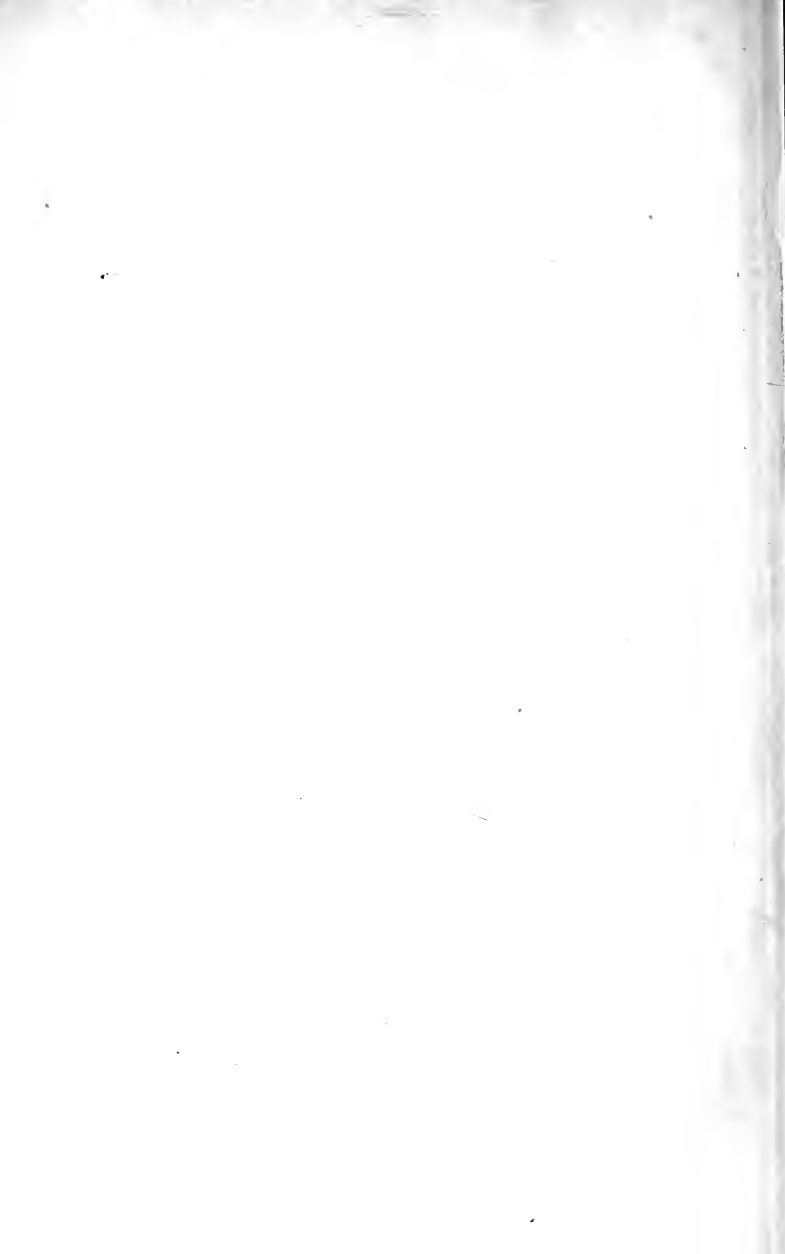
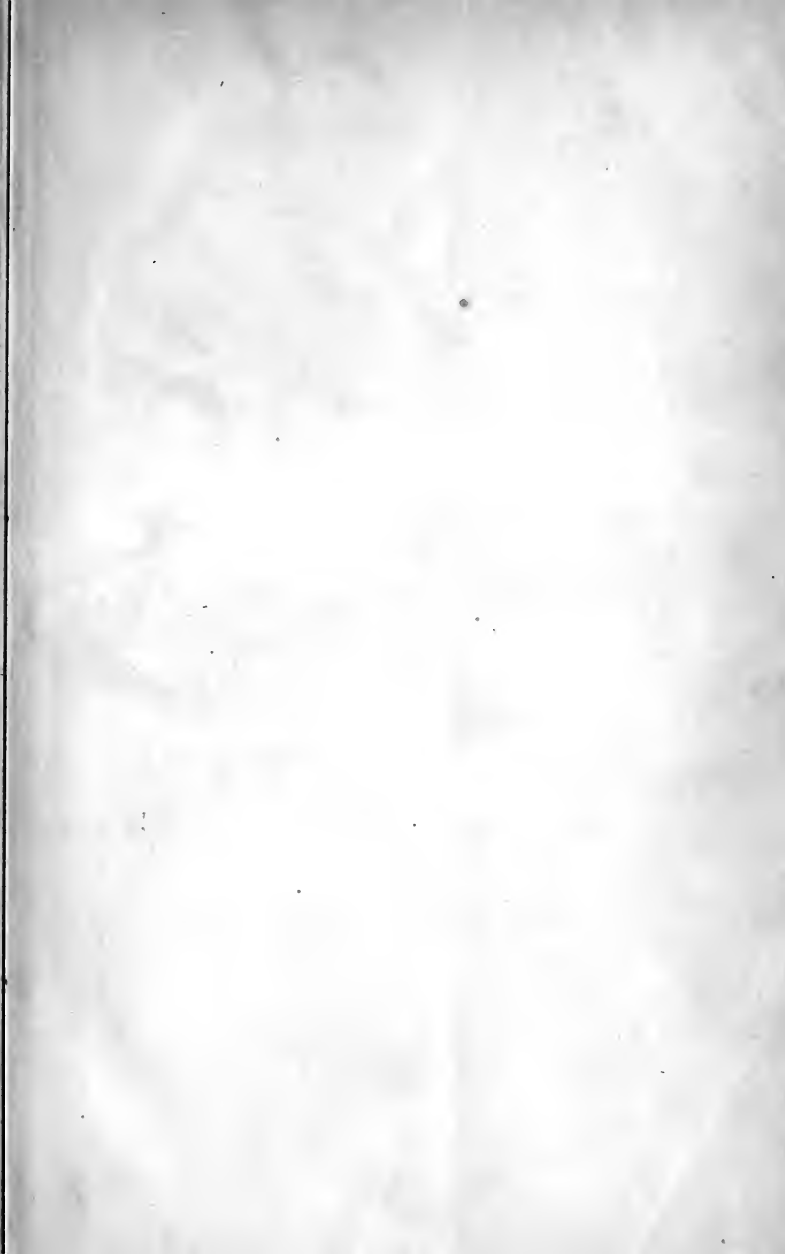




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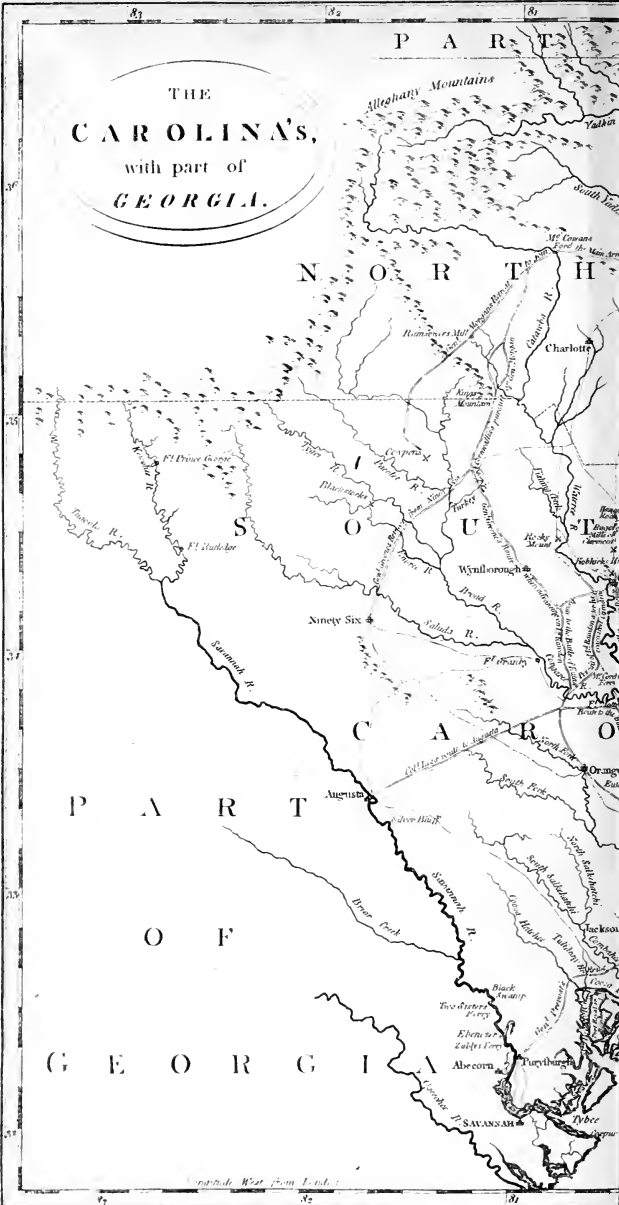








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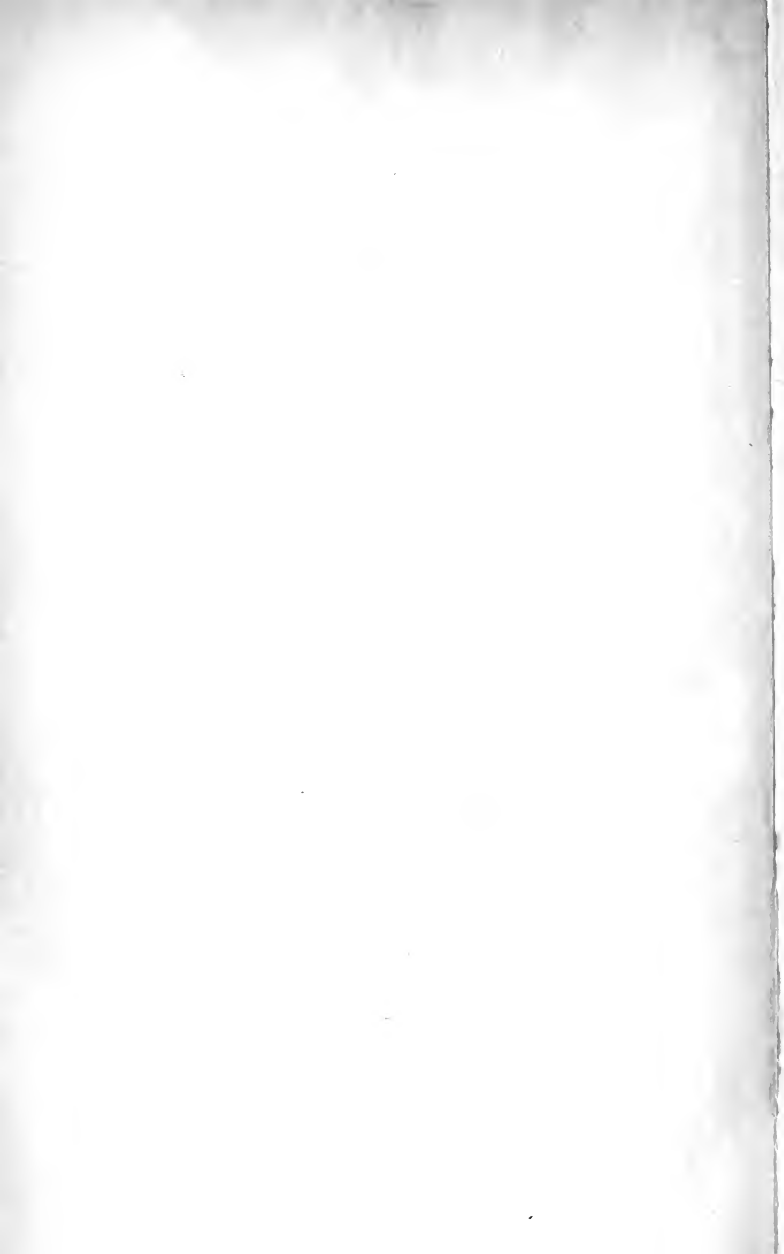
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THE LIFE

OF

NATHANAEL GREENE,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE,

AUTHOR OF "HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION," "HISTORICAL STUDIES," etc.

Ὡς φάσαν, οἳ μιν ἴδοντο πορεύμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
Ἦντησ' οὐδέ ἴδον· περὶ δ' ἄλλων φασὶ γενέσθαι.
ILIAD, IV. 374.

"After this manner said they, who had seen him toiling; but I ne'er
Met him myself, nor saw him: men say he was greater than others."

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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BOOK FOURTH.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH.

1780-1783.

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BOOK FOURTH.

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1780-1783.

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BOOK FOURTH.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH.

1780-1783.

CHAPTER I.

General Description of the Carolinas and Georgia. — Soil of South Carolina. — Division of it for Description — For Taxation. — Cultivation. — Alleghanies. — Hills and Mountains. — Rivers. — Obstacles to Navigation. — Swamps. — Towns and Villages. — Population of different Origins. — Immigration. — Prevalence of the Anglo-Saxon Element.

THE territory which was originally known as Carolina, was divided by later charters into North and South Carolina and Georgia; all of which, however, are capable in a measure of being comprised in a general description, as they resemble each other in many characteristics of external formation, soil, productions, and climate. At the time of the Revolution, South Carolina had a sea-coast of about two hundred miles, and was settled from two to three hundred miles inland.

North Carolina had a sea-coast of more than two hundred miles and Georgia of more than one hundred. The greater part of the main-land was cut off from direct contact with the ocean by a barrier of islands, many of them long and narrow, covered for the most part with a natural growth of timber,

and forming an extensive and complex system of inland navigation.

