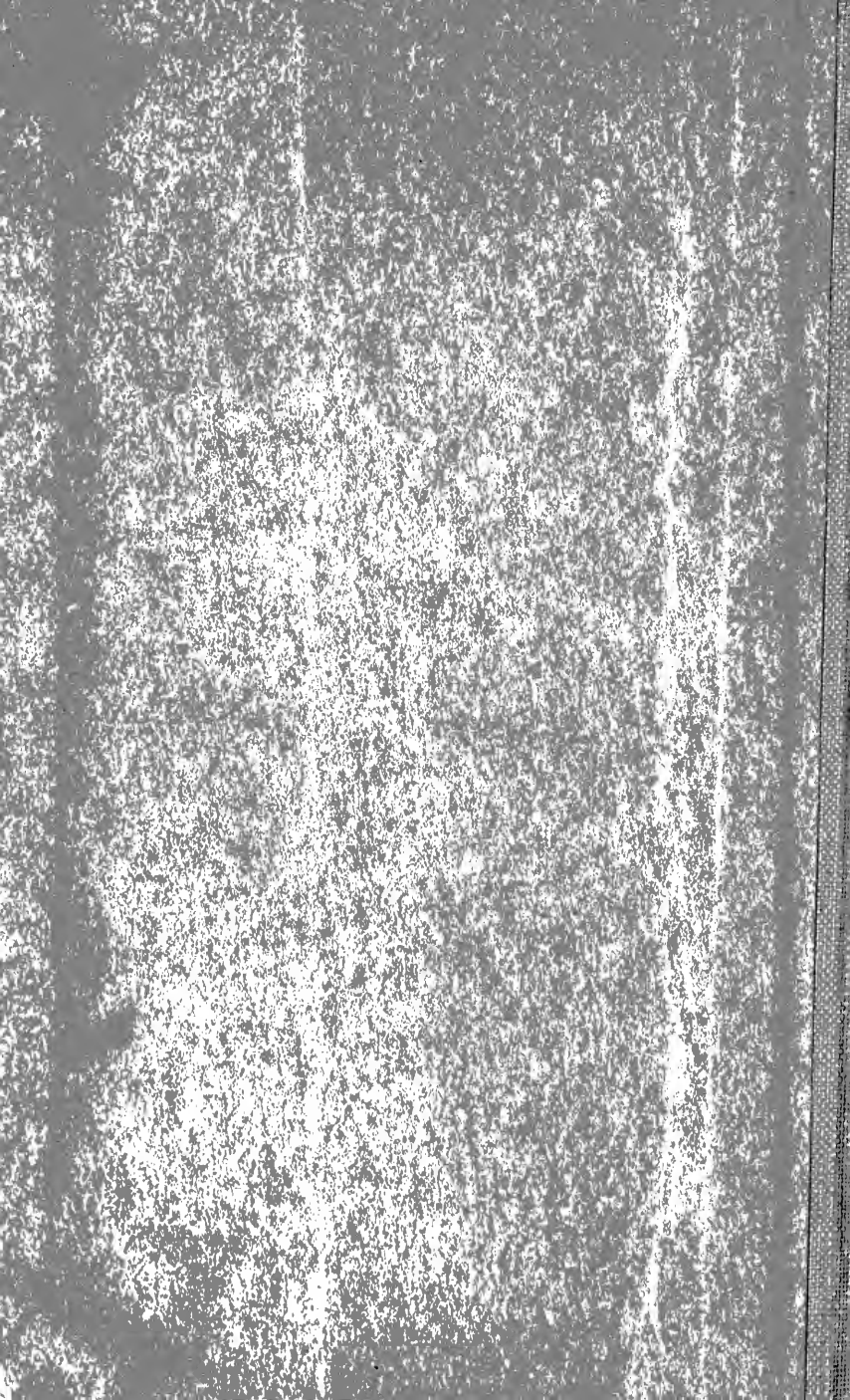


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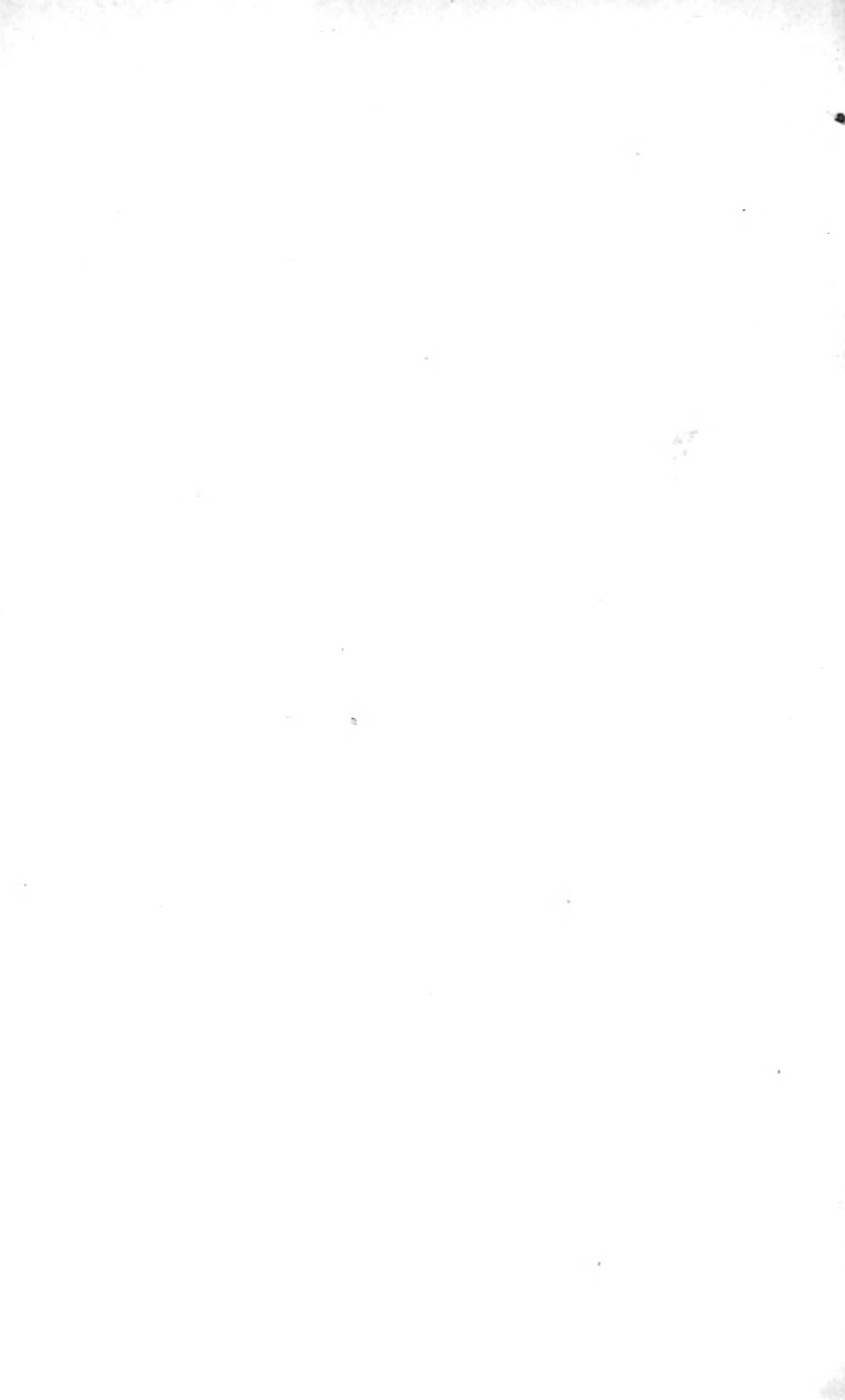


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NATHANIEL GREENE.

NEW YORK

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CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

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BY GEORGE W. GREENE.

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L I F E

O F

NATHANAEL GREENE,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION;

B Y

H I S G R A N D S O N ,

G E O R G E W . G R E E N E ,

L A T E A M E R I C A N C O N S U L A T R O M E .

TO

NATHANAEL RAY GREENE,

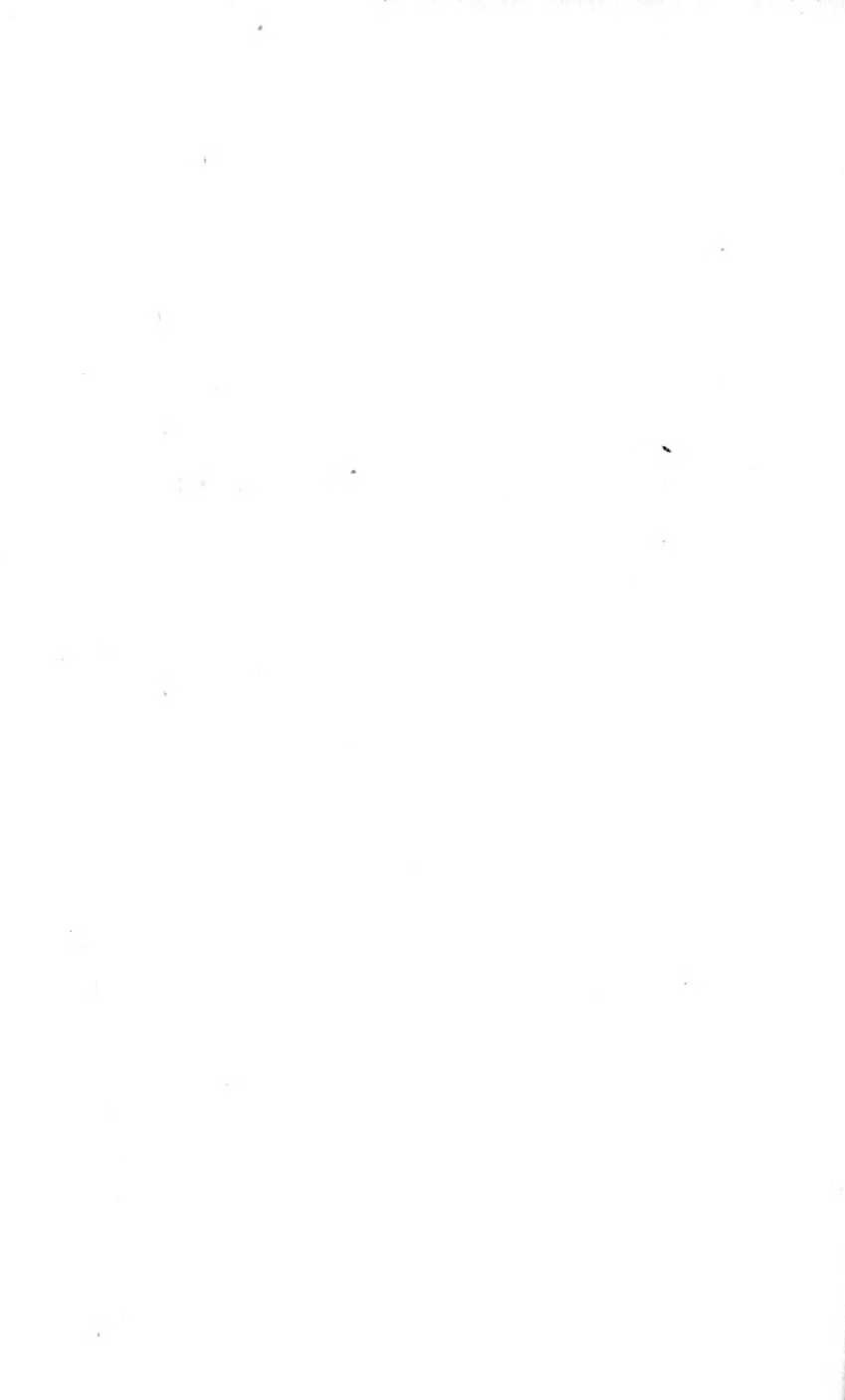
THIS LIFE OF HIS FATHER

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY

HIS SON,

THE AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E .

THE following pages were written at Rome, while I had the honor to hold the post of United States Consul for that city ; a circumstance which will sufficiently explain the limited use I have made of inedited documents. The papers of General Greene are still in the possession of his family, and I trust that I shall, at some future day, be enabled to present to the public a more full and complete narrative from these sources. Meanwhile I send forth this little volume as an earnest of what I hope some day or other to accomplish, and as an appeal to the American public for a recognition of their debt of gratitude to him, whose services contributed so largely to the establishment of our national independence.

Sixty years have elapsed since the body of Greene was consigned to the tomb ; and, thus far, a medal for the Eutaws, two pieces of cannon for his general services, and the vote of a monument, which has never been erected, are the only tribute which the general government

has ever paid to his memory. The spot in which his ashes repose has been forgotten, and the chances of the preservation of the simple silver slab on which his name was engraved, are the only hopes which remain of ever distinguishing his bones from those, which, during this long interval, have silently mouldered by their side. Not a statue, not a bust, not a portrait of him, adorns the halls of our national councils; and of the many objects which command the admiration of the stranger at the seat of government, there is not one which recalls his memory. Republican as I am by birth, by education, and by conviction, I have no fear of yielding to too deep a sense of filial piety, when I venture to renew against my own country, with the mingled feelings of an American and a grandson, the time-worn accusation of the ingratitude of republics; for whatever may be said of other names, that of Greene is far from forming an exception to the reproach.

PARIS, *No. 3, Rue de l'Abbaye,*
February 5th, 1846.

NATHANAEL GREENE.

CHAPTER I.

His early Pursuits and Studies. — Acquaintance with President Stiles and Lindley Murray.

AMONG the families which in the seventeenth century sought an asylum in the wilds of New England, there was one from Salisbury by the name of Greene. Little is known of their history as long as they remained in the colony of Plymouth; but, becoming involved in the religious controversies of the period, they removed in 1637 to the settlement formed a year before, by Roger Williams, on the banks of Providence River; and the name of John Greene, the founder of the family, is recorded among the twenty-four original colonists, who obtained a permanent organization by the charter of Charles the Second. From this period they are frequently mentioned in the colonial records as holding offices of dignity and trust,

and one of them was Governor of Rhode Island, during several years of the war of the revolution.

Another branch had established itself in Warwick, upon an estate purchased five years after their removal from Salem, of the sachems Miantonomo and Socomones. Here, near the head waters of a small stream which still retains its Indian name of Potowhommett, Nathanael Greene, third in descent from the original emigrant, had built a forge and a mill. The waters of the river, collected by a dam in an artificial basin, served to turn the wheels of the mill, and move the ponderous sledgehammer of the forge; and flowing, after their fall, through a beautiful tract of meadow and woodland, afforded a pleasant and secure communication with the towns, which were beginning to spring up along the shores of Narragansett Bay.

It was here that NATHANAEL GREENE, the son of Nathanael, was born on the 27th of May, 1742, the second of six sons by a second marriage. The first years of his life were almost exclusively passed in the labors and sports of the country, in both of which he was admirably fitted to excel, by a strong and vigorous constitution. His mother dying while he was as yet a boy, the care of his domestic educa-

tion devolved more immediately upon his father, under whose rigid discipline he was early trained to the labors of the field and the forge, and passed, like his brothers, through the successive stages of preferment from the plough to a stand by the anvil. Thus passed the spring, summer, and autumn; but when winter came, with its short, bleak days and long evenings, a teacher was sought out to reside in the family and initiate the boys in the elements of an English education. The Bible was still the text-book in most of the country families of that period, and in the eyes of a Quaker preacher, for such was the rank of his father, few other books had either authority or value. The impression, which he thus imbibed, gave a peculiar coloring to the mind of young Greene, which is strikingly perceptible in the language, the imagery, and the turn of thought of many of his early letters.

This field, however, was too narrow to awaken the higher qualities of his mind, and he felt, as yet, no other ambition than to distinguish himself in the active scenes of country life. He was still foremost in every rural sport and game; at the evening frolics of the neighborhood his company was sought as gayest of the gay; and it was early remarked, that even in the field and at the forge his opinion

was received with a degree of deference that was accorded to no other member of the family. An acquaintance casually formed, at the age of fourteen, with a young man by the name of Giles, who happened to be passing a college vacation in the vicinity of Potowhommett, first directed his attention to higher and more absorbing pursuits. It would be useless to attempt to conjecture what sort of conversation it was, that passed between Greene and his newly found friend. Perhaps it amounted to little more than the display of a Sophomore's learning to the eyes of a simple country boy. But whatever it was, the spark was struck out, and from that day a new work began to unfold itself before him, and he knew no rest until he had gained admission to its treasure.

We have no means of tracing his first steps. Confined to the contracted book-shelves of his neighbors, it is not probable that he could do any thing more than sharpen his thirst for knowledge, by miscellaneous reading, returning again and again to the same volume for want of a new one. But it would seem that the passion, which he now began to display for books, met the approbation of his father, for the very next winter a teacher was engaged, better qualified to direct the first efforts of a

mind just awakening to a consciousness of its powers, and with him he began mathematics, and made some progress in the rudiments of Latin. How far he carried this study is doubtful; for although Horace and Cæsar became his favorites at a very early period, and continued so throughout the whole of his life, yet it is difficult to decide whether his knowledge of them was drawn from the fountain head, or gained through the medium of a translation.

But in mathematics his progress was sure and decided; and one of the happiest days of his life was that, which first saw him the owner of a Euclid, that richest of treats for a fresh and vigorous mind, thirsting for truth in some clear and tangible form. To heighten the pleasure of the acquisition, it was the fruit of his own industry, for he had employed his leisure moments in making small anchors and such other toys as he could easily dispose of; and the proceeds of his labor served gradually to fill the shelf of his little library. Every instant that he could spare from work was now devoted to this cherished volume, and those who knew the forge at Potowhommett but a few years since, will remember the seat by the furnace, where, while his iron was heating, he snatched each hasty moment to follow out, with

a constantly increasing enthusiasm, the sublime demonstrations of the great geometer. Thus assiduous, earnest, and won by labor and toil, were his first steps in the paths of science.

Two or three years had thus passed away, in ardent, but not always well directed efforts, when he was thrown by a happy incident into the society of one both qualified and disposed to assist him. This was Dr. Stiles, then a clergyman at Newport, and subsequently distinguished as President of Yale College. In the establishment at Potowhommett, there was a small shallop which was employed to carry the anchors manufactured at the forge to Newport, and the other towns on the bay; and in this young Greene had gladly seized every opportunity to work his passage to town, in order to find a market for his toys, and a shop in which he could buy books. On one of these occasions, after having completed his sale, he had hastened, as usual, to the booksellers with his scanty store.

It would seem that hitherto he had almost been wandering at a venture in the paths of knowledge; for all that he could say on approaching the counter was, "I want to buy a book." "What book?" was the natural reply; but to this he was unable to make any answer, and, abashed by the consciousness of his igno-

rance, stood silent and blushing between timidity and doubt. Stiles, who happened to be in the shop, was struck with the ingenuous countenance of the Quaker boy, whose clothes too retained, perhaps, some traces of the forge and the mill; and, entering into conversation with him, drew out enough of his character and his wishes to induce him to make a free offer of his counsel. Full gladly was the proffer accepted; and, to make sure of enjoying more frequently an intercourse from which he hoped to reap such advantages, Greene set himself to study the navigation of the river, in the hope of obtaining the command of the shallop, and thus coming in for a part in every trip to Newport.

The acquaintance of Lindley Murray, then on a visit to Newport, was another result of these excursions; and a visit to Potowhommett was returned by a visit to New York, where, in the society of his cultivated friend, and on a broader field for observation, he advanced rapidly towards a fuller appreciation of his own powers and acquisitions. Here, too, he had an opportunity of giving an early proof of decision and independence of character. The smallpox was then raging in the city, and it is well known what deep-rooted prejudices still prevailed against the salutary practice of

inoculation. Greene's early life might well have fitted him to share in these prejudices, and listen to the timid suggestions of those who could see nothing more in this great discovery of science, than a rash opposition to the laws of nature. But he had already begun to shake off the shackles of prejudice, and judge things by their nature and their results. Without a moment's hesitation he caused himself to be inoculated, and, passing through the regular stages of the disease, freed himself forever from all apprehensions of a scourge, which still continued to carry its ravages into every portion of the country. In reflecting upon this little incident, apparently so unimportant, except as a manifestation of character, one is almost tempted to say that some protecting spirit had whispered to him, that he too had been chosen for some great purpose in a higher and a nobler sphere.

But it was more particularly in his studies that he felt the advantage of his enlarging circle of acquaintance. The study of Watts's Logic, and Locke on the Understanding, was among the first fruits of his friendship with Murray and Stiles; and it was then that he laid the foundation of those habits of patient investigation, which so often excited the wonder and admiration of those, who were called to act

with him in his public career. As a reader, he seems to have acquired a facility in catching his author's meaning, which almost bore the appearance of instinct; and it has often been remarked, by those who knew him well, that no man could seize so readily upon all that was important in a book as General Greene.

CHAPTER II.

His Method of Life. — Engages in the Political Questions of the Time. — Chosen a Member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. — Studies the Military Art. — His Marriage. — Appointed Major-General of the Rhode Island Troops, raised in Consequence of the Battle of Lexington.

GREENE had now reached his twentieth year. By patient industry and unwavering perseverance, he had acquired a stock of knowledge which would have been remarkable in one, who had enjoyed both leisure and means for study. His little library, to which each hard-earned penny was devoted, had been gradually enlarging, until he could count several of the standard

classics among his treasures. The writings of Swift and his contemporaries had given him a clearer insight into the richness and vigor of his native language, although he would seem to have studied it with a neglect for grammar not a little remarkable in a friend of Lindley Murray. The extent and minuteness of his historical knowledge was a subject of astonishment to many well qualified to judge of both; and when, a few years later, Ferguson's beautiful volume on the History of Civil Society appeared, he eagerly embraced those general views, which, by connecting the past with the present and the future, have raised history to the rank of a sure and positive science.

His method of life was regular and severe. A single cup of coffee or tea was his allowance for the morning, and one substantial meal sufficed for the rest of the day. He slept no more than was required to meet the wants of nature, and, although he often went late to his pillow, he was always up again by the dawn of day. In the more laborious duties of the forge and the farm he was never known to neglect his task, some favorite volume being still his companion for every interval of relaxation or repose.

With such habits and pursuits, it would scarcely be supposed that he could have re-

tained his original passion for frolic and game. But the buoyant spirits which he had received from nature, though early subjected to control, never lost their original freshness. He was ever ready for a feat of strength or agility, and almost always victor in the contest. He was an excellent mimic, and fond of displaying his skill. But his chief passion was dancing, and the pleasure was often purchased at the risk of a fall from the window, through which, when the watchful eyes of his father were closed in sleep, he would steal away to the scenes that he loved. It happened once, however, that something had excited his father's suspicion, and set him upon the watch. There was a great ball in the neighborhood, to which young Greene had, as usual, been secretly invited. The dance continued till late in the night, and he was cautiously making his way homeward, when whom should he see but his father, with horsewhip in hand, patiently pacing to and fro beneath the window. Retreat would have been useless, for the door was locked, and there was no other way of getting into the house. He knew the inflexible severity of his father too well to dream of escape, for dancing, of all misdemeanors, was the most heinous in the eyes of a Quaker; and there was nothing to be done but submit to

his punishment with the best grace he could. But, while he made up his mind to take his flogging patiently, he was resolved to suffer as little from it as possible; and accordingly, before he presented himself to the lash, he cautiously thrust under his clothes three or four shingles, from a pile that chanced to be lying near him, and then coolly advanced to meet his father. The reception was just such as he was prepared for, and the blows fell quick and heavy upon his corselet of shingles.

It has been said that this love of frolic yielded at last to the vigorous discipline of his parent; but this is a mistake. Many years after this, when on a visit to Block Island, to the family of the lady who subsequently became his wife, dancing and riding were his chief amusements; and there is still a person alive, who well remembers to have seen him in his house at Newport, after the close of the war, amusing himself by playing with his wife the old game of Puss in the Corner.

A family misfortune, which occurred about his twentieth year, gave a new and important direction to his studies. His two brothers by the first marriage of his father dying, some difficult questions of property were started, which involved the family in a lawsuit. In order to relieve his father from a task so per-

plexing to an unpractised mind, he took upon himself the direction of the case, and carrying into it the same spirit of perseverance and research, which characterized all his actions, he set about qualifying himself for the part he was to perform, by a thorough study of Blackstone and Jacob's Law Dictionary. A competent knowledge of the outlines of the law was one of the fruits of this undertaking; another, and perhaps in the sequel one not less important to a mind like his, for which every new acquaintance was the occasion of learning something new, was an introduction to the Judges and members of the bar, who attended the Circuit Court at the neighboring village of East Greenwich. For him this also was a new world; in which he listened, for the first time, to the vehemence of public debate, and learned to unravel the intricacies of legal discussion. Little did he dream, while seated among the listeners of a village courthouse, and training his mind to the search of truth through the mazes of conflicting evidence and bewildering commentary, that he was fitting himself for a part in councils, which were to decide upon the destinies of a nation.

It was here, apparently, that he first began to take an interest in the great questions of the period. The conduct and policy of the

British government had long held the minds of the colonists in a state of anxious suspense, when the discussion of the Stamp Act came, to raise the excitement to the highest pitch. We have no means of ascertaining the part which Greene took in these early debates, but it is well known that he never wavered in his choice of a party; and there can be but little doubt that he brought to this subject the same ardor and vigor of inquiry, which he carried into all his pursuits.

His domestic situation was highly favorable to the bent, which his mind was now evidently receiving; for his father had purchased a new mill at Coventry, a few miles from Potowhommett, and made him the director. Now it was, that for the first time in his life he was, in a certain measure, his own master; and, as partner in the concern, his resources were enlarged, together with his means for employing them. His library soon felt the benefits of this change, and in a few years it had reached to two hundred and fifty volumes, an uncommon number for that part of the country at that period. He began also to take a more active part in public affairs. The first public school in Coventry was established under his auspices, an almost necessary result of the keen interest he felt in all that related to the cultivation of mind.

In 1770 he was elected to the General Assembly of the colony; and so strong was the hold that he gained upon the affections of his townsmen, that he continued to be regularly returned for the town of Coventry until some time after his appointment to the command of the southern army. As a member of the Assembly he was distinguished by a firm and zealous activity, which quickly won for him the esteem and confidence of his colleagues. He seldom spoke, and then briefly and to the point; but on committees and in difficult questions, frequent calls were made upon his habits of dispassionate and patient investigation. A portion of his correspondence of this period with a friend several years younger than himself, has been preserved, and shows how steadily he kept in view the great duty of the cultivation of his mind.

But it is still more interesting for the decided and energetic expression of his political principles. In 1769, a strong excitement had been produced by the taking of the King's cutter at Newport; and it was but three years after this, that the burning of the *Gaspee*, in Providence River, gave an additional proof of the part that Rhode Island was prepared to take in defence of her liberties. Greene's bold and unequivocal expression of his sentiments had drawn upon

him the suspicions of the royal agents, and it was supposed for a while that he would be summoned before the special tribunal, which had been convened at Newport to trace out and condemn the destroyers of the *Gaspee*. But the storm blew over, and he was left to prepare himself at leisure for the trying scenes in which he was so soon to engage.

No sooner had he become convinced, that the question with England would admit of no other decision than that of the sword, than he decided upon the part which it would become his duty to take in the impending contest. To qualify himself for it, he applied himself to the study of the art of war with all the energy of his soul; and as military history had long been one of his favorite branches, his progress in this new science was both rapid and sure. Sharpe's Military Guide, the Memoirs of Turenne, Cæsar's Commentaries, and Plutarch, were his text-books; and it may readily be imagined, that, of all the studies in which he had hitherto engaged, there was none which had possessed for him the same absorbing interest.

The excitement was now becoming general through all parts of the country. Men of every class were dividing into parties, and ranging themselves under their respective lead-

ers. To every reflecting man it was evident, that the hour was at hand when both parties must bring their differences to the test of the sword ; the stronger from a blind passion for dominion, the weaker from a consciousness of right, and the stern resolve which that consciousness inspires. The din of preparation resounded throughout the colonies, calling the farmer from his plough and the mechanic from his workshop. The most ardent formed themselves into independent companies ; others ranged themselves with the militia, which now received a permanent organization. A great review was held at Plainfield, to which spectators flocked together from all the adjacent counties ; and here it was that Greene witnessed, for the first time, the evolutions of a large body of men under arms.

It was not to be supposed that a line of conduct so opposed to the rigid doctrines of the Quakers could escape their observation. Greene was summoned before them to answer for this open violation of their rules, and some of the leading men of the society were appointed to remonstrate with him upon his conduct. In a long conference, every effort was made to win him back to the peaceful doctrines of his ancestors. He listened respectfully to the counsels of men whom he sincerely esteemed, but

whose views upon this subject he believed to be inconsistent with the duties of a good citizen, and firmly declared his intention of persevering in the part which he had embraced. Nothing now remained but to pronounce his expulsion from the society ; and although the tie thus severed was never renewed, yet, to the close of his life, he preserved his attachment to the body of which he had once been a member, and, on more than one occasion, received important services from them.

In the midst of these events, another change took place in his domestic situation. He had always been particularly fond of female society, and it was in that beautiful intercourse with the other sex, which forms so great a charm of American life, that he had passed some of his happiest hours. Not long after his removal to Coventry, he had formed an acquaintance with a daughter of one of the friends of his family, which soon grew into an ardent passion. Unfortunately, the feeling was not reciprocated, and, as is always the case with strong minds, a great deal of mental suffering was the consequence. Time, however, and a firm will, at length healed the wound ; and in the extensive circle which he then frequented, it was not difficult to find a heart more disposed to appreciate him. At the house of Governor Greene,

a lineal descendant of the founder of the family, he met a young lady from Block Island, by the name of Littlefield, who chanced to be on a visit to her aunt, the wife of the Governor. An attachment soon sprang up, which was fully returned. Two visits to the family at Block Island strengthened and confirmed the passion; and there it was that he indulged so freely his taste for dancing, the more so, perhaps, for having recently thrown off his Quaker's garb. On the 20th of July, 1774, he received the hand of his betrothed, and, returning to his quiet home at Coventry, gave himself up to the enjoyments of domestic life.

But this was not a moment in which a mind like his could slumber. The political horizon was growing darker from day to day, and men were looking with throbbing hearts for the first gust of the tempest. As a member of the Assembly, Greene had already declared his intention to stand by the friends of America in the impending struggle; but the day had now arrived in which it became necessary to take a more decisive step. Among the military preparations of the period, the independent companies were not the least important, for the study of the elements of the art. One of these was formed in East Greenwich, in 1774, under the name of the Kentish Guards; and Greene had en-

rolled himself as a private, having failed to obtain a sufficient number of votes for a lieutenancy.

The great want of the moment was a supply of proper arms, and it was not without difficulty that the new volunteers could equip themselves for parade. Greene's decision was prompt and characteristic. Boston was the only place where the necessary accoutrements could be procured with certainty, and thither, under the pretext of collecting an old debt for his father, he directed his steps. Then it was that he first saw the imposing array of armed men, who had been sent from beyond the sea for the subjugation of his native land. It is easy to conceive with what interest he attended their morning and evening parades, how carefully he noted down every remarkable evolution, and how many practical comments he made upon the lessons of his text-book. Little did the British officers, in the pride of their gallant array, dream who was looking upon them from under the broad-brimmed hat of the Quaker, or how fatally for them their lessons would be applied. Having completed his purchase, and protracted his stay as long as was either useful or safe, he bribed a wagoner to hide his musket and accoutrements under the straw of his wagon,

and, in company with a deserter, whom he had engaged to act as drill-master to the guards, returned in triumph to Rhode Island.

In the following spring was fought the battle of Lexington; and news of this great outbreak of public feeling reached Rhode Island while the gallant whigs of Massachusetts were still engaged with the enemy. The drum of the Kentish Guards instantly beat to arms, and in a short time they were on their march towards Boston. As they were hastening forward, and while they were yet at some distance from the boundary line, a message was brought them from the Governor, requiring them instantly to return. Strange to tell, none of the officers had the firmness to disobey. Not so with Greene, who felt all the importance of the occasion; and, calling upon three of his companions, among whom was one of his brothers, to join him, he mounted his horse and pushed forward towards the scene of action. They had hardly completed the first half of their journey, when a messenger met them with the welcome tidings of the retreat of the British, and the triumph of their countrymen.

This vigorous blow was followed up by measures equally vigorous. Delegates were despatched to Connecticut and Rhode Island, call-

ing for their assistance in this trying emergency. The appeal was nobly met. The Assembly of Rhode Island voted an army of observation, and carried its number to one thousand six hundred men. The army was to receive its officers from the Assembly; and then it was that Greene's real stand among his colleagues was felt, for all eyes were instantly turned towards him, as if by common accord; and, by the voice of that body in whose deliberations he had borne so honorable a part, he was raised to the command, with the rank of Major-General. In a few days his files were filled and his own preparations completed; and, in less than a year from the day of his marriage, bidding a long adieu to the endearments of domestic life, he entered with high hopes and a buoyant heart upon that career, in which he was to encounter so many trials and win so pure a glory.

CHAPTER III.

Joins the Army at Cambridge. — Stationed with the Rhode Island Troops on Prospect Hill. — Appointed a Brigadier-General in the Continental Service. — Recommends a Declaration of Independence. — Marches with the Army to New York. — Commands on Long Island. — Raised to the Rank of Major-General. — Stationed at Fort Lee. — Capture of Fort Washington. — Retreat through New Jersey. — Takes a conspicuous Part in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

IT was towards the end of May, in the year 1775, that Greene assumed his command as Major-General of the Rhode Island troops to the army of the united colonies. He had just attained the age of thirty-three. In aspect and figure he was dignified and commanding. His stature was a little above the common level, being about five feet and ten or eleven inches; his limbs vigorous and firmly set by habits of labor and active exercise; and a slight stiffness in his right leg, which was supposed to have been contracted by assiduous service at the anvil, offered no perceptible obstruction to the freedom and elasticity of his movements.

A complexion naturally florid was somewhat darkened by constant exposure to the wind and sun; his features, though not uncommonly large, were strongly marked; his eyes were blue, and remarkable for their brilliancy and fire; and the general expression of his countenance was one of thoughtfulness and benevolence, although it yielded with peculiar flexibility to every emotion of the mind. The smallpox had left a slight trace in his right eye, which however is said to have scarcely diminished the lustre with which it gleamed in his moments of excitement.

Well was it for his success in the trying career upon which he had now entered, that his mind and body had long been trained to habits of constant and laborious exertion; for, from the moment that he assumed his station among the forces which had been hastily gathered around Boston, he found himself a prey to all the anxieties which harass and perplex the commander of an undisciplined army. His own stock of military knowledge was as yet exceedingly limited. Though indefatigable at the drill, he had never had any other experience than that of a private soldier; nor could the lessons, which he had gathered from his small library, supply at once the want of practical knowledge.

But among the qualities with which he had been so liberally endowed by nature, was that instinctive tact in the discovery of character, without which no man can ever hope to acquire a permanent ascendancy over his fellow-men. Human nature had been his favorite study, both as depicted in the pages of history, and as manifested in the scenes in which he himself had borne a part. He had learned to read the thoughts of others, as if they had been his own; and deep indeed must have been that disguise, which could escape his penetrating glance. He was not long in perceiving the good effects of these important qualities; and even in the first few weeks of his command, his opinion came to be listened to with that deference, which is only accorded to acknowledged superiority. A gentleman of great distinction, who happened to be present at a court-martial upon which he was sitting a few weeks after the battle of Bunker's Hill, was so struck with the sagacity and pertinence of his remarks, and the commanding dignity of his aspect, that, without so much as knowing his name, he pronounced him to be a man of real military genius, and decidedly the ablest member of the court.

He had entered seriously and with mature reflection upon this new profession; fully con-

scious of its duties, and firmly resolved to submit to every sacrifice and face every hardship, in the fulfilment of them. His first care was the discipline of his men, to which he applied himself with such zeal, that his troops were pronounced, by a member of Washington's own staff, the best disciplined in the service. They were generally well equipped and provided with tents, whose regular and military appearance formed a striking contrast to the tents and huts of the other regiments. The station assigned to his charge was the important position of Prospect Hill, full in front of the enemy, and necessarily exposed to attack, in case of any movement by land against the left wing or centre of the Americans. Here he had been busily engaged in throwing up such fortifications as his post required; and it was with no small exultation that he first manned the lines, and saw his troops ranged before him with something of the aspect of a regular army.

But from the very beginning he perceived the inherent disadvantages of the system of enlistment, which had been followed in all the colonies, and depicted in strong colors the protracted suffering which would inevitably ensue, unless a wiser course were adopted. Unhappily, the real character of the contest was not

yet understood. The brilliant combats of Lexington and Bunker's Hill had led to the belief that war could be carried on with militia, and the moment of general effervescence was suffered to pass, before Congress bethought itself of the necessity of providing for the organization of a permanent force.

On the 3d of July, General Washington joined the camp before Boston. By none was his arrival hailed with more delight than by Greene, who had early seen the necessity of gathering all the forces of the country under one common head. Anxious to make a public declaration of his sentiments, he welcomed him to the army, in an address delivered in the name of his troops; and the relations naturally flowing from their relative positions soon led to the formation of that intimate and confidential intercourse, which ended only with life.

Soon after the arrival of the Commander-in-chief, the army was placed upon the Continental establishment; and the officers, who, till now, had held their commissions from their respective states, were received into the immediate service of the united colonies. Not a little dissatisfaction was excited by some of the changes in rank, and more than one officer threatened to retire, unless his personal claims were more justly balanced. Greene,

who had never served before, felt that he had no ground of complaint at being required to exchange the rank of Major-General for that of Brigadier, and cheerfully accepted the commission that was offered him in the name of Congress.

Although no opportunities were afforded him of distinguishing himself by active service during the siege of Boston, yet this year was none the less an important one in his military career. He now formed himself to the toil-some and anxious life of a camp, and the multifarious duties of a commander. He could study, from a closer point of view, the character of the men who were to be his companions in the great struggle for freedom, and nerve his mind for the trials, which he clearly foresaw and predicted, with energy and precision. He could apply, too, the knowledge which he had been silently gleaning from books, and go back, with a more lively perception, to the lessons of Cæsar and Turenne.

His attention was not confined to his military pursuits, but he launched out boldly into the innumerable questions suggested by the state of the country; and his correspondence, from this period to the close of the war, offers constant proof how carefully and conscientiously he had studied them all. Upon none was his opinion expressed with more firmness and decision, than

the necessity of a close union among the colonies. He was deeply impressed with the advantages that might be derived from that free and intimate intercourse, which would be the necessary result of an unreserved union of interests; and, in the varieties of soil and climate, comprised in the extensive territories of the thirteen colonies, he saw the materials of a commerce equally beneficial to each. Everything, which tended to check the progress of this union, he regarded as hostile to the true interests of the country. Local animosities and territorial jealousies filled him with indignation. He could not listen with patience to the invidious comparisons and distinctions, which narrow-minded men were so fond of making between the north and the south. "For my part," said he, "I am as ready to serve in Virginia as in New England." The colonies for him were already one great whole, bound together by the strongest and most indissoluble of ties.

Nor did he indulge in any vain hopes of reconciliation with England, which, from the moment that blood was drawn, must, to one so well schooled in history, have seemed impracticable upon any other terms than those of absolute independence. This subject appears to have engaged his attention at a very early

period, and his opinion was formed with his usual promptitude and decision. "Permit me, then," says he, in a letter to an eminent member of Congress, written from his camp on Prospect Hill, as early as the 4th of June, 1775, "permit me to recommend, from the sincerity of a heart at all times ready to bleed in my country's cause, a declaration of independence; and call upon the world, and the great God who governs it, to witness the necessity, propriety, and rectitude thereof."

Shortly after the arrival of General Washington, the command of the left wing had been given to Major-General Lee, and Greene with his brigade was placed under him. This singular man was then in the bloom of his popularity, and Greene was naturally drawn towards him by his high reputation for military skill. It is doubtful, however, whether there was ever any great intimacy between them, although they continued occasionally to correspond, even after Lee had retired from the service. Summer and winter passed away without any decisive movements, neither army feeling strong enough to venture upon an attack, although both Washington and Greene were anxious to make the trial. "Out of an army of twenty thousand men," says Greene, "it will be hard if we cannot find eight thou-

sand who will fight manfully." But such was not the opinion of the majority of the council of war, and the others were obliged to acquiesce in their decision. Meanwhile, the army suffered greatly from the cold. The trees and fences, for a mile round the camp, had been cut up for fuel; and still they were more than once obliged to eat their food raw, for want of materials to cook it with. At one time, too, serious apprehensions were entertained of the smallpox, which was known to be in Boston, and against which few were guarded by inoculation. By Greene's advice, a hospital was established at Coventry, for the inoculation of the officers; and, sending his family into hired lodgings, he gave up his own house for the purpose.

All this time he was gradually winning the confidence of Washington, and rising every day in his esteem. He was indefatigable in the performance of his duty, modest in his deportment, receiving the marks of attention lavished upon him as if given rather to his office than his person. "My task is hard," says he, "and fatigue great; I go to bed late, and rise early. But, hard as it is, if I can discharge the duty to my own honor and my country's satisfaction, I shall go through the toil with cheerfulness." A severe attack of jaundice, the first

illness he ever had, was the consequence of this new mode of life; and, to heighten his chagrin, it came upon him when there were strong reasons for supposing that an attack would at length be hazarded upon Boston. "Sick or well," says he, "I intend to be there, if I am able to sit on horseback." But the attempt was not made; and when, a month after, positive preparations were making for an assault by water, to support the movements at Dorchester, one of the two brigades of four thousand picked men, who were relied upon for the success of the enterprise, was intrusted to his command. A sudden tempest disconcerted the plans of the British General, compelling him to put off the assault which he had meditated upon the right wing of the Americans; and, when the storm had ceased, it was too late to attempt it with success. Hastily embarking his troops, he evacuated Boston.

Washington now hastened to draw his forces towards New York, the point where he next expected the enemy. Greene was ordered to march with his brigade through Rhode Island, and, embarking them at New London, cross over to the Long Island shore. His route lay through Coventry, and he had time to snatch a hasty meal at his own table. By the middle of April he was already at his post. Every

day the enemy was expected, and there could be no doubt but what his first efforts would be directed against Long Island. It is no small proof of the high stand which Greene had already taken in the army, that he was selected to command at this important post, which now became the key of the American position. He prepared for the welcome task with his usual assiduity, and, establishing his head-quarters at Brooklyn, commenced a careful study of the ground on which he expected to act. The roads and woods were explored, every by-way marked out, fortifications thrown up at the leading passes, and every measure taken which could contribute to success.

In the midst of these occupations, he was seized with a bilious fever, which brought him to the brink of the grave. It was towards the middle of August, the most dangerous season, and for several days there was a severe struggle between the disease and the native strength of his constitution. At length the fever yielded, and he began slowly and gradually to recover. Meanwhile the enemy had made their attack, and the battle of Long Island had been fought, while he was, as yet, hardly able to raise his head from his pillow. "Gracious God!" he exclaims, "to be confined at such a time!" From his bed he listened to the sound of the

conflict, and received with the keenest anxiety the reports, which were brought to him from time to time, of the progress of the battle. His agitation was extreme, for he felt as if his own reputation was involved in the fate of the brave men who had been trained under his eye, and prepared to fight under his command; and when he was told of the havoc that had been made in Smallwood's gallant band, his favorite regiment, he could no longer command his feelings, but burst into an agony of tears. Well might he mourn over such a misfortune, for it was the universal belief, that the reverses of that day were chiefly owing to the accident, which took him from the field at so trying a juncture.

No sooner was he able to mount his horse, than he hastened to take his part in the duties of his station, which had recently been enlarged by his promotion to the rank of Major-General. The fate of New York was the question, which now held the minds of men in suspense. Greene, who never lost in deliberation the time required for action, urged the necessity of an immediate retreat from the Island, while there was still a hope of effecting it without loss; and, to deprive the enemy of a station so favorable to their views, he insisted with equal energy upon the importance of burning the

city. Congress, however, had resolved that New York should be preserved, and a majority of the council of war decided upon delaying, as long as possible, the moment of evacuation. A few days sufficed to show how ill suited these temporizing movements were to the urgency of the occasion. The resolve of the first council was reversed in a second, summoned five days afterwards at the petition of seven general officers, and a retreat was resolved upon, though too late to prevent the loss of a large supply of arms and stores.

A brilliant stand was made at Haerlem, in which Greene took a part. It was his first battle, for he had hitherto seen nothing but distant cannonades and slight skirmishes, and he speaks of it as one in which he had "fought hard." A portion of the enemy's forces was stationed upon Staten Island, whence they threatened the Jerseys and the American line of retreat. Greene was detached to watch their movements, while the main army continued in its strong position upon the heights of Haerlem. His head-quarters were at Bergen or at Fort Lee, as circumstances called for his presence at either of these points.

At this critical moment, the army was again exposed to the most imminent danger by irregular and short enlistments. The terms of ser-

vice of a large portion of the troops was about to expire, and no effectual measures had yet been taken for supplying their places. The only resource that remained was the militia, and many of these had stubbornly refused to serve; alleging, in excuse, the assurances of peace, liberty, and safety, which had been given them by the British. No man held the personal rights of the citizen in higher respect than Greene; but he was too just a reasoner not to feel, that there are moments when the strong hand of the soldier must be used to enforce the injunctions of the law. The militia were bound to serve; and, upon learning what a spirit was spreading among them, he instantly ordered down a detachment of his regulars, to check it in its bud; threatening them, at the same time, with the rigors of garrison duty in Fort Lee, as a punishment for their cowardice.

The British were now pressing forward with unwonted energy, and it became necessary to come to a positive decision concerning the garrison at Fort Washington. Hitherto it had been held, in the hope that, by its commanding position, it might serve as a check upon the navigation of the river. But the enemy's ships had passed it with apparent impunity, and it was thought that, having proved useless

as a defence, no time was to be lost in withdrawing the troops and stores to a place of greater security. In this opinion Greene did not concur. He urged, that, although the fort was no longer useful as a protection to the river, yet it answered an important purpose, by cutting the enemy off from a free communication with the country, by the route of Kingsbridge; that if they should not find it an object of importance, they would not trouble themselves about it; but that, if they should attempt to dislodge the Americans, this alone would be a sufficient proof of the uneasiness it gave them, and of the necessity of holding it; that it would take double the force to invest, that it would to garrison it; that the place itself was strongly fortified, and the garrison in good spirits, and prepared to defend it manfully; and, finally, that in case of a siege it could hold out till winter, and the troops be eventually saved. He desired to be intrusted with the defence, in the confidence that he could make good his assertions.

Had his wish been complied with, a heavy loss might have been prevented. As it was, he watched over the garrison till the last moment. The evening before the attack he was there encouraging the men and officers, examining their means of defence, and taking every

precaution to make sure that it should be effectual. The next morning the British pressed on to the assault. On the north they met a gallant resistance, and lost eight hundred men before they could force their way into the outer works. But in other parts the defence was feeble, and one body quitted its station almost at sight of the enemy. Still, by taking a stand at the brow of the hill, towards the north, the defence might probably have been drawn out till nightfall, and the garrison saved. Instead of this, the men retreated into the fort, where they stood crowded one upon another, unable to fight, and, upon the first summons, delivered themselves up as prisoners of war.

Deeply as Greene was chagrined at this unlooked-for result, it made no alteration in his opinion concerning the correctness of the advice which he had given. The heavy loss which the enemy sustained, although so feebly opposed, is a strong presumption in his favor; and even at the close of the war, when his military experience had been enlarged by six campaigns, he continued to assert, that if the garrison had done their duty, the fort could not have been taken. If this was an error of judgment, it was founded upon highly plausible reasoning, and was a proof that he had already begun to manifest that bold and adventurous spirit, by

which he was so much distinguished in the sequel.

