



# Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

*www.southerncampaign.org*

Vol. 2 No. 10.1

October 2005



**Into the Hornets' Nest – Lord Cornwallis attacks Charlotte Town. Artist Werner Willis depicts NC Patriot militia Col. William Richardson Davie organizing the defenses at Charlotte Town Courthouse on September 26, 1780. For a fine example of an extant raised public building, see the old market building on the town square in Cheraw, SC.**

## Charlotte Town, North Carolina

### North Carolina Campaign of 1780

26 September 1780

Charlotte Town was a small town of twenty houses in 1780. After the defeat of Gates the town became the rendezvous point for the survivors of Camden. Officers quickly molded what was left of the army into units, and then began the long march to Salisbury. The wounded of the battle were transported on wagons, litters and on horseback. Women and children refugees traveled with the column. In the rear came the 300 “half-naked” Catawba Indians. The Charlotte Town militia under Davie stayed behind. Davie and Capt. Joseph Graham were considered the two most competent soldiers in the state. Graham had been a quartermaster sergeant with Col. Malmady at Stono Ferry, and had been discharged in August of 1779. He had taken a fever and was exempted from duties for three years. When Buford was defeated the North Carolina militia was called out “en masse”, and Graham became an adjutant to the Mecklenburg Regiment. Cornwallis decided to go into North Carolina because he thought that large numbers of North Carolina Loyalists would join his army. He also wanted to destroy the remaining opposition that had

## Heathens, Fairies, and Ferries

### IN THIS EDITION:

Cornwallis' Attack on Charlotte Town.....	1
Editor's / Publisher's Notes.....	1
Letters to the Editor.....	4
Calendar of Upcoming Events.....	7
Battles of Stallion's Plantation and Bigger's Ferry.....	10
Timeline of Campaigns against the Cherokees.....	17
Fairies Journal of 1776 Indian Campaign.....	20
Col. Williamson's Journal –1776 Indian Campaign....	34

**Copies of The Hornets' Nest print are available from the artist. Paper lithograph, signed and numbered edition of 950, Size: 17" X 17", Price \$95 plus s/h. Contact Werner Willis at 3927 Brookwood Drive, Charlotte, NC 28215**

escaped from Camden. He began his North Carolina invasion by marching to Charlotte Town. When he crossed the North Carolina border on September 25<sup>th</sup>, Gen. William Davidson issued a call for militia volunteers and then ordered his 400 Mecklenburg militiamen under Davie to delay Lord Cornwallis' advance at Charlotte Town.

On the night of the 25<sup>th</sup>, Davie's men “hovered around the British army” and captured a number of prisoners. The partisans moved into and occupied Charlotte Town. On the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup>, Graham's pickets discovered the British advance guard moving towards the town. Davie had placed Capt. John Brandon's militia under the courthouse in the town. Graham's militia had protection from a chest-high stonewall at the courthouse. Maj. Joseph Dickson and his men were posted in front of Graham, in houses to the left and right of the courthouse. The Patriots were hidden from the approaching British. Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton arrived with his Legion. Within five minutes he turned over command to Maj. George Hanger because he was sick with yellow fever. Graham's pickets sniped at the British as they deployed into line 300 yards in front of the courthouse. The British deployed the cavalry in subdivisions, and the infantry in platoons, with 100 yards between the columns. Hanger charged Davie's men in typical Tarleton-like fashion, but Davie was not Buford. When the Legion had galloped to within sixty yards of the courthouse, the Patriots at the wall rose and fired. The volley broke the Legion's charge and they fled. The British Light Infantry pressed on. As the Light Infantry engaged the flanks, the Legion Dragoons reformed and charged the center. After another volley from Davie's men they withdrew in confusion. The Legion Infantry and the Light Infantry were able to turn Davie's flank, and he had his companies withdraw and form a single line at the end of the street, 100 yards from the courthouse. The Legion Dragoons again attempted to break Davie's line, but after receiving an intense fire from the militia they retired behind the houses. Cornwallis rode to the front and shouted to Hanger's men, “Legion, remember you have everything to lose, but nothing to gain!” The Legion Infantry pressed the partisans and Davie

gave the order to disperse through the woods. The men withdrew to the Salisbury road, and out of the town. Graham's men collected at Kennedy Creek and on horseback until a full platoon of British infantry appeared. They fired on the British, then immediately withdrew. The British returned fire, but the musket balls smashed through the trees, doing little damage.

After the war Maj. Hanger described this type of fighting. In *An Address to the Army* he wrote, "The crackers and militia in those parts of America are all mounted on horseback, which renders it totally impossible to force them to an engagement with infantry only. When they chuse to fight, they dismount and fasten their horses to fences and rails; but if not very confident in the superiority of their numbers, they remain on horseback, give their fire, and retreat, which renders it useless to attack them without cavalry: for though you repulse them and drive them from the field, you can never improve the advantage, or do them material detriment." At Sugar Creek Church, Graham and Brandon's men held a hill, and began to fire on the Light Infantry 250 yards away. The Light Infantry moved behind trees and fences, and fired for nearly half an hour at long range. Graham's men returned fire in the same manner, but no damage was done to either side. Hanger arrived with the Legion cavalry and charged into Graham's men. Graham was wounded badly by three bullets in the thigh, a saber thrust in the side, a gash on the neck, and four cuts to the forehead. He wrote of his head wound that, "some of my brains exuded." Lt. George Locke, the son of Gen. Matthew Locke, was cut to pieces by the sabers of the Legion. He tried to shield himself with his rifle barrel and it was cut in many places. Graham's men fled to the woods. When the British withdrew to Charlotte Town, they came up on the badly wounded Graham. One of the British aimed a pistol at Graham's head, but Hanger stopped him, saying, "Put up your pistol, save your ammunition, he has enough." Graham, left to die, crawled to a spring near a church. At sunset Susan Wilson discovered Graham and rushed to get her mother and they brought him back to their home. They nursed his wounds and hid him from the British. Five months later Graham would be back in the fight, trying to stop Cornwallis again at Cowan's Ford. Cornwallis stayed in Charlotte until October 14th. When it came time to leave, many of his men were unable to march due to the outbreak of yellow fever. Maj. Hanger soon became sick with yellow fever and left the Legion, never to return to duty with that regiment.

**Patrick O'Kelley**      [goober.com@juno.com](mailto:goober.com@juno.com)

Author of the encyclopedic "*Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*" *The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas*, available in 4 volumes  
<http://www.booklocker.com>



**A Continental artilleryman charges the bore at the Battle of Camden 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary – on the actual battlefield! Smoke hangs in the still early morning air as the sun illuminates the left flank. [Photograph by David P. Reuwer.]**

## Editor/ Publisher's Notes

This month's magazine features SCAR's first attempt to venture into the war between the Patriots and Americans Indians. Will Graves has transcribed two important first party journals of South Carolina's contribution of the coordinated South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia campaigns into Cherokee territory. First from the point of view of a militiaman and the other from the point of view of the SC militia expedition commander Col. Andrew Williamson. Good examples of primary resources are the journal attributed to SC Patriot militiaman Arthur Fairies of the 1776 Cherokee Campaign and a fragment of a journal probably written by a Williamson aide-de-camp, both with annotations in this edition. Colonial and Revolutionary War era Indian policy scholar, Jeff Dennis, provides a context for this campaign. These articles focus on one of the complex causes of the Revolution, why individuals choose sides, and coordinated operations of the young rebel governments in the South. At the 2005 Thomas Sumter Symposium, Professor Dan Morrill made the strong point that one major reason for Southerners to fight as Patriots in the Revolution was the Crown's Indian policies and their desire for more land - the Indians'.

### SCAR Corps of Discovery – Searching for sites.

SCAR wants to publish materials to allow a self-guided tour of sites of the various Cherokee campaigns, starting with the 1760 Montgomery campaign, the 1761 Grant campaign, and the various campaigns from South Carolina and North Carolina in 1775-1782 into the North Carolina and Tennessee mountains. SCAR is seeking better maps showing the location of the Cherokee towns and battle sites. Anyone with maps, site descriptions or knowledge of these sites are asked to share.

**A story unshared may become a site unspared. Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage.**

### Our Hat's Off

SCAR's hat's off this month goes to South Carolina historian, Dr. Walter Edgar for his Norris Preyer lecture: "It Didn't Happen Up North: Where the American Revolution was Really Won", given at Queens University of Charlotte on September 29, 2005. Dr. Edgar reminded his audience of the important battles of Moore's Creek Bridge, NC, Great Bridge, Va. and Breach Inlet/Sullivan's Island, SC, all Patriot victories won in the South before July 4, 1776. He detailed the British failed Southern Campaigns of Gens. Clinton and Cornwallis (1778-1781) that ended in Lord Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown.

Again, we thank the generous financial contributors who have helped defray some of the costs of publication and distribution of our magazine. Also, SCAR would not amount to much without the authors and researchers who generously share their labors of love. Please consider submitting news items, photos and short articles as well as scholarly thesis. Remember, when you meet a SCAR contributor, please thank them for all of us.

### Planning

SCAR and BookLink, Inc. ([http://thebooklink.com/about\\_us.htm](http://thebooklink.com/about_us.htm)) a Southeast wholesale book-marketing firm of Camden, SC, will hold a roundtable on marketing Revolutionary War publications on October 30, 2005 in Camden, SC. If you are interested in joining in this exchange of book marketing ideas lead by industry professional Sam Montgomery, please contact SCAR.



## Preservation

After the Revolution, the brilliant military engineer and Continental Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko chose Mrs. Ann Relf's boarding house in Philadelphia as "a dwelling as small, as remote, and as cheap" as possible. He was one of the first of numerous European volunteers to aid the American Revolutionary cause in 1776 and he adopted this country wherein he constructed fortifications to help defeat the British at Saratoga and West Point. We are indebted to him for countless contributions in Southern Campaigns on soil such as Ninety-Six. Now Chairman Richard Pombo (R-CA) of the U.S. House Resources Committee wants to sell off his history. Our history. Among Pombo's ideas that are purportedly designed to save the government \$2.4 billion is a proposal to sell no fewer than 15 national parks, including a number of historical sites such as Kosciuszko's National Memorial. He also favors commercial advertisements on national park vehicles, service maps, buses, trams, and vans. Jim DePreso, communications director for Republicans for Environmental Protection maintains: "Pombo's extremism, if turned into law, would turn our treasured national park system into a tawdry carnival of advertising and fast-buck commercialism, squandering a priceless inheritance." The 2004 budget for this memorial was \$138,000 and it served 4,679 visitors or \$29.50 per head. Revolutionary sites stretch along the whole eastern seaboard and into the Midwest; linking people and places in a shared heritage of liberty. Preservation of these sites are essentially community questions. Change the name to your local Revolutionary site. What price did Kosciuszko pay for us? What price do we pay for Kosciuszko?

## Research

SCAR is working on a new Battle of Hobkirk Hill battlefield archaeology project starting this fall. We have conducted a metal detector survey of approximately a one-acre test plot at the base of Hobkirk Hill west of North Broad Street in Camden, SC (the historic Great Waxhaws Road) that was the Continentals' right flank. The finds indicate that significant 18<sup>th</sup> century military artifacts are still on this over-built site in a residential neighborhood. It initially appears that the 2d Virginians took heavy musket fire from the British as they advanced with arms trailing down Hobkirk Hill. These test lots were scheduled for new home construction.

First, we will collect data on metallic 18<sup>th</sup> century military objects individuals have recovered from the battlefield starting with construction of homes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, landscaping and later the advent of hobbyists using metal detectors. We will use a modern GIS mapping system to create a database of all artifacts to be recovered as well those discovered in the past that we can identify the site of the find. We will use a GPS receiver, aerial photographs, GIS mapping, and individual house site plans to accurately document the location of each find. Every artifact will be separately catalogued with a number, photographed, weighed and where desired conserved. Every artifact recovered can help reveal the distribution pattern, and the type of artifact gives important data to locate and place tactical events on the ground. This comprehensive battlefield metallic artifact survey archaeology system is being utilized by the Palmetto Conservation Foundation/Battle of Camden project. It garners data over wide geographic area than could be otherwise afforded with traditional archaeology and recovers data points from areas disturbed by construction.

Second, we plan to organizing a comprehensive metal detection survey of lots on the battlefield allowed by the landowners, using the amateur-professional model discussed in last month's Editor's Notes. All artifacts recovered will be photographed and catalogued and returned to the landowners. The Camden Museum and Archives will develop a display of Battle of Hobkirk Hill artifacts recovered, loaned or given by the landowners.

We have asked an archaeologist to come on board to be the project advisor. Volunteers are needed to assist with the field survey, artifact curation, data collection and graphic presentation, webmaster, and identification and interpretation of the artifacts. If you are interested in lending a hand, please contact SCAR. ★

**Charles B. Baxley.....editor-publisher**  
**David P. Reuwer.....Conan the Grammarian**  
**Werner Willis.....artist**

*Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* is dedicated to the study of the War for American Independence in the Southern Department from 1760 to 1789. We facilitate the exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns' Revolutionary War sites, their location, preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, strategy, and the political leadership of the state. We highlight professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation and interpretation to encourage an active exchange of information. All are invited to submit articles, pictures, documents, events, and suggestions. Please help us obtain site information from the dusty archive files, the archaeology departments, and knowledge base of local historians, property owners and artifact collectors. We feature battles and skirmishes, documents, maps, artifacts, Internet links, and other stories. We also facilitate the discovery, preservation, interpretation, and promotion of historic sites on the ground.

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**To Arms! Just as Robert Morris dipped into his own pockets to replenish the Continental coffers to keep the army going and fighting in the field, SCAR can use your monetary contributions to keep the banner flying. Publishing, printing, phoning, researching, and mailing all have associated dollars and cents costs. Simple reality check.**

## Letters to the Editor

### Cherokee Campaigns Information

Charles,

I saw your note in this issue asking for information about the Cherokee towns. Part of the problem is that they frequently moved around, even during the historic era. You should see the maps in my article cited below, and the footnotes that are the sources for those maps (which I made). But especially useful for modern touring purposes is the other book cited below.

Hope this helps,

**Wayne Lee**  
University of Louisville

Wayne E. Lee, "Fortify, Fight, or Flee: Tuscarora and Cherokee Defensive Warfare and Military Culture Adaptation," *Journal of Military History* 68 (2004): 713-770.

Duncan, Barbara R. and Brett H. Riggs. *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003)

Also, for campaign maps of 1760 and 61 campaigns, best version is in John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756-63* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001)

### First Siege of Augusta

A reader had written asking about the timeframe of the attack on the McKay house, to which Mr. Rauch responds:

Of one thing I am certain the action on the first day at Augusta began in the morning and Brown was ensconced in Mackay's no later than 1100 hours. As for the 0830 - 0900 timeframe, see the sidebar by Burnett where he says Clarke engaged Brown about 0900. Understand that Burnett wrote that based on a faded memory so I am not sure I would put a lot of weight on the exact time, it could have been 0800 or even 1000 but we'll never know. However, if Brown and Clarke are first engaging about 0900 and Brown gains Mackay's between then and 1100 then it seems to make sense. Taylor attacked in the morning, I would expect as close to dawn as possible to catch everyone still awaking. As for the times on the maps, they based on my analysis of the distances and probable movement along those roads. I have yet to see any other maps or diagrams of this battle or any other document that really nails down the exact sequence, so the times are all based on what made sense to me.

**Steven J. Rauch**, Command Historian - US Army Signal Center

Dear Charles,

This issue of SCAR was a feast of reading—thank you for this stimulating edition of SCAR magazine. Steve Rauch's "First Siege of Augusta" first caught my attention, since this is a little-explored subject for me (although I should have already researched Augusta, since my mother's family--Plaxco and Good of Chester Co., SC, married into the Lee-Hardeman-Bell line of Augusta, Ga.). This article certainly piqued my interest.

Secondly, I was delighted to read your essay on the Up Country tour of RW sites, pointed out by Spartanburg historian Wes Hope, pages 31-33.

Imagine my surprise when 6th-great-Granny Jane Black Thomas (1720-1811) was mentioned for her famous ride to Cedar Spring from Ninety Six!

A printout is now in Granny Jane's file. (The story of Col. John Thomas's Spartan Regiment is to appear this Sunday, Sept. 25, in the kickoff of the 225th RW Anniversary series in the Spartanburg Herald Journal.)

Last, but not least, the final article, "18th Century Medical Treatment for a Scalped Head," by Harrington and Ennis, rang familiar bells for me. Frontiersman General James Robertson (1742-1814), credited as "originating" the skull-boring technique, was indeed the founder of Nashville in 1779-80, following his migration from Virginia, North Carolina / South Carolina, and into the NC frontier (now Tennessee). The Dr. Patrick Vance who taught him the technique has not, however, "become lost to history" in Tennessee. Physician Patrick Vance was from Augusta County, Va., and was in the Watauga settlement (now East Tennessee) in 1777 to treat Frederick Calvit, who was scalped in March that year. Robertson--a founder of the Holston River settlement of Watauga - was taught the awl-boring treatment so Vance could attend to other victims of Indian attack. After Robertson brought a nucleus of Wataugans west to the French Lick on Cumberland River (now Nashville), he used the technique numerous times on scalped pioneers--David Hood and young Polly Dunham were two notable 1780-81 examples, and both lived to be elderly, wearing little "skull caps" over their healed front hairlines.

Nashville founder James Robertson and his family are featured, along with other founding families, on the website of our West Nashville Founders' Museum -- [www.wnfoundersmuseum.org](http://www.wnfoundersmuseum.org) -- and many, many South and North Carolina names are included in our "Founding Families" segment. Hope you'll share this site with your readers.

Again, thank you for a most interesting September issue.

**Ilene Jones Cornwell**, Nashville, TN



**Representatives of DAR and SAR present memorial wreaths at the Belfast House. [Will Graves]**

### Ceremonies Honor Brigadier General James Williams

On Saturday, September 17, 2005, ceremonies were held at Belfast House in to mark the honoring of Laurens' County's local Revolutionary War hero, Brigadier General James Williams, by naming a bridge on State Road 560 the "James Williams Memorial Bridge." The bridge naming resulted from the passage of a joint resolution by the South Carolina Legislature authorizing the memorial. The bridge crosses the Little River on the site of Williams' plantation that he named Mount Pleasant. The ceremony was sponsored by the Henry Laurens Chapter of the D.A.R. and the Cambridge Chapter of the S.A.R. and featured dignitaries from the national and state levels of those organizations. The color guard from the Clinton High School Jr. R.O.T.C. also participated in the ceremony. The Honorable H. Wayne Copeland delivered the keynote address. [ See additional pictures by Will Graves on page 9.]



**Painting of the Frigate South Carolina which may represent the ship commanded by Commodore Alexander Gillon of the South Carolina Navy. Peabody Museum.**

Dear Charles:

In continuing my research of Commodore Alexander Gillon's life and times, the more favorable information I uncover in regard to the Commodore's contributions to the naval efforts of the colonies in their struggle for independence from Britain. Prof. James A. Lewis of Western Carolina University (a recognized authority on the competition between the Spanish and British Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century) confirms to my satisfaction the critical role that the frigate *South Carolina* played with the Commodore in command and of other elements of the invasion fleet as well.

There is no better way to demonstrate the importance of Gillon's feat than to quote directly a telling excerpt from chapter 7, conclusion, of Prof. Lewis' book, *The Final Campaign of the American Revolution*. The conquest of the Bahamas represented the apex of American naval accomplishments during the Revolution. No other rebel maritime endeavor came close to matching the achievements of the frigate *South Carolina* and the other American ships under Commodore Gillon. Why this achievement has received so little recognition in American history is an interesting puzzle not to be addressed here. Little did the crew and officers of the *South Carolina* benefit from their labors. Gillon's subsequent career was marked in part by his need to defend himself against numerous claims for debts engendered in outfitting and manning the *South Carolina*. Perhaps the commodore's involvement with radical local politics after the war explains the lethargy with which his home state moved in assuming its responsibility for the financial obligations of its principal ship. Only after the commodore's death in 1794 did South Carolina recognize and accept its financial responsibilities for its wartime navy. By that time, of course, Gillon was no longer alive to assist with a rendering of these obligations. It's very obvious that the conquest of the Bahamas by Spanish forces relied primarily on armed escort by Gillon for the Spanish invasion.

Inter-service rivalry between the Spanish Army and Navy was so bitter that the navy refused to support the army in the Bahamas operation. Thus, the commodore's aid was critical in making the effort possible. An excellent account of the action is described in a letter written by Gillon to Gov. John Matthews of South Carolina on 15 May 1782 and dated 4 June 1782 as quoted in Louis F. Middlebrook's *Frigate South Carolina* .... The assistance the South Carolina received in her refits at the Savannah, the aid she had in other Spanish ports with many other reasons now unknown to your Excellency, were among other, powerful reasons for my acceding to General Cagigal's request of taking command of the sea forces destined against these islands, which consisted of 59 Spanish and American vessels .... We sailed from the Savannah the 22<sup>nd</sup> Ultimo (April 22, 1782). A current prevented our taking our departure from thence until the 28<sup>th</sup>...On the 5<sup>th</sup> Inst. (May 5, 1782) we were before the "Island of Providence" with all the fleet. While some of the American vessels of war blocked up the several outlets at the north side of the island, some others took their stations in the offing, the "South Carolina" keeping off and on till five o'clock when she took her station as near to the bar of the harbor as she could, and within gunshot of Fort Nassau their principal fort, with the design to draw the enemy's attention that way while the transports were preparing to land troops, during which time General Cagigal sent a flag from his ship in a Spanish tender to Governor Maxwell requesting him to mention the terms on which he would surrender the Bahama Islands to his Catholic Majesty...The next day at nine





o'clock Governor Maxwell sent one of the principal inhabitants on board the "South Carolina" with proposals which were not accepted...All the American vessels continued as near their stations as the winds, shoals and circumstances would admit....At five o'clock Mr. Miranda, an aide to his Excellency, went with a flag in the schooner "Surprise", ...to close the capitulation. The next day he returned having adjusted the business... and on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant his Excellency landed his army and took possession of the forts and town...these islands...being in the possession of a friend or an enemy is no small consequence to the United States, especially as the different shoals and small islands form a shelter for cruisers; and from the particular turn these people have for privateering, they succeeded so well to capture upwards of 150 vessels during the last twelve months many of which were Americans, I cannot but congratulate our State in particular on this conquest as it was from this spot our enemies in Charlestown received many supplies....I feel myself happy in assisting your Excellency, that the success of this expedition was entirely owing to the great attention the Captains and officers of the American vessels of war paid in conveying such a fleet through such difficult and infrequented a passage, with a boating wind all the wind all the way, we disappointed any plans the enemy might have formed of attacking us in our way through the Gulf of Florida..."

This documentation in Gillon's own words is quite convincing testimony that Gillon's perseverance and steadfastness against tremendous adversity paid off by his success in this one action whatever the cost. That the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to Gen. Washington at Yorktown in 1781 was helped inconsiderably is extremely difficult to refute. For this service alone, if not for his many others, Commodore Gillon and the South Carolina Navy, should be respectfully honored to the fullest extent by a grateful state and nation.

Sincerely, John Jones Bluffton, SC

Commodore Alexander Gillon from a Masters Thesis, "Commodore Alexander Gillon of South Carolina" by Berkeley Grimball, Duke University, Summer 1951, photographed in a private home in New York.

★



At the site of George Galpin's Trading Post and fort on the Savannah River at Silver Bluff, SC SCAR Corps of Exploration listen to Dan M. Connelley, Silver Bluff Audubon Center and Sanctuary manager. Shown (left to right) are Steve Rauch, Dean Hunt, David Reuwer, John Allison, and Dr. Edward Cashin. If you want to join us on our field trips, just let SCAR know your interest!

## The Miracle of America

I say this not to disparage the Iraqi people but to increase our appreciation of what a miracle the United States is. John Adams said that the American Revolution was accomplished before the Battles of Lexington and Concord. Everyone used to learn – we do not learn these things any more – Emerson's poem about the battle of Concord's bridge: "by the rude bridge that arched the floor/their flag to April's breeze unfurled/here once the embattled farmers stood/and fired the shot heard round the world." But before that shot was fired, according to John Adams, independence had already been accomplished, because the spirit of independence was in the hearts and minds of the American people, a people prepared to shed blood in defense of their God given natural rights.

George F. Will, from a speech printed in *Imprimis*, September 2005, Vol. 34, Number 9.

## Calendar of Upcoming Events

**Please submit items to post upcoming Southern Campaigns programs and events that may be of interest to Revolutionary War researchers and history buffs. Before you go, always call ahead to confirm events and admission policies.**

**October 1 - 2, 2005 – Spartanburg County, SC** - 240<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Walnut Grove Plantation and Re-enactment of the Loyalist Major William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham raid.

**October 6, 2005 – Cowpens National Military Park, SC** - 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of the Over Mountain men at Cowpens National Battlefield.

**October 6, 2005 - Savannah History Museum Lecture Series:** "Revolutionary Perspectives" - "The Intrepid Warrior: Casimir Pulaski Fights for American Liberty" presented by Francis C. Kajencki, Colonel, U.S. Army Retired. Light Refreshments at 6:30 pm with the lecture starting at 7:00 pm. The lecture is free and will be held in Savannah History Museum Theatre. RSVP to Krystal at 912-651-2240 or [kkornegay@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:kkornegay@chsgeorgia.org) <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calZoom.cfm?id=54>

**October 8 - 10, 2005 – Savannah, Georgia. Hero's Funeral Mass and Reinterment for American Revolutionary War Patriot Gen. "Count" Casimir Pulaski and rededication of the Pulaski Monument in Monterrey Square.**

**A. October 8, 2005 – 2 p.m.** Memorial Service and Wreath Laying at Battlefield Park. There will be an evening reception (formal evening wear or military uniforms optional) at the Savannah International Trade and Convention Center. Schedule: **6:00 p.m.** Dedication of Pulaski Room; **6:30 p.m.** Reception; **7:30 p.m.** Dinner; **8:30 p.m.** Sons of the American Revolution Awards and other like presentations; **10:00 p.m.** dinner ends.

**B. Sunday, October 9, 2005 at 11:00 a.m.** "Calling Out" Memorial Service for 17 Polish Iraqi War Casualties and like Iraqi War Dead from Hunter/Fort Stewart. **11:30 a.m.** Pontifical Sung Mass for the Dead (hosted by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Savannah and presided over by Polish and Polish-American Prelates and other Church VIP's invited by Polonia. The diocese will provide all regular ceremonial mass vestments.) **1:00 p.m.** Funeral Procession from Cathedral to Johnson Square along Bull Street to Pulaski Monument at Monterey Square with a blessing and songs by each religious house of worship along the way. **2:00 p.m.** Roman Catholic, Interfaith and Military Burial Service in Monterey Square at the new marble tomb.

