



Thunder Even at the Gates of Charlestown: Thomas Sumter's Raid of the Dog Days of 1781

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In the hottest days of the year the Dog Star, Sirius, joins the sun in its course across the sky. The ancients paid attention to such things, believing their fates depended on the stars, but General Nathanael Greene, Commander-in-Chief of the American Army in the South, was not one to leave fate to the stars. In the Dog Days from July 13 to July 17, 1781 he placed the future of South Carolina in the hands of General Thomas Sumter in command of his own brigade, as well as the brigade of Gen. Francis Marion and the legion of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee. This “very respectable little army”² would strike close to the heart and soul of British defenses at Charlestown and set the stage for reclaiming South Carolina.



Figure 1. Gen. Thomas Sumter, Gen. Francis Marion and Lt. Col. Henry Lee.

¹ Charles B. Baxley died on March 30, 2024 after contributing to and editing many drafts of this paper until he was satisfied that it was ready to be reviewed for publication.

² Otho H. Williams to Maj. Nathaniel Pendleton, July 16, 1781, in Robert Wilson Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution* (Columbia SC: Banner Steam-Power Press, 1853), 2:105.

The Making of a Very Respectable Little Army

In May 1780, following the surrender of Charlestown and British seizure of South Carolina, Sumter fled to Charlotte, North Carolina. There his fellow refugees elected him their leader, and the rank of general was made official by Governor-in-exile John Rutledge in the following October. Sumter's subsequent performance as a military commander was mixed, varying from his embarrassing surprise and defeat by Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's Legion at Fishing Creek on August 18, 1780, to his victories at Cary's Fort, Hanging Rock, and over Tarleton at Blackstock's Plantation.³

At the Battle of Blackstock's Plantation on November 20, 1780, Sumter was shot in the right shoulder⁴ and was still recovering in Charlotte in December 1780 when Gen. Nathanael Greene called on him. Greene, who had come to take command of the Southern Department of the Continental Army, convinced Sumter to return to active duty as soon as he was able. As a lapsed Quaker from Rhode Island, Greene needed someone who knew the area and understood the people, but he soon discovered that he and Sumter

had different ideas about how to conduct a war.⁵ Greene wanted a few big, decisive battles. "Partizan strokes of war are like the garnish of a table, but they afford no substantial national security."⁶ Sumter preferred numerous engagements against small outposts—or perhaps he was just more realistic about the chances of a victory by American militiamen against British regulars.

By early February 1781 Sumter thought himself recovered enough to take the field in a campaign his men called "Sumter's Rounds." His attempt to take Fort Granby in February failed after the British field commander in South Carolina, Col. Francis, Lord Rawdon, sent a relief force. Subsequent engagements fared little better, although the campaign succeeded in its stated objectives: "to keep the spirits of the people from sinking, as well as to alarm the enemy, respecting the safety of their posts."⁷

On May 2 Sumter began a second siege of Fort Granby, but he soon went to personally lead an attack on the British in fortified Orangeburg, leaving Col. Thomas Taylor in command at Fort Granby. Lt. Col. Henry Lee with his Continental Legion arrived with a cannon on May 14, and the British surrendered the next day. Pressed by the possible arrival of reinforcements under Col. Rawdon, Lee granted surrender terms that permitted the British to carry off booty they had plundered from neighboring Whigs. Sumter's men were infuriated at having the victory and the plunder snatched from them by the brash 25-year-old "Light Horse Harry" Lee. Finding "the discontent & disorder among the Militia So Great as to leave No hope of their Subsiding Soon," and also citing his continuing "indisposition" from the wound, Sumter sent

³ Concise descriptions of the actions mentioned in this paper can be found in the following: Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter* (hereafter *NBBS*), Vol. 3 (Lillington NC: Booklocker.com, 2005). John C. Parker, Jr., *Parker's Guide to the Revolutionary War in South Carolina*, 4th Ed. (Sumter, SC: harrelsonpress.net, 2022). J. D. Lewis, Carolana.com.

⁴ C. Leon Harris and Charles B. Baxley, "To Keep Up the Spirits of the People and Alarm the Enemy: Sumter's Rounds in South Carolina, February 16 – March 9, 1781," academia.edu, May 6, 2024., Appendix A, https://www.academia.edu/118640111/_To_Keep_Up_the_Spirits_of_the_People_and_Alarm_the_Enemy_Sumter_s_Rounds_in_South_Carolina. Sumter wrote to Greene on March 9, 1781 that he still had "little use" of his right hand. Dennis M. Conrad, ed., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (hereafter *PNG*), (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 7:417. https://www.carolana.com/SC/Revolution/SC_Revolutionary_War_Known_Battles_Skirmishes.htm

There are two standard biographies of Sumter: Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (Columbia SC: R. L. Bryan Co., 1931), and Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of Thomas Sumter* (Orangeburg SC: Sandlapper, 1961).

⁵ For more on relations between Greene and Sumter, see Andrew Waters, *The Quaker and the Gamecock*, (Philadelphia: Casemate, 2019).

⁶ Greene to Sumter, January 8, 1781, *PNG*, 7:74.

⁷ Harris and Baxley, "To Keep Up the Spirits."

Greene his resignation on May 16. Greene declined to accept it.⁸

To solve his manpower problem, Sumter proposed to Greene a plan now called Sumter's Law. In contrast to his volunteer militiamen who came and went as they chose, enlistees would commit to serving ten months as state troops. There was no government of South Carolina to print money, so Sumter would pay his men "Sumter's Wages"—slaves taken from Tories. "Each Trooper in s^d Brigade was entitled to a Negro for his Service." Officers were entitled to larger numbers of slaves, with lieutenants to receive one "grown" and one "small" negro.⁹ Greene approved the plan. (Appendix A)

Prelude to the Dog Days Raid

On June 10, 1781, Greene wrote to Sumter that "our affairs wear an agreeable face in every quarter."¹⁰ Greene had reasons to be optimistic. After fighting his counterpart, Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis to a draw at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, Cornwallis had taken his army into Virginia. Greene, together with Lee, and South Carolina militia Gen. Francis Marion then waged what is now called a War of the Posts, which forced the British to abandon most of their outposts in South Carolina. (Fig. 2) Greene fought the major Battle of Hobkirk Hill on April 25, and although he lost, the British soon withdrew from their fortified post at nearby Camden. They also withdrew from the eastern half of the South Carolina backcountry as Marion and Lee cut communications and supply routes with Charlestown. Except for Charlestown, the fort at Ninety Six was the only one in South Carolina remaining in British hands, and Greene had laid

siege to it on May 22 and expected to take it. Without Ninety Six the British would lose control of the rest of the South Carolina backcountry. In anticipated treaty negotiations each side would claim the territory it then controlled, so depriving the British of Ninety Six might prevent South Carolina from becoming British territory after the war.

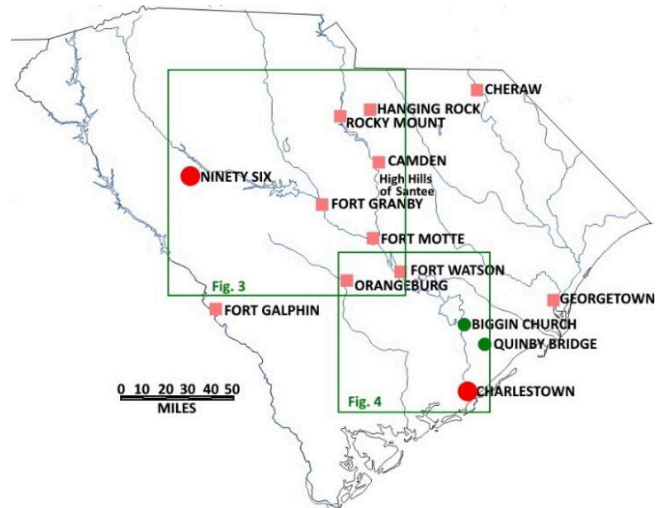


Figure 2. British posts in South Carolina at the end of spring 1781. Pink squares indicate those abandoned by the British. Only the fort at Ninety Six and the city of Charlestown remained under British control (red circles). The two green rectangles show the areas covered by Figures 3 and 4. Actions near Biggin Church and Quinby Bridge occurred in July 1781 and will be discussed later. In this and other maps in this paper, north is toward the top.

Greene's hopes for the Siege of Ninety Six were dashed by the arrival in Charlestown on June 3 of a flotilla of 62 ships from Cork, Ireland, with three infantry regiments: the 3^d (the Buffs), 19th (the Green Howards), and 30th (the Cambridgeshire). Greene realized that if they marched to Ninety Six his siege would fail.¹¹ About 2,000 troops under Rawdon did march out of Charlestown on June 7, and Greene tried

⁸ Sumter to Greene, May 16, 1781, *PNG*, 8:274. Greene to Sumter, May 17, 1781, *PNG*, 8:277.

⁹ Sumter, December 3, 1818, in pension application of William Alexander S6496 <http://revwarapps.org/s6496.pdf>. See also payrolls at revwarapps.org with "Sumter's Wages" in the title. The pension applications cited in this paper are transcribed mainly by Will Graves at revwarapps.org.

¹⁰ Greene to Sumter, June 10, 1781, *PNG*, 8:375.

¹¹ Rawdon to Cornwallis, June 5, 1781, in *PNG*, 8:368, note 5. Greene to Samuel Huntington, June 9, 1781, *PNG*, 8:364. Robert Kirkwood, "Journal of the Marches of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line in the Southern Campaign 1780-1782," in *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood*, ed. Joseph Brown Turner, (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), Part 1, 19.

unsuccessfully to get Sumter and Marion to delay them.¹² (For a Loyalist perspective on these events, see Appendix B.) Except for the Nineteenth Regiment, which will be discussed later, the young Irishmen made the 165-mile march in two weeks in spite of the unaccustomed heat and a skirmish with 120 of Sumter's men on June 18 at Juniper Springs near present Gilbert, South Carolina.¹³ (Fig. 3) As Rawdon approached Ninety Six, Greene ordered a "forlorn hope" assault on the fort, then on June 19 he abandoned the siege. He marched his approximately 1,000 Continental troops and 400 militiamen northeastward toward Whig friends in Charlotte, putting the Enoree, Tyger, and Broad Rivers between himself and Rawdon.¹⁴

Rawdon arrived at Ninety Six on June 21, and that evening he took fresh troops to pursue Greene's retreating army. With Lee's Legion shadowing him, Rawdon followed Greene northeast as far as the fords of the Enoree River. With his troops "greatly fatigued & without bread" and himself in poor health, Rawdon gave up his 37-mile chase on June 24 and turned back toward Ninety Six.¹⁵ There, realizing that he could not indefinitely defend the isolated post, Rawdon ordered Ninety Six's commandant, Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, to

prepare to abandon the fort and move the local Loyalists, their families and transportable property to Orangeburg.¹⁶ This withdrawal was to be along the circa 1770 Ridge Road while Rawdon with 800 infantry and 60 cavalry marched between them and the Americans on the old Cherokee Road. On the evening of July 1 Rawdon arrived at the remains of Fort Granby near Friday's Ferry on Congaree River in present Cayce.¹⁷ He intended to wait there to be reinforced by Cruger and by troops from Charlestown under Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart.¹⁸

Greene decided to upset Rawdon's plan. On June 25 at Cross Roads (now Chester, South Carolina) he sent orders for Sumter to march toward Ft. Granby, where he planned to join him and Marion. "No time is to be lost and you will endeavor to spirit up the people as much, as you can by informing them I am on the march that way."¹⁹ Sumter, however, was still in bad health from the gunshot wound,²⁰ and many of his men had "absented themselves." Marion's militiamen were also slower in joining than Greene would have liked,²¹ generally turning out when there was fighting to be done, but otherwise staying home tending crops and waging their own small wars with Tory neighbors. In addition, travel was often hindered by the difficulty of crossing streams and swamps. Greene had quickly discovered that waging war in South Carolina was very different from what he had experienced in the North, because the country was "so full of deep rivers and impassable creeks and swamps, that you are always liable to misfortunes of a capital nature."²²

¹² Greene to Marion and Sumter, June 10, 1781, *PNG*, 8:374.

¹³ John Houston, pension application S2323, and for a particularly interesting account of the fighting at Juniper Springs, see John Chaney S32177.

¹⁴ Patrick O'Kelley, *NBBS*, 3:247, estimated the American troop strength at the siege of Ninety Six to be 1624, including more than 400 militiamen whose tours would soon expire. Henry Lee, *Revolutionary War Memoirs of General Henry Lee* (reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 378.

¹⁵ Rawdon to Cornwallis, Aug. 2, 1781, Ian Saberton, ed., *The Cornwallis Papers* (Uckfield, UK: The Naval & Military Press, 2010 (hereinafter *CP*), 6:63-66; Greene to Sumter, June 25, 1781, *PNG*, 8:474. Lee, *Memoirs*, 379. Jeremiah Savage to Lt. Col. William Crosbie, July 18 1781, Henry Clinton Papers, 165:19, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, in Carl Steen, The "Two Cannon Wreck" Project: Archaeology Underwater at Lewisfield Plantation, Berkeley County SC, (South Carolina Institute for Archeology and Anthropology, 2018), 87. Maj. Ichabod Burnet (Greene's Aide-de-Camp) to Sumter, June 25, 1781, *PNG*, 8:458.

¹⁶ Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger from New York commanded the battle-hardened 1st Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade, provincial troops. Todd Braisted, tr., Cruger's memorial which is posted on royalprovincial.com. (Accessed Dec. 31, 2021.)

¹⁷ Rawdon to Cornwallis, Aug. 2, 1781, *CP*, 6:63-66; David Brinkman, "Finding Granby: A Historical and Archaeological Res. Project." www.historysoft.com/granby.

¹⁸ Washington to Greene, July 2, 1781, *PNG*, 8:483; Rawdon to Cornwallis, Aug. 2, 1781, *CP*, 6:63-66.

¹⁹ Greene to Sumter, June 25, 1781, *PNG*, 8:458.

²⁰ Greene to Sumter, June 23, 1781, *PNG*, 8:449.

²¹ Sumter to Greene, June 25, 1781, *PNG*, 8:460.

²² Greene to Joseph Reed, May 4, 1781, *PNG*, 8:200.

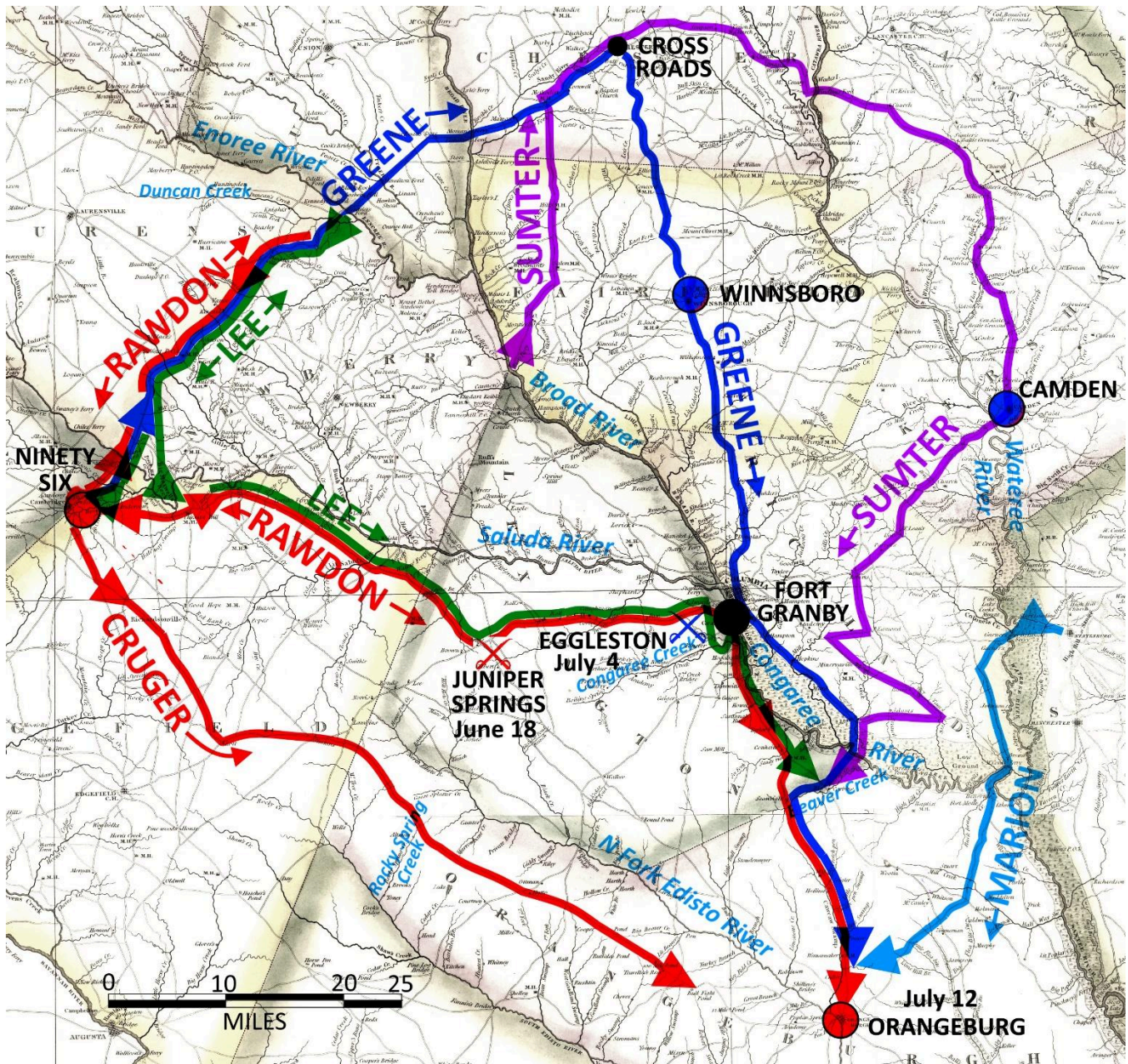


Figure 3. Probable routes of British troops (red) and of Greene (dark blue), Sumter (purple), Lee (green) and Marion (light blue) from June 18 until July 12, 1781 on John Wilson’s South Carolina map of 1822.²³ Crossed swords show approximate locations of skirmishes by Myddleton near Juniper Springs and by Eggleston west of Ft. Granby.

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https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~38011~1211031:Composite--Map-Of-South-Carolina?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort&qvq=q:1825%20mills%20south%20carolina;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=102&trs=105. Routes are plotted on roads using locations in letters by Greene, Sumter, Marion, and Lee in *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*. The first part of Sumter’s route is according to the pension application of Drury Logan (<http://revwarapps.org/w5464.pdf>). The last part of Marion’s route is from Samuel Mathis’ Diary in *Historic Camden*, 1:403.

Adding to the delay, men and horses were suffering from heat and hunger.²⁴ The area had been picked clean by both sides. According to Lee, rice had to be substituted for bread, and beef was so scarce that troops had begun to relish frog and alligator:

Frogs abounded in some neighboring ponds, and on them chiefly did the light troops subsist. They became in great demand from their nutritiousness; and, after conquering the existing prejudice, were diligently sought after. Even the alligator was used by a few; and, very probably, had the army been much longer detained upon that ground, might have rivalled the frog in the estimation of our epicures.²⁵

Greene was becoming exasperated with the tardiness of Sumter's and Marion's men.

I am surprised the people should be so averse to joining in some general plan of operation. It will be impossible to carry on the war to advantage or even attempt to hold the Country unless our force can be directed to a point, and as to flying parties here and there they are of no consequence in the great events of war. If the people will not be more united in their views they must abide the consequences for I will not calculate upon them at all unless they will agree to act conformable to the great plan of recovering all parts of the Country and not particular parts.²⁶

Finally on July 2 Greene decided he could wait no longer to proceed with his "great plan." At 3 a.m. he marched his troops southward to attack Fort Granby. On the following day he once more urged Sumter to join him, arguing that Rawdon intended to use the fort as a base to reclaim the backcountry:

²⁴ Marion to Greene, July 8, 1781, *PNG*, 8:509, July 9, 1781, *PNG*, 8:513, and July 10, 1781, *PNG*, 8:518.