Encouraged by their success, the enemy resolved to follow it up by an immediate attack upon Fort Lee. Early on the morning of the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson with a strong body of British and Hessians, intending to cut off the retreat of the garrison towards the Hackinsack River. Greene was still in his bed when intelligence of this movement reached him. He had four miles to march in order to reach the river, and Cornwallis but one and a half. Without losing an instant, he pushed forward with all his forces to the head of the stream, and, drawing them up in front of Cornwallis, contrived to hold them at bay until Washington, to whom a courier had instantly been despatched, could come up. Then, leaving them under the guidance of the Commander-in-chief, he hastened back to the fort, and, collecting the stragglers and others, nearly three hundred in all, conveyed them in safety across the Hackinsack. This brilliant manœuvre was his first encounter with Cornwallis.

Now began the memorable retreat through the Jerseys. Disappointed of a reinforcement, which might have enabled him to make a suc-

cessful stand at Hackinsack; with a river in his rear, and an enemy of twice his strength in front; his army disheartened, dejected by frequent reverses, and exposed, without tents and badly clothed, to all the rigors of an inclement season; unprovided with intrenching tools, or the means of throwing up even a temporary defence; Washington had no alternative but to yield up the field to his adversary. In a few hours, by a rapid march, he had thrown the Passaic between himself and his pursuers; and, halting for a few days at Newark, he made every exertion to rouse up the country to his assistance. But all was in vain. The hearts of the inhabitants were with the enemy, and, as the adverse army advanced, he retired slowly before it, until another river had afforded him once more a place of temporary security. Here, too, he would have wished to make a stand and hazard the chance of resistance. But a part of his troops were already abandoning him, as their terms of service expired, and they who should have supplied their places came in slowly and irregularly to his aid. As soon, therefore, as it was known that the enemy had resumed their pursuit, he began his retreat upon Trenton, and, profiting by the slowness of their approach,

succeeded in conveying his stores and baggage in safety across the river. In a few days, the hostile armies were ranged, front to front, along the banks of the Delaware.

During the whole of this trying period Greene was at the side of his commander, partaking in his cares and anxieties, and sharing with him that firm and unbending trust in the ultimate triumph of their cause, which forms one of the sublimest traits in the character of Washington. His letters breathe the same spirit of firmness and energy with which he had entered upon his career. He is still looking forward with confidence to the future. The misfortunes of the present moment he attributes to some natural and pardonable errors of a young government, and gayly and cheerfully expresses the hope, that they too, like the rest of the world, will profit by their experience. It was in this spirit that he took an active part in planning the brilliant attack upon Trenton, in which he commanded the division with which Washington marched in person; and, with Knox and Washington, was the only one who was for following up this blow by an attack upon the other posts of the enemy in New Jersey. In the daring march upon Princeton he bore a distinguished part, both in the design and execution, and had already anticipated

Washington's happy decision to establish his quarters at Morristown. With these startling and energetic achievements, the campaign of 1776 was brought to a close.

CHAPTER IV.

Commands a Division of the Army at Baskingridge. — Manœuvres of Sir William Howe. — American Army marches to the Head of Elk. — Battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. — Greene watches the Motions of Cornwallis in New Jersey. — Encampment at Valley Forge. — Accepts the Appointment of Quartermaster-General.

THE head-quarters of the American army, during the winter of 1777, were at Morristown, in New Jersey. Greene was stationed with a separate division at Baskingridge; and a war of skirmishes, extremely annoying to the enemy, and occasionally attended with decided advantages to the Americans, was kept up throughout the winter. Meanwhile, preparations were made, though with an indecision and dilatoriness very trying to the Commander-

in-chief, for the reorganization of the army and the opening of the campaign. To hasten the action of Congress, General Greene was despatched to Philadelphia, as one so much in the confidence of his commander, so intimately acquainted with his ideas, and with every thing relating to the army, that his own good sense, fortified by this knowledge, could be fully relied upon for a conference with Congress, upon the important subjects that were to be submitted to their decision. A few weeks after his return from this delicate mission, he was sent, in company with General Knox, to examine the passes of the Highlands on the Hudson, and take such measures as he might deem necessary for their defence.

Thus the winter passed away; and towards the end of May, Washington broke up his camp at Morristown, and advanced to a strong station at Middlebrook. Then began a series of skilful manœuvres on the part of his adversary, in the hope of drawing him from his position and bringing him to a general engagement. In one of these, Greene was intrusted with the command of a strong detachment, with orders to hang upon the rear of the British, and, combining his movements with those of General Maxwell, make an attempt to cut off their rear guard. The express that

should have conveyed his instructions to Maxwell deserted or was taken, thus defeating the enterprise in part; but a vigorous pursuit was kept up as far as Piscataway, and Greene speaks with high eulogiums of the conduct of the troops of Morgan and Wayne, who advanced with the greatest intrepidity upon an enemy superior in numbers and secured by redoubts.

While the army was encamped at Middlebrook, an incident occurred, which was well nigh depriving it of the services of some of the ablest of its officers. The delicate etiquette of military rank had never been fully understood by Congress; and in a recent instance an officer of distinguished merit had, without any just grounds of complaint, been subjected to the mortification of seeing inferior officers promoted over him. A general irritability upon the subject of appointments, and a distrust of the justice of Congress, were the natural consequences of this occurrence; and when a report reached camp, that a gentleman but recently arrived in the country had been appointed Major-General, with a commission of an earlier date than their own, it is not surprising that it should easily have obtained credence with the American generals. Greene, Sullivan, and Knox, immediately declared their intention of resigning, in case the report should be found true, and each

of them addressed a laconic epistle, to this effect, to the President of Congress. Happily, the rumor was unfounded; and, although Congress resented this hasty ebullition of mistrust, and called upon the offenders for an apology, which was never made, yet it is probable that the warning was not thrown away, but contributed somewhat towards opening their eyes to the necessity of a more vigorous adherence to the established laws of promotion.

Having failed in his efforts to draw his adversary into an action, the British General retreated to Staten Island, and soon commenced embarking his forces. For weeks, the minds of the Americans were held in suspense by his manœuvres, the fleet appearing and disappearing in a manner calculated to bewilder and perplex them in the extreme. At length, after a long period of anxiety and doubt, during which he had been compelled to harass his troops by marches and countermarches, Washington received certain intelligence that the enemy had entered the Chesapeake, and appeared in force ascending the bay. Hastily calling together all the forces of which he could dispose, he immediately advanced to meet them, firmly resolved to try the chances of a battle.

Greene was sent forward to reconnoitre and choose a place for encampment, which he fixed

upon at the Cross-Roads, about six miles from the enemy, with an open country in the rear, from which assistance could be drawn with facility, and so near the hostile army that it would be easy to harass and distress them by skirmishes, before they could be sufficiently organized to set out upon their march. But, before his report reached head-quarters, another position had been decided upon in a council of war, which Greene condemned as incapable of defence, and the result proved too truly the correctness of his opinion; for, as the British advanced, the Americans were compelled to retire; and after some manœuvring, and a few slight skirmishes, they took up their position, on the 10th of September, on the banks of the Brandywine.

Early next morning, the English advanced to the attack. The passage of the ford, near which the chief strength of the American forces had been stationed, was manfully defended; but, in the mean while, a strong detachment, led by Howe and Cornwallis, had crossed the river by a circuitous march, and were rapidly gaining the American rear. Washington, who had early foreseen this movement, would have met the blow by an attack upon that portion of the enemy's forces, which had been left upon the right of the river, but for the contradictory

intelligence by which his mind was held in suspense the greater part of the day. Unable, therefore, to follow up his original design, he recalled the detachment which had crossed the river, and perceiving, by the fire on his right, that the engagement had commenced in that quarter, hastened to the spot, leaving Greene with his two brigades in a position from which he could fly to any point where his assistance might be required.

A few minutes sufficed to show how judiciously this measure had been devised. After a gallant resistance, the Americans were forced from the field in spite of all the efforts of their officers to rally them. Now was the time for Greene to display his coolness and his energy. Marching along a road which intersected the flight of the Americans, and the advance of the enemy, he hurried his men forward with such rapidity that they marched four miles in forty-nine minutes. Here every thing was in confusion; the ranks broken, the troops scattered, the roads filled with fugitives rushing forward they knew not whither, in the wildness of fear, and the enemy pressing close upon their footsteps with shouts of exultation. Throwing himself between them and his flying countrymen, he opened a sharp and well directed fire from his field pieces, opening his ranks from

time to time for the fugitives, and closing them the moment that they had passed.

In this manner he continued to retreat for half a mile, until he came to a narrow defile protected on both sides by woods. Perceiving with the instinctive rapidity of genius the advantages of this position, he halted and drew up his men for battle, first sending off his cannon to a place of security, in case that he should be compelled to a hasty retreat. On came the British, flushed with success, and thinking only of putting the last hand to their easy-won victory. A close and destructive fire checked their pursuit, and compelled them to halt. So well chosen was Greene's position, that it could neither be forced nor turned, and the sight of his beaming eye and firm countenance seemed to have inspired his men with an energy like his own. From three quarters of an hour before sunset till dark he maintained the unequal conflict, and then, when the enemy, wearied with the toil of the day, gave up the contest, he drew off his troops and rejoined the army at their rallying point.

Howe was now resolved to follow up his success by another battle, or a stroke at Philadelphia; and, advancing upon Goshen, in two columns, was soon once more within striking distance of the Americans. Washington, too,

was ready for battle, and directed Sullivan, the senior Major-General, to draw up the troops. By a singular oversight, he began to range them in their rear, in a position where a large sheet of water, which ran the whole length of their line, would have effectually cut them off from all retreat in case of a disaster. Greene, who had observed it, rode off to convey the information to Washington, who, he was well persuaded, would never have chosen such a place to fight in. He was directed to remove them to a new position; and, while the change was making, a violent storm arose, which damaged the arms and powder of the men so much as to render it impossible to hazard an engagement. Washington then filed off towards Reading, and the British continued their advance.

Greene was again sent forward to select a position, and pitched upon the range of mountains extending to the neighborhood of the Yellow Springs, difficult of access, but offering great facilities for those partial actions, which he looked upon as best suited to the present condition of the army. The whole force of the Americans would thus have been brought to bear upon the flank and rear of the enemy, who could not have passed the Schuylkill without exposing himself to fight them on their own terms. But instead of this judicious movement

by the flank, a council of war had already resolved upon opposing the enemy in front ; and Howe, after a series of skilful manœuvres, which, from the impossibility of obtaining correct and speedy intelligence of them, the American General was unable to counteract, opened his way to Philadelphia, where he made his triumphal entry, on the 26th of September.

Washington now resolved upon one of those daring enterprises, which were so well suited to the natural cast of his character. The main body of the British army had been quartered at Germantown, within six miles of Philadelphia ; a portion was in the city, and a strong detachment had been sent against the works at Billingsport, and the forts on the Delaware. Could he come by surprise upon any portion of them, while thus scattered, the whole army would be effectually crippled. The body stationed at Germantown was selected for the trial. The command of the left wing was given to Greene, with orders to attack the right of the enemy ; while the American right, led by Sullivan, and attended by Washington in person, advanced against their centre and left.

It was at the break of day on the morning of the 4th of October, that Greene with his own brigade, supported by those of Stephen

and MacDougall, advanced to the attack. Not a breath of air was stirring to give motion to the vapors of the morning, which overhung the plain with a veil so dense, that at fifty yards not an object could be seen, and even at thirty, one thing could hardly be distinguished from another. The line of battle was formed at a distance from the enemy, and slowly and painfully made its way, by the dim and uncertain light of the dawn, through roads obstructed by fences, marshes, and woods. A heavy fire on the right soon warned them that this wing was already engaged, and, pushing eagerly forward, in spite of every obstacle, they found themselves in presence of the enemy. And now began the struggle for victory. The long and fatiguing march of the night had diminished nothing of their ardor, and the enemy received them with the skill and firmness of veterans. Each party met its antagonist with a brisk fire from its musketry, whose volleys responded to the echoes of the conflict on the right, while the smoke from their guns, mingling with the morning vapors, hung over their heads like a pall, leaving them no mark to aim by but the flash from each other's fire. The conflict was severe and bloody; but at length, after an obstinate resistance, and the loss of many brave men, the British began to

waver and give ground. Inspired by their success, the Americans eagerly pressed forward, and, pursuing them through their encampment, forced their way into the village at the point of the bayonet. Here the fog dispersing gave them the first clear view of the field of battle.

On their right, Sullivan, after a brilliant and successful onset, had been forced back, and his men were now flying from the field. The division of Stephen, disentangling itself from Sullivan's left, with which, owing to the darkness of the morning, it had got mixed, had put to flight the first body of the enemy which they had encountered, and were advancing upon them with the bayonet, when they were seized with a sudden panic, which all the exertions of their officers could not allay. With disciplined troops, order might yet have been restored, and the day won; but with raw and inexperienced soldiers, many of whom had never been in battle before, there was nothing to supply the place of that first impulse which sometimes leads to victory, but can never be depended upon in a well contested fight.

Retreat was now inevitable; and, with a heavy heart, Greene gave the necessary orders for the protection of his men. This was no easy task in the face of an enemy burning to wipe out the disgrace of the morning, and now

reinforced by a strong body of fresh troops, who, under Cornwallis, had hastened from Philadelphia at the first sound of the conflict. The pursuit continued fierce and unremitted, the enemy pressing hard upon their footsteps, and the bullets falling around them like hail. A warm fire checked the pursuers, and at length compelled them to give up the pursuit. It had continued near five miles, the British fresh and invigorated by success, the Americans worn down by the fatiguing march of the night, and disheartened by the reverses of the morning.

The danger of the forts on the Delaware now called the attention of the Commander-in-chief to that quarter, and, on the 20th of November, Greene was despatched with a strong detachment to meet, and, if possible, attack Cornwallis, who was advancing against Fort Mercer. The success of the enterprise depended upon the arrival of another body of troops from the north; but, before this junction could be effected, the British general received a reinforcement which gave him so decided a superiority, as to render an attack, with forces composed in a great measure of militia, extremely hazardous. Without availing himself of his advantage, he soon after recrossed the river, and Greene returned to the main army. On the 18th of December, the Americans went

into winter quarters at Valley Forge. Mrs. Washington joined her husband in February; Mrs. Greene arrived about the same time; the wives of other officers hastened to follow the example, and the cares and gloom of a winter encampment were illumined for a moment by this transient return of the sweets of domestic life.

It was during this memorable winter, that the intrigues against the Commander-in-chief, commonly known as Conway's Cabal, became public. The calumnies, which could not be hazarded against the tried character of Washington, were poured out freely against his friends, and Greene, as one of the first and firmest of them, came in for a full share. This atrocious conspiracy, as is well known, failed of its object, and the malignity of its framers recoiled with redoubled weight upon their own heads; but Greene continued to feel for years the evil effects of the prejudices then excited against him, both as an officer and as a man.

He had looked forward to the log huts of Valley Forge as a scene of comparative repose. "I have no hopes of coming home this winter," says he, in a letter to a friend; "the General will not grant me permission. Mrs. Greene is coming to camp. We are all going into log huts; a sweet life after a most fatiguing cam-

paign." But his devotion to his commander, and his resolution to sacrifice his own wishes to the calls of public utility, and serve his country in whatever capacity it was supposed he could be most useful, soon involved him in new cares.

Among the many causes, which had contributed to retard the movements of the American army, none had been more extensive and more perplexing than those, which had arisen from the defective organization of the departments of Commissary and Quartermaster-General. Intimately connected as these departments are with every part of the military system, week after week often passed away, without a single responsible officer of either appearing in camp. Hence the difficulty of following up any extensive plan of operations, and the embarrassments experienced even in the most trifling. On one occasion an important enterprise failed for the want of provisions; although it was a standing regulation, that every man should have constantly by him a sufficient supply for two days. Nor was the waste of public property less remarkable. The wagons that should have been kept ready to move at a moment's warning, for the transportation of stores and provisions, had been scattered over every route by which the army had passed,

and through every position in which it had encamped. The intrenching tools; so often essential for the immediate protection of a camp, had been left in the hands of private individuals, under no other security than the chances of personal honesty.

Although the want of proper materials for constructing tents had been a constant source of complaint and suffering, a large supply of tents and tent cloth had been suffered to lie, throughout a whole campaign, in a farmer's barn, and was only secured, in the end, by a special order of the Commander-in-chief. To such a height had this carelessness risen, that the troops were actually sickening and dying for the want of straw, the most common of materials. Out of camp, there were neither wagons nor draught animals enough for the transportation of supplies; and in camp every thing was drawn by the soldiers, who yoked themselves together to the carts. To complete this picture of confusion and suffering, the military chest was empty; public credit was rapidly sinking to the lowest ebb; and with large arrears for past expenses, and the certainty of a still heavier expenditure for the future, there was hardly money enough, even in the depreciated currency of the country, to meet the most trifling exigencies of the moment. To

crowd all, a new campaign was approaching, in which the most energetic exertions were to be looked for, from an enemy exasperated to the utmost by the ill success of his former efforts.

Under such circumstances, not a moment was to be lost in placing at the head of the department a man of approved and extensive capacity, whose energy might relieve present wants, while his provident care extended itself to those of the future. It was to Greene that all eyes were turned in this emergency; and, yielding to the representations of the Commander-in-chief, and the urgent entreaties of the committee of Congress, he consented to accept this laborious office, of which he foresaw, and perhaps not without some secret presentiments of evil, the dangers and the responsibility. At the same time, he made a special reservation of his right to command on the day of battle, and declared his fixed determination of returning, as soon as his duty to his country would permit him, to the more congenial service of the line.

The change was instantly felt throughout the whole country. Earnest and indefatigable in the study of his duties, he carried out his searching inquiries into every ramification of

his department. Labor, from long habit, had become a pleasure to him; and his enthusiasm was too pure, and his patriotism too firm, to be shaken by the obstacles with which envy and malice, and the very nature of his task, might obstruct his way. His clear mind unravelled the intricacies of the system, and discovered in the apparent chaos the seeds of order. With a cool and cautious judgment, he weighed every advantage and studied every danger; and, while his fertile invention devised expedients, his energy gave them vigor and effect.

The feelings of hostility, which had sprung up between the staff and the line, souring the intercourse and retarding the exertions of each, were appeased, and the officers of these departments brought to live and act in concert and harmony. Means of transportation were prepared on every route, purchases made with comparative facility, and supplies reserved with an exactness and regularity which had long been unknown. From this moment the movements of the army were made with ease, and extensive plans could be formed with a certainty, that the materials for carrying them into execution would not be wanting; and, during the whole course of his administration, not an in-

stance occurred, in which, great as the obstacles were against which he had to contend, an enterprise was either retarded or defeated for the want of proper preparations in the department of the Quartermaster-General.

CHAPTER V.

British retreat from Philadelphia. — Greene strenuously advises an Attack upon the British Army. — Battle of Monmouth. — Joins General Sullivan and Count d'Estaing in Rhode Island. — Attempt to draw the Enemy from Newport.

As the season for action drew nigh, the attention of the American commander was turned to the movements of the enemy, and every means put into play, in order to penetrate their plans for the new campaign. Several concurring circumstances seemed to indicate an intention on the part of Clinton, who had recently been appointed in the place of Howe, to evacuate Philadelphia, but whether with the intention of returning over land to New York, or of engaging in some more dis-

tant enterprise, was exceedingly doubtful. At length, on the morning of the 18th of June, positive information was received that he had crossed the Delaware, and it soon became evident that he would direct his march through the Jerseys. Not a moment was lost in putting the army in motion; six brigades were pushed forward to watch and retard the movements of the enemy, and, by the 22d, the whole of the American force was once more on the eastern bank of the Delaware.

Still great doubts were entertained as to the expediency of offering battle. General Lee, who seems never to have had much confidence in American soldiers, or to have placed too much in the prowess of the British, was decidedly opposed even to a partial attack, and the majority of the general officers, yielding to his authority, concurred in this opinion. To this degrading resolution Greene was strongly opposed, and he did every thing in his power to prevent it from being carried into effect. An express vote of Congress, which had been passed at Greene's suggestion, had authorized the Commander-in-chief to follow his own judgment in rejecting or conforming to the decisions of his council, and the time was now come for giving it effect. Washington had dismissed his council not a little mortified at

their decision, but firmly resolved to hazard an engagement upon his own responsibility. Shortly afterwards, as he was seated in his tent, he saw Greene and Hamilton approaching him. "Gentlemen," said he, rising to meet them, "I anticipate the object of your visit; you wish me to fight;" and, after a few minutes' conversation, the orders were issued which led to the battle of Monmouth.

Lee had already commenced his retreat, as Greene, with the right wing, approached the scene of action. Perceiving that the orders which he had received, to gain the rear of the enemy by a circuitous route, were no longer adapted to the exigency of the occasion, he took a strong position upon their left, which immediately drew upon him a violent attack. It was met with a vigor and promptitude, which showed how well the Americans had turned to account their winter studies at Valley Forge. The artillery opened upon the enemy from a commanding situation, and the infantry poured in a sharp and well directed fire. For a few moments they continued to advance with a firm countenance, and seemed resolved to bear down all opposition. But the guns of the Americans were too briskly served, and the thinned files soon showed with how fatal an accuracy they were aimed. The line

hesitated, wavered, and was at length driven back in confusion, leaving many a gallant soldier dead or wounded upon the plain. Thus secured on his right, Greene still kept up an enfilading fire from his artillery, upon the body opposed to the left wing of the Americans, and Wayne, advancing upon them with a strong party of infantry, the whole army was pushed from the field.

Greene's first thoughts, after the battle, were given to the wounded, for whose wants he provided with affectionate solicitude. Next came the numerous orders and dispositions required of him as Quartermaster-General; and then only was he at liberty to make a hasty meal upon the common fare of the soldier, the first in twenty-four hours, and, wrapping himself in his cloak, seek a few hours' repose at the foot of a tree.

The British army effected its retreat in the night, and on the next day the Americans resumed their march towards the north. But, before they had reached the ground selected for their new encampment, they were met by the welcome news of the arrival of the Count d'Estaing, with a powerful fleet. These cheering tidings, following so closely upon the success of Monmouth, raised the expectations of the people and the hopes of the army to the

highest pitch, and an attack was soon planned upon the enemy's forces in Rhode Island, in which the Americans and their allies were to act in concert. Lafayette was ordered to Providence with a strong detachment, towards the end of July. Greene, from whose high reputation and influence in his native state great advantages were anticipated, and who had expressed a strong desire to take a part in the expedition, followed him a few days afterwards; and the direction of the whole was intrusted to Major-General Sullivan, who, for some time past, had commanded the Continental forces in that state.

Preparations were made for an attempt upon Newport. Tools were prepared for opening trenches, and throwing up fortifications; large supplies of provisions collected at the most favorable points; the militia called out, and every inducement offered that could excite and stimulate them to active exertion. Greene took up his quarters with one division of the army upon the high grounds around Tiverton, commanding a short and easy transit to the north end of the Island; and, on the 8th of August, the French fleet forced its passage into Narragansett Bay, in face of a heavy fire from the English batteries. A combined plan of attack

was agreed upon, and the morning of the 10th selected for carrying it into execution.

Meanwhile, the British General, becoming alarmed for his outposts, abandoned them on the night of the 8th, and concentrated his forces in the strong lines before Newport. The Americans immediately crossed over and occupied them, thus getting possession, without a blow, of full two thirds of the Island. An attack might now have been made upon Newport with almost a certainty of success; but, at this critical moment, the English fleet was seen approaching the mouth of the harbor, and d'Estaing, leaving a certain victory for an uncertain one, took advantage of a sudden change of the wind, and sailed out to meet it.

Thus left to their own resources, which were not sufficient to justify an attempt by storm, the Americans resolved to resort to the more tardy operations of a siege. But, before they could break ground, a tempest suddenly arose, with a violence more like the hurricanes of the equator, than the even latitudes of the north. For three days and three nights, it raged with a fury that nothing could withstand. Trees were torn up by their roots. The rain poured down in torrents, inundating the low grounds and tearing away the earth from the hills. The tents of the army were

all blown down, leaving them no shelter but the walls and fences. Their provisions were drenched. Their ammunition, of which fifty rounds a man had just been distributed, was wet through in their cartouch-boxes, and their arms rendered unfit for immediate service. When the storm subsided, several men were found dead under the fences, who had perished there from the exposure, and the whole army remained enfeebled, downcast, and disheartened by their sufferings. To complete their misery, there were no tidings of the fleet, and what had become of it during the tempest none could tell, although there was but too much reason for dreading the worst.

Now, then, was the time for the enemy, fresh from their well protected quarters, to advance; for, in these first moments of depression, no skill, however great, could have preserved the Americans from some fatal disaster. Fortunately, the occasion was suffered to slip by, and, recovering from their apprehensions, they marched upon Newport, and opened the siege. Bright hopes returned with the bright weather. The camp was filled with volunteers, many of them men of large fortunes, who had shouldered their muskets for an enterprise, which excited such general enthusiasm, and d'Estaing had promised, that, dead or alive, he would

return to them. The port and sea lay full in view, and every eye was bent upon the horizon where they hoped to catch the first glimpse of the wished-for squadron. On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, it came in sight, bearing in towards the land; and great were the rejoicings throughout the camp. As soon as it came near enough to be approached in safety, Greene and Lafayette hastened on board to concert with the Admiral upon the plan of attack, and their return was looked for as the signal of success.

But it was no longer in D'Estaing's power to meet their wishes. His ships had been shattered by the gale. His officers were jealous, and little disposed to stand by him; and he was fettered by the instructions of his court, not always the best guide in distant enterprises. Great was the discontent of the Americans, and loud and bitter their complaints. Sullivan, giving way to his temper, alluded in general orders to this sudden desertion of the allies, in terms calculated to give great pain to the French officers actually serving with the army, and, for a time, every thing seemed tending to an open rupture.

In this general excitement, Greene preserved his equanimity. He had sat too often at the council board not to know how unfair an ex-

pression its decisions are of the real wishes of a commander, and he had readily detected the ill will which D'Estaing's officers bore him. In the hope that the protest of the American officers might give the French commander courage to oppose the resolve of his council, he had signed it together with the rest; but this was as far as he would go; and now, seeing the dangerous turn which the question was taking, he wrote in the most soothing terms to Lafayette, and made every effort, by argument, entreaty, and persuasion, to allay the unhappy ferment.

Meanwhile, the situation of the Americans was becoming more critical from hour to hour. The Continentals were disheartened, the militia was deserting in large numbers, and, in a few days, the army was reduced to a little more than five thousand men. Retreat was now inevitable, and, on the night of the 28th, breaking up their camp, they moved in silence and with perfect order towards their redoubts at the north end of the Island. Early in the morning their retreat was discovered, and a pursuit instantly commenced. Both armies marched in column; Greene covering the retreat with the regiments of Livingston and Laurens, the first on the east and the other on the west of the two roads that lead to the head of the Island.

By three in the morning, the Americans reached their redoubts, and at seven a brisk fire announced the approach of the enemy.

Greene was for pushing forward to meet them, in the belief that they had come out by small detachments, which might easily be cut off; and that, by following the western road, it would be easy to get the start of that portion which was marching by the other, and come upon Newport by surprise. But this bold counsel was rejected, and the troops held on the defensive. Sharp skirmishing was kept up throughout the morning, and a heavy cannonade opened from Quaker's Hill upon one of the American redoubts. At two, an attempt was made to turn their right, under cover of two sloops of war, and some other vessels, which had approached near enough to take part in the action; and, for a while, the whole pressure of the British army was directed against this wing.

Reinforcements were instantly ordered up, and the attack was met with the greatest resolution. Greene commanded these in person, and directed every movement with a coolness and judgment which called forth the highest eulogiums. A constant fire was kept up from the artillery and the redoubts. The Continentals poured in volley upon volley, receiving, with-

out flinching, the close and destructive fire of their adversaries. The militia, stationed behind the walls and fences, aimed their pieces with a deadly accuracy, and, confiding in the protection which these afforded them from the dreaded bayonet, bore their part with all the courage and coolness of veterans. As to Greene, it was fighting, indeed, for his hearthstone and his altars. Hundreds of anxious eyes were bent upon him from the surrounding heights. Familiar faces were around him, and familiar scenes; and westward, amid the green hills that bordered that lovely bay, was his own quiet home, where every peal from his artillery was a death-pang to a heart, that beat for him alone. At length, in spite of their advantages, and the protection of their shipping, the enemy were repulsed, and driven back with great slaughter. Next morning, the cannonade was renewed, and kept up without intermission throughout the day; but the Americans were making their preparations for retreat, and the British, taking warning from the failure of the preceding day, did not venture to attack them. In the night, the whole army crossed over to the main.

Greene had now been more than three years away from home, unless the march through Rhode Island, after the siege of Boston, could

be called a visit there. During this period, the direction of his affairs had been intrusted to others, over whose administration, even if it had been necessary, he had neither the time nor the means of exercising the least control. A division had been made of the family estate, in which he had borne no other part, than to express his readiness to take up with whatever portion might be assigned him. A few days under his own quiet roof was a boon for which he sighed. But this was denied him; or, to speak more truly, the cares of his profession followed him wherever he went, and imbittered this short respite from the duties of the cabinet and the field. The failure of an expedition, from which so much had been expected, drew down the severest censures from the selfish and the ignorant; and a part of Greene's time, during his hurried visit to Coventry, was employed in drawing up an energetic defence of his commander.

At Boston, too, his services as Quartermaster-General were required to assist in refitting and providing for the fleet; and he eagerly availed himself of this occasion to conciliate the good will of the Admiral, and do away with the unpleasant impressions, which had been excited by the imprudence of Sullivan.

Shortly afterward he went to Philadelphia,

at the request of the Commander-in-chief, in order to communicate to Congress some information concerning the recent expedition, and the causes of its failure, which it was thought imprudent to trust to written reports. As soon as his arrival was announced, he was invited to a seat on the floor of the house, and was shown to a chair at the side of President Laurens. In a few moments, a communication from the Governor of Rhode Island was brought in, and an order passed for reading it. Greene, who suspected at once the nature of the document, seized the moment while the clerk was opening the envelope, to write upon a slip of paper, "For God's sake, do not let that paper be read till you have looked it over," which he handed to the President. A whisper from Laurens checked the clerk, and, passing round the house, produced a call for the order of the day. But for this happy foresight, a strong remonstrance against the French Admiral would have been publicly read in Congress.

CHAPTER VI.

Energetic Discharge of the Duties of Quartermaster-General. — Difficulties with Congress in Regard to these Duties. — Proposes Changes in the Department. — Resigns the Office of Quartermaster-General. — Battle of Springfield. — Greene commands at West Point after Arnold's Defection.

THE plan of action now adopted by the enemy called for little else, on the part of the northern army, than constant watchfulness and preparation. Many small enterprises were engaged in, with various degrees of success, in some of which the conduct of the British was marked by a wanton disregard of every dictate of humanity.

Meanwhile, the feelings of the intelligent friends of America were subjected to the severest trials. The confidence excited by the alliance with France had risen to such a height, that a large portion of the people were disposed to look upon the struggle as nearly at an end, and to neglect the only means which could, in reality, hasten its termination. Dissensions and jealousies had crept into Congress, and given a tone to its deliberations, which

excited the greatest uneasiness. Many had lost their confidence in the great council of the nation, and several of the state governments had grown remiss and dilatory in complying with its requisitions. The army, worn down by hard service, and disheartened by the neglect with which its just remonstrances were treated, saw its ranks daily growing thinner and thinner by the continuance of an erroneous system, which, in spite of warning and experience, was still persisted in, with an obstinacy that fell but little short of infatuation. Public credit, hitherto feebly sustained by palliatives and expedients, was rapidly sinking to the lowest ebb. It was only by the greatest exertions, and occasional recourse to the severest measures, that the necessary supplies for the support of the troops could be obtained, and for some of the most indispensable articles of clothing they were indebted to the patriotism of private individuals.

Greene beheld these evils from too near a point of view, not to be painfully struck with the dangers with which they menaced the common cause. The duties of his office brought him into frequent contact with men from every part of the Union, and afforded him the best opportunities for studying the feelings and sentiments of the people. Daily experience

had made him familiar with the real nature of the resources of the country; and although the alarming state of the public credit increased his anxiety, still he did not despair of a happy issue, if Congress could only be prevailed upon to act with promptitude and energy, and mould its decisions by its hard-won experience. It was in the hope of contributing something towards this, that he repaired to Philadelphia, towards the end of March, 1780. Painful was the trial to which his feelings were subjected, both as an officer and as a man.

Two years had now elapsed since he entered upon the laborious and responsible duties of Quartermaster-General. During the whole of this period his exertions had been unremitting, and he had borne up, with a fortitude which nothing but love for his country could have sustained, against the numerous and constantly increasing difficulties of his station. Already, in the month of April of the preceding year, had he made every exertion to overcome the delays and hesitation of Congress, and induce them to adopt some system better suited to the wants of the country. Promises of support, and a request that he would remain in office, were all that he could obtain. In December, he had expressed a decided intention of resigning, and returning to the line of the army, as

more grateful to his feelings, and more consistent with his military pursuits. The same causes, however, which had first led him to accept the office, still continued in full force, and rendered his services essential to the safety of the army.

But when he perceived that measures were taking, which rendered his department odious in the eyes of the people ; that the most laborious devotion to his duties, and the most scrupulous integrity, were insufficient to shield him from calumny and suspicion ; that the envenomed breath of slander had reached the ears of his personal friends, and shaken, for a moment, the confidence of his own brother ; he resolved that nothing but a radical change in the whole system should induce him to retain an office, in which the sacrifice of the fame he most coveted was attended with the suspicions most painful to a man of honor.

In the Congress of that year were some of the warmest of his personal friends, upon whom he could place full reliance, as far as their influence extended. But, unfortunately for the honor of that body, an attempt was making, about that time, to revive the old cabal against the Commander-in-chief, which had met with so signal a failure but two years before. Greene's attachment to Washington was too

well known, not to involve him in the censures directed against his commander; and foremost among the conspirators was General Mifflin, who, having incurred severe censure for his negligent administration of the office of Quartermaster-General, was eager to hide the memory of his own faults by heaping calumny and reproach upon his successor. A motion for a resolution approving Greene's conduct, and requesting him to continue in office, gave rise to an angry debate. The more judicious among his friends supported his claims with firmness and judgment; but some suffered themselves to be carried away by the warmth of their feelings, and gave utterance to some expressions, which were listened to with pain, even by those who believed them to be just. The dispute grew warm on both sides, and it was found advisable to adjourn for a few hours, in order to give the members time to recover from their excitement.

There was now an open breach between him and the administration, which was greatly widened, a few days afterwards, by a resolution of the Treasury Board, allowing him but twenty-seven days for the settlement of his public accounts. An energetic remonstrance, in which he demonstrated the impossibility of collecting vouchers and reports, over so great an extent of

territory, within a time so limited, obtained a respite of another month, although expressed in terms far from soothing to his irritated sensibility. At the same time, a committee was appointed to inquire into the administration of the department. "The members," to borrow the language of one of them, "entered upon the investigation with the strongest prejudices, and closed it with a unanimous conviction of his ability, fidelity, and zeal."

A plan was now drawn up by the Commander-in-chief, in conjunction with a committee of Congress, for the regulation of the department, which Greene offered to introduce, and administer during the campaign, without any other pay, beyond that which he received as Major-General, than the expenses of his military family. His intention to resign at the close of the campaign was still unchanged, and he called upon the Commander-in-chief for his opinion of the manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of his office. Washington entreated him to await the decision of Congress, and the result of the letters which he had written in conjunction with the committee. Little as Greene hoped from this decision, he curbed his impatience and remained. The result was at length made known. The plan of the Com-

mander-in-chief was returned mutilated and altered in its most essential features.

He hesitated no longer. His feelings were deeply wounded; the two principal characters upon whom he had relied for support, and whose appointment he had originally made an express condition of his acceptance of the office, were left out; the officers necessary to conduct the business were not allowed, and no proper provision made for those that were. He accordingly enclosed his resignation, in an energetic letter * to Congress, requesting them to appoint another Quartermaster-General without loss of time, as his own resolution was taken, and he should give no further orders in the business, than to acquaint his deputies with the new system, and request them to close up their accounts.

Deep and general was the excitement of Congress upon the receipt of this letter. A member instantly proposed, that he should be dismissed from the service; no vote was taken, but a warm and exciting discussion ensued, and the subject was referred to a committee. The committee

* This letter, which produced so violent an excitement in Congress, and which escaped the researches of Judge Johnson, has been published by Mr. Sparks in the Appendix to the seventh volume of *Washington's Writings*.

reported, "That the resignation of Nathanael Greene be accepted, and that he be informed that Congress have no further need of his services." The debate was renewed with great warmth. His best friends scarcely knew how to stem the torrent, and for ten days, six of which it was regularly brought up and discussed, the report of the committee lay under consideration. The excitement was not confined to Congress. The aspect of the army was gloomy and threatening, for Greene was well known both to his brother officers and to the soldiers. Washington wrote in terms of warning and entreaty. Greene was treading on better ground than his antagonists were aware of, and the consequences of a hasty decision might be more serious and general than Congress had dreamed.

At length, the excitement began gradually to subside; and his friends, who had been looking anxiously for the change, lost no time in availing themselves of the favorable moment. The discussion became calmer, and every exertion was made to have the last clause of the report suppressed. He himself, conscious of being in the right, refused to retract or recede. The bitter experience of two years' forbearance had shown him how little was to be gained by patience or submission. The vote was finally

taken, and his resignation was accepted, without any further allusion to his rank in the line.

While engaged in these painful and harassing discussions, Greene continued to discharge, from time to time, his duties in the line. At one time, the movements of the enemy had seemed to promise an active campaign, and it was with no small degree of anxiety, that the American General cast about him for the means of resistance. On the 17th of June, 1780, Sir Henry Clinton returned in triumph from the conquest of South Carolina, and something decisive was now looked for, from day to day. Uncertain upon what point the blow would fall, Washington had taken a central position, from which he could move with equal readiness to the defence of the Jerseys, or the support of his forts on the Hudson. The first demonstration of the enemy seemed to threaten the strong post of West Point, and, leaving Greene at Springfield, in New Jersey, with the Jersey militia and two brigades of Continentals, he moved slowly and cautiously towards the north.

The little village of Springfield lies upon the western bank of the Rahway, a small stream formed by the confluence of two streams still smaller, about eight miles to the west of Elizabethtown Point. A range of high grounds and hills, just back of the village, offers a strong

position for an army standing on the defensive ; but three bridges at different points afforded an easy passage over the Rahway and its branches, each of which was fordable ; and two roads, one running through the village, the other to the north of it, gave access to the rear of the first range. Therefore it was only by forming a front extensive enough to command both roads, and the passes at each of the three bridges, that the village could be protected ; but the position on the hills was strong and commanding, and the roads, although they did not unite till some distance beyond them, came so near to a point in their front, that succor could easily be given from one to the other.

Such was the position of Greene's little army, when, on the morning of the 23d of June, he received intelligence that the enemy had landed at Elizabethtown, with a large body of cavalry and fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery, and were advancing against him in two columns, of two thousand five hundred men each, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person. His own strength hardly exceeded thirteen hundred men, of whom three hundred were militia. An express was instantly despatched to the Commander-in-chief. Lee was ordered to march with the horse and pickets against the right column, and check its advance, while Dayton attempted the same service on the left.

One of Greene's duties had been, to watch the roads leading to the passes of the Highlands, and this had compelled him to scatter his troops so far, that it was not without difficulty that he could draw them together before the enemy came up. By dint of active exertions, however, this was accomplished; and Lee and Dayton having performed their task with the greatest gallantry, the whole of the American forces were soon collected upon the western bank of the Rahway.

Greene had instinctively seized upon the only plan of defence, that offered the smallest chance of success. By extending his front, he could hold the enemy at bay at two of the bridges, and, if superior numbers prevailed, by covering at the proper moment the retreat of the corps in advance, he could gradually draw in his wings, and retire in safety to the strong position in the rear of the village. In conformity with this plan, Lee, supported by Ogden, was stationed at Little's Bridge, on the Vauxhall road; Angell, reinforced by several small detachments, and provided with a single piece of artillery, was charged with the defence of the bridge in front of the town; and their retreat was covered by the regiment of Shreve, which took post at the third bridge, a short distance behind them. The remainder of his forces, consisting of Stark's and Maxwell's brigades, was drawn up

on some high grounds, still further in the rear, while the flanks were guarded by the militia.

The action commenced by a brisk cannonade, which was kept up on both sides for nearly two hours, the enemy all the while manœuvring as if they intended to turn the American flanks. But, while they were endeavoring to throw them off their guard by demonstrations upon their left, the right column was advancing upon Lee. The attack was met gallantly, and the bridge so obstinately disputed, that, if there had been no other passage than this, it would be difficult to say how the day might have turned out. But a considerable body having crossed at a ford higher up, and gained a hill which commanded his position, Lee was compelled to abandon the pass.

At this moment a furious assault was made upon the right. Angell received the enemy with a well directed fire, holding them at bay by incessant volleys from his musketry and his single field piece. In vain, with four times his strength, and a strong park of artillery, they essayed to force their way. The gallant little band still held its ground, and met the fury of the tempest with undaunted firmness. At length, after a resistance of upwards of half an hour, they yielded to superior numbers, and, carrying off their wounded and their artillery,

retreated with the utmost coolness to the second bridge. The British pressed on in pursuit; but here they were met by Shreve, whose men, animated by the glorious example of their companions, received them with a vigor which soon checked their advance.

Having thus made good his first position, as long as the nature of the ground and the smallness of his forces would permit, Greene now contracted his front; and calling in, one by one, the regiments in advance, drew slowly back to the second, which he had selected on the range of hills immediately in the rear of the village, where he could form his troops in one line, and secure his flanks by the militia and dragoons. From this point he commanded both roads, and effectually checked the advance of the enemy, who were pressing forward to gain his rear. Here he awaited, with strong hopes, a second attack. But the strength of his position, the firm countenance that he maintained, and the recollection of the obstinate resistance, which they had already encountered, checked any disposition which the enemy might have felt to renew the conflict; and, scattering themselves through the village, they began to set it on fire. In a few moments it was in flames, which, catching readily from house to house, soon enveloped all in one common conflagration.

The moment that Greene became aware of the enemy's intentions, he sent forward several light parties to hang upon the skirts of the village, and prevent the fire from spreading to those buildings, which were not immediately under cover of their cannon and musketry. In this manner several houses were saved; and Clinton, contenting himself with the destruction of the greater part of this flourishing little village, drew off his men, and commenced a rapid retreat. Small parties, under Captain Davis, hung upon his flank and rear, keeping up a constant fire, and harassing his march, until he entered Elizabethtown. Stark's brigade was also put in motion; but so precipitate were the movements of the enemy, that he was unable to overtake them.

Here ended, for a time, the active operations of the campaign, the British General being willing to give his troops some respite, after the toil and exposure of their expedition against Charleston. But, towards the close of summer, he was again busily preparing for some important enterprise, though with so many precautions and so much secrecy, that it was impossible to conjecture against what quarter his efforts would be directed. Still his movements were closely watched by his vigilant adversary, who left nothing unessayed, which could serve to throw light upon his intentions.

Washington, too, was anxiously looking around him for some opening through which he might hazard an attack. The hopes which he had founded upon the coöperation of the French had again been defeated, their fleet being now blockaded by a superior force in the harbor of Newport. Still some vigorous stroke was required in order to counterbalance the recent disasters in Carolina; and an opening might yet be offered for the long promised attack upon New York. But nothing could now be attempted without the concurrence of the allies; and, to obtain this, and form, in conjunction with them, some plan of action, in which their united strength might be exerted in the manner most advantageous to the common cause, he repaired to Hartford, towards the close of September, in order to hold a conference with the French commanders. The command of the army during his absence devolved on General Greene.

Now it was, that the movements of the British garrison in New York assumed a character of mystery and haste, which excited the strongest suspicions. Hurried preparations were making, and evidently with a view to some enterprise which depended upon secrecy for its success. Greene was at a loss what to think. The agents on whom he relied for information,

seemed, all on a sudden, to have failed him, and several days of the deepest anxiety passed by, without affording him any clew by which to shape his conjectures.

In the midst of these perplexities, the mystery was suddenly solved, in a manner no less distressing than it was unlooked for. Late on the evening of the 25th of September, a few hurried lines from Hamilton brought him the startling intelligence of the treason of Arnold, and before morning a second express arrived with a short note from Washington, requesting him to push forward the second division as far as King's Ferry, where they would be met by further orders. In a few moments they were on their march, and the remainder of the army held in readiness to move upon the shortest notice. The next few days were passed in doubt and anxiety, not from dread of the enemy, for his machinations, for the present at least, had been fully detected; but, when such a man had proved false, who could be relied on? Meanwhile André was sent under close guard to the camp at Tappan, and Washington, in a private letter, gave Greene instructions for his reception. A court of inquiry was convened the next day, and Greene was called upon to perform the painful task of presiding over its deliberations. The case was too clear a one

to admit of hesitation, for André stood convicted by his own confession. But it was not without deep commiseration that he looked upon one so young, so amiable, so full of hope and of promise; and it was with a trembling hand, and eyes dimmed by tears, that he signed the fatal decree.

The proceedings of the court of inquiry were communicated to Clinton, who resolved to make one more effort to save his favorite officer. Commissioners were accordingly despatched to the American posts, with instructions to argue the case as a point of law. They were met by Greene in the name of the Commander-in-chief. Only one of them was permitted to land, and his arguments were listened to patiently; but every fact had already been carefully weighed by the court, and the case of an acknowledged spy admitted of no discussion.

There was still one more trial, and a bitter one, too, for the feelings of Washington, and the friends in whose counsel he confided. In a simple and affecting letter, André had begged that he might be spared the ignominy of the gallows. Here, too, a deep sense of the solemn duty, which they owed to their country, checked, although it could not suppress, the suggestions of individual feeling. The inexorable laws of war had long since decided the

question, nor could they be violated, without throwing doubt upon the validity of the original sentence.

The post now vacant by the treachery of Arnold was confided to Greene, and, by the 8th of October, he was already at his new station at West Point. He had hardly entered upon its duties, when he received a letter from Washington, appointing him to the command of the army in the south.

CHAPTER VII.

Appointed to the Command of the Southern Army. — Relations of Friendship between him and Washington. — Proceeds to the South, and joins the Army at Charlotte, in North Carolina.

THE theatre of the principal events of the war, during the two last campaigns, had been in the Southern States of the Union. Against these the exertions of the enemy had been directed with systematic energy, while the defence of the Americans, although conducted with spirit and sustained with vigor, had rarely been attended with success. The combined forces of

the Americans and their allies had been repulsed with loss, in an attack upon Savannah. The city of Charleston, after a resolute defence, had been compelled to yield to the superior strength of Clinton. The triumph of the British arms had infused new courage into the hearts of the disaffected, who flocked to the royal standard with devoted zeal. And although a few gallant partisans still continued to support, with a bold but scattered warfare, the cause of independence, yet but little could be hoped for from insulated and partial attacks, against an enemy superior in numbers, fortified by discipline and inspirited by success.

In this critical emergency, the eyes of a large majority of Congress were turned towards Gates. The memory of the brilliant successes of Saratoga was still fresh in the public mind; and a critical examination of attendant circumstances had not yet shown how small a part was really attributable to the skill or the courage of the victorious general. Nothing had hitherto occurred to diminish the reputation so easily acquired. The posts, which he had filled since the surrender of Burgoyne, had neither been such as to call for military genius or great firmness of character; and the part, which he had taken in the intrigues of Conway and of Mifflin, had contributed to win for him the favor

of all those, who pretended to see the seeds of future danger in the deep rooted and universal popularity of Washington. When, therefore, the command of the southern army was left vacant by the capture of Lincoln, Congress, without waiting to learn the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, proceeded instantly to the choice of a successor, and conferred that important station upon Major-General Gates, with ample powers for the discharge of his trust.

