetown, & from thence return to me__ I thank you for the good news you sent me, which portends a speedy Peace²⁸⁸__ I hope the Articles now sent will arrive safe, & most heartily wish you success__

I am Sir,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

W^m Richardson

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

285. Bloom Hill was the plantation of Capt. William Richardson, who managed the supply depot in the High Hills of the Santee.

286. The shipment of guns and ammunition was to fulfill an order Gov. Mathews made on Marion's behalf, as noted in his letter to Marion of Apr. 15, above, "I inclose you an order on Captn. Richardson at the High Hills of Santee, for 500 lbs Powder & 1500 Lead, 50 Muskits & Bayonets, 50 Cartouch Boxes & 1000 Flints, which You may send for as soon as you please."

287. On May 21, above, Marion informed Horry that he had ordered "25 stand of Arms."

288. Marion may have sent Richardson a letter at the same time he wrote Horry on May 21, above, in which he commented on the improving state of affairs, "A flagg came here Yesterday from the Enemy on important business to both Army's, what we have not yet Learned; the Officer which came, says we shall very soon take one another by the hand in friendship. Some say there is a cessation of Arms to take place, & that peace is actually on the Carpet..."

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre May 27th 1782

Sir, I observe in your Orders to Col^o. Saunders, he is directed to draught the whole of his Regiment²⁸⁹ I omitted to Inform you, that I had directed no draughts should be made from the Johns Island, Wadmelaw, Edisto & Stono Companies, these Companies being absolutely Necessary to be kept at Certain points to prevent the Commerce between the Country & Ch^s. Town. I have therefore directed Col^o. Saunders to Adhere to my former Orders respecting these Companies, & that I would Inform you of the same. I suppose Col^o. Saunders has reported to you, the Refractory spirit that Still prevails in his Regiment; unless Vigorous measures are pursued to bring them to Order I am convinced they will do no Duty.²⁹⁰

I am Sir Your Most Obd^t. Serv^t.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

289. Upon the resignation of Gen. John Barnwell, Gov. Mathews reassigned his 'southern' militia, meaning the brigade made up of men from Charlestown and Beaufort Districts, to Marion. See Mathews to Marion, May 21, above. Marion probably acquainted himself with Saunders during the encampment near Bacon's Bridge, where Marion bivouacked for the first three weeks in May. Saunders stationed a company at Bacon's Bridge, as seen in his Jul. 10 letter, below, to Marion.

290. Saunders informed Marion of his situation in his letter of Jul. 10, below.

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

Weatherspoons Ferry Lynches, 1st June 1782

S^r

Yours of the 24^h May I recd on my way here with Gen^l Leslie's Letter to you. I called at Geo^e Town & Viewed the works at that post & found the fort on the point in forwardness[.]²⁹¹ The Sampit River it Commands within point blank shott[,] the Channel Leading up PD & Black River is a thousand Yards which is rather to[o] far,²⁹² but will certainly be a Security to the trade in Geo Town, & the difficulty of removing, Prejudice in traders, and Carrying the trade higher up the Country, made me permit the works to go on, but it is still my Opinion that If a passification do not take place, the works will be only a Greater Object to them as they may Land at [Newton?] & come around by Sampit Bridge & Enter the town in the back [from?] which will take a thousand men to Defend, & this they may Effect in seven hours Easy march, then Embark & retreat; as a particular Plan is sent to Col^o Cuschaskey the Ingeneer Gen^l[,] I woud not give any Directins untill I [have] further Orders.²⁹³ In respect of Major Gainey & that party I hope to Come on such Terms as will prevent blood shed & terminate that Buisiness to Advantage.²⁹⁴

I Just recd a Letter from Maj^r Ashby who Commands in S^t Johns Parish, that Lieutⁿ Ravenel & two of his brothers, was Taken²⁹⁵ & one man wounded & a Number of horses taken by a party of Refugees, under the Command of one Griffin from Ch^s Town. I Shall Acquaint you with every Occurence.

I have The honor To be

Your Ob^t s^r

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

-
291. In a Feb. 26 letter, above, Gov. Mathews had ordered Marion to establish a post at Georgetown to protect the town and the increased trading activity from British attack. Mathews wrote Greene on Mar. 3, informing the general of the orders for Georgetown and that he had "also directed the Vessels that come in there, to run up some of the rivers & land their goods" (Mathews to Greene, Mar. 3, *PNG*, 10:436-37). Greene viewed the situation differently, for in a letter to Marion on Mar. 4, below, Mathews notified him that Lt. Col. Johann Christian Senf was in Georgetown to confer with him on fortifying the harbor. As seen here, Marion retained his original opinion, recommending that trade coming into Georgetown instead be diverted to landing locations farther up nearby rivers, such as the Pee Dee, Santee, and Black.
292. Marion had previously ordered Horry to position a galley "in the conflux of Waccamaw, Pee Dee and Sampit Rivers." (Marion to Horry, May 25, above).
293. "Cuschaskey" referred Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko. No further orders from either he or Marion exist regarding the fort. (*PNG*, 11:278n)
294. See Marion to Greene, May 21, above, and Marion to Greene, Jun. 9, below.
295. On Jun. 12, below, Marion wrote to Horry that he had learned Lt. Ravenel was being held in the provost in Charlestown. In response Marion ordered Horry to hold Capt. Francis Skelly, one of Gen. Leslie's aides, who had recently been captured, until Ravenel was paroled, which occurred a short time later (*PNG*, 11:278n). [See a brief bio of Francis Skelly here.](#)

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Micajah Ganey

Lynch's Creek, June 2d 1782

Sir, My last acquainted you that your Letter was laid before the Governour & Council; since that I have received their Instructions and have sent Col^o. Peter Horry, Colo. [John] Baxter & Major [John] James, to Confer with you & offer such terms as I can & wish it may be Acceded to & prevent the Effusion of Blood & distresses of the women and Children.²⁹⁶ The Colonels will give you a paper in which you will find the determination of the British making Peace with the Americans, which leave you no hope of being supported by them²⁹⁷ ___ I have marched thus far with my Brigade for the purpose of Either making terms or prosecuting the war, whenever the term of the Truce Expires.²⁹⁸ And you may depend that I shall not Infringe it until then, but wish that you may know your own interest by Submitting in time & preventing Ill Consequences from obstinacy which must terminate in your own & your people's destruction, which cannot be prevented when the No. Carolinians come on, which are on the March & are near at hand²⁹⁹ Colo. Horry & the Gentlemen above mentioned will talk with you & Acquaint you with every particular with which they are charged with the meantime you will Consider them under the sanction of a flagg of Truce & you & such men or yourself will meet them at M^r. Birches,³⁰⁰ shall be protected under that sanction.

I am Sir Your humble Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Note by Peter Horry: "That Ganey & 700 men surrendered." Originally part of the Peter Horry Manuscripts.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
296. Ganey's letter has not been found. However, enclosed in his May 21 letter to Marion, above, Gov. Mathews included instructions "for Offering terms of Reconciliation to Major Ganey & others..."
297. The paper may have been a copy of Gen. Leslie's letter to Gen. Greene of May 23, in which he wrote, "I can have not doubt...that a suspension of Hostilities has taken place to the North-ward, and that a treaty to conclude the War is now carrying on...that such a cessation should take place here." (Leslie to Greene, May 23, 1782, PNG, 11:235).
298. In Marion's absence Horry and Ganey had negotiated a truce on Jun. 17, 1781. Originally, it was to last three months. However, it was subsequently extended to 12 months. Although Marion's tone could be interpreted as overly frank, he was undoubtedly honest about his willingness to prosecute the war if terms were not reached, for he knew that the Loyalists' weakened bargaining power might only be temporary and, more importantly, that this was his best chance to gather a militia force sufficient to awe the waverers.
299. Mathews wrote Alexander Martin, the new governor of North Carolina, on May 18, that Marion would lead an expedition against "the Tories of Peedee and Drowning Creek." See Martin to Mathews, Jun. 9, 1782, (NCSR, 16:689), and Marion to Greene, May 21, above. The action, in part, stemmed from earlier complaints from then Gov. Thomas Burke that NC Loyalists were taking advantage of the truce by using the Pee Dee region as a safe haven. In an Apr. 13 letter to Gov. Burke, below, Marion outlined the situation, "I have wrote to Major Gainey who commands these men. He promises to drive all the men of your State out of the neutral ground. Should he not perform his promise, I will readily co-operate with you in obliging him, and shall be very glad to know whenever your force march for that purpose that I may be on the Pee Dee at the same time and chastise those banditti for the infracion of the treaty." Gov. Martin informed Marion of the progress of the NC militia in his letter to Marion of Jun. 8, below, "I have ordered Major Joel Lewis, or the Commanding Officer of the State Legionary Troops now on Deep River in Randolph County, immediately to proceed with that Corps, consisting of 250 men to Mr Ameys on Drowning Creek, where he will Receive further information from you, & Act as you will Judge most Conducive to the service."
300. Mr. Burch was the owner of a mill and plantation situated on the north side of the Great Pee Dee River, 25 miles north of Georgetown.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

3 June 1782 Orders at Burches Mill

As a number of persons have come & submitted to the Americans – And have obtained pardon for the Offences committed against the State, it is here by ordered that Such men shall not be molested.³⁰¹ Those that do in any respect commit Such outrage by taking what is Called private Satisfaction will be made to Suffer Agreeable to the Laws of this State in the most Rigorous manner And it is Recommended As Christians to forgive & forget all Injuries which have been committed by such who have been Led away by our Enemies

—

O'Kelley, BCADM, 726.

301. Gen. Marion was quick to embrace Gov. Rutledge's proclamation offering pardon to Loyalists in Sep. 1781, despite the unpopularity of leniency among many of his men.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Micajah Ganey

[Burches Mill] June 3d 1782

Sir, Colo. Richardson³⁰² acquaints me that there was some men who did not, or would not submit to the terms sent you ___ all such men will be allowed to go to Ch^s. Town & be considered as prisoners of War to be exchanged for the American prisoners, Their wives & Children & such property as is theirs, they will be allowed to take with them, Except Stock & Arms & shall be safely conducted to Town on Saturday, or Sooner, if Possible.³⁰³ I shall be glad to see you at M^r. Burches.

F. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

302. Col. Richard Richardson, Jr., commanded a regiment of Marion's brigade.

303. A provision of the Act 1153 "for Disposing of Certain Estates, and Banishing Certain Persons, Therein Mentioned" specified that all those who refused to pledge allegiance to South Carolina and the United States "should quit the State ...and never return." Such a person's return to the state was declared to be a capital offence (*Statutes*, 4:518). Neither the act passed by the Legislature nor the final agreement, below, signed by Marion and Ganey, mentioned dissenters being considered prisoners of war.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Capt. William Richardson,³⁰⁴ Esq.

Murrays Ferry 7 June 1782

Sr

Col. Richardson represent to me that sin[c]e troublesome people in y^r. neighbourhood is plundering the good inhabitants & that they have no Amunition to go after them³⁰⁵ ___ you will Then Deliver Cap. [Joseph] Hill twelve w^t Gun powder & proportion of lead, which shall be accounted [*text lost*] or in the quantity, the Governor Gave me an Order for, the whole of which I have not yet had but the necessity is such that I hope you will let me have it at all Events & I will answer for the propriety of it³⁰⁶ ___

I have happily settled all militias with the PD troops; & am going S^o.Wardly to join Gen^l Greene³⁰⁷ ___

You may see how I am sent from North to South, & believe my good Constitution will not hold me much longer³⁰⁸ ~

I am S^r y^r ob S^t

Fran^s Marion

Tr (NNGL), Gilder Lehrman Collection.

304. Capt. William Richardson served as director of the supply depot at his own Bloom Hill Plantation in the High Hills of the Santee. He was no relation to the Col. Richard Richardson mentioned here.

305. Although the focus of military activity was around Charlestown, and rumblings of potential threats centered in the Pee Dee region, Loyalist forays continued in the area of the High Hills of the Santee.

306. On page 3 of the document is the signature of Elliott Holladay, certifying that on Jul. 18, 1782, 12 pounds of gunpowder and 26½ pounds of lead were received from Richardson by order of Captain Joseph Hill.

307. The treaty negotiated between Marion and Ganey, below, was signed on Jun. 8, 1782.

308. In the just over three-month period since leaving the Legislature in Jacksonborough in late February, Gen. Marion had traversed the Low Country as far north as Witherspoon's Ferry on Lynches Creek, west to Murray's Ferry on the Santee and southwest to Ioor's plantation on Cypress Swamp. A conservative estimate of the total area traversed would be 650 miles. He made ten extended marches of over 40 miles, spanning a distance of over 100 miles north-to-south and 40 miles east-to-west.

Articles of Treaty Between Gen. Francis Marion and Major Ganey

ARTICLES OF TREATY BETWEEN GENERAL MARION, IN BEHALF OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, & MAJOR GANEY, & THE INHABITANTS UNDER HIS COMMAND, WHICH WERE INCLUDED IN THE TREATY MADE THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF JUNE, 1781.³⁰⁹

Article I. Major Ganey & the men under his command to lay down their arms, as enemies to the state, and are not to resume them again until ordered to do so, in support of the interest of the United States, and of this state in particular.³¹⁰

II. We will deliver up all negroes, horses, cattle and other property that have been taken from this or any other state.³¹¹

III. We will demean ourselves as peaceable citizens of this state and submit ourselves to be governed by its laws, in the same manner as the rest of the citizens thereof.

IV. We do engage to apprehend and deliver up all persons within our district, who shall refuse to accede to these terms, and contumaciously persist in rebellion against this state.

V. We will deliver up as soon as possible, every man who belongs to any regular line in the American service, and every inhabitant of North Carolina, or this, or any other state, who have joined us since the seventeenth of June, 1781, when the former treaty was made, or oblige them to go out of the district, and whenever they return, to take and deliver them into safe custody in any gaol within the state.³¹²

VI. Every man is to sign an instrument of writing professing his allegiance to the United States of America, and the state of South Carolina in particular; and to abjure his Britanic majesty, his heirs, successors and adherents, and promise to oppose all the enemies of the United States, and the state of South Carolina in particular.

VII. All arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores, the property of the British, to be delivered up.

VIII. The above seven articles being agreed on, they shall have a full pardon for all treasons committed by them against the state, and enjoy their property, and be protected by the laws thereof.³¹³

IX. Such men as do not choose to accede to these articles, shall have leave to go within the British lines, and to march by the twenty-fifth instant, and be safely conducted with such of their wives and children as may be able to travel, and carry or sell their property, except cattle, sheep and hogs, which they may dispose of, but not carry with them.³¹⁴ Such women and children who cannot be removed, may remain until the first day of September next. The officers to keep their pistols and side-arms; all other arms to be disposed of, and not carried with them. Each field-officer and captain to retain one horse, not exceeding twelve in the whole, and no other person to take with him any more horses that may be fit for dragoon service within the British lines.

We have agreed to the before-mentioned nine articles, and have signed the same at Birch's-mill, on Peedee, this eighth day of June, 1782.

Francis Marion, Brigadier General, State of South Carolina³¹⁵
Micajah Ganey, Major Loyalists, Peedee.

Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:419-21.

309. This treaty, an extension of the one signed on Jun. 17, 1781, by Lt. Col. Peter Horry (substituting for Marion) and Maj. Micajah Ganey, was renewed with a few additions in response to Loyalist activity in the Pee Dee region.

310. Whereas the previous agreement was a simple truce, Article I of this new agreement clearly called for the former Loyalists to fight on the Patriot side if called upon.

311. The 1781 agreement called for the return of property taken from either Loyalists or Patriots. The wording of the similar article in that initial truce became a point of contention. Ganey wrote Marion on Aug. 25, 1781, above, asking for a change, writing "That property taken not in Action (but Plundered) on being proved by either party, shall be Restored." He argued that he had no control over the actions of either the British army or Loyalists who did not reside in the Pee Dee area, and therefore could not be held responsible for them.

312. Article IV enjoined the former Loyalists to turn in anyone who continued in rebellion against South Carolina or the United States.

313. The terms of this agreement were more lenient than the acts of the Legislature. Various acts called for the confiscation and amercement of property owned by former Loyalists, whereas according to this document, Loyalists in the Pee Dee region were not penalized.

314. Article IX conflicted with directions Marion had given Ganey on Jun. 3, above, in which Marion had informed Ganey that any who did not submit to the terms, rather than receiving a free pass to Charlestown without precondition, would be "considered as prisoners of War to be exchanged for the American prisoners."

315. The previous agreement had been negotiated and signed by Lt. Col. Peter Horry. Horry was originally set to lead the negotiations for the new treaty. However, he became ill on the way and did not attend. See Marion to Horry, Jun. 9, below.

Gov. Alexander Martin (of North Carolina) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Williamsborough], June 8,³¹⁶1782

Sir: I am favored with two of your letters, one addressed to Gov^r. Burke of the 13th April & one to myself, of the 20th of May respecting the Tories on Drowning Creek & Pee Dee, & another from Gov^r. Matthews on the same subject³¹⁷ __ I beg Leave to Inform you I highly approve of your Intentions, & I am happy that it is in the power of this State to Cooperate with you in this Undertaking __ Accordingly I have ordered Major Joel Lewis, or the Commanding Officer of the State Legionary Troops now on Deep River in Randolph County, immediately to proceed with that Corps, consisting of 250 men to M^r Ameys³¹⁸ on Drowning Creek, where he will Receive further information from you, & Act as you will Judge most Conducive to the service.³¹⁹ I have Inclosed him a proclamation respecting such of those people who may be Citizens of North Carolina & joined them, which you will please have attended to;³²⁰ if you think it necessary to have more men Colo. Owen of Bladen County is directed herewith to furnish you with what number you may think proper, to the amount of his Regiment.³²¹ Please to honour me with every intelligence of moment; in the mean while. I am Sir with great Respect & Esteem

Your most Obedt. Hum. Servt.

Alex^r. Martin.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
316. Date inferred. NCSR uses Jun. 9 (Martin to Marion, NCSR, 16:690-91). However, Gov. Martin wrote Maj. Lewis, in a letter dated Jun. 8, that he had "informed General Marion in the Letter herewith sent to be forwarded by you..." (Martin to Lewis, NCSR, 16:688-89). As a result of the Lewis letter, it seems logical to conclude that this letter was actually written Jun. 8.
317. In an Apr. 13 letter to NC then Gov. Thomas Burke, above, Marion outlined the situation, "I have wrote to Major Gainey who commands these men. He promises to drive all the men of your State out of the neutral ground. Should he not perform his promise, I will readily co-operate with you in obliging him..." Mathews wrote new Gov. Alexander Martin on May 18 that Marion would lead an expedition against "the Tories of Peedee and Drowning Creek." (Mathews to Marion, Jun. 9, 1782, NCSR, 16:689). See also Marion to Greene, May 21, above. The action, in part, stemmed from earlier complaints from Gov. Burke that NC Loyalists were using the Pee Dee region and the Horry-Ganey truce as a shield. Marion's May 20 letter has not been found.
318. Mr. Ameys (Ami's Mill) on Drowning Creek, now Lumber River, near the SC-NC line, was a popular landmark for Patriot troops during the Revolution. Following the Battle of Blue Savannah, in early Sep. 1780, when he defeated Ganey and his force of 250 men, 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 Sep. Marion again marched northward, but stopped at Ami's Mill for two weeks.
319. On Jun. 8, Gov. Martin wrote to Maj. Lewis, "Having received informationn from Brigadier General Marion of South Carollina of his intention to cross Peedee at Mars Bluff on the 17th of this inst., and march with his Brigade to [Sents] Bridge on Drowning Creek, where he will be ready to act in conjunction with the Troops of this State in reducing Major Gainey, and the Tories under his command to obedience, with whom he had formed a Truce until the 17th of this Instant." Marion perhaps anticipated that it might take longer to reach an agreement with Maj. Ganey. Although the letter from Martin to Marion, above, does not elaborate, the governor did order Lewis to follow Marion's orders, regarding disposition of the North Carolina militia (Martin to Lewis, Jun. 8, 1782, NCSR, 16:688-89).
320. Gov. Martin's proclamation gave the Loyalists ten days to surrender. In addition, to obtain pardon, they were required "to renew their allegiance, and serve twelve months, in the Continental Battalions." The NC proclamation was apparently written in stronger wording than the legislation of South Carolina, but was similar to the terms Marion had communicated to Ganey on Jun. 3, above. All those who refused pardon would be "considered prisoners of war and liable for exchange, if the enemy will exchange them...otherwise they will be subjected to the penalties of the Treason Law." (Martin to Mathews, Jun. 9, 1782, PNG, 16:689-90).
321. Martin wrote Capt. Thomas Owen on Jun. 8, directing him to "order out as many Militia of your Regiment, as he shall judge necessary to be under his command in Subduing the Tories in Drowning Creek & Pee Dee" (Martin to Owen, Jun. 8, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

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

Burches on PD 9th June 1782

Sr

On my way to this Place I met Major [Joseph B.?] Lewis & Captⁿ [Ananias] Gainey as a flag from Major [Micajah] Gainey to know my Intentions in marching this way & what terms I woud Grant them[.]³²² I appointed the 3d Inst. to meet. Accordingly I sent Col. Richardson, Col. Baxter & Major James (Col. Horry was to be one but was taken sick on the road) to hold a Conference with Major Ganey & two of his Officers & give him my pro[po]sals, of Accomadation, after Confering with them & shew them the predicament they was In. They Appointed yesterday to give an Answer as I Desired they woud consult all their people & agree on the terms they could not do it sooner. Accordingly I met Majors Gainey & Lewis, & Capt^{ns} Lewis & Long. I found Great Difficult in coming on any terms, but by Granting the 8th Article as it now stands they Comply'd. My reasons for granting them that article, was I found there was some men who had Committed so many Enormaties that my men woud kill them tho they had been pardon'd, & they ware so Attached to the British that they woud never Comply With any terms, consequently woud allways give us a Great deal of trouble to subdue them, with that of your recommendation not to shed Blood If it could possible be avoided, which must have be done not only with that Set but all the rest in sertain Destruction, tho the task woud be Difficult to Effect & woud take more time than we could spare, as they woud not face us but sculked in swamps untill I returned, when they woud come out & be worse than ever. These reasons I hope will be thought sufficient for Granting them such terms.³²³

Col^o Fanning & a Major Andrews from North Carolina with thirty men Came to Gainey a few days before we concluded, & will now Indeavour to make his way to the British with his wife & 9 Negroes.³²⁴

The most who will not submit are Officers & a few privates.

Since I arrived here twenty men of the Lynches Creek Inhabitants who had been very troublesome has Come in & that part of the country will be Intirely Clear of the Disaffected, some others about thirty men on the upper part of Cheraws who Joined Gainey after the truce was made came in & submitted. There will be a few men on the North line who was not under controle of Either party will yet be troublesome but hope, to settle them in such a manner that will Leave that part of the District in peace for the future.³²⁵ I have the Honor to be

Y^r Obv^t S^r

Fran^s Marion

PNG, 11:313-14.

322. See Marion's letter to Greene of May 21, above.

323. This probably referred to Article 9 of the treaty, which read: "Such men who do not choose to accede to these articles, shall have leave to go within the British lines, and to march by the twenty-fifth instant, and be safely conducted with such of their wives and children who cannot be removed, may remain until the first day of Sep. next. The officers to keep their pistols and side-arms; all other arms to be disposed of, and not carried with them. Each field-officer and captain to retain one horse, not exceeding twelve in the whole, and no other person to take with him any more horses that may be fit for dragoon service within the British lines." (Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:420-21; PNG 11:314n).

324. See Marion to Greene, Jun. 16, below. Maj. Samuel Andrews, was specifically excluded from North Carolina's Act of Pardon and Oblivion in 1783. He arrived in Charlestown and went to East Florida and later Nova Scotia after the city's evacuation (Fanning, *Narrative*, 44-45; PNG, 11:314n).

325. See Marion's letter to Greene of Jun. 16, below.

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

Head Quarters [near Bacon's Bridge], June 9th 1782.

D^r Sir

I have a line from you a day or two ago, & am Glad to hear you are in a fair way of bringing the people upon the Pee Dee to a better Temper.³²⁶ I wish the Business was over & you on this side of the Santee. The Tories in that quarter are doing Great Mischief, & distressing all the good people in that quarter. By a person just from Town I learn the Enemy are Equipping three Galleys for the destruction of the Stores at Georgetown; put the people there on their Guard & give every Necessary Order for the defence of the place; if there are any publick Stores in Town that Cannot be Immediately sent to the Army for want of Waggon, they had best be sent up the River to the place you mentioned to me.³²⁷ We have no News from the N^o Wd. The Enemy talk loudly again in Charlestown of a Peace, in haste

I am D^r Sir,

Your most Obed^t humble Servt.

N. Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC), Parks.

326. Marion's letter has not been found, but he did explain more about his interactions with the Drowning Creek/Pee Dee Loyalists in letters to Greene of this date and Jun. 16, both below (*PNG*, 11:312n).

327. See Marion to Greene, Jun. 1, above. In a Jun. 22 letter written to Greene, militia Colonel John Baddeley, temporary commander at Georgetown, as a result of illness to Col Peter Horry, informed Greene that the stores were sent to a site on Black Mingo Creek. It is not known whether this was the place Marion had "mentioned" to Greene (Baddeley to Greene, Jun. 22, 1782, *PNG*, 11:359-60, 11:312n).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Burch's, June 9, 1782

Dear Sir: Yours of the 5th Inst. came to hand, I am very sorry to hear are yet sick,³²⁸ Yesterday Major Ganey & myself signed a treaty, the principals are to submit those who do not Chose it are to be permitted to go within the Enemies Lines with their wives & Children & their movable property except stock which they may sell. It seems all the Officers will go & a few men, who are so notorious, as they will not be suffered to Live.³²⁹ Colo. Fanning with 30 Men came a few days ago in the Truce & is thought will Endeavour to make his way to Ch^s. Town but it is not Unlikely he may make some attempt on your post, as his number is Encreased since he came,³³⁰ you will therefore guard against any sudden attack by keeping a Lookout at Wraggs & Black River ferries__ I am informed your Troops receive Rations of Coffee & Sugar__ I mean the Militia with you; I never knew that such Articles was ever given to troops but in a besieged Garrison, where provisions are scarce & therefore must be stopt__ Mutton Veal & poultry is not soldiers' food³³¹__ I am also informed, that the Officers who succeeds you in Command when you are absent__ Gives passes to men to go to Dewees, with articles for Trading__ A general order you must give to prevent it & Occasional Commandants must be Given notice to take that Liberty³³²__ please send me some Coffee by the Bearer, as I am entirely out; you will Let me know any particulars you may learn, for I find I Cannot Return soon, as we cannot finish here before the 25th ulto. which is the time that Those who are to go to Town are to March, & possibly some few on the Line, who never was subject to any Command, may give us further trouble.³³³

I am with wishing you a Speedy Recovery,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

328. The letter has not been found. Horry was supposed to join Marion in the negotiations with Ganey. However, he fell ill and stayed at his plantation on Winyah Bay.

329. Maj. Micajah Ganey was one officer who signed the pledge of allegiance. He subsequently fought alongside Marion at Wadboo on Aug. 29, 1782. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 30, below.

330. Loyalist Colonel David Fanning had executed a surprise attack on Hillsborough, NC, on the morning of Sep. 12, 1781. The operation planned by Fanning went so smoothly that by 9 AM, Gov. Thomas Burke, the city council, a number of Continental officers, and 71 Continental soldiers were prisoners (Fanning, Narrative, 127-34; Clark, Loyalists, 1:410). On Fanning's departure from the truce lands, see Marion to Greene, Jun. 16, below.

331. The Militia Law of 1779 specified "a daily pay of one dollar..., together with the usual allowance of rations and forage..." for privates (*Statutes*, 4:467). However, in the Militia Law of 1782, the pay for privates was changed to ten shillings per day with no allowance for rations. Since Article XXI specified that the 1782 law superseded all other militia laws, it follows that the militia were legally required to supply their own rations (*Statutes*, 4:687). On the other hand, Marion's phrasing here implies that rations were provided to the militia.

332. By Marion's description, it may be concluded that Horry was a laxer disciplinarian than himself. Apparently, Dewees Island had become a supply depot, for on Apr. 24, above, Marion directed Horry that he would want to send a boat there for some goods. It is unclear why Horry's men would go to Dewees Island, a distance of at least 50 miles from Georgetown, to trade, especially since Dewees was within 20 miles of Charlestown.

333. Article IX of the treaty signed by Marion and Ganey on Jun. 8, above, specified that "Such men as do not choose to accede to these articles, shall have leave to go within the British lines, and to march by the twenty-fifth instant, and be safely conducted with such of their wives and children as may be able to travel, and carry or sell their property, except cattle, sheep and hogs, which they may dispose of, but not carry with them." Marion also recognized that there was no guarantee that all Loyalists would accede to the treaty.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Burches, June 12th 1782

D^r Sir, Yours of the 10th Came to hand the Last Evening, with the Coffee,³³⁴ & shall be Oblidged to you to send me a few pounds of Sugar p^r. Bearer. Provisions are so scarce here that I am oblidged to send boats down for Rice__ You will send express 30 Barrels from whoever may have it without regard of Public or private property or Engagements.__ If Heriot & Tucker have any by them, it must be taken from them, notwithstanding anything they may say, for without a supply I must move down, which would be of the worse Consequence, until I can fully see the Treaty properly Executed³³⁵__ M^r. Fanning is very busy in Recruiting men__ On friday next [14 June] Ganey is to have a meeting of his people, to see who is to go to Town & who stays, I only wait until then, when I shall March over the River & overawe those who may be wavering, or will not Give up, or go to Town³³⁶__ If Major Skelly is landed, I desire he may be parolled in a House where he may be Genteely & politely treated__ And you will tell him I should have no Objection to parole him to Ch^s. Town, if he would get Lieut. Henry Ravenel³³⁷ parolled within our Lines. I am told he is put in the provost; if so, Major Skelly will be detained until he is liberated, You will give the Major a flagg to Gen^l. Leslie to Effect that matter, & send his Letters, after perusing them; this I wish may be done Immediately, Enquire of the Captⁿ. of the Vessell who Captured Major Skelly, if he found no letters or papers about him, as he must be Charged with some Important Business to the Commander in Georgia³³⁸__ Three boats set out this day for the Rice; if they can take more than thirty Barr^s., they must bring them. I beg the Rice may be ready by the time they arrive. I am D^r. Sir,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Frs. Marion

N. B. Let me know if the man sent to Govr. Martin with my dispatches is returned.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

334. The Jun. 10 letter has not been found. In his Jun. 9 letter, above, Marion asked Horry to send him some coffee.

335. Marion ordered Horry to send him rice to feed his militia while they waited for the remaining Loyalists to evacuate the Pee Dee region. Marion must have found some boats around Burch's Mill, for at the end of this letter, he alerted Horry that boats were on the way. Heriot and Tucker was a Georgetown firm contracted to supply provisions to both the Patriot Militia and the Continental Army.

336. According to the treaty signed between Marion and Ganey, Loyalists had until Jun. 25 to either pledge allegiance to South Carolina or go to Charlestown. Marion was concerned they would choose a third path, renewed violence, led by Col. David Fanning. It was clear from Marion's statement that he intended to demonstrate to the Loyalists the severity of the situation, should they not recant their Loyalist sympathies.

337. Henry Ravenel, Jr. served as a lieutenant in the militia under Gen. Marion from 1781-82. Ravenel was captured in May, 1782 and confined in the provost in Charlestown. Marion directed Lt. Col. Peter Horry to hold Capt. Francis Skelly until Ravenel received a parole. As a result, Ravenel was paroled (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 801; Marion to Greene, Jun. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 11:278; Marion to Horry, Jun. 12, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

338. Skelly, an aide to Gen. Leslie, had been captured at sea by an American privateer while en route to Georgia. Marion, as noted here, planned to detain Skelly if the British continued to refuse parole for Lt. Henry Ravenel. See Greene to Marion, Jun. 16, below (*PNG*, 11:341n).

Maj. Bennett Crafton³³⁹ (of North Carolina) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp at Conner Dowd [NC],³⁴⁰ June 13th 1782

Sir, I have received Orders from his Excell^y. Gov^r. Martin to march the State Legion & join you at Sents Bridge, on drowning creek, where I Expect I shall be by the 16th Inst.³⁴¹ Ready to receive any Orders from you either to Act Jointly or Separately as you may judge most Advisable, The Governor Informs me that you are to be at Mar's Bluff on the 17th of this Instant to which place I have sent the packet directed to you³⁴² ___ if any Orders or directions would be Necessary to Alter my route, you will be pleased to Order them to meet as soon as possible, as I should wish to be down to the place Designed for my destination___ The State Legion now under my Command at this place, Consists of about 270 Men, all well armed. I have some powder for the Militia that may be Ordered to Join me___ The Gov^r. promised to Order Lead down from Salisbury by that part of the Legion that is to Join me from that district, but they have not yet Joined³⁴³___ I have about 3 hundred Dozen of Cartridges already made up, I shall march from this place to-morrow morning. I am Sir with respect
Your very hum. Servt.

Bennet Crafton

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

339. Bennett Crafton was a major in the NC State Legion, having been commissioned by the North Carolina legislature in Jul. 1781. This may have been the same Bennett Crafton who served as an adjutant in both the Upper and Lower Ninety Six regiments from Sep. 1, 1778 to Jun. 15, 1780. After being taken prisoner by the British, he was paroled. As soon as the general exchange took place, he re-entered the service under Gen. Pickens ("Minutes of the NC Senate, Jun. 23, 1781-Jul. 14, 1781", NCSR, 17:864; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 210).

340. The camp was located in Cumberland Co., NC, on the plantation of Conner Dowd, a Loyalist sympathizer.

341. Gov. Martin ordered the State Legions under Maj. Joel Lewis and Maj. Bennett Crafton to assist Gen. Marion (Martin to Lewis, Jun. 8, 1782, NCSR, 16:688-89; Martin to Crafton, Jun. 26, 1782, NCSR, 16:693). In addition, if Marion felt additional troops were required, Martin gave him approval to enlist the assistance of the Bladen County militia (Martin to Owen, Jun. 8, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

342. The packet probably included a letter from Martin to Marion, explaining North Carolina's "readiness to co-operate with him in such a necessary undertaking" and copies of the North Carolina Proclamation that provided requirements for a Loyalist pardon and instructions for those who refused pardon (Martin to Lewis, Jun. 8, 1782, NCSR, 16:688-89).

343. The troops to which Crafton referred were probably those of Maj. Joel Lewis, who was thought by NC Gov. Martin to be in Salisbury on Jun. 26 (Martin to Crafton, Jun. 26, 1782, NCSR, 16:693). The tardiness of Lewis's arrival may have been a result of a supply shortage. Martin voiced his regrets in his letter to Lewis of Jun. 8, "am sorry you have not yet obtained any clothing." (Martin to Lewis, Jun. 8, 1782, NCSR, 16:688-69).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre June 15th 1782³⁴⁴

Sir, Your letter of the 9th Inst. Inclosing the Articles of agreement entered into with Ganey & his party came safe to me on the 13th__ I took the Earliest opportunity of laying them before the Council for their Consideration &, after weighing them with that Circumspection, which was due to their Interesting Contents, they have signified their unanimous approbation of the same. They also meet with my most hearty concurrence; & permit me Sir to express to you the high sense I Entertain of the services you have rendered to the State on this Important Occasion. The Measures adopted by you are so well Calculated, that they could not fail to produce the favorable Issue, which has attended them; And I think there is every Reason to Expect, that the Advantages to be derived to the State from so happy a termination of this matter, will be still more diffusive than they have yet appeared to be__ And will, in a little time work a total extinction of that spirit of discord, which has so Unfortunately pervaded this State, for some time past.³⁴⁵ It is necessary I should have the names of the persons who are parties to the agreement, as every mans name must be included in the proclamation of Pardon__ I should therefore be Glad you would forward them to me as soon as you can & in the mean time inform them of the Reasons for delaying the proclamation, as they might otherwise suspect an intention of avoiding it³⁴⁶__ I have no particular Orders to give, but I must earnestly Recommend your Earliest attention to be paid to the Militia of this Brigade who are the most incorrigibly obstinate & perverse beings that I have ever met with & who are absolutely a disgrace to the State, I am convinced from repeated Experiments I have made of them that Nothing but the most Rigid execution of the Militia Law with regard to them can ever bring them to a proper sense of their duty³⁴⁷__ In speaking of the Brigade, it is Necessary I should Inform you that the Militia of the Islands are by no means to be included in the censure; on the contrary, they merit applause, for, notwithstanding their Exposed situation, they Early submitted, &, whilst the other parts of the Brigade were behaving in the most unwarrantable manner, they Cheerfully submitted to Every order given them, & have repeatedly repulsed the Attacks of the Enemy on the Islands, &, as far as I have had Occasion to Employ, them, they have done their Duty³⁴⁸__ I have this moment received your Letter of the 16th Inst. most of its Contents have already been observed upon__ The mode in which you propose to treat Maj^r. Skelly I think may be productive of very Good Consequences.³⁴⁹ I sent M^r. Wilson the sheriff for Cheraws his Commission three months ago, & am surprized to find he has not Received it__ it must be lying somewhere at Georgetown, But if he cannot get it, I will send him another; however, his not having the Commission need not prevent him from acting__ The appointment by the Legislature is the Substantial part, the Commission is more a matter of form. I am Sir

Your Most Obdt. Servt. Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

344. This letter was dated Jun. 15, but it makes reference to a letter from Marion of Jun. 16. See below. Obviously, these cannot both be correct, but it is unclear which date is an error, so the written date of this letter has been retained.

345. Gov. Mathews referred to the peace treaty signed by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion for the Patriots and Maj. Micajah Ganey for the Loyalists on Jun. 8, 1782, above. While Gov. Mathews was pleased with the treaty, Gen. Alexander Leslie was not. He wrote to Gen. Greene on Jun. 30, expressing his concern that the treaty signed by Marion and Ganey did not represent the feelings of the majority of the Loyalists in the Pee Dee region. He worried that the terms would result in a train of Loyalists arriving in Charlestown, for whom he would not be able to provide ample subsistence. Leslie implied that the treaty might very well result in an increase of violence in the area (Leslie to Greene, Jun. 30, 1782, *PNG*, 11:383). Greene forwarded Leslie's letter to Gov. Mathews, who responded on Jul. 1 with the cutting remark that "The studied marks of disrespect with which that officer [Leslie] affects to treat the civil authority of this State must be conspicuous to you as well as it is to myself" (Mathews to Greene, Jul. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 11:387). Greene, who generally recognized a separation of powers between military and civil matters, very diplomatically responded to Leslie on Jul. 2, that "...General Marion acts immediately under the orders of the governor of this State, and is fully instructed not to use force unless negotiation should fail; ...But as the inhabitants are to feel the calamities which you threaten, the Governor is the only person who can give a decisive answer on the subject. Whatever he agrees to shall have my assent in matters which concern the internal police of the State." (Greene to Leslie, Jul. 2, 1782, *PNG*, 11:391).

346. The list of names has not been found.

347. The actions that led to Mathews painting such a negative picture of the militia are not known.

348. In his letter of May 27, above, Mathews wrote to Marion that he "had directed no draughts should be made from the Johns Island, Wadmelow, Edisto & Stono Companies, these Companies being absolutely Necessary to be kept at Certain points to prevent the Commerce between the Country & Chs. Town." Perhaps the reason why the 'island' militias were not censured was because they had not been called out, but had instead been allowed to do patrol duty, thereby remaining near their homes.

349. Mathews here (supposedly Jun. 15) referred to a letter Marion supposedly wrote on Jun. 16. Obviously, one of these dates must be an error. No Marion to Mathews letter of Jun. 16 has been found. However, in his letter to Horry of Jun. 12, above, and one to Greene of Jun. 16, below, Marion mentioned the capture of Lt. Francis Skelly, aide to Gen. Leslie, and suggested exchanging Skelly for Patriot Lt. Henry Ravenel. It is likely the referenced letter to Mathews (whatever its actual date) contained similar information.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Burches, June 15th 1782

Sir, Inclosed you will find Gen^l. Greene's Information of the Enemyies Intention.³⁵⁰ you will if Possible take your post in Georgetown, & follow the Orders Given to Lt.-Colo. Bad[de]ley, as I do not know where you are or if you can possibly take the command.³⁵¹I am

Your obedient servant,

Fr^s Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

350. Marion apparently enclosed the letter of Jun. 9, above, in which Greene related, "By a person just from Town I learn the Enemy are Equipping three Galleys for the destruction of the Stores at Georgetown; put the people there on their Guard & give every Necessary Order for the defence of the place; if there are any publick Stores in Town that Cannot be Immediately sent to the Army for want of Waggons, they had best be sent up the River to the place you mentioned to me."

351. In early June, Horry was supposed to lead the negotiations with Loyalist Maj. Micajah Ganey to accomplish a permanent peace in the Pee Dee region, building on the truce he had negotiated on Jun. 17. On the march to Burch's Mill to meet with Ganey, however, Horry fell ill. Marion carried out the negotiations and signed the treaty with Ganey on Jun. 8, above. Marion apparently communicated with Horry's second-in-command, Col. John Baddeley. [See brief bio of John Baddeley here.](#)

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

Burches' 16th June 1782

S^r

I had the honor of wrighting you the 10th Instant, & Inclosed a treaty made with Ganey since which time the greatest part of those people will submit. A few of them pretends to Stand out & I am just on the march to Mars Bluf where I shall pass the river & march to the North Line where the Dissaffected Live & hope in ten days to put an End to the Expedition & Leave this part of the Country in peace.³⁵² Fanning went off[f] two days with only one man towards Cha^s Town, he was seen at Black River, but cannot Learn where his men is gone, but Emagine they have taken the same rout as their Leader.³⁵³

A privateer from North Carolina took Major Skelly in about going to Georgia, supposed with some important orders.³⁵⁴ The mail was throughed over board. He is now in Geo^r Town & I intend to keep him until L^t Henry Ravenel, an Officer under me is Paroled within our line.³⁵⁵ I am informed he [Ravenel] is put in the provost. I hope some thing may be done, to make our Enemy Act better to our Officers that are prisoners. It is very Dispiriting to the Militia to be treated so Differently from the regulars.

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t s^t.

Fran^s Marion

[PS] By what the Capt. of the privateer can Learn Maj^r Skelley was going with orders to Evacuate Savannah.³⁵⁶

PNG, 11:341; and GWG transcript (CSmH)

352. See Marion to Greene, Jun. 9, above, and Jul. 8, below.

353. In his letter of Jun. 9 to Horry, above, Marion cautioned that Col. David Fanning might "make some attempt" against Georgetown, ordering Horry to "guard against any sudden attack, by keeping a look-out." On Jun. 12, above, Marion also informed Horry that Fanning was "very busy in recruiting" (PNG, 11:341).

354. See postscript to this letter.

355. Skelly had been captured at sea by an American privateer. Marion intended to hold Skelly as leverage to force the release of Lt. Henry Ravenel, whom Leslie agreed to parole on Jun. 21. Leslie wrote Greene on Jun. 15 and suggested that Maj. Edmund M. Hyrne be exchanged for Skelly. As seen in his reply Jun. 17, Greene agreed to exchange Skelly if the British released Henry Pendleton, a South Carolina judge who was being held in the British provost. Pendleton was eventually released. (Leslie to Skelly, Jun. 21, Gibbes, Documentary History, 2:193-94; Leslie to Greene, Jun. 15, PNG, 11:337; Greene to Leslie, Jun. 17, PNG, 11:342).

356. This information was correct. Skelly was carrying British commander-in-chief Sir Guy Carleton's orders for the withdrawal of British troops from Savannah and St. Augustine (Leslie to Carleton, Jun. 11, 1782, Carleton Papers, cited in PNG, 11:341n).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre June 22d 1782

Sir, The evacuation of Savannah & the highest probability that St. Augustine is likewise Evacuated,³⁵⁷ offers so fair an opportunity of obliging the Enemy to abandon the post they hold in this State, that it would be Criminal not to make the attempt.³⁵⁸ I must therefore desire you would immediately draft one half of your Brigade & as many more within 80 miles of Ch^s. Town (agreeable to the law) as will be consistent with the safety of the Country, & Immediately put them in motion, & Join the Army under the Command of Gen^l Greene.³⁵⁹ If the men will now do their duty with Cheerfulness and punctuality, I think I may almost venture to assure them, this will be the last grand Effort they will be Called upon to make__ I hope you have finished the Business you are at present upon before you receive this, if not pray Expedite it as much as possible so that that might not Interfere with the great Object.³⁶⁰ I am, Sir,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

P. S. It will be so long between the time of your receiving this & your Orders respecting this Brigade, & the Service of at least a part of the men being immediately required, that I have Given the Necessary orders to these three Regiments.³⁶¹ The commanding Officer at Georgetown is to forward this letter by Express, with all possible Expedition. J. M.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

357. As seen in Marion to Greene of Jun. 16, above, Sir Guy Carleton had transmitted orders for the evacuation of Savannah, Charlestown and St. Augustine. Savannah was not evacuated until mid-July. St. Augustine, as part of East Florida, became Spanish territory as part of the final peace treaty. Due to a lack of shipping, and strategic considerations, Carleton changed his orders for the evacuation of St. Augustine (*PNG*, 11:346n). In addition, Carleton's orders called for the evacuation of New York, an event that did not occur until Nov. 25.
358. This is the first and only known reference by Gov. Mathews to organizing a campaign forcing the British to evacuate Charlestown. On Jun. 21, above, Mathews assured Greene that the militia would "be held in readiness, to march at an hours notice." Included in Mathews's response was a protest concerning Washington's orders to Greene, directing the commander of the Southern Army "immediately to march the troops under your command, to join him, provided Charles Town should be evacuated by the enemy." Mathews and the Privy Council "were also unanimously of opinion ... that there was both a propriety, & necessity, in representing to you, the dangerous consequences that were likely to ensue from a removal of the troops under your command, out of this State, in case of an evacuation of Charles Town" (Mathews to Greene, Jun. 21, 1782, *PNG*, 11:356-57). Mathews also informed the SC delegates to the Continental Congress of the plan, who in turn protested to Washington. The commander's response was to pass the ultimate decision on to Congress. Congress directed Washington on Sep. 9 to keep Gen. Greene in the South (Greene to Washington, Aug. 12, 1782, *PNG*, 11:525n).
359. The "Law giving Extraordinary powers" was Act 1143, An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly, dated Feb. 6, 1782." It was identical to Act 1140, passed Feb. 3, 1780 at a time when the British were originally threatening to besiege Charlestown. One provision was that during the recess of the Assembly, the governor, with the approval of the Privy Council, could call out up to one-third of the militia within 80 miles of their home district.
360. Marion's business was the implementation of the peace agreement made between Loyalist Micajah Ganey and himself on Jun. 8, above. Loyalists had until Jun. 25 to seek pardon or leave the Pee Dee area for Charlestown. As part of the agreement, Marion provided safe conduct for those who chose not to renounce their Loyalist sympathies.
361. To which regiments Gov. Mathews referred is not known.

Certified Receipt from Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

I do Certify that I have impressd two Steers from Dan^l. Horry Esq^r.³⁶² adjudgd to weigh ab^t. Six hundred weight Meat. for the Use of the Garison of Geo. Town, this 25th June 1782

Witness his Mark

Tho^s. Ashby Tho^s. Clark

Received the Above two Steers

Adam F. Gitsinger

Count^r Signed 3 July 82

P. Horry

L^t Col^o Comd^t

Certified Winyaw

Fran^s Marion³⁶³

ADS (Francis Marion University Library)

362. Although impressment from Loyalist and Patriot property was an ongoing area of dispute and abuse, it was nevertheless a necessary process for provisioning the troops. The Militia Law of 1782 stipulated "That every brigadier, field officer or captain, when on actual service, may impress, by warrant under their hand..." Here, with Peter Horry's approval, cattle were impressed from his brother Daniel's Hampton Plantation. Daniel, unlike his brother, had become a Loyalist, and his property was amerced 12% at the end of the war.

363. Marion undoubtedly certified the receipt in an effort to keep himself aware of activities by his officers. In addition, signing the document ensured that when the time came for compensating the land owner, there would be little room for argument about the receipt's legitimacy. Of interest here is that even in the 18th century, in the midst of active war, the official process for obtaining supplies involved five different signatures. This is in stark contrast to the many incidents where property was simply stolen, plundered or impressed without any paper trail.

Lt. Col. Peter Horry to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town, June 29th 1782

Dr. General, I commissioned some days, Capt. Seamore,³⁶⁴ to send me out for our Soldiers, some cloathing, say Russia Drab, 70 yds. Coarse Blue Cloth at 6/22 Yds. Red ditto. at 5/5 dozens Coarse Hats, at 30/. a doz. Thread, Coarse buttons, large & small, about 200 Yds. Coarse Linen from 1/6 to 2/. per Yard, 3 Reams paper, Wafers, Inkpowder, & Shirt Buttons, Amounting in the whole to about £107 sterl^g. prime Cost. These goods are Arrived at Santee. my own men that remains are few & their times near Expired. I think best to Give them to your men as very few of mine only yet who have 3 Or 4 Months to serve³⁶⁵__ You desired me to Endeavour to procure such Goods for the troops. Capt. Seamore Entreats you to give him Rice, Ruff even will do; Indigo & Tobacco will not sell;³⁶⁶ Lockwood is here with Orders from the Governour to Load with Rice for Goods Received; & as you want Goods & they are present, I wish you may find it Consistant to take these, & make payment agreeable to the Adventurer__ the boat wait your Answer__ The Captain has Risked these Goods (& without a pass) to Serve us, & is willing to send you any quantity you may Commission him for. I am, D^r. General,

Your obdt. Servt.

Peter Horry

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

364. A Stephen Seymour (Seamour) served as a second lieutenant aboard the ship Prosper. By Jun. 1782, Seymour may have been captain of his own ship and attempting to bring needed supplies through the port of Georgetown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 855; Horry to Marion, Jun. 29, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)).

365. The goods apparently were ordered to make uniforms for the militia and Horry's State Regiment, as well as to provide needed writing supplies. Horry suggested giving the goods to Marion's militia, since the enlistments of Horry's men began to expire in July.

366. Previously, the Continental Army and Patriot militia had traded indigo for supplies needed by the armies. In fact, in Horry's Mar. 11 letter to Marion he wrote, "None of the Merchants or Vessells want Rice, they all want Indigo..."

July – September
1782

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

[Georgetown or Hampton Plantation]¹ July 4, 1782

Sir,

Since you left me Mr. Devees has shown me the Bill for the goods you mentioned to me this morning__
You will procure as much Ruff rice, as will pay the Amount,² Giving a receipt for it on the publick account, &
shall be glad you would send the goods to Captⁿ. Roux³__ You will Give what you think is a reasonable Profit.

I am, Sir,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Cane Acre, July 5th 1782

Sir,

I am informed there is a number of Seamen prisoners at Georgetown; I therefore desire you would
Endeavour to Negotiate an Exchange with the British Commander at Charlestown for an Equal Number of
American Seamen, Giving a preference to our own, as far as we have a Claim.⁴

I am, Sir,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Jno Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
1. Location inferred. On Jul. 3, above, Marion signed a receipt for impressing cattle from Daniel Horry's Hampton plantation. Peter Horry also signed the receipt. Presuming that Horry was on duty as commandant at Georgetown, Marion may have been visiting Georgetown at this time. It is also possible that both Marion and Horry were at Hampton Plantation on Jul. 3, and that Horry left the following day (Jul. 4).
 2. As seen in Horry's letter to Marion of Jun. 29, above, rice, rather than indigo, had become the currency of trade among merchants and privateers.
 3. As mentioned in Horry to Marion, May 3, above, Capt. Albert Roux was on duty in Georgetown. He was apparently affiliated with the militia, and not with Horry's State Troops.
 4. Prisoner exchanges were typically carried out such that only prisoners of equal rank were exchanged. Here, it is evident that seamen could only be exchanged for seamen. Col. Richard Lushington asked Gen. Greene to exchange "Sixty marine Prisoners" jailed in Georgetown for seamen then held on prison ships in Charlestown Harbor. Lushington, a former Charlestown merchant who was part of the American contingent sent to St. Augustine in 1781, had returned to South Carolina. Why he was in Georgetown at this time is not known. However, he claimed to be intent on obtaining crews to sail Continental ships as well as another privateer vessel. By the end of June, as a result of the retirement of Peter Horry, Lushington became commandant of Georgetown (Lushington to Greene, Jun. 26, 1782, PNG, 11:373). Apparently, a proposal for exchange was transmitted to Gen. Leslie, for on Jun. 27, to which he assented (Leslie to Greene, Jun. 27, 1782, PNG, 11:377). Whether an exchange ever occurred is not known.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. John Grimke

[Murrays Ferry or Georgetown?]⁵ 7 July 1782

S^r

M^r. John Brockington⁶ has showed me your Letter to him—

When I came from Jacksonbourg at the siting of the Gen^l Assemble—I found Mr. Brockington doing Duty in my Brigade Under Col. Peter Horry, who Informed me that he had Joined him two or three days after I Left the Brigade, to meet the General Assemble, fines that he has done Constant Duty, & is nearly finished the Six Months Duty required of Law—I am very Clear that his name would not been in the confication Act If it was known he was out & doing duty with us, as some others had been Left out of that Bill who was in the Same Sircumstance.

I mean to represent M^r Brockington's case in the next Sitting of the Assembly & I make no Doubt, but he will be considered & the force of the present Law will be made void.

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

S/ Francis Marion

ALS (DLC), John Faucheraud Grimke, W11088, Federal Pension Statement, transcribed by Will Graves.

5. Marion's location may have been Murray's Ferry, since he wrote from there on Jul. 8. However, because John Brockington, the subject of this letter, was doing duty under Horry, it could have been that Marion was in Georgetown.

6. John Brockington, while residing in the Georgetown area, enlisted under Maj. Benson, Col. Peter Horry and Gen. Marion. He was in the skirmish at Wadboo (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 102). Brockington had served as a Loyalist captain in the Cheraw militia from Jun. 11, 1781 to Feb. 28, 1782 (Clark, *Loyalists*, 1:492). [See brief bio of John Brockington here.](#)

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

Murrys Ferry 8th July 1782

By Orders from the Govenor I am Collecting one half of the Malitia. Orders for that purpose has been sent sometime to meet me here the 5th Inst: but they are not all yett come.⁷ I shall pass the Santee today & remain in S^t Stephens a few days to Collect the rest of the men, & rest my troops which is Just come of from a tedious Disagreable march, from Pede, where I have settled with the toreyes in such a manner that may prevent future Operations in that part of the country.⁸ I have been Oblige to Leave one hundred & fifty men Under Col^o Baxter to over Awe those who have submitted & subdue the few which have secreted themselves.