**C. Monday, October 10 - 10:00 a.m.** Start of Memorial Services sequentially at each of the Bull Street Squares and sites associated with the Battle of Savannah and Pulaski. Wreath laying by colonial, Polish, ethnic, and antiquarian organizations at each. **11:00 a.m.** Dedication of Pulaski Tomb and Gravestone; **12:00 noon** Reception and Appreciation Luncheon at Mansion on Forsyth Park Hotel hosted by the City where City dignitaries will present Awards to honorees involved in the overall Pulaski effort; **12:00 noon to 3 p.m.** "Pulaski Picnic in the Park." Equestrian events, Polish folk dancing, military displays and Food Festival. For more information see <http://www.polishcultureacpc.org/PulaskiInfo.html>

**D. The Mickve Israel Temple** museum on Monterey Square honors Savannah Patriot Col. Mordecai Sheftall, who served as Deputy Commissary General of Issues for all Continental Troops in South Carolina and Georgia and Commissary General of Georgia troops. For museum tours, see [www.mickveisrael.org](http://www.mickveisrael.org).

**E. Saturday, October 8, 2005** - the Coastal Heritage Society in Savannah is also planning a full day of living history programs at the Spring Hill Redoubt site. The site is located at the intersection of MLK, Jr. Blvd. and Louisville Road, between the Roundhouse Railroad Museum and Savannah History Museum. At 11 am, 1 pm, and 4 pm, march in the footsteps of French and American troops as they recreate the allied Patriots 1779 attack on British forces. At 2 pm there will be a brief ceremony honoring local leaders who helped secure the new Battlefield Park site. There will be a dawn battlefield ceremony on **Sunday, October 9th**. You are invited to the 226<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Commemoration of the Battle of Savannah on the site of the Spring Hill Redoubt 7:00 a.m. on Sunday, October 9, 2005. Gather in the Savannah History Museum/Visitors Information Center parking lot at 7:00 a.m., then proceed on Boundary Street to Louisville Road. March up the hill towards the Spring Hill Redoubt site, recreating the steps of Allied soldiers in their dawn attack during the Battle of Savannah on October 9, 1779. Heritage groups are encouraged to place wreaths on the Battlefield during the ceremony. Please contact Michael Jordan at (912) 651-6895 to have your group placed on the program. A continental breakfast will be served at the WhistleStop Cafe patio (behind the Savannah History Museum adjacent to the redoubt site) following the ceremony. For more information, call (912) 651-6895 or [www.chsgeorgia.org](http://www.chsgeorgia.org).

**October 7 - 9, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Military Park, SC** - 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Battle of Kings Mountain and grand re-opening of museum on October 7th. Museum renovation will be complete and brand new exhibits will tell the story of the battle. **October 7<sup>th</sup>: 10:30 am** wreath laying ceremony. **3:00 pm** guest speaker and arrival of Overmountain Victory Trail marchers. **7:00 pm** British actor Howard Burnham as Sir Henry Clinton. **October 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>:** Living history camps open to the public 9 am to 6 pm. Battle tactical demonstrations at 2 pm each day. Activities will include music, Ferguson Rifle demonstrations, military funeral for British Maj. Patrick Ferguson, discussions on camp life, military drill, and more. Event ends at 4 pm Sunday. Saturday night at **7:00 & 7:30 pm** - guided lantern tours of the battlefield by reservation only. Register at Visitor Center or call park: (864) 936-7921.

<http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html>

**October 8, 2005 - Ninety Six, SC - Annual Candlelight Tour** - Guided tours proceed along the one-mile historic trail, which is illuminated by the soft glow of candlelight and torchlight. Along the way, costumed volunteers portray Colonial citizens and soldiers who tell stories of peace and war at old Ninety Six in the 1700s. Tours begin at 7 pm & leave every 10 minutes until 8:20 pm.

**October 9, 2005 – Greenville, SC** – The Greenville County Historical Society will feature Greenville attorney John B. McLeod who will give a talk on the Battle of the Great Cane Brake at 3:00 pm at the Canal Insurance Company, 400 East Stone Avenue (old Sears Building), Greenville, SC. Email [info@greenvillehistory.org](mailto:info@greenvillehistory.org)

**October 14, 2005 – Pacolet, SC** - Explore the history of Pacolet, tour a granite quarry, visit the site where feared British commander Tarleton was encamped in Pacolet and visit where he crossed the Pacolet River in pursuit of Daniel Morgan and his troops. Learn of the role of the militia in the American Revolution, fee \$10 includes lunch. Tour begins at 9:00 a.m. <http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=6527>

**October 15 - 16, 2005 – North Augusta, SC – Living History Park** – presents: Colonial Times "A Day to Remember" - featured attractions include hornsmithing, pottery, a tomahawk throw, butter churning, weaving and spinning, quilting, candle making, scrimshaw, pewterer, musket firing demonstrations, calligraphy, gunsmithing, gold and silversmithing, blacksmithing, woodworking, meat smoking



and curing. Be sure to stop by and visit with the Indian traders, the Backwoodsmen, the Sutlers, the Milliner, the Tavern Keeper, the Alchemist, and pet the animals! Web page is [www.colonialtimes.us](http://www.colonialtimes.us) or if you have any question either please email [lynn@colonialtimes.us](mailto:lynn@colonialtimes.us) or call 803-279-7560. Free.

**October 15 - 16, 2005 - Summerton, SC** - American Revolutionary Living History Encampment/Re-enactment and Wildlife Expo. 4th Celebration of "Victory at Fort Watson" at the Santee National Wildlife Refuge, I-95, Exit 102, US 15/301, Summerton, SC. Please check website for updates: [www.francismariontrail.com](http://www.francismariontrail.com) or call 803-478-2217 or 803-478-2645.

**October 21 - 23 - Augusta, Ga.** - Bartram Trail Conference devoted to exploring the travels, writings, and legacy of William Bartram, early and seminal US naturalist, the conference holds its biennial meeting presentations, discussions, and visits to historic Bartram sites including Wrightsboro. Bartram waded through the early phases of the Revolution, from the Indian Congress in Augusta to the 1776 fighting on the Florida borderlands. Professor Edward Cashin's *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* gives the Revolutionary War context. Conference fee \$35 includes Friday dinner and Sunday picnic lunch at Wrightsboro. Registration, schedule at <http://www.bartramtrail.org>. Contact: Steve Murray, [murrajs@auburn.edu](mailto:murrajs@auburn.edu).

**October 22, 2005 - Brattonsville, SC** - Historic Brattonsville will host a reenactment of the Battle of King's Mountain, fought on October 7, 1780. One of the most famous battles of the Southern campaign, this Patriot victory has been described as the Southern militia's finest hour. To be placed on a mailing list and receive registration materials for York County Cultural History Museum 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary events, contact Jeannie Marion, CHM Director of Marketing and Public Information, at [jemarion@chmuseums.org](mailto:jemarion@chmuseums.org).

**October 23, 2005 Kings Mountain National Military Park - In-Depth Battlefield Tour** - This tour will follow the South Carolina and Georgia militia's route through the battlefield to see the battlefield as the troops saw it. The tour is strenuous and will last two hours; registration is required. Contact [Kings Mountain National Military Park](http://www.kingsmountainnationalmilitarypark.org) for details.

**November 4 - 5, 2005 - Spartanburg, SC** - Symposium "Restoring Our Revolutionary Heritage" and banquet with keynote presentation by John Buchanan, author of *The Road to Guilford Courthouse - The American Revolution in the Carolinas*. **November 4th** - Afternoon - Tour of Battlefields in the Old Spartan District. **6:30 pm** - Banquet at the Piedmont Club in Spartanburg with John Buchanan address, "The Backcountry Campaign That Led to Cowpens.". **November 5<sup>th</sup>** - 9:15 am symposium "Restoring Our Revolutionary Heritage" will be held in the Spartanburg County Library, 151 S. Church Street. John Buchanan will give the keynote address, "South Carolina's Key Role in the American Revolution." There will be presentations by Rory Cornish, Charles Lesser, Alexia Helsley, Walter Edgar, and Christine Swager on researching the Revolutionary Heritage in archives, genealogical records, and archaeology, and a session on preserving battlefields and other Revolutionary sites. Fees charged. Registration at [www.palmettoconservation.org](http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=7530) or by calling 864-948-9615. <http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=7530>

**November 5 - 6, 2005 - Camden, SC** - "Camden 1774". 10 am to 5 p.m. daily featuring: Camden Grand Jury, Royal militias drill, military music, period fashion show and dancing, military roundtable discussion, 18th century church services, and kids' activities. Colonial craftsmen and demonstrations and sutlers.

<http://www.historic-camden.net>

**November 11, 2005 - Rock Hill, SC - Museum of York County** - "Book Talk" featuring Revolutionary War authors Carl Borick, Michael Scoggins and Robert Pelton. [www.chmuseums.org](http://www.chmuseums.org)

**November 19 - 20, 2005 - Cross Anchor, SC** - Battle of Blackstock's Plantation 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary ceremony. The Blackstock's program will be conducted on the battlefield. **Saturday, November 19th** 10 am - 2 pm re-enactors demonstrations by the State Park Service and battlefield tours by Palmetto Conservation Foundation. **Sunday, November 20th:** 3 pm - 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration and Dedication of the battlefield as a State Historic Site. Battlefield tours will be conducted a 2 pm & 4 pm.

**December 17, 2005 - Clinton, SC - Musgrove Mill State Historical Site** - 10:00 am - Sam Fore (SCAR contributor) special collections librarian at the John D. Rockefeller Library of Williamsburg, Virginia will present a paper on South Carolina Patriot Lt. Col. James McCall of the Long Cane settlement, commander of the SC State Dragoons. McCall fought at Ninety Six in 1776, the Cherokee battles, Kettle Creek, Musgroves Mill, the siege of Augusta, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's Plantation, Long Cane, and with Lt. Col. William Washington at the Battle of Hammond's Store, Cowpens, Wetzel's Mill, and at Beattie's Mill. He died of small pox contracted during the campaign. Small admission. For additional information call Brian Robson at 864-938-0100 or email [brobson@scprt.com](mailto:brobson@scprt.com)

## 2006 Events

**January 14 - 15, 2006 - Cowpens National Battlefield - Battle of Cowpens 225th anniversary** - Updates will be posted on the park's website. Contact [Cowpens National Battlefield](http://www.cowpens225.com) for details. [www.cowpens225.com](http://www.cowpens225.com)

**January 15 - 17, 2006 - Cherokee County, SC - March to Cowpens** - led by Revolutionary War re-enactors, march the Green River Road, route from Grindal Shoals on Pacolet River to Cowpens, following the route take by General Daniel Morgan. Contact [Cowpens National Battlefield](http://www.cowpensnationalbattlefield.org) for details.

**January 17, 2006 - Spartanburg, SC** - Re-dedication of the statue of General Daniel Morgan in downtown Spartanburg and 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary events at the Cowpens battlefield. [www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=6527](http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=6527)

**March 7 - 19, 2006 - Greensboro, NC - Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, NC - 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary** - The park will be holding an expanded version of its popular lecture series on four evenings, March 7 - 10. The anniversary of the battle will be observed the weekend of March 11 - 12 with an encampment. The park will also coordinate with the City of Greensboro and conduct a battle re-enactment in a city park adjacent to the NPS property that weekend. Contact [Guilford Courthouse National Military Park](http://www.march1781.org) for details. [www.march1781.org](http://www.march1781.org)

**April 23, 2006 - Summerton, SC** - The Col. Matthew Singleton Chapter, South Carolina Society Sons of the American Revolution is hosting the 225<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of the Battle of Fort Watson at the Santee National Wildlife Refuge. (I-95, exit 102) There will be a color guard and wreath laying ceremony at 2 pm. Everyone is invited to attend and participate in the wreath laying. Call Muriel Hanna at 803-478-4179 or 803-481-3836, or [hannaman@ftc-i.net](mailto:hannaman@ftc-i.net) for more information.

**April 21 - 23, 2006 - Camden, SC** - 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill and Gen. Nathanael Greene Symposium. Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site and SCAR will host a symposium



and battlefield tours on Gen. Nathanael Greene in conjunction with the celebration of the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. Scheduled speakers include noted Greene biographer, Terry Golway; Chief Editor of the Greene papers editor, Dennis Conrad; noted author John Buchanan; Professor Robert M. Calhoun; and Professor Larry Babits, all noted Nathanael Greene scholars, who will speak on their latest research and publications. You will also have an opportunity to walk the Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs Battlefields with knowledgeable guides. Saturday evening entertainment will feature noted thespian Howard Burnham's portrait of Greene.

**April 29-30, 2006 - Petersburg, VA - 225th Anniversary Battle of Petersburg** [www.petersburg-va.org/revwar](http://www.petersburg-va.org/revwar)

**May 6 - 7, 2006 - Summerton, SC - American Revolutionary living history encampment, re-enactment and wildlife expo to celebrate the 5th annual "Victory at Fort Watson".** To commemorate the 225th anniversary of the 1781 campaigns and to share life on the backcountry frontier of the Santee River 225 years ago. Costumed volunteers and re-enactors demonstrate living history with: re-enacting battles, gunsmithing, open-fire cooking and textile production on looms, woodworking, musket firing; play 18th century games and share camp life. Wildlife and nature expo includes guided nature walks/talks, wildlife exhibits & more. Santee National Wildlife Refuge, I-95, Exit 102, US 15/301 6 miles south of Summerton, 10 am to 3 pm. Admission & parking are free, food is available. Sponsored by Friends of Santee NW Refuge & Swamp Fox Trail Society  
[www.swampfoxtrail.com](http://www.swampfoxtrail.com) or [www.clarendonmurals.com](http://www.clarendonmurals.com)

**May 20 - 21, 2006 - Ninety Six, SC – Gen. Nathanael Greene's Siege of Ninety Six** - The 225th anniversary celebration continues with an encampment of British, Loyalist and Patriot (Continental and militia) forces and will focus on the 28-day siege (the making of gabions/fascines and various components of siege warfare). The park, local community, SAR groups, and DAR groups will feature a wreath-laying ceremony featuring 18th century entertainment, including music. Contact [Ninety Six National Historic Site](http://www.ninety-six-national-historic-site.com) for details.

**June 2 - 3, 2006 – Augusta, Georgia – 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Liberation of Augusta from Loyalist control – A Symposium** which will highlight the events and the American Revolution in Augusta and environs will be held at the Augusta Museum of History on **June 2, 2006**. Prominent historians such as Dr. Edward J. Cashin will speak at the symposium that will include: the operational situation in 1781; Loyalist Col. Thomas Brown; Georgia Patriot militia Col. Elijah Clarke, SC Militia Gen. Andrew Pickens, and Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee who recaptured Augusta from its British/Loyalist occupiers. **On June 3d** a celebration of the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Augusta (siege of Ft. Cornwallis) presented by the City of Augusta and the Augusta Richmond County Historical Society. This event will include the re-enactors participating in the "Under the Crown" colonial events in North Augusta that weekend. 3 pm presentation at the Celtic cross behind Saint Paul's Church (6<sup>th</sup> and Reynolds) and a 4 pm battle re-enactment.

[http://www.colonialtimes.us/crown\\_event.html](http://www.colonialtimes.us/crown_event.html)

**June 3-4, 2006 - Columbia, Va. - 225th Anniversary Battle of Point of Fork.** [www.virginiacampaign.org/pointoffork](http://www.virginiacampaign.org/pointoffork)

**June 24-25, 2006 - Williamsburg, Va. - Under the Redcoat**  
[home.earthlink.net/~colscoy/UTR.html](http://home.earthlink.net/~colscoy/UTR.html)

**July 15 – 16, 2006 - Williamsburg, Va. - 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Green Spring.** For more information contact Todd Post at [todd.post2@verizon.net](mailto:todd.post2@verizon.net) or [www.battleofgreenspring.org](http://www.battleofgreenspring.org)

**September 30-October 1, 2006 - Delaware - Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route event** sponsored by the Brigade of the American Revolution.

**October 18 - 22, 2006 – Yorktown, Va. – 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Siege of Yorktown** - In a four day commemoration of this important event sponsored by the [Colonial National Historical Park](http://www.colonialnationalhistoricalpark.org), the [Brigade of the American Revolution](http://www.brigadeoftheamericanrevolution.org) will collaborate with [Endview Plantation](http://www.endviewplantation.org) as well as the [British Brigade](http://www.britishbrigade.org) and other living history organizations to mark the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the British surrender, concluding a series of observances along the Washington-Rochambeau Trail stretching over seventeen months from Rhode Island to Virginia. Musket and artillery demonstrations. Civilian and medical programs. Military engineering, demonstrations at Colonial NHP and Endview Plantation. Recreations of the Allied assaults on Redoubts 9 and 10, defense of the Fusiliers' Redoubt, and Abercrombie's Sortie. For more information about the event, please contact [info@siegeofyorktown.org](mailto:info@siegeofyorktown.org) and see [www.siegeofyorktown.org](http://www.siegeofyorktown.org) ★



**Dedication of James Williams Bridge over the Little River, near his plantations in Laurens County, SC. [WTG]**



**Replica of the ceremonial flintlock pistol, presented to Col. James Williams by the State of North Carolina after the Patriot victory at Musgrove Mill, was presented to Musgrove Mill State Historical Site for permanent display. [WTG]**

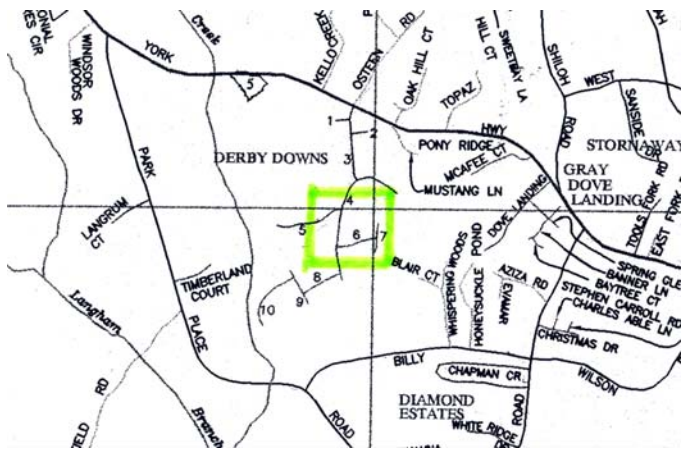
# THE BATTLES OF STALLIONS' PLANTATION AND BIGGER'S FERRY

Michael C. Scoggins

Two small battles were fought in the late summer of 1780 in York County, South Carolina that are not widely known among students of the Southern Campaigns. These engagements took place at Stallions' (or Stallings') Plantation on upper Fishing Creek, and at Bigger's Ferry on the upper Catawba River. Both took place in the period following General Thomas Sumter's defeat at lower Fishing Creek on 18 August 1780, as Sumter worked to reform his militia brigade from among the scattered ranks of backcountry Whigs.

## Stallion's Plantation

On 6 June 1768, John Stallings, or "Stallions" as his neighbors generally knew him, purchased 470 acres from Peter Kuykendall on Millican's Branch, a tributary of upper Fishing Creek, in what was



This is a section of the 2001 York County Planning and Development Services map showing the approximate location of Stallions' Plantation, south of Highway 5 between York and Rock Hill in the "Derby Downs" development.

then Mecklenburg County, North Carolina (now York County, South Carolina).<sup>1</sup> The present site of Stallings' plantation is about four miles east of the city of York, just south of the York Highway (SC Highway 5) in the modern development known as "Derby Downs." When the American Revolution broke out, the Stallings family, like many other families in South Carolina, found their loyalties divided between the Patriots or Whigs who supported independence, and the Loyalists or Tories who maintained their allegiance to the British Crown. John Stallings was a Loyalist, but his wife Sarah Love was from a family of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who were ardent Whigs; her brother, Captain Andrew Love, was an officer in the New Acquisition Militia Regiment.

After Sumter's Brigade was defeated at Fishing Creek on 18 August 1780, those of his men who escaped the battle returned to their own neighborhoods to recruit and reorganize. Meanwhile, groups of

Loyalists took advantage of the situation to embody and organize as well. Toward the end of September, a group of Tories assembled at the plantation of John Stallings with the goal of raising a Loyalist militia company. Captain Andrew Love, who had returned to his own plantation on Fishing Creek, learned that his brother-in-law was hosting a large body of Tories at his plantation. As Love set out to raise some volunteers from his own neighborhood to disperse the Tories, he came in contact with a company of fifty Whigs commanded by Colonel Thomas Brandon, who had crossed the Broad River in pursuit of some Tories from what is now Union County. Captain Love had little difficulty persuading Colonel Brandon's men to accompany him to Fishing Creek to disperse the Loyalist troops assembled at Stallings' plantation. A veteran of the battle, Thomas Young of Brandon's regiment, later described the incident in his memoirs. Young stated that this was the first battle he was in after Colonel Brandon's defeat by Tories at his camp in Union County in early June 1780, and that the next battle he was in was Kings Mountain:

*We had received intelligence of a party of tories, then stationed at Stallions'; a detachment of about fifty whigs, under Col. Brandon, moved to attack them. Before we arrived at the house in which they were fortified, we were divided into two parties. Capt. Love with a party of sixteen—of whom I was one—marched to attack the front, while Col. Brandon with the remainder, made a circuit to intercept those who should attempt to escape, and also to attack the rear. Mrs. Stallions was a sister of Capt. Love, and on the approach of her brother she ran out and begged him not to fire upon the house. He told her it was too late now, and that their only chance for safety was to surrender. She ran back to the house and sprang upon the door step, which was pretty high. At this moment, the house was attacked in the rear by Col. Brandon's party, and Mrs. Stallions was killed by a ball shot through the opposite door. At the same moment with Brandon's attack, our party raised a shout and rushed forward. We fired several rounds which were briskly returned. It was not long, however, before the Tories ran up a flag, first upon the end of a gun, but as that did not look exactly peaceful, a ball was put through the fellow's arm, and in a few moments it was raised on a ram-rod, and we ceased firing. While we were fighting a man was seen running through an open field near us. I raised my gun to shoot him, when some of our party exclaimed, "Don't fire; he is one of our men." I drew down my gun, and in a moment he halted, wheeled round, and fired at us. Old Squire Kennedy (who was an excellent marksman) raised his rifle and brought him down. We had but one wounded, William Kennedy, who was shot by my side. I was attempting to fire in at the door of the house, when I saw two of the tories in the act of shooting at myself and Kennedy. I sprang aside and escaped, calling at the same time to my companion, but he was shot (while moving) through the wrist and thigh.*

*The loss of the Tories was two killed, four wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners whom we sent to Charlotte, N. C. After the fight, Love and Stallions met and shed bitter tears; Stallions was dismissed on parole to bury his wife and arrange his affairs.*

*The next engagement I was in, was at King's Mountain, S.C., I believe on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October, 1780.<sup>2</sup>*

Young's account of the battle is perhaps the most widely known, but certainly not the only one. The Wisconsin historian Lyman C.

<sup>1</sup> Deed of sale from Peter Kuykendall to "John Stallions" recorded April 1770, in Brent H. Holcomb, *Tryon County North Carolina Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions 1769-1779* (Columbia: SCMAR, 1994), 27; will of "John Stallings Junr.," dated 12 August 1783, in Brent H. Holcomb and Elmer O. Parker, *Camden District, South Carolina Wills and Administrations 1781-1787* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 56.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Young, "Memoir of Major Thomas Young, A Revolutionary Patriot of South Carolina," *Union (SC) Times*, 9 December 1870; reprinted in *The Orion* magazine, October 1843, 85-86. Thomas Young (1764 - 1848) was a teenager during the Revolution and was probably not appointed a major until later in life. See November 2004 SCAR . Major Thomas Young is buried in the Old Union Church cemetery in Union County, SC.