The soil on the coast of South Carolina is a low and sandy alluvion, extending eighty miles inward, without a hill, and almost without a stone, but gradually rising as you advance, to a hundred and ninety feet above the level of the coast. Sixty miles of sandhills follow, with hollows between them like the hollows between waves, and looking like the waves of a stormy sea suddenly checked in their heavings, and transformed into sand ridges; as the poet says the billows around the sides of Mont Blanc were suddenly stiffened into the *Mer de Glace*.¹ A fertile tract of highlands succeeds, called between the Savannah and Broad rivers, the Ridge, beyond which in both the Carolinas extends a region of hills and dales, well watered and well wooded — the upper country of southern geography, and which reminds the northern traveller of the hills and valleys of the north. Other products, other modes of cultivation, and other manners, distinguish the soil and those who till it from the soil and the husbandmen of the low country.

The soil of South Carolina has been divided for the purpose of description into four kinds. First, the pine barrens, monotonous and desolate, valuable for their timber, but although healthy, sandy and unfruitful; a kind of wilderness through which you slowly make your way with weary foot and

¹ "And who commanded and the silence came,
Here let the billows stiffen and have rest."

COLERIDGE, *Hymn to Mont Blanc*.

weary eye. Even the glare of noonday is softened under its high arches into a solemn twilight, and when the wind blows the air is filled with voices like the multitudinous voices of the sea when its waves curl and break in harmonious succession upon a sandy beach.

Interspersed among the pine barrens, and sometimes locked in the close embrace of swamps, lie savannahs, vast natural lawns, without a tree to protect them from the fierce sun, which every morning finds them wet with the heavy night dew, and falling unbroken upon them through the long day, quickens the soil with incredible fertility. It is on the tall grass of these natural meadows, and on the abundant cane of the swamps, that cattle feed and fatten, without toil or care of their owners.

Next, on the banks and around the mouths of the rivers, you find a low swampy ground of black loam and fat clay, in which canes spring up and thrive, and cypress, bays, and loblolly pines grow, and rice, the great staple of the State, is produced by a laborious and unhealthy cultivation.

And last of all come the oak and hickory lands, whose red earth bears chiefly corn in the low country, and in the back country grain, tobacco, hemp, flax, cotton, silk, and indigo.¹

Taxation has devised a still more accurate division of the soil into six classes. The first of these is tide swamp; the second inland swamp; the third high river swamp, or low grounds, commonly called second low grounds; the fourth salt marsh;

¹ Morse, *Universal Geography*, vol. i. p. 599, ed. of 1793.

the fifth oak and hickory high land; the sixth and last, pine barren. This, the most sterile, though as I have already said, the healthiest region of all, is regarded "as a necessary appendage to every swamp plantation."¹ With the sea-coast of North Carolina our story has not enough to do to call for a minute description; of the general character of the interior a sufficient idea may be formed from what has been said of the interior of South Carolina.

The character of the cultivation corresponded, in the times of which we are writing, to the character of the soil. On the sea-coast, and from forty to sixty miles inland, where the wet and unhealthy land was divided into large plantations, the work was done by slaves. In the interior, where small farms abounded, the landlord was often found in the field doing his own work. There was but little room for slaves on his narrow grounds, and their number was small. In the upper country it was smaller still. We shall see by and by, and it is a very important circumstance in our narrative, that neither in the lower, the middle, nor the upper country, was the population homogeneous or large.

The land, gradually rising as you advance towards the interior, brings you at last to the foot of the great mountain chain which separates the Atlantic slope from the valley of the Mississippi. But although the Alleghanies form the western boundary of North Carolina, in South Carolina they barely touch the apex of the triangle, which,

¹ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 158.

with an imaginary line for its northern side, and the natural boundary of the Savannah for its southern, forms the northwestern extremity of the State. King's Mountain, on the northern boundary line of the two Carolinas, Cheraw Hill on the southern bank of the Great Pedee, Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden, and the High Hills of Santee on the northern bank of the Wateree, are the only natural elevations important in our narrative.

Not so with the rivers, which, flowing southeastward and southward from the highlands at the foot of the great Alleghanian watershed, interlace the whole surface of both Carolinas in their devious courses, and play a decisive part in the military as well as in the agricultural geography of the country. As you look upon them on the map, they seem to you to divide the country into independent territories, extending in oblong tracts of irregular width from the highlands to the ocean. These tracts also are crossed by smaller streams, which, running for awhile in the same direction with the principal rivers, are gathered to them one by one, as they flow onward towards the sea.

First and most important for us in our progress southward, is the Dan, a small stream formed by the confluence of several other streams so small as not to be named on the map. For the first half of its course the Dan runs eastward within the limits of North Carolina, but at midway crosses the boundary line of Virginia, and by a slight northerly inflection, unites its waters with the broader current of the Roanoke. We shall

soon see Greene urging his thin files across it, and Cornwallis halting baffled and wayworn on its southern bank. Next, due south of the Dan, come two rivulets, Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, which, after some miles of independent wandering, unite; but before they unite, form a triangular space of about fourteen miles in its broadest part, within which, by marches and countermarches, and sudden changes of position, Greene exhausted the patience and baffled the plans of his skillful adversary, until he had collected all his strength and was prepared to meet him in pitched battle at Guilford. The junction of these little creeks forms the Haw, which, flowing southward, receives the tribute of a northern creek of historical name, the Alamance, which Cornwallis crossed in his last fruitless attempt to come upon Greene by surprise; and still holding its way southward, gathers to itself the waters of the Deep River near Ramsay's Mills, the spot from whence Greene, deserted by his militia, and with only a small and weary band of Continentals to rely upon, began his advance into South Carolina; the turning point of the southern war. Enlarged by this union, and no longer a rivulet, but a river, it follows its course to the sea under a name immortalized in later story, though unconnected with ours, the name of Cape Fear.

And then, retracing our steps towards upper North Carolina, we come upon other slender streams westward of Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, and following them southward, meet

the familiar names of Shallow Ford, and Island Ford, and still further on, the collective name of Yadkin, which comprises all the lesser streamlets that have successively united their currents to form the changeful river. The Yadkin too will soon become a familiar name, and long hold its place in our record, although after crossing the South Carolina line, it takes the name of Great Pedee. For with the Yadkin too are connected recollections of hot pursuit and swift retreat, of the baffled O'Hara on its west bank giving vent to his anger in a vain cannonade, and the successful Greene on its eastern bank, calmly writing his dispatches and issuing his orders, while ball after ball struck the roof of the little hut in which he had established his quarters. As the Great Pedee also, it is the first stream that arrests our attention, not by the blood that stained its waters, but by the camp of repose which Greene formed for his little army on its western bank, when he was first meditating the movements which compelled Cornwallis to stake the campaign upon a single chance.

Then broadest, and fullest, and most renowned of all, comes the river of four names. We meet it first in the mountain district of North Carolina, as the Catawba, and think, as we repeat the name, of purple vineyards on the banks of the Ohio, as our fathers thought of Indian ambuscades and midnight slaughter. Next, as we float down its current, looking out as we pass upon Camden, twice sadly famous by English victories, it becomes the Wateree, and under that name glides along the

foot of the high hills of Santee, which, rising two hundred feet above the level of the surrounding country, afforded Greene a secure refuge from the parching heat and noxious vapors of the lowlands. It was from these hills that he descended to his last great battle, and once again to that bold and brilliant manœuvre which drove the enemy back upon the lines of Charleston. It was here too that he received the happy tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis. Well may the student of American history remember the High Hills of Santee. Then, where Fort Mott once frowned from its southern bank, the Wateree receives its last tributary, the combined waters of the Broad River and the Saluda, which, uniting near where the Columbia of our days stands on the eastern bank and the Fort Granby of our fathers' days stood on the western, assume at their confluence the name of Congaree. This name too is presently lost in that of Wateree, and Wateree in that of Santee, near McCord's Ferry, an important crossing place of the olden time. And thus having changed its name for the fourth and last time, it passes swiftly under the walls of Fort Watson, sweeps with a broad curve round Eutaw Springs, and curving and winding still, holds its tortuous way to the ocean. The Edisto and several smaller streams come next, and last of all the broad and beautiful Savannah.

But while the face of the country was abundantly watered, and a path seemed everywhere open from the sea-coast to the interior, the utility

of these streams as channels of communication by no means corresponded to their size or their number. Those which emptied directly into the ocean were made difficult of access by sand-bars at their mouths, which it required the guidance of a skillful pilot to cross. When the bar had been crossed and the river entered, a direct communication with the interior was in many of them still impeded by falls. And whenever the rain fell, as in those latitudes it often does, suddenly, and in great quantity, the river presently rises with marvelous rapidity and renders the passage from one bank to the other difficult and hazardous always, and often wholly impossible. We shall see these sudden swellings of the waters playing an almost providential part in some of the most critical movements of Greene's first campaign.

Another obstacle to the navigation of these rivers is found in the marshes and swamps which line their course, extending sometimes one, and sometimes even three miles inland, tainting the air with noxious exhalations, rendering the approaches to the waters difficult, and making it impossible to build upon their banks as we build upon the banks of our northern streams. The roads through them were always difficult, often impassable, and all around their borders, as well as in their deeper recesses, lurked the deadly rattlesnake and still more dreaded moccasin. Mosquitoes by myriads, thronging around the helpless traveller, annoyed him by their shrill song and poisonous bite. Years of the peaceful industry of a growing

population were required to redeem these regions from the hands of a too luxuriant nature.

Throughout this whole region there were no cities. Even four years after the war, Charleston, the largest town, had but sixteen hundred houses for a population of 9,600 whites and 5,400 negroes.¹ Yet to colonial eyes it seemed magnificent, surpassing every other American city in the grandeur of its buildings, the splendor of its equipages, and the abundance of its commerce.² Hillsborough in North Carolina is an important point in our history; yet it contained only from sixty to seventy houses. Salisbury, another important strategic position, had but ninety houses, nearly ten years after the war. Charlotte, which we come upon in the very beginning of our narrative, was an open village. In 1790, when the first official census was taken, the State of South Carolina contained but 249,073 inhabitants of all races.³

This population was strangely compounded,⁴ and brought together by a strange variety of causes. The dissensions of England sent Roundheads and Cavaliers; the Roundheads fleeing from the polluted atmosphere of the restoration, the Cavaliers led by the hope of retrieving in a new world the

¹ Morse, *Universal Geography*, vol. i. p. 598.

² Quincy's Journal. *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 95.

³ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 232.

⁴ Greene's generalizing mind was immediately struck by this fact and some of its consequences. "Government here," he writes to A. Ham-

ilton on the 10th of January, 1781. "is infinitely more popular than to the northward; and there is no such thing as national character and national sentiment. The inhabitants are from all quarters of the globe, and as various in their opinions, projects, and schemes, as their manners and habits are, from their early education."

fortunes which they had lost in the old. Dutchmen flocked thither from Nova Belgia, when Nova Belgia became New York, bringing with them their national industry, thrift, and phlegm. The mercurial French blood was infused by bands of Huguenots, whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes compelled to try once more the path which their fathers had opened in Coligny's time, thirty-six years before that edict had been issued. Irish and Swiss and Germans came, some of them directly from their European homes, some after having lived awhile in other colonies and taken the first step in their transformation from Europeans to Americans. As you followed up the current of the Santee you would long have heard French upon its banks, till its name was lost in that of Wateree. French would still have met your ears through the whole length of the Congaree. In Williamsburg County you would have heard the Irish brogue, and on the banks of the middle Savannah the harsh French and harsher German of Switzerland. The fatal defeat of Culloden sent Highlanders, with hearts swelling with hatred of the Duke of Cumberland and love of their native Gaelic, and both the love and the hate were transmitted unimpaired to their children. From time to time colonists came from the older colonies of the north, led by the restless spirit of emigration, or the desire of a milder climate, or the hope of finding cheaper and better lands. Only a few years before the Revolution a thousand of them came at once, bringing, like the original settlers of Con-

necticut, their households and household goods with them, and driving before them their hogs and horses and cattle. The colonial authorities received them gladly, and in a short time they were opening clearings in the western woods of South Carolina, and sending deep into the soil the roots of a hardy and vigorous population. The tide of emigration continued to flow, though in small and disconnected streams, through the first sixty years of the eighteenth century. Parts of the country were beginning to assume the aspect of regular cultivation. Commerce was opening new channels of communication, bringing the interior into more direct and frequent intercourse with the sea-coast, and the colonists themselves into harmonizing and profitable connection with their central and northern sisters. But the work of fusion was still incomplete when the Revolution came and with it the vital question — Shall we remain dependent Colonies or become independent States? Yet amid all these various elements the Anglo-Saxon was the prevailing element, and English manners, English laws, and English forms of government were the prevailing standards. Young men of fortune and parts went to Oxford and Cambridge for their degrees, and to the inns of court for their law. The habits of thought and modes of life of a feudal aristocracy took early root, and found a congenial soil. The introduction of slavery confirmed this unfortunate tendency, and South Carolina was an aristocracy from its birth.

CHAPTER II.

The Southern States take an Early Part in the War. — Capture of Savannah. — Lincoln made Commander of the Southern Army. — Holds his Ground Fifteen Months. — Fall of Charleston. — Gates appointed to the Command. — De Kalb. — Gates enters on his Command. — His Rash Advance. — Defeat of Camden. — The Flight. — Sumter Defeated at Fishing Creek. — Remains of Gates' Army at Hillsborough. — Efforts to Reorganize them and restore Discipline. — Advance to Charlotte. — Arrival of Greene.

THE southern States had taken an early part in the contest with England, and the repulse of the English fleet before Charleston had been one of the brilliant achievements of the second year of the war. But it was not till after the defeat of Burgoyne, and the failure to make a permanent impression upon the north, that the British generals turned their attention decisively to the south. Then in December, 1778, Savannah was suddenly taken by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and a sure position gained at the mouth of an important river. A base of operations was thus secured. Their fleet gave them a direct communication with New York, from whence they could easily draw supplies and reinforcements. The road to the interior was open by the river. The road to Charleston was open by the main-land and by the islands. How long could the capital of South Carolina be expected to hold out against such forces as would soon be brought against it?