I wish to know if I am to Join you on your Old Ground, or meet you at any Other. As soon as I am made Acquainted with your Orders I will Immediatly march.⁹

Col^o Mahams Caveldry is so worn down they are not Just now fit for service. I have Left them over Black River Ten miles from Geo^r Town to recruit, & hope by the begining of next week the most will be able to Act.¹⁰ Major Conyers with the state troops is Join'd me,¹¹ & by His Excell^y order are to be Consolidated in Mahams.¹² As this last Corps has allways Consider themselves Continentals by their Brevets, it is nessesary they shoud be made to understand, that they are state troops, or Maj^r Conyers Continental before they can be Consolidated, otherways there will be Embarrasments, which will prevent Carrying it in Effect, tho' I expect it will not be Easy then to reconcile the others. I shall wait your Directions [by the?] return of this Express, to regulate the two Corps.¹³

I have the honor to be
your Obed^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MIU-C), Parks.

7. In his letter of Jun. 22, above, Gov. John Mathews, operating on Gen. Greene's request, had ordered out half the militia, and instructed Marion to join Greene's army (PNG, 11:412n).

8. See Marion's letter to Greene of Jun. 9, above.

9. This likely refers to Greene's recent camp near Bacon's Bridge. On Jul. 9, below, Greene ordered Marion to stay where he was and counter British raids in the area (PNG, 11:412n).

10. Maham's dragoons were still near Georgetown when Marion wrote Greene on Jul. 16, below (PNG, 11:412n).

11. This had previously been Wade Hampton's state dragoon regiment, which was now under the command of Maj. Conyers (PNG, 11:412n).

12. The order has not been found.

13. Greene ordered Maham to consider his men to be state troops. See Greene to Marion, Jul. 9, below. Mathews confirmed this new arrangement in a letter to Marion on Jul. 18, below. The consolidation led to an extended controversy between Maham, Conyers and their officers, which lasted until Aug. 5, when Marion was finally able to report to Greene, below, that the two units had been successfully "reconciled" (PNG, 11:412-13).

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

Head quarters Mr. Cattles Plantation[Ashley Hills] July 9th 1782¹⁴

Dear Sir

Yours of the 16th of June and 8th of July I have had the pleasure to receive, and am made happy that you have brought Major Ganey, and his party, to submit to the laws of the State without making much use of force.¹⁵ Nothing reflects more honor upon an officer than accomplishing that by Address which others could effect only by force. To save the effusion of human blood must be the wish of every humane and generous bosom.

I fancy you must be mistaken about Mr Ravenl's being in confinement.¹⁶ Capt. Warren, our commissary of prisoners, was in town to examine the state of all the prisoners, as well militia as regulars; his report contains no such thing.¹⁷ Capt Skelly is released in consideration of Judge Pendleton being set at liberty.¹⁸ The Judge has come out and Capt Skelly gone in. Should it be found that Mr Ravenel is in confinement, which I cannot suppose, I will write to General Leslie on the subject.

It is evidently for the interest of those corps of Maham's and Hampton's to be incorporated, neither would have existence long without it; but by being consolidated, they will have, perhaps, a permanency during the war, and provision made for them accordingly.¹⁹ You will inform the officers therefore that it is a matter settled between myself and the Governor that the two corps be united, and that they are to be considered in future upon the State establishment.²⁰ This was thought advisable after the fullest examination of the matter and I hope the officers will make no difficulty in concurring in a measure equally beneficial to them, as necessary for the public good.

The requisition for the Militia was upon the supposition that the Garrison of Savannah might come to Charlestown, and give the Enemy such an additional force as to enable them to give a blow to our army. I believe Savannah is not fully evacuated, and therefore nothing to apprehend at present.²¹ You will remain therefore on the other side of Cooper River between that and Santee, to protect the people from the daily depredations of little parties from Charlestown. If the garrison of Savannah arrives, I will advertise you and direct you where to form a junction with me.²² It is said that Fanning is determined to have you dead or alive therefore, take care of yourself.²³ It is also reported by a person in the enemies secrets that a large party of the enemy is to move out soon into St. Thomas and St. Stephens parish.²⁴

I am, dear sir

N Greene

[cont'd below]

-
14. The postscript is dated Jun. 10. See below. Presumably, Greene began the letter on Jun. 9, and added the postscript the next day before sending.
 15. See Marion's letters to Greene of Jun. 9 and 16, both above.
 16. See Marion's letter to Greene of Jun. 1, above. Although Lt. Henry Ravenel had already been paroled, Marion, apparently had not been informed. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 16, below). "Ravenl" here was initially written as "Ravanolds" but Greene had struck through and rewritten it (PNG, 11:422n).
 17. Capt. Warren's report has not been found. This may have been Capt. Samuel Warren, whose leg had been amputated after Savannah. He continued to perform staff duties until the end of the war (*Biog. Dir. of SC Senate*, 328).
 18. Leslie wrote Greene on Jul. 4, that Judge Henry Pendleton was given an "unlimited Parole." Leslie expected that Capt. Francis Skelly would be sent in exchange. On Jul. 10, Leslie proposed the exchange of Skelly for Capt. George Melven to which Greene agreed on Jul. 15. Pendleton accompanied the bearer of the letter (Leslie to Greene, Jul. 4, 1782, PNG, 11:394-95n). It is unclear why there was no apparent exchange for Pendleton.
 19. Greene originally wrote "Mayums and Conyers" in this sentence. Marion anticipated issues in consolidating the two units because Maham's officers considered themselves to be Continentals, while Hampton's were on the State establishment, a completely separate chain of command. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, above. According to the editors of PNG, Greene's intention was for all the officers in the new unit to be on the Continental establishment (PNG, 11:422n).
 20. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, above.
 21. The British evacuated Savannah, GA on Jul. 11.
 22. See Burnet to Marion, Jul. 26, below.
 23. Col. David Fanning was said to have asked Leslie almost daily for a command and the promise of "a handsome reward" for bringing Marion's and Greene's heads into Charlestown (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 284).
 24. This report was false.

July 10, 1782.

By a woman from town last night, I have just heard the garrison of Savannah is actually arrived at Charlestown. If it should prove true, you will hear from me again immediately.²⁵

ADfS (NcD)

Postscript: *PNG*, 11:421-22.

The postscript, which is not included in the draft, was taken from a printed copy—presumably the recipient's copy—of the letter in Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:198.

25. This report was false. See above.

Col. John Saunders to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[?]²⁶ July 10th 1782

Sir,

Inclosed you will find a return of the defaulters of Six Companies, not a single man has come to Camp as yet, nor don't believe they will without being forced to it.²⁷ I will send you a return of my Regiment as soon as I can Get the reports from the upper Companies, I have sent for them repeatedly but to no purpose. The Governour desired me not to Order any man from the Islands²⁸__ I have got about 50 men on duty near Bacon bridge & don't Expect any more will join Camp without there is something done to make the men at home do Duty.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

John Saunders

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

July 11, 1782 – British forces (as well as thousands of Loyalist citizens and slaves) evacuate Savannah, Georgia.

26. Saunders's location is not known.

27. As Gov. Mathews wrote Marion on May 27, above, Col. Saunders, who commanded the _____ regiment, was having difficulties mustering his militia, "I suppose Col^o. Saunders has reported to you, the Refractory spirit that Still prevails in his Regiment; unless Vigorous measures are pursued to bring them to Order I am convinced they will do no Duty." As the noose tightened around the British garrison, the militia became less diligent to turning out for the required musters. At this time there were also continuing rumors about the evacuation of both Savannah and Charlestown, causing the militia to further lose interest.

28. In his letter of May 27, above, Mathews informed Marion that he excepted the militia companies from the 'sea islands' between Charlestown and Beaufort from the current militia draft, "these Companies being absolutely Necessary to be kept at Certain points to prevent the Commerce between the Country & Ch^s. Town."

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

Sinklers Plantⁿ S^t Stephens 16th July 1782

S^r

Yourse of the 9th Inst. came to hand.²⁹ L^t [Henry] Ravenel wrights to his friends in the Country that he was in the provost & I believe he is still there.³⁰ Captⁿ [Samuel] Warren must not have Examined sufficiently; all the malitia prisoners complain Loudly of their usage, & being furnished with bad provissions & not a sufficenty.

Two White men & some Negroes three days agoe Went to M^{rs} Caws near Strawbery & shot Captⁿ Gough through the body & M^r John Brian in the shoulder while they ware at supper. Gough is mortally wounded & Brian very slightly.³¹

The want of three or four waggons prevent me from taking post at Wadbo where I coud better cover the country, as I am Oblige to Draw all my subsistance from the Lower part of Santee in boats & without carrages to convey the provissions from here to Wadbo, the troops coud not subsist one day. There is neither carts not Waggons to be had this way.

By the Enemys not yett Evacuating Savanna, I fear they do not Intend it, which will give us a great deal of trouble still.³² The sickly seasons are coming in; one half of Conyers Corps are down, & in a few days I expect the rest will. Mahams Corps is still near Geo[rge] Town, they will come here the Later end of the weeke, when I shall proceed agreable to your & the Goveners Orders but it will be Attended with the Lose of several good Officers, & Dissatisfaction of the men.³³

I have the honor to

Y^r Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MIU-C), PNG, 11:446-47.

29. See Greene to Marion, Jul. 9-10, above.

30. Ravenel had probably already been released. See Greene to Marion, Jul. 9-10, above.

31. Nothing more is known about this incident. (PNG, 11:447).

32. Savannah, Ga., had in fact been evacuated five days earlier, but news to that effect had yet to reach Marion.

33. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, above, and Aug. 5, below.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ashley River, July 18th 1782

Sir,

I Received your letter of the 16th late last Evening.³⁴ The Officers of Colo. Maham's Corps seem to mistake the principle upon which the Incorporation is founded. They appear to imagine it to be an Admission of Major Conyer's Corps into Colo. Maham's. But this is not the case; there is a material difference between drafting one Regiment into another & Consolidating two regiments into one; In the first instance, the drafted regiment is either disbanded altogether, or the Officers sent out to recruit; In the 2d there is an Indiscriminate mixture of men, without Giving a superiority in either one or the other, & the Officers are Commonly retained according to their Rank; but some times the Arbitrary Rule of retaining them according to their merit, has been adopted from this state of the Case, the objection that Conyers is disliked by Maham & some of his Officers is frivolous; because Conyers & his Officers can with Equal Propriety make the same objection to Maham & his officers; & these Gentlemen deceive themselves very much when they set up a Claim of superiority, for they have no manner of pretensions to it, for the reasons I have given; as to the abilities of Maj^r. Conyers, I believe, Sir, you are no stranger to them, & that they entitle him to a Claim equal to most Officers; his merit stands confessed by every impartial man who knows him__ If after these Considerations Gentlemen will suffer themselves to be Guided by private Pique, & rather resign their Commissions than submit to the Established rules of propriety & Justice, why, they must do so, & we must endeavour to find men that will engage in the service from a pure Ardent Zeal to serve their Country; such will be less governed by passion, when they Can't have their own humour gratified.³⁵ I send you an Extract of the minutes of the Council from which time the Commissions of Conyers & his Officers are to bear date. It is true the Corps was ordered by Gov^r Rutledge to be raised in September; but, as it was afterwards rejected by the legislature, the whole of that arrangement was done away, & can only be Considered as Commencing from the Re-establishment by me after I Came into Office. On Consulting Gen^l Greene, I find Maham's must be Considered as a State corps on Continental pay.³⁶ I should be very Glad to be furnished with a return of Maham's & Conyer's Corps, as soon as you can procure it with accuracy. I am very sorry to hear of poor Gough's fate; but it is astonishing to me, that Gentlemen will Venture themselves in that part of the Country, when they see we cannot afford protection to it,³⁷ & that it is a nest for a Great part of the devils in the British service. I have sent you an Order for 100 Stand of Arms. I have some faint Idea that there are some medicine at Richardson's on the high hills of Santee; when you send for the arms pray Enquire, if there is none there. I know of no mode of Getting them but from Georgetown; I therefore Inclose you a letter to Heriot & Tucker, desiring them to endeavour to procure you a supply agreeable to such list as you may send them. The continental hospitals here is but scantily supplied at present__ Your presence is very much wanted in this quarter; indeed every day renders it more & more necessary³⁸__ I Inclose you two Brevets for Majors Huggins & Roothmahler agreeable to your Request, & have left the name blank. Savannah was Completely Evacuated on the 11th Inst. [Gen. Anythony]

34. The letter of Jul. 16 has not been found. Presumably, the letter included much the same information as Marion's letter to Greene of Jul. 16, above.

35. The consolidation of the cavalry regiments of Hezekiah Maham and James Conyers created logistical issues similar to those Marion had dealt with upon the consolidation of the regiments of Maham and Horry earlier in the year. Just as with the earlier scenario, there was confusion over whether the troops were on the State or Continental establishment. In light of the fact that Hezekiah Maham was no longer in command of his regiment, having been captured and paroled in April, it is curious that Maham's officers understood the consolidation as being a transfer of Conyers's men to Maham's regiment, rather than the other way around. As seen in Marion to Mathews and Greene of Aug. 4, below, the consolidation was completed at Lenud's Ferry.

36. Greene wrote to Marion on Jul. 9, above, "You will inform the officers therefore that it is a matter settled between myself and the Governor that the two corps be united, and that they are to be considered in future upon the State establishment."

37. Marion reported to Greene on Jul. 16, above, that Capt. Richard Gough of Horry's regiment had been mortally wounded when he was attacked while eating dinner at a plantation near Strawberry. But he was mistaken about the severity of the wound as Gough did in fact recover.

38. Gov. Mathews had reported as early as May 27, above, that militia turnout in the area south of the Ashley River was poor. As a result, it was very difficult to regulate movements of supplies between the country and Charlestown. In addition, the ability to dissuade the British from making forays to obtain provisions was also reduced. Ironically, on Jul. 9, above, Gen. Greene ordered Marion, "You will remain therefore on the other side of Cooper River between that and Santee, to protect the people from the daily depredations of little parties from Charlestown."

Wayne, who is Usually very sanguine, supposed upon the commencement of the Evacuation, it would have been pushed forward with gret Rapidity, & this led me to say to you, that it was Evacuated; indeed it would have been so in three days, were it not for the Tories & their Negroes, whom they were oblinded to carry off__ Our prospects are flattering, & if Rightly improved, there is Reason to Expect we shall soon be at Ease³⁹__ It affords me very singular pleasure to hear you have finally settled the tranquility of the district of little Pee Dee; so happy a conclusion to an Affair which in its first Stage wore but a Gloomy aspect, reflects great honour on you, Sir, & promises lasting advantage to the State__ Pray is Ganey returned? I wish he may not be playing a fast & loose game⁴⁰__ M^r. David Rumph has proposed to me to raise a party of Militia Horse for the protection of the part of the Country he lives in. I have directed him to apply to you to know whether you approve of the plan.⁴¹

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
39. In his letter of Jul. 9, above, Greene erroneously indicated that the Savannah garrison had arrived in Charlestown, signaling that Savannah had been evacuated. The evacuation of Savannah, much like the coming withdrawal from Charlestown, was slowed dramatically by the lack of shipping. The removal of the military, the Loyalists and Loyalist property, including an estimated 5,000-6,000 slaves, used 10,000 tons of British shipping, all that was available to the new commander-in-chief in North America, Sir Guy Carleton (Jim Piecuch, *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775-1782* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 326; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 163, 167; Mackesy, *War for America*, 492). The enemy's lack of shipping was the major reason why Mathews's prediction that there is "Reason to Expect we shall soon be at Ease" proved premature.
40. Mathews referred to the agreement signed by Marion and Loyalist Micajah Ganey on Jun. 8 above, by which the Loyalists in the Pee Dee region either pledged their allegiance to the Patriot cause or agreed to vacate their land and go to Charlestown. In response to renewed Loyalist activity in the Pee Dee region, mainly fomented by NC Loyalists who used the area as a haven for initiating attacks into North Carolina, and also because the existing agreement entered into by Lt. Col. Horry and Maj. Ganey was set to expire on Jun. 17, Mathews dispatched Gen. Marion to quell any potential uprising. Ganey was not "playing a fast & loose game." In fact, he fought alongside Marion in the Swamp Fox's last action at Wadboo on Aug. 29. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 30, below.
41. No further record of this proposal has been found. David Rumph served 180 days in the Orangeburg District Independent Cavalry under Capt. Jacob Rumph. In addition, he served in the militia for 61 days in 1781 and 120 days in 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 837). Jacob Rumph (1752-1812) was a planter in the Orangeburg District. During the war he was a captain in the Orangeburg Independent Cavalry. In 1809, he rose to the rank of brigadier general in the militia. He was a member of the SC House for seven years and the SC Senate for four. He was also a delegate to the state convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788 (Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 302).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ashley River July 19st 1782

Sir,

I herewith send you two Copies of the laws passed in the Last Sessions. There is several Inaccuracies in the printing, but it luckily happens that there is not one in the Law giving Extraordinary powers⁴² __ In my last letter I forgot to take Notice of the Circumstances of the prisoners. I had a Complaint made me some time ago of their severe treatment, & Represented it to Gen^l. Greene, who in consequence thereof sent down the Commissary of Prisoners to Examine into the affairs & on his return Reported that he could find no marks of Ill treatment of the prisoners except that some of them were in want of cloathing (which you know they are not oblinded to find them) Whether he was deceived in his Investigation of the matter by false appearances, or what, I Can't tell, but I have again spoken to Gen^l Greene; & he will have a further Enquiry made.⁴³ As to his taking prisoners out of our hands; you know the Law of Congress authorises him so to do, & as one of the United States, we are oblinded to submit to it, however disagreeable to our feelings __ I have sent you 30 blank commissions, which are all I have __ You will observe they are printed with M^r. Rutledge's name⁴⁴ (Except a few with mine) but for want of others, I am oblinded to make use of them, for our printer is sick & I can get Nothing done by him at present. Nor has he printed any newspaper for sometime past.⁴⁵

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
42. The "Law giving Extraordinary powers" was Act 1143, "An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly," dated Feb. 6, 1782. It was identical to Act 1140, passed Feb. 3, 1780, at a time when the British were threatening Charlestown. The act gave the Governor authority to call out up to one-third of the militia for service within 80 miles of their home district. Other powers included the authority to stop "all vendues and commercial transactions, and to the proceedings of the court of commonpleas", as well as to erect fortifications, purchase vessels, hire seamen, "and to do all other matters...necessary to secure the liberty...of this State, except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial. Provided it does not extend to subject the militia to articles of war for the regulation of the Continental or State troops" (*Statutes*, 4:504-06, 508).
43. Mathews apparently knew Marion had knowledge of the prison inspection tour, probably as a result of the latter's letter to Greene of Jul. 16, above, in which he wrote, "Capt Warren must not have Examined sufficiently; all the militia prisoners complain Loudly of their usage, & being furnished with bad provisions & not a sufficiency."
44. John Mathews had succeeded John Rutledge as governor in Jan. 1782.
45. The *South Carolina Gazette* was published by Benjamin F. Dunlap in Parker's Ferry, beginning in Apr. 1782. It was first mentioned in a Mar. 18 letter from Mathews to Marion, above.

Maj. Ichabod Burnet (Greene's ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Hd Quarters Ashley Hill July 24th 1782.

Sir

I am directed by Major General Greene to request you will be pleased to furnish 50 Men as an Escort to some Waggon with Cloathing waiting at Laurens's ferry for the purpose. The General desires you will as Early as possible, furnish him with a return of the men you have, specifying the number & how they are armed. How many days it will take for you to join this Army, after you receive this Order.⁴⁶

I am with Respect

Your most Obdt hum. Servt.

I Burnet,

Aid-de-Camp

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC), Parks.

46. No reply has been found (PNG, 11:454n).

Maj. Ichabod Burnet (Greene's ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters Ashley Hill 26th July 82

Sir,

I am directed by Major General Greene to inform you that the greater part of the garrison of Savannah have arrived at C. Town. This reinforcement places the enemy in a Situation to act offensively.⁴⁷

The General begs you will order the troops under your command to Bacons Bridge with as much expedition as possible.

As the advanced position of the army exposes it to be attacked by the enemy whenever they may think proper Gen^l. Greene is persuaded that no time will be lost in taking the position at the bridge.⁴⁸

I have the honor to be

With great esteem & regard

Your Most Obedt. Humble Servt.

I Burnet

Aid de Camp

ACyS (NcD)

47. Savannah was not fully evacuated until Jul. 11. Although the garrison was ultimately being recalled to New York, they did temporarily anchor off the bar in Charlestown from Jul. 26-28, and Leslie did end up retaining nearly 1,000 of them. (*PNG*, 11:362n). Contrary to reports, the British were not preparing for an offensive.

48. Greene reversed this order the next day and ordered Marion to march to Georgetown. See Greene to Marion Jul. 27, 1782, below.

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

Head Quarters [Ashley Hill] July 27th 1782

Dear Sir

I have this moment got intelligence that the enemy are embarking a body of troops to make a descent upon George Town and in all probability will be there before to morrow Night.⁴⁹ The Stores there are immense. I wish you therefore to march immediately for the protection of that place and the Stores [with] all the State troops and Militia you have under your command notwithstanding the orders you received to join this Army yesterday.⁵⁰ After putting your troops in motion for George Town you will repair there your self as soon as you can give such orders and take such measures as the occasion may require. To send the Stores up the rivers appears the only probable way of saving them.⁵¹

I am D^r Sir

With great esteem

Your Most Obed^t Humble Servant

N Greene

ADf (MiU-C), PNG, 11:459-60.

49. Greene sent a letter to Col. Richard Lushington, who was in command at Georgetown at the time, as well. The attack against Georgetown never materialized, and appears to have been a feint to distract from the garrison's real aim, which was a foraging expedition that garnered "between 500 and 600 barrels of rice" to feed the Loyalists bound for resettlement in Florida. (Leslie to Carleton, quoted in PNG, 11:459n).

50. See Burnet to Marion, Jul. 26, above.

51. As noted in Greene to Marion, Jul. 30, below, Marion did not receive this letter in time, and arrived in Georgetown by Aug. 1. See Pierce to Marion, Aug. 4, and Marion to Greene, Aug. 5 and 9, all below (PNG, 460n).

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

Parkers Plantⁿ,⁵² Wassama[ssa]w

30 July 1782 _ 8.06 AM

Sir,

I arrived here last night & this moment rec'd yourse of the 27th Inst.⁵³ I will Immediatly return, & proceed for Geo. Town tho I am afraid it will be too late__⁵⁴

I have the honor to be your

Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s Marion

Tr of ALS (Georgetown SC Historical Society)

52. This may have actually been Porcher's Plantation. See Marion to Greene, Apr. 15, 1782, above.

53. In his letter of Jul. 26, above, Greene had ordered Marion to march for Bacon's Bridge. It is not known when Marion received the Jul. 26 letter. However, it is apparent that he was marching in that direction when he wrote this letter.

54. Marion reached Georgetown by Aug. 1 (See Pierce to Marion, Aug. 4, below). As seen in Marion's letter to Greene of Aug. 5, below, the British, instead of moving toward Georgetown, sent a foraging party into the lower Santee River area (PNG, 11:473n).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge,⁵⁵ Ashley River, July 30th, 1782

Sir,

I was not less surprized than Concerned on Receipt of your letter to-day to find you at Wasamasaw, instead of being on the other side of Santee. M^r. Singleton, who was the Express that Carried the letter for you, deserves to be hanged; pray find him out & have him confined, for he shall Certainly answer for this infamous piece of Negligence; had you received the letter on Sunday morning, which was the time you ought to have Got it, Georgetown might in all probability have been saved, but it must now, beyond all doubt, be Lost. The Last of the British Troops (170 in number) did not quit Ch^s. Town untill Yesterday afternoon, you could therefore have been a full day's march a head of them, besides your then position being so much nearer the Scene of Action than that of the Enemies. on the Contrary they will now have a day's march of you, Consequently the fall of Georgetown must inevitably follow, & which must be a Dreadful stroke to us. The whole of the Land forces said to be Employed on this Expedition is about 700. If any thing Can be done to save the place, or any part of the Stores, I am sure your utmost Exertions I can depend on, I am convinced the Opportunity is lost__ Pray let me hear from you as soon as anything is done, & what is the fate of the place.⁵⁶

I am, Sir,

Your Obdt Servt.

Jno Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

55. Uxbridge plantation, owned by Gov. Mathews, was located south of Bacon's Bridge on the Ashley River.

56. Gov. Mathews had learned that Gen. Marion had not marched to intercept the British at Georgetown as directed by Gen. Greene, due to the failure of the express to reach his encampment. Mathews's anger is evident from his opining that the carrier of the letter should be hanged for not delivering it. Mathews believed that the failure would result in the fall of Georgetown. See Greene to Marion, immediately below, for more on the failure of the letter to reach Marion. Whether the intelligence that indicated the British were planning to take Georgetown was simply mistaken, or was itself part of the ruse, is not known. However, instead of attacking the town, Loyalist troops made a foray closer to Charlestown to obtain needed supplies.

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

Head quarters [Ashley Hill] 11 oClock am July 30th, 1782

Dear Sir

I have just got your letter of this day dated at Wassamasaw.⁵⁷ Nothing ever surprised me more. I was in the highest hopes you was at or near George Town. Mr Singleton by whom I wrote was fully informed of the contents of the letter and the necessity for its being delivered with all possible dispatch.⁵⁸ He had a letter for Col [Richard] Lushington and promised to have it delivered in George Town the day following the date of your letter by ten oClock⁵⁹ and yours I expected would have got to you by one in the morning and you on your March before Sunrise. Never did I feel such a vexatious disappointment in all the course of my service. I beg you will make enquiry into the cause of the delay as you write that mine never got to your hands until this morning. Some body deserves nothing short of hanging. I am afraid you will now arrive too late to be of any service unless the goods should be got up the Rivers and your force deter the enemy from following them. Since I wrote you the enemies intentions have been again confirmed by repeated accounts. I need not urge you to use all possible despach in marching to the relief of the place as your own zeal will stimulate you to do all in your power. I have not heard any thing from the party that crossed to Hadrells Point whether they proceeded or not; but in order to alarm their fears I made a move in force towards James Island to induce them if possible to countermand the order.⁶⁰

I beg you will let me hear from you respecting the progress the enemy have made and if they have attempted any thing how far they were successful.⁶¹ If the enemy have not made the descent you will wait in the neighbourhood of George Town until you hear further from me.⁶² I consider the disappointment of your not getting my letter the greater as I find your force so respectable as they appear by your returns.⁶³

I am dear Sir

Your most Obed^t humble Ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

57. Marion's letter has not been found.

58. Greene referred to his letter to Marion of Jul. 27, above. For more about Singleton and the delay in delivering the letter, see Greene to Marion, Aug. 9, below. Marion did not receive the letter carried by Singleton until Jul. 30 (Marion to Greene, Jul. 30, above). Singleton delivered letters to Georgetown on Aug. 2. He was captured on Aug. 6, along with several of Greene's dispatches (PNG, 11:486n).

59. In the letter to Lushington, that was not delivered until Aug. 2, Greene informed the new commander of Georgetown of the intelligence suggesting an impending attack on the town. He reported that as many as 700 men might be on their way to attack, that Gen. Marion was marching to his relief, and that he should send the stores "up the Pedee or any other river. The security of the stores is of the greatest importance and every thing must be essayed for their protection" (Greene to Lushington, Jul. 27, PNG, 11:459).

60. In an effort to divert the British from moving on Georgetown, Greene put his army in motion toward James Island on Jul. 28. The army marched as far as Ashley Ferry. Whatever the ultimate plan, the result was a return to camp on Jul. 30 (After Orders Jul. 28, PNG, 11:464-65n).

61. Marion reached Georgetown by Aug. 1. See Pierce to Marion, Aug. 4, below.

62. Greene's aide William Pierce sent further orders in his letter to Marion of Aug. 4, below (PNG, 11:473n).

63. The returns have not been found.

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

Geo Town 1st August 1782⁶⁴ 6 OC. P M

Sr

Yourse of the 30th July came to hand this moment. I Lost no time to gain this Place after the receiving Your Orders, this morning at sun rise I arrived my self my troops will be in tomorrow morning-- this day Eleven sail of small vessels came in the South Branch of Santee, by which it appears their Intentions is to Carry off[f] rice, 800 Barrells & a very great Quantity of ruff rice Lay on that Branch the situation hem[m]ed in between Wamba[w] Creek & the sea, a narrow neck of Land make it Impracticable to Annoy them without a superior force, as they may cover their vessells by troops from haddrells point, from which their is no retreat, if forced to one--⁶⁵

The stores &c &c. are carryd up the river where I think I can defend them, & hope to prevent them from coming in this town, I cannot Learn any troops have come by Land yet a party of Observation is kept at Cainhoy to watch the Enemys movements at Daniels Isla[nd] and Haddrells Point. I have taken every Precaution to prevent the Enemys passing the Santee to this Place, & hope no Other Consequences will be sustained but the rice above mentioned, which will be truly a loss to us, that being the only Resoris [i.e., Resource] we have of Provisions for the Army--

Every thing Possible to be done you may Depend on--⁶⁶

Your Letter by some mistake was not Addressed to any person is the reason it found its way to Geo Town before [it came] to My hand at Wassomsaw, I shall m[ake] the Inquiry you Direct--

I have the honor to beyour

Ob^t S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (MiU-C)

64. In *PNG* this letter was incorrectly recorded as being written in 1781. Marion was not in Georgetown on that date in 1781, as the context of his communications during that period reveal. For example, on Aug. 2, 1781 the British bombarded Georgetown. Marion made no mention of an eyewitness account in his correspondence. Instead, in an Aug. 6, 1781 letter to Gov. Rutledge, above, he related Lt. Col. Horry's account of the town being burned. The confusion may have arisen in part from the similarity of the report of the number of vessels mentioned in the Aug. 6, 1781 letter, and in this Aug. 1, 1782 letter. The former letter noted the vessels threatening Georgetown, while the latter mentioned vessels threatening the rice on the Santee River plantations. In an Aug. 5, 1782 letter to Greene, Marion again mentioned the boats. So The mistake was reinforced by the mis-transcription of the date in the Marion letter (*PNG*, 9:123-24).

65. The British remained in the area until Aug. 8 (*PNG*, 9:123-24n; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 231).

66. In an extract of an Aug. 6 letter to Rutledge, below, Marion reported on the destruction of Georgetown on Aug. 2.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Col. William Allston⁶⁷

Geo^r Town 2 Aug^t 1782

You will take all the men on Sandy Island⁶⁸ & make them do Duty in Your Company, then with Captain Postel[I]⁶⁹ must be bound(?) to Join you(?)

You will also take Command of the George Town Company, formerly Bossards who has resigned, L^t McGinny⁷⁰ will furnish you with a roll of this Company - you will [undecipherable] all the Geo Town Company on duty in the town__ one half of the Waccamaw Company⁷¹ to form a guard at Muddy Bay⁷² as a Lookout which is to give us the Earliest Intelligence of any Vessels coming in__ the other half do duty in town.

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

Fran^s Marion

ALS (Courtesy of Lee Manigault)

-
67. William Allston was a wealthy planter, who had served in the 2nd SC Regiment under Marion. After the war he married Rebecca Motte, the former owner of the house that was transformed into Fort Motte by the British. Pres. George Washington visited Allston's Clifton Plantation on Waccamaw Neck during his southern tour in 1791. Allston changed the spelling of his name to Alston in 1792 (*Biog. Dir. of SC Senate*, 172).
68. Sandy Island presumably referred to the island between the Waccamaw and Pee Dee Rivers, north of Georgetown. Rice fields predominated on the island during the late 18th century. Today it is a wildlife refuge and the home of a small Gullah community, descended from freed and runaway slaves.
69. There were at least three Postells who may have been captains at this time: John, Jehu, and William. It is uncertain which of them was being referenced here.
70. This may have been Charles McGinny who served as a lieutenant under Marion (Moss, 624).
71. The organization of the South Carolina militia is unclear. There was a Georgetown Regiment, though it was named for the entire district. Presumably both the Georgetown and Waccamaw companies mentioned here were part of the Georgetown Regiment. The Waccamaw Company was also mentioned in a May 22 letter, above, from Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry.
72. Marion was presumably referring to Mud Bay, a body of water contiguous to Winyah Bay, leading from the Atlantic Ocean to Georgetown. There is a Muddy Bay south of Georgetown near McClellanville. However, its location provides no visibility of approaching vessels nor is it likely that the Waccamaw Neck militia would have been stationed so far from their geographical base.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews and Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene⁷³

**Proceedings of the Consolidation of Lt. Col Mahams & Majr James Conyers corps of Cavalry⁷⁴
at Capt. Lenuds Plantation Agust. 4th 1782**

Commandant		Commission dated
Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Maham		22d June 1781
Majors		
1 st	Edwd. Mass ^{bg} . Hyrne	22 ^d June 1781
2 ^d	James Conyers	1 March. 82.
Captains		
1 st	Tho ^s . Giles	22d June 81.
2 ^d	James Theus	4 Feb ^y . 82.
3 ^d	Sam ^l . Taylor	26 Feb ^y . 82.
4 th	James Simons	1 March 82.
First Lieutenants		
1 st	Sam ^l . Cooper	19 Nov ^r . 81.
2 ^d	Jacob Barnet	1 Mar. 82.
3 ^d	Henry Hyrne	5 Mar. 82.
4 th	Will ^m . Basquan	6 Mar. 82
Second Lieutenants		
1 st	Isaac Dubose	6 May 82
2 ^d	Rob ^t . Mis Campble	1 March 82
3 ^d	Jervis Henry Stevens	1 Aug ^t 82
4 th	John Bryan2	Aug ^t . 82
Cornets		
1 st	2d. Minor Winn	1 Mar. 82
2 ^d	1 st Tho ^s . Drayton	26 Feb ^y . 82
3 ^d	Will ^m . Postel[[]]7	May 82
4 th		

Ordered that Major Conyers take the Command of L^t. Col. Mahams State Legion, and the above Arrangement to take Place he will make the Arrangement of the non Commissioned Officers and Privates agreeable to the above--- by order of His Excellency Governor Mathews and Major Gen^l. Green[e]

Fra^s. Marion
Brig. Gen^l. Militia

Cy (MiU-C)

73. Included in *Marion's Orderly Book* of Aug. 4. Enclosed in Marion to Greene, Aug. 5, 1782, below.

74. In his Jul. 8, letter to Greene, above, Marion informed Greene that Gov. Mathews had ordered the state troops commanded by Major James Conyers, formerly the regiment of Wade Hampton, to be consolidated with Mahams regiment. Conyers had assumed command of Col. Hezekiah Maham's regiment after Maham was captured by a troop of "Bloody Bill" Cunningham's Loyalists May 16. Maham's regiment itself was a result of a controversial April consolidation of the troops of Maham and Peter Horry. Marion anticipated that the formation of this new regiment commanded by Conyers would not be accomplished without controversy. He revealed that Conyers faced the prospect of integrating two dissimilar groups, "As this last Corps [Maham's] has allways Consider themselves Continentals by their Brevets, it is nessesary they shoud be made to understand, that they are state troops, or Maj^r Conyers Continental before they can be Consolidated, otherways there will be Embarrasments, which will prevent Carrying it in Effect, tho' I expect it will not be Easy then to reconcile the others."

Capt. William Pierce, Jr. (for Gen. Greene) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters, Ashley Hill, August 4th 1782.

Sir

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of 1st of August⁷⁵ to General Greene. The General is happy to find that you had arrived safe at George Town before the Enemy; he is in hopes that the removal of the Stores, and your being in possession of the Works will prevent any serious attempt on their part.⁷⁶

Should the Enemy relinquish their design, and return to Charlestown, I have to inform you that it is the wish of the General that you should recross the Santee & take a position on Cowper [Cooper] River as speedily as possible.

Every necessary step for the support of the Town, and the effectual security of the Stores you will please to make particular objects of your attention.⁷⁷

I am dear Gen^l

Yours sincerely

W^m Pierce j^r

{for N. Greene}

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

75. This letter has not been found.

76. See Greene to Marion, Jul. 27 and 30, and Marion to Greene, Jul. 30, all above.

77. Marion was still at Georgetown when he replied to this letter on Aug. 13, below, but by Aug. 24, also below, he had marched to Wadboo. (PNG, 11:486n).

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

Geo^r Town 5th Aug^t 1782

Sr

My last informed you of the Enemys vessells are in S^o Santea[.]⁷⁸ Seven of them went as high as M^{rs} Tydemons, & fell down yesterday to Th^s Horrys[.] Information this morning that some troops had arrved from Haddrells the Last Evening. The Situation is such that it is impossible [to] make any Attempt with an inferior force[.] All I can do is to prevent them from coming further this side the river.⁷⁹

I at last finished the Consolidation of Mahams & Conyers Corps, & have reconciled bouth partys & hope in future they will be of Greater Service.

I have Inclosed the State of the Consolidation & returns of Mahams Corps.⁸⁰

Complaints has been made by the Inhabitants of Little Pede that your Drivers have taken their Cattle without giving any receipts. As they are new made Citizen I am Affaird it will give them very great Dissatisfaction, & probable Give them a plan to take up arms again.⁸¹

I have the honor to be

Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

78. Marion's letter has not been found.

79. In Marion's letter to Greene of Aug. 9, below, he informed the general that the foraging party had returned to Charlestown.

80. See Marion to Greene, Jul. 8, and Jul. 16, and Greene to Marion, Jul. 9, all above.

81. This referred to former Loyalists who had accepted Patriot protection. Greene replied to Marion on Aug. 9, below (PNG, 11:492n).

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

Geo^s Town 9th Aug^t 1782

Sr

The vessels & party which came to Santee is returned to Ch^s Town; they was Commanded by a Maj^r [John]Doyle.⁸² They carried 600 Barrels rice & 350 B. ruff rice & 200 Bushels Corn. They Left receipts for all except what they took at Lynches & Neils Estate.⁸³ There is remaining 250 Bar[rels] which I expect they will Indeavour to take away. I shall remove it higher up the river. The great quantity of ruff rice there cannot be removed, but hope they will not come if the Clean rice is taken away.

I have the honor to be

Your Ob s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

82. For more on this expedition, see Marion to Greene, Aug. 5, above.

83. Thomas Lynch, Jr., and Philip Neyle [Neil] had both been outspoken supporters of the Revolution, who were both dead by this time. Lynch died in a shipwreck in 1779, while Neyle had been killed the following year, during the siege of Charlestown. (PNG, 11:511n; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:640-41; *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:450-541).

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

[Ashley Hill, 9 August 1782]⁸⁴

Dear Sir

I have just receiv'd your letter of the 5th. I am sorry the enemy is so situated as to give them an opportunity to carry off the produce of the Country without your having it in your power to injure them. Cannot small parties interrupt them or is there any move that we can make that may tend to dislodge them.⁸⁵

Great preparations are making in Charlestown for the evacuation of the place. I am persuaded it will take place soon and the more scanty we can render their supplies of provisions the sooner it will take place and the fewer Negroes they will have it in their power to take with them.⁸⁶

I am glad you have got through the disagreeable business of Uniting Mayums and Hamptons Corps. In the present form I am in hopes they will be useful.⁸⁷

Should the enemy leave Santee you will cross the [Santee] River and move towards Cooper. But it is necessary I should inform you that the enemy are advisd of my wishes on this head having taken a Mr Singleton with a number of letters among others one for you.⁸⁸

With respect to the beef Collectors, I am a stranger to it. We have no Commisaries of our own they are all under the Government of Mr [William] Hort⁸⁹ and by him appointed. But I should not suppose these people will dare to rise in the present situation [of] things and it is necessary they should contribute to the support of the Army as well as the other parts of the State.

I am dear Sir

your most Obed^t humble sr

N Greene

RCS (MIU-C), PNG, 11:509-10.

84. Date and location inferred. Per PNG: "The date was taken from the docketing; the place from other letters that Greene wrote at this time" (PNG, 11:510n)

85. The foraging party had already returned to Charlestown. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 9, 1782, above.

86. Leslie's foraging raid, while the Patriots were distracted by his feint toward Georgetown had been successful in capturing significant provisions. Leslie hoped it would convince the Greene and Gov. Mathews to sell him provisions, but his entreaties were once again denied. In late August, Leslie sent out yet another major foraging expedition. (PNG, 11:510n).

87. The combination of Maham's and Hampton's regiments is detailed in Marion to Greene, Aug. 5, above.

88. William Pierce's letter to Marion of Aug. 4, above, was likely captured along with Singleton. Given that Marion replied on Aug. 13 that that letter had just "this moment came to hand," it can be inferred that it had been earlier interdicted. Singleton had been captured by black dragoons on Aug. 6 (PNG, 11:487n; 11:510n).

89. William Hort was state commissary for South Carolina. He served in the Charlestown Militia Regiment under Captain James Benthams in 1778 (PNG, 11:263n; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 463). On complaints against the "beef Collectors," see Marion to Greene, Aug. 5, below.

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Hd. Quarters, August 10th 1782

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 20th July came safe to hand, The dissolution of your Corps, or rather Imbodying it with other Corps, I think a prudent measure, at present I have no Commands which will interfere with your wishes for retiring__ All the Cavalry Corps are incorporated into one & the great probability of a speedy Evacuation of Ch^s. Town⁹⁰ will I hope render your further services unnecessary__ Whether you are a supernumerary or not, don't depend on my Opinion; but if those letters are all you have to found your Claim upon, I think you are not,⁹¹ however great your sufferings, expense, & trouble, Since I have been to the S^o. Wd. I flatter myself you feel yourself happy in the reflection that you have Aided your Country in the hour of her Greatest distress, & that the Efforts have contributed to her deliverance__ I sincerely thank you for your Polite attentions to all my wishes & for the very Essential Service which you have rendered the Publick & me in the Arduous struggle.

I am with Great Esteem & regard

Your Most Obdt. hum Servt.

Nath^l. Greene

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

90. Greene here referred to the severely depleted South Carolina state cavalry units. Horry's dragoons had been combined with Col. Hezekiah Maham's in Apr. 1782. After Col. Maham was captured by Loyalists and paroled, the balance of Maham's cavalry were combined with that of James Conyers, who had taken over command of Wade Hampton's regiment.

91. In his letter to Greene on Jul. 20, Horry presented his argument regarding his contention that he was a supernumerary officer in the Continental army. Horry mentioned 'letters;' however, only one is extant, from Maj. Edmund M. Hyrne, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's then adjutant general. In it Hyrne ordered Horry to rejoin the army (Horry to Greene, Jul. 20, *PNG*, 11:450).

Certified Receipt from Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Receivd August 11th. 1782 of M^{rs} Marion,⁹² One Heifer near two Years old weighing 150 weight, for the Use of a Detachment of General Marions Brigade under my Command.

Alex^r Broughton⁹³ Cap^{tn}

Certified B.C.R. [Berkley County Regiment?]

Fran^s Marion
BGM

ADS (FMU)

-
92. Mrs. Marion probably referred to the widow of one of Gen. Marion's brothers, either Gabriel or Job, both residents of Berkeley County. Gabriel had died in 1777, and Job in 1778 (Charles J. Colcock, "The Marion Family," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, no. 22 (1916), 43-46).
93. Alexander Broughton (d.1793) served under Col. Daniel Horry from Feb.-Jun. 1780. In addition, he served 92 days as a captain in the militia from May to Dec. 1782. In Aug. 1782 he was a captain in the Berkeley County militia regiment. He was elected to the 4th General Assembly (1782), but did not qualify (Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:93; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 105; Receipt, Aug. 11, 1782, ADS (Francis Marion University Library)).

Capt. Felix Warley⁹⁴ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp Congaree August 11th 1782

D^r. General,

I take the liberty of Inclosing you the names of near 500 Soldiers belonging to the 3d Regim^t. most of whom were absent at the time Ch^s. Town surrendered to the Enemy; many of them are Entitled to their discharges; but the greater part are deserters, & I hope will be apprehended & made to serve their times over at least, a few has already been taken up & tried by a Court Martial in Camp & sentenced to serve in the S. Carolina Line two days for every absent one, Whether this kind of Punishment is right or not I am at a loss to know; however the men seem satisfied with it__ I heartily wish this list may Enable you to Strengthen our Line, which is still very weak, as you will see by the annexed Return of the detachment under my command,⁹⁵ I propose making out a few Copies now, in order to send to Gen^{ls}. Henderson & Pickens & to some of the Militia Colonels,⁹⁶ Corporal Gambell [Gamble] unfortunately, a few days ago, killed one of the Recruits from Georgetown, by the name of Charles Smith; he was soon after Committed to Orangeburgh Goal by a Magistrate of this district__ I have not heard what success the Officers Recruiting have had lately__ Lieuts. Martin & Langford wrote Gen^l Huger about a fortnight ago, that they then had Inlisted Eight men for the S^o. Carolina Line, four of whom are in Camp, the rest on furlough__ Capts. T. Warley & Levercher⁹⁷ have also, sent from georgetown 9 Recruits & two other Soldiers.⁹⁸

I am with the greatest Respect,

Dear General, Your Most Obdt. Servt.

Felix Warley, Captain

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
94. Felix Warley (1750-1814) became a lieutenant in Jun. 1775 and was a captain in the 3rd SC Regiment in May, 1776. In Apr. 1779, he was appointed auditor paymaster, director, clothier or barrack master general, and the commissary general of provisions, prisoners and military stores. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown and exchanged in Jun. 1781. In Sep. 1783, he became a brevet-major. Warley was clerk of the SC Senate from 1785 through at least 1795 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 694n1269; Cy (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); Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 20-25).
95. At full strength, the 3rd SC Regiment should have mustered 510 men. Continental regiments almost never operated at full strength, however (Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington: Center of Military History US Army, 1983), 307). British records show 259 men of the 3rd Regiment surrendered at Charlestown (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 1:509). It is not known what use Marion made of this list.
96. Gen. Andrew Pickens and Gen. William Henderson were the other South Carolina militia brigade commanders at this time.
97. De St. Marie Levasche (Levercher) was a 2nd lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment during Oct. 1776, and a 1st lieutenant a year later. In Oct. 1779, he became a captain, and was taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown. After being exchanged in Jun. 1781, he served to the end of the war. In Aug. 1782, he was involved in recruiting for the Continental Army (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 565; Cy (Proceedings of the Oct. 6, 1783 meeting of the SC Society of the Cincinnati, *Society of the Cincinnati Papers*, 1783-1861, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA)).
98. Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, formerly an aide to Gen. Greene, was at this time responsible for recruiting men to fill the two South Carolina Continental regiments, as implied by Gov. Mathews in his letter to Marion of Mar. 18, above. The legislature passed a Recruiting Act on Feb. 26, 1782, calling for the enlistment of 1300 men "to serve in the regiments of this State, in the continental service, for three years, or during the war." As a bounty for enlisting each man would receive "one sound negro" for each year, one at the beginning of the enlistment, a second at the beginning of the second year, and the third at the expiration of the third year (*Statutes*, 4:513-14).

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

Geo^r Town 13th Aug^t. 1782 11 OC. A M ---

S^r

Yourse of the 4th & 9th Inst. this moment came to hand.⁹⁹ Agreeable thereto will march tomorrow & take post at Wadbo ten miles from Strawberry Ferry,¹⁰⁰ and shall Leave such orders as may be nessesary to secure the stores &^c &^c in this place –

I have the honor to be

Your Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (ScU)

99. Both above. The Aug. 4 letter had actually been addressed from Greene's aide, Capt. William Pierce.

100. Marion had been ordered to take post on the Cooper River. See Pierce to Marion, Aug. 4, and Greene to Marion, Aug. 9, both above.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, Ashley River, August 14th. 1782

Sir,

Your letters of the 6th & 9th Inst. came safe to hand,¹⁰¹ but the paper Containing the Consolidation of Mayhams Corps you have not sent me which I suppose was Omitted by some mistake¹⁰² I Inclose you blank Commissions. I very much approve of your plan of Removing the Rice from Santee to Georgetown,¹⁰³ for Gen^l Leslie has this day Given Official information that he is Greatly distressed for want of Provisions, & that unless I will furnish him, he must come & take it, therefore you must Expect another Visit from him before he goes¹⁰⁴ As your proposal to send Rice to Ch^s. Town for Cloathing, that is now rendered unnecessary, as we shall be in possession of it in the Course of a Month or Six weeks The Rice &c. which M^r. Selby has permission to send to Town, is in payment for Cloathing furnished the Officers of our Line, & the Supernumerary Officers; therefore his Vessell ought not to be detained¹⁰⁵ I am much Surprized at your Mentioning that the time of Mayham's men will all Expire in a little time I understood you the last time we conversed on that subject, that very few were Inlisted for one year, but most for two & three years; This circumstance has Given me much Uneasiness, & to relieve my difficulties, I request you would forward me the return of the Regiment without Delay, that I may know what to determine on Respecting that Regiment¹⁰⁶ Altho' I am Clearly of Opinion there ought to be two Majors to a Regiment, I should wish first to see before I make an appointment, that the state of the Corps is such as to Render the Creation of another Major necessary¹⁰⁷ I must first see Gen^l Greene before I can say anything to you about the Exchange of Prisoners you mention.

I am Sir Your Most Obdt. Servt.

John Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

101. Neither letter has been found. Judging by the letters from Marion to Greene of Aug. 5 and 9, above, Marion wrote Mathews about the foraging expeditions made by the British to the lower Santee, as well as about a plan to better protect the rice.
102. Marion completed the consolidation of the Maham's and Conyers's regiments on Aug. 4, above. The summary was included in Marion's letter to Greene of Aug. 5, above.
103. Apparently, in his letters to Mathews of Aug. 6 and 9, Marion proposed moving rice from the Santee to Georgetown to prevent the British from stealing it. It appears from Marion's letter to Greene of Aug. 9, above, that he could protect the processed rice, but not the large quantity of 'ruff' rice. In a contrasting comment in the same letter, Marion indicated he was moving clean rice farther up the Santee River to evade British foraging missions.
104. As the war wound down, increasing numbers of Loyalists traveled to Charlestown for protection. 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 had been stripped of basic foodstuffs. Mathews here referred to Leslie's Aug. 13 letter to Greene, in which the British commander suggested that the Americans sell supplies to Charlestown. If they did not, Leslie affirmed that he would have to resume the earlier practice of raiding the countryside (Leslie to Greene, Aug. 13, 1782, PNG, 11:538-39). Leslie's 'proposal' contrasted with Mathews's framing to Marion that Leslie threatened the Americans with continued violence. Mathews presented Leslie's letter to his Privy Council, which agreed that "no consideration" was "to be complied with" (Mathews to Greene, Aug. 14, 1782, PNG, 11:546-47). Greene, in his response to Leslie, deflected the request, opining that the subject was a civil matter (Greene to Leslie, Aug. 15, 1782, PNG, 11:547).
105. The issue of the detention of the ships carrying George Selby's rice, indigo, etc., became a point of contention over the next three months, until Gov. Mathews finally resolved the problem in mid-November. See Mathews to Marion, Nov. 13, below.
106. Gov. Mathews evidently did not recall his letter of Apr. 1, above, in which he wrote to Marion that there was little reason to continue recruitment for Maham's regiment since "the time of Service of the men will Expire in July."
107. The genesis of the discussion about adding a second major to the regiments is not known. Continental regiments throughout the war had had one major. The consolidation of the cavalry regiments of Maham and Conyers resulted in the regiment having two majors, Maj. James Conyers and Maj. Edmund Hyrne. Capt. Thomas Giles felt that he should also be promoted to Major. It was Giles's contention that Maj. Hyrne, who was on parole, did not intend on joining the regiment (Conyers to Greene, Aug. 7, 1782, PNG, 11:500). By his letter of Aug. 27, Hyrne informed Greene that he wished to be excused from the duty, since his parole prevented him from serving (Hyrne to Greene, Aug. 27, 1782, PNG, 11:582).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge August 20th 1782

Sir,

I this day received your letter of the 19th Inst. Inclosing me a return of the State of Mayham's Corps,¹⁰⁸ at which I am Exceedingly Chagrined indeed; for it appears that there are no more than 17 Men, whose time of service will not Expire in a month or Six Weeks.¹⁰⁹ This deficiency, together with that in the Corps brought into the Regiment by Conyers,¹¹⁰ makes the regiment at least but a Skeleton, when I expected the State would have had the services of a very Respectable Corps; & to add to the misfortune, I Cannot Command the means of making it better; I have in two or three Instances involved myself in a vast deal of trouble by making Engagements which I thought I should have been able to Comply with, but, on Experience have found myself deceived, &, in Consequence of which I have embarrassed myself Exceedingly & brought on myself much unmerited Censure, for which reason I am determined never to pass my word for a Guinea without I have the means in my hands of fulfilling the Contract the moment it becomes due__ therefore I have no present means in my hands, nor the least prospect of any before the meeting of the Legislature, it is utterly out of my power to furnish the money to re-engage Mayhams men. I can only Lament the injury the State must be subject to by this unlucky circumstance, for it is not in my power to remedy the evil¹¹¹__ As a body of Horse will be what we shall most want when Gen^l Greene leaves us (which he will do immediately as the Town is Evacuated) I think the best way of disposing of the Regimt. will be to select the best of the Accoutrements & Horses & mount the whole of the men that are retained & form them again into a Regiment of Cavalry & let them remain thus until the meeting of the Legislature which I shall Call together immediately on the Evacuation of the Town¹¹²__ As you are well Acquainted with the State of the Corps, I should be Glad to have your Sentiments on the matter. The Inclosed is a Copy of my letter to you by Col^o. Moultry, who being taken & Carried into Town suppose the letter is lost.¹¹³

I am Sir,

Your most Obdt. Servt

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

108. Neither the letter nor the return has been found.

109. In Mathews's letter to Marion of Aug. 14, above, the former complained that he had not received the returns of the consolidated Maham-Conyers regiment. He also expressed surprise that the enlistments of most of the troops were expiring shortly. Gov. Mathews did not recall his letter of Apr. 1, above, in which he wrote Marion that there was little reason to continue recruitment for Maham's regiment since "the time of Service of the men will Expire in July."

110. At the beginning of August, the cavalry regiments of Hezekiah Maham and James Conyers were consolidated, as a result of the capture and parole of Maham, the cessation of recruiting activities, and the expiration of enlistments of the existing troopers.