Draper collected no less than ten different accounts of the battle at Stallions in the late nineteenth century, some written by veterans of the battle, others derived from the sons and grandsons of veterans. As is typical of many of these smaller engagements in the backcountry, there are significant differences among the details of the accounts, and much of the information is contradictory. Christopher Brandon, a nephew of Colonel Brandon who served in his uncle's regiment, left several accounts of the battle. Although these accounts differ in some important details, they do provide valuable clues as to the date of the battle. In his initial application for a Federal Revolutionary War pension in 1832, Brandon stated:

*that he entered the Service of the United States...sometime in the month of May or June 1780 in my Sixteenth year under Captain Jolly<sup>3</sup> in Col<sup>o</sup> Brandons Regiment in now York District, the day after what was called Brandons defeat, and there marched into Rowan County N<sup>o</sup> Carolina where I remained untill [sic] a short time before the battle at Musgroves on Enoree [River] Union District, then returned back to York District, was in the battle at Stallions in said District, after joined Col. [James] Williams to go to Fergusons [at] Kings Mountain.<sup>4</sup>*

Brandon also mentioned the battle at Stallions' in a statement of Revolutionary War service filed at the Union District courthouse in June 1844 and transcribed by Draper in his notes:

*The first service I did in the Revolutionary war was after the fall of Charleston, & also after Brandon's defeat. Col. Brandon passed over Broad river with as many men as he could gather. Tho<sup>5</sup>. Young & myself took Brandon's children & a negro fellow, & followed him. We found him & party at old Mr. Bell's on Bullock's Creek. Thence we went on to N. C. — Capt. Reed falling in the rear of the party was killed by two Tories.<sup>5</sup> After Col. Brandon got fixed in N. C., he & Rh<sup>d</sup>. Brandon, Moses Cherry & several others came back & killed the two Tories who had killed Capt. Reed. The Tories were named Rob<sup>t</sup>. Love & \_\_\_ Sadler.*

*The Tories in the region collected to the number of 30 or 40 & followed Brandon as far as the widow Ross's;<sup>6</sup> Brandon went into the Bethel Congregation (north of Yorkville) & gathered as many men as he could & turned to meet the Tories. They had turned down Fishing Creek—we pursued. On the way the Tories pursued Col. A. Love<sup>7</sup> into a briery old field, where he shot two of them and made his escape. We saw the Tories first at Capt. Carroll's,<sup>8</sup> but did not attack them in consequence of the situation of his wife at the time. From Carroll's they went to Stallion's, & took up to get dinner. Col. Love with whom I was at the time went up on one side of the house while Brandon came from the opposite direction. We commenced the assault, & after a number of rounds, the Tories surrendered. In the time of the firing, Mrs. Stallions, the sister of Col. Love, was killed. We took the prisoners to Bigger's Ferry, & put them in the house of*

*one Mr. Allen in N. C.—kept them till morning, & went on to Charlotte.*

*From this time till the battle of Cowpens, I saw no fighting of any consequence.<sup>9</sup>*

Brandon's last and most detailed account was recorded by David Wallace, a Union District justice of the peace, and included in a letter from Wallace to William Gilmore Simms. Draper copied the account from Simms' papers in Charleston in 1871:

*Soon after [Brandon's Defeat], another party of Tories crossed Broad River into Union from the neighborhood of the British army near Winnsboro, and took a large amount of plunder and burned several houses, and crossed Broad river again early next morning to make their escape with their booty. A good Whig by the name of Patterson,<sup>10</sup> afterwards called Col. Patterson, a man of much daring courage, and well educated, assembled a company to pursue them. Myself, Richard Hughes,<sup>11</sup> W<sup>m</sup>. Kennedy, W<sup>m</sup>. Jolly, W<sup>m</sup>. Giles & W<sup>m</sup>. Sharp formed a part of this company. We crossed Broad river into York District, rode all night, and about breakfast time next morning we came up with them. They were at the house of a Tory of distinction, whose name I have forgotten, and who had married the sister of Col. Patterson, our leader. The dwelling house was in an open field, surrounded with fruit trees. They, like us, had rode all night, and were then getting their breakfast. We surrounded the house at the distance of a rifle shot, before they knew of our approach; for not knowing they were pursued, they had posted no sentinels. We each got behind a fruit tree, and commenced firing through the cracks of the house, for it was a log-house, and some of the chinks had fallen out. The Tories closed the doors and windows, and returned the fire through the cracks, which served them as post-holes. This we found a losing game. Several of our men were wounded; but as the body of the fruit trees protected the center of our bodies, they did not wound us deep enough to kill. Richard Hughes was near me in the fight. He was the most fearless man I ever knew, or as much so. Having fired his rifle several times, as he supposed without effect, as none of the Tories would show themselves, he dropped down upon his hams, placed his rifle across his knees, put powder in the pan of his gun-lock, and fired it, holding at the same time a bunch of tow—coarse flax, near the flash which took place, with which he fired a faggot made of dry corn stalks, and the house being on blocks which raised it several feet from the ground, he ran with the torch in his hand under the floor for the purpose of firing the house, and driving [forcing] out the Tories. As he ran towards the house, his purpose was discovered, and twenty rifles were fired at him without effect. Col. Patterson who was in front of the door, and stood with his rifle cocked, and his finger on the trigger, saw this movement of Richard Hughes, and was ready to fire at the door, the moment it should be opened.*

*In the meantime the dry rubbish under the floor enabled Hughes to raise a rapid flame under the floor in an instant. Col. Patterson, [though] it was his sister's house, but would not on any account forbear. The door was suddenly thrown open, for the fire was penetrating the floor, and the sister of Col. Patterson, in wild alarm, sprung out, and at the same time exclaimed, "Why, John, do you mean to kill us all?" for she had seen and recognized her brother. The moment the door opened, Col. Patterson fired. He had no thought his sister would appear in the door. The ball passed clear through her head, and she fell dead. She was, said my old palsied*

<sup>3</sup> Probably Captain Benjamin Jolly of Brandon's regiment.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Brandon, Federal pension application S9288, Union District, SC, 8 October 1832.

<sup>5</sup> Captain James Reed (also spelled Reid, Read), a veteran of the New Acquisition Militia Regiment, the Third South Carolina Regiment, and Sumter's Brigade, was killed by Tories in York County in the summer of 1780.

<sup>6</sup> Major Francis "Frank" Ross of the New Acquisition Regiment was mortally wounded in a battle with Cherokee warriors at Rocky Comfort Creek, Georgia, on 31 March 1779, and died the next day. His home was on upper Turkey Creek in York County on the main road from Bigger's Ferry on the Catawba River to Love's Ford on the Broad River.

<sup>7</sup> Love was actually a captain at the time and did not become a colonel until much later.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Thomas Carroll of upper Fishing Creek.

<sup>9</sup> "Revolutionary Reminiscences related by Christopher Brandon," Union District, SC, 24 June 1844, transcribed in Thomas Sumter Papers, Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection, 23VV232-234.

<sup>10</sup> A mistaken reference to Andrew Love.

<sup>11</sup> Draper's copy of this account includes parenthetical notes that "Richard Hughes" should actually be "Joseph Hughes."

friend, the most lovely and beautiful woman I ever beheld. She was young, and had been married but a short time; & was well educated for the times in which she brought up. The Tories rushed out of the burning house, and but few were left to tell the tale of their tragic end. Col. Patterson deeply mourned the untimely death of his sister, whom he fondly loved. He was guiltless of intending her the smallest harm—his finger was on the trigger when the door opened and thinking only of the enemies of his country, the ball had done its errand before he saw who first darkened the door. This struck terror into the Tories, & for a time Union was saved from their depredations.<sup>12</sup>

Among the discrepancies between Brandon's last two statements are the differences in the time of day that the battle occurred (dinner versus breakfast), and Brandon's confusion over the identity of Captain Love.

Another noteworthy account comes from Lemuel Carroll, a grandson of Thomas Carroll. Thomas Carroll and his brothers John and Joseph lived on upper Fishing Creek and served in the Whig militia during the war. Draper interviewed Lemuel Carroll at his home in Shelby County, Alabama, in June 1871, and recorded the following notes, which confirm many of the details in Young's and Brandon's accounts:

*John Stallions was a Tory leader—sometimes had 150 men on scouts. His wife was a sister of the Whig Capt. Love. The Whigs attacked his house early in the morning, surrounding it. Mrs. Stallions went to see her brother And<sup>w</sup>. Love, in the orchard, & endeavored to get him & party not to shoot at the house; & he tried to persuade her not to go back—but she went, wearing a sort of hat, as was the custom with her sex, & as she entered the door, probably mistaken for a man was shot through the head by some one on the opposite side from And<sup>w</sup>. Love—she lived a couple of days.*

*The Tories were routed & one of them in fleeing to a thickly overgrown swamp near at hand, had the bottom of his powder horn shot up & lost his ammunition, & remained hid in the swamp with the wolves two days before he ventured out. John Stallions died before informant's recollection—his brother Silas, also a Tory, lived to a good old age.<sup>13</sup>*

Francis Ross Miles, who was a nephew of Andrew Love, confirmed that the battle occurred during breakfast and that Mrs. Stallions was wearing a hat, which caused her to be targeted by the Whigs; however, he indicated that she remained in the house during the battle:

*Col. Andrew Love died in Livingston County, Ky, on the Ohio River, near Smithland...The killing of his sister my aunt Love who married [sic] a man by the name of Stallions who was a Tory. There was a squad met at his house; my two uncles, Andrew & William Love attacked them at daylight. My aunt was getting breakfast for them to start, when the firing commenced she had on her husband's hat, put her head out at the window to tell her brothers to stop she knew who they were, they knew the hat & fired at it—one ball took effect in the forehead: they killed several Torys [sic]; they*

<sup>12</sup> David Wallace, "Incidents of the Revolution in Union, York & Spartanburg Districts," contained in an undated letter from Wallace to William Gilmore Simms of Charleston, SC, and copied by Lyman C. Draper, 1-2 July 1871, in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 13VV178-200.

<sup>13</sup> Lemuel Carroll, interview with Lyman Draper, 2 June 1871, in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 16VV70-71.

*never saw Stallions afterwards; they (Stallions & wife) left two boys—I know not what became of them.<sup>14</sup>*

Several of Draper's other correspondents stated that it was Captain Love himself who accidentally fired the fatal shot, killing his sister; but these informants were not actually present in the battle, and were merely repeating stories they heard in their youth many years after the event.<sup>15</sup>

None of the known sources for the Battle of Stallions' Plantation gives an exact date for the incident. As noted earlier, Major Thomas Young placed it after Brandon's Defeat in early June, but before Kings Mountain in early October, which unfortunately does not narrow the field very much. Major Joseph McJunkin of Union District, who served in Brandon's regiment and was present at Stallions', stated that the battle occurred about the same time as Huck's Defeat (12 July 1780), "or a little after in July,"<sup>16</sup> but this is extremely difficult to reconcile with what we know of Sumter's troop movements during July 1780. Furthermore, several of the Whig soldiers present at Stallions', including Andrew Love, were also present at Huck's Defeat,<sup>17</sup> and no other known source states that the two battles occurred on the same day or even in the same month. Christopher Brandon, in his original application for a Revolutionary War pension, stated that Stallions' occurred after the Battle of Musgrove's Mill (18 August 1780, the same day as Sumter's Defeat at Fishing Creek), and before the Battle of Kings Mountain. Samuel Hand, who served in Colonel Lacey's regiment, noted that "Col<sup>l</sup>. Brandon engaged the tories commanded by Captain Stallions, Fannon [Fanning] & Barry on turkey creek [sic] and killed and took the whole party, about the time of Gates defeat, Col. Brandon hering [sic] of the Brittish and tories in the upper parts of south carolina [sic] marched in pursuit of them and met with them upon the Ennoree River, where he attacked and defeated them."<sup>18</sup> Again, this places the battle at Stallions' in the same general period as Gates' Defeat and the Battle of Musgrove's Mill in August, but it is difficult to determine from Hand's statement whether he meant to say that Stallions' occurred before or after these battles. Interestingly enough, Silas Stallings, the son of John Stallions/Stallings, also sought a Federal pension for service as a Whig militiaman in the war. It is by no means certain that Stallings (who signed his deposition "Silas Sterling") was being entirely truthful about his Revolutionary War service, since the Whig accounts all claim he was a Tory, but he did state that a group of Whigs attacked a party of Tories at his father's plantation around the end of September. Silas also mentioned that "Fanning" commanded the Tories who camped there, which agrees with Samuel Hand's statement.<sup>19</sup> This "Fannon" or "Fanning" was probably John Fanning, a Loyalist from the north side of the Broad River.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Francis Ross Miles to Lyman Draper, 16 March 1873, in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 13VV144.

<sup>15</sup> J. M. Hope to Draper, 10 August 1874, in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 4VV116; Hope to Draper, 31 December 1873, in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 15VV312; interview with Thomas C. McMakin, 26 May 1871, in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 16VV55.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph McJunkin, "A Ms. Statement of Maj. McJunkin as noted in his own hand writing without date or address....," in Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 23VV210.

<sup>17</sup> "Roster of Soldiers at the Battle of Huck's Defeat," in Michael Scoggins, *The Day It Rained Militia: Huck's Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry, May-July 1780* (Charleston: History Press, 2005), 238.

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Hand, Federal pension application W10, Warren County, TN, 7 June 1832.

<sup>19</sup> Silas Sterling, Federal pension application R101020, Blount County, AL, 4 October 1843.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia: USC Press, 1987), 85.



Sumter's men visited Stallions' again in early November 1780, when they used the plantation as a campground. James Ramsey, a militiaman from the New Acquisition District, noted in his South Carolina audited account for Revolutionary War service that he served "one tower [sic] of Duty from y<sup>e</sup> first of Nov<sup>r</sup> 1780 to y<sup>e</sup> first of January 1781 @ stallions plantation & from thence to ye fishdam ford sixty one Days @ 20/ P<sup>r</sup> Day."<sup>21</sup> (Note that 20 shillings per day was the pay rate for a private in the mounted militia.) This would place Sumter's camp at Stallions during the first week of November, before he moved his brigade down to Fishdam Ford.

Toward the end of the war John Stallings, along with many other Loyalists, retreated to the lower part of the state as the British army fell back toward Charleston. Troops from Sumter's Brigade were stationed in Orangeburg District to retake British forts and protect the area from Tory incursions. In March 1782 Colonel Edward Lacey's mounted militia regiment took post at Four Holes with orders to patrol as far as Dorchester and interdict any supply convoys bound for the British army in Charleston. Later that summer Lacey's regiment relocated to Edisto Island, and in August he and his men captured a group of "plundering British soldiers" who landed on the island looking for supplies.<sup>22</sup> In his application for a Federal pension, Captain John Hollis of Lacey's regiment described what would appear to be the same event: the defeat and capture of a company of Tories commanded by Captain John Stallions at "Edisto Swamp":

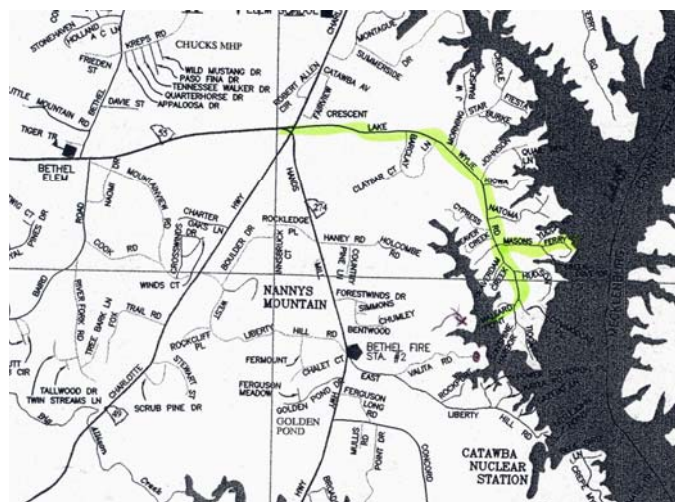
*A party of the [Whig] army attacked and defeated a body of tories in Edisto Swamp...John Stallions a tory captain came in and he and twenty five or thirty men surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Stallions was shot by W<sup>m</sup>. Goodwyn on sudden quarrel, and deponent [Hollis] received one of the balls through his left arm. Stallions on seeing Goodwyn's gun raised seized hold of deponents arm and attempted to get behind deponent. One of the balls struck Stallions on the hand that held deponents left arm, passed through his hand and deponents arm, and the other ball lodged in [Stallions'] breast entering at the left nipple, and proving mortal.*<sup>23</sup>

Hollis' statement makes it clear that Stallings never recovered from the wounds he received that day. The last will and testament of "John Stallings Junr.," dated 12 August 1783, was recorded in Camden District court following his death. Stallings' will provided for the division of his property on Fishing Creek between his wife Mary (evidently his second wife), his sons James and Silas Stallings, and his son-in-law Demcey Winborne. In February 1784 Colonel William Bratton of the New Acquisition District, who was also a Camden District justice of the peace, arranged for an inventory and auction of Stallings' estate. Most of the purchasers at the estate sale were Whig veterans from the New Acquisition who had fought against the Tories during the Revolution.<sup>24</sup>

## Bigger's Ferry

During the early history of York County, there were no bridges across the Broad River, the Catawba River, or any of the major creeks in the area. The most common method of crossing a river or creek was by way of a ford or a ferry. During the colonial period,

when the York County area was still a part of Tryon County, North Carolina, the Tryon County court licensed several ferry operators on the upper Catawba River. One of these operators was Matthew Bigger, who received a license in January 1771 to operate a public ferry in Tryon County.<sup>25</sup> Bigger's Ferry lay on the important road linking William Hill and Isaac Hayne's Ironworks on Allison Creek with the town of Charlotte, and proved to be a lucrative business for the Bigger family.<sup>26</sup> After the North Carolina and South Carolina boundary survey of 1772 was completed, Bigger's Ferry was located in the New Acquisition District of South Carolina, which became York County in 1785. During the American Revolution, Bigger's Ferry was an important crossing point on the Catawba River, and was frequently used by American troops for moving large numbers of men, horses, cattle, and supplies between Mecklenburg County, North Carolina and the New Acquisition District. Following the Revolution, Bigger's Ferry became known as Mason's Ferry, and today the site lies submerged under the waters of Lake Wylie.<sup>27</sup> In September of 1780 a small but important battle was fought at this ferry between American Patriot militiamen and British Provincial soldiers.



**This is a section of the York County Planning and Development Services map (2001) showing the west side of Lake Wylie, with Lake Wylie Road (SC Highway 55) and Mason's Ferry Road marked in green. Mason's Ferry Road is a portion of the old road that ran to Bigger's (later Mason's) Ferry. Courtesy of the Culture & Heritage Museums of York County.**

In late August and early September 1780, while the Whigs were regrouping their scattered forces in the aftermath of Gates' and Sumter's defeats, Earl Cornwallis began making plans to invade North Carolina. In mid-September 1780, Cornwallis set out from Camden with four regiments of British Army regulars, three regiments of Provincial soldiers and Loyalist militia, a detachment of cavalry, four cannon, and fifty supply wagons, and began marching north toward Charlotte. Due to the scarcity of supplies and forage on the east side of the Wateree and Catawba Rivers, Cornwallis ordered

<sup>21</sup> James Ramsey, South Carolina audited account AA 6233, 16 June 1785.

<sup>22</sup> Maurice A. Moore, *The Life of Gen. Edward Lacey* (Spartanburg: Douglas, Evins & Co., 1859), 25-26; Terry Lipscomb, *Battles, Skirmishes, and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1991), 22.

<sup>23</sup> John Hollis, Federal pension application S21827, Fairfield District, SC, 20 July 1832; see also Sumter Papers, Draper MSS, 11VV411.

<sup>24</sup> Holcomb and Parker, *Camden District Wills and Administrations*, 56.

<sup>25</sup> Holcomb, *Tryon County Court Minutes*, 59.

<sup>26</sup> William Faden, royal geographer, "The Marches of Lord Cornwallis in the Southern Provinces Now States of North America...." in Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1796). (See map excerpt on page \_\_ herein.)

<sup>27</sup> York District map, 1820, in Robert Mills, *Mills' Atlas of South Carolina* (originally published 1825; reprinted Lexington, SC: Sandlapper Store, 1979); William Hill, *Col. William Hill's Memoirs of the Revolution*, ed. A. S. Salley (Columbia: The State Company, 1921), 17.

Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton and his British Legion to cross the Wateree and march up the west side of the river, a course that would take them through the present-day South Carolina counties of Fairfield, Chester and York. On 22 September Cornwallis sent word for Tarleton to cross the Catawba River at Blair's Ford and rejoin the main British column as the advance guard. However, while moving through Chester County, Tarleton and some of his men became violently ill with a fever, and they were forced to stop at White's Mill in southern York County for several days while they recovered from their illness.<sup>28</sup>

Tarleton's second-in-command, Major George Hanger, took over command of the British Legion and joined Cornwallis in his march into North Carolina, leaving a detachment behind to guard Tarleton.<sup>29</sup> As the British advanced toward Charlotte on 25 September, Cornwallis learned that Sumter's reassembled brigade was camped on the east side of the Catawba River across from Bigger's Ferry. Seeing an opportunity to catch the Whigs by surprise once again, Cornwallis detached Lieutenant Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon and his Volunteers of Ireland, along with the British Legion dragoons and infantry under Major Hanger, and sent them after Sumter later that day. Meanwhile, a brigade of North Carolina militia, commanded by Brigadier General Jethro Sumner, had arrived in Charlotte from Rowan County at six o'clock on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup>. After receiving reports that the British were only twelve miles from town, Sumner sent an express rider to Sumter's camp informing him that the British were in the area. Sumner then detached Major William Richardson Davie and a troop of mounted militia to cover his withdrawal, gathered up all the supplies and provisions he could locate, and began retreating toward Salisbury. Although Sumner was not aware of it, Sumter was actually in Charlotte at the time, recovering from a fever. Sumter's second-in-command, Colonel Richard Winn of Fairfield County, received Sumner's express and immediately ordered the troops to break camp and move across to the west side of the river.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> **Which White's Mill?** Chester County historian, **Ann Marion** - I firmly believe that White's Mill is present day Lando, SC. However, Elmer Parker, now deceased, believed it was further north on Fishing Creek. Parker wrote a paper supporting his position that the White family did not have a deed to the Lando property until after the Revolution. I think that the White family was in the Lando area without a deed during the difficult times when fighting was going on. Several families in the Richburg area agree with me that Tarleton was not well and was confined to bed there. In fact, members of the Reid family, at one time, had the timbers of the house where he stayed, saved in a barn.

**John Allison** - British correspondence shows Tarleton at White's Mill for 8 days, dangerously ill. He arrived there from overnight camp at Fishing Creek on September 15, 1780. A British surgeon named Stuart was ordered from Hanging Rock to attend him on September 20<sup>th</sup>. On September 22<sup>nd</sup>, Lt. John Money (of the Battle of Blackstock's Plantation fame) was sent by Lord Cornwallis to move Tarleton due to perceived threat of Gen. Sumter attacking White's Mill, but Tarleton was still too sick to be moved. On September 23<sup>rd</sup>, Tarleton was finally well enough to move across the Catawba River to Blair's. He was back in saddle shortly thereafter, but still too ill to participate in the Battle of Charlotte on September 26, 1780.

<sup>29</sup> Tarleton, 158-159. Tarleton actually states that he "moved up the east side of the river," but this must be an error, since he subsequently states that Cornwallis ordered him to cross the Catawba at Blair's Ford and join in the advance to Charlotte. This would only be necessary if Tarleton was on the west side of the Catawba. The fact that Tarleton camped at White's Mill in York County after becoming ill supports this view.

<sup>30</sup> Hill, *Memoirs*, 17; Hugh F. Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1971), 249; Richard Winn, "General Winn's Notes—1780," Peter Force Papers, Library of Congress, Series 7E, Roll 3 of 56, 14-15; Samuel Williams, ed., "General Richard Winn's Notes—1780, Part 2," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. XLIV (Jan. 1943), 1.

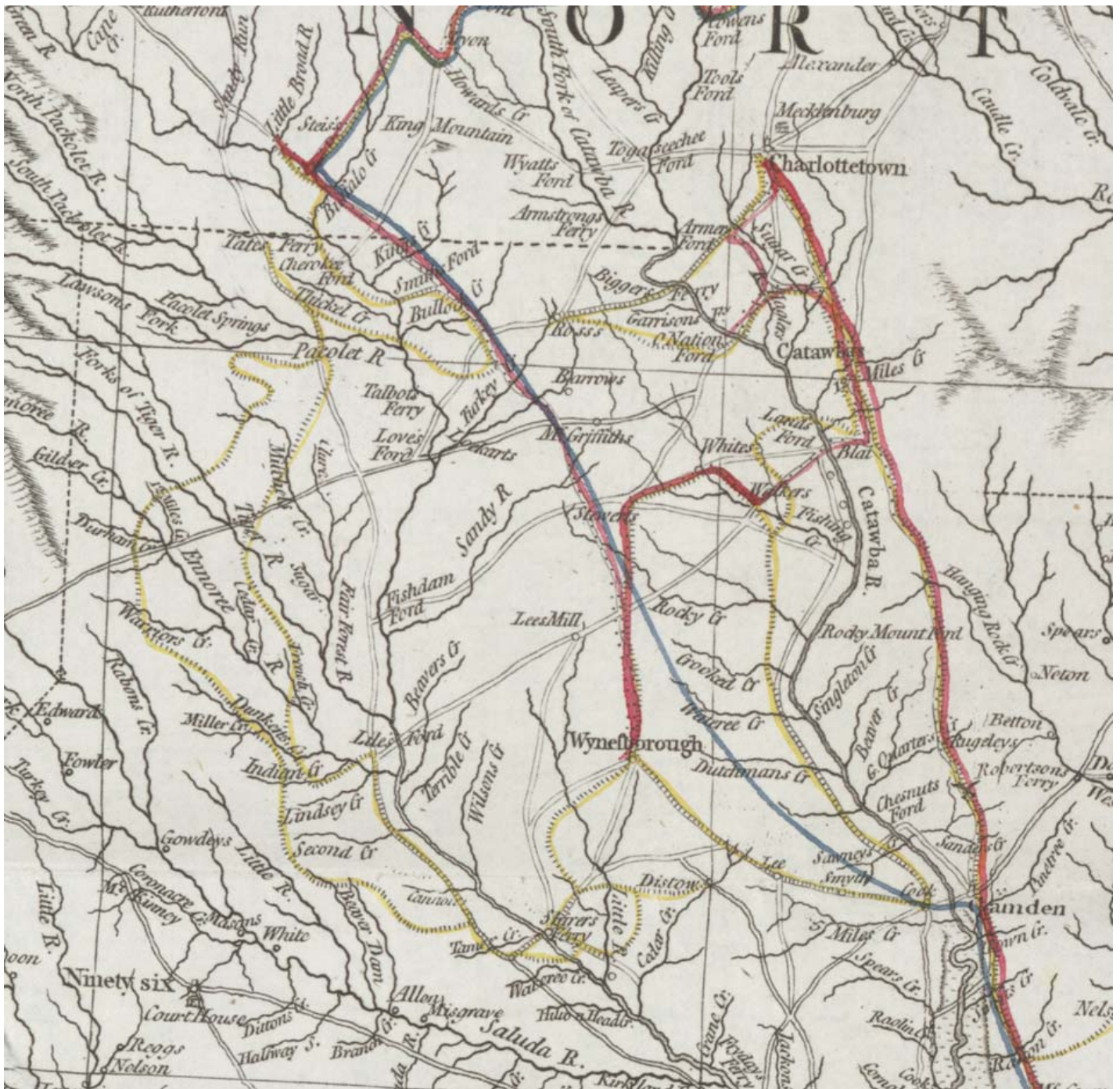
**Author Mike Scoggins** - I dealt with the issue of White's Mill vs. Walker's Mill to a certain extent in my book, *The Day It Rained Militia*. I refer you to my comments on page 30 and footnote 60, and also my comments on Brown's Crossroads and Walker's Mill on page 79 and following pages. All these references are indexed.

Basically, I agree with Elmer Parker on some of his conclusions but disagree on others. During the Revolution, Philip Walker's mill was located where the town of Lando now stands. Lando was a post-Civil War textile mill built on the site of the old 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century gristmill. If you ever visit the place, and see the amount of energy in Fishing Creek at that point, you will understand why it was such a natural mill site. There are still traces of the old gristmill visible at Lando, especially now that the property owner has torn down most of the old textile mill buildings. There is no doubt in my mind that Loyalist Capt. Christian Huck camped at Walker's Mill or nearby at Brown's Crossroads, which is where Highway 901 and Highway 9 intersect in Chester County. Brown's Crossroads was about three miles from Walker's Mill, which gave Huck easy access to a mill where he could grind corn and wheat and still have room for all his horses and men to camp. Lt. Col. George Turnbull, commandant of the provincial Volunteers of New York, also spent some time at Brown's Crossroads in early July 1780, but he felt the position was too exposed and retreated back to Rocky Mount after a few days. Turnbull never mentions Walker's Mill or White's Mill, but he does state that Huck camped at Brown's Crossroads. All this is covered in my book, and if you look at the William Faden map in the front of my book you will see White's Mill and Walker's Mill clearly labeled, with tracks showing that soldiers from the British Legion visited both mills during the Southern Campaign.