²⁵ Lee, *Memoirs*, 386.

²⁶ Greene to Sumter, June 25, 1781, *PNG*, 8:458. Greene to Marion, June 25, 1781, *PNG*, 8:457-458.

From the present disposition which the Enemy are making it appears they intend to hold 96, and reestablish themselves at Augusta and the Congarees [Ft. Granby]. It is of the greatest importance that we prevent it, if possible. For this purpose I wish to draw all our force together at or near Fridays Ferry, and oblige the Enemy to give up the Post, fight us in detachment, or collect their force to a point. If our force is separated we can affect nothing. If it is collected we can oblige the Enemy to keep theirs collected; and that will prevent their establishing their posts again; a matter highly interesting to these States, as I shall inform you when we meet, from the peculiar circumstances of foreign affairs.²⁷

By this time several hundred men had succumbed to the lure of Sumter's Wages. The brigade was poorly armed, however, so Sumter decided to go by Camden to check on the making of swords, no doubt to the annoyance of Greene.²⁸

Lee's Legion had dogged Rawdon from Ninety Six to Fort Granby. Early on the Fourth of July, Capt. Joseph Eggleston with 30 cavalymen of the Legion captured 42 of Rawdon's dragoons who were out foraging.²⁹ Later that day Lee crossed Congaree Creek west of Rawdon's camp, then recrossed the creek northward. Lee then camped a mile south of Rawdon, expecting Sumter and Marion to join him soon. Rawdon grew understandably uneasy and marched south to Orangeburg, pushing Lee's much smaller force ahead to Beaver Creek.³⁰

²⁷ Greene to Sumter, July 3, 1781, *PNG*, 8:484. The "peculiar circumstances of foreign affairs" apparently refers to the possibility that the British could claim South Carolina during peace negotiations.

²⁸ Sumter to Greene, July 2, 1781, *PNG*, 8:482-483.

²⁹ Rawdon to Cornwallis, Aug. 2, 1781, *CP*, 6:63-66.

³⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 381-383.

The Almost Battle of Orangeburg, July 12, 1781

It was not until July 9 that Greene and Sumter finally joined Lee. Marion, who had been down the Santee River trying unsuccessfully to block the arrival of Stewart Buffs from Charlestown, arrived about the same date with 400 or more mounted militiamen.³¹ He informed Greene that two British prisoners taken on July 7 reported that Rawdon's troops were ready to "lay down their Arms & was fatigued, that the most of them was Exceedingly Discontented."³² Greene's force, now totaling more than 2,000, arrived at 9 a.m. on July 12 at a small branch of North Edisto River within four miles north of Rawdon's army at Orangeburg.³³ Rawdon had been reinforced by Stewart's Buffs, but he still commanded only about 1,600 men. Cruger had been slowed by Loyalist refugees and their property, but his 1,400 men were only a day's march from joining Rawdon.³⁴ Greene saw an opportunity for a big, decisive battle, but he had to attack before Cruger arrived. He gave orders for the troops to receive rum "to refresh themselves and prepare for action."³⁵

³¹ Pension application of Samuel Gordon <http://revwarapps.org/s30441.pdf>. Sumter to Greene, July 2, 1781, PNG, 8:482-483. Greene to Sumter, July 3, 1781, PNG, 8:485. PNG, 8:511 note 1. Marion to Greene, June 28, 1781, PNG 8:472. Diary of Samuel Mathis, in Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert MacMillan Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, (Columbia SC: The State Co., 1905), 1:403, and in Appendix C.

³² Marion to Greene, July 8, 1781, PNG, 8:508.

³³ Williams to Pendleton, July 16, 1781, in Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:105. The branch was probably Turkey Hill Branch. Lee (*Memoirs*, 384) stated that Greene had a force of 2,000. If he still had most of the 1,000 Continentals he left Ninety Six with, plus some militiamen whose terms had not expired, and Marion had more than 400 militiamen, then Sumter may have had 500 to 600 state troops.

³⁴ Greene to Sumter, July 14, 1781, PNG, 9:8. Kirkwood, *Journal*, 20. Lee, *Memoirs*, 384. Gen. Andrew Pickens with South Carolina militiamen had pursued Cruger 43 miles, as far as Rocky Spring, capturing three British soldiers and some Tories. Rocky Spring is two miles southeast of I-20 (exit 33) and Old 96 Indian Trail (SC Hwy 39). Pickens to Greene, July 19, 1781, PNG, 9:48.

³⁵ Greene's orders, July 12, 1781, PNG, 9:3.

With William Washington's dragoons and Lee's Legion cavalry, Greene closely approached Orangeburg and spent several hours assessing Rawdon's defenses, which were daunting. Maj. Patrick Ferguson had visited in the previous summer and described them as follows:

There is at Orangeburgh a very well executed field fort, with four bastions, upon an eminence. It is only 60 yards square. Within it is a court house 40 feet by 60 feet which would be an excellent barracks. The situation is healthy and there is a very large brick jail in tolerable repair, which from its central situation may be of use.³⁶

Greene was dismayed to find that

the British general was not only in a strong position, but that he had secured his retreat across the Edisto, by occupying with musketry a large brick prison and several other houses commanding the river, to the southern banks of which he could readily retire uninjured, should he think proper to avoid battle until lieutenant colonel Cruger should join.³⁷

Further, "the cavalry, from the nature of the ground and the disposition of the enemy, could not be brought to take its part in the action."³⁸ Greene, with the concurrence of most of the field officers, decided not to attack. At 5 p.m. he ordered his Continentals to begin marching to the High Hills of Santee, about 40 miles to the northeast, to wait out the remaining dog days.³⁹ The High Hills were no higher than 300 feet, but they were not as plagued by disease-bearing mosquitoes.

³⁶ Maj. Patrick Ferguson to Cornwallis, June 14, 1780; *CP*, 1:107. An overlay of a 1769 plat of Orangeburg (available online from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History) onto a modern map shows the courthouse on an eminence with the "Goal" (i.e. gaol, or jail) just to the north on the east side of present Henley St. between Broughton St. and Windsor St.

³⁷ Lee, *Memoirs*, 386.

³⁸ Lee, *Memoirs*, 386.

³⁹ Greene's after orders, July 12, 1781, PNG, 9:3.

The Dog Days Raid Begins, July 13, 1781

Although disappointed by not getting the big battle he wanted, Greene saw an opportunity. While Rawdon's forces were at Orangeburg he would send 1100 men under Sumter to strike close to the heart and soul of British defenses at Charlestown in what is now called the Dog Days Raid.⁴⁰ On the day after giving up at Orangeburg, Greene took his army across Santee River at Pinckney's Ferry toward the High Hills.⁴¹ (Fig. 4) Most of Sumter's brigade, as well as Marion's, left Greene at the ferry and continued toward Moncks Corner, while Lee's Legion and Sumter's cavalry under Col. Wade Hampton went to attack Dorchester and other places close to Charlestown. (For the troops involved in the Dog Days Raid see Appendix D.) Greene described Dorchester and Moncks Corner as "nothing but Churches occupied," but Sumter had wanted to attack for several weeks "in Order to cut off all Communication & Succor from Town & give a General Shock below."⁴² It would not be the big battle Greene preferred, but Sumter might capture a British regiment, or at least force the British to stay close to Charlestown rather than try to retake their backcountry outposts.

To conceal their objectives and cut off British support and communications, Sumter divided his forces into four units that marched by different routes, planning to rejoin at Moncks Corner after attacking Dorchester and other small targets.⁴³

⁴⁰ Greene to Andrew Pickens, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:60. Lee, *Memoirs*, 387. The foray of July 1781 in South Carolina is not referred to as the Dog Days Raid in contemporaneous sources or in pension applications filed by participants. The name comes from *The Forayers: The Raid of the Dog-days* (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1855) by William Gilmore Simms, one of the most popular writers of his day.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924022164846&view=1up&seq=1>

⁴¹ Pension application of Capt. John Richbourg <http://revwarapps.org/s18175.pdf>.

⁴² Greene to Pickens, July 15, 1781, *PNG*, 9:10-11. Greene to Lee, June 24, 1781, *PNG*, 8:452. Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63.

⁴³ Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:62-64. Lee, *Memoirs*, 387.

(Fig. 4) Sumter would march his infantry mainly at night to stay hidden and avoid the worst of the Dog-Days heat, while his cavalry under Col. Wade Hampton rode down the main road toward Charlestown. On the way a detachment under his brother, Lt. Col. Henry Hampton, would destroy the bridge across Four Holes Creek to prevent Rawdon's coming south from Orangeburg.⁴⁴ Henry Hampton would then join the cavalry of Lee's Legion to attack the garrison at Dorchester. After attacking Dorchester, Lee would leave word at Goose Creek Bridge to coordinate with Col. Wade Hampton and "thunder even at the gates of Charlestown," according to Greene's request.⁴⁵ Once all the forces were together, they would strike at their main target at Moncks Corner—the British Nineteenth Regiment, also known as the Green Howards.⁴⁶ Sumter's complex plan depended on good timing and luck to succeed entirely. Henry Hampton secured Four Holes Bridge, then went 18 miles southward to join Lee at Dorchester as planned. Not finding him, however, Hampton went back to the bridge in case Rawdon arrived.⁴⁷ Lee had been to Dorchester but may have left early after finding no enemy there.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Richard Beardon <http://revwarapps.org/r672.pdf>. Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63.

⁴⁵ Greene to Sumter, July 14, 1781, *PNG*, 9:8. The literal gates of Charlestown were in the massive tabby hornwork on King Street at present Marion Square.

⁴⁶ The Nineteenth was known as the Green Howards from 1744 until 1920. In 1744 there were two regiments in the same campaign commanded by colonels named Howard. The Green Howards were distinguished from the other regiment by the green facings on their coats. <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/green-howards-alexandra-princess-wales-own-yorkshire-regiment>

⁴⁷ Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63. Rawdon remained at Orangeburg until at least July 16th: William Washington to Greene, July 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:43. The remaining British occupied the fort until July 29th. Gen. Isaac Huger to Col. Lewis Morris, Jr., July 30, 1781, *PNG*, 9:114.

⁴⁸ According to Greene's biographer, William Johnson, the "garrison was at that time greatly reduced by the draft made on it by Stewart, and recently by a very serious mutiny [sic: mutiny], in which it was said one hundred men were killed and wounded before it was quelled. William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1822), 2:167.

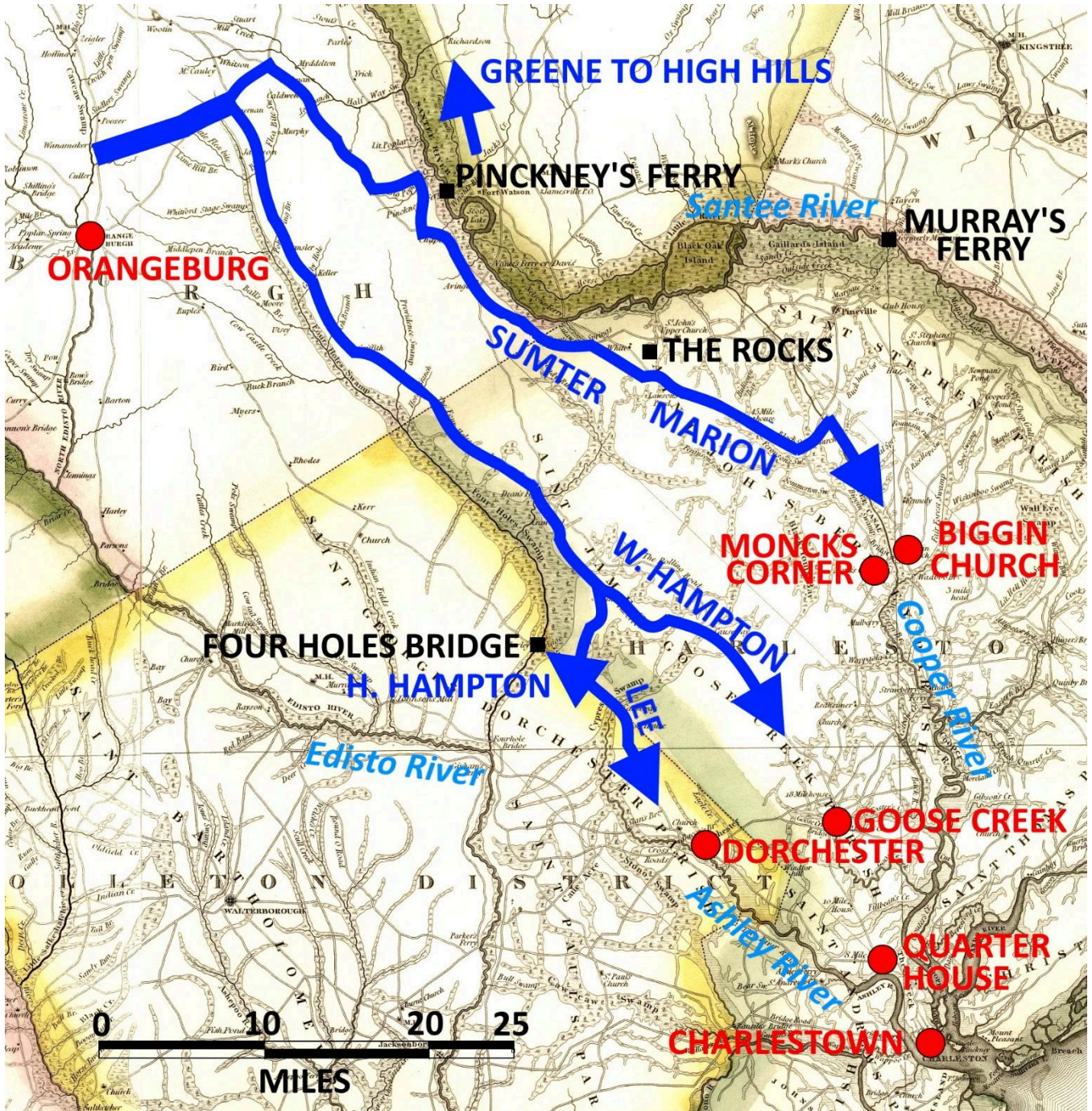


Figure 4. Possible routes of Sumter's Brigade, Wade Hampton's cavalry, Marion's Brigade, and Lee's Legion from Greene's camp on Turkey Creek, just north of Orangeburg, beginning on July 13, 1781 and plotted mainly on roads on Wilson's 1822 map. The lower right portion of this map is shown in Fig. 6.

Lee was probably glad to find Dorchester abandoned, because the tabby-walled fortress would have been difficult to take without artillery. (Fig. 5)



Figure 5. Remains of Fort Dorchester. (Top) View within the tabby walls of the fort with brick remains of the powder magazine in the middle. (Bottom) Closeup of the tabby wall with Ashley River just beyond the clearing. Tabby was made from a mixture of lime, sand, and oyster shells. (C. Leon Harris)

Lee captured perhaps 300 horses (many of which had probably been stolen from Whigs), three empty wagons, and a wagon loaded with artillery ammunition.⁴⁹ The horses alone made Lee's

⁴⁹ Lee to Greene, July 15, 1781, *PNG* 9:12. Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Journal of Capt. Alexander Chesney: Adjutant to Maj. Patrick Ferguson*, (Blacksburg, SC: Scotia-Hibernia Press, 2002), 45.

The remains of the fort and historic Dorchester are in Colonial Dorchester State Historic Site in Summerville SC. The fort had previously been used by then Capt. Francis

excursion to Dorchester worthwhile, since many of the Americans' horses had undoubtedly succumbed to heat and hunger. Part of Lee's Legion cavalry then rode toward Charlestown expecting to engage British troops who frequented the Quarter House Tavern, but they did not encounter any.⁵⁰

Col. Wade Hampton's Raid

Col. Wade Hampton's mounted troops proceeded to Goose Creek Bridge and waited in vain to hear from Lee as planned.⁵¹ While there, Hampton's advanced guard of eight men under Capt. John Reid took ten enemy prisoners at the nearby Fifteen Mile House.⁵² (Fig. 6) According to many secondary sources, Hampton probably also seized the bridge, but we have found no evidence that fighting occurred there. It was also reported in the Charlestown *Royal Gazette* of July 18 (Appendix E) and by a Loyalist who may have read the paper (Appendix B) that Hampton's troops "surrounded the church during the time of service made prisoners of the congregation to some of whom they gave paroles and took several horses." No such event is mentioned in official correspondence or in pension declarations by participants in Hampton's raid. It would have been on Sunday, July 15, at the church of St. James Goose Creek. (Fig. 7)

Marion, and late in 1781 Dorchester was the encampment of Gen. Greene. Colonial Dorchester was founded in 1696 by settlers from Dorchester, Massachusetts, and was abandoned decades before the Revolutionary War.

⁵⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 387. The Quarter House Tavern was in present North Charleston on Success St. between Meeting St. and Rivers Ave.

⁵¹ Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63. Philip Sell stated that Hampton's detachment numbered about 100 mounted infantry, but James Clinton said 200 men. <http://revwarapps.org/w4333.pdf>; <http://revwarapps.org/s2437.pdf>.

⁵² Pension application of William Brothertin (S1793). Sumter wrote to Greene (*PNG*, 9:63) that there were 12 in the advance guard, but like Brothertin, George Ross stated that he was one of eight. <http://revwarapps.org/s1717.pdf>

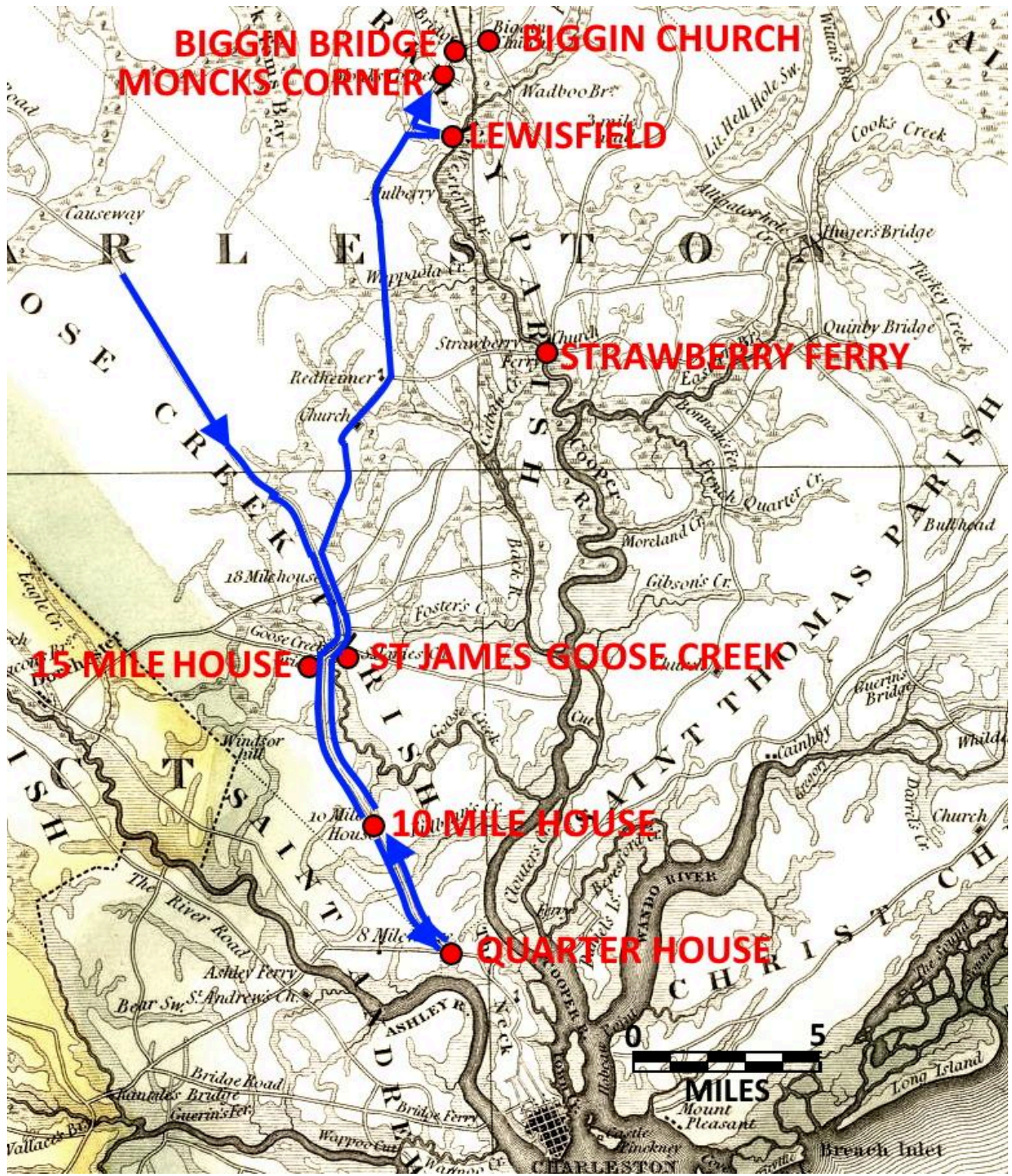


Figure 6. Possible route of Col. Wade Hampton's raid plotted on the Wilson 1822 map.