There were southern troops in the field, and good southern officers. But there was no southern officer of sufficient experience or reputation to inspire that confidence which great emergencies demand. The southern delegates felt the want, and did not hesitate to acknowledge it by asking Congress to give them Lincoln, a Massachusetts man, who had distinguished himself in the great northern campaign of 1777. For fifteen months, with but six hundred Continentals, and constantly fluctuating bodies of militia, Lincoln held his ground against superior forces in the open field, and for thirty days defended Charleston against the combined strength of Aburthnot and Clinton. At last, on the 12th of May, 1780, the English took possession of the first city of the south. They had already had possession of the three first cities of the north; but the war still seemed as far from its end as ever.

The progress of the war in the south had been anxiously watched in the north. The letters of the day are filled with reports and rumors and conjectures. Men longed for speedy tidings, for they knew how much depended upon Lincoln's little army for keeping the English army from their doors. But news travelled slowly in those days, and it was not till the end of May, and then through the enemy's publications at New York, that it was known in the American camp at Morristown that Charleston had fallen, and Lincoln and his army were prisoners of war.¹ Congress

¹ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. vii. p. 69. On the 29th of May De Kalb had not heard of it at Petersburg, Virginia, and still hoped to reach

was alarmed, but not disheartened. The second in command at Saratoga had failed, but the first in command was still free; and on the 13th of June, as soon almost as the intelligence could be received and acted upon, and without pausing to consult the Commander-in-chief, it was "*Resolved unanimously*, That Major-general Gates immediately repair to and take command in the southern department."¹ On the next day other resolutions were passed, investing him with ample powers, and then, full of self-confidence and the deceitful hopes which blind self-confidence engenders, the favorite of Congress took his way towards the south. "Take care not to exchange your northern laurels for southern willows,"² said Charles Lee, who knew how hard a thing it is to be looked down upon with contempt where you have been looked up to with reverence.

Early in April, while the hope of bringing succor to Lincoln, already sorely pressed, remained, the Baron de Kalb had been ordered to put himself at the head of the quotas of Maryland and Delaware, about fourteen hundred men in all, and push directly on to the Carolinas. Everything that intelligence and zeal could do, the gallant German did; and in spite of the delays of the Board of War and Treasury Board, reached Peters-

Charleston in time to raise the siege. Kapp's *De Kalb*, p. 182.

¹ Journals, *ad diem*.

² I do not know the original authority for this anecdote of Lee.

But they were both in Virginia at the time of Gates's appointment.

After Camden *Gates's laurels* were frequently alluded to in the private correspondence of the day.

burg in Virginia towards the last of May. On the 6th of June he received the news of the surrender of Charleston. One of the objects of his expedition was lost ; but another and equally important one remained. He could no longer save Charleston, but might he not yet come in time to save the State ? Therefore continuing his march with all that regard for the health of his troops which the season and climate required, though sorely straitened for supplies, and afraid to indulge the hope of reinforcements, he moved cautiously forward, and was balancing in his mind the only two means of feeding his army which presented themselves, when the tidings of Gates's appointment reached him in his camp at Wilcox's Mill, near Buffalo Ford, on the Deep River in North Carolina. It was a welcome relief from a great responsibility ; and never, perhaps, did a skillful and gallant officer pass more cheerfully from the first to the second rank.

And now was the time for Gates to prove that he really possessed the great qualities which his friends so confidently claimed for him, and his enemies so confidently denied him. His army was small, but it was well disciplined, proved by battle, privation, and wearisome marches ; the men in heart and full of trust in their officers, the officers zealous, and thoroughly acquainted with the genius and character of their men. Around this little band of fourteen hundred, with men like Williams and Howard and Porterfield to lead them, and partisans like Marion and Sumter to support them, a

body of militia might soon have been gathered and disciplined, and brought against the enemy's outposts, and then against his army itself. The population of the Whig districts would have risen as one man to aid them. The population of the Tory districts would have cowered and fled before them; and even the lines of Charleston would soon have proved an insufficient protection for the baffled and terrified invader.

The two corps with which De Kalb had made his wearisome march had just been increased by Armand's legion, composed of cavalry and infantry, not exceeding one hundred and twenty men in all, and Carrington's three small companies of artillery. The greater part of Armand's men were foreigners who had not served long enough together to form that corporate pride which makes discipline easy, and gives the flag a hold upon the heart of the soldier, like the hold which country has upon the heart of the citizen. What these men might have become under the lead of the gallant Frenchman it is not difficult to conceive. But Gates did not believe in cavalry in southern war, and took no pains to conceal his unbelief.¹ To provide magazines and supplies for his army, and carefully husband its resources and strength while the country was rising to its support, should have been its general's first care.

Two lines of advance lay open before him, and the fate of his army depended upon his choice. One of them led through a barren and thinly

¹ Williams's *Narrative*, p. 506.

peopled region, in which tracts of sand were alternated with tracts of swamp, over whose difficult soil the artillery and baggage wagons were drawn with incredible labor, and from which the scanty supplies of food and forage had already been stripped by the enemy, or by bandits who robbed and murdered under the name of Tories. The whole region was traversed and broken by water courses which a few hours' rain seldom failed to swell to torrents. This road led directly to the enemy's main post at Camden by their advanced post on Lynch's Creek.

The other, crossing the Yadkin near where it takes the name of Pedee, led directly through Salisbury, a small town, but an important strategic position; for it lay in the midst of a fruitful region, inhabited by high-spirited and zealous Whigs. At Salisbury or at Charlotte, magazines might be formed, hospitals might be opened, a laboratory might be established, reinforcements and supplies might be drawn in from Virginia, and a road opened to turn the left of the enemy's outposts and come upon their main body at Camden, with the Wateree for a cover on the right, and staunch friends to fall back upon in the rear.

Of these two routes Gates chose the first; and, without taking time to examine his own situation or to ascertain that of the enemy, ordered his troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Men and officers looked at each other with blank amazement. How could they march with only a half ration for to-day, and

not even a half ration for to-morrow? Otho Williams, whose former intimacy with Gates gave him a right to be heard, called his commander's attention to the condition of the troops, the difficulties of one road, and the advantages of the other. But Gates was resolved to strike a sudden blow, and assuring all that plentiful supplies of rum and rations were coming up, and could not fail to reach them in one, or at the utmost, two days; gave the signal to advance.

The march began early in the morning. A short halt at noon consumed the "scraps in the knapsacks" of officers and men, and they held on their way till night. Another day passed, and still another. The few houses that they saw were empty. Wherever inhabitants were seen they were seen flying for shelter to the swamps, where they formed themselves into bands, not merely for self-defense, but to harass and delay the American army while the British army was coming up. Intelligence, that lamp of a general's path, was not to be had in this hostile region, and the infatuated Gates went blindly forward, with nothing but conjecture to rely upon for his knowledge of the position and movements of the enemy. The men, nerved by discipline, and not yet able to believe that their general would deceive them, kept down their hunger as best they could, and though weaker at every step, still marched on. All turned their eager eyes towards the banks of the Pedee, for they were told that on those banks the maize was growing luxuriantly, and that if once

they could reach them, their privations would cease. They reached them. The maize was growing luxuriantly, and the long green stalks looked pleasantly to eyes weary with gazing on scorching sand and slimy swamp. But the ears were not yet filled out, and the young kernels, though tender and sweet, were not yet fit to impart strength, or sustain life. The officers, controlling their hunger, ate only of the lean and unsavory beef which they collected day by day in the woods; some of them making soup with it, and thickening their soup with hair powder. But many of the men, untrained to such self-denial, plucked and cooked the green ears, and ate them with their lean beef, without even salt to season the unhealthy repast. The diseases which unripe fruit engenders began presently to thin their ranks.

As yet no reinforcement had joined them, though General Caswell was not far off with a body of North Carolina militia; but like Lee in the autumn of 1776, Caswell aspired to independent command, and hoped to make himself a name by independent action; but while the army was still at Hillsborough, and while De Kalb was still in command, a thin, slender man, with an uncommunicative face, and a retiring, modest air, had come amongst them, followed by about twenty men and boys, some white and some black, but all of them mounted, and all of them armed. Their only approach to a uniform was a black leather cap. Their clothes seemed wretched even to eyes familiar with the generally wretched clothing of American soldiers;

and the arms and aspect of some were so ludicrous that the Continental officers found it hard to keep their men from laughing at them. But De Kalb, who had studied men, found something in their leader to inspire confidence and respect, and took pleasure in questioning him about the genius and character of the people whom he had come to defend. After a few days in camp, Marion, for that taciturn little man was Francis Marion, set out to watch the enemy and do what he might to keep the spirit of resistance alive in the neighborhood of the British army. A few days passed, and the gigantic De Kalb fell on the fatal field of Camden, bleeding from eleven wounds; a third of his gallant Continentals fell wounded or dead around him; a hundred and fifty were prisoners, and as prisoners were on the road to Charleston, with the horrors of a British prison and British prisonships before them, when suddenly Marion darted forth from one of his lurking-places, overpowered the guard, distributed the arms of the guard among the liberated prisoners, and gave them trusty guides to Wilmington.

Another gallant officer joined Gates with a small detachment just as he had crossed the Pedee. This was Lieutenant-colonel Porterfield, who, after the fall of Charleston, had kept his few followers together in the hope that he might before long find a banner to rally to. He came in time to prove his heroism and receive a mortal wound at Camden.

Meanwhile the rum and rations which Gates had promised his weary men had not arrived, and new

promises had been made and proved false. Then their temper began to grow sour. Many were sick. All were weakened by bad and insufficient food. Murmurs were heard, and ominous glances exchanged. The officers saw the danger, and knowing how well founded the murmurs were, went in among their men as friends, reminded them of their good conduct in the past, the glory that their endurance would win for them in the future, and showing them their own empty canteens and mess-cases, assured them that they had shared and would still share their privations. At this critical moment a small supply of Indian corn was brought in. In an instant the handmills were at work, and as fast as the corn could be ground it was distributed among the men. The officers were served last, and did not complain.

Gates had seen the danger, and was so far moved by it that he made an explanation to Williams, which had something of the air of an apology. "Caswell," he said, "had evaded his orders, and kept for himself the supplies which were intended for the whole army. Then he had been informed from trusty sources that the inhabitants were ready to join him the moment that they were assured of protection; to change route now would discourage all, endanger all." It was in vain that Williams reminded him of the barrenness of the country, and the perfidy of the inhabitants. Gates knew not how to distinguish between the firmness that yields to reason, and the obstinacy which persists in spite of reason. New promises were made, new hopes held out, and the march continued.

In the midst of these anxieties came a letter from Caswell, announcing his intention of attacking an advanced post of the enemy on Lynch Creek. The troops were hurried forward, but the officers were again compelled to go into the ranks, and by personal appeals to the men, prevent their murmurs from becoming mutiny. On the next morning, the morning of the 6th of August, came another letter from Caswell. Instead of attacking, he was in hourly expectation of being attacked, and called urgently for reinforcements. He was as eager for an immediate junction of forces now as he had been for independent action before. The Continentals also were eager to reach the camp of the militia, for they hoped to find supplies there. The militia looked anxiously for the approach of the Continentals, for they did not feel strong enough to look the enemy in the face without the support of disciplined soldiers. While the Continentals were coming up, Gates and Williams pushed on in advance to Caswell's camp. All was wild confusion and disorder there; tables, chairs, bedsteads, benches, were scattered through the encampment, and piled up round the tent doors. Some of the baggage horses were dead, some of the transportation wagons were broken down; the bewildered general and his bewildered men were making a desperate effort to throw off their heavy baggage. But hunger had not reached the militia camp as it had reached the camp of the Continentals. Caswell's table was well served, and Gates and Williams found wine and other delicacies there which they had not seen for many days.

On the 7th the long wished-for junction was effected. The enemy's advanced post at Lynch's Creek was only fifteen miles distant, and the militia were glad to find themselves under the protection of Continentals; the Continentals almost forgot their hunger and weariness when they saw what confidence their presence gave the militia. It was about noon when the two bodies united, and a short afternoon's march carried them a few miles nearer to the enemy. On the 8th, the post on Lynch's Creek was abandoned. By threatening an attack, the English commander had secured for himself an unmolested retreat, and drawn back his forces to a strong position on little Lynch Creek, within a mile of Camden. To cover his foraging parties had been Lord Rawdon's sole aim in forming his advanced posts; and having accomplished this, he drew his men together in Camden, a strong position, defended by redoubts and flanked by the Wateree and Pine Tree Creek. Cornwallis, as he knew, was rapidly advancing to his support. He may have known, also, that the American general had no spies out, while his own spies were serving him faithfully.

Therefore, when Gates, continuing his advance, reached Rugeley's Mills, the English detachment withdrew without a blow; but an English spy came securely into the American camp, ingratiated himself into the confidence of the American commander, and although suspected by some of the keener wits at head-quarters, was allowed to carry back to his employer a faithful report of what he

had seen, and the important tidings that the last of the American reinforcements — Stevens, with the Virginia militia — had come up.

Even now there was safety and victory for Gates had he known how to turn his time and means to account. He had marched through so desolate and obscure a region that his arrival was as great a surprise to his friends as to his enemies. But in spite of this mistake the Whigs hated the Tories too bitterly, and were too impatient of the presence of the enemy, to restrain themselves with an American army within supporting distance. Could they but see that army in a strong position, and have a few days given them for preparation, they would come crowding in with reinforcements and supplies. There were fighting men among them too, deadly marksmen with the rifle, inured to fatigue, and as familiar with the swamp as with the clearing. Even with the reinforcement under Cornwallis, the British army was but little over four thousand men. In a few days Gates might have outnumbered him two-fold, and made his own choice of ground and time for fighting. But he had heard Washington sneered at so often as the American Fabius, that he was resolved to prove himself the American Scipio. If he had any plan, it was to seek out the enemy by the directest road and fight him wherever he found him.