The confusion came after the war. In 1784 Hugh White, who owned a large mill on Fishing Creek in present York County, purchased Walker's Mill. White and Walker were well acquainted with each other, and interestingly enough Hugh White bought the property for his mill in York County from Philip Walker during the colonial period. Both men were Whigs and were active during the war, but when the British came through in 1780 they had no choice but to allow them to use their facilities or face certain destruction. By the time the Revolutionary War veterans were filing for pensions in the 1830s, and local historians like Maurice Moore and Daniel Stinson were writing about the war in the 1850s, Walker's Mill had been known as White's Mill for well over 50 years. Veterans like John Adair and John Craig, who lived near both mills, stated specifically that Huck camped at "White's Mill in Chester District." Same for Moore and Stinson. These men knew that Huck camped at Walker's Mill in Chester County, but by that time people had been referring to it as "White's Mill" for over half a century. Elmer Parker concluded that Huck must have camped at White's Mill in York County, but he was looking at the problem strictly as an archivist and not as a military historian. White's Mill in York County was too far north and much too exposed for the British to spend any significant amount of time there. From Walker's Mill in Chester County, a horseman could retreat back to Rocky Mount in an hour or two. From White's Mill, it would take most of a day. Significantly, none of the Rev War veterans or local historians ever stated that Huck camped at "White's Mill in York District."

The question as to where Tarleton lay when he was sick in September 1780 is a different issue. In this case, we have letters from British officers to Lord Cornwallis stating specifically that Tarleton was at White's Mill when he was ill. In 1780, there was only one White's Mill, and that was the one in southern York County. Since both mills were on Fishing Creek, and both mills eventually became known as White's Mill, you can see how later historians could become confused.





Excerpt of Ninety Six – Camden – Charlotte area from a hand colored map published in 1796 by William Faden, Royal Geographer, entitled “The Marches of Lord Cornwallis in the Southern Provinces Now States of North America.”<sup>25</sup> Troop movements depicted by the map key: red line = main army under Lord Cornwallis; blue line = Guards under Brig. Gen. Charles O’Hara; yellow line = British Legion under Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. The map shows Biggers Ferry on the road between Major Frank Ross’s home (mentioned in my article on Stallions’ Plantation) on upper Turkey Creek and Charlottetown. It is reproduced here from an original copy of Tarleton’s *Campaigns* (1796 edition) at the South Caroliniana Library. Biggers Ferry became Mason’s Ferry in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It was referred to as “Mason’s Ferry” in Col. William Hill’s 1816 memoirs, and was shown as “Mason’s Ferry” on the York District map in Robert Mill’s *Atlas* of 1825.

By sundown of September 25<sup>th</sup>, all of Sumter’s men, along with their horses and baggage wagons, had successfully crossed the Catawba River using Biggers Ferry and a ford nearby. The Whigs placed a strong guard at both the ferry and the ford with orders to sound the alarm should any British soldiers attempt to cross the river. Winn then sent an express to General Sumter in Charlotte,

advising him that the camp had moved, but as Sumter was unwell he did not arrive until the following day.

Just before sunrise on the morning of September 26<sup>th</sup>, the British Legion dragoons, each mounting a Legion infantryman behind, arrived at the east side of the Catawba River opposite Sumter’s Patriots at Biggers Ferry and surrounded the ground that Sumter’s



men had evacuated the previous evening. Shortly thereafter, Lord Rawdon and his troops arrived on the scene as well. As Colonel Winn later wrote in his memoirs, “Had this precaution not been taken, I leave the world to judge what would have been the consequence. Here we were, the British on one side of the river, we on the other.”

Sumter’s men at that time were attempting to hold a convention to plan the further prosecution of the war. They needed arms, ammunition, supplies, and clothing that they hoped to procure from General Gates’ headquarters in Hillsborough, North Carolina. They also wanted to send a delegation of officers to South Carolina’s governor, John Rutledge, then in exile in Hillsborough, seeking a brigadier general’s commission for Sumter. Colonel Winn and Colonel William Hill from the New Acquisition Regiment had just called the convention to order when the Whig guards on the west side of the river began firing at the British troops across the water.<sup>31</sup> There were no hydroelectric dams and no Lake Wylie on the Catawba River in those days, so the expanse was not nearly as wide as it is today. Sumter’s rifleman, many of whom were expert marksmen, had no trouble picking out targets among the brightly uniformed British soldiers, and they promptly opened fire to prevent the enemy from crossing the river. The British troops took cover and began to return fire, and a small battle quickly ensued with the two parties trading shots over the water.



**Memorial to the Battle of Bigger’s Ferry.**

The skirmishing between the combatants brought the Whig officer’s convention to an end. Sumter and his brigade broke camp and quickly began marching up the river, expecting the British to pursue. Lord Rawdon and Major Hanger, however, had more important duties to attend. Instead of pursuing Sumter, they abandoned their position on the east side of the river and returned to Cornwallis’ army, where they assisted in the attack on Charlotte later that day. The Whigs camped that night in a thickly wooded area north of the ferry, where they felt sure they would be protected

<sup>31</sup> In their Revolutionary War memoirs, both Hill and Winn claimed to have presided over the convention as president.

from the British cavalry. Sumter reconvened the convention the next day, and the brigade elected Colonels Richard Winn, Henry Hampton, John Thomas, Jr., and Charles Middleton to ride to Hillsborough and meet with South Carolina Patriot Governor Rutledge in exile. Sumter followed them not long afterward.<sup>32</sup>

The skirmish at Bigger’s Ferry was not a large affair as battles go, but it was important in the results it achieved. It not only prevented the British from crossing the river and once again attacking (and possibly dispersing) Sumter’s troops, but it also enabled the Whigs to continue their efforts to frustrate Earl Cornwallis’ plans for an early invasion of North Carolina. These plans came to fruition in dramatic fashion less than two weeks later, when the backcountry militia from North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia combined their forces and defeated Major Patrick Ferguson in the great Patriot victory at Kings Mountain.

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*The Day It Rained Militia: Huck’s Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry, May-July 1780* is available at the Historic Brattonsville Gift Shop and at the Store at the Museum of York County. Also you can purchase *The Day It Rained Militia* from Barnes & Noble, Books-a-Million, Borders, Waldenbooks, and most of the major retail chains, as well as from their websites and from [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com), and also directly from the publisher, The History Press ([www.historypress.net](http://www.historypress.net)).



**Descendents of Patriot Maj. Gen. Johannes deKalb from Germany attended the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of his death ceremonies in Camden, SC on August 19, 2005. DeKalb monument in background.**

<sup>32</sup> Hill, *Memoirs*, 17-18; Moore, *Lacey*, 14; Richard Winn, “General Winn’s Notes—1780,” Peter Force Papers, Library of Congress, Series 7E, Roll 3 of 56, 14-15; Samuel Williams, ed., “General Richard Winn’s Notes—1780, Part 2,” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. XLIV (January 1943), 1; Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Times of General Thomas Sumter* (Orangeburg: Sandlapper Publishing Co., 2000), 86-88. ★



## **Southern Campaigns against the Cherokees**

### **A Brief Compilation, by Jeff Dennis**

#### **ANGLO-CHEROKEE WAR, 1760-61**

**October-December 1759** – SC Royal Governor William Henry Lyttelton clumsily leads 1300 militia to Fort Prince George, opposite Keowee at the eastern border of Cherokee settlement. The governor craves glory and revenge in response to Cherokee retaliation for the killing of warriors in Virginia. Instead of some great victory, however, Lyttelton arrives in the midst of a smallpox epidemic, which soon sends his ill-trained militia scurrying. Christopher Gadsden, William Moultrie and Francis Marion participate in the Lyttelton campaign.

**February 1760** - The Cherokee's Great Warrior Oconostota demands the release of about two-dozen hostages left by Gov. Lyttelton at Fort Prince George. (Fort Prince George today is under the waters of Lake Keowee in Pickens County, SC.) Rebuffed, Oconostota lures the fort's commanding officer into an ambush. In retaliation, the garrison bayonets all of the hostages. This event triggers the great Anglo-Cherokee War of 1760-61. Cherokee raiding parties attack across the piedmont. In the Carolinas, the backcountry is virtually abandoned.

**June-July 1760** – Col. Archibald Montgomery commands a force of 1300 British regulars, supplemented by a smattering of colonial and Indian auxiliaries, against the Cherokees. Four Lower Towns are destroyed and 120 villagers are captured or killed. Yet the Cherokees do not surrender; instead, they renew their siege upon the Overhills' Fort Loudoun. (Fort Loudoun is located on the Little Tennessee River 2.2 miles northeast of Vonore, Tennessee.) Montgomery determines to punish the Cherokees further and to march to Fort Loudoun's relief. The Cherokees, however, catch him in a skillful ambush executed along the narrow pass that leads to Echoe and the Middle settlements. In all, the Indians inflict upwards of one hundred casualties and keenly disrupt the army's supply line. Montgomery and his men head for home. Andrew Pickens served as a ranger during this campaign.

**August 1760** - Its situation now hopeless, Fort Loudoun surrenders. On the very first day of the march homeward, the garrison is attacked and overwhelmed. Roughly the same number of troops are killed as headmen who had been killed at Fort Prince George the previous spring. The remainder are taken prisoner.

**June-July 1761** - British Col. James Grant leads 2800 men back into Indian country. More than 1000 of these are South Carolina militia, including Henry Laurens, William Moultrie, Francis Marion, and Andrew Pickens. Col. Thomas Middleton commands the South Carolina militia, but leaves halfway through the campaign, whereupon Lt. Col. Henry Laurens assumes command. The Cherokees again attack the invaders at the very place Montgomery was assailed. This time, however, the British supply line is secured, and after three hours of heavy fighting, Grant's men are able to move on into Echoe. Thereafter they destroy seventeen Middle settlements and 1500 acres of crops and orchards. Still the difficult terrain and elusive enemy discourage the army from pursuing the Cherokees further into the Overhills.

**August-September 1761** - While Grant remains at Prince George, Laurens and Moultrie escort Attakullakulla to Ashley Ferry outside Charleston. A treaty amenable to the Cherokees is negotiated. No natives are to be surrendered for sacrifice and the Indian line is moved back in favor of the Lower Towns.

**December 1761 and May 1762** - Christopher Gadsden publishes his "Philopatris" essays in the *South Carolina Gazette*. These articles essentially served as diatribes against the British command.

According to Gadsden, Colonel Grant had insulted the Carolinians by failing to have "DONE HIS UTMOST," "getting upon their [the Cherokees'] backs and cutting their throats." Henry Laurens is appalled, and defends the British Colonel as well as a more humanitarian Indian policy through a private circular penned under the pseudonym of "Philoletus."

#### **AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

**December 1775** – SC Patriot militia Col. Richard Richardson faces off with SC Loyalists Patrick Cunningham, Thomas Fletchall and Richard Pearis in the **Snow Campaign**. The Loyalists are defeated at Great Cane Brake (west of Fountain Inn in modern Greenville County, SC) just four miles from the Indian line; subsequently, many take refuge with Cherokees. Col. Thomas Sumter is present.

**June-July 1776** – The Cherokees attack across the southern piedmont; settlements in Tennessee and South Carolina receive the worst of it. The Indians' siege upon Lyndley's Fort (Laurens County, SC) near Rabon Creek is broken on July 15. SC Patriot militia Maj. Andrew Williamson and Captain Andrew Pickens raise recruits for counterattack: 1100 SC and Georgia militia accompanied by Catawba scouts are soon on the march. In an unauthorized "*word to the wise*," radical revolutionary leader William Henry Drayton encourages the expedition to "cut up every Indian corn-field, and burn every Indian town ... that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public." On July 31, Williamson detaches 330 mounted men and sets off ahead of main corps hoping to nab John Stuart's deputy to the Cherokees, Alexander Cameron.

**August 1, 1776** - 1200 Cherokees strike Williamson in an early morning ambush before the Lower Towns; only darkness and a desperate counterattack preserve the outnumbered patriots until Pickens arrives with reinforcements. He occupies a ridge and directs an enfilading fire, forcing the Cherokees to retreat. Williamson's men subsequently ransack Esseneca, Keowee, Estatoe, Tugaloo, and several additional Lower Towns.

**August 12, 1776** - Pickens and thirty-five recruits are lured by Indians into an ambush at the **Ring Fight**. (Near Tamassee in Oconee County, SC.) Excellent tactics, but perhaps more importantly, the lack of Cherokee ammunition, facilitates Pickens' survival until reinforcements led by his brother Joseph finally arrive. Dubbed "Skyagunsta" by the Cherokees, Pickens becomes so enamored with the site that he later acquires the land and builds his final home ("Tamassee") nearby.

**Mid-August, 1776** - South Carolina and Georgia militia are dispatched home to replenish supplies and recruit additional troops. Williamson and Pickens remain and erect Fort Rutledge (modern Clemson, SC) over the ruins of Esseneca. Here the army is scheduled to regroup on August 28.

**September-October, 1776** - Virginia and North Carolina militia join in, bringing the total patriot militia to more than 6,000 strong - a number greater than that of all Cherokee males combined. The Virginians and Wataugans (Tennessee settlers) are expected to attack the Overhill settlements, while the two Carolina armies are to converge upon the Middle and Valley Towns.

**September 12, 1776** - Reassigned from Charleston, Col. Thomas Sumter reaches Fort Rutledge in the Lower Towns with fresh men and supplies; he is placed in command of the army's right flank. His travels in the Timberlake Expedition and rapport with the Catawbas make him a natural choice for assignment against the Cherokees.

**September 17-18, 1776** - The South Carolina army passes warily but without incident through the mountains before Echoe; it was here in 1760 and 1761, that Montgomery and Grant had been assailed. The

militia now enters the first of the Cherokee Middle Towns. Thereupon, Pickens and a force of light infantry are sent to locate Patriot militia Gen. Griffith Rutherford's North Carolinians. At the village of Connutte, Pickens locates the North Carolinian baggage guard. They relay that Rutherford has no guide and is "bewildered" by the unfamiliar terrain; Pickens immediately dispatches two guides (probably Catawbas) to navigate the North Carolinians. Williamson decides to head south to destroy the Valley Towns, leaving Rutherford to attack the more northern Middle Settlements.

**September 19, 1776 - The Black Hole of the Coweeche River:** In a battle that lasts for two hours, 600 Cherokees fire down upon the South Carolina vanguard as they are forced to file through a hollow before the Valley Towns. Sumter's riflemen skillfully obstruct an attack upon the baggage train and the army finally is able to take the high ground. As at the Ring Fight, Whig militiamen appear to fight in a very savage manner against their Cherokee foe. Also, again, they are heavily advantaged by the Indians' lack of munitions. (It is not known if Pickens returned in time for Black Hole fight; my guess is that he did not.)

**September 26, 1776** - Rutherford joins Williamson at the village of Hiwassee. During the subsequent week the combined Carolina forces bring fire and sword to most of the remaining Appalachian settlements. In all thirty-six Middle and Valley Towns are destroyed, as well as vast acreages of crops and orchards. Thousands of Cherokees are left homeless and hungry for the coming winter.

**October 1776** - The Carolinians return home, just as Patriot Colonel William Christian's Virginians leave Fort Patrick Henry for their expedition against the Overhills. Chota, the Cherokees' peace village, is spared, but Tellico, Settico, Chilhowee and Big Island Town all are set to the torch.

**May 1777** - Judge William Henry Drayton, SC Patriot militia Maj. Andrew Williamson, and five other South Carolina and Georgia officials treat with the Cherokees at DeWitt's Corner (present-day Due West, South Carolina). After two weeks of negotiations, the Cherokees surrender all lands east of Unicoi Mountain. The Lower Towns are to be abandoned, while Middle and Valley villagers may remain "during their good behavior."

**July 1777** - Virginia and North Carolina delegates negotiate their own treaty with the Overhill Cherokees at Long Island on the Holston. In all, five million acres are wrenched from the nation in 1777. Disgusted, Dragging Canoe (Tsi.yu Gansi.ni) and many other young warriors boycott the process, secede from the older Cherokee nation, and relocate west in order to continue their struggle for independence from the Americans. These "Chickamauga" Cherokees, in fact, would remain effective militants against the U.S. for nearly two decades.

**1777 and 1778** - Seminoles and some Creeks help deter several patriot efforts to seize St. Augustine. In 1777, troops led by Continental Col. Thomas Sumter encounter the Indians in several small, but sharp skirmishes. An ill-advised 1778 expedition proves disastrous for patriots. It ends at the ruins of Fort Tonym without battle, but with 500 accumulated deaths from disease and coastal heat. About the only contact with Indians in this campaign came about when one of Sumter's men is scalped while looking for honey.

**March 21, 1779** - British Superintendent John Stuart dies in Pensacola. Thereupon the southern Indian department is divided between Alexander Cameron and Loyalist Lt. Col. Thomas Brown. It is never the same. Although substantial numbers of warriors join with the British during the next several years, poor imperial coordination and uneven funding consistently handicap the employment of Indian auxiliaries.

**Spring 1779** - Tsi.yu Gansi.ni and 200 Chickamauga set out for the

South Carolina frontier, intending to reach Savannah. In their absence, 500 Virginia and North Carolina Patriot militia descend upon several Chickamauga settlements and destroy them. Tsi.yu Gansi.ni returns home too late to save these towns, but the Chickamauga rebuild quickly with British support.

**April 1779** - Two months after his key victory at Kettle Creek, Pickens helps Williamson post an impressive military presence to dissuade a large force of Creeks camped near the Ogeechee River. Subsequently, Loyalist commander Alexander McGillivray is able to secure but a fraction of his warriors to accompany him to Savannah. That summer, McGillivray and seventy Creeks destroy a number of South Carolina plantations.

**August 1779** - To preempt another Indian attack, Williamson and Pickens march into the Overhills with 750 militia. The Indians disperse. Unopposed, the Carolinians destroy a half-dozen Valley Towns said to be sympathetic to the Chickamaugas. Combined with a renewed outbreak of smallpox, the villagers' suffering that winter again is intense.

**June-September 1780** - Sumter helps reinvigorate the South Carolina revolution from his base camp at "Camp Catawba." Besides providing essential bivouac, the Indians supply Sumter with cattle and corn. Eventually, the Catawbas are forced to abandon their reserve to the British, retreating all the way into Virginia. Not until 1781 do they finally return home to the Carolinas.

**Summer 1780** - Emboldened by British success in Georgia and South Carolina, Chickamaugas and some Appalachian Cherokees attack several transmontane and piedmont settlements. These actions keep most back country settlers at home and thus help to limit the number of forces the Americans could employ against the British.

**September 1780** - 250 Upper Creeks successfully storm the patriot position at Augusta; thereafter, this same body repels a counterattack by a Patriot force twice their number. (The First Siege of Augusta, see September 2005 SCAR).

**December 1780** - The victory at King's Mountain finally frees up enough patriot militia to renew attacks against Indians. Commanded by Virginia Patriot militia Col. William Campbell and NC Patriot militia Col. John Sevier, 700 Virginia and North Carolina troops march into the Overhills. Seventeen towns, including Chota are destroyed, along with 50,000 bushels of corn.

**March 1781** - John Sevier leads another punitive campaign and decimates fifteen Middle settlements. Meanwhile, far to the south, Gulf Coast commandant John Campbell's parsimonious approach to Indian affairs costs the British dearly in West Florida. Although Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek auxiliaries fight very courageously, they receive inadequate support. The British effort to break a two-month Spanish siege at Pensacola fails. By early spring 1781, Mobile, the last southern British post west of Augusta also is gone.

**May-June 1781** - Said to have "fought like devils," Upper Creek and Chickamauga warriors help break two sieges at Ninety Six and one at Augusta. By early summer, however, patriots ultimately are able to recapture these posts.

**Summer 1781** - Virginian Joseph Martin leads 200 troops in an expedition that effectively preempts another would-be campaign by the Chickamaugas.

**October 1781** - Having recovered from a wound suffered at Eutaw Springs, SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens leads his first of three 1781-1782 expeditions against the Cherokees and their loyalist allies. With 400 mounted troops armed with especially smithed short swords, Pickens destroys thirteen towns in fourteen days, mostly

Valley settlements. Forty villagers are slain, another forty taken prisoner.

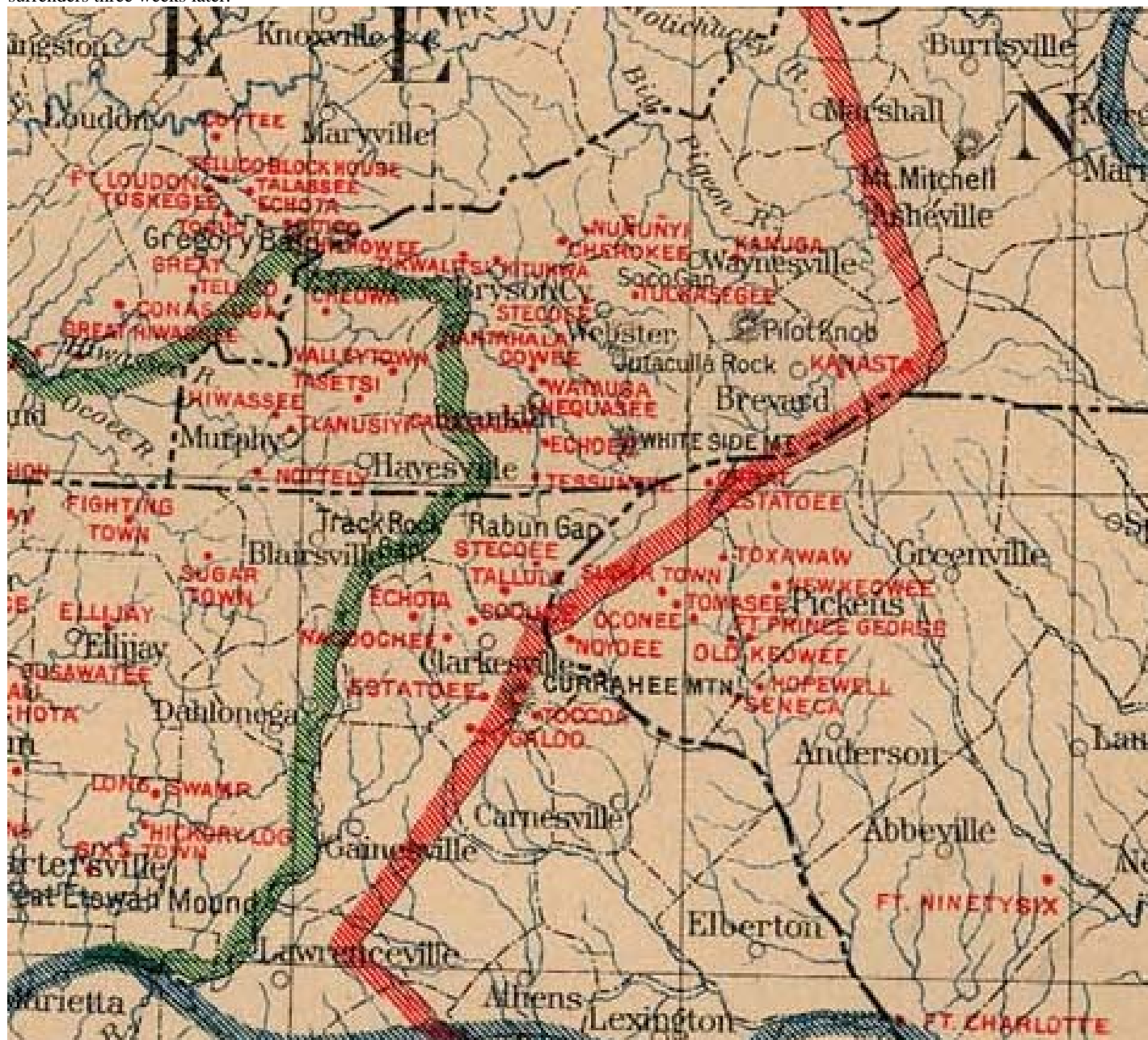
**December 1781** - By year's end, the Appalachian Cherokees are so desperate to distinguish themselves from militants that some actually request Virginia to strike against the Chickamaugas. In response, John Sevier and his North Carolina and Tennessee recruits reserve all their firepower for the Chickamaugas, sparing the Overhill and Middle Towns earlier assumed to be sympathetic to them.

**March 1782** – Andrew Pickens pays 275 recruits with loyalist cattle (a variation on Sumter's law). He leads these men on a 19-day expedition back into the Valley Towns. This time, however, poor weather helps the Cherokees to elude Pickens' reach.

**June 1782** - Upper Creeks, led by Emistisiguo, surprise Continental Gen. "Mad" Anthony Wayne in a night attack, very nearly compromising the patriot siege before Savannah. Ultimately, however, the heavily outnumbered attackers fail. Savannah surrenders three weeks later.

**September 1782** – Andrew Pickens' largest and final Indian campaign: About one-third of his more than 400 men are armed only with the short swords; the goal this time is to capture Colonel Thomas Waters, a loyalist who had been organizing Indian raids along the Georgia frontier. Informed that Waters was encamped at the town of Saiita, Pickens organizes a silent overnight march, attacking from both ends of town at daybreak. Between thirty and forty villagers are killed, and another fifty taken captive; Waters is nowhere to be seen.

**October 1782** - Pickens meets with twelve headmen and 200 warriors at Long Swamp, Georgia. The conference ends all Cherokee claims south of the Savannah and west of the Chattahoochee rivers. Except for a few small raids by Loyalist Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham and other loyalists, this expedition is the Revolution's last in the lower South.



Excerpt of a map of Cherokee Towns in the southern Appalachian Mountains from the University of Texas Library.

<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/ Cherokee country 1900.jpg>



# **“Arthur Fairies’ Journal of Expedition Against the Cherokee Indians from July 18<sup>th</sup>, to October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1776”**

**Transcribed and Annotated by Will Graves**

## **Introductory Note**

Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina militias mounted a coordinated campaign in the summer and early fall of 1776 against the Cherokee Indians then living in the western portions of those provinces and the northeastern portions of Georgia. Each of the militias was under the control of a Whig provincial government that feared that the Cherokees would align themselves with the British. They were apprehensive of a Cherokee attack from the west in conjunction with a renewed British effort to lay siege to the coastal ports of Wilmington and Charleston. Although Charleston had been successfully defended from a British naval assault earlier that summer, the British strategy for ending the revolt amongst its American colonies was unclear to the Whigs. Not wishing to fight simultaneously on two fronts, the Whigs made what was effectively a preemptive and largely unprovoked strike against the Cherokees.<sup>1</sup>

The Virginia militia consisting of about 1,500 men was commanded by Colonel William Christian.<sup>2</sup> The North Carolinians composed of about 2,800 men were under the command of Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford.<sup>3</sup> About 1,200 South Carolinians were under the command of Major Andrew Williamson.<sup>4</sup>

Tradition holds that one of the men serving under Captain Peter Clinton<sup>5</sup> in the South Carolina militia kept a diary or journal of his experiences while participating in what become known as the Cherokee Expedition. A transcription of that journal appears below.<sup>6</sup> The identity of the author is unknown, although traditionally its authorship has been attributed to Arthur Fairies, one of the members of Clinton's company.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the inside cover sheet of the bound notebook containing the journal bears the following inscription: "Arthur Fairies, His pocket book in the year of our lord 1771." The handwriting of this inscription, however, does not appear to the untrained eye to match the handwriting of the author of the journal.