111. On Dec. 22, 1781, Greene had declared to Marion that the need for cavalry had decreased since the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Even in December, Greene envisioned the reduction of the cavalry of Maham and Horry. "I think there is a Large body of Regular Cavalry coming from the N^o Wd that it will not be worthwhile 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..." (Greene to Marion, Dec. 22, 1781, above). Greene's prediction proved mistaken during the spring and summer of 1782. The depleted condition of both Horry's and Maham's regiments contributed to the losses at Durant's and Tidyman's plantations in late February. The number of cavalry transferred from the North was less than Greene had predicted. In addition, other forays convincingly demonstrated the effectiveness of British cavalry actions. The gradual decline of the American cavalry also had a deleterious effect on the potential for South Carolina to police the State in the immediate post-war period. There is no record of the "Censure" to which Mathews referred. Although the Legislature was not in session, by the authority vested in him by Act 1143, "An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly," dated Feb. 6, 1782, the governor was empowered "to do all other matters...necessary to secure the liberty... of this State..." (*Statutes*, 4:504-06, 508).

112. Mathews complained that he had no money to pay Maham's troops, and so was powerless to act. At the same time he stated he would convene the legislature as soon as the British evacuated Charlestown. If the situation was so dire, especially in light of the imminent re-occupation of Charlestown, why Mathews waited to convene the legislature remains an open question.

113. No other record of Col. Alexander Moultrie being captured at this time is extant.

Col. Lam Benton¹¹⁴ to Gov. John Mathews

St. David's,¹¹⁵ Great Pee Dee, August 20th, 1782

Sir,

Though I have not the honour of a personal Acquaintance with you, I am now under the necessity of humbly addressing you in this manner in behalf of the Parish & Regiment I have the honour to Represent & Command__ a People that have ever stood foremost among those by their Inflexible attachment to their Country, Suffered many Capital distresses, nor did not despair of success in our greatest Extremity__ Altho' we have so long been at such a distance from the Enemies Lines & suffering every Murder, Plundering & Cruelty, that could be perpetrated by a Banditti, of the most desperate Villains & Mulattoes, immediately bordering on our Settlements__ We have on all Occasions, turned out & kept in Gen^l Marions Camp Equal numbers with any in his Brigade¹¹⁶__ part of those who were under a Truce that have not surrendered, & many other Villains in this part of the country that still Continue their Outrage, render the lives & property of the good Citizens very unsafe, & this disorder in all probability must Continue & the Re-establishment of good Order & Civil Law hindered, Except you in your goodness will indulge my Regiment with a sufficient Guard to the Goal, as it is insufficient of its use, with orders for supplies of Provisions for that & the poor inhabitants__ 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 & agreeable to any instructions you may think proper to give me, which I could do & keep one fourth in the field on Common Occasions, & on Extraordinary Emergencies with Cheerfulness turn out one half¹⁷__ My feelings will not let me omit mentioning to you some Characters among them of M^r. Ganey's truce men who have been received by Gen^l Marion as Citizens & are now doing Military duty, & enjoying Equal privileges with your best Soldiers & Citizens who have borne the burden & heat of the day, such I mean as were meant to be Exempted by an Act of the late General Assembly at Jacksonborough, men who have burned, plundered, & in Cold blood after many of our worthy men had surrendered as prisoners of War in the most Ignominious & Cruel manner taken their lives,¹¹⁸ particularly Colo. Abel Robb's [Kolb]¹¹⁹ my worthy Predecessor & a Gentleman formerly a member of the Assembly, a Justice of the Peace, a good Officer & a usefull Citizen, & Capital lost to this part of the Country; & the very Villains that perpetrated this wanton horrid Murder, 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.

I am sir,

Your Most Obdt. very hum. Servt.,

Lam. Benton,

Lt. Col^o. Commanding Cheraw Militia

[cont'd]

114. Lemuel (Lam) Benton was promoted to Colonel on Apr. 28, 1781, according to the Jun. 5, 1781, entry in Marion's Orderly Book (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 532). He took command of the regiment in Marion's brigade formerly headed by Col. Abel Kolb, who had been murdered by Loyalists.

115. St. David's Parish was part of the Cheraw District in the upper Pee Dee region.

116. Benton explained to Gov. Mathews that although the regular British army had long since withdrawn from the Cheraw District, the Loyalists that roamed the area continued to enact violence on the Patriot citizens. By "bordering settlement" he may have meant the groups of North Carolina Loyalists who raided on both sides of the NC-SC state line.

117. Although the truce, signed between Marion and Loyalist Micajah Ganey on Jun. 8, quieted the country somewhat, it did not result in the conversion or withdrawal of the hard-core Loyalists. Benton applied to Mathews here for a more formal police force to maintain law and order in the area.

118. Benton tipped his hand regarding potential future actions if his request were to be granted, by admitting his feelings about Loyalists who were allowed to receive pardons, calling them "Ganey's truce men."

119. Lt. Col. Abel Kolb had been 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 (or 28), 1781. When the Tories threatened to burn his house with his family and two visitors inside, Kolb agreed to surrender. After surrendering, and while in the process of giving up his sword, Kolb had been shot by one of the Tories.

N.B. Your answer & instructions I shall hope to receive by the bearer, M^r. Vinow; in regard to the above, I do not doubt but Gen^l Marion will Acquiesce in it, as I mentioned the matter to him not long since, about provisions, men & ammunition.¹²⁰

L. B.

If you will be so kind as to furnish us with the Militia Laws passed by the last Assembly, it will be of singular service, me & the people will be instructed.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

120. There is no record of a previous discussion between Marion and Benton on organizing a special police force to enforce the treaty signed by Marion and Ganey on Jun. 8. By the first letter to Marion of Aug. 29 below, Benton implied that Marion had given him permission to organize the unit.

Maj Ichabod. Burnet (Greene's ADC) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters [Ashley Hill] August 23d 1782.

My dear Sir

I have this moment received information that Major Brewerton [Brereton] was to leave Charlestown with a party yesterday, on an expedition to Santee or to George Town.¹²¹

As the General will not be in Camp 'till late in the evening I have dispatched an express to communicate the intelligence that you may take the most effectual measures to counteract the designs of the enemy.¹²²

Should there arrive any accounts more minute I suppose General Greene will transmit it as early as possible to you.¹²³

It is probable the success of Major Doyle has induced them to make a second attempt to collect rice.¹²⁴

I am with great respect D^r Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

I. Burnet, Aide-de-Camp

NB Is the rice at Wacamaw much exposed.¹²⁵

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

121. Marion sent a similar report to Greene in the letter immediately below. Brereton's party was moving southward, to the Combahee River, rather than northward, toward Georgetown (Pierce to Gist, Aug. 23, *PNG*, 11:570).

122. A letter to Greene from Capt. William Wilmot, on Aug. 23, indicated that Greene was probably at Col. Thomas Fuller's (Wilmot to Greene, Aug. 23, *PNG*, 11:571).

123. See Greene to Marion, Aug. 24, below.

124. For more on Doyle's expedition see Marion to Greene, Aug. 5 and 9, both above.

125. Marion replied on Aug. 24, below.

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

Wadbo S^t Johns Parrish 23d Aug^t 1782

S^r

I send Inclosed some Information of the state of Charlestown [not found] supposing it may be of some service. It came from a hand who may be depended on.

I am informed that the Enemy Intend to take provision in Geo^r Town or up those rivers[.] Small vessels are preparing for that purpose.¹²⁶ All the clean rice what was Left at Santea I had removed up the river, & have Given Orders to secure what is in or about Geo^r Town.¹²⁷ There is three hundred men in that place but two thirds without arms, as they Came from Ch^s Town they could not bring arms. If they could be Armed it would be great Addition to my strength.¹²⁸

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

126. For more on this expedition, see Burnet to Marion, Aug. 23, immediately above.

127. This referred to rice that the British foraging expedition had gathered and then abandoned (*PNG*, 11:571).

128. Likely recently surrendered Loyalists who had agreed to fight in the Patriot forces in exchange for pardon (*PNG*, 11:571n; Johnson, *Greene*, 2:339).

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

Head Quarters [Ashley Hill] Aug^t 24th 1782

Dear Sir

I have this moment received your letter of the 23d Inst^t. Since the Letter written yesterday by Maj^r Burnet¹²⁹ I have been informed that a fleet consisting of one Sloop of war three Gallies 3 Armed brigs with ten empty sloops & schooners having 500 Infantry under Maj^{rs} [John] Doyle & Brewerton [William Brereton] on board, passed Charlestown bar early yesterday morning destined for Santee & Cambahee to collect rice. It was supposed they would divide the force nearly equally.

I have no doubt but you will take measures to make them pay dearly for the rice they may collect on the Santee.¹³⁰

I am With regard & esteem

Your Most Obed^t Humble Servant

N Greene

Df (MiU-C), Parks. The draft is in the hand of Greene's aide Ichabod Burnet (PNG, 11:572).

129. See Burnet to Marion, Aug. 23, above.

130. On the British foraging expedition, see Marion to Greene, Aug. 5 and 9, above. As noted there, the British party was not moving toward the Santee. Marion replied on Aug. 27, below.

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

Wadbo 24th Aug^t 1782

S^r

I recd a Letter from Maj^r Burnet Informing me of the Enemys Intentions of going to Geo^r Town or Santea.¹³¹ I think it is the former as I have all the rice removed in the Latter.

I hope to be their in time to prevent any Quantity of Provisions being taken.¹³² I had sent to have all the rice &^c removed to places not Easily to be come at.¹³³

I have the honor to be
your ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

131. See Burnet to Marion, Aug. 23, above.

132. Upon realizing the enemy were not bound for Georgetown, Marion halted his march. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 27, below (*PNG*, 11:574n).

133. See also Marion to Greene, Aug. 23, above.

Lt. Col. William Davis¹³⁴ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Prince Williams Parish]¹³⁵ August 24th 1782

Sir,

The foregoing Regimental Return is made according to your Orders, & I hope it may prove satisfactory, but am sorry to Enform you that a great number is disobedient to the Laws of their Country__ Your letter dated Murrays ferry, of 8th July 1782, I received the other day only;¹³⁶ & in Compliance therewith, I answer you pr. this opportunity; with respect to the names of those who refuse to do duty, their number is so large that I have mentioned them Collectively, which you will see by the annexed return, but could not go down, as I have Received a letter from his Excellency the Governour, of a later date than yours, say 11th July, 1782__ Wherein he desires it to stand drafted as it is with Orders to march at a moments warning & let them remain where they are, until further orders from him or you¹³⁷ & to Give him the Earliest notice of any movement of the Tories in my district who are now quiet & Peaceable, & are joining us very fast__ I will keep the Regiment Embodied & Endeavour to Inforce the Law on the refractory, by going from district to district, till Countermanded by your Orders; but neighbours are not Willing to take those measures which the Law point out with their neighbours, & a small party from your part of the Country will do infinite Service in making the Laws to be observed¹³⁸__ W^m. Robinson Esq., of the three Runs, is a principal adviser of the refractory; I have been also informed that Col^o. Thompson,¹³⁹ formerly of my Regiment, has advised the refractory to stand out a little longer, & they will gain their Ends.¹⁴⁰ Not willing to trespass any further on your time, I Conclude

Yours, &c.

W^m Davis

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
134. William Davis (1737-1801) served as a major and colonel in the Upper Granville Regiment of militia during 1781. The Upper and Lower Granville regiments covered the region of South Carolina adjacent to the Savannah River from its mouth to the western reaches of the state. Davis was elected to the House for the 3rd General Assembly by a special run-off election. He also served in the 4th General Assembly when it convened in Jacksonborough in 1782. After the war, he served in the SC House from 1787-88. This William Davis is not to be confused with Capt. William Ransom Davis (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 241; DeSaussure, *SC Regiments*, 26; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:173-74).
135. Location inferred. A Sep. 20, letter from Davis to Marion, below, is addressed from Prince William Salt Kechers on the Combahee River.
136. The Jul. 8 letter has not been found. Based on Gov. Mathews's letter to Marion of Jun. 22, and Marion's letter to Greene of Jul. 8, both above, it may be presumed that the Jul. 8 letter to Davis included orders to call up one-half of Davis's militia. On Jun. 22, Gov. Mathews ordered Marion to "immediately draft one half of your Brigade & as many more within 80 miles of Ch^s. Town (agreeable to the law) as will be consistent with the safety of the Country, & Immediately put them in motion, & Join the Army under the Command of Gen^l Greene." Mathews's letter implied that the purpose of the call-up was to initiate action to force the British from Charlestown.
137. Apparently, Mathews countermanded Marion's orders to Davis.
138. In a letter of Sep. 20, below, Davis responded to Marion's letter of Aug. 9, indicating that he would not be opposed to "defaulters of my Regiment who refuse to do duty" being taken to Marion and tried by court martial.
139. This may have been James Thomson, who served 46 days as a lieutenant colonel in the militia from Nov. 1781 to Jan. 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 929).
140. As the British were preparing to evacuate Charlestown, much of the back country was in chaos, due to the uncertain status of the Loyalists and the emerging boldness of many angry Patriots. Although many Loyalists sought pardon, as noted here, many others, fearful of the repercussions of their previous actions, became more violent, as did Patriots now emboldened by the near-certainty of victory over the British.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge August 24th 1782

Sir,

I have every reason to believe the Information you Inclosed me to be well founded. A note I Got two days ago, from a person of good Information, agrees Substantially with yours. I think a fortnight more will decide the Enemies real intentions.¹⁴¹ By a woman from town last night, I am informed the Enemies plundering fleet sailed for Georgetown Yesterday morning. I am in hopes they will not be so successful there as they were at Santee¹⁴² I Enclose you an Order on M^r. Richardson for 200 Stand of Arms, as the presumption is they are arrived as I have notice of their leaving Philadelphia the end of June I have also Inclosed in the Order a Box of Sugar for your use which is now there at Richardsons, Inclosed is a Brevet for Doct^r. Neufville.¹⁴³ I find there is some uneasiness in Mayham's Corps about rank I could wish you to Order a board of Officers to sit & determine the dispute as soon as possible, or Circumstances will admit As you agree with me that it is best to mount the whole Corps, to act as Cavalry, It is more Necessary to have all disputes about Rank settled as soon as Possible as a new Arrangement must necessarily take place & I suppose the youngest Officers must go out, as was the Case in the late arrangement.¹⁴⁴

I am sir

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
141. The context of this letter would indicate that by "the Enemies real intentions" Mathews was referring to longer term British plans, such as the evacuation of Charlestown, not the foraging expeditions that were discussed in this and earlier letters.
142. John Laurens forwarded an informant's note to Greene, which also indicated a British foraging expedition had embarked. The informant surmised that British ships carrying 300 troops were pointed toward Georgetown. Laurens rightly believed rightly that the expedition was headed southward (Laurens to Greene, Aug. 24, 1782, *PNG*, 11:573). As seen in Marion to Greene of Aug. 27, below, Marion learned the enemy foraging party was pointed to the South.
143. Dr. William Neufville was a Patriot surgeon from 1779-80. After being taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, he was exchanged on Jun. 14, 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 725). Dr. Neufville continued to serve with Marion through at least Oct. 1782 (See De Rossett to Marion Oct. 25, below).
144. Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham's regiment and that of Maj. James Conyers were combined in early August (See Marion to Mathews and Greene, Aug. 4, above). Subsequently, issues arose concerning the method of consolidating the two regiments, as implied by Mathews's letter to Marion of Sep. 18. In his letter of Oct. 9, below, Conyers related that some of the issues with the consolidation had been resolved.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, August 24th, 1782

Sir,

I Inclose you a letter I have just received from Lt. Col^o. Benton, & wish you to take such Orders therein as you shall think proper.¹⁴⁵

I am, sir,

Your most Obdt. hum. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

145. See Benton to Mathews of Aug. 20, above.

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

Lanuds Ferry 27 Aug^t 1782

S^r

Yours of the 24th Inst I recd in my march here, where I halted until further Intelligence of the Enemy Intentions (as I expected) they are gone to the S^o Ward.¹⁴⁶ The removing the rice &^c high up the rivers they must have had a good Account of & found they wou'd risk a loss in comeing at it.¹⁴⁷ Inclosed is what came in the Flags from Philadelphia which brings the family belonging to this State chassing of[f] by the Enemy some time since.¹⁴⁸

I shall now return to Wadbo in S^t Johns [Parish] & wait Your further orders.¹⁴⁹

I have the honor to be
your ob^t S^r

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MIU-C), Parks.

146. The British party was not in fact moving toward the Santee. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 5 and 9, both above.

147. The British had likely exhausted the rice near the mouth of the Santee, and so would have to march further upstream to find fresh supplies. (*PNG*, 11:583n).

148. The enclosures have not been found. A number of prominent South Carolinians and their families had been exiled to East Florida after Charlestown's surrender in May of 1780. Many of them had since been exchanged, but given the continuing British occupation of the city, they had travelled to Philadelphia. In Apr. 1782, Congress had drafted an address to the new British commander, Sir Guy Carleton, asking for the Crown to pay for the transport of such exiles back to the Carolinas. Carleton obliged, sending three vessels to Philadelphia and carrying the exiles to Edenton, NC and Georgetown, SC. It is to these refugees that this sentence refers (*PNG*, 11:583n).

149. Marion had arrived at Wadboo by the time he wrote Greene on Aug. 30, below.

Philip Prioleau¹⁵⁰ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Governours quarters August 28th, 1782

Sir,

I now inclose you by order of his Excellency the Gov^r. A Return, of those People who have come out in Consequence of his Invitation¹⁵¹ __ You'll therefore be pleased to send his Excell^y. a list & dates of those who have surrendered to you I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most Obdt. Servt.

Phil. Prioleau Secy.

In Genl Marions Brigade in August 1782

Surrendered 181

In Genl. Barnwells dv. __7

Total 188¹⁵²

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

150. Philip Prioleau was a prisoner on the prison ship *Torbay* (Garden, *Anecdotes*, 166).

151. The Legislature ended its session on Feb. 26, without setting a policy for Loyalists who surrendered after the session ended. Gov. Mathews outlined a subsequent policy for those not covered by the policy in his letter to Marion of Mar. 18, above. This "Invitation" may refer to an addendum to the Mar. 18 policy, since in a letter of Sep. 18 to Marion, Mathews mentioned the specific word "Invitation" and noted that any refugees might remain until Sep. 26, which had not been confirmed in the Mar. 18 letter.

152. The totals here refer to 181 former Loyalists who applied for pardons and were then in Gen. Marion's brigade, and 7 former Loyalists who applied for pardons and were in Gen. Barnwell's brigade.

Col. Lam Benton to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

St. Davids August 29th 1782

Sir,

Yours from Watbo of the 18th of this Inst. I Received & in answer I assure you I have Constantly since my arrival at home been & still am, Using my utmost Endeavours to send you the full one third of my Regiment¹⁵³__ The 20 men I had your Permission to guard the Goal, have been constantly on hard duty, catching & bringing in the disobedient, so that, Inclusive of what have been lately Ordered & them they guard will bring you in addition to Major Thomas's¹⁵⁴ Class at least amount to fifty men, & hope to have it in my Power about the 3d of next month to send you some more, as I Expect by that [time] to have another squad Gathered.¹⁵⁵ But without this armed party to be constantly on duty & Annually Releived I Cannot do anything for the district is so Extensive, the duty so hard & the distance to your Camp so far, that it can't be Expected that the men that have been just discharged from your Camp can perform that duty. This mode would have been better Executed if the Commanding Officer of my Regimt. at home, when I was in the Camp, had not have hindered every part of my Orders (that was in his power) for that purpose.¹⁵⁶ There is but 14 of the 20 men mentioned that is at this time fit for duty, 6 of them I send with the party & the others will Come with the next I have mentioned, tho' I hope you will send them back, as the law cannot be Inforced without them__ The people are at this time very sickly about home, as has appeared by the trials of a number of men by a Regimental Court, I lately ordered & held four days, when I used every lawfull & Reasonable method in my Power to turn out the men__ There are several men the Guard will bring down, & sentenced to some Extraordinary duty__ a list of whose names, & their term of Service, I will send to Major Thomas.

I am, Sir, with all due Respect,

Your Obdt. hum. Servt.

Lam. Benton, Lt. Col^o.¹⁵⁷

N.B.--If you permit me to Continue the Guard at the goal, please to give some Instructions about Salt &c. for them, as it is scarce here

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

153. The Aug. 18 letter has not been found. In it, Marion presumably called into question Benton's efforts in supplying the requisite militia.

154. [See brief bio of Tristram Thomas here.](#)

155. In an Aug. 20 letter to Gov. Mathews, Benton had requested he be permitted to utilize a portion of the militia as a police force to round up and guard Loyalists who had not submitted as a result of the treaty negotiated between Marion and Ganey on Jun. 8.

156. It is not known to whom Benton referred.

157. Curiously, Benton signed the Aug. 29 letter, below, as "Lt-Col. Commandant [Cheraw Militia]." An entry in Marion's Orderly Book indicates Benton became a Colonel on Apr. 28, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 532).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge August 29th 1782

Sir,

I Received yours of the 27th the last evening__ The information both Gen^l. Greene & myself had received agree that there were two parties going out One N^o. Wardly & the other S^o. Wardly__ However I am very happy to find they have dropped the Northern Expedition¹⁵⁸ which I am in great hopes will leave you at leisure to form some plan if Possible to put a stop to this infamous traffick that is carried on with the Town through Goose Creek & down Cooper River__ I Cannot help thinking it reflects no great Credit on our Cavalry in this quarter to lie still in their Quarters & suffer about a Dozen or twenty Negroes to come out almost every night in the week & carry off Cattle, Horses & anything Else they want, within 12 or 15 Miles of their Camp,¹⁵⁹ but I have spoke of it so often that I am determined never to mention the matter again. I must Entreat you Sir to form some plan which will be most Effectual to stop such a shameful Commerce, it is no less Villainous than true that the Ch^s. Town markets are now daily supplied with the greatest plenty of Everything they want³__ There is no political Consideration whatever that can Induce me to Alter the substance of my proclamation & I must request you to have it Carried into the most Rigid Execution¹⁶⁰ I am Clearly Convinced nothing will do with the Southern Militia until you are at leisure to undertake the management of them.¹⁶¹ I have tried them always to no purpose, & my Patience is now Exhausted, Even now where the Enemy are in their own district they are not to be prevailed on to turn out, but Rather submit to have their & their neighbours property plundered before their Eyes__ I Cannot think such a Conduct is merely the effect of a disapprobation of one or two Officers: I am afraid the root of the Evil lies deeper, & borders on disaffection__ Their behaviour I am sure Gives ample scope for such a Suspicion¹⁶²__ I still hope you will have it in your Power 'ere long to turn your attention this way & probe the wound to the bottom__ The news Contained in the paper you sent me is very Important Indeed, & I trust will lead to happy Consequences__ I observe they are Contending for a Restoration of the Confiscated Estates, This I knew would be the Case, & told the house of Assembly so when they were about passing the Confiscation Act; for it is a matter that must be finally settled by negotiation__ I Inclose you a Copy of a letter I have just Received from Gen^l Greene__ Poor Laurens! I am very sorry for his fate,¹⁶³ I also Inclose you 20 Blank Commiss. which were Omitted to be sent before

I am, Sir, Your most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
158. The Aug. 27 letter has not been found. However, in a letter of that date, above, to Greene, Marion wrote that no enemy expedition went northward, only to the south. He would be proven wrong when the British under Maj. Fraser attacked his force at Wadboo on Aug. 29.
159. The Americans retained reasonable control over the area directly west of the East Branch of the Cooper River. However, militia units had not turned out to form dependable posts on the West Branch of the Cooper. As a result, trade between Goose Creek and Charlestown proved to be very lucrative for entrepreneurs with flexible loyalties.
160. "My proclamation" may have referred to the method for handling Loyalists since the recess of the Legislature on Feb. 26. In his letter of Mar. 18, Gov. Mathews informed Marion of the policy he had developed regarding those former Loyalists who applied for pardon after the recess of the legislature on Feb. 26: First, Either Mathews or a militia brigadier was responsible for interviewing the Loyalist. Should the man not be approved for pardon, he was to be sent to the enemy lines. If such a man ever appeared outside enemy lines again, he was to be considered a spy and treated as such. It is also possible that Mathews referred to the prohibition against trading with the British, a policy that was intended to ensure that needed provisions were available for the army and the Patriot citizenry at reasonable prices, instead of being sold at premium prices to the British, lining the pockets of entrepreneurs and further delaying the evacuation of Charlestown.
161. It is unclear why Marion was not "at leisure" to manage the militia.
162. Mathews's "rantings" are an indication of his impatience, as well as his inability to effect the improvements necessary to govern the state.
163. Lt. Col. John Laurens, the son of former Continental Congress president Henry Laurens, former aide to Gen. Washington, and ambassador to France, was killed during an ambush at Chehaw Neck on the Combahee River on Aug. 27, 1782.

Col. Lam Benton to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

St. Davids August 29th 1782

Sir

Yours from Watbo I answered, & Expect it will be handed you with this, as also yours from Linud's ferry, of the 20th[OR 26th per Force] is just come to my hands¹⁶⁴ __ One third of my Regimt. I have under Orders to join you, & Expect with this will come in about 50 Men in addition to Major Thomas's Division, & those that may remain behind, I will send with all possible Expedition, so that, if in my power the publick service may not be hindered¹⁶⁵ __ As to the mens being Relieved monthly, it is so late now that it will be impossible for me to Get them in Camp untill near the middle of the Ensuing Month. I am very Sensible that it will make a considerable Confusion in the Regiment, as the men do not look upon themselves liable to go to Camp yet, as the law will not oblige them until Each division does two months duty agreeable to Law;¹⁶⁶ Therefore I must beg to be Excused in that particular, & I will send Relief Early in October, when their Tour will be out According to Law.

I remain with all due Regard,
Your most Obdt. Servt.

Lam Benton,
Lt-Col. Commandant¹⁶⁷ [Cheraw Militia]

N.B. Excuse my paper &c. which hindered me from writing more fully.
L.B.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

164. Benton's first letter of Aug. 29 is above. The other letters have not been found.

165. Benton repeated similar information from the first letter of Aug. 29, above.

166. By his order of Mar. 3, Gov. Mathews ordered that one-third of the militia be called out at a time from a cycle of rotating one-month duties until further orders. On Jun. 22, Mathews changed the order to one-half of the militia at a time. However, it seems that the order was canceled shortly thereafter. The mention of two-month's duty indicates that Benton was not aware of the 'Extraordinary Powers' assumed by Mathews in his Mar. 3 order. It is not known what further impact the lack of militia had on Marion's already dwindling militia force.

167. Benton signed his letter to Marion of this date, above, as "Lt. Col^o. Commandant." An entry in *Marion's Orderly Book* indicates Benton became Colonel on Apr. 28, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 532)

Wadboo Plantation

August 29, 1782

In the correspondence between Aug. 23 and 29, above, among Marion, Greene, Greene's Adjutant Ichabod Burnet, and Gov. Mathews, the discussion often turned to concerns over large British foraging expeditions. The initial belief was that two expeditions had embarked from Charlestown. Greene wrote Marion on Aug. 24, above, that "a fleet consisting of one Sloop of war three Gallies 3 Armed brigs with ten empty sloops & schooners having 500 Infantry under Maj^{rs} [John] Doyle & Brewerton [William Brereton] on board, passed Charlestown bar early yesterday morning destined for Santee & Cambahee to collect rice." Marion had already learned of the planned expedition, writing to Greene the day before, also above.

Marion, who believed the northern expedition was headed for Georgetown, marched from Wadboo Plantation near Moncks Corner for the port after informing Greene on Aug. 24 about his intelligence and movements. Marion had just returned from Georgetown in an unsuccessful attempt to ward off a similar foraging expedition, as mentioned in his letter of Aug. 13, above, to Greene. In his Aug. 27 letter to Gen. Greene, above, from Lenud's Ferry, Marion noted that he had halted his movement until he could determine the enemies' intentions.

Marion arrived back at Wadboo, the encampment he had used regularly since at least as early as Feb. 28 (letter to Greene, above) and would continue to use until the evacuation of Charlestown. William James described the bivouac of Marion's brigade:

"It (Wadboo) had been deserted by the owner, who was attached to the enemy, and the mansion and two extension ranges of negro and other outhouses were left open for himself and the men. He occupied the mansion and his men the outhouses, on the west towards the bridge; on the back of the outhouses to the east, and directly in front of the dwelling, there stretched towards the road an extensive avenue of cedar trees, the trimming of which had been neglected for some years; and their long boughs now descended nearly to the ground."

Marion learned of the presence of a British foraging party in the neighborhood, commanded by Maj. Fraser of the South Carolina Royalists, who had previously led the rout of Marion's forces on Feb. 23 and 24 at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation. This time Fraser had only 160 Loyalists, including a number of "black dragoons." Due to lack of adjacent forage, Marion's cavalry was camped six miles away. He had a small force at Wadboo, consisting of an unknown number of the Williamsburg militia, and 40 "new made" Whigs under his former nemesis Micajah Ganey. Ganey had taken advantage of South Carolina's offer of pardon for former Loyalists who would renounce their British allegiance, swear allegiance to South Carolina and the United States, and serve in the militia for six months.

Marion deployed to ambush the Loyalists. He positioned his men to take advantage of the cover afforded by the bows of the plantation's cedar-lined avenue. Others were posted in three small outbuildings on the left. When Fraser spotted a scouting party led by Capt. Gavin Witherspoon, he charged.¹⁶⁸ Witherspoon led Fraser's dragoons into the trap, nearly sacrificing his life to do so. At a distance of 30 yards, Marion's men unleashed a deadly barrage of buckshot. At least ten of Fraser's dragoons were killed or wounded in the ambush—Marion claimed six killed and 14 wounded.

The British quickly retreated out of musket range. During the ambush, the horses pulling the Patriot ammunition wagon bolted. Some of Marion's men rushed to retrieve it. However, after turning the wagon back toward the American line, British dragoons charged after them, forcing the Americans to leave the wagon.

168. [See brief bio of Gavin Witherspoon here.](#)

After the British withdrawal, the action turned into a stand-off. Fraser's horse could not penetrate the strong American defenses. Without cavalry and with dwindling ammunition, the Americans could make no movement toward the British.

James wrote:

“The enemy rallied and manoeuvred about in the old field for an hour, making several different feints of charging, but never coming in reach of Marion's fire, whose men stood firm at their post... The number of wounded could not be accurately ascertained; but as the firing was only at the distance of thirty paces, and was made with the usual charge of heavy buckshot, the proportion of these (wounded) must have been greater than that of the killed on the usual computation.”

Although the action at Wadboo was not the overwhelming victory Marion would have liked, due to the absence of his cavalry, it was, nevertheless, a victory. The Americans had been attacked. They met the attack with a convincing response. The Americans held the field. Marion lost his personal baggage and the ammunition wagon. The Loyalists lost three killed, including Capt. Robert Gillis, and several wounded. Most of his “new made” Whigs under Ganey fought bravely. The minor skirmish at Wadboo Plantation was the last action in which Marion participated.

Marion's letters to Greene and Mathews of Aug. 30, both below, provide a summary of the action.

James, *Francis Marion*, 72-73; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 285-88 (In Rankin, Wadboo is incorrectly listed as Fair Lawn, another Colleton plantation on the opposite side of the Cooper River); John China, Pension Statement S46593; Thomas Grice, Pension Statement, R4301; John Richbourg, Pension Statement S18175.

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

Wadboo, St. Johns, 30th Aug^t 1782 6 O C: AM

S^r

In my last from Lenuds Ferry I Acquainted you of my Intention of returning to this place where I arrived the 28th in the fore noon.¹⁶⁹ Yesterday at 10 O C: AM I was informed the Enemy had come out the way of the Quarter House with an Intention of surprising the Guards I had Left here & Strawberry.¹⁷⁰ I immediately sent to Call in that at Strawberry & to Major Conyers who was in that Neighbourhood to Join me. Immediately after I had Intelligen that the Enemy had crossed the swamp above Begin Bridge & was coming round me.

I drew up in an avenue of trees before the house a part of my Left Advanced a few paces under cover of three small houses. The Enemy appeared in sight, as soon as I had made my Disposition they came on in a full Charge. I Let them come within thirty yards, when I Ordered the Left to fire reserving the main body. They directed their fire so well that the Enemy broke & retired in Confusion, Leaving a Captⁿ Robert Gilles three men & five horses dead, & we took one man three horses & a mule.¹⁷¹ We met with no Loss except my Ammunition waggon with some of my baggage,¹⁷² which the driver in a fright rund of with, Contrary to Orders, & took a rout which brought them so near the Enemy as they could see from where they had formed in a Large Open field. I had no Caveldry, but got five men who had swords to Charge them. They did & retook the wagon, brought it some distance when they was Oblige to give it up to a surperior force. The Enemy proved to be Major Frazier with a hundred horse & some Coulord Dragoons, all well mounted.

They several times Indeavourd to come round me, but found I changed front & took the Advantage of the houses & fences they dare not come within reach of our muskets. Had Major Conyers been up I shoud have certainly have cut up the most of them, for they several times got in Confusion, particularly when they w[ere] first repulsed, for I believed they did not Expect I had returned. The Malitia tho the Greatest part was new made w[h]igs¹⁷³ behaved with great spirit not one offered to give way, but wished to pursue them in the Open field, but that woud have given the enemy too great an Advantage. Major Conyers came about an hour after they retreated & is gone after them. Their rout was to Huger's Bridge & suppose to Daniels Island or Haddrels Point.¹⁷⁴

I have the honor to be
your Obed^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

NB There must been a good many men wounded as a Great deal of Blood was seen along the road they went.¹⁷⁵

RCS (MiU-C), PNG, 11:606-08.

169. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 27, above.

170. Most of the Southern Army's light troops were engaging in opposing Leslie's foraging expedition along the Combahee. In response, Leslie detailed Maj. Thomas Fraser and his mounted troops northward toward Monck's Corner to gather provisions. Both Leslie and Fraser were surprised by Marion's return to Wadboo (PNG, 11:607-08).

171. According to Leslie, Marion's men were "deceived by this resolute appearance" of Fraser's force and "confined themselves within the protection of some buildings where they had taken post, a heavy fire from these houses unfortunately killed Captain Gillis of the South Carolina Dragoons and one man." (Leslie to Sir Guy Carleton, Sep. 8, Carleton Papers, quoted in PNG, 11:608n).

172. This statement conflicts with Marion's later statement in his letter to Greene of Sep. 2, below, which did report losses. The reason for this discrepancy is not clear, but Fraser claimed to have captured ten of his men a few days later (*Royal South-Carolina Gazette*, Sep. 12, 1782, quoted in PNG, 11:608n).

173. E.g. Micajah Ganey's former Loyalists serving in the Patriot militia.

174. There is no evidence that Conyers ever made contact with Fraser in his pursuit.

175. Leslie reported that Fraser "collected a number of cattle on his return."). For more on the aftermath of this combat, see also Greene to Morgan 31 and Mathews to Marion, Sep. 1, both below.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews

Wadboo, St. Johns, 30: Aug^t 1782

Sir

My last acquainted you that I would Return to this place,¹⁷⁶ I got here the 28th inst. Yesterday.¹⁷⁷ I had notice the Enemy was crossing above Bigging Bridge, at Fardo's Plantation. I immediately formed and sent to Major Conyers to come on with the State Cavalry, my Guard at Strawberry was ordered in, before they arrived¹⁷⁸ – Major Frazier with a hundred horse & some Coloured Dragoons, came on in full charge. I let them come within thirty yards and threw in a fire from my left which was advanced under the cover of three small houses; the fire was so well directed that the Enemy immediately broke and Retreated in Confusion, leaving a Captⁿ Robert Gillis and three men and five horses killed, one prisoner and three Horses and a Mule taken, our loss was my ammunition Waggon with my baggage, the Driver got in a fright and drove off contrary to Orders.

A few Militia mounted Charged the party with the Waggon and Retook her, but was Oblige to leave her as they was within One hundred yards of the Main body, and we could not Remove from our position without giving the Enemy the greatest advantage in an open field, which is what they desired to do, they made several Attempts to come round me, but my Men was so alert in changing positions and keeping to the fences, that they dare not come on¹⁷⁹—they took the Road to Hegers Bridge; Major Conyers is gone after them¹⁸⁰—they must have Several wounded a good deal of Blood was seen in the Way they Retreated. My Guard on Wando River took a Schooner with Wood and Provisions, with a parcel of Negroes going to Town, shall be glad to know if they may be made a prize of agreeable to your Proclamation.¹⁸¹

I have the honor to beyour Excellency's Obedt Serv^t

Francis Marion

"Gen. Marion's Report of the Affair at Wadboo." Smith, Henry A. M., ed. *SCHM* 17, no. 4 (Oct. 1916), 176-77. This letter was enclosed with a correspondence from Gov. Mathews to Arthur Middleton, then a delegate to the Congress in Philadelphia from South Carolina, clearly contradicting statements in the *South Carolina Royal Gazette* published at that time.

176. The Aug. 27 letter has not been found. However, in a letter of that date, above, to Greene, Marion wrote that he would be at Wadboo.

177. This letter is dated Aug. 30. "Yesterday" would have been the 29th not the 30th. It is unclear whether the letter was simply misdated, or whether it was initially written on the 29th, but dated and sent the next day (Leslie to Carleton, Sep. 8, Carleton Papers, quoted in *PNG*, 11:608n).

178. Maj. James Conyers and the State Cavalry were believed to be encamped in the vicinity of Strawberry Ferry, approximately 15 miles from Wadboo.

179. Marion wrote a similar letter to Greene on this date, above, with one notable exception. In this letter, Marion did not include anything about Ganey or the men who served under him, as he had to Greene when he wrote that "The Malitia tho the Greatest part was new made w[h]igs behaved with great spirit not one offered to give way, but wished to pursue them in the Open field..." Maj. Micajah Ganey was reportedly among the "new made whigs."

180. Conyers arrived after the withdrawal of Fraser's cavalry.

181. Mathews responded to Marion about the schooner in his letter of Sep. 1, below. The details of Mathews's proclamation, however, are not known.

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

[Ashley Hill, 31 August 1782]¹⁸²

Dear Sir

I most sinserely congratulate you upon the very honorable check you gave the enemy, and I am happy to hear you give such ample testimony to the bravery and firmness of the Militia.¹⁸³ I wish the Militia in every part of the state were equally deserving the same applause.¹⁸⁴

From what is past you may see how little dependance there is to be placed in the enemies peaceable pretentions. It gives me the highest satisfaction to find that they are disappointed in their expectations of finding you off your guard from the arts that had been practiced to effect it.

At the close of every Month you will give me in a return of the Continental & State troops and Militia serving under your command specifying where they are employed and for what purpose as I want to give the Ministry of war as satisfactory account as possible of the force within this Country.

I am dear sir

your most Obed^t humble ser

N Greene

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

182. As per *PNG*: The date was taken from the docketing; the place from other letters of this date (*PNG*, 11:611-12).

183. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 30, above.

184. Gen. Greene may have seen Marion's rebuff of the British as a potential motivator for his officers and rank and file, or at least as a way to deflect attention away from the untimely death of John Laurens on Aug. 27. Greene encouraged Gen. Mordecai Gist to take advantage of Marion's "success" at Wadboo: "Make use of it to spur up those with you. If they would exert themselves half equal to those with General Marion it would enable you to drive the enemy out of the Country" (Greene to Gist, Aug. 31, 1781, *PNG*, 11:609-11). Greene also included an announcement of the action in his general orders of Sep. 1 (General Greene's Orders, Sep. 1, 1782, *PNG*, 11:614).

Secret Correspondent to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Charlestown, no date]¹⁸⁵

Sir,

All the Powder taken out of the Old Magazine by the hospital most of ditto out of the Steeple of the D. Church, A large quantity of Ordinance Stores, Viz, Cannons, Mortars, Shells &c. &c. taken out of the D. Church yard & from P. Porcher shipping sometime, All the like stores out of the Arsenal Yard Except a few piles of 18 or 24 pounds Shot with some small shells what is in Houses know not, Every night these 3 or 4 weeks past are Waggoning Stores to different Wharves, Now 2 large store Ships at the fish Market Wharf taking in 26 pounders brought from the Crown work at the Old Lines__ In a little

believe all the Old Lines will be dismantled__ At the battery at the Sugar house 4 Pieces dismantled. do. by the Creek at Harlestone 2 & Round the Lines to Coopers River here & there 1 or 2 & from Cooper River to the Governours bridge not on[e] piece mounted Except 4 Field pieces with a Guard of Artillery on the opening opposite hard by Lynchs House, Between it & the Black Smiths. Said House is the Marine hospital__ The Occasion of this Guard was they Expected an Attack about three weeks since & had all the field pieces out for some nights__ One was planted at the barrier gate loaded with grape, Situations of the rest of the forts &c know not__ Will procure an Exact Account & state of the Old Works in 6 or 8 days; New works at Hamstead cant possible Give any Account of. Be assured they are not Strong__ By every account I can Collect there is not 4000 Effective Soldiers in Garrison, Out posts know nor is there 50 Refugees but what would Join the American Army directly I have conversed with many of them from the

head to the lowest Class, who without Reserve, bitterly Complain of their friends the British. If a free & General pardon was Granted (a few Exceptions always made) Numbers of them with a large number of Slaves the property of the good People of this state I suppose are ordered to Get ready to sail for Augusteen in 6 days[.]¹⁸⁶ Gideon Dupont & Ch^s. Ogilvie sailed to New York as a Committee from the Loyalists to Sir Guy Carlton not to Evacuate the Garrison, till he hears from England,¹⁸⁷ There is not above 10 Transports in N. York & it is the General opinion of the Officers here, that their fleet in the west Indies will come to York during the hurricane month & take off all the Troops from thence¹⁸⁸ Abatis & Palisades in front of the Old Lines almost all destroyed__ Take a Copy & burn this__ Last night arrived the [H]ornet¹⁸⁹ sloop of War from N. York with a prize Brig. From Philadelphia__ on the log book of which were the words as nearly as I could Recollect “Soon after we left the Capes, fell in with a French fleet of 12 Sail of the Line, Transports frigates &c. &c. standing in for N. York[“] (which place may heaven Grant they may soon Reduce) I think it was in latitude 30°

Yours &c. &c.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

185. Neither the name of the writer, the origin of the letter, nor the date is known. It was presumably sent from Charlestown. The mention of the mission of Dupont and Ogilvie puts the date after Aug. 12. It is presumed that the letter was written prior to the arrival of “a fleet of 14 sail from England, with a small sloop, a prize, under convoy of his majesty’s ship Diomedes of 44 guns,” that arrived Sep. 3, as noted by the *Royal Gazette*, as otherwise that information would probably have been included. So most likely it was written somewhere between those two dates. (South Carolina *Royal Gazette*, Sep. 7, 1782).
186. The embarkation for “Augusteen” referred to ships mentioned by Gen. Greene to Gen. Charles Scott, since there is no record of a convoy leaving Charlestown at this time. The PNG concluded that it was the fleet that embarked for St. Augustine on Oct. 14, but did not return to Charlestown until around Nov. 10 (Greene to Scott, Oct. 31, 1782, PNG, 12:129).
187. Gideon Dupont was on the confiscation list as one who had signed the congratulatory address to Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Charles Ogilvie was on the confiscation list as one who had borne a commission under the British government. In August, Dupont and Ogilvie traveled to New York to present a petition to the new commander of the American Theater, Guy Carleton. On Sep. 10, they asked Carleton to delay the evacuation of Charlestown to allow more time to collect debts, remove property, or make arrangements with the State to remain in South Carolina. Their efforts failed to change Carleton’s plans for the evacuation of Charlestown (PNG, 11:329n, 527n).
188. The prediction that the British fleet in the West Indies would sail for New York for the hurricane season proved correct. The British fleet arrived in New York on Sep. 5 (PNG, 11: 584n).
189. The *Hornet* was a British sloop commissioned in 1776, carrying 14 guns and commanded at this time by Francis Tinsley (Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1714-1792* (Barnsley, UK: Seaforth Publishing, 2007)

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, Sept^r. 1st 1782

Sir,

Your letter Received Yesterday Relieved me from a great deal of Uneasiness, as M^r. K[eating] Simons¹⁹⁰ came down two days before & informed me, that he was apprehensive, from the Accounts he had heard, that your Brigade had been defeated, a Total route Ensued & that they had suffered severely; Under these impressions, you may Judge what must have been my feelings on Receipt of your letter Yesterday__ I most Sincerely Congratulate you Sir, on your Triumph over the deep laid Schemes of our inveterate enemies__ Their disappointment in a plan they had depended so much on must chagrine them far more than their loss¹⁹¹__ Your account of the behaviour of the Militia reflects great honour on them & Exhibits an Example worthy of Imitation by the rest of their Brethern¹⁹²__ with respect to the Prize you mention I would have you by all means carry the proclamation into force against her in the most rigid manner; also with regard to any others that might be taken,¹⁹³ For notwithstanding every Exertion, the Charlestown Markets are amply supplied with all kinds of Provisions by a parcel of mercenary infamous wretches, who make lucre their only object, no matter how diabolical the means they pursue to obtain it or how prejudicial it may be to the Interest of their Country.

I am, sir,

Your most Obdt. hum. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
190. Keating Lewis Simons served as a major in Marion's brigade (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 865). He was a close friend of Gen. Marion's future wife Mary Esther Videau, being heir to one-half of her estate and executor of her will (Charlestown County Will Book E-1807-18, 528).
191. Mathews implied he believed that the attack at Wadboo had been a planned action against Marion specifically, although it is clear from Marion to Greene of Aug. 30, above, that Maj. Fraser actually had no idea Marion was in the area.
192. Marion's description of the showing by the militia at Wadboo was in distinct contrast to earlier recent reports from other militia districts. Gov. Mathews was livid about the lack of loyalty shown by the South Carolina militia, as seen in his letters of May 27, and Aug. 29, above, which were undoubtedly impacted by letters from Benton to Mathews of Aug. 20, and Davis to Marion of Aug. 24, above. Although Marion mentioned the performance of the "new made whigs" to Greene in his letter of Aug. 30, above, he did not mention them in the letter to Mathews. Marion's total force at Wadboo on Aug. 29 was not stated. However, as seen in Philip Pioleau's letter to Marion of Aug. 28, above, it may be inferred that as many as 180 former Loyalists may have been in the engagement.
193. Details of Mathews's proclamation are not known.

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

Watbo 2^d Sept 1782 8 OC AM

S^r

Yourse of the 31 Aug^t came to hand. The Enimy retreated to Daniels Island, Drove 80 head of Cattle which they took along the road.¹⁹⁴ The state Caveldry fit for duty is not more than thirty at present. The Loss of my Ammunition Waggon,¹⁹⁵ Leave me not more than three rounds p^r Man & I have Just heard Major Frazer is Joined by a body of Infantry & Returned to Quinby Last night[.]I expected they woud have com on & I Laid an Ambuscade in the road they must come. I stayed all night in hopes of Giving them the Last Load we had, but there halt, make me think they are collecting stock & provisions¹⁹⁶ & my Ammunition so Little, it woud be Imprudent to risk an Action against so superior Caveldry & numbers of Infantry to support them, I shall retreat to S^t Stephens, untill I can git Ammunition from Geo. Town. I will send you the returns as soon as possible.

I have the honer to be
Your Ob^t serv^t

Fran^s Marion

NB I Learn, that the Enemy Beury'd five men on the road from here to Hugers Bridge. Had three Officers & Six privates & two Neegros wounded. They tok two of my out picquets which I did not know when I wrought you my last, & two men more on the road five miles from here one they Cut badly, the other they paroled,¹⁹⁷ one of their wd [wounded?] horses Died at Silk Hope.

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

194. On the subject of the British force that Marion had engaged a few days earlier, see his letter to Greene of Aug. 30, above.

195. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 30, above. Joseph Johnson wrote that Marion's men went to the local population after the battle, pleading for ammunition (Johnson, *Tradition and Reminiscences*, 379; PNG 11:621).

196. See Greene to Marion Sep. 4, and Marion to Greene, Sep. 8, both below.

197. See Marion to Greene, Aug. 30, above.

Capt. James McCauley¹⁹⁸ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

St. Marks September 2d, 1782.

D^r. General

The Conduct of Samuel Cantey for some time past, has been such that he has been suspected by almost every Person in this Neighborhood for Carrying on most infamous practices; ¹⁹⁹ the inclosed papers I make no doubt will appear to you our Suspicion is not groundless, I need not be particular in giving you a detail of his Proceedings,²⁰⁰ as M^r Robert Simons²⁰¹ has promised to wait on you, & being fully acquainted with the matter, would beg leave to Refer you to that Gentleman. I Congratulate you on the success you obtained in the late skirmishes with the Enemy.²⁰² Should be happy you would honour me with the particulars.

I have the honour to be

With due Respect Yours &c. &c.

James McCauley

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

198. James McCauley served 468 days as a lieutenant and captain in the militia under Gen. Marion from 1780-82 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 599).

199. This may have been Samuel Cantey of St. Mark's parish, the son of John Cantey. Cantey served as a private horseman in the militia under Col. Richardson and Gen. Marion between Sep. 1781 and Nov. 1782. In a Sep. 9 letter to Marion, below, Cantey responded to McCauley's accusations, saying that others were confiscating slaves as well, and that his fault was "keeping bad Company & being deluded by them." After the surrender of Cornwallis in Oct. 1781 Marion gave a ball at the home of John Cantey to celebrate the victory (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 145; Cantey to Marion, Sep. 9, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Ames, Joseph, "Six Generations of the Cantey Family of South Carolina," *SCHGM*, 11 [1910], 31).

200. The "inclosed papers" are not found. Cantey's plea to Marion of Sep. 9, below, suggests that Cantey was removing slaves from Loyalists plantations along with others.

201. A Robert Simons served under Gen. Marion, but nothing more is known (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 865).

202. The reference here is to the fighting at Wadboo Plantation on Aug. 29.

John Stapleton²⁰³ (Dep.-Adj. Gen.-British) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Charles Town September 3d, 1782

Sir

I am directed by the honorable Lieut. General Leslie to acquaint you, that in consequence of a Requisition made by you some time ago, he Gave Permission for Provisions & Necessaries to be sent here for the prisoners captured at different times from the Party under your Command, & that such supplies might be forwarded under Sanction of a flag of Truce, whenever you should judge necessary to send them;²⁰⁴ But the Lt.-Gen^l is sorry Sir, to find that such indulgence, instead of being Confined to the humane uses intended, that of feeding & Clothing your prisoners, is made to answer the most improper purposes; for the boat which last arrived here, was loaded with Stock provisions for private families in Town, & on its Return some negroes were conveyed away from Town in that very boat__ This being the Case, & in Order to prevent such abuses in future, the General desires, sir, whenever any provisions, &c. are sent for your Prisoners, the boat that brings them, shall be with that sole intention, that a proper Flagg-master, shall take Charge of them & deliver to our Commissary of prisoners an account of the quantity of every Species entrusted to his Care, That no article of any sort shall be suffered to be put into the boat, Except Provisions, Cloathing & Necessaries for the prisoners, unkimder pain of having the whole seized; &, finally, that no person, White or black, or any goods, merchandize, &c.&c., shall, on any pretence be taken from hence without Express leave of the General.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most Obdt & most hum Servant,

Jno. Stapleton, Dep^y.-Adj^t. General

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
203. John Stapleton was commissioned a cornet in the 17th Foot in 1777. He became an intelligence officer while serving in New York. He was promoted to captain at the end of Dec. 1780 and presumably sailed south with his regiment and the British fleet to attack Charlestown. At some point in 1781 he became Deputy Adjutant General. (Worthington Chauncey Ford, *British Officers Serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1783* (Brooklyn, NY: Historical Printing Club, 1897) 166; John Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes: Espionage in the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1959), 325).
204. The "Requisition" has not been found. This was the first mention of provisions being sent to the prisoners in Charlestown. Marion had complained on numerous occasions that the militia prisoners were not being treated properly (See Marion to Mathews, Jun. 16; Greene to Marion, Jul. 9; Marion to Greene, Jul. 16; Mathews to Marion, Jul. 19; all above).

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

Head Quarters [Ashley Hill,] Sept 4th 1782²⁰⁵

Dear Sir

Yours of the 2d came to head quarters yesterday while I was absent. I was down below and learnt that Frazier was not satisfied with his last affair and determined to try another attempt.²⁰⁶ Should the enemy remain out there please to let me know whether they could be struck at by a body of infantry sent from this Army and by what route they should move to effect it and at what place you would form a junction with them. If it can be affected I send a detachment for the purpose and will hold them in readiness until I hear from you.

If one Bruce comes to your Camp confine him for I have very good reason to believe he comes as a spy; and I believe it was he that brought Frazier upon you before.²⁰⁷

The Enemy are still out to the Southward and General Gist is there with the light troops watching their motions. I would not wish therefore to detach from this Army any More troops unless the object was pretty certain.²⁰⁸

I am dear sir

your Most Obed humble Ser^t

N Greene

NB Gen^l Gist has taken one of the Enemy's Gallies near Port Royal.²⁰⁹

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

205. This Sep. 4 letter has a Sep. 3 date on the docket, in which the 3 is crossed out and replaced by a 4. (Janet Bloom, MiU-C).

206. This intelligence was false. Fraser had not resumed the offensive See Marion to Greene, Sep. 8, below (*PNG*, 11:624n).

207. As per *PNG*: "Bruce" may have been David Bruce, a Charlestown printer. In 1782, the South Carolina legislature ordered that he be banished and his property seized. Although Bruce's initial appeal was rejected, the confiscation order was lifted in 1784. (*PNG*, 11:624n).

208. Gen. Mordeai Gist informed Greene on Sep. 4 that "intelligence that the Enemies Vessels were in Bufort River, and that ships mentioned in my last containd a reinforcement of Rawdons Corps and a detachment of Hessians under Major Doyle, I thought it expedient to defer their march." He also reported a truce reached with "Major [William] Brereton & the Inhabitants of Port Royal & S^t Helena Islands" (Gist to Greene, Sep. 4, 1782, *PNG*, 11:626). On Aug. 27, Maj. Brereton led the surprise attack in what became known as the Battle of the Combahee. When Lt. Col. John Laurens, with only a small force of 40-50 men identified the British ambush, he probably had no idea that he was actually confronting a force of between 140 and 300 British Regulars. He charged instead of taking the practical measure of withdrawing and awaiting the arrival of Gen. Gist's force. In the charge, Laurens, a rising star of the Revolution with a potentially bright future, but one whose bravery often got him and his men in trouble, fell mortally wounded (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:642-44).

209. Gist's light infantry fired on two British galleys at Port Royal Ferry on Sep. 1. The *Balfour* ran aground as it pulled away from the American fire. Although the British scuttled the ship, the Americans were able to salvage its provisions and repair the ship (Gist to Greene, Sep. 2, 1782, *PNG*, 11:619).