One good order, however, he gave near the last moment. The army was overloaded with heavy baggage, and embarrassed by a train of women and children. These were now ordered into the line

of retreat to Charlotte. But the order came too late. The means of transportation were not sufficient to secure a prompt removal of the baggage, and the women and children clung to their protectors. The catastrophe was at hand.

On the 15th, without calling upon his Adjutant-general for exact returns of the number and condition of his forces, Gates issued a complicated order for a night march, with details of evolutions which, however well adapted to a trained army in an open country, were wholly unsuited to militia in a country filled with thickets and swamps. As he handed it to Williams to copy, he added a rough estimate of his strength, making it over seven thousand fighting men. Upon comparing the full returns, Williams found that there were but three thousand and fifty-two fit for duty. "They certainly are much below the estimate formed this morning," said Gates, as he ran his eye over the report, "but they are enough for our purpose." What that purpose was, he did not say.¹ At ten the march was to begin. There was no time for reconsideration. Discipline forbade remonstrance, but there were misgivings and forebodings among both officers and men. Gates alone was confident. "I will breakfast in Camden to-morrow with Lord Cornwallis at my table," tradition makes him say.

The soldiers were still suffering from bad and scanty food. Habit had made rum an essential part of their rations, but no rum had yet come up, although they had been repeatedly assured that

¹ Williams' *Narrative*, p. 493.

it was coming. In an evil hour Gates bethought him of giving them molasses in its stead. A gill a man was served out with the evening rations, and all through the night the broken ranks bore witness to its effects.

It was a dreary, bewildering march,— with sick men constantly falling out of the ranks; with weary men stumbling over roots and shrubs; with horses pressing upon each other, and riders jostling each other; with the rumbling of heavy cannon wheels, mingled with the regular tramp of man and horse, and deepened by the damp night air; with the darkness of the night, made deeper by the darkness of the forest, and broken only by the twinkling of myriads of fireflies.

And thus for four weary hours they had held on their way, when a sudden flashing was seen in front, and was instantly followed by the sharp, rattle of firearms. Armand's cavalry, who were in the advance, recoiled from the shock, and falling back upon the first Marylanders, spread consternation through the whole division. But Porterfield held his ground firmly with his light infantry, and both sides, unable in the darkness to distinguish each other's force or position, ceased firing. A few prisoners, however, were taken, and from them Williams learnt that Cornwallis was at hand with his whole army. Gates could not conceal his astonishment. "Call a council," was his first order; and Williams hastened to obey it. "Well," asked De Kalb, when he received the summons, "has the General ordered you to retreat the army?"

The generals quickly gathered around their commander.

“Gentlemen, what is best to be done?” he asked.

For a few moments there was a dead silence. Stevens of Virginia was the first to break it. “Is it not too late now to do anything but fight?” All felt the force of that now, but no one uttered what all felt. “To your commands then, gentlemen,” was Gates’s only comment; and repairing to their posts, they awaited with misgiving hearts daylight and battle.

The night wore on. Porterfield had been mortally wounded in the skirmish of the advance. Armand’s legion had been demoralized by the surprise. From time to time small bodies would push forward from both sides and skirmish for awhile, revealing to the practiced ear the situation of the two armies. But the main bodies stood still where they had first halted. It was a severe trial of nerve for militiamen who had never been so near an enemy before. Even trained soldiers might well have felt their hearts throb. At last day dawned, and through its purple haze Williams saw the English columns already in motion.

“I can distinguish the grounds of their uniforms not more than two hundred yards off,” said Captain Singleton of the artillery.

“Open on them at once with your guns,” said Williams, and setting spurs to his horse, hurried off to Gates with the report. He found the Commander-in-chief in the rear of the second line. “I believe the enemy are deploying by the right, sir,

and if Stevens, who is already in line, were to attack them briskly while deploying, it would make a good impression, and first impressions are important."

"Sir, that is right; let it be done," answered Gates; and that was the only order which Williams received from him during the battle.

Stevens pressed forward, with his men in high spirits. But it was too late; the English were already in line. "Let me have forty or fifty volunteers," said Williams, who felt the importance of drawing the enemy's fire before they were near enough to make it effective. Stevens felt it too; and in a few moments the little band was pushing forward towards the British line.

"Take trees, men," cried Williams, when they were within forty yards of it; "choose your trees, and give them an Indian charge." But when the Virginians saw the enemy advance, huzzaing and firing as they came, their hearts failed them; and without pulling a trigger, they threw down their arms and fled. The North Carolinians followed, bursting away like an undammed torrent, and dashing pell-mell into the second line of Continentals, went raving along the roads and by-paths towards the north. But the Continentals held their ground, charging and repelling charges, broken more than once, and borne down by superior numbers, but forming again, and rallying and fighting bravely and skillfully to the end. Smallwood, who should have been with his Marylanders, was nowhere to be seen; but Williams, who was in the thickest

of the fight, called out to his own regiment, the sixth Maryland, to hold their ground.

“They have done all that can be expected of them,” answered the gallant Ford, as he pointed to their streaming blood and thinned ranks; “we are outnumbered and outflanked; see, the enemy charge with bayonets.”

It was impossible through the dust and smoke to see the whole field; but some whose record has reached us saw, as long as aught could be seen, the gigantic form of De Kalb at the head of the second regiment of Maryland. He had issued his orders as coolly as he would have issued them on parade. He had re-formed the ranks when broken, and led them to the charge when re-formed. His horse had been shot under him. A blow with a broadsword had set the blood a streaming from his head. An aid had promptly bound up the wound with his sash, entreating him as he bound it up, to withdraw from the hopeless contest. But still his clear voice rang out cheerily, exhorting, encouraging, guiding, while bullet after bullet struck him with fatal accuracy. Then came the last shock, the charge of Tarleton's cavalry; and as the little remnant of the Marylanders recoiled and broke before it, the brave old man fell fainting with eleven wounds.

And now the fight was over. The roads were filled with the flying, the battle-field was covered with the wounded and the dead. Far and near rose the cry of agony, the mingled cry of pain and terror. Humane hearts were pierced by it.

Hard hearts were stirred up to plunder and violence by the sight of unprotected baggage and helpless enemies. Wherever liquor was to be found the fugitives gathered round it and drank deep. Gates was borne away by the torrent of the flying, and by night reached Charlotte, sixty miles from the scene of the disaster. Caswell was with him. A few men and a few officers collected round him. On the next day he pushed on to Hillsborough, where the legislature of North Carolina was sitting, and where there was most hope of obtaining the materials for making a stand. Gradually the scattered fugitives came into Charlotte by tens and twenties; all but the militia, who held straight on their way homeward. In two days a hundred infantry were collected, together with Armand's cavalry, and a small body of mounted militia under Major Davie, whose name will soon become familiar to our ears.

On the 19th came tidings of another disaster, the surprise and defeat of Sumter at Fishing Creek. The Americans resolved to fall back upon Salisbury. Happily not all of the militia had lost heart; and at this critical moment the men of Mecklenburg and Waxhaws proved true; and forming themselves into small bands, promptly renewed the war, even after the retreat of the Continentals. Happily, too, the British general had not followed up his success as he might have done. Time was given for stragglers to come in, and for officers to reëstablish their authority, and early in September a few hundred ragged and

half starved men were assembled round Gates at Hillsborough.

But it was soon found that undisciplined soldiers were bad guests and worse neighbors for peaceful citizens. The townfolks began to complain. The officers saw that the control essential to good service was slipping from their hands. They drew their men from town, and formed a camp in the woodlands of a vacant farm. The privates were quartered in wigwams, made out of fence rails, poles, and corn tops, hastily woven together. The officers had a few tents, which they divided among themselves; but found them so thin and worn that they too were glad to get under the surer shelter of the wigwams. Here order was partially reëstablished among the men, and discipline began to resume its sway. They had received no pay, no clothes, barely food enough to sustain life; but before they had been four days in camp murmurings ceased, each man knew his place, the turns of duty were regularly performed, the intervals of leisure were filled up with manly sports, and the confidence on which success depends, the reciprocal confidence of officer and soldier, was reëstablished. Recruits began to appear, and the Legislature exerted itself to call out the militia. A small supply of clothing arrived and was distributed among the Continentals. The four companies of infantry were formed into a battalion and put under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Howard of Baltimore. The Continental brigade was given to Colonel Otho Williams, another Mary-

land man, whom we have already found so active as Gates's Adjutant-general, and shall find so deep in Greene's counsels throughout the rest of the war. Smallwood, whose equivocal conduct had alienated many of his brother officers, and who was supposed to have aspired to the command of the department, was put in command of the militia. The light troops were assigned to Morgan, who was soon after made Brigadier-general. Before the end of November the little army had advanced to Charlotte; Smallwood to Providence, fourteen miles south of Charlotte; Morgan to the neighborhood of the Wateree. To eyes fresh from the weary march to Camden and the disastrous defeat there, the little band seemed an army. But not so to Greene, when he joined it in its camp at Charlotte on the 2d of December, 1780.¹

And thus ended the campaign of Camden. Lee's warning had proved a prophecy. Gates, who had been praised beyond his deserts, was now blamed beyond his deserts. Dismay and almost despair fell upon the wretched Carolinas, till the campaign of 1781, calling forth the highest military qualifications, freed them from the oppression of the enemy.

¹ The principal original authority for this chapter is the narrative of Otho Williams, first published by Johnson in his life of Greene. Greene everywhere makes a point of defending Gates, and in all his letters to

the north, speaks of him as more unfortunate than culpable. Lee praises him for going directly to Hillsborough, and endeavoring to restore the confidence of the people by securing that of the Legislature.

CHAPTER III.

Greene in Philadelphia. — Preparations for his Command. — His Relations to Congress. — Letters. — Powers conferred on him. — Wants of the Army. — Attempt to get a Supply of Clothing through the Merchants. — Want of Means of Transportation. — Cavalry. — Lee's Legion. — Dr. McHenry. — John Laurens. — Letter to Washington. — To Pickering. — Col. Feibiger. — Money. — Last Words to Washington.

GREENE had already been more than once in Philadelphia, and always for some important purpose. Now, however, he entered the well known streets with a keener sense of responsibility than he had ever brought into them before. Two great calamities had fallen upon the department to which he was called, — one honorable reputation had been dimmed by defeat; one brilliant reputation had been destroyed by it. Had the victor been wise, the spirit of resistance would have been utterly crushed. But an ill-timed severity had roused it anew when even the most sanguine of its friends had begun to despair. If he also should fail, there was little reason to believe that that spirit could ever be awakened again. With the Carolinas and Georgia in the hands of the enemy, the preservation of Virginia would have been difficult; a safe peace would have been impossible. The fate of the war and of all the great questions connected with it, de-

pended upon the preservation of the South. It was evident that the decision could not be long delayed. It was equally evident that another loss like the loss of Charleston, another disaster like the defeat of Camden, would be irreparable. Greene was now to see what means Congress could provide for the fulfillment of the trust which Washington had confided to him.

His relations with Congress had not been friendly. There were men still sitting in Federal Hall who not three months before would cheerfully have voted that Congress had no further need of his services. Would they be able now to rise above their prejudices and give him the cordial support which his position and the good of the country required?

Washington had intrusted to Greene's care the letter in which he announced to Congress his action upon their instructions to appoint a successor to General Gates, and Greene's first care on reaching Philadelphia, was to lay that letter before them. To Washington's letter he added a letter of his own upon "the business of the southern department."

Whether he was to consider his appointment "as a misfortune or otherwise, will depend," he writes, "upon future events." It will be "his pride and ambition to merit the approbation of Congress, and he flatters himself that they will be charitably disposed to make just allowance for the peculiar difficulties he will have to contend with. . . . He is conscious of his deficiencies, but if he is clothed with proper powers and receives the necessary support, he is not altogether without hopes of prescribing some

bounds to the ravages of the enemy." In the midst of his anxiety he sees with pleasure "the spirit of enterprise that prevails in that quarter." This spirit, he thinks, "it should be the object of Congress to encourage as far as possible by a seasonable and effectual support, lest the people sink under the weight of oppression and reconcile their minds to their misfortunes." "At present," he continues, "I am wholly unacquainted with the intentions of Congress with respect to the plan and extent of the war they mean to prosecute in the southern department, as well as the number and condition of the troops they mean to employ, or the States in which they are to be levied. I am uninformed how they are to be paid, fed, and clothed, through what channels the Quartermaster-general's, Ordnance, and Hospital department are to be supplied. I must request the orders and information of Congress upon all these points, and I will endeavor to make the most of the means put into my hands.

"Money is the sinews of war, and without a military chest it is next to impossible to employ an army to effect. Although troops may be levied, and the great articles provided to equip them for the field, a thousand things essential to success will occur in the course of operations which cannot be foreseen or provided for.

"I have only to suggest to Congress," he adds, "my earnest wish of being with my command as soon as possible, and the necessity there is of making the proper arrangements before I go."¹

This letter was read on the day on which it was written, and referred to a committee of five. Two of this committee, Sullivan and Cornell, had recently passed from camp to Congress, and their appointment may be regarded as a proof that the importance of the communication was felt, and no un-

¹ Greene to President of Congress, Philadelphia, Oct. 27, 1780.

necessary delay would occur in answering it. Greene meanwhile, having performed this first duty, set himself to study the condition of his department in the archives of Congress. He saw that while the quotas of Delaware and Maryland formed the real nucleus of the southern army, he had no authority to call upon either of those States for recruits or supplies; he also saw that a large portion of his supplies must necessarily be drawn from the north, that an auditor-general of accounts was required for the dispatch of business, and that the ordnance department was "in a wretched, deranged state." Concerning the medical department, which had so constantly engaged his attention in the north, he could learn nothing; concerning the condition of the military chest, he had nothing to learn. Two days after his letter to Congress he addressed a letter to the committee, giving the result of his inquiries into the state of his department, and inclosing estimates for "a variety of articles in the different departments which [were] absolutely necessary to enable [his] army to take the field, and must be had from the northern States as there [was] not the least probability of procuring an article of them to the southward."