The authenticity of the journal is not conclusively established. Despite being presented as a first-person, eyewitness account kept contemporaneously with the Cherokee Expedition, the evidence is clear that the journal was written sometime after the events described in it. The factors supporting this conclusion are that (1) the author in three instances refers to Andrew Williamson as being a general even though Williamson did not attain that rank until 1778, and (2) the author states in the entry dated September 19, 1776, that he cannot recollect the names of the men killed in an engagement with the Cherokees on that date. It seems very unlikely that someone writing simultaneously with the occurrence of such dramatic events would be unable to recall the names of the men killed in the day's action. (3) Also, although admittedly circumstantial evidence of its not being kept contemporaneously, the original journal is suspiciously lacking in the strikeouts, revisions and insertions (not to mention, dirt and water stains) one would expect in a work composed on various days during the course of arduous travels over mountains and across numerous creeks, streams and rivers in the heat and humidity of the Carolinas during the summer. At a minimum, the erroneous references to Williamson's rank and the relatively flawless state of the only known handwritten version of the journal, leads to the conclusion that this version is very likely an early transcription of the now lost true original and that whoever transcribed the journal did so at some period after Williamson's promotion to the rank of general in 1778.<sup>8</sup>

The mystery as to the authorship and authenticity of the journal is further complicated by the fact that at least two different versions of the journal are known to exist. One (the version given below) was attached to a pension application<sup>9</sup> filed in 1850 and subsequently placed in the National Archives in Washington. This version is referred to hereinafter as the "Archives' Version." The

second version is one published in the *Yorkville Miscellany* on Saturday, June 15, 1850, by Rev. S. L. Watson.<sup>10</sup> This version is referred to hereinafter as the "Watson Version." The Watson Version contains significantly more detailed entries in certain instances than are included in the Archives' Version. Where significant variations in entries appear, the text of the Watson Version has been included in the endnotes to the transcription of the Archives' Version.

Notwithstanding these issues clouding its authorship and the timing of its composition, the journal does appear to have been written by an actual participant in the Cherokee Expedition. The author's description of events, places and people corresponds with known facts. The journal relates details of that Expedition unavailable from other sources. Consequently, it is felt to be worthy of transcription, annotation and being made available for wider use than in its current, unpublished forms.<sup>11</sup>

The reason for selecting the Archives' Version as the primary version for inclusion in this article is that it is the only version with a currently known provenance. It can be traced to inclusion in support of the 1850 pension application and subsequent deposit in the collections of the National Archives. All that is known about the provenance of the Watson Version is what Rev. Watson says in the introduction to his article that appeared in the *Yorkville Miscellany*. There he says simply that "[w]hile on a visit to North Carolina last summer, I saw in the possession of a friend a portion of a Pamphlet supposed to have been written by some person in this section, connected with our Revolutionary History. Recently I have obtained this Pamphlet (sic) from a member of my congregation."<sup>12</sup>

In preparing the transcription below, the following changes were made in an attempt to make the journal easier to read:

1. Spelling has been modernized. For example, the word "camped" has been substituted throughout where the author used "campt." More substantively, proper names (especially of the Cherokee towns and villages named in the journal) have been changed to the modern spelling of those names in those instances in which the reference to a particular place, person or geographic feature can be readily identified. In those instances in which the author's intent is unclear, the spelling as appears in the original manuscript is used with, in certain instances, the transcriber's best guess as to the intended name appearing in brackets with a question mark immediately thereafter.
2. Missing words needed to make the author's intent clearer have been added in brackets.
3. Capitalization has been applied in accordance with modern practice. The author uniformly capitalized most words.
4. Possessives have been modernized. As illustrated in the example given below, the author's standard practice was to use "es" at the end of words to indicate the possessive.
5. Punctuation has been used where necessary to clarify meaning.
6. The author sometimes confused his days and dates. In those instances, the day of the week has been assumed to be correct and its correct date has been inserted in brackets.
7. Grammar and verb tenses have been left as appear in the original.
8. Explanatory notes appear in italics and are bracketed.
9. Where strikeouts appear in the transcription, they also appear in the original.
10. The endnote insertions of the text from the Watson Version have not been edited, but are offered exactly as printed in the *Yorkville Miscellany*.

As an example of the editing used in transcribing the journal, the first entry of the original Archives' Version reads: "July the 8<sup>th</sup> Day 1776 We Marched From Capt Clintones to William Halles At The Court House And Campt." This entry has been modified as set forth below.

## **Journal**

*[On the inside front cover of the note book containing the journal, the following entries appear:]*

Arthur Fairies His pocket book in the year of our lord 1771.<sup>13</sup> Wm Campbell came to School the 16<sup>th</sup> Day of December 1788. 2 months.

*[On the page facing the front cover, the following names are written without indication of their relevance. The assumption by this transcriber is that these are the names of men who served in Captain Peter Clinton's company since some of the names match the names of company members mentioned in the body of the journal.]*

William Armstrong, John Guyton (Drafted), Alexander Gilaspy, William Armer, John Vicary, Thomas Neesmith, John Patterson (Absent), James Miller, William Davis, George Symerel (Absent), Samuel Hemphill, Thomas Jennings, James Adams, Robert Latimer, James Symerel (Absent), James Sloane, John Cincade, Andrew Armer, John Kansoler, James Crage, Thomas Baronet, James Quen.

*[Beginning on page 25 of the note book]*

**July the 8<sup>th</sup> day, 1776, Monday:** We marched from Capt. Clinton's to William Hall's, at the Court House, and camped.<sup>14</sup>

**Tuesday the 9<sup>th</sup> day of July:** We marched two miles over Broad River where we joined the Regiment of Col. Neel's,<sup>15</sup> ~~Regiment~~ and camped.<sup>16</sup>

**Wednesday the 10<sup>th</sup> day:** We marched 25 miles to one Stafford Moore's, and camped.

**Thursday the 11<sup>th</sup> day:** We started and marched 15 miles to Wofford's Fort<sup>17</sup> on Lawson's Fork, and camped.<sup>18</sup>

**Friday, 12<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched to Prince's Fort<sup>19</sup> [and] encamped [there] from Friday to Sunday the 14<sup>th</sup>: then started and marched to one Davis's or within 2 miles being joined with Col. Thomas' regiment, in all consisting about 300 men—lay in a hollow all night.<sup>20</sup>

**Monday the 15<sup>th</sup> day 1776:** By day light we surrounded the building, it inhabited with Indians, where we found nothing but his [an Indian's] wife and family, & two Scofolites,<sup>21</sup> where we took them prisoners, with all their goods, consisting of 3 wagons full, and bore them down to the camp at Prince's Fort, [a] distant [of] 25 miles driving horses, cows, steers, horses, and burned the remainder.<sup>22</sup>

**Tuesday the 16<sup>th</sup> day:** We began to & divided the goods which amounted to Seven Thousand Seven Hundred & 22 Pounds which [activity] lasted 2 days—lay there till the 21<sup>st</sup> day.

**Friday the [illegible, 19<sup>th</sup>?] day:** We started from the Fort & marched 3 miles to one Clark's, lying there in camp till Sunday evening the 21<sup>st</sup>, then started from camp the 21<sup>st</sup> & marched about 6 miles to one Colonas's on the waters of ~~Saluda~~ Tyger, lying there in camp till **Saturday the 27<sup>th</sup>.**<sup>23</sup>

**Started the 27<sup>th</sup>,** and marched to Hight's,<sup>24</sup> 15 miles, and lay till Monday evening, the 31<sup>st</sup>. [sic, Monday was the 29<sup>th</sup>]

**Monday the 31<sup>st</sup>:** We marched to Parise's<sup>25</sup> on Reedy River lay till Thursday.

**Thursday the First day of August:** Left Tyger camp.

**Friday the Second:** We marched about 14 miles, & camped on a Round Hill.

## Context for the 1776 Cherokee War

by Jeff Dennis

Throughout the Revolutionary era, Indian warfare provided effective, if brutal, opportunities for American patriots. Upon its creation in 1776, the United States lacked any distinctive language, ethnic heritage, or common identity. Americans held wide-ranging views concerning what the definition and goals of the Revolution should be.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, nearly everyone seemed to agree that Indians were a menace (or at best a hindrance) to the new republic. Non-white, non-Christian, and possessors of vast expanses of land, Indians served as an ideal enemy upon whom Americans could pound out their identity.<sup>2</sup>

From nearly beginning to end, the War for Independence in the Lower South was also a war against Indians. This was never more conspicuous than in 1776. During that summer and autumn more than 7,000 troops from four southern states invaded the Cherokee homelands.<sup>3</sup> Patriots explained their offensives as an essential response to Indian attacks endured during late June and early July. Outnumbered and badly lacking munitions, the Cherokees could offer little effective resistance.<sup>4</sup>

South Carolinians led the way with two savage campaigns that promised recruits £75 for each adult male scalp. Some noncombatants were killed as well, generally the elderly and lame those who were unable to flee into hiding. Most devastating, the South Carolinians systematically destroyed the Cherokees' well constructed homes and bountiful crops and orchards; subsequent armies from North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia followed their example. In total, several hundred villagers died during the 1776 invasions. A far greater number of people died from exposure and hunger during the winter that followed.<sup>5</sup>

The following journal, very carefully transcribed and skillfully annotated by Will Graves, attests to the ruthlessness of the 1776 campaigns. Its chronicler, traditionally identified as Arthur Fairies, consistently refers to the Cherokees as "Heathens." Among other features, the account records patriot scalping of warriors, the killing of noncombatants, and the extensive destruction of Cherokee homes and foodstuffs.<sup>6</sup>

The Cherokee War of 1776 accomplished several key tasks for South Carolina Whigs. First, the campaigns demonstrated the efficacy of their cause, securing much needed support in the often contrarian backcountry. Thereby, loyalists were forced into several years of relative quiescence – for few were willing to openly criticize the campaigns or defend Indians.<sup>7</sup> Second, from the peace treaty signed the following spring at DeWitt's Corner, natives were forced to acknowledge "all and singular the rights incidental to conquest." This of course meant land, as all Cherokee holdings east of Unicoi Mountain were to be surrendered.<sup>8</sup>

The 1776 invasions and the 1777 treaties changed the Cherokee nation forever. Many hundreds of people died and the majority of the nation's homes and fields were ruined. Much of the Cherokees' hunting lands were stripped away. Under such strain, the nation bitterly divided. Most survivors chose to remain, practice peace, and rebuild upon traditional tribal grounds. Some, however, including many of the younger hunter-warriors, accompanied Tsi.yu Gansi.ni (Dragging Canoe) to relocate west at Chickamauga Creek. Buoyed by spiritual fervor and British supplies, these militants would continue to actively oppose the United States into the early 1790s.<sup>9</sup>

Further expeditions against the Cherokees were undertaken during 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782. Although these were less extensive campaigns than those mounted in 1776, additional villagers were killed, settlements razed, and crops plowed under. Altogether from the war, the population of the Cherokee nation fell from 12,000 to 10,000 people, and more than five million acres of land were taken as tribute.<sup>10</sup>

Jeff Dennis' Context footnotes next page in textbox.

**Saturday the 3<sup>rd</sup>:** We started about one o'clock at night, and came to Estatoee, an Indian town, and from thence to Colhatchaway [Qualatchee?]; and from thence to Toxaway, another town; and from thence back to camp, 16 miles.<sup>26</sup>

**Sunday the 4<sup>th</sup>:** Left camp and came back to Estatoee & camped.<sup>27</sup>

**Monday the 5<sup>th</sup>:** Cut down about four hundred acres of corn, and came to Colhatchey [Qualatchee?] and cut about 100 acres.

**Tuesday the 6<sup>th</sup>:** Came through Sugartown down to Keowee, about 8 miles.

**Wednesday the 7<sup>th</sup>:** We lay at camp.

**Thursday the 8<sup>th</sup>:** We started up to Toxaway, where we killed an Indian & got one of our men wounded, & from thence up to Tulpehakin and killed a squaw, and captivated a squaw & two negroes, where we got information from the captives of an Indian camp about sixteen miles from thence where there was nothing but vast mountains, where we marched up with speed; and on ascending up the mountains, the Indians fired upon us to the number of about 11 guns, killed 1 horse, wounded another. We received no more damages. We marched within 3 miles of their camp.<sup>28</sup>

**Friday the 9<sup>th</sup>:** We came to the Indian camp, where we found them all gone, and [the Indians] had killed Mrs. Hight, whom they had took prisoner.<sup>29</sup>

**Friday [sic, Saturday] the 10<sup>th</sup>:** We marched to Keowee to camp, lay at camp till Monday the 13<sup>th</sup> [sic, 12<sup>th</sup>], then started homeward. First we marched from Keowee to the 96 Road to Six Mile Creek; next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek; in all our march about 25 miles, and camped by a small branch.

**Tuesday the 14<sup>th</sup> [sic, 13<sup>th</sup>]:** We started and marched about 10 miles down 96 Road, then took a small path. In this manner we marched about 30 miles; our day's march about 40 miles, & camped by a small branch of Reedy River.

**Wednesday the 15<sup>th</sup> [sic, 14<sup>th</sup>]:** We started and marched to Reedy River, about ten miles, below the Scofolites' camp; from thence in [sic, to] Lawson's Fork at Hollingsworth's old mill, & from thence to Captain Rogers's, about 30 miles, & camped by a small branch.

**Thursday the 16<sup>th</sup> [sic, 17<sup>th</sup>]:** We started and marched across Pacolet, from thence to Fletchall's<sup>30</sup> and across Tyger River, and camped. In all our march about 32 miles.

**Friday the 17<sup>th</sup> [sic, 18<sup>th</sup>]:** We started and marched 20 miles to Broad River, from thence to Bullock's Creek, about 4 miles from the Meeting House & Ferry. In all our march 20 miles.

**Saturday:** We started and marched by John Ross's, next by Capt. Ross's and home: staid at home from Saturday to Friday the 23<sup>rd</sup>.

**Started Friday, 23<sup>rd</sup>,** and marched from Capt. Clinton's to John Smith's and camped.

**Saturday the 24<sup>th</sup>:** Started and marched about half a mile over Broad River, and camped.<sup>31</sup>

**Sunday the 25<sup>th</sup>:** We started & marched across Thicketty & on to Goudelock's—our march about 20 miles, and camped there.<sup>32</sup>

**Monday the 26<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched across Pacolet, and on to Wofford's Fort on Lawson's Fork and camped about ½ mile beyond the Fork—all 20 miles.

#### Footnotes to Jeff Dennis' Context:

<sup>1</sup> Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 170, 175; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 827-28; Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992), 336.

<sup>2</sup> Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Englewood Cliffs, 1982), 291; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge, 1952), vii. Michael Zuckerman writes that Americans "defined themselves less by the vitality of their affirmations than by the violence of their abjurations." Zuckerman, "The Fabrication of Identity in Early America," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser. 34 (1977): 204. James Axtell believes colonial interaction with Native Americans was a critical precedent in the creation of the United States: "Without the steady impress of Indian culture, the colonists would not have been ready for revolution in 1776 ... The Indian presence precipitated the formation of an American identity." Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1988), 237ff.

<sup>3</sup> John W. Gordon, *South Carolina and the American Revolution: A Battlefield History* (Columbia, 2003), 46-49; Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York, 1993), 194; James H. O'Donnell, III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, 1973), 44-46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 41-43; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, 1992), 52-53. Even the generally sympathetic Henry Laurens became outraged at the reports he received concerning the attacks against the South Carolina frontier. The Cherokees were "treacherous Devils" who had been goaded into action by "hellish" whites, he told his son. "The only possible way of reducing the Barbarians" would be to destroy their towns and crops. HL to John Laurens, 14 Aug 1776 in Philip M Hamer, George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, vols 1-13, 15 (Columbia 1968-2000), 11:229-30.

<sup>5</sup> Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York, 1995), 49, 197-200; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Columbia, 1953), 318-19; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 41-48; 194ff.

<sup>6</sup> Such brutal behavior was encouraged by the more radical Revolutionary leadership in Charleston. In an infamous, unauthorized letter to the first 1776 expedition, chief justice William Henry Drayton advised: "And now a word to the wise. It is expected you make smooth work as you go – that is, you cut up every Indian corn-field, and burn every Indian town – and that every Indian taken shall be the slave and property of the taker; that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public." WHD to Francis Salvador, 24 July 1776, in R.W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1782*, 3 vols (New York, 1853-57), 2:29.

<sup>7</sup> Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 197-200; Clyde R. Ferguson, "Functions of the Partisan-Militia in the South During the American Revolution: An Interpretation," in W. Robert Higgins, *The Revolutionary War in the South: Power, Conflict and Leadership* (Durham, 1979), 251-58. As patriot historian David Ramsay recalled it, the "double success" of the year's anti-British, anti-Indian campaigns "diffused military ideas, and a spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants. Previously, **some well-meaning people could not see the justice or propriety of contending with their formerly protecting parent State; but Indian cruelties, excited by royal artifices, soon extinguished all their predilection for the country of their forefathers.**" Ramsay, *History of South Carolina: From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, 2 vols (Spartanburg, 1959 [1858]), 1:161-62.

<sup>8</sup> O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 58; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 200; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:161. For a full transcription of the Treaty of DeWitt's Corner, see: "The Ani Yun' wiya (Cherokee Indians), 1769-1866," Wesley D. White Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, 28/800/7.

<sup>9</sup> Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 54-56; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, 1998), 97-99; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 223-25; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 200-01.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 58, 202-07; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1957), 272ff; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 191ff. As Tom Hatley notes: "Though the Cherokees were to face at least seven major offensives before the Revolutionary period was over, each attack followed, on a smaller scale, the severe precedent of the 1776 campaign." Ibid, 197.



**Tuesday the 27<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched across Tyger, and camped about 2 miles beyond Prince's Fort on Tyger, and camped at the house of one Varner—25 miles.

**Wednesday the 28<sup>th</sup>:** We marched from Varner's to Hight's, from thence to Davis's on Reedy River—a march of about 25 miles, & camped.

**Thursday the 29<sup>th</sup>:** We started from camp at Davis's,<sup>33</sup> and marched across Saluda River. About 6 miles from camp; from thence along that road about 5 miles, then took to the woods. In this manner we marched about 5 miles, crossed two small branches of 12 Mile Creek. Our day's march about 17 miles and camped by a small branch.

**Friday the 30<sup>th</sup>:** We started to hunt our horses, and in our hunt there was Indians around us, which fired on us to the number of 7 guns, shot one horse & shot too at the Rider but he escaped, and alarmed the camp, which started in pursuit of them, but to no purpose, for they escaped, taking 9 horses and fired at one, or rather his rider, but he happily escaped, and the horse [was] shot in the rump. After these surprises, we started to march; leaving 16 men to pursue the heathens, & in their pursuit they followed them in vain, for they could not overtake them. So they followed them almost too far [to] a little town called Soquani [Soquee?]. After this pursuit they returned, & we marched along until we crossed the 96 Road, & marched about 2 miles and camped. That night there came a man to our camps which made oath that he was at that Soquani Town, and as he alighted from his horse, he espied Indians coming to the horse, then he made his escape to our camps. This information made us to send or raise 42 light horsemen to that town, but they found none there, and in their search they found 4 Indian horses. During their absence, we started & marched down to Seneca, where we joined the regiment of Col. General Williamson, and camped.<sup>34</sup>

**Sunday the first of September:** We raised a company of light Horse scouts, and taking the Cotappo Indians,<sup>35</sup> they soon espied an Indian camp out in the mountains. They informed the white men that there was a great number of them; the men sent down word for a reinforcement of men and provisions to Seneca, our camp. This Express occasioned us to raise a number of men to their assistance; but they, not having patience, attacked the camp, but [at] the first fire they all ran—the Cotappos went in the front, & as one Cherokee ran, they shot him down, taking all the plunder and returning the Cherokees waylaid them and shot one of the Cotappos. After this they marched back to Toxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement; then we returned back to camp.<sup>36</sup>

**Wednesday the 4<sup>th</sup>:** We lay.

**Thursday the 5<sup>th</sup>:** we lay at camp.

**Friday the 6<sup>th</sup>:** we lay at camp

**Saturday the 7<sup>th</sup>:** we lay at camp.

**Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup>:** we crossed the Savannah River and encamped.

**Monday the 9<sup>th</sup>:** we lay at camp.

**Tuesday the 10<sup>th</sup>:** we lay at camp.

**Wednesday the 11<sup>th</sup>:** we lay at camp.

**Thursday the 12<sup>th</sup>:** There came to us 200 & 70 men of Colonel Sumter's,<sup>37</sup> and camped.<sup>38</sup>

**Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>:** We started to march to the Middle Settlements, and marched to Cane Creek, about 8 miles from camp, and camped.

**Saturday the 14<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched across the mountains of Oconee, & camped by a small branch—our day's march about 15 miles.

**Sunday the 15<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched about 12 miles, and camped by a river called Tugaloo, at the mouth of War Woman's Creek.

**Monday the 16<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched across War Woman's Creek, from thence to across the mountains and on the waters of Tugaloo & camped at the foot of two mountains—our day's march about 13 miles.

**Tuesday the 17<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched across the branches of Savani [Savannah? sic, Tennessee?] River on to the Grassy Plains, from thence to the Narrows, and to Tennessee River, and on to a small town called [largely illegible name that might be spelled Ustisty] and finding the Indians all gone, we camped in that town—our march 16 miles.<sup>39</sup>

**Wednesday the 18<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched along Tennessee River to Coweche [Coweeshie?] Town, & finding the North Army<sup>40</sup> had been there, we started in pursuit of them as far as town called Canutee, where we found a party of the aforesaid Army, that is to say, a baggage guard, whilst the rest marched to the Valleys. Started at the North Fork of Tennessee, and marched this day to the South Fork of said waters—our day's march about 12 miles, and camped by the said Tennessee.

**Thursday the 19<sup>th</sup> September:** We started after the North Army to the Valleys, a settlement of Indians. We marched along the waters of Tennessee first on branches of [largely illegible name that might be "Cowekey"]—we had gone about 6 miles from camp on the road, we marched into a valley or rather a hollow, named Black Hole, surrounded by mountains on all sides only except the entrance. On our entering, our front guard, commanded by Capt. Ross, was about half through—the Indians were flanked all around us, and fired on our guard, and all our regiment was soon engaged, & the firing of the Indians was incessant. We continued our fight about one hour, desperate. But in getting possession of the mountain, we through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of 13 gallant men—a merciful escape, considering the wonderful form them Heathens were placed in: Likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest, and indeed almost all the killed and wounded consisted in Col. Neel's regiment, on account of our being in the front of the battle. Our engagement may be a miracle of during several hours that with the multitude of enemies and admirable place they had to fire on us, we were not almost all killed, for nature never formed such a place, allowed by all spectators. I must mind some of these killed men and their actions. Capt. Ross,<sup>41</sup> who was in the front, was shot at and slightly wounded; the Indians thought to have his scalp and made to him and his head being down and bloody the Indians struck him with the gun in his hand, until the force of the strokes broke the butt piece; but the Captain recovering, seized the fellow and overcame him getting his scalp. These particulars are too tedious, only giving an account of the brave John Guyton,<sup>42</sup> who became a prey to the Heathen, & was killed with a spear, & likewise noble Samuel Thomson,<sup>43</sup> shot with two bullets in the breast & dead. We will mind some more of the men who escaped, which is Lieut. William Patrick,<sup>44</sup> who fought manfully and escaped. Also our noble Captain Clinton, one of the re-enforcement to the front, fought most manfully and in short all his men; he had one man killed, the aforesaid Guyton, and one wounded by the name of Symeral.<sup>45</sup> The number of Indians killed and wounded is not exactly known; we found but six dead on the ground. We had to camp here all night on account of burying our dead, & on attending the sick or wounded. A most dreadful sight to behold—our fellow creatures massacred by the heathens, for there were three of our men scalped, and one sadly speared and tomahawked. The names of the killed is—Sentspeers<sup>46</sup> and John

Guyton, Samuel Thomson & William Moore:<sup>47</sup> also James Caldwell,<sup>48</sup> & John Brannen,<sup>49</sup> Lieut. James Lusk,<sup>50</sup> and one of the name of Linch.<sup>51</sup> The remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground 12 men, and wounded 18—in all killed and wounded about thirty. After these, I close this day's work.<sup>52</sup>

**Friday the 20<sup>th</sup>:** We gathered our sick and sent them back to the North Army—that is to say, the baggage-guard, and sent with them a guard of one hundred men, & the remainder continued our march to the Valleys. We started & marched along the greatest of Narrows, where immense numbers of Indian camps. Our road continued up a vast mountain, or rather between two mountains, which led us to the most wildersomest (sic) part of the world, allowed by us. In this manner we march allowing to receive battle every moment, but through mercy we got safe to the top, allowing it little inferior to the mountain of Ararat. If here Noah's Ark rested on the top of this, we camped—our day's march about 5 miles, and this mountain was about 1½ miles of them. We must mind that when the Indians fled, we found on the ground the luggage of about 200 Indians—that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, also powder, match-coats, deer-skins, &c, &c.