Gates hastened with high hopes to the new scene of action. The confidence of his friends and the expectations of the public were raised to the highest pitch. Severe as the losses of the southern army had been, a respectable force was placed at his disposal, parts of which were in high discipline and led by gallant officers; and his call was met by the militia with a promptitude that could hardly have been looked for, after so many and such fatal reverses. Dazzled by the brilliancy of his past achievements and the visions of future laurels, he eagerly pressed forward, without regard either to the nature of his own forces or the strength of the enemy; threw himself unawares within fighting distance of his adversary; suffered himself to be compelled to hazard every thing upon the chances of a battle, and sustained a total defeat in the field of Camden.

Never was a blow more sudden or more overwhelming. Up to the day of his discomfiture, his letters had been filled with bright hopes and flattering promises; and when the fatal tidings reached the north, it seemed as if one of the noblest members of the Union had been severed from it forever. In this moment of despondency, the doubts and suspicions, which had fettered so materially the action of the sounder part of Congress, were forgotten; and the power of selecting a successor to the unfortunate General was intrusted, by a unanimous vote, to the Commander-in-chief.

There could be but little difficulty in conjecturing upon whom Washington's choice would fall, for he had long before expressed his own views upon this subject in a private letter to Greene, and they were now confirmed by the express declaration of the delegates from three of the states most interested in the decision. It was not, therefore, without some degree of preparation that Greene received the news of his appointment; and his feelings must have been highly gratified by the tone of confidence and affectionate interest, in which the wishes of his Commander were conveyed. Several considerations led him to wish for a short leave of absence, in order to give some attention to his private affairs.

He had now been five years in service, constantly engaged, without a single interval of repose, either in the active operations of the field or the still more laborious duties of the staff. It is only by an attentive examination of his correspondence with Washington, that an idea can be formed of the intimate nature of the relations that existed between them, or of the amount of labor that he was called upon to perform as confidential counsellor and friend. His naturally vigorous constitution had been impaired by constant exposure, and a fever was hanging upon him at the moment in which he was called upon to enter upon this new field of toil and danger. Nor was his mind free from those cares, which weigh heaviest upon the father of a family. The property which he had inherited was not of a nature to grow in value during a war, and although intrusted to friends in whose integrity he could place unlimited confidence, it was to his personal exertions alone that he could look for increasing it. In the disordered state of the public finances, his pay would have been rather nominal than real, even if he had drawn it, which he did not till after the close of the war, although the rank that he bore imposed the necessity of a constant and heavy expenditure. Thus, while his present stock

was daily diminishing, his hopes from the future were distant and uncertain. Under such circumstances, it can hardly be surprising that his heart at times misgave him and his spirits sank.

The letter containing his acceptance, and asking for a few days' furlough, had hardly been despatched, when he repented of the request that he had made. A few hours' reflection had convinced him, that there would be too much hazard even in the shortest delay. Hastening, therefore, his preparations, and allowing himself but one day to wait for the arrival of his wife, whom he had sent for upon being appointed to the command at West Point, he repaired to head-quarters to receive his final instructions, and bid adieu to the Commander-in-chief.

This was the first time that they had separated since the breaking out of the war, with the exception of a few weeks of occasional absence upon specific duty. The acquaintance formed in the lines before Boston had soon ripened to a friendship, in which the feelings that had naturally sprung up, during an intercourse so constant and so intimate, were strengthened by a singular harmony of principles and of thought. To him the name of Washington had long been familiar, as the hero

of one of the most remarkable events in the colonial history of his times. He had listened, while a boy, to the story of Braddock's defeat, and his youthful imagination had been filled by the daring exploits of the gallant young Virginian. When, therefore, he met him as the commander, under whose guidance he was to pass through the trying scenes of a civil war, it was with feelings like those with which the enthusiastic scholar first approaches the presence of some great master in his art. Washington's quick eye easily distinguished, amid the crowd of aspirants, the superior qualifications of the young General. It was not till the memorable campaign of the Jerseys, that he had an opportunity of proving his energy in action, and his coolness and self-possession in the field of battle; but the clearness of his views, the soundness of his judgment, his thorough knowledge of character and unwavering firmness of purpose, were qualities called forth by more than one incident of that trying year.

Upon this foundation their intimacy began, and every day added to its strength. In each new situation, he discovered in Greene some rare and important qualification. The powers of his mind commanded admiration and respect. His frankness and sincerity won upon the heart. Confidence soon ripened into affection, and

Washington, who believed that "true friendship was a plant of slow growth, which must undergo and withstand the shocks of adversity, before it can be entitled to the appellation,"* gave his friendship and his confidence to Greene without restriction and without reserve. It was of him that he took counsel in every emergency; to him were his thoughts and his secrets confided; his own vigorous mind drew fresh strength and elasticity from the firmness and energy of his friend's; and his confidence in his own measures, and his faith in his own high hopes, were confirmed by the knowledge that they were shared and approved by one in whom his trust was so full, and who had shown, by repeated trials, how well it was deserved.

Greene's reception at head-quarters was all that he could have asked for. The instructions, that had been prepared for him, were expressed in a manner highly gratifying to his feelings; several officers, to whom he was bound by ties of mutual esteem, were anxious to serve under him; the cordial wishes of the army followed him to the field; and he received from Washington every mark of affectionate regard.

* A letter to Bushrod Washington. Sparks's *Washington*. Vol. VIII. p. 372.

He next hastened to Philadelphia, in order to receive the instructions of Congress. Some time was necessarily devoted to the examination of the correspondence of the southern department, from which alone he could hope to form a distinct idea of the situation of the army that he was to command; an army, which, to use his own expression, "was rather a shadow than a substance, having only an imaginary existence." A more accurate knowledge of his wants was all that he could obtain from Congress. The treasury was empty. They had neither arms nor clothing, nor could they hold out any definite hopes for the future. An enlargement of his command, by the annexation of Delaware and Maryland, and a small sum for the expenses of his journey, were all the assistance they could give.

Nor was he any more successful in his attempts to obtain a voluntary loan, or a contribution of clothing, from the merchants; and, but for the personal friendship of Governor Reed, of Pennsylvania, he would have been compelled to set out upon his journey without even the most indispensable requisites for building up his army. This intelligent and pure-minded patriot supplied him with arms, for present use, from the magazine of the state, and exerted all his influence to procure wagons for their transportation.

At length, on the 23d of November, he commenced his journey towards the south. Baron Steuben, to whose experience and skill the American army was mainly indebted for its discipline, was his companion; and the tedium of the route was lightened by the company of Duponceau, then serving as aid to Steuben, and of his own aids, Burnet and Morris. Amid the hurried scene of the last five years, he had preserved all his original fondness for books, and it was with no ordinary gratification that he found himself in society, where he could speak of his favorite authors with men who loved them as much as himself. Conversation on general literature, but more particularly on that of Greece and Rome, served to while away many of the weary hours; and those, who, till now, had known him only as a soldier, were struck with the extent and accuracy of his knowledge of the ancient writers.

His route lay through the capitals of several of the states within the limits of his command; and in all of these he endeavored, by letters to the governors, and personal representations to men of influence, to awaken their sympathies and excite their apprehensions for the southern army. To those, who were yet at a distance from the scene of danger, he depicted, in strong colors, the necessity of making every exertion to

arrest the progress of the enemy, before he could so far gain the mastery as to enable him to bring the war to their own doors. To those, who were nearer to the actual seat of the war, he painted, in energetic language, the dangers that menaced them, and pointed out, clearly and distinctly, the means by which they might still hope to avert the impending destruction. His long experience, both in the staff and in the line, had made him familiar with the real defects of the army, and he could enumerate its wants almost as minutely as if he had been writing from his camp. Well aware, too, how soon any impressions which he might produce for the moment would wear away, unless kept alive by repeated representations, he directed General Gist to remain behind and act as his agent with the legislatures of Maryland and Delaware. "Let your applications," said he, "be as pressing as our necessities are urgent; after which, if the Southern States are lost, we shall stand justified."

As he drew nigh the scene of action, he began to look around him for proper points for the establishment of magazines and laboratories. In North Carolina, they would have been too near to the enemy; in Maryland, too remote for the service of his own army. Virginia lay midway between them; and, under the protec-

tion of the populous counties of the north-west districts, they would be comparatively secure from invasion. He accordingly fixed upon the Point of Fork, at the confluence of the Rivanna and Fluvanna, for his principal laboratory, and Prince Edward's Court House for a magazine of stores and arms. Steuben was intrusted with the important duty of providing them with regular supplies of powder and lead. At the same time, he was appointed to command in Virginia, and instructed to spare no exertions in preparing the new levies for the field, and hastening their march.

In this manner, Greene continued his journey towards the south, preparing himself, as far as he could, for every future contingency, and weighing, while yet at a distance, the cares and the dangers of his task. In spite of these numerous interruptions and delays, his progress was rapid; and on the 2d of December, he reached the encampment at Charlotte, in North Carolina. The news of his appointment had preceded him, and Gates was prepared to receive his successor with a dignified resignation, that would hardly have been looked for in one so easily excited by success. Greene's arrival was announced to the troops in the order of the day, and, immediately on entering upon his command, he paid his predecessor the compliment of con-

firming all his standing orders. Another delicate commission remained to be fulfilled; for Congress had ordered a court of inquiry upon the conduct of Gates, and Greene was charged with the organization of it. The delicacy with which he made this communication to the unfortunate General, and the respect and consideration with which he treated him, throughout the whole of their brief intercourse, called forth the warmest expression of regard, and afforded an example to the army which was never forgotten.

CHAPTER VIII.

Condition of the Army. — Its Officers. — Nature of the Country. — Discipline of the Troops. — Preparations for meeting the Enemy. — Cornwallis. — Military Movements. — Morgan defeats Tarleton at the Cowpens.

UPON the 4th of December, Greene entered upon the duties of his command in this new field, so peculiarly fitted for the display of his genius. Before him was an active and powerful enemy; he was surrounded by timid friends; the forces at his command were reduced to the

smallest number that could be dignified with the name of an army ; in his magazines there was neither clothing, nor arms, nor ammunition ; and his half-clad soldiers were dependent upon forced collections for their daily food. It was in scenes like these, that his mind rose superior to the force of circumstances, and that the inexhaustible resources of his fertile genius were displayed.

His first care was to ascertain the number and condition of his forces. By returns made on the 8th of December, they amounted to nine hundred and seventy Continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. Out of all these, there were but eight hundred men properly clad and equipped for service. A supply of clothing, which had reached camp a short time previous to his arrival, had been just enough to provide each man of the Continental brigade with a shirt, a coat, one pair of woollen overalls, a hat or a cap, and one pair of shoes. The blankets had been apportioned by companies, there not being enough of them to distribute them man by man. Of the new recruits, few were sufficiently covered to admit of their appearing upon parade. Tattered remnants of uniforms, fragments of old clothes, shreds and patches, completed the motley array. But with all this, many of them were trained and disci-

plined, had seen service, and proved their courage in the field ; although for the moment their discipline was greatly impaired, and they had lost all confidence in their commander. They afforded the nucleus of an army, but ampler means, and more favorable circumstances, were required to give it form and development.

The artillery consisted of two brass field-pieces, with several of iron. The magazines were empty. The surrounding country was almost a waste, and the inhabitants plundered one another, with little less than savage fury. Even with money at command, it would have been no easy task to obtain at once the supplies necessary for the support of an army. In the actual state of the military chest, it was with difficulty that they could find provisions from day to day.

Nor was the state of the Quartermaster's department more encouraging. The want of means of prompt and secure transportation was one of the great difficulties, against which the American army had to contend throughout the whole course of the war. In his long experience as Quartermaster-General, Greene had already become familiar with this subject. The same difficulties awaited him here, and were rendered still more embarrassing by attendant

circumstances. Had he been provided with money for his payments, and a market to purchase in, he would still have been at a loss where to find the means of transporting his supplies.

Amid so many sources of anxiety, the only cheering subject upon which his mind could dwell was the character of his officers, many of whom he had already served with, and knew, by proof, their qualifications both in the camp and in the field. Others had won for themselves names, which were familiar in every part of the Union. There was Morgan, renowned for his bold achievements at Quebec and Saratoga; Lee, with his gallant legion, always prepared for enterprise, prompt in action, fertile in expedients, never contented with what he had done so long as there still remained something to do; the chivalrous Howard, who, in the opinion of his commander, deserved a statue of gold, as much as any of the heroes of Greece or Rome; Williams, whose cool and collected courage had contributed so much towards preserving the scattered relics of Camden; and Washington, whose powerful frame and reckless daring were so well suited to the headlong charge and fearful shock of cavalry. He could rely on the perseverance and system-

atic energy of Carrington for the complicated operations of the Quartermaster's department; Davie had renounced for a while the brilliancy and excitement of partisan warfare, in order to direct the commissariat of provisions; chief of his engineers was Kosciuszko, so successful in his efforts for the liberties of a foreign nation, so unfortunate in defending those of his own. In his own family, too, the best qualities of heart were combined with those of mind; and Pendleton, Burnet, Morris, and Pearce, were among the dearest and warmest of his friends. To all these he could add the indomitable energies and adventurous daring of Marion and Sumpter.

Next in importance to the materials with which he was to act, was the nature of the country that was to become the scene of action. In the north, the only portion of the Union, which he had as yet known practically, the whole country was comparatively open, and the chief points of action limited to two or three, while large rivers, which ran at a distance one from the other, supplied the means of a prompt communication, and offered strong bases for every species of operation.

With a well cultivated soil, and a population comparatively dense, and which, though divided by political opinions, had never reached those

desperate extremes, which had involved the Carolinas in a war of extermination, although there was still much for an army to suffer, and a General to contend against, yet it was far less than what they were exposed to in the south. For here every thing was reversed. Portions of the soil were exuberantly fertile, others desolate and barren. The population, composed of two races, distinct in interests and in feeling, was scattered at great intervals; the whole country intersected by innumerable rivers and streams, branching out in every direction, crossing every route, and offering serious obstacles to every enterprise. Swamps and marshes, often of great extent, lay near to many of the principal roads, increasing their difficulties as lines of march, and blocking up those avenues of communication, upon which so much depends in the complex and hurried operations of war. And, to crown all, the population of many districts was hostile to the cause of independence, and ready to give every assistance to the enemy.

Once master of his means and his situation, Greene's active mind lost no time in vain deliberations, but sought at once how to employ them to the best advantage. Nothing could be done without reinforcements and supplies. He renewed, in the most energetic terms, his

applications to the governors of the states subject to his command, urging upon them the necessity of prompt and efficient exertions. He established a large magazine at Oliphant's Mills, at the head of the Catawba, thus bringing the means of subsistence within a proper distance of the line on which he had determined for the base of his operations; and made preparations for forming several smaller ones in the rear of the army, near enough for immediate use, and not so large as to attract the attention of the enemy.

The streams, by which the country was intersected and the operations of the army endangered, might also be converted into channels of transportation, and made to facilitate retreat or retard the movements of a hostile force. In order to satisfy himself how far they could be counted upon for either or all of these purposes, he despatched his ablest engineers to take accurate surveys of the principal streams, the Dan, the Yadkin, and the Catawba; and charged Kosciuszko with the construction of a large number of flat-bottomed boats, which he proposed to carry with him wherever he went, and thus secure the means of passing, where there were no fords.

At the same time, it was necessary to draw close the reins of discipline, which had been

shamefully relaxed, and make both officers and men feel, that they had at length got a commander, who knew both his duty and theirs, and was resolved that both should be performed. He called no councils of war, studying every question himself, and communicating his intentions to only two or three of the officers, whom he trusted most. "If I cannot inspire the army with confidence and respect by an independent conduct," said he in a letter to Hamilton, "I foresee it will be impossible to instil discipline and order among the troops." The men had been in the habit of going home without leave, and staying as long as they saw fit. He forbade this destructive custom under penalty of death, and the first offender was shot at the head of the army, which was drawn up to witness his execution. "We must not do as we have done," said the men, upon whose minds the example struck deep; "it is new lords, new laws."

His next care was to select a position where his troops could be properly trained to the use of their arms, and better and more easily supplied with food. Every movement, however, might set his adversary in motion, and bring on an attack for which he was by no means prepared; while, at the same time, it was essential that every step, on his part, should be a

connecting link in his general plan of operations.

The main body of the British army was then lying at Winnsborough, between the Broad River and the Catawba, with several strong garrisons on their flanks and in their rear, and Charleston to fall back upon in case of defeat. The garrison in Charleston had been reinforced by a late arrival from New York, and there was every reason to believe that Cornwallis, calling a part of these troops to his aid, would soon begin his march upon North Carolina.

Any step on the part of Greene, which should draw upon his little army the whole force of the British General, would have been little less than wantonly courting destruction. Still the occasion called for a decided movement, which might enable him to secure some of the advantages of an initiative, and obtain some control over the measures of the enemy. In order to accomplish this, he resolved to divide his forces, sending one portion to act upon the west bank of the Catawba, to the north of the enemy's position, and advancing with the other to a strong post on the frontiers of South Carolina. On the 16th of December, the army was put under marching orders. Morgan, with six hundred men, regulars and militia, was directed to cross the Catawba, effect a junc-

tion with the militia under Davidson, and give every possible annoyance to the enemy in that quarter. Meanwhile, he proceeded, with the rest of his forces, to the camp selected by Kosciuszko, at the junction of Hicks's Creek with the Great Pedee. His march was delayed several days by heavy rains, and it was not till the 26th, that he reached his new encampment.

He soon began to feel the good effects of this judicious movement. It enabled him to make the most of his little army, by compelling his adversary to divide his forces, and leaving him at a loss which way to direct his efforts. By advancing against Greene, he would expose his posts at Ninety-Six and Augusta; or Morgan, hovering upon his flanks or his rear, might seize the critical moment for aiming some great blow in concert with the main army. Should he pursue Morgan, or attempt to prosecute his designs upon North Carolina, the whole country would be left open to the American General, who, by this daring movement upon his flank, had brought himself as near as he was to Charleston, the extremity of his base on the right. In this uncertainty, he was compelled to leave a large detachment of his newly arrived reinforcements in Charleston, and hold the rest on the eastern bank of the Wateree, instead of uniting them at once with his own forces.

But Greene was far from having any immediate designs upon Charleston, although the road lay open before him. He was resolved never to put it in the power of his enemy to force him to a battle, nor to hazard his army, until he felt himself strong enough, in a champaign country, abounding with swamps and deep rivers, and which presented no passes, that an inferior force could hold against a superior one. In his present position, he could gain time to look about him and mature his own plans, while he threw doubts and perplexity upon those of the adversary. The region around him was rich and fertile, and, although he still continued to encounter great difficulties in procuring supplies for his troops, yet they were more easily and better fed than at Charlotte. Above all, it was a camp of repose, in which his men were daily improving in spirits and in discipline, and gaining strength for the fatigue and exposure, which they would in a short time be called upon to endure.

He was soon joined by Lee, with his legion of three hundred, in equal proportions of cavalry and infantry, and Greene of Virginia, with four hundred recruits. In the expectation of their arrival, he had already resolved to hazard a stroke at the enemy. Morgan had been directed to attempt a sudden blow upon the

camp at Winnsborough, but his strength had not proved equal to the enterprise. And now, to increase their anxiety for the flanks and rear, Lee and Marion were ordered to attack Georgetown, and, if possible, to carry it by surprise. The attempt was in part successful, several of the garrison being made prisoners, and the courage of the Whigs, throughout these regions, reviving at these indications of returning energy. At the same time, he was engaged in combining an extensive movement against the posts on the Santee and Congaree, and Morgan, pushing forward with his wonted audacity, had dispersed a large body of Tories, and taken a small fort within seventeen miles of Ninety-Six.

Meanwhile Cornwallis was beginning to suffer from the dilemma in which he had been placed. In his uncertainty about the designs of Greene, he had kept Leslie with one portion of his troops on the eastern bank of the Catawba, and sent another detachment, under Tarleton, to cover Ninety-Six. He soon became alarmed for Leslie's safety; and, had Greene's means been equal to his spirit of enterprise, the camp at Winnsborough itself would not have been secure from danger. The English General now ordered Leslie to join the main body without delay; and the whole force of the army

was then to be directed against Morgan, whom Tarleton was instructed to follow up without relaxation, and push him to the utmost, while Cornwallis held himself ready to cut off his retreat.

Tarleton began his pursuit on the 12th of January, 1781, and kept it up with his usual energy. It was already in Morgan's power to make sure his retreat, if he wished it; but he felt how much might be gained by a brilliant stroke, and was willing to risk a battle, if he could but get together a sufficient force to justify the hazard. He accordingly continued for a few days to retire before his adversary, receiving at every step some new accession of strength from the inhabitants of the country through which he passed, alarmed by the presence and irritated by the cruelty of the enemy. At length, feeling himself strong enough for the encounter, he drew up his little army on the morning of the 17th of January, and coolly awaited the approach of the enemy. The forces of each side were nearly balanced, the Americans counting nine hundred and seventy, including Continentals and militia, and the British one thousand and fifty regulars, with about fifty loyalists. The conflict was severe, and stoutly contested; but victory declared in favor of Morgan. Tarleton fled, leaving one hundred and

eighty-four men on the field, including killed and wounded, and more than five hundred prisoners in the hands of the victor. Two field-pieces, eight hundred muskets, one hundred dragoon horses, with a proportionate supply of tents and ammunition, constituted, in the present condition of the American army, one of the most welcome fruits of the victory. This was the battle of the Cowpens.

CHAPTER IX.

Greene marches to the Catawba River.—Arrives at Morgan's Camp.—Manœuvres and Schemes of the Enemy.

THE tumult of battle had hardly died away before Morgan began to take the necessary measures for continuing his retreat, and conveying his prisoners to a place of safety. Every attention was bestowed upon the wounded, both of his own army and of the enemy; and a short breathing time was granted to his gallant troops, to repose themselves from the exertions of the morning. The heavy baggage, which had fallen into his hands, was committed to the flames; but the arms and ammunition were too

valuable an acquisition to be abandoned, as long as there was the slightest chance of preserving them. Having completed these preparations, he crossed the Broad River the same evening, leaving his wounded upon the field of battle under the protection of a flag.

Meanwhile the news of the battle had reached the camp at Winnsborough; for the Cowpens were but little more than twenty-five miles distant, and a very few hours were sufficient to bring to the British General the unwelcome tidings of the heavy loss that he had sustained. Tarleton was the favorite of his commander; active, intelligent, and thirsting for distinction; and the name of his legion had been spread far and wide for feats of daring and deeds of savage cruelty. Not a doubt had been entertained of his success, nor had there been any other fear, than that his nimble adversary might elude his grasp. The disappointment of Cornwallis was in proportion to the confidence with which he had looked for victory. Still he received the tidings with serenity, and immediately began his preparations for pursuing the victorious army, whose retreat he yet hoped to cut off. On the morning of the 18th, he was joined by Leslie's detachment, and the rest of the day was devoted to collecting the fugitives of Tarleton.

Early next morning, the army was put in motion by a road, which intersected the line of Morgan's retreat. Could he but reach this before him, although the road to the mountains would still remain open, yet he might cut him off from the main army, and snatch from his hands the most valued trophies of victory. Excited by this hope, he urged on the pursuit, and strained every nerve to reach the important point in season.

But Morgan was already on the alert. He had resumed his march early on the morning of the 18th, and pressed forward with hasty steps towards the banks of the Catawba. But, encumbered as he was with a large train of prisoners and baggage, and compelled to keep out small foraging parties in every direction, in order to procure food for his own men and the prisoners, it was not till the evening of the 23d, that he reached the ford on the north branch of the Catawba. The next morning, he transported his army in safety to the opposite shore.

Deep and bitter was the disappointment of Cornwallis, when he found that Morgan had escaped him. All the consequences of the fatal measures into which he had been hurried by the skill of his adversary, now crowded upon his mind. He had been cut off, a second

time, from his contemplated march upon North Carolina. The fruits of the victory of Camden were gliding away from his grasp; the friends of the royal cause, disheartened by the battle of the Cowpens, and the advance of the Whigs, were shrinking back to their homes; and, at the head of a force superior in numbers, in equipments, and in discipline, he had been compelled to subject his own plans to those of his adversary, and to follow in the movements, which he ought to have led. Nothing but the most vigorous exertions could extricate him from the snare into which he had fallen, and upon these he resolved without delay. By a rapid pursuit, he might still hope to overtake Morgan before he could effect a junction with Greene, and, crushing him at a blow, push on his victorious troops against the main body of the Americans. They were too feeble to withstand the shock of such a force as that, which he could bring against them, and two successive victories would suppress for ever the spirit of resistance in the Carolinas. The road to Virginia would then lie open before him, and he might yet redeem his promise of restoring a third province to the dominions of his master. It was staking all upon a single cast; but such was the necessity to which he was now reduced.

To prepare himself for the trial, he resolved to convert his army into light troops, by destroying his baggage, and thus freeing himself at once from every thing that could encumber or retard his march. The orders were issued without distinction of persons, and the baggage of head-quarters was the first that was committed to the flames. The example was followed by his faithful soldiers with cheerfulness and alacrity, a small supply of clothing being allowed to the men, and a few wagons preserved for the conveyance of hospital stores, of ammunition and salt, and four for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. Every thing else was burned. Two days were consumed in the work of destruction, and on the third he was prepared for the struggle.

While these desperate measures were going on in the British camp, Greene reached Morgan's head-quarters, on the banks of the Catawba. He had received the earliest information of the movements of the English, and had immediately put his army under marching orders. Shortly after came Morgan's courier, with the cheering tidings of the victory of the Cowpens. For an instant, his heart beat high at the glorious prospect that was opening before him ; but a thought upon the number and the condition of his troops checked the momen-

tary ebullition. Of the reinforcements, which he had called for with so much earnestness, the corps of Lee and Greene were the only ones that had yet reached him. Four hundred militia, indeed, had turned out to his aid, but the greater part of them were volunteers, who came and went as they pleased; and the rest consumed a large portion of the short time for which they were called out, in marching from their homes to the army, and thence back again; for they always made it a point to be at home by the day on which their term of service expired.

His regular forces did not much exceed one thousand seven hundred, of all arms, inclusive of the detachment under Morgan; and these, too, being enlisted for various terms, were constantly fluctuating in number, and only a part of them could be counted on for constant service. Still it was some alleviation to reflect, that a slight improvement had been made in their clothing, and that they were somewhat better prepared to stand the hardships of a winter campaign. But in money and supplies his situation continued the same; and at a moment like that, in which large sums were required for secret service of the most important kind, there was not a dollar in the military chest.

But it was not in Greene's character to waste his time in vain regrets. Inadequate as his forces were, and ill provided for an immediate struggle with his adversary, he did not despair of collecting a sufficient body of militia in time to make a stand at some favorable point, or at least of wearing away the time till his promised reinforcements should reach him. "I only wish," said he, "to be put upon an equal footing with Cornwallis; and if I do not give a good account of him, I will agree to be the subject of censure."

The army was already under marching orders, and Salisbury had been fixed upon for a junction with Morgan. Orders were now issued to bring to camp all the provisions, that did not lie on the intended route; the detachments were called in; the commissary of purchases was instructed to convey every thing from the sea-coast to a place of safety; the stores and prisoners at Salisbury and Hillsborough were held in readiness to move at a moment's warning towards the upper counties of Virginia; and to provide the more securely for the chances of retreat, the Quartermaster-General was directed to form a magazine on the Roanoke, and hold his boats in readiness on the Dan. Pressing letters were addressed to the Governors of North Carolina and Virginia, urging upon them the necessity

of filling up, without delay, their quota of regulars, and calling out the militia in force. Steuben was required to hurry on his recruits; and the brave men, who had fought at King's Mountain, were exhorted to come forward once more to the aid of their country.

One of the urgent cares of the moment was to secure the prisoners taken at the Cowpens; a prize too valuable to be rashly exposed. Morgan had wisely sent them on in advance, the moment that he had effected the passage of the Catawba; but they were still far distant from a point of safety, and to detach a party for their escort, at so critical a moment, would have been to weaken his strength, when he needed it all, and still more, in order to face his enemy. But Greene knew how to profit even by the greatest disadvantages of his situation. The term of the Virginia militia was nearly out, and it was necessary to dismiss them early enough to give them time to reach their place of rendezvous as their term of duty expired. Availing himself of this circumstance, he hurried them off under Stevens, in whom he could place full reliance, and, committing all his prisoners to their charge, succeeded in conveying them in safety to the interior of Virginia, without weakening his army by the detachment of a single man.

He was now ready to march. But questions of rank, and those little jealousies, which inevitably creep into an army so loosely organized, threatened to interrupt that harmony, which is so essential to the cordial coöperation of its different parts in the hour of danger. It was now that Greene began to reap the advantages of the efforts, which he had made to win the confidence and affection of his officers. His solemn exhortation to bury all their animosities, in view of the efforts they were to make for the safety of their country, was listened to with universal respect, and every irritating question was forgotten in the zeal with which he inspired them for the common cause.

These duties performed, he hastened to the point of danger on the banks of the Catawba. A single aid and a sergeant's guard of dragoons were his only escort in a ride of a hundred and fifty miles, through a country distracted and divided by a civil war. On the 30th, he reached the camp of Morgan, and immediately began his preparations for either retreat or resistance, as circumstances might require. His first inquiries related to the movements and situation of the enemy; and on being told, that Cornwallis had destroyed his baggage, "Then," said Greene, "he is ours." The sequel showed how well he had judged this event.

It was evident, that the enemy was preparing to cross the Catawba; but with what intention it was not so easy to decide. Intelligence had been received of the appearance of a fleet off Cape Fear, and there were strong reasons for supposing it to be the detachment of Arnold, who was known to be engaged in some expedition to the south. A junction of his forces with those of Cornwallis would have thrown the balance so decidedly into the enemy's scale, as to leave scarcely any chance of preserving North Carolina; and Greene, adhering to his favorite maxim of supposing that his "enemy would always do what he ought to do," doubted not but that Cornwallis would push forward in order to coöperate with this new detachment. He accordingly issued orders for hastening the march of the main army towards Salisbury, and conveying the baggage and stores to a place of security. Every effort was made to draw together as large a number of militia as possible, and, by uniting all his forces and preserving his position between the two armies, he hoped to be able to defeat one of them before it could receive succor from the other. "Here is a fine field," said he, "and great glory ahead. It is necessary to take every possible precaution to guard against a misfortune. But I am not without hopes of ruining Lord Cornwallis, if

he persists in his mad scheme of pushing through the country.”

A few hours, however, were sufficient to clear up every uncertainty. The fleet at Cape Fear proved to be a small detachment, whose efforts were directed against Wilmington ; and Arnold, instead of assailing Carolina, had landed in Virginia. Cornwallis's intentions were now manifest ; and Greene, confiding in his knowledge of his character, returned to his original plan of luring him onward, with the hope of “ precipitating him into some capital misfortune.”

A heavy rain had raised the waters of the Catawba so high, that for the moment it was impassable, and the two Generals continued to watch each other's motions with a jealous eye, ready to seize upon the first opening for some decisive step. At the same time, the Whig militia was gathering in the rear of the army, and there was every reason to hope, that they would soon be strong enough to dispute the passage of the river.

Meanwhile the main body, under the guidance of Huger and Williams, attended by Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, of Greene's family, had moved, on the morning of the 29th, from their encampment on the Pedee. Crossing at Mask's Ferry, they continued their march along the left bank of the Yadkin, towards the place of

rendezvous at Salisbury. The roads were broken by heavy rains, and the way was long and toilsome; but such were the ardor and unanimity with which they had been inspired by their commander, that not a man deserted.

On the 31st of January, it became evident that the waters were beginning to subside; and, as the fall of these rivers is as rapid as their rise, it was not impossible that the fords would become practicable in a very few hours. Greene, though not yet strong enough to make a stand on the Catawba, was determined to dispute the passage by means of his militia, and do everything in his power to retard and harass the enemy. Morgan was ordered to push forward for the Yadkin, and cross it at the Island Ford, and the main army directed to march for Guilford, instead of Salisbury. Morgan was anxious to push for the mountains, declaring that he would not answer for the consequences, if his advice was neglected. "Neither will you," said Greene; "for I shall take the measure upon myself."

By this time about five hundred militia had been collected, and the command was confided to General Davidson, in whose gallantry and zeal they placed unbounded confidence. Two hundred were scattered along the banks of the river, in order to watch the different fords, and

guard against surprise, while Davidson prepared, with the rest, to dispute the passage of the river. A spot, sixteen miles in advance on the road to Salisbury, had been selected for a rendezvous, and thither Greene repaired in person to await their arrival.

After several feints and false demonstrations, with a view to throw his enemy off their guard, the British General advanced, at one in the morning of the 1st of February, towards M'Cow-an's Ford, which, being a private passage, and little frequented, he hoped to come upon by surprise. But his vigilant adversary was not thus to be deceived; and Davidson, by his orders, had already stationed his men among the trees and bushes that lined the bank.

Day was just beginning to dawn as the British column approached the ford. The rain was falling in torrents, and the morning was cloudy and dark. Everything within the shadow of the banks was buried in profound obscurity, except directly opposite to the ford, where the enemy's fires cast an indistinct and fitful glare, or where the waters, dashing against the rocks, broke into bubbles and foam, which gleamed faintly in the dim lustre of morning twilight. The current rushed onward, with an impetuosity heightened by the recent inundation, foaming among the rocks, and filling the

atmosphere with its hoarse, deep murmurs. Undismayed by a scene, which its indistinctness rendered doubly appalling, the gallant soldiers of Cornwallis entered the stream. The light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hall, led the way. The grenadiers followed them, each corps advancing in platoons, and the men supporting their steps by leaning upon one another; for the bed of the river was stony and slippery, and it was with difficulty that they could make good their footing.

The waters soon rose to their waists, and the current ran with a headlong fury, which sometimes bore down both horse and rider in its course. Leslie's horses were carried down the stream; and it was with difficulty that they were saved. O'Hara's horse lost his footing, and rolled over with him in the water. Still the advance was continued, slowly and firmly; and Hall had already gained the centre of the stream, when he was challenged, and fired upon, by the American sentinels. Davidson's men were instantly in array and prepared for the enemy. Hall, too, though deserted by his guide, and ignorant of the direction of the ford, pushed on with the light company. In the confusion occasioned by the desertion of his guide, he mistook the course of the ford, and was approaching the shore at a distance from

the usual landing. Davidson, in order to meet him there, brought his men to a new position; but before they could reach it, for it was no easy thing to direct the evolutions of militia in the face of an enemy, the light infantry had already gained the shore.

A sharp conflict ensued, and the ground was fiercely contested; but superior discipline prevailed, and the Americans were driven from the field. Davidson sprang to his horse, to direct the retreat; but a ball struck him, as he was in the act of mounting, and he fell dead upon the ground. His men dispersed, and sought safety in the woods. Cornwallis was hastening to the scene of the conflict. His horse was shot under him, while he was yet in the water. The noble animal struggled to the shore, and dropped the moment that he reached it. In this short contest, Colonel Hall and three of the infantry were killed, and thirty-six wounded. The loss of the Americans was small, but the death of Davidson was a heavy blow; for the militia, who had been held together by his personal influence, and might have formed, under his guidance, an important accession to the main army, dispersed at his fall, many of them returning home, and others lingering and uncertain what to do. About a hundred of these were collected, in the afternoon of that

day, at a spot called Tarrant's Tavern, about ten miles from the ford, and, encouraged by their numbers, resolved to proceed, after refreshing themselves, to the place of rendezvous.

While engaged in their meal, their patrols gave the alarm. They sprang to their horses, and in a few moments the British dragoons came in sight, led on by Tarleton. The militia, trained to fire from their horses, received them with one deliberate volley, and dashed into the woods. Pursuit would have been useless; and Tarleton, venting his fury upon some old men and boys, who were either not mounted, or too badly so to join in the flight, retraced his steps to the main army, with the loss of seven men and twenty horses.

Meanwhile Greene was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the militia. The day gradually wore away, and no signs of them appeared; and it was not till after midnight, that he received the news of their total dispersion, and the untimely death of Davidson. With a heavy heart he turned his steps towards Salisbury. It had been raining during the day, and, as he alighted from his horse, his soiled garments and stiff limbs showed, that he had not escaped without some suffering from his late rapid movements and exposure to the weather. To the anxious inquiries of his friend Dr. Read, who

was waiting his arrival, he could not refrain from replying, "Yes; fatigued, hungry, alone, and penniless." The reply did not pass unobserved; and he had hardly taken his seat at the breakfast table, when his landlady entered the room, and, carefully closing the door behind her, drew from under her apron two small bags of specie. "Take these," said she, "for you will want them, and I can do without them." Never did relief come at a more propitious moment; nor would it be straining conjecture to suppose, that he resumed his journey with his spirits cheered and lightened by this touching proof of woman's devotion to the cause of her country.

Once more upon the same side of the river with his active enemy, and resolved to push him to the utmost, Cornwallis mounted a considerable body of infantry upon the horses left free by the destruction of his baggage, and, joining them to his cavalry, placed the whole under the command of Brigadier-General O'Hara, with orders to pursue the Americans, and prevent them from passing the Yadkin. Cheerfully were the orders obeyed; and the British soldiers, entering into the feelings of their commander, followed up their enemy with headlong speed.

They were once more doomed to disappoint-

ment. No sooner had the waters of the Catawba begun to fall, than Greene put Morgan's detachment in motion. It was on the evening of the 31st; and before the British had made good their landing on the eastern bank, their nimble adversary was already a full day's march in advance. Excited by the success which had hitherto attended their efforts, and knowing well how much depended upon them, they pressed forward with unremitting ardor. Greene was now with them, and there was a new excitement in acting under the eye of a leader, whose skilful combinations had checked, in mid career, the triumph of their haughty enemy. Their march lay over a soil of tough red clay, interspersed with round stones; and the rain, which was falling with all the violence of a southern latitude, rendered the roads heavy and slippery, and made every step they took a laborious effort.

But the same rain, that more than doubled the toil of their march, would, in two days at the utmost, raise the waters of the river again; and, could they once but place it between them and their foes, they might repose upon its banks in safety. On, then, they urged their march, regardless of all but the great prize for which they were contending, and on the third day were on the banks of the river. Here, again,

they had cause to bless the foresight of their commander. The boats, which his provident care had collected before the opening of the campaign, were waiting to receive them, and the infantry and the baggage were soon transported to the opposite shore. The waters, though rising, were not yet so high as to endanger the ford, and the cavalry passed it in safety. Nothing now remained but the effects of some of the Whigs from Salisbury, who, dreading the vengeance of the English, had taken refuge with the army. These too were passing, and the rear guard, composed in part of the friends of the fugitives, was waiting nothing but their passage, in order to join its companions on the eastern shore. It was now near midnight, and the labor was almost completed, when the enemy's advance broke in upon them. Wearied as they were, they sprang cheerfully to their arms, and received the onset firmly. The skirmish was sharp, and both sides claimed the advantage; but it may safely be given to the Americans, who made good their retreat to the main body.

O'Hara made an effort to seize upon some of the boats, but in vain. From his stand on the banks he saw his enemy quietly encamped on the opposite shore, and a river, now swollen beyond its bounds by heavy rains, rolling its rapid current between. Unable to approach,

he opened a furious cannonade, but with little effect ; for the camp was protected by an elevation in the ground, and the rocks afforded a sufficient shelter to the sentinels. " At a little distance from the river," says an eye-witness, " and behind a pile of rocks, was situated a small cabin. In this the General had taken up his quarters ; and, while his family and some of the staff were amusing themselves as they thought proper, he was busily engaged in preparing his despatches. All this time the artillery was playing furiously, but seemed to attract no one's attention. At length, however, whether from intelligence or conjecture, their rage seemed to vent itself exclusively at our cabin ; and the balls were heard to rebound against the rocks directly in the rear of it. Little more than its roof showed above them, and at this the firing was obviously directed. Nor were they long without striking it ; and in a few moments the clapboards were flying from it in all directions. But still the General wrote on, nor seemed to notice anything but his despatches, and the innumerable applications that were made to him from various quarters. His pen never rested but when a new visitor arrived ; and then the answer was given with calmness and precision, and the pen was immediately resumed."

CHAPTER X.

Cornwallis pursues the American Army. — Particulars of the celebrated Retreat through North Carolina. — The Army encamps on the Banks of the River Dan.

FOR a moment the confidence of Cornwallis seems to have been shaken. He had made every exertion, shrunk from no sacrifice, had tasked the strength and good will of his troops to the utmost, and yet twice had he been foiled by the skill and activity of his enemy. There were still two ways of following up his original design. By crossing the Yadkin at a lower ford, he might still succeed in throwing himself between the two divisions of the American army, and thus destroy them in detail; or, by pushing for the upper fords of the Dan, he might throw them in between the Roanoke and the Yadkin, and crush their united forces by a single blow. Of the superiority of his own troops he entertained not the slightest doubt. The sacrifices, to which they had already submitted, were a sufficient proof of what he might expect from their perseverance and energy. It seemed as if there was nothing wanting to insure his success but to bring them within striking distance of their vigilant

adversary. Four days were passed in deliberation, and in collecting the information necessary to a decision; and on the morning of the 8th of February he crossed the Yadkin, and resumed his pursuit, in the hopes of cutting off his adversary from the upper fords of the Dan.

Meanwhile the American General, after remaining a day upon the banks of the Yadkin, had advanced to a secure position at the forks of Abbott's Creek, within a few miles of Salem, where he halted four days, closely watching the movements of the enemy. Many causes concurred to make him wish for a battle. He had now reached the centre of North Carolina, and lured his adversary to such a distance from his magazines, that a defeat would be fatal to him; and even a victory, that should encumber him with wounded, or lead him to waste, as the British soldiers always did, a large amount of ammunition without effect, would be attended with the most serious consequences. There was great reason to hope, too, that in his eagerness for battle he might be led to fight upon disadvantageous terms, while Greene might await the attack upon ground selected by himself, and adapted to his circumstances. Besides these considerations, arising from the situation of the enemy, there were others, which sprang directly from his own.

The spirits of the Whigs had been so depressed by the repeated successes of the British arms, that even the brilliant victory of the Cowpens, and the persecutions to which they were exposed, had failed to rouse them to those vigorous exertions, which the present juncture required. Nor was it to be expected, that they could penetrate the real cause of his movements, or distinguish a protracted retreat from an open abandonment of the contest. A victory, however, or even a drawn battle, would arouse them at once, and, striking terror into the loyalists, suppress that desolating warfare of Whig and Tory, by which the country had suffered more, than even from the excesses of a foreign army. He resolved, therefore, to spare no efforts to collect a strong body of militia, and meet his adversary in the field.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 8th of February, he received the intelligence that the English army was in full march for the shallow ford of the Yadkin. There could no longer be any doubt as to the designs of Cornwallis, who, it was evident, still flattered himself with the hope of forcing the Americans to a battle. Greene lost not a moment in preparing for the trial. The main body of his army was now within a day's march of Guilford, and a few hours would bring Morgan to the

same point. In three days more the great question might be decided. The militia officers in the neighborhood of Guilford were summoned to call out their followers. Ammunition, and other supplies necessary for the occasion, were ordered from Hillsborough, and the men at that post were directed to join their regiments without delay. Everything seemed to indicate an approaching struggle; and all looked forward to the event with an eagerness, which had grown the more ardent from having been so long delayed.

The detachment of Morgan was soon in motion, and before the evening of the 8th they pitched their tents at Guilford. The main body arrived in the course of the following day; and now nothing was wanting but a strong reinforcement of militia, in order to enable him to face the enemy. While awaiting the reports of his officers, he proceeded to examine the ground and select a position for the battle.

But if Cornwallis had been twice condemned to the bitter disappointment of seeing his adversary slip from his grasp at the moment when he felt surest of overtaking him, no less bitter was that of Greene at finding himself, a second time, deprived of the means of turning upon his pursuer. The returns of his army showed

but two thousand and thirty-six men, of all arms, fit for duty ; and it was well known that the British forces numbered from two thousand five hundred to three thousand, well armed, in high discipline, and amply provided with everything that could give efficiency to their exertions. Under such circumstances there was no alternative ; and promptly, though reluctantly, he prepared for retreat, having first summoned a council of war to confirm his decision.

The base upon which the American army was now retiring was formed by the River Dan, a stream, which, rising among the mountains of the Blue Ridge of Virginia, enters the state of North Carolina at a short distance from its source, and holding its course eastward, with innumerable curves and windings, returns again into Virginia. Here, after its junction with the Irvine, it crosses and re-crosses the boundary line of the two states, and taking, at last, a north-easterly direction, and flowing onward with a constantly increasing current, terminates its career at the point where the waters of the Staunton assume the name of Roanoke. After the heavy winter rains, the upper fords are the only ones that are passable ; but there are several ferries scattered up and down the river, at unequal distances, which afford a sure communication, at all sea-

sons, to those who can command its navigation.

Greene had already provided for this emergency with admirable foresight ; and one of his first measures, as has already been seen, had been to explore the rivers that intersected the probable theatre of the war, and secure the means of crossing them independently of the fords. All this, however, had been done with so much secrecy as to escape the notice of his adversary, who, upon observing the position which he had taken at Abbott's Creek, became convinced that he was preparing to retreat towards the upper fords of the Dan. In this belief, Cornwallis manœuvred to gain a position upon Greene's left, which would bring him as near as he to Dix's Ferry, and effectually cut him off from the point at which he supposed him to be aiming.

Greene easily penetrated this design, and was not a little pleased to see how much it favored his own plans. It would have been a matter of but little gain for him to place a fordable stream in his rear, for his inferiority in artillery left him no means of defending the passage against a superior force. Nor was the Upper Dan favorable for a junction with the reinforcements from Virginia, to whose arrival he was looking forward with the greatest anx-

iety. The passage of the Lower Dan, on the contrary, offered several decided advantages. He was falling back upon the strongest point of his own base, and every step brought him nearer to his reinforcements and his magazines on the Roanoke. He had absolute command of the passage of the river, and, while he could at any moment effect his own passage, he could, with equal facility, harass and retard that of the enemy.

By holding the British army on his left, he maintained his position betwixt them and Hillsborough; from whence, for want of the means of transportation, the stores had not yet been removed. It was nearer to the point at which he intended to cross. Nor was it an object of slight consideration to draw Cornwallis's attention from a route, which would have brought him within dangerous proximity to the prisoners in Virginia, for whose safety no apprehensions had been entertained, and no provisions made for defending them. Nor had he the least anxiety about bringing him nearer to Halifax, important as that position was acknowledged to be; for he had already concerted a plan with Steuben, which would have put an effectual bar to his progress in that quarter, and perhaps have anticipated the glorious scenes of Yorktown.

On the 10th of February, the two armies lay within twenty-five miles of each other, awaiting the signal to renew the desperate game. It was now well nigh a month since this fierce struggle began. The news of the victory of the Cowpens had been borne with the utmost rapidity to every part of the Union. Next came Cornwallis's pursuit, and Greene's masterly manœuvres. The destruction of Cornwallis's baggage had shown how fixed his determination was, to crush, at every risk, this little army, the last hope of the south. All eyes were turned towards Carolina. Rumors, conjectures, and the thousand exciting tales, which spring up between the beginning and the accomplishment of great events, held the public mind in suspense, and raised the excitement to the highest pitch. The scene was now drawing to a close. There lay but one river more between the British General and Virginia. The slightest negligence, the most trifling mistake, might throw open the passage, and the south be severed from the Union forever. At no period during the whole war had the movements of the army been watched with a deeper or more general anxiety.

It was with a solemn consciousness of what was expected at his hands, that Greene had prepared for the struggle. He had taken every

precaution, which could contribute to success, and breathed into the hearts of his soldiers the same noble confidence with which he himself was animated; and now he felt, that he had done all that man could do, and must resign himself to Heaven for the result.