This time there was no delay in committee or in Congress. Greene's letter of the 27th to the President, and of the 29th to the committee, was reported upon on the 30th, and on the same day Congress passed a series of resolutions approving Greene's appointment; approving the assignment of Steuben to the southern army; assigning to

that army "all the troops raised and to be raised" from "Delaware to Georgia inclusive;" giving to Greene all the powers that had been given to Gates; extending to him all the instructions and resolutions that had been framed for the southern department since Gates's appointment; authorizing him to employ the army according to his own judgment, though subject to the control of the Commander-in-chief; "earnestly" recommending the legislatures and executives of the States within his department to comply with his requisitions for men, money, clothing, arms, intrenching tools, provisions, and other aids and supplies; directing the heads of departments to furnish to his order such articles as the States could not furnish, and authorizing him to negotiate a cartel for the exchange of prisoners.¹ In a letter of the following day the President of Congress adds: "You will also observe that you are empowered to coöperate with our ally or his Catholic majesty if occasion shall offer in your department in such manner as may appear most effectual."²

Thus the first step was taken, and with a promptness unexampled in his transactions with Congress. He was now to see how far the good intentions of that body could be carried out. His army, as near as he could learn, was "rather a shadow than a substance, having merely an imaginary existence."³ Yet this army was to be his

¹ Journals of Congress, October 30, 1780.

of Congress, to General Greene, October 31, 1780. — Greene MSS.

² Samuel Huntington, President

³ Letter to Knox, October 29. — Greene MSS.

chief reliance for every plan which extended beyond a single battle or a single manœuvre. The militia would come and go at will as they had always done; and although with their aid he might venture to take the field, he could not hope to keep it without a body of well trained Continentals. To provide for such a body was his chief care during these eight days in Philadelphia.

“My first object,” he writes to Washington on the 31st of October, “will be to equip a flying army to consist of eight hundred horse and one thousand infantry. This force, with the occasional aid of the militia, will serve to confine the enemy in their limits and render it difficult for them to subsist in the interior country.

“I see but little prospect of getting a force to contend with the enemy upon equal grounds, and therefore must make the most of a kind of partisan war until we can levy and equip a large force.”

Knox had promised him a company of artillery; and in a letter of the 27th Greene urges him to send it immediately forward, with “four field-pieces and two light howitzers as complete as possible.”

Pickering had promised him two companies of artificers; and in a letter of the 1st of November Greene urges him to send them on “as soon as possible, with orders to make as little stay in Philadelphia as might be.”¹

For arms, which neither Congress nor the south-

¹ Letter to Pickering, November 1, 1780. — Greene MSS.

ern States could supply, he had recourse to Joseph Reed, on whose personal friendship he knew that he could fully rely, and who as President of Pennsylvania had, with the council, on whose coöperation he could count, control of the arms of the State. "I shall be exceedingly obliged to your Excellency," he writes to Reed on the same day on which he wrote to Pickering, "if you will be kind enough to lend us for the service of the southern army four or five thousand stand of arms, and I will engage they shall be replaced out of the Continental magazines. If you cannot furnish this number, let me have all you can spare." Reed did all that patriotism and friendship could suggest to meet Greene's request; but the number which he could supply fell short of the demand by more than half. When those furnished by the Board of War and those furnished by the President of Pennsylvania were counted, they were found not to exceed fifteen hundred. Greene now turned to Washington. "I must beg your Excellency, therefore," he writes on the 3d of November, "to forward us three or four thousand from the eastern States, as it is impossible to get them here; we are not less deficient in cartouch boxes than arms."

Another care which pressed sorely upon him was the difficulty of procuring clothing; for he felt that to carry unclad men into the field for a winter campaign, would serve only "to fill the hospitals and sacrifice valuable" lives. "It is doing violence to humanity," he writes to the Presi-

dent of Congress, "and can be attended with nothing but disgrace, distress, and disappointment." This was the humane view of the subject. There was another view which the economist was bound to take, and this also Greene enforces with calm earnestness. "Congress will be burdened with all the expense of a well-appointed army, without the least advantage from their services; for I am persuaded the expense of the hospital department will nearly equal that of the clothes."

But Congress had no clothes to give him, and it was folly to trust to the southern States for a supply. He made an effort to interest the merchants in the subject, and in a "meeting with some of the principal ones," proposed that they should agree to furnish five thousand suits, and "take bills on France in payment." "I have taken the liberty to suggest this mode of providing clothing," he writes to the President of Congress, "from an earnest desire that the troops which are to be under my command may be put in a condition to be as extensively useful as possible." "But the merchants," he wrote to Washington on the 31st of October, "excuse themselves as having engaged more already than they can perform. I intend to try to put subscriptions on foot in Maryland and Virginia for the purpose of supplying clothing. Whether it will produce any good or not time only can determine. At any rate, I shall have the satisfaction of having done all in my power; and if there is not public spirit enough in the people to

defend their liberty, they will well deserve to be slaves." ¹

There was still another obstacle; an obstacle which had met him with a discouraging aspect at every turn during his administration of the Quartermaster-general's department, and which now presented itself under an aspect still more discouraging. In the defeat of Camden nearly all the public wagons had either fallen into the hands of the enemy or been abandoned on the highway. Thus the means of transportation in the south, always incomplete, were almost utterly destroyed. In the north there were wagons and horses, but neither money nor credit to procure them with. The Quartermaster's department could do nothing for him. In this embarrassment, also, the good offices of Reed were brought into play, and by a prompt resolution of the council orders were issued for raising "a hundred road wagons for the purpose of forwarding the stores." He applied to Pickering also. "We are exceedingly in want of

¹ About this time Wayne was writing to President Reed: "I believe no army before this was ever put to such shifts, in order to have even the appearance of uniformity. When the charge of the Pennsylvania division devolved on me, after the removal of General St. Clair to the command of the left wing, I thought of an expedient of reducing the heterogeneous, of new, old, cocked, and flopped hats, and pieces of hats, to infantry caps, in which we succeeded very well, by making three decent caps out of one tolerable and two

very ordinary hats, to which we added as an embellishment, a white plume and a comb of flowing red hair.

"We now shall try the experiment of making three short coats out of three old tattered long ones. I must acknowledge they would answer much better for the spring than fall; but without something done in this way we shall be naked in the course of two or three weeks; nor will even this expedient answer longer than Christmas." — *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1779-1781, p. 593.

about forty covered wagons ; if there was a possibility of detaching from the ordnance or from any other branch of the army a small number to our assistance, it would afford us great relief." And remembering, as he wrote, his own difficulties as Quartermaster-general, he added, "I am fully sensible of your difficulties, and the impossibility of providing fully in the Quartermaster's department, unfurnished as you are with money, and will make just allowance on that account. I have only to request that you will not forget us when we are removed to a great distance from you."

Gates, as has already been said, did not believe that cavalry could be employed to advantage in the southern States. Greene, on the contrary, believed that "cavalry and partisan corps were best adapted to the make of the country and the state of the war in that quarter, both for leading and encouraging the militia, as well as protecting the persons and property of the inhabitants." The leader whom he wished to put at the head of this corps was Henry Lee, "whose merit and services," he writes to the President of Congress, "are so generally known and so universally confessed, that it is altogether superfluous for me to say anything in their commendation." But Lee was only a major, and his legion had "but one field-officer belonging to it. Two," Greene writes, "are absolutely necessary to perform the services that will be required of them ;" and therefore he "begs leave to propose the promotion of Major Lee to Lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Peyton to a

Major." On this also Congress took immediate action. Lee was made Lieutenant-colonel, and the "further arrangement of the corps" was "referred to the Commander-in-chief to take orders."¹

There was still another promotion in which Greene felt deep interest. Among the members of Washington's military family, with all of whom his relations were most friendly, was Dr. James McHenry, of Maryland, a young man of good parts and easy fortune, who had studied medicine rather as a science than as a profession, and who had been in the army from the beginning of the war." He was now anxious to serve with Greene as aid, and it was Greene's "earnest wish to have him." But as he had already served as aid to the Commander-in-chief, he could not accept the same position with any other officer, without losing rank. "Nothing but a majority will engage him in this service," writes Greene to the President of Congress; and "if the indulgence can be consistently granted, it will lay me under particular obligations." But the subject of promotions was a very tender subject with Congress; and although this was asked for by Greene, and favored by Washington, it was not till May, when the general subject of promotions was under consideration, that it was accorded. Meanwhile McHenry had returned to the family of the Commander-in-chief.

Among the prisoners who had fallen into the

¹ Greene to President of Congress, — (Greene MSS.) Journal of Congress, November 2, 1780. Lee to Greene, urging his claims, October 26 and 29.

hands of the British at the surrender of Charleston, was Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, a son of that Henry Laurens who, after serving with distinction as member and President of Congress, had been sent as minister to Holland, had been captured by a British man-of-war on his passage thither, and was now a prisoner in the Tower of London, with an accusation of high treason hanging over him. John Laurens had served Washington as aid; and with the exception, perhaps, of Lafayette and Hamilton, no officer of his age stood so high in Washington's esteem or held such a place in his affections. Greene also was warmly attached to the gallant young Carolinian, and when Laurens told him how ardently he desired to serve under him, he wrote to Washington: "Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens is very anxious to join the southern army as soon as he gets exchanged. His knowledge of the southern States and of the customs and manners of the people will render his services very necessary in that quarter." The exchange was made soon after. But Congress had fixed upon Laurens as special envoy to the Court of Versailles, and it was not till the contest had been really decided by the brilliant campaign of 1781 that he joined the southern army, to fall a victim to rash valor in a petty skirmish, which but for the loss of such a man, would have passed without mention in history.

Greene had now done all that he could hope to do in Philadelphia towards preparing for his winter campaign. But he had had too much

experience of Congressional delays to count upon the punctual fulfillment of even the little that had been promised him. "I beg your Excellency," he writes to Washington, "to urge unceasingly the necessity of forwarding supplies for the southern army, as it will be impossible to carry on a winter campaign without clothing. I have laid before Congress an estimate of our wants, but there is not a shadow of a prospect of their being furnished, unless constant attention is paid to the business. And I am apprehensive as soon as I am gone, and no one left to urge our wants, they will soon be forgotten." The same sentiment is repeated in a letter to Pickering. "You will find it necessary to urge your wants upon every order of men on whom you depend for support; and without repeating them again and again, they will often prove ineffectual."

The charge of forwarding his supplies and reminding the different departments of their promises, he intrusted to Colonel Feibiger,¹ with minute instructions for his guidance. One more provision was to be made. The sum which Congress had furnished for his travelling expenses was insufficient. After paying for the transportation of his own baggage, and giving Steuben what he needed in order to equip himself for the journey, there was not enough left "to defray the expenses of the baron and myself, with our respective families,

¹ A Pennsylvania officer, distinguished for his "coolness, bravery, and perseverance at the storming of Stony Point. *Vide* Wayne's report. Sparks, *Washington*, vol. vi. p. 530.

even as far as Virginia. "I must request, therefore," he writes to the President of Congress, "a further immediate supply of sixty or eighty thousand dollars, at least."¹

His last words were addressed to Washington. "I am this moment setting out for the southern army;" and after a few lines upon other urgent subjects, he adds: "The British might receive a deadly blow in Virginia, if Count Rochambeau and Admiral Terny would suddenly embark their troops, and land in Virginia. The enemy's fleet there is much inferior to that of the French, and the land force of the former greatly inferior to the latter when joined with the troops in Virginia and the militia of the country; but this will be thought too hazardous perhaps." And thus, with a suggestion which may have prepared Washington's mind for the bold and felicitous advance upon Yorktown, Greene set forth to put himself at the head of his little army.

¹ In Continental currency. The depreciation in November, 1780, was from eighty to one hundred for one.

CHAPTER IV.

The Journey South. — Steuben. — Evening Conversations. — Duponceau. — Greene's Familiarity with the Latin Poets. — Letters from Annapolis. — Instructions to General Gist. — Conflicting Reports. — Letter of George Lux. — Greene at Mount Vernon. — At Fredericksburg. — General Weedon. — Six Days in Richmond. — Invasion of the Enemy. — Governor Jefferson. — Letter to the President of Congress. — To Washington — Lieutenant-colonel Feibiger. — To General Mühlenburg. — Steuben in Command in Virginia. — General Gist. — Colonel Pickering. — Colonel Matlock. — Board of War. — Private Letter to Washington. — Greene resumes his Journey. — At Petersburg. — Letters Detailing Designs and Instructions. — At Hillsborough. — Letters and Instructions. — Reaches the Army at Charlotte.

GREENE was glad to be on the road, for he was convinced that the enemy were bent upon conquering North Carolina, and taking possession of the lower part of Virginia.¹ A winter campaign was inevitable, and he longed to be with his army. Steuben was to bear him company during the first part of his journey, and with such a companion there could be no lack of that instructive conversation in which he delighted. Each general had his aids with him; Greene, Colonel Morris and Major Burnet; Steuben, Captain Benjamin Walker and Peter S. Duponceau. Major Clairborn, of whom Greene always speaks with affectionate warmth, and who was on his way to Virginia in the hope of reëntering the Virginia line, formed one of the party.