**Saturday the 21<sup>st</sup>:** We started to continue our march, & as I said of the day's march before, I think the road a little better or only something descending; we marched thro' brush, swamps & thickets a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us, neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, but with great courage and resolution; resolving to conquer or die in the attempt. We marched about 5 miles from camp, and all along the road so many signs of our enemies & their camps made us imagine we should have a battle every mile. And the mountains so high on every side, hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched as I informed you, about 5 miles, and on a sudden we, the front, or front guard, espied an Indian squaw; on her they fired two guns, which put us all in alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found there were no more Indians there. We got up a half Indian that was in company to ask her some questions—although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows: That all the Over Hill Indians, and all the Town Indians were gone through woods at that battle that was fought the day before, also that they were camped about 4 miles ahead, & were preparing to give us battle by the Tennessee River. There we marched with all the speed possible, although very much abounding with difficulties, occasioned by the badness of the roads. When we arrived at the aforesaid river, a most dreadful place to behold, we sent our left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountains, and us in the center. In this manner we marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear and camped there—our day's march about nine miles. We are to mind that the number of men that marched from Seneca, that drew provisions, was eighteen hundred and sixty, but this battle confined us to the number of sixteen hundred & 96.<sup>53</sup>

**Sunday the 22<sup>nd</sup>:** We continued our march to the Valleys as formerly, and if we had reason to complain of the road the day before, we will find ten times as much reason this, if possible. Col. Neel's men were appointed for the right wing flank, which made us take to the tops of the mountains for a living, and most dreadful living too; be sure from one maintain to another we treaded, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to fathom, or for the curious writer to discover. At length we came to mountains more curious than the first, because it give me a more clear view of the neighboring mountains; and further, we discovered a small valley or grassy plain—the distance we could not give an exact account of. After this discovery we set down this terrible mountain, which was as perpendicular as a barber's revolving pole, about one mile. But with great sliding and creeping we got to the bottom thereof; from thence we came to the mountain named Slately Hill on account of the natural produce abounding mightily with slate. Over this we crept also, and came to the path where the Army had to

march which was little superior to ours, only not nigh so high, but abounding with laurel thickets and sidling swamps. In this manner, we marched to the waters of Highwassa, and camped by a branch of said river between two mountains—our day's march about 8 miles.<sup>54</sup>

**Monday the 23<sup>rd</sup>:** We started to march, or made ready—our orders from Col. Williamson, our head commander, was that there should be 40 men out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies to discover the towns; for as I said before the Savanna that we espied was the first Indian town in the Valleys. We set off, and always minded to take possession of all the mountains we came to. We marched to a small mountain called Knotty Hill. From thence to another mountain where we had a full view of the town called Burning Town, distant about one mile. We took the right of said town to surround it, so from one hill to another, until we came within sight of the Army; so took to the town, where we got peaceable possession without a shot of a gun, though a large town, contained about one hundred & 10 houses, but got no plunder, for the black thieves was all fled, & took the chief of all, except some horses. Further, Col. Thomas' men being on the hunt of some plunder, found an Indian squaw, & took her prisoner, an easy prey, for she was lame. Here we camped—one day's march 2 miles.<sup>55</sup>

**Tuesday the 24<sup>th</sup>:** We was ordered to go cut corn, which we did to the number of about 200 & 50 acres, and burned the houses. After this we was ordered to make ready to march. By this time there was an express from the North Army, which informed us that at their arrival at the Valleys, the first town they came to that they surrounded it, and took it, and killed and took prisoners to the number of 16 Indians fellows & squaws, without the loss of a man, or merely was shot at—only one shot fired and no harm. And after this information, we started and marched along by Bloody Hill, & into another town called Tomassee and camped, distant from old camp about two miles & camped.

**Wednesday the 25<sup>th</sup>:** We was ordered to cut down & burn corn and peach trees, apple trees [illegible word or words]. After this was accomplished, we was ordered to march, & started, & came along the said Valley to another Town called Nowewee; this we plundered & destroyed, corn and all vegetables belonging thereto, abounding much with corn, potatoes, peas & beans, as the aforesaid town laid distant 2 miles. After this we marched along to another town, named Tilico [Tellico?], a brave, plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid vegetables, &c. The aforesaid Valley is very curious on account of its being hemmed in on both sides by mountains, & likewise the fertility of the soil. The Indians made great crops of corn, & indeed almost all sorts of serviceable fruits, wheat & flax only excepted. Further, they are most curious in their way of building; according to their opportunity of instruction they build a house in each of their towns called a Dowawing House. It is made right round, and tapers to the top like a barrack shape most curious and covered with bark or grassy sod. The door or entrance is extremely narrow or strait, and when in it, as dark as a dungeon. We allow that in these houses they divine things, & hold dances with their God, it being all paddled around the place where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is made with small saplings stuck in the ground upright; then sort of lath tied on these stakes with splits of cane or such like, then daubing outside & in with mud nicely. They have no chimneys & their furnace [is] in the middle of their houses. Their houses are clap-boarded like ours and their corn cribs most nice; being a large story off the ground & raised on forks stuck upright; then rafted and raised like the dwelling houses, most nicely daubed & covered finish them. After this discovery, I'm to inform you, that we camped here at this town, called Canosti, on account of the vast quantity of corn—here our day's march about 6 miles.<sup>56</sup>

**Thursday the 26<sup>th</sup>:** We started & marched about two miles, & came to another town, called Canuce; here we stopped also to cut and destroy their goods & vegetables. From thence to another town called

Highwassa. We stopped also & served that as usual. From thence to another town called Ecochee, where we met the North Army & camped—our day's march 10 miles.<sup>57</sup>

**Friday the 27<sup>th</sup>:** We & the North Army started to march, & marched about ½ mile with them, & then took a different road. We will leave them to fortune's smiles & relate our adventure. We marched to a town named Great Ecochee, and that town being destroyed by the North Army, we marched through it, and out with speed. We are to the mind while we lay at Canuce, that the North Army sent out a scout of light Horse of 100 & 50 men, and on their scout they espied a passel of Indians and white men driving cows & steers, & horses to the number of 100 head of steers & 80 horses. They thought to have escaped; but the North boys surrounded them & shot two Negroes, & wounded one Hicks, a Scopolite, & took him & six more white men & 10 Indians fellows & squaws & children, & brought all to the camp at Highwassee. After we met the Army, these prisoners was committed into our care, and, as I informed you, we marched, on with speed to another town called Chowwee, admirably large in great quantities & houses out of number; for at the end of this town Chowwee, there was another town, large & boundless, named Casquitheheh. These towns is allowed to be 5 miles in length, & some places, 2 miles in breadth. Here we had to camp on account of the great multitude of corn. I am to inform you that the North Army had took this town before, and had killed 2 Indians, & had captivated 2; but had not destroyed the corn or houses, leaving that for us. All this they did without the loss of a man, except one who was shot one night gathering potatoes. He was shot dead on the ground, and one wounded in the arm; for the Indians take all such opportunities to kill & destroy by lurking by creeks & thickets, and shooting when no one thinks of it. For instance of this I am to relate in the following day's journal. We camped in this town, as I informed you, called Chowwee—our day's march about eleven miles and camped by the River Highwassee.<sup>58</sup>

**Saturday the 28<sup>th</sup> Sept:** In the morning we set out through the cornfields in search of some potatoes & hogs that is to say, William Armstrong<sup>59</sup> & William Armer,<sup>60</sup> William Davis<sup>61</sup> & Alex. Gilaspey<sup>62</sup> and myself. We set out together out of our company; we marched together about one mile & 1/2; and the aforesaid Wm Armer & Wm Armstrong leaving us, and went yet farther until they came to another town called Casquithehah, and meeting with William Hanna<sup>63</sup> & Samuel Moore,<sup>64</sup> they went together, and in crossing a creek that runs through the said town, being surrounded by thickets, & distant from our camps about 2 miles, the Indians fired on them, and raising the war hollow, set after them, but the aforesaid Hanna & Moore escaped, leaving the other poor boys as a prey to the Heathens—a couple of good soldiers, but overcome by numerous enemies, for Wm Armstrong was shot in the arm, yet he turned & shot, but immediately he was shot with six bullets in the body, & scalped. William Armer being behind was shot through the body & became a prey to his enemies also, & scalped. A couple of clever young men, gay, gallant & virtuous; also afraid of no enemies. I must mind also another of their company, the young man named John Grems,<sup>65</sup> who was a riding & shot at and deadly wounded through, that is to say from haunch to haunch, his horse shot also, yet the horse carried him out of their reach, which hindered them of getting his scalp. The camps not being apprised of this affair until the aforesaid Hanna & Moore came in riding—a merciful escape, for the Indians were all around them & especially between them & the camps; but through mercy they escaped, alarming the camps who followed them with a company of light Horse, but in vain. They could not overtake them, for there was great mountains on all sides, so that they cleared themselves. We next joined to cutting of corn and burning of houses, after burying our dead. The quantity of corn that is contained in these two towns is not easily comprehended; but to our judgment there are better than 9 hundred acres in this town on the waters of Highwassee. We made ready to march & started, putting our wounded men on a bier. We marched about two miles to a town called Theatugdueah, & camped by the aforesaid river—our day's march about 2 miles.<sup>66</sup>

**Sunday the 29<sup>th</sup>:** This morning had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian Minister belong[ing] to the North Army. Where Brigadier General Rutherford delivered to us seventeen prisoners, that is to [say] first Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Mathew McMachMakess, Pritchard Katchief, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, Alexander Sannon, Hick's squaw named Peg, Scot's wife & child, one squaw & two children, one Indian fellow called by Barking Dog, Charlie Hicks, one old squaw. About 2 o'clock in the morning our wounded man died, suffering desperate pain. Then about 7 o'clock we started to march, and crossed the River Highwasse, and on to another town called Nacuchey, here we camped being convenient on account of corn—our day's march about 14 miles & camped.

**Monday the 30<sup>th</sup>:** We prepared to march. Our line of battle was ordered as follows: Col. Sumpter commander of the right wing; Col. Hammond<sup>67</sup> commander of the left wing, and Col. Neel commander of the front, & General Williamson commander of the whole. Our orders when attacked was for the two wings, that is to say right & left, to surround the enemies, us to fight our way in the front. These orders we obeyed, & marched as careful as possible, sending out flank guards on the mountains, allowing we should meet with an engagement at the head of Highwassee waters, on account of the Narrows thereat, and the mountain on each side, but with courage & great resolution striving to have satisfaction, or die in the attempt, for our lost brothers and friends. We marched to the head of said Narrows and waters, but finding no enemies there, it grieved us that we should not have an engagement to get satisfaction of them Heathens, for the great slavery and hardships they put us to, & more particularly the loss of so many gallant men. We marched over the top of said Mountain and came to the waters of the Great Oconie and branch called Oakemulay that runs into the River Saint Mary's above Agusteen. Down this we marched, crossing it above 20 times. At length we came to a town called Chote, a large town, also containing upwards of one hundred & ten houses, and of great bounds, confined under corn—more than I can comprehend. This town is in the Creek Indian line, lying on the waters that run through the Creek town, but given to the Cherokee Indians some time ago by the Creeks. Here we camped—our day's march about 17 miles, and camped by the said River Oakemulay.<sup>68</sup>

**Tuesday the first day of October:** Our general ordered a party of Light Horse to go to another town, called Frogtown, distant 16 miles, and the remainder to cut corn [&] destroy vegetables during the interim. This being performed, we or they started, but being informed by the pilot that they were too weak to attack that town, being a town of rendezvous between the Creek & Cherokee Nations. This information being delivered occasioned the undertakers to retreat, or otherwise come back to the camps to get a reinforcement of men. By this time night coming on, we all camped here in order to prepare for the next day's orders, which were as follows:<sup>69</sup>

**Wednesday the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of October:** Our orders was to raise 300 men & horses [&] go to the aforesaid Frogtown. These orders being obeyed, they marched until them came to the town, but finding it contrary to the representations given them by the pilot, they staid but a short time, finding no corn to cut, nor houses to burn, save one or two. After this discovery, they returned, & arrived at camp about eleven o'clock at night, it being distant about 16 miles, lying on the waters of the Great Oconie River, on a creek called Anuetucky-Watich, in the Creek Indian's line. After their return, we all camped near at the town Chote.

**Thursday, 3<sup>rd</sup> day of October:** We was ordered to march to another town, called Little Chote, distant about 2 miles, lying on the aforesaid Oconie River. Here we marched to with speed, & engaged the cutting of corn & destroying all things that might tend to the good or advantage of the Heathen enemies. Here we camped on account of the multitude of corn, potatoes, peas & beans. This town contained a great number of houses, to the number of about 50 or 60, and a large



bounds of corn to the number of 200 acres. Here we camped till further orders.

**Friday, the 4<sup>th</sup>:** We marched over Natanchee River. After 12 miles march, and came to Socoe Old Town, & crossed the river of the same name, our course being Eastward. This day Mr. Mark Kent being, by misfortune of his horse falling, got in the rear, says he was fired on by one Indian, & lost 80 lbs of flour, making his escape. This day there was one of our prisoners [was] released: that is to say, Col. Williamson gave orders for a horse to be given to an old squaw, and further he gave her leave to go to her own people on account of her loyalty in piloting us, & in giving us such true intelligence concerning them. She informed us, that the Indians of the Valleys had no notion of war, but the Over Hills came to them & encouraged them, after they had a wampum belt provided in order to send to us for peace. These & several such accounts this squaw gave us, which we found to be the truth. After this or her examination, the Col. ordered her to go home, telling her that he would have warriors all along the Indian line, and further that they would talk with them, that is the Indians; and likewise that we was ready to fight them any time, Likewise how we had above 5 battles with them, & defeated them all times, and likewise that he would continue destroying them while there was one of them. After telling her this, he ordered her off home. After this, [we] started homeward and marched, as I informed you in the beginning, and camped—our day's march 10 miles.

**Saturday the 5<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched Eastward—our intent was for Seneca Fort; after 12 miles march we came to Tugaloo River, and crossed the same at Estatoee Town; at 17 miles march more crossed Tugo River at a very dangerous and rocky ford, by which means many of our baggage horses fell in and wet the plunder they carried, so that many of us was that night confined to wet blankets. We encamped by the bank of said river and camped.

**Sunday, 6<sup>th</sup>:** We marched Eastward. At 4 miles distance, [we] crossed a small branch—from thence about 10 miles came to a small river; 2 miles from the said river we encamped this day. As I was in the front, I met Mr. Harrison, the express from Seneca, and gave no intelligence further but the following: That is that the Indians had made no incursion on the settlements, only on the 16<sup>th</sup> of Sept. last, the body of Temperance Langston was found lying dead and scalped, lying between the forks of Rocky & Savannah Rivers.

**Monday the 7<sup>th</sup>:** Started and marched to Seneca Fort & camped—march about 3 miles.

**Tuesday the 8<sup>th</sup> of Sept. [sic, Oct.] 1776:** We started to march homeward, after discharged, that is to say, Col. Thomas' regiment & ours. We started and marched along the road. We went out and came along by the Branch. We lost our horses at going out over these branches; we came and on to another branch, distant 2 miles from the said branch & camped—our day's march about 33 miles, and camped.

**Wednesday the 9<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched along to Davis's on Reedy River—from thence to Hight's; and marched from thence to the South Fork of Tyger, and continued our march to the Middle Fork of the said river from thence to a small branch of the above said waters, and encamped by said branch—a day's march of about 29 miles.

**Thursday, 10<sup>th</sup> day of October:** We started & marched over the North Fork of Tyger, thence to Prince's Fork, and on to Wofford's Fort on Lawson's Fork; from thence to Pacolet River, and on to within 4 miles of Goudilock's and camped—a day's march of about 34 miles.

**Friday the 11<sup>th</sup>:** We started and marched along to Gilkey's Creek, from thence to Broad River, crossing at Smith's Ford; from thence to David Watson's, and on home to Allison's Creek.

## Towns

**Over Hill towns on the River Highawassa:** 1-First Highawassa; 2-Tiliqua; 3-Eqinsticonsee; 4-Sategoet; 5-Sililwee; 6-Talasse; 7-Chote; 8-Tinnissey; 9-Toco; 10-Kastegheh; 11-Taliquoeah; 12-Hamelecoheh; 13-Wayohheh; and 14-Thalululeah.

**A list of the names of the Towns in the Middle Settlements on the river Watago:** 1-Anucaca, the chief; 2-Thesinteah; 3-Canuchleh; 4-Nowweah; 5-Leaheadseath; 6-Watago; 7-Esocah; 8-Cowwee; 9-Thecaleackah; 10-Yesoke; 11-Tocreege; and 12-Cheehohhet.

**Valley Towns on the Timossey River:** 1-Tholulewah; 2-Tamossee; 3-Nowesee; 4-Telica; 5-Canasty; 6-Sanuseah; 7-Cooksahoh; 8-Nottalay; 9-Couonak; 10-Highwassa; 11-Ecoheh; 12-Cusataluheh; 13-Itseheh; 14-Choweh; 15-Thasquittheheh; 16-Coostugesueh; 17-Chote; 18-Nacuche; and 19-Frogtown.

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<sup>1</sup> That the Whigs felt threatened by the Cherokee is amply demonstrated by the hysterically overstated communication dated July 14, 1776, sent by General Griffith Rutherford to the North Carolina Council of Safety as follows:

I am under the necessity of sending you by express the alarming condition this country is in. The Indians are making great progress in destroying & murdering in the frontiers of this country. Thirty-seven, I am informed, were killed last Wednesday and Thursday, on the Catawba River. I am also informed that Col. McDowell [with] 10 men more & 120 women and children are besieged in some kind of fort, & the Indians round them, no help to them before yesterday, & they were surrounded on Wednesday. I expect to hear [in] the next account that they are all destroyed. Col. Backman's is the frontier of this country. Pray Gentlemen, consider our distress, send us plenty of powder & I hope under God, we of [the] Salisbury District will be able to stand them, but, if you allow us to go to the [Cherokee] Nation, I expect, you will order [the] Hillsborough District to join Salisbury. Three of our captains are killed & one wounded. This day I set out with what men I can raise for the relief of the distressed. (Spelling and punctuation modified for clarity of meaning and readability)(William L. Saunders et al, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 30 vols. (Raleigh, 1886-1914), X, 669.)

<sup>2</sup> William Christian (1743-1786) had been awarded a colonelcy in the Continental Army in March 1776, but resigned that commission in July 1776 to assume command of the Virginia militia in its expedition against the Over Hill Cherokees. After the Revolution, he moved to Kentucky where he was killed on April 9, 1786 while leading a party against the Wabash Indians. See, J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton, "Revolutionary Diary of William Lenoir," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol., VI, No. 2 (May 1940), 250, fn. 6. (Hereinafter cited as Hamilton, "Lenoir Journal.")

<sup>3</sup> Griffith Rutherford (1731-c.1800) was commissioned as a brigadier general of the North Carolina state troops on June 26, 1776. He participated not only in the 1776 Cherokee Expedition but also in the battles at Ramseur's Mill and Camden. Wounded and captured at the latter engagement, he was held as a prisoner in Charleston and St. Augustine until November 1781 when he was exchanged and returned to the field to command the North Carolina forces at Wilmington. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1994), (hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*) 953.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Williamson (c. 1730-1786) was the commanding officer of the South Carolina backcountry militia from the inception of the war until the fall of Charleston on May 12, 1780. He led the South Carolina militia not only during the Cherokee Expedition in 1776 but also at Briar Creek, Stono Bridge and other engagements before taking parole in June 1780. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 1210. Early in the campaign, South Carolina's governor, John Rutledge, promoted Williamson to the rank of Colonel largely in an attempt to smooth the ruffled feathers of several militia colonels serving under Williamson's command on this campaign.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Clinton (c.1745-1780) resided on Crowders Creek and served as a captain in the regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Neel from the commencement of hostilities in 1775. Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983 (hereinafter cited as Moss, *SC Patriots*), 178.

<sup>6</sup> The transcription was made from the photocopy of the original in the collection of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, call number E.83.775.F3, in Columbia, South Carolina (the South Carolina Department of Archives and History is hereinafter referred to as the South Carolina Archives). The original is in the collections of the National Archives in Washington, D. C.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Moss in his roster of South Carolina patriots does not list any one by this exact name. He does list an "Arthur Faries" who he describes as having served as a private and lieutenant from June 1780 to May 1781 under Capt. Howe and Col. Thomas Brandon. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 302. Moss also lists an "Arthur Faris" who he describes as having enlisted in the Sixth Regiment in March 1776. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 303. Moss cites the Fairies Journal as one of his sources for listing of men who served during the Revolution. Moss, *SC Patriots*, xvii.

<sup>8</sup> Doubt that the journal is the product of entries made contemporaneously with the events described also arises from the fact that the journal commences on the twenty-fifth page of a bound pocketbook in which some of the earlier pages contain descriptions of events that occurred well after the 1776 campaign. This leads to the conclusion that the journal was recorded on whatever paper happened to be available to the author. The entries on the pages preceding the beginning of the text of the journal range from an IOU signed by John Armstrong on October 24, 1785 on fourteenth page to a receipt for \$14 dated April 9, 1831 on eighteenth page of the manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> The journal was evidently attached to one of two claims filed in 1850. One pension application was filed by Joseph Clinton as the heir of Frances Clinton, the deceased widow of Captain Peter Clinton. This is pension application W9390. The copy of this application is very difficult to read. The other possibility is the claim for a pension filed by Thomas Davis on behalf of himself and his siblings as the heirs of their mother, Martha Davis. This is pension application W8653. Martha Davis was the widow of Captain William Davis, one of the men named in the journal as serving in the company of Captain Peter Clinton. The pension application is supported by an affidavit from Joseph Clinton, the son of Captain Peter Clinton. Joseph states in his affidavit that the William Davis, husband of Martha, is identical to the William Davis "whose name appears in the Journal of his father Captain Peter Clinton's service in the Indian Campaign." This statement, coupled with correspondence from Daniel Wallace, one of South Carolina's Congressmen, in which he makes reference to the journal having been filed with a pension application received and endorsed by him in 1850, presents strong evidence that the journal was filed with either the Clinton application or the Davis application.

<sup>10</sup> Watson was the pastor of the Bethel Presbyterian Church in Clover, South Carolina, at the time he published this article.

<sup>11</sup> There is at least one other journal covering the Cherokee Expedition. Then Lieutenant, later Major General, William Lenoir of the North Carolina militia kept a journal of his participation in the expedition under the command of then Maj. Benjamin Cleveland and Gen. Rutherford. Lenoir's journal has been published by Hamilton, "Lenoir Journal" as cited in endnote 2 above. In addition, Lenoir wrote an unpublished account of the expedition in June 1835. This account can be found the Manuscripts Department, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Lenoir Family Papers, No. 426, Series 2 (Diaries and other writings, 1776-1839), Folder 239. Lenoir was born in 1751 in Virginia and died in 1839 in North Carolina after having served that state in a number of public service offices including being the first president of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina.

<sup>12</sup> *Yorkville Miscellany*, Saturday, June 15, 1850. A copy of this can be found in the Lyman Copeland Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Sumter Papers, 3VV162-175 (the Draper collection is hereinafter referred to as the *Draper Manuscripts*). No copy of the actual pamphlet cited by Watson has been found by me. My best guess is that the Archives' Version was prepared first and later used by the same author to embellish the account of the Expedition, thereby resulting in the Watson Version. If anyone owns or has seen the pamphlet containing the Watson Version, I would appreciate hearing from them.

<sup>13</sup> There appear to be several years written and scratched out by the author.

<sup>14</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**July the eighth day, being Monday**, we assembled at Captain Peter Clinton's, in the province of South Carolina and on or by the waters of Ellison's creek, to engage the Indians on account of the insurrections they made on the white inhabitants, killing and plundering all they come to. This express occasioned us to rise to stop them in their present undertaking. Being commanded by Colonel Neel, and under Captain Clinton, we started, and marched to William Hall's, and encamped after a day's march of about fourteen miles.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Neel (1730-1779) was the commanding officer of a regiment of South Carolina militia formed in the "New Acquisition" (the area acquired from North Carolina just below Charlotte). Moss, *SC Patriots*, 719.

<sup>16</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Tuesday, the ninth day of July, 1776**, we marched over Broad River, about two miles, and meeting a party of our men, it gave us fresh fortitude in the pursuing of our heathen enemies. We encamped here after a day's march of about eighteen miles.

<sup>17</sup> Wofford's Iron Works was located on Lawson's Creek in present day Glendale community in Spartanburg County, South Carolina, near where State Road 33 crosses the creek. The Iron Works was the site of a battle fought on August 8, 1780. It was later burned by Loyalist Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham in November 1781.

<sup>18</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**[Thursday, the eleventh]** We continued our march next day, fifteen miles to one Mr. Walford's fort, on Lawson's fork, hearing that the Indians had persisted as far as Prince's fort, on Tiga, and killing and plundering all before them, hurried us on in our march to the aforesaid fort, where we arrived Friday, the twelfth instant.

<sup>19</sup> Prince's Fort was located just off of State Road 129 northeast of present day Wellford community in Spartanburg County. The DAR erected a monument there that reads: "Site of Fort Prince. Built by the

early settlers as a place of refuge during the Indian Wars 1756-1761. Occupied by the Whigs from Nov. 22, 1776 to March 17, 1777. The British under the command of Col. Alexander Innes were driven from the Fort by the Americans under Col. Edward Hampton, July 16, 1780. Amor Patriae. D. A. R."

<sup>20</sup> John Thomas, Sr. (1720-c - 1811) was the commander of the Spartan Regiment of militia during 1775 and 1776. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 925.

<sup>21</sup> A name given to white Tories who dressed up like Indians when attacking patriot fortifications in the hope of deflecting their neighbors' animosity away from themselves and onto the Cherokees who constituted a constant threat to the frontier settlers prior to and throughout the period of the Revolutionary War. The name derived from Joseph Scoffel, a Tory, who was active in the loyalist cause from an early period of the war. For an excellent discussion of the "Scoffel Lights," see, Rachel N. Klein, "Frontier Planters and the American Revolution: The South Carolina Backcountry, 1775-1782," in Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and Peter J. Albert, eds., *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution*, (Charlottesville: United States Capitol Historical Society by The University Press of Virginia, 1985), 37-69.

<sup>22</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**[Monday, the fifteenth]** We encamped on a hill all night, in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning, but, contrary to our expectations, we found no Indians there, for they had left that place, and had embodied themselves together and marched to another fort called Lindly's fort, being assisted by or with a number of white men, in order to destroy the same; but by the conduct and valor of the inhabitants of the fort, the designs of the heathen enemy were frustrated, being forced to retreat after a smart firing from both sides. After a retreat of these heathens, the battle ended with little or no slaughter on either side, save some few wounded. We will next return to Perris's, and let you know that we took his wife and daughters, and, in short, all his family, as likewise some Tories that harbored there; so taking all prisoners, and committing his houses to the flames, we took his effects, as free plunder, driving cows, steers and horses, and brought all to our camp at Prince's fort, distant twenty-five miles. When we arrived, we saw a man that had gone that night to a mill, about six miles off, with a wagon for provisions, who intended to return that night; so as he was returning, within two miles of the fort, and riding a horse across the creek, not thinking of danger, on a sudden there was an Indian within two rods of him, and to his surprise fired at him, and shot him through the thick of the thigh, and the horse scaring, threw him down. The Indian immediately made to him, but to save himself he jumped into the creek; then rushed forth another Indian with his gun ready to fire, which made the poor water-prisoner expect nothing but death. But to be short, he fired at him, and the bullet took him below the shoulder and out by the left breast. By this last shot the poor helpless white man fell back into the water. The Indian seeing this, drew his tomahawk and made to him, thinking to have sunk it into his brains; but, contrary to his expectations, the wounded man snatched it out of his hand, and made to the Indian, who retreated with the halloo of "hoboy, hoboy." When the white man saw this, he made his best way back to the mill, knowing that the Indians were between him and the fort, and got some men mill to conduct him back to the fort. This was remarkable deliverance that one man could escape from four Indians, well armed, as says the beholder. This aforesaid man is of the name of Reed, a man of superior dignity, courage and flexibility, which appears by his valor during his escape from the Indians. I am next to inform you, that we began to vendue the aforesaid plunder on the sixteenth, and continued till the eighteenth instant, and, by a vulgar guess, amounted to seven

thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency.