The distance from Guilford to Boyd's Ferry, where his boats were collected, is a little more than seventy miles; and by his position he already had the advantage of his adversary. To increase this, and throw as great an interval as was possible between the two armies, he formed a covering detachment of seven hundred picked men. The infantry was selected from the troops who had fought at the Cowpens, and who had already given sufficient proof of their courage. To these were added Washington's cavalry, always ready for any desperate service, and the legion of Lee, the best equipped corps in the army. A small body of militia riflemen, familiar with hardship and danger, completed the gallant band; and the command was given to Colonel Williams, whose brilliant courage was united with the self-possession, the sound judgment, and quick perception, which constitute the higher qualities of a soldier. With this chosen band he was ordered to throw himself between the two armies, and maintain his position there; to hover round the skirts

of the enemy, seize every opportunity of striking them in detail, and retard their progress, by vigilance and judicious positions, until the main body, with the baggage and stores, should have reached a place of safety.

The trial began by a demonstration of Cornwallis to the right, with a view to alarm his adversary for the safety of his stores at Hillsborough, and, if possible, make him lose ground in that direction. But Greene was too much upon his guard to be caught in such a snare, and, penetrating at once the intentions of the English General, turned his own weapons against him. Sending forward the main body in the road to the ferries, he ordered Williams to incline to the left, as if he were aiming at the upper fords. This brought him directly in front of Cornwallis, a position in which, with troops so lightly equipped, and chosen for the service, he had nothing to fear. The English General instantly checked the rapidity of his march, in order to give time for his long extended line to condense, and, mistaking the light troops for the rear guard of the army, followed confidently on in their track.

Meanwhile the main army was pressing onward towards the ferries. It was the depth of winter, and the weather piercing cold, although in a southern latitude. The roads were heavy

and broken ; at times, so drenched by the rain, that man and horse, at every step, would sink deep in the mire ; and then, again, so hardened by the frost, that they would gash the bare feet of the soldiers, till their track could be distinguished, for miles and miles, by the blood that flowed from them. The provident care of their commander had provided them with food, but all his efforts to procure them clothing adapted to the season had been fruitless. Their shoes were worn out by constant marching, and the rest of their garments were but little better. After fording a stream, and there were many in their way, it was only by the heat of their bodies that they could dry their clothes ; and they had neither cloaks nor overcoats to shield them from the rain. Nor when evening brought the hour of repose were their sufferings at an end. Even in the corps best equipped, one blanket for four men was their only covering ; and one of the four kept his watch by the fire, while his companions sought such rest as they could gain, with so slight a protection from the damp earth and the dews of the night.

It was a hard trial for the feelings of Greene, who never witnessed suffering without a wish to relieve it. "The miserable condition of the troops for want of clothing," says he in a letter to Washington, "has rendered the march

the most painful imaginable; many hundreds of the soldiers tracking the ground with their bloody feet. Your feelings for the sufferings of the soldiers, had you been with us, would have been severely tried."

But they had imbibed the dauntless spirit of their commander, and learned to suffer without repining. The goal was now full in view. One more vigorous effort, yet a few hours of constancy, and they would be safe, and with them the glorious cause for which they were contending. For four days they held on their weary way, undaunted and unrepining, buoyed up by their hopes above the sense of suffering. By the evening of the fourth day they were within a few miles of the Dan, and that night they slept like men who have almost come to the end of their labors. Early in the morning they resumed their march. Everything had been prepared for their reception, and in a few hours they were transported in safety to the opposite shore. An express was instantly despatched to Williams with tidings of the joyful event; and Greene, who had not slept four hours during the whole of this time, "so great had been his solicitude to prepare for the worst," remained on the southern shore to await the arrival of the light troops.

This gallant little band, as has already been.

related, had commenced their dangerous and delicate task by a movement to the left, which had brought them immediately in front of the enemy, and checked his advance. They soon came to an intermediate road, leading directly to Dix's Ferry, one of the points towards which they wished to draw attention. This gave them, at once, their appropriate position between the two armies. The main body of their own army was on their right, and secure from attack; the enemy on their left, with his van full in view. The rear guard was formed by the gallant legion of Lee, all picked men, well armed and equipped, and in the highest state of discipline. The cavalry of this chosen band was mounted on large, powerful horses, remarkable for their swiftness and strength; the riders trained to every daring feat of horsemanship, and never so much at home as in the saddle. Numerous patrols hovered round the enemy, watching every movement, and ready to give prompt intelligence of the slightest opening for attack. Strong pickets and patrols guarded the camp by night; and, as a still further precaution against surprise, Williams always made it a rule to encamp at a considerable distance from the enemy, near as he was during the day. So numerous were the detachments for the protection of the camp, that six hours out of forty-

eight was all the repose that he could grant to his overlabored men. By three in the morning they were in motion, and, by forcing their march, contrived to secure a breakfast, their only meal. Still, excited by their hazardous situation, and glorying in the confidence reposed in them, they submitted to every hardship without a murmur.

In this manner the two armies held their way towards the Dan; the English condensed, carefully guarded, and cautiously avoiding every encounter that might endanger the great object at which they aimed; the Americans vigilant, watchful, and seeking eagerly the favorable moment for some sudden and daring blow. So complete was Cornwallis's deception, that he pressed on in pursuit of Williams, fully believing that the whole army was in his grasp, and might easily be crushed before they could find the means of crossing the river. To hasten the moment, he resolved to throw himself directly in their rear. This movement brought on a smart skirmish between some of Tarleton's cavalry and the legion of Lee, in which eighteen of the British were killed and several taken prisoners, with no other loss than that of a boy, the bugler of the troop.

The wearisome march had now been continued four days, and sufficient time given to

the main body to reach the river. Nothing further was to be gained by holding the position in front of the enemy, and Williams cautiously drew off his men into the direct road to the crossing place, at Boyd's Ferry. On the same day, Cornwallis learned, for the first time, that the main army had taken a different road; and, crossing by a by-path to strike into it, he found himself once more in the rear of the light troops. Both parties now redoubled their efforts, as if all that they had done thus far had been but a preparation for the closing struggle.

In vain did Williams employ every device to retard the enemy's progress. They still pressed forward, regardless of all but the great object before them. Vainly, too, did they strive in turn to lure the cautious American to the hazardous experiment of a skirmish. He knew too well how little was to be gained, and how much might be lost, by so rash a venture. More than once the rear guard of one army and the van of the other were within musket shot; and it was not without difficulty that the marksmen on the flanks of the legion could be restrained from firing. But the commands of their officers and their own good discipline soon checked this dangerous impulse, better suited to their feelings than to their situation. From time to time there was an occasional demonstration, as

a defile or a watercourse occurred in their route, and the enemy would press forward for a moment, as if to take advantage of the obstruction; but this gradually ceased, and the two hostile bands continued their march with as much tranquillity as if they had been parts of the same army.

Night came on, chill and damp, but brought no respite from toil. Still the enemy pursued; and still, over deep and broken roads, now tenfold more toilsome from the darkness of the night, they held on their weary way. On a sudden, in the distance before them, they saw the lights of numerous fires. For an instant, no one doubted but what it was the camp of the main army; and, with one accord, they resolved to throw themselves upon their pursuers, and, by a desperate sacrifice, gain a few more hours for their friends. A few moments' reflection, however, were sufficient to convince them of their mistake, and, reaching the spot shortly afterwards, they found it to be the ground which had been occupied by Greene a short time before. At length, the enemy halted; and then, kindling their fires, they too snatched a few moments of repose.

At midnight, they were again in motion. There were now but forty miles between them and the place where their toils would end. One

day more of vigorous exertion, and their triumph would be secure. Well, too, did the British General know how much depended upon the next few hours. One portion of his enemy's forces was almost within his grasp, and he still hoped to find the other cooped up, for want of boats, between his own superior army and an unfordable river. A fierce struggle now commenced. The prize lay full in view ; and there was not a man in either army, who did not feel his nerves newly strung by the sight. Onward they pressed, pursuer and pursued, over ground now incrustated and slippery with frost ; the British van close upon the rear of the Americans. Day dawned, and still they urged their course forward ; one short hour in the forenoon was allowed for refreshment, and the hurried march was instantly resumed.

At noon came Greene's express, with the joyful tidings that the main army was in safety on the northern bank of the Dan. The news flew like lightning through the ranks ; and what then to them were the toils they had passed, or the few miles that yet remained betwixt them and their companions ? By three in the afternoon, they were within fourteen miles of the river. Here the greatest part of the band was drawn off, and led by the shortest road to the ferry. Lee, with his legion, remained in

front of the enemy. The legion infantry soon followed in Williams's track, and were quickly transported to the opposite shore. The boats that carried them were just returned, as Lee reached the ferry with his cavalry. It was between eight and nine o'clock in the evening. The soldiers instantly entered the boats; the horses were forced into the water; and, as the British van touched the bank, the last boat, with Carrington and Lee, had just gained the opposite shore.

Thus ended this memorable retreat, one of the most remarkable incidents of the war. When we consider the quality of the forces engaged; the nature and extent of the territory over which they passed, upwards of two hundred miles on a road cut up by the rain, and intersected by streams and rivers in every direction; the rigor of the season, the skill of the commanders, the patience and self-devotion of the men, and, above all, the importance of the cause for which they contended, we may safely class this retreat among the most interesting events of military history. It confirmed the thinking men of all classes in the high opinion, which they had already formed of Greene's military genius, and seemed to hold out the most encouraging assurances of success, as soon as the means placed at his disposal

should be made to correspond to the skill and judgment with which they would be employed. "You may be assured," says Washington, always guarded in his language, though impetuous in his feelings, "that your retreat before Cornwallis is highly applauded by all ranks, and reflects much honor on your military abilities." *

CHAPTER XI.

Greene collects Reinforcements. — Recrosses the Dan. — Cornwallis retreats. — Pickens and Lee. — Greene resolves to meet the Enemy in an Engagement. — Marches to Guilford Courthouse.

LOUD and general were the rejoicings in the American camp on the night of the 15th of February. The consciousness of dangers overcome, of toil and peril boldly encountered, of

* I cannot refrain from quoting the testimony of a British officer. "Every measure of the Americans, during their march from the Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed and vigorously executed." Tarleton's *History of the Campaigns of 1780-81*, p. 229.

sacrifices cheerfully sustained, of a solemn duty nobly performed, and a great and hazardous enterprise brought by generous exertions to a successful issue, filled every breast with that pure and elevated joy, which is the richest reward of those who fight for their country. The two bands met like brothers, with sincere and heartfelt congratulations. Each had performed its allotted task, and could look back without misgiving or self-reproach upon the perilous scenes through which it had passed. Every soldier, too, had his own tale to tell; some amusing incident, some hazardous adventure, some hair-breadth escape. The first day was passed in mutual congratulations, and in that repose which their sufferings had rendered so necessary. On the second, the call of their indefatigable leader summoned them to prepare for a renewal of their labors.

Greene was perhaps the only one, who took no part in the general festivity. His personal exposure had been equal to that of the meanest soldier. From the day on which he set out upon his adventurous ride to the camp of Morgan, he had never taken off his clothes to sleep; and the few days of repose, which his wearied troops had enjoyed at intervals, had been for him days of additional labor and still greater exertion. When he dismounted from

his horse, it was to seat himself at his writing desk, and his correspondence embraced the whole range of his department, from the officers of various kinds and ranks, who were acting under him, to the governors of the different states comprised in his command. Nor did it stop here; for he was too well aware how much depended upon the personal influence of active men, not to keep up a constant intercourse with several of the prominent characters of the period.

At this trying juncture, his letters were numerous and full of detail, although written in the midst of cares of no ordinary magnitude, and in moments snatched from other laborious duties. One to Patrick Henry was written the morning of his march from Guilford. His communications with Congress were frequent and full; and both his feelings and his duty required a constant interchange of thoughts and of intelligence with Washington. Other cares, too, weighed heavily upon him, calling for thorough investigation and prompt decision. A commission for a treaty with the Indians was issued from his camp on the Dan; and, amid the hurried and exciting scenes, which followed his return into North Carolina, he digested the plan and prepared the instructions by which so many hundreds of suffering Amer-

icans were liberated from the prison ships of Charleston.

And now, while his wearied troops were reposing from their toil, or giving play to the exultation of the moment, he was anxiously studying by his midnight lamp the details of his situation, and renewing his urgent exhortations to those upon whose exertions he relied for his hopes of the future. There was something peculiarly tantalizing in his present condition. His enemy was almost within his grasp; for he had now followed so far, that advance or retreat had become equally hazardous. Without stores, without magazines, at a distance from his garrisons, and dependent for reinforcements upon the uncertain aid of the loyalists, the position of Lord Cornwallis was exceedingly critical; and nothing but the most strenuous exertions, or some lucky oversight on the part of his adversary, could afford him any chance of extricating himself from the dangers in which he was involved. A prompt and general response to the call of the American General might now put it in his power to end the war by a single blow.

But he knew too well the uncertainty which attends all such efforts, to indulge the pleasing hope. He had been laboring, from the very day in which he set out for his command, to

arouse the people to a sense of their perilous situation. Desultory and unconnected movements, with votes, decrees, and promises, had been the only result. He had received but one small accession to his regular forces, and the North Carolina militia had nearly all forsaken him during his retreat, Majors and Captains being among the deserters. They who were to fill their places were as yet far off, and it was impossible to tell whether they could be brought together in time for any useful purpose. His new levies were detained in Virginia, for want of arms and clothing, and even of these the number fell greatly below his wants. "O," said he in a letter to Steuben, and borrowing the language of Frederic, "O that of the thousands now idle at home, a few, a very few hundred more were with me in the field!" Sickness, too, was making its ravages in this shadow of an army. The rapid marches of the last few weeks had been severely felt by men deficient both in the clothing and the stores requisite to enable them to bear up under this constant exposure to the rain and the cold. Of his best troops, the faithful regiments of Maryland, two hundred and seventy-four were in the hospital, and but eight hundred and sixty-one fit for duty. Well may he have exclaimed, "How is it

possible for an army circumstanced as ours is to make head against one organized and equipped as Lord Cornwallis's!"

Difficult, however, and dangerous as the enterprise appeared, he was still resolved to attempt it; for he knew too well the danger of leaving his active adversary in undisturbed possession of a country abounding with royalists, whom nothing but his presence could prevent from uniting their strength with that of a body already his superior in numbers, equipments, and discipline. It was of the utmost importance, too, that some immediate protection should be given to the Whigs, who were suffering every species of oppression from their relentless persecutors. His reinforcements might still be delayed, and he be once more constrained to retreat before a superior force; but he knew that, sooner or later, they must come, and that the moment was not far off in which he should be enabled to turn upon his enemy, and reap the fruit of all his sacrifices. The first point was to ascertain the intentions of Cornwallis.

On the morning of the 16th of February, the river began to fall; and, as it was not impossible that the British General might attempt to pass it with a view to continue the pursuit, the baggage was pushed forward on the route to Halifax,

and orders were issued to make sure the passage of the Staunton. The two armies continued to watch each other, in sullen silence, from the opposite banks. On the 17th came the joyful intelligence that Pickens was advancing on the left flank of the enemy, with a strong body of militia, while Caswell, with a force raised in North Carolina, was approaching from the opposite direction. Greene's resolution was instantly taken, and orders given to prepare for passing the river. The next morning, the British army withdrew from the banks of the Dan. As soon as the preconcerted signal was seen, a handkerchief waived by a friendly female under cover of the bank, the American army was in motion. Major Burnet, with a small escort of picked men, instantly crossed the river in order to hang on the enemy's rear and flanks, and give notice of their movements. Lee followed, with his legion, prepared to harass their march, and avail himself of every opportunity for a stroke at their pickets or lighter detachments.

Meanwhile the main body remained on the northern bank of the Dan, ready to cross, at a moment's warning, as soon as Cornwallis should manifest his intentions by some decisive movement. Some anxiety was felt for Halifax, on the Roanoke; a position that offered so many

advantages for an army supported by a powerful fleet, that Greene's attention had been drawn thither from the first days of his command. Preparations had been made for its defence, and intrenchments thrown up, under the direction of Kosciuszko; and he was resolved to hazard a battle, rather than suffer the enemy to take footing in a place so favorable to their designs upon Virginia and the Carolinas. As long, therefore, as there remained any doubt concerning Cornwallis's intentions, he was unwilling to risk his army upon the southern shores of the Dan.

The first movements of the British General were not of a nature to throw light upon his ulterior designs. On the 18th, the day on which he broke up from his encampment on the Dan, he retraced his steps along the road by which he had pursued the Americans, leaving it doubtful whether he meant to aim a blow at Pickens, or cross the river by one of the upper fords or ferries. The next day's march seemed to threaten the magazines on the Roanoke, while it looked towards the lower road to the Chesapeake. Then, suddenly turning his back upon the Dan, he directed his steps towards Hillsborough, where, on the 20th, he issued a proclamation, calling upon "all loyal and faithful subjects to repair without loss of time to

his standard, equipped with arms and furnished with ten days' provisions."

Every favorable circumstance seemed combined in order to crown his efforts with success. The district in which he had pitched his camp was filled with loyalists, who asked for nothing but an occasion like this, to come boldly forward in their sovereign's defence. The courage of the Whigs had been chilled by the retreat of the American army, and many of them seemed disposed to profit by the offers now held out to them for making their peace with the crown. In the course of one day proposals for raising seven independent companies were brought in. In the forks of the Haw and Deep Rivers, the Tories were gathering in strong bands, and preparing to rally with vigor around the British General. For three days, his head-quarters were crowded with loyalists, from the town and country, eager to express their attachment to the royal cause, and give utterance to the feelings of delight with which they saw the banner of England once more waving among them. On a sudden, the general exultation was checked; the crowd began to drop silently away; and Cornwallis found himself once more alone, as he himself expressed it in the bitterness of his heart, in the midst of "timid friends and inveterate enemies."

Greene had been closely watching all these movements. The march to Hillsborough, on the direct road to Wilmington, looked so much like an intention of escaping to the coast, that, knowing to what a condition his adversary had reduced himself by the destruction of his baggage, he could not but suspect him of some such design. This he was resolved to prevent at every hazard. Pickens was ordered to push rapidly up to the enemy's rear, and harass him to the utmost. "If we can but delay Cornwallis a day or two," says Greene, in his instructions, "he must be ruined." Lee, too, was in full pursuit with his legion, reinforced by two companies of Marylanders, under Captain Oldham; and, the moment that he began to suspect that the retreat would extend beyond Hillsborough, he resolved to throw himself in the enemy's front, and delay their progress by every species of opposition. It was soon seen, that immediate retreat was not Cornwallis's object, which was sufficiently explained by his proclamation. In this also it was necessary to oppose him without loss of time, for nothing could be more fatal than a general rising of the Tories; and the American forces began to close around him, with the double view of cutting off his supplies and overawing the Tories, and

not without the hope of striking a blow at some advanced picket or light detachment.

On the 20th, Greene had received a reinforcement of a thousand militia, and another thousand were every day expected. The citizens of Halifax county had rushed eagerly to arms at the sight of the banners of the Union; and Stevens, who, having conveyed the prisoners of the Cowpens in safety to the interior of Virginia, had hastened back to share the fortunes of his commander, was now among them, enlisting volunteers and hurrying them to camp. Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia, was advancing along the banks of the Cape Fear. Williams was in the field, with his tried band of light infantry. The main army had been held under marching orders for several days, and a few hours would easily put them on the southern banks of the Dan. A new and severer trial of skill was at hand.

The surprise of a British picket, within two miles and a half of Hillsborough, on the 22d of February, by a detachment from Pickens's command, led by Colonel M'Call, was the signal for the contest. Tarleton was instantly detached, with a strong body of infantry and cavalry, to hold the Americans in check and countenance the gathering of the Tories. On the same day, Lee and Pickens formed a junction of their

forces, and, retiring to a covert position near the main road from the Haw River to Hillsborough, sent out light parties in both directions to collect intelligence. Just before dawn, one of them returned with the tidings of Tarleton's expedition.

Here, then, was an important object already in view; and early in the morning they set out in pursuit. Guides were unnecessary; for the British commander had marked his course with devastation and plunder. By noon of the next day, they were within three miles of the place where he had halted to dine. While they were arranging their men for the attack, he moved away, though wholly unconscious of his danger, and intending to encamp for the night five miles further on. The pursuit was immediately resumed, and they were once more so near as to feel almost confident of taking him by surprise, when they fell in with a party of four hundred Tories, under Colonel Pyles, on their way to the British camp. These they dispersed with great slaughter, and prepared to resume their march. The day was now so far advanced, that it was thought best to defer the attack till morning. In the course of the evening, they were joined by a party of militia under Colonel Preston, who, but for this happy incident, would in all probability have fallen a prey

to Tarleton's dragoons. With this accession they felt sure of victory.

Every disposition was made for the attack; the posts assigned, the troops arranged, and with eager expectation they awaited the dawn of day. By two in the morning, they were surprised with the intelligence, that Tarleton was already in motion. The drum instantly beat to arms, and in a few moments they were in full pursuit. The night was so dark that they were obliged to light their way with pine torches. Still they pressed forward with such rapidity, that before sunrise they were close upon his rear. But the main body had already passed the Haw, and the passage of the rear guard was covered by artillery. It was a severe disappointment; but they consoled themselves with the reflection, that they had afforded a timely protection to a gallant body of their own countrymen, and effectually disheartened the Tories by the defeat of Pyles.

Meanwhile Greene was hastening his preparations for bringing the rest of his forces into the field. The last few days had been a period of severe exertion; during the greater part of which he had been constantly at the desk or in the saddle; for there were his recruits to be hurried on, militia and volunteers to be embodied, instructions to be prepared for officers at different points, and often at great distances, and the

movements of an active and enterprising enemy to be followed up all the while with the closest attention. On the evening of the 22d, he had crossed the country as far as the camp of Pickens and Lee, with a small escort of Washington's cavalry, in order to obtain the latest intelligence of the enemy's motions, and communicate his plans in person to those whom he intended to charge with the execution of them.

It was the very night in which they heard of Tarleton's excursion to the Haw; and, as he set out in the morning on his return, they were preparing to start off in pursuit; a cheering proof of the correctness of his decision, when he pushed forward these detachments to hang upon the skirts of the enemy. On his way back to camp, he visited Williams at his head-quarters, encouraging both officers and men by these proofs of his watchfulness and energy, and, assuring himself by personal inspection, and a full explanation of his designs, that everything was prepared for the delicate trial of skill in which he was about to engage.

Although not yet strong enough to cope with his adversary in the field, he had collected a sufficient force to enable him to resume active operations, and justify the hope of gaining by

skill what he had not been able to effect by strength. It was a bold step, to throw himself voluntarily within reach of the same enemy before whom he had till now been retreating with precipitation, and the measure was blamed by many as a rash and needless exposure. But he felt the necessity of rapid and decisive movements, and of assuming an appearance of greater strength than he actually possessed, both to impose upon the enemy and keep up the courage of his own men; for the reinforcements which he had received were chiefly composed of volunteers, whose term of service was limited, and whose spirits would flag in the monotony of a camp. And, by keeping the field in the districts between the Dan and the head waters of the Haw, he could prevent Cornwallis from affording protection to the loyalists, and cut him off from all communication with this portion of the state, where the chief strength of the Tory population lay.

Meanwhile the light troops would hang upon his flanks and rear, beating up his quarters, harassing him in his marches, intercepting his supplies, cutting off his detachments, and holding him in check on every side, till the main army should be strong enough to face him in the field. It was a hazardous game to play with such an enemy; but Greene counted

upon the thorough knowledge which he had gained of Cornwallis's character, the enthusiasm with which he had inspired his troops, the strong hold which he had gained upon the confidence and affections of his officers, and, more than all, that consciousness of his own resources, and that self-reliance, which every great man feels in the hour of danger.

With these views he crossed the Dan, on the 23d of February, and proceeded by slow marches towards Troublesome Creek, one of the tributary branches of the Haw, carefully regulating his movements so as never to endanger his communication with the roads by which he looked for his reinforcements. On the 26th, he received the news of Pyles's defeat, and of Cornwallis's advance from Hillsborough. It was evidently the British General's intention to force him either to fight or to retreat; but he was equally resolved to do neither the one nor the other, except on his own terms. And now began a series of skilful manœuvres, during which he kept constantly in view the three great objects, which he had proposed to himself; of avoiding an action, overawing the loyalists, and protecting the advance of the reinforcements, which were hastening from various quarters to his assistance.

With a watchful eye on his adversary, he

continued his march towards the Haw, and, crossing near its source, selected the ground between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork for the theatre of his operations. He changed his camp every night, and appeared in a new position every day, keeping his adversary in absolute ignorance of his movements, and securing himself against all possibility of a surprise; for not even his own officers knew where they were to go next, until the order came for marching. The Tories, alarmed at the sudden appearance of a powerful force in so many different quarters, did not venture to assemble, although the British army was at hand to afford them countenance and protection. Williams, with his gallant corps of light infantry and the cavalry of Washington and Lee, kept up the same perplexing game, timing all his movements by those of the main army. One day Greene would approach him as though he were about to form a junction with his light troops. Then, again, he would retire upon Troublesome Creek, or pass the night at his sure encampment at Reedy Fork, and suddenly make his appearance the next day in some quarter where nobody dreamed of looking for him. Perplexed and bewildered by these incessant and irregular movements, Cornwallis knew not either where to expect his adversary, or in what direction

to aim his blow. His foraging parties were harassed, his communications broken up, his light troops worn down with constant service; and while his enemy got the earliest notice of every step that he took, he was fettered and embarrassed in all his operations for want of timely intelligence.

These manœuvres had again brought the two armies close together. Lord Cornwallis had taken post near the Allemande Creek, a small stream nearly parallel with the Reedy Fork, and which, like that, empties its waters into the Haw. Greene was manœuvring between the Reedy Fork and Troublesome Creek, on a line parallel with his adversary's temporary base, and at a distance which varied from fifteen to twenty miles. Howard and Pickens, hovering round the enemy's camp, and ready to seize every opening for striking at his flanks or light detachments, were often so near as to alarm him for the safety of his outposts. Lee even ventured so far as to attack the advance under Tarleton on the 2d of March, and killed or wounded thirty of them, with a loss on his own part of but three men killed and ten wounded.

Cornwallis's situation was every day becoming more and more critical; and although he had chosen his post with consummate skill,

and spared no efforts to make the most of his numerical superiority, yet the difficulty of obtaining intelligence was so great, that he was constantly at a loss where to look for his adversary. At last he succeeded in obtaining information on which he could rely, concerning the route of the American reinforcements, now almost within striking distance. Greene, with the main body of the army, was at Boyd's Mills, on the Reedy Fork; Williams, within a few miles of the British camp. Could he but push by Williams, or surprise him, and reach the High Rock Ford before Greene, the American army would be effectually separated from its reinforcements, and Greene compelled either to hazard a battle in their defence or abandon them to their fate.

In the hope of accomplishing this, he broke up, early on the morning of the 6th of March, from his encampment at Allemance Creek, and pushed forward by a forced march for Wetzell's Mills, on the Reedy Fork. That point once gained, Williams would have been completely separated from the main body, and Greene himself, who was but fifteen miles off, in no small danger. But the American commander knew well, when he ventured upon this delicate game, how far he could rely upon the vigilance and activity of this chosen band.

The alarm was given in Williams's camp while the British army was yet two miles distant; and his men were instantly under arms. Light flanking parties were thrown out to annoy the enemy and retard his advance, while the main body moved briskly towards the ford, covering their rear by a party of infantry and cavalry under Colonel Preston. In this order they reached the ford in safety, and, before the enemy could offer any serious molestation, were drawn up on the opposite bank, all ready to dispute the passage of the stream.

But Williams knew his duty too well to risk a defence that might bring on a general engagement, and, as the enemy advanced, continued his retreat, leaving a strong covering party to protect his rear. The English seemed bent on crossing, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which a few prisoners were taken on both sides; but the firm countenance of the American cavalry awed the enemy, and checked the pursuit. Greene had been promptly advised of Cornwallis's manœuvre, and had had but little difficulty in penetrating his designs. He instantly marched for the upper ford of Troublesome Creek; Williams was ordered to cross below; and before night the whole army was safe on the northern bank of the stream, in the

direct route for protecting and forming a junction with their reinforcements.

Convinced by this last trial, that every attempt to force his adversary to an engagement could lead to no other result, than to fatigue and wear down his own troops, Lord Cornwallis now gave up the contest of skill, and retired to Bell's Mills, on the Deep River. Greene remained in his encampment at the Iron Works of Troublesome Creek, looking anxiously forward to the arrival of his long promised reinforcements. In a few days came the Virginia levies and militia, with a part of the supplies and stores, which his half clad and wearied troops needed so much; the North Carolina militia soon followed; a few detached bands of militia and volunteers had joined him from time to time on his march, and he now found himself at the head of four thousand five hundred men. Sixteen hundred of these were regular troops, a part of them well trained and disciplined, in whose courage he could place the fullest reliance; the rest, militia and volunteers, many of them men of tried courage, and animated by the purest zeal, but neither accustomed to act in concert, nor formed to those exact and rapid evolutions, upon which the fate of a battle so often depends.

Although far from being satisfied with the

organization of his army, Greene was resolved no longer to defer the engagement, which was to decide the great question between him and his adversary. He had now collected the largest force that he could possibly hope to draw together; and he was not without a hope that his numerical superiority, skilfully turned to account, might be made to supply his deficiency in equipments and discipline. Should he suffer this opportunity to escape him, there was no probability that he would soon find another; for both his militia and his volunteers were engaged for a limited term, and the moment that this was expired, he would again be left alone with his little army of regulars. The successful manœuvre of the last ten days had raised the spirits of his troops, and inspired them with the fullest confidence in the promptitude, the energy, and superior skill of their leader. This was too favorable a feeling to be neglected by one, who knew so well how often success depends upon the confidence of being successful.

Public opinion, too, called loudly for a battle; and, although he never allowed himself to be swayed in his choice of measures by popular clamor, he knew perfectly well how to avail himself of the current, when it set in his favor. His own feelings, naturally eager and im-

petuous, led him to wish for an opportunity of proving his strength in the field. For nearly two months, he had, by a remarkable display of skill and energy, kept the field against a force every way his superior, advancing or retreating, as circumstances required, and firmly adhering, in the midst of every kind of obstacle, to the plan which he had marked out for himself at the opening of the campaign. At length, the moment to which he had so anxiously been looking forward, had arrived, and, without risking anything beyond the transient possession of the field of battle, he could turn upon his enemy, and bring this long protracted contest to the decision of the sword.

Therefore, no sooner had he been joined by his reinforcements, than he began his preparations for meeting the enemy. A few days' repose were necessary, in order to accustom his new recruits to the life of a camp, and give them some slight preparation for the fearful scenes in which they were so soon to engage. His old troops also needed a short respite, after the severe calls that had been made upon them during the last ten days. He accordingly continued in his camp, at Troublesome Creek, until all his arrangements were completed, when, calling in his detachments, and dissolving the light troops, with the warmest

expressions of applause to both officers and men, he advanced, on the 14th of March, 1781, to Guilford Court House, within fourteen miles of the enemy.

CHAPTER XII.

Description of the Ground occupied by the Americans.—Battle of Guilford.

THE country around Guilford Court House was a vast wilderness, with here and there a few openings, where some favorable spot had been reduced to an irregular and transient cultivation. In the midst of one of these, and on the brow of a large hill, surrounded by other hills, which for the most part were covered with timber and thick underbrush, stood the building from which the district had derived its name. The high road to Salisbury passes near the ridge of the hill, winding its way through deep forests and thick coverts of copse wood, with now and then a cultivated field. The hill itself slopes downward for nearly half a mile, with a gentle declivity, to a small vale intersected by a rivulet, and cov-

ered with copse wood. In the immediate vicinity of the court-house, the ground had all the marks of its former cultivation. Except for the saplings and shrubs usually found in old fields, it would have presented no obstruction to the free movements of horse and foot. A few hundred yards further on, another small opening was formed by a long, narrow cornfield, which, extending across the road, reached down to the skirts of a swamp, that lay along the banks of a rivulet. The intervening space was covered with a thick forest, which intercepted the view between the two cultivated tracts; and in the clearing, around the court-house, the road was screened by a high growth of saplings. The whole tract is an undulating slope, broken at intervals by ravines, and abounding with those favorable points, which add so much to the courage of the soldier, by making him feel that his own strength is more than doubled by the strength of his position.

Greene, who felt all the importance of a choice of ground, especially for irregular troops, had already marked out this spot, when he first passed through Guilford on his retreat from the Yadkin to the Dan; and he now turned his steps thither with a strong hope that, in a position so favorable, his untrained militia might oppose a firmer resistance to the disciplined

veterans of his adversary. It was but a few miles from the High Rock Ford to Guilford, and the army reached their encampment early enough in the day to allow time for another survey of the ground. The order of battle had already been distributed, and every preparation completed, and all looked forward with anxious expectation to the morrow.

The sun of the 15th rose upon a cloudless sky. The air was clear and calm, and the atmosphere of that exhilarating freshness, which braces the nerves and infuses new vigor into every limb. A party, which had been sent out to reconnoitre, returned early in the forenoon with the welcome intelligence, that the enemy was advancing by the great Salisbury road. The officers were instantly ordered to their stations, and the troops drawn up for battle. In seeking an engagement, Greene had hardly ventured to flatter himself with the hopes of a complete victory; to cripple his enemy, and encumber him with a large number of wounded, was almost the utmost that he could hope for. He was firmly resolved not to engage in any hazardous measures, or venture upon any of those bold strokes, which discipline alone can render successful. At the same time, he was not without the hope of compelling his adversary to bring the whole of his forces into action against a part of

his own, thus reserving a fresh and vigorous band for that final struggle by which victory is decided.

With this view, he drew up his army in three lines, presenting three successive barriers to the progress of the enemy. The first line was drawn up on the skirts of a wood, and at right angles with the road by which the enemy was advancing. Before them was the second clearing, a cornfield about two hundred yards in breadth, which reached down to the border of a rivulet; and the fences, the greater part of which were still standing, afforded a kind of shelter, behind which it was supposed they might fire four or five rounds before they yielded to the bayonet. This line was composed of North Carolina militia, all practised marksmen, armed with muskets and rifles, and trained to the daily use of their weapons. Few of them, however, if any, had ever been in battle; and their dread of the bayonet, like that of all men not steeled by discipline, rendered them incapable of sustaining a contest of hand to hand. They were commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton.

The second line was drawn up about three hundred yards in their rear, and in the midst of the wood. This, too, was formed of raw troops, the Virginia militia, led by Stevens and Lawson;

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but their officers, in compliance with Greene's urgent request to Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, had been chosen from among the officers who had been thrown out of service by the reduction of the Continental army, and, consequently, had all of them more or less experience in the field. Stevens, smarting under the recollection of the disgraceful conduct of his militia at the battle of the Cowpens, had stationed a line of sentinels a short distance in his rear, with orders to shoot down every man that attempted to desert his post. Both of these lines extended across the road.

Last came the Continentals under Huger and Williams. They were placed about four hundred yards in the rear of the second line, in the open ground around the court-house, and to the right of the high road from Salisbury to Guilford. To favor the formation of the hill, they were drawn up with a double front, two regiments of Virginia regulars under Greene and Rudford on the right, and the first and second Maryland under Gunby and Ford on the left. The only veteran regiment was that of Gunby.

The right flank was covered by a corps of observation under Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, composed of the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, and Lynch's riflemen. Lee with his legion,

supported by a detachment of light infantry and a party of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of the left flank, and both were stationed in the woods on the extremities of the first line. The artillery, with the exception of two pieces under Captain Singleton, which were pushed forward a little in advance of the first line, was posted with the regulars on the hill near the court-house. Two roads directly in the rear of the Continentals afforded a sure retreat. In this order the Americans awaited the approach of the enemy.

Shortly after one o'clock the British van came in view, and Singleton immediately opened a brisk fire from his field-pieces. The enemy instantly hastened forward with the royal artillery, and a warm cannonade was kept up on both sides, while the English General was forming his troops in the order of battle.

The aim with which Lord Cornwallis sought an engagement was very different from that of his adversary. A battle had become a trial of absolute necessity to him, and his only chance of safety was in victory. Though inferior to the Americans in number, he was infinitely their superior in the quality of his troops; and with men trained by severe discipline, familiar with every evolution, and accustomed to face every

form of danger, he could hazard the boldest measures, and engage with confidence in enterprises, which would have been madness in his opponent. Fully aware of this advantage, and confident of the support of his officers, he prepared himself for the contest with the resolution of bearing down every obstacle by the impetuosity of his attack. He accordingly ranged his troops in one line and without a reserve; the seventy-first British with the German regiment of Boze on the right, led by General Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of the guards, under Colonel Morton; the twenty-third and thirty-third on the left, under Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, supported by Brigadier-General O'Hara with the grenadiers and second battalion of the guards. In the woods, on the left of the artillery, were the yagers and light infantry of the guards; and the cavalry, under Tarleton, was ranged in columns on the road, with instructions to keep compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except in case of the most evident necessity.

Watching the intervals of the enemy's fire, Cornwallis pushed his columns across the brook, under cover of the smoke from his own artillery; and the different corps, deploying in quick step to the right and left, were soon ranged in line of battle.

So strong was the position of the North Carolina militia, that the officers entertained the most sanguine hopes of breaking the enemy's line before it could reach the fence ; and the men themselves seemed prepared to perform their parts with firmness and resolution. Brief was the suspense ; for no sooner were the British in line than they began their advance. A few of the militia began to fire while they were yet at a distance ; but still they continued to advance with the resolute port and regular tread of disciplined men, their banners waving and their burnished arms glittering in the sun. Having reached a convenient distance, they poured in one heavy fire, and throwing forward their bayonets, rushed on with loud shouts to the charge. The terrified militia, without waiting the shock, dropped their guns, most of which were still loaded, and breaking on all sides, fled in the utmost confusion. Their officers tried in vain to stem the torrent of flight ; Eaton, and Butler, and Davie, threw themselves before them, seized upon those who were nearest, exhorted, entreated, commanded, in vain ; Lee, spurring among them, threatened to charge them with his cavalry unless they checked their flight and turned again upon the enemy. All was fruitless ; fear had completely mastered their senses ; and throwing away their arms, and

even their knapsacks and canteens, they fled, confused and bewildered by terror, through the woods.

The British beheld their flight with shouts of exultation, and, confident of victory, were pressing on towards the second line, when they were suddenly checked by a sharp fire from the corps of Washington and Lee upon their unprotected flanks. Cornwallis perceived at once the necessity of dislodging them, and ordered the regiment of Boze to meet the attack on the right, while the thirty-third, with the light infantry and yagers, forming a new front, performed the same service on the left; the grenadiers, with the first and second battalions of the guards, advancing at the same time to fill up the vacancy in the line. The Americans retired slowly and unbroken, galling their adversary by a deadly fire, and only yielding before the bayonet. This soon brought them into position with the second line.

And now it was that the battle began; for the Virginia militia, undismayed by the shameful flight of their companions, faced the enemy with perfect coolness, and, aiming their fire with the precision of practised marksmen, soon opened many a fatal gap in their files. Every tree afforded a shelter against the dreaded bayonet, and every man wielded with confidence

the weapon with which he had been familiar from his childhood. Slight symptoms of disorder began to appear in the British ranks, and their line became considerably deranged. Had the first line performed its duty, there can be but little doubt that this firm opposition of the second would have effectually checked the ardor of the British, and given them over, crippled and exhausted, into the hands of the Continentals. As it was, they were still fresh and vigorous, in spite of their losses, and nerved by that stern resolution which discipline inspires.

The right wing of the Americans began gradually to give ground, but without breaking their ranks; the enemy, seeing their advantage, followed it up with the bayonet, and pressing close upon them, gave them no time to rally or take a new stand. The retreat now became general through the wing, which, however, still held together; and turning upon the left, as upon a pivot, soon came out into the road, where the infantry of the covering party, perceiving the rout to be irretrievable, separated from them, and, retreating to the third line, took post on the right of the Marylanders. On the left, where the militia was supported by the corps of Lee and Campbell, the action was still kept up with unabated vigor.

By this time the whole of the British army, with the exception of the cavalry, had been brought into action; all had suffered more or less from the deadly fire of the Americans; the line was broken and disunited; the corps scattered, from the necessity of dividing to meet the different bodies of the enemy; and every appearance seemed to promise a sure victory to the American General, whose warmest hopes had thus far been more than realized. His third line was as yet untouched, his cavalry entire, and his artillery advantageously posted. Cheered with the prospect, he passed along the line, exhorting his troops to hold firm and give the finishing blow.

Webster, who, with the light infantry of the guards, the thirty-third regiment, and the yagers, had been closely engaged with the left wing, was now left free by their retreat, and, pushing eagerly forward, soon found himself upon the open ground in front of the regiment of Gunby. Flushed by victory, and excited rather than fatigued by their previous exertions, the British rushed on to the attack. Now, for the first time, was discipline opposed to discipline, and men equally fearless and familiar with danger brought face to face in the bloody contest.

Undismayed by the formidable aspect and

fierce shouts of their enemy, this gallant little band awaited their approach with the utmost coolness, and, allowing them to advance within sure distance, poured in a general and well directed fire. Stunned and confounded, the British recoiled from the shock; and, before they could recover from their disorder, the Americans were upon them with the bayonet. The rout was complete; and had the cavalry been at hand to follow up the blow, or could Greene have ventured to push forward another regiment, the fate of the day would have been decided. But this was the only regiment upon which he could rely, and the occurrences of the next quarter of an hour showed how wise was his determination not to risk any movement, that might endanger his line. The same consideration prevented him from taking possession of an eminence on the edge of the wood, which commanded the last scene of the battle, and from which, could he have held it with a sufficient force, he might have effectually checked the enemy's advance. But his resolution had long been taken, and even the excitement of battle could not make him forget it.

Meanwhile the conflict was still raging on the left, where the covering party of Lee was opposed to the Germans of Boze and the first

battalion of the guards. Stevens, who commanded the left wing of the Virginians, had been disabled by a wound in his thigh; and his gallant band of volunteers, after a firm resistance, began at last to shrink before the bayonet. But they retired with their faces to the foe, fighting from tree to tree, and slowly winding their way through the woods to the rear of the Continentals. Their retreat left Leslie free to hasten, with the twenty-third and seventy-first, to the support of O'Hara, who, with the second battalion and grenadiers of the guards, was advancing upon the second regiment of Marylanders. Greene had flattered himself, that, animated by the brilliant example of their companions, they would meet the shock with firmness; but, regardless of every consideration, and terror-struck by the resolute bearing of the guards, they broke at the first onset, and fled in confusion. Singleton's two field-pieces, which had been withdrawn to this position after the defeat of the first line, fell into the hands of the enemy, who pressed forward in pursuit.

At this instant, Gunby, whose approach had been concealed by the saplings that lined the road, wheeled to the left upon the victorious guards, and instantly checked their career. A fierce contest ensued, each party struggling

eagerly for the victory. Gunby's horse was shot under him, and Howard succeeded to the command. The heaviness of the fire drew Washington's attention to this part of the field, and, advancing upon the enemy with his cavalry, he broke his way through their ranks by one furious charge. Howard followed with the bayonet. The shock was irresistible. Stuart, who led the guards, fell under the sabre of Captain Smith, and his terrified soldiers sought safety in flight. Howard and Washington pursued them with slaughter, following close upon their footsteps, without allowing them a breathing space to restore their broken ranks.

Cornwallis hastened to the scene of action. The field was covered with his flying guards and their victorious pursuers. It was not a moment for ordinary expedients ; and he turned away to employ one of those desperate remedies, which nothing but the extremity of the danger could excuse. The appearance of an officer of rank surrounded by aids had quickly caught the eye of Washington, who, calling to his men to follow him, sprang forward to secure the prize. At this instant, the string that bound his cap got loose, and the cap fell to the ground. As he leaped from his horse to recover it, the officer who led the column was shot through the body, and his horse wheeling

galloped off the field, followed by the whole troop, who naturally enough supposed that the movement had been commanded. Before Washington could correct the mistake, Cornwallis, unconscious perhaps of his danger, had retired.

Fearful, indeed, were the means that he employed in order to check the pursuit. His artillery commanded the scene of action from a small eminence on the skirt of the wood; but the flying guards were mingled with their pursuers, and every ball, that reached an enemy, must first make its way through their broken files. O'Hara, bleeding fast from a dangerous wound, remonstrated in vain against the dreadful expedient. "It is destroying ourselves," said he. "True," replied Cornwallis, "but this is a necessary evil, which we must endure to arrest impending destruction." O'Hara turned away, that he might not behold the work of destruction, and the fire was opened upon friends and foes. The expedient was successful, but half the battalion was destroyed.

Webster, though severely wounded in his engagement with the first regiment of Maryland, had rallied his men in a ravine upon the edge of the wood, and, when Stuart appeared in the field, was advancing against Hawes, on the American right. The grenadiers and seventh

reached the field at the moment in which the advance of Howard and Washington had been checked by M'Cleod's artillery. The remnants of the second regiment of the guards had been rallied by O'Hara. The first, which had been ordered up after the defeat of the second, was now approaching the open ground in front of the court-house. The whole of the British force, except the regiment of Boze, which was still engaged in the woods on the American left, with the corps of Lee and Campbell, was again in the field, though shattered and disheartened; and Cornwallis, unmoved in his resolve to conquer at any price, prepared to form his line anew, and return to the attack.

All this while, Greene had been watching the contest with an anxious eye. In the height of the battle he had ridden forward towards the road, in order to get a better view of the field, and was within a few paces of the enemy, barely screened from view by the saplings, when the danger was pointed out to him by one of his aids. The bright hopes of half an hour before had all been blasted. The shameful flight of the second regiment of Maryland had weakened his line materially, and confirmed him in his opinion of the impossibility of relying upon raw troops for those movements, which require cool courage and promptitude in the

midst of danger. The enemy were gaining ground on his right, and had already turned his left flank. He had received no tidings from the corps of Lee, and was naturally led to anticipate the worst. To renew the battle under such circumstances would be risking all, when he had every reason to believe that he had already gained full as much as he had aimed at in the beginning. He resolved, therefore, to order a retreat.

Greene's regiment of Virginians was still fresh, having been reserved for this service; and while he advanced to cover the retreat, the rest of the army was drawn off into the road to Reedy Fork. The cannon were left in the hands of the enemy, the draught horses having been killed, and Greene being unwilling to endanger his men by attempting to carry them off by the drag-ropes. The moment that these preparations were observed, Cornwallis pushed forward with two regiments and a detachment of cavalry to attack the rear guard. A severe fire was opened, and kept up for some time with great animation. But the firm countenance of the Americans soon checked the pursuit, and they retired in good order beyond Reedy Fork, three miles from the field of battle, Greene in person bringing up the rear.

The action still continued on the extreme

left, where Campbell's riflemen, fighting behind the trees, were slowly retiring before the regiment of Boze. Lee's legion had already been drawn off beyond the road, when Tarleton charged Campbell with a part of his cavalry. The riflemen, who had no arms that they could oppose to the sabre, retreated before the horse, and were driven from the field.

On reaching Reedy Fork, Greene drew up his men, and halted several hours to collect stragglers. Meanwhile the weather, which throughout the day had been clear and cool, suddenly changed towards evening, and the army resumed its march in a cold and driving rain. It was not till break of day, that they reached their encampment at the Iron Works of Troublesome Creek; for the night was dark, the roads heavy, many of the officers and soldiers wounded, and all worn down by exposure and fatigue. "Our fatigue has been excessive," says Greene, in a letter to his wife, written the day after the battle; "I have not had my clothes off for upwards of six weeks. Poor Major Burnet is sick, and in a situation worse than you would think tolerable for one of your negroes. Morris, too, is not well. Indeed, my whole family is almost worn out. The force coming to the southward, and the situation of General Arnold in Virginia, open to us more flattering

prospects. But how uncertain are human affairs! I should be extremely happy, if the war had an honorable close, and I were on a farm with my little family about me. God grant that the day may not be far distant, when Peace, with all her train of blessings, shall diffuse universal joy through America." But many and bitter were the trials through which he was yet to pass, before that happy hour arrived; and with it, instead of that quiet and domestic tranquillity, which he coveted so ardently, came new cares and anxieties yet more painful, to embitter his repose and darken his early grave.