¹ Letter to General Weedon, November 21, 1780.

For the first two days Greene was on familiar ground, the road by which, three years before, he had marched with Washington to check the advance of the enemy from the Head of Elk, and returned in slow retreat after the defeat of the Brandywine. The inn at Chester, in which they passed the first night, was the inn in which Washington had passed the first night after the battle. Duponceau has left a record of the pleasant conversation of that first evening of their journey; how it began with general literature; how in the course of it Greene spoke of the Latin classics; how he himself joined in it, and turning it upon the Latin poets, found, to his surprise, that the American General was still at home. Nor did it escape the quick eye of the genial young Frenchman, that Greene had a Latin volume with him for travelling companion.¹

But he has not told us what Steuben said of the movements on Red Clay Creek, or of the retreat across the Brandywine, or of the battle itself. Yet it would have been pleasant to know what the disciple of Frederick thought of them, and how Greene told the story of scenes in which he had borne so prominent a part.

On the 5th of November they were at the Head of Elk; ² and Greene, whose thoughts were on his army, drew up there minute instructions for Colonel Donaldson Gates, who was to superintend the forwarding of the stores as they came in from the

¹ *Vide* vol. i. p. 13.

² Transformed into Elkton, by one of the inconsiderate changes

which are fast making the geography of the United States as perplexing as the geography of the Middle Ages.

northward. "The whole southern operations," he writes," will depend upon the stores coming from the northward." And still the further south he went, the more clearly he saw that his first impression was correct and that there was no prospect of drawing supplies for his army "from any other quarter than Philadelphia."¹ On the 7th, he addressed from Annapolis an urgent letter to the Board of War. "General Gist," he writes, "is at this place," and says "it is idle to expect service from the southern army unless they receive supplies from the northward, to put them in a condition to act, and that it is equally idle to expect anything south of this, especially clothing; nor will there be anything of consequence to be had in this State." Baltimore he found in so "defenseless a state," that "a twenty-gun ship might lay the town under contribution." And in this defenseless town had been collected, as if to attract the enemy's attention, a "large quantity of public shot and shell."

On the 20th, he writes from Annapolis to Governor Rodney, of Delaware, informing him of his appointment to the command of the southern army, telling him that he is authorized by Congress to "call for such supplies of men and other things as the southern service might require," inclosing a requisition, and urging the "earliest attention to the business, as the situation of the southern army presses hard for the most speedy reinforcements of men and supplies of every kind. . . . Every

¹ Letter to the Board of War, November 7th, 1780.

wise people," he adds, "will keep the war as far from them as possible. The middle States have no way of effecting this but by giving timely support to the southern operations."

The Legislature of Maryland was in session; and he seized the opportunity to lay a statement of his wants before them. "They promise me," he writes to Washington, "all the assistance in their power; but are candid enough to tell me that I must place but little dependence upon them, as they have neither money nor credit, and from the temper of the people are afraid to push matters to extremity." On the same day he addressed a letter to Governor Lee upon the same subject. In this, too, he urges the necessity of giving prompt assistance to the southern States before their spirits are broken, and they become reconciled to their misfortunes; reminds him that it is easier to keep alive than to revive the spirit of resistance; asserts that it is only by means of a regular army that it can be kept alive, and declares his conviction that "if a draft could be accomplished, it would damp the hopes of the enemy more than ten victories."

The charge of enforcing these arguments, reminding men in power of their promises, and promptly forwarding the supplies from Delaware and Maryland, he gave to General Gist. "You will please to make all your applications in writing," he writes, "that it may appear hereafter for our justification that we left nothing unessayed to promote the public service. Let your applications be as pressing as our necessities are urgent; after

which if the southern States are lost we shall stand justified. The greatest consequences depend upon your activity and zeal in your service."

One of his greatest annoyances during this journey arose from the difficulty of procuring correct intelligence concerning the condition of affairs in the south. In Baltimore, where, according to George Lux, "men were as much at a loss generally speaking, for authentic advices from the southward as if they were in the East Indies," he found the people filled with sanguine hopes of capturing Lord Cornwallis and his army. Thus the Whigs were lulled into a dangerous security, while the disaffected, better informed and wiser in their generation, continued their malignant efforts with unabated zeal. Gates's letters to the governor, holding out the promise of a speedy renewal of offensive operations, and of "recovering all our losses in the southern States," were supposed to have contributed not a little "to fix the delusion."

Nothing could be more unfavorable to Greene's aims than this unsettled and wavering state of the public mind; and how rapidly the public mind was tossed to and fro, from the extreme of hope to the extreme of despair, Lux tells him in a letter of the 29th of November. "In three days came here the different accounts that the enemy had left our bay; Lord Cornwallis and his army likely to be taken; a French army and fleet off Charleston, the enemy still in the bay, and hemming in the Virginia militia, so as they could not escape; a complete victory gained by General

Gates; that no battle at all had been fought to the southward; and lastly, that the British had gone up James River; and, excepting the last article, there is neither a confirmation nor denial of these reports." It was not unnatural, although perhaps not strictly just, that the blame of this uncertainty at so interesting a conjuncture should have been laid at the door of the executive. "Is it not cruel," Lux exclaims, "that the Governor of Virginia does not give our governor just and true accounts?" But the real source of the evil lay deeper; and he comes much nearer to the mark in his next sentence: "We have all these cursed lies by a parcel of petty speculators, who raise stories either for or against us, according as they have anything to buy or sell."

But Greene was now rapidly approaching the scene of action, and looking forward, meanwhile, to his arrival at Richmond for "good information." On the 12th, at noon, he was at Mount Vernon, and writes to Washington the next morning "by candle-light," that "nothing but the absolute necessity of being with my command as soon as possible could induce me to make my stay so short." "Mount Vernon," he says, "is one of the most pleasant places I ever saw; and I don't wonder that you languish so often to return to the pleasures of domestic life. Nothing but the glory of being Commander-in-chief, and the happiness of being universally admired, could compensate for such a sacrifice as you make."

"Baron Steuben," he adds, "is delighted with

the place, and charmed with the reception we met with. Mrs. Washington sets out for camp about the middle of next week."

His next stage was to Fredericksburg, where he had hoped to find his friend General Weedon, and hear from him something certain about the movements of the enemy. But Weedon was with the militia which had been called out to meet the enemy in the neighborhood of Portsmouth. "I lodged at your house at Fredericksburg," Greene writes to him from Richmond, "and was treated with great politeness by Mrs. Weedon, who I was very sorry to find exceeding unhappy at your going into service again. I left Mrs. Greene equally unhappy at my going to the southward."

In the evening of the 16th, he reached Richmond.

And here he received an immediate confirmation of his worst fears, for he found everything in confusion; "the business of government almost at a standstill for want of money and public credit." Great alarm, too, had just been excited by the sudden appearance of a strong body of the enemy. The militia had been called out, and such preparations for defense made, as time and circumstances permitted. But the British general, "after making every preparation for establishing a permanent post at Portsmouth by fortifying the place strongly, had suddenly drawn in his advanced parties, evacuated the town, embarked his troops, and fallen down to Hampton Roads," where he still lay when Greene reached Richmond. The vessels in the harbor were left unhurt; "shoals of

negroes," were left on the shore. He was at a loss to account for this "sudden change of measures." It could hardly be for fear of Mühlenberg and Weedon, who were near "the great bridge on the west side of James River," for their forces, though respectable in numbers, were too ill-provided and too imperfectly disciplined to attack a fortified post. "There must be some foreign cause," he wrote to Washington on the 19th, "which must be left for time and further information to explain."

The Governor of Virginia at this important crisis of her fortunes, was Thomas Jefferson, whose name was far from awakening then the associations which it awakens now. It was the first time that Jefferson and Greene had met, and the only time that they were ever brought into personal relations with each other. What impression each made upon the other I have no means of ascertaining, although from Greene's manner of speaking of the militia in his first letter to Jefferson, I should say that he had taken early note of the democratic tendencies of the illustrious Virginian. There was hard work for each of them to do, conjectures to make which brought judgment into play, and decisions to make which brought out character in its strongest light. It was from Virginia that recruits and militia and supplies were chiefly to be drawn, and the man on whom the effective management of the machinery for drawing them out depended, as far as it could depend upon a single man, was the Governor of Virginia.

To him, therefore, Greene addressed himself as he had addressed himself to Governor Rodney and Governor Lee, urging the gravity of the occasion, the necessities of his army, and the importance of keeping the enemy at a distance.

“It affords me great satisfaction,” he says, “to see the enterprise and spirit with which the militia have turned out lately in all quarters, and this great bulwark of civil liberty promises security and independence to this country if they are not depended upon as a principal, but employed as an auxiliary; but if you depend upon them as a principal, the very nature of the war must become so ruinous to the country, that though numbers for a time may give security, yet the difficulty of keeping this order of men long in the field, and the accumulated expenses attending it, must soon put it out of your power to make further opposition, and the enemy will have only to delay their operations for a few months to give success to their measures. It must be the extreme of folly to hazard our liberties upon such a precarious tenure when we have it so much in our power to fix them upon a more solid basis.”

Greene's six days in Richmond were like his nine in Philadelphia, devoted to the interests of his command. On the 19th of November he wrote to the President of Congress, recalling his attention to the subject of clothing, giving the unsatisfactory results of his “particular inquiries” during his journey, and assuring him that he could see “no prospect of obtaining this necessary article but in the way that he had suggested to Congress before he left Philadelphia.” He returns also to the subject of transportation, which, with clothing, might almost be said to have been written on his

heart; as Nelson, at an equally anxious period of his career, said that Frigate would be found written on his. Jefferson had been trying for "three weeks and upwards" to collect a hundred wagons, and although vested with full powers of impressment, had collected only eighteen.¹ "The want of money and the want of public credit are the bane of all business." He has no complaints to make of the Legislature of Virginia. "They appear perfectly disposed to do everything in their power, but the enemy's late incursion and the heavy losses they have met with in their imports for the use of the State, will render their exertions of less avail." Provisions and forage were abundant, but there were no magazines, and even if there had been, there were no means of filling them. The draft for three thousand five hundred men to serve for eighteen months, had fallen short of two thousand, and of these part were already deserting "in shoals," for want of clothing, and the rest would soon be in the hospital for the same cause. Still he had but little fear about finding men; "my greater fears," he wrote, "are on account of provisions, clothing, arms, and ammunition."

He wrote also to Washington:—

"The governor says their situation as to clothing is desperate. Nor is the business of transportation in a much more eligible condition. We cannot march the troops of this State, or transport the provisions necessary for their

¹ On the 26th of November, Jefferson writes to General Stevens: "We have collected here, at length, by im- press principles, about thirty wagons." — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. i. p. 278.

subsistence, for want of wagons. . . . On my arrival at Hillsborough, I intend to have all the rivers examined in order to see if I cannot ease this heavy business by water transportation. I shall also recommend it to this State and to North Carolina to stall-feed a large number of beeves for the support of the southern army, with a view of lightening the transportation. Unless I succeed in these two measures, I am afraid it will be impossible to subsist either in North or South Carolina a sufficient force this winter to prevent the enemy from holding their present possessions and extending their limits. However, the spirit of the people is rising, and the legislatures appear perfectly disposed to give all the aid in their power. . . . I think the legislature will adopt your Excellency's plan for filling their regiments for the war. But I foresee very great difficulties in arranging the officers of the Virginia line, as there are so many prisoners of the war and such great discontent prevailing among them."

Meanwhile he had received a letter from Colonel Feibiger, announcing that a brigade of ten wagons would set out from Philadelphia on the 8th; that the artificers with one travelling forge would set out on the 9th; but that he had "heard nothing from Colonel Pickering; and that the committee of Congress have determined nothing yet, and seem exceedingly averse to draw on France."

"I have wrote to Congress again on the subject of clothing," Greene replies, "and desire you will repeat your application to the committee, and in the most pressing terms request an immediate supply of that article for the southern army." And charging him to send forward the Pennsylvania wagons as fast as they came in, he adds, "take care to have them loaded, but giving a preference to the arms."

On the 20th, also, he writes to his old brigade commander, Mühlenberg, directing him to report to Steuben for orders; to Steuben himself, directing him to take command of the forces in Virginia, giving him instructions for the arrangement of the Virginia line, the inspection of stores, the appointment of a deputy quartermaster-general, the fixing upon some plan for repairing damaged arms, and other particulars important for the prompt organization of the army; to General Gist: —

“I must beg the State of Maryland will speedily comply with my requisition, particularly as to the wagons and the horses for Lee’s legion. As soon as you get wagons, forward all the stores from Baltimore. The horse furniture is exceedingly wanted, as cavalry must be our greatest security till we can form a more respectable body of infantry. . . . You will please also to repeat my application to the State of Delaware.”

To Colonel Pickering he writes: —

“Your department in this State is altogether deranged. There is no deputy appointed, nor any one to direct and conduct the business. The governor appointed one, but he would not accept, nor do I believe it will be in your power to get one upon the conditions of the system. I have advised the governor to appoint Major Forsyth, if he will accept. The governor says Finney has absolutely refused. Forsyth is an active, fine young fellow, and if he undertakes, you will have to accommodate his reward to his expenses. The nature of the duty will render them considerable. Nothing can exceed the difficulty of getting on the stores in this country; wagons are not to be got. I know your embarrassments, and feel for you; but if it is possible, I beg you to forward us one hundred wagons, forty covered, sixty open; the whole may be loaded at Philadel-

phia with stores. . . . I also wish, if it is possible, that you would furnish a sum of money not less than ten thousand dollars in specie value, for the use of your department in this State, which now is not able to provide forage even for my horses in this State. . . . Mr. Hunter, the great iron master near Fredericksburg, can furnish you with everything in that way that we want. It will be well for you to call on him for his prices, in order to enable you to compare them with those of Philadelphia; but you may expect them higher, and if the difference is not great, it will be cheaper to get supplies of him, notwithstanding, as it will save a great expense of transportation. I hope you will think of us, and aid us all in your power."