Robert Blair, Esq. to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Charles Town, September 7th 1782

Sir,

Altho' I have not the honour of being acquainted with you, I return you my most humble & hearty thanks for your favour & Great humanity shown my Wife when in the greatest distress & persecuted by some of her neighbors, & for the protection you afforded her, which must shew your Benevolence & goodness of Heart.²¹⁰ I would next beg leave to Address you on my own Account, as being unfortunate Enough to be on the Confiscation List. I must acknowledge my attachment to the British Government from principle; but surely, sir, you yourself, who must have acted from principle also, & from your steady & unwearied perseverance in that Cause which you deemed to be the right one__ I hope will not Condemn that in me, which you have done with so much honour to yourself & Country. I would further beg leave to Acquaint you, That I have been very Anxious to leave this Town, which I would have done some time past but for the Reason above mentioned, Except my loyalty, I hope there is nothing Else can be Alleged against me. I have always been of a Pacific disposition & am Entirely Clear of the Exceptions in your laws, such as murdering, plundering, house burning &c. I Reckon to prefer a petition to the Assembly when they meet, setting forth my Case; and as I am informed some of the Acts will be repealed, I am not without hopes, Especially if a gentleman of your Character & influence would Espouse my Cause, & which I hope I shall not solicit in Vain, from your Innate goodness to Assist the distressed.²¹¹ It does not suit me to follow the English any longer__ It is said they are to Evacuate this Town next Month, The nine Sail of Victuallers & three of Merchant men, with goods arrived two days ago;²¹² be that as it will I am heartily tired of this place, & have had time Enough to repent of my folly__ If I shall have the good fortune to be Restored, I shall undoubtedly be a good subject of the State of South Carolina. If unfortunately it should be otherwise, I shall always regret having ruined my Wife & Children more than anything that Can befall myself, tho' at this time in my fiftieth year. I hope your honour will Excuse my detaining you so long upon a subject so interesting to myself. If you will or Can Grant me protection for myself & what few Negroes I have, I will go out the first opportunity. If I cannot obtain that__ Should be Glad to know if I can stay in Town after the Evacuation, otherwise must go to Augustine or some of the Islands till the Act is Repealed in my favour by the Assistance of my friends. I hope I have several, never having injured any Individual to my knowledge.²¹³ I wish you health & happiness & that you may live long to protect the distressed & Unfortunate. With high Esteem & due Regard

I am, sir,

Your most Obdt. hum. Servt.

Robert Blair

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
210. Mrs. Robert Blair had earlier presented herself to Gen. Marion to request that slaves given to her child, and subsequently confiscated by Lt. Col. Maurice Murphy, a regimental commander in Marion's brigade, be returned. By his letter of Apr. 6, above, Marion ordered Murphy to return the slaves or face charges of plundering. He also forbade Murphy from taking "possession of any of the Confiscated Property..." In addition, Marion sent Mrs. Blair with a letter of the same date, above, to Lt. Col. John Grimke, commissioner of confiscated estates, informing him of the situation.
211. Robert Blair was on the confiscation list as one who "held a commission under his Britannic Majesty and was now with the enemy." His name was removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced 12%. Blair was a lieutenant in the Loyalist Cheraw Militia. He is shown as being a "refugee lieutenant," in Charlestown from May 1 to Dec. 31, 1782 (*Statutes*, 4:516-25, 6:632-35; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 37).
212. These are presumably the transports mentioned in Farr to Greene on Sep. 9. Thomas Farr wrote "That eight victualling Ships, and five vessels loaded with dry Goods" had recently arrived in Charlestown (*PNG*, 11:639).
213. Blair's whereabouts prior to his pardon are not known.

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

S^t Stephens 8 Sepr 1782

Sr

I recd yourse 3d Inst.²¹⁴ Finding the report of the Enemy returning not true, I did not send to you sooner.²¹⁵
They all went from Daniels Island to James Island on munday Evening.

As soon as I can get my Ammunition ready will again take post at Watbo.²¹⁶

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

214. The referenced letter, above, has a Sep. 3 date on the docket, in which the 3 is crossed out and replaced by a 4 (Janet Bloom, MiU-C).

215. See Greene to Marion, Sep. 4, above.

216. Marion was at Wadboo when he wrote Greene on Sep. 24, below (PNG, 11:637n).

Samuel Cantey to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

September 9th 1782

Honoured Sir,

May it please your honour to hear my petition which I humbly beg you may, as I am in fault in taking them Negroes; but at that time many other was taken; but if your honour would please to favour me, as it was a wrong thing done by me to meddle with things that was not my own, but keeping bad Company & being deluded by them which It was a Custom that they made use of & said that I could not be hurted for Tory property & that they would make use of all Chances they could Get__ besides many other things, & being young & knew not the Ill Consequences that was to attend after, but thought that If such things could be done, it was so much taken from the Enemy might be counted good property, but now I see my folly & See that it is not right, but it is like Stealing, & nothing but Ill Consequences attends such things & now I beg for God's sake that your honour may have pity & Compassion on a poor petitioner. I beg that you may consider my poor family, for which they may be left to suffer all their days if I am taken from them & now it lies in your honours breast to relieve them & have compassion on me, for I have brought shame & disgrace upon myself & all that is Related unto me & this I beg that your honour may please to Grant a poor Petitioner pardon for his Offences. I hope I have not committed the unpardonable Crime, & if your honour would please to look over this Crime, I will restore the Negroes unto where they were taken from, & be a means of bringing in some of those who was the Instigators of my being brought to what I am__ so I Remain²¹⁷

Your humble Petitioner

Samuel Cantey

P.S. If your honour please, I beg an answer from your hands.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

217. In his letter of Sep. 2, above, Capt. James McCauley wrote Marion concerning Cantey, who was removing slaves from Loyalist plantations, either with the advice of or in conjunction with others in the area, who either thought that it was lawful to steal from Loyalists, or simply felt that they would not be caught. The outcome of Cantey's petition is not known.

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

S^t Stephens 10th Sept^r 1782

Sr

Inclosed is the Monthly returns of troops Under my Command, there is some at the S^o Ward, as Drivers & Guards on the Islands which I have not been able to get a return of as yet but will get it as soon as possible²¹⁸ & will transmit a return in the begining of every month in future. My movements has been so Often & rapid I could not have done it regularly.

A Letter from Colo [Richard] Lushington, say that he is very Apprehensive the Enemy will turn their Attention towards Geo Town or Wacomaw, as they faild of their purpose to the S^o Ward,²¹⁹ he also mentions a fleet being off Ch^s Town Bar.²²⁰

I have the honor to be
your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

218. Greene had asked for the return in his letter to Marion of Aug. 31, above. It has not been found (*PNG*, 11:642n).

219. These fears turned out to be unfounded, and the British made no such move (*PNG*, 642n).

220. Thomas Farr wrote to Greene on Sep. 9 "That eight victualling Ships, and five vessels loaded with dry Goods" had recently arrived in Charlestown. It is probable these were the same ships (*PNG*, 11:639).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, September 13th 1782

Sir,

Yours of the 10th Inst. came safe to hand Yesterday²²¹ __ The mode I have adopted in taking substitutes is to oblige all under 50 to furnish two substitutes, & all above 50 One substitute, which is Conforming to the Militia Law as near as can be __ All those who have surrendered since the time limited by my invitation I have paroled till the meeting of the Legislature, to be dealt with as they think proper²²² __ A copy of the parole I now Inclose you, I am entirely of opinion with you that a body of good Cavalry will be indispensably necessary to restore Order & good Government in the different parts of the Country, after the Enemy have quitted Ch^s. Town, For there are a parcel of Infamous wretches whom the habit of Plundering has taken such fast hold of, that nothing but a Military force will ever be able to subdue, & that force must be Cavalry. But, unfortunately for this Country, we have not the means of Procuring men to Put such a Corps on the respectable establishment they it ought to be __ However as Mayhams Corps at present Stands, I flatter myself we shall be able to put it on a very respectable footing as soon as we Can get into the Town.²²³ By the determination of the Councill, the substitute money is All to be applied to raise Recruits for the Continental Line of this State; Therefore any application of it towards recruiting State Troops would be improper __ You mention those who agree to find substitutes give 25 Guineas, they are to procure the substitutes, cost what they will; at the same time Great Caution should be used that they do not go beyond 30 Guineas, otherwise, it would ruin our Recruiting Service __ I therefore think the best way would be for them to pay the money into your hands, & you to recruit the men, by which means you will be able to prevent the service being Injured by Exorbitant Bounties²²⁴ __ I think the State's share of Seizures that are made under my Proclamation of the 14th of March last²²⁵ Cannot better be applied than to the purpose you mention, That is, recruiting Mayham's Corps & which I very much approve of, But I could wish you to reserve as much out of the first Sales as will pay Harris for the Waggon you purchased of him, for I Can with Truth assure you, that I have no present means or a prospect of any until we Get into Ch^s. Town of satisfying this or any other demand against the State __

221. The Sep. 10 letter has not been found. It was presumably similar to that sent by Marion to Greene on this date, above.

222. Gov. Mathews apparently modified his policy for giving pardons as explained in his letter to Marion of Mar. 18, below. The Legislature had inexplicably failed to pass legislation to handle Loyalists who presented themselves after the Legislature recessed in late Feb. Mathews developed a policy whereby one condition for pardon was to supply two substitutes to the militia. In the letter to Marion, no age specification was included. The final determination of pardon was left for the Legislature to decide when it next convened. Mathews's policy, as outlined in Mar. 18 letter, bore little resemblance to the Militia Law of 1782, passed Feb. 26.

223. Gov. Mathews expressed similar concerns about the need for cavalry in his letter to Marion of Aug. 20, above. At that time, however, he lamented the condition of the cavalry and his inability to supply money necessary to maintain the regiment, under Maj. James Conyers since the consolidation of the two regiments.

224. There is no recent mention of the payment of money in lieu of supplying substitutes. Apparently, Mathews and the Privy Council, faced with Loyalists who could not produce two substitutes, but desirous of buying their way out of militia duty, developed a policy for payment in lieu of service in the militia. Mathews implied that the money was being paid to Marion, who would then secure the substitutes. This revised policy, whereby the substitute money would go to recruiting troops for the SC Continental regiments, penalized the militia. Mathews here provided Marion with a path to ensure that the substitutes were obtained for the militia.

225. Mathews's proclamation of Mar. 14, above, provided sanctions against those who "have persisted in the unwarrantable and infamous practice of supplying the enemies of the United States with provisions." The proclamation authorized the seizure of both goods themselves and the vehicles used to transport them. If a hearing by a magistrate and three freeholders determined that the contraband should be forfeited, the person who identified the offending goods was given one-half and the other half was "to be sold for the benefit of this State, and the neat proceeds lodged in the Treasury thereof." (*South Carolina Gazette*, Mar. 27, 1782).

As the Council have declined their Assent to selling any more negroes until the Enemy quit the State²²⁶ ___
I am Glad to find, by the Surrender of the party you mention that the Northern parts of the State are now clear
of the disaffected, I don't apprehend any danger now from Fanning²²⁷ ___

Our printer has began to Publish his Paper again & I Inclose you one of them.²²⁸

I am Sir,

Your Obdt. hum. Servt.

Jno Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
226. Marion apparently suggested that proceeds from the sales tied to Mathews's Mar. 14 proclamation go to re-equip the Maham's former regiment, now commanded by Maj. James Conyers. Mathews first wanted to pay Mr. Harris who, as seen in Capt. William Richardson's letter to Marion of May 26, above, had been contracted to deliver guns and ammunition to Marion and to the militia in Georgetown.
227. The identity of the "party" to which Mathews referred is not known. David Fanning had chosen not to seek pardon. Marion wrote Horry on Jun. 9, above, that Fanning had thirty men with him, and warned of a possible attack on Georgetown. Instead, Fanning with some of his followers left the Pee Dee area Jun. 14 for Charlestown. He fell in with some Virginia Continental en route. Once within British lines, Fanning is said to have asked Leslie almost daily for a command and the assurance of "a handsome reward" for bringing Marion's and Greene's heads into Charlestown (Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 284). Fanning's hatred for Marion was reflected in Greene's advice to Marion of Jul. 10, above, "It is said that Fanning is determined to have you dead or alive therefore, take care of yourself."
228. It is believed that the paper was the *South Carolina Gazette*, apparently first published in Apr. 1782, as revealed in Mathews to Marion, Apr. 18, above. The paper's publisher Benjamin Dunlap apparently did not publish during the summer of 1782 due to illness (See Mathews to Marion, Jul. 19, above).

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, September 13th 1782

Sir,

I have just Received yours of the 12th Inst. by Major Conyers.²²⁹ I Certainly will not Give Colo. Mayham leave to Give up the Horses you mention, & I think it Extraordinary he should attempt to release them without my permission.²³⁰ I should imagine he would hardly presume to disobey your Orders, but if you apprehend any danger I will Immediately send you a press warrant to Cover them from being taken away.

I am Sir,

Your most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

September 13-14, 1782 – The British garrison decisively repulses a Franco-Spanish attack on Gibraltar.

229. The letter of Sep. 12 has not been found.

230. Lt. Col. Maham was on parole, as a result of his capture on May 16. Although effectively not on duty, he apparently attempted to release horses he had previously impressed when organizing his cavalry regiment, now commanded by Maj. Conyers.

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

[Ashley Hill] Sep^t 15th 1782

Dear Sir

I have recieved your letter by M^r Pollock with the returns enclosed.²³¹

Intelligence from Town induces me to believe the enemy are making preparations for another expedition after provisions and that the neighbourhood of George Town will be their object if there is a large quantity of provisions near that place.²³²

I beg you will take measures for removing the rice if possible or for effectually covering the country from the ravages of the enemy. I am unable at this distance to determine with precision the position you ought to take or the measures you have it in your power to pursue to oppose to their design; You will therefore adopt the plan which you think most eligible.²³³

I am &c

N Greene

Df (MiU-C), Parks.

231. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 10, above.

232. The British did not conduct another foraging expedition into the area of Georgetown (PNG, 662n).

233. See Marion to Greene Sep. 24, below.

Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Camp Blufort²³⁴ 18th Sept 1782 –

The Sedition Act makes every person who goes or attempts to go to the Enemy or who gives any Intelligence or Supplies them with Provisions or any Article, Death without Benefit of Clergy²³⁵ –

This is to Acquaint all persons that By Virtue and Power Invested in me that I Shall take up every person who comes under the Above Law and on proof send them to Jail to be tried by the Next court.

All Persons who have Surrendered to me and are Liable to do duty for Six Months in the Militia agreeable to a Late Law passed at Jacksonborough are Required to Join My Brigade to perform duty or give two Substitutes to Serve for three years or during the war in the Continental line of this State.²³⁶ Those who do not Comply will be taken into Custody and Delt with agreeable To the Militia Law without Distinction. Those who are Above fifty years of age must give One Substitute or Perform Six Months Duty²³⁷ --

O'Kelley, BCADM, 741.

234. Camp Blufort was at Bluefield Plantation, which is now under Lake Marion, near Eadytown, SC.

235. Apparently, Marion was invoking The Sedition Act (No. 1017), passed by the Legislature on Apr. 11, 1776 (*Statutes*, 4:343-46).

236. The referenced “late law” was the proclamation made by then governor John Rutledge on Sep. 27, 1781, above. Rutledge pardoned Loyalists upon service of six months in the militia. By Act 1157, dated Feb. 26, 1782, the South Carolina legislature granted pardon to those who applied between Dec. 17, 1781 and Feb. 26, 1782, contingent on paying an amercement of 10% on their holdings. There was no mention of substitutes in this act. The only mention of service in the military was the stipulation that any who had no estate “shall do nine months militia duty, or enlist in the Continental service” (*Statutes*, 4:526-28).

237. The Militia Law of 1782 (Act 1154) targeted those who failed to “Comply” with the militia regulations. For many infractions the penalty was enlistment in the Continental army for one year. More serious violations could involve penalties up to and including execution. Capital crimes included those associated with plundering and espionage. The only mention of substitutes in the Militia Law of 1782 had to do with “persons who have found substitutes in the regiments of horse” (*Statutes*, 9:682-87). Marion was perhaps confusing a policy generated by Gov. Mathews and communicated to Marion on Mar. 13, above. Marion’s orders indicated that anyone who sought pardon was to do duty in the Militia OR supply two substitutes to serve in the Continental South Carolina regiment.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge September 18th, 1782

Sir,

I have written to you by Major Conyers Respecting Mayham's Corps,²³⁸ also what must be done with those persons who come out of Ch^s. Town, Since the time specified in my Invitation__ The refugees have obtained permission to remain until the 26th Instant²³⁹__ I proposed a plan to Colo. Lushington some time ago, for manning the Galley at Georgetown. I have not since heard from him on the subject.²⁴⁰ If that plan does not take, I know of no other at present; for as I have before observed to you, I have no money, nor have I the means of Commanding any. It would be a mere Trifle for the Merchants & Inhabitants in & about that place to Advance as much money, or Something Else, as would fit out the Vessel; & they are the most Immediately interested in it__ A few years ago the Public Spirit of our people, would have Stimulated them to do such a thing without being Asked; but alas! that seems now to be Vanished²⁴¹__ M^{rs}. Matthews is now on her way from Philadelphia, & I Expect she will be at the high hills of Santee about the 7th of next month & as the road from Laurens's ferry to this place is very dangerous, I must desire an Escort might be sent to meet her at the ferry, & conduct her down to my Quarters. Let the Escort be at Laurens's by the 7th & send on one of the men to Capt. Richardson's, to wait there until she arrives (if she should not be there before) that she might know the Escort waits for her, otherwise, she may stay there a day or two, & I don't want the men to be absent longer than Necessity Requires__ You are a better Judge than I am what number of Horse will be sufficient to render her passage safe. Therefore shall leave the appointment of the party to you__

I think it would be well to caution the person who is to command the party, not to say for what purpose they are ordered, lest some Villains might be tempted to way lay the Road before she gets to the ferry, for she has only one white man & two Negro Servants with her & Capt. Richardson Informs me there are some bad men in that Neighbourhood who have lately plundered several people. If it would not be fatiguing the Horses too much or attended with particular inconvenience, I could be Glad they could be sent as far as Capt. Richardson's to meet her.²⁴² However, I shall leave the matter to you, as I dare say you will be disposed to accommodate her as far as the service will admit.

Yours, &c. Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

238. In a Sep. 13 letter, above, Gov. Mathews informed Marion that he would not honor Lt. Col. Maham's attempt to release the impressment orders for horses from the regiment Maham previously commanded. Apparently, Mathews sent Marion a subsequent letter that mentioned the Maham issue, but it has not been found.
239. This "Invitation" may refer to an addendum to the Mar. 18 policy for pardoning Loyalists. In his Mar. 18 letter to Marion, above, Mathews outlined the conditions for pardon for those who came out after the recess of the legislature. The governor mentioned nothing about "refugees" obtaining "permission to remain until the 26th Instant." Presumably, the reference here was to Loyalist men or Loyalist families who Mathews gave until Sep. 26 to return to Charlestown.
240. Richard Lushington, a militia officer and Charlestown merchant prior to that city's capture, was one of the South Carolina citizens whom the British had temporarily exiled to St. Augustine. (*Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:444). Lushington became the commander of the post at Georgetown--presumably after the retirement of Col. Peter Horry in late July (*PNG*, 11:373). At this time, Georgetown was an active port of call for privateers bringing needed supplies for the Continental and militia armies in exchange for indigo. As a result of the British threat, a galley under the command of Capt. Jacob Milligan was sent to Winyah Bay. In addition to protecting Georgetown from the British navy, he also took action to thwart the practice of illegal trade with Charlestown (Bridwell, *Port*, 29; See also Marion to Horry, May 25, above). As seen in Lushington's letter to Marion of Oct. 31, below, conflicts between Marion and the commandant arose over the management of Georgetown's trade and the chain of command involving Capt. Milligan.
241. Gov. Mathews continued to vent his frustration over his inability to govern the state. In a similar letter of Aug. 20, above, the governor lamented to Marion concerning the deteriorating condition of the state cavalry regiment, "I Cannot Command the means of making it better; I have in two or three Instances involved myself in a vast deal of trouble by making Engagements which I thought I should have been able to Comply with, but, on Experience have found myself deceived, &, in Consequence of which I have embarrassed myself Exceedingly & brought on myself much unmerited Censure, for which reason I am determined never to pass my word for a Guinea without I have the means in my hands of fulfilling the Contract the moment it becomes due__ therefore I have no present means in my hands, nor the least prospect of any before the meeting of the Legislature, it is utterly out of my power to furnish the money to re-engage Mayhams men. I can only Lament the injury the State must be subject to by this unlucky circumstance, for it is not in my power to remedy the evil. . . "The details of the various Engagements with which Mathews was unable to comply are not known. There is no record of the "Censure" to which he referred. Mathews was quite possibly simply over-stating the situation. Although the legislature was not in session, by the authority granted him through Act 1143, "An Ordinance for the Better Defence and Security of this State, during the Recess of the General Assembly", dated Feb. 6, 1782, the governor was empowered "to do all other matters...necessary to secure the liberty...of this State..." (*Statutes*, 4:504-06, 508).
242. Mathews himself had returned to South Carolina from Philadelphia at the beginning of Aug. 1781. Mrs. Matthews stopped in the High Hills of the Santee at Bloom Hill Plantation, where Capt. William Richardson maintained a supply depot. Despite the withdrawal of the British, Mathews's request for an unadvertised escort indicated the dangerous conditions from Moncks Corner to his headquarters at Uxbridge on the Ashley River. The concern was not about interception by Loyalist forces, but attack by bandits, whose loyalties were flexible.

Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Hd. Quarters September 18th, 1782

D^r Sir,

Gen^l Greene has this moment received information that a detachment of the Enemy are gone up Cooper River, their object is not Ascertained__ It is said to Consist of more than 400 Men & that they left Town yesterday noon²⁴³__ The General desires me to transmit you the information for your Security.

I am Respectfully Yours,

I. Burnet,

Aide de Camp

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

243. Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko reported that a "M^r W" (possibly a reference to Gen. Andrew Williamson, who was in British custody but may have been spying for the Americans at the time) had seen Maj. Thomas Fraser cross the Cooper River with 100 cavalry. It was thought that Fraser planned to meet up with a party of infantry on a foraging expedition or attack Francis Marion (Kosciuszko to Greene Sep. 20, 1782, *PNG*, 11:680). In response, Greene dispatched Maj. Richard Call to the Goose Creek area. Call reported to Greene that Gen. Marion had no intelligence of enemy activity, but expected new information soon. See Marion to Greene, Sep. 24, below. Call himself had found no evidence of activity since Sep. 18 (Call to Greene, Sep. 23, 1782, *PNG*, 11:691).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to [Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene?]²⁴⁴

Watboo 20th Sep^t. 1782

Sr.

I recd Yourse of the 18th. Am much Oblige to you for the Offer of a wagon, it is very true the State cannot afford me one, but am fiting an Old one up which I took Last year from the Enemy.

The Information of Maj^r Burnet²⁴⁵ I believe is some mistake as I cannot find out where these 400 men is, or that they have come out of town, but shall keep a good lookout__

I have the honor to be with

Respect, your Ob^t S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (Sotheby's, New York, Jun. 11, 1974, lot 77)

244. No recipient is listed, but context suggests this letter was addressed to Greene. He had knowledge of both the State's financial situation and the letter sent by Maj. Burnet of Sep. 18, above. In addition, there is no other known response from Marion to Burnet's letter.

245. Gen. Marion here referred to Greene's aide-de-camp Maj. Ichabod Burnet's Sep. 18 letter, above, in which the latter warned Marion of a potential foraging mission by the British under Maj. Fraser. There was no subsequent evidence of such a mission.

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

Prince Williams Salt Ketcher Sep^t. 20th. 1782

Sir,

Your letter of the 9th August last I have received by Capt. Youngblood,²⁴⁶ wherein you desire to take all defaulters of my Regiment who refuse to do duty agreeable to orders either to try them in my Regiment or to send them down to be tried in your Brigade that is out the latter you'll think best & which I approve of & will conform thereto.²⁴⁷ Capt. Youngblood has not attended according to appointment which has delayed my Carrying your Orders into Execution__ I should be Glad to know if you have given him orders to the Contrary. I think it will be useless without assistance to Endeavour to Get them out As I have many times endeavoured to turn them out agreeable to your Orders without Effect. They are of Opinion that they will not be Oblidged to Comply with the law & think you will not send after them as they are fed up & have contrary opinions instilled into them²⁴⁸__ I will appoint Officers to the three Companies who are without, & order them out on duty; & should they remain refractory, I must send them down to you to be dealt with as you shall think proper, with some assistance (if agreeable to you) Interim.²⁴⁹

I am,

Your most Obdt. hum. Servt.

W^m. Davis, Lt. Colonel

P.S. I do not know if you have received my last Letter with the returns annexed, twas the best I could make at that time__ but when I can turn out the regiment, & the men are more obedient to Orders, I will send you a Correct Return,--- It is impossible to send you the names of the Contumacious till the Companies are Officered & ordered out, & will Comply.²⁵⁰

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

246. This was probably Peter Youngblood (d.1794) who served as a captain in the militia during 1780, 1781 and 1782. After the war Youngblood was twice elected to the SC House. He also continued in the militia attaining the rank of colonel around 1788 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1022; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:791).

247. Communication between Davis and Marion was haphazard. Here the former referred to an Aug. 9 letter from Marion (not found), which apparently was not received prior to Davis writing to Marion on Aug. 24, above. Before August, Davis was apparently having a difficult time enlisting the militia, which explains Marion's Aug. 9 proposals for courts martial, above. In his Aug. 24 letter, Davis presented an improved picture, although Loyalists were still refusing to report.

248. Davis was obviously not in control of his district. That the men were "fed up & have contrary opinions" was indicative of the lack of support the district received from the Patriots until the withdrawal of the British to Charlestown. The large number of the "refractory" presumably gave them confidence that Marion would not be able to send enough men to bring them into line. In addition, they apparently were not concerned about the penalty for ignoring the summons: doubling the length of duty from one month to two months. Gov. Mathews had reached a state of frustration as well, as demonstrated in his letter to Marion of Aug. 29, above, "I am Clearly Convinced nothing will do with the Southern Militia until you are at leisure to undertake the management of them."

249. It is unclear whether Davis was referring to the enlisted men or the officers. It may be presumed, however, that based on his admission that vacancies for officers existed in three companies, he had not been successful in filling the officer ranks.

250. Davis enclosed a regimental return in his letter of Aug. 24 but it has not been found.

Capt. Alexander McGregor²⁵¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Echau,²⁵² September 23d 1782

D^r General,

I Received yours of the 23d Inst. & am much surprized of your being Informed of my supplying the British with Cattle & that one Joulee were my driver your informer is not Just__ Joulee did Drive some cattle from the N^o. Side of Santee River to the south side for me__ but the most of them were breeding Cattle, which I did not think was against your Orders to Drive to this side. I Could wish the whole of the Americans (though I say it) were like myself__ I would freely give my all to serve my Country, & indeed it has Cost me most all & will still Give the remainder of it were in my Power, the British should not Eat nor drink of what belongs to the Americans__ I Always Could Give my friends a Drink of Grog or a Cup of Coffee until now, which plainly shews the dealing I have with the Enemy, & indeed has been plundered so Often, that I have no Cloathes to wear on Credit, nor as much hard money to purchase them,--- If I have traded, I must Either have had money or Cloathes, but I Can declare I have neither__ I beg General you will satisfy me in letting me know the informer__ You know when I found what were carrying on, I beg of you to let me have a few men, & I could Give you abundance of satisfaction in Serving from Echau to the mouth of Santee, but you never were kind Enough to do it__ You say my Conduct has deceived you. I am heartily sorry for it; I am in hopes you will still have a better opinion of me than what you Express at present__ I am sorry I am obliged to write, as it is not in my power to come to you at present, but I shall wait on you as soon as I possibly Can__ I have always Executed your Orders as far as I have been able, & indeed have Got a good Deal of Ill will for Executing of them; but were it to do again, I should do it, or any Order you may give me, either on friend or foe. I always made it my study to see that they was Executed, My men should have been in Camp before now, but the most of the relief are sick, There is Winningham & his sons that say you told them to Collect the publick Cattle, they do very little at it. I will be Glad you will let me Order them to Camp, & with your Order will put one much more fit than they & are not of much other service, my Lieutenant that was to go with the men, is moved out of the parish. If nothing happens in about a month I flatter myself I shall be able for Business & shall be able to Give more Satisfaction. About ten days ago, I had some Idea of some blacks Collecting 15 or 20 Horses near me, I pursued them, but Missed them;²⁵³ they Carried of the Horses safe & for fear of my pursuing them they pulled up Oindaw Bridge²⁵⁴ to Cover their Retreat, & went off Clear, I shall be much obliged to you for a Copy of the Militia Law. I have some men that Deserve to be made Continentals of, but think I had better send them to Camp to be tried.²⁵⁵

I am, D^r. General,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Alex^r M^cGregor

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

251. McGregor had been a trusted spy for the Patriot cause (Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 200). See his letter to Marion of Jun. 5, 1781, above, concerning the arrival of reinforcements.

252. Echaw is located on Echaw Creek that flows from south to north emptying into the south side of the Santee River.

253. As the war wound down, incidents of the use of black dragoons increased.

254. Oindaw is an Indian word, currently Awendaw. The Oindaw bridge probably referred to a bridge over the Awendaw Creek on the road between Georgetown and Charlestown in the vicinity of the current Rt. 17.

255. Under the Militia Law the penalty for willfully disobeying a commanding officer was "a term not exceeding one year, in the continental service." (Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:684).

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

Watboo Septem^r 24th 1782

Sir

Yesterday I Received a letter from Major [Richard] Call, at Smiths in Goose Creek, by his account he Expected the Enemy were out, but I have heard from Haddrells & Daniels Island late Yesterday & no troops out.²⁵⁶ Marquis Rockingham's Death has made a Change of Ministries; Lord Shelburn at the head of who is our Inveterate Enemy which I conceive will prolong the War;²⁵⁷ however I have Certain Intelligence that Steps are still taken to Evacuate, & am very sanguine it will take place by the 15th Next month.²⁵⁸ If your Cavalry will take post on Goose Creek, it would secure my right, & I would have a better opportunity to shut up my left, they being so near in your front would prevent every necessary from being carried in Town, & secure your Position & mine. The Communication would be so near each other that a reciprocal support wou'd be in Three hours. I must beg pardon for this hint, I wish not to Exceed the station I am in & pay every deference to your superior Judgment. Should the Enemy attempt me, I am determined not to quit this ground without I am forced. I have now twice the Number of men in the field that I had when Frazer made his appearance, & I can make my Musters stand their ground.²⁵⁹ I could wish a more frequent Intercourse of Intelligence could be between us. At present I am acting without the materials from the southward to form a Judgment of my security.

I have the honor to be
with Respect & Esteem
Your Obedt Servant

Frans Marion²⁶⁰

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC), Parks.

256. In response to word from Kosciuszko that the British under Maj. Fraser had crossed the Cooper River, Greene dispatched Maj. Call to intercept Fraser in the Goose Creek area. Fearing that the British were initiating a major foraging expedition, Call marched with 120 cavalry to act in concert with Marion. Neither Marion nor Call found any evidence of enemy activity, prompting Call's recall on Sep. 23. (See PNG: Kosciuszko to Greene, Sep. 20, 11:680; Call to Greene, Sep. 21, 11:684-85; Burnet to Call, Sep. 21, 11:685; and Call to Greene, Sep. 23, 11:691; PNG, 11:695).

257. The change of the ministry put the resolution of the conflict between Great Britain and the United States in confusion. As Washington wrote to Doctor James McHenry, "Our prospect of Peace is vanishing." Prime Minister Charles Watson-Wentworth, Marquess Rockingham, who had favored bringing the war to a conclusion, had died in July, and his replacement, William Petty, Earl Shelburne, was determined to renew British attempts to subjugate the colonies. Washington wrote, "That the King will push the War as long as the Nation will Men or Money, admits not of a doubt in my mind." However, Shelburne did eventually concede to inevitability of granting American independence (Washington to McHenry, Sep. 12, Fitzpatrick, *George Washington*, 25:151; PNG, 11:648n).

258. The evacuation was not completed until Dec. 14 (PNG, 11:695n).

259. See Marion to Greene and Marion to Mathews, Aug. 30, both above, as well as the summary of the action at Wadboo Plantation, above.

260. Greene's reply, if any, has not been found.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews

Watbo, September 24th 1782 (Copy)

Sir,

Enclosed is a Copy of a letter wrote Gen^l Greene,²⁶¹ If you wish to stop all Intercourse with the Enemy & prevent any supplies being Carried into them, the position hinted for the Generals Cavalry is the only means to Effect it²⁶² __ The Change of the Ministry indicates a prolongation of the War,²⁶³ Our lenient Countenance towards those people who have surrendered to us & are carrying a Continual Trade of Provisions to the Enemy has Oblidged me to warn those people that they will be taken into Custody under the Sedition Act²⁶⁴ __ So Great a Trade is carried on along Wambaw & Goose Creek to supply the Enemy, that all my Vigilance to stop it is fruitless, & I find to stop this Trade of feeding the Enemy, must be Effected by taking every person adjacent to Town & make them prisoners, or keep them a great distance from their plantations, & remove all their Possessions. Without such a mode It is Impossible to prevent the Infamous Practice __ I have already gone in some respects in this measure, which I hope will meet with your & the Counsells approbation __ What I have gone into in this respect is only threats, but wish to carry them into Execution. My opinion on this particular Junction is, that we should Act with a determination against every man, whatever, who may be found playing a false game, without which a small reinforcement will ruin everything in the former channel,²⁶⁵ This Oblidges me to be more particular in having the State Legion Compleated by every means that can be thought of²⁶⁶ __ As Continental Cavalry cannot be Commanded for that Service, which I am Certain you have found by Experience, believe me good Sir I wish to be Clear of every Publick Employment; but to retire when my Country calls for my poor Abilities, I should Call it Cowardice, & am determined, notwithstanding my debilitated Body, to do everything in my Power to see this once happy Country Enjoy its former Liberty.²⁶⁷

I am, with respect & Esteem,

Your Excellencies Obd. Servant,

Fr^s. Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

261. The referenced letter to Greene of Sep. 24 is above.

262. In his Sep. 24 letter, above, Marion suggested that Greene place the Continental cavalry at Goose Creek. Not only would the deployment better defend the Patriot lines, he argued, but it would also serve as a deterrent to the illicit trade.

263. Marion to Greene, Sep. 24, above.

264. The Sedition Act (No. 1017) was passed Apr. 11, 1776 (*Statutes*, 4:343-46).

265. As preparations for the evacuation of Charlestown progressed, the illicit movement of supplies to town increased. Elevated demand resulted in higher prices being paid by the enemy, a result that further exacerbated scarcity by reducing the supply available to the virtually bankrupt Continental and militia armies. Marion placed much of the blame on Loyalist families and slaves. Marion here demonstrated the desperation of the situation by proposing to invoke the Sedition Act of 1776, as explained in his order of Sep. 18, above: "The Sedition Act makes every person who goes or attempts to go to the Enemy or who gives any Intelligence or Supplies them with Provisions or any Article, Death without Benefit of Clergy."

266. Marion proposed utilizing the State Legion that had been organized out of the previous regiments commanded by Hezekiah Maham and Wade Hampton to control the flow of goods into Charlestown. He pointed out, however, that to be effective it would be necessary to fill the Legion to a full complement. On Aug. 20 and Sep. 13, above. However, Mathews had written to Marion about the impossibility of bolstering the cavalry at that time, since the state was without funds.

267. It is not clear why Marion brought up the subject of his own frailty here. He was 50 years old at the time, but there is no indication elsewhere of his illness or discomfort in the service.

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

Watboo 29th Sept. 1782

Sr

Inclosed is the Intelligence recd from Ch^s Town, which is Coroborated from a number persons.²⁶⁸ An Officer who came yesterday from Daniels Island say that he heard very heavy firing of[f] the Barr that day & was told it was a fleet, supposed the one which is to take off the Garrison.²⁶⁹

I send thre[e] soldiers of the S^o Carolina Line: Henry Blackmore of thefirst Reg^t for the war, Inlisted with the British & Deserted them came to me to Obtain a pass to the Northward; Henry Woodward Condemned by the malitia Law to serve During the war; Tho^s Stevenson Virginia Reg^t Deserted near 96.

I have the honer to be

Your Obed^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

268. The enclosure has not been found.

269. On Sep. 28, an unknown informant wrote Greene that “30 Sail of transports” have arrived “of[f] the bar” from New York; Gen. Leslie has issued orders for “all the Loyalists & others who intend to leave the town” to ready themselves “without Loss of time”; the “Provincial Cores” will all be sent to St. Augustine, with “as many of the Militia as they can get to go,” and are to be “incorporated with Brown” (Unknown Informant to Greene, Sep. 28, *PNG*, 11:704). Other intelligence included in a Sep. 23 letter from Capt. William Wilmot to Maj. Ichabod Burnett indicated that 57 ships lay in New York harbor, awaiting orders to sail. The first British convoy, consisting of 27 ships, left New York on Sep. 20 (Wilmot to Burnet, Sep. 23, 1782, *PNG*, 11:693, 694n). The convoy arrived off the bar at the end of September (Unknown Informant to Greene, Sep. 28, 1782, *PNG*, 11:704). Greene also wrote Gen. Benjamin Lincoln on Oct. 3: “A fleet of transports from N York have arrived and some vessels from Jamaica and it is reported that a fleet from Halifax are hourly expected from Halifax” (Greene to Lincoln, Oct. 3, 1782, *PNG*, 12:21).

Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Ashley Hill 29 Sep-2 Oct 1782]¹

[Sir,}

There are a number of prisoners, both Regulars & Tories at George Town which Gen^l Greene wishes to have sent to Ch^s Town immediately for Exchange__ & the Commissary of Prisoners is too sick to attend to the business.²⁷⁰ The General desires you will immediately send a proper Officer with instructions to George Town to take charge of all the prisoners of War, & take them to Ch^s. Town & Offer them for Exchange Tories for our Militia & Regulars for our Continental Troops. The men for whom they are Exchanged he will receive from the British & march them to Head quarters, should they refuse to send out Militia for the Tories, he must take a receipt for them from a British Officer, specifying the names, rank & time of delivery. If they will not give an Equal number of Militia of the same Rank, or such a receipt, he must bring them back, He must not Give up the regular or seamen without receiving an Equal number of our Continentals Troops & Seamen for them__ He will Immediately make a Report to the Commissary of Prisoners at headquarters of the number of Prisoners he receives at George Town mentioning whether they are seamen Tories or Regulars & specifying their names, that he may send to the British Commissary more particular orders before he Can get to town with the prisoners

I am very Respectfully

Your most Obdt. Servt.

I. Burnet

Aid De Camp

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

270. Samuel Warren was the American Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners.

October – December

1782

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. Ichabod Burnet

Watbo 3d Oct. 1782

Sr

Yourse (without a date,) come to hand.¹ Your Commisary of prisoners wrought to the British Commisary not to make any Exchanges but what came through him, therefor refuse treating with me. I sent Major Warden with four officers & 40 men which surrindereed to him (the last of the PD Toreys) but they woud not Exchange nor give a recipt & woud not own them. They ware Left in town.²

I have no Idea of the Destination of regular prisoners or Malitia prisoners of War. This must be Left to the Commisary of prisoners who have Effectually prevented me from making any Exchange.³

I am s^r with much Esteem
your Ob^t s^t

Frans Marion

RCS (MIU-C), Parks.

-
1. The undated letter from Burnet about a prisoner exchange ordered by Gen. Greene, is immediately above.
 2. Major John Warden brought the last of the Pee Dee Loyalists to Georgetown (Lushington to Greene, Sep. 14, 1782, *PNG*, 11:659n). Under Gen. Francis Marion's treaty with the Pee Dee Loyalists, the latter were liable to service in the South Carolina militia. Based on Greene's orders, communicated by Burnet in an undated letter, immediately above, the 40 Loyalists were taken to Charlestown for exchange. It is presumed that they refused to renounce their allegiance to the Crown. See also Marion to Greene, Jun. 9, above, and Marion to Greene, Aug. 30, above.
 3. On Oct. 23, Burnet negotiated a general exchange of prisoners in the Southern Department on. Five days later, Capt. Samuel Warren, the American Commissary of Prisoners, directed Marion, below, to forward the prisoners at currently being held at Georgetown to Charlestown (*PNG*, 12:23-24n).

Maj. Keating Simons to Maj. Ichabod Burnet

Watbo October 5th 1782.

Sir

By desire of Gen⁴ Marion I herewith Inclose you a Monthly return of the Troops under his Command, which beg you will forward to the Adjutant Gen^l, being unacquainted with his name

I am respectfully Sir Your Most Ob^t Serv^t

Keat^g Simons

Assist^t M. B.

[Assistant Brigade Major]

Barnwell, "Letters to Greene," 53.

4. Keating Simons was a brigade major (DeSaussure, *SC Regiments*, 32). At this time, he was apparently operating as an assistant.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, October 6th 1782

Sir, Your letter of Yesterdays date is just come to hand,⁵ There is but one way in which the Negroes you mention are to be dealt with, That is, as they were taken in Arms, they must be tried by the Negro Law of this State, & if found Guilty, executed, Unless there are any whose Cases are so far favourable as to Induce the Court to Recommend them to mercy, then the Executive Authority may interpose & pardon them, Exemplary punishments on such notorious offenders will have a very salutary Effect, especially at this time⁶__ With regard to the subject of the trade carried on with the town, which you wrote to me about some days ago, I have not been able to Collect a Council to Advise with them on that subject, as they have almost all of them been so much indisposed, that they have not been able to attend to business, However it would not be amiss still to hold up the threat of Subjecting offenders to Trial under the Act⁷ & in the meantime to Seize & Condemn whatever is taken from them in the Utmost Latitude of my Proclamation.⁸ The Enemy have lately sent some of their Emissaries in the Country to persuade the people, to Carry all the provisions into them that they can Collect, in Consequence of which they are thronging to Town in such Drove, that the guard at Bacon's Bridge, detachments from the Army, & even individuals, have made a Great Number of Seizures, which have been condemned__ This timely Exertion has so far deterred them that for several days past they seem to have Given up their lucrative Game, as no Seizures have been made, so that their Execrable Policy has failed them for once.⁹

I am, Sir, Your most Obdt. Serv^t.

Jno Mathews

P.S. The Enemy have abandoned James Island.¹⁰

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

5. The letter of Oct. 5 has not been found.

6. The context implies that the men in question were serving as soldiers, since they were taken in arms. There is no other mention of an action involving black soldiers at this time. Mathews was presumably referring to among others, Act 725, an amendment to the original Act 476: "Better Ordering and Governing Negro and Other Slaves." The original act is not extant. However, the amendments clearly call for execution of black slaves found under arms (*Statutes*, 3:193, 647-50).

7. In his letter of Sep. 24, above, Marion informed Gov. Mathews that the illicit movement of supplies to Charlestown had prompted him to threaten offenders with enforcement of the Sedition Act, should they continue. The penalty specified by the act was death. Marion summarized the sedition act in his orders of Sep. 18, above: "The Sedition Act makes every person who goes or attempts to go to the Enemy or who gives any Intelligence or Supplies them with Provisions or any Article, Death without Benefit of Clergy."

8. By his proclamation of Mar. 14, above, Gov. Mathews strictly forbade "provisions of any kind being carried or attempted to be carried within the enemies lines, at the same time forewarning all persons whom it might concern, that the vessels, carriages, horses, oxen and negroes, which shall be taken carrying, or attempting to carry, provisions of any kind, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, together with the loading on board such vessel, or carriage, will be liable to seizure, and on conviction, forfeited, the one half to the person or persons, so seizing the same, and the other half to the use of this State."

9. The increased activity by the British was undoubtedly in preparation for the imminent evacuation of Charlestown. The town was finally evacuated on Dec. 14.

10. The British abandoned James Island on Oct. 5, 1782 (*PNG*, 12:7n). James Island had been important as a military post for its defensive location across Charlestown Harbor, as well as being one of the last remaining sources of supply for the city. From the Patriot standpoint, the British withdrawal from the post confirmed the inevitability of the impending final evacuation of South Carolina.

Maj. James Conyers to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

(Travellers rest) October 9th, 1782

D^r General, This will be handed you by Captⁿ. Taylor, who comes to attend the setting of the board of Officers, Captⁿ. Simons's resignation ends the dispute between him & Capt. Taylor, Captⁿ. Martin claims the same as Captain Simons, he was left out in the Consolidation; how that matter is to be settled you are the best Judge, a few & a very few of the Jun^r. Officers think Simons's resignation ought not to Continue; both Martin & Taylor & that if Taylor is the youngest he ought to be left out,¹¹ but I hope he will not, I have Inclosed the different Claims as I am Confident I shall not be able to Ride so far__ I am now an object of Pity, & the fever continues__ Capt. Nelson¹² informed me you (as usual have been helping us in Cloathing). It is to you, & from your favourable assistance only, that we can make that appearance, or be Enabled to do that Service to our Country that is Expected from us__ The Governour is poor, & I find Contracted in his opinion of Matters in general, that he has no resource Unless he has money, no strategem, no policy, & in short, he is poor__ My Compliments to Simons, Muller, Edwards, Elliot & Neufville¹³ & Receive the best respects from, Dr General, Your most Obdt.& very hum. Servt.

James Conyers

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
11. On Aug. 4, Marion presided over discussions about the consolidation of the regiments of Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham and Maj. James Conyers. At that time both Capt. Samuel Taylor and Capt. James Simons were included in the consolidation. Why a subsequent dispute arose is not known. Both Taylor and Simons were infantry captains in Maham's legion. However, Taylor's commission pre-dated that of Simons by three days. James Simons was promoted to captain on Mar. 1, 1782, and commanded the 4th Infantry Troop of Maham's Dragoons (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 707n1558). Samuel Taylor had also been in Marion's brigade before his transfer to Maham's Legion. Capt. Martin may have been Barkley Martin who served as a lieutenant under Capt. Drury Pace and Gen. Moultrie at Sullivan's Island. During 1777 he was a captain. In addition, he served as a militia lieutenant and captain under Col. LeRoy Hammond during 1780 and 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 657).
 12. This may be Captain John Nelson, who served in the militia from at least Apr. 1, 1781. During this time he was promoted to captain. He commanded a company in Marion's Brigade in Oct. 1782, and had originally enlisted in the militia in 1775 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 744n1709).
 13. This group may have served as Marion's inner circle. Keating Simons served as a major in Marion's Brigade (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 865). Albert Muller served as a brigade major under Gen. Marion in 1781 and 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 709). After the war Muller continued in the militia and served as Marion's aide at Fort Johnson. In Marion's resignation letter to Gov. Charles Pinckney of Nov. 10, 1789, below, he recommended Maj. Muller to succeed him as commandant of Fort Johnson. Marion's Orderly Book entry of Oct. 17, 1781 noted the appointment of John Edwards as "Aid DeCamp" (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 703). Thomas Elliott served as a lieutenant and captain in the militia and was aide-de-camp to Gen. Marion from Jul. 3, 1781 to Dec. 14, 1782 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 290). William Neufville was a surgeon from 1779-80. After being taken prisoner at the fall of Charlestown, he was exchanged on Jun. 14, 1781 (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 725). Dr. Neufville continued to serve with Marion through at least Oct. 1782.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge October 15th, 1782

Sir, Those Gentlemen who had for some time been so much indisposed as to prevent their attendance in Counsel, having recovered their health, enabled me Yesterday to Convene a Counsel,¹⁴ when I laid before them your letter respecting the propriety of Altering the mode of Punishment for persons carrying on a Clandestine trade with the Enemy, from that pointed out by my proclamation of the 14th of March last, to that pointed out under the Sedition Act, when after mature deliberation, the Counsel were of opinion that an alteration in the mode of Punishment would by no means be advisable at this Junction;¹⁵ But at the same time Earnestly recommend that the proclamation before mentioned should be carried Vigorously into Execution, which, in their opinion was very well calculated to put a stop to that iniquitous Commerce. I am Sir,

Your Obdt. Servt.

Jno Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

14. Gov. Mathews referred to the Privy Council elected at the 4th General Assembly on Jan. 30, 1782. Members elected were Edward Rutledge, Thomas Sumter, Richard Beresford, Morton Wilkinson, Samuel Smith, Peter Bocquet, and John Lloyd. Christopher Gadsden was elected as the eighth member after his resignation as Lt. Governor. Upon Sumter's resignation the following day, future governor Benjamin Guerard was elected to the Council (Journal of SC Senate 1782, 29). Beresford (1755-1803) studied at the Middle Temple in London before returning to Charlestown to practice law. He was a volunteer at the siege of Savannah in 1779, and later served as captain and aide-de-camp to Gen. Moultrie at the siege of Charlestown. After being captured at the fall of Charlestown, he was imprisoned at St. Augustine in Nov. 1780, and exchanged by Jun. 1781. He served on the Privy Council from 1782-1783 and was elected lieutenant governor in Feb. 1783. He was a delegate to the Confederation (formerly Continental) Congress from May 1783 to Jun. 1784, and was elected to the SC House for the 4th, 5th and 6th General Assemblies. (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 458; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 65; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:67-68). Guerard (1739-88) represented St. Helena Parish in the South Carolina House of Representatives, and was serving on the Privy Council when his fellow legislators elected him to succeed John Mathews as governor on Feb. 4, 1783. Trained for the law in England, he had returned home and been admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1761. Guerard, who was a son, grandson, and brother of South Carolina legislators, served several terms in the colonial and state legislatures before the capture of Charlestown in 1780. During the early years of the war, he also served in the Charlestown militia and reportedly loaned some £20,000 to the state. Guerard was held for a time on the British prison ship Pack-Horse and is said to have tried to help his fellow prisoners during that time by offering his estate as security to the British. Guerard served as governor until 1785 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 292-93; *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 2:294-98, 3:293; *Journal of the SC House*, 1783-84, 93; Greene to Clay, before Mar. 15, 1783; *PNG*, 12:421).
15. Mathews's proclamation of Mar. 14, above, did not prescribe a penalty for smuggling goods into Charlestown, other than confiscation of the goods and the mode of transportation used to move them. In his letter to Mathews of Aug. 24, above, however, Marion suggested invoking the Sedition Act to stem the flood of goods being carried to Charlestown. The Sedition Act treated supplying provisions to the enemy as a capital crime (*Statutes*, 4:343-46). Marion indicated that he had begun threatening to use the act as a deterrent, as his brigade orders of Sep. 18, above, attested, "This is to Acquaint all persons that By Virtue and Power Invested in me that I Shall take up every person who comes under the Above Law [Sedition Act] and on proof send them to Jail to be tried by the Next court."

Christopher Gadsden to Gov. John Mathews (copy to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion)

October 16, 1782.¹⁶

May it please your Excellency--as your Excellency has taken the whole matter of the late agreement with the British on yourself¹⁷ and that by the Executive authority and executive, &c., mentioned in the 4th article, your Excellency is to be understood.¹⁸ I was in doubt with myself (and took a day or two to consider further of it) whether there would be occasion to trouble your Excellency with the tittle mentioned but, as I still unhappily differ from your Excellency in opinion, and am persuaded, if from nothing else, from the want of precision lest in the expression of that Article the state at large will be led to think the privy council are made a party thereto, and, of course myself a member thereof, as I dislike the agreement. Very cogent reasons oblige me to send your Excellency my formal disapprobation thereof nearly in the words. I immediately drew a rough sketch on seeing it, which I then shew'd to those gentlemen of the Council [which] I mentioned to your Excellency, and should have sent it to your Excellency had not the council been summoned so soon. The doctrine broached at the last council, which I never heard or suspected before, that the privy council [is] in no case part of the Executive is in my

opinion very alarming. It tends to make them insignificant and the next step is when an opportunity offers to expunge that body altogether from the constitution, and prepare the way to reduce this Government to a kind of Principality. I have frequently in the assembly taken notice how great an eye sore the privy council seemed to be to some gentlemen amongst us and what indirect strokes were often aimed at them; that the Governor is the sole ostensible Executive of the State is readily granted; further that in all acts wherein he is not particularly retrained by law, he may be said to be absolutely so, but in such laws, wherein it is expressly directed that he shall not act, but by the advice and consent of the privy council, there they are certainly part of the Executive. For I have ever learned, that whatever is essentially necessary to a thing, that, that thing cannot exist without it, must belong to it and participate of its nature, so that in the last case, whenever the law request that when a Governor is inclinable to do a certain Executive act, that Executive act shall not be done but by the advice and consent of the Privy Council; if it be done without such advice and consent, it is illegal; therefore they are certainly a sine quibus non, to make the governor act legally in such instances and consequently in such cases are a necessary part of the Executive, and the individual members thereof may be said to be parties thereof. What confusion this can occasion, or how by this omission there can be ten Governors in this State instead of one—notwithstanding what a learned or any number of learned lawyers whatever may say, I can not conceive. Besides in case of the death of a Governor, during the recess of the assembly will not the Lieutenant Governor immediately succeed [and] in case of his death too, one of the privy council. Does this not shew they belong to the Executive, their participation of the Executive is but sometimes in particular cases and that only internally or privately (as a privy council) without any external authority whatever; this belongs solely to the Governor or Commander in Chief. This or something like it, I take to be the intention of the words in the 11th article of the Constitution “in manner herein mentioned” placed immediately after, to modify and restrain the words “that the Executive authority be vested in the Governor and Commander in Chief”; otherwise those words must be altogether nugatory and put for no purpose whatever. I will now beg leave to trouble your Excellency with the letter already mentioned.