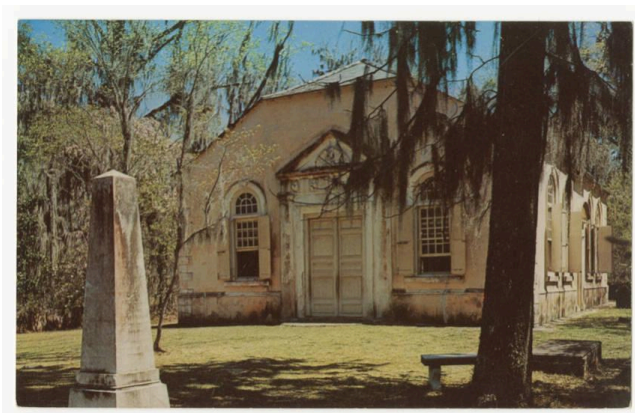


Figure 7. St. James Goose Creek Church, where it is said Wade Hampton's troops paroled worshippers and stole horses. The church still stands. (Undated postcard, University of South Carolina Library, Digital Collections.) (<https://www.scpictureproject.org/berkeley-county/st-james-goose-creek-parish-church.html>.)

From Goose Creek Hampton proceeded toward Charlestown, and at the Ten Mile House his advanced guard took about a dozen prisoners.⁵³ Five miles farther, near the Quarter House, Capt. Reid's advanced guard encountered a squad of provincial dragoons. A severe skirmish ensued, resulting in several of the dragoons being killed and captured, as described by William Brothertin.

[They] went by direction of their pilot a back way to the five mile house [Quarter House] where on coming to the road they discovered a squad of Tarltons dragoons [sic] within about thirty yards. Capt Reed [sic] ordered a charge having but eight men with him being the van guard, the Captain and his eight men charged through the ranks, returned, when the British surrendered and twenty five prisoners were taken In that action this applicant knocked the hat off of a British Officer Jumped from his horse, picked it up and put it under his arm, then mounted and there kept it until the

⁵³ Pension applications of William Brothertin, Thomas King, Richard Beardon, and John Robison. <http://revwarapps.org/s1793.pdf>; <http://revwarapps.org/S31759.pdf>; <http://revwarapps.org/W24798.pdf> <http://revwarapps.org/R672.pdf>

enemy surrendered, this applicant after knocking the hat off of the officers head with his sword cleft his head in twain and left him with the slain. Besides the prisoners taken in this action there were 7 killed. On the side of the Americans the pilot alone was killed. After the Battle the prisoners were paroled when they fearing Tarletons Dragoons would be upon them, made their way up Ashley River to a Waste [field?] where they dismounted and every man sat and held his horse until morning.⁵⁴

Soon after the skirmish, the main body of Wade Hampton's corps arrived and killed or wounded all the enemy dragoons except two. South Carolina militia Captain John Wright was killed in the fighting.⁵⁵ Hugh King described the action:

he was in what is called the battle of the Quarter house, a severe engagement between Colo Wade Hampton's regt of state dragoons and a detachment of British dragoons acting as guards to two waggons loaded with specie (principally gold) and arms designed to equip tory dragoons. That this detachment of British dragoons was routed, and the waggons horses, money and arms fell into our hands, and were immediately dispatched to Genl Sumpter, then some 20 or 30 miles in our rear.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ William Brothertin, *ibid.* Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63. Most of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's dragoons were actually in Virginia. The squad may have been former slaves later known as Black Dragoons. According to Don Troiani (email to CLH, October 22, 2018), the Black Dragoons wore the distinctive green tunics used by Tarleton's Legion.

(<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/279645458097527812>) Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South*, (Charleston SC: Walker & James, 1851), 298-299, also noted Black Dragoons in the area. "Parole" refers to the release of prisoners on their oath not to say or do anything to aid the enemy.

⁵⁵ Sumter to Greene, July 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:52; Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:82; Thomas Broughton <http://revwarapps.org/W897.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Hugh King <http://revwarapps.org/s32365.pdf>. This action is often conflated with the skirmish by the advanced guard, but Sumter's July 22 letter to Greene (*PNG*, 9:63) indicates

The *Royal Gazette* (Appendix E) portrayed the Quarter House action differently, adding that Capt. Wright was killed by Lt. Waugh, who surrendered and was then murdered by an American. After the fight Hampton moved closer to Charlestown but then reconsidered, according to Sumter.

some of Col^o Hamptons party proceeded down within two Miles of Town; but the detention he had met with at Goose Creek Bridge [waiting for Lee]; apprised the Enemy of his approach. The Alarm being fired in Town & having Captured at the Quarter house twenty odd British; a Number of Horses, & some Waggon; he thought it most prudent to come off⁵⁷

Stephen Jarvis, an American in the British Army, related another encounter, probably with Hampton's advanced guard on July 15, as it was riding toward Moncks Corner. Jarvis was sent with a small party "a little before sunset in a heavy shower of rain" to gain intelligence about American movements. They encountered "six or eight men," one of whom was captured after trying to shoot Jarvis.⁵⁸ (Appendix F)

that the advanced guard was "follow'd by the main body" after the first skirmish. Pension applicants gave varying accounts of what was captured. James Miller: "we caught some eight or ten British officers;" Philip Sell: "took sixty British prisoners with their horses." Thomas Broughton: "took about thirty British regulars, a baggage waggon, and about ninety head of horses – the British having them out at pasture." William Caldwell: "took sixty horses belonging to the British, the horses were feeding in a pasture guarded by fifteen British soldiers one of whom was lieutenant these were all taken prisoners – they also took a waggon filled with clothing and other stores belonging to the British." Richard Beardon: "took a waggon loaded with armes and clothing." James Clinton: "several were killed and taken prisoners, and several horses were taken."

<http://revwarapps.org/s2828/.pdf>;
<http://revwarapps.org/W4333.pdf>;
<http://revwarapps.org/W897.pdf>;
<http://revwarapps.org/S2116.pdf>;
<http://revwarapps.org/R672.pdf>;
<http://revwarapps.org/s2437.pdf>.

⁵⁷ Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63.

⁵⁸ Stephen Jarvis, "An American's Experience in the British Army," Part 1, *The Connecticut Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (summer 1907), 213-214.

Hampton's troops continued north toward Moncks Corner for the planned rendezvous with Sumter. According to Hugh King, in the evening following the skirmish at the Quarter House, "being informed that some vessels conveying the British baggage up Cooper River were at no great distance, Colonel Hampton overtook and burnt them. The vessels were two small schooners."⁵⁹ Other pension applicants in Hampton's corps described what appears to be the same event, but with differences typical of statements made more than fifty years later. (Appendix G) According to William Brothertin the event occurred on the morning after the action at the Quarter House.⁶⁰ James Clinton stated that the event occurred on "Cooper River not far from Biggen church," and Redden McCoy stated that it occurred "at Simons plantation"—Lewisfield.⁶¹ Samuel Mathis, who was in Marion's brigade, recorded in his diary (Appendix C) on July 16: "About 200 of us destroy Bigham [Biggin] Bridge and two Shooners at the Bridge."⁶² This may be the same event, although it is questionable whether Biggin Bridge was destroyed.

The sinking of the two schooners in Cooper River was also described by Joseph Johnson in 1851 as happening near the Lewisfield Plantation of Col. Keating Simons (pronounced Simmons).⁶³ Guided by Johnson's statement, hobby divers in 1986 searched near Lewisfield Plantation and found a three-pounder cannon and swivel gun, as well as other artifacts from the period of the Revolutionary War.⁶⁴ About a third of a mile

⁵⁹ Hugh King <http://revwarapps.org/s32365.pdf>. A schooner was a two-masted boat with shallow draft that could be propelled by sails or oars or could drift up and down stream with the tide.

⁶⁰ William Brothertin <http://revwarapps.org/s1793.pdf>.

⁶¹ James Clinton <http://revwarapps.org/s2437.pdf> and Redden McCoy <http://revwarapps.org/s7198.pdf>.

⁶² Mathis in *Historic Camden*, 1:403, and in Appendix C.

⁶³ Johnson, *Traditions*, 298-299. Col. Simons is mentioned by Uriah Brown and George Campbell, and unflatteringly by Samuel Caskey.

<http://revwarapps.org/s32140.pdf>;

<http://revwarapps.org/s10436.pdf>;

<http://revwarapps.org/SC1247.pdf>.

⁶⁴ Steen, "Two Cannon Wreck" Project.

downriver they found remnants of a second burned boat. (Fig. 8)



Figure 8. Revolutionary-period artifacts found in Cooper River near Lewisfield Plantation. (Top) A partially burned boat (South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology [SCIAA]). (Middle) A cannon found loaded with a three-pound ball (SCIAA). (Bottom) A swivel gun (Drew Ruddy). The guns and other Revolutionary War artifacts are on display at the Berkeley County Museum and Heritage Center.

<https://www.berkeleymuseum.org>

Wade Hampton's sinking of two schooners is generally said to have occurred at Strawberry Ferry, more than five miles down the West Branch of Cooper River from Lewisfield. For reasons explained in Appendix G, we believe this is an error resulting from Hampton's misinforming Sumter about the location. According to Johnson, Hampton stopped by Lewisfield Plantation to visit the sister of Col. Keating Simons, and he may not have wanted to explain to Sumter the amorous purpose of his visit. Hampton may also have wanted to protect Col. Simons, who was a

prisoner on parole at the time. Simons would almost certainly have faced being hanged or shot by the British if they thought he had aided the Americans while on parole, and he might even have been court martialed by the Americans.⁶⁵

After burning the two schooners, Hampton proceeded northward to rejoin Sumter, Marion, and Lee for the main objective of the Dog Days Raid—the taking of the British regiment. According to Hugh King, as they neared Moncks Corner they came upon an “encampment of a Regiment of British troops consisting of new Irish recruits [and] drove in their advance guard.”⁶⁶ The regiment of “new Irish recruits” was the Nineteenth.

Sumter Tries to Trap the Nineteenth Regiment at Biggin Church

The Nineteenth was one of the three British regiments of regulars that had arrived on June 3, probably still wobbly from the long voyage, dazed by the heat, and awed by the splendor of Charlestown. Four days later they were marched off to a land infested by alligators and an enemy so stubborn it would sustain itself by eating them. On the way to Ninety Six Rawdon had picked up the troops that were garrisoned at Moncks Corner along with the 19th's flank companies (the grenadiers and light infantry) and left the eight infantry companies of young Irishmen of the 19th Regiment there under the command of Lt. Col. James Coates. The 19th Regiment was later joined by the South Carolina Royalists, a provincial cavalry regiment under Maj. Thomas Fraser, a company under Capt. Colin Campbell, and a small troop of Queen's Rangers under Capt. John

⁶⁵ Parole was a matter of honor and convenience to both sides. After John Faucheraud Grimké escaped while on parole, he requested a court of inquiry into his conduct and was acquitted. General Greene's Orders, June 29, 1781, PNG, 8:472.

⁶⁶ <http://revwarapps.org/S32365.pdf>.

Saunders. Coates's total force was about 400 infantry and 100 to 150 cavalry.⁶⁷

Probably in response to Lee's and Hampton's troops approaching Moncks Corner, Coates moved his garrison two miles northeast to St. Johns Berkeley Parish Church, usually called Biggin Church. (Fig. 9) With walls three and a half bricks thick, according to Sumter, the church offered a better defense than the houses at Moncks Corner and would provide ammunition and other stores with protection from the frequent afternoon thunderstorms. According to Sumter, the British added further protection from attack by enclosing it in two circles of abattis—felled trees with sharpened branches.



Figure 9. Ruins of the Biggin Church that replaced the one occupied by the British on the same site and may have looked like it. This rebuilt church was burned in a forest fire in the late 1800s and was never rebuilt. (C. Leon Harris)

The church was also in a position to defend a long causeway and Biggin Bridge, which was the southern-most dry crossing of the West Branch of the Cooper River, and the only dry crossing of Biggin Creek and Biggin Swamp within miles. Whoever controlled the bridge controlled much of the traffic in the area. If attacked from the north, the British could retreat across the causeway and

⁶⁷ According to O'Kelley, *NBBS* 3:249, a company of light infantry and one of grenadiers from the 19th Regiment went with Rawdon to Ninety Six. Jarvis, "American's Experience," 213-214. Savage to Crosbie, July 18, 1781, and Appendix B. Greene to McKean, July 26, 1781, *PNG*, 9:84.

bridge, with pursuing Americans squeezed into a narrow front where fire could be concentrated on them.⁶⁸ For the same reason, the Americans could not cross Biggin Bridge from Moncks Corner and hope to get past the British at the church.

When Lee arrived at Biggin Bridge he was annoyed to find that Sumter had not captured it as expected. "Coates had very prudently occupied it with a detachment from his regiment, which compelled Lee to take a very circuitous route through deep sands, in the heat of July, to reach Sumter."⁶⁹ Lee, as well as Hampton later, had to ride at least six miles north to cross Biggin Swamp, then come down the east side to join Sumter and Marion at their camp "about a mile and a half above the church." (Fig. 10)

Sumter's infantry had marched slowly, camping on July 15 at The Rocks plantation, just beyond the place where in happier times he had operated a store.⁷⁰ (Fig. 4) During the march Sumter was busy putting out brush fires. On July 15 he had sent a detachment of 300 to Murray's Ferry 15 miles away to drive off enemy troops. Sumter covered the final 20 miles of the march that night,

⁶⁸ For the location and importance of Biggin Bridge, see C. Leon Harris and Charles B. Baxley, "Tarleton Tightens the Noose Around Charlestown Neck: Biggin Bridge, April 14, 1780," *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* 18, No. 2 (November 29, 2021). On the church walls and abatis, see Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63. Jasper Faust referred to "some men who during the tour were injured by lightning."
<http://revwarapps.org/r3468.pdf>

⁶⁹ Lee, *Memoirs*, 387. After Biggin Bridge was destroyed some time before August 1782, Maj. Thomas Fraser had to go six miles north to find a crossing. C. Leon Harris and Charles B. Baxley. "Francis Marion's Last Engagement: The Avenue of the Cedars: Wadboo Plantation, August 29, 1782." *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* 16, No. 3.4 (November 21, 2020), 6.

⁷⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 387. Pension applications of Samuel Gordon and Daniel Carter. The Rocks Plantation was near the modern Rocks Pond Campground, 4 miles east of Eutaw Springs and Sumter's pre-war store was near the intersection of Old Hwy 6 (SC Hwy 6) and Sumter Road.
<http://revwarapps.org/s30441.pdf>,
<http://revwarapps.org/s3126.pdf>. Mathis diary, and Appendix C.

arriving at camp on July 16.⁷¹ Sumter's one piece of field artillery lagged behind.⁷²

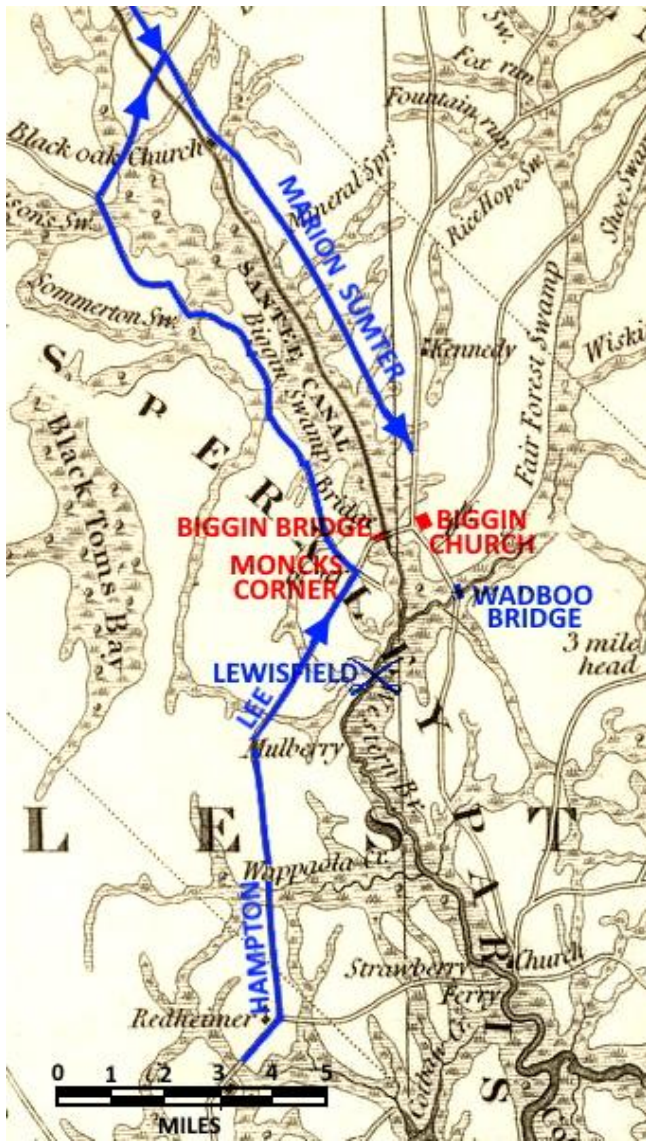


Figure 10. The area of Moncks Corner and Biggin Church on Wilson's 1822 map. Roads highlighted in blue indicate possible routes of Sumter and Marion from the north, and of Lee and Hampton from the south, to their camp north of Biggin Church. (Santee Canal was not built until the 1790s.)

⁷¹ Sumter to Greene, July 15, 1781, *PNG*, 9:17. The Rocks Plantation is shown on a map in Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Lowcountry* (Charleston SC: Carolina Art Association, 1938), 8.

⁷² Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:64 and Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:81.

Even before arriving at camp Sumter set about cutting off the 19th Regiment's escape routes. (Fig. 11) As noted before, Samuel Mathis, who served under Marion, stated in his diary that on July 16 "about 200 of us destroy Biggin Bridge and two Shooners at the Bridge." There does appear to have been an attack on Biggin Bridge that day, but according to British Capt. David John Bell of the 19th Regiment, the Americans failed to take Biggin Bridge, much less destroy it.