To Colonel Timothy Matlock, chairman of the committee charged with the subject of clothing for the southern army, he writes: —

"It was my intention to have written you before this respecting the prospect and encouragement I met with of obtaining a supply of clothing, but I have postponed it with a view of satisfying myself on this head in this State, and I am now fully convinced that the southern army will be entirely without clothing unless you draw bills upon France and provide for us in the way I proposed. . . . It may be disagreeable to draw on France, but it is better to do this than to let the army go to ruin. The distress and suffering of the southern army on account of provision is sufficient to render the service so disagreeable as to make it impossible to keep men in the field; but when they are starved with cold as well as hunger, the whole army must become deserters or patients in the hospitals; both policy and humanity call loudly for supplies of clothing. The people of this State and Maryland say they are willing to do all in their power to provide clothing, be the consequences what they may, and I wish that their abilities to supply the army may not be overrated."

His last public letter from Richmond is addressed to the Board of War. "I cannot proceed further towards the southern army," he writes them, "without repeating my request for you to send forward all the arms, accoutrements, clothing, and camp equipage, that can possibly be spared from the northern army, for the use of this department. The prospect was disagreeable when I left Philadelphia, and I am obliged to add that it appears more so as I advance towards the scene of action."

Of his private feelings he gives us a full view in a private letter to Washington. After telling him with what "marks of respect and attention" he was everywhere received, how much Washington's letters had contributed to this, how important his "weight and influence both with Congress and the State" were for the support of operations in the south; and requesting "in the most earnest manner that your Excellency continue to animate both these bodies with your opinion and recommendations to such measures and such exertions as will be necessary to give due support to the southern army, without which I am very apprehensive the languor that is too apt to seize all public bodies will lull them into a state of false security, and the affairs of the southern department will and must go to ruin," he adds:—

"It has been my opinion for a long time that personal influence must supply the defects of civil constitution, but I have never been so fully convinced of it as on this journey. I believe the views and wishes of the great body of

the people are entirely with us. But remove the personal influence of a few and they are a lifeless, inanimate mass, without direction or spirit to employ the means they possess for their own security.

“I cannot contemplate my own situation without the greatest degree of anxiety. I am far removed from almost all my friends and connections, and have to prosecute a war in a country, in the best state attended with almost insurmountable difficulties, but doubly so now, from the state of our finances and the loss of public credit. How I shall be able to support myself under all these embarrassments, God only knows. My only consolation is, that if I fail I hope it will not be accompanied with any peculiar marks of personal disgrace. Censure and reproach ever follow the unfortunate. This I expect, if I don't succeed; and it is only in the degree, not in the entire freedom that I console myself.

“The ruin of my family is what hangs most heavy upon my mind. My fortune is small, and misfortune or disgrace to me must be ruin to them. I beg your Excellency will do me the honor to forward the inclosed letter to Mrs. Greene by the first safe conveyance, who is rendered exceedingly unhappy at my going to the southward.”

And a few weeks later, summing up his observations in a letter to Reed, he says:—

“On my journey I visited the Maryland and Virginia Assemblies, and laid before them the state of this army, and urged the necessity of an immediate support. They both promised to do everything in their power; but such was their poverty, even in their capitals, that they could not furnish forage for my horses. I have also written to the States of Delaware and North Carolina, neither of which have taken any measures yet for giving effectual aid to this army. . . . All the way through the country, as I passed, I found the people engaged in matters of interest,

and in pursuit of pleasure, almost regardless of their danger. Public credit totally lost, and every man excusing himself from giving the least aid to government, from an apprehension that they would get no return from any advances. This afforded but a dull prospect; nor has it mended since my arrival."

On the 21st, he resumed his journey. The genial Steuben was no longer with him; but his own family had been increased by the accession of two new aids, Major Pearce and Captain Pendleton, whom he had found out of employ in Richmond, and whose services he was glad to secure.

On the 22d, he was at Petersburg, where he found it reported that the enemy had turned on their footsteps and retaken Portsmouth. Without giving full credence to the story, he ordered Steuben, if it proved true, to repair immediately to the army, and take charge of the defense of Virginia. But Lawson's brigade, on which he counted for the immediate reinforcement of his own army, was still to go forward without delay. "Our weak side is not here," he writes, "and therefore I wish to secure ourselves against the enemy's advancing into North Carolina, which will effectually frustrate the enemy's great design in taking possession below;" a statement of his views which should be borne carefully in mind, for it contains the germ which in March ripened into the bold advance from Ramsay's Mills. "You will find it necessary," he continues, "to make particular inquiry into the way and means of transportation. I find flour is going from this place by land, distance

sixty miles, when it might go, at least thirty miles by water without the least danger, and within a very few miles of the army, with little or no hazard, if some necessary precautions were taken. Pray look into this matter on your arrival in camp. Mr. Elliot is in the Quartermaster-general's department, and will give you the necessary information."

On the 26th, he writes to Governor Nash, of North Carolina, from General Parsons' house, which lay on his road to Hillsborough: —

"I was in hopes to have had an early opportunity of seeing and consulting with your Excellency upon the state of the southern affairs; but General Parsons informs me you live wide of my route, and that the Assembly don't meet until the 1st of January, which I fear will deprive me of this happiness.

"You cannot be insensible of the enemy's designs against this State, and the necessity there is of taking the most speedy and effectual measures to counteract them. The last letters I received from General Washington, mention preparations making in New York for further detachments to the southward. The subjugation of this State is an important object with the enemy, and will be obstinately persisted in, and nothing will deter them from pursuing the design but a well-appointed army upon a permanent establishment.

"Congress have recommended the filling up the Continental army by the first of January. It is much to be wished that this resolve could be carried immediately into effect, both for the better defense of the country as well as saving provisions, stores, and expenses of every kind; objects, all, necessary to be attended to in the present state of our resources and condition of our finance. I have

not time to lay before your Excellency many things which will claim the immediate attention of the Assembly on their first meeting, and beg leave to suggest the propriety of their meeting at an earlier day than the day they have adjourned to. As the enemy seem to threaten your State on the side next to Virginia, I left Major-general Baron Steuben, an able officer, to take command of the troops raised by Virginia, to watch their motions, which will screen you on that quarter."

On the same day he writes to General Sumner that he wishes to "see him as soon as possible, in order to call the officers of the North Carolina line upon the Continental establishment together, and fix with them those that are to continue in service, and those that are to retire. Please let me hear from you as soon as may be."

And also to Colonel Lomagna: "You will please to send me a return of your legion as soon as possible, the number of men, horses, and accoutrements of every kind. You will be very particular in this return, that I may have a perfect knowledge of the state of the legion, and be able to give the necessary orders for putting it upon a proper footing for service."

On the 27th, he is at Hillsborough, and writes to Steuben: —

"I arrived at this place last evening, and I shall leave it in about an hour. All the troops have marched from hence for Salisbury and some say for Charlotte. The Board of War also have removed to Halifax, with a view of being in the neighborhood of the enemy at Portsmouth. No information, therefore, of any kind can be obtained, which determines me to move on without loss of time.

. . . I find confirmed in this State what I apprehended, that is, that the numerous militia which have been kept on foot have laid waste almost all the country, and the policy, if persisted in, must in a little time render it altogether impracticable to support a regular body of troops sufficient to give protection and security to the State. The expense attending this business in the waste of stores of all kinds exceeds belief. Twelve millions of money, I am told, has been expended since last spring. 'Tis not from authority I relate this, but the author seemed to be pretty well acquainted with the affairs of the State. I hope Virginia will avoid this destructive policy, and I beg leave to recommend it both to them and to you, not to keep a man more in the field, of the militia, than is absolutely necessary for covering the country from the enemy's immediate ravages. As to attempting the protection of all the inhabitants in their various situations, however strongly solicited to it, it would be imprudent, and must fail, and in the end prevent our giving protection ultimately to any parts. Great objects must govern your measures, and partial sacrifices must be submitted to. This may produce some clamor; but it must be borne, to avoid still greater evils."

Details crowd upon him as he approaches the end of his journey. On the 1st of December, he writes to General Stevens, from Salisbury:—

"I am induced to believe that the Yadkin may be made subservient to the business of transportation of stores from Virginia. Lieutenant-colonel Carrington is exploring the Dan River, in order to perform transportation up the Roanoke as high as the upper Sauratown, and I want you to appoint a good and intelligent officer with three privates to go up the Yadkin as far as Hughes Creek to explore carefully the river, the depth of water, the current, and the rocks, and every other obstruction that will impede the

business of transportation. All which I wish him to report to me. Let the officer be very intelligent, and have a charge to be particular in his observations. It is immaterial of what rank he is. The object is so important and interesting to the public that I hope no one will refuse the service who has abilities for the appointment.

“When the officer gets up to Hughes’ Creek, I wish him to take a horse and ride across the country from that place through the town of Bethania to the upper Saura town, and report the distance and condition of the roads. At upper Saura I expect the officer will meet the party exploring Dan River. I wish him to get the report of that party also, and forward with his, as that is the [effaced] of the whole. I also wish the officer to make inquiry respecting the transportation that may be had from the Yadkin to the Catawba River, and whether the transportation cannot be performed with batteaux down that river.

“It is my intention to construct boats of a peculiar kind for that service, that will carry forty or fifty barrels, and yet draw little more water than a common canoe half loaded. The officer who goes upon this service should have that in idea when making his observations and remarks. I am sensible the business of transportation will be attended with difficulty down these rivers, if it can be done at all. But water transportation is such an immense saving of expense, that small difficulties should not discourage the attempt; and besides the expense that will be saved, there is also another consideration, which is, that wagons and forage cannot be had to transport across the country all by land. I saw a canoe at the ford we crossed that will answer for the party to go up the river in. The officer will keep an account of all the extra expense he is subject to in performing this business, which shall be repaid him; and I wish him to report as soon as possible, as no time is to be lost in settling the outlines of our transportation for receiving supplies.”

CHAPTER V.

Meeting of Greene and Gates. — Gates's Last Orders. — Greene takes Command. — Work of Organization. — Call for Returns. — Discouraging Prospects. — Deplorable Condition of the Troops and the Departments. — Greene studies with Colonel Polk the Resources of the country. — Lieutenant-colonel Carrington appointed Deputy Quatermaster-general. — His Instructions. — Colonel W. R. Davie appointed Commissary-general. — Instructions to Captain Maberly for safe keeping of Prisoners. — First Letter to Marion, and Arrangements for obtaining Information. — Inquiry into the Conduct of Gates postponed.

GREENE reached Charlotte on the afternoon of the 2d of December, and immediately proceeded to head-quarters. It was well known that his relations with Gates had not been friendly, and all eyes were fixed upon the two generals as they exchanged salutations. There was nothing of triumph in the air of the new commander, nothing of offended pride in the bearing of his unfortunate predecessor. Greene, who was always simple and unaffected, met Gates with respectful sympathy; and Gates, whose manners were those of a man of the world, returned his greeting with dignified politeness. Both seemed to have forgotten their former relations, and to remember only the delicate position in which they now stood to each other. "It was an elegant lesson of propriety," says Williams, "exhibited on a most delicate and interesting occasion."¹

¹ Williams's *Narrative*.

On the next morning, Gates issued his last orders. For parole he chose "Springfield," the scene of Greene's first battle, and for countersign "Greene."

"The honorable Major-general Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed by his Excellency General Washington, with the approbation of the honorable Congress, to the command of the southern army, all orders will for the future issue from him, and all reports be made to him.

"General Gates returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the southern army for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance of all the hardships and sufferings they have undergone while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith, and that victory and the glorious advantages attending it, may be the future portion of the southern army."

"General Greene," say the orders of the following morning, "returns his thanks to the honorable Major-general Gates, for the polite manner in which he has introduced him to his command in the orders of yesterday, and for his good wishes for the success of the southern army."¹ At the same time he confirmed and approved Gates's standing orders.

He had not waited for this formal entrance upon his command to enter practically upon the duties of it. We have seen how earnestly he had addressed himself to Congress upon the wants of his army, and how promptly he had put himself in relation with the civil authorities of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. South

¹ Gordon, vol. iii. p. 472. Greene's command is lost. It was seen and order book for the first weeks of his freely used by Gordon.

Carolina was so completely in the hands of the enemy that there was no place in which her Legislature could meet with safety; and John Rutledge, her governor, had taken refuge in the American camp, where he lived upon a familiar footing with Greene, and rendered important service during this arduous campaign.

Greene's first step now was to establish direct relations with his officers, and assign to each such specific duties as the position and nature of his command required. His pen was very busy during all these first days. He calls first upon the commanders of detachments for exact returns of their forces, "their time of service, how posted, and where employed . . . and," he adds, "as militia is fluctuating, a weekly report will be necessary, specifying the number, condition, and time of service of the troops under your command."¹

The first returns were not cheering. His whole army consisted of 2,307 men; 1,482 of whom were present and fit for duty; 547 were absent on command, and 128 were detached on extra service. These, with 90 cavalry and 60 artillery, completed the roll of the southern army. Of these 949 only were Continentals; all the rest were militia. His "whole force fit for duty that (were) properly clothed and properly equipt (did) not amount to 800 men."²

But small as this army was, it was too large for

¹ Letter to General Harrington, December 4, 1780.