<sup>23</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Friday, the twenty-first day of July, 1776**, our next orders was to make to our enemies. So we started with a silent and secure march, being determined to rout and scatter them if possible. We continued our course to one Hight's and seeing there what slaughter was made by our heathen enemies, by killing and scalping all they met with; this sight seemed terrifying, to see our fellow creatures lying dead and massacred in such a manner, as hindered us almost from interring or burying them, their effects being destroyed, their houses lying in ashes; this, with all other of their actions, occasioned us to vow revenge or die in the attempt.—So we continued in the pursuit of revenge, and marched on to Perris's place; beholding with satisfaction the ruins of the same, we lay here encamped till Thursday, the third day of August.—Then, Friday, the fourth, we marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a round hill.

<sup>24</sup> This is probably a reference to the homestead of Jacob Hite. The killing of Hite and other members of his family along with the kidnapping of his wife and two daughters by a small band of renegade Cherokees was used by the Whigs to justify their attack on the Cherokees.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Pearis was a Tory militia leader and very substantial landowner in the portion of South Carolina now in Greenville County. His homestead was near the Reedy River Falls.

<sup>26</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Saturday, the fifth**, our orders were to form ourselves in a hollow square, with the wagons around us. Then there was a party appointed to stay with the wagons and baggage, as guards, while the rest of us marched to our enemy's towns. We continued our course to Streke, an Indian town, called Estatoe. When within two miles of the same, we parted in divisions as follows: Colonel Thomas ordered his men to the right flank to surround our enemy's towns, and light horse of both regiments to the left, and us, to Colonel Neel's regiment, in the front or center.—We marched very carefully till coming within sight of the town, then rushed in with all speed possible, but, contrary to our expectation or desire, we got no Indians there, save one that escaped with being shot in his thigh. After this we set the houses on fire, and marched as quick as possible to another town called Qualhatchee; and our enemies having left that also, we committed it to the flames, and started with rather running than marching to another town called Taxaway. And the inhabitants thereof being deserted, we stayed there but a short time, and left it on fire to warm themselves by at their return. We well remember this also, that while we marched to the aforesaid town, a few of our men detained in this Qualhatchee town, gathering peaches, and roasting ears, being tired with traveling, they laid themselves down to rest, and the enemy, who always watches such opportunities, coming close to two of our aforesaid men, fired at them, and shot one of them through the thigh. This shot coming so unexpectedly, set the men in great surprise; for no assistance being nigh, they expected nothing but death. But making the best speed they could up a neighboring mountain, being tired with running, and the wounded man almost ready to faint, they halted to rest themselves; and casting their eyes towards the ground that they left, they espied about sixteen Indians there, looking as earnestly for blood as a hunter after his game. After this discovery, they started to our baggage guard, and got safe there. By this time we came up, wishing for such game, but finding none we made to our wagons, and arrived about sunset, being distant about nine miles.

<sup>27</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:



**Sunday, the sixth of August,** we started, wagons and all, and marched to our aforesaid towns again, to help them off with some of their crops and vegetables, of which they were very well stored, far beyond our conception. But to be short, we persisted in that undertaking as far as the furthestmost of the aforesaid towns. After these performances, we were yet ordered to continue, and marched down Savannah river to Sugartown, in order to meet General Williamson there, according to his own appointment. When we arrived, we found the town destroyed, and them gone. We set out after them, down the aforesaid water, to another town called Keewee, where we met with a party of the aforesaid General's regiment, whilst the other party was hunting for towns, camps, or any other place of harboring for or of our enemy.

<sup>28</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Thursday, the eighth,** we started in our turn, scouting the Cane Brakes that was confined by the aforesaid Savannah river, and continued to Taxaway, where we routed a camp of Indians in the said town. In discovering us they all fled, save one sturdy fellow, who allowing himself to fight some, but being prevented of his design, was forced to surrender up his camp, and worse for him, his life also, with doing no other execution than wounding one of our men through the side of his belly. Then we had to leave two companies of our men with the wounded man, and the rest of us continued hunting for more of such game, and came along the said Savannah river to a town called Chittitogo, where we started some more of our foresters, and killed one squaw, and captivated a squaw and two negroes, and got information from the captives of an Indian camp up in the mountain, where was confined old Mrs. Hite and her two daughters, whom they took prisoners, when they killed the remainder of the family. They likewise informed us, that there were three hundred warriors started to Keewee, and were determined that there was a body of them yet guarding the camps.—This information put us to a stand, whether it would be expedient to return, or advance to relieve the poor prisoners; after a long consultation, it was concluded by our good Colonel Neel to pursue our enemies, which we willingly complied to, and started with a small body of men; for Colonel Thomas was ordered by him to go back to camp. But to proceed, we marched over mountains very difficult to climb, but allowing not to be conquered, we crossed them with some difficulty, and persisted as far as a mountain within three miles of the camp. Being to our view unclimbable we ascended partly to the top of the same, and making our best speed up were halted by a shot of a gun, which came from our enemies, who were screened by blinds made with broken limbs of trees; and no sooner we stopped, but they fired about fourteen guns, killed one horse and wounded another. We received no more damage, but spread round the mountain to surround them; but they cleared themselves, night coming on. We had to encamp here all night upon this mountain.

<sup>29</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**So on Friday, the ninth,** we started about daylight, and marched down to their camp. But they were all fled, and had carried Mrs. Hight about one hundred yards from their camp, and had killed her there, leaving her on her face, naked. After burying her, we ransacked the camps, getting some plunder, they not having time to carry all off.—So started back to Keewee to our camps, and lay there till an express arrived from General Williamson's scouting party, which gave the following intelligence, to wit: That on the twelfth instant, General Williamson came to Towmossy, where he saw signs of Indians very fresh—Detached Captain Perkins [sic, Andrew Pickens] and Captain Anderson [Robert Anderson] with sixty men to reconnoiter or track the enemy; likewise Major Downs [Jonathan Downs] went out with twenty men, Captain Anderson with twenty-five, parted from Captain Perkins, and crossed a creek. Soon after Captain Perkins and his thirty-five

men saw two Indians, and fired at them. The Indians instantly set up the war whoop and ran. The party followed, and was quickly met by a party of the enemy, supposed to be between two and three hundred, who engaged them very furiously, when Major Downs fortunately came up in the rear, and Anderson falling on the back of the enemy. To the right the firing was heard at the town, when Williamson turned out with one hundred and fifty men, who coming close on the back of the enemy, made them quickly give way. The furthestmost of their party being almost surrounded, and were entirely cut off, sixteen were found dead in the valley where the battle ended. These our men scalped, but did not look any further: it being now near sunset, they were called off by beat of a drum. We had two killed and sixteen wounded: three of the latter died next day, of whom was Captain Neel [Thomas Neel, Jr.] and Captain Lacy [Edward Lacey], a couple of brave officers and good men. So close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other, when the cracker had his thumbs instantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried, "Canaly," "Enough" in English; "Damn you," says the white man, "you can never have enough while you are alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains. It would have been fun if he had let the latter action alone, and sent him home without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated. I am next to inform you that our provision being out, we concluded to return for a fresh supply of the same, and steered homewards with but one day's allowance.—Marched eastward, crossed Six Mile Creek—next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek; from thence to Reedy River; the next waters were Lawson's Fork; so continued to Pacolet; next to Tiga River; next marched to Broad River; so continued our course home; and the number of miles that we marched from Keewee was one hundred and seventy-three miles, traveling the chief of the same on the one day's allowance; yet for all that slavery and hardship it did not deter nor daunt us from trying it again, for as soon as we got a supply of provisions, we all assembled at our noble Captain's again, the day appointed, voluntarily, to go and destroy all opposing enemies, and to pursue the Indians as far as mountains and roads admitted of.

<sup>30</sup> Col. Thomas Fletchall (1725-1789) was a prominent Tory and militia commander who lived in the Fairforest Creek area of what is now Union County, South Carolina.

<sup>31</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Saturday, the twenty-fourth,** we started from camp, and marched to Mr. Smith's, at Broad River, distant about nineteen miles. This night we received an account that Major Robinson had made his escape, being some time ago confined on account of his misbehavior; after this account, Colonel Neel ordered off Captain Andrew Neel to the aforesaid Robinson's habitation, where they found none but his wife, whom they mislisted [mistreated?] not, but committed his effects to the flames. After this they returned to our camps.

<sup>32</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Sunday, the twenty-fifth,** we started, to march by order, to Sinacha Fort, where we were to meet General Williamson, our head commander, which orders we obeyed, and marched to Mr. Gondelock's meeting, nothing material happening, distant twenty miles. So we continued from thence to Waford's fort, on Lawson fork, finding nothing worth our relating, distant twenty-one miles. From thence we steered our course to Tiga River, and made the best of our way to Prince's fort, on the aforesaid waters. From thence to one Varner's, a day's march of about twenty-three miles.

<sup>33</sup> The Watson Version has "Perris's" [sic, Pearis] instead of Davis'.

<sup>34</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Friday, the thirtieth**, in the morning, a little after the wagoners started to hunt their horses, our camps were surprised by a negro of Captain Ross's, who had lately arrived from hunting, who gave us the following relation: viz: That after hunting for his horses some time, he finding them by a thicket, distant from camp about one mile, and when mounting on one of them, there was a shot fired from the thickets, and he casting his eyes about, perceived a sturdy Indian rushing out therefrom and making to him, who, when he perceived, trusting to his horse for safety, set off with all speed possible, and kept his distance pretty well for about one hundred yards; but, on a sudden, the horse fell dead, occasioned by the aforesaid shot; which, when the Indian perceived, increased his pace, thinking to have had a negro to wait on him. But contrary to his expectation, the boy being supple and unwilling to have an Indian for his master, he cleared himself, and came to the camps. After this account, we instantly started in the pursuit of them, though all in vain, for we could not find them. So they cleared themselves, and took with them nine horses, and shot at another horse hunter, but he happily escaped, with having his horse shot in the rump. So close was the Indian to him that the smoke and powder lashed against him, but he fortunately escaped. After these surprises, we started and marched across the Ninety-six road, so on that course about two miles, encamped, after a day's march of about sixteen miles. This night came a man to our camp, who gave the following account of his adventures, to wit: That he was at Senica Fort, with General Williamson, and being so necessitated that he had to go home, and missing his road, happened on an Indian town called Soquani, and alighted off his horse to gather peaches or such like; and being some distance off his horse, casting his eyes round towards him, espied Indians coming to him, when he made the best of his way to our camps. This information being delivered, our Colonel ordered forty-two light horsemen to go to the aforesaid Soquani town, it being all we could raise; so they steered to the town, and coming into the same, they found the aforesaid man's horse tied where he left him; and searching further, they found four Indian horses—a small restitution for upwards of nine they took from us before. After this, we started, and marched down to Senica Fort, where we met or found General Williamson and regiment, and encamped.

<sup>35</sup> Catawba Indians.

<sup>36</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Sunday, the first day of September**, there was a company of light horse scouts raised, and taking the Cotappo Indians with them, they being entire foes to the Cherokees, they marched along through Sugartown, likewise through Taxaway, and coming upon some fresh signs of their enemies, one of the Cotappo's being detached to track the enemy, and made out the sign as far as their camps, confined in a hallow. After this reconnoiter of the Indian, he returned to the white men, and informed them as follows: That there was a great many of them, too numerous for our white men that were there. This information occasioned them to send down an express to Sinache, our camps, for a reinforcement of men and some more provision. This being delivered, we started as quick as possible to their assistance very securely; but they not having patience to wait for our arrival, and doubting that the enemy would not stay long there, they attacked the camps; but being deceived by the situation of the same, they attacked the wrong end, and gave them a clear passage to run—as they did the first shot. The Cotappos being in the front, espied a Cherokee coming out of one of their houses, and being so confounded by the surprise, ran the wrong road for him, for instead of clearing himself, as the rest of his countrymen did, he made right in the face of our

Indians, who, willing to see such a chance, embraced the opportunity, and committed him to the terrors of death. After the departure of those cowards, the Cotappos searched next for plunder, and got a great parcel of beads, wampum, garters, and deerskins, and likewise some horses; and in getting this booty were vastly encouraged; but as they were returning with their prize, and ascending up a hill, some small distance from their camps, the Cherokees waylaid the Cotappos, and being unperceived by being behind trees, fired at them, and killed one of the head warriors among them, he who first discovered their camps. Our men instantly rushed up; but as soon as our enemies fired, they ran so that they cleared themselves. After this they started down to Taxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement; and having nothing more to do there, we all marched back to Senica Fort, and arrived Thursday the third (sic, the 5<sup>th</sup>), and lay there waiting for Colonel Sumpter and regiment, before we could start to the Middle Settlements, being too scare for ammunition; so lay encamped till Thursday, the twelfth instant, when arrived two hundred and seventy men of Colonel Sumpter's, who encamped.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Sumter, 1734-1832, was a lieutenant colonel in the 2<sup>nd</sup> (later, 6<sup>th</sup>) Rifle Regiment of South Carolina state troops in the spring and summer of 1776. He and his regiment were later transferred to the Continental Line. He resigned his commission as a Continental officer on September 19, 1778 and remained inactive until after the fall of Charleston in May 1780. He was promoted by Governor John Rutledge to the rank of Brigadier General in October 1780 and thereafter was the ranking officer of the South Carolina militia until the end of the war. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 395.

<sup>38</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Friday, the thirteenth day of September 1776**, we started by beat of drum to march; our intent was for the Middle Settlements, a habitation for Indians. We, or our lines of battle, were ordered as follows: We were drawn up in three lines of wings, Colonel Sumpter commander of the right wing, Colonel Hammon commander of the left wing and Colonel Neel commander of the front or center. In this manner we marched to the waters of Cane Creek, and encamped after a day's march of about eight miles.

<sup>39</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Tuesday, the seventeenth of September**, we started as formerly, and marched to the waters of Tennesy River; from thence to the Grassy Plains, and on to the Narrows made by the mountains on one side, and Tennesy River on the other, where we expected to have an engagement with our enemies, being so advantageous for them, being the spot where they repulsed General Grant the last war, with killing upwards of fifty men, a great many horses, and lost a vast deal of provision; so much that a great many suffered before they returned. But to be short: we came through these narrows with great courage, and continued our march to the first town in the Middle Settlements, called Thisintheagh, and finding the Indians all had fled, we encamped in this town, it being convenient on account of houseroom. Here we stopped till further orders, which soon came;

<sup>40</sup> This is a reference to the North Carolina troops under the command of Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford.

<sup>41</sup> Frank Ross served as a captain in Col. Thomas Neel's regiment. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 831.

<sup>42</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 930.

<sup>43</sup> William Patrick served as an officer in the militia in 1776 through 1782. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 756.

<sup>44</sup> This may be James Simril who is listed in Moss, *SC Patriots*, 866, as having served under Capt. John Anderson and Col. Thomas Neel.

<sup>45</sup> No one with this or any similar name was found listed in Moss, *SC Patriots*.

<sup>46</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 699.

<sup>47</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 135.

<sup>48</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 95.

<sup>49</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 587.

<sup>50</sup> Probably someone named Lynch. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 588.

<sup>51</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Thursday, the nineteenth day of September, 1776**, we started to the vallies, and a most difficult road it was, marching along Tinnessy River or branch, called Cowechee; the path or road we marched led us into a long valley, or rather a hollow, surrounded by mountains on all sides, only the entrance. This place goes by the name of Black Hole, and well it deserves that title. But to proceed: on our entering, our front guard, commanded by Captain Ross, was about half through these narrows, and seeing some very fresh signs of Indians, had a mind to halt, until the two wings, that is, Colonel Sumpter and Colonel Hammon's would come up even with him; but they being tedious, the passage being narrow and difficult, and he being hurried by one John Sentspeers, who was hurrying fast to his aid, as appears by his conduct. But to be as short as possible: as I informed you, the aforesaid Captain, being about half through these narrows, the enemy was all ambuscaded around us, and not being discovered until Captain Hampton, who was Captain of the main guard, and marched on the front of the right wing, had ascended up the mountain, when he espied Indians behind a tree. After this discovery he instantly fired at them. This alarm opened or rather emptied our enemy's guns. To our surprise they poured down their bullets upon us beyond the standing of any common soldiers; but we being resolute, were determined not to be conquered, which plainly appears by our valor and magnanimity, our noble Colonel Neel being partly in the front, fought most admirably, considering his age and frailty; but casting these infirmities away, and putting on the coat of invincibleness, and rushing through his enemies like a Hercules or one fearless of danger, with his men at his back, determined to fight while there was one of them; and by our obedience to his orders we, through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of thirteen gallant men. A merciful escape, considering the wonderful form those heathens were placed in; likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest and indeed almost all the killed and wounded were in Colonel Neel's regiment, on account of our being in front of the battle. The engagement may be spoken of as a miracle, considering the multitudes of enemies, and an admirable place they had to fire on us, that we were not almost all killed; for nature never formed such an advantageous place for our enemies, which was allowed of by all spectators. This mountain is of a hemispherical form, and had to march over the center of the same, where our enemies had us partly under their fire before they were discovered. This battle continued the space of two hours very warm. But according to our orders, which was as follows: the first fire, or line (that is Colonel Neel's regiment) was ordered to the right, to assist the guard who was first attacked; and leaving our line, according to order, and none to fill up our place, the poor front guard was left amongst their heathen enemies, with none to assist them, so that them that could not get retreating died by the hand of the enemy; for Colonel Sumpter was ordered with his regiment to a mountain to the right, distant almost a mile; the chief design of that, I suppose, was to hinder our enemies from coming round on our baggage and provisions, which orders they executed very manfully; but as for Colonel Hammon's regiment, I cannot give

any account of their orders, as I had not an opportunity of seeing them; the line however that they ought to have cleared of our enemies was the left, which kept up a constant and hot fire against us; but by risking and running upon them, cleared them off their mountain, which seemed an impossibility to do, considering the advantage they had on us, on account of the situation of the mountain they were on, and likewise the grass being so admirably long, that they always had the first shot; and also the mountain being so steep, that they could handily clear themselves, so that we had, to appearance, but little chance with them. One thing, we pretty soon cleared them off their mountain; for there was no other way to conquer them than the method we took, which was to run right upon them as hard as we could run; for it would have been next to vanity to stand and fight them. But to be short, we cleared them off their mountain, without giving them so much time as to take off all their luggage; for they left baggage of about two hundred of them, that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, matchcoats, deerskins, &c &c. I must here give a sketch of the conduct of some of Colonel Neel's men who were wounded and escaped, first of Captain Ross, who was in the front, was slightly wounded; the Indian that fires at him thought to have his scalp, and making to him, his head being down and bleeding, struck with the gun in his hand until the force of the stroke broke the butt thereof; but the Captain recovering, and acting like a gentleman becoming his station, with all the intrepidity that nature ever endowed a hero with of this age, soon overcame him and got his scalp. This aforesaid Captain ought to be extolled to the utmost for his wonderful conduct and patriotism, who is always acting for the good and advantage of his country; and none who is not bigoted up in enthusiasm, that is to say, heat of imagination. If we were here to applaud him according to his deserts, we should neither have room nor expression to accomplish the same. But to proceed: we will next take notice of a lieutenant that was that day in the front with him, named William Patrick, a man of distinction as well as property: he was in the midst of his enemies during the whole engagement, and showed all the valor and dexterity imaginable. Next our noble Captain Clinton, who ought to be in the front of our journal on account of his valor and elegance, being a gentleman of superior dignity and flexibility, his courage is unbounded, and his conduct inexpressible, as plainly appeared by the sudden retreat of these foresters, occasioned by the undaunted courage of such superior officers, and the assistance of their good soldiers; but more particularly by the hand of Providence that interposed in our behalf, we conquered our heathen enemies.— The number of Indians that fought us that day, by information, was six hundred; the number of them that was killed is not exactly known, but we found but four dead on the ground. We had to encamp here all night, on account of burying our dead and attending the sick and wounded: a most dreadful sight to behold our fellow creatures lying massacred in such a manner by the heathens; for there was three or four scalped and one sadly speared and tomahawked. His name was John Sentspeers, who, when the battle began, ran violently up among the thick of them; so that they had time and liberty to do with [him] whatsoever they wished. There was also killed Samuel Thompson, a young man of great courage and valor, likewise a man of conduct, and gained the good will and esteem of all that ever was acquainted with him; in short, he was of that evenness of temper, that all his acquaintance desired his company. If I had time and room to display his merits, or was really able to do so, it would make the most obdurate heart lament the loss of such a hero, to think that power or authority over such a good man. But why should I say so; who by appearance was in that assembly fitter to go and attend the call he was commissioned or summoned unto? It was allowed he was deceived, by thinking it was one of our own Indians, until the Cherokee shot him with two bullets in the body. There was likewise killed John Guyton, William Moore, James Caldwell, John Branne, James Lusk and one the name of Linch,



the remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground thirteen, and eighteen wounded; in all, killed and wounded, the number of thirty-one gallant and brave soldiers.

<sup>52</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Saturday, the twenty-first instant**, we continued our march as formerly, and as I have mentioned, of the day's march before, of the difficulties contained therein, I think this day will afford us little restitution therefor, only this, it seems something descending, we marched through laurel swamps and thickets, a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us, neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, occasioned by the narrowness of the path, being closed in by mountains on both sides; and, also the thickets of laurel so closed over our heads, that it hindered us, I might say, from the light of the firmament. It also hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched about five miles, and on a sudden the front espied an Indian squaw; at her they fired two guns, which put us all in an alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found to the contrary. Seeing no more Indians there, we sent up one Bremen, a half Indian, that was in [our] company, to ask her some questions; for although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows, viz: That all the Over Hill Indians, and the chief of the Indians of the towns we had gone through, were at that battle that was fought the day before; and further, that they were encamped about four miles ahead, and was preparing to give us battle by the river or waters of Tinnessy. Hearing this account we started, and the informer being unable to travel, some of our men favored her so far that they killed her there, to put her out of pain. But to proceed, we marched as quick as possible to the aforesaid waters, beholding, as we marched, the backs and forms they had to lay their guns on, in case of an engagement, as we conjectured; and by the appearance of the same, there, appeared to the great numbers of them, which gave us fresh assurance of our having another engagement with them, which we much wished, if we could get an equal chance with them in the ground, which is almost an impossibility to do, they having such opportunities of choosing it; and likewise, they will not stand a battle with any, but when they have such advantages. By this time we came within sight of the aforesaid river, which seemed the most advantageous place for our enemies of any water we had hitherto met with, being closed in by a thicket on one side and by a large mountain on the other; however, placing our men in order, as follows, we sent the left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountain, and us in the front or centre. These were the orders of our head commander, General Williamson, which we obeyed, and marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear, and encamped there, after a day's march of nine miles. We are to mind, that the number of men that marched from Sinachee Fort, that drew provisions were one thousand eight hundred and sixty, but the aforesaid battle reduced us to the number of one thousand six hundred, exclusive of one hundred and sixty-four who were sent back with the sick and wounded.

<sup>53</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Sunday, the twenty-second day of September, 1776**, we started, and it seemed as if we were never to get a road again that was travelable, for this day showed us the worst road we hitherto met with; the reason was, this day Colonel Neel's regiment was appointed for the right wing flank, which occasioned us to take to the tops of the mountains, which seemed a task hard enough for birds; but it was not a time then to hesitate; go we must, and go we did all with one consent, knowing that there was no danger or material affair to happen. Colonel Neel's regiment was all they depended upon in the execution of it, and it always happened that we came off fortunately and victorious, being crowned with fortitude capable to bring us through the greatest difficulties. So

we marched from one mountain to another, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to accomplish it, or for the most curious writer to describe. At length we came to a mountain more curious than the rest, because it gave us a more clearer view of the neighboring mountains, and a small valley or grassy plain. This we wished to be our desired port; the distance we could not give an exact account of. I have taken notice of this extraordinary mountain which was almost impassable, being nearly perpendicular. The next mountain that offered was named by us Slaty Hill, on account of its natural produce, abounding brightly with slates. Over this we came also, and arrived at the path where the army had to march, which was little inferior to ours, only not nigh so high, but abounding with laurel swamps and sideling thickets. After this manner we marched to the waters of Highwasee and encamped between two mountains, after a day's march of nine miles.

<sup>54</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Monday, the twenty-third**, we made ready to march. The orders from our General was, that there should be forty men chosen out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies, to discover the situation of the towns; so we set off, and always minded to take possession of all the hills and mountains we came to. We crossed a small mountain named Knotty Hill; from thence we steered to another, where we had a full view of a town called Burningtown, distant from us about one mile. So took to the right to surround it, and continued in that course about half way. By this time we espied the main body of our army marching into it. The front of the town we took, where we got peaceably, without shooting a gun, though a large town, having upwards of ninety houses, and large quantities of corn; but they had cleared themselves, and took with them the chief of all their effects, save some of their horses. A party of Colonel Thomas's regiment being on the hunt of plunder, or some such thing, found an Indian squaw and took her prisoner, she being lame, was unable to go with her friends; she was so sullen, that she would, as an old [?] is, neither lead nor drive, and, by their account, she died in their hands; but I suppose they helped her to her end. Here we encamped among the corn, where we had a great plenty of corn, peas, beans, potatoes and hogs. This day's march about three miles.