I had the Honor of exchanging the first shot with the enemy, for on the 16th July having the Picquet at a Bridge leading from Monks Corner to Biggin Church, they came & attacked me there, but I having fortified my Bridge *secundem artem* [according to practice] did not fear them much.⁷³

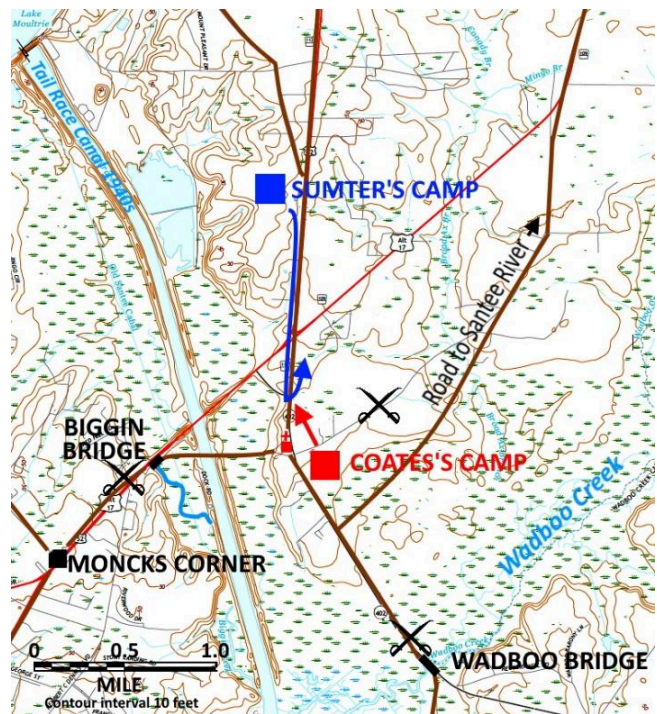


Figure 11. Skirmishes (indicated by three crossed swords) near Biggin Church on July 16, 1781, on the current USGS map. The skirmish shown about a half mile northeast of Biggin Church was at an unknown plantation within three miles of the

⁷³ Capt. David John Bell letter to Charles, August 11, 1781. Papers of the Continental Congress, Intercepted British Letters, Library of Congress, Item 51, 1:659-661, and in Appendix H.

British camp. Arrows depict movements late on the 16th when Sumter retrograded to a defile. Note the extensive wetlands that would have constrained movements. Roads depicted in Wilson’s 1822 map are highlighted in brown. Tailrace Canal dates from the 1940s.

Sumter sent Lt. Col. Peter Horry’s Light Dragoons to “destroy Wadboo Bridges & force a Picquet they had thereat.”⁷⁴ Sumter reported to Greene that “the business was effected with respect to the Bridges but the Enemy being apprised of the parties approach the[y] failed in the latter.” Sumter may have gotten this exactly backwards. It appears that Horry did succeed in temporarily driving off the pickets at Wadboo Bridge but failed to destroy the bridge. (Fig. 12)

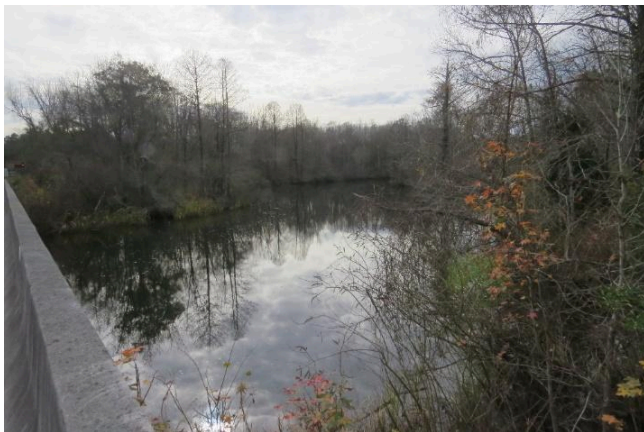


Figure 12. Wadboo Creek from the north end of the present Wadboo Bridge. (C. Leon Harris)

Stephen Jarvis described the attempt to destroy the bridge as follows:

in the morning about sunrise [July 16] I discovered that a large body of men had approached near the Garrison, and had taken off the road to gain our right in flank. I galloped back as fast as I could, but before I reached the Camp the enemy had drove in

⁷⁴ Greene to Lee, June 24, 1781, *PNG*, 8:453. Sumter to Greene, July 17, 1781, *PNG*, 9:51. Sumter’s uses of the plural suggests that he knew about the bridge four miles up Wadboo Creek from the lower bridge. James Harbison, who was in the regiment of Col. Edward Lacey in Sumter’s Brigade, was also “with a detachment at the destroying a bridge near the church.” <http://revwarapps.org/w17039.pdf>

our Sentinels, and were destroying the bridge to prevent our retreat on that route, and then they retraced their steps and took up their position on the road that lead to the Santee.⁷⁵

Sumter later claimed that it had been his intent to force the British to retreat across Biggin Bridge through Moncks Corner. If this is correct, it would explain why Biggin Bridge was not destroyed.

I therefore Wished them to Retreat by the Way of Monks Corner & to oblige them to Take that Route, If they Did Retreat. I attempted to Destroy the Bridges, upon the east Side of Cooper River, & if it had been Done as effectually as the off Who had Directions to do it, Assured me it was, their Retreat Must have proved their Ruin. They thought that you with your Whole army was there.⁷⁶

Lee stated that the British retained “three routes of retreat,” the “readiest” being by “the [Biggin] bridge in his possession, [which] would place Cooper’s river on his left.” (Fig. 13) The other two routes “lay on the east of Cooper river” and crossed Wadboo Bridge.⁷⁷ One of those routes led to Strawberry Ferry, where the British could have crossed Cooper River and continued to Charlestown. Alternatively, they could have crossed Cooper River at Bonneau’s Ferry and gone to British-controlled Cainhoy. Crossing a ferry with more than a few men and horses, however, would have taken too long if the Americans were in close pursuit. For that reason the British might have chosen to turn east to cross the Cooper River near Huger’s Bridge and then continued south to Cainhoy. The third route, and the one most consistent with Lee’s account, may have gone from Wadboo Bridge directly to Huger’s Bridge. No such route is shown on early maps, which agrees with the statement by Jarvis

⁷⁵ Jarvis, “American’s Experience,” 214, and in Appendix F. The road from Biggin Church to Santee River is shown in Fig. 10.

⁷⁶ Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:81-82.

⁷⁷ Lee, *Memoirs*, 388.

that most of the British used “a bye road that the enemy had no knowledge of.”⁷⁸ It may have coincided with present Witherbee Road and Copperhead Road to Huger’s Bridge.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Jarvis, “American’s Experience,” 214.

⁷⁹ Huger is pronounced like U and G in English.

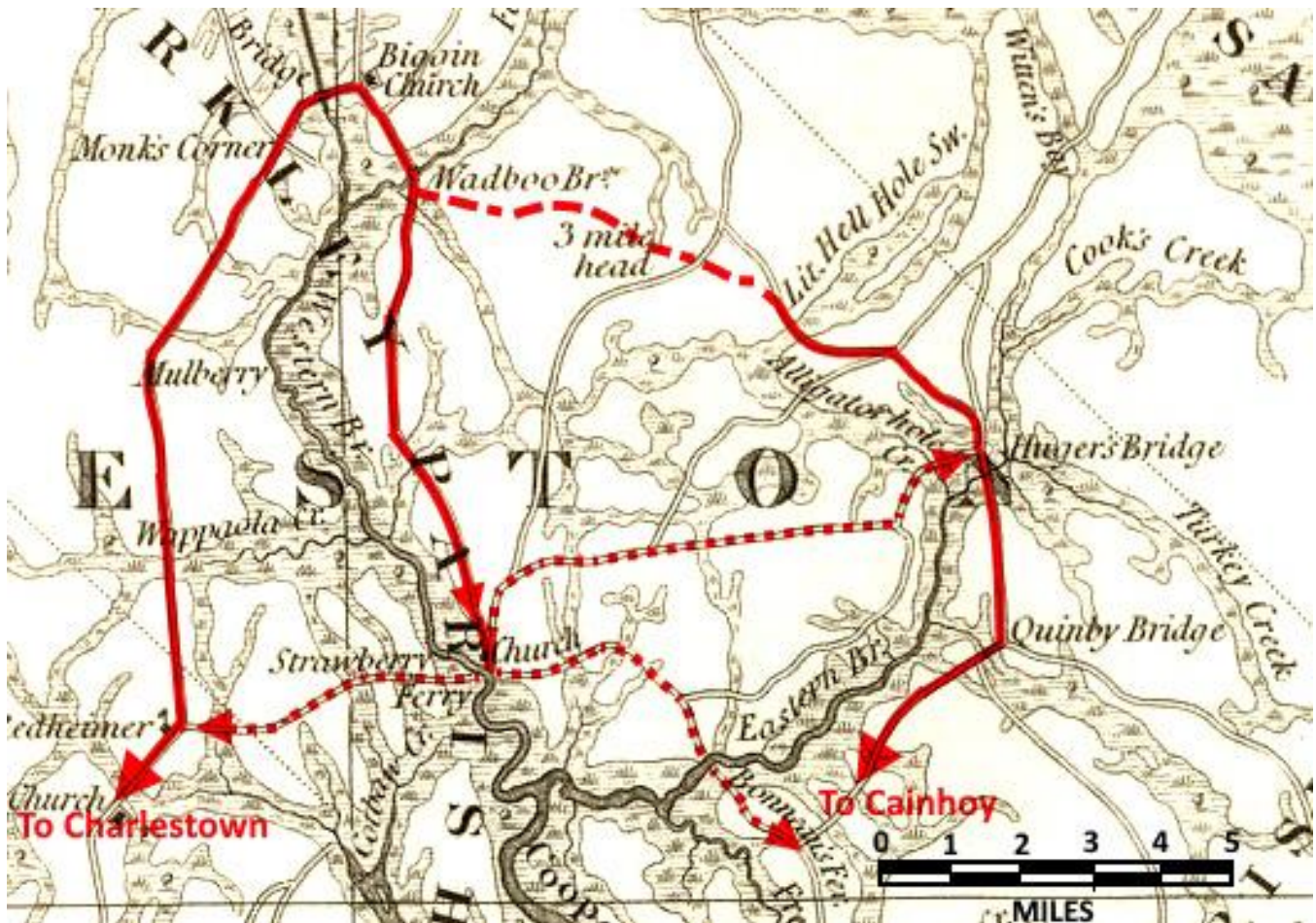


Figure 13. Roads on the Wilson map highlighted in red to show possible routes of escape from Biggin Church. One escape route led to Charlestown by crossing Biggin Bridge. The second led to Strawberry Ferry and then either to Charlestown by crossing Western Branch of Cooper River by the ferry, or to Cainhoy by either crossing the Eastern Branch at Bonneau's Ferry or by crossing the river at Huger's Bridge. The third route went directly to Huger's Bridge and Cainhoy. The dashed portion of the third route is not on Wilson's map but corresponds to present Witherbee Road.

At 5 p.m. after trying to destroy Wadboo Bridge, Horry had another skirmish at an unknown plantation within three miles of Biggin Church. Learning that some of the Americans' horses were grazing, Capt. Stephen Jarvis with Maj. Fraser's cavalry "pressed hard on the enemy, who left the road and took the woods." Jarvis stated that he caught up with one American and "by a well directed stroke laid him in the dust." He did not mention any British losses. Sumter gave a different version to Greene, stating that Fraser's cavalry "made a most confused dastardly Attempt," and South Carolina militia Col. Edward Lacey "broke the Enemys charge with the

Riflemen of his Regem^t."⁸⁰ Sumter, who was later nicknamed "the Gamecock," could not resist crowing:

⁸⁰ Sumter to Greene, July 17, 1781, and July 22, 1781, PNG, 9:51, 63. James Gill stated, "This applicant was at this time under said Lacy when they had a pretty severe skirmish with the British in which we killed many of the British & took some prisoners this was in the evening." <http://revwarapps.org/r4023.pdf>. James Goyne stated, "We killed one and took seven prisoners." <http://revwarapps.org/s30442.pdf>. John McDill stated, "after we had destroyed the bridge, we were attacked by a party of British Dragoons. We killed two or three and took seven of them prisoners." <http://revwarapps.org/s21879.pdf>. Col. Edward Lacey commanded the Turkey Creek militia regiment from modern Chester County SC.

For notwithstanding our brave fellows were taken somewhat unawares, they repulsed them immediately, & drove the Heroick Major & his terrified Clan into their amazed Brethren at Biggin, killing some & taking two Sub^s [subaltern officers] & light Dragoons, of Col^o Inns's Corps; Noble Militia what think you Sir of their Charging British Dragoons with Rifles & pursuing them too their lines in short the Command is highly praise worthy & nothing but the fleetness of their [the enemy's] Horses saved them, both Officers & men discovered the greatest Intrepidity.⁸¹

By this time the British troops were undoubtedly anxious, and with good reason: Sumter was bringing his entire force down toward Biggin Church. The British sent a large force to meet him, causing Sumter to retrograde into a shallow depression. (Fig. 11)

Col^o Horry discovered the Enemy advancing in force. In Consequence of which he retreated to fall in with me. I was then approaching: but when informed of this I thought it advisable to retrograde a little to a defile which I left in my rear, & wait their coming up, it being a very advantagous position.⁸²

Before dawn on July 17 Sumter discovered that the British charge toward him had been a diversion. At 4 a.m. he arrived at Biggin Church to find it on fire, together with the baggage the British could not carry with them. All were gone except for the sick and a surgeon to care for them. Coates left the following note addressed to "Any

American Officer," requesting that they be exchanged for American prisoners:

Sir, 17th July 1781

I understand there is a ballance of prisoners on the last cartel in favour of Great Britain and finding myself under the necessity of leaving several sick and convalescents behind me and request that any American officers hands they may fall into will consider them in that light treat them with humanity and let them be sent on that & come to Charlestown a surgeons mate is left to attend them

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most Hum. Svt

Jas Coates Lt. Col. 19th Regt.⁸³

Lee and Hampton Capture the Rear Guard

On July 17 according to Lee, he and Hampton rode down to Wadboo Creek and to their "surprise and mortification" found that Horry had not only failed to destroy the bridge entirely, but had neglected to post a guard to prevent the British escape, or at least alert the Americans.⁸⁴ They may also have been surprised but pleased that the British had not destroyed the bridge after repairing and crossing it, so the Americans were able to cross it. At a fork in the road south of Wadboo Bridge, tracks revealed that one troop of Fraser's cavalry had taken the road toward Strawberry Ferry, probably to summon help from Charlestown. Part of Marion's cavalry pursued them, but they reached the ferry hours after the British troop had crossed.⁸⁵ Lee, Hampton, and some of Marion's cavalry under Col. Hezekiah

⁸¹ Sumter to Greene, July 17, 1781, *PNG*, 9:51. "Colo Inns" was Col. Alexander Innis, commandant of the South Carolina Royalists provincial regiment. The earliest documented occurrence of the nickname "Gamecock" was in 1800. Karl G. Heider, "The Gamecock, the Swamp Fox, and the Wizard Owl: The Development of Good Form in an American Totemic Set," *Journal of American Folklore* 93, no. 367 (1980): 1-22.

⁸² Sumter to Greene, July 17, 1781, *PNG*, 9:51.

⁸³ Coates to "Any American Officer, July 17, 1781, in Steen, *Two Cannon Wreck*, 90. On May 3, 1781, at Claudius Pegue's Plantation north of Cheraw SC, negotiators for Greene and Cornwallis had concluded a "cartel" for the exchange of prisoners in the Southern Department.

⁸⁴ Lee, *Memoirs*, 388.

⁸⁵ Lee, *Memoirs*, 388-389. Joseph Forsyth, pension application S23636.

Maham followed the main body of the British on what may have been the present Witherbee and Copperhead roads.⁸⁶ (Fig. 13)

According to Jarvis, the baggage wagons in the British rear broke down one after another. While most of Coates's 19th Regiment and Fraser's South Carolina Royalists made it to safety across Quinby Bridge, the rear guard, consisting of 50 to 60 infantrymen with the remaining wagons, were lagging behind when Lee and Hampton caught up with them near Huger's Bridge about three miles from Quinby Bridge.⁸⁷ (As explained in Appendix I, Lee also gave a different location only a mile from Quinby Bridge.) If the skirmish did occur about three miles from Quinby Bridge it would have been at present Huger Recreation Area in the Francis Marion National Forest. The road north of Huger Creek coincides with the present road to the boat ramp. The northern part of the road corresponds to present Copperhead Road. (Fig. 14)

Being assured that the main British force was three miles away, Lee and the rear guard formed for battle. Lee ordered the bugle to sound the charge, and the British commander ordered his men to fire.

As soon as the officer in advance announced view of the enemy, Lee inquired of his guides the distance from the bridge, and heard with great pleasure that it was at least three miles in front. The legion cavalry was now directed to take close order; and captain [Joseph] Eggleston with one troop was detached in the woods to the left to turn the enemy's right, while the squadron under Lee, supported by the cavalry under lieutenant colonel Hampton, advanced along the road directly towards him.... Upon the approach of the horse in two directions, the [British] commanding officer formed in

line; his left on the road, and his right in the woods opposite to Eggleston.... The instant the enemy had formed, the charge was sounded, and the horse rushed upon them with drawn swords in full gallop. On our approach the enemy's order to fire was distinctly heard from right to left, which not taking place caused some inquietude, lest it was intentionally reserved to render it more fatal.⁸⁸

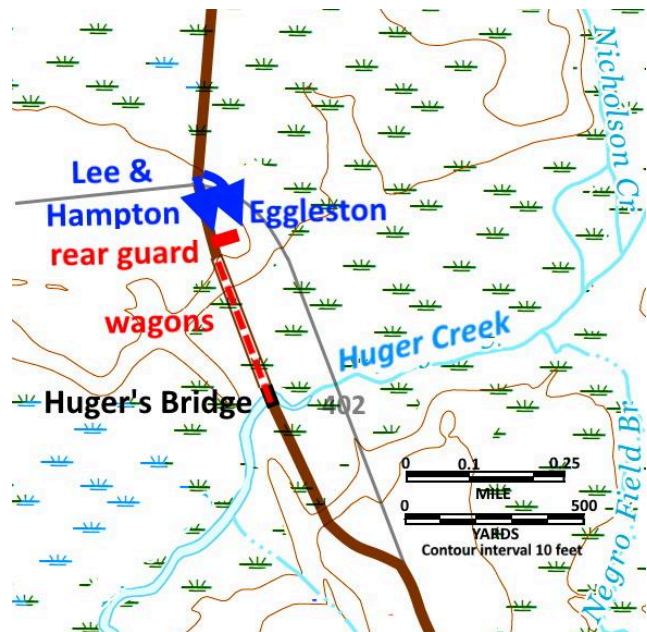


Figure 14. The capture of the rear guard and wagons described by Lee as occurring about three miles from Quinby Bridge. (Top) The capture depicted on the current USGS topo map.⁸⁹ Present

⁸⁶ Marion to Greene, July 19, 1781, *PNG*, 9:47. Marion to Greene, July 19, 1781, *PNG*, 19:47.

⁸⁷ Pension application of Joseph Forsyth (S23636). Bell, letter to Charles, August 11, 1781, and Appendix I.

⁸⁸ Lee, *Memoirs*, 389.

⁸⁹ The old road and causeway south of Huger Creek are still present and were located by Robert T. Morgan, former

SC Hwy 402 is shown in gray. (Bottom) Looking south from the old road toward present Huger Recreation Area and the old Huger's Bridge beyond. (C. Leon Harris)

What might have become a noteworthy battle was averted when the British surrendered.