May it please your Excellency I have seen the agreement with the British, dated the 10th, and find by its 4th Clause that, as a particle of the Executive tho' unconsulted, I seem to be made a party therein, to promote

-
16. Marion Correspondence, NYPL. This is a copy received by Marion. The N.B. was apparently not affixed to the original letter to Mathews. Gibbes includes a version from the now-lost Peter Horry manuscripts. Gibbes' copy includes the reference to “the Governor” in the nota bene presumably refers to Governor Mathews, thus explaining why the N.B. was not included in Mathews's letter (Gibbes, Documentary History, 3:234-38).
17. Trade in the city had been taken over by British merchants during the occupation. Gov. Mathews agreed to allow them to sell their remain goods and collect debts after the British evacuation. The governor hoped the British would reciprocate by returning slaves they had confiscated or who had fled to their lines, but in this he was ultimately disappointed. (Walsh, Gadsden, 179n; David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina* (Trenton: Isaac Collins, 1785), 2:384).
18. Article Four of the agreement committed the state executive to exert “its whole power and influence, both in its public and private capacity, shall at all times be exerted for the purpose,” of preventing confiscation (Walsh, Gadsden, 180n; Ramsay, *Revolution of SC*, 2:371-78).

its acceptance with the public that occasions my troubling your Excellency by Letter as my conscience and duty oblige me to declare, that I disapprove almost every article; indeed I am not able to see any pressing occasion we had for any further meeting with the enemies Commissioners after the last, convened at their request, broke up which I was not sorry for, as we have so greatly the advantage of them in point of British property to lay our hands on when we please. This they well knowing, no doubt occasioned so much anxiety on their side for a further meeting. The agreement itself appears to me extremely injurious to the public and [I] fear it will involve us in endless consequences. British lawsuits no doubt, our courts will be filled with but these are trifles to what might be mentioned. The exception in the first article, is not only in my humble opinion imprudent and impolitic with regard to ourselves, but, when taken with the 2nd has unfriendly (if not inimical) aspect towards our sister states. Its 8th article is in the last degree humiliating. The great and tenderest care seem to be taken of the British Interest, Honor, and even delicacy throughout the agreement, while our rights and what is essential to our honor and interest are totally omitted, or not mentioned with that unequivocal plainness and precision and that decisive firmness we had room to expect. The whole agreement carries such manifest appearance of timidity and over cautious fear of offending the British, that instead of hastening it has a natural tendency, when considered with the situation of the State for this last campaign, to retard their departure to the last moment they possibly can in hopes that (as only exterior advantages on their side oblige them to think of an evacuation) some external good luck may turn up in the interior to bring about a recall of their Orders. The plentiful markets and great trade they have already had with our people during the whole summer, the prospect of still greater when the crops come in together with no small advantages they may promise to themselves if they can but stay to dabble through their emissaries at our ensuing election, must of themselves be strong allurements to a watchful enemy, not to hurry away sooner than is absolutely unavoidable. And must not their inducements be still stronger when they consider what is too glaring to escape them, the lax situation of our government for want of courts, notwithstanding the parade of an assembly sitting at Jacksonborough, the preference too currently given them of all kind of necessities for their specie and goods, rather than to our own army which has been more than once in want, even of our common staple rice and beef for several days together and (I wish I may not soon experience more alarming wants than any they have hitherto felt, if something more vigorous than in terrorem threats is not speedily and resolutely fallen upon) is no small addition to their other advantages. Above all are not the enemy sure that our army cannot compel them to go away or restrain them from making incursions almost anywhere for many miles, except just about the spot they occupy. These must be great incitement for them to stay if possible, at least they must encourage them to revisit us upon any favorable turn when the Gents accepted in the first article will be of more service than ever, as having experienced they can put a confidence in them and of the most dreadful consequence to us, by having such powerful arguments to induce others to join them, and exert themselves to the utmost, to do us as much mischief as they possibly can, finding they will thereby recommend themselves the more to the British and stand the better chance to insure them protection upon a pinch. In my humble opinion, better the whole value of these fellows should be lost altogether, than that the public should countenance so dreadful a mischief. The agreement too seems so particularly careful of the great negro owners, that I wish the country at large may not think their honor and safety sacrificed to that particular species of property! The inhabitants near the sea are principally concerned in negroes; has their conduct during this campaign been so particularly meritorious? Their interest has indisputably occasioned more danger to the State than their fellow citizens, with less of that kind of property. Has that prompted them, as it ought to have done to exert themselves the more in its defence? Have they not, excepting a very few, been the most backward in the State during these critical Times to turn out? Not only so, Have they contented themselves with being merely negative? From whence have the enemy been all the summer so plentifully supplied and continue still to be so, but chiefly from them? I could trouble your Excellency with much more on the subject—but I forbear, as I am afraid it will be too warmly agitated by and by. My duty to the State and regard to my own reputation, not desiring to be looked upon as a party to promote what I disapprove of, has extorted this letter from me which I hope will not give your Excellency any offence, which is far from my intention, for believe me, Sir; no man more sincerely wishes that your administration in these very difficult times may prove not only serviceable to the public but also more honorable to yourself and meet with general applause than I do. I had some thoughts of reserving my opinion on this measure in my own breast, until the

assembly sat, but upon further consideration it appeared uncandid to your Excellency and looked too much like cunning, which I abhor.

I am, with great respect,
your Excellency's &c., &c.,

"C. G."

N. B.—The former part of this letter does not enter into the merits, whether the Governor had a right to exercise that particular act of agreement with the British solely of himself. But only takes up Mr. Rutledge's assertion in the Govs. fav[our], that the privy Council were a part of the Executive in no case whatever.

Tr (Bancroft transcripts:NN), as printed in Walsh, *Gadsden*, 179-83.

Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Near the Governor's Quarters [Jacksonborough], October 21, 1782

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 18th I received yesterday by Mr. Ferguson, on his return from Accabe, his commission about the Negroes being at an end.¹⁹ 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, they had not the least right to make such a demand on the General.²⁰

I should be extremely happy to have it in my power to oblige you, and serve Col. Horry whose perseverance, firmness and merit must be evident to every body. Should the agreement be received, which I think there is little probability of, you may be assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to serve him, Col. Horry and as Col. Moncrieff²¹ has the negroes, [Moncrieff] who is one of the principal opposers of the agreement being complied with, I will use my endeavors with the Governor if he can do it with propriety to make a particular demand for them. The measure was certainly amazingly to the advantage of the British nation; and, if their troops here had not as little spirit with regard to them, as our people manifestly shew with regard to this State (by that damned communication with the Town, which has now overrun all Banks) they would gladly have complied with the agreement to a tittle; but private interest on their side has overset it. Leslie has been very anxious about it for months past, and seen the advantages we had over him and made several overtures before it was brought to a point.

For my part my friend I was always for keeping coolly the ground the assembly left us, pointing out to the enemy the glaring superiority we had and, at the same time hinting that if they wantonly distressed us, the assembly however willing of themselves would certainly make use of the means in their power to do the State justice. This as often as I had opportunity in private conversation with the Governor I constantly gave as my opinions.

However his Excellency thought otherwise and without consulting the privy council at all made the agreement himself; as soon as I saw it, I was very sorry for it, looking upon it as weak in itself, unnecessary, impolitic, humiliating and big with bad consequence to the state, and finding by the penning of the 4th article, that the privy council seemed to be made parties thereto; tho' never consulted upon that ground, I took the liberty to write to his Excellency, expressed my disapprobation of it in the warmest terms, and pointed out many of its defects.²² This I mention to you as a friend.

We are all indebted to you my dear Sir; and I shall always be happy to have it in my power to discharge part of my public debt to you by rendering you any agreeable service.²³

They still talk of the Enemy's evacuating soon. I cannot but hear of the motions tending thereto as well as others, but seeing no reasons from *within ourselves* to oblige them to go away and but too many for their

19. Thomas Ferguson was one of the prominent Charlestown residents exiled to St. Augustine after the surrender of Charlestown. After his release and delivery to Philadelphia in Jul. 1781, he returned to South Carolina. Ferguson, along with Morton Wilkinson and Joshua Ward, were named commissioners by the SC Legislature "to purchase an Estate of the value of Ten thousand Guineas in Trust and for the use of the Honble Major General Greene,---" (Biog. Dir. of SC Senate, 125).
20. Maj. Michael Rudolph of Col. Lee's command under Greene. Rudolph captured three British soldiers in a raid. In response, sixty-three slaves claimed by Carolinians were withheld by Gen. Alexander Leslie (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:613-14, 620, 660; Ramsay, *Revolution of SC*, 2:379-84).
21. Col. James Moncrieff (1744-93) of the British forces was an engineer and ordinance officer who employed slaves in his work. He carried away about 800 upon the evacuation of Charlestown (McCrary, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:661; DNB, 13:617-18; Walsh, Gadsden, 184).
22. Gadsden lashed out at Gov. John Mathews in his Oct. 16 letter to the governor, a copy of which he sent to Gen. Marion. Gadsden, in no uncertain terms, told Mathews that he disagreed with Mathews's position on negotiations with Leslie regarding cessation of Loyalist estate confiscation, and on granting the rights of Loyalists to adjudicate their claims against Patriots. He implied that Mathews's actions were illegal since Act 1143, passed by the General Assembly on Feb. 6, clearly indicated that actions taken by the governor when the General Assembly was in recess required the "advice and consent of the Privy Council (*Statutes*, 4:504-06, 508). Gadsden had written Mathews on Oct. 16, a copy to Marion, above, "that Executive act shall not be done but by the advice and consent of the Privy Council; if it be done without such advice and consent, it is illegal; therefore they are certainly a sine quibus non, to make the governor act legally in such instances and consequently in such cases are a necessary part of the Executive, and the individual members thereof may be said to be parties thereof."
23. It is unclear how and why Francis Marion became Gadsden's confidante for six letters between Oct. 16 and Nov. 17.

staying, I am still--and shall not think they intend absolutely to go until I hear they are over the bar; all their manoeuvring seems to be attended with a mixture of as much delay as possible, as if they still waited further orders, and were determined not to go a moment before they could possibly avoid it. I am, dear sir,
your most obedient servant,

Chris Gadsden

P.S. Pray remember me to Col. Horry, and all enquiring friends with you.

Tr (Bancroft transcripts:NN), as printed in Walsh, *Gadsden*, 184-85.

Lewis DeRosset²⁴ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Ch^s. Town, Oct. 25th 1782

Sir, The Commissioners appointed by Gen^l Leslie & Gen^l Greene having settled the Exchange of Prisoners.²⁵ The purport of Dr. Neufvill'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 Parole²⁶ __ You will be pleased on your part to send in here all the Regulars & Militia that may be with you. I have the honor to be
Sir Your most Obdt. Servt.

Lewis Derosset, C. G.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

24. Lewis DeRosset was British Commissary General and former lieutenant general in the North Carolina militia who fought at the Battle of Alamance against the Regulators in 1771.

25. Gen. Greene's aide, Maj. Ichabod Burnet, negotiated a general exchange of prisoners in the Southern Department on Oct. 23 with Maj. James Wemyss. This was the same British officer who, in late 1780, had burned and plundered much of the Pee Dee region, destroying 50 plantations. He was later critically wounded when his command was surprised by Thomas Sumter at Fishdam Ford Nov. 9, 1780 (See letters of Burnet to Marion, presumed between Sep. 29 and Oct. 2, and Marion's response of Oct. 3, both above).

26. It may have been that Dr. Neufville was to be dispatched to Charlestown to examine the prisoners prior to the exchange.

Capt. Jacob Milligan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town, October 27th, 1782

D^r General, After a small Cruise of six days after two of the Enemies Galleys, I arrived last Evening quite late,²⁷ & in the morning Early my Lieut. had intelligence of a Sloop going loaded with Tobacco and Rice for Ch^s. Town without any flagg but a pass filled up in this place from the Governour, dated the 13 July last. I only want to know whether there is any later proclamation, or if this method of Carrying Trade wh the Enemy is allowed by the Gov^r. or not, for I like to have had my Eyes pulled out by only putting an Officer on board until I saw the Passport which was filled up after I had done that matter, then discharged him from on board,²⁸ If [such it trafficking] is allowed of, I would be Glad to be informed by letter from your Excellency & am Sir with respect,

Your most Obdt. Servt.

Jacob Milligan

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
27. The galley under the command of Capt. Jacob Milligan was sent to Winyah Bay by May 25. In addition to protecting Georgetown from the British navy, he also took action to thwart the practice of illegal trade with Charlestown (Bridwell, Port, 29). See Marion to Horry, May 25, below. Milligan commanded the galley *Revenge* from May 1782 to Mar. 1783 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 683).
28. Milligan, initially believing that the ship was carrying goods to Charlestown, placed a lieutenant onboard to prevent it from sailing until the issue of the pass was clarified. In his letter of Oct. 31, below, Milligan referred to Marion's Oct. 28 response (not found) to this letter. Apparently, Marion ordered Milligan to seize the cargo of tobacco and rice. As seen in subsequent correspondence through Nov. 13, the seizure, while based on cautionary orders from Marion, was ultimately a cause for consternation for its owners, attributable to a mistake by Gov. Mathews in mis-identifying the ship.

Capt. Samuel Warren to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Ashley Hill] October 28th 1782²⁹

Sir

I am directed by Major Gen^l Greene to request you will have all the regular & Militia Prisoners who are in George Town immediately sent into Chs. Town under a guard.³⁰ I shall be Glad to know whether there are any Sailors in George Town Prisoners.³¹

I am Sir, with Esteem

Your most obdt hum. Servt.

Sam^l Warren

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC), Parks.

29. Warren, the American Deputy Commissary General (of prisoners), was presumably writing from the Southern Army's camp at Ashley Hill (PNG, 118n).

30. Burnet negotiated a general exchange of prisoners in the Southern Department on Oct. 23 (DNA: PCC, 2:135-37, DNA). Per the agreement:

- all British prisoners of war were to be sent to Charlestown, specifically, including those held at Georgetown;
- all regular officers of similar rank were to be exchanged;
- unexchanged officers were to have their paroles extended;
- all militia and citizen prisoner, both American and British, were exchanged;
- passports would be granted to those who desired to repair “within the British lines. . .”

31. Col. Richard Lushington asked Gen. Greene to exchange “Sixty marine Prisoners” jailed in Georgetown for seamen then held on prison ships in Charlestown Harbor. Lushington, a former Charlestown merchant who was part of the American contingent sent to St. Augustine in 1781, had returned to South Carolina. Why he was in Georgetown at this time is not known. However, he claimed to be intent on obtaining crews to sail Continental ships, and another privateer that he was preparing to sail. By the end of June, as a result of the retirement of Peter Horry, Lushington became commandant of Georgetown (Lushington to Greene, Jun. 26, 1782, PNG, 11:373).

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

Watboo 28 Oct. 1782

Sr.

There is a Number of prisoners of war, with me, I do not know if they are Exchangd in the Lasts Exchange Made. I shall be Glad to know, or what must be done with them³² there Names I enclose [enclosure missing]

The Day before Yesterday the State Legion took two British Soldiers at the Quarter House one a Dragoon the other had the Inclosed Order [also Missing] As a Safe Guard but Was taken two Miles from his post Escorting a Cart from Charlestown, from whence he used to go once a week, Captⁿ Theus thought proper to bring him away as he was not where he was ordered I shall be glad to know if he may be Detained as a prisoner—I asked Gen^l. Moultrie who is of Opinion he ought to be detained as Such³³—I wish to have your orders respecting it—

A number of boats with a Strong Covering party at the Distillery on Quelches Crick five miles from Ch^s town Watering their ships. S^r Samuel Hood is off the Bar Waiting to Convoy the troops—the redoubt at Haddrells is Evacuated & Burnt—³⁴

I have the honor to be
Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion

Marion, Francis. "A Letter from Francis Marion to General Greene." *SCHM* 36, no. 4 (Oct. 1935):111-12.

32. See Warren to Marion of this date, immediately above.

33. Greene replied to Marion on Oct. 30, below.

34. No evidence has been found that Hood took part in the evacuation of Charlestown, nor is anything further known about the evacuation and burning of the post at Haddrell's Point that Marion reported here.

Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

(Near the Governor's Quarters [Jacksonborough]), October 29, 1782

Dear Sir:

Hearing my friend Ferguson was unwell I made an elopement to see him and just returned last night, a little before your express called on me, much fatigued which prevented my answering your favor by him of the 24th. I am obliged to you for the paper you sent and I think it would be of general information to have it printed,³⁵ but Dunlap is so unwell that he has left off printing and besides his paper is so small and types so large that I am persuaded not a fourth part would be contained in one of his *Gazettes* at a time; this would make it far less useful and entertaining, than if it came out all together.³⁶ Should unexpectedly any opportunity offer of giving it to the public I will not slip it. The more I consider the late intended agreement the more disgraceful (and that *unnecessarily* so altogether in my opinion) it appears to the State.³⁷ On the privy counsels not being consulted and yet seeming to be made a party thereto, I immediately wrote a letter to his Excellency to disavow my approbation of it, but previous to my sending it, receiving a summons to counsel, I kept it back till that should be over, expecting the matter might be opened there, but finding we were called on a different business, and no probability of it being then touched upon, as I saw, I took hold of something that seemed to tend that way and purposely brought in, indirectly in my argument on what was before us, pleading as an excuse that as a particle of the Executive by the inaccurate wording of the 4th Article,³⁸ I was brought in as kind of party to an agreement, which I almost totally disliked upon which Mr. E. R. [Edward Rutledge]³⁹ to my astonishment said that the privy council were *in no case whatever* any part of the Executive which he said was also the opinion of another distinguished lawyer he named and the Governor himself said that old Col. Pinckney⁴⁰ (who is conveniently dead) had told him the same. This I think as well as some other circumstances leaves great room to think that tho' the natural council appointed by the State were not consulted on that most important occasion, yet that certain lawyers at least, if not others were. This novel and dangerous doctrine is so contrary to the spirit of our Constitution and plain letter of many of our laws so

35. Marion's "favor" has not been found. The contents of the "paper you sent" are also unknown.

36. Benjamin Dunlap began publication of *The South Carolina Gazette* at Parker's Ferry in Apr. 1782. However, only one edition is extant: May 15, 1782, which is vol. 1, no. 6. It is believed that the newspaper ceased publication before the end of 1782.

37. In a letter to Marion of Oct. 21, above, Christopher Gadsden severely criticized Gov. Mathews for his "illegal" Oct. 10 agreement, with Gen. Leslie, whereby the British committed to restoring slaves to South Carolinians in exchange for an end to the confiscation of Loyalist estates, and the adjudication of suits by Loyalists for property already confiscated (*PNG*, 12:111n). The agreement was negotiated for the Americans by future South Carolina governors Edward Rutledge and Benjamin Guerard, and Alexander Wright and James Johnston on behalf of the British.

38. Gadsden disapproved of the 4th Article of the agreement between Gov. Mathews and Gen. Leslie, and he criticized Mathews for not seeking the advice and consent of the Privy Council, of which Gadsden was a member. The objectionable article read:

"That the faith of the State is hereby solemnly pledged that none of the Debts due to British Merchants or to persons who have been banished, or whose Estates have been Confiscated, or property secured by Family Settlements fairly made or Contracts relative thereto, shall now, or at any time hereafter be arrested or withheld by the Executive Authority of the State; that no Act of the Legislature shall hereafter pass for Confiscating or seizing the same in any manner whatever if it is in the power of the Executive to prevent it; And that its whole power and influence both in its public and and private Capacity, shall at all times be exerted for that purpose__" (Mathews-Leslie Agreement, Oct. 10, 1782, Carleton Papers, #10020 & 5844, (PWacD)).

Gadsden contended that the Mathews-Leslie agreement was invalid, based on his interpretation of Act 1143, an ordinance that expanded the executive powers when the general assembly was in recess. Art. 3 of the act read:

"by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the Governor or Commander-in-chief, with the advice and consent of the Privy Council, to do all other matters and things which may be judged expedient and necessary to secure the liberty, safety and happiness of this State, except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial." (*Statutes*, 4:504-06, 508).

39. Edward Rutledge was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the younger brother of Gov. John Rutledge. He was taken prisoner in the siege of Charlestown on May 12, 1780. He spent the majority of his captivity at St. Augustine from whence he was released in Jul. 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 839; "Josiah Smith's Diary," 34, 1:31).

40. Gadsden here referred to Col. Charles Pinckney, a prominent lawyer, politician, and planter, who had been a member of the Privy Council at the time of the fall of Charlestown. He had left the city along with Gov. Rutledge and other Privy Council members. After the city's surrender, Pinckney re-affirmed his British allegiance. His estates were amerced 12%. Pinckney had just died the previous month (*Biog. Dir. of SC Senate*, 290).

soundly and positively asserted, and tho' Lownde's Lieut during his administration, and J. [John] Rutledge a great part of his, I had never heard a tittle of or had the least suspicion that any such tenet could be advanced till this morning I heard it declared in the strongest terms in counsel and a little before by that Gentn. openly in the Governor's Porch.⁴¹ This induced me when I went home to add a note by way of preference to the letter I had prepared to send to his Excells. Copy of which I now enclose to you; the proceeding on the cause of it will serve by way of an explanation thereto.⁴²

We have been wanting my dear Sir; more troops for the Genl. all this campaign, but in my opinion we have wanted still more an efficacious civil power and if the enemy leaves Charlestown (which still is a doubt with me notwithstanding) I can't help saying appearances as well as others their advantages over the country at this moment are so amazingly beyond any they ever had) I say, in case of an evacuation and the sword has a little rest we as must lose no time to join shoulder to shoulder to check the capaciousness, tyranny and insolence of too many of our lawyers,⁴³ or this state will never be at peace or in a respectable situation again, and the citizens thereof upon an equal footing with regard to the possession of their property which, in my opinion for many years past the poor and middling people have only held rather from courtesy, owing principally to that cause rather than right. Nothing but the infinite number of our laws and what is quoted as authority in our courts (which a tolerable room without exaggeration would not hold) together with the perplexity and confusion gave these gentlemen their importance or indeed any importance at all. These may be reduced I am persuaded to an octavo vol.; at most very few of them will ever help we may be sure. But the business is of such necessity that it must be done, as soon as possible or we shall be undone, for otherwise their insolence as lawyers will be soon equal to what the famous Roman Catholic Bishop Becket said to a gentleman he was not well pleased with; he told him very haughtily that he hoped to see the day, when no Jack gentleman would dare to stand with his hat on before the lowest priest. Without great care this or something like it will be soon the case with regard to the Lawyers here. I never thought there was much riddle and finesse necessary in a good government, that honest men of good plain common understanding that would take pains to judge and always judge for themselves, not suffering their understanding to be in any mans keeping, were fully equal to the purpose, but how is the case? The people may appoint whom they think proper (as in privy council) these may be consulted occasionally to pick the gilding off of ginger bread or some such trifling matter, but in an affair of the utmost consequence to the safety honor and interest of the State, it cannot be expected they are fit judges--(tho' perhaps, a matter not even depending on any difficult principle of Law), No, without the lawyers have the principal hand in it, or indeed, the whole cooking of it, all is undone. I wish this may not have been nearly the case, my friend, on a late occasion, which I think almost as disgraceful to the State as was the agreement itself. The public is extremely obliged to you, for your vigilance with regard to the Gents. sending provisions to Town. I believe I can't be reckoned a severe man in my politics, but I assume I have done all in my power for many months to no purpose to get means used to have some of them tried by the Sedition Laws if convicted perhaps my bowels might yearn over a poor necessitous man as to endeavor to procure his pardon, but if a rich fellow, if I had ten thousand votes they should all go for a halter for him, and nothing else.⁴⁴ Owing to these rascals the too great encouragement and continuance the army have given over, since the beginning of the campaign to that villainous destructive trade with the Town and so [to] that impolitic infatuation from Christmas last of propagating the enemy's [humors] about an evacuation, were brought to the present dilemma which is if the enemy actually go, they even then leave us with the highest

41. Gadsden had been Vice-President of South Carolina from 1778 under Rawlins Lowndes, and had been Lieutenant-Governor under John Rutledge from 1779 until the re-establishment of SC government in Jan. 1782.

42. The letter to which Gadsden referred is that sent to Mathews on Oct. 16, above.

43. Gadsden was one of the few men who had reached high office in SC politics without being a lawyer.

44. As commander of the state militia, Gen. Marion was responsible for preventing the flow of goods into Charlestown. He was continually frustrated by the lack of support provided by Gov. Mathews and the people themselves. In his letter to Mathews of Aug. 24, above, Marion suggested invoking the Sedition Act to counteract the flood of goods into Charlestown. The Sedition Act treated supplying provisions to the enemy as a capital crime. Marion indicated that he had begun threatening to use the act as a deterrent, as his brigade orders of Sep. 18, above, attested, "This is to Acquaint all persons that By Virtue and Power Invested in me that I Shall take up every person who comes under the Above Law [Sedition Act] and on proof send them to Jail to be tried by the Next court." Marion was unsuccessful in his efforts to utilize the Sedition Act to halt the flow of goods.

contempt and may return but, should any external advantage to them, make Sir Guy [Carleton]⁴⁵ revoke his orders--what becomes of us all then? in the shocking corrupted state the people are now in? Tis heads or tails with us and the stake I am afraid no less than the whole state. Sir Guy is looked upon as an excellent officer, having the good of his nation disinterestedly at heart, no doubt so wary a commander must have men here whom he can depend on to give him the minutest information of our situation in all respects. Pardon me my dear sir for troubling you with so long a letter when your time is so important to the public; and believe me to be with sincere esteem.

Your obdt. Servt,

Christopher Gadsden

P.S. I send to the Governor every day for my rations of beef. This moment my boy has returned without any, bringing a note that there are none and that the army is dissatisfied about them. I wish these dissatisfactions may not increase daily more and more and bring on some dangerous crisis. The whole proceeds from the damn'd Town trade where they live in clover. The same note mentions that the Augustine Fleet is arrived 31st.⁴⁶ I heard last night that Mr. Crouch died at Hort's the night-before.⁴⁷ I suppose you have a copy of the late agreement, if not let me know and I will send you one.⁴⁸

Tr (Bancroft transcripts:NN), as printed in Walsh, *Gadsden*, 186-88.

-
45. Sir Guy Carleton officially replaced Sir Henry Clinton as Commander of the American Department after Lord George Germain was succeeded by Welbore Ellis in Feb. 1782 (Mackesy, *War For America*, 466, 468). Carleton was favorably viewed in South Carolina, based on his history with the colony and others during the French and Indian War. However, Gadsden was sensible enough to understand that Carleton was a representative of the British government: his first responsibility was to his country.
46. The "Augustine fleet" was undoubtedly the one Greene mentioned to Gen. Charles Scott. The editors of *PNG* concluded that it was the fleet that embarked for St. Augustine on Oct. 14, which did not return to Charlestown until around Nov. 10 (Greene to Scott, Oct. 31, 1782, *PNG*, 12:129).
47. As Richard Walsh, editor of *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden* writes: "This could not be a reference Charles Crouch, who was the publisher of the South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal and one-time apprentice to Peter Timothy. But if so, Gadsden was mistaken for Crouch died in 1775. Instead of Crouch, the person to whom Gadsden meant to refer was almost certainly Benjamin Franklin Dunlap, publisher of the *Jacksonborough Gazette* and the *Parker's Ferry Gazette*. William Hort, at whose home Dunlap died, was the executor of the Dunlap's will (Walsh, *Gadsden*, 188-89n; *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, Sep. 9, 1783).
48. Presumably Gadsden referred to the Leslie-Mathews agreement concerning return of slaves and treatment of Loyalist property and debts.

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

[Ashley Hill, S.C.] Octr 30^h 1782

Sir

Your letter of the 28th Instant I have this moment received. Captain Warren has written to you <requesting> the prisoners mentioned in the list you inclosed may be sent to C. Town except the Dragoon as they were exchanged by an agreement entered into the 23d Inst.⁴⁹ By which all Citizens & Militia of every rank and denomination made prisoners of War previous to that date southward of the Delaware River are exchanged with all the Volunteers and many continental Officers a list of whose names will be immediately published by the Commissary of prisoners.⁵⁰

The safe guard had certainly by his conduct forfeited his protection. I wish however you would send him to Gen^l Leslie with a remonstrance against the irregularities committed.

Should there be an opportunity of injuring the enemy at the distillery by a detachment from this army I beg you will send me such intelligence as to enable me to give you the necessary aid.⁵¹

I have the honor &c

N Greene

Df (MIU-C), Parks. As per PNG: "The draft is in the handwriting of Greene's aide, Ichabod Burnet. In revising the second sentence of his draft, Burnet inadvertently left out a word, which must have been added to the recipient's copy, since it appears in a Force Transcript (DLC) of the letter, which was taken from the recipient's copy. The word appears in angle brackets." (PNG, 12:124-25)

October 30, 1782 – American and British negotiations agree on a preliminary draft of a peace treaty, though it still has to be ratified by Congress.

49. See Samuel Warren to Marion, Oct. 28, above.

50. The list, as printed in NCSR, was dated Nov. 26 (PNG, 12:125n; NCSR, 16:671-74).

51. See Marion to Greene Oct. 28, above and Oct. 31, below.

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

Watboo 31st Oct. 1782

Sr

Yourse of Yesterdays date is come to hand, & have accordingly sent all the prisoner[s] with the safe guard (Except the Dragoon) to Ch^s Town.

The Enemy is still Wattering at Hobcaw above Williams ferry & not at the Distillery as I had wrought in my former Letter, at the time they was there but removed.⁵² The situation is too Advantageous to them, to Attack with any probability of success, strongly Abbetis around them & under the Derect fire of Galleys & armed Vessells. If those on land shoud be pushed they have not more than two hundred yards to their boats, when they can reembark in a few mineuets [minutes]. The advantage of taking them (was it sertain) would not Answer the Loss. Besides they may send a strong part in our rear & Cut of[f] our retreat If we could not make our way good.⁵³

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (CSmH), PNG, 12:130-31

52. See Marion to Greene Oct. 28, above.

53. According to James, Marion refused an order to attack the British, to which Marion responded “not another drop [of blood] shall, with my consent, be lost . . . I would rather send a party to protect them.” McCrady recounts a similar story, but with Thadeus Kosciuszko issuing the order. But Marion’s own words here seem to suggest the decision not to attack was more nuanced. (PNG, 12:131n; James, *Francis Marion*, Appendix 8; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:667-78).

Capt. Jacob Milligan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Georgetown, October 31st 1782

Sir, I have this moment been honoured with your Excellencies letter of 28th Inst.⁵⁴ in Consequence of which have made a Seizure of a Schooner⁵⁵ from M^r. Lockwood in Ch^s. Town deeply Laden with Tobacco, Rice, &c. which was discharged from the sloop I mentioned to your Excell^y. had seized before and which I then Cleared upon seeing a passport, signed by the Governour__ I have put an Officer on board of this Vessel & am determined to hold her until I hear further from you³__ Your Excell^y. may depend I shall strictly adhere to the Instructions which your letter Contains, & do all in my Power to prevent the Scandalous trade which is now Carrying on with the Enemy in Ch^s. Town by numbers of People in this place & its vicinity__ On board of the Schooner which I have now Seized, bound to Ch^s. Town, are 26 Hogsheads of Tobacco & 9 Tierces of rice__ The seizure of this Vessel has already Raised a Clamour amongst those concerned, & am apprehensive it will be productive of more; therefore shall wait your Excell^{ys}. further determinations respecting this matter; but at all Events am determined to keep Possession of her until I hear further from you.⁵⁶

I am with respect & Esteem, Your Excell^{ys}.

Obedt. Hum. Servant.

Jacob Milligan

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

54. Marion's letter of Oct. 28 has not been found. However, Milligan's Oct. 27 letter, above, had reported the schooner holding the Jul. 1782 pass. Milligan questioned its validity and requested orders regarding the ship and its contents.

55. Apparently, Marion ordered Milligan to seize the ship and its contents. At this stage of the war there was a lively, but illegal, movement of goods to Charlestown. Unscrupulous traders supplied the enemy, instead of the nearly bankrupt Patriots, because of the higher prices the enemy could pay.

56. In his letter of Nov. 3, below, Gov. Mathews implied that Joshua Lockwood, son of Commodore David Lockwood, obtained the passes personally from Mathews, ostensibly on the elder Lockwood's recommendation to move the ship to safer waters. Mathews further implied that the younger Lockwood was seeking to take advantage of the higher prices the enemy was willing to pay. As seen in his letter of Nov. 13, below, however, Mathews revealed that he had confused the case of Lockwood with that of another.

Mr. J. Lockwood to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Charles Town, October 31st 1782

D^r Sir, As it is the Governour's desire for the good of our Country, I have made it my business to send out whatever I can & send the[m] Dorchester way, without a pass, & one with the Governours pass to Georgetown,⁵⁷ but this Day Daniel Shultz applied to me for a Recommendation to you for a pass to go with his Schooner to M^r. Swinton's at Wappetaw. I know little of the said Shultz [or Shields], but am told he is a good Coaster, Therefore must be of service to us, & doubt not but you will give him a pass to remain until further Orders, as the Governour's passes run. Here is also a fine Virginia schooner the Nancy Captⁿ. John Anderson which wants a pass to Georgetown & there to remain, which I shall be oblidge to your Excell^y. for by the Bearer, as I have no opportunity at present to [send] to the Governour__ I am, with the greatest Respect, sir

Your most humble Servt.

J. Lockwood

P.S. The troops are to embark the 15th November, as Leslie says.⁵⁸

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

57. J. Lockwood was the son of Commodore David Lockwood. The younger Lockwood was incorrectly implicated in a controversy about the illegal use of the pass mentioned here. See Mathews to Marion, Nov. 13, below.

58. The source of Lockwood's information may have been Gen. Leslie. However, the evacuation did not actually take place until Dec. 14.

Lt. Col. Richard Lushington to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Georgetown October 31st 1782

Sir, I Received yours of the 28th Inst. & note the Contents.⁵⁹ If I cannot act with honour to myself in the Command of this Garrison (for I am determined to support the Character of an Officer) must beg leave to decline the service. The order transmitted to Cap^t. Milligan, an Officer subordinate to my Command, is not only a reflection on me, but it carries with it a Suspicion; & I defy any man in Existence to say I Received the Value of one farthing in any Vessel as a flagg, or Cartel, Except some small present (say a Cheese and four Chests medicines belonging to the State. The Military mode of Transmitting orders goes to the Commanding Officer of Army's, wings, Divisions, Brigade Regiments, &c. & not to an Inferior Officers, who are obliged to put them in Execution, or abide the Consequences; hope you will not say I have Neglected yours where it was possible to Comply; it would not be likely Gen^l Greene would transmit any orders to an Inferior Officer in your Command. If he did you would certainly think it hard.⁶⁰ I could not but Obey orders sent me by his Excell^y. the Gov^r. which I received at the time.⁶¹ Mess^{rs}. Heriot & Tucker Received the passports desiring I would Aid & assist M^r. George Selby in his business, which was the Transportation of the produce, arising from the sale of 50 Negroes sold by Governours Orders. Six separate passports was sent & I believe only four were made Use of for want of Vessels. The Gov^r. has sent a flagg by this Schooner, as you'll Observe a Copy on Contry[?]⁶² & I must take the Liberty of Exculpating myself from any Disobedience of Orders.⁶³ The other matters contained in the letter will be attended to, as all your Orders. I have supplied this Country with upwards of Six Thousand Guineas' this year Value in property for the use of the Army, which comes not from the British, for which I have not Yet received a single Dollar, & I can say I never Received a Copper made from any person in the British Service, by Importing, or smuggling Goods, which will attest any day. I am apprehensive you have received Information from People on which I have threatened formal practices.⁶⁴ I have nothing further to Add, only, Remaining Your very hum Servt. R. Lushington N.B. With this I transmit the returns. Prichard's Vessel brought up Prisoners, as you'll see by the List, & went from here Empty.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

59. The letter has not been found. However, presumably it was sent to Lushington as a result of the response Marion sent to Capt.

Milligan's Oct. 27 letter, above, concerning the stopping of a schooner in Winyah Bay with questionable credentials. Milligan also wrote to Marion on this date, above. Whether Lushington was aware of the second Milligan letter is not known.

60. Col. Lushington, commandant of Georgetown, referred to orders Gen. Marion gave directly to Capt. Milligan, who commanded the galley protecting Winyah Bay. See Milligan to Marion, Oct. 31, above. Apparently, Lushington was Milligan's commanding officer. He resented Marion violating the chain of command by giving Milligan orders directly.

61. The orders Lushington received from Gov. Mathews are not known.

62. As revealed in his letter to Marion of Nov. 3, below, Mathews had given Heriot & Tucker the six passes.

63. The orders to which Lushington referred are not known.

64. Much of the anxiety surrounding this situation arose as a result of Gov. Mathews mistakenly identifying to whom he gave his passes. See Mathews to Marion, Nov. 3 and 13, below.

Heriot & Tucker to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Georgetown October 31st 1782

Sir, We enclose you the Goven^{rs}. passports, granted M^r. Selby, for the purpose of Carrying round to Ch^s. Town the nett proceeds of fifty negroes__ The Vessel loaded with a considerable part of this property (particulars of which is in the passport) with the Goven^{rs}. Flagg, besides, is seized by Captⁿ. Milligan & detained by him__ We have wrote the Governour particularly on this business, & of a sloop stopped in the same manner & prevented Sailing⁶⁵__ Colo. Lushington has only delivered us Mordecai Meyers and Cohen's Accot^s. Amounting to £20 1/. 4d. Sterl^g. which we have assumed, Soon as we can have the others delivered we will Inform you what balance will be wanting.⁶⁶ Cap^t. Roux shall have the articles you mention & we shall strictly observe your Orders.⁶⁷

With respect, we are, sir,
Your most Obdt. Servants.

Heriot & Tucker

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

65. Confusion over the six passports took another two weeks to resolve. However, in his letter of Nov. 3, below, Gov. Mathews ordered Marion to release the vessels using them. The incident was first reported in Capt. Milligan's letter to Marion of Oct. 27, above.

66. Heriot and Tucker served as factors supplying both the State and Continental armies. Here, the reference is to an invoice for goods supplied by Georgetown merchants.

67. It is not known what articles Marion had requested from Heriot and Tucker for Capt. Roux. Roux was apparently stationed with the militia in the Georgetown area, as implied in Marion's letter of Jul. 4, above.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge, 3 Nov., 1782

Sir:

In proportion as my knowledge of mankind increases, my veneration lessens. I have within the last 12 months become acquainted with so many of their dirty tricks that I am almost brought to be a misanthrope. Excuse the 6 blank passes to be given to Heriot and Tucker to send down Selby's rice, indigo and tobacco. I have given no other but what has long since been obsolete. If these gentlemen have perverted those passes to purposes different from what they were intended, they have greatly deceived me, and could I detect them, I certainly should conceive it my Duty to call them to a strict account to bring the matter to a point I enclose you an order on them for what remains. If they say are all expended then no pretext can be left to cover any vessel in future under such passes. The case of Lockwood's Sloop stands thus: his son came to me and told me his Father was apprehensive they would sieze his vessel and carry her off; he therefore wanted passes to send the Sloop to Georgetown to secure her there until they were gone. Did not hesitate a moment, as I knew how much we should be in want of small craft after the enemy are gone. Told him to inform any other persons who had vessels they wished to secure the same way, would also give them passes to send up any of our rivers. If Lockwood has been doing anything contrary to his representation he must abide by the consequences...shall say once for all, that after the passes are sent for Heriot and Tucker, no person whatsoever is possessed of any license from me, either to send or to bring anything from Charlestown.⁶⁸ The situation of the Army for want of beef is truly distressing; with every exertion from this part of the country it is impossible to keep them supplied. Must earnestly call on you, Sir, for your aid in procuring Beef or Hogs up Peedee and that part of the country, where I am informed there is a plenty. A detachment from your Brigade for this purpose would be essential service; and without this assistance I fear some serious consequence may happen. The necessity of the case obliged me lately to send orders to Colo. Benton to assist Hort's drivers to collect cattle. I am in hopes with Capt. Scott's vigilance and by other guards that are now posted I shall be able in a great measure to check the Southern traffic to Town. to put a final stop to it is more than I expect from the depravity of a number of the inhabitants.⁶⁹

[John Mathews]

From Marion Papers V in Bancroft Collection, 1782-1811, 3:265-69, as printed in *SCHM* 41, no. 2, (Apr. 1940), 49-50.

-
68. The situation concerning the six passes for passage from Georgetown to Charlestown given to Heriot and Tucker was complicated by a number of factors that make it difficult to determine the exact chain of events. As Lt. Col. Richard Lushington, then commandant at Georgetown, pointed out in his Oct. 31 letter to Marion, above, six passes were issued but only four were used. Part of the confusion arose because Lushington was not at Georgetown when Capt. Milligan seized Lockwood's sloop at Marion's order, as seen in Capt. Milligan's letters to Marion of Oct. 27 and 31 above. Further complicating the problem was that Gov. Mathews, as he wrote on Nov. 13, below, incorrectly identified Lockwood as the one requesting a pass to move his father's sloop out of harm's way.
69. Charlestown residents continued to be supplied with provisions, as the trade with plantations outside the city continued, unabated, despite the best efforts of the militia and Continental Army. Both Mathews and Marion were outraged by the actions of fellow South Carolinians. Mathews wrote to Marion on Sep. 1, above, that the Charlestown markets were amply supplied by "mercenary infamous wretches." Marion implied that reformed Loyalists were the ones carrying on the trade in his letter of Sep. 24, above, to Mathews. Marion went so far as to issue general orders on Sep. 18 that anyone who provided supplies to the enemy fell under the Sedition Act and would be put to death.

Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Near Governor's Quarters]⁷⁰ 3 Nov., 1782

Dear Sir:

Yr favor of yesterday to hand this a.m.⁷¹ I from the first saw that a certain set of gentlemen wished to frame what is called our Constitution, (for a proper Constitution we have not),⁷² with as high a tincture of Aristocracy as possible; and in spite of the endeavors of a few, and the honest intentions of many, (dupes) it has too great a tendency that way. There are two kinds of aristocracy, one open and acknowledged, the other secret, by far the most dangerous. Of this last several vigorous buds were inoculated into our constitution which have thrived astonishingly by the artifice of designing, interested, ambitious men, who intended nothing but their own ends, or those of their party or profession at the time. No instance show'd this more plainly than the choice of governor. We are not *apparently* confined; but from the infinite number and confusion of our Laws, our choice is *secretly restrained* to a gentleman of that order as the most probable to answer our purpose; so that the lawyers may be said to be aristocratical number from whence in all probability in the present state of our laws, will be always chosen, and this they too well know and plume themselves thereon accordingly; and if honest men do not join firmly and steadily, as soon as opportunity offers, to cure *radically* this already shocking and continuously growing evil, our prosperity will, as I have often said in the Assembly years ago, be more abjectly at the feet of the lawyers than ever our forefathers were at those of the Priesthood. I should not be surpris'd if our lawyers should, no long time hence, in order to out-do His Holiness, insist that their *wished for* Chancellor, the Pope of the Law pageantry should have perhaps his..... kicked. Their haughtiness is now intolerable.⁷³ They seem to think themselves the optimates on all occasions. are gaped on like heathen Idols; and, allowing to the above cause would if not exceed the compass of a letter, I could point out many of the aristocratical shoots in our Constitution, slyly thrust in; and after all, many of those very gents when the matter was over, by way of sneer, christened our mongrel State a republic, which it is as much like as I am like a fine race-horse. For it is essential to a Republic to have its Laws plain and simple, as far as possible, and known to every member of the least attention: by this means the Romans could take their principal officers frequently from the plough.⁷⁴ Till our laws are so reduced and plain that from any of our General Assemblies at least two-thirds of the members, with the assistance of a privy Counsel, equal to that important office, we shall never be a happy people. The god of Heaven grant us to see such times; for the happiness of a government depends in very great measure on the numbers therein capable of every department, (and particularly the principal); and this depends again on the plainness and simplicity and general knowledge of the Laws. Is it not a shame that any gentleman should not know the law of his Country? But is not every Gentleman in this State subject to this imputation? For who can know our laws, or the fiftieth part of them? This is as true as dreadful, my friend, and the root, I have long thought, of all our evils. Clear, but this effectually; (for to do it by halves will answer no purpose) and then nothing but our perverseness and baseness can prevent our being once more a happy and respectable people, as much so the full as any State on the Continent.

This not done, we must still grow more and more contemptible and unhappy till we deteriorate to nothing and end in a stink. I never tho't either Col. Harriott [Heriot] and Tucker⁷⁵ ought to have had the important trust they have held so long. They never had my votes; nor had I opportunity to offer them. When I see the Governor, which I expect will be soon, I shall hint to him what abuses are made; but I assure you, I am little

70. Location inferred. Previous letters were written from "Near Governor's Quarters."

71. The letter of Nov. 2 has not been found.

72. Gadsden here referred to the South Carolina Constitution of 1778. Gadsden's definition of a proper constitution is not known.

However, his dissatisfaction with the 1778 constitution may, in part, have centered on the fact that it was framed by the general assembly during a time of war, instead of by a convention of popularly-elected delegates, as was the Constitution of 1790.

73. Though himself quite wealthy, Christopher Gadsden was a noted radical and populist. He had been a Son of Liberty and was a strong supporter of the Mechanics, a group of Charlestown tradesmen who formed the core of the grass roots revolutionary movement in South Carolina.

74. The original Constitution for South Carolina, as conceived by John Locke in 1669, did not allow lawyers in the colony.

75. Recognizing that Gadsden had been a prominent merchant before the war, it is not surprising that he would find fault with Heriot and Tucker, who had been contracted to coordinate trade with Charlestown as the war wound down.

attended to, nor hardly any of the Council seem to be but E.[Edward] R. [Rutledge]. I will postpone giving you my opinion of the 5% Act,⁷⁶ as I differ from you from the necessity of the case in several respects relative thereto.

With greatest Esteem,
Yr. Humble Servt.,

“Ch.G.”

From Marion Papers V in Bancroft Collection, 1782-1811, 3:271-79, as printed in *SCHM* 41, no. 2 (Apr. 1940):50-52.

76. By the end of the war, South Carolina, like all the new states, was bereft of money. To raise funds, it confiscated and amerced the estates of British sympathizers. The new United States government (Continental Congress) found itself in a similar situation. It recommended that the states raise funds for the national government by imposing a 5% duty on all imports. Under the Articles of Confederation, the states had to approve such legislation. At the end of the Feb. 26 session of the General Assembly, the act was passed. Not all states approved the measure. As a result, South Carolina repealed its act at the next session of the General Assembly in Mar. 1783.

97 (Secret Correspondent) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Wando Novemr. 4th, 1782

Sir,

I do myself the pleasure to Inclose you Letters from M^r. W. & the Doct^r.⁷⁷ Informing that the departure of the Troops in Town is near at hand & of the Execrable Conduct of Gen^l. Leslie & his Associates in totally Ruining, as far as Lies with them, a set of Unfortunate people who have sacrificed their all for them__ & for what? To Gratify an Infamous avarice, which must be accompanied with a like breach of Faith, to the poor, unfortunate negroes who will be carried hence, into a Thousand times (if Possible) worse Bondage, than they Experienced here⁷⁸__ I think Sir__ a Country was never more Completely Cursed, than by the invasion of these people, not so much from the loss of Property, as from the breach of friendships, the separation of friends & Relations & and the Total Ruin of Thousands⁷⁹__ As I have said before, it was owing to you, Sir, I am not amongst the above number & for which I shall ever owe you every Service in my reach__ It is a Recollection of my Escape, Perhaps more to my Natural disposition that makes me feel so much for those Unfortunate Sufferers among whom are many worrthy honest men men__ who must now be Cursed by Repeated injuries & woful Experience of the Vain hopes of depending on a British Army, who have Uniformly destroyed their friends on all Occasions. I wish to know if Mr Peter Belin delivered my letter to you__ Mrs Weston is here, & Unites in best Wishes for your felicity. I am hurrying her to Town, That she may be at home at their departure, which I think will happen in less than a fortnight, there are a number of Armed Vessels in Cooper River who search very strictly.

I am Sir with Great Respect
Your most hum. Servt.

97.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

-
77. Presumably the letters were from Richard Wayne and Doctor James Lynah. See Secret Correspondent to Marion, Apr. 4, 1782, above, and Capers to Marion, Nov. 16, 1782, below. Both Lynah and Wayne were on "the list of Banishment," as noted by Marion in a letter to Greene of Dec. 21, below. In Apr. 1782, the British had expelled suspected Patriot sympathizers from Charlestown (See Barnwell, "Letters to Greene," 8-10).
78. Of the 9,000-plus people evacuated from Charlestown on Dec. 13 & 14, the record shows that 5,333 were black. Over 50% were taken to the Caribbean islands of Jamaica and St. Lucia, where most were re-enslaved, and likely did endure similar or worse conditions than they had in South Carolina ("Return of People Embarked from South Carolina, Dec. 13th & 14th, 1782," *Charleston Yearbook* (1883), 416).
79. The remaining Loyalists, represented by long-time Lt. Gov. William Bull, in Jul. 1782 had sent a plea for assistance to Clinton's successor, Guy Carleton. No response has been found (A Memorial of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects Assembled at Charles Town to Sir Guy Carleton, Jul. 23, 1782, British Headquarter Papers).

Brig. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Near Governor's Quarters] Nov. 5, 1782

Dear Sir:

I should in my last have given you my opinion of the 5 per ct. law, but was afraid of detaining your express too long. In this my friend I differ from you but only from the necessity of the case.⁸⁰ The Congress as the representative of the United States must have a general and certain fund (besides our continual, annual, common quotas, equal to what each state can bear) for important and many of them secret occasions; this was foreseen from the first, but how to be done with the most efficacy and least offence. The questions are numberless considerations and turnings of the matter every way—That of a Tax of foreign imports was fixed on, as the most equitable, practicable and eligible upon the whole because almost, if not altogether, every individual in the United States consumes more or less of the imports of that trade and consequently must pay accordingly and not a dime more; this concurs with your opinion, that the consumers, but 'tis a burden arising *voluntarily* from an indulgence in *foreign* articles, nine tenths in general I believe (even these times) superfluities and luxuries. So far I think this tax may be said to have more than one view, and this latent, not impolitic from a young rising Power. If any other method more agreeable to all parties could be devised that would certainly do the above business and pay off the great load of continental debt, we are in arrears to the Widows, Orphans and army *etc.* so as not continually to depend on the humors and caprice of the Assembly of perhaps one particular state I make no doubt it would be adopted with readiness by Congress and the discoverer receive the thanks of a grateful public, equality, and certainty are the grand and necessary objects aimed at and I confess though I have turned the subject in my thoughts, I cannot think of a Tax that can be devised, that will answer both so effectually and the tax being wholly on foreign articles, he that is most luxurious and extravagant will pay most tax. Whether the Collectors are appointed by Congress immediately or through financeers by their authority amounts to the same at last. It would certainly be more satisfactory to each State to appoint them themselves. The disagreeableness of this must have struck Congress without doubt and occasioned great debates and I—[sic] In their fixing it in the manner they have rather than the other was to prevent disputes and jealousies and in any failing to have a person in their own power and of their own choice, that they are supposed to know, to call immediately to account. The tediousness of referring to Assemblies, who often may be adjourned, when these applications are most pressing, wanted to be made, is as shocking as well known; if a No Cos [Northern Company's] man is sent here as a Tax Collector, [or?] one of our citizens devilish rascally constitution indeed [!] if we send him away honest to get corrupted in the very short time of his appointment. The Congress as a body I take to be as honest and respectable as any in the world and mean as well (though no doubt have had individuals at times rascals among them). 'Tis our safety, as well as principal interest to support their honor and dignity as much as possible, and give them no room to think we have not the greatest confidence in them; their task is very difficult extremely so these times. I am astonished to have weathered it so long and carried us through so many Scyllas and Charybdis;⁸¹ the greater danger from them will arise in my opinion from their sitting too long in one place, to give opportunity to selfish or ambitious individuals of their body to clan and intrigue with men of the same stamp without, from whence as from an undercurrent many dangerous consequences may arise especially to individual states that the Congress as a body never intended, I think one to our State, that by the mere goodness of Providence, we have escaped, was deeply laid against us and when in our deepest distress *only* this may I wish and design to try in the next house to have our delegates directed to bring about a removal from Philadelphia for this reason; they have been too long there, self interested, the citizens by cajoling with particular members in some instances have thrown their villainous means, and indirect, dangerous growing influence in my opinion in Congress

80. In his letter of Nov. 3, above, Gadsden concluded by stating he would mention the 5% tax in his next letter. Presumably, he and Marion differed on the proposed 5% tax on imports. However, Gadsden did not specifically identify the area of disagreement. Since Gadsden's main source of income was as an importer-exporter, it would have been in his personal best interest to oppose to the measure, making his reluctant support somewhat surprising.

81. The phrase "between Scylla and Charybdis" has come to mean being in a state where one is between two dangers and moving away from one will drive one into the other. In Greek mythology Scylla was a monster that lived on one side of a narrow channel of water, opposite its counterpart Charybdis. The two sides of the strait were within an arrow's range of each other—so close that sailors attempting to avoid Charybdis would pass too close to Scylla and vice versa.

themselves. I have now given you my thoughts, on this fruitful important subject as well as the time would permit freely my friend and without disguises as I think all honest men who mean to do any good, should to one another especially these times. I have no wish but for the public comfort under a good government that I wish for myself. God forbid that any mistake of mine, should be adopted to the prejudice of the public, that that be several in the best manner is all my wish by whom is of no consequence to the whole. One of the best ways to come at truth, the only thing a man of virtue wants to convince and govern him seems to me is for a number of friends to throw their thoughts without reserve to one another, upon proper occasions, such as this by letter or in free conversation.

I am told and hope 'tis true all the guards hereabouts within these few days have been ordered to be very strict. I wish it may continue. Had it begun at first, as above a twelvemonth ago I over and over pressed Mr. [John] Rutledge to get it done, we should long since have been *respectable* in Charlestown;⁸² but better late than never; and we must hope for the best. Major Forseigh,⁸³ who lodges in this house, and was at the lines yesterday, tells me some officers that he saw declared to him they did not expect to go before Christmas. I believe they wish to load some of their transports with our new rice, and long for our planters beating our their crops, which our Governor, in private conversation a few days ago, told me he had forbid. I wish he may hold in the mind until they are tried out; but I have my doubts of those great ones; you are not obliged to me, but the paper for easing you of the trouble.

I am Sir, your most hble Servt.

Christr Gadsden

Tr (Bancroft transcripts:NN), as printed in Walsh, *Gadsden*, 190-93.

82. As the war wound down, the incidence of illicit trade increased. Although Marion had the responsibility for policing much of the area, it was impossible to shut down the practice. Gadsden's contention here was that the ability of Charlestonians to obtain food from the outlying plantations enabled the city to remain in British hands longer than if trade had been completely eliminated.

83. Major Robert Forsyth of Virginia was Deputy Commissary-General (Walsh, *Gadsden*, 192n; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:233; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution* (Washington: Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., 1914), 233).

97 (Secret Correspondent)¹ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (presumed)

Wando Novem^r 6th, 1782

Sir,

I am this day favoured with your letter this morning I sent off my boat to M^r. Mouzons,⁸⁴ one of the Negroes to go by Land to M^r Addisons, from thence with a packet for you, which Contains all the Information to the 2d. Inst. Since when I have not heard from Town. I Expect Cap^t. Flatters boat up to-morrow, with letters from the Doct^r. L[ynah]& M^r W[ayne]⁸⁵—The firing yesterday was occasioned by the day Called the Gun Powder plot⁸⁶—The quick firing the day before I the morning, I Cannot learn the Occasion of. The letter of so much Consequence to Doct^r. L. I will forward (I think I can prevail on him to go) By M^r Ja^s. Eden, if you will Give him permission to go to Town. In the mean while I will try to Inclose your Praclamation to him together with your letter by some safe hand, I lament with you, the honour Dignity & Faith of Britons is so much Tarnished & so long in the hands of Villains who disgrace human Nature, I Cannot quite forget, I received Existence from that Country & therefore feel for it, as a much Injured Country & I Expect a Lost one, from the want of Virtue & Common honesty, for her Children, as soon as I hear from Town, I will Give you the Earliest Notice—This Week I send Doct^r. Garden⁸⁷ Stock down & with it the Barrel of Rice you were so good to Give me permission for formerly & not yet sent down—I wish to send a Barrel of peas, but not until I have your permission & Sir, you may Place a Dependence I will not be concerned in any trade whatever, Referring you to my letter for Addison, I am with Great respect Your most hum. Servt.