No sooner had the army reached its encampment at the Iron Works, than Greene despatched a flag to the camp of Cornwallis with surgeons and supplies for that part of his wounded, which he had been compelled to leave upon the field of battle. He then directed his attention to the state of his army.

The first returns exhibited a loss of two hundred and sixty-one Continentals; but, as many, who had been set down as missing, rejoined their corps in the course of the next two days, this number was soon reduced to one hundred and eighty-eight. The loss of the rifle corps and militia was still smaller, being a little more than eighty, both killed and wounded. But the militia seemed to look upon a battle as a

signal for dispersion, and the greater part of them, whether conquerors or conquered, were in the habit of marching straight home from the field. Thus it was impossible ever to ascertain the real amount of their loss; for most of those, who had been marked as missing, were generally found to have been quietly seated by their own firesides. In this manner their number had diminished to one thousand five hundred and seventy-seven; and on the 19th, four days after the battle, when all the stragglers had been collected, the whole army was found to consist of three thousand one hundred and fifteen men, of all arms.

But what at this moment was of vastly more importance, men and officers of every class were in the highest spirits, and expressed the strongest desire to be led immediately against the enemy. Those who had faltered in the trial hardly dared to look their comrades in the face, and were burning for an opportunity of wiping out the stain. The Virginia militia, proud of the bold stand they had made against troops so much their superiors, looked upon themselves as equal to any effort; while the first regiment of Maryland, exulting in its triumph, were eager to confirm the brilliant reputation which they had won by some new exploit.

Under such circumstances, Greene would have instantly advanced to attack Lord Cornwallis in his camp, but for the hope that the British General might once more give him the advantage of fighting upon ground of his own choice. He was anxious, also, to obtain a supply of ammunition, of which his stock had been very much reduced, and was perhaps not unwilling to avail himself of this occasion in order to give a brief repose to his wearied troops, before he called upon them to engage in the hazardous and fatiguing enterprise, which he was then meditating. He continued, therefore, in his camp at the Iron Works, until the movements of his adversary recalled him to the field.

CHAPTER XIII.

The British Army retreats, pursued by the Americans. — Greene advances to Camden in South Carolina, and encamps at that Place.

Soon after the Americans had retired from the field, Cornwallis returned from his unsuccessful pursuit, and gave orders for collecting

the wounded. The field of battle extended over a large tract of plantations and woodland, nearly every part of which had been the scene of some desperate conflict. In the open grounds around the court-house, where the combat had raged with peculiar violence, the dead and wounded were scattered in promiscuous heaps. You might have traced the passage of Washington's cavalry by the fatal marks of the sabre, and told, by the deeper hue of the ensanguined ground, where the Marylanders and the guards had met in the fierce contest of hand to hand. The protracted struggle in the woods had left its traces throughout the whole extent of the long tract over which it had passed; here were the marks of the bayonet, there of the rifle; and anon the broken branches and uprooted saplings showed where the massive balls of the artillery had forced their resistless way. Friend and foe lay mingled together; and the hands, that a short hour before had been raised against each other in mortal strife, were now stretched powerless and lifeless side by side.

Not a moment was lost in collecting the wounded; and in that dreadful extremity the generous nature of Cornwallis allowed of no distinction between friend and foe. But night came on before half the pious task was accomplished, and with it cold and rain. Imagina-

tion shrinks from the horrors of such a scene ; the darkness of night rendered still more appalling by the gloom of the forest, the shrieks of the wounded, the groans of the dying, and the chill rain of March falling in torrents upon the living and the dead. The baggage had not come up from New Garden, so that the men had no tents ; the few houses in the neighborhood were quickly filled, and hundreds remained exposed, without any protection but their clothes, to all the rigor of that inclement night. Not less than fifty had perished before morning.

The night of the 15th of March was one of anxiety and keen mental anguish to the British commander. Morning brought no alleviation. The returns of his army showed a loss of nearly six hundred men, a fourth of his whole strength. Among the wounded and slain were many of his best officers ; and Webster, the commander of his own regiment, to whom he had been long bound by the ties of the warmest friendship, had received a wound, which in a few days proved mortal. Greene's expectations had been more than realized. He had not only encumbered his enemy with wounded men, but deprived him of the services of those upon whom he relied for counsel and aid. The barren honors of a field, that he was unable to retain possession of, were the sole reward of so much blood.

“He has gained his cause,” said Greene, in a letter to a friend, “but he is ruined by the expense of it.” And Fox, when the battle of Guilford was mentioned in the House of Commons as a victory, exclaimed, “Another such victory would ruin the British army.”

To renew the contest under such circumstances would have been an act of temerity, which Cornwallis, bold as he was, did not choose to hazard. A precipitate retreat was the only course from which he could hope for safety; and even that, in the presence of an enemy no less prompt in action than skilful in penetrating his adversary's designs, was far from being an easy task. But before he discovered his intentions by any decided movement, he resolved to make one more appeal to the royalists, to draw forth whose resources had been one of the chief objects of this disastrous campaign. He accordingly issued a proclamation from his camp at Guilford, setting forth, in brilliant colors, his victory over the rebels, and calling upon all loyal subjects to come forward and take an active part in restoring good order and government. Nor did he neglect the opportunity of renewing his offers of pardon to the Whigs, to all of whom protection was promised, upon the surrender of their arms, and the giving of a military parole.

This proclamation was dated the 18th of March; and on the same day he broke up his camp and removed to New Garden, leaving behind him the American wounded, who had fallen into his hands, and upon whom he had bestowed every attention in his power. His own he carried with him in litters and wagons, hoping, by this artifice, to conceal for a while his real designs; for with such a retinue it seemed impossible that he could be meditating a retreat.

But Greene had by this time received more accurate information concerning the crippled state of his enemy; and, no longer expecting to be attacked upon his own ground, he resolved to advance without delay and attack Cornwallis on his march. Lee was instantly detached to hang on his rear; and nothing but the want of ammunition prevented the main army from joining immediately in the pursuit.

The moment that Lee's advance became known, Cornwallis resumed his retreat; leaving behind him the worst of his wounded, about seventy in number, under the protection of a flag. Still hoping, however, to mask his intentions, and put his enemy upon a wrong track, instead of taking the direct route to Wilmington, he pressed forward across the Deep River, on the road to Salisbury. A less

cautious General than Greene might have been thrown off his guard by this movement; for the return into South Carolina, at which it seemed to point, was recommended by many important considerations. But Greene knew how long Cornwallis had been looking towards Wilmington, and was resolved to lose no ground in the opposite direction. A few hours removed every doubt; for the British General, suddenly changing his course, recrossed the Deep River, and held his march along its northern bank towards Wilmington. Greene instantly pushed forward by a road, which left his adversary but a trifling advantage in point of distance.

Lee with his legion hung upon the rear of the retreating enemy. But Cornwallis felt himself too much crippled to hazard an attack even upon this little band; and marching in compact order, so as to leave no opening for a sudden blow, he pressed forward by rapid marches towards Ramsay's Mills, where, throwing a bridge across the river, he awaited the approach of the Americans.

Greene pressed on rapidly, in despite of the broken roads and bad weather. At Buffalo Creek, believing himself near enough to make it probable that he would soon be able to bring on an engagement, he ordered a new examination of his ammunition. What was

his vexation to find, that, notwithstanding a distribution had recently been made, his stock was too small to warrant an attack! The shameful extravagance of the militia, whom neither commands nor menaces could prevent from wasting their powder, or bartering it for provisions, had reduced him to this strait. Orders were instantly given to bring forward the baggage in the rear; but before it could arrive, a day had been lost, and Cornwallis was safe at Ramsay's Mills, with a bridge at his command, which secured his retreat to the opposite bank. Should Greene advance by the direct road to the Mills, he could push across the river, and, cutting down his bridge, follow the western bank of the Cape Fear to Wilmington. Should an attempt be made to cut him off from this route, by passing the Deep River at the Fords, a sure road still lay open by the Haw, and the western bank of the Cape Fear.

Greene paused for a moment to decide; the two armies lying once more within twelve miles of each other, the English at Ramsay's Mills, and the American at Rigden's Ford, on the Deep River. But early on the morning of the 28th, he resolved to make a bold push at the enemy, and endeavor to overtake them by a sudden march. The light corps was

ordered to advance with the utmost rapidity, and prevent them from breaking down the bridge, while the main army pressed forward to the attack. Fortunately for the British army, they were in a region abounding with loyalists, so that Cornwallis received the earliest intelligence of his adversary's movements, and had time to cross before the light troops came in sight. But it was too late to destroy the bridge, and leaving this passage in the hands of Lee, he urged his flight along the right bank of the river.

Meanwhile the main body of the Americans was pressing on in pursuit. Exhausted as they were by their previous exertions, and much as they had suffered from the scarcity of provisions, they continued the trial of speed with the utmost alacrity, though more than one fainted by the wayside, from hunger and fatigue. But when they reached the Mills, and found that the enemy had escaped them, their patience could hold out no longer; and the militia and volunteers, yielding to the sense of over exertion, refused to go a step further. Entreaties and remonstrances were vain. Their term of service was nearly expired, and there was still a long and dreary interval between them and their homes. Thus the wretched system of limited service, which had already

been productive of so much evil, and contributed so much to multiply and protract the miseries of war, preserved the British army from total destruction. So precipitate had been their retreat, that they had left several of their dead lying unburied upon the ground, and the beef hanging in the stalls.

Giving up all thoughts of overtaking his enemy, Greene now fixed his quarters at Ramsay's Mills, in order to devote a few days to the repose and refreshment of his troops. He was still straitened by the want of provisions, and it was not without the greatest exertions that he could procure from day to day a scanty supply of the meagre beef of the pine barrens, and corn cakes cooked in the ashes. Water was the only drink; and his men were sometimes driven so far by hunger, that they would seize upon the garbage which had been thrown out for the turkey buzzards. Shoes and clothing, too, they needed; for their old supply, such as it was, had been worn out by long marches and bad weather. But with all this they were cheerful and contented, for they loved their leader, who shared with them every hardship and privation, and they felt that they had done their duty towards their country.

On the 30th, he discharged the militia, with warm expressions of gratitude for their services.

Their departure left him once more numerically inferior to his opponent; and it now became necessary to enter upon a new plan of operations.

To pursue Cornwallis would have been an idle waste of time and of the strength of his men. The road lay through pine barrens, where provisions could scarcely be procured under the most favorable circumstances, much less after the passage of a hostile army; and the time it would require to collect a sufficient supply for the march, would give his adversary so much the start, that there could be but little hope of overtaking him. But even if he should succeed in this, his chance of success would be none the greater, for his army was so reduced by the loss of the militia, that it would have been the excess of temerity to hazard a battle. It was not in Greene's character to dwell long upon a plan, which was attended with so much danger, and offered such faint prospects of success.

Nor was the idea of watching Cornwallis's movements, from some central position, better suited to his feelings or to his situation; for the advantage, which he had already gained over his adversary, had been the result of activity and enterprise, and it was only by persevering in the same course, that he could hope to

draw forth to his assistance the still extensive resources of the south.

At the opening of the campaign, he had manifested, on several occasions, a desire to attempt something against the enemy's posts in South Carolina. The surprise of Georgetown by Marion and Lee, although not attended with all the success that had been hoped for, had revived the drooping spirits of the Whigs at the most critical moment; and the anxiety of Cornwallis for the strong position of Ninety-Six had materially contributed to bring about the movements, which led to the brilliant victory of the Cowpens. The day after the battle of Guilford, Colonel Hampton, an eminent partisan, arrived at camp with such accounts of the state of the British forces in South Carolina, as to revive all Greene's anxiety for attempting something against them. He immediately wrote to Jefferson, the Governor of Virginia, requesting him to send forward a party of fifteen hundred militia as far as Salisbury, on the route to Camden; and, the moment that the refusal of the militia to continue the pursuit of Cornwallis made it necessary for him to fix upon a new plan of operations, he resolved at once to give up his designs upon that portion of the British army, and direct all his efforts against their posts in South Carolina.

He reflected that the line of posts, which the enemy had established in this state, from Ninety-Six to Charleston, was the real base of their operations; from which, while they held the surrounding country in subjection, they could follow up with the greatest facility their designs upon North Carolina and Virginia; that if Cornwallis should follow him to the south, in order to preserve his posts there, North Carolina would be freed from the burden of supporting two armies, and enabled to contribute her part towards filling up the ranks of the Continentals; that if, on the contrary, he should persevere in his resolution of invading Virginia, and extending his conquests in North Carolina, the loss of his posts in the south would be a greater evil than his progress elsewhere could compensate; that to advance to the south, therefore, would necessarily lead to the speedy liberation of one or the other of the Carolinas, while, by making North Carolina the theatre of the war, the enemy would continue to keep a footing in both.

He considered, moreover, that this measure would enable him to provide for his troops, from resources which were now going towards the support of the enemy; and, reflecting how much the events of war depend upon opinion, he flattered himself with the hope, that the boldness of this manœuvre would make a strong

impression upon the minds of the enemy, and lead them to believe that he was acting from secret reasons, which they could not comprehend.*

Confident as he was that this movement was warranted by the soundest reasons, both political and military, he did not attempt to conceal from himself that its first annunciation would call forth the loudest censure; for it was a singular departure from the common rules of war, which nothing but the most complete success could justify in the eyes of those, who judge everything by the result. To abandon an enemy, as yet but partly subdued, in order to go in quest of another strongly posted, and amply provided with the means of defence, was an action that seemed to border on temerity, and to indicate a love of enterprise and adventure, rather than that firm and cautious judgment, which should preside in all important resolutions. Should Cornwallis, whose forces, after the disbanding of the militia, were superior to his, overtake him on his march, how could he hope to defend himself from an enemy by whom, but a few days before, he had been

* All these reasons are stated by Greene in letters written from his camp, at Ramsay's Mills, to Washington, Steuben, Lafayette, and others.

driven from the field, although supported by three times his present number? And even were he to outstrip him in the race, what choice would be left to him but a disgraceful and precipitate flight, when he should find himself hemmed in between a powerful army and a strong line of fortified posts?

These considerations, although not without weight, could not shake his resolution. On the 28th, he had been compelled to give over the pursuit of Cornwallis; and the very next day, he communicated to Washington his determination to carry the war into South Carolina. "This manœuvre will be critical and dangerous," said he, "and the troops exposed to every hardship. But as I share it with them, I hope they will bear up under it with that magnanimity, which has already supported them, and for which they deserve everything of their country. I shall take every measure to avoid a misfortune; but necessity obliges me to commit myself to chance, and I trust my friends will do justice to my reputation, if any accident attends me."

No sooner had he decided on his plan of operations, than he commenced his preparations for carrying it into effect. Captain Singleton was sent to Prince Edward's Court House, in Virginia, to procure artillery. Davie received in-

structions to form magazines on the upper banks of the Catawba, and establish a magazine at Oliphant's Mills, near its head waters. A courier was despatched to Sumpter, apprizing him of the approach of the main army, and directing him to raise as large a force as he could collect in order to meet it at Camden; while Pickens, whose zeal and energy had so often been displayed in the most trying emergencies, was instructed to raise a body of western militia for the siege of Augusta and Ninety-Six.

Every exertion was made to collect a good stock of provisions; for the march lay through a district hostile to the American cause, and, even if undisturbed by the enemy, would necessarily be attended with many hardships; and to facilitate retreat in case of disaster, the heavy baggage was sent forward by a different route, to Charlotte, on the patriotism of whose inhabitants he could place the fullest reliance. Great pains were taken to conceal the movement from the enemy, up to the very last moment; and of the Americans themselves, none was let into the secret, but they whose services were to be called into immediate requisition.

At length, by strenuous and indefatigable exertions, every preparation was completed; and Greene, breaking up his camp at Ramsay's Mills, on the 7th of April, began his march towards

South Carolina. For the whole of the first day he followed the route to Wilmington, as if his object had still been the pursuit of Cornwallis, and then, turning suddenly to the right, pushed on in the direct road to Camden. But in spite of all his exertions, the march was slow. The country, through which he was passing, had been laid waste by the desolating war of Whig and Tory, and nearly all the inhabitants were blindly devoted to the royal cause. The provisions, which could not be hidden away in time, were meted forth with a reluctant hand; and not a foraging party could venture out without a strong escort. At the Pedee he was detained four days for the want of boats, and, although the utmost ardor and alacrity were displayed, both by officers and men, yet it was not till the 19th that he reached the lines before Camden.

CHAPTER XIV.

Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden.

THE enemy had already been apprized of his approach. No sooner had the change in his march revealed his real intentions to the

Tory population, than trusty messengers were despatched to warn Lord Rawdon, who commanded at Camden, of the danger that menaced him. Not a moment was lost in preparing to meet it. Watson, who had been sent with a strong detachment upon an expedition against Marion, was hastily recalled, and a body of recruits and loyalists was ordered up, to reinforce the garrison. The position was naturally a strong one, and having been chosen very early in the war, as one of the principal links in the chain of defence for South Carolina, great pains had been taken to render it still more formidable by the appliances of art. The town itself is situated on a gentle elevation, extending from the swamps of the Wateree to Pine-Tree Creek. On two sides, the south and southwest, the approach is defended by these streams, and a curve in the latter increases the difficulty of an attack from the east. In every other direction it is open; but here redoubts had been thrown up, with a chain of strong stockaded lines in their rear, which offered a final rallying point, in case of disaster, and gave the whole place the aspect of a formidable fortification.

To attempt such a position without battering cannon, would have been a mere waste of life; and disappointed in his hope of coming

upon it by surprise, Greene advanced to Logtown, within half a mile of the enemy's lines, to observe their strength, and see if it was possible to lure them out to attack him. Failing in this, he drew off his forces from before the town, and took post at Hobkirk's Hill, a strong position about a mile and three quarters to the north of Camden. Here he remained till the morning of the 22d, when, having learned, in the course of the night, that Watson was on his march from the Pedee by unfrequented ways, with a view of throwing himself into Camden, he made a sudden movement to the south by a circuitous route, so as to place himself between the garrison and this formidable reinforcement. The roads were so deep and so intricate, that it was impossible to take with him either his artillery or his baggage, which accordingly were sent off to a place of security about twenty miles in the rear, while the main body, with nothing but their arms and a small supply of provisions, advanced by hasty marches to meet the enemy.

It was soon ascertained by parties, which had been despatched in every direction to gather intelligence, that the alarm was unfounded, and that Watson, instead of coming to the relief of Camden, had pushed on to Georgetown, where the task of watching his movements

could safely be intrusted to Marion and Lee. Greene instantly retraced his steps towards Hobkirk's Hill, in the confidence that some opening would soon present itself for striking a decisive blow. The army was encamped in order of battle, and held in hourly expectation of an attack. Strong patrols were pushed forward as near as possible to the open space around the town, pickets established some distance in front of the camp, and every precaution taken to guard against surprise. "The rolls," says the order of the day for the 24th, "are to be called at least three times a day, and all absentees reported and punished. Officers of every rank are to confine themselves to their respective duties; and every part of the army must be in readiness to stand to arms at a moment's warning."

As soon as the army was put in motion, on its way back to Hobkirk's Hill, orders were despatched to Carrington to hasten up with the baggage, for their stock of provisions was exhausted, and it was only from their magazines that they could look for a fresh supply. But prompt as he was in responding to the call, it was not till the morning of the 25th that he reached camp, and the troops had been nearly twenty-four hours without food. It was still early in the day, and the morning

exercises had just been completed, when the welcome supply arrived. The provisions were immediately distributed, and the men dismissed to cook them. Greene, who had shared every hardship with the meanest soldier, retired to his tent to indulge with his aids in the unwonted luxury of a cup of coffee.

Part of the men were still engaged in cooking their food, and others scattered along the rivulets which ran near the camp, washing their clothes, when a fire from the vedettes announced the approach of the enemy. The drum instantly beat to arms, and in a few minutes every man was at his post, and in readiness for battle.

Nothing could have been more welcome to the ears of Greene, than this joyful assurance, that the contest he had so ardently longed for was now at hand. The courage of his men had been raised to the highest pitch by their recent exploits, and the events of Guilford had awakened a spirit of emulation among the different regiments, which seemed to warrant the most sanguine expectations. Inferior as he still was to his enemy, in equipments and in discipline, he felt that he had one regiment which had already proved itself in the field, and on whose firmness and promptitude he could place the fullest reliance. Still, to secure

himself as far as possible against the chances of a reverse, he sent off his baggage several miles in the rear, and left nothing exposed to the enemy but what must inevitably be subjected to the chances of a battle.

The encampment, stretching along the low ridge of Hobkirk's Hill, was drawn out, as has already been stated, in order of battle, the left wing resting upon an impassable swamp formed by the Pine-Tree Creek, and the right in air extending into the woods, and somewhat protected by the hill and the entangled nature of the ground. The whole space was covered by an unbroken tract of wood, which was rendered still more intricate by underwood and shrubbery. The high road to Camden ran through the centre of the encampment, dividing the two wings of the army, and leaving an opening for the artillery.

A single line was all that Greene could form with his Continentals, reduced by detachments and the chances of war to little more than nine hundred men. The Virginia brigade, composed of the regiments of Campbell and Hawes, and commanded by Brigadier-General Huger, who had borne a conspicuous part throughout the campaign, formed the right. The left was intrusted to Williams, with the veteran regiment of Gunby, still exulting in

the hard-won laurels of Guilford, and of Ford's second Maryland, which, though formed of raw troops, was led by officers whose gallantry had been proved on more than one occasion. Harrison, with the artillery, was stationed in the centre; and a small body, of about two hundred and fifty militia, formed the reserve, near which Washington was posted with his cavalry.

As the sounds of the conflict drew nigh, every eye was eagerly bent towards the quarter, where the enemy were slowly working their way under the dense cover of the woods. The picket guards, under Benson and Morgan, had received their van with the coolness of veterans, and, gathering in their vedettes, disputed the ground inch by inch towards the camp. They were soon met by Kirkwood with the remains of the gallant regiment of Delaware, which had been posted at some distance in front of the encampment, for the support of the outposts; and all, that determined courage and coolness in the midst of danger could accomplish, was here displayed by this devoted little band. As they slowly disputed the way towards the hill, contending for every foot of ground, and pouring a destructive fire from behind the trees, the enemy pushed on with eagerness in pursuit, and at last forced their way into the opening,

where the main strength of the American army was coolly awaiting their approach.

The moment that Greene cast his eye upon the British line, he was struck with the narrowness of its front, and hastened, with the instinctive promptitude of genius, to seize upon the advantage, and decide the contest by a united and irresistible effort. Although slightly inferior in numbers to the Americans, the British General had formed his troops in two lines, supported by a small body of reserve, thus exposing himself to the danger of being outflanked by the more extended line of his adversary. To see his advantage, and push it to the utmost, was for Greene the work of an instant. "Let Campbell and Ford turn their flanks, the centre charge with the bayonet, and Washington take them in the rear." For a moment every appearance seemed to promise the most favorable result, and the battle opened from right to left with a vigor that announced a keen and sanguinary contest. The superiority of the American fire was soon apparent, and the artillery, favored by its position, and skilfully served by Harrison, scattered death and dismay through the ranks of the enemy. On the right, Campbell pressed forward upon their flank, and Ford was gallantly exerting

himself, in front of his regiment, to execute the same manœuvre upon their left.

A loose and scattering fire from the enemy's flanking companies was the only obstacle that this wing had yet encountered. But, unfortunately for Greene, his troops were yet far from having attained that pitch of discipline, which enables men to execute the most intricate manœuvres in face of the enemy with coolness and precision. The British fire drew forth an answering one from Ford's regiment, which caused a momentary confusion in their ranks; and, to complete the misfortune, their gallant leader was struck from his horse by a mortal wound. At this critical moment, the regiment of Gunby, the only veteran corps in the army, and to which all eyes were turned for example, proved false to its name, and faltered in the performance of its duty. The first symptoms of disorder were manifested by their joining in the fire, in violation of their orders. The fire was soon suppressed, and they were advancing boldly down the hill towards the enemy, when Captain Beatly, who commanded on the right, fell dead at the head of his company. This caused some little confusion, which instantly communicated itself to the adjoining company, and both seemed to hesitate for a moment, though neither

of them halted, and much less attempted to retreat.

Perceiving the disorder, and wishing to remedy it, Gunby, by an unfortunate error of judgment, instead of pushing forward his second line to the support of the first, and increasing the onward impulse, which, although momentarily checked, had not yet been lost, ordered the first line to halt till the second closed in with it at quick step. The order, though given in a loud voice, was imperfectly understood; the first line halted; the second wavered; the alarm spread in an instant throughout the whole regiment. "We are ordered to retreat," said one to another; and each and all, yielding to the unaccountable panic which seized them, fled in disorder to the rear. It was in vain that Gunby strove to repair his error; vain were the exertions of Williams; and even the well known and beloved voice of Howard was raised in vain. A panic terror had rendered them deaf to every appeal, and before they could be restored to order, the fate of the day had been decided.

The regiment of Ford, cut off from the main body and left without support by Gunby's retreat, was compelled first to halt, and then to retire from the field. On the extreme right, Campbell had led his men boldly up to the enemy, and for a while they seemed disposed to

perform their parts well ; but, unused to battle and imperfectly disciplined, they soon shrunk from the fire, and began to fall into confusion. Campbell sprang before them, and with the assistance of Major Pierce, one of the General's aids, succeeded in bringing them back to the charge. But it was only to shrink away once more, as they again met the enemy's fire. The only corps, which had hitherto held its ground with unflinching firmness, was the second Virginia, the regiment of Hawes. Greene was at their head, leading them on in person, and pressing forward into the midst of danger with a boldness, which one of his officers signalized as being more like that of a captain of grenadiers than a Major-General. But he knew what a commander's example could do with raw troops ; and well did the gallant band he was leading justify his confidence, advancing upon the enemy resolutely and unmoved by the dastardly example of the body, on which they had depended for support.

But no effort could now retrieve the fortunes of the day. The British General had adopted the only measure, which could preserve him from the total overthrow, with which he was menaced in the early part of the engagement ; and, bringing up his second line, had extended the first in time to avert the danger which threat-

ened his flanks. Both armies had thus joined battle front to front, and the conflict raged throughout the whole extent of the line with violence. The galling fire of the Americans had thrown the British ranks into confusion, which was increased by the menacing aspect of the centre, as they advanced with fixed bayonets to the charge; and now they began to break and give way on all sides, and the left was actually in retreat, when the pause of the first Maryland revived their drooping hopes. Profiting by the respite, they boldly returned to the attack, and pressing forward with loud shouts, soon gained the summit of the hill. This brought them upon Hawes's flank, and enabled them to silence the artillery. The day was already won.

Greene had hastened to try the effect of his voice and his presence upon Gunby's regiment, which was now rallied, although too late to restore the day. As he again spurred his horse to the summit of the hill, the whole extent of his misfortune burst upon his view. His artillery had been pushed from the field, the centre pierced, and the wings separated. The disorder was too general on all sides, and had struck too deeply, to allow a moment of hope. The only regiment that still held its ground, and presented a firm face to the foe, was that of

Hawes, and this too had been turned in the flank. There was no time for hesitation, and amid the shower of bullets, which were whizzing around him in every direction, and almost frantic with vexation and disappointment, he gave orders for a retreat. The regiments of Campbell and Ford were drawn off; and also the first Maryland, which had been rallied, and was now restored to order at the foot of the hill; and Hawes, with the second Virginia regiment, covered the retreating army.

Meanwhile the artillery was exposed to the most imminent danger. Smith, who had been ordered up to its protection, had not yet arrived, and the matrosses were seeking their own safety at the expense of their guns. Greene galloped to the spot, sprang from his horse, and holding the bridle with one hand, seized upon the dragropes with the other. The example was irresistible, and the men returned to their duty. Smith now came up with his camp guards, the same who had stood their ground so boldly at the beginning of the day. The enemy were soon upon them with both horse and foot, and the intrepid officer, himself bleeding fast from a severe wound, saw his men falling around him at every charge. They fought from behind the trees and the guns, meeting the attack of the cavalry with the murderous fire of trained

marksmen, and disputing the ground foot by foot. His forty-five men were now reduced to fourteen; and still they held their ground, till an irregular fire, rashly delivered, exposed them without protection to the sabres of the cavalry, and they were cut down to a man. The artillery now seemed lost beyond rescue, and the men, deserting their pieces, cut the horses loose and fled.

At this critical moment, Colonel Washington appeared upon the ground with his cavalry, each rider bearing a prisoner behind him upon his horse. In performing the part, which had been assigned him at the beginning of the action, he had been compelled, by the nature of the ground, to make a large circuit, in order to reach the enemy's rear. Here he met a new and unlooked-for obstacle, the surgeons with their attendants; and all that motley array, which hangs upon the skirts of an army. Tarleton would have cut them out of his way without hesitation; but the humane nature of Washington revolted from such wanton barbarity, and the precious moments, which he lost in taking their paroles, were decisive of the fate of the day.

Seeing that the battle had gone against his party, he made good his retreat from the en-

emy's rear, and now came in time to save the artillery, though too late to preserve the gallant little band, which had sacrificed itself so nobly in its defence. By a vigorous charge he checked the pursuit, and the army continued its retreat without further molestation. Greene halted two miles from the field of battle, in order to collect stragglers, and, crossing Saunders's Creek in the afternoon, encamped there for the night; not without the hope that Lord Rawdon, emboldened by his success, might venture upon a second attack. Here he remained till the afternoon of the 27th, the second day after the battle, when he retired five miles further to Rugeley's Mills, to which he had before sent his baggage and stores.

Deep and bitter was his disappointment at this sudden reverse, by which victory had been so unexpectedly snatched from his grasp. So skilful were his dispositions, and so sure the precautions which he had taken, that, but for this unlooked-for turn of fortune, his success seemed certain; and the fall of Camden, the necessary consequence of a victory, would have been followed, in rapid succession, by the surrender of the whole line of the enemy's posts from Charleston to Ninety-Six. The result, too, of the field returns had shown, that a part of the army had performed their

duty like men, and that the battle, though decided so quickly, had been severe and bloody. He had counted so fully upon the cheerful concurrence of his troops, he had placéd such confidence in their improved discipline and the experience of a trying campaign, and, above all, his reliance upon the veteran regiment of Gunby had been so entire, that he knew not how to console himself for so bitter a reversal of such well founded hopes.

A court of inquiry was called to investigate Gunby's conduct. There could be little doubt as to the result. In spirit and activity his conduct had been unexceptionable, and no one thought of calling in question his courage or his zeal. But the order which he had given was a grievous error of judgment, and few, if any, ever ventured to dispute the justice of the report which condemned it as "extremely improper and unmilitary." "The troops were not to blame in the Camden affair," says Greene, in a letter to a friend; "Gunby was the sole cause of the defeat, and I found him much more blamable afterwards, than I represented him in my public letters."

CHAPTER XV.

Relative Condition of the two Armies. — Fort Watson surrenders to Marion. — Cornwallis invades Virginia. — Several British Posts in South Carolina taken or evacuated. — Lord Rawdon retreats to Monk's Corner.

DEEP as was Greene's disappointment at the result of the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, the barren honors of the field were the sole advantage that he left to his adversary. No sooner had the battle closed, than Lord Rawdon hastened to shut himself up in his stronghold at Camden, his ranks thinned by the dead and the missing, and his camp encumbered with the wounded. The gallantry of his troops had won for him a dearly-bought victory, and the superiority of British discipline had once more been manifested in the field; but still his adversary continued to hold his position with invincible tenacity, and to urge on, in spite of every obstacle, the accomplishment of his daring conceptions. To hazard another attack would have been little less than madness, for the American army was still his superior in numbers; and the experience of two battles and half a campaign had shown, that although

Greene might be driven from the field, yet it was impossible to draw him into any measures that could compromise the safety of his army. To retreat in the face of a superior force, and with an army encumbered by sick and wounded, would have been like throwing himself, of his own accord, into the hands of his enemy. Nor could he flatter himself with the hope of long maintaining a position, which was every day becoming more hazardous and more insulated. In this state of things, no other choice remained but to guard carefully against immediate disaster, and await his safety from the movements of Watson.

These, also, were the objects which now occupied the attention of the American General, who, though deeply mortified by his defeat, was firmly resolved to persevere in the bold plan which he had formed, and which, notwithstanding its failure in some parts, had already been attended with important advantages. He had failed in taking his adversary by surprise; but still he had come upon him while his forces were divided, and before he could prepare himself for a serious defence. He had been compelled to abandon the field for a moment; but he was already prepared to renew the contest with a more certain prospect of victory; and his enemy, unable to venture upon

a second trial, had hastily taken refuge behind the fortifications of Camden. His force was as yet too small to admit the hope of carrying these by storm; but still he had been gradually drawing his toils around them on every side, and, by cutting off the enemy's communications and intercepting their supplies, he could firmly count upon starving them into a surrender, or crushing them at a blow, in some desperate effort to escape.

He had not as yet received any reinforcements, and was still compelled to make his way with the gallant little band, which had stood by him so faithfully through all the trials of this fatiguing campaign; but the courage of the friends of the American cause had been revived at his approach, and they were once more flocking to the standard of Sumpter and Pickens with the same ardor, that they had displayed at the beginning of the contest. The war had been brought back to the point from which it started, and the enemy compelled to contend for the possession of a territory, of which they had vainly flattered themselves that the possession had been secured by more than one victory, and months of toil and danger.

But in nothing was the wisdom of this measure more strikingly displayed, than in the perplexity which it excited in the mind of

Cornwallis, who, perceiving at once the danger that menaced him from Greene's descent into South Carolina, was still at a loss what to do in order to avert the blow. Should he advance to the north, could he flatter himself that Greene would stop midway in so bold a career, and sacrifice the Carolinas in order to save Virginia? Should he follow him to the south, could he hope to outstrip him in speed, and, in spite of the marches already gained, come up with him in time to snatch Rawdon's army from his grasp? Whichever way he turned, he was surrounded by difficulties and doubts. At one time, he had resolved upon pursuit, and a part of his army had actually crossed the Cape Fear, when all his hesitations returned upon him, and the division was recalled. At length, after several days lost in deliberation, he resolved upon that fatal invasion of Virginia, which led to the brilliant campaign of Lafayette, and the glorious siege of Yorktown.

Still Greene's situation was extremely critical, and nothing less than the self-command and judgment, with which he so well knew how to temper the native impetuosity of his character, could have enabled him to persevere in his daring career with any chance of success. He could not but look upon his defeat

as a capital misfortune, although not attended with any serious loss; for it might damp the reviving spirits of his friends, and check that zeal upon which he depended for coöperation and support. It might inspire the enemy, too, with fresh hopes, and call forth anew that portion of the disaffected, which had been struck with terror at the sudden reappearance of the American arms. But the only way to counteract this was by vigorous exertion; and upon this he resolved without delay.

The movement of Watson was the first object that demanded his attention; for, could he but cut off this reinforcement, nothing could save Lord Rawdon from unconditional surrender. The line of posts on the Santee had already been broken in its centre. Two days before the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, Fort Watson had surrendered to Marion and Lee, who were now prepared to turn their arms against the other points, by which the enemy had covered their communication with the coast. Sumpter was again in the field, though as yet with but a few followers, and was harassing the Tories in the neighborhood of Ninety-Six. A trusty officer was despatched to hasten his junction with the main army, which might then go on with confidence in the blockade of Camden. Watson was intrusted to the vigilance of Marion

and Lee, and Greene himself took a position on the west of the Wateree, commanding the passage by Camden Ferry, which enabled him to guard the approach by one road, while his detachments were acting upon the other.

Thus far everything seemed to go well, for Watson, by the latest advices, was said to be still in Georgetown, and every avenue to Camden seemed effectually closed against him. How could he escape the vigilance and activity of such officers as Marion and Lee?

But the British Colonel was fully conscious of the importance attached to his movements both by friend and foe, and was prepared to run every risk for the accomplishment of his purpose. His route lay along the banks of the Santee and Wateree, which, though bearing different names, are the continuation of the same stream; and it was rendered more difficult by their confluence with the Congaree at the most exposed part of his course. The principal passes had already been secured by his vigilant adversaries, and to cross them in front of an equal force would have been exposing himself to certain destruction.

A hasty retreat preserved him from the danger that menaced him in this quarter, and enabled him to throw his forces across the river in safety near its mouth. Then, marching rapidly

along its southern bank, he recrossed it at its junction with the Congaree, and, eluding every attempt of his adversaries, pursued his march towards Camden. Marion and Lee were close upon his track. Their movements had been retarded by the delay of a detachment from the main army, which had been ordered to join them with a piece of artillery, and much precious time had been lost. But, well informed of all Watson's steps, they had crossed the river, in the hopes of intercepting him before he could reach the ferry. Sumpter, too, had sent forward a party of mounted men to hang upon his rear and harass his march. Had these efforts been confined to the northern bank, they could hardly have failed of success, and Watson must have either retraced his steps or hazarded a battle in order to force his way. But by attempting too much, they sacrificed the whole, and, notwithstanding all their vigilance and activity, the long wished for reinforcement entered Camden in safety.

Meanwhile Greene's anxieties were increased by the intelligence of the approach of Cornwallis, an event which had already been foreseen and expected, as one of the consequences of the descent into South Carolina. But the coöperation upon which he had counted in this state had hitherto failed him, and the

small army of Sumpter was the only accession that he had received. This force still continued to act separately, being employed in guarding the communication between Camden and Ninety-Six, and holding the Tories of that district in check. Of the Virginia militia, who were to have joined him on his way to Camden, not one had yet made his appearance ; and although the country was gradually rising to his aid, yet the greatest prudence and circumspection were required, in order to enable him to hold out till his reinforcements could reach him. It was a renewal of the scenes which preceded the battle of Guilford, where, by a series of skilful manœuvres, he had held his ground in the presence of a superior force, until he had gathered strength to face his enemy in the field.

For several days, his mind was agitated by the contradictory reports, which reached him from the north. Tarleton, it was said, was crossing the country with his characteristic celerity, and in a few days would throw himself into Camden. Cornwallis was following with the remainder of the army, fresh and vigorous from their repose at Wilmington. The prospect was gloomy in the extreme, and might well have given rise to the most melancholy anticipations. But whatever may have been his feelings at this moment, Greene continued to display the same

unshaken firmness, and prepared to meet the new danger with his wonted activity. Happily, this state of suspense did not continue long; and before any decided movement had been made, it was ascertained, beyond a doubt, that Cornwallis, instead of turning his attention to the south, was moving upon Virginia. He was now free to follow up his original plan with undivided attention.

It was at this moment that he received the unwelcome news, that Watson had succeeded in eluding the watchfulness of Marion and Lee, and was in full march for Camden. The junction of these forces would give Lord Rawdon a decided superiority in the field; and it required no great penetration to foresee, that he would hasten to avail himself of it for forcing his adversary to a battle. This was a venture, which Greene was not disposed to hazard; and he accordingly retreated, on the evening of the 7th, from Twenty-Five Miles Creek to a point called Sawney's Creek, five miles higher up the river, where leaving his pickets with the light infantry and horse, he proceeded to Colonel's Creek, a strong position some distance further on. Next morning, Lord Rawdon marched out in the expectation of finding the Americans at their old encampment, and, mistaking the parties at Sawney's Creek for the whole army, ranged his

forces in order of battle. But the position was too strong to be forced without a greater risk than he was willing to run; and, after studying it from every point, he drew off his army, and returned to Camden.

Now it was that Greene's strong mind seemed to yield for a moment to the gloomy forebodings so naturally suggested by his situation. His enemy had at length gained a decided superiority, and pushed him so far as to secure a clear field for action. North Carolina, dispirited by the loss of her regular troops in Charleston, and stunned by the defeat of Gates, was held in check by the loyalists and Craig. The Virginia militia, though long since summoned to his aid, was still at a distance; and who could tell whether they would reach him in time to save him from the dangers that were thickening around him? Congress itself seemed to have abandoned the south to its fate. His regular troops had dwindled to a handful, and he had no militia for the service of detachments and convoys. His stock of ammunition was nearly exhausted, and he had no arms to equip his recruits. True it was, that he had carried on the war thus far without any other resources, than such as he had been able to create by his own fertile genius and untiring activity. But never till this moment had he experienced that sinking of the heart, which

even the strongest minds will sometimes feel, when the conviction forces itself upon them, that they whose interests and feelings should be interwoven with their own have forsaken them.

Yet it was not to waste his time in vain repining, that he gave way to these reflections. "We will dispute every inch of ground," said he, "in the best manner we can; but Lord Rawdon will push me back to the mountains." It would have been worse than blindness to shut his eyes to the perils that surrounded him; but here, as in every part of his career, to know his danger was but the first step in his preparation to meet it.

Fortunately, however, these sad anticipations were not destined to be realized; for all his measures had been so skilfully taken, that although disappointed in the coöperation upon which he had relied, and thrown almost exclusively upon his own resources, he was again enabled to draw from his defeat nearly all the consequences of the most brilliant victory.

The junction of Watson, like the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, was but a momentary triumph to the British commander, who had been trained in too just a school to allow himself to be deceived as to the real nature of his situation. The loss of Fort Watson had already broken his line of posts, and cut off his

communications by the northern bank of the Santee. Fort Motte, on the same river, was closely besieged, and nothing but immediate succor could save it. Granby and Orangeburg would follow next; for neither of them was in a state to resist such a force as would be brought against it. The British possessions in the western parts of Carolina would then be reduced to Ninety-Six, which, though strongly fortified, and defended by a disciplined garrison, lay in the centre of the region that was about to return under the dominion of the enemy, and would be effectually cut off from the base of his operations.

Could Greene have been forced to a battle, the chances might still be in favor of the best disciplined; but his well known character left but little hopes of such an event; and Lord Rawdon was not a man to waste his time and his strength in fruitless efforts. To snatch his garrisons from the hands of the enemy by a hasty march, and then retiring so as to contract his operations within a narrower compass, until the arrival of his reinforcements should enable him to resume the field, was the only course by which he could hope to recover the footing, which he had so suddenly and unexpectedly lost. But every day was adding to the difficulties of his situation, and in this crit-

ical emergency there was not a moment to lose. Cruger, who commanded at Ninety-Six, was ordered to evacuate his post, and draw off his garrison to Augusta. A sudden advance might save the garrison at Motte, and perhaps those of Orangeburg and Granby. Preparations were made for a hasty retreat. Part of the stores, which had been collected for the use of the garrison, were committed to the flames; the fortifications and stronger parts of the town were hastily destroyed; and Camden, so fatal in the annals of the southern war, was left a heap of ruins.

Directing his march along the northern bank of the Wateree, the British General advanced towards Nielson's Ferry, where he still flattered himself that he could effect the passage of the Santee in time to save the garrison at Fort Motte. But here he was doomed to a grievous disappointment, for the fort and its garrison were already in the hands of the enemy, and Orangeburg had fallen but a day before. His chain of posts was thus completely destroyed; and nothing now remained but to choose out some strong position, and there await the arrival of his reinforcements. Monk's Corner, a favorable point in his new line of defence, was the spot which he selected; and thither, on the 14th, he directed his steps,

leaving the extensive and fertile districts of the west in the hands of the Americans.

The intelligence of the evacuation of Camden had reached Greene in the night, and he had instantly given orders for putting the army in motion, with the intention of crossing the Congaree, and covering the detachments of Marion and Lee, whom he supposed to be still engaged in the siege of Fort Motte. Then, with a small escort of cavalry, he pushed forward towards them, in order to direct in person the movements in the quarter where he looked for the enemy, while his army followed by slower marches. He had already reached M'Cord's Ferry, in the vicinity of the fort, when he was met by a courier with the welcome tidings of its surrender. Marion and Lee had pushed on the siege with their wonted ardor; and this important little post, although gallantly defended, had been unable to hold out against them.

For the first time since Greene had entered upon his command, the field before him was free. All anxiety from Lord Rawdon was over for the moment; his retreat was an open acknowledgment of the superiority of the American arms; and the exultation of the Whigs was in proportion to their former despondency. Now was the time for vigorous action, and

Greene was not disposed to let the opportunity escape him. Lee, whose legion was considered as the van of the American army, was immediately hurried on to Fort Granby, the only post now left between Ninety-Six and the sea. Maxwell, the commander, was well known for his extortions and rapacity, and, naturally enough, supposed to be more intent upon personal gain than upon his duties as an officer. Lee's imperious summons alarmed him for his treasures, the fruit of rapine and bloodshed, and he hastened to enter into negotiations for securing them. Time was of more importance with the American commander than any other consideration, for Lord Rawdon was still near enough to succor his subordinate, if such were his intention. In a few hours, therefore, the articles of capitulation were discussed and agreed upon, and the garrison marched out as prisoners of war. Greene had been hastening forward with the main body of his forces, and was within a few miles of the fort, when its surrender was announced. Great was his joy at this cheering intelligence, and the praises, which he liberally bestowed upon Lee and his gallant legion, were a stimulant to still greater exertions. Lee instantly pressed forward to unite with Pickens before Augusta, and Greene prepared with the main army to lay siege to Ninety-Six.

CHAPTER XVI.

Condition of the Army. — British Garrison at Ninety-Six. — Besieged by the American Army. — Particulars of the Siege. — Lord Rawdon marches to relieve the Garrison. — Greene retires towards the Catawba River.

It was but little more than a month since Greene had marched from the banks of the Deep River, and the object of this daring manœuvre was already, in a great measure, accomplished. Four of the enemy's posts had fallen in rapid succession, each bringing with it a valuable supply of stores, and swelling the list of prisoners for a general exchange. The only two fortified places, which remained in their hands, were effectually cut off from all communication with Charleston, the seat of their power, and could hardly be expected to withstand the force, which would be speedily brought against them. The zeal of the disaffected had been aroused by the good fortune, which seemed at length about to smile on the republican arms, and the tide of desertion now turned in favor of the Americans. The only army, by which the country could have been held in subjection, had been compelled to aban-

don the field, and contract its defences to within thirty miles of Charleston. And all this had been accomplished by an army imperfectly disciplined, deficient in arms and ammunition, unprovided with magazines, and deprived of all those external advantages, which contribute so much towards exciting and fostering the pride and martial feelings of the soldier.

But notwithstanding the favorable aspect, which Greene's affairs had now assumed, many causes of anxiety still weighed upon his mind, and prevented him from sharing in those feelings of exultation, with which every one around him greeted his success. As commander in the Southern States from Georgia to Maryland, he was necessarily obliged to extend a constant and watchful attention over the whole of this immense territory. An extensive correspondence with the authorities of the different states, and the agents whom he had employed to assist him in drawing out their resources, and organizing his system of defence, was the necessary consequence of the comprehensive nature of his command.

Nor was it always possible, in treating questions of so various and often of so complicated a nature, to avoid an occasional awakening of that jealousy, which so naturally springs up between the civil and military authorities.

In some states, the apparent remoteness of the danger had lulled men's minds into a fancied security, from which it was almost impossible to arouse them. In others, the sense of past suffering had produced a torpor and listlessness of mind, like that which follows upon some sudden and violent physical suffering. And even where the real nature of the great struggle, in which all were engaged, was felt and understood, personal feelings were too often allowed to obtain an undue weight, mixing up the most important questions of public good with considerations of local and individual interest. Many an hour of anxiety and of deep humiliation did this state of things bring upon Greene, that humiliation which the generous mind feels, when, having staked all upon some question of universal good, it is fettered and thwarted at every turn by the petty suggestions of egotism and vanity.