Contrary to expectation this was not the case. The suppression of their meditated fire was not a feint; but the line, terrified at the novel and menacing attitude of the horse close upon it, hoped to secure their safety by this inoffensive conduct; and, without discharging a single musket, threw down their arms and begged for quarters. Their supplication was cheerfully granted, and like ourselves they escaped unhurt.⁹⁰

Sumter reported to Greene that Lee and Hampton “brought off Fifty odd prisoners a Cap^t Cambell [Colin Campbell] of the Nineteenth Infantry was the only Officer, & a considerable quantity of Baggage.”⁹¹ According to Jarvis, “Captain Campbell, Paymaster of the 19th Regiment, with the Military chest fell into the enemy’s hands, with all the heavy baggage of the Regiment.” Lee left the prisoners in the care of a few of Hampton’s militiamen and proceeded 2.8 miles toward Quinby Bridge.⁹²

The Skirmish at Quinby Bridge

Coates’s infantry and Fraser’s cavalry, numbering respectively perhaps 450 and 150 men, had crossed Quinby Bridge around dawn and waited

Heritage Program Manager for the Francis Marion and Sumter National Forests.

⁹⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 389. Sumter reported to Greene on July 18th (*PNG*, 9:52) that Lee and Hampton had only “about sixteen Cavalry 12 of Colo Lees & 4 volunteers,” but this number seems too small. Certainly it would not include the company of Capt. James Armstrong, who later went ahead to Quinby Bridge.

⁹¹ Sumter to Greene, July 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:52.

⁹² Jarvis, “American’s Experience,” 214. Lee, *Memoirs*, 390. John Walker stated that they “took 60 prisoners and 2 or 3 Carts Loaded with Liquor & provision which prisoners we took to Hillsborough.” <http://revwarapps.org/w9875.pdf>. John McDill: “our advance took about sixty prisoners.” <http://revwarapps.org/s21879.pdf>.

for the baggage wagons at the plantation of Patriot Capt. Thomas Shubrick.⁹³ (Fig. 15) The British were no doubt feeling relieved after their daring escape from Biggin Church, and now they could at last relax. The cavalry had unbridled their horses to graze, and the men were cooking breakfast.⁹⁴ Shubrick’s Plantation was protected on three sides by creeks and marsh, and the pursuing Americans would either have to cross at Quinby Bridge or make a wide circuit around to the Cainhoy Road and approach from the opposite direction. The British guarded the bridge with a howitzer, and they had unfastened the planks in preparation for throwing them into the creek after their wagons crossed.



Figure 15. Quinby Creek from the present bridge, looking southwest, with Shubrick’s Plantation’s overgrown rice paddies just across the creek and the road to Cainhoy on the left. (C. Leon Harris)

Capt. James Armstrong of Lee’s cavalry arrived at the bridge and saw the situation. According to Greene:

Lee was informed that the Enemy had crossed Quinby Bridge and were in a Lane with their Artillery. He sent forward to order the Legion to halt, but before the order could reach the advanced Corps Capt

⁹³ O’Kelley, *NBBS*, 3:294 gives the total British strength as 600, 150 of whom were Fraser’s based on O’Kelley’s estimate for the Battle of Parker’s Ferry on August 31, 1781 (*NBBS*, 3:323). Capt. Thomas Shubrick had been captured at the surrender of Charlestown and exchanged on June 14, 1781, *PNG*, 9:271, note 1.

⁹⁴ Jarvis, “American’s Experience,” 215.

Armstrong had passed the Bridge which the Enemy were endeavoring to take up, and was charging their Line. He drove them from their Artillery but the Musquetry beginning a heavy fire obliged him to file off, into the Woods not having advanced quite up to the Lane. He had two Men and 4 Horses killed, and Major Mayjam [Hezekiah Maham] who was with the advance had his Horse killed under him.⁹⁵

It is not clear whether Lee was the source of this information, but writing three decades later he gave a very different account. According to Lee's *Memoirs*, when Armstrong arrived at Quinby Bridge he sent a message to Lee asking for instructions. According to Lee,

Seeing the enemy, with the bridge interposed, which he knew to be contrary to his commandant's expectation, this gallant officer [Armstrong] drew up, and sent back for orders—never communicating the unexpected fact that the bridge intervened.⁹⁶

This statement is strange, because three paragraphs earlier in his *Memoirs* Lee wrote,

It was much wished to come up with Coates before he crossed that bridge, as *it was well known that the stream, without a circuit, was only passable at the bridge.*⁹⁷

Crossing the bridge and the narrow causeway at each end of it would mean that the cavalymen would be charging perhaps only three or four abreast with several hundred muskets and a howitzer pointed at them. In response to Armstrong's request for orders, Lee sent his adjutant, who "warmly reminded him of the order of the day, which was to fall upon the foe without

respect to consequences. Stung with this answer, the brave Armstrong put spur to his horse."⁹⁸ Armstrong divided his troop into three sections and led the first of them clattering across the bridge, dislodging some of the loosened planks. (Fig. 16)

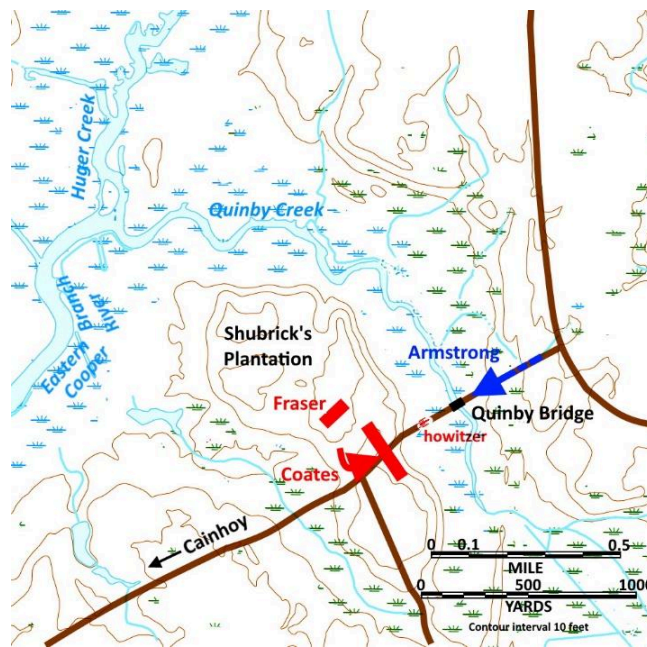


Figure 16. Capt. Armstrong's charge at Quinby Bridge.

The charge was so audacious that the British seem to have been stunned. In the words of Jarvis:

The enemy charged over the bridge and cut the sentry at the cannon down, and then dashed into the wood. The 19th fell in, some without their coats; great confusion ensued, and they began to give ground. The Cavalry mounted and really forced them to face the enemy.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Greene to McKean, July 26, 1781, *PNG*, 9:84. Sumter reported to Greene (July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:63), "Further that the Charge made by the Gallant Capt Armstrong of Colo Lee's Corps said to be on the Rear of the Enemy, is somewhat Erronious; whereas it was thro' their whole line of March, in which he lost 2 Dragoons killed; & two Horses; Colo Mahams Horse was shot under him."

⁹⁶ Lee, *Memoirs*, 390.

⁹⁷ Lee, *Memoirs*, 389.

⁹⁸ Lee, *Memoirs*, 390. Lee (*Memoirs*, 392-393) attempted to shift blame for ordering Armstrong's charge from himself to his guides and Armstrong. "Had the guides been correct in their estimation of the distance of the bridge, when we first saw the enemy's rear, Lee (having taken the rear-guard) would have found out some other route to the main body, and avoided the fatal obstacle. Had Armstrong, referring for further orders, communicated the interposition of the bridge, the warm reply would never have been made, but a cool examination of our relative situation would have followed; the result of which must have been propitious."

⁹⁹ Jarvis, "American's Experience," 215. Jarvis stated that the rear guard and baggage were overtaken at about the same time as Armstrong's charge. "About this time Colin

In the account by British Capt. David John Bell the shock was mingled with admiration:

About nine O'clock a party of Rebels galloped over the Bridge in the face of our Field Piece; rode through the Regiment & wounded two men: it was the most daring thing I ever heard of.¹⁰⁰

Lt. Carrington followed with the second section of Armstrong's company, opening even wider gaps in the bridge. Carrington engaged Lt. Col. Coates in a one-on-one sword fight, each man successfully parrying the other's strokes. According to Bell, a British soldier named McPheer, who was apparently a better marksman than musician, brought Carrington down, "but not with his Clarinet. It was a plain common Muskett Shot." Lee, however, stated that Carrington got away.¹⁰¹ Marion, but not Lee, stated that some of his troops under Maham were also engaged in the action. "The 17 Ulto we over took Col^o Coats at Quinbey Bridge in S^t Thomas Parish. L^t Col^o Lee & some of my Malitia horse Charged their rear & took some prisone the number I do not know preisely on this Occasion. I had L^t Postell & one private wounded."¹⁰²

Jarvis wrote that after forcing the 19th Regiment to form their line, Fraser "took advantage of a high field of corn, and set off and left the 19th to their fate, and pushed for Charlestown, got a reinforcement and returned to look after the 19th Regiment." Fraser could not have reached Charlestown and returned in less than a day,

however, and a few riders could have done the job faster than Fraser's entire corps.¹⁰³

Without Fraser the British line wavered except for Coates and a few others defending the howitzer. Lee soon arrived and found Armstrong's third section under Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal unable to cross the bridge. After failed attempts to retrieve the planks from the deep and muddy creek to repair the bridge, Lee withdrew.

Having only sabres to oppose to the enemy's fire, and those sabres withheld from contact by the interposing chasm, Lee was forced to draw off from the vain contest, after several of his dragoons had been wounded, among whom was doctor Irvin, surgeon of the legion cavalry.¹⁰⁴

Satisfied that the Americans could not cross at Quinby Bridge, the 19th Regiment withdrew with their howitzer to the safety of Shubrick's large frame house.¹⁰⁵ Lee claimed his guides led him to a ford some distance up the creek where he sent Marion intelligence of his position, urging him to come with the Legion infantry. Late in the evening, according to Lee, he and Marion approached Shubrick's house and finding it too well defended, they left without a fight. If Marion had lived to read Lee's book he would have been greatly surprised that there was no fighting at Shubrick's, as we shall see.¹⁰⁶ Lee wrote that at that moment they were joined by Armstrong and Carrington, who had been more fortunate than some of their comrades:

Campbell with part of the Rear Guard, sick, stragglers &. & the waggon with my Trunk were taken Prisoners within three hundred yards of the Regiment." A glance at Fig. 16 shows that if the wagons were within 300 yards they would have been blocking Armstrong's charge.

¹⁰⁰ Bell, August 11, 1781, and Appendix H.

¹⁰¹ Bell, August 11, 1781. Lee, *Memoirs*, 391. Lt. Carrington may have been George Carrington. See <http://revwarapps.org/VAS2147.pdf>. William Walling stated that Lee's cavalry "took about 40 prisoners" at Quinby Bridge, but he was probably thinking of the taking of the rear guard. <http://revwarapps.org/s11642.pdf>

¹⁰² Marion to Greene, July 19, 1781, *PNG*, 9:47.

¹⁰³ The 28-mile trip from Quinby Bridge to Charlestown by horse would have involved at least one crossing of Cooper River by ferry, which would have been time-consuming for a large number of horses. The round trip plus the time to assemble reinforcements would probably have taken at least a day.

¹⁰⁴ Lee, *Memoirs*, 391. "doctor Irvin" was Mathew Irvine. <http://revwarapps.org/blwt342-400.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Forsyth <http://revwarapps.org/s23636.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ Sumter wrote to Greene (July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:81) that Lee had marched off "early in the Morning." Robert E. Lee, editor of the third edition of the *Memoirs*, noted on page 393 that his father "forgot" to mention the battle.

Armstrong now came up, bringing with him sad evidences of his intrepid charge. Some of his finest fellows had fallen in this honorable, though unsuccessful attempt; soldiers who had passed from early life through the war, esteemed and admired.¹⁰⁷

Almost two hundred years later John Allison, Sr. and John Allison, Jr. found fired and unfired bullets near the west side of the bridge—silent witnesses to the consequences of Lee’s order.¹⁰⁸

The Battle of Shubrick’s Plantation¹⁰⁹

At Shubrick’s house the approximately 500 young Irishmen of the 19th Regiment had hours to contemplate their situation. The creeks and marshes that protected them would also trap them if the Americans arrived in force and attacked from the south. (Fig. 17) They may have anxiously wished for Fraser to return with reinforcements, or at least with his disciplined cavalry, but they knew that would take at least a day. Their fears materialized that afternoon, when Sumter’s and Marion’s brigades arrived. Sumter’s brigade then had perhaps 200 to 300 men, most of them dragoons who would have been dismounted, because horses were of little use among Shubrick’s buildings and fences. As they often did, many of Marion’s militiamen had gone home,

so instead of the 400 he had at Orangeburg, he now had “scarcely 100 left.”¹¹⁰

The British had probably removed the remaining planks from Quinby Bridge. William Walling, a militiaman in Sumter’s Brigade, stated that “the american army then went up the creek crossed over, came down, & attacked the British.” Stephen Jarvis, however, stated that after the battle the Americans “retreated over the bridge,” so they may have crossed single-file on the stringers.¹¹¹

Sumter gave two reports to Greene on the day after the battle, from which we attempt to map his troop’s position in Figure 18.

Sumter stated that he

Attack’d them about five OClock in the Afternoon fought till near Sunset [7:52 local solar time], a very warm Engagm^t indeed. Their position was the most Advantageous that cou’d have fallen in their way, lodged in a long line of Houses on an Emminence; my troops had some of them small coverings such as fences & a few small Houses; & notwithstanding the distance was only from 40 to 80 y^d they did very little damage¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Lee, *Memoirs*, 391-392. According to John Walker, “Colonel Lee lost 2 of his men -- they were Buried by the order of General Lee with accostomed military honours.” <http://revwarapps.org/w9875.pdf>

¹⁰⁸ John Allison, Jr., personal communication.

¹⁰⁹ Shubrick’s Plantation, also known as Quinby Plantation, is now private property. The battle at the plantation is often referred to as the battle at Quinby Bridge. William Barkley, James Gill, and Thomas Townsend said the battle occurred at Huger’s Bridge, and Thomas Gill called it “Eugee quarters.” Several pension applicants, all from Mecklenburg County NC, stated that the battle occurred at “Strawberry,” “Strawberry Plains,” or “Strawberry Bridge.” <http://revwarapps.org/s16314.pdf>, <http://revwarapps.org/r4023.pdf>, <http://revwarapps.org/w3889.pdf>, <http://revwarapps.org/s31061.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ Sumter to Greene, July 19, 1781, *PNG*, 9:52.

¹¹¹ <http://revwarapps.org/s11642.pdf>. Jarvis, *American’s Experience*, 215 and Appendix F.

¹¹² Sumter to Greene, July 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:51-52. William Dobein James and William Gilmore Simms gave additional details of the fighting, but some are demonstrably incorrect, and they do not state their sources. William Dobein James, *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion*, (Charleston SC: Gould & Riley, 1821). William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion*, (New York: Henry G. Langley, 1845).

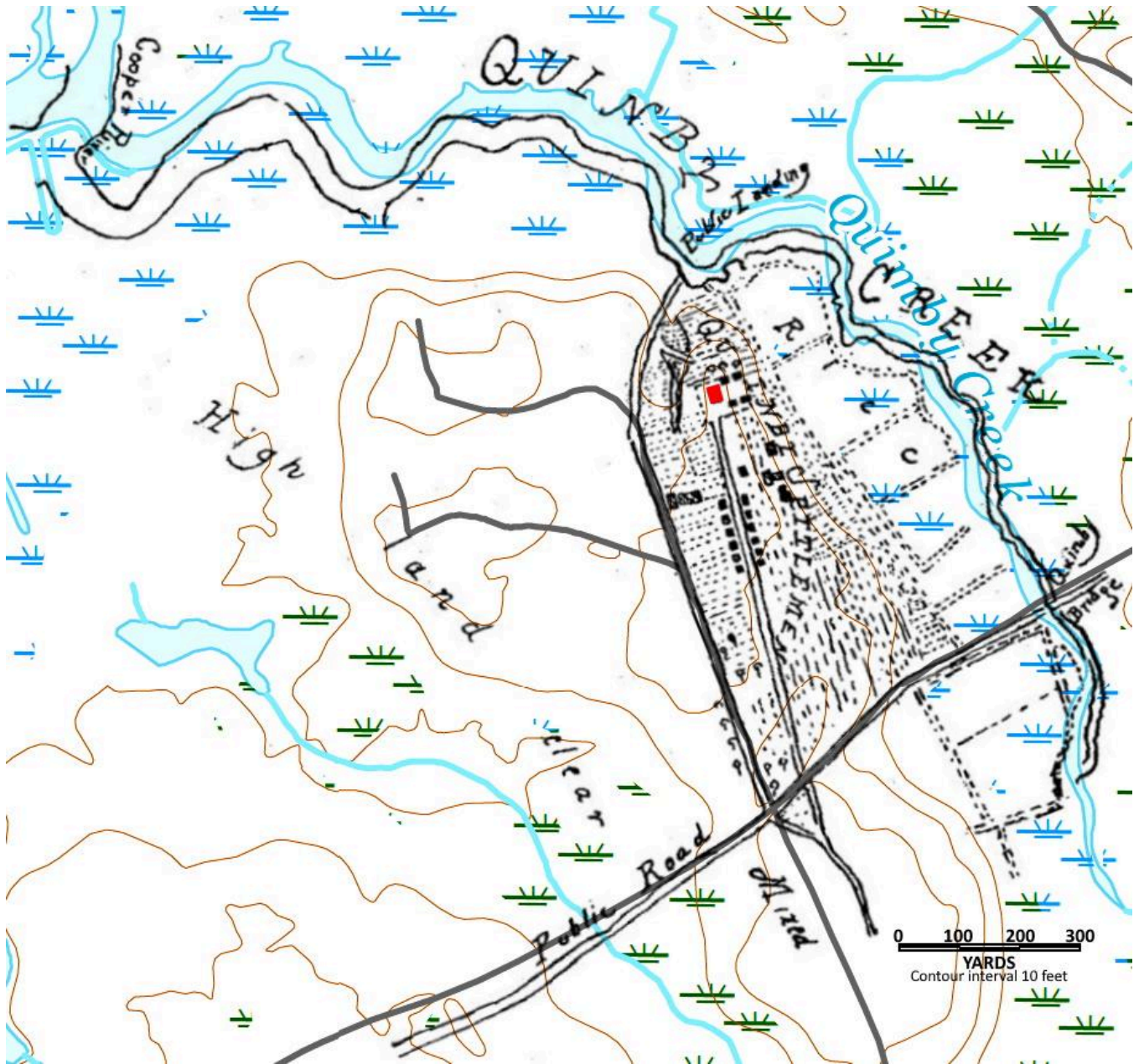


Figure 17. Joseph Purcell’s “Map of Lands Belonging to Thomas Shubrick,” April 9, 1791, on the current USGS topo map.¹¹³ The rectangle recolored red represents what is thought to be the main house where the 19th Regiment was posted. The “Public Road” is now Cainhoj Road (S-8-98). This overlay of the historic plat and a modern topographic map was originally done by Charles B. Baxley, but redone here by C. Leon Harris. The road to the “Public Landing” is the modern ale of oaks at Quinby Plantation. Modern roads are shown in gray.

¹¹³ The Purcell map is from Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter*, 177, copied from the original said to have been in the possession of “The Misses Ball, Charleston, S. C.” Joseph Purcell (1750-1807) produced surveys that were both artistic and accurate for their time. “Map of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,” Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem NC.