97

I hear, & I believe it, that the Augusteen's fleet is Returned,⁸⁸ Mr. Boone on Monday opined me it was so.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

84. This was presumably Henry Mouzon, an officer in Marion's militia, who was severely wounded at the Battle of Black Mingo on Sep. 28-29, 1781, see above.

85. Dr. James Lynah and Richard Wayne, who remained in Charlestown. Lynah was mentioned as early as Apr. 4, above, in secret correspondence to Marion.

86. The Gunpowder Plot refers to a failed Nov. 5, 1605 plot to kill King James I and the entire British Parliament by blowing up the Parliament building. Marion's correspondent referred to the commemoration of the defeat of the plot, a celebration accompanied by fireworks that was held throughout the British Empire.

87. Dr. Alexander Garden (1730-91) was a prominent Charlestown physician and botanist. The Gardenia is named after him. Garden remained loyal to the British Crown, but his son, also Alexander, was a Patriot. Dr. Garden was one of 12 men who congratulated Cornwallis on the victory at Camden in Aug. 1780. As a result, his property was confiscated. He was eventually removed from the confiscation list and his property amerced at 12%. He re-settled in England in 1783 and became vice-president of the Royal Society (Stephen, DNB, 20:406-07).

88. The "Augustine fleet" was undoubtedly the one mentioned by Greene to Gen. Charles Scott. The PNG concluded that it was the fleet that embarked for St. Augustine on Oct. 14, but did not return to Charlestown until around Nov. 10 (Greene to Scott, Oct. 31, 1782, PNG, 12:129).

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

Watboo 8 Nov^r 1782

Sr

Inclosed is the Monthly returns[;][*not found*] so many Different Detachment at a Distance is the reason I could not send it sooner.

My last Information from Ch^s town of the 3d Inst. say that there is five frigates[:] The [*Masecion?*] 40 Guns--*Persevarance* 36--*Cyrus* 36--*Emeral* 32--& *Balsharus* 24. In port the *Carolina* 32 G^s 12 & [g p^s?] *Vulture* Sloop 20 G. & a Large ship with two tier of Guns, Name Unknown. All My Informers Conclude they will be gone by the 25th Inst.⁸⁹

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

[N] B Since I wrought [the?] above I recd the [in]closed Intelligence [da]ted 6th Inst. [*not found*]

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

89. Perseverance, Emerald, and Bellisarius had recently departed as part escorts for ships departing Charlestown for Halifax, St. Augustine, and East Florida, respectively. The itinerary of the other named ships is unclear. (Gen. Alexander Leslie to Sir Guy Carleton, Nov. 18, Carleton Papers, cited in *PNG*, 12: 161-62).

Capt. Jacob Milligan to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Georgetown] November 8, 1782 [?]⁹⁰

Sir,

Yours of the 5th Inst. Inclosing the Governours answer to your honour & the pass for Lockwoods Vessel came to hand yesterday in Consequence of which I immediately apply to Cap^t. Gibbs to have the Vessel & cargo libelled in Order for trial, but, he appears dubious about the matter & thinks he Cannot be Condemned in the Court of Admiralty, as he has the Governours passport for her & Cargo going to Charles Town, which Messr^s. Heriot & Tucker will swear to be Genuine & Given by the Gov^t. with his Consent & privity⁹¹ ___ Parties run high here & I find it will be a difficult matter to Get her brought at any rate to a Trial as the fear of Offending too much influenced people in Office ___ Your further Instructions therefore will be necessary on this point, The sloop Ireland Immediately on their producing the Governours passport, but she was dischargd by those Concerned & her Cargo put on board the Schooner now under Seizure ___ I find by what I Can learn that M^r Lockwood has already made Three trips to Town under the foregoing passports & this would have made the fourth⁹² ___ There is also a small quantity of Indico on board the Schooner which I did not know off when I sent your honour an Account of the Cargo, from your honours most Obdt. Servt.

Jacob Milligan

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

90. Date inferred. Milligan's letter to Marion of Oct. 31, above, referenced a letter to him from Marion dated Oct. 28, three days earlier. Three days were added to the "5th Inst." mentioned here to arrive at the approximate date of Nov. 8.

91. Milligan presumably continued to detain Lockwood's ship, because he interpreted Mathews's letter to mean that the ship was not authorized to return to Charlestown with goods to trade, but only to sail to Georgetown to be safely moored. The confusion here is that Lockwood's ship was NOT the one Mathews had issued a pass to move to Georgetown. See Mathews to Marion, Nov. 13, below. Instead, it was one contracted by Heriot & Tucker to move George Selby's rice to Charlestown, as Heriot & Tucker informed Marion Nov. 9, below.

92. The confusion over the status of Lockwood's detained vessel was further complicated upon Milligan's assertion that the two passes he was issued had been re-used illegally. As seen in a letter to Marion of Nov. 9, below, Heriot & Tucker claimed it was the factor's contention that Lockwood had only used the passes once for each ship.

Heriot & Tucker to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town November 9th, 1782

Sir,

We received yours by Major Vanderhorst & agreeable thereto, have sent the only two passports left—one of which you'll observe is filled up with produce which was intended to be sent by Mr. Selby to Ch^s. Town in a small Sloop, W^m. Smart Master but upon Captⁿ. Milligan putting a hand on board of her to seize her, (which he afterwards relinquished) [Mordecai] Meyers the owner seeing that the Governours passport did not protect his Vessel was afraid to let her go out & she relanded her Cargo & the Schooner *Roebuck* being sent from Ch^s. Town to Carry M^r. Selby's produce & which arrived here at that time, He shipped in her, the Tobacco &c. which was in the Sloop, also one half Barrel Indigo, 9 Hogshd. & one half hogshd. of Tobacco, which you'll find to Correspond with the passport we inclosed you by M^r Pollock with respect to the Vessel we know nothing about her⁹³ & have acted in the same Regular manner we did respecting the Schooner & 2 Pittiaugers which were loaded here in August last, when you were here at this Port, since which time, not a shillings worth of the 50 Negroes has been shipped to Ch^s town by M^r Selby⁹⁴—The produce is in our possession, so that it cannot be done without our knowing it We received 6 Blank passports from his Excellency, one of which was filled up with Rice & Indigo by a Schooner that went down in August last, the other two that went by two Petyagers belonging to M^r Lockwood,⁹⁵ the 4th was intended by Meyers Sloop, which did not proceed, the 5th. We sent on to you by Pollock & the 6th. Is still Blank, which you will please now Receive together with that filled up intended to have gone by the Sloop.

We Remain with Respect

Your most Obed^t. Serv^{ts}.

Heriot & Tucker

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

93. It is unclear to which vessel Heriot & Tucker referred.

94. George Selby's shipments to Charlestown were first mentioned when Mathews wrote Marion on Aug. 14, above, directing him not to detain a shipment of rice bound for Charlestown "in payment for Cloathing furnished the Officers of our Line, & the Supernumerary Officers;"

95. According to Heriot & Tucker, the Lockwood passes were only used once each.

Gov. John Mathews to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Uxbridge November 13th. 1782

Sir,

Amongst such a Variety & multiplicity of business, as passes through my hands, it is not much to be wondered at that I should forget some Circumstances—On Examining young Lockwood, I find I had Altogether mistaken the Case of Lockwoods Vessel & that the Vessel I had Given the Pass to Come to Georgetown & to remain there was the *Greyhound* Captⁿ Beazly,⁹⁶ I kept no Copy of this pass, as it related to no business which has occasioned the mistake__ On Examining the flagg I Gave for the *Roebuck*, nothing can be more plain than that the date has been altered from the 8th. to the 18th. of October I have Interrogated Lockwood very strictly respecting the matter, but he does not appear to me to have been privy to it, I rather suspect it to have been done in Ch^s Town,⁹⁷ Therefore must defer a further Enquiry until I Get there, for I am determined to Trace it to the bottom if I can__ On weighing the matter maturely in my own mind, Especially when I consider, that a person in C.T. who I believe to be a deserving Character will be materially injured by detaining the remainder of the proceeds of the 50 Negroes & whose Exertions threw into my hands that seasonable supply with which prevented an Infinity of Mischief which we were at that time Threatned, & also that by Letting this Vessel proceed with her Cargo I shall rid myself of that Concern__ I think it advisable to have her released & Give her permission to proceed on her Voyage, for this purpose I have Inclosed a passport which I desire may be counter signed by you & Inclosed to Colo. Lushington, the Commd^t. At George Town & if the Vessel is in Custody by your Order you'll please give order for her Release, This the last permission of the kind I shall ever give.⁹⁸ Therefore you may be Assured any other will [be?] surreptitious__ I have Inclosed Colo. Lushington three passports for their Schooners to come into George Town Empty & to remain there until the Evacuation of Ch^s Town, agreeable to what I mentioned to you a few days ago⁹⁹

I am Sir Your most Obdt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

96. Gov. Mathews confused Capt. Beazly with Lockwood. Lockwood was contracted by Heriot & Tucker to move product from Georgetown to Charlestown, using passes issued by Mathews on Jul. 13. Lockwood's sloop was detained by Capt. Milligan in Georgetown, subsequently released, then detained again. Based on the presumption that the Lockwood ship was really the Beazly ship, and, therefore, not authorized to carry on trade with Charlestown, Milligan continued to detain the ship.

97. As Milligan asserted in his Nov. 8 letter to Marion, above, the Lockwood passes were used twice. Here, Mathews attributed the fraud to someone in Charlestown rather than to Lockwood himself.

98. It is clear that Mathews wanted to wash his hands of the whole affair.

99. Mathews ended the trade between Georgetown and Charlestown, but did issue one-way passes to three schooners to be moored in Georgetown until Charlestown was evacuated.

99 (Secret Correspondent) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Charles Town November 13th. 1782

Sir,

I had the honour to write you a few Lines the 6th Inst.¹⁰⁰ which Mrs. P. delivered since which on the 10th I wrote to M^r. W. acquainting him of the arrival of the Augusteen fleet,¹⁰¹ bringing with them the 60th Reg^t. & other old Troops leaving there on Provincial Troops, the whole under command of Major M^cArthur, since that very little has come to my Notice, Excepting that the greatest dispatch is used in Getting the fleet ready. The Town is in greatest Confusion the Removal of Household furniture, merchandize, pulling down the wooden houses that has been built by People Going away, & the lamentations of the Poor Going away almost destitute of every Comfort of Life, altogether Composes a most Melancholy Scene, It is said that the people say the Inhabitants are to Embark for Jamaica on Monday next after which it is generally believed, the soldiers will move very Quick indeed from every appearance, it cannot be long before they take their General departure,¹⁰² a Great Deal of Soldiers baggage was Shipping Yesterday, The Ships for the Horses are Chiefly in Readiness & the shipping very busy in Getting their sails a loft, the Officers in General disposing of their Horses & other property which they Cannot carry with them, that every outward appearance indicates a quick removal. A Board of field Officers are now setting & have been setting since the beginning of last week, respecting the Negroes, Yesterday they were Examing those sent back by Sir Guy Carlton from New York__ The result of their setting, is not yet positively known, but it is believed the Negroes will be delivered up Excepting such as have made themselves very Obnoxious,¹⁰³ Altho' it is my Private Opinion that they woud very Gladly deceive to put them in their pockets, if they knew how or dared to do it, never did such another set of Caterpillars infest a place before, they are Really Lost to all sense of honour, honesty or humanity__ I now have to Acquaint you that a new set of speculators have made their appearance here, they are persons from Baltimore & Virginia with Credentials in their Pockets, by way of New York, they have purchased not less than 50,000 Thousand pounds Sterling worth of Goods payable in St Thomas in Tobacco, & by what I can learn they mean to carry them after the Evacuation from this to Baltimore, or Retail them here at a very high Advance such proceedings if not Early looked into must be attended with bad Consequences__ The markets pretty scarce of Beef & Live Stock for a weekend past, Excepting Yesterday when there was a very plentiful market, Chiefly brought from Hobcau way. Hobcau seems to be the Chief supplies by what I see & Can learn, the Greater the Scarcity, the quicker they will go.¹⁰⁴ It is of much Utility to the British and their adherence to receive Comfortable supplies, but can be of no Service to the State, but an Injury, please to Accept of my Grateful__ sent me by M^{rs}. P. on Monday, the Doc^t. & myself intend coming out, which of us can be of service by staying a little longer which we shall Readily do, if it is your pleasure

I am respectfully Sir

Your most Obdt. Servt

99

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

100. A letter from 97 has been found, but not one from 99. The identity of 97 is not known. This is the only letter to Marion from 99.

101. 97 wrote Marion on Nov. 6 "that the Augusteen's fleet is Returned." The "Augustine fleet" was undoubtedly the one mentioned by Greene to Gen. Charles Scott. The *PNG* concluded that it was the fleet that embarked for St. Augustine on Oct. 14, but did not return to Charlestown until around Nov. 10 (Greene to Scott, Oct. 31, 1782, *PNG*, 12:129).

102. The expected sailing date was Nov. 18. In a letter to Gen. Greene dated Nov. 15, his aide, Capt. William Pierce, said the merchants were ready to sail for Jamaica. In the same letter, however, Pierce opined that he feared the final evacuation would not take place until the end of November (Pierce to Greene, Nov. 15, 1782, *PNG*, 11:185).

103. The number of slaves removed from South Carolina during the war is not known. The final embarkations on Dec. 13 and 14, however, state that over 5,000 Blacks were taken, the vast majority taken to Caribbean islands, East Florida and West Florida for resale and use on plantations there (George Smith McCowen, *The British Occupation of Charleston 1780-82* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 149).

104. Early in Greene's pseudo-siege of Charlestown, there was some interest in engaging the city in trade. Very quickly the strategy changed, based on the hypothesis that the harder it was for the British to obtain provisions with which to function in the city, the sooner the evacuation would take place.

Secret, (no name) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

November 13th. 1782

Sir,

I sent you word last night that the British had landed on Daniels Island but at that time I Could not learn their Numbers, nor what Errand they were upon__ But this day I learned they came a foragging & that their numbers, did not Exceed 50 Men Exclusive of Seamen who took Care of their boats. They were Commanded by a Lieu^t. Torriano¹⁰⁵ of the 64th Reg^t. & one George Elfe was their Guide—I have sent a Trust Negro to the bridge of the Island, but he said he did not see any body there, from which I Conclude, they have left it & gone down again. The Guard under Lieu^t. Chandler is still in this Neighbourhood & looking out sharply for them, They are all in high spirits & well. I have the honour to be with Great Esteem

D^r General

Your Most Obdt. Hum Servt.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

105. This was presumably the same Lt. George Torriano who was shot at a distance of 300 yards by Sgt. McDonald while the British were encamped at Blakely's Plantation near the Black River in mid-Mar. 1781, see above.

Maj. Ichabod Burnet to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Head Quarters Ashley Hill November 13th 1782

Dear Sir

I am directed by Maj^r Gen^l Greene to inform you that he is acquainted by intelligence from C. Town that the enemy have it in contemplation to make a forage or to attempt something against this army previous to their embarkation.¹⁰⁶ Should either of those plans be attempted a cooperation of your troops with our force will be necessary. The General desires you will have your troops in the most perfect readiness for any operations which may be necessary and that you will give him the earliest account of any movement they may make towards you.

General Greene wishes you to acquaint him what time will be necessary to enable you to effect a junction with this Army.¹⁰⁷

I am Dear Sir

With much esteem

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

I Burnet

ADfS (MiU-C), Parks.

106. Marion received similar intelligence as revealed in a letter from a secret correspondent of Nov. 13, above.

107. Marion replied on Nov. 14, below.

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

Watbo 14^t Nov^r 1782 6 OC. PM

Sr

Your favour, p^r Maj^r Burnet I recd this moment, & have Inclosed you the Several Intelligence from my Correspondence, by which it appears to me there is not the Least propability of there Coming out in force to forrage.¹⁰⁸

You will find that A party Under L^t [Toriana?] 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.

I have Just sent to releave the Ch^s Town Reg^t in Geo^t Town & Expect them tomorrow[.] The Detatchments At [Seewee?], Wando, Cainhoy & the mouth of Goos creek cannot be Called in in Less then two days, the Main body Left is much reduced as the Last Division which was Expected has been very Dilatory, & not yett Come in & [I] was Oblige to Discharge a Great Number of men without relief who have served 40 Days agreeable to Law, as they was Draughted to serve only one Month. However, If there shoud be a Necessity What I have here can Join you in 24 hours if you are near Dorchester, the perticular place where I am to Join you Please Let me know, & will Obey your Orders with the Utmost Expedition.

I have the honor to be your Ob^t st

Fran^s Marion¹⁰⁹

NB

I shall be much Oblige

To you to return me the

Inclosed as I have a particular

Occasion them -----

RCS (MiU-C), Parks. The postscript is taken directly from RCS (MiU-C)

108. See letters from secret correspondents of Nov. 4, 6, and 13, all above, Burnet to Marion Nov. 13, above, and Greene to Marion, Nov. 15, below.

109. Greene replied on Nov. 15, below (PNG, 12:184).

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

Watbo 15th Nov^r 1782 10 OC. AM

Sr

I had the honor of wrighting you yesterday for Answer to yours of 13th & Inclosed papers of Intelligence,¹¹⁰ since which I have had not any Accounts of the Enemys movements.

The Charlestown Malitia was at Lanuds Ferry Yesterday Morning & will be in this day; on satherday [16 Nov] the Country Malitia for this Month is Expected.

Shoud I be Oblige to quit this post, It woud Leave Open an Extent of forty miles, which the Enemy may in a few hourse plunder, which will be attended with Great Loss of provisions which the Army will want whenever they get into Ch^s Town, as it is the most contidious to it Besides the Losses the Inhabitants will Sustain. I shall be ready to march at any moment. You will Please to Order.¹¹¹

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), Parks.

110. In his letter of Nov. 14, above, to Greene, Marion mentioned intelligence (a letter of Nov. 13 from an unnamed correspondent) he had enclosed concerning a British foraging expedition. Marion apparently included additional correspondence here, which may have been the letters from secret correspondents dated Nov. 4, 6, and 13.

111. See Greene to Marion of this date, immediately below.

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

Headquarters [Ashley Hills], November 15th 1782

Dear Sir

I have the favor of the 14th with the several pieces of intelligence inclosed. They generally agree with the substance of the information which has come to my hands. The information given you by Major Burnet has come to me through two different channels.¹¹² I did not suppose they would certainly carry the threat into execution but I meant to be in readiness for what might happen; and what makes every precaution necessary is a very considerable part of my force is on the March to the northward.¹¹³ A few days will reduce the matter to a certainty.

The Governor and Council are desirous that no Military parties but those particularly pointed out nor Citizens should be permitted to enter Charlestown on the evacuation, until the Civil Authority are introduced.¹¹⁴ General Wayne will take possession of the Town, and has orders to admit you and such of your friends as you think proper to take in should you be on the Lines before me; but I wish you not to have the Militia too near lest some confusion might happen and perhaps some disgust may be given from refusing the people the liberty of entering the Town as early as they may wish.¹¹⁵

Should the enemy come out before they embark you will form a junction with me at or near Do[r]chester unless I should point out any other place.

I am dear Sir

Your most Obed humble Ser

N Greene

ALS (ScC), PNG, 12:187-88.

112. See Burnet to Marion, Nov. 13, above.

113. John Armstrong, of the North Carolina line, wrote to Jethro Sumner on Nov. 15, that the army was on the move.” (Armstrong to Sumner, Nov. 15, NCSR, 16:668; PNG, 12:188n).

114. See Greene to Marion, Nov. 22, below.

115. Greene at this time thought the evacuation was imminent, but the British did not leave the city until Dec. 14 (PNG, 12:188). Gen. Anthony Wayne negotiated the process of the change of control of Charlestown with Maj. James Wemyss. The accepted proposal was essentially that which British Gen. Leslie. Wemyss proposed that “a Captains Guard [of American troops] should march tomorrow morning at Gun firing to our advanced Redoubt, which if they find evacuated to advance until our rear is seen, their movements to be then regulated by ours, taking care to keep about two hundred yards distance, and upon our rear Guard turning off towards Gadsden Wharf, the Enemy guard may immediately proceed into Town, & put into execution their directions towards the preservation of Peace & Good order; during the whole of this it is to be understood that no hostility is to take place untill our troops have got on board their transports.” (PNG, 12:290-91n).

97 (Secret Correspondent) to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (presumed)

Wando Nov^r 16th 1782

Sir,

I Received your much Esteemed favour of Yesterday, together with a dispatch from you to Lieut. Capers pr. Express I [blank] a Negro in search of him, but found Sea Shore, He is really very ill & at present¹¹⁶ ___service___ Your Oblidging Information ___Peace___ Gave me great pleasure. Pray God give us a speedy & happy Issue-- I Inclose you letter from M^r. W. which I think will Give you Pleasure, least yours to him might not come to hand in time to stop him & the Doct. I will Give them a hint, it is your pleasure, they should remain where they are—I Called at M^r Edens to day Expecting he was returned from Town, but to my surprise found he was not Gone, having deferred it until to-morrow, when I Gave him your Flagg—It was an Express Condition of bringing letters from the Doct^r. & M^r. W.¹¹⁷ For I sent your letter & proclamation by one of my own people, who delivered it into the Doctors hands-- I wish to send you all my Correspondence without any alteration, or I believe I should have erased what is said of J. D. because I dare say, he will Give a Satisfactory reason why the letter is not Come to hand He is Certainly much harassed by the watering Guard¹¹⁸-- which Guard makes me afraid to send after it-- I think him a very staunch American-- or should be uneasy about the letter-- I have only to add my best Respects & am Sir,

Your very hum. Servt.

97

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

116. Lt. George Capers described his infirmity in the nota bene to his letter to Marion of Nov. 16, immediately below.

117. The two are presumed to be Richard Wayne and Doctor James Lynah, referred to together in 97 to Marion, Nov. 4, above. Both Lynah and Wayne were on "the list of Banishment", as noted by Marion in a letter to Greene of Dec. 21, below. In Apr. 1782 the British expelled suspected Patriot sympathizers from Charlestown. See footnotes to Marion to Mathews, Dec. 21, below, for more on the confiscation of Wayne and Lynah property.

118. In preparation for the evacuation, British ships moved up the Ashley and Cooper Rivers to obtain the necessary water for the imminent voyages. In a Nov. 4 letter, above, 97 mentioned that armed vessels were patrolling the rivers.

Lt. George Sinclair Capers to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

November 16th 1782

Sir,

Yours of the 15th I received this day, also I received your Notice of the 5th¹¹⁹ which informed me of a Drove of Cattle, that you Expected to Come my way for which I (tho' very poorly, & not fit for any other place, but my bed) took the few men I could Collect, as the Guard¹²⁰ had all dispersed since you Granted M^r Butler a flagg & went & Endeavoured to Catch them, but I believe they had passed before I Got your letter, & they got Intelligence of my knowing of it and the Cattle were Secreted, so we were _____ of Getting them—You request of me to take up & bring before you the men that are concerned in this Villainous Act, but Ill assure you I am so exceedingly Unwell, that I am incapable of being out, I am troubled with Violent Sore Eyes, they are so bad that I am obliged to put on a Blister on my Neck for it—I have also a Violent Cold & Cough. This after a long fit of the fever for Three weeks, Renders me unfit for any Service, or I would do my Duty with pleasure, but I must Inform you that the men I have, there is no dependence on them, or at least but few of them, Nothing but to oblige you could have Caused me in my present Situation of Health to take command, Especially of such men, & another thing is, I Cannot Get but 7 of them, 6 from my Comp^y. & but one from Captⁿ. Murrells. I think there is Necessity for a Dozen good young fellows & not proclamation, Eleventh hour Scots.¹²¹ Pardon my Expression—It will be great Service to send an enterprising Guard to be M^r Arthur's landing, it will much Secure the inhabitants from Plunder I Acquaint you of M^r Cooks return to his plantation, he is now there & there was one, Sharp, Ramely, & two other men, came & landed at Cooks Yesterday morning before day & they took M^r Cook with them & went back I believe to Capers Island & I got Information of it & went & Guarded the landing & took them when they came on Shore, all but Emely, he made his Escape I have sent you the others all but Cook who I think M^r Butler must Acquaint you of M^r Sharp is a very bad man has always been a Pilot to the British & a Noted Villain I am well Acquainted with him for many years. The others I know not-- No late arrivals & all the news I Get you'll find inclosed in M^r Westons letter from M^r. Wayne, which is good¹²²-- They are not done watering yet & there has been a party foraging on Daniels Island¹²³-- I am Grieved to see the Destrucion that is with the provisions at Mr Rose's, The fence is burnt, The Negroes all gone, The Creatures all on the Stacks; there is above half of it already destroyed, All the Negroes in the Neighbourhood carrying away constantly, if it is agreeable to you, I will take my Negroes and have it all Stacked in proper yards & have care taken of it, for I Assure you, there is little Case now, & it is a thousand pitties so much Valuable Provisions is so destroyed for want of a little Care, I live one half a Mile off so that I shall see to it with Ease only I must have authority to press Carts-- I beg leave of you to Grant me permission to send to M^{rs} Dewee's in Ch^s. Town, a few family Necessaries, as she has applied to me desiring me to ask such favour of you, & she was Exceeding kind to us in prison; she Supplied us Constantly with Victuals. In Complying you'll Render an Obligation on your most Obdt. Servt.

Sin: Capers

N.B. You'll please to Excuse my blundering Eyes, it is so bad I can scarcely see.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

119. Neither of the letters have been found. Secret Correspondent 97 delivered the letter of Nov. 15, to which this letter was a reply, to Marion, as explained in 97 to Marion, Nov. 16, above.

120. It is presumed that the Guard was a detachment posted at Wando, since Wando is the heading of the secret correspondence to Marion of Nov. 16, below, in which the writer indicated that Capers was his desired contact.

121. "Eleventh hour Scots" referred to Loyalists, who took advantage of clemency proclamations issued by former Gov. John Rutledge and then Gov. John Mathews. Not surprisingly, militia officers were skeptical of the patriotism of these former enemies.

122. The letter has not been found.

123. A British foraging party went to Daniels Island around Nov. 12, as revealed by a secret correspondent in a letter of Nov. 13, above.

Brig. Gen. Christopher Gadsden to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Near Governor's Quarters]¹²⁴ 17th Nov., 1782

...I am happy to find that my opinion of the 5% Act has any weight with you; the scruple you mention still sticking by you depends on the gen'l principle the law was framed upon¹²⁵...the necessity and expected certainty of the funds .. what reliance could we have on it if the caprice of a single Assembly might overset it? This fund, honestly and prudently managed, (when our independence is fix'd) must bring in an amazing sum; and I am in hopes will then be seen to be sufficient to rid the individual states altogether of one of the two heavy burdens they must be left under; that is the Continental arrears; and then each State will have only its own private departments to struggle with. This will be a great easement; and I confess I know not whence it can be expected if this Bill should fall to the ground. I am really anxious to have it pass in all the States, that we may avail ourselves of as large a proportion of foreign trade as possible without room for offense; for our allies, if done after peace, may take it amiss, which now they cannot have the least pretense to, our necessity being so visible.¹²⁶ I perfectly agree with you, we cannot be too watchful and jealous of men in power, and can not look too narrowly into all their actions, and suffer nothing extraordinary to pass unnoticed without the plainest and most indisputable mark of necessity for its cause.¹²⁷ With regard to the Confiscation Act¹²⁸—it has haunted me, not only ever since, but (if I may say so_ long before its existence, from the first appearance of a favourable turn Providence gave to our affairs; even whilst I was in Augustine Castle, before I was permitted to see of to join my friends in that town, which happened about twelve days previous to our leaving it, upon the news of the general exchange. At and from that time, I say, to this hour, I have met with continual rebukes from my friends, and not a few gross affronts for doing everything in my power to restrain and to mitigate their rage and impetuosity; even before I left Augustine, I was sneeringly told the confinement in Augustine Castle had wondrously turn'd me;¹²⁹ and from thence till I join'd the Gov'r in October last year, where another dreadful rock I did not dream of started up and terrified me extremely, the fatal communication with Charles-town; these two dangerous rocks have unitedly possessed and distressed my imagination every since. I was instantly struck with forebodings that they would demolish us at last; a vindictive spirit on the one hand would increase and spread the resentment of citizens one against another, and a trading spirit introduc'd into an army, no matter from what pretence it might take its rise, would make it to their interest to corrupt the people, to prolong the war, and end, probably, in the destruction of the State: for trade is the greatest Band that ever existed .. if there is anything deserves the name of the Great Whore of Babylon, it is certainly her ladyship, trade.¹³⁰ From my arrival I have had continual quarrels on these two subjects. I was soon told by the violent confiscation men it was very probably that my open declaring for such proceedings would very probably get me left out of the House: and, when unexpectedly elected, the greatest affront and most cowardly stab in the dark was level'd at me by a set of dirty tools, set on by an artful cabal, thinking to intimidate me, as party rage could invent. However, I despised the low attempt and continued to oppose the Confiscation Bill with all my might; and with the greatest anxiety I fought it through, inch by inch, as unjust, impolitic, cruel, premature, oppressing numbers of innocent for one man supposed to be guilty, formerly signing a paper, when visibly under the power and restraint of a known cruel, oppressive and tyrannical enemy;¹³¹ and I insisted, over and over again, besides, that the Bill was manifestly calculated to defeat and to

124. Gadsden's previous letters had been written from "Near Governor's Quarters."

125. See Gadsden's letters of Nov. 3 and 5, above.

126. As seen here, Gadsden felt very strongly that such legislation was the only way he could see for the Continental debt to be retired. In addition, he looked upon the tax as the potential method for funding the national government in the future. Since the application of a duty to imports would necessarily raise the price of the goods, he also felt that prompt passage was necessary to head off any outcry from the United States' allies, namely France, Spain and Holland.

127. Apparently, Marion had expressed concern over the potential abuse of power by the new government.

128. The Confiscation Act--No. 1153, "An Act for Disposing of Certain Estates, and Banishing Certain Persons, Therein Mentioned," was passed by the General Assembly on Feb. 26 (*Statutes*, 4:516-23).

129. Gadsden's fiery spirit had dampened during his 42-week confinement in solitary in St. Augustine. Those who had known him apparently did not expect that he would be so forgiving of Loyalist sympathizers.

130. Ironically, Christopher Gadsden had amassed his great fortune through trade.

131. It was Gadsden's contention that most of those who were represented as Loyalist sympathizers were actually only trying to save their property, and that many sought British protection under duress.

destroy the very intention of those who were its most sanguine favorers, with regard to any emolument they expect the public to derive therefrom; and that it was like a man exhausting himself and beating about him with the greatest fury and rage, thoughtless and regardless what friends he must unavoidably hurt, or of the numberless advantages he gave his enemy over him. I prest it again and again, only to defer it till we got possession of Charles-town, which was not so near, in my opinion, as they imagined; and that doubtless this very measure would tend manifestly to prolong, if not to prevent, that desirable event; and reminded them of the proverb not to sell the bear-skin before they had caught the bear; but all to no purpose; and when the Bill came to the last definitive passing I then told the House, holding up both my hands, that before I would give my vote for such a Bill I would suffer them to be cut off. When I saw this wretched Bill would unavoidably pass, in order to put the best face on it abroad and make it of some little use at home amidst so many dreadful mischiefs it was big with, as well as to disappoint several land-jobbers who were very eager for it to gratify their voracious appetites this way, as if they and their familiars were along to live in the land, I mov'd and procur'd that part of the introduction relating to Cornwallis's orders, Etc., should be inserted.¹³² I also pressed and brought in the 20th Clause as it stands, which met with gen'l approbation, indeed was oppos'd only by (if he is not damnably belied) the greatest land-jobber in the State. The 28th Article is likewise owing to me.¹³³ I had also leave, and penned, and brought in the Clause that the next heir, if not below a son, brother or nephew, that had behav'd uniformly and unexceptionably in the interest of the State, should succeed to his relation to forfeiter: but this I lost, not without reason to think I was jockeyed by a lawyer, to whom I shew'd it before I presented it; who pretended to be a friend to it, and, I think, acted otherwise by mistake or design: but 'tis now a law; and we must patiently wait till the next Assembly to endeavor to have its severity at least mitigated where there is room; and I am sure, if I am on the floor, it shall not want my utmost endeavor to bring it about; and happy shall I be if they are attended with any success; for I have long tho't it would be difficult to pick out anyone on the Confiscation List that was not a saint to anyone of those damnable provisioners of supplies for some time past to Charles-town; if the former was the open murderer of a man or two, have not these rascals been the secret murderers of hundreds by the consequence of their rascally conduct? Not so much by gun and bayonet (tho' many that way) as by lingering diseases, and destroying their constitutions; and those, perhaps, as fine men as any in our State.¹³⁴ I have told my friends if I die now I lay my death to the charge of those wretches as much as if they had shot me. I am sure the loss of as good a constitution as most men were ever bless'd with lays at their door; and that of our Continental friends . . . and who debauched perhaps too many of them. I purposely pick'd out one of the worst wretches on the list to make my comparison from. What then think you must be my abhorrence of these life-takers when I compare them with many others? And what still when with a poor man who to preserve ease and comfort to a numerous family and visibly in the hands of a shocking enemy, has signed a Courtier address to obtain it? I have not words to express how shock'd I am at the baseness of men; and when I make the above comparisons I almost abhor my own species. Private men are thrown frequently into passions and extravagances, which, if not timely opposed, infect like the plague the mass of the people, and these, too often secretly stirr'd up by artful, ambitious men, to save their own detestable selfish purposes, best serv'd by throwing all into confusion; but the representatives of a State, when met on a public duty, are suppos'd to be without passions, or, if in any degree worthy the great

132. Gadsden referred to the preamble to Act 1153, known as the Confiscation Act, which provided a snapshot of the abuses to persons and property committed by the British. Gadsden's contribution apparently included a delineation of abuses attributable to Cornwallis:

“from the Earl Cornwallis's letter to Lieutenant Colonel Cruger, bearing date the 18th of August, 1780, declaring that he had given orders that all the inhabitants who had submitted, and who had taken part with their countrymen in the first action near Camden, (although such submission was an act of force or necessity,) should be punished with the greatest rigor, that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed; and that he had ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man who had borne arms on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and who had afterwards joined his fellow-citizens, (although he had been compelled to take up arms against them), should be immediately hanged; and ordering the said Lieutenant Colonel Cruger to obey these directions in the district in which he commanded, in the strictest manner. . .” (*Statutes*, 4:516-17).

133. The act as printed in the Statutes of South Carolina contains articles numbered differently than those identified by Gadsden. As a result, the limited description of Gadsden's articles 20 and 28 prevents identification of the contents of either.

134. Gadsden felt that those who carried on illicit trade were worse than the men who had sought British protection from fear of loss of property.

trust they are in, they o't at least to possess themselves sufficiently to oppose with firmness the rash impetuosity of the people, and correct it as much as possible. On the contrary, how many do we see for a momentary dirty popularity, give way to and humour every whim and violent caprice, no matter where they lead to. No punishment of a citizen should go further than the public safety will warrant. For my part I think it sufficient that such as are suspected as dangerous should be restrained from electing or being elected, or not put into any office of trust until the war is over; and afterwards referred to the Assembly to judge if their intermediate conduct entitles them *on petition* to be restor'd to the favour of their countrymen. Besides this, they should be fined a certain number of soldiers in proportion to their estates and misdemeanours, to serve during the war, as should with moderation be judged. This would appear to all the world reasonable and equitable; and I confess is the utmost I ever wish'd or ever now wish to see (excepting murderers who are out of the case); many who have err'd merely through weakness and timidity, and are not suspectd of any malevolence against the government, I would let off on the last terms; only as much lenity as possible consisting with safety should always be shewn from one citizen to another. This I have always been led to think not only as the most humane but the truest and soundest policy. In short, he that forgets and forgives most, such times as these, in my opinion, is the best citizen. From the bottom of my heart I pity the poor culprits. It may, without incurring censure be observ'd that tho' the law is extremely severe in the 24th Section¹³⁵ with regard to any person assisting to conceal any of their effects, &c., yet 'tis not so with their persons. Again, tho' as severe in the 16th¹³⁶ respecting shipping them off when found, yet vessels will be so scarce (occasion'd in a great measure by the impolicy of the Act) that it will be impossible to put that part into execution for a considerable time; and, besides, 'tis an ill wind blows no good. The infinite numbers of much greater offenders, the provision suppliers to Charles-town, must, I think, feel some compassion to these unfortunate men, or they will be more hardened and abandoned even than the Scribes and Pharisees with the woman taken in adultery. Upon the whole we should certainly lose many citizens who may be made good on the one side and nobody gain anything thereby, in my opinion, but the lawyers, who will palm immense sums on this melancholy occasion, and thereby make themselves still more formidable. I have already heard, and I believe from good authority, of 100 guinea fee from one defaulter, intended to be offer'd, which is nothing to what others will be tempted to offer; so that these poor men will be squeez'd and glean'd every way; rather than go they will give anything; and , perhaps, when they have given their all, or almost all, oblig'd to go at last without a thing in their pockets; . . .for what is given to lawyers is thrown into the bottomless pit, not to be got back. I am not without great suspicion that the law was made, and the people's passions fomented, with this design not a little in view. I know two lawyers who were extremely severe in this Act, to whom more had been forgiven and overlook'd by the public than almost to all the culprits in the Act put together. It put me in mind of the Two

135. The 24th article is actually Art. 18 in the printed Statutes of South Carolina. It reads:

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall remove, aid or assist in the removal of, any of the property hereby confiscated, or shall conceal the same, with intent to defraud the public, every such person or persons shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, guilty of felony, and shall, on conviction, suffer death, without benefit of clergy.” (*Statutes*, 4:521).

136. The 16th article is actually Art. 9 in the printed Statutes of South Carolina. Instead of the original intention of carrying out capital punishment on those criminals of the State who fell into groups two through five of the Confiscation Act, such individuals were to be banished:

“And although the lives as well as the fortunes of the persons mentioned on the said lists number two, three, four and five, are by law forfeited for the offences aforesaid; yet in order to avoid, if possible, sanguinary measures, and to extend to those persons as much mercy as may be consistent with justice to the public, Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That instead of inflicting capital punishment on such persons, they shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, forever banished from this State; and if any of the said persons shall remain in this State forty days next after the passing of this Act, or shall return to this State, the Governor or Commander-in-chief, for the time being, is hereby authorized and required to cause the person so remaining in or returning to this State, to be apprehended and committed to-jail, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until a convenient opportunity, shall offer of transporting the said person or persons from this State, to some part of his Britannic majesty's dominions, which the Governor or Commander-in-chief for the time being, is hereby required to do; and if any of the said persons shall return into this State, after such transportation, then, and in such case, he or they shall be adjudged, and they are hereby declared to be, guilty of felony, and shall, upon conviction of the offence of having returned as aforesaid, suffer death, without benefit of clergy.” (*Statutes*, 4:519-20).

Servants in Scripture, one of whom owed his lord an immense sum, which was freely, on his petition, forgiven him, who went out and instantly distress'd, to the utmost of his power, his fellow servant, who only owed him a trifle.

With greatest esteem,
yr. humble servt.

Ch. Gadsden

From Marion Papers V in Bancroft Collection, 1782-1811, 3::321; as printed in *SCHM* 41, no. 2 (Apr. 1940):55-60.

Gov. John Mathews to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Uxbridge Nov^r 17.1782

Dear Sir

As the conduct of the Enemy for some time past has indicated an intention and as from their present movements, I think a speedy evacuation of Charlestown will take place[.]¹³⁷ I wish to point out some arrangements that appear to me to be necessary on the Army under your command taking possession of the town.

I plainly foresee a great deal of confusion and perhaps worse consequences that will arise from an indiscriminate admission of the inhabitants previous to the re-establishment of Civil Government in the town.

I have therefore to request the favor of you to give particular Orders to the Officer who commands the party that is to take possession of the town, to admit no person to enter it except such as have my permission for the purpose, until it shall be signified to him that this Restraint is taken off.

That he uses his utmost endeavours to keep good order, and permit no person whatever that is found in the town, to be molested in person or property.

That no sale of Goods be permitted.

That boats coming down to supply the Markets or with Wood, be permitted to remain no longer than is necessary to dispose of the same and that they be not allowed on any account to carry back any Merchandize.

That no vessels found in the harbour be permitted to depart therefrom without an order for that purpose.

That all Negroes and other property, not belonging to the inhabitants found in the town, be detained there untill Orders are given to the contrary.

These orders to continue in force untill countermanded by my desire.

I hope this arrangement will not clash with any that you might have in view, if so, be pleased to point out your objections to me, and I doubt not but every thing might be accommodated to our mutual wishes, as I mean nothing on my part should interfere with your Military Plans.

I should have written to you on this subject yesterday evening, but was so much occupied in other business that I had not leisure to attend to it.¹³⁸

I am D^r Sir with sincere Esteem & Regard

Your most Obed Serv^t

Jn^o. Mathews

RDS (MiU-C), PNG, 12:198-99. Greene enclosed a copy of this letter with his to Anthony Wayne of Nov. 26 (PNG, 12:198n). Abstract

137. The British did not actually evacuate Charlestown until Dec. 14.

138. The agreement allowed for an unmolested British evacuation, followed by immediate occupation by the Continental Army, with South Carolina civil authorities assuming control the following day.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Maj. John Warden¹³⁹

20 Nov 1782 [Watboo]¹⁴⁰

As a result of the inability of militia soldiers to support their families while on “constant and very Strict duty” the previous summer,¹⁴¹ Gen. Marion authorized Maj. Warden to impress grain and distribute it proportionally to the needy families.¹⁴²

Journal of the SC House 1783, 234-35.

139. Maj. John Warden was a member of Francis Marion’s brigade. From various pension statements it is concluded that his area of operations was Georgetown District (Josias Sessions, Pension Statement S18202; John Roberts Pension Statement S18188; Jesse Dickson, Pension Statement S2521).

140. Location inferred. Marion is believed to have been encamped at Wadboo at this time. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 15, above, and Nov. 24, below.

141. The militia soldiers were presumably those from Georgetown District, as explained above. The entry in the minutes of the Journal of the SC House indicated that a list of specific families was submitted to the House (JSCH, 234-35).

142. The Mar. 8, 1783 House minutes reported that, “the evacuation of the Town happening so soon after and the Legislature in consequence meeting, it was thought proper to Countermand” Marion’s authorization, before the grain was distributed. At the referenced session, the House recommended the distribution of 35 barrels of rice or 350 bushels of corn to the families (JSCH, 234-35).

Lt. Col. Edward Barnwell¹⁴³ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Governours Quarters Novem^r 21st, 1782

Sir,

I Received yours of the 17th Oct^r. Respecting my Regim^t.¹⁴⁴ & am Exceedingly sorry that it is not in my Power to Give you a satisfactory Return without having the pleasure of an Interview, this being the 2d Time I have been thus far, wishing to have that pleasure, should have waited on you now, but my attendance being necessary at the election of our representatives deprives me of that satisfaction, but hope it may be very soon in Charles Town¹⁴⁵ I can satisfy your Request thus far, that my Regim^t. Consists of 320 Effective men, Officers Included that no part of it but the 6 Months men have done any duty since the breaking up the Assembly, being in the Utmost Confusion since that time¹⁴⁶ The Inhabitants on the Island are on constant duty, being in Continual alarm, but being without Cannon & Ammunition cannot hinder the Enemy from Plundering some part of them Very few of the Companies are Officer'd, the Inhabitants being afraid to Accept of Commissions.¹⁴⁷ The Regim^t. being in such Confusion, shall Give you further Particulars when I have the pleasure of seeing you, Until then,

I am Your most Obdt Servt.

E. Barnwell

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

143. Lt. Col. Edward Barnwell was a regimental commander in the militia brigade formerly commanded by his brother Gen. John Barnwell, before his withdrawal from command in May, 1782. Upon Gen. Barnwell's request to Gov. Mathews, he was relieved of command. By Mathews's letter to Marion of May 21, above, the brigade was then put under the command of Gen. Marion.

144. The letter has not been found.

145. Barnwell signified his hope that the British would soon evacuate Charlestown, an event that occurred less than one month later.

146. It is not known how many of the "320 Effective men" were "6 Months men." Apparently, only the former Loyalists—the "6 Months men"—were on duty. The Assembly adjourned Feb. 26. It was to have reconvened on Aug. 13. However, there is no record of such a meeting (*Biog. Dir. of SC Senate*, 18-19).

147. The island to which Barnwell referred is not clear. It may have been Johns Island, which was a prime target for British foraging until Charlestown was evacuated.

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

Headquarters [Ashley Hills] Nov 22d 1782

Dear Sir

For fear the Militia with you may imagine they are kept out of Town should the enemy leave at the instance of the Army, I have sent you a copy of the Governors letter on the subject.¹⁴⁸ I should not have thought this necessary but I have with concern seen but too many trying to stir up jealousies between the Army and the Citizens and as nothing is more destructive to the interest of both I wish to take every precaution to prevent it. Not that the Army has much at stake, but it is for the good of the common cause that a right understanding should subsist between them.

As there will be a variety of characters in Charlestown as the Officers of the Army are strangers to the whole I shall be obliged to you with three or four of your particular friends to enter the Town with the party that takes possession or as soon after as possible and remain there until the Governor arrives.¹⁴⁹ The Country Militia you may dismiss the moment you are informed the Town is evacuated. But at present I am at a loss to tell how or when it is to happen but I think if at all it must take place in three or four days.¹⁵⁰

I am dear Sir
Your Most Obed^t
humble Serv

N Greene

ADfS (NjP)

148. As per PNG: "In this sentence Greene wrote 'Army' after the crossed-through word 'Military.'" (PNG, 211n). Greene's letter to Marion in a letter of Nov. 15, above, confirmed that militia units would be excluded from the Continental force occupying the city following the British evacuation.

149. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 24.

150. The evacuation of Charlestown was not completed until Dec. 14.

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

Watbo 24th Nov^r 1782

Sr

Yourse of the 22d Instant came to hand. I had Received from the Govenor what you sent me with a Request that I shoud go into town as soon as the Enemy Left it.¹⁵¹ I am Exceeding sorry that any Jalousey shoud be between the militia & Army. I never heard any thing of it before. My reasons for requesting that the militia shoud be Discharged here is that they wish to return to there family as soon as possible & that they do not wish to go in to town, & my reason for not wanting to go in is that I never had the small pox & it may be in town & I woud not wish to take it naturally.

But If my service is necessary I shall Comply with your & the Govenors Desire with Chearfullness.¹⁵²

I have the honor to be your Ob^t s^t

Fran^s Marion

RCS (MiU-C), PNG, 12:217-18.

151. See Mathews to Greene, Nov. 17, above.

152. Marion discharged his militia at Wadboo, on Dec. 15, the day after the evacuation of Charlestown (O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 747).

Capt. John Cogdell¹⁵³ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

George Town, Novemb^r. 25th 1782

Sir, As I am in Expectation of a Vessel in a very short time, I will Esteem it a favour if you will Order the rice in payment for the powder supply'd this Garrison as the account stands at foot, the other rice payable the 1st Jan^{ry}. next, I will give you timely notice when wanted, as it belongs to a Person in Philadelphia to whom I have written that the Rice was to be received at that time & I suppose a Vessel will be sent for the purpose¹⁵⁴ __ I am sorry to Acquaint you with the Trade carried on to Ch^s. Town from this place by a set of people that I Can't think friends to this State __ I sometime ago wrote his Excellency the Governour Respecting it in as full a manner as I could, he has taken no notice of it __ Several are down now for that purpose to Daniels Island & may be Expected back in a few days __ I am told some are Concerned that you could hardly suspect, were those that Commanded here¹⁵⁵ __ The Jews are all deeply Concerned & doth no duty & are Intirely excused, I could a few days ago have seized a Cart load of goods going to Cohens, but so many had already been Cleared by applying to the Governour, I let them pass Unnoticed. Allow [All our] Ready money is sent to Ch^s. Town & the answer is to supply the Army. A few Articles I wanted for my family use, such as Blankets for my Negroes, some Cloth for my own wear & a few things for my wife, I dare not send for them for fear they should be taken & myself Censured for a Trade of the kind, tho' these things are laid by in Town for me __ I will thank you to advise me if this is Allowed & how I am to Act in such a situation. I am with regard Sir,

Your most Obdt. Servt.

John Cogdell

P.S. State of South Carolina, Dr., for powder, £340 13s. 4d. Or, Rec'd from H. & Tucker £69 12s. 6d. Bal. Due £271 0s. 10d.

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

153. John Cogdell (1729-1807) was a merchant, factor, and ferry operator in Georgetown. He served as assistant deputy quartermaster general from Aug. 1779 to Mar. 1783. In 1782, he was a captain in Marion's Brigade. Cogdell was elected to the SC House for the 6th General Assembly (1785-86). He was one of 148 signers of the letter of thanks to Gen. Marion from "Citizens of Georgetown" in Dec. 1794 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 183; Citizens to Marion, Dec. 15, 1794, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:144-45).

154. The details of this trade of gunpowder for rice are not known. However, in lieu of any hard currency, the exchange of goods for goods was the most effective method of obtaining supplies for the Army. Rice and indigo were most commonly traded for products from the North and elsewhere.

155. Cogdell implicated officers commanding at Georgetown as being involved in the illicit trade.

General Orders by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Dec^r 15th 1782 Wadboo

General Marion Congratulates the troops under his command on the Evacuation of Charlestown.¹⁵⁶ This Happy Event has made it unnecessary for the country Militia being Kept any longer in the field. He therefore discharges them.¹⁵⁷ The General returns his warmest thanks to the officers and men who with unwearied patience & Fortitude have under gone the greatest fatigues and Hardships & with a Spirit & Bravery which must ever reflect the Highest honour on them. No Citysins in the world Have ever done more they have. He begs leave to give his Particular thanks to all the Officers & Men of the Country Militia for that Partiality to his Person & ready Obedience to all Orders for two years And an half, which will be Remember'd with Gratitude To the end of his life. He will always consider them with the Affection of a Brother & will be happy to Render them every Service in his power – he cannot doubt in the least of their Readiness to turn out Should their county be ever again so unhappy as to be invaded by her cruel & barbarous Enemys. He wishes them a long continuance of happiness & the Blessing of Peace –

He is requested by the Governor to return his Thanks To them in the following Words, be pleased Sir to Issue in Gen^l Orders at the time of Discharging Your Men, my Sincere & hearty thanks in behalf of the State for their long faithful & Important Services, especially at a time, when nothing but their unabated Love for their Country & in the cause of Liberty could have supported them under the Variety of Hardships they had to Encounter¹⁵⁸

O'Kelley, BCADM, 747.

-
156. Greene described the evacuation in a Dec. 19 letter to Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress, “The Enemy completed their embarkation on the 14th. . . General Wayne with the Legion and Light Infantry, (as General Gist was absent, and too unwell to continue his command) had been before the Enemy’s Works for several days previous to the evacuation.” Wayne negotiated the evacuation with Maj. Wemyss to ensure the safety of the town. “The conditions being understood by both parties, the Town was evacuated and possessed without the least confusion, our advance following close upon their Rear. The Governor was conducted into his Capital the same Day, the civil police established the day following, and the Day after the Town opened for business. This important event gives us compleat possession of all the Southern State;” He continued, “The People are once more free, and I hope will manifest their gratitude by a vigorous exertion in support of the common Cause.” (Greene to Boudinot, Dec. 19, 1782, *PNG*, 12:301-303).
157. A month earlier, on Nov. 15, above, Greene wrote Marion, advising him that “The Governor and Council are desirous that no Military parties but those particularly pointed out nor Citizens should be permitted to enter Charlestown on the evacuation, until the Civil Authority are introduced.” Greene attempted to obscure his part in the decision to bar the militia in a letter to Marion of Nov. 22, above, “For fear the Militia with you may imagine they are kept out of Town should the enemy leave at the instance of the Army, I have sent you a copy of the Governors letter on the subject.” The governor’s letter has not been found. Ironically, Marion in his letter of Nov. 24 to Greene, above, explained that he wished to discharge the militia at Watboo, because the men wanted to return to their families. Marion himself expressed a reluctance to enter the city because of a fear of contracting smallpox.
158. Interestingly, Peter Buckholtz, who was at that time serving as a lieutenant under Marion, attested that he was discharged three days earlier, on Dec. 12. This date would have been written on the discharge papers. However, Buckholtz did acknowledge that the paper itself had been lost, so he may have misremembered the date. Making things even more curious, Buckholtz also claimed that he was discharged at Charlestown, specifically noting that he had been marched there from “Wataboo” (Peter Buckholtz, Pension Statement R1465). Clement Clements, conversely, stated that “while at Wadboo the war ended, [he] was discharged and went home.” (Clement Clements, Pension Statement S8217).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. John Mathews

Charlestown 21st Dec^r. 1782¹⁵⁹

S^r.

I am Informed that all the persons in the List of Banishment¹⁶⁰ are Orderd to be confined Amongst which Doct^r. James Lynah¹⁶¹ & M^r. Richard Wayne.¹⁶² I Shoud have waited on you but the badness of the Weather prevented, I wish to Inform Your Excell^y. that the above Gentl^m. has for some time past render the Public most Esential 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. There Services Oblige one through Gratitude to Interseed for their not being Confined, but to remain with their famelys in the Country Untill Vessells are provided for them, to be Sent off (If that Shoud take place) & I will be their Security for their Surrendering Themselves whenever they are Called for.

My Men taken prisoners from time to time has Declared that Doct^r. Lynah Did save their Lives by his Attention to them when in the provost & prison Ship---all these services Induced me to Give them a flag to go in the Country to Settle their private Business, & see their famelys--when they Asked my Advise in staying in this Country, I Gave it, thus; If you stay you are liable to be taken up & sent off If return Your Life will be in danger, this is What I Conceive was the spirit of the Late Law, no Other Incouragement I gave them.

I have mentiond these particulars as I am Informed some Illiberal persons has throughed [throwed] Out, that they ware Invited to stay & that I had taken more on me then I had power, or Shoud have done; They Can produce my Letter whenever it shoud be thought necessary.