The principal difficulties with Virginia had arisen from the measures, which had been resorted to for mounting the cavalry. Greene had received press warrants from the Governor for this purpose, and, in confiding them to his officers, he had charged them particularly to treat those, whose property they were compelled to seize upon, with as much kindness and respect as the nature of their unwelcome office

would admit of. In several instances, these instructions had been disobeyed; and the officers employed in enforcing the warrants had acted with an unjustifiable haste and harshness, seizing upon some of the most valuable horses, the pride and pets of their owners, for the public service, in violation of the very spirit of their instructions. The complaints were loud and bitter, and an act of the legislature soon followed accrediting them by its sanction. Nothing could have been more embarrassing to Greene, for it was only by a decided superiority in cavalry that he could hope to keep the field; and without this, not only his supplies, but every detachment from the main body, were constantly exposed to the most imminent danger. He was mortified by the misconduct of his officers; but the resolves of the Assembly wounded him in the most sensible point, his zeal for the public good. "It is to be lamented," says he, in a letter to the Governor, "that officers will not exercise more discretion, when intrusted with the execution of an order, which seems to violate the rights of the citizen, and not perfectly conformable to the laws and constitutions of the land. And it is equally to be lamented, that a legislature should, from resentment for the conduct of a few individuals, bring upon an army employed in their service irre-

trievable ruin, and upon the public disgrace and distress."

It was but a short time after this, that Cornwallis's invasion brought Tarleton into the heart of Virginia, who, by mounting the British cavalry with the same horses which had been so jealously withheld from the Americans, furnished the strongest comment upon Greene's measures; and more than one Virginian, as he mourned over the destruction of his property, and the loss of his favorite steed, must have felt the truth of the American General's words to Jefferson; "That in war it was sometimes impossible to conform to all the ceremonies of law and equal justice, and that to attempt it would be productive of greater misfortunes to the public from the delay, than all the inconveniences that individuals might suffer." But for this timely supply, Tarleton could never have ventured upon an expedition attended with so much public disgrace, and productive of so much individual suffering.

Another source of great and just anxiety to Greene was the uncertainty, in which he had so long been held concerning his reinforcements. Levies had been ordered in several states, and various measures resorted to in order to enforce the decrees of the legislature. Promises of speedy succor had more than once been given,

violated, and renewed. For upwards of five months, he had been struggling against every species of obstacle, and exposed to every form of danger, with what he energetically terms "the shattered remains of a routed army." Lee's legion, and two detachments of Virginia recruits, without either officers or discipline, and amounting in all to little more than a regiment, were the only accession of regular forces that he had received ; and experience had long since shown, that it was impossible to count upon the militia for extensive operations. On sudden emergencies, indeed, they would spring to their arms, and occasionally act with vigor and decision ; but still their firmness could never be counted upon, and they were just as likely to fail at the most critical moment. Nothing could be more tantalizing to the mind of a commander, than these uncertain and fluctuating aids, which excited public expectation by their numerical importance, but fettered every movement by their irregularity and want of discipline. Yet such was the assistance on which he was forced to rely throughout the whole of this trying campaign.

A perfect union and harmony among his own officers was the only circumstance, that could have counterbalanced so many anxieties, and afforded him an occasional respite from such

deep and corroding cares; yet, although their conduct was, for the most part, characterized by good will and zeal for the public good, yet he could not always count upon this consolation. Personal feelings would occasionally creep in, and mingle with the suggestions of duty, tainting the most brilliant achievements with the subtle poison of vanity, and exciting jealousies and dissensions in the purest and noblest minds. For it is one of the disadvantages of partisan war, that it accustoms each leader to act by himself, without concert, and often without communication, with those who are engaged in the same cause. His attention is attracted by some particular object, to which every other consideration is sacrificed, and the most heroic efforts are frequently directed to things, which have little or no connection with the common interest. That which in the beginning was accidental, becomes by use a confirmed habit, unfitting the best and boldest officers for combined and subordinate exertions. Discontent and offers of resignation were frequently the consequence of these feelings, and Greene was more than once compelled to modify his own plans, in order to accommodate himself to the pretensions of men, whose services could not be secured on any other terms.

During the long period of adversity, which

had weighed so heavily upon the American army, it had been subjected to all the evils which follow in the train of misfortune; desertion, negligence, and decay of discipline. Order and discipline had been restored by Greene's untiring energy and vigilance; but desertion, that canker of an unsuccessful army, had still continued to thin his ranks, and keep alive a painful sense of demoralization and insecurity. The current had changed with the reverses of the British, and deserters from the royal standard now flocked daily to his camp.

But at the same time, the reduction of so many fortified posts had thrown a large number of prisoners into his hands, and among them several who were immediately recognized as deserters. Severe as were the provisions of the law, his duty to the great cause in which he was engaged left him no alternative; for nothing but a rigid adherence to its stern prescriptions could preserve the army from the contagion of the demoralizing example. Five deserters, who had been taken at the fall of Fort Watson, were condemned by a court martial, and executed a few days after the battle of Hobkirk's Hill. "The indispensable necessity of giving some serious example," says he, in confirming the sentence of the court, "and the misfortunes the troops have suffered from the perfidy

of some of their unworthy companions, forbid the exercise of lenity, and compel the General to admit the force of martial law."

With regular troops, not a doubt could arise concerning the justice of such a decision ; but how could the law of desertion be applied to the militia, among whom the habit of quitting the camp at will, and passing whole days with their friends at home, had taken deep root, and was constantly practised in spite of remonstrances and repeated warnings? In this delicate situation, a distinction was necessarily made between those, who had been regularly drafted in virtue of the laws of their respective states, and those who had volunteered for some special service. The latter were necessarily free to do as they chose ; but with the former every inducement of duty and self-interest was employed, and, failing of effect, the laws of war were enforced in all their rigor.

In both cases, a few examples were found sufficient, and, although among the prisoners, who now fell, in large numbers, into the hands of the Americans, many deserters were discovered, and the number of punishments was consequently increased, yet the number of executions was comparatively small ; and every successful effort of the American arms was joyfully seized on, as a pretext for the exercise of

that most precious of all the prerogatives of the chief command, the power of pardon.

But among the secondary advantages which resulted from the present success of Greene's arms, there was none more welcome than the opportunity which it afforded him of effecting a general exchange of prisoners. Washington's charge at Hobkirk's Hill had led to the capture of the whole medical staff of the British army. These, with his characteristic humanity, Greene had immediately released, and sent back under a flag to Lord Rawdon, who, unwilling to be outdone in acts of generosity, had instantly given orders that an equal number of the American surgeons, who had been made prisoners at the taking of Charleston, should be set at liberty. A general exchange was shortly after agreed upon, and hundreds of the noble-hearted defenders of the south were released from a painful and humiliating captivity.

The successful result of Greene's descent into Carolina, and the invasion of Virginia by Lord Cornwallis, left him free to turn his attention to that state, even while engaged in the vigorous prosecution of his great plan of southern conquest. The war in Carolina would soon be reduced to a war of posts, in which the presence of a Commander-in-chief would be of but little benefit, as every measure could

be effectually carried out by subordinate officers. There was no strong fortress to besiege, no powerful army to oppose in the field. The chief efforts of the British seemed about to be directed against Virginia, and, if successful there, the south, now almost reconquered, would be effectually severed from the Union. It was there that the choicest troops and most skilful generals were to be encountered, and there, then, it was the duty of the southern commander to present himself for the struggle.

This new plan of action was carefully matured, and it was not without a secret feeling of exultation, that Greene looked forward to new laurels in a contest with the General, whom he had so signally and so triumphantly baffled. Meanwhile, the command in Virginia was intrusted to Lafayette, who, seconded by Steuben, opposed that gallant resistance to the progress of the British General, which forms so brilliant a chapter in the annals of the southern war; and Greene, collecting his strength for what he flattered himself would be the crowning effort in this portion of his labors, set forth with his whole army to lay siege to Ninety-Six.

The village of Ninety-Six is situate a few miles to the south of the Saluda River, and about thirty-five from the Savannah, the west-

ern boundary of South Carolina. At a period when the number and power of the Indian tribes still rendered them formidable to the whites, the position of their principal villages was a question of general interest, and the little fort of Ninety-Six received its name from its distance from Keowee, the chief village of the Cherokees. The district in which it lies is remarkable for its strength and fertility, although, at the period of which we write, it had been laid waste, throughout its whole extent, by the desolating war of Whig and Tory.

The importance of this position had early attracted the attention of the British, upon their invasion of Carolina, and they had established there a fort, which, with Camden and Augusta, formed their line of defence for the western frontier. Upon the evacuation of Camden, Lord Rawdon had foreseen the necessity of withdrawing the garrison of Ninety-Six, and had ordered Major Cruger to retire with his troops to Augusta. This order was intercepted by the vigilance of the American parties, that hovered around the British posts; and Cruger, cut off from all communication with his commander, remained exposed to the attack of the American army. Readily foreseeing that this event would not long be delayed, he lost no time in preparing for his defence.

His garrison consisted of five hundred and fifty men, three hundred and fifty of whom were regulars, and, like himself, native Americans, who, having served from the beginning of the war, had acquired a discipline equal to the oldest veterans of the royal army. The remainder were South Carolina royalists, expert marksmen, and men who felt that they had staked life and fortune upon the cause for which they were contending. Personal animosity was mingled with zeal for the royal arms, and the recollection of the cruelties, which they had inflicted, was an additional stimulant to persevere in that defence from which alone they could hope for safety.

The village of Ninety-Six had early been surrounded with some slight defences, in order to guard against a sudden invasion of the Indians. These amounted to little more than a strong stockade, which, though a sufficient protection against the rude attacks of the savage, were of but little avail in scientific warfare. Still, however, they afforded a basis for a more regular system of defence, and had been preserved by the English officers upon their first invasion of the district. A skilful engineer, an officer of Cornwallis's own staff, was intrusted with the charge of preparing this important post for the royal troops. Under his

direction the stockade was strengthened, and new works were erected, which seemed to promise a durable and successful extension of British power through this part of the state.

The chief of these was a redoubt, about eighty yards to the right of the village, composed of sixteen salient and returning angles, which, from the peculiarity of its form, had received the name of the star. Destructive cross fires could be opened from the angles, and the whole, being surrounded with a dry ditch, a frise, and an abatis, presented a formidable obstacle to the approach of an enemy. On the opposite side, at a distance of one hundred and eighty yards, a stockade fort had been erected upon a small eminence, and strengthened within by two strong blockhouses. A small valley divided this fort from the town, and a stream, which ran through it, was the principal resource of the garrison for water. The communication between the valley and the town was preserved by a covered way, and, as a defence on the right, (for the left was protected by the fort,) an old jail had been converted into a citadel, and strongly fortified. With such works, and a well trained garrison, it would be easy to maintain a vigorous defence.

But the British commander was far from contenting himself with what had been done

by his predecessors. He knew that no common efforts would be directed against him, and was resolved to meet them like a bold and skilful soldier. The moment that Greene's advance was announced, he called in the negroes and workmen from the surrounding country, and employed them night and day in enlarging and completing his fortifications. A ditch was drawn around the stockade, and the earth from the excavation was heaped upon its bank to form a parapet. Within, traverses and covered ways were opened in every direction, and the communication between the different points was made direct and secure. The whole line of defence was secured by an abatis; and thus prepared, and having laid in an abundant supply of provisions, and drawn together a large body of negroes for the relief of the garrison, in mere works of manual labor, he calmly awaited the appearance of the enemy.

It was on the 22d of May that Greene sat down before this fortress, with an army whose effective force, exclusive of militia, did not exceed a thousand men. The night was dark and rainy, and offered a favorable opportunity for completing, by a nearer approach to the enemy's works, the examination which he had already begun during the day. Accompanied by Kosciuszko, his chief engineer, and Pendleton,

one of his aids, he made the entire circuit of the fortifications, approaching so near as to be hailed and fired upon by the sentinels, and employing every means which circumstances would allow for studying the character and nature of the ground.

Unfortunately, his strength was not sufficient to admit of his making a direct attack upon more than one side ; and, after stationing his army at four different points, so as to invest the town on all sides, it became necessary to decide which of the two principal points of defence, the star defence or stockade, should be regularly assailed. Could it have been known, that the enemy had failed in obtaining water by sinking a well in the redoubt, the attack would naturally have first been directed against the parts, where, if successful, it would necessarily have cut them off from the stream. But, in a previous siege, the former garrison, though almost destitute of the necessary implements, had succeeded in getting water ; and there was no reason to suppose, that they would now be less fortunate. The star redoubt, therefore, as the chief point of defence, and one that could be held independently of the others, while the main position, on the contrary, was dependent upon that for support, was the point upon which it was resolved to commence the attack.

Ground was broken, during the night, within seventy yards of the works, and the trenches pushed on with incredible activity. But the next day, the garrison, by a vigorous sally under cover of a well directed fire, succeeded in driving the workmen from the trenches, and, although the whole army was instantly put in motion, destroyed the incipient works, and carried off the troops. This was a decisive demonstration of the vigor and resolution of the garrison, and Greene resolved to commence his approaches from a greater distance.

Accordingly, on the 23d, ground was again broken, and the work carried on with the utmost ardor. Day and night the labor continued, and while one party labored in the trenches, others stood by in arms for their guard. At night they slept on their arms. The besieged, by frequent and daring sallies, made every effort to check them in their progress; but, though compelled to fight for every inch of ground, and constantly harassed by the attacks and annoyed by the fire of the enemy, they continued their task with untiring firmness, and by the 3d of June had completed the second parallel. A mine from the first had already been begun, under cover of a battery on their right.

The enemy was now summoned in form,

but a spirited answer was returned. Cruger was resolved to hold out as long as he could hope for relief. The third parallel was instantly commenced, and, in spite of the fatigue which the troops had suffered in their previous exertions, was prosecuted with vigor. The sallies still continued, and the artillery of the besieged, though consisting of but three pieces, was plied with skill and vigor. To silence these, log towers were erected along the parallel, and manned with practised marksmen. The fire from these soon silenced the enemy's guns, for they commanded the works, and every bullet from the unerring rifle went true to its mark. Enraged at this unexpected check, the enemy tried to set them on fire with redhot balls; but this had already been foreseen, and they had purposely been built of the greenest wood. The fire from the enemy's cannon now ceased during the day, and at night it could not be aimed with precision enough to give it effect.

Lee arrived, with his legion, from the successful siege of Augusta, and was instantly ordered to take post on the left, and direct his efforts against the stockade fort. He immediately broke ground, and pushed on his works with his characteristic activity. In a short time, he had made such progress, in spite of the sallies and fire of the besieged, that he had brought

his works near enough to the rivulet to enable him almost to cut off the enemy from their usual supplies of water. Naked negroes were then employed to bring it in, whose sooty bodies would pass unobserved under the favor of night. An attempt was now made to set fire to the houses by burning arrows, as at the siege of Fort Motte. But the garrison quickly foiled this by removing the roofs. A more daring effort was directed against the fort itself. A sergeant and nine men, under cover of a violent storm of wind, advanced at midday to the ditch, and tried to set fire to the abatis. They were discovered in the act of applying the match, and four only escaped.

The siege now seemed to be drawing to a close. On every side, the approaches were so far advanced as to leave but little hopes to the besieged. Their cannon were silenced during the day by the riflemen from the towers, and a battery, within one hundred and forty yards of the works, had been raised so high as to command the redoubt. Without some lucky device, the men would have been swept from their defences, and compelled to unconditional surrender. The British commander immediately raised his parapet, already twelve feet high, three feet more by piling sand-bags on its summit. Through the apertures left between

them, the riflemen kept up a constant fire by day and the artillery by night.

It was now the 12th of June, and the siege had continued eighteen days with unremitting vigor. Many brave men had fallen on both sides, and many feats of gallantry had been displayed. But the term was now approaching, and it was evident that the British commander, however firm his resolve, could not hold out many days. The American soldiers began to look forward with confidence to the bright reward of so much toil and danger. Towards evening, a countryman was seen riding along the line to the south of the town, conversing with the officers and men on duty; but, as a constant intercourse had been kept up between the camp and the country, no attention was paid to his movements. On reaching the high road, he suddenly put spurs to his horse, and dashed towards the town. Fifty bullets were instantly flying upon his track; but so sudden and so unexpected had been his start, that none of them reached him. The moment that he found himself out of reach of the musketry, he raised his hand towards the garrison with a letter as a signal. It was a despatch from Lord Rawdon, containing the cheering tidings of his speedy approach with a strong force to the relief of the garrison. Loud

shouts and *feux de joie* were the manifestations with which this welcome intelligence was received.

Greene had already been six days in possession of this intelligence, and foreseeing that Lord Rawdon would not delay a moment longer, than was necessary in order to prepare his newly arrived reinforcements, after so long and fatiguing a march, he had taken every step for guarding against the danger. Sumpter and Marion, reinforced by the cavalry of Washington and the legion, were ordered to form a junction, and leave no effort untried for harassing and retarding the progress of the enemy. At the same time, the utmost care was taken to cut off all communication between the town and the country, and prevent these dangerous tidings from reaching the ears of the garrison. Meanwhile the siege was pressed on with redoubled energy. In a few days more, the triumph of the Americans would have been sure.

Every thing now depended upon the movements of Lord Rawdon, who had set out from Charleston on the 11th, and was pushing on by forced marches to the relief of Ninety-Six. Sumpter was in his front, prepared to retard his advance by every expedient which his bold

mind, long trained in the inventive field of partisan war, could devise. As far as Orangeburg, there could be no doubt as to the course, which the British General would pursue; but from that place he might make a sudden dash on Sumpter's head-quarters at Granby. Here, then, Sumpter remained in person, and called up his reinforcements.

But the British General knew too well the importance of immediate succors to his hard pushed garrison, to think of losing time in trifling efforts, and, pressing on in the direct route, passed his adversary below the junction of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. Having once got the start, he was too active and too skilful a general to neglect his advantage, and, continuing his march with unabated vigor, was soon far on his way to Ninety-Six. Sumpter could no longer either check his progress, or join the main army in time to afford them the means of facing the enemy in the field.

Greene received early advice of the near approach of his adversary, and hastened with his usual promptitude to prepare for the event. Could he collect a sufficient force to guard the works, he was resolved to throw himself in front of the advancing army, and try the chances of a battle. Every effort was made to rouse the militia and collect reinforcements

in season. Sumpter, Marion, Pickens, and Clarke, were called upon in the most pressing terms, and he looked forward to the result of a battle with the most sanguine expectation. "Let us have a field day," said he, in his letter to Clarke, "and I doubt not it will be a glorious one."

But the enemy was now at hand, with two thousand men and a strong cavalry. Sumpter, Marion, Pickens, and Clarke, were still at a distance, and little hope remained of their coming up in time to afford him their aid. His own forces did not exceed a thousand in all, and these worn down and wearied by constant labor. It was now the 17th, and there was not a day to be lost. His troops begged him to allow them one more chance, and entreated to be led to the assault. The unconquerable spirit of their commander had inspired them with new energy, and the regiments, which had failed at Guilford and Hobkirk's Hill, burned to wash away the disgrace of those days. Delighted with this display of energy and spirit, Greene very readily consented to indulge them in a part of their wish. Could the stockade fort be taken, and a lodgment be made in one of the angles of the star, no doubt would remain but what the garrison would yield. This might be accomplished by a few picked

regiments, but a general storm might cripple the whole army. On the 17th, orders were issued to prepare for an assault at noon of the next day.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lee was charged with the attack of the right, and the infantry of his celebrated legion was strengthened by a detachment from Kirkwood's Delawares, chosen men and tried. Major Rudolph, of the legion, led his forlorn hope. This attack was directed against the fort.

On the left, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with his own regiment, the first Virginia, and a detachment of Marylanders, commanded the assault of the redoubt. His forlorn hope was led by Duval of Maryland, and Seldon of Virginia. Fascines were prepared to fill the ditches; and parties provided with iron hooks, strongly fastened at the end of long poles, for pulling down the sand-bags, followed close upon the footsteps of the forlorn hope. A constant fire from the forts, rifle towers, and works, were to support the attack, and clear the parapet for the assaulting parties.

Lee was ordered to force his way into the stockade fort, and then govern his movements by the result of the attack on the redoubt.

Campbell's was a more difficult and dangerous part. A cross fire from the angles of the

redoubt would sweep the ditch, and the height of the parapet would increase the difficulty of pulling down the bags. In face of these obstacles, Duval and Seldon were ordered to remove the abatis, and, seizing upon the opposite curtain, clear the angle, while the hookmen advanced to pull down the bags. Piling these upon the fascines in the ditch, Campbell would rush forward to the assault, and force his way to the parapet, under cover of the fire from the works.

Every preparation was completed, and men and officers, deeply excited by the importance of the occasion, awaited with stern resolution the signal for attack. At eleven, the third parallel was manned, and the riflemen had taken their stations in the towers, prepared to support the advancing columns by a galling fire. Next followed the first gun from the centre battery, and the men boldly entered the trenches. Then came the signal. The batteries and rifle towers opened their fire, and amid the thunder and smoke of the artillery each party rushed on to the attack.

On the right, Rudolph, at the head of the forlorn hope, forced his way into the ditch, and, after a short resistance, the fort was abandoned to the Americans. Lee instantly prepared to follow up his success, and support the attack on the left.

Here it was that the battle raged long and fiercely; and deadly was the result both to the assailers and the assailed. Duval and Seldon, at the head of their gallant band, leaped boldly into the ditch, and began to throw down the abatis. A tremendous fire from the enemy met them at their approach, and thinned their ranks at every step. Through every loophole and crevice poured down the deadly balls of the rifle, and the projecting and returning angles hemmed them in between two walls of fire. Above bristled a fearful array of pikes and bayonets. As the abatis yielded to their efforts, they became at every instant more and more exposed. Officers and men fell around them in all directions. Armstrong fell dead at the head of his company. Duval and Seldon were wounded. Still they pressed on, resolved to conquer or die. The curtain was now won, and the hookmen rushed forward to pull down the bags. Could they but accomplish this, the victory was secure. But the depth of the ditch, and the height of the parapet, rendered all their efforts unavailing.

The desperate conflict had now continued for nearly an hour, and the ditch was crowded with the dead and the wounded. Still it might prove successful, for the fort had fallen, and not a man had flinched from his duty. But Lord

Rawdon was near with a powerful army, and Greene was unwilling to cripple his own for the field. Lee was accordingly ordered to desist from further advance, and Campbell to retire. In face of a galling fire, the greater part of the wounded were safely brought back to the camp. The dead were courteously restored by the enemy, on the following day, for burial. The stockade was abandoned in the night.

Though unsuccessful in this effort, Greene was delighted with the constancy and valor of his troops, and now felt, for the first time, perhaps, that, upon anything like equal terms, he could fairly count upon victory. Guilford and Hobkirk's Hill, and the whole campaign, had been a severe and constant school, and this last trial had proved how effectually they had been turned to account. "The troops," says he, in a letter to the President of Congress, "have undergone incredible hardships in the siege; and, though the affair was not successful, I hope their exertions will merit the approbation of Congress. Their behavior on this occasion deserves the highest commendations; both the officers that entered the ditch were wounded, and the greater part of their men were either killed or wounded. I have only to lament that such brave men fell in an unsuccessful attempt."

Lord Rawdon was now so near, that retreat again became inevitable. Gloom and silence pervaded the American camp, as the prize for which they had labored so hardly, and so freely shed their blood, was thus slipping from their grasp. Greene preserved his equanimity, and, addressing his men in the most cheering language, prepared their minds for the new scenes of toil and danger that awaited them. The wounded and the baggage had already been sent across the Saluda, on the route to his magazines on the Catawba; and breaking up from his encampments on the day after the assault, he followed with his army in the same direction. The siege had lasted twenty-eight days, and had cost the American army the loss of one hundred and eighty-five men, including killed and wounded.

CHAPTER XVII.

Garrison of Ninety-Six evacuated by the British. — Lord Rawdon retires towards Charleston. — Greene pursues him to Orangeburg with the Design of bringing him to an Action, but without Success. — The American Army encamps on the High Hills of Santee.

RETREAT had now lost for the American army the disheartening aspect under which it usually presents itself to the mind of the soldier. So rapid and unlooked-for had been the changes of fortune during this trying campaign, and so constant and so sure the progress of the American General towards the accomplishment of his designs, even in the face of defeat and accumulated disappointments, that the confidence of men and officers in the genius of their leader had become unbounded. Every event had thus far confirmed the justness of his views, which awakened the highest expectations by their boldness and originality; and all looked forward with ardent longings to the happy moment, in which they might set the seal to their success by some decisive action.

Meanwhile the retreat continued, and Greene, resolved to throw the numerous streams, by

which the district is intersected, between himself and his adversary, pushed on by rapid marches towards the Catawba. At the Saluda he was rejoined by his cavalry; and, forming them into a rear guard with the infantry of the legion and Kirkwood's Delawares, he left them to watch the motions of the British General. On the 22d, he halted for information; and learning, the next morning, that the enemy was approaching, he continued his retreat, and passed the Broad River. The wounded and the baggage were constantly in advance, and every step was bringing him nearer to his magazines. Here he became convinced that the pursuit would soon be given over, and accordingly, proceeding a few miles further, he halted at a point called Tims's Ordinary, about half way between the Broad River and the Catawba.

Lord Rawdon had reached Ninety-Six on the morning of the 21st, and, taking with him a portion of the garrison to supply the place of his sick, had pressed forward the same evening, without his baggage, upon the traces of the retreating Americans. The reports of his spies had led him to suppose that they were still at Bush River, but twenty-two miles distant, where, by a hasty march, he might come up with them in time to force them to a battle. Inspired with this hope, he strained to the ut-

most the ardor and strength of his men, and, though disappointed in his first belief, still urged them forward. But on reaching the Enoree, the prospect became too discouraging. Greene was still far in advance, and his own men, worn down by constant marching, and the heat, which, in that southern latitude, was now becoming excessive, were unable to bear the fatigue of a further pursuit. Reluctantly abandoning the contest, he retraced his steps towards Ninety-Six.

This post, the principal seat of the British power in the western districts of Carolina, was now to be abandoned to their enemies. Calling together the leaders of the Tories, Lord Rawdon frankly confessed the necessity in which he was placed of withdrawing the garrison, on which they had relied for protection. It would be difficult to describe the consternation, which seized them at this fatal annunciation. In the day of their prosperity, they had given loose to all the fierce passions which spring from the spirit of party. They had governed like men who acknowledge no other control than that of their own will, and, looking upon their opponents as having forfeited every right, and broken the most solemn ties, they had pursued them, like public enemies, with fire and with sword. Private animosity had added new fuel to the

flame, that already burnt so highly, and the bitterness of personal hatred had given a tenfold virulence to the fierceness of party zeal.

The Whigs had been deprived of their property by confiscation and every form of persecution. They had been hunted like beasts of prey from their homes, and condemned to the wild and precarious life of the woods. Every species of indignity had been exercised against their wives and their children, and neither age nor sex had served as a protection against their relentless persecutors. Stung to madness by their sufferings, and excited by the same remorseless feeling of party, though in a different cause, they had turned upon their pursuers with the deep and deadly thirst of vengeance, and inflicted upon them, in turn, the same wrongs of which they themselves complained. In this relentless war of Whig and Tory, the whole country had been laid waste, much blood had been shed, and hundreds of families reduced from opulence to misery.

The day of retribution had now come, and the men, who had been wronged so bitterly, were now to become the masters, and exercise in the name of law those rights, which they had used so sternly in the name of revenge. Deep and far spread was the terror of the conquered. From every district, from every corner, they

flocked to the British camp, ready to encounter every privation rather than trust themselves to the clemency of the victors. The roads were crowded with men, and women, and entire families, hastening, with whatever they could save from the general wreck, to throw themselves upon the protection of the royal army. Hard as it was to sever the ties that bound them to their homes, and bid adieu to scenes endeared by every fond association, however bitter the present, however uncertain the future, anything and everything was preferable to what they dreaded from the vengeance of their implacable enemies. Rawdon, with the promptitude of a generous nature, carefully provided for their present wants, and gave them a strong escort to protect their journey to Charleston. Here they established themselves in a wretched suburb, to which they gave the name of the British General, and continued to live in the most abject wretchedness until the final subjection of the country.

In the midst of the most urgent cares of the campaign, Greene had left no effort unessayed to check the devastating war that raged around him, and which threatened to convert the most populous and fertile portions of the state into a barren wilderness. Entreaties, exhortations, and even threats, had proved vain. The evil had

struck too deep, and the passions which had been aroused on both sides had risen too high, to be easily subdued. Some good effects, however, were obtained by a letter which he addressed to the inhabitants of Saluda, assuring them of his protection, if they would but remain quietly at their homes, a promise to which his well known character gave the greatest weight, and which was rendered still more efficient by the prompt and energetic concurrence of Pickens.

But the cares, which at this moment chiefly occupied his attention, were those of the war; for upon the result of this every secondary question depended. The return of Lord Rawdon into the western districts seemed to threaten the security of the American conquests, which had hitherto been carried on with such rapid success; and Greene was not without serious apprehensions, that, profiting by his reinforcements, he might collect a garrison of Tories in Ninety-Six, and take post with his own forces on the Congaree. To counteract these measures, if such should be his intention, and force him back upon the narrow circle around Charleston, was the object which the American commander now proposed, as the immediate end of all his endeavors. But to accomplish this required a larger army, than he could then bring

together, and every movement would necessarily be dependent upon the uncertain and fluctuating concurrence of the militia.

Still the prospect was cheering. Sumpter and Marion were collecting their forces; the militia of the neighborhood were gathering in large numbers; a detachment of Continentals had come up, and on the 25th he had been joined by the North Carolina regulars under Armstrong. The season, it is true, was far advanced, and the heat oppressive. Since they first moved from their camp at Cheraw, the American troops had hardly had a moment of repose; but there was still an important object to be accomplished, and he yet hoped to conclude the campaign by some brilliant and decisive action.

But the British General had already resolved to withdraw from the western districts, the possession of which had become too difficult and too precarious in the face of so active an enemy. Accordingly, dividing his forces, he left part with Cruger, to cover the evacuation of Ninety-Six, and protect the emigration of the Tories; and with the other directed his steps towards Orangeburg, which he had pitched upon for a general rendezvous both for Cruger and a strong detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, which was to have followed him from Charles-

ton. Lee, who had been charged with the delicate duty of watching the movements of the enemy, hung close upon them, darting at their flanks and rear, and harassing their march by every means which he could devise.

At length, by a daring movement, he succeeded in throwing himself in their front. Here an occasion presented itself of making a bold stroke at their cavalry, which was drawn into an ambuscade and captured, within less than a mile of the English camp. The captain and several commissioned officers, with forty-five men and their horses, were the fruit of this gallant exploit. But Rawdon still continued his retreat, in despite of every obstacle; the annoyances of the enemy, and the sufferings of his own men, many of whom, overcome by the heat, dropped dead by the way. Making a short halt at Granby, he made an effort to delay the approach of the Americans, by destroying the boats on the Congaree, and then pressed forward to Orangeburg, where he took a strong position, while awaiting the junction of Cruger and Stewart.

Upon receiving the intelligence of Lord Rawdon's return to Ninety-Six, Greene had advanced a day's march upon their route to Granby, and halted at the Big Spring, near Rocky Creek. Here his wearied army enjoyed

two days of repose, while their commander was anxiously watching his adversary, in the hopes that he would speedily unfold his intentions, by some decided movement. His own plans were already formed, and he was equally prepared to fall back upon his magazines in case of pursuit, or to follow up vigorously the steps of Lord Rawdon, if that general should retreat before him.

- Meanwhile, through a deserter he had received intelligence, which opened the prospect of a stroke no less advantageous to his own army, than injurious to the enemy. This was the approach of a large supply of stores, which was advancing by slow marches towards Orangeburg; the loss of which would reduce the British army, already straitened for supplies, and exceedingly weakened, by the excessive heat, to the greatest distress. Orders were instantly despatched to Washington, Lee, and Middleton, to unite their forces, and seize upon the prize, which fortune seemed to offer so temptingly to their grasp, in the hour of their greatest need; and Greene waited only for some more positive information of the movements of Rawdon, to join himself in the enterprise. This came at last, and on the evening of the 1st of July he received the welcome tidings that Rawdon, having divided his forces, was marching by the

south bank of the Saluda towards Granby. The two armies were thus placed upon the opposite sides of a triangle, of which the apex was at Granby; but the British General had the advantage of two marches and an unfordable river. Still Greene resolved to intercept him, if possible, and force him to a battle.

Early the next morning, the army was put in motion, and advanced as far as Winsborough. Here the baggage, and everything not absolutely essential to their safety, were to be left, while the men, divested of every superfluous weight, pressed forward by rapid marches towards the enemy. By a singular combination, which cannot have failed to suggest the most cheering anticipations, this was the spot from which, but a few months before, Cornwallis had set out upon that disastrous pursuit, which had proved so fatal to the British arms. How completely was the scene reversed! The pursuers were now the pursued. The British dominion in Carolina had been shaken to its foundation; and their last army, after repeated and daring efforts, had been compelled to abandon the field, and seek refuge within the narrow circle of defences, which it still retained in the immediate vicinity of Charleston. So rapid had been the turns of fortune, and so beyond the reach of ordinary calculation!

The decisive moment was drawing nigh, and a few weeks, perhaps even a few days, would now decide the fate of Carolina. One more battle, and unless some new and unexpected resources were opened for the British, the triumph of the American cause was for the moment secure. All, that military skill could accomplish, would have been done. The rest would depend upon the zeal and energy of the civil authorities.

Anxious to guide the approaching contest from the nearest possible point of view, Greene left his army to advance by rapid marches under the guidance of General Huger, and hastened, with a small escort of cavalry, to the camp of Washington. Here a severe disappointment awaited him; for he had no sooner reached the encampment, than he perceived the impossibility of bringing up his army in time to intercept Lord Rawdon.

But the convoy under Stewart was still advancing, and to this he immediately turned his attention. Neither Lee nor Middleton had yet come up; but Washington, despairing of effecting a junction with them in season, had called in Marion to his aid, and with these forces Greene now assumed the command of the expedition. Passing Lord Rawdon by a rapid march, he threw himself between the British army and

their detachment ; and then, selecting a company of Washington's cavalry, he remained with this in person, in front of the enemy, while Marion pressed forward to the attack. Every appearance seemed to promise success. The British detachment continued to advance in the utmost security, without dreaming of the dangerous proximity of the enemy ; and the hourly reports of Marion were a sufficient proof of the diligence, with which he watched his prey.

The two parties were now within striking distance, and at one o'clock in the morning of the 8th, Marion issued, full of confidence, from his lurking-place. How deep was his chagrin to find that the British commander, wholly unconscious of his danger, and guided only by a choice of roads, had turned aside from the one by which he was expected, and passed him in the night ! Baffled again, though not disheartened by this caprice of fortune, Greene retraced his steps towards the army, which had now reached the banks of the Congaree, and, calling in his detachment, prepared to advance and offer battle. His preparations were soon completed. Sumpter had joined with his brigade and a party of militia, and he found himself, for the first time in many weeks, at the head of two thousand men. But among these there were but little more than eight hundred regular troops ; the

remainder were militia and volunteers. The forces of the enemy, after the junction of Stewart, amounted to fifteen hundred men, perfectly disciplined and equipped, a large portion of whom had seen service. In cavalry the advantage was on the side of the Americans, both in number and in the superiority of their horses.

No sooner were his forces collected than he put them in motion; and, advancing by the direct route to Orangeburg, took post on a branch of the North Edisto, within four miles of the enemy. Here, putting himself at the head of the cavalry, and attended by his principal officers, he approached their camp to reconnoitre their position, and judge, with his own eye, concerning the propriety of an attack. After several hours of careful examination, he decided against it. The position was materially different from what it had been represented. Nearly one half of the town was covered by the circuitous course of the river. Swamps and ravines protected it on the north and south, and the only approach was by a narrow neck of broken and rugged land, which was completely commanded by the jail, a strong brick building, two stories high. There was no room for the action of the cavalry, the most efficient portion of his army, in which his

superiority lay; nor could he hope, even if successful, to cut off the retreat of the enemy, which had been carefully secured by occupying the jail and several adjacent buildings.

Still several of his officers, in whose opinion he justly placed great confidence, urged him to make the trial. The temptation was indeed strong. The British troops had suffered greatly during their long and rapid marches, and had lost as much in moral power, that chief support of an army, as their adversaries had gained. A successful attack would, if nothing more, compel them to abandon the whole district, and retire within the immediate neighborhood of Charleston; and, even if unsuccessful, the retreat of the Americans was secure.

But Greene, though anxious to come to a battle, was unwilling to venture upon an attack in a situation so unfavorable. He had long since resolved never to hazard the safety of his army by uncertain measures, and he had already fixed upon a plan, which he trusted would be equally effective in compelling his adversary to relinquish his hold upon all this part of the country. Accordingly, after remaining throughout the day in the presence of the enemy, and affording him a fair opportunity to engage, he again moved his camp in the evening, and by slow and easy marches retired to the High Hills

of Santee, which he had selected as a spot of repose for his wearied and over-labored troops. Meanwhile, Sumpter, Marion, and Lee, were directed to scour the country, break up the enemy's outposts, and carry the terror of their arms up to the very gates of Charleston.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Condition of the Army. — Efforts of the Southern States to supply Reinforcements. — Finance. — Indian Warfare. — Pickens. — Marion, Sumpter, Lee. — Colonel Hayne.

THE High Hills of Santee are a tract of elevated ground on the north of the Wateree, not far from its banks, and a few miles above its junction with the Congaree. Rising in the midst of a low and unhealthy country, their elevation gives them the advantage of a purer atmosphere, and secures them against the fevers that prevail in the low grounds at their feet. Upon the summit was a spacious plain, which afforded a favorable position for the camp; pure water was to be had in abundance; and provisions could be drawn in from the surrounding

country, whose inhabitants vied with each other in spontaneous and heartfelt hospitality. Here, then, the American army sat down to enjoy that repose, which they had so well merited by six months of severe and incessant toil.

Never was respite more needed, for summer had set in with its usual heat, and the diseases of the climate were already spreading among the troops. During their last movements, they had suffered severely from the weather, and scarcely less from the difficulty of obtaining wholesome food. There was no distinction of persons; the officers fared like the men, and Greene had reason, more than once, to thank his habitual abstemiousness, which enabled him to bear this thin diet without suffering.

It was difficult to preserve a rigid discipline under such unfavorable circumstances, and particularly in an army composed of such motley materials. There were the Continental troops, men enlisted for the war, or for stated terms, and led by intelligent and spirited officers. Here there was but little to be apprehended; for they had learned their duty in a severe school, and were animated by that professional pride, which makes the soldier brave every danger for the honor of his colors. There were the followers, too, of Sumpter and Marion, occasionally acting with the army, but more fre-

quently engaged in independent enterprises, and among them, men animated by the purest feelings, and who had made the greatest sacrifices, from a conviction of the justice of their cause. But, at the same time, there were many who had thrown off all sense of duty, and who looked upon the unsettled state of the country as a favorable opportunity for plunder. Men like these laughed at the restraints of discipline, and found in desertion an easy escape from punishment.

They plundered, without hesitation, within the camp and without, and so adroitly, that it was almost impossible to detect them. The evil was heightened by the irregular conduct of the militia, whom nothing could induce to submit to discipline, or conform to the wholesome regulations of the camp. They would still be coming and going at pleasure, and indulge in every license, which the uncertain term of their service seemed to warrant. Of these evils some sprang from the false system pursued by Congress and the states throughout the war, and were so deep-rooted, that they could only be checked for a moment, but not radically corrected. Others were the result of momentary circumstances, and could easily be remedied by the rigid discipline of a camp, healthy and well provided. It was with no ordinary satisfaction,

therefore, that Greene distributed his troops in their new quarters, with the prospect of a short breathing-time for officers and men.

And now, in these first moments of repose, their minds naturally turned back to the active scenes in which they had so long been engaged. But six months before, the country, in which they were then reposing so securely, was in the hands of the enemy, who had spread his bands at will in every direction, and made his possession sure by a chain of well organized garrisons. Sumpter had retired from the field; Marion, with a few faithful followers, who stood by him in every fortune, was lurking in the swamps. The only band, that still kept up the show of resistance, was their own little army, more of a shadow than a substance; half-armed, half-naked, worn down by want, and disheartened by defeat. At this moment, a new General had put himself at their head.

He, too, had yielded for a while to the force of circumstances, and acknowledged in appearance the superiority of his adversary by a long and painful retreat. Then, suddenly turning upon him, and baffling his efforts by skilful and rapid manœuvres, he had crippled him in the field, and compelled him to seek safety in flight. Scarcely freed from one enemy, he had hastened to seek out another, advancing boldly into the

heart of his territories, attacking his strong posts, taking some by force of arms, compelling him to abandon others by the skill of his combinations, wrenching from his grasp more than two thirds of his hard-earned conquests, and confining him, though with a battle lost, to a narrow line of coast and one post in the interior. Here was no caprice of fortune. It was only by superior skill, that such results could be obtained ; and what might they not hope for under such a leader ?

Such were the reflections of the Americans in this their camp of repose ; but weightier cares filled the anxious mind of their General, and this respite from labor, which he had won for others, was for him the signal of new and more extensive exertions. Although the troops were in summer quarters, still the campaign was not yet ended, for the enemy was still in force at Orangeburg ; and Greene could not look upon this part of his task as completed, until he had forced them still nearer to the coast. At the same time, the operations in Virginia, where Cornwallis had been so successfully opposed by Lafayette, required his constant attention, and he was longing for the moment when he should be free to hasten to this new scene of action, and measure swords once more with his old antagonist. But this could not be done, until

his possession of the country had been confirmed by some signal success, and the enemy so crippled, as effectually to prevent them from venturing beyond the limits within which he hoped to confine them. Then, indeed, a broad field would be opened, and the conquest of the south, so successfully begun in the Carolinas, might be completed in Virginia.

The first step in this extensive plan was a more efficient organization of the army; but how to accomplish this, in the face of so many prejudices, and such general apathy, was a question of no ordinary difficulty. The favorable moment for the formation of a permanent and efficient force had been suffered to slip by, and men, recovering from the enthusiasm of their first efforts, had learned to look upon the events of the war as things in which they had little concern, unless they were brought directly home to their own doors. Many, who, at the breaking out of the war, would have readily engaged, heart and hand, for the whole term, no matter how long it might last, and felt that there was honor to be won, and a high duty to be filled, even in the ranks, now kept themselves aloof, or, when called out to serve in the militia, chose rather to send a substitute, at any price, than submit to the inconvenience of personal service. In this manner, the price of substitutes was

raised so high, that it became almost impossible to carry on the enlistments for the regular army, whose ranks were growing thinner, from day to day, by disease and the usual chances of war.

Nor had the experience of six years been sufficient to open the eyes of the people to the manifold evils and disadvantages of relying upon the militia. It was in vain that all the principal officers of the army persisted in condemning this erroneous system. Vainly did Washington and Greene portray, in the strongest colors, the additional dangers to which they were exposed by it; the uncertain and fluctuating character which it gave to their operations; the great inconveniences to which it subjected the people themselves; and the heavy expense, which it imposed upon the government, without either the prospect or the possibility of any adequate compensation. The greater part of the army was still composed of men enlisted for short periods, who had hardly the time to make themselves soldiers before their term of service expired. These were so badly clad, and paid so irregularly, that it must, at times, have seemed almost an imposition to ask from them that ready obedience and strict regard to discipline, without which an army becomes far more dangerous to its friends than to its enemies.

Such were the materials with which Greene had carried on the contest thus far. But how could he hope to continue it? There is an extreme point, in all human affairs, beyond which it would be worse than madness to tempt our fortune, and he felt that he had already reached it.

But here a ray of light broke in from North Carolina, where the free action of the Whigs had hitherto been fettered by the presence of the enemy, and the preponderating force of the Tories. Now, however, the arms of America were triumphant; and, although the enemy was still near at hand, he had been checked in the midst of his career by an inferior force, and compelled to abandon the field. What might not one great effort accomplish?

The legislature of the state was convened, and disposed to adopt decided measures. At the head of their councils was Governor Burke, a man full of vigor and energy, and animated by the highest motives. Vigorous resolutions were decided on without delay, and every effort made to carry them into effect. The conduct of the militia at Guilford had left a dark spot upon their name. Their insubordination and desertion had deprived the army of support at its greatest need. It was time to wipe away the stain, and the decree of the legislature

was both politic and just. All those who had refused or neglected to march, or to find a substitute, after having been regularly drafted, were to be held as Continental soldiers for twelve months; and whoever had deserted his colors, when in actual service, was condemned to serve the whole war. Both decrees were enforced, and with the best results.

At the same time, a new draft was ordered, and every exertion made to give it immediate effect; the militia were called out for three months' service from the day of their reaching the army, and arrangements made to keep a body of two thousand constantly on foot. The cavalry was remounted by a supply of two hundred horses, and every effort made to secure a prompt and general compliance with these noble resolves. Still the work went on but slowly. The civil power had been silent so long, that its voice had lost its wonted efficiency, and men were slow to yield that obedience, of which they had forgotten the practice. Arms, too, were wanting, as well as men. The state had none to give. Greene's stock was exhausted, and a part of those in Virginia, as well as other supplies upon which he had been counting, had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the inroad of Cornwallis.

Still something was accomplished, and a timely succor secured to the army.

Virginia was also recovering from her torpor. The failure of her militia had been one of the chief causes of the disaster at Camden, and the unfortunate issue of the siege of Ninety-Six. She was now disposed to make up for the injury which she had done; and General Nelson, who had recently been chosen Governor, wrote to Greene in the warmest terms, offering the assistance of a large body of militia. But Greene had resolved to count no longer upon this uncertain resource, and in his reply called the attention of the Governor to the necessity of filling up the regiments of regulars, and helping to form an army of efficient and well disciplined men. "Your own experience," said he, "no doubt teaches you the great impolicy of depending too much on militia. Regulars alone can insure you safety."

Still the mainspring of all military operations, that which alone can give them consistency and vigor, and make sure the advantages that genius and valor have won, was wanting.

Greene had entered upon his command without money, and his military chest was still empty. The pay of the officers and soldiers

was in arrear, and among the former, some had been reduced to such straits, that they had to choose between throwing up their commissions or coming upon parade in rags. The small sums that had been raised from time to time were spent as fast as they came in. The demands for secret service were constant and pressing, for not a step could be taken without sure intelligence of the designs and movements of the enemy, and this, hard money alone could procure. Never had the pressure been greater than at this moment, when one portion of his operations was drawing to a close, and he was already beginning to prepare himself for severer and more extensive exertions.

New hopes had recently been awakened by the appointment of Robert Morris to the superintendence of finance ;* but the advantages of this measure, although great and lasting to the country in general, were not immediately felt by the southern army, and Greene never received from the new minister that cordial and sincere support, to which he was so justly

* And yet Morris writes to him, on the 10th of September, "The superintendent of finance, in particular, circumstanced as the American superintendent is, must give the fullest applause to an officer, who finds in his own genius an ample resource for want of men, money, clothes, arms, and supplies."

entitled. The bills of credit, which had been placed at his disposal, were altogether unavailable in a country so distracted by domestic dissensions, and where the spirit of commerce was still in its infancy. The drafts upon the superintendent were almost equally unprofitable, and could seldom be negotiated. A supply of hard money was the only means by which the army could be relieved from its present necessities; but this could not be counted upon, and the course adopted by Morris towards Greene was impolitic, if not unjust.

It might have been supposed, that the zeal and firmness of the southern commander had been placed above all suspicion; and that, after having supported his army for more than six months by expedients, and with no other assistance than such as he had derived from a mind fertile in resources, and unsubdued by labor, he could have counted upon a candid and hearty coöperation from all the branches of government. He knew the distress to which Congress was reduced for the want of money, and was prepared to bear his part without repining. He had long foreseen and foretold the consequences, which would inevitably result from the fallacious and timid course pursued by the central government in its transactions with the states.