<https://mesda.org/item/collections/a-map-of-the-states-of-virginia-north-carolina-south-carolina-and-georgia/21525>

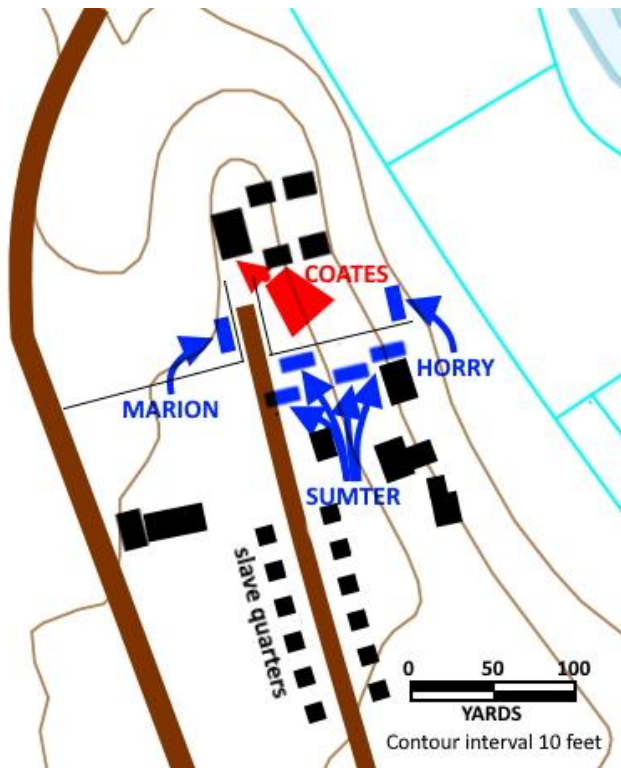


Figure 18. Positions and movements during the Battle of Shubrick's Plantation. Coates's 19th Regiment is shown in the area where many British artifacts were found.

A week after his first reports Sumter added the following details”

They Were in Possession of a number of Large houses upon an eminence the approaches Such as to render Cavalry useless, partly upon their Left was Some Negro houses & out buildings, in their front Some fences, on every other Quarter there was Very little Cover.

Upon the Right leading to the Bridge Co^l Horry Comm^d Next to him was Co^{ls} Myddelton Polk Taylor & Lacy¹¹⁴ Who Possessed & acted under Cover of the Negro houses & fence before Mentioned. They Was advanced Within forty yds of the Enemy, Where they Remained untill every ounce of their ammunition was Expended. Gen^l Marion was upon the Left & Suffered

¹¹⁴ Lt. Col. Hugh Horry, Col. Charles S. Myddleton, Lt. Col. William Polk, Col. Thomas Taylor, and Col. Edward Lacey. See Appendix D for their units and captains.

Considerably by Soposing the enemy Coud Not fier upon his Men when Moving up in a Certain direction. He Soon found his Mistake, but had his men brought of in Good order & behaved Well upon every occasion.¹¹⁵

Marion gave the following account:

our main body coming up Gen^l Sumter Determined to attack the Enemy posted in houses with Clay Walls¹¹⁶ which was very Difficult to penetrate without a field piece (the one we had was sent back from the Church) and where Our Cavaldry Coud not possibl act, our Disposition being made I was Orded to Advance with my Brigade on the Left, L^t Col. Hugh Horry with his regement advanced under a hill on the right in Such a position as to be Opposite to my Troops which wheeled to the right, and faced the Enemy in an Oblong square, in the Center between my right & L^t Col^o Horrys Left Gen^l Sumters Brigade Occupied with the Houses in their front which was a cover to them, my front & Col Horrys was intirely open. I marched my men to a fence about fifty yards of the Enemy under a very heavy fire, we soon made them take shelter in and behind the houses, but was fired on from the stoop of the Houses & through the doors windows & Corners¹¹⁷

Several American sources, and also the Loyalist *Royal Gazette* (Appendix J), stated that the fighting lasted about 40 minutes,¹¹⁸ but Sumter stated that the fighting went on for more than two hours, including one hour of “calm & well directed fire.” He stated that “not a man left the

¹¹⁵ Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, PNG, 9:81.

¹¹⁶ Probably rammed earth (*pisé de terre*).

¹¹⁷ Marion to Greene, July 19, 1781, PNG, 9:47-48.

¹¹⁸ Samuel Mathis (*Historic Camden*, 1:403 and Appendix C) said the fighting lasted 40 minutes. Bell (letter to Charles, August 11, 1781, and Appendix H) stated that it lasted “about forty minutes.” James Harbison said it lasted 46 minutes; Joseph Winningham said it lasted only 14 or 15 minutes.

<http://revwarapps.org/w17039.pdf>
<http://revwarapps.org/s9531.pdf>

field till their Ammunition was intirely Exhausted; which compell'd me to Order a Retreat they came off in good Order, lamenting their Situation.” Sumter gave as another reason for withdrawing the possibility of British reinforcements arriving from Charlestown: “We was within Twenty four Miles of C. Town, from Whence boats Comes to Bonaus [Bonneau’s] Ferry in one tide. Which ferry was but four Miles, from our Camp.”¹¹⁹ Sumter also blamed “Co^l Lees Marching off Early in the Morning.”

In Sumter’s July 25 letter to Greene he stated that “The Whole [of his troops] Woud, With pleasure have Returnd to the attack—had they been in a Situation Proper.” Many historians, however, have concluded that Gen. Marion’s and especially Col. Thomas Taylor’s troops left the field disgusted with Sumter, and that Taylor vowed he would “never more serve a single hour under” him. We examine this issue in Appendix K.

Early in 1985 John Allison, Sr. and John Allison, Jr. found numerous artifacts supporting Sumter’s and Maron’s descriptions of the fighting. (Fig. 19) Bullets were scattered widely in the area of the fighting. Parts of British guns and swords, as well as buckles, coins, and other artifacts were concentrated Southeast of the site of Shubrick’s house.¹²⁰ Unmarked and undiscovered are the graves of those who fell, buried on the battlefield by an American party that arrived under a flag of truce.¹²¹



Figure 19. Four of the many artifacts found by John Allison, Sr. and John Allison, Jr. at Shubrick’s Plantation. Clockwise from top left: Officer’s belt buckle, part of a sword handle, British Brown Bess musket ball found near Marion’s position, part of a Brown Bess musket. Photos by Drew Ruddy.

Sumter reported his losses at Shubrick’s Plantation as “seven killed & Twenty wounded,” and the total for the day as 12 killed and 22 wounded. Greene characterized those losses as “inconsiderable.”¹²² Most of the casualties were from Marion’s brigade. Marion initially recorded 8 killed and 19 wounded,¹²³ but on July 18 Lt. Henry Bates died of his wounds and was buried “on the road.” A few days later Private Francis Goddard died of his wounds.¹²⁴ According to William Vaughan, “many of Marion’s men were killed at the bridge — to the great dissatisfaction

¹¹⁹ The rising tide would assist boats in coming up Cooper River and its Eastern Branch to Bonneau’s Ferry, but probably not as fast as Sumter stated. The British relief force of 700 men did not arrive at Shubrick’s Plantation until the morning of July 19th. Bell, August 11, 1781, and Appendix H. Nisbet Balfour to Henry Clinton, July 20, 1781, in a private collection, quoted in William T. Sherman, “Calendar and Record of the Revolutionary War in the South: 1780-1781,” 10th Ed. (Seattle, WA: Gun Jones Pub, 2015), 576.

¹²⁰ John Allison, Jr., December 22, 2021 email.

¹²¹ Jarvis, “American’s Experience,” 215 and Appendix F; Charlestown, *Royal Gazette*, July 25, 1781, and Appendix J.

¹²² Sumter to Greene, July 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:52. Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:80. Greene to McKean, July 26, 1781, *PNG*, 9:85 reported, “our loss was about 10 or 12 killed, and between 20 and 30 Wounded.” Greene to Col. William Henderson, July 22, 1781, *PNG*, 9:58.

¹²³ Patrick O’Kelley, *Unwaried Patience and Fortitude: Francis Marion’s Orderly Book*, (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity, 2006), 540.

¹²⁴ John Richbourg referred to Bates as a captain. <http://revwarapps.org/s18175.pdf>. Mathis in *Historic Camden*, 1:403 and Appendix C. “My Dear Britton’s Neck, South Carolina” from Memoir of James Jenkins, 1842 contributed by Sandra Richardson Pound, accessed Dec. 25, 2021.

<https://sciway3.net/proctor/marion/history/JenkinsMemoir.html>

of Marion.” At Shubrick’s Plantation among the wounded on the left with Marion were Lt. Col. Alexander Swinton and Maj. John Baxter, and on the right with Horry, Capt. John Brown was wounded.¹²⁵

As usual, each side overstated enemy losses. The *Royal Gazette* (Appendix J) reported, “about 40 [Americans] killed, with nearly three times as many wounded, is the general opinion.” Sumter was equally confident in his report to Greene on July 18 that “the Enemy must certainly have Sustained a considerable loss.” A week later Sumter stated that British losses at Shubrick’s Plantation “by the best accounts was upwards of 70 men Kild.”¹²⁶ British Captain David John Bell, however, wrote that, “We had six men Killed & 38 wounded four of whom are since dead.”¹²⁷

Results of the Dog Days Expedition

In all, the Dog Days Raid claimed the following captures:

near one Hundred and forty Prisoners eight or ten of which were Officers, between one and two hundred Horses, several Waggon, one loaded with Ammunition, and all the Baggage of the 19th Regiment, in which was found 720 Guineas. The General [Sumter]

¹²⁵ <http://revwarapps.org/w11691.pdf>. Marion to Greene, July 19, 1781, *PNG*, 9:48. As was often the case, estimates of casualties varied widely. Capt. William Barkley stated that the Americans “lost about 30 men.” James Goynes stated that “we lost about forty killed and wounded.” William Vaughan in the pension application of William Broadway, stated that the Americans lost “by being killed upwards of 80 men.” <http://revwarapps.org/s16314.pdf>; <http://revwarapps.org/s30442.pdf>; <http://revwarapps.org/w8398.pdf>. William Dobein James stated that “more than fifty were killed and wounded, generally of Marion’s men,” and William Gilmore Simms stated that “More than fifty men, all of Marion’s, were killed or wounded.”

¹²⁶ Sumter to Greene, July 18, 1781, *PNG*, 9:52. Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:80.

¹²⁷ Balfour to Clinton, July 20, 1781, in Sherman, *Calendar and Record*, 576. Bell, August 11, 1781, and Appendix H. The *Royal Gazette* (Appendix J) reported “6 men killed, with an officer and 38 men wounded.”

has ordered the whole to be divided among his Troops as a reward for their bravery.¹²⁸

Not mentioned in this inventory were three hogsheads (189 gallons) of rum. Michael O’Connor stated that “one half a guinea only of the money fell to his share, but he had many hearty pulls at the rum.”¹²⁹

Sumter was already thinking of another foray: “The enemy once More pushed, & Alarmd in the Lower posts, I think, Woud have a Good Effect. This Can be Done by horse only, and, that by a Considerable boddy.”¹³⁰ This was not to be, however. Sumter was detailed by Greene to North Carolina, away from combat duty shortly afterward. Various reasons have been cited, mostly having to do with his difficult relations with Greene, other officers, and his own troops. On August 20 Lee wrote to Greene that “Gen Sumpter is become almost universally odious, as far as I can discover.”¹³¹ The only reason for Sumter’s decision that is well documented is that his wound from Blackstock’s Plantation again opened up around the end of July.¹³² John Robison and Joseph Black were two of the dozen guards who accompanied Sumter to rejoin his family at Charlotte.¹³³ There Sumter carried out light duties as ordered by Greene in cordial exchanges of letters. Thus it was that Sumter was conspicuously absent from the great battle of the kind that Greene preferred, at Eutaw Springs on September 8, 1781. Sumter’s troops were present and fought gallantly under Sumter’s vice commander, Col. William Henderson, who was seriously wounded there.

¹²⁸ Greene to McKean, July 26, 1781, *PNG*, 9:85. At that time a guinea coin worth £1.05 weighed 8.4 gm (0.3 ounce) and was about 91% gold.

¹²⁹ <http://revwarapps.org/s35018.pdf>

¹³⁰ Sumter to Greene, July 25, 1781, *PNG*, 9:81.

¹³¹ Waters, *Quaker and Gamecock*, 153-154. Lee to Greene, August 20, 1781, *PNG*, 9:216.

¹³² The first mention by Sumter of his “indisposition” after the battle at Shubrick’s Plantation was in Sumter to Maj. Ichabod Burnet, July 28, 1781, *PNG*, 9:100.

¹³³ <http://revwarapps.org/w24798.pdf>; <http://revwarapps.org/s21646.pdf>.

Greene seldom squandered praise, especially for militiamen, but he showered it upon the troops in the Dog Days expedition. He expressed confidence that the 19th Regiment could have been captured at Biggin Church if Sumter had seen that Fraser's charge was to cover their retreat. Contrary to the view of some historians, Greene did not consider the raid a failure. Although the "success was not compleat," the "advantages would be great." "The damage the enemy have sustaind in the loss of Stores horses and &c will have its influence upon their Army and seve to damp their spirits while it will chear the hopes and brighten the prospects of ours."¹³⁴

The British assessment was similar to Greene's. Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour, commander at Charlestown, wrote to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton

These Events, the great force of the Enemy, especially of Cavalry, in which we are vastly Deficient, and the general Revolt of the Province, will, I conceive, even with the present force, much circumscribe any future Position we may take. They will likewise, by throwing on us a great weight of Unprovided for Militia & Refugees ad considerably in these respects, to our expence both of Money & Provisions."¹³⁵

Without the umbrella of regular British troops, Tories would be driven into Charlestown to escape retribution by Whigs, and the British would find it increasingly difficult to obtain provisions in the countryside to feed the thousands of civilian refugees and soldiers. Although the British attempted to establish an outpost at Eutaw Springs, the attack by Greene's army on September 8 convinced them that position was untenable, and they withdrew to Moncks Corner, which they also were unable to hold.¹³⁶ Their foraging parties had to range over

great distances, which necessitated the great expense of maintaining a cavalry.

Britain might well have maintained a post at Moncks Corner were it not for the Dog Days raid. From there and Charlestown they could have controlled the richest part of South Carolina and perhaps all of it. Under the principle of *uti possidetis* (literally "as you possess") each side would have claim to the territory it controlled at the start of negotiations.¹³⁷ This could have figured significantly in peace talks, which began in April 1782 and involved not only Britain and America, but also American allies France and Spain. Territory at the negotiating table changed hands like chips at a poker table. Britain, for example, traded Florida to Spain in exchange for the Bahama Islands, Grenada, and Montserrat. It is not inconceivable that Britain could have traded South Carolina to France or Spain, or kept it for themselves. Compared with what might have happened without it, the Dog Days raid was by no means a failure.

¹³⁴ Greene to Marion, July 21, 1781, *PNG*, 9:54; Greene to Sumter, July 21, 1781, *PNG*, 9:55.

¹³⁵ Balfour to Clinton, July 20, 1781, in Sherman, *Calendar and Record*, 576.

¹³⁶ Charles B. Baxley, Brett J. Bennett, and C. Leon Harris, "Incident at Fair Lawn Plantation: How a Raid Ordered by

Gen. Francis Marion Led to the Burning of a Hospital." *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* 18, No. 1.5 (September 6, 2021).

¹³⁷ For further discussion of *uti possidetis* see *PNG* 8: 324 note 7.

APPENDIX A: Sumter's Wages

The most surprising thing about Sumter's Law may be that Greene approved it in spite of practical and moral difficulties it presented. One practical difficulty was that other commanders found it difficult to compete with Sumter for recruits, since the value of a grown slave was much more than the usual pay for ten months service as a private. Lt. Col. Peter Horry, who was trying to raise a cavalry regiment, complained to Greene that he was

afraid men cannot be had for Less bounty than what General Sumpter has Given and by what methods I could Obtain Negroes for that Purpose I Am at a Loss. The negro Given by Gen'l Sumpter is Equal to a Dollar per day to Each private. I have no money in hand, nor Authority to take Tories negroes.¹³⁸

The moral dilemma also weighed heavily, not least because it required plundering. In spite of Greene's disapproval, both Whigs and Tories plundered each other's property, and the British confiscated entire slave communities. Snatching slaves from family and friends and using them like money, however, seems to have crossed a line. Sumter himself found his own plan "disagreeable" and "justified only by our circumstances and the necessity of the case."¹³⁹ Marion, although a slave-owner, would have no part of it. He supplied Horry with money borrowed "on the faith of the Country, but [would] not Suffer negroes to be Seized on or taken out of his Brigade."¹⁴⁰

Greene may have abhorred Sumter's Law, but his approval is implied in a letter Sumter wrote to him on April 7, 1781, expressing happiness "to be informed by Cap't [John] Hampton that You

approve of the Measure."¹⁴¹ Greene excused himself as follows:

I was induced to encourage General Sumter to raise a Body of State Troops for as long a period as he could. Upon tryal he found he could effect nothing unless he promised to pay them in Negroes: and as affairs were critical, and the crisis important I did not discourage it.¹⁴²

It may be that Greene did not expect Sumter's men to ever collect their wages in the form of human beings, since troops often went unpaid for long periods. Many still had not received Sumter's wages by spring 1782.¹⁴³ By 1784, however, 210½ grown and 15½ small slaves had been delivered, leaving 570¾ grown and 44¾ small slaves still owed.¹⁴⁴ On April 1, 1784 the South Carolina General Assembly resolved to make up the deficit by giving each of Sumter's ten-months men £94 Sterling in lieu of a grown slave and any other bounty still owed.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Horry to Greene, June 28, 1781, *PNG* 8:471.

¹³⁹ Sumter to Marion, March 28, 1781, in Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:44-47.

¹⁴⁰ Horry to Greene, June 28, 1781, *PNG* 8:471. Sumter to Marion, April 30, 1781, in Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 3:64-65.

¹⁴¹ Sumter to Greene, April 7, 1781, *PNG* 8:66.

¹⁴² Greene to Thomas McKean, August 25, 1781, *PNG* 9:242.

¹⁴³ Lists of men who were still owed slaves in the spring of 1782 may be found by searching for "Sumter's Wages" at revwarapps.org. Moses Ferguson and probably others "Sold the Chance of my Negro Due to me for my Ten Months Service in the State Troops Raised by General Sumter." <http://revwarapps.org/s17411.pdf>. Also Mathew McCammon <http://revwarapps.org/s17578.pdf>.

¹⁴⁴ "Pay Bill of the State Troops under the Command of Brigadier General Sumter stating the Number of Negroes Delivered out and the Balance Due to Each Regiment, Date Circa 1784." transcribed by Will T. Graves, <http://revwarapps.org/b401.pdf>.

¹⁴⁵ Will T. Graves, personal communication. The same resolution also applied to state troops under Col. Samuel Hammond. A fraction of a slave probably meant a portion of the slave's labor or the equivalent in money.

APPENDIX B: The Dog Days Raid as described by Jeremiah Savage in a letter to Lt. Col. William Crosbie. Transcribed by Carl Steen.¹⁴⁶

Chs. Town

July 18 1781.