If my request can be Granted it will releave my feelings Exceedingly, & Lay me under Great Obligations. Shall be Glad to know Your Answer as these Gentlemen are coming down Agreeable to your Orders.

I have the Honor to be your
Excell^y. most Obedient Serven

Fran^s Marion

N B

I have some long forage Just come
Should you want Please send to Roses warf
Ordered That it be referred to the Committees on Lynah & Wayne's Petitions--¹⁶³

ALS (Phi), Simon Gratz Collection.

159. After discharging the militia at Wadboo, Gen. Francis Marion may have returned to his devastated Pond Bluff Plantation, as at least three of his biographers (Boddie, Bass, and Rankin) describe. If so, he spent only a few days there, since this letter is clearly addressed from Charlestown. Since Marion was the commander of the state militia, it was of paramount importance that he confer with Gov. John Mathews regarding the governor's instructions for returning South Carolina to civil government.
160. The List of Banishment referred to those sent out from Charlestown by the British as being Patriot sympathizers on Apr. 28, 1782 (Barnwell, "Letters to Greene," 8). The list referenced here does not include Wayne or Lynah. Marion may have been referring to the Confiscation List, on which both did appear.
161. Dr. James Lynah's property was confiscated and Lynah banished under Act. 1152, Feb. 25, 1782, known as the Confiscation Act. His name was contained on List 5 (of 6 lists for various degrees of complicity with the British after the fall of Charlestown). List 5 included those who held or had held "commissions under his Britannic majesty, and are now with the enemy." Lynah presented a petition to the legislature (under Act 1176) to which this letter is in response. In 1784 the Senate acted favorably on his petition and removed his property from the confiscation list (*Statutes*, 4:518-20; McCord, *Statutes*, 6:631-33). Lynah served as a surgeon with various cavalry units, as well as with Marion prior to the fall of Charlestown (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 588). He was a neighbor of Gen. Marion and his brother Gabriel, living opposite Belle Isle plantation (Thomas, T. Gaillard, Samuel DuBose, and Frederick A. Porcher, *A Contribution to the History of the Huguenots of South Carolina* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1887):41-42).
162. The case of Richard Wayne is similar to that of Lynah. Wayne was added to the confiscation list, and his name removed at the same time as Lynah's. Wayne, however, was amerced 12%. He had been captured at his plantation on Goose Creek by the British in 1780. He was given his parole on condition that he report for duty with the British army when called upon. He then migrated to Savannah, GA. Wayne had previously served in the Charlestown Militia Regiment during 1778 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 973).
163. This letter was read in the SC House of Representatives on Jan. 25, 1783 (*Journal of the SC House* 1783, 42).

The Final Act

Other than the action at Wadboo at the end of August, Marion's Brigade saw little action in the second half of 1782. Although there is no record of him commenting on the decision not to allow the militia to march into Charlestown as the British evacuated, it is hard to believe that Marion was not angry that the red carpet was not rolled out for his valiant men.

His rationalization that the fear of contracting smallpox kept him from joining in the momentous event was a thinly veiled attempt to avoid creating an incident. Considering that Marion was in the town a week later, contention that fear of smallpox was his motivation seems far-fetched.

When Francis Marion discharged his militia a day after the evacuation, he may have felt a sense of relief that the combat was finally over. He also may have felt trepidation because of the uncertainty of the future. After nearly 7½ years of military life, the 50-year-old Marion now faced the uncertainty of returning to civilian life as a planter along the Santee River.

Marion would spend parts of the rest of his life as a militia general, state senator, and private citizen. Even before the British evacuated Charlestown in Dec. 1782, Francis Marion was undoubtedly making plans for the future. His Pond Bluff plantation, only a short distance from the Eutaw Springs battlefield, had been ransacked. He had not been successful as a planter before the war, so he had little wealth from which to draw to rebuild.

In addition to his property, as executor of the estates of his brothers Gabriel and Job—and that of Anthony Ashby, the husband of Francis's niece—Gen. Marion was also responsible for a number of other plantations. Just as he had so successfully coordinated the unpredictable comings and goings of his militia in planning his fight with the British, so too would Marion juggle disparate responsibilities in bridging South Carolina's transition to independence.

Christopher Gadsden's letters to Marion at the end of 1782 gave an indication where the general's sympathies lay in dealing with those who had sided with the British. Marion wanted to forgive and move on, unlike so many of his fellow South Carolinians who cried for harsh punishment. The sanctions passed by the General Assembly at Jacksonborough in January and February 1782—death to the traitors and confiscation of their property—would be tempered in the following years, as Marion often served the voice of reason.

To him, at least, it was more important for the Patriots of South Carolina to apply a salve to the wounds rather than create more turmoil by severely punishing their neighbors.

1783-1795

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Charlestown January 18th 1783

Dr Sir,

I Received yours of the 6th Inst.¹ I am much obliged to you for the favourable opinion of my Endeavours to serve my country, But had I not been assisted by such Brave Officers as Colo. Horry. It would not have been in my Power to do what I have done. I only lament that my Country had not considered the merits of such Officers & provided for them, Instead of Giving to Strangers, Ten Thousand Guineas, proportioned, would have a Great way in Elivating the distresses of a great many good & faithful servants, who have done every thing that men cou'd do in their situation, But as the old saying is, "That kisses go by favour."² I have lost one half of all I had & am now to set down with half Pay & 10 Working Negroes³ which is all my fortune & Every thing to buy Stock, household Goods, neither of which I have got left, Nor do I know how I shall procure them—and I have no Prospect that my Country will so much as put me in a Post of Emolument, Those are for such men as have been Idle spectators of the War, but all this Cannot alter my love for my Country, My principles Cannot be Altered by Neglect⁴—I applied for the Clothing for you but was told, That supernumerary Officers was not to have any & if Colo. Pinckney had not taken a few Articles for me, I should have gone without, I am Glad to find you are making up the Accounts of your Regiment, It is necessary it should be laid before this house of Assembly—you will Give it in to the Governor—I shall be obliged to you, to send me an account of such Clothing your Regiment had of me, as I am making out my Accounts for the above purpose—the Clothing Mayhams Officers had of me, is to be paid for by them & was not a Gift by any means. No man can feel a Greater friendship for another than I do for you, it has been Long standing & Cannot End but with life⁵ & believe me my Dr Sir, That

I am with the perfectest Esteem

Your friend,

Frans Marion

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

1. The letter has not been found.

2. Marion's reference here was to the prizes given to Continental officers, such as Gen. Greene and Gen. Wayne, while militia officers, such as Lt. Col. Horry, were not provided for.

3. At his death Francis Marion owned 74 slaves. See the inventory of Francis Marion's estate, dated Sep. 21, 1795, below.

4. Marion, as demonstrated in this letter, felt resentment toward war profiteers.

5. Lt. Col. Peter Horry and Brig. Gen. Francis Marion began the Revolutionary War as captains in the 2nd SC Regiment. Their paths diverged when Horry assumed command of the 5th SC Regiment, and Marion of the 2nd. After Charlestown fell, the two reunited in the camp of Gen. Horatio Gates in Jul. 1780. Horry served under Marion and then under Gen. Nathanael Greene, before again reporting to Marion when his cavalry regiment was put under the militia general's control. Despite a nearly year-long break in their friendship due to command conflicts within the militia and Continental establishment, the two healed the rift and became lifelong friends, as this testament to Horry's friendship indicates.

Certified Receipt from Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

These are to certify that Jesse Vining have furnish'^d the publick to wit One hog Appr^{vd}, Sixty five w^t by order of Gen Ma[r]ion to me Directed – Jan^y. 20th 1783⁶

Certified

Fran^s Marion

Lam Benton⁷

L^t Col^o. [intelligible of M.[ilitia]

ADS (FMU) Abstract

6. Marion himself continued to serve after dismissing his militia on Dec. 15, 1782.

7. Lt. Col. Lemuel Benton had succeeded Col. Abel Kolb as commander of the Cheraw militia after Col. Abel Kolb's murder in Apr. 1781.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Benjamin Guerard

[Charlestown, 25 February?⁸ 1783]

“His Excellency [Gov. Guerard] laid before the [Privy] Council a letter received from the Hon. Brig. Gen. Marion, resigning that part of his command which relates to the brigade formerly under the direction of Gen. Barnwell⁹ and acquainting his Excellency that Col. Lee’s Legion were stationed in the neighborhood of George Town, and, as there were sixty of the Militia doing duty there who were supported by the impressments on the inhabitants of that neighborhood, and who had hitherto done a large portion of duty, intimating the propriety of having the duty now imposed on the Militia performed by the men of that Corps.”¹⁰

Journal of the Privy Council, 7-8.

8. Marion was in attendance at the SC Senate session that began Jan. 6. His letter was presented to the Privy Council Feb. 26.

9. The Privy Council recommended acceptance of Marion’s resignation.

10. The South Carolina Executive Council, made the application to Greene to “relieve the Militia who have long done & are now doing Duty in Georgetown (at a great Expence to the State & intollerably burthens the Neighbourhood, from whom, by virtue of the Militia Law, all their subsistence have been & still is impressed). . .” Guerard enclosed the request in his letter to Greene of Feb. 27. In his reply of Mar. 1, Greene said that “Major [Joesph] Eggleston had orders several days before” to relieve the militia at Georgetown. Greene suggested to Guerard that he have Marion “send his orders for this purpose lest there should be any difficulty with them in leaving their post without positive orders.” (Guerard to Greene, Feb. 27, and Greene to Guerard, Mar. 1, 1783, *PNG*, 12:482-83).

Senate of South Carolina to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[Charlestown] February 26th 1783

Resolved Nem Con,¹¹

That the Thanks of this House be Given to Brigadier General Marion in his place as a member of this House for his Eminent & Conspicuous Services to this Country¹²__

Resolved Nem Con,

That a Gold Medal be Given Brigadier Gen^l Marion as a Mark of Public approbation for his great Glorious & meretorious conduct¹³__ In the Senate February 28th, 1783__ Brigadier General Marion being in his Place__ M^r President¹⁴ acquainted him that the House had unanimously Resolved that the thanks of this House should be Given to him for his eminent & Conspicuous Services to this Country__ And M^r President Gave him the Thanks of the House Accordingly In the following words Viz.__ Brigadier Gen^l Marion__ This house have Unanimously Resolved,

That their Thanks should be Given to you, for the Eminent & Conspicuous Services which you have rendered your Country in the Arduous struggle which she has made for the preservation of her liberties & they have directed me to communicate those Thanks accordingly I am to render them to you Sir__ in your place, as you are a member of this House__ When I Consider the Occasion which Calls me to Address you I am filled with Inexpressible pleasure, but when I Reflect on the difficulty of doing Justice to your distinguished merit I feel my own Insufficiency__ What sentiments or word, Shall I use of Equal to the Trust. I scarce dare Trust to my own, Especially after what has been said by several honourable Persons on this floor, respecting your Great, your glorious & your meritorious Conduct & I do Earnestly wish, for my own sake, for yours Sir & for the honour of the House That I Could avail myself of their Eloquence, let it however supply my defects in Complying with this Ususage [Usage?] & duty of my Office__ It is Sir, with Infinite Satisfaction I Acquaint you that your Conduct merits the applause of your Countrymen & That your Courage, your Vigilance & your Abilities have Exceeded their most Sanguine Expecctations & have answered all their hopes__ Whilst the Virtue of Gratitude shall form a part of our National Character, your Important Services to this Country can never be forgotten & your presence make them to raise with the first strength in our Thoughts to testify with a fresh spirit of Joy our Acknowledgements for your Exertions in your Countries Cause__ Our Acknowledgements then Sir__ you have for your past Services in defence of the rights, Liberties & honour of your Country It is be Assured a very acceptable Office to me to Convey the thanks of the Senate, to you & I do Give you in the Name of the Senate of the State of South Carolina, Their Unanimous Thanks, for your great, your Eminent & Successful Conduct in the Service of this Country__

To which Brig^r. Gen^l. Marion made the following Reply__¹⁵

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

11. i.e., without dissent.

12. Francis Marion served in the South Carolina Senate from 1782-86, beginning with the Second Session of the Ninth General Assembly in Dec. 1791 and continuing through the Second Session of the Tenth General Assembly that ended May 12, 1794. On Dec. 10, 1791, Marion was approved by the Senate to succeed William Moultrie when the latter resigned to become Commissioner to settle accounts of former Commissioners of Treasury. (*Biog. Dir. of SC Senate*, 18-25, 279).

13. It is not known whether Gen. Francis Marion actually received the gold medal. Similar resolutions of thanks and awards of gold medals were also passed by the Senate to reward Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter, and Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, but not until the next day. All four resolutions were passed in the House on Mar. 16 (*Journal of SC House*, 1783, 292).

14. John Lloyd, Senator from St. Bartholomew's Parish, was President of the Senate.

15. This resolution is a transcript contained in the Peter Force collection. It was apparently extracted by D. G. Dunlap, Clerk of the Senate, from the Journals of the Senate, and sent to Horry in 1804. Also included was the response from Marion, below, and an explanation about Marion's command at Fort Johnson, specifically, wages and years of payment for 1784-86. General Peter Horry may have requested this information in the process of writing his biography of Marion, the work that was subsequently converted into a biographical fiction by Mason Locke Weems.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to the Senate of South Carolina

[Charlestown February 28th 1783]¹⁶

M^r President__

The approbation this house have Given of my Conduct in the Execution of my duty, Gives me very pleasing & heartfelt Satisfaction, the honour which they have Conferred on me this day by their Thanks will be remembered with gratitude & I shall always be ready to Exert my abilities for the Good of this State & the Liberties of her Inhabitants, I thank you Sir for the pollite & Genteel manner in which you have Conveyed to me The thanks of the Senate__¹⁷

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

16. As explained in the Senate's resolution, above, although passed on Feb. 26, the resolution was not read to Marion until Feb. 28, presumably he Marion was understandably absent during the discussion about the resolution.

17. This letter is a transcript contained in the Peter Force collection. It was apparently extracted by D. G. Dunlap, Clerk of the Senate, from the Journals of the Senate, as explained in the resolution of the Senate of South Carolina of Feb. 26, immediately above.

Morton Wilkinson¹⁸ to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[1783]¹⁹

James Clark Amerced²⁰

On Examination says that he had two French Officers & a Servant Billitted on him at a time when all his Family except M^rs. Clark were Ill, In this Situation one of the Officers by name Captⁿ La Brune Attempted to impose on him a Sick Servant who had been attending on some Officers at M^r. Whileys w^{ch}. he refused to receive, telling the Officer it was ungenerous; the Situation of his Family rendering it impossible that he could have that Attention, as he required-- This alone gave such offense that he was obliged to remove to another plantⁿ.-- his Family & himself being dayly insulted and abused and his Life threatened-- he also says, that he never had any differences with the other officer neither was there the least uneasiness between him and other Officers who were afterwards Quartered on him that they fared the same as his family did partaking of a part of what his table afforded w^{ch} he confesses was not equal to his wishes but Circumstances woud not admit of better

M^r Wilson Overseer to M^r. Clark ab^t. the time Mentioned above

On Examination informs that the only cause of the uneasiness between M^r. Clark and Captⁿ. Labrune, from what he could learn of and he lived in the House and sat at the table with this Family was, that, of his Attempting to bring a sick servant in M^r. Clarks house w^{ch}. was ab^t. three weeks after they came to the C^s. [Clarks] and was rejected by M^r. C [Clark]: and that his reasons were the distressed Situation w^{ch}. his family were then in; the Whole being sick axcepting M^r. Clark -- he says that Captⁿ. Labrune told him that he woud kill M^r. Clark. And Informs that the Officers Eat & Drank the same as his Family and that he received orders from M^r. Clark when he removd to keep six of the best milch Cows, for the Officers use—

D^r. Genl.

As it is probable M^r. Clarks case may come on, before my return, I have sent you the Information respect^g. him, that it may be Laid before the Committee.

I am with EsteemY^r. most ob^t. Hbl. Servant

Morton Wilkinson

Thursday Morn

Tr (ScCoAH)

Excerpt

18. Morton Wilkinson was a Senator from St. Paul's during the 5th South Carolina General Assembly 1783-84. Wilkinson served with Francis Marion on a committee to review the amercement of confiscated estates.

19. The year 1783 is presumed, since Wilkinson served in the Senate throughout 1783. No more specific date is known.

20. A record of the outcome of the amercement appeal by James Clark has not been found. Official statutes indicate that his property was amerced (*Statutes*, 4:523, 6:633).

Minutes of the Society of the Cincinnati

City Tavern [Charleston] Monday October y^e 6th: 1783. AM²¹

The Society met according to Adjourn^t
Members present:

[Publisher's Note: Attendee list shown has been
reordered for readability.]

The Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l. Moultrie
Major Pinckney
Cap^t. Lining
Lieu^t. Kennedy
Lieu^{ts}. Dart
Beekman

Prend^t.
Secretary
Treasurer
Ass^t Treas^r.
Steward
Steward

Col^{os}. Pinckney
L^t. Col^o. Comm^t. Marion²²
L^t. Col^o. Washington
[Lt. Col.] Gadsden²³

Majors.

Forsyth
Mitchell
Davis
Vanderhorst
Shubrick

Captains

Provaux
Beekman
Jesse Baker
Felix Warley
Warren
Joseph Warley
Bohun Baker
Theus
Hext
Levacher
Mason
Roux
Hall

Martin²⁴

Pennsylv^a Line
Lt. McLure
Georgia Line
Day
Melvin

21. This was the third meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of South Carolina.

22. Although Marion did not know it, on Sep. 30, 1783, the Continental Congress had promoted him to full Colonel in the Continental Army (*JCC*, 25:632-33).

23. Assumed to be Lt. Col. Christopher Gadsden, who is recognized as a founding member of the South Carolina branch of the Society. (He was commissioned as a brigadier general in the Continental Army but resigned his commission in 1777 due to chronic issues with Brig. Gen. Robert Howe.) However, only his son, Capt. Thomas Gadsen, is included in current lists. (American Revolution Institute, <https://www.americanrevolutioninstitute.org/soldiers-and-sailors-of-the-revolutionary-war/officers-represented-in-the-society-of-the-cincinnati/>)

24. Surg. James Martin is the only Martin listed in the American Revolution Institute records associated with South Carolina.

[Pages 2 & 3 follow].

Lieu^t Col^o Comm^t Marion gave notice in conformity to the 11th. Bye Law, that he proposed an Amendment to the 18th. Bye Law, to be debated at the next General Meeting (the amendment proposed that the word three be struck out and one inserted in its room, in the fourth Line of the Rule²⁵__

And then the Society adjourned to 11 °Clock AM, the first Monday in January next, then to meet at this place.²⁶

A true Copy from the Journals

S. C. S. S. C.

Thomas Pinckney

Cy (DSOC), 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, Accession no. 24646, Series IV-F, Folder 10, item no. 62, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA) Abstract

-
25. Article 18 of the By Laws of the Society of the Cincinnati of South Carolina stated: "As the funds proposed by the General Society must be inadequate to the benevolent designs of the State Society, every member (besides the general deposit recommended by the General Society) shall contribute Three Days Pay of their respective Grades at each Quarterly and Anniversary Meeting of the Society; to be particularly appropriated to the furthering and carrying into effect the intentions of the Society" (By-laws of the Society of the Cincinnati, Library of Virginia, 10). In addition, Marion would have been responsible for paying "the general deposit recommended by the General Society," however much that was. At the time Marion proposed this by-law revision--Oct. 1783--he was undoubtedly not in a very healthy financial condition. The British had ravaged his land and those of the estates of his brothers. Marion apparently felt that dues of 12 day's pay per year was too much.
26. Gen. Marion was not present at the Jan. 5, 1784 meeting, when his proposal was to be discussed. As a result, it was ordered that "consideration of an Alteration to the 18th By Law be postponed." Inexplicably, a revision seemingly identical to the one Marion intended to propose was moved and seconded following postponement of the discussion of Marion's proposal. At the next quarterly meeting held Apr. 5, Gen. Marion withdrew his motion, after which the society approved the identical proposal that had been moved and seconded in the Jan. 5 meeting (Minutes of the SC Chapter of the Society of the Cincinnati, Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Benjamin Guerard

Fort Johnson 20 April[?] 1784²⁷

Gen. Marion, as Commandant of Fort Johnson applied to Gov. Guerard for assistance at Fort Johnson, "His Excellency laid before the Council an application from Gen. Marion, Commander of Fort Johnson, for sundry necessities for said post, viz., one large canoe, thirty feet long and five feet wide; two rammers for eighteen pounders; four handspikes; fifty yards of bunting for a suit of colors, twenty-one feet long by ten and a half feet ditto; fifty pounds weight of gunpowder; one two-hour glass; and thirty yards of halliards for the colors."²⁸

Journal of Privy Council, 100.

27. Since Marion was Commandant at Fort Johnson, it is presumed that his request was made from the post shortly before the Privy Council meeting.

28. Marion was named Commandant of Fort Johnson on Mar. 10 (*Statutes*, 4:588). He succeeded Col. Johann Christian Senf as commandant of the fort and presumably resided in the house Senf had built at the fort when on site. Senf had been appointed to the post without pay on a temporary basis by the Governor. Senf continued to act as Engineer for South Carolina (*Journal of SC House* 1784, 462). This request was presented at the Apr. 21 meeting of the Privy Council. This is the first reference to actions taken by Marion since he was named to command the post. The Privy Council "Unanimously agreed that Gen. Marion procure the above articles and that his Excellency grant an order for payment of them" (*Journal of Privy Council*, 100). The administration of the post further evolved, when on Mar. 30, 1785, Gen. Marion, Arnoldus Vanderhorst and Daniel Cannon were appointed commissioners for Fort Johnson (*Journal of Privy Council*, 164).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. T. Watson²⁹

Pond Bluff 12 Oct. 1784

Sir

I send the bearer for the two bales a paper parul, & a box Soap, & if Grant & Simon, have sent 6 Ox chains, Let the bearer have them, & send me a pen knife or a pocket knife. & you will Oblige -

Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

Mr. T. Watson,
Watbo Landing³⁰

ALS (PHi), Etting Papers, 10:44.

29. The identity of T. Watson is not known. He was presumably a factor, a local merchant or a representative of a Charlestown firm operating out of the Moncks Corner area.

30. Watbo [Wadboo] Landing was presumably a docking location on Wadboo Creek, probably at Wadboo Bridge, for boats traveling to and from Charlestown via the Cooper River. Planters, such as Marion, hauled their crops from their Santee River plantations to such places as Wadboo Landing via wagon. At Wadboo, crops would be loaded on barges for transport to Charlestown.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. T. Watson

Pond Bluff 20th Dec^r 1784

S^r.

Let M^r Rob^t Marion³¹ have what he may want out of Y^r Store at any time & Charge it to Estate Gabriel Marion³² [intelligible] & You will Oblige
yr Obt Sert.

Frans. Marion

ADS (ScU)

-
31. Robert Marion (1766-1811), second son of Francis's older brother Gabriel, was 18 years old at this time. He went on to become a US Congressman from South Carolina. He graduated from the University of the State of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1784. He owned and managed the plantation at Belle Isle, S.C., and served in the State House of Representatives, from 1790-96, and in the State Senate, from 1802-05. He was elected as a Republican to the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Congresses and served from Mar. 4, 1805, until his resignation on Dec. 4, 1810. He died on his plantation in St. Stephen's Parish (presumed to be Belle Isle), on Mar. 22, 1811 (*Biog. Dir. of Congress*).
32. Francis Marion was the executor of his brother Gabriel's estate.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. Watson

Pond Bluff 31st Dec^r 1784

S^r.

I have sent p^r. Cart one Barrell pease, one firkin³³ Butter to go to town in the boat first trip After they arrive to be Deliverd to Mess^{rs}. Lothorp & Snowden,³⁴ two doors from Tho^s. Hosts in Queen street --- also two Shoats³⁵ to M^r. Anthony Simons Tread [Tradd] street

Please send me p^r. Cart the barrell [&] half of Salt which Came from town & the Articles Mentioned underneath & Let me know if You have any Duffels³⁶ & Y^r. price p^r. peace, London or Bristol I shall want 100 P^s. ---

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

Fran^s Marion

NB

6^l Turkey shot

6^l Large Duck d^o

6^l Small Swan d^o.

1 Grind Stone the Largest & Coars^{'s}t

You have & Charge it to Est. Anth^y

Ashby³⁷ --- also [*unintelligible?*]

the Same Est. ---

ADS (ScCMu)

33. A firkin was a quarter of a full-size barrel.

34. Messrs. Lothorp & Snowden was a mercantile firm.

35. A shoat is a young pig just after weaning.

36. Duffels was presumably duffel fabric, a coarse material made from wool or flannel, used to make clothing for slaves. From the context, the material was imported in a standard size from London or Bristol, England.

37. Marion was the executor of the estate of his nephew-in-law, Anthony Ashby, who had married Charlotte Marion, daughter of the general's brother, Gabriel (ADS (NcD)).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Mr. Watson

[Pond Bluff] 22 Jan^y. 1785

The letter is addressed to “Mr. Watson, p^r. Cart Watboo Landing.”

On the address side of the letter Marion wrote, “Send a box of wafers for F^r Marion.”

S^r

I send a few articles & a wench. Please send them to town by first boat—Please find p^r Cost the Articles mentioned underneath, & If y^r Blanket Shoud be arrived find me 12 p^s. I woud prefer London Duffels, I shall be with you in a few days when I will tell You how to Charge them.

I am Y^r Ob^t S^t

Fran^s Marion

1 Dozen Broad hoes Est. A Ashby³⁸

2 d^o d^o Est. G. Marion Sen^r.³⁹

Let Buddy have a fidell and Charge it to F M⁴⁰

ALS (NN), Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection.

38. Marion was the executor of his nephew-in-law Anthony Ashby's estate.

39. Marion was also the executor of his brother Gabriel's estate.

40. Buddy may have been the nickname for Marion's man-servant “Oscar,” who is mentioned in only one contemporary account, William James's biography of Francis Marion. Buddy, however, is mentioned here and is listed first in the inventory of Marion's estate, dated Sep. 21, 1795, below. Richard Yeadon, an editor of the *Charleston Gazette* during the mid-1800s, carried out extensive interviews with Marion relatives and slaves. He believed that “Oscar” was really “Buddy,” based on a conversation with Buddy's sister Phoebe. Yeadon wrote, “The biographers give him the romantic or heroic name of Oscar; but we have ascertained from several persons now living, who well knew the faithful slave, that he bore the humbler name of Buddy.” In 1851, Johnson wrote in his volume of anecdotes of the revolutionary war that Oscar was “his favorite servant—his foster brother—who was, therefore, from infancy, always called budde, or brother, by the general, when spoken to by him” (Johnson, *Traditions*, 280).

In 2006, Oscar Marion—not Buddy—was recognized as an “African- American Patriot” by proclamation of Pres. George H.W. Bush (James, *Francis Marion*, 29; Yeadon, *Marion Family*, 1:219; Johnson, *Traditions & Reminiscences*, 280; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 86-87; ALS (NN), Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection; Montes, Sue Ann Pressley, “Post-Revolutionary Recognition,” *Washington Post*, Dec. 16, 2006; Francis Marion Estate Inventory, Sep. 21, 1795, Tr (SoCoAH)).

State of South Carolina to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

[April 5, 1785]

N°. 331 Book N.	}	Issued the 5th of April 1785 to Brigadier Genl. Francis Marion For Seven Hundred Pounds thirteen Shillings and Seven Pence Sterling for Sundries for Continentals and Militia in 1780. 1781. 1782. & 1783 as pr. Account Audited Principal £700..13-7- Annual Interest £49-0-11 ⁴¹

A.S. Salley, ed., *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution* (Columbia, SC:1910), Books L-N, 303.

41. Since this indent concerned provisions supplied to both Continental and militia soldiers, it is presumed that the South Carolina Commissioner of Accounts for Congress would have had to approve payment, as well as the State of South Carolina. In his letter of Aug. 2, below, Marion requested issuance of another indent. On Mar. 21, the SC House had recommended payment of this account, “exclusive of 680 Guineas he has Credited the State as received from 16 persons to procure recruits as their Substitutes.” (*Journal of the SC House*, 1784, 267).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Blake & Bocquet, Treasurers⁴²

Fort Johnson 2^d Aug^t. 1785

Gentlemen

I have desired M^r. Joseph Marion⁴³ to Deliver a Certificate to you from the Commissioner of Acc^{ts}. for Congress,⁴⁴ please give him an Indent & a special Indent for the Interest & You will Oblige

Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion

ALS (Christie's, New York, May 18, 1991, lot 292)

42. Edward Blake and Peter Bocquet were commissioners of the treasury of South Carolina.

43. Joseph Marion may have been Francis Marion's cousin, the son of Benjamin, who was in turn Francis's father Gabriel's brother (Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, Charleston: vol. 22 (1916), 48). Joseph served in Marion's brigade for 299 days (Accounts Audited #4769D, ScCoAH).

44. On Feb. 20, 1782, the Continental Congress initiated the mechanism for settling financial claims of the states payable by the United States. The Congress directed that the superintendent of finance name a commissioner of accounts for each state, subject to the approval of the respective state. Congress resolved "that the said commissioner so appointed shall have full power and authority finally to settle the accounts between the State for which he shall have been nominated, and the United States. . ." The commissioner had the full power to settle claims of officers and soldiers on pay issues, as well as, resolve claims of those who supplied the Continental Army with provision or whose property was damaged during the war (JCC:22:84-86). It would appear that Marion had received notification from the Commissioner of Accounts of Congress about the approval of a claim. Marion requested two indentures (certificates). The "indents" were issued in the name of South Carolina. As a result of the shortage of hard currency, these indentures could be used as legal tender. This request may have been a result of Marion's application for back pay, reimbursement for material impressed during the war or reimbursement for property damages. Five years later on Apr. 12, 1790 a warrant in the amount of \$6,000 was submitted to Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, "on account of Pay Subsistance of the Army..." An amount of 91. 268. 61 is listed beside the name of "Gen. Marion, Militia" (Howell to Hamilton, Warrant Number 1044, Apr. 12, 1790, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org>, accessed 2/23/2026).

Marriage Notices from the Charleston Morning Post

April 20, 1786

[Married.] Brigadier-General Francis Marion, who served with great reputation in the late war, to Miss Mary-Esther Videau, 45 of St. John's Parish.—Mr. Theodore-Samuel Marion, 46, of St. John's parish, to Mrs. Charlotte Ashby, widow of the deceased Anthony Ashby, 47, Esq; of St. Stephen's parish.

Charleston Morning Post, Apr. 20, 1786.

-
45. Mary Esther Videau (1737-1815) was 48 years old when she married her cousin Francis Marion, who was 54 at the time. It was the first marriage for both. At the time of their marriage, Videau was a wealthy landowner, having inherited property from her two brothers. They were married at Little Pond Bluff Plantation in a double ceremony along with Marion's niece Charlotte Ashby and nephew Theodore Samuel Marion. Francis and Mary Marion had no children. However, they did adopt a boy, Francis Marion Dwight, who eventually dropped "Dwight" to become Francis Marion, and a girl Charlotte Ashby, the daughter of Marion's aforementioned niece of the same name. (*Charleston Morning Post*, Apr. 20, 1786; "Marion Family," no. 10; Marion to Unknown Recipient, Dec. 31, 1790, Abs. of ALS (A Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts and Autograph Letters, William Evarts Benjamin, New York, Sep.-Dec. 1892, No. 42; Emma B. Richardson, "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendents," SCHGM vol. 43, no. 3 (1942), 139).
46. Theodore Samuel Marion (b. 1764) was the son of Job Marion, one of Francis's older brothers. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1784, the same year as his cousin Robert Marion, Gabriel's son. Francis Marion's benevolence toward Charlotte Ashby Marion and Theodore Samuel Marion is evidenced by two bonds in the amount of £177 each.
47. Mrs. Charlotte Ashby was the daughter of Gabriel Marion, another of Francis's older brothers. Her first marriage ended with the death of Anthony Ashby. The double weddings were performed at Little Pond Bluff, Charlotte Ashby's plantation, adjacent to both the general's and his bride's estates (Yeadon, "Marion Family," no. 10; O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 534).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Thomas Pinckney⁴⁸

Fort Johnson, 6th April, 1787

Sir,

I am sorry that I have not been able to wait on you. A complaint in my eyes which yet continues and the smallpox⁴⁹ in the city prevent me, or [I] would have paid my respects in person, but hope you will excuse me.

I should be much obliged to you to let me know what the Legislature have done respecting this post,⁵⁰ as I am told there is no provision made in the tax Act for payment of the men and other expenses, which make me at a loss how to act.⁵¹ Your orders by the bearer in every respect shall be strictly attended to.

I am with respect your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Francis Marion

Per Mr. Joseph Marion

Journal of the Privy Council, 189.

48. Thomas Pinckney was aide de camp to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, and to his successor, Gen. Horatio Gates. He was governor of South Carolina from 1787-89.

49. Francis Marion was never inoculated for smallpox, a reason for his not being present at the liberation of Charlestown in Dec. 1782. See Marion to Greene, Nov. 24, 1782, above.

50. As "suitable testimony of their [the Legislature's] approbation and gratitude for the eminent services which he has rendered this State;" Marion was made Commandant of Fort Johnson in 1784. Initially, he was paid a salary of £500 per year (*Statutes*, 4:588). The political climate had changed by 1788. His salary was changed to five shillings per day. The act also stipulated that "Brigadier General Marion . . . shall reside at Fort Johnston..." (*Statutes*, 5:73-74).

51. The reference here was to the annual Tax Act, the mechanism used by South Carolina to appropriate funds for operating the government. Normally, the act would cover planned expenditures for the entire year. Marion's request for funding was approved. He was informed via letter of Apr. 17, 1787, not extant. Curiously, the State Treasurer was not sent a copy of the notification until Jul. 7 (Journal of Privy Council, 189).

Gov. Thomas Pinckney to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (commanding at Fort Johnson)

This letter appeared in the proceedings of the South Carolina Privy Council Apr. 14, 1787.

Charleston 6th April 1787

Sir,

I am much concerned to hear of the continuances of the complaint in your Eyes.⁵² & altho I should be very happy in the favor of your Company, yet I had rather forgo that satisfaction, then that you should be put to any inconvenience on the occasion.

The Legislature I find have not inserted in the estimate annexed to the Tax Bill any provision for the Post at Fort Johnson. I shall therefore in the course of the coming week convene the Council for the purpose of consulting with them on the situation of this Post, & will immediately communicate to you such arrangements as may be judged necessary.⁵³

I am Sir &^tc

T. P.

LB (ScCoAH), Thomas Pinckney Letterbook.

52. Marion complained about difficulties with his eyes in a letter to Gov. Pinckney of this date, above.

53. During the Apr. 14 meeting, the Privy Council advised Gov. Pinckney to “draw on the Treasury...as usual” for the funds requested by Gen. Marion. Apparently, an Ordinance addressing Fort Johnston and potentially a reduction in Marion’s compensation, had been discussed, but not passed by the legislature, at the time Marion communicated to Gov. Pinckney. As described in the notes to the letter to Pinckney of this date, above, Marion’s pay was changed in 1788. He resigned the command of Fort Johnston on Nov. 10, 1789 in a letter to Gov. Charles Pinckney, below.

Gov. Thomas Pinckney to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Charleston 20th April 1787

Sir

I purpose in the Course of the present Year to review the Militia of the State, & wish to begin by reviewing the Regiments of your Brigade which may lie nearly in the Route I have for the present proposed to myself – which is to begin on the Sea-board Northward of Santee River, to proceed up to the North Carolina Line, then along that line ‘till it is intersected by Broad River one of the forks of the Congaree, thence down that River, the Congaree & Santee till I return to the Regiments from whence I began, ---- Under this Idea, I purpose to begin by reviewing the Regiments of your Brigade in the following order on the 3^d of May Col^o. Hugh Horry’s – on the 7th Col^o Baxter’s, on the 10th. Col^o. Benton’s, & if any Regiments of your Brigade should lie on the Line of North Caro^a. to the westward of Col^o Bentons, I wish to review that on the 14th. – the remaining Regiments of your Brigade, I must defer visting till my return from Col^o Winn’s Brigade of which I will give you timely notice.

My information of the extant of your Brigade & of the different Regiments composing it is so inaccurate that I may probably have arranged them improperly or have omitted some in that Line, in which case I must beg the favor of you to correct the mistakes & order the Regiments out respectively in the proper Order on the Route above described informing by the return of the present Express⁵⁴ of the directions you have given,

I am &^tc

T. P.

LB (ScCoAH), Thomas Pinckney Letterbook.

54. The letter was delivered to General Marion, St. Johns Parish, by “Kelly Express.”

Orders to Brigadier Generals

Dated Winnsborough 26th May 1787

Sir,

In pursuance of the Authority vested in me by the Act of the Legislature for the Regulation of the Militia of this State you are hereby authorized & directed to cause the Militia of your Brigade to assemble at Regimental Muster once in every 12 months & to assemble at ordinary Musters of Companies once in 2 months properly armed & Accoutred within the Districts of their respective Regiments & Companies – and to cause the s^d Act to be carried into force against all Defaulters.

Thomas Pinckney

LB (ScCoAH), Thomas Pinckney Letterbook.

Ratification of the U.S. Constitution by South Carolina

[Extract]

Friday, May 23, 1788.

On motion, Resolved, That this Convention do assent to and ratify the Constitution agreed to on the 17th day of September last, by the Convention of the United States of America, held at Philadelphia.

On the question being put to agree to the same, the yeas and nays were called for by the unanimous voice of the Convention, and are as follows:

[Other Districts]

St. John's, Berkley.--

Yeas: Hon. Henry Laurens, Gen. William Moultrie, Henry Laurens, Jun. 3.--

Nays: Peter Fayssoux, Keating Simons, Thomas Walter. 3.--Absent: Francis Marion.⁵⁵ 1.

[Other Districts]

Yeas, 149. | Nays, 73. | Majority, 76, | Absent, 15

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

JOHN S. DART, Secretary of Convention.

{table}

Two hundred and thirty-six members appointed to the Convention.

Fourteen absent.

Two hundred and twenty-two attended, of which there were:

In favor of adoption ... 140

Against adoption: ... 73

Majority ... 67

Jonathan 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*, (New York: B. Franklin, 1888), 339-441.

55. An explanation for Marion's absence has not been found.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller

Fort Johnston, 20th Sept. 1788

The Inclosed returns⁵⁶ is Just come to hand & have directed Col^{os}. Richardson, Benton, Horry and Sabb,⁵⁷ to transmit to You the returns of their Respective Regiments, & you must call on the Commanding Officer of the Corps of Artillery in Charleston⁵⁸ for their returns, when You get them all, please make a General Return of them & send it to me to Sign, that I may Comply with the within Act of Assembly, by which you will see there is no Provision to take any notice of the women & Blacks as some has Insisted.⁵⁹ [If] you have an Opportunity to [reach] the above Col^{os}. I wish You would wright to them for their returns—the separate returns you must keep, untill called for--

I am with regard Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion

ALS (ScC)

56. The returns to which Marion referred were the result of the census of all white men 16 and over ordered by the Senate on Feb. 29, 1788. The census results are immediately below.

57. Thomas Sabb served 124 days as a major from May 19, 1781 to Sep. 12, 1781. From Oct. 1, 1781 to Jul. 31, 1782, he served an additional 89 days as a colonel (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 841).

58. The city name Charlestown was officially changed to Charleston Aug. 12, 1783. Footnotes and editorial text from this point forward reflect the change.

59. The actual legislation (Act 1410) was not clear in determining whether all white inhabitants—men, women and children--or all white men 16 or older were to be counted. The legislation was clear, however, in NOT calling for a census of Blacks (*Statutes*, 5:75).

Census Return by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

South Carolina, September 25th, 1788

[The Return of Lt. Col. Lemuel Benton's militia regiment was enclosed with the Marion to Muller letter of Sep. 9, 1788.

**Return of all the free white Men in
Brigadier General Marions District
According to an Act for taking a Census passed the 29th February 1788⁶⁰**

Militia Return from Lt. Lam Benton to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

The Hon^{ble}

Brigd^l. Gen^l. Marion

A Return of the free white Men from 16 Years of Age and
upwards in Col^o. Samuel Bentons Regiment of Militia,
commanded by Brigadier Genl. Marion...September 22d 1788

Lamuel Benton. Lt. Col^o. Com^{dt}.
Tristram Thomas...Major

Lt Col ^o Comm ^{dt} .	Lt Colonel	Major	Captains	Lieutenants	Adjutant	Q ^r . Master	Serg ^t . Major	Sergeants	Corporals	Effective Rank & file	Drum ^{ms} . & fifers	Invalids, Alarm Men & Men over 50 Yecars of Age	Total Free Whitemen
1	1	1	12	24	1	1	1	24	1	1005	0	321	1389

Lam Benton
Lt. Col^o. Com^{dt}. of M[ilitia]

Names of the Commanding Officers of Regiments⁶¹

Rich^d. Lushington Lt. Col^l. 2511

John Baxter Col^l. 1269

Arnold Vandehorst Col. 1188

Lam Benton Lt. Col^l. 2489

Rich^d. Richardson Col^l. 1033

Hugh Horry Lt. Col^l.⁶²

Tho^s. Saab Lt. Col^l. 561

Fran^s Marion
Brg: Gen^l. Militia

ADS (PHC), Charles Roberts Autograph Collection.

60. Act 1410, dated Feb. 29, 1788, called for a census of all free white men aged 16 years old and over to be taken by the militia officers of the state. The purpose of the law was spelled out in its preamble: "Whereas, the representation in the second branch of the Legislature is not only too great but unequal; and whereas, a perfect knowledge of the number of free white inhabitants is necessary for ascertaining a just and adequate representation..." Curiously, while the preamble mentioned "inhabitants," the body of the legislation called for the census of "men." Only men were counted. The legislature acknowledged that the census should have included all white inhabitants. A new census was ordered on Jan. 20, 1790 (*Statutes*, 5:75).

61. The census data here included only returns from Gen. Marion's regimental commanders, not those of Gen. Andrew Pickens and Gen. John Barnwell's brigades.

62. It is not known why the count of Lt. Col. Hugh Horry was not included.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller

Fort Johnston 30th October 1788

D^r S^r.

Yours of the 28th Inst.⁶³ with the Returns of the Brigade came to hand the Last Evening, & did not see any material Error in it. I have signed [it and you] will please give it in the Secretarys Office, to remain there untill called for by the Legislature. should any of the three wanted returns come to hand before it is called for, You will please fill up the Blanks.⁶⁴

I go for Santee a fryday morning with my family,⁶⁵ & shall return soon to this place.

I am with regard Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran. Marion

NB Say in the returns.

Richard Richardson
Thomas Sabb⁶⁶

ALS (ScC) A transcription from the Charleston Library Society was referred to for clarification of certain passages.

63. The letter has not been found.

64. The referenced returns were undoubtedly the census results, a portion of which were included in the document of Sep. 25, above. The "three wanted returns" referred to the census totals from the districts commanded by the three militia brigadiers, Marion, Pickens, and Barnwell. The complete returns have not been found.

65. "For Santee" referred to Marion's Pond Bluff plantation on the Santee River. It is not known who the referenced members of "my family" were. Presumably, the Marion family resided at a house in or near the fort built by his predecessor, Col. John Christian Senf. According to legislation of Feb. 27, Marion's command at Fort Johnston was changed to stipulate that he "shall reside at Fort Johnston." (*Statutes*, 5:74).

66. Col. Richard Richardson and Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb were regimental commanders in Marion's Brigade.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller

Fort Johnston 24th Augst: 1789

D^r S^r

By an Order from his Excellency I have sent Orders to Commanding Officers in my Brigade to make a return of all the white Inhabitants in these District,⁶⁷ to be deliverd you by the first day of October next, which you will make a General return & bring it to me to sign – these is with Col^o. Vanderhorst⁶⁸ Packets for Col^{os}. Hugh Horry,⁶⁹ L Benton⁷⁰ & J. Baxter,⁷¹ to be forwarded by him, but must request you will call on him, & see if they are sent as Immediately as possible as the time is short for so Extensive destricts as they have

You will please call on his Excellency the Govrnor & apply for 150 Blank Commissions as they are very much wanted, when you git them you will Let me know & I will give You Directions how to Distribute them-- time I find is greatly alterd or I shoud have seen Major Muller before this day --- I thought I was on Old Alminack out of date with the *Public* but never thought I shoud be so with you ----! Alas! Alas.⁷²-----

I am however still with regard
Your ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s Marion

ALS (ScU)

67. Only a year earlier, the legislature had called for a census of white males aged 16 and over. This census apparently ordered by Gov. Charles Pinckney specified all white inhabitants. The results must not have been acceptable to the legislature, for in Jan. 1790, it ordered another census of all white inhabitants.

68. [See brief bio of Arnoldus Vanderhorst here.](#)

69. Hugh Horry had been a regimental commander in Marion's brigade, since its beginning.

70. Lemuel Benton became a regimental commander after the murder of Cheraw militia commander Abel Kolb. See above.

71. John Baxter commanded the Pee Dee regiment.

72. Marion's prose is unclear, since here he referred to Maj. Muller in the third person. Conceivably, Marion demonstrated gentle chiding of a long-time associate, who had been tardy in contacting his commanding officer. Previous to this letter, the latest communication still extant between the two is from Oct. 30, 1788, above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Brig. Maj. Albert A. Muller

Ft Johnston, 3^d Septr. 1789

D^r. S^r.

When you git the blank Commissions, You will please send Col^o. Hugh Herrey⁷³ 60, and all the rest⁷⁴ 40 apiece.

I shall set out for Santia this Evening or tomorrow morning Early, Or would have Gladly seen Col^o. Lushington here, __ but my harvest is [com]ing on and am Oblige to be at the Plantation this week, otherways I should be a very Considerable Losser and my finances will not bare it.⁷⁵ __

I am with regard Your Ob^t. S^t.

Fran^s. Marion

ALS (ScC)

73. "Colo. Hugh Herrey" referred to Col. Hugh Horry, a regimental commander in Marion's Brigade, who was mentioned in the letter of Aug. 24, above.

74. "The rest" undoubtedly meant the other regimental commanders: Col. Richard Lushington, Col. John Baxter, Col. Arnoldus Vanderhorst, Lt. Col. Lemuel Benton, Col. Richard Richardson, and Lt. Col. Thomas Sabb.

75. Marion's Pond Bluff plantation was virtually destroyed by the British. Almost seven years after re-taking control of the land, Marion's viability as a planter was apparently still not assured.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Gov. Charles Pinckney⁷⁶

[unknown] 10 Novr. 1789

Sr

I beg leave to resign my Command at fort johnson & Consider me no Longer Commandant of that Post.⁷⁷
I take the Liberty to mention Major Albert Muller as a proper person to see to that Post until the Legislature please Appoint some other.⁷⁸

I am Your Excellency,
Most Obt. St.

Frans Marion

ALS (ScCoAH), Governor's Message S165009, #512-35.

76. Charles Pinckney (1731-82) was a prominent South Carolina lawyer and planter, first cousin of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and father of Gov. Charles Pinckney. Before the war, Col. Pinckney had a noteworthy political career, including serving as a member of the Commons House of Assembly for seven years, serving in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses from 1775-76, the 1st General Assembly, the Legislative Council in 1776, and Privy Council in 1776 and 1779-80. Pinckney also served in the Senate from 1778-80 as the representative for Charlestown, during which time he served as President of the Senate in 1779.

In May 1780, before the surrender of Charlestown, Col. Pinckney fled Charlestown with SC Gov. John Rutledge and Privy Council members Daniel Huger and John Gervais. After the fall of Charlestown, however, Col. Pinckney returned to Charlestown and swore loyalty to the British. Pinckney was pardoned after the war, but his property was amerced 12% (Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 290).

77. Marion was originally appointed the commander of Fort Johnson on Mar. 10, 1784 by the legislature at an annual salary of £500 as "a suitable testimony of their appropratoin and gratitude for the eminent services which he has rendered this State..." (*Statutes*, 4:588). The salary was reduced to 5 shillings per day in 1788. In addition, at that time Marion was required to reside at the fort (*Statutes*, 5:73-74).

78. Maj. Albert Muller had been Marion's brigade major since 1781. He continued in the position after the war when Marion took command of Fort Johnson.

Francis Marion Deposition

[29 April 1790]

I Francis Marion do swear, that when M^r. Silvester Dunns⁷⁹ negroes was taken by Coll^o. Marshall⁸⁰ I then Lay Encamped, between (or near) Black river & Santee and covered the property from Lynches Creek to Santee when M^{rs}. Dunn the wife of Silvester Dunn came to me & Informed me that Col^o. Marshall had taken all their negroes; & on Inquiry of S^d. Silv. Dunn Charracter of Some of his neighbors I found he was then In Charlestown with the British, but that he had been a very Just man & fled to the British for protection as his neighbors had threatned to take his Life, and as this was the first property which had been taken in the District I Commanded, I gave M^{rs}. Dunn an Order to Col^o. Marshall Deliver the said negroes of Silv. Dunn to her --- a few days after she came Again to me, & Said Col^o. Marshall refused to Obey my Orders in Giving her up the negroes -- I 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 Postell⁸¹ with a party to Arrest him for that offence & for Disobediance of Millitary Orders, to be in Incamp a Certain Day to be tried by a Court of Inquiry, this he Disobey'd as the Other Orders, on which, (by Authority & power Delegated to me by Govenor Rutledge to broke [sic, break?] & make officers in my Brigade). I Suspended S^d. Marshall & made James Postell Col^o. --- Kimbol L^t. Col^o. & Thomas Major, who Obey my Orders & had their proportionable men in the field under my Command & continued to until that Regiment was put under Gen^l Sumter by a new Arrangment of the Brigade -- & had I not been Cauled to the banks of Sante river, I woud have had Col^o. Marshall as a prisoner, for taking S^d. Negroes from Silvester Dunn & M^cCoy & Disobeying Every Orders I gave him, who was Immediatly Under my Command & shoud have kept him as a plunderer until released by a Superior power, -- & this the deponent declare to be the truth & nothing but the truth ---

So help me God ---

Fran^s Marion

NB that Silvester Dunns Sam^l. M^cCoy & Sam^l. M^cGomery,⁸² plantations was covered by a strong party Commanded by Captⁿ Nelson & Armstrong⁸³ on the Side of Camden, at the time I covered the side of Georgetown & Santee Done under my command & Orders

Stat[e] South Carolina, Fran^s Marion

Clarendon County, April 30, 1790

Personable Appeared before me, Francis Marion who being Duly sworn Declared that the Above is Just & true Sworn before me—James M^cCauley

ADS (ScU)

79. Sylvester Dunn served in the militia under Marion. At some point Dunn took protection from the British. A troop of Marion's Brigade commanded by Lt. Col. John Marshall, apparently by order of Gen. Sumter, confiscated slaves from Dunn's plantation. Marshall refused to return the slaves, despite Marion's orders. Marion suspended Marshall from his regimental command and ordered him arrested. Dunn's slaves were not returned by the end of the war. In 1790 the issue still had not been resolved. (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 275).
80. John Marshall served as a colonel under Gens. Sumter and Henderson during 1780 and 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 656). As seen in Marion's deposition of Apr. 29, 1790, below, Marshall served in Marion's brigade as well. Marion here described a situation where Col. Marshall could be accused of plundering. Ironically, in a Feb. 20, 1781 letter, above, to Marion, Sumter mentioned that Marshall "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."
81. James Postell served as an ensign in the Gentlemen Volunteers of St. Bartholomew's Parish and was a major under General Richardson during 1779. He was a lieutenant colonel under Col. Joseph Kershaw in the militia. He was brigade major to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh when he was captured at the fall of Charlestown. After being exchanged during Jun. 1780, he returned to service under Gen. Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 781).
82. Samuel Montgomery (McGomery) served 94 days in the militia under Gen. Marion (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 693).
83. John Armstrong served in the 5th SC Regiment. In addition, he served was a militia captain under Col. Richardson during 1780 and 1781 (Moss, *SC Patriots*, 26).

Pay Voucher: Gov. Charles Pinckney to State treasurer

In Convention, Columbia, June 4th 1790,⁸⁴

60 Dollars,

Gentlemen,

pay to Francis Marion Esq. or order Sixty – Dollars for Twenty five days attendance in Convention, and five days traveling, agreeable to law, in that case made and provided.

To Charles Pinckney, president

The State treasurer

ADS (ScU)

84. In 1776 and 1778, in the midst of the Revolutionary War, South Carolina adopted state constitutions approved by the General Assembly. The 1790 constitution was ratified by delegates to a constitutional convention held May 10 to Jun. 3 in the new capitol at Columbia (Biog. Dir. of SC Senate, 2).

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to an Unknown Recipient

[Pond Bluff]⁸⁵ Dec. 31, 1790

On matters connected with his plantation, which had been seriously neglected during the war,⁸⁶ and mentioning his adopted daughter.⁸⁷

ALS (A Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts and Autograph Letters, William Evarts Benjamin, New York, no. 42 [Sep.-Dec. 1892], Abstract)

85. Presumably, Francis Marion was writing from his Pond Bluff plantation.

86. Marion's Pond Bluff plantation was sequestered by the British during the Revolutionary War.

87. Mr. and Mrs. Francis Marion adopted Charlotte Videau Ashby, the daughter of Charlotte and Anthony Ashby. Mrs. Charlotte Ashby was the daughter of Gabriel Marion, another of Francis's older brothers. After Anthony Ashby's death, Mrs. Charlotte Ashby married Theodore Samuel Marion, her cousin and the son of Francis Marion's brother Job. They were married on the same day as Mary Esther Videau and Francis Marion at Ashby's Little Pond Bluff plantation (Yeadon, "Marion Family," no. 10). See wedding notice of Apr. 20, 1786, above.

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to a Lady

[Pond Bluff]⁸⁸ 30 April 1791

Letter Summary⁸⁹

The swamp fox attempts to keep track of George Washington's itinerary. Writing to a lady,⁹⁰ Marion declares that he "will take it, as a particular favor, if she will Acquaint him, if his exc. The President of the United States has yet crossed the Santee river, or if in Georgetown or when he is expected; the reason of this request is that he is informed his Excellency was to be at her house one day this week.." ⁹¹

Tr (American Antiquarian Society), *Charles Hamilton Autographs*, New York:1956-58, Catalog Number 10.