<sup>55</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of September, 1776**, we engaged our former labor, that is, cutting and destroying all things that might be of advantage to our enemies. Finding here curious buildings, great apple trees, and whiteman-like improvements, these we destroyed, and marched down said vallies to another town named Nowyouwee; this we destroyed, and all things thereunto belonging, distant two miles. From hence we started to another town called Tilicho, a brave plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid rarities; I may call them rarities; why so? because they are hemmed in on both sides by or with such large mountains, and likewise the settlements of the soil, yielding such abundance of increase, that we could not help conjecturing there was great multitudes of them; the smallest of these valley towns by our computation, exceeded two hundred acres of corn, besides crops of potatoes, peas and beans. These creatures are most curious in their way of building, according to their opportunity of instruction; they raise in each of their towns a large house, which they call a town, or in other terms, a Fowwoing-house; they raise it partly round, first by four large forks stuck in the ground upright, then from each of these forks there goes a beam to the other, which forms a frame, and by laths and other small pieces of timber, forms it a hollow square, and brings it to a tip much resembling our home-made barrack-sheds, covered with bark or grassy sods; the door or entrance is extremely narrow or straight, and when in, it is as dark as a dungeon, having no chimneys, windows, or any other hole wherein light might shine. We

allowed that in these houses they hold their idolatrous worship, it being all so tramped around, where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is mad some one way, and some another; some is mad with saplings stuck in the ground upright, then laths tide on these, with splits of cane or such like; so with daubing outside and in with mud nicely, they finish a close warm building. They have few or no chimneys and their fires in the middle of their houses. I am next to inform you that we marched to another town called Cannastion, and encamped; this day's march six miles.

<sup>56</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Thursday, the twenty-sixth**, we started, and marched about two miles to another town called Canucy; here we stopped to destroy their handy work. From thence to another town named Ecochee; here we stopped, and served it as the last mentioned. From hence we steered to another, called Highwassah, where we met the North army, and encamped. This evening, we had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, being in the North army, where Brigadier General Rutherford brought us sixteen prisoners, that is to say, Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Matthew McMahan, Richard Rattleiff, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, and Alexander Vernon, Hick's old squaw, named Peg, Scot's squaw and two children, one Indian fellow, named the Barking Dog, Charles Hicks, and one old squaw; these prisoners were committed to our care to secure or commit them for punishment according to their deserts, being confederates of assistants of the Indians.

<sup>57</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Friday, the twenty-seventh**, we and the North army started, and marched one road about half a mile, then took different ways: We will leave them to Fortune's smiles, and relate farther of our adventures. We continued our march to a town called Great Echohech, it being destroyed by the North army, we marched through it with speed to another town called Chowwee, very large, affording vast quantities of corn, and horses beyond our numbering, without great trouble. At the end of this town there is another as large as it called Casquettheheh. These towns is allowed to be five miles in length, and in some places 2 miles breadth. I am to inform you, that the North army had took this town, and had killed 2 Indians, and captured 2, but had not destroyed the corn or houses, leaving that for us to do, knowing we would go that way. All this they did without the loss of a man, except one man who was shot that night gathering potatoes: He was shot dead on the spot: And one wounded in the arm; for the Indians takes all such opportunities to kill and destroy by lurking by creeks and thickets, when none thinks of it or is aware; an instance of this I am to relate to you in the next day's journal. Here we encamped in the Chowwee town, after a day's march of eleven miles.

<sup>58</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 26.

<sup>59</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 25.

<sup>60</sup> William Davis (?-1820) served under Cols. Neel and Thomas Bratton. He fought at Hanging Rock, Fishing Creek, King's Mountain and Guilford Court House. His children filed a claim for pension benefits by right of their mother. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 241 and endnote 7 above.

<sup>61</sup> Probably William Gillespie was filed a pension application: S32267. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 359.

<sup>62</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 411.

<sup>63</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 698.

<sup>64</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 382.

<sup>65</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Saturday, the twenty-eighth day of September, 1776**, this morning there was a party of us agreed to go out through the corn fields in search of some potatoes and hogs, that is to say, Wm. Armstrong and William Armer, the subject of this discourse. We marched from camp about one mile and a half, and not dreading enemies nor fearing and we came across Highwassah river, and into this Casquettheheh town, and the aforesaid Armstrong and Armer leaving us, and meeting William Hannah and Samuel Moore, they went yet further, and in crossing a creek that ran thro' the town, being surrounded by thickets and distant from camp two miles, on a sudden there rushed out of the thickets, we supposed, 20 Indians, and surrounded them, raising the war whoop, and fired, and fired at them; but the aforesaid Hannah and Moore, being riding, escaped, leaving the other poor footmen, a couple of good soldiers, as an easy prey for the heathens. Armstrong was shot in the arm, yet he returned the shot, as says the spectators, when the Indians were within three rods of him, and having to pass by an Indian house, being hemmed in by a creek, almost on all sides, and knowing, I suppose, that they could not escape, seeing the enemies between them and the camp, Armstrong turned and fired at them, then striving to escape, making to clear the [?] when the Indians seeing this took the nigh cut of them, and as they got clear of the creek, the Heathens met them and shot Armstrong through with six bullets; Armer being behind, was shot dead also and scalped—a couple of clever young men, gay, gallant, and virtuous, not being afraid of any enemy. I must take notice of another of their company, a young man named Greams, who was riding, and was deadly wounded, that is to say, from haunch to haunch; his horse shot also, yet the horse carried him out of their reach, which hindered them of getting his scalp. The camps not being apprised of this affair until Hannah and Moore came in riding: A merciful escape, for the Indians were all around them, and also between them and our camps, but by riding swift, and taking such a circuit, they came safe in; when delivering their tragical express, there was a party of light horse sent to pursue the enemy; but in vain, there being such great mountains on all sides, they cleared themselves.—We next joined the cutting of corn, after burying our dead.—The quantities of corn that is contained in these two towns is not easily comprehended, but to appearance there is better than nine hundred acres of the waters of the High Wassah.

<sup>66</sup> LeRoy Hammond, 1729-1790, commander of a SC Patriot backcountry militia regiment under the command of General Andrew Williamson. Like Williamson, Hammond took parole from the British following the fall of Charleston, but he later reentered the war as a patriot commander under General Andrew Pickens. LeRoy Hammond was the brother-in-law of Andrew Williamson.

<sup>67</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Monday, the 30<sup>th</sup>**, about two o'clock, our wounded man dyed in great misery. About seven o'clock we started, and crossed Highwassah river to a town called Nacuchy. Here we encamped, being convenient for corn, after a day's march of 14 miles.

<sup>68</sup> Watson Version reads as follows:

**Tuesday the 1<sup>st</sup> day of October**, we prepared to march, our lines being regularly viewed, and placed in order as follows: Col. Sumpter commander of the right wing, Col. Hammons commander of the left, Col. Neel commander of the front and centre, and Gen. Williamson commander of the whole. Our orders, when attacked, was for the two wings, that is to say, right and left, surround the enemy, and our division to fight our way into the front. — These orders we willingly consented to, and were ready to obey when occasion served. We marched with all care possible, sending out flanking guards on the mountains, thinking we should have an engagement at the head of

Highwassah waters, on account of the narrows thereat, and mountains on both sides, which, by the account of the pilot, was as convenient for them almost as Black Hole: But with great courage and resolution, resolving to have satisfaction, or die in the attempt, for the great slavery and hardships they put us unto, and more particularly the loss of so many gallant men, we marched up said mountain, and after crossing the same, we came to the waters of the great Ocany river to the head of Oakmulgy Creek, that runs into the river Saint Mary's above Augusteen ; down this we marched, crossing it about 16 times:--at length we came to a large town called Chote, containing upwards of one hundred houses, and great quantities of corn. This town is in the Creek Indian Line, lying on the waters that runs through the creek towns, and did formerly belong to them; but given to the Cherokees some time ago by the Creeks. Here we encamped till further orders. [END]

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## Fragment of a Daily Journal Kept by an Unidentified Officer Relating to the Cherokee Expedition of 1776<sup>1</sup>

Transcribed and annotated by Will Graves

This fragment of a diary or journal comes from the Henry Laurens Papers, 37/45a/13, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina. It contains entries describing the daily activities of the South Carolina militia under the command of Col. Andrew Williamson<sup>2</sup> during the Cherokee Expedition in the summer and early fall of 1776. The author of the fragment is not known although from the nature and content of the entries it seems very likely that the author was a close confidant of Williamson, the commander of the South Carolina backcountry militia. Since Williamson was illiterate, it is likely that the journal was kept by Malcom Brown,<sup>3</sup> Williamson's private secretary and close personal friend or by some other officer who was privy to the communications sent to Williamson. The handwriting does not appear, however, to be Brown's, although it is possible that the fragment is itself a transcription of an earlier version not now known to be extant. Unfortunately, both the pages preceding the partial entry for August 24, 1776, and the pages following the partial entry for September 17, 1776, are missing from the Society's collection. No other copy of this journal is known to exist.

In transcribing this document, no modifications in the original text have been made except (1) the use a paragraphs for each daily entry and (2) the insertion of periods and the consequent division into sentences of certain passages. Otherwise, spelling, capitalizations, punctuation and grammar appear in the transcription as they do in the original.<sup>4</sup>

[Commencing Aug. 24<sup>th</sup> 1776]     Fragment

"...in the Stocks 12 hours, nine waggons arrived with Flour and Salt under the escort of Capt. Francis Logan.<sup>5</sup> This day two deserters were brought in belonging to Capt. Benjamin Tutt's<sup>6</sup> Company, taken up by Lt. Jo. Pickens.<sup>7</sup> Three men deserted belonging to Capt. Bowie's<sup>8</sup> Detachment, and 2 men of Capt. Anderson's<sup>9</sup> Company went after them. Received Letters from his Excellency<sup>10</sup> the president advising that he had ordered Col. Sumter<sup>11</sup> with his Regiment to proceed directly to 96 with 1000 lbs powder & 2000 lbs Lead and either to act as and cover the frontiers as a corps de reserve or Join the Army as Col. Williamson should see most necessary—on which he was ordered by Col. Wmson to Join him with all speed leaving 250 lbs of Powder & 500 lbs Lead at the fort at White Hall<sup>12</sup> and to bring the remaining part to Camp. Also commissions for Captain Hammond<sup>13</sup> & Pickens<sup>14</sup> appointing the first Lieut. Col. and the last Major of the 96 Regiment.

(25) Sent off two Expresses to meet Col. Sumter, one by the Congarees, the other by Orangeburgh, desiring him to hasten his march, being in want of the ammunition under his escort, without which the Army Could not proceed into the Middle Settlements. Some fresh Mockasin tracts were discovered some distance from the Camp, on which Col. Wmson dispatched express to Capt. Baskins,<sup>15</sup> who commanded on the Line to be upon his Guard. In the Evening a party who was ordered out on the tracts, ret'd and Informed that it was the deserters form Capt. Bowie's Detachment. This day Capt. Middleton<sup>16</sup> Brought in some Indian Horses which were sold at vendue<sup>17</sup> for the Benefit of the Army.

26<sup>th</sup>/ Marched out & cleared the Ground Whereon to build a fort, to protect the waggons, &c, during the absence of the Army on the Expedition, and dispatched Capt. Tutt to meet Col. Sumter, and give him all the Assistance in his Power to supply him with waggons, Horses, Provisions, &c to Expedite his March. This day several Cpts with their Companies arrived in Camp agreeable to the Time allowed them by Furlow.

27<sup>th</sup>/ More officers & men arrived. Begun to erect Stockade fort 180 feet Square the work to be carried on under the Inspection of Capt. Robert Anderson. Rec'd another letter from Mr. Galphin<sup>18</sup> giving fresh assurances of the peaceable disposition of the Creeks, and their firm intention to remain neuter in the present dispute, and taking upon himself the Consequences of Col. Williamson's attacking and destroying Chote, which Col. Willn judged Proper to Consult him about, before he undertook any Operations against that Quarter, being informed that the Creeks Claimed the land thereabouts as their Property and [fearing] in the present state of Affairs of giving them disquiet. Likewise sent orders to the Officers Commanding on the line to take up and treat as deserters all persons who left the Camp without a Furlow signed by the Commander in Chief, as it was found upon inquiry that several of the men pretending to have leave of Absence made use of such Indulgence to desert, and Carry off the Arms and Horses employed in the Pub Service.

28<sup>th</sup>/ 100 men employed in erecting the fort and paid at the rate of 10s pr day extra in order to push forward the Work. 20 Catawba Indians and 10 Whites arrived in Camp under the Command of Capt. Smith; also Cpts Davis, Cummings & Hampton,<sup>19</sup> with their Companies, and Capt. Jno. Hammond<sup>20</sup> and Sinquefield,<sup>21</sup> from their Furlows. Received a letter from the President thanking Col. Wmson, his officers & men for their heroic and Gallant Behavior in their late expeditions against the Cherokee lower towns, which the Col. Communicated to the Troops under Arms.

29<sup>th</sup>/ This day the Bags and other necessities being provided, began to pack flour & salt for the Expedition; several waggons loaded with flour likewise arrived; and every man seemed to vie with Another who could most contribute to hasten and forward the necessities wanted for the March of the Army against the Enemy.

30<sup>th</sup>/ This day sent Particular orders to Lt. Col. Beard,<sup>22</sup> who Commands on the line from Saluday to the Boundary of North Carolina, as also to Capt. William Baskins, who commanded on the line from Savannah to Saluda Rivers; as also to all the Commanders of the forts with proper directions how to Conduct themselves in case of any Incursion from the Enemy, or Insurrection of the Malcontents during the absence of the Army on the Expedition into the Cherokee Nation. Detached Capt. Davis with the Catawba Indians and 150 Men to proceed to Sugar Town, Estatoe, &c, and try to a prisoner in order to Obtain some Information of the Situation and designs of the Enemy.

31<sup>st</sup>/ This day arrived Cols. Neel<sup>23</sup> & Williams,<sup>24</sup> the former with 220 men, the latter 70. On the March a small party of Col. Niel's Men were fired on by some Indians at Sorony, who killed two Horses, and carried off six more, but Hurt none of the men.



**September 1<sup>st</sup>**/ This day arrived Col. Liles<sup>25</sup> with 110 men, also Major Brandon.<sup>26</sup> In the afternoon Col. Williamson ordered Capt. Noble<sup>27</sup> to cross the river with 150 men, & take post on the other Side, and form a Camp, as the whole Army was to follow in a few days.

**2<sup>nd</sup>**/ This day received advice from Capt. Davis that the Catawba Indians had discovered a Camp of Indians about 12 miles beyond Waratchy which he was on his march to attack. On receiving this advice Col. Hammond was immediately marched ~~detached~~ to reinforce them, with 210 men, and a supply of provisions and Ammunition.

**3<sup>rd</sup>**/ Rec'd a letter from Capt. Tutt advising that Col. Sumter had applied to him to procure 12,000 lbs flour, and thirty Beeves, to enable him to Continue his March to join Col. Williamson; on which dispatched an Express to Col. Sumter to get what Quantity of provisions was sufficient to Supply his Regiment to Camp, at White Hall, and desired Capt. Tutt to Continue with him until he reached 23 Mile Creek, and then to proceed with all speed to the Camp.

**4<sup>th</sup>**/ This day Col. Hammond returned from his Excursion. The party under Capt. Davis attacked the Indian Camp, but by the imprudence of the Catawba Indians, all the Enemy escaped but one, whom they killed and scalped. They got a good deal of Plunder, Consisting of Blankets, Horses, and a Small Quantity of Ammunition. One of the Catawba Indians running forward at some distance before the rest to seize a Horse was shot Dead on the Spot by the Enemy.

**5<sup>th</sup>**/ Begun to transport the flour over Keowee River and the fort still going on.

**6<sup>th</sup>**/ Continued transporting the flour, &c, & nothing to retard our March but the arrival of Col. Sumter with his Regiment and ye Ammunition. If the Ammunition had been in Camp the Army would have marched directly against the Middle Settlements without waiting for Col. Sumter's Arrival. The time appointed by Genl. Rutherford<sup>28</sup> being to meet him in the Middle Settlements being now elapsed.

**7<sup>th</sup>**/ Detached Capts. Gowan, Gaston<sup>29</sup> & Kilgore's<sup>30</sup> Companies of Horse, to destroy the Corn at the town of Sorony and burn the Houses. Published the proclamation to pardon such of the Insurgents as were named, on their coming in, and delivering themselves up agreeable to the Tenor of the said proclamation.

**8<sup>th</sup>**/ Detached a Party to destroy a small settlement of the Enemy distant about nine miles from Seneca, and try to get a Prisoner.

**9<sup>th</sup>**/ This day all the sick were ordered into fort which was now finished. The Army crossed the River, and encamped.

**10<sup>th</sup>**/ Preparations for the March.

**11<sup>th</sup>**/ Col. Sumter arrived with the Ammunition and his Regiment Consisting of 330 men, many of whom by the fatigue of the March from Charlestown were rendered incapable to proceed into the Nation, were left in the fort. General orders, for the Army to March to Morrow forenoon at 10 A.M.

**12<sup>th</sup>**/ This day adjusted the line of March, appointed the cattle guard; and the day being far advanced, fresh orders issued for the Army to hold themselves in readiness to March to Morrow at 8 A. M.

**13<sup>th</sup>**/ The Army decamped from Seneca, and arrived at Cane Creek at 2 P. M., where encamped. Col. Williamson sent off his Dispatches to Charlestown about 4 P. M., and having appointed Capt. Tutt to Command the Garrison of Fort Rutledge during the Expedition, wherein was left a Garrison of 250 Effective Men, with

orders to Keep out Scouting Parties, and to Correspond with the Officers Commanding on the Line.

**14<sup>th</sup>**/ At 7 A. M. the Army marched on their Route, passed the Okonee Mountain, beyond which Encamped; saw several tracts of Horses which had gone Down the road to Keowee, and returned the same way, which afterwards learned was Genl. Rutherford's Messengers which he sent to Keowee to acquaint Col. Williamson of his arrival in the Middle Settlements. Unluckily the General had forgot to direct his people to know where Col. Williamson had advised him he was to Continue with his Army until he was ready to proceed into the Nation. This Misapprehension of the General's unfortunately kept Col. Wmson in the dark respecting his Operations, because if he had met the messengers, he would then have immediately directed his March to the Valleys where the enemy not being aware of or expecting his Arrival, he might then have given them a severe check.

**15<sup>th</sup>**/ This morning supplied the Men with a proper Quantity of Ammunition; at 10 A.M., the Army marched, and Crossed the River Chatuga, and encamped on three Hills. Sent off Lt. Burnet with 30 Men about 3 miles in front to waylay the road, and prevent any of the Enemy's spies approaching the camp. The March this day thro' very Hilly and broken Ground.

**16<sup>th</sup>**/ About 10 A.M. came up with Burnet's party who saw none of the Enemy. Sent strong detachments to flank and secure the Mountains on both sides of the Warwoman's Creek, which passed without any Molestation, or seeing the least Sign of an Enemy. At 4 P. M. encamped about 1½ miles from Stickoe, and detached Major Watson<sup>31</sup> with 50 Men to waylay the roads, which divides to the Middle Settlements and Vallies.

**17<sup>th</sup>**/ Marched at 7 A. M., came up with the detached parties who discovered no Sign of the Enemy. About 12 o'clock M. crossed the Tassantie, a branch of the Tenassie, having before detached Col....  
[END]

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<sup>1</sup> For a short historical background on the Cherokee Expedition of 1776, see the "Introductory Note" to the article entitled "Journal of the 1776 Cherokee Indian Campaign in South Carolina, Georgia and North Carolina" hereinabove.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Williamson (c. 1730-1786) was the commanding officer of the South Carolina backcountry militia from the inception of the war until the fall of Charleston on May 12, 1780. He led the South Carolina militia not only during the Cherokee Expedition in 1776 but also at Briar Creek, Stono Bridge and other engagements before taking parole in June 1780. He took parole in June 1780 along with such other notable backcountry Whigs as Andrew Pickens and LeRoy Hammond. Unlike Pickens and Hammond, however, Williamson never resumed active participation in the Whig militia causing him to be labeled as the "Arnold of the South." This label is unjust because, unlike Benedict Arnold, Williamson never took up arms against his country and he did provide Nathanael Greene with intelligence regarding British activities in and around Charleston until the end of the war. His spying on behalf of the Whigs lead the South Carolina legislature to lift the confiscation order against Williamson's estate, but his estate was amerced. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1994), (hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*), 1210.

<sup>3</sup> Malcom Brown is a shadowy figure. Very little is known about him except that he wrote most of the known correspondence sent by Williamson; that, like Williamson, his name appears on the list of people whose estates were to be confiscated following the war; and that he applied for reinstatement of his citizenship following the war.

<sup>4</sup> Lyman C. Draper also made a transcription of this document. His transcription, which varies slightly from the transcription presented here, can be found at Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Wisconsin: Sumter Papers, 2VV152-204. The transcription given herein does not vary materially from Draper's transcription except for preservation of the idiosyncratic spellings and capitalizations of the journal's author.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Logan served as a captain on the 1776 expedition against the Cherokee Indians. He served again in 1781-1783. Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution*, (Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983, 1994, Third Printing) (hereinafter cited as Moss, *SC Patriots*), 577.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Tutt was an officer under the command of Andrew Williamson from the time of the Cherokee Expedition until the fall of Charleston in May 1780. In 1781, he was promoted to major. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 944. Because of his close personal relationship with Williamson, it is possible that he authored the journal.

<sup>7</sup> Moss, *SC Patriots*, 772.

<sup>8</sup> John Bowie was a captain in the Fifth Regiment as of February 25, 1776. He was wounded at Savannah in October 1779; promoted to major in 1781; fought at Guilford Courthouse; served as aide-de-camp to General Andrew Pickens from January 1781 to April 1783. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 88.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Anderson (1741-1813) served as a captain in the Rangers from November 1775 to May 1779; served under General Andrew Pickens until Pickens' took parole in June 1780; promoted to colonel in command of the Upper Ninety Six Regiment on April 18, 1781. He was in the battles at Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain, Cowpens and Eutaw Springs. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 21.

<sup>10</sup> John Rutledge (1739-1800) was the first president of South Carolina under the constitution passed in 1776. He later served terms as the Governor of the South Carolina under the Constitution passed in 1778, U. S. Congressman, associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and as the interim Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. See, David Paul Reuwer, "South Carolina's Supreme Court Nominee Rejected," Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution, August 2005, Vol. 2, No. 8, posted at [www.southerncampaign.org](http://www.southerncampaign.org) and James Haw, *John & Edward Rutledge of South Carolina*, The University of Georgia Press, Athens and London, 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Sumter (1734-1832) was a lieutenant colonel in the 2<sup>nd</sup> (later, 6<sup>th</sup>) Rifle Regiment of South Carolina state troops in the spring and summer of 1776. He and his regiment were later transferred to the Continental Line. He resigned his commission as a Continental officer on September 19, 1778 and remained inactive until after the fall of Charleston in May 1780. He was promoted by Governor John Rutledge to the rank of Brigadier General in October 1780 and thereafter was the ranking officer of the South Carolina militia until the end of the war. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 1077-79.

<sup>12</sup> White Hall was the name Williamson gave his plantation located on Hard Labor Creek in the Ninety Six District of South Carolina, modern Greenwood County, SC.

<sup>13</sup> LeRoy Hammond (1729-1790) was a backcountry merchant, planter and militia leader. He also was the brother-in-law of Williamson. His high rank and relationship to Williamson make him a candidate for being the author of the journal.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Pickens (1739-1817) was a backcountry planter and militia leader. Pickens was later appointed brigadier general of the South Carolina militia. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 866.

<sup>15</sup> James Baskin was a militia captain on the Cherokee Expedition. He was wounded June 26, 1776. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 51.

<sup>16</sup> Hugh Middleton (1740-1803) was a captain in the Rangers. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 676.

<sup>17</sup> A public auction.

<sup>18</sup> George Galphin was an early emigrant to the South Carolina backcountry where he set up an Indian trading post in 1752. He was later named Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Isabel Vandervelde, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina* (Art Studio Press, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> None of the men named Hampton listed in Moss, *SC Patriots*, readily appears to be the man referred to here. The most likely candidate is Wade Hampton who Moss describes as being a lieutenant and paymaster in the First Regiment during 1776 and not promoted to captain until 1777. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 409. Moss also lists Edward Hampton as being on the Williamson expedition of 1776, but states that he did not rise to the rank of second lieutenant until November 1776.

<sup>20</sup> John Hammond served as a captain in the Ninety Six Regiment of militia. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 407.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Sinquefield was a captain in the Rangers in 1775 and 1776. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 868.

<sup>22</sup> This is probably a reference to Jonas Beard who Moss identifies as having been a colonel and commander of militia of the Lower District between the Broad and Saluda Rivers in 1778. If this is the same man, his inclusion in this journal would give him credit for earlier service than listed in Moss. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 55.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Neel (1730-1779) was the commanding officer of a regiment of South Carolina militia formed in the "New Acquisition" (the area acquired from North Carolina just below Charlotte). Moss, *SC Patriots*, 719.

<sup>24</sup> James Williams (1740-1780) was a South Carolina militia commander. He served as a captain under Maj. Andrew Williamson in the First Battle of Ninety Six and rose through the ranks to become the colonel in command of the Little River Regiment of Whig militia. After the fall of Charleston, he challenged Sumter for command of the South Carolina backcountry militia but died from wounds sustained at King's Mountain. His death prevented a showdown between Williams and Sumter to succeed Williamson as commander of the backcountry militia. William T. Graves, *James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry*, Writers Club Press, San Jose, 2002.

<sup>25</sup> John Lisle (also spelled Liles, Lyles) was a lieutenant colonel in the militia in 1775. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 572.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Brandon (1741-1802) was the commander colonel of the second Spartan Regiment before the fall of Charleston. After the fall of Charleston, he served under Col. James Williams at Musgrove's Mill and King's Mountain and then under General Thomas Sumter at Blackstock's Plantation and various engagements. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 95.

<sup>27</sup> This is probably a reference to Alexander Noble who served as a captain and major under his brother-in-law, Col. Andrew Pickens. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 730.

<sup>28</sup> Griffith Rutherford (1731-c.1800) was commissioned as a brigadier general of the North Carolina state troops on June 26, 1776. He participated not only in the 1776 Cherokee Expedition but also in the battles at Ramsour's Mill and Camden. Wounded and captured at the latter engagement, he was held as a prisoner in Charleston and St. Augustine until November 1781 when he was exchanged and returned to the field to command the North Carolina forces at Wilmington. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1994), (hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*) 953.

<sup>29</sup> William Gaston was a captain in the New Acquisition militia. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 347.

<sup>30</sup> This is probably a reference to Benjamin Kilgore who served under Col. James Williams in the Little River Regiment of militia. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 532.

<sup>31</sup> This is probably a reference to Michael Watson was Moss lists as a captain during the 1776 expedition. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 971. ★

**SCAR thanks the South Carolina Historical Society for its permission to use publish this journal fragment.**

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