Dr. Sir

Since my last things have been in the same train--all wrong- After 96 was relieved Greene was closely pursued for 40 miles-but his movements being so rapid, and the route he had taken, besides every intelligence, strongly indicating his retreat, or rather his return to Virginia, Lord. R[awdon]. returned to 96-and after leaving some troops, the 63-64 & [Maj. John] Coffin with the Cavalry & Hessian troop with [John Harris] Cruger-he moved with the remainder of the army to Congaries on his way to Charlestown-and there was to be joined by the 3rd Regt- Greene seeing so divided a disposition, returned and meant with his force a Blow at Lord R

Lee's cavalry were advanced, and his Lordship in rather a difficult situation from the 3rd Regt. not being at the Congaries as he expected--A Detachment of cavalry who went out a foraging were cut up and I believe 40 Men & as many Horses taken- As they went out without orders this loss was effected with our knowing any thing of it, tho within 2 Miles of Ld.R's force. Lord R. immediately moved to Orangeburg, and the day after was joined by the 3rd regt- where he was the 11th and only waiting the arrival of Cruger & his Troops from 96 to proceed, I suppose, thither.—Last Sunday a party of Rebels at Cypress swamp passed our post at Dorchester went to the plantation of Mr. Alex. Wright where they destroyed all most every thing, took above 49 horses belonging to the Q.M.Genl. & some waggons, and then moved towards Goose Creek, where they surrounded the church, took all the

horses of the congregation & paroled the Men attending divine service, and then proceeded to the Quarter House, where they fell in with 40 Men Men [sic] of the South Carolina Regt- and as many Horses with their appointments, which mostly fell into their hands- This business was done abt. one or two o'clock in the open day, and their Impudence led them to very near Shulbrick's. only three Miles from town—Major [Thomas] Fraser with the South Carola. regt. newly mounted was at Moncks Corner with the 19th Regt, who it was supposed wd. be attacked--And accordingly by yesterday the Rebels in force & mounted, reached it. A skirmish happened in which we lost two offrs. of the S[ou]th. Cara. Reg. & 4 Men killed & 1 Capt. & 12 privates of the 19th taken but what is still more vexatious, is, that I am told 100 sick, who were on board schooners at the Landing of Moncks Corner with an Armed Vessel, were taken-- all the small craft burned and the men carried off perhaps they may be sent in on par[ole]

Col. Gould with abt. 600 men w [went?] out last Night for Moncks Corner, but to what purpose?¹⁴⁷—Our Hosp. are full, and I fear these New Troops will greatly suffer:---Thus are we hourly insulted & in the end must be ruined unless something is done with judgement-- We have Troops in plenty-and if properly employed & managed, wd. extirpate Rebellion from this Province-- Anthony with his Boats again troublesome and not a Kings ship in Harbour-indeed when they were here they wd. not give the smallest assistance. Yrs.

Jer. Savage

P.S. I really believe Green expects the French here soon and all his operations seem to indicate it.---

Ld. R[awdon]. certainly goes home in the first Vessel.-

¹⁴⁶ From the Henry Clinton Papers 165:19, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, in Steen, Two Cannon Wreck, 87-88. Lt. Col. William Crosbie was Barrack Master General in New York.
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4718>

¹⁴⁷ Col. Paston Gould was the acting British commander of South Carolina until relieved by Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie early in November 1781.

APPENDIX C: Entries for July 1781 from the diary of Samuel Mathis.¹⁴⁸

1st. Joined Genl. Marion at Singleton's Mill.¹⁴⁹

3rd Marched over the River and down to McCord's Ferry.¹⁵⁰

4th — Crossed McCord's Ferry and went as far as Brown's Mill.

5th — Moved down to Sabbs' Place.

6. — I went out on command. We destroy'd a mill & took three waggons near Orangeburgh.

7 — Sold the Prize we had taken.

8 — I went on another command. We took a few Prisoners about half a mile below Orangeburgh & returned to camp, which we found at Holman's.

9 — We moved upwards a piece & took across through the woods and encamped about 10 miles above Orangeburgh.

10 — We were joined by Gen. Green and Gen. Sumpter.

11. Prepared all matters and marched down within 3 miles of the Post to attack it when it was thought proper to wheel off we marched 8 or 10 miles that night.

12 — We parted from Gen. Green & pushed down towards the Corner. [Monks Corner]

16 — About 200 of us destroy Bigham Bridge and two Shooners at the Bridge and came & lay about a mile and a half above the church where as were Resting, Cooking &c, a party of the British Dragoons sally'd out and attack'd us in our Camp but were soon repuls'd and drove quite into their works without any loss on our side.

17 — Finding the enemy had left the place & burnt their stores we being join'd by the whole of Sumpter's & Marion's Brigades

pursued and overtook them at Shubrick's Bridge, where we had an engagement with them for 40 minutes. I having dismount & joined the Infantry was in the hottest of the action.

18. Poor Bates died of his wounds & was buried on the Road.

19. We got to the [Santee] River at Cords Plantation.

24. Gen. Marion Discharged our Company & a number more. We crossed the [Santee] River & came as far as Gen. Richardson's place & staid all night.¹⁵¹

25. I got to Sowrby and staid all night.

26. I got safe home to my no small joy, after 26 long and tiresome sultry Days being spent in the utmost hunger and fatigue to man & Horse that ever poor wretches endured.

¹⁴⁸ Mathis in *Historic Camden*, 1:402-403.

¹⁴⁹ Singleton's Mill was in present Poinsett State Park, south of Stateburg in Sumter County, SC.

¹⁵⁰ McCords Ferry was just east of the McCords Ferry Road (US Hwy 601) now crossing of Bates Old River Bridge. Singleton's Mill was on the opposite side of the Wateree River, so Mathis' company must have crossed the Wateree at Stark's Ferry.

¹⁵¹ Gen. Richard Richardson was deceased in 1780 but his widow's place was southwest of the Old River Road near its intersection with Dayton McKnight Road, about 1.7 miles south of Rimini SC.

APPENDIX D: Officers engaged in the Dog Days Raid.

AMERICAN

Adapted from J. D. Lewis's orders of battle for Goose Creek Bridge, St. James Goose Creek Church, Quarter House, Strawberry Ferry, Wadboo Bridge #2, Biggin Creek Bridge, Quinby's Bridge, and Shubrick's Plantation.
https://www.carolana.com/SC/Revolution/SC_Revolutionary_War_Known_Battles_Skirmishes.htm

Brigadier General Thomas Sumter - Commanding Officer

South Carolina 1st Brigade of Militia and State Troops

Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter

SC 1st Regiment of State Dragoons

Col. Wade Hampton

Capt. William Alexander

Capt. Peter Burns

Capt. James Giles

Capt. John Reed

Capt. John Wright (killed at the Quarter House)

SC 2nd Regiment of State Dragoons

Col. Charles S. Myddleton

Capt. Godfrey Adams

Capt. Francis Moore

Capt. William Reid

Capt. Isaac Ross

William Polk's Regiment of Light Dragoons (State)

Lt. Col. William Polk

Capt. Nathaniel Marshall Martin

Capt. Samuel Martin

William Hill's Regiment of Light Dragoons (State) detachment

Col. William Hill

Capt. William McKinzie

Henry Hampton's Regiment of Light Dragoons (Militia) detachment

Lt. Col. Henry Hampton

Maj. Andrew Baxter

Capt. Jacob Barnett

Capt. John Mills

Capt. Robert Tate

1st Spartan Regiment of Militia detachment

Col. John Thomas, Jr.

Maj. William Smith

Capt. Philip Waters

South Carolina 3rd Brigade of Militia and State Troops detachment

Camden District Militia detachment

Col. Thomas Taylor

Turkey Creek Militia detachment

Col. Edward Lacey

Capt. Samuel Adams

Capt. Thomas Gill

Capt. Philip Walker

South Carolina 2nd Brigade

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

Peter Horry's Light Dragoons (State)

Lt. Col. Peter Horry

Capt. Garner Bachelor

Capt. William Black

Capt. Daniel Conyers

Capt. John Thompson Green

Capt. James McCauley

Capt. John Postell

Capt. Henry Sparkes

Hezekiah Maham's Light Dragoons (State) detachment

Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham

Capt. John Simons

Capt. Jervais Henry Stevens

Berkeley County Militia

Col. Richard Richardson, Jr.

Lt. Col. Hugh Horry

Maj. John Gamble

Capt. John Armstrong

Capt. William Capers

Capt. John Malone

Capt. Robert McCottry

Capt. William McCottry

Capt. John Neilson

Capt. Gavin Witherspoon

Georgetown District Militia detachment

Lt. Col. Alexander Swinton

Capt. John Perry

Lower Craven County Militia detachment

Col. John Ervin

Capt. William Gordon

Cheraw District Militia detachment

Col. Lemuel Benton

Maj. Tristram Thomas

Capt. Thomas Ellerbee

Kershaw Militia detachment

Col. James Postell

Lt. Col. Frederick Kimball

Capt. John Brown

Kingstree Militia detachment

Col. Archibald McDonald

Maj. John James

Upper Craven County Militia detachment

Lt. Col. Maurice Murphy

Maj. John Baxter

Henry Lee's Legion (Virginia Continental)

Lt. Col. Henry Lee

Cavalry

Capt. James Armstrong

Capt. Joseph Eggleston

Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal

Infantry

Capt. Allen McClane

Capt. Henry Archer

Lt. Edward Manning

BRITISH

Officers mentioned in the body of this paper and in appendices. The *Royal Gazette* (Appendix J) reported eight companies of the 19th present, but only three captains are known. Full names of captains in the 19th Regiment are from "1787 Jamaica Almanac, Army and Navy." http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/a1787_04.htm.

Nineteenth Regiment

Lt. Col. James Coates

Capt. David John Bell

Capt. Colin Campbell

Capt. John N. Skerret

South Carolina Royalists

Maj. Thomas Fraser

Capt. Archibald Campbell

Capt. Robert Gillies

Queen's Rangers detachment

Capt. John Saunders

APPENDIX E: Col. Wade Hampton's raid as reported by the Charleston *Royal Gazette*, July 18, 1781.

Early on Sunday [July 15] a considerable party of mounted Rebels, chiefly Militia under Henry [sic] Hampton who formerly resided at the Congarees made a sudden irruption into Goose Creek Parish, surrounded the church during the time of service made prisoners of the congregation to some of whom they gave paroles and took several horses. About two o'clock they came to the Quarter House, Lieut. Waugh with 18 convalescents of the SC Dragoons having a little before received intelligence of some flying parties of Rebels being seen in the neighborhood had just then mounted and was going out to reconnoitre, he was immediately attacked. The great disparity of force admitted but a short contest in which the gallant Waugh cut down John Wright of Wasmasaw [Wassamassaw], a Rebel Captain, and it is said two others. He then surrendered and was afterwards shot. Some of the Rebel Officers affected to regret the death of so brave a man and to condemn the infamous deed. Several gentlemen from the town were then at the Quarter House, some of whom got off; others were taken and admitted to their parol. Mr. William Trusler of this town in attempting to make his escape was shot. After staying there two hours, and regaling themselves with better fare than they had been accustomed to, the whole party decamped.

APPENDIX F: Excerpt from the narrative of Stephen Jarvis from Connecticut, who served in the British Army.¹⁵²

General Coats [sic: Lt. Col. James Coates] had received intelligence that the enemy intended an attack upon our position at two places at the same time, and in a very short period. I was sent for by the General, who directed me to take four Dragoons and a few Militia and proceed on the

road that lead to Charlestown, and go until I should fall in with the enemy, if they were between Monks' Corner and Goose Creek. I set off a little before sunset in a heavy shower of rain, and before I had proceeded far found that my Militia men had left me, and I was reduced to my four Dragoons, but as my object was intelligence more than fighting I proceeded on. I soon discovered six or eight men advancing towards me, and when they came to a certain distance, challenged me. I said a friend. "What friend?" To the King. At this declaration one of them dismounted and placed his rifle across his horse. I charged his rifle, missed fire. He mounted and with his comrades dashed into the woods. I soon came up with him, and by a well directed stroke laid him in the dust. I ordered my man to secure him, and push forward after the rest. I had nearly overtaken another, when my horse, unfortunately, got entangled in a grape vine, and the man escaped; as the day was so far spent, I could not see to pursue the enemy any further.

I set to camp with my prisoner, and gave him up to the General. He confirmed the information before received. It was my turn for duty that night, and my orders were to patrol on the road leading to the Santee, and I did so, but discovered none of the enemy during the night, but in the morning about sunrise I discovered that a large body of men had approached near the Garrison, and had taken off the road to gain our right flank. I galloped back as fast as I could, but before I reached the Camp the enemy had drove in our Sentinels, and were destroying the bridge [Wadboo Bridge] to prevent our retreat on that route, and then they retraced their steps and took up their position on the road that lead to the Santee. We remained idle during the fore part of the day, but hearing that the American Horse were at a plantation, and their horses were running loose about the field, Major [Thomas] Fraser, of the South Carolina Dragoons, was ordered with the whole Cavalry to proceed and reconnoiter the Troop. I commanded (for Captain [Colin] Campbell was absent) led, except the advance

¹⁵² Jarvis, *American's Experience*, 213-215. The sentence, "I charged his rifle, missed fire," perhaps should read, "I charged, his rifle missed fire."

guard commanded by an Officer. We soon came in sight of the enemy and charged. The Officer with the advance—his horse fell and threw his rider—I said to Major Fraser, I'll take charge of the advance, did not wait to hear any reply, but set off. I rode a very fleet horse and soon gained the advance, and pressed hard on the enemy, who left the road and took the woods. I soon came up with one, and my Corporal on the other side, and we both made a blow at the same time and gave the fellow his quarters [i.e. allowed him to surrender]. I heard a shout in my rear, looked round, and found myself in the rear of a large body of the enemy. In wheeling my horse round I broke my stirrup leather and came to the ground.

However I recovered my seat and then pressed to regain the front of the enemy, or I must be taken prisoner, and I was indebted to the fleetness of my horse for my escape. I had nearly gained the front of the enemy before they discovered me, and they called me to surrender; not yet, thinks I, a little more running first. I found I gained fast upon our Troops, who were retreating in good order. I recovered the roads a few rods in front of the enemy. They fired several shots after me without injury. We met our Infantry with a piece of ordnance. We wheeled about and checked the enemy, and then retired to Camp. By this time our piquet at the bridge leading to Charlestown were attacked, and I was ordered to direct Captain Bell, who commanded, to retire, which he did with no other loss than one of his Officers slightly wounded in the arm, which he was very fond of carrying in a sling for a long time after. We remained until night, when we burned our stores, and commenced our retreat through a bye road that the enemy had no knowledge of. During the night the Troops got separated, and the waggons which were heavily loaded broke down one after the other. Captain Campbell, Paymaster of the 19th Regiment, with the Military chest fell into the enemy's hands, with all the heavy baggage of the Regiment. We proceeded on until daylight, when we took up a position at a plantation [Shubrick's] flanked by a navigable stream, over which there

was a bridge [Quinby Bridge] which we passed, and placed a piece of cannon to guard the bridge. The Cavalry had unbridled their horses at the plantation, and the Infantry began to cook their breakfast. The enemy charged over the bridge and cut the sentry at the cannon down, and then dashed into the wood. The 19th fell in, some without their coats; great confusion ensued, and they began to give ground. The Cavalry mounted and really forced them to face the enemy. Major Fraser then had some consultation with General Coats, took advantage of a high field of corn, and set off and left the 19th to their fate, and pushed for Charlestown, got a re-inforcement and returned to look after the 19th Regiment, who after we left them General Coats drew up his men in the open field, and waited for the enemy, who came on and were repulsed several times, and at last retreated over the bridge, and sent a flag of truce for leave to bury their dead. Had the Cavalry been with the General, on the retreat of the enemy, we might no doubt have made a glorious day of it, but so it was—they [the 19th Regiment] lost all their baggage, but had gained their credit, which in some measure they had tarnished in the morning. I had made up my mind that they would all have been taken prisoners.

APPENDIX G: Accounts of the burning of two schooners at Lewisfield Plantation and an analysis of how it came to be linked to Strawberry Ferry.

ACCOUNTS

Pension application of Hugh King

On the same evening, being informed that some vessels conveying the British baggage up Cooper River were at no great distance, Colonel Hampton overtook and burnt them. The vessels were two small schooners¹⁵³

Pension application of James Clinton

On our way back, we heard of a boat lying in Cooper River not far from Biggen church, and we turned to attack it, which we did, and took all on board prisoners, consisting of a sergeant's guard. On the same evening we rejoined Sumpter on his march towards Biggen Church, on the opposite side of Cooper River.¹⁵⁴

Pension application of Redden McCoy

taking 80 Prisoners from a sloop at Simons plantation¹⁵⁵

Pension application of John Robison

thence to Cooper river where we took some Boats that were lying in the river that belonged to the enemy¹⁵⁶

Pension application of William Brothertin

The next morning [after the skirmish at the Quarter House] the two Colonels went over through a field to a house inhabited by a woman who told them that 2 Sloops had landed a small distance up the river with British Soldiers and they were in the corn field getting roasting ears and beans, the Col's. wheeled their horses and waved their sword for their men to go up, and when they got to the Bank of the river the front were ordered to dismount and run into the vessels they did so, this applicant with them they found

but one Soldier in the vessel who snapped his gun at them, he was then killed.¹⁵⁷

Diary of Samuel Mathis, July 16

About 200 of us destroy Bigham Bridge and two Shooners at the Bridge

Jeremiah Savage of Charlestown to Lt. Col. William Crosbie, July 18, 1781

I am told 100 sick, who were on board schooners at the Landing of Moncks Corner with an Armed Vessel, were taken-- all the small craft burned and the men carried off perhaps they may be sent in on par[ole]

Sumter to Greene, July 22, 1781 (PNG, 9:62)
[Hampton] Burnt two Schooners one loaded w^t Inigo, & took thirty odd prisoners at the Strawberry.

Greene to Thomas McKean, July 26, 1781 (PNG, 9:83-84)

Colo Hampton took there and at Strawberry upwards of 50 Prisoners and several Officers... burnt 4 Vessels loaded principally with valuable Stores for the use of the British Army."

William Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 2:290.

Colonel Wade Hampton... took fifty prisoners at Strawberry, and burnt four vessels loaded with stores for the British army."¹⁵⁸

Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 298-299.

Colonel Wade Hampton took the Dorchester road across to Goose Creek bridge, that he might rejoin Sumter at Biggin. They came, about breakfast time the next morning, near the avenue to Lewisfield, and Hampton, as if to procure something ready cooked, proposed that he should turn in, to obtain from his friend, Simons, some refreshments, while the rest of his detachment were riding slowly forward. This was his ostensible object, but, in fact, it was to see his

¹⁵³ <http://revwarapps.org/s32365.pdf>

¹⁵⁴ <http://revwarapps.org/s2437.pdf>

¹⁵⁵ <http://revwarapps.org/s7198.pdf>

¹⁵⁶ <http://revwarapps.org/w24798.pdf>

¹⁵⁷ <http://revwarapps.org/s1793.pdf> Brothertin did not explain who the second colonel was, but he may have been Keating Simons, owner of Lewisfield Plantation, who was then a prisoner on parole.

¹⁵⁸ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, Vol. 2 (New York: David Longworth, 1802).

"lady love." He was, at that time, courting Mr. Simons' youngest sister, who was living with him. "Love rules the court, the camp, the cot," and, "love directed." Hampton came up while a party of British, from two vessels at the landing, were plundering every thing on the plantation, that they could lay their hands on. He had sent his bugler ahead of him, as a look-out, and Mr. Simons seeing him, gave him notice of his danger, by waving his hat to turn him back. Hampton saw the signal, knew that there was something on foot, and would not be put off, without ascertaining the particulars. He galloped up to the house, received an anxious smile from the lady, and information from his friend, that eighty or one hundred Englishmen were on shore, and their two vessels fast aground. This was excellent. Hampton thought no more of his breakfast, but galloped back to the main road, vaulted upright on his saddle—being an elegant horseman and a very active man—waved his sword over his head, and shouted to his command to return. All this was in sight of the family. In a few minutes, they cantered up the avenue, captured seventy-eight prisoners, burnt the two vessels, and saved the property, which would otherwise have been carried off. Some of the British party escaped in their boats, down the river, to Charleston, and told their story, so as to throw on Mr. Simons a suspicion that he had been accessory to the surprise and capture. An expedition of black dragoons was immediately sent out, with orders to bring him in, dead or alive, but he did not await their arrival

ANALYSIS

None of the primary sources (pension applications and diary of Samuel Mathis) mentions more than one occurrence of Hampton's taking a boat, so we assume that they all refer to the same event. James Clinton stated that a boat was taken on "Cooper River not far from Biggen church," and Redden McCoy referred to the taking of "a sloop at Simons plantation." Samuel Mathis stated that two schooners were taken at Bigham Bridge, probably meaning Biggin Bridge near Moncks

Corner. Jeremiah Savage also referred to "schooners at the Landing of Moncks Corner." None of these sources mentions Strawberry or Strawberry Ferry.