88. Location inferred from context.

89. The original letter has not been found. The text here is summary from the Charles Hamilton Autographs collection.

90. President George Washington made a southern tour of the United States in 1791. He passed along the Low Country coast of South Carolina during Apr. and May. This letter may have been written to Mrs. Harriett Pinckney Horry, wife of Daniel Horry II and matriarch of Hampton Plantation on the Santee River. Washington spent the night of Apr. 29 at Clifton Plantation, the home of Capt. William Alston. On Apr. 30, the entourage crossed the Waccamaw and was feted in Georgetown. The following day Washington crossed the Sampit and Santee River, arriving at Hampton Plantation where he breakfasted and dined with Mrs. Horry. The choice is interesting, given that Mrs. Horry's husband, although originally a Patriot, had taken British protection after the fall of Charlestown in 1780. He had emigrated to England, but returned in 1782. He was pardoned, and amerced 12%. Washington pushed on to the home of Joseph Manigault near McClellanville, where he spent the night of May 1 before traveling on to Charleston. He arrived in the city after a brief stopover at Gov. Charles Pinckney's Snee Farm on May 2 (ScCoAH).

91. There is no record of Marion meeting Washington. The Society of the Cincinnati of South Carolina honored Washington at a formal dinner in Charleston on May 4 (*Charleston City Gazette*, May 14, 1791).

***Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to Master Francis Marion Dwight*⁹²**

[Pond Bluff?]⁹³ 8 Nov^r 1794

D^r Francis

I rec^d. one Letter from You since you left us,⁹⁴ Gab^r. Gignilliat the beare of this will I hope deliver you this, he Just now Seting out with M^r. Theus & have not time to say much, only Y^r Aunt⁹⁵ Is well & hearty as well as Miss Videau,⁹⁶ my self is very Ailing with Constant pain in my head for some time, by [illegible] cold but Ardent [?] fevor – It gives me a [great deal?] of Plasure to find You so satisfied in your situation & hope You make good use of the Opertunity You have in Your Learning as You are advancing in Years fast & your time of Education is short⁹⁷ – the potatoes woud have sent you but was disappointed in not knowing sooner—the Cramp is [in] my finger & Cannot wright more,⁹⁸ Yr. Aunt desires her affection & Love to You & Miss Videau desires to be remembered to you & am D^r Frank

Y^r Affectionate Uncle

Fran^s Marion

ADS (ScU)

92. Francis Marion (Dwight) (1777-1833) was Gen. Marion's great nephew, the son of Samuel Dwight and Rebecca Marion, the daughter of Francis's eldest brother Isaac. Francis Marion provided for him after the death of his parents. In the first article of his will, written in 1787, Gen. Marion stipulated that "I... do subject my whole Estate to the Education and Support of my Nephew Francis Marion Dwight to have a Colledge and Professional Education." Gen. Marion hoped Dwight would take Marion as a last name and become the son he never had. Marion also bequeathed to Dwight his entire estate, excluding what his wife had brought into the marriage—after his wife's death—if the boy "shall always take upon him the Name of Francis Marion only and leave out intirely the Name of Dwight..." Unfortunately, Francis Marion died without a legal will. In situations where a person died intestate, South Carolina law stipulated the distribution per the will of personal property, but not real estate. As a result, Marion's desire to pass his plantation down to Francis Marion Dwight after his wife's death was not enforceable. Francis Marion Dwight subsequently became Francis Marion by act of the legislature Dec. 18, 1799. Gen. Marion's plan to continue his surname ultimately failed, however. The former Dwight's two marriages resulted in eight girls, but no boys (Marion to Marion, Nov. 8, 1794, ADS (ScU); Francis Marion Will, (SoCoAH), Book No. C 1793-1800, 190; Charleston County Will transcripts, 18535, 270-71; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 294; Kirk, F.M., Pond Bluff Plantation: Marion Family, Berkeley County [SC] Historical Society, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/orangeburg/pond-bluff.html> (accessed 2/23/2026); *Statutes*, 5:348; Richardson, "Cordes," 4:220).

93. Marion and his wife Mary Esther lived at Pond Bluff Plantation on the Santee River.

94. This letter was addressed to Stratford, Connecticut.

95. "Yr Aunt" was Gen. Marion's wife Mary Esther Videau.

96. Miss Videau was presumably Charlotte Videau Ashby, the daughter of Charlotte and Anthony Ashby, whom Mr. and Mrs. Francis Marion had adopted. See note to Marion to Unknown Recipient, Dec. 31, 1790, above.

97. It is uncertain to which school the younger Francis had matriculated. Yale, located in New Haven, a short distance from Stratford, is the most likely. However, attempts to verify his attendance have been unsuccessful.

98. At this time Francis Marion was 62 years old. The cramps and inability to write he described could be symptomatic of osteoarthritis, or possibly rheumatoid arthritis (Email from C.L. Bragg, MD to Dave Neilan, May 18, 2010).

***Commissioners [of Georgetown County] In Behalf of Winyaw Inhabitants⁹⁹
to Brig. Gen. Francis Marion***

Geo: Town Nov. 15th 1794

Respectable Sir,

We are happy in Complying with the wishes of our fellow Citizens by Transmitting to you this Testimony of their approbation & Gratitude__ When they learned that your advanced Age, has Induced you to prefer the Inviting Retreats of Domestic Tranquility¹⁰⁰ to the hurry & fatigue of a Military Command, in which you had so Eminently distinguished yourself__ They feel the impulse of Gratitude too strong to dispense with the satisfaction of Conveying to you their grateful Sentiments__ We regret that your absence from this part of the Country has Occasioned so long a Delay in presenting it & are Respected Sir with the greatest Esteem__

Your obedient Servants__

William James,¹⁰¹
Robert Brownfield,
Thomas Mitchell,¹⁰²
Joseph Blythe

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

99. At a meeting of the citizens of Georgetown, shortly after Gen. Marion's resignation as brigadier general of the State Militia, in May 1794, a committee of four--listed here--was appointed to draw up an address to the general (James, *Francis Marion*, 77).

100. Gen. Marion's health had declined as revealed in his Nov. 8, 1794 letter to Francis Marion Dwight, above.

101. William Dobein James, the son of Maj. John James, fought in Marion's brigade when he was in his teens. He became a lawyer and judge. He also authored an early biography of Francis Marion, which is cited throughout this work. Although a much more factual account than that of Mason Locke Weems, James's biography, nevertheless, has been found to present many inaccuracies.

102. Thomas Mitchell was the general's nephew, son of Marion's only sister Esther and her second husband Thomas Mitchell (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 2:53-54).

Citizens of Georgetown to Francis Marion

[November 15, 1794]

GEORGE TOWN NOVEMR 15TH. 1794
CITIZEN GENERAL __ GEN^L. MARION

At the present Juncture when the necessity of Public Affairs, requires the militia of this State to be Organized anew, to be in Readiness to repel the attacks of an Enemy from whatever quarter they may be forced upon us__ We Citizens & freemen of the District of George Town, finding you no longer at our head, have Agreed to Convey to you our Grateful sentiments for your former numerous Services__ In the decline of Life when the merits of the Veteran are too often forgotten, we wish to remind you That yours are still in the Remembrance of your fellow Citizens, Could it be Possible for men who have served & fought under you to be now Entirely forgetful of that General by whose prudent Conduct their lives have been saved & their families preserved from being plundered by a Rapacious Enemy, We mean not now to flatter you, At this time it is Impossible for you to Suspect it. Our present language is the language of Freemen, Expressing only sentiments of Gratitude, Your Achievements may not have sufficiently swelled the historick page__ They were performed by those who Could better use the sword than the pen__ By men whose Constant Dangers preclude them from the leisure & whose necessities deprived them of the common Impliments of Writing, But this is of little Moment__ They remain recorded in such Indelible Characters upon our minds that neither length of time nor Change of Circumstances can Efface them, we mean however no reflection upon our present commanders, They too are War worn Veterans__ Our intention is only to Afford you this Consolation (which we hope may still be one) that tho the rest of the World may not have been dazzled by the splendor of your Successes, this part of the Country, which has once reaped their benefits, is still willing to Acknowledge their very Great Usefulness. Taught by us, our Children shall here after point out the places & say to their Children here Gen^L Marion posted to Advantage made a glorious Stand in defence of the Liberties of his Country, There on disadvantageous ground retreated before the Enemy to save the Lives of his fellow Citizens, what Could be more Glorious for the General Commanding freemen, than thus to fight, than thus to save the lives of his Soldiers, Continue Citizen General in peace to Till those Acres which you once wrested from the hands of an Enemy Continue to Enjoy Dignity accompanied with Ease & quiet & to lengthen out your days, blessed with the Consciousness of a Conduct Unaccused of Rapine or Oppression & of Actions ever directed by the Purest patriotism.__ Signed by__¹⁰³

Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC)

103. Soon after Gen. Marion resigned his commission in the militia, this is the address drawn up by the commissioners of Georgetown, as noted in the preamble immediately above. Not surprisingly, the first of the 148 signers was Peter Horry. Other signers included notables who had served in Marion's Brigade or in other support capacities during the Revolution, including John Postell, Thomas Mitchell, John Waties, George Pawley Allston, William James, Robert Brownfield, John Heriot, Maurice Simons, Samuel Dwight, Peter Lesesne, William Snipes, Anthony White, Hugh Horry, John Cogdell, William Capers, John McCottry, Hugh Giles, and Gavin Witherspoon.

Death Notice of Francis Marion

Tuesday, Mar. 3, 1795

CITY GAZETTE, CHARLESTON, SC

DIED, ON THURSDAY LAST,¹⁰⁴ IN MARION COUNTY, ST. JOHN'S,¹⁰⁵ THAT WORTHY VETERAN, FRANCIS MARION, WHO WAS MAJOR OF THE SECOND SOUTH-CAROLINA REGIMENT WHEN THE BRITISH WERE REPULSED AT THE ATTACK OF FORT MOULTRIE; SOME TIME AFTER, HE ROSE TO THE COMMAND OF THE SAID REGIMENT: SOON AFTER THE FALL OF CHARLESTON HE WAS APPOINTED A BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE MILITIA OF THIS STATE; IN WHICH STATIONS HIS SERVICES DURING THE WAR ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE CITIZENS OF THE STATE.

Charleston City Gazette, Mar. 3, 1795.

104. The notice incorrectly reported the date of death: "Thursday last" was Feb. 26. Marion's official date of death is Feb. 27, etched on a marble slab at his gravesite at the former Belle Isle Plantation in Berkeley County. Francis Marion died at his Pond Bluff plantation (James, *Francis Marion*, 77).

105. Marion died in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County. There is no St. John's Parish in Marion County.

Will of Francis Marion

[Original Declaration, October 16, 1787]

In the Name of God, Amen. I Francis Marion of St. John's Parish being in Perfect health and Sound Mind and Memory do now make this my last Will and Testament Imprimis S.¹¹. I order all my Lawful Debts paid and do subject my whole Estate to the Education and Support of my Nephew Francis Marion Dwight¹⁰⁶ to have a Colledge and Professional Education and his Expences to be paid out of the Income of my Estate as it can afford untill he comes to the Age of twenty one Years. Item 2^d. I give and bequeath unto my Wife Mary Esther Marion all and Singular the Property of every Kind, that is to Say, Negroes, Cattle and Houshold Goods which she Possessed at day of my Marriage to her and her heirs and Assigns for ever, which she may Will away to whom she Pleases Item 3.d I give the uses of all my Estate both real and Personal Property to my said Wife Mary Esther Marion during her Widowhood, after her Widowhood or death this part of my Estate I give away in the Manner following, In case my Nephew Francis Marion Dwight shall always take upon him the Name of Francis Marion only and leave out intirely the Name of Dwight by record or otherways, I then adopt him as my son by the Name of Francis Marion, and do Give and bequeath unto him my adopted Son Francis Marion all and Singular both real and Personal Estate after my Wife's Widowhood or Death, when he comes to the Age of twenty one Years.¹⁰⁷ if my said Wife shod alter her Widowhood or die before he is arrived to that Age, to him and his Heirs and Assigns for ever, Nevertheless Subject this Gift to the name I Adopt him by that is to any Francis Marion only, which if he do not comply I give said Estate and Property to my Nephew Robert Marion¹⁰⁸ to him and his heirs for ever. Lastly I constitute and Appoint my Wife Mary Esther Marion my Executrix Solely to this my Will and Testament so long she remains my Widow after her Widowhood and Death I then Constitute my Nephew Robert Marion and William Marion¹⁰⁹ to be my Executor and do revoke make Void and disannul all other Will or Wills by me made and declare this to be my only true Will and Testament wrought with my own hands this Sixteenth day of October 1787.

Francis Marion LS

Again Dated this Testament this 16 July 1792.

Francis Marion Proved before Charles Lining Esquire O.C.T.D. March 6th 1795.

March 12th 1795. Qualified Mary Esther Marion Executrix, (By Virtue of a Dedimus) before Gideon Kirk Esquire.

Examined }

77 }

4 Co. Sh.} C. L.

Recorded from Original Will Book No. C 1793-1800, 190; reproduced from microfilm in ScCoAH; Charleston County Will transcripts, 18535, 270-71.

106. See footnote to letter from Francis Marion to Francis Marion Dwight of Nov. 8, 1794, above.

107. Francis Marion Dwight subsequently became Francis Marion by act of the legislature on Dec. 18, 1799 (*Statutes*, 5:348).

108. See Marion to Mr. Watson of Dec. 20, 1784.

109. William Marion may have been the "natural son" of Francis Marion's brother Gabriel. A natural son was a male child born to unmarried parents (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:419-20).

Inventory of Estate of Francis Marion

[The following tables have been faithfully reconstructed from the original transcription for easier reading. Items involving enslaved persons have been separated from material items and totals calculated.]

Just and true Inventory and Appraisement of Estate of General Francis Marion deceased, taken this 21th September 1795.

Slaves Named in Inventory of Marion's Estate

Name and Age	value (£)	Name and Age	value (£)	Name and Age	value (£)	persons	total (£)
One Negro Man named Buddy ^{*110}	100	One d ^o . Wench d ^o . Latysa	90	one d ^o . a Child d ^o . Betsey	10		
one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Phebe ¹¹¹	60	one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Hester and Child Nelly	80			5	340
One d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Anthony	50	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Job	35			2	85
One d ^o .d ^o . Andrew	25	one d ^o . a Man d ^o . Cropps	100			2	125
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Aranissa	80	one d ^o . a Man d ^o . Job	55			2	135
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Biddy	35	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Chloe	30			2	65
One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Tenor	50	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Susanna	35			2	85
One d ^o . a Man d ^o . Matthias	55	one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Sarah	45			2	100
One d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Brutus	60	one d ^o . a Girl d ^o . Amelia	45			2	105
One d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Sempey	50	one d ^o . a Girl d ^o . Venus	35			2	85
One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Rose	30	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Theosia	15			2	45
One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Monimia	10	one d ^o . a Man d ^o . Mustipher	60			2	70
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Hannah	45					1	45
One d ^o . a Girl d ^o . Hester	50	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Charlotte	35	One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Abigail	25	3	110
One Negro Man named Pompey	40					1	40
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Dinah	50	one d ^o . a girl d ^o . Molly	80			2	130
One d ^o . Man d ^o . Billy	90	one d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Harry	60			2	150
One d ^o . a Girl d ^o . Sally	50	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Flora	40			2	90
One d ^o . a Boy d ^o . John	35	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Isaac	30			2	65
One d ^o . a Girl d ^o . Lilly Child	10	one d ^o . a Man [Besom?]	70			2	80
One d ^o . a wench d ^o . Mary	70	one d ^o . a Boy Child d ^o . Peter	10	one d ^o . a Man d ^o . Tombo	110		
one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Dianna	70	one d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Joe	30	one d ^o . a Man d ^o . Glasgo	40		
one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Nelly	60					7	390
One d ^o . a boy d ^o . Glasgo	30	a Girl d ^o . Simmy	20			2	50
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Peggy	80	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Nanny	60			2	140
One d ^o . a girl d ^o . Clarissa	25	one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Phebe	60				

110. Buddy was Marion's man-servant, according to Richard Yeadon, a mid-1800s editor of the *Charleston Courier*. The name "Oscar" first appeared in William James's 1821 biography of Marion. Yeadon determined through interviews with Buddy's sister Phoebe, who was still living in 1845, that *Buddy* was the correct name, not Oscar. A strong case can be made for Yeadon's contention that although "the biographers give him the romantic or heroic name of Oscar...he bore the humbler name of 'Buddy'" (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:219).

In 1851, Joseph Johnson wrote in his volume of anecdotes of the Revolutionary War that "Oscar" was Marion's "favorite servant—his foster brother—who was, therefore, from infancy, always called [*budde*], or brother, by the general, when spoken to by him" (Johnson, *Traditions*, 280). Johnson's revelation would apparently resolve the question, except that he wrote over 50 years after Marion's death and did not provide any source. (Yeadon published in the same time period.)

However, Johnson *did* quote sources, suspect though they might be. On the subject of Johnson's book in the same paragraph where the names Buddy and Oscar were mentioned, Johnson also called Marion's horse "Roger." In most biographies, from James in 1821 to Rankin in 1973, it is stated that the horse ridden by Loyalist Col. John Coming Ball was captured by Marion's men at the battle at Black Mingo Creek on Sep. 28-29 and that Marion renamed the horse "Ball" and rode him for the balance of the war. Of course, Marion certainly rode more than one horse during his service, so there could have also been a "Roger" (James, *Francis Marion*, 29; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 86-87).

111. Phebe was presumably Buddy's sister from whom Yeadon learned of the identity of Buddy (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:219).

Name and Age	value (£)	Name and Age	value (£)	Name and Age	value (£)	persons	total (£)
One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Elsey	70	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Harriott	55			4	210
One d ^o . a Man d ^o . Joe	90	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Moses	90			2	180
One d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Harry	70	one Negro Man named Toby	70			2	140
One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Pachu	50	one d ^o . d ^o . Scipio	100			2	150
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Binah	80	one d ^o . a boy child d ^o . Scipio	10	one d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Venus	60	3	150
One d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Pantiau	40	one d ^o . a Girl d ^o . Cloe	35	one d ^o . a Boy d ^o . Peter	25	3	100
One d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Gibb	20	one d ^o . a girl Child d ^o . Rachel	10			2	30
One d ^o . a Wench d ^o . Dido	1	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Pamela	5			2	6
One d ^o . a Man d ^o . Sharlow	50	one d ^o .d ^o .d ^o . Jacob	50			2	100
Total						73	£3,596 ¹¹²

Inventory of material and bonds

Items	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Final Total £.s.p
a feather Bed, Mattrass, Bolster & two pillows, a Bedquilt & Bedstead	15			
a feather Bed, Mattrass, Bolster & two pillows, a Bedquilt & Bedstead	15			
a feather Bed, Mattrass, Bolster and two pillows, a Bedquilt and Bedstead	15			
a feather Bed, Mattrass, Bolster and two Pillows, a Bedquilt and bedstead	15			
a feather Bed, Mattrass, Bolster and two Pillows, a Bedquilt & Bedstead	15			75
11 p ^r . Linen sheets	20			
5 d ^o . Homespun d ^o .	9			
2 d ^o . Ornabrigs d ^o .		18		
1 Suit Homespun Curtains		95		34.13
1 Suit d ^o . d ^o .		95		
13 Huckaback towels		26		
12 Homespun d ^o .		24		7.5
3 Ornabrigs Sheets		3		
12 linen pillow Cases		30		1.13
4 Homespun d ^o .		10		
12 Huckaback table Cloths	7	10		8
6 Homespun d ^o . d ^o .		60		
1 Homespun Counterpain		100		8
1 Suit Curtains	6			
1 Mahogany Commode		60		9
1 p ^r . Mahogany tables	8			
1 pr. d ^o . d ^o .	9			

112. At his death, Marion owned 73 slaves, comprising 56% of the value of his personal property.

Items	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Final Total £.s.p
1 Mahogany Slab	6			
1 Tea Table		60		
1 Mahogany Waiter		5		26.5
1 d°. Stand		5		
Tea Tray and Waiter		20		
1 p°. large Looking Glasses	6			
1 Odd Glass		50		
Compleat Sett Tea China		100		
Lot Crockery, Glass &c		60		14.15
Set Silver Castors	14	2	9	
9- doz ⁿ . Green Chairs and 2 Armed d°.		60		
lot Queens Ware		60		
lot Pewter		30		
17 doz ⁿ bottles		40		
4 dimijons		16		24.8.9
11 Jugs		33		
1 Warming pan		14		
4 Gin Cases		18		3.5.8
3 doz ⁿ . Knives & forks		46	8	
8- 29 [Oz.] Silver	7	5		9.11.8
1 Floor Carpet	10			
1 d°.		20		
6 Hickory chairs		28		12.8
Lot Plantation tools, hoes, axes, ploughs &c		120		6.
Lot Carpenters tools		100		
Set Pump tools	15			
lot old Iron		10		20.10
66 head Stock cattle @ 25/ per head		1,650		82.10
5 Yoke Oxen	40			
1 Horse Conastoga		100		
1 d°. Mason		40		47.
1 d°. Timmons	7	10		
1 d°. Anderson	10			
1 d°. Independance	20			37.10
1 d°. Rackford	20			
1 d°. Scotts	20			
Two Mules	20			60.
6 head Horse Creatures	12			
Stock Hogs	16			28.

Items	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Final Total £.s.p
a Caravan	20			
Chair		40		
Sulkey		20		23.
1 Horse Cart & Gears		60		
1 Waggon and Gears		100		8.
1 Ox Cart, Chains &c.		100		
1 Iron tea Kettle		4	8	5.4.8
8 Iron Pots, 1 Grid Iron, 2 dutch ovens, 1 Spitt, 1 Coffee Mill, 5 Sad Irons, 1 frying pan 110.-		110		
2 p ^r . Mill Stones		56		8.6
1 p ^r . dogs & Shovel & tongs		46	8	
12 Indigo Hooks		20		
1 Baggamon [backgammon] Table		18	8	4.5.4
BONDS				
Anthony Ashby's Bond dated 23 ^d July 1783	817	9	8	817.9.8
Benjamin Marions ¹¹³ Bond dated 1 st July 1794	824	1	72	824.1.72
Robert Marions Bond dated 1 st July 1794	293	19		293.19
Theodore Samuel Marions Bond dated 1 st July 1796	177		114	177.0.114
Theodore Samuel Marions other Bond dated 1 st July 1796	177		114	177.0.114
Total of material items and bonds				£2,857.3.3

Certified this 21st September 1795. by
Benjamin Gignilliat--Philip Couturier--Robert McKelvey—
Appraisers.
Examined
20 Co. Lh.} C. L.

£6,453.3.3

D (ScCoAH)

113. Benjamin Marion (1720-78) was probably the wealthiest of the Marion brothers, the third son of the five boys. From his father-in-law, wealthy planter John Allston, he inherited a plantation on Waccamaw Neck south of present Myrtle Beach, stretching from the Waccamaw River to the Atlantic Ocean. In addition, he purchased 3,000 acres on the East Branch of the Cooper River. He served in the militia during the Cherokee War. At the beginning of the Revolution, Benjamin was a captain in the Berkeley County militia regiment. He served in the 2nd General Assembly from 1776-78. At his death he was a major in the Berkeley County militia regiment. A portion of his orderly book is extant. One of his daughters married the owner of the property on which the Battle of Eutaw Springs was fought in Sep. 1781. His total estate was valued at over £168,000 (Yeadon, "Marion Family," 1:420-23; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 654; *Benjamin Marion Orderly Book*, (SCHi); Audited Accounts, (SoCoAH); *Biog. Dir. of SC House*, 3:476-77).

Biographical Vignettes

John Baddeley

Baddeley (1751-86) served as an ensign, captain, major, and lieutenant colonel in the light infantry company of the Charlestown Militia from 1775-86.

Despite being a militia officer rather than a Continental, he was held captive after the fall of Charlestown on the prison ship *Torbay*.

After his release, Baddeley rejoined the militia. He served as temporary commandant at Georgetown in Col. Horry's absence in Jun. 1782. Gen. Greene had ordered Horry to send provisions stored in Georgetown "up the River" to avoid capture by British gunboats that were reportedly heading for Georgetown.

Baddeley wrote Greene on Jun. 22 that the provisions "are now on the way to Black Mingo." He also brought to Greene's attention that his own troops were "growing exceeding sickly, & unless proper attention is paid...it will [be] attended with fatal consequenc."

Lt. Col. Richard Lushington subsequently took command of the post at Georgetown. Baddeley was a member of the SC House from 1782-86.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 35; Greene to Horry, Jun. 10, 1782, PNG, 11:317; Baddeley to Greene, PNG, 11:359-60n; Marion to Horry, Jun. 15, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Lushington to Greene, Jul. 24, 1782, PNG, 11:455; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:48-49.

William Brereton

William Brereton (c.1752-1830) began his military career as an ensign in the 17th Foot. He fought in several major actions in the North between 1776 and 1778, including playing a major role in the Battle of Mud Island in Oct. 1777. His actions led to the eventual evacuation of Fort Mifflin on the Delaware River, near Philadelphia, in Nov. 1777.

During the march back to New York in 1778, Brereton suffered a wound from which he suffered for the rest of his life. He was sent back to England to recuperate, but returned to America in 1780. In 1781 he was promoted to major in the 64th Foot. He marched with Lord Rawdon to the relief of Ninety Six in Jun. 1781.

In early Jan. 1782, in response to intelligence showing Marion's forces to be vulnerable to attack, Gen. Alexander Leslie ordered Maj. Brereton to cross the Wando River from the British post at Hobcaw's Point and invade St. Thomas Parish with a detachment consisting of cavalry, flank companies, and the Volunteers of Ireland. Col. Richard Richardson Jr. commanded a troop of Maham's dragoons, while Col. Thomas Screven led a troop of "new made Whigs"—former Loyalists.

Although surprised at Videau's Bridge, Richardson was able to regroup his cavalry and drive the British back over the causeway. At the bridge, however, the British infantry opened fire on the Americans, throwing them into confusion and forcing them to retreat in disorder. After the action, Brereton wrote Marion, below, "These prisoners taken by the party under my Command, being badly wounded, Humanity induces me to leave them behind."

In late Aug. 1782, Brereton was dispatched to collect forage for Charlestown. Gen. Mordecai Gist reported a truce reached with "Major Brereton & the Inhabitants of Port Royal & St. Helena Islands." On Aug. 27, Brereton led the surprise attack in what became known as the Battle of the Combahee, in which Col. John Laurens was mortally wounded.

In Dec. 1782, Brereton became lieutenant governor of Jamaica, and in 1789 he was a lieutenant colonel. He retired from the regular army in 1792, but continued to serve in the British militia.

—Leslie to Sir Henry Clinton, Jan. 29, 1782, PRO 30/55 #4988; *Royal South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 5 and 9, 1782; PNG, 10:162n; Marion to Greene, PNG, 10:162; Gist to Greene, Sep. 4, 1782, PNG, 11:626; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:642-44; "Memoir of the Late Lieutenant-Colonel William Brereton," *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, 1831, Part 1:516-17).

John Brockington

John Brockington was an outspoken Loyalist from Kingstree. He served as a captain in the Cheraw militia from Jun. 1781 to Feb. 1782, and fought at the Battle of Black Mingo. After Henry Richbourg switched sides, Brockington joined his Loyalist dragoons, who were with Watson during the Bridges Campaign in Mar. 1781. In April, Brockington apparently skirmished with Capt. Maurice Murphy's militia company. Brockington left his regiment for the safety of Charlestown in Jun. 1781. In Feb. 1782, he took advantage of then Gov. Rutledge's Sep. 27, 1781 proclamation that granted Loyalists pardon in exchange for six months service in the militia. Brockington, while residing in the Georgetown area, then enlisted under Maj. Benson, Lt. Col. Peter Horry and Gen. Marion. In Jul. 1782, Marion had written Lt. Col. John Grimke that Brockington had joined Horry's Regiment shortly after Marion left for the General Assembly. He was in the skirmish at Wadboo in Aug. 1782, now fighting on the Patriot side. Despite his conversion, Brockington was on the Confiscation List No. 5, as one of "those who have borne commissions under his Britannic majesty and are now with the enemy." The cut-off date for qualifying for pardon under Rutledge's proclamation was Oct. 30, 1781. According to Horry, Brockington presented himself in mid-Jan. 1782. On Feb. 26, the Legislature passed Act 1157, which pardoned those who had applied after Dec. 17, 1781. The act did include a provision that the offender's property would be amerced 10%. Brockington was presumably removed from the confiscation list by a petition approved by the Legislature, which he sought on Mar. 8, 1783. Marion stated in a letter of Jul. 7, 1782, to Lt. Col. Grimke that "I mean to represent Mr Brockington's case in the next Sitting of the Assembly & I make no Doubt, but he will be considered & the force of the present Law will be made void."

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1:102; Clark, *Loyalists*, 492; Kolb to Marion, Apr. 18, 1781, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Marion to Grimke, Jul. 7, 1782, ALS (DLC); John Faucheraud Grimke, Pension Statement W11088; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 47; Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:516-23, 526-28; McCord, *Statutes*, 6:629-32; Session Minutes, Mar. 8, 1783, *Journal of the SC Senate* (SoCoAH)).

Pierce Butler

Pierce Butler (1744-1822) was born in Ireland, and joined the British army before his 18th birthday. He was in South Carolina with the 29th Foot in 1766. During a second tour in 1771, he married into the Middleton family. He resigned from the army and remained in South Carolina when his regiment was transferred back to England two years later.

He served as a major and brigadier general in the militia from 1777-81. During 1779, he was adjutant general of South Carolina. Apparently, Butler's health prevented him from taking a more active part in the Revolution. He was an aide-de-camp to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh at the siege of Savannah in 1779. After Charlestown's fall, Butler joined Gates's army in North Carolina. He was based at Salisbury, NC, where he was responsible for British prisoners of war. Although many of his plantations were destroyed by the British, Butler favored leniency and supported revocation of the Confiscation Act in 1784. Butler was a member of ten of the eleven General Assemblies between 1776 and 1799. He was a delegate to the Confederation Congress in 1787, and a member of the US Constitutional Convention in 1787. He served in the US Senate from 1789-96, and from 1802-04.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 130; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:108-14). The identity of Col. R[or B]ay is not known.

Sir Guy Carleton

Sir Guy Carleton (1724-1808) entered the army as an ensign in 1742. By 1758, he was a local colonel and quartermaster general for Gen. James Wolfe, and served in Canada. He distinguished himself and was wounded during the capture of Quebec in 1759. For his service he was promoted to brevet brigadier general.

By 1767, he was acting governor of Quebec. In 1772, he was promoted to major general. Carleton drafted the Quebec Act and argued for its passage in Parliament two years later. He returned to Canada and was appointed governor of Quebec in 1775. Despite a shortage of troops, Carleton was able to fend off the American assault on Quebec led by Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold on the night of Dec. 31, 1775.

Carleton's failure to aggressively carry the war into upper New York was met with disfavor in England. As a result, military operations were taken over by Gen. John Burgoyne. During this time, Carleton was nominated for knighthood and promoted to lieutenant general.

When the North government failed in 1781, Carleton was the choice to replace Henry Clinton as Commander of the American Department after Germain was replaced by Welbore Ellis in Feb. 1782.

Carleton was favorably received by the American government, based on his close relationships in the colonies from the French and Indian War. Carleton left New York in Nov. 1783. Three years later, he was again named governor of Quebec and arrived in North America as Lord Dorchester. While in Canada, he administered

the re-settling of Loyalists into Nova Scotia. Carleton returned to England in 1796.

—Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 1:167-70; Mackesy, *War in America*, 466, 468; George Smith McCowen, *The British Occupation of Charleston, 1780-82* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 149.

William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham

William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham (1748-87) was a planter in the back country. At the beginning of the Revolution, he exhibited pro-revolutionary leanings, accepting a commission and serving in the campaign of 1776. By Feb. 1779, however, he had changed sides and was a lieutenant in the Royal Volunteers of South Carolina.

Cunningham was captured in Mar. 1779 and imprisoned in Charlestown, but escaped in July. He spent much of 1780 in his cousin Patrick Cunningham's Little River Regiment near Ninety Six. British Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour promoted him to captain in Feb. 1781, and to major in November. With four troops of Loyalist cavalry in mid-1781, he carried out raids in the back country.

Gen. Andrew Pickens was initially able to drive off the Loyalists, but they quickly regrouped in different areas. During this time Cunningham earned the nickname: Bloody Bill. The viciousness of his attacks meant that he was often accused of offering no quarter and murdering his foes.

Cunningham made subsequent raids in September and October, leaving death and destruction in his wake. In the middle of November, he went on his most infamous raid with his Independent Corps. In what became known as the "Bloody Scout," Cunningham organized Loyalists in Charlestown, many of whom had had friends and family killed during the internecine brutality characteristic of the civil war in South Carolina. During "The Bloody Scout" more than 60 Patriots were killed, many after they had surrendered.

In Mar. 1782, Cunningham led a Loyalist troop that surprised and captured Judge Henry Pendleton as part of a broader action commanded by Maj. Thomas Fraser, which also netted Maj. Thomas Pinckney and Maj. Edmund Hyrne.

Cunningham's last significant action was in Sep. 1782. After Gen. Pickens set off on an expedition to Indian country, Cunningham infiltrated the Saluda River area. Patriots under Capt. William Butler learned of the Loyalist incursion. Motivated by an overwhelming desire for revenge, Butler's Patriots surrounded Bloody Bill's camp. Cunningham escaped on his horse, despite being pursued by Butler himself.

Following the close call, Cunningham stealthily made his way to Charlestown. He escaped to East Florida and joined Daniel McGirth's gang of marauders after the evacuation in Nov. 1782. Despite being accused of 35 murders, he visited Charlestown afterwards, but was not brought to trial. In 1785 with Florida in Spanish hands, Cunningham was captured and deported to the Bahamas, where he died in 1787.

—Lipscomb, *SC Battles*, 7:35-36; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 41, 58; Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 149; Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2011), 1:348-49; Pinckney to Greene, Mar. 31, 1782, PNG, 10:566-67; Selesky, *Encyclopedia*, 293; Dornfest, *Military Loyalists*, 89; Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists*, 218-22; John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas 1780-1782* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 88.

William Fishburne

William Fishburne (1760-1819) became a lieutenant in the 1st SC Regiment during 1778, and was wounded at the battle of Stono Ferry in Jun. 1779. By 1781, he was a captain in the 2nd regiment, and he later served in Marion's Brigade. In addition, he was in the cavalry under Col. Peter Horry. After the war, he served in the SC House for four terms from 1783-90. He also continued his military career, serving as a lieutenant colonel and major general of the SC militia between 1794 and 1816. The nature of Fishburne's business at this time is not known.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 314-15; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:233-34).

Alexander Gillon

Alexander Gillon (1741-94) had been a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress (1775-76) and the 1st General Assembly in 1776. He served as a captain and was the first commander of the German Fusiliers of Charlestown from 1775-76. He resigned to become commodore in the state's navy in 1778.

From Nov. 1777-Apr. 1783, Gillon served as commander of the frigate *South Carolina*. In early Jan. 1782, Commodore Gillon captured a fleet of five British ships on its way from Jamaica to Europe. On Jan. 12, he sailed into Havana with the five prizes worth an estimated \$150,000.

After the war, he became embroiled in a controversy concerning his frigate. Gillon had obtained the ship from the Chevalier de Luxembourg for 300,000 livres by pledging his personal fortune and the credit of South Carolina. In addition, Luxembourg was to receive 1/4 of the prize value from captured ships. At the end of the war the ship was to be returned and the debt erased. If captured, however, the debt was to be paid.

In 1782, the ship was captured. Although payment of the "Luxembourg claims" was demanded, South Carolina dragged out remittance until 1867, when \$65,000 was finally paid. Gillon was elected to the Confederation Congress in 1784, but did not serve. He served in the SC House for the General Assemblies from 1783-92. A delegate to the state convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788, he served in the US Congress from 1793 until his death the following year.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 360; Marion to Horry, Apr. 24, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLG); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:268-72).

John Faucheraud Grimke

John Faucheraud Grimke (1752-1819) studied law in London and returned to South Carolina when the war broke out. In Sep. 1776, he was commissioned a captain in the 4th SC (Artillery) Regiment. He became aide-de-camp to Gen. Robert Howe in Nov. 1777. In Oct. 1778 he was promoted to major in the 4th SC Regiment, and the next month he was named deputy adjutant general for South Carolina and Georgia with the rank of colonel, although the official proceedings of the Continental Congress only indicate that he was nominated for the position. He became lieutenant colonel of the 4th Regiment in Jun. 1779. He was in the battles of Stono Ferry and Savannah, as well as the siege of Charlestown, where he was taken prisoner and paroled. In Mar. 1781 he was imprisoned for writing a personal letter that was construed to be a violation of his parole. After five weeks he was released by order of Cornwallis. As a result of his imprisonment, Grimke considered his parole nullified and returned to duty, becoming commissioner of confiscated estates. Under his direction, the confiscated Loyalist estates became a major source of provisions for both the militia and the Continental army. In 1783 he became Judge of the Court of Law. Grimke served in the SC House from 1782-90. In 1788, he was a delegate to the state convention that ratified the US Constitution. In 1799 Grimke became senior associate judge of the SC Supreme Court and served until his death in 1819. In addition to his judicial duties, Grimke was instrumental in the publication of the laws of South Carolina.

—O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 352n773; Marion to Dwight, Mar. 23, 1782, ALS (ScU); Marion to Grimke, Mar. 25, 1782, ALS (PHC), Charles Roberts Autograph Collection; Grimke Orderly Book, *SCHGM*, Vol. 13 [1912], No. 1, 42 -43; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:290-92.

Leroy Hammond

LeRoy Hammond (1728-90) moved from Virginia to Augusta, GA, in 1765, and then to South Carolina. He was a merchant, planter, bookkeeper and surveyor. He served as a captain in the provincial militia during the Cherokee campaign of 1776. Hammond was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress and the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies. He served as a colonel in the militia from 1776 to 1782. In 1778 he was commissioner of Indian affairs, tasked with negotiating peace treaties with the Upper and Lower Creeks. He was at the Battle of Stono Ferry in 1779 and the sieges of Augusta and Ninety Six in 1781. Hammond was a member of the General Assembly when it convened in Jacksonborough in 1782. In April of that year, Greene ordered Marion to support Hammond in response to reports of a British expedition into the area. To compensate for the expiration of enlistments of more than half of the NC Continentals, Greene temporarily put Marion in command of 200 of Col. Hammond's militia. Although Hammond did join Marion's command, the threat did not materialize. After the war he served in the SC House from 1783-88, and as a trustee of the College of Cambridge in Ninety Six.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 408; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of SC Senate*, 230; Greene to Marion, Apr. 28, 1782, PNG, 11:134; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:301-03.

David Lockwood

David Lockwood (d.1785), according to a petition presented to the SC Senate in Feb. 1783, had served in the British Navy early in the war. Lockwood stated that “discovering an Attachment to the American cause, he lost his Commission, and was put into Close Confinement on Board his Own Ship which being taken by a French Frigate, he after Some time Arrived in this place.”

After his arrival in Charlestown, Gov. Rutledge appointed him commodore. He served in that capacity from May 1779 to Mar. 1783. Lockwood stated that he served 324 days in “Actual Service.” After his ship, the *Bricole*, was scuttled in the Cooper River to prevent passage of the British during the siege of Charlestown, he left for Philadelphia.

After his request for a Continental commission was denied in 1780, he turned to privateering. He began smuggling goods out of Charlestown, and supplying information to Marion. In a Nov. 3, 1782 letter to Marion, Gov. Mathews mentioned that Lockwood was apprehensive that the British might take a sloop he had given to his son to trade with Charlestown. Lockwood desired to move the sloop to the safety of Georgetown.

In 1784, Lockwood, then identified as a captain, was appointed to a Board of Naval Officers charged with investigating the loss of the frigate *South Carolina* in Dec. 1782. For unknown reasons, he declined to serve on that committee. The loss of the ship and the subsequent claims by the ship's owner, the Chevalier de Luxembourg, ignited a dispute over payment for damages that was not settled until 1867.

In Lockwood's 1783 petition to the SC Senate, he requested financial support, because he had expended more money than he was paid. His reason for soliciting payment at that time was on account of his six motherless children. Lockwood's petition was tabled. It is not known if it was ever brought up again. He committed suicide in 1785.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 576; Henry Laurens to Moses Young, The Papers of Henry Laurens, David R. Chesnutt and C. James Taylor eds. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 15:267; Mathews to Marion, Nov. 3, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); E. Stanly Godbold, Christopher Gadsden and the American Revolution (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1982, 231-32; Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:589-90, 644; Minutes, Feb. 8, 1783, Journal of the SC Senate, D (SCDAH).

Dr. James Lynah

Dr. James Lynah (1735-1809) was a native of Dublin, Ireland, who served as a surgeon under Col. Joseph Maybank in the Berkeley County regiment of cavalry after Dec. 4, 1776, and was a surgeon in the cavalry under Col. Daniel Horry from 1779-80. At the siege of Savannah, in Oct. 1779, Lynah reportedly helped remove Col. Casimir Pulaski from the battlefield after he was wounded, and

extracted the bullet that ultimately caused his death.

About 1780—prior to the fall of Charlestown—he was under Lt. Col. Marion. He apparently remained in Charlestown for part or all of the British occupation. Certainly by Nov. 1782, but probably earlier, he was providing intelligence to Marion.

Lynah's property was confiscated and he was banished under Act. 1152, of Feb. 25, 1782, known as the Confiscation Act. His name was contained on List 5 (of 6 lists for various degrees of complicity with the British after the fall of Charlestown). List 5 included those who held or had held “commissions under his Britannic majesty, and are now with the enemy.”

Lynah was a neighbor of Francis Marion, and Marion supported Lynah's petition to the legislature (under Act 1176) to appeal the confiscation of his property. In 1784, the Senate acted favorably on his petition and removed his property from the confiscation list. Thereafter, Lynah opened a medical practice in Charleston. He served one term in the SC House from 1787-88. At the time of his death, he was the Surgeon General of the State of South Carolina.

—“97” to Marion, Nov. 4, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); A.S. Salley, “Dr. James Lynah, a Surgeon of the Revolution,” SCHGM, (40) 1939, No. 3, 89; Marion to Mathews, Dec. 21, 1782, ALS (PHI), Simon Gratz Collection; Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:518-20; Cooper, *Statutes*, 6:631-33; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 588; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:449-50; James Lynah Papers, Georgia Historical Society.)

Jacob Milligan

Jacob Milligan first made a name for himself as third lieutenant on the *Prosper*. At the Battle of Sullivan's Island, in Jun. 1776, the British *Acteon* ran aground on a shoal near the current location of Fort Sumter. The next morning, after the ship's captain set fire to the ship and abandoned it. Milligan, with a small party, boarded the burning ship.

The Americans were able to fire three guns at the British fleet, before leaving the ship with its colors, ship's bell and some of the sails. Shortly after Milligan left the *Acteon*, it exploded. He was promoted to captain, and was made commander of the galley *Revenge* from May 1782 to Mar. 1783. Milligan's responsibility was to maintain the security of Winyah Bay, stationing the *Revenge* at the confluence of the Waccamaw, Pee Dee and Black Rivers.

Milligan created a dispute between Gen. Marion and Lt. Col. Richard Lushington, commandant of Georgetown, at the end of Oct. 1782. Milligan wrote Marion, requesting direction on how to handle a ship he believed might be using a false passport to transport goods between Charlestown and Georgetown. He had placed a lieutenant onboard to prevent it from sailing until the issue of the pass was clarified.

Marion ordered Milligan to seize the ship's cargo of tobacco and rice. Lushington wrote Marion, complaining that the latter's orders directly to Milligan, in bypassing himself, had violated the proper chain of command.

The issue was still not resolved by the middle of November, when Milligan informed Marion that the ship

in question had used its passport multiple times. In 1784, Milligan was appointed to a Board of Naval Officers charged with investigating the capture of the frigate *South Carolina* by the British in Dec. 1782. The loss of the ship and the subsequent claims by the ship's owner, the Chevalier de Luxembourg, ignited a dispute over payment for damages to the Luxembourg that was not settled until 1867. Milligan later served as harbormaster of Charleston.

—Moss, *SC Patriots*, 683; McCrady, *SC in the Revolution*, 2:154, 160; Milligan to Marion, Oct. 17, 31, and Nov. 8, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts:DLC); Lushington to Marion, Oct. 31, 1782, Tr (Force transcripts:DLC); Bridwell, That We Should Have a Port, 29; Mathews to Marion, Nov. 3, 1782, "Marion-Gadsden Correspondence," SCHGM, (41) 1940, 49-50; Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 114-16.

Henry Pendleton

Henry Pendleton (d.1788) was a brother of Gen. Greene's aide Nathaniel Pendleton and a native of Virginia who came to South Carolina in 1771.

As a jurist, Henry Pendleton was instrumental in establishing a county court system and served on a commission with Aedanus Burke and John Faucheraud Grimke that revised the state's code of laws in 1785. He served on the bench until his death, by which time he was the senior associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Pendleton was also active in the South Carolina legislature, serving three terms from, 1783-88. In 1789, Pendleton County, SC, was named for him.

—Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:547; PNG, 10:567n, 11:179-80.

Francis Skelly

Francis Skelly (d.1794) was a captain who served under Lord Cornwallis. His identity is not entirely certain but he may have served in the 71st Foot. He was captured at sea by an American privateer while en route to Georgia at the beginning of Jun. 1782.

According to Gen. Alexander Leslie, Skelly was carrying Sir Guy Carleton's orders for the withdrawal of British troops from Savannah and St. Augustine. Skelly was apparently brought ashore at Georgetown as Marion directed Peter Horry, the commandant of the town at that time, to hold him until Lt. Henry Ravenel of Marion's Brigade, who was confined in the provost in Charlestown, received a parole.

As a result, Ravenel was paroled. Leslie wrote Skelly on Jun. 21, agreeing to parole Ravenel, apparently an indication of the lessening tensions between the two enemies. Leslie wrote Greene on Jun. 15, and suggested that Maj. Edmund M. Hyrne be exchanged for Skelly.

Two days later, Greene agreed to exchange Skelly if the British released Henry Pendleton, a South Carolina judge who was being held in the British provost. Pendleton was paroled at the end of June. After the war, Skelly remained in the British army and was a major by the time he arrived in India in 1787. He distinguished

himself while serving there under Cornwallis, who wrote "My worthy and gallant friend Skelly has been at the head of every attack this war, and led the Grenadiers and Light Infantry into Bangalore." Skelly rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the 74th Foot, and served as deputy quartermaster general in India. He died in Bombay (today Mumbai), India.

—Leslie to Carleton, first letter of Jun. 11, 1782, Carleton Papers; Leslie to Greene, Jun. 15, 1782, PNG, 11:337; Greene to Leslie, Jun. 17, 1782, PNG, 11:342; Leslie to Skelly, Jun. 21, 1782, Documentary History, 2:193-194; Charles Ross, Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis (London: John Murray: 1859), 1:279n, 2:89.

Tristram Thomas

Tristram Thomas (1752-1817) moved from North Carolina to South Carolina around 1769. During the war, Thomas first served as a sergeant in the 3rd SC (Rangers) in 1775. He then served in Col. Hicks's militia regiment as a captain from 1780-81.

In late Jul. 1780, Thomas led a militia force that captured a group of boats carrying Loyalist invalids from Cheraw to Georgetown. It was Capt. Thomas who informed Marion about the murder of Col. Abel Kolb of the Cheraw Militia in mid-Apr. 1781.

Thomas was promoted to major in 1781, and continued in that rank in Col. Benton's militia regiment through 1782. Thomas served in the SC House three times between 1781 and 1814. He also served in the SC Senate from 1782-84 and 1794-97. He was a delegate to the state convention to ratify the US Constitution in 1788.

Thomas continued in the militia after the Revolution, rising to brigadier general.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 320; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 926; Thomas to Marion, Apr. 30, 1781, ALS (MIU-U); Benton to Marion, Aug. 29, 1782, Tr (Force Transcripts:DLC); Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of SC House*, 3:711-12.

Benjamin Thompson

Benjamin Thompson (1753-1814) was born in Woburn, MA, to an influential family, but grew up in Concord, NH. He studied medicine, married a wealthy widow, and was named a major in the New Hampshire Provincial Regiment by 1774. Questions about his loyalty to the Revolution dogged him, and in 1775, Thompson showed his true colors, committing himself to the British. He was with the British garrison in Boston in 1776, and sailed for England after the British evacuation of the town. Lord Germain appointed him sinecure of the Secretary of Georgia.

In Jul. 1781, he was named acting deputy inspector general of provincial forces in North America. In the fall of 1781, he sailed for New York. His ship was blown off course and he ended up in Charlestown.

Once there, Thompson led a contingent of cavalry in supply-gathering forays north of the city. He was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the King's American Dragoons in February. On Feb. 24 and 25, his troops surprised Marion's Brigade and the cavalry regiments

belonging to Horry and Maham at Wambaw Bridge and Tidyman's Plantation, dealing the Americans a severe blow. Marion was not present at the first encounter.

Poor execution by Maham's cavalry at Tidyman's was the primary reason for the American defeat and the significant losses to the Patriot cavalry. The impact of Thompson's attack was to force Marion across the Santee to re-group, opening up the vast territory between the Santee and Charlestown to British foraging parties. Marion indicated the change in territorial control in his letter to Greene on Mar. 1, below: "The Enemys Intention is stock & Cattle & Appear to be very Secure where they are."

Shortly after returning to Charlestown, Thompson sailed to New York. William Bull, the royal lieutenant governor, wrote Lord George Germain on Mar. 25 that Col. Benjamin Thompson had embarked "with some of Tarleton's Legion and other horse" and was about to sail for New York.

"I am sorry," Bull remarked, that "we so soon lose so active an officer" as Thompson. After his regiment was disbanded, Thompson returned to England, where he was promoted to colonel of the King's American Dragoons and retired on half pay.

King George III knighted Thompson in Feb. 1784. He then went to Bavaria, where he served as minister of war, minister of police and grand chamberlain for 11 years. He was named a count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1791 and chose the title of Rumford, the name of his wife's home township (now Concord, NH), although they had been separated since the beginning of the Revolution. After becoming Count Rumford most of his attention was focused on his scientific studies.

Rumford's accomplishments were far-reaching. He invented a smokeless stove, called the "Rumford Roaster." He carried out research on more nutritious food, especially for the poor. His work with heat led to scientifically significant discoveries, especially in the conservation of energy. In 1795 he was back in England, where he set up public food kitchens that served 60,000 people per day. He endowed the Rumford Medal at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for investigations into the practical utilization of heat and light, and set up a similar endowment at the Royal Society of London.

Rumford left England in 1803, settling in Paris, where he married French chemist Antoine Lavoisier's widow. Although inquiries about being allowed to return to America were met favorably, Rumford never returned. He died in 1814, but not before leaving a bequest for the Rumford professorship at Harvard.

—Harold Selesky, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Detroit: Charles Scribner and Sons, 2006), 2:1148-49; Renwick, James. "Life of Count Rumford," in Vol. 5 of *The Library of American Biography*, Jared Sparks, ed., (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848); Walter Dornfest, *Military Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and co., 2010), 334-35.

Daniel Tucker

Daniel Tucker (1752-97) was a Georgetown merchant and planter, and the owner of Litchfield plantation. Tucker and his partner, George Heriot, were both signers of the petition from prominent citizens of Georgetown presented to Maj. James Wemyss in Jul. 1780, in which "the disaffected part of the inhabitants" expressed a wish to once again be British subjects. After Gen. Marion re-occupied Georgetown in May, 1781, Heriot & Tucker became a key purveyor of supplies brought in through the port of Georgetown. After the war, Tucker served in the SC Senate from 1786-91. He was commissioner of the Georgetown lottery in 1794.

—Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 324; Bailey and Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the SC House*, 3:723-24; Wemyss to Cornwallis, Jul. 14, 1780, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:306-08; Georgetown Citizens to Wemyss, *Cornwallis Papers*, 1:308.

Arnoldus Vanderhorst

Arnoldus Vanderhorst (1748-1815), was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, the 1st and 2nd General Assemblies, the Senate and the Privy Council.

In Jan. 1776, Vanderhorst and his militia served under the command of Francis Marion at Haddrell's Point, across the Cooper River from Charlestown. In addition, he served as a captain in the Berkeley County Regiment of Militia from Feb. 12 to May 12, 1780 (an end date that almost certainly signifies he was captured and paroled at the surrender of Charlestown).

In Sep. 1781, Gov. Rutledge promoted him to colonel of the South Carolina cavalry regiment formerly commanded by Maham, in which capacity he reported to Francis Marion. He also served with Marion for 91 days in 1782. By 1789, he was a regimental commander in Marion's brigade.

Vanderhorst attended the SC Senate when it convened in Jacksonborough in Jan. 1782, and was a member of Senate from 1782-86 and 1788-91. On Mar. 30, 1785, Vanderhorst, Marion, and Daniel Cannon were appointed commissioners for Fort Johnson. He was mayor (intendant) of Charleston in 1785-86 and 1791, in which capacity, he wrote the address of welcome to Pres. Washington on his Southern Tour in 1791.

Vanderhorst was governor of South Carolina from 1794 to 1796. He served another term in the State House from 1799-1800.

—Vanderhorst to Greene, Feb. 20, 1781, *PNG*, 7:326; Rutledge to Marion, Sep. 17, 1781, *Tr* (Force Transcripts:DLC); O'Kelley, *BCADM*, 618n204; Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the SC Senate*, 324; Edwards, *Journals of the Privy Council 1783-1789*, 164; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 949.

Gavin Witherspoon

Gavin Witherspoon (1747-1818), along with his brothers, John and James, served in Marion's Brigade. After Marion withdrew to Whitemarsh, North Carolina, in Sep. 1780, following his victory over the Loyalists at Blue Savannah, Witherspoon stayed in the Pee Dee area.

When he and four militiamen came across a Loyalist camp, Witherspoon proposed attacking it. His followers opted out of the idea, because they were outnumbered. Witherspoon first secured the Loyalist weapons, then woke them and put them under arrest.

Between Nov. 1780 and Jul. 1781, Witherspoon served in Col. Richard Richardson's regiment in Marion's Brigade. He fought in most of Marion's actions, including Halfway Swamp, the Bridges Campaign, Fort Motte, Quinby Bridge, Shubrick's Plantation, and Eutaw Springs as well as at Wadboo.

Gavin Witherspoon was one of 148 signers of a letter of thanks to Francis Marion from the citizens of Georgetown in Nov. 1794, three months before Marion's passing.

—Simms, *Francis Marion*, 135-36, 229; Moss, *SC Patriots*, 1008; Boddie, *Swamp Fox*, 122; Rankin, *Swamp Fox*, 132, 286; Citizens of Georgetown to Marion, Nov. 15, 1794, Tr (Force Transcripts: DLC).

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.

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. Gabions were frequently filled with earth once placed into a fortification.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gun Carriage: A wheeled 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).

A Glossary of Military Terms of the American Revolution

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.

A Glossary of Military Terms of the American Revolution

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.