He had always insisted upon the necessity of supporting, at every hazard, the value of the Continental money, and confining the power of issuing it to the general government. He had raised his voice against the trade laws, and the whole of that unjust and short-sighted policy, by which a country, rich in resources, had been brought to the brink of ruin; and he now repeated his views in an admirable letter to the superintendent. "It is a maxim in republican governments," says he at the close, "never to despair of the commonwealth. Nor do I. But I foresee more difficulties than I readily see how to conquer. I hope to discharge my duty; but events will depend upon means, and upon the hand of Providence."

Morris was a skilful financier, and his administration was attended with great and solid advantages; he assumed the unenviable task at a moment when public credit had fallen to the lowest ebb, and the warmest partisans were becoming lukewarm and disheartened. By a firm and judicious system, by an exact and punctual compliance with his engagements, he raised the sinking confidence of the people, and revived their hopes. Great and enduring honors are due to him for great and enduring services; but neither the necessities of his situation, nor the vexations and embar-

rassments to which he was exposed, can excuse his uncandid and ungenerous treatment of an officer so long tried and so true as Greene.

The assistance, which Greene received at this critical juncture, was the immediate fruit of his own counsels. Among the important consequences, which flowed from the recent success of the American arms, there was none more extensive in its results, or which awakened brighter hopes, than the reëstablishment of the civil government of the state. It would be difficult to paint, in its true colors, the condition to which this unhappy country had been reduced by party zeal and private animosities. The civil power had fallen with the conquest of the state, and the arbitrary rule of military commanders was substituted in its stead. A general feeling of insecurity prevailed among all classes, each party being exposed to sudden attacks from its enemy, and hardly any district enjoying a sufficient respite from war, to leave room for the formation of those habits of regular industry and compliance with law, which form the basis of civil society. Men had learned to look with suspicion upon every face which was not familiar, and to feel that their lives and their possessions were to be guarded at the sword's point. The seed which they

consigned to the ground might form a harvest for the enemy, and the roof which covered them to-night might be ashes before morning; or, what was little better, they might be driven from its shelter to make room for some new occupant, whose private enmity was masked under the specious pretext of party zeal.

All social intercourse was broken off; the harmony of domestic relations was imbittered by the virulence of party; father and son often being ranged on opposite sides, and brother opposed to brother, in the unnatural contest. Not only the usual restraints of law had lost their force, but the common principles of morality had been corrupted, and the minds of men so far perverted as to look with indifference, where they did not actually take a part in deeds, that, in a more tranquil state of society, they would have shrunk from with horror. Life was taken daily without remorse; and acts of inhuman barbarity inflicted in cold blood. The most flagrant robberies were connived at by those, who should have been the first to punish them; and men, who, in ordinary times, would have performed the parts of quiet and industrious citizens, scrupled not to engage in open and barefaced plunder. The sight of five or six strangers would raise an instant alarm, and those who were not strong

enough to defend themselves would tremble at their approach, as if a strange face were necessarily that of an enemy.

Add to this the general poverty and distress, which necessarily arose from the stopping up of the usual channels of commerce; the fields that were left desert, for want of hands to cultivate them, or because their owner was unwilling to sow where another might reap; the decrease of the population by the usual casualties of war, some languishing in the prisons of the enemy, some victims of the sword, some called away to the standard of their country or of their party, and not a few dragging out a miserable existence in a voluntary or compulsive exile.

Even during the most active movements of the campaign, Greene had viewed this state of things with the greatest anxiety, and endeavored, from time to time, to apply all the remedies in his power. The severest measures had been employed to check the outrages of those bandits, who infested the country under the pretext of military service, and orders were given to send every one detected in plundering to camp, where he would at once be tried and punished by martial law. At length the wished-for moment had come, in which the civil power could assume once

more its natural prerogatives; and it was a happy day for Greene, when he welcomed Governor Rutledge to head-quarters.

The zeal and energy of this gentleman had been displayed on more than one trying occasion; he knew thoroughly the spirit of the times, and the state of the country, and was prepared to give his cordial coöperation to all those measures, which the necessities of the moment might require, without even a passing touch of that jealousy, which too often disturbs the harmony of powers so opposite in their principles, and their prerogatives, as the civil and the military. Greene felt as if his mind had been relieved from one great burden, and new strength were infused into him for bearing those that remained.

One of the first acts of the Governor, upon assuming his functions, was an edict for the protection of private property against the lawless bands, by which the country was infested. He was here treading in the steps of Greene, and giving a public proof of the harmony, that existed between them. He flattered himself, too, that he had brought with him the means of alleviating the distress of the army, in the shares of Mr. Morris's bank.

But the result soon showed how little reliance could be placed upon such resources, in

the condition to which the country was then reduced. The shares could not be sold, and it was absolutely necessary to seek out some other expedient. The most salable production of the country was the indigo, which, at that time, was extensively cultivated in the middle counties, and considerable quantities of which were lying on the hands of the owners, either for want of a market, or in the hopes of selling it to greater advantage at some more fortunate moment. This he resolved to impress for the public service. It was not money, but it supplied the means of raising it, and a momentary relief was thus afforded to the suffering army.

Meanwhile Greene's measures, in another quarter, had been attended with signal success, and contributed not a little towards the restoration of that order and tranquillity, which formed one of the chief objects of his care. More than once, during the progress of the war, had the sufferings of the community been increased by sudden inroads of the Indians, who, living near the frontier, could watch their opportunity, and, rushing in where least expected, carry on their devastations almost unresisted, with all the fearful accompaniments of Indian warfare.

These incursions had of late assumed a more

threatening form, by the large number of lawless white men, who, profiting by the distracted state of the country, had united their arms with those of the Indians, serving them as guides to the spots most exposed, and adding to their natural ferocity the stronger stimulants of personal hatred and the thirst of revenge. A severe punishment had already been inflicted upon the savages, and commissioners appointed for the negotiation of a definite peace. But, stimulated by the whites, they had broken in anew upon the western districts, and carried on their ravages far and wide. The present moment was a favorable one for bringing this destructive war to a close, and Pickens was despatched with a sufficient force to bring them to terms. He was familiar with Indian tactics, and knew how to fight them in their own style. He advanced directly towards their territories, penetrated to their principal village, fought them upon their own ground, and compelled them to submission. The commissioners for peace could now make their propositions with security, and a permanent treaty was soon agreed upon, which secured the frontier from this formidable danger.

The expedition of Sumpter, Marion, and Lee, into the lower counties, had not been attended with equal success, although these

officers had displayed their usual gallantry. Still the appearance of the American standard in the neighborhood of Charleston was an important circumstance, and had produced a strong impression, both upon their friends and their enemies. Greene was resolved to give no time for the impression to die away, and prepared to follow up his success by another blow, which should at once free the state of North Carolina from the presence of the enemy, and leave the friends of America at liberty to put forth all their strength in one great effort. A small garrison had been left by Cornwallis at Wilmington, which, insufficient as it was for any active measures, still seemed to keep alive the spirit of disaffection, and to draw away the attention of the government from more important objects.

A rapid and well concealed movement might take this post by surprise, and thus annihilate the last remains of the British dominion in North Carolina. Greene would then be free to turn the whole weight of his arms against the only army, that still kept the field before him, and, forcing it back upon Charleston, and closely confining it there, hasten to put himself at the head of the forces in Virginia. A trusty officer, Rudolph, of the legion, was despatched to examine the position, and, the

report proving favorable, instant preparations were made to carry out the enterprise. Lee was selected for this delicate attempt, where everything depended upon promptitude and secrecy. The approach of a convoy from Virginia afforded a favorable pretext for detaching the legion in that direction; and, the pine barrens once reached, the route lay through a country where it was scarcely possible that the enemy could get warning of the danger. Minute instructions were prepared, and the detachment was upon the point of moving, when despatches from the north brought intelligence that the French fleet might be expected on the coast in the course of the autumn, when it would become necessary to prepare to meet them, and combine his operations with theirs at any point where they might present themselves. In this change of circumstances, he resolved to confine his efforts, for the moment, to the army in South Carolina.

But the feelings of the American General were condemned to undergo a severer trial, than any to which they had been exposed since the day in which he set his name to the condemnation of André. It was during this first encampment at the High Hills of Santee, that he received intelligence of the execution

of Colonel Hayne ; an act of wanton barbarity, which no pretext of policy can ever palliate. Hayne was known and beloved by many in the army, and the tidings of his death were received with deep and general indignation. Greene forgot, for a moment, his usual self-command ; the only time, it is said, that this ever occurred during the whole course of these trying scenes ; and he threatened retaliation in terms of deep and bitter resolve.

The momentary ebullition soon passed away, but the resolution remained unchanged. It had constantly been his aim to carry on the war upon the most liberal footing, and soften down as many as he could of its horrors. His treatment of prisoners had been uniformly generous and kind, and he had done all in his power to check the bitter animosities, between Whig and Tory, which had led to the effusion of so much blood, and converted so large a portion of the country into a desert. But this last outrage was too wanton a violation of every principle, to be passed over in silence, and, severe as the law of retaliation is, he was resolved to enforce it. A short delay, however, was necessary, and for reasons which he could not then divulge. A large number of American prisoners, who had been exchanged by the

late cartel, were still in the power of the British, and any hasty measure might endanger their safety. Meanwhile, "I do not intend to retaliate upon the Tory officers," says he, in a letter to Marion, written a few hours after the news of Hayne's death had reached him, "but upon the British." The army entered fully into the feelings of their commander, and there was but one opinion as to the course to be pursued.

The officers even went a step beyond, and, not knowing how to interpret Greene's silence, addressed to him a respectful but spirited declaration, urging him to retaliate this inhuman outrage upon the enemy, and declaring their readiness to encounter the additional dangers, in which their own lives would be involved by this measure. At length, the news of the safe arrival of the American prisoners in the Delaware came, and on the same day appeared Greene's proclamation, in which he declared his intention "to make reprisals for all such inhuman insults, as often as they take place." Letters to the same purport were addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, the commandant at Charleston, and to Lord Cornwallis. A serious alarm prevailed among the British officers. Greene's firmness was well known, and men

naturally shrunk with horror from this new danger, which hung over them.

Balfour referred to Cornwallis for justification, and at the same time deputed his secretary, Captain Barry, with full powers to discuss and arrange the question. But, before this officer could fulfil his mission, he was made prisoner at the battle of the Eutaws, where a large number of officers of different grades shared his captivity. It was now satisfactorily ascertained, that this odious violation of the laws of war would never again be repeated; and the rapid successes of the American arms were a pledge for the observance of this declaration. Had the author of the crime fallen into the hands of the Americans, nothing could have saved him from immediate punishment. But he was in safety, and, one of the chief objects of the proclamation having been fully attained, the question was finally referred to Congress, and terminated by a general exchange.

CHAPTER XIX.

*Greene marches in Pursuit of the Enemy.—
Battle of Eutaw Springs.—The Army en-
camps again at the High Hills of Santee.*

THE hope of giving some relief to his wearied and suffering troops, and of augmenting his strength by the accession of the North Carolina levies and militia, had led Greene to check his progress in mid career, and while his antagonists were still within striking distance. But it was with the intention of waiting no longer, than was absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of these objects; then, said he, "we will seek the enemy wherever we can find them, unless they take sanctuary within the gates of Charleston."

Meanwhile his efforts were unrelaxed for harassing and annoying the British army, which was now encamped within sixteen miles of him, upon the opposite banks of the Santee, and secured from a sudden attack by the intervention of this river and the Congaree, neither of which could be passed but at the regular ferries. To secure the prompt performance of this important service, Washington and Lee were detached in opposite directions,

the former to coöperate with Marion, and the latter with Henderson. Never was a duty better performed. The enemy's foraging parties were cut off, their communications interrupted, and no resource was left to them for supplies, but the districts between their own camp and Charleston.

Greene was all this time looking anxiously for the reinforcements that had been promised him, and calculating the chances of an attack. It was with the greatest difficulty that he could restrain his impatience. "We must have a victory or ruin," says he, in a letter to Lee; "nor will I spare anything to obtain it." On the 22d of August, the camp at the High Hills was broken up, and the army again put in motion. The rivers were swollen by recent rains, and the country along their banks under water. To cross the Wateree, it was necessary to ascend its left bank as far as Camden, which he reached by easy marches on the 25th. He had hoped by this circuitous route to make it easier for his reinforcements to meet him at the general rendezvous at Friday's Ferry, when he was resolved, without losing a moment, to march against the enemy. But one disappointment followed upon another; and it seemed as if all his measures to draw forth the resources of the country were, by some strange fatality, condemned to fail.

He had counted upon a body of a hundred and fifty men, which had been raised under special powers by Colonel Jackson, of Georgia ; and they were actually on their way to join him, when they were seized with the small-pox, by which fifty of them were carried off, and the survivors so much broken down as to render them unfit for service. Thirty-five hundred militia had been promised him from North Carolina, and only four hundred had joined him. About two hundred more, who should have been at Camden four days before him, were still lingering on the road, and could hardly be expected up in less than four or five days more. Shelby and Seviere, who had set out with seven hundred of their select followers, all strong and hardy mountaineers, men tried in the field, and inured to hardship and danger, had turned back when already far advanced on their way, and disbanded their followers, as if their services were no longer required after the retreat of the British. And, to complete the catalogue of disappointments, Sumpter, whom he had apprized of his intention of resuming active operations the moment that he could draw together a sufficient force to warrant it, had, a short time before, dismissed the greater portion of his men on furlough, and withdrawn to his plantation.

So many disappointments, in such rapid succession, would have shaken the courage of almost any man. But Greene had been trained in the severest of schools, and early learned that the first duty of a commander is self-reliance. "For know," says he, in a letter from Camden to one of his officers, "that I never despair nor shrink at difficulties; but our prospects are not flattering."

Still he was resolved to continue his advance, and, crossing the river, took the road to Howell's Ferry, on the Congaree, where the state troops, under Henderson, were stationed, and a body of militia was collecting. The weather continued sultry, and the heat oppressive, and to give his troops all the relief in his power, he moved forward by slow marches, and in the cooler hours of the day. Time was thus given for Marion, who had been detached some time before upon a distant excursion for the protection of the rich rice districts of Pon Pon, to come up, and for the militia to reach their rendezvous. With these forces he intended to attack the enemy, who, by his last advice, was still lying at Thompson's, near M'Cord's Ferry, about fifteen miles from his own point of crossing.

But the alarm had already been given; and on the 27th, while he was still several miles

from the river, he learned that they were in full retreat. The next day he reached the ferry, where he was joined by Pickens, with his militia, and the state troops under Henderson, and, crossing the river, continued his march along its right bank, Lee and Henderson in advance to procure intelligence, and the main body following at supporting distance. A small party, which was captured by the exploring cavalry under O'Neale, confirmed the intelligence of the enemy's retreat; though how far it might be pushed he could not yet ascertain. He resolved, therefore, to halt for a few days, both to give time for his adversary to develop his plans, and for Marion to effect his junction, and accordingly encamped at Motte's, near the position which the enemy had just abandoned. Here he ascertained that they had halted at the Eutaw Springs, about forty miles lower down the river, and, having received a reinforcement, were making preparations for the establishment of a permanent post. This he was resolved to prevent at every hazard.

Pickens and Lee were instantly thrown in front, the former to watch the garrison at Orangeburg, which was now effectually cut off from the main body, and the latter to collect intelligence. On the 5th of September, the army was put in motion, and the baggage sent back

under a guard to Howell's Ferry, on the line of retreat. Wishing to husband the strength of his men, to give full time to Marion, and at the same time disguise his real intentions, Greene still continued to move by slow and easy marches. On the evening of the 7th, Marion joined him at Burdell's plantation, within seven miles of the Eutaws. This was the last corps upon which he could now count, and every preparation was made for advancing upon the enemy with return of day. That night he slept in the midst of his troops, wrapped in his cloak, and with the root of a shady olive tree for his pillow.

Stewart, who commanded the British, was all this while living in fancied security, little dreaming of the storm that was about to burst upon his head. At daybreak, his foraging parties went on, as usual, to collect sweet potatoes for the camp, and one of them advanced far up the road, which led to the bivouac of the Americans. But at six in the morning, two deserters from the North Carolina line came in with the startling intelligence, that the Americans were at hand, and pressing on to give him battle. Unlooked for as this was, still it was not unwelcome, and, like a gallant soldier, he instantly prepared himself for the trial. Coffin, with a hundred and forty infantry and fifty cavalry, was sent forward to observe the enemy; the foraging parties were

recalled, and the troops drawn out for battle. No situation could have been more favorable for an army on the defensive.

On the right was the Eutaw Creek, which, issuing from a deep ravine, ran along under high banks, thickly bordered with brush and underwood. The only open ground was a large field, which had been cleared away on both sides of the road; and this was commanded by a brick house, two stories high, with garret windows, which answered the purpose of a third story, and with walls strong enough to withstand such light artillery as that of the Americans. A garden in its rear, surrounded by a strong palisade, extended down to the bank of the Eutaw, and, together with a barn and several smaller buildings, formed a strong rallying point in case of disaster. The approach from the rear was embarrassed by springs and deep hollow ways, and on the right by the ravine and a thicket rendered almost impenetrable by a low, cragged shrub, called, in the language of the country, blackjack. The rest of the country was covered with wood in every direction, for miles and miles. The new road entered the open field about two hundred yards from the house, and, running parallel with the creek, forked into two branches directly in front of the house and garden, and about fifty yards from them, one branch leading to Charleston,

and the other continuing in a straight line to a plantation on the river. The British camp lay in the field, under cover of the house; and on both sides of the road, and where the troops marched out to form for battle, their tents were left standing.

The British commander knew well how much might be made out of his position, and, in drawing up his army, carefully turned to account every advantage which it offered him. His forces were slightly superior to the Americans, amounting in all to two thousand three hundred men, of all arms, and men, who, notwithstanding a part of them had never been in action, had been carefully trained by that exact and rigid discipline, which gives to a commander the fullest assurance, that every order which he issues will be understood and obeyed. With this feeling, he drew up his little army in the border of the woods, a few paces in front of his camp, in one line, with its right, composed of the third regiment, the Buffs, resting on the Charleston road; Cruger, with the remains of several corps, in the centre; and two veteran regiments, the sixty-third and sixty-fourth, in air on the left. For the protection of the right flank, Major Majoribanks was posted, with a battalion of light infantry, in a thicket of blackjack, his right resting on the Eutaw, and his left stretching in an oblique line towards the

flank of the Buffs. Coffin, at the head of his cavalry, guarded the left flank, which received no protection from the nature of the ground; and two separate bodies of infantry in the rear formed a reserve, ready to act as circumstances might require. The artillery was distributed along the line, and a detachment of infantry, with one field-piece, was pushed forward about a mile, to skirmish and retard the enemy while these arrangements were making.

Meanwhile day had dawned upon the American bivouac, where many a gallant soldier had opened his eyes for the last time to the returning light. Greene was already on horseback, preparing for the conflict, which was to decide the fate of the Carolinas. He had ranged his army in two columns, each containing the materials of a line of battle. The first was composed of militia in four small battalions, two of North Carolina, who, under Colonel Malmedy, were to form the centre, and two of South Carolina, one for the right, to be led by Marion, and one under Pickens, for the left. In the second came the Continentals, the true force of the army, in three small brigades of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.

The North Carolina brigade formed three small battalions of new levies, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ash, and Majors Armstrong and Blunt,

and was led by General Sumner, who, by virtue of his rank, was to command on the right. Campbell was to hold the centre with his Virginians, two battalions under Major Sneed and Captain Edmonds; and the left was assigned to Williams, with two battalions of Marylanders, the best corps in the army, and led by Howard, so distinguished for his brilliant valor, and Hardman. Lee with his legion, and Henderson with the state troops under Hampton, Middleton, and Polk, formed the van, and were charged with the protection of the flank. Washington and Kirkwood closed the rear, forming a reserve of cavalry and the gallant infantry of Delaware. The artillery, two three pounders and two sixes, moved with the columns to which it was attached; the three pounders under Captain-Lieutenant Gaines with the first, and the sixes, under Captain Browne, with the second.

At four o'clock, the columns were put in motion, and advanced, at a slow step, by the main road to the Eutaws. Day had broken clear and calm, and the sun was rising in a cloudless sky. Their road lay through woods, partly open, with here and there a thicket, or a close growth of underwood; and as day advanced, the trees cast a grateful shade over them, tempering by their shadows the rays of the sun, which, even in September, were fierce and burning. Slowly and

cautiously they moved onward, in the hope of falling by surprise upon some picket or patrol, cheerfully and firmly, too, for their hearts were beating with high hope and stern resolve, and there was hardly a man in that little army, who did not feel as if his own arm and example might cast a more than common weight in that day's balance.

It was now eight o'clock, and they were within four miles of the Eutaws, when Armstrong, who led the reconnoitring party of the van, announced the approach of a body of the enemy. Lee instantly halted, forwarding the intelligence to the General, and, drawing up his troops in a line across the road, the cavalry in an open wood on the right, and Henderson with the state troops in a thicket on the left, awaited the attack. In a few moments, the British came in sight, pressing hard upon the heels of Armstrong. It was Coffin's detachment, and, mistaking the Americans for a party of militia, they rushed to the onset with the confidence of an easy victory. Henderson received them with a close fire, which threw them into disorder; the legion infantry charged briskly with the bayonet, and the cavalry, by a rapid movement, gained their rear. Unable to stand the shock, they broke and fled on all sides, leaving forty prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and several dead and wounded on

the field, a cheering augury for the impending contest.

Believing this to be the enemy's van, Greene now displayed his first column, and continued to move forward in order of battle. The difficulty of marching in line retarded their advance, though they moved on as briskly as the nature of the ground would permit. Lee was still in the van; and in about an hour he came up with the enemy's advance, a body of infantry with one piece of artillery, a mile from their camp. Despatching a messenger to Greene, to advise him of the presence of the British, and ask for support, he instantly advanced to the attack.

In a few moments, Williams made his appearance, with Gaines and his field-pieces, which, coming up in full gallop, were instantly unlimbered and opened upon the enemy. The first line soon followed; and Lee and Henderson, diverging to the right and left, firing obliquely as they moved, took post upon its flanks, according to the order of battle. The van was quickly driven in, and the whole line, pressing forward and firing as it advanced, soon found itself in presence of the British army. Perceiving at once that he had as yet nothing but militia opposed to him, Stewart ordered his men to hold firm, and repel the attack without advancing; for he knew that militia had hardly

ever stood the fire of regular troops, and counted upon an easy victory.

But on this day, Marion and Pickens were at their head; and under their guidance the militia felt like veterans. The artillery, on both sides, kept up an incessant fire, and Gaines plied his pieces with the utmost precision and effect, till they were both dismounted and rendered unserviceable. At about the same time, one of the British shared the same fate. Meanwhile the first line was bearing up against the whole weight of the British army. Their blood had been warmed by the preceding skirmish, and their fire now ran from flank to flank throughout the line, with the fearful precision of trained marksmen. It was answered by the deep, regular volleys of the British musketry, whose rolling sound mingled with the thunder of the artillery and the shouts of the combatants.

And still the militia held their ground without wavering; and still the British line, firm at its post, kept up its deadly fire. The legion infantry was engaged with the sixty-third on the right; and on the left Henderson was exposed to a galling fire from Majoribanks, secure behind the cover of his thicket. It was a severe trial for new troops, and the gallant Henderson would have brought the question to an immediate decision by charging the British wing behind

its covert. But his presence could not be spared from the flank, which he had been ordered to command; and his men, entering into the spirit of their leader, maintained their position with unflinching firmness.

But the contest in the centre, where the untrained militia was exposed to the incessant fire of the sixty-fourth and part of the British centre, was now becoming too unequal to last much longer; and, the enemy making a forward movement in the ardor of battle, the Americans gave ground, and began to retire, though not till they had fired seventeen rounds a man. Sumner was instantly ordered up to fill the chasm. This corps, too, was composed of new levies; for Greene was holding back the strength of his line, the battalion of Williams and Howard, for the final struggle. Sumner came handsomely into action, ranging with the corps of Lee and Henderson, still warmly engaged, and thus forming the line of battle anew. The conflict now raged with redoubled fury, and the enemy, unable to withstand the galling fire of the Americans, were forced back to their first position.

It was a critical moment, for the greater part of the second line of the Americans, and the whole of their cavalry and reserve, were still fresh, while the whole of the British army, except the reserve, had already been engaged. With-

out loss of time, Stewart brought up his reserve, and ordered Coffin to take post with the cavalry on the left, where the open ground exposed him to a charge from the American horse. His line was thus condensed, and, feeling the support, bore up nobly against the fierce fire of their antagonists. On the left, Henderson was wounded, and compelled to retire from the field, which produced a momentary hesitation among his men. But Hampton instantly put himself at their head, and, seconded by Polk and Middleton, soon succeeded in restoring order. Sumner's brigade, too, bore itself gallantly, fighting with the coolness and resolution of veterans; and the whole line still continued to gain ground. But the British line, strengthened by its reserve, still overbalanced them; and, after a fierce and obstinate resistance, the American centre was again compelled to retire. The British pressed forward with loud shouts, and in the ardor of advance, their line became disordered. This was the moment for which Greene had been anxiously waiting, and now was the time for a decisive charge.

Williams and Campbell were ordered to advance with trailed arms, and, reserving their fire, to sweep the field with the bayonet. The order was received with a shout of exultation, and the two brigades, rivals in glory, sprang

forward to the charge. At the same time, Lee, observing that the American right extended beyond the British left, ordered Rudolph to turn their flank, and pour in a raking fire. The air rang with the shouts of the two armies, the British pouring in a close and quickly repeated fire, and awaiting the shock with unflinching firmness. Obedient to their orders, the gallant brigade of Marylanders pressed onward, amid a shower of bullets, without pulling a trigger, well knowing that at this moment it was by the bayonet alone, that victory could be secured. But the Virginians, less trained to the desperate struggle, returned the enemy's fire, endangering the legion infantry in its delicate movement upon the flank. Lee galloped down the line, to ask the meaning of the fire. Campbell was at the head of his brigade, and, as he was listening to Lee's question, a bullet struck him on the breast, and he dropped speechless upon the pommel of his saddle. Lee directed his orderly to bear him to the rear, and returned to his post, where his infantry, having succeeded in turning the enemy's flank, was now bearing down all before them.

The alarm on the British left soon spread to their centre, and one by one their regiments gave way, and shrunk from the shock of the bayonet, all but the gallant Bluffs, who received

the charge with a firm front, returning thrust for thrust, till many on both sides had fallen, mutually transfixed by each other's weapons. But the ardor of the Americans was not to be withstood, and pressing forward in a dense line, and pouring in a close fire upon the ranks, already shrinking from the bayonet, they swept them from the field. The rout was complete, the enemy flying in all directions, some through the fields, some along the Charleston road, carrying the terror of their defeat up to the very gates of the city; so that large bodies of negroes were instantly set to work to fell trees and lay them across the road for defence; while the staff officers were hastily breaking up their stores, and staving their rum puncheons to keep the liquor from their own men, who, exhausted by fatigue, and disheartened by defeat, sought it everywhere with the utmost avidity.

The Americans pressed on in pursuit, though the necessity of preserving their ranks compelled them to advance more slowly than their antagonists. In a moment they were in the open field, and among the tents which were still standing, filled with stores, and, what in that moment was more valued than the richest plunder, liquor and food. For many the temptation was too strong to be resisted; and, breaking from their ranks, they scattered them-

selves through the camp, eagerly seizing upon the unwonted delicacies. But some, and among them the gallant infantry of the legion, passed on uncontaminated, following close upon the footsteps of the British, and making prisoners at every step.

Now it was that his fortunate choice of his battle-field stood the British commander at need, when every other resource would have failed. The brick house lay directly before the flying troops, and Sheridan, obedient to his instructions, threw himself into it with the New York volunteers. The Americans were at their heels, and for a few moments it was a hard struggle to see which would win the point; for some of Lee's men had nearly entered pellmell with the enemy, and one of them, half way within the door, stood struggling to force his entrance, his comrades pushing him in from without, and the enemy from within thrusting him back. At last, the British prevailed, and closing the door upon the disappointed Americans, and leaving, in their haste, several of their own men and officers on the outside, hastened to the upper stories, and commenced a heavy fire from the windows. Placing their prisoners before them to shelter themselves from the fire, the Americans retreated out of range of the house.

Meanwhile the conflict on the British left, where Majoribanks fought from behind the shelter of his impenetrable thicket, was raging with unremitted fury. When the British line broke under the fierce charge of Williams and Campbell, Washington had been ordered up with the reserve to dislodge Majoribanks from his covert, and Hampton directed to support him. They moved at the same moment; but Washington, spurring forward with his cavalry, was first upon the ground, and attempted in vain to pierce the thicket with his horse. But there was an open space in its rear, between the spring and the position held by Majoribanks; and if he could reach this, the ground was favorable for a charge. Wheeling, therefore, by sections, he attempted the delicate manœuvre directly under the guns of the enemy, who, pouring in a destructive fire, brought down every officer but two, and spread death and confusion through his ranks. Washington's own horse was shot under him; and, while he was yet struggling to disentangle himself, he was bayoneted and taken prisoner.

Kirkwood and Hampton were now at hand, and the Delawares pressed forward with the bayonet; while Hampton, collecting the shattered remains of Washington's cavalry, still bleeding, but not disheartened by their disaster, made

another trial with his horse. But the position was too strong to be forced, and though the Delawares held their ground, Hampton was compelled to retire.

The defeat of the British line, however, exposed Majoribanks on his left; and to reopen his communication, he began slowly to retreat towards the house, still clinging to the cover of the woods and ravine. Here he took a new position with his rear to the creek, and his left resting on the picketed garden, while Coffin drew up his cavalry in an open field to the west of the Charleston road. Thus supported on his flanks, and protected by the fire from the house, Stewart attempted to form once more his line of battle.

Greene, too, had pressed forward to complete his victory, and brought up his artillery to batter the house. But the pieces were too light to make any impression upon its solid walls, and the deadly fire from the windows swept down everything within its range. A part of the Americans were still scattered among the tents, and Coffin, seizing the favorable moment, spurred forward to charge them, while Majoribanks made a corresponding movement on the left. The legion cavalry was ordered up to meet the attack; but the order being unfortunately delivered to Eggleston, second in command, instead

of Lee, who was with his infantry, the charge, though gallantly made, was unsuccessful, and Coffin, pressing on, forced his way among the scattered Americans.

At this moment, Hampton came up, and, after an obstinate conflict of hand to hand, forced the British cavalry back under cover of the house. The pursuit brought him within range of Majoribanks; and, this gallant body pouring in one more well directed fire, the American cavalry was again broken and repulsed. Collecting his scattered troops, Hampton retired under cover of the woods, and Majoribanks, issuing from his covert, seized the American artillery, every man belonging to which had been killed or wounded, and dragged it off in triumph. Then, returning to the charge, he drove before him the scattered remnants of the Americans, still lingering among the tents. The British line was now formed, and prepared to renew the battle. Greene, too, rallied his forces in the border of the wood. Most of his corps were still entire, and he might have renewed the battle with advantage. But his object had been accomplished; the enemy had been driven from the field; and though an unlooked-for incident had deprived him of a full victory, he was sure that the British commander, unable to hold his position, would, in a few hours, fall back upon Charleston, and leave the field open to the Americans.

This was the object at which he had aimed, and this was now secure. His men had been engaged for nearly four hours, and their ammunition was almost exhausted; the sun was now high, and the heat, already excessive, constantly increasing. He resolved, therefore, to collect his wounded and prisoners, and, contenting himself with a drawn battle, retire to the spot from which he had set out in the morning; for, although he felt how much was to be gained by holding his present position in the immediate vicinity of the enemy, yet that was the only place where water could be had in sufficient abundance; and his men, worn down by their exertions, and fainting under the scorching heat, had already exhausted the little stock in their canteens. Hampton was left on the ground with a strong picket, and Lee despatched to the British commander with a proposal, that both armies should unite in paying the last offices to the dead.

The first hours after a battle, be it victory or defeat, are among the most trying of a soldier's life. Greene had no sooner reached his halting-place, and given the necessary orders for watching the movements of the enemy, than he hastened to visit his wounded, a duty which he had always held sacred, but which, on this bloody day, had become indescribably painful. Of the gallant little army, which had

marched with him in the morning from that same spot, one hundred and thirty had been killed on the field, and among them seventeen commissioned officers. Four more officers were lying before him mortally wounded, and twenty-nine with wounds more or less dangerous. His whole loss had been five hundred and fifty-five, rank and file. When he entered the miserably little hovel where the officers of Washington's corps were lying, his feelings almost overcame him at the melancholy sight. They were all gallant young men, full of hope and of promise, his tried companions in many a toilsome march and day of peril. "It was a trying duty imposed on you," said he, "but it was unavoidable; I could not help it."

Meanwhile, Marion and Lee had been ordered to gain the British line of retreat, and, intercepting the reinforcement which might be called up from Charleston, hold Stewart at bay until the main army could again be brought up against him. But the British General had been too severely crippled to think of remaining in so dangerous a neighborhood a moment longer than he could help; and accordingly, destroying his stores, and leaving behind him seventy of his wounded, he pressed forward by a hasty retreat on the road to Charleston. Marion and Lee hung close upon his rear, and cut

off some small parties in brilliant and sudden charges; but reinforcements met him midway upon his route, rendering it impossible for them to oppose any effectual obstacles to his retreat. Greene had also hastened forward the moment he learned that the enemy was in motion; but they had already got the start, and it would have been too great a call upon his wearied soldiers to ask them to continue the pursuit. Accordingly he halted for a short time at the Eutaws, and then, crossing the Santee, at Nelson's Ferry, on the 12th, returned by slow and easy marches to his camp, at the High Hills of Santee.

CHAPTER XX.

Joined by a Detachment from the Northern Army under St. Clair.—Drives the Enemy's Forces to the Neighborhood of Charleston.

NEVER was repose more needed. The diseases of the climate were at their height; and the fatigue and exposure of the last forty-eight hours, the burning heat of the sun by day, and the heavy dews of night, had diffused

them through the army with a fearful rapidity. It was only by water, that the wounded could be conveyed to camp, and the miasma of the low grounds around the river, while it increased the sufferings of the sick, extended its poisonous influence to those engaged in guarding and transporting them. When the army reached its encampment, seven days after the battle, not more than a thousand men could be mustered fit for duty.

The militia, too, as usual, soon disbanded, leaving the whole duty of the camp, now increased by the additional burden of six hundred wounded, two hundred and fifty of the enemy and three hundred and fifty Americans, upon the regulars ; and, as if nothing were to be left wanting in the trials of this devoted little army, the hospital stores were nearly exhausted, and more than one of the gallant men, who had shed their blood so freely, and courted death so boldly in the field, was condemned to perish by a lingering and distressing disease, for the want of proper medicines. The physicians and surgeons were worn down by constant exertions upon a line of hospitals, extending along the route of the army as far up as Charlotte ; and many of them, too, were affected with the fevers of the season. Never had Greene's feelings been

put to a severer trial ; for the misery, that he was thus condemned to witness, had been brought on by the noblest efforts in a cause which all held sacred ; and he, to whom they looked up with confidence and veneration, and whose orders they had obeyed so cheerfully, had no other alleviation to offer them, in the midst of their sufferings, than words of encouragement and praise. Yet this was something, and his constant visits to the hospitals, his kind and affectionate inquiries, and soothing expressions by the bed-side of the sick and wounded, drew still closer the ties which bound him to his soldiers, and left an impression upon their minds, which was never effaced.

Reduced as he was in strength, still it was necessary to prepare himself, without loss of time, for the renewal of active operations. On the very day on which he had fought the British at the Eutaws, he received advices of the advance of the northern army against Cornwallis, and the probability that he would attempt to make good his escape to Charleston, by a forced march through North Carolina. The southern army was the only one that could be counted upon for baffling this effort, which, if successful, would have been attended with the most disastrous consequences. Greene resolved at once to throw himself be-

fore his old adversary, and do everything in his power to check his progress, or hold him at bay until Washington could come from the north with all his forces.

He addressed himself once more to the local authorities, and the influential Whigs, employing every argument which he thought adapted to act upon their minds in this critical juncture. From his camp at the Hills, he could easily push forward upon the enemy's route, the moment that their march became known; and, with timely reinforcements, he might justly flatter himself with the hope of arresting their career. Fortunately for his wearied troops, the attempt was not made until it had become too late to effect it, and they were allowed to enjoy in quiet the few weeks of that repose, which they so much needed.

Thus the months of September and October wore slowly away. A new effort of the royal party in North Carolina had been easily suppressed, and was soon followed by the evacuation of Wilmington, which relieved the Whigs from all further apprehensions from their domestic enemies. A strong army of the British, two thousand in number, supported by a reinforcement of three hundred, left their old station of Fairlawn, had been pushed forward as far up as Thedd's plantation, three miles above

Nelson's Ferry ; but they contented themselves with plundering the country in their immediate neighborhood ; and this movement, at a season so unfavorable for military operations, was justly regarded as an attempt to win back, by bravado, the hold on public opinion, which they had lost by the battle of the Eutaws.

Greene contented himself with covering the county with his light troops, as far as his strength allowed, and in the mean while continued, with unwearied diligence, his preparations for taking the field in force, at the return of cold weather. The term of service of many of his men was drawing to a close, and it was with no small degree of anxiety, that he cast about him for the means of supplying their places. His recruits from Maryland and Delaware, nearly seven hundred in number, had been stopped, on their march, to assist in the siege of Yorktown. "Our situation," says he, in the letter which he addressed to Washington, on receiving this intelligence, "is truly distressing, and the want of a reinforcement very pressing ; but if it will interfere with more important concerns, I am very willing to struggle with every difficulty and inconvenience." And struful, he did, though difficulties and anxieties nosickened upon him from every quarter, and the spirits of his officers,

who hitherto had held up so boldly, began at length to flag. "We are deserted," said some among them, as they looked around them upon the dangers and trials that environed them; "we are deserted; let us retire." "No," said Greene, with the accent of immovable resolution, "I will save the country or perish in the attempt."

At length, on the 9th of November, came the joyful tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis. It was received with the firing of guns, and shouts of joy, and all the tokens by which an army distinguishes its days of festivity; the provost was thrown open, and a general pardon extended to all offenders. Officers and men united in mutual congratulations, as they seemed to catch from afar the first glimpse of that quiet haven, towards which they had been struggling so faithfully and so long.

Greene had all along flattered himself with the hope of drawing the French fleet south, to coöperate in the siege of Charleston, the moment that Yorktown should surrender; and fearing lest Washington, from motives of personal delicacy, might hesitate in bringing forward his own army, he had urged him, in the strongest terms, to act without any regard to the change which such a measure would necessarily produce in his own position. "I

shall be equally happy," said he, "in serving as subordinate or as principal, provided the public good is the object, and the happiness of society promoted." But neither arguments nor entreaties could move the resolution of the French commander, and even the simpler task of transporting to some convenient post the reinforcements, which were destined for the southern army, was refused. And St. Clair, who was despatched with a strong body, immediately after the fall of Yorktown, was compelled to encounter the fatigue of a long march over land, and through districts laid waste by the desolating hand of war.

Advised of the approach of this detachment, Greene resolved to resume, at once, active operations, and, completing the conquest of the small tract, that still remained in the hands of the enemy, to make a strong effort for the liberation of Georgia. Towards the close of October, he had succeeded in replacing the cannon lost at the Eutaws. Shelby and Seviere had now joined him with five hundred volunteers from the mountains; his infantry had been strengthened by one hundred and sixty recruits from North Carolina; and although the ranks were still thin, and his stock of ammunition nearly exhausted, he resolved to take

the field without further delay, and endeavor to supply by skill what he wanted in positive strength.

The moral force of the British army had been completely prostrated in the battle of the Eutaws. Until then the prestige of victory had constantly remained with them, notwithstanding the fatal consequences which had followed upon every battle; and the partisans of the royal arms, although compelled to acknowledge the superior prowess of the American horse, had hitherto maintained, with some show of reason, that the infantry of their adversaries could never face them in the field. But at the Eutaws the cavalry had been paralyzed by the nature of the ground, while the militia had stood firm against the united strength of the whole British line, and the regulars had driven them from the field at the point of the bayonet.

From that day, the confidence of the English in their own superiority was destroyed past all recovery; and their subsequent operations betray a want of firmness and vigor, which showed clearly enough, to every observer, to which side the victory belonged. Still a portion of the country between the Cooper River and the Edisto, together with the islands along the coast, were in their pos-

session. Stewart was encamped at Wantoot, with upwards of two thousand men; a small post was still kept up at Fairlawn; and a garrison of four hundred infantry, with some militia, and a hundred and fifty cavalry, held Dorchester, on the Ashley. Disease had made great ravages among all of these troops, completing the despondency which had struck so deeply at the Eutaws.

But with all this, the English army was still superior to the American, both in numbers and in equipments; and it was only by a delicate estimate of the moral results of his recent success, upon his own men as well as upon theirs, that Greene could venture to place himself within striking distance. Marion was ordered to act in the districts between the Santee and Charleston, covering the left wing of the army, while Sumpter took post at Orangeburg, overawing the loyalists, and within covering distance of the line of retreat. The main body, under Williams, was to cross by Simon's and M'Cord's Ferries, and advance through Orangeburg to the Fourholes Creek, a branch of the Edisto. For himself he reserved a more brilliant and hazardous enterprise, an attempt upon the post at Dorchester, which he hoped either to come upon by surprise, or to drive the enemy away from by the mere terror of his name.

On the 18th of November, the army was again put in motion, and crossed the Wateree and Congaree. Greene remained with the main body until they had passed the Congaree, and then, taking with him four hundred men, two hundred horse and two hundred light infantry, pushed forward by rapid marches, through woods, and swamps, and unfrequented ways, towards Dorchester. The cavalry were thrown in advance, and, marching upon a broad front, used every possible precaution for concealing their movements from the enemy. Everybody, on their route, who was thought capable of conveying intelligence of their movements, was secured, and the rapidity of their march diminished the chance of discovery.

But the region through which they passed held many a partisan of the royal cause, ready to risk life and all in its service. By one of these, intelligence of the approach of the Americans was conveyed to the commandant at Dorchester during the night, a few hours only before that which had been fixed upon for the attack. He instantly drew in his outposts, and sent out patrols upon the path of the Americans. One of them fell in with Hampton, at the head of the cavalry, and was instantly routed with a heavy loss. They fell back with precipitation upon the main body,

which sallied out to their support, at the sight of the Americans, but, as the victorious cavalry rushed forward to the attack, declined the combat, and retired.

Disappointed in the hope of coming upon his enemy by surprise, Greene now proceeded to examine their position, with the intention of driving them from it by main force. While engaged in his observations, his presence became known to the enemy, who, destroying all their stores, and breaking up in the night with the utmost precipitation, retreated to the Quarter House, within six miles of Charleston. By a simultaneous movement, Stewart, who lay at Goose Creek Bridge, seven miles to the east of Dorchester, broke up his camp, and retreated upon the same point. Thus the British forces became concentrated in the islands contiguous to the city, and the narrow neck of land between the Cooper River and the great bend in the Ashley. The army of South Carolina had become the garrison of Charleston.

Thus Greene had accomplished his object without striking a blow, and, by a bold and brilliant enterprise, confirmed the impressions already so deeply rooted, both among his friends and his enemies. The admiration of his own officers was expressed in the warmest terms. "Your success at Dorchester," says Williams,

in a letter written while these feelings were at their height, "would make your enemies hate themselves, if all circumstances were generally known; and the same knowledge would make your friends admire the adventure even more than they do." And Washington, whose applause Greene valued so highly, acknowledging, in a letter to Laurens, "the report of the judicious and successful movement of General Greene, by which he compelled the enemy to abandon their outposts," adds an expression of approbation, which, if it ever was communicated to the object of it, must have more than repaid him for many a day of toil and suffering. "This brilliant manœuvre," says he, "is another proof of the singular abilities which that officer possesses."

It was no small disappointment to Greene, that his antagonist got off so cheaply; but still, in this, as in nearly all his enterprises, his chief object had been obtained, and he now proceeded to examine at leisure the tract of country, which was to become the theatre of his operations. A meeting of the state legislature was necessary, in order to complete the reorganization of the civil government; and no clearer proof could be given of the triumph of the American arms, than by convening it in that district which had so long been in the undisputed

possession of the enemy. Greene's own observations convinced him, that this could be done with perfect safety; and, having fixed upon the proper spot in his own mind, he rejoined his army at the camp on the Fourholes Creek.

Meanwhile Marion had been busy with the outposts on the Cooper River. By a sudden and rapid movement, he had surprised a party at Fairlawn, made several prisoners, and destroyed a large building, which had served alternately as a fort and a hospital. But his enterprises were suddenly cut short by the desertion of his mountaineers, the body upon which Greene had relied in his late hazardous manœuvres, and which now left him at the moment in which their services were most needed.

It was not Greene's intention to remain at the Fourholes. A more eligible position, at the Round-O, on the west of the Edisto, in a district offering greater facilities for supplies, and which covered his projected enterprise against Georgia, had been already selected, and thither he removed without delay. His front was secured by Marion and Lee, the former of whom guarded the district between the Ashley River and the Cooper, his communication with the main army being kept open by

Hampton, at the head of the state cavalry; the latter being instructed to descend the western bank of the Ashley, and advance by gradual approaches to some strong post in the vicinity of John's Island, now occupied by Major Craig, with the garrison of Wilmington and a small addition of horse and foot. Both Marion and Lee were directed to time their movements by each other's advance, so as to secure their contiguous flanks from any attempt by land; and Lee was instructed to study closely the enemy's position at John's Island, against which Greene hoped to effect something by a night attack.

Meanwhile the British General, now cooped up within the precincts of Charleston and the islands, was busily engaged in preparing for a siege. He had collected provisions, in large quantities, while the country remained open, and additional supplies could still be drawn in by sea. The old works of the town, which had fallen to decay, or were deemed insufficient for the approaching crisis, were thrown down, and new ones erected in their place. The return of the cold weather had dissipated the diseases, which had hitherto been raging with such violence throughout all ranks of his army; and every day brought some new accession to his strength, as, one by one, his soldiers re-

turned to their duty. This resource, however, was not thought sufficient, and the loyalists having already been called out to serve in different corps, nothing now remained but to enlist the slaves. A body of them was accordingly levied, and duly equipped, to the no small terror and dissatisfaction of the inhabitants.

Nothing, however, was further from Greene's intention than to attempt a siege, for which he possessed neither the materials nor the strength. The reinforcements under St. Clair were now near at hand; but, even with this accession, he would be inferior to his adversary in numbers; and at this moment, his distress for ammunition was so great, that not a pound was left, after the last distribution, although the cartouch-boxes of his men were but half full.

It is difficult to conceive a situation more embarrassing than that of the southern commander; and, to heighten his vexation, the difficulties with which he was struggling had been foreseen by him from the beginning of the contest, and he had again and again warned the proper authorities of the disastrous consequences, which they must necessarily bring with them. But all his representations had proved unavailing. Those who had the will to serve him had not the power. Local inter-

ests and petty jealousies had sprung up in the place of that noble enthusiasm, which had characterized the opening of the war. Efficient and trustworthy men would no longer give their services without an adequate remuneration; and this there was no way of securing to them. Hence the necessity of trusting to inefficient agents, and relying upon the local authorities for things, which they were unqualified to direct. "Our situation," says Greene, in a letter to the President of Congress, "is truly deplorable in the ordnance department. We have no ammunition, and not half tents enough; few camp kettles, and no axes; and, until very lately, no canteens. Colonel Carrington has done all in his power; but what can a man do empty handed, and so remote from supplies of all kinds? We have not a ream of paper in the whole army; but I am in hopes our success in Virginia will pave the way to more easy and effectual supplies, and, in the mean time, the army will bear their sufferings with a soldierly patience."