The earliest documented mention of "Strawberry" in connection with Hampton's raid is in Sumter's report to Greene on July 22, 1781. Sumter presumably was told by Hampton that the event occurred "at the Strawberry." Greene then passed that on to McKean. From the similarities in wording, it appears that Moultrie relied on Greene's statement.

Strawberry was actually a tract of several square miles north of "the Tee," where the western and eastern branches of Cooper River converge (Figs. 6 and 10).¹⁵⁹ Later historians, perhaps unacquainted with local geography, apparently assumed that "Strawberry" referred to Strawberry Ferry. If the burning of the schooners had actually occurred at Strawberry, it could have been anywhere along a mile or longer stretch of the river. Divers have searched at Strawberry Ferry and found artifacts from the period of the Civil War but not the Revolutionary War.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Henry A. M. Smith, "Some Forgotten Towns in Lower South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 14, No. 4 (October 1913), 198.

¹⁶⁰ Drew Ruddy, retired professional and avocational diver, email to CLH, November 24, 2021.

APPENDIX H: Letter from British Capt. David John Bell of the 19th Regiment of Foot at Charlestown, August 11, 1781.¹⁶¹

Dear Charles

I am to thank you for your favor of the 15th July which I received by Mr Fleming [Lt. Arthur Fleming] two Days after our arrival at this place & where you did not expect it would find me. I also thank you for the detail of your operations, it being the first account we had of any of you since you went up the country. I find you have had a good deal of moving, but it should seem your opponents move as fast as you, as they have not suffered you to speak with them, though the gentlemen coming & encamping within four miles of you was pretty bold. I hope you are now better supplied than when you wrote, as I understand one or two convoys went from hence to your Relief which I presume arrived safe. I understand from Fleming you want a Tent to be sent you. I shall send you no such thing, for in the first place I have no method of conveyance & in the next I conceive it would be a perfect incumbrance to you. We had not a Tent amongst us all (except the Colonel) during the time we were out, & I promise you when we go out again I will not carry one.

No doubt but you have been informed of the cause which brought us so unexpectedly into this Town. We thought ourselves unable to cope with the Enemy at Monks Corner therefore thought it expedient to leave that place, & on the march we lost every atom of Baggage we had: All the Officers Baggage, men's Tents, knapsacks, Blanketts &..& were all burnt, destroyed or pillaged, & what does not redound much to the Honor of the Nineteenth, most of the pillaging was done by our own people who lagged behind

& sold all our things to the Rebels. Mr. McCloud the musician was at the Head of this party, for which he has got a Black R. Set against his name that he won't easily get the better of. My Trunk unfortunately could not be saved. It however fell into Gen Sumpter's Hands who made prize of the money but was civil enough to take care of my Books, & Serjeant Laidlow is gone a few days ago to him to get them again. I am ashamed to say how much money was in the Trunk but assure you it was a very considerable sum. I had the Honor of exchanging the first shot with the enemy, for on the 16th July having the Picquett at a Bridge leading from Monks Corner to Bigging Church, they came & attacked me there, but I having fortified my Bridge *secundem artem* [according to practice] did not fear them much: in this affair Caulfield who was one of my Officers got a wound in his shoulder, which if the Ball does not work itself out (for the surgeons cannot get at it) will lose him the use of his left Arm. We marched all that night & a little after day break on the 17th crossed Huges's Bridge where we thought ourselves safe & took a little rest, but about nine O'clock a party of Rebels galloped over the Bridge in the face of our Field Piece; rode through the Regiment & wounded two men: it was the most daring thing I ever heard of; one of them made a stroke at the Colonel which he turned off with his Hanger; McPheer[?] instantly brought him down, but not with his Clarinet. It was a plain common Muskett Shot.

Three of the five paid for their temerity. About this time Colin Campbell with part of the Rear Guard, sick, stragglers & the waggon with my Trunk were taken Prisoners within three hundred yards of the Regiment. They gave them all their Parole to go to Charles Town there was upwards of sixty of them. We next took post in Shewbricks Plantation a very commanding Height. We saw them during the day making disposition to attack us: on our part you may suppose we were not Idle in preparing to defend: about half after four the attack began, & the firing kept up with great Spirit on both sides for about forty minutes. I never saw more regular firing at a

¹⁶¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, Intercepted British Letters, Library of Congress, Item 51, 1:659-661, transcribed from <https://www.fold3.com/image/407463> *et seq.* Full names of officers mentioned here are from Mark H. Hill and "1787 Jamaica Almanac, Army and Navy," http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/a1787_04.htm. We do not know for sure to whom this letter was written other than "Charles".

Field day than was ours: the Enemy went off much faster than they came on & we were not in a situation to pursue them. I wish you had been with us to have pencilled it off, it would have been well worth while for it was really a pretty sight. We had six men Killed & 38 wounded four of whom are since dead.

The best information we could get say they could not be fewer than 1500. They must I am confident have suffered very considerably. On the morning of the 19th Col Gould arrived from Charles Town with 700 men to our relief & conducted us here, where we arrived on Sunday the 22^d & I do not care how soon we leave it for it is the most extravagant place mortal man ever set his Foot into. If Marjoribanks or you or any of you want any thing here let me know your commands & I will endeavor to execute them the best in my power.

Ever since we came here untill yesterday that [Capt. John N.] Skerret came off command, I have been the only Capt. doing Duty & we have had only two subalterns, they have been all sick, but are now mending except [Lt. William] Wray who is yet very bad. The Colonel has also been very ill ever since we came here but he now begins to go out. Our Parade for some time was only one Brevett Major, one Capt & one Lieut. Deputy Adjutant. General Leslie is expected here every Hour, a vessell having arrived which sailed two days after the *Carysfort* on board which the General is. Lord Rawdon who was to have sailed last Tuesday waits his arrival. [Lt. Richard] Gem is doing very well though his wound is not yet healed. He will never be the man he was again. As I suppose Marjoribanks, Smith & Sleigh [possibly Ensign John Marjoribanks, Capt. John Smith, and Capt. William Sleigh] will see all or the greatest part of this Letter; for which you are obliged to a very rainy day; let it be my apology for not writing to any of them at this time but assure them I have them not the less in my remembrance. Remember me also to the rest of the Boys, particularly my Lieut. Lord Edward & tell him I have heard of his exploits. Adieu Dear Charles & Believe me

Yours Affectionately.

DJB

Charles Town 11th August 1781.

APPENDIX I: The Location of Lee's Taking of the Rear Guard.

Locating where Lee's cavalry captured the rear guard and baggage is difficult because of conflicting statements by Lee in his *Memoirs*. These, like his contradictory statements about knowledge of Quinby Bridge, were apparently made to deflect blame from himself for ordering Armstrong to charge across Quinby Bridge. Lee wrote (page 380) that, "As soon as the officer in advance announced view of the enemy, Lee inquired of his guides the distance from the [Quinby] bridge, and heard with great pleasure that it was at least three miles in front." On page 392, however, Lee wrote, "Had the guides been correct in their estimation of the distance of the bridge, when we first saw the enemy's rear, Lee (having taken the rear-guard) would have found out some other route to the main body, and avoided the fatal obstacle." On page 390 Lee wrote, "Not doubting but that the Quinby Bridge was yet at least one mile in front..." implying that it was actually closer than a mile.¹⁶² It is hard to understand why being nearer the bridge would have made it easier to find a different route. If he could find "some other route" within one mile, he could certainly have done the same within three miles. Figure 20 depicts the action if it did occur within a mile of Quinby Bridge.

¹⁶² William Gilmore Simms, probably drawing on Lee's *Memoirs*, stated that the rear guard of the retreating army was overtaken "about a mile to the north of Quinby Creek." Simms, *Life of Francis Marion*, 256.

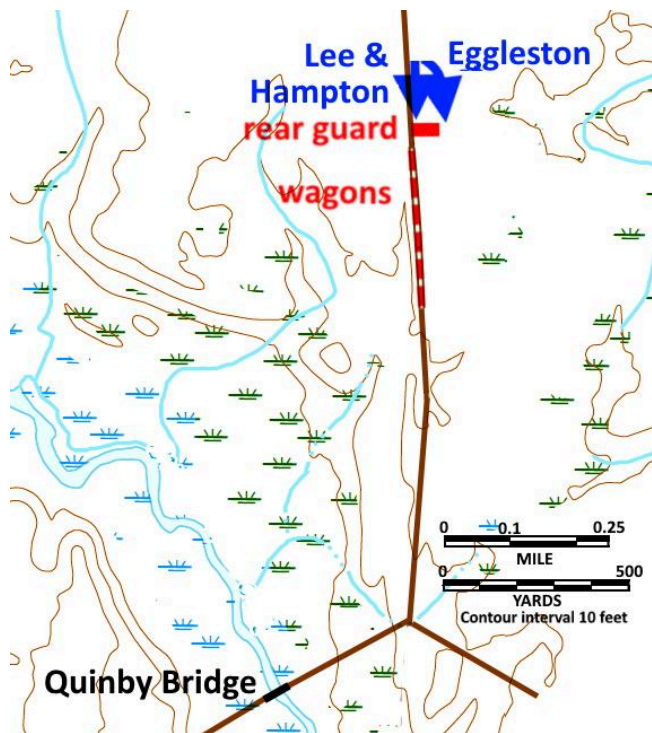


Figure 20. Lee's capture of the rear guard and wagons if it happened within a mile of Quinby Bridge.

Other accounts state that the rear guard was overtaken at Huger's Bridge, which agrees with the estimate Lee says he was given by the guides. According to Joseph Forsyth, "we came up with them at Hewgees Brige cut of their rear gard took 80 prisoners six bagage waggons and six field pieces."¹⁶³ (No other source mentions artillery with the rear guard.) Capt. John David Bell's letter (Appendix H) also placed the capture of the rear guard at "Hugee's Bridge," but he then combined that action with what happened later at Quinby Bridge. William Smith also confused this action with the "Battle of Quinby."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ <http://revwarapps.org/s23636.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ <http://revwarapps.org/w22272.pdf>

APPENDIX J: The Skirmish at Quinby Bridge and Battle of Shubrick's Plantation as Reported by the *Royal Gazette* of Charlestown, July 25, 1781

CHARLESTOWN, July 25.

BY AUTHORITY.

THE Rebels having for some time appeared in very considerable force before Monck's Corner, where eight companies of the 19th regiment, and some mounted infantry of the South Carolina Rangers [sic: Royalists], were stationed, on the evening of the 16th inst. the post and stores were destroyed, and Lieut. Col. Coates, with the troops, moved from thence, by the way of Huger's Bridge, toward town.

This march, through a deep, and partly uncleared country, met so many retardments from the baggage, which much obstructed the progress of the troops, that it was found necessary, after a few miles advance on the route, to destroy it, which was accordingly done.

On the morning of the 17th the troops arrived at a bridge near Shubrick's plantation, when the enemy began to appear in considerable bodies round them, and a party of them had the resolution to attack the rear of the 19th, but were repulsed, with the loss of 3 or 4, whose conduct seemed the most leading. After this, the enemy gathering strength, a skirmishing for some time ensued, and Col. Coates, taking advantage of a strong situation at Shubrick's house, by which his rear and one flank was effectually covered, threw his regiment into it, having given directions for the mounted infantry, which could no longer be brought into use, continuing their retreat.

About 4 o'clock the Rebel infantry, sustained by their cavalry, advanced with the design of forcing this position, but were so galled by the fire of the troops, that, after having continued the attack for near 40 minutes, and being charged with determined spirit, on their right, by Capt. Scerrit [John N. Skerret], a general route [rout] took place, and the enemy, though greatly superior in numbers, and countenanced by

large bodies of cavalry, judiciously posted to sustain them, retired in confusion over the bridge.

Actions thus meritorious, and of consequences so decided, speak too plainly the spirit of the troops, and conduct of their officers, to need any additional tribute, which might here be paid them.

The 19th lost in this action 6 men killed, with an officer and 38 men wounded, and all reports concur in the enemy's having suffered greatly; about 40 killed, with nearly three times as many wounded, is the general opinion.

Unwilling to renew the attack Gen. Sumpter the next morning sent a flag to Col. Coates, requesting permission to bury his dead.

APPENDIX K: Marion and Taylor on Sumter at Shubrick's Plantation

Many historians assert that Gen. Francis Marion and Col. Thomas Taylor were furious with Sumter over his handling of the battle at Shubrick's Plantation. The claim with respect to Marion appears to be based on statements by William Gilmore Simms.

More than fifty men, all of Marion's, were killed or wounded in this affair.... The attack upon Coates at the house, we are told, was made against Marion's opinion, who blamed Sumter for wasting the lives of his men.... The men of Marion complained that they had been exposed unnecessarily in the conflict. It is certain that they were the only sufferers.¹⁶⁵

As we saw above, Marion in fact reported a total of 27 killed and wounded, not 50. More than 25% casualties would be ample cause for dissatisfaction, but Marion expressed no judgment about the conduct of the battle in his report to Greene. The only statement we have found suggesting Marion's displeasure is in the pension application of William Vaughan: "I was present at the battle of Biggin Church & Quinby Bridge

where Sumter commanded. I was under Marion Colonel Lee commanded the Cavalry. Many of Marion's men were killed at the bridge — to the great dissatisfaction of Marion."¹⁶⁶ Vaughan was apparently referring to the fighting at Quinby Bridge, where Sumter was not involved, but even if he was referring to Shubrick's Plantation there is no indication that Marion's dissatisfaction was directed at Sumter. Rather, Marion wrote that "our not succeeding was wholly owing to the strong Situation of the Enemy and the want of Amunition."

The belief that Col. Taylor left Sumter in disgust is based on notes by Lyman C. Draper on information given in 1871 by Maj. Thomas Taylor, Jr., the 92-year-old son of Col. Taylor:

Quinby Bridge Fight.—July, 1781. — First Skirmishing out around — Taylor's men reaching negro cabins, fired around their corners, & the British were driven to take refuge in a house.

Col. Taylor had a very superior rifleman who had a long range gun, & would pick off the British at the bridge — at the crossing — thinks there was skirmishing here for their flat (boat), & enemy so driven back that Taylor's party got possession of the flat & crossed

British were posted in a house or church — four roads leading to it: Sumter sent Taylor forward to bring on the attack from one quarter — when other parties would approach on the other roads, so as to prevent the British from escaping. Taylor's men had seven bullets each — perhaps after first approaching the negro cabins as a protection, & there took position behind a fence enclosure near the house — thinks not more than a dozen paces off — each man screening himself behind a stout fence post; and as the British would appear to fire out of a window, Taylor's men would fire at them, & sometimes a ball would hit a

¹⁶⁵ Simms, *Life of Francis Marion*, 259-260.

¹⁶⁶ <http://revwarapps.org/w11691.pdf>

fellow, who would bound up in his death agony & tumble out of the window. The posts behind which Taylor's men were screened were pretty well battered & imbedded with the enemy's bullets.

Taylor's men fought till their bullets were all gone, and then had to retire. During the retreat, Taylor, who had a Swing pistol at his side which in running & dodging, struck him on the knee producing so much pain, that it retarded his progress, and he was the last of his men to get beyond the reach of danger. The other parties from some cause, did not come up to sustain & co-operate with him. He found Gen Sumter sitting coolly under the shade of a tree & said: "Sir, I don't know why you sent me forward on a forlorn hope, promising to sustain me, & failed to do so, unless you designed to sacrifice me. I will never more serve a single hour under you, & then retired from Sumter's command. He also complained often of the Legion [of Lee]. (A note to [three or four undeciphered words] his father's "memoir" [two or three undeciphered words] the idea that this attack in which Col. Taylor was engaged & from which Marion brought him off, was a subsequent affair, in which Lee had nothing to do.)

Col. Taylor used to relate this incident at Quinby fight, with tears in his eyes. A noble gallant youth named Daniel[?] a relative of Mrs. James Taylor¹⁶⁷, a member of Col. Taylor's regiment, was shot through the body and was placed leaning against an apple tree for life to ebb away. He was shot at the first fire of the enemy. Col. Taylor loved him as if his own son – he was a most gallant soldier, quite young, & so diminutive in size, that he himself used jokingly to remark that his fellow soldiers were so much larger that they would stop

the enemy's balls, & he himself would escape.¹⁶⁸

The parenthetical remark by Draper is not completely deciphered, but it seems to suggest that Draper had some doubt about Taylor's memory. One detail is certainly incorrect: apple trees do not grow in that part of South Carolina. Joseph Johnson also stated that Taylor was unhappy with Sumter and also Lee: "On this occasion, Colonel Taylor lost some of his best men, and complained loudly in person, both to Colonel Lee and General Sumter, of their not sending him aid and ammunition, when they both saw that he was in so much want of support and relief."¹⁶⁹ Since Lee was not present, however, the statement cannot be taken seriously.

The recollections of Col. Thomas Taylor or of his son might have been seasoned by a political rivalry with Sumter that arose over the selection of a site for the capitol of South Carolina in 1785. Col. Taylor, certainly aware of the financial and political benefits that would accrue, argued for the selection of his own plantation at present Columbia. Sumter was on the committee to select the site and urged the selection of Stateburg, where he lived. Taylor won out and became one of the commissioners who laid out the present city of Columbia. His son, John, later became Governor.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Thomas Sumter Papers, Lyman Copeland Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, 16VV33-16VV36.

¹⁶⁹ Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 541-542.

¹⁷⁰ John Cely. "Thomas Sumter of the High Hills of Santee." *Columbia Star*, June 12, 2009.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Taylor had a brother named James, but the name of his wife is unknown.

<https://www.thecolumbiastar.com/articles/part-9-thomas-sumter-of-the-high-hills-of-santee/>

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C. Leon Harris's first research on a gamecock almost 60 years ago as an undergraduate physics major at Virginia Tech, when he designed a transmitter and implanted it into the bird to record its heart rate and body temperature during a fight. After earning graduate degrees in biophysics at Penn State, he taught biology, wrote textbooks, and did neurobiology research at the State University of New York, Plattsburgh for more than three decades. Since retiring to Mount Pleasant SC and Adamant VT he has authored or co-authored several papers on the Revolutionary War in the South, and has helped Will Graves transcribe almost thirty thousand Revolutionary War pension and bounty-land applications, rosters, and other documents at revwarapps.org. Recently he began publishing research papers in conjunction with Dr. Paul T. Carter's videos on the YouTube channel "@CarterOnConflict." He is honored to be one of hundreds drawn to the study of the Revolutionary War by Charles B. Baxley's enthusiasm, high standards and humanity.

Charles B. Baxley was a graduate of the University of South Carolina with a bachelor's degree in political science and a doctorate in law, and he served as a captain in the US Air Force. He lived in and practiced law in Lugoff SC for 45 years and was a leader in many civic and governmental organizations. He was a recipient of South Carolina's highest civilian honor, the Order of the Palmetto. Starting in 2004 he and David P. Reuwer published the journal of the *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* and sponsored dozens of conferences, archaeological projects, roundtables and tours featuring topics on the Southern Campaigns. In 2001 he was appointed by the Governor as Chairman of the South Carolina American Revolution Sestercentennial Commission to guide research and commemoration of the state's role in securing American independence.

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