In these hopes, however, he was again doomed to disappointment. Two hundred and fifty guineas were all that Carrington could obtain from the military chest, which fell into the hands of the victorious army at Yorktown, and these could go but a little way towards

giving life and efficiency to such a multiform and ill-combined system. Still Greene was resolved to persevere to the last, and never relax in his efforts as long as there was a gleam of hope. His success had been so brilliant, in spite of all the difficulties that he had to contend with, that it almost concealed his real weakness from every one but himself, and a few of his most trusted officers; and no one ever felt more sensibly than he how much depends, in military operations, upon moral force and the elasticity of success. It was time, however, to prepare a more solid basis for his operations.

The difficulty of obtaining reinforcements from the north had already been proved, to the loss and distress of the army, and the frustration of some of his most cherished plans. It was well nigh a year since St. Clair and Wayne had received orders to join the army of the south, and they had not yet reached it. In a few days, it would become necessary to dismiss the greater part of the Virginia line; and the new recruits, without either arms or clothing, and dependent for their daily bread upon the private advances of the gentleman at the head of the war department, would be of little use for months to come.

In this state of things, Greene was naturally

led to study more closely the situation of Carolina herself, and her resources for independent action in the approaching contest. He had been struck with the great disparity between the white population and the black, and had remarked, at the same time, with great satisfaction, that, although the lines of separation between master and slave were rigorously drawn, yet the kindest feelings subsisted between them. His observations, too, had led him to form a favorable opinion of the blacks. He had been struck by their fidelity, and the strength of their attachments; he knew them to be capable of great exertions, and of undergoing great fatigue, at seasons which were almost fatal to the whites, and more especially to northerners. Courage and coolness in danger he believed to be as much the result of discipline and habit, as of any natural qualifications; and there was no reason why discipline with the blacks might not be carried to as high a pitch, as with men of any other class.

With these views, he proposed that, instead of the useless efforts to call out the white population, which had already been attended with so much delay, and increased, in such a fearful proportion, the sufferings of the country, four regiments of blacks should be formed, two upon the continental, and two upon the state

establishment, the blacks to receive their freedom, as a compensation for their services, and to be put, in every respect, upon the same footing with the rest of the army. To these were to be added two corps of eighty men each, one of pioneers, and one of artificers. With these forces he hoped that he should be able to follow up a course of active operations, and soon drive the enemy from their last hold upon the state; and while the embarrassments and delays, resulting from dependence upon other states for reinforcements and recruits, would be avoided, the whites would be at liberty to devote their attention once more to their plantations and their commerce, and life would be again given to these great sources of national prosperity, so essential, and so long stagnant.

This proposition, strange as it may sound at the present moment, was taken into serious consideration, by the Governor and his council, and referred by them to the legislature. After mature deliberation, it was rejected. Nothing now remained but to make the most out of the resources, which had so often failed him.

In the midst of these embarrassments, he suddenly received, from two different quarters, the alarming intelligence, that a fleet from Ireland, with three thousand troops on board, was

within two days' sail of the bar of Charleston, and that an additional reinforcement of two thousand more was hourly expected from New York. This would give the enemy such an overwhelming superiority, as to leave him but little hope of maintaining any considerable portion of the ground, that he had gained ; and his only chance of safety would lie in renewing that painful system of marches and countermarches, by which he had already held his enemy at bay, until enabled by the arrival of his reinforcements to face him in the field.

Not a moment was to be lost ; for there could be but little doubt, that, if the intelligence proved true, Leslie, who had now succeeded to the command in Charleston, would give him no time for deliberation. It was a repetition of what he had already been more than once subjected to, but now doubly embittered by the necessity of giving up, without a blow, the ground that he had won by so much toil and blood. Letters were again addressed to the Governors of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina ; the men of influence, and leading Whigs, were earnestly conjured to stand by him in this pressing emergency. Rochambeau, who had remained in Virginia after the fall of Yorktown, was urged to send a detachment to his support ; to his own agents and personal friends

he could use the strongest language. "For God's sake, my dear Sir," says he, in a letter to Davies, "give no sleep to your eyes, nor slumber to your eyelids, until you get the troops on the march."

Still there was some hope that the report might be false; and he lost no time in inquiring into its correctness. Happily, it was soon found to be a gross exaggeration, upon very trifling grounds. Sixty artillerists had arrived from Ireland, and two regiments, with a hundred and fifty dismounted dragoons, were on their way from New York. If, as is not improbable, it was a stratagem of the enemy, it failed completely; for, so far from yielding his ground, he had "come to the resolution to fight, and to fight hard too, so that, if the enemy beat him, their wounds should prevent a pursuit." Again he wrote, "I have not been frightened, as Dr. Skinner says, but I have been confoundedly alarmed."

To complete the conquest of the country around Charleston, nothing now remained but to drive the enemy from their position on John's Island; and Lee had already been instructed to study the ground with attention, and ascertain what openings it offered for a night attack. This duty he performed with his usual promptitude and zeal, and soon pre-

sented a plan, which, after mature examination, was fully approved. Laurens was associated with him in the command, and a reinforcement from the main army added to his detachment. It was an enterprise of no small difficulty; for a strong body of horse and foot, protected by all the customary precautions of pickets and outguards, was to be taken by surprise, or forced at the point of the bayonet; and this upon an island, whose only accessible point, and that at low water, was guarded by galleys moored within four hundred yards of each other, which, from the nature of their duty, were supposed to be constantly on their guard.

But the American General was now beginning to reap the fruit of his rigorous discipline, and he felt that he could count securely upon his men for enterprises, which, but a few months before, it would have been little less than madness to attempt. The night of the 13th of January, 1782, was fixed upon for the attack, and on the 12th the army was put in motion in order to cover it. The better to conceal his designs, Greene halted towards evening, as if he had intended to encamp for the night, and, as soon as it was dark, set forward again, hastening himself in advance towards the scene of action. Every thing had

thus far gone on well. Lee's van had reached the island without being discovered, and the well known cry of "All's well," from the galleys in the river, showed how far the enemy was from suspecting what a tempest was about to burst upon them. Nothing now was wanting but to pass the second column over, and the enterprise was secure. But this was nowhere to be found. Messengers were despatched after it in every direction, but one after the other returned unsuccessful.

Meanwhile the tide had turned, and the water was rising fast, and day was approaching. It was hard to renounce such well grounded hopes; but there was no alternative, and the van was recalled to the main land. The water, which had been below their waists, in passing, was now running breast high. Day broke upon the disconcerted band, and, with the returning light, they saw their crest-fallen comrades of the missing column approaching. Their guide had deserted them in the dark. They had passed the turn to the river without perceiving it; and, trying to correct their mistake, the moment they discovered it, by taking a shorter road, under the guidance of a negro from one of the plantations on their route, they had again been led astray, and passed the night in wandering about the fields.

It was one of those accidents against which it is impossible to guard; for every precaution had been taken, and in vain. Greene felt the disappointment most keenly; but both officers and men had done their duty, and there was no one to blame. Suppressing his own regrets, he addressed them in the kindest terms, thanking them for the zeal and alacrity which they had displayed, and attributing the failure to an accident beyond their control. And, as if he feared that there still might be some one ill-natured enough to lay the blame upon men, who, although unsuccessful, merited the highest praise, he had no sooner returned to camp, than he addressed a letter to each of the Lieutenant-Colonels, repeating his thanks to them and their corps.

Still he was resolved no longer to have the enemy in a position so favorable; and, ordering up a boat from the Edisto, he opened his artillery upon the galleys, and forced them from their stations. Laurens then passed over to the island; but the enemy was already gone, and the island was free. The long expected reinforcements under St. Clair and Wayne had reached the army on the 4th of January; and on the 9th, Wayne was detached into Georgia. Had Greene succeeded in his attempt upon John's Island, this expedition would have been

unnecessary; for the capture of Craig would necessarily have led to the evacuation of Savannah. It now became one of the chief objects of Greene's attention; and the brilliant success, with which it was attended, fully justified the confidence, which he had placed in the talents and courage of Wayne. Meanwhile he took post, with his army, a few miles to the east of the Edisto, in order to cover the meeting of the legislature, which was to be held at Jacksonboro on the 18th. Thus ended the campaign of 1781.

CHAPTER XXI.

Assembly of South Carolina meets at Jacksonboro. — Recognizes, in the most flattering Terms, the public Services of General Greene in the Southern States. — Charleston evacuated by the Enemy. — War at the South brought to a Close.

THE 18th of January had now arrived, and the Governor and members of the Assembly were met at the little village of Jacksonboro, on the western bank of the Edisto,

ready to enter upon the long suspended duties of legislation. There were few among them, who had not taken a part, more or less active, in the great struggle for freedom. Rutledge, the Governor, during the most trying period of the war in Carolina, had all along been distinguished by his firmness of purpose and his enlightened zeal. For the last five months, he had followed closely the fortunes of the army; lending Greene the aid of his influence, and of his counsels, and adding force to the military by the cordial concurrence of the civil authority.

Some had struggled, in exile, with privation and want; others had languished in loathsome prisons, and tasted all the bitterness with which party and personal hatred can envenom captivity; and now, after visiting their desolate hearths, and mourning, it may be, over the graves of parents or of friends, they were come together to set the last hand to the reëstablishment of that government, to which they all looked for security and protection. Many, too, there were, who had laid aside the sword but for a moment; ready, like the soldier on his watch, to spring to arms at the first call; and among them was one, on whom all eyes were turned, the upright, the single-hearted Marion, whose name was spread far and wide

for feats of gallant daring. It was a proud moment for these men, and an anxious moment for all. Arbitrary rule and anarchy were now to cease, and law and order resume once more their mild and purifying course. The district, in which they were met, had been the very centre of the enemy's power; and everywhere around them they saw the deep traces of his recent presence. What greater proof could be given, that the contest was fast verging to its close, than that they were thus met, to deliberate upon the great questions of public weal, within thirty miles of the last garrison he could now boast, in a state which he had so long called his own? But four miles distant, between them and the enemy, and struggling with every form of privation, half clothed, imperfectly armed, was the gallant little army, which had worked out their deliverance. How deep must have been their emotions, what mingled feelings of exultation, gratitude, and stern resolve, must have struggled in their bosoms, as they entered the place of their meetings, and, their number being completed, paused to receive the address of the Governor!

He repeated to them, in a few words, the history of the southern war; he recalled to their minds their own sufferings, and those of their country; the wrongs and outrages of the enemy;

the violation of the laws of war and the most sacred dictates of humanity; his desolating course, marked by fire and sword; his arbitrary rule, characterized by wanton barbarity and contempt of their unquestionable rights; the cruelties inflicted upon those they held most dear; and the wrongs and insults of that sex, whose injuries sink so deep into the hearts of fathers, brothers, and husbands. He told them, too, that these were now ended; that their country was once more free; and when he spoke to them of the "great and gallant General Greene, by whose wisdom, prudence, address, and bravery," their deliverance had been effected, and reminded them of his "claims to honorable and singular marks of their gratitude," every heart responded to the appeal, and all acknowledged, in the fullest terms, the justice of the claim.

The Senate instantly voted an address of thanks, in behalf of their constituents, for the "distinguished zeal and generalship, which he had displayed on every occasion." They acknowledged that he had assumed the command under the most trying circumstances, which left him nothing but a choice of difficulties; that, by his superior military genius and enterprising spirit, he had overcome these difficulties; and that to him they were "indebted for the blessings which they now enjoyed, in the exercise

of a free constitution, and the recovery of the property of their fellow-citizens.”

The same spirit extended to the House of Representatives, who, in the ardor of their gratitude, framed a bill for “vesting in General Nathanael Greene, in consideration of his important services, the sum of ten thousand guineas.”

It was a happy moment for Greene, for he felt that he merited the praises thus heaped upon him; and the liberality of the Assembly came just in time to relieve his mind from the most painful anxiety concerning his own affairs. His private fortune was small, and had been nearly exhausted by the heavy demands made upon it in the course of the war. From time to time, in the midst of his other cares, the disheartening question would creep in upon him, How am I to provide for my family when the war is over? This was now answered, and, to complete his happiness, by a spontaneous, unsuggested outbreak of gratitude, on the part of men who felt that to him they were indebted for their civil liberty and their personal fortunes.

Meanwhile he continued to watch his enemy with untiring assiduity, eagerly seeking out some opening for an attack; for the spirit of enterprise was deadened on the part of the British, and, with the exception of some trifling

excursion, they held themselves rigorously on the defensive. He even projected a night attack upon Charleston, by floating down the Ashley, which flowed directly beneath its walls; but the attempt, upon a closer examination, was found to be impracticable. Thus the winter wore away, without producing any change in the position of either army; and spring came, and the same state of things continued. It was a striking contrast to the activity of the preceding campaign, where event followed upon event with startling rapidity. But the British government was now wavering, and many concurring circumstances seemed to indicate the approach of peace. From time to time, a small detachment came out, and, after a rapid inroad, hastily returned to the shelter of its lines. Then all continued quiet as before.

But towards the middle of April, a sudden change seemed to have taken place in the enemy's camp, and there was a moving to and fro, and an eager preparation, as if for some great enterprise. The spies of Greene were ever on the alert, and he was instantly apprized of these suspicious appearances. Nor was he long in discovering the cause; for he was no stranger to the state of his own army, or the machinations of the enemy. During the active movements of the preceding campaign, his

soldiers had submitted without a murmur to every privation, and cheerfully borne their part in the common suffering.

There was an excitement in this constantly changing scene, in those marches and counter-marches, now in pursuit of the enemy, and now to escape him, with battles, and sieges, and all the thrilling incidents of active warfare, which raised their minds above their ordinary level, and filled them with that glowing enthusiasm, which forgets every personal consideration in the consciousness of a high duty. But other feelings had found a place in the monotonous calm of a camp; they were pinched by hunger, they were benumbed by cold, their personal sufferings seemed to multiply as they found leisure to reflect upon them, and things, which had been passed over in the ardor of self-denial, were now felt the more keenly for having been so long neglected.

While these sentiments were thus gradually extending, and gaining new strength with each day of repose, the Pennsylvania line, already notorious for its daring and successful revolt, had joined the army. Among them were some of the mutineers, still proud of their former success, and ready at any moment to renew the shameful scenes of New Jersey. They flattered themselves that they had now found

fit subjects for their machinations, and that an army, thus condemned to struggle with every species of privation, would easily be led to join in any attempt, however outrageous. They soon opened a secret communication with the enemy, apprizing him of their wishes, and preparing the way for his concurrence. The overture was eagerly accepted, a plan of action agreed upon, and every preparation made for carrying it into immediate execution. The details of the conspiracy are not known; but it was clearly ascertained that a capital point in the design of the conspirators, was to seize upon the person of Greene, and deliver him up to the enemy. The day was now near at hand, and the preparations of the British for their part of the plot were the cause of the unusual movements, which had been observed in their camp.

Meanwhile the conspirators had attracted the attention of their fellow-soldiers by their language and bearing, and one of them in particular, a sergeant in the Pennsylvania line, by the name of Gornell, who had borne a prominent part in their former revolt, had indulged so freely in mutinous language, as to make himself amenable to martial law. Greene's untiring vigilance had noted all these things, and he awaited but the proper moment to

crush them, by a prompt and decisive severity. The fidelity of a woman, one of the followers of the camp, supplied the occasion, and furnished him with all that was wanting to justify the arrest of the ringleaders. Gornell was brought before a court-martial, and, upon full conviction, condemned to be hanged; and four other sergeants, of the same line, were sent into the interior under guard.

The night after his arrest, twelve men deserted to the enemy. Two others, who were brought to trial, domestics in Greene's own family, were released for want of sufficient evidence against them. The sentence against Gornell was carried into immediate execution; and, if any others had shared in his crime, their hopes were effectually cut short by the promptness and the severity of his punishment. The next morning, a party of horse, which had ventured unusually near to the camp, in the expectation, as was supposed, of receiving Greene from the hands of the conspirators, fell in with a small body of the legion cavalry, and took ten of them prisoners. This was all the advantage, which was reaped from this bold and well concerted conspiracy.

Greene continued to press still closer upon the enemy's lines. In April, he moved his camp to Beach Hill, near Bacon's Bridge, on

the Ashley, but seventeen miles from Charleston. Here he was compelled to content himself with watching the movements of his adversary, and checking his occasional inroads. The same dull, monotonous course continued throughout the summer. Towards the close of May, General Leslie had proposed a cessation of hostilities, in view of the approaching negotiations for peace ; but this was a question which depended upon Congress, and to them it was referred for decision. But still the war was virtually at an end. Savannah was evacuated on the 11th of July, and the garrison brought to Charleston. This post, too, it was said, was soon to be given up, and the whole of the south abandoned.

Ardently as he longed for this auspicious moment, Greene still believed it to be further off than it really proved. Like Washington, he dreaded the consequences of premature hope. His officers were more sanguine in their expectations, and many of them hastened to avail themselves of this interval of repose, in order to escape from the monotony of a camp. Lee retired from the command of his legion ; Williams returned home on furlough. New names and new faces succeeded to those, which had grown familiar to him in the hour of danger. Bickerings and jealousies unavoidably sprang

up among them, and Greene's firmness and self-command were repeatedly put to the trial. Abuses of various kinds had crept into the army, extending even to the officers; and these he was obliged to suppress with a firm and impartial hand.

But for these, the spring and summer would have been a season of relaxation, the first in seven years; for his wife had joined him in camp, towards the end of March, and the district in which he was encamped was filled with the country seats of wealthy and cultivated citizens, all of whom shared the general enthusiasm, and vied eagerly with each other in extending their hospitality to one, whom they looked upon as the savior of their country.

But the last months of Greene's command were destined to be the most trying of his whole career. He had been deeply pained by the bickerings of his officers, and particularly of those of the legion, whom he had always treated with peculiar favor. "They are my pretorian band," said he, "spoiled by indulgence." Nothing, however, affected him so deeply, as the sufferings of his troops, which had now reached a height beyond which it seemed as if the powers of endurance could go no further. A small supply of clothing

had been received during the winter, and immediately distributed. A large portion of this, however, had fallen to those whose terms of service were nearly expired, and their places had since been supplied by recruits in the extreme of destitution. Half of them were without shoes. There was hardly a blanket to every ten men.

Many of them could hardly get together rags enough to enable them to appear on parade. Every little strip of cloth, of any description, was eagerly picked up, and, fastened together by thorns, supplied the place of clothing. Tufts of moss on the loins and shoulders were their only protection from the chafing of their muskets and cartouch-boxes. Small as the army was, there were three hundred men without arms, and more than a thousand in such a state of nudity, that it was only in cases of the most desperate necessity, that they could be put upon duty.

Nor was their fare better than their clothing. Sometimes they were compelled to eat their meat without bread or rice, and then again to content themselves with rice without meat. Liquors they had none; and even salt, so necessary to the health, as well as to the comfort, of an army, was at one moment upon the point of failing; and now, in order to secure

a regular supply, Greene was obliged to have it manufactured on the sea-shore, and thence transported to camp.

Sickness was the necessary attendant of such complicated sufferings; and, as summer advanced, the diseases of the climate began to rage with uncommon violence. In July, the camp was moved to Ashley Hill, but sixteen miles from Charleston, a position favorable for Greene's military views, but fatal to the health of his army. Here he was compelled to remain throughout the rest of the summer, and the whole of the autumn, while disease, in its most malignant forms, raged around him. The atmosphere became so corrupted as to be almost unsupportably offensive, even at a considerable distance from camp. He himself was seized with the fever; officers and men suffered equally; and so deep was the terror inspired by the disease, that in the following year, when the army was disbanded, large numbers chose rather to give up their only chance of recovering their hard-earned pay, than expose themselves, even for a few days, to a southern summer.

The civil government had undertaken to provide food for the army, and Greene had gladly renounced the unwelcome resource of forages and impressments. An agent had ac-

cordingly been duly appointed by the Governor, and vested with ample powers. But still the distress of the army went on increasing. Their supplies, never abundant, were always irregular; the troops murmured, and Greene remonstrated. "I am much afraid," said he, in a letter to the Governor, "that Mr. Hort has not the activity or industry requisite for the duties of his appointment. We are, from day to day, kept uneasy for want of regular supplies of provision. One day we are without beef, the next without rice, and some days without either."

As long as there was a hope of relief, however feeble, he continued to struggle with his embarrassments; and the men, supported by his example and exhortations, bore their privations with heroic fortitude. But there was a point beyond which he dared not venture; and, after repeated warnings, he was again compelled to have recourse to impressments.

Equally fruitless were his endeavors to obtain clothing for his men and officers through the regular channels. The minister of war had no supplies, the minister of finance no money; and, as a last resort, he was authorized to form contracts, in his own name, with anybody that would take his bills upon Mr. Morris in payment. A house in Fredericksburg, Hun-

ter and Banks, anxious to open a correspondence with Charleston, made offers, which, at the moment, were uncommonly fair and advantageous, and their proposals were eagerly accepted. After some little delay, the contract was fulfilled, and the army, to borrow the language of Wayne, was better clothed than he had ever seen American troops before.

Meanwhile the garrison in Charleston was beginning to feel the inconvenience of its straitened quarters. Provisions became scarce; they had been compelled to kill large numbers of their horses, for want of forage; now and then, a small cargo of rice was brought in by sea, or a foraging party would succeed in collecting a scanty supply. But all around them the Americans kept close guard, and their attempts to break the fatal circle were almost always unsuccessful. The evacuation of Charleston had now been decided on and announced in general orders, and General Leslie, in order to avoid the further effusion of blood, had proposed to enter into a convention for supplying the markets of Charleston. This offer Greene would gladly have accepted, for he saw at once how much it was for the good of both parties; but it was a question of state jurisdiction, and was consequently referred to the Governor. Unhappily, it was rejected; and the

loss of the gallant Laurens, in repelling a foraging party of the enemy, was one of the fatal consequences of this injudicious decision.

In this manner the summer and autumn wore slowly away, and winter was come, and the enemy was still there. It was no easy matter to conciliate the conflicting interests, which had grown up during so long an occupation, and prepare so large a body for their voyage. At length, by the 13th of December, every preparation was completed, and the following day was fixed upon for the evacuation.

The morning gun was the signal, and joyful was its sound to American ears. As the British retired from their advanced posts, Wayne marched and took possession of them, at the head of three hundred light infantry, with a detachment of eighty horse and twenty artillery with two six pounders; and then followed the retiring squadrons through the city to the point of embarkation, carefully preserving such a distance as to prevent collision between the two armies. But the Americans were moving under the excitement of triumph, and pressed close upon the footsteps of their enemies. "You march too fast for us," was the cry from the British ranks; and then Wayne would halt his men, for a moment, to increase the distance. By eleven, the embarkation was completed, and

the army, marching into town with drums beating and banners displayed, took post at the state house.

But the most interesting moment was yet to come, the triumphant entry of Greene. At three o'clock he entered the city, riding side by side with the Governor. Thirty of Lee's dragoons preceded him; two Major-Generals, Moultrie and Gist, came next; then followed a long line of officers and citizens, with the members of the Governor's council; and a body of one hundred and eighty cavalry brought up the rear. Every balcony, door, and window, was crowded; the streets were thronged with hundreds of all ages, eagerly struggling for a sight of the great man, to whom they were indebted for this day of rejoicing; he had restored them to their homes and their fortunes; and now he was bringing back to them the surest pledge of their future happiness, the minister of the civil power. Solemn silence reigned throughout this vast multitude; their feelings, at first, were too deep for utterance, and found no expression but in tears. Then, of a sudden, as if by common accord, broke forth one deep, long shout of triumph and congratulation, and mingled benedictions and applause. "God bless you, Gentlemen," "Welcome home, Gentlemen," came from every lip; the young

and the old joining in the heartfelt greeting, while tears of joy bedewed the eyes of the hardy veteran.

CHAPTER XXII.

Southern Army dissolved. — Greene returns to the North, everywhere greeted with public Congratulations. — Concludes to reside in Georgia. — Removes his Family thither. — His Death and Character.

THE southern war was now over. In two years his great task had been accomplished. He had found the whole country, from Georgia almost to the frontiers of Virginia, in undisputed possession of the enemy; and now every post had been given up, every garrison withdrawn. The negotiations, too, for a general peace, were proceeding rapidly, and every appearance seemed to indicate that this long protracted contest was at last drawing to a close.

But now new questions arose, which agitated the public mind with scarcely less violence, than the great question of national independence; and Greene, compelled by his position, and by his

convictions, to express his opinion freely and with decision, could not but come in for some share of that obloquy, which the zealots of a party lavish so freely upon their opponents. As an officer of Congress, he was bound to support the authority of the central government, in opposition to the ill defined rights and unreasonable pretensions of individual states. During the administration of Rutledge and of his immediate successor, Governor Mathews, inconvenience had arisen from this occasional opposition of interests ; but these eminent men had watched his movements from too near a point of view not to feel, that in all his actions he had been guided by the purest zeal for the public good.

But shortly after the evacuation of Charleston, a new Governor was chosen, who brought into the discharge of his official duties all the virulence and injustice of party, united with the highest pretensions of official dignity. There would be but little harmony between such a man, and one so simple and unpretending, but withal so firm and clear-minded, as Greene ; and the two great questions by which the country was then divided, the payment of the state quota, and the treatment of the Tories, afforded frequent opportunities for the manifestation of this dissimilarity of character. Upon both of these questions Greene entertained very different

views from those, which were current at the moment: He had too much cause to complain of the want of a coercive power in Congress, not to feel that the only way of confirming the independence, which had been won at so dear a price, was to enlarge and give consistency to the central government. He had early in the war come to this opinion, and every subsequent event had confirmed him in it.

But deeply as he had always felt upon this subject, it was now brought more directly home to his bosom by the additional misery, in which it threatened to involve his army. Congress, unable to provide for the sustenance of the troops, had thrown them upon the states; by the states they were cast back upon Congress; and now that a regular system had been devised for raising the sums necessary for their support, a large party had risen up against it, and were doing everything in their power to prevent the state government from granting the only supply, by means of which that system could be carried into operation.

It was in vain that the services of the soldiers were pleaded, and the cruelty of thus suffering them to perish from want in the midst of an abundance, which they had contributed so largely to create, insisted upon; every individual had services and sufferings of his own to recount; and

South Carolina complained that she had already borne more than her part in the common cause. Greene exerted all his influence, but in vain. His letter to the Governor, although couched in the most respectful terms, and breathing through every line the deepest veneration for the civil authority, was treated as an unjustifiable attempt, on the part of an officer of Congress, to dictate to an independent state. When such an interpretation could be put upon an act of one so guarded in the exercise of his authority, it is easy to conceive what extremes the spirit of party had already reached.

His opinions concerning the Tories were hardly less unpopular. In the ranks of the enemy, he had treated them like open enemies; when detected in secret machinations, he had punished them with all the rigor which the nature of the offence called for; in all doubtful cases, he had urged the necessity of lenity and forbearance, without ever neglecting those precautions, which the unsettled and divided state of the country required. But now that the contest was so near its end, and the authority of the Whigs so generally acknowledged and so well confirmed, he felt that it would be the excess of intolerance to persecute men for opinions, which, but twenty years before, had been the universal belief of every class of society.

He felt, too, that a new era was about to open for this infant republic, now ready to take her place among the nations; that questions of the highest import, and interests of the greatest magnitude, were involved in her destiny; that, alone and single handed, she would have to make her way towards prosperity and power; and that she could ill spare so large a portion of her population, as an impolitic adherence to laws, framed for a moment of danger and excitement, would necessarily banish from her shores. His habits of thought had led him to weigh all these subjects maturely, long before the moment came for decision; and the natural elevation of his mind raised him above those passions, by which so large a portion of the public was still actuated. It was not to be expected, that views so much the result of unbiased and careful reflection could as yet be generally embraced or appreciated.

Thus Greene's situation was exceedingly delicate, obliging him to hold himself constantly upon his guard, both in the expression of his opinions and in the exercise of his authority. One only instance of actual collision occurred; and here he displayed his characteristic firmness and decision. It happened that a small vessel came into the port of Charleston upon public business, and under the protection

of a flag regularly addressed to the commander of the United States' forces. It was said that the officer, who bore it, had saved the life of Colonel Washington, at the battle of Eutaw; no small claim upon the gratitude of Americans. Greene received the flag with the customary attentions; but, as the officer was proceeding to the business of his mission, he was suddenly arrested by order of the Governor. The crew of his vessel were imprisoned at the same time. He immediately applied to Greene for protection, who addressed a strong remonstrance to the Governor and his council. The officer was set at liberty, but the crew were still kept under custody.

In a case like this, there could be no hesitation; for such treatment of a flag could not fail to inflict a deep stain upon the character of any officer, who should for a moment submit to so wanton a violation of its privileges. Greene's decision was instantly taken; but, before he proceeded to enforce it, he resolved, as a still greater proof of circumspection, to ask the opinion of his officers. A general council was accordingly called, and the question was laid before them. Their decision was prompt, and, with the exception of one dissenting voice, unanimous.

Greene then ordered his troops to take a

position commanding the passes to the city. The Governor and his council now yielded, but with an ill grace; and, as if resolved to have the last word, they ordered Captain Ker to leave the town immediately, and the state within three days. Here again Greene was constrained to interfere, and, giving to the British officer all the time that was required for the transaction of his business, at last dismissed him with the customary honors, and an ample apology for the outrage to which he had been exposed. He then reported the whole occurrence to the Minister of War, with the assurance, "that precedent for such encroachments should not be founded upon his failure to resist them."

The care of his troops was another source of constant anxiety during these last months of his command. The arrangements made by the state for their support had failed, and an attempt was made to supply them by contract. Banks was the only person that offered to engage in this hazardous transaction, and, after the contract had been kept open for nearly three months, his proposals were accepted. But Banks had ventured too far, and his creditors, becoming uneasy, threatened him with a forced sale of the property, which he had assigned to them for their security; and thus

the army was again in danger of starvation. The patience of the troops could go no further ; and so great was the danger of a mutiny, that Greene was compelled to call out all those in whom he could trust, putting them under arms, with their cannon loaded, and lighted matches, to overawe the discontented. It was evident that such a state of things could not continue much longer without some violent explosion ; but what could he do to avert the evil ? He had warned and remonstrated in vain. Peace now seemed so sure, that the army had come to be looked upon as a burden, and men were weary of listening to the thrice-told tale of their sufferings.

Under these circumstances, it was represented to General Greene, that, if he would become security for Banks, the creditors would relinquish their assignment, and thus enable him to go on with his contract. It was a trying alternative, for it was little less than staking his whole fortune upon a venture, at the very moment when, for the first time, he began to breathe freely from the anxieties concerning his own condition, which had weighed so heavily upon him. But without this, his army must mutiny or starve ; and Banks, for his security, could make over to him the bills upon Morris, which were still in the hands of

his agent at Philadelphia. It was one sacrifice more for the cause in which he had already sacrificed so much, and he hesitated not to make it.

Thus the last months of his public career wore slowly away, amid multiplied cares and anxieties. At length, on the 16th of April, 1783, came the long expected news of peace. Charleston was illuminated, and the troops at their encampment, on James's Island, celebrated the day with firing, and every military expression of joy; but on that day, and for several days before, a simple dish of meat, without either bread or rice to eat with it, was their only food.

Greene now hastened his preparations for dissolving his command. The troops were to be furloughed to their respective states, and those of the Carolinas and Georgia were soon on their way home. A part, however, were to be sent forward by water; and summer had set in, with its attendant fevers, before they could be provided with the means of transportation. In a letter to the Governors of the states within his command, he thus announced his intention of retiring from the command of the southern department, and made one more effort to call their attention to this gallant body, which had served him so long and so faithfully.

“Often,” says he, “in the worst of times, have I assured them that their country would not be unmindful of their sufferings and services; and humbly, yet confidently, do I hope that their just claims will not be forgotten.”

It was the middle of August before his preparations were all completed; for some portion of his attention, for the first time in seven years, was necessarily devoted to his private affairs. Then, with a lightened heart, he commenced his journey homeward. His wife had already gone before him by sea, towards the beginning of the summer; for the journey by land was what few men would venture upon at that season of the year. For him, however, it was a joyous one, with all its fatigues; for everywhere on his route his presence was greeted with addresses and processions, and all those tokens of gratitude and veneration, which go so directly to the heart that is conscious of deserving them. Congress was then sitting at Princeton; and thither he repaired to give an account of his administration, and surrender up his trust. There, too, he met Washington, and enjoyed with him, for the last time, that free and unreserved communion of confiding friendship, in which they had so often sought refuge from the cares and anxieties of their public career.

The same marks of public regard, which had attended him on his journey from the south, awaited him during the rest of his route homeward; and his arrival in Rhode Island was the signal for the warmest expressions of public joy. Home would now have been delightful, not for the repose it might have afforded him, for his active mind required exertion; and he had been too long accustomed to vigorous action, to settle down in an indolent repose. But this was the period to which he had, so long been looking forward with such warm anticipations. The cultivation of his estate would afford him abundant occupation for many hours of the day, and the rest of his time could be divided so delightfully between the society of his friends and his beloved books.

But new cares awaited him at the threshold of his home, and the tranquillity, which his imagination had so fondly depicted, he was doomed never to enjoy. The bills deposited by Banks for his security had been withdrawn, and the whole weight of the obligation now fell upon him. Such was the startling intelligence which he received at Philadelphia; and although, for the moment, no immediate danger was apprehended, for the house was still supposed to be solvent, yet the prospect

which it unfolded was gloomy in the extreme. Meanwhile he took a small house at Newport, where he had resolved to fix his residence, until he could complete his arrangements for a final removal to the south.

Here the time passed pleasantly away in the society of his family, and of the numerous friends and visitors, whom his rare social qualities and his great reputation drew together. He had leisure for resuming his studies, and renewing his familiarity with his favorite authors, somewhat impaired, but never wholly neglected, amid the absorbing cares of his command; and, what was nearest his heart, he could now watch over the education of his children, and secure to them, with the affectionate solicitude of a parent, all those advantages of which he had so often felt the want.

His health, however, was somewhat impaired. He had had the fever twice during his campaigns in Carolina, and he now began to discover alarming symptoms of weakness of the chest, which, however, soon yielded, though not without awakening painful apprehensions in his friends, who had always been accustomed to see him as strong as the strongest. In June of the following year, his affairs again called him to the south. The moment that his arrival was announced, Banks left Charles-

ton, not daring to look in the face the man whom he had injured so deeply. His affairs were in the greatest disorder; but it was supposed that he still had the means of indemnification with him.

Greene mounted his horse, and pursued him four hundred miles, over the same ground which he more than once traversed at the head of his army, but overtook him only in time to see him breathe his last; for the unhappy man had travelled all the way with a fever in his veins. Now it was that his mournful anticipations were so near being realized; for, although the other members of the firm, and Banks's own relatives, made every effort to assist him, the weight of the responsibility fell upon him, and the daily embarrassments which it entailed were of the most harassing nature, compelling him, in the end, to sacrifice his estate in South Carolina for much less than its value. At last, by the advice of his friends, he presented a memorial to Congress, containing a full account of the whole transaction, and appealing to their sense of justice for an indemnity in case of a final loss.

By the spring of 1785, his arrangements were nearly completed for a removal to the south, where he had resolved to establish himself as a planter, at the beautiful seat of Mul-

berry Grove, on the Savannah River, which had been presented to him by the state of Georgia. He had hardly reached his new residence, when he was waited on by Colonel Jackson, with a challenge from Captain Gunn, grounded on his decision concerning a horse, which, having been impressed in Virginia for public service, had been appropriated by Gunn to his own use; an abuse which had spread through the army to an alarming extent, and which Greene, the moment that he was informed of it, had employed the most decided measures for suppressing. The case was a novel one; and Greene, without hesitation, refused to sanction by his example the call of an inferior officer upon his superior for supposed injuries received in the course of command.

Colonel Jackson, upon learning the real character of the question, withdrew, and Gunn followed up his attempt, through Major Fishbourn, to whom Greene refused to give any other answer, than that which he had already made to the first challenge. Gunn then declared that he would attack him wherever he met him, and was told, in return, that Greene always wore his pistols. Greene, although he had acted with so much decision in a question, which, at that period, involved far more serious

consequences than it now would, was not without some apprehension that his conduct might be misinterpreted by his brother officers. He accordingly wrote to Washington, giving him a full history of the transaction, and asking for his opinion; the reply was just such as he anticipated.

In the autumn, he returned to Rhode Island for his family, and, bidding a final adieu to the north, removed with them to his plantation. His early pursuits had given him a taste for agriculture, which he could now indulge upon a larger scale, combining it with all those social and intellectual enjoyments, to which he was so keenly alive. A new era seemed about to open for him; and although still harassed by the embarrassments, which arose from his engagements with Banks's creditors, his mind had gained once more its original freshness and elasticity.

He writes of his house and his plantation with a kind of buoyant joy, which is constantly breaking out in gay and cheerful expressions; and when spring comes, he speaks of his sixty acres of corn, that he had planted, and the hundred and thirty of rice, that he is about to plant; of his garden, and his flowering shrubs; the mocking birds, that sing around him morning and evening; and the mild and balmy

atmosphere; with the same interest with which he would once have spoken of his troops, of their bravery and their discipline. This was the happiest period of his life, the months of purest enjoyment that he ever passed. They were destined to be the last.

On Monday, the 12th of June, 1786, he went down to Savannah with his wife, on business connected with the affair of Banks, whose name is thus, by a singular fatality, mixed up with the close of a life which he had contributed so much to imbitter. On his way home, the next morning, he stopped to pass the day with Mr. Gibbons, and walked out with him, after breakfast, to see his rice crop. The sun was pouring down its fiercest rays; but he had braved them so often, that he never dreamed there could be danger in them; and a pain in the head, which he began to feel on his way homeward, was supposed to be nothing more than a common headache, although it continued throughout the whole of Wednesday without any abatement. On Thursday, it increased, particularly about the eyes, and the forehead was inflamed and swollen.

His late aid, Pendleton, arrived in the evening, and, being struck with his appearance and manner, so different from his usual cheerfulness, communicated his anxiety to the family. A

physician was sent for, who arrived in the morning, took some blood, and administered some ordinary remedies. The inflammation went on increasing, and another physician was called, and the most active remedies were applied. It was too late; the head was greatly swollen, and Greene sank into a torpor, which continued till early in the morning of Monday, the 19th of June, when he expired.

The melancholy tidings soon reached Savannah, calling forth the strongest expressions of public grief. The shops were shut, business suspended, every consideration of individual interest buried for the moment in the sense of the common loss. They had known him first as the champion of the South, in the hour of her greatest need, then as a fellow-citizen, kind-hearted and benevolent, and endearing himself to all by his rare union of social and civil virtues; and now, in the prime of manhood, and just as he was beginning to reap the fruits of their gratitude, he had been suddenly snatched away, and a grave was all that they could give him.

Meanwhile the mournful procession was descending the river. The military and municipality met it at the landing in Savannah, the whole body of citizens joining with one accord in this last demonstration of respect. The fune-

ral service was read by one of the citizens, the Honorable William Stevens, in the absence of the clergyman, and the body was deposited in one of the vaults of the public burying-ground.

Greene had just completed his forty-fourth year, when he was thus suddenly snatched away from his friends and his country. Of all those, who had distinguished themselves during the war of the revolution, he was, next to Washington, the one who held, at this moment, the highest place in public esteem; and few men, if any, have ever built themselves a name upon purer or more durable foundations.

His early education, like that of the greater part of his companions in arms, was extremely defective in that kind of knowledge, which the young mind receives, with so much advantage, from the mouth of an experienced instructor. Science for him was, at first, like a sealed fountain, whose indistinct murmurs served but to quicken the thirst, which the few chance drops he had caught from it had excited. Yet this very circumstance, disheartening as it would have been to ordinary minds, was not, perhaps, without its advantages for him, and contributed not a little towards forming those habits of earnest inquiry, of independent thought and self-reliance, without which he must more than once have faltered in the arduous career, that he was destined to run.

Accustomed from his childhood to think for himself, and weigh the opinions of others before he accepted or rejected them, he learned early to distinguish the specious and the false from the solid and the true, and to judge the books that he read, and the men with whom he associated, by the actual amount of information, which could be derived from them. Hence, although his range of reading was never very extensive, it was fruitful to him of knowledge in an uncommon degree; and if he could not aspire to the appellation of a learned man, he attained to the rarer and more enviable distinction of a wise one. For he was wise in that knowledge, which reflection gives, when combined with practical observation, and in the difficult art of applying to his own situation the experience of other men.

When, therefore, he came to take an active part in public affairs, his superiority was immediately felt; and men, of far greater acquisitions, received his opinions with that deference, which is accorded only to the highest order of minds. The situations in which he was placed, the duties that he was called upon to perform, were new to him; he was ignorant of details, and often, too, of principles; but he knew how to study and make them his own; and his mind, rapid in its perceptions,

clear in its combinations, instinctively just in deciding between what was inherent in the nature of a subject, and what might safely be rejected, never failed to class every fact under its proper head, and enrich the whole by the contributions of vigorous and penetrating thought. Thus his knowledge was always at his command, always ready when called for; and his fondness for general principles seemed to give promptness and energy, instead of diminishing, as it too often does, the capacity for action.

Many of the occurrences, which came upon others by surprise, found him decided upon his course; and opinions, which were gradually forced upon the minds of his contemporaries by the slow progress of events, are more than once recorded by him, in letters written at the very outbreak of the war. It was thus that he urged the necessity of a declaration of independence more than a year before it was made, and while the greater portion of the community, and many of the wisest and best among them, were still fondly clinging to the vain hope of reconciliation.

In the same spirit, he insisted upon the importance of a close union between the north and the south, the true source of our prosperity; from which he foretold, as in prophetic

vision, all the blessings, which flow from industry, directed by the highest motives, to the arts which flourish under the protecting wing of peace. There is scarcely one of the errors committed by the legislators of the period, of which he did not foretell the consequences long before they were developed; and it is hardly going too far to say, that, of the many illusions and false hopes of the times, there was not one, in which he shared even for a moment. Yet it was no coldness of character, which preserved him from those errors, to which all men are more or less subject, for he was ardent in the extreme, and of strong passions; but self-control, with him, was the fruit of serious effort, and his study of mankind had been begun by the study of self.

Few men ever possessed in a higher degree all the qualities, which go towards the formation of a consummate General. The power of patient investigation, when applied to his profession, gave a firmness and justness to all his measures, which were attended with the most important results. Not a detail, however minute, was ever suffered to escape him, and he never allowed himself to grow weary in the examination of everything that had the remotest bearing upon his subject. His first care, upon receiving his appointment to the command of

the southern army, had been to read all the correspondence of his predecessors, and endeavor to form for himself, by direct communication with the most distinguished men from the south, a correct idea of the condition and resources of the country, which was to become the theatre of his operations. The same course was pursued during the whole of his journey southward; and when he reached the camp, his plans were already formed, and he was prepared to carry them, at once, into execution.

His plans were distinguished by a boldness and originality, which were almost startling to ordinary minds, and which, while they reveal a profound knowledge of the principles of war, discover, at the same time, in the highest degree, those qualities, which were characterized by Napoleon as the divine part of his art. To discover at once the true character of his adversary, and the real nature of his strength; to distinguish, with unerring precision, what was really deserving of attention from what might be passed over in safety; to seize intuitively upon all the advantages of a position, and turn them to the best account; to detect, at a glance, his enemy's vulnerable point, and bring his strength to bear upon it with efficiency; to feel his own, and cover it with caution and judgment; to weigh, with an instinctive just-

ness, the moral effects of every event, both upon his own troops, and upon those of his antagonist ; to know where to be cautious and where to be bold ; and preserve in every situation, and even in the midst of the strongest excitement, that calmness and self-possession, which never suffer a man to be led into a single measure, of which he cannot control the consequences ; were faculties which he possessed in a degree that has seldom been surpassed.

His campaigns were so planned, that one step necessarily prepared the way for another, and that his adversary, having once yielded to the lure that had been held out to him, found himself gradually, and, as it were, inevitably, led on from point to point, until he suddenly found himself entangled in a web too intricate to be unravelled, and too strong to be broken. So great was his fertility of invention, that, although constantly cramped in his means, he was never reduced to a position, from which he had not more than one way of extricating himself. The materials of action seemed to rise, as if by magic, under his hand. When one resource failed him, he was ever prepared with another ; and although compelled to subsist his troops by expedients, and supply by manœuvres his want of physical force, he, in all his enterprises, kept constantly in view the

plan upon which he had decided, making every movement, and even his disappointments, subservient to it. He was never thrown off his guard, and never forced to a battle. He knew how to bide his time, husbanding his strength for the proper occasion; and neither murmurs nor applause could induce him to precipitate a measure that called for caution, or to delay an instant, where promptness and energy could insure success.

He never enjoyed the satisfaction of remaining in undisputed possession of the field of battle; and yet he never fought without obtaining nearly all the advantages of a complete victory. In retreat, he was always prepared for pursuit, and could, at any moment, and without loss or discouragement, change his pursuit into retreat. No measure ever required greater firmness and disregard of popular clamor, than the retreat through North Carolina; for it seemed like yielding up the south a willing prey to the enemy; and men of all classes called aloud for something that should demonstrate, beyond appeal, the necessity of the sacrifice. Still he held on his way, firmly and without wavering; kept back his strength till it could be put forth to advantage; and then turned upon his enemy, and crushed him in the field.

Nor was there ever a movement character-

ized by greater boldness and originality, than the descent into South Carolina, with the remains of a powerful army in his rear, a hostile territory to march through, and an active enemy and strong chain of garrisons in his front. Yet here, by the profoundness of his combinations, the rapidity of his movements, the vigor and energy of his resolutions, he raised the courage of his own troops, struck terror into those of the enemy, thwarted their boldest efforts, baffled their maturest plans, and, with an inferior force, wrenched from their grasp a territory over which they had long exercised an almost undisputed control. He was fond of personal adventure, and loved the stern excitement of battle; yet the one never led him to a rash exposure of his person, nor was he ever induced to hazard the safety of his army for the gratification of the other. When he ventured upon distant excursions with a small escort, it was because there was something to be done, which no one could do as well as he; and when, at the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, he three times led up Hawes's regiment within twenty paces of the enemy, he knew that his presence and example alone could inspire those men with that deliberate courage, which they had not yet had the time to acquire from discipline.

Patient of hunger and fatigue, he never shrunk from any species of hardship or exposure; and the sacrifices, which he was constantly compelled to demand from his officers and men, were made light by the cheerful promptitude with which he shared in them himself. His experience in the northern army had inspired him with a well grounded aversion for councils of war; and knowing that the responsibility of every measure necessarily falls upon the commander, he resolved, from the first, to be governed in all things by his own unbiassed judgment. Hence few were admitted to his councils, still fewer to his confidence, and every important measure seemed to flow directly from him, who alone was responsible to his country for its consequences.

To those, who consider the manner in which his army was composed, and the nature of the service that was required of it; the necessity under which he was placed of enforcing, on the one hand, a rigid discipline, and on the other of winning the affections, and soothing the justly irritated feelings, of his troops; of inculcating respect for the civil authorities, and yet resorting to measures, which seemed an open violation of the principles upon which their power is founded; of seeking to inspire the people with confidence in his justice, and his

zeal for their interests, and yet employing means which seemed a sacrifice of their interests, and a disregard of the dictates of justice; of reconciling the minds of men to all these apparent contradictions, and preserving, in the midst of anxiety, and disappointment, and calumny, and ingratitude, that equanimity, and self-control, and unchanging firmness of purpose, which alone could give efficiency to his acts, and enable him to bear manfully to the end the great charge that had been imposed upon him; to those who consider these things, it will not be extravagant to say, that seldom has a country required more at the hands of a citizen, and never was the duty more conscientiously or more successfully performed.

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