² Greene to Lafayette, December 29, 1780.

his commissariat and clothing office. Many of the men were literally naked; others so nearly naked that it was impossible to put them upon duty. In one of his earliest orders to Steuben, he directs him to send forward no unarmed and unclothed men. "It is impossible that men can render any service, however well disposed," he writes to Jefferson, "when they are perishing with cold and hunger. Your troops may literally be said to be naked, and I shall be obliged to send a considerable number of them away into some secure place in warm quarters, until they can be furnished with clothing." He had taken up this subject in his first official letters, and never suffered himself to grow weary in repeating his exhortations and demands. Unfortunately the remedy was not altogether within the control either of Congress or of the State legislatures; for the demand exceeded the supply of domestic manufactures; the condition of the currency and the risk of capture checked importation; and the stock expected from France was delayed by accident and storms.

The condition of the commissariat was equally discouraging. The first night that Greene passed at head-quarters, he spent in studying with Colonel Polk, a member of the commissariat under Gates, the resources of the country; and by "the following morning," said Polk to Elkanah Watson, "he better understood them than Gates had done in the whole period of his command."¹ But great as these resources were in some important articles,

¹ Watson's *Men and Times of the Revolution*, p. 259.

they had been well nigh exhausted by the repeated incursions of the enemy, and the reckless extravagance and wasteful habits of the militia. When Greene entered upon his command, there were not three days provisions in camp; and the army lived from hand to mouth by daily collections.

The condition of the Quartermaster's department was still more deplorable. Not only the public wagons and horses had been lost at the defeat of Camden, but all those also which had been obtained from private individuals by hire or impressment. Even with hard money it would have been difficult to build new wagons and buy new horses in a country in which armed parties of both sides had been living alternately for six months, each seizing what came in its way and using it as something which, if not consumed or carried off to-day, might fall into the hands of the enemy to-morrow. But of hard money there was not a dollar in the military chest.

Greene looked calmly upon these accumulated difficulties; and having taken the measure of them, applied himself without delay to the remedy.

In Virginia he had met Lieutenant-colonel Carrington, of the artillery, a man of good parts, high character, and "persevering energy." Like many other good officers, Carrington had been thrown out of his command by the changes in the organization of the army, and was looking about him for employment. Greene had learnt by personal experience what qualities the office of quartermaster-general required, and he saw that Carrington pos-

sessed them. A full and free communication with him during his own passage through Virginia, had prepared the way for a positive appointment, and accordingly, on the 4th of December, Greene wrote to him from Charlotte : —

“ On my arrival at the army, I am confirmed in my suspicions that great alterations in the staff department were necessary. In the Quartermaster's, an immediate change must take place. The gentleman who is now acting is a very honest young man, but his views have been confined altogether to the mere camp issues and artificer's concerns. This requires an able conductor in this country, and without it the commanding officer must be continually loaded with the business. It is my earnest desire, therefore, that you accept of the appointment of Deputy Quartermaster-general for the southern army. I have inclosed you an appointment, and wish you to repair to Richmond without loss of time, and fix with the quartermaster for the State the route through Virginia for the stores coming from the northward. If no deputy should be appointed for the State tell the governor that I think it indispensably necessary that one be appointed immediately. I have written to the governor of your appointment, and desired him to give the same credit and attention to your applications as my own. I have also written to all the governors of the other States forming the southern department to the same purpose, and to the deputy quartermasters of each State, to give you such aid and assistance in all matters and things relative to the business of the department as you may require. I have also written to the Quartermaster-general and the Board of War of your being appointed, and desiring them to comply with your requisitions. I have sent a letter of credit on Mr. Hunter, that you may draw upon him, and I wish you to have forwarded from his manufactory five hundred fell-

ing axes, five thousand pair horseshoes, and if you have found the Dan River navigable agreeable to your expectations, half a ton of boat nails for constructing batteaux. Let these come forward as soon as possible. One third of the nails to be deposited on the Roanoke, at the most convenient place for building the batteaux, and the rest come on to Salisbury. I have people now exploring the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers, and have great reason to hope the plan of transportation down those rivers will succeed. There will be difficulties, but I hope not insurmountable. It will be well for you to consult with a good shipwright about the tools that will be necessary for building about one hundred large batteaux, and to take measures for having them forwarded without loss of time. Without tools we can do nothing; and nothing can be got in this country, not even a common felling axe.¹

“You will inquire of the governor what steps have been taken by the Assembly to furnish the artificers and wagons required by me of the State, and press their immediate compliance. For without artificers we cannot aid the transportation. Forward all the stores coming from Philadelphia, and allow none of them to be stopped in Virginia, unless it is for corps that are to march immediately to the southward, and are in perfect readiness in all other respects. I have written the governor again respecting the magazines to be formed upon the Roanoke. I wish you to confer with him upon this business, and have the counties fixed upon which are to furnish the provisions.

“It is my wish your stay should be as short as possible, as you are much wanted here, and until you arrive, no

¹ The following passage from a letter of the 6th of December to Colonel Long, State Quartermaster, will serve to illustrate both Greene's attention to details, and the wants of the department: “We are much in want of every kind of smith and carpenter tools. I wish you would procure us a number, which I am told may be had out of a prize on the seaboard. Files and crosscut-saws are very much wanted; and if you could forward us a quantity of both, it would relieve us from great distress.”

general arrangement can be made in your department. You will consult with Baron Steuben, if he is in Virginia, and not too much out of the way. At any rate you will please to write him as I have done. The six tons of iron I mentioned to you at Hillsborough, you will order on without loss of time."

Carrington accepted the appointment; and entering upon the duties of his office with a thorough knowledge of the embarrassments and difficulties which he would have to encounter; performed them throughout this long and arduous campaign with an intelligence and zeal which fully justified the confidence which Greene had reposed in him, and entitle him to an honorable place among the faithful servants of his country.

Greene was equally fortunate in his choice of a commissary-general. On the 10th of December, Colonel Polk, who had held the office under Gates, wrote: "I am now too far advanced in years to undergo the task and fatigue of a commissary-general."

On the same day Greene wrote to Colonel William R. Davie: —

"Colonel Polk finds the business of subsisting the army too laborious and difficult for him to conduct, and therefore has sent in his resignation to the Board of War.

"But the greatest difficulty with him, is, he cannot leave home, owing to the peculiar state of his family. Your character and standing in this country lead me to believe you are the most suitable person to succeed him. It is a place of great consequence to the army, and all our future operations depend upon it. As you are a single man, and have health, education, and activity to manage the business,

it is my wish you should accept the appointment, especially as you have an extensive influence among the inhabitants, and are upon a good footing, and much respected in the army.

“ I wish to see you upon this business as soon as possible, and beg you will be kind enough to come to Charlotte without loss of time, that I may have an opportunity to converse with you more fully on the subject.”

Davie, whose corps had been discharged about the last of November, was making arrangements to raise another body of troops at the instance of General Morgan, who was to be charged with a separate command to operate on the left of the enemy; and, fired with the prospect of serving under this celebrated commander, was entirely absorbed with this favorite project, when General Greene applied to him to accept the appointment of commissary-general. Davie informed him of his present views, and that he understood they had been approved by him. Greene acknowledged that he had approved the project of raising another corps; and then, after taking a rapid but impressive view of the exhausted situation of the country, and the distressed condition of the army, asserted in conclusion, that if the army were not supplied, it must fall back upon Virginia, or disperse, leaving the enemy in peaceable possession of the two southern States. Davie observed, that, being engaged principally in the field ever since he had finished his collegiate studies in '76, although he knew something about the management of troops, he knew nothing about *money* or

accounts, and that he must, therefore, be unfit for such an appointment, and was convinced he could render his country more service by prosecuting his present plan. To this Greene replied, that as to *money* and *accounts*, he would be troubled with neither; that there was not a single dollar in the military chest, nor a prospect of obtaining any; that he must accept the appointment, and supply the army in the same manner that he had subsisted his own troops for the last six months; that he would render the country more essential service in this way than any other; that he might rely upon his support for the necessary detachments, and upon Colonel Carrington, as far as practicable, for the necessary transportation. The general's eloquence prevailed, and the colonel accepted the appointment under an express promise that it should be for as short a time as possible.¹

Upon discussing this distressing subject, it was agreed that any regular supply would become utterly impracticable without the sanction and assistance of the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, which was then in session; and the colonel set out the next morning with letters from the commander-in-chief, demonstrating the necessity of vigorous and efficient measures to support the army.²

How far he succeeded, we shall see in the next chapter.

¹ I draw this discussion from a very interesting narrative prepared by Colonel Davie a few years before his death, at the request of General

Greene's youngest daughter, and of which extracts were published by Judge Johnson.

² Davie's Narrative, *ut supra*.

Among the powers which Congress had conferred upon Greene was the power of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, a thing greatly to be desired on both sides, although since the fall of Charleston, the balance was largely against the Americans. The victory of King's Mountain would have gone far towards restoring the equilibrium, if all but about one hundred and thirty of the prisoners who fell into the hands of the Americans on that bloody day had not been "dismissed, paroled, and enlisted in the militia service for three months." Greene was not without suspicions of something more than folly on the part of those "who had them in charge." But it was too late to correct the evil. Thus upwards of six hundred men, who would have told in exchange, were lost to their captors.¹ Still there was a sufficient number to justify an early opening of negotiations; and to secure this was a task which demanded his prompt attention. On the 4th, therefore, he wrote to Captain Maberly: —

"I find it necessary that a place should be immediately erected for the safe custody of the prisoners of war, and wish it to be placed in Salisbury. You will please to take the necessary steps for having it built immediately, and consider yourself as having the charge of the business. I would have it picketed in, and contain about one half an acre of land; the gaol to be in the centre of the front, and to extend back so as to take in a log-house which is in the rear of the gaol. There should be no entrance but through the gaol. One half of the pickets should be cut eighteen feet long, and the other fifteen feet, and be about eight

¹ Greene MSS.

inches thick. They should be placed three or four feet in the ground, and close to each other, and secured by trunneling ribs on the outside, about half way up the pickets. The upper ends should be made sharp; they should be placed in such a manner that every one of the short ones will make a loop-hole through which the sentries might watch or fire upon the prisoners. The sentries should have a scaffold to walk on, on the outside, at a proper height to enable them to see the whole of the prisoners at one view. The prisoners will be able to erect huts within the pickets for them to cook and sleep in. The work should be strong, and finished in such a manner as effectually to secure the prisoners by a sentinel on each flank. The execution of the business will be attended with difficulty; but it is of great consequence that it should be immediately completed. I have written General Butler to furnish you with wagons and fatigue men, and to give you every other assistance in his power, and have requested Mr. Lock to use his influence to get the inhabitants to assist in the work, and to furnish you with such articles as you may find necessary. I beg that you will surmount every obstacle and have the business completed as soon as possible. All the sail and tent makers will be sent to you to-morrow. You will make up the sail and raven's duck into common tents. You will send forward a part of the blacksmiths as soon as they have finished the tools, if you can possibly spare them. I cannot hear anything of the wagons you mention, with paper, iron, and steel. Those articles are much wanted. Please inquire about them at Salisbury."

Another subject which gave him no little anxiety was the means of obtaining correct and constant information of the designs and movements of the enemy; for without it, he felt that every step was in the dark, and the carrying out of a regular plan of operations impossible. But of all

the services which money commands, this is the most dangerous ; for the agent acts at the peril of an infamous death, and his employer at the hazard of fatal deception. Great judgment, therefore, is required in the selection of the men to whom this perilous duty is intrusted ; and as from its nature it is attended, even when successfully and conscientiously executed, with somewhat of reproach, it is generally the employment of men who, working for money, demand a compensation commensurate with their exposure. It was in taking the first steps for organizing this indispensable branch of the service that Greene wrote his first letter and gave his first orders to Francis Marion.

“ I arrived at this place the day before yesterday,” he writes to him on the 4th, “ to take command of the southern army. I have not the honor of your acquaintance, but am no stranger to your character and merit. Your services in the lower part of South Carolina, in awing the Tories and preventing the enemy from extending their limits, have been very important, and it is my earnest desire that you continue where you are until further advice from me. Your letter of the 22d of last month to General Gates by Captain Melton is before me. I am sorry I have it not in my power to order a supply of clothing to Captain Melton, but there is none with the army. Ammunition I am told is gone to you since you wrote. I am too little acquainted with the medical department to give you any answer respecting a surgeon ; but if it is possible to comply with your wishes, it shall be done. I am fully sensible your service is hard and sufferings great ; but how great the prize for which we contend. I like your plan of frequently shifting your ground. It frequently prevents a surprise, and perhaps a total loss of your party. Until a

more permanent army can be collected than is in the field at present, we must endeavor to keep up a partisan war, and preserve the tide of sentiment among the people as much as possible in our favor. Spies are the eyes of an army, and without them a general is always crossing in the dark, and can neither secure himself nor annoy his enemy. At present I am badly off for intelligence. It is of the highest importance that I get the earliest information of any reinforcements which may arrive at Charleston, or leave the town to join Lord Cornwallis. I wish you, therefore, to fix some plan for procuring such information, and for conveying it to me with all possible dispatch. The spy should be taught to be particular in his inquiries, and to get the names of the corps, strength, and commanding officer's name, place from whence they came and where they are going. It will be best to fix upon somebody in town to do this, and have a runner between you and him to give you the intelligence, as a person cannot make these inquiries without being suspected, who lives out of town. The utmost secrecy will be necessary in this business. Whatever sums of money are advanced for these purposes shall be repaid. Colonel Washington has taken Colonel Rugely and his party, consisting of about one hundred men."

All these questions of organization were questions of difficulty, requiring great labor, sound judgment, and untiring zeal.

Another question which his instructions imposed upon him, and which, from his peculiar relations to General Gates, required judgment, delicacy, and that instinctive tact which teaches what to do and what to leave undone, was the court of inquiry which was to decide the fate of the unfortunate general. Greene felt the delicacy of his own position; and it was a great relief to his mind

to find, as he did in his inquiries upon the spot, that Gates's conduct admitted of a milder interpretation than had been put upon it at a distance, and that the formal examination might be postponed without injury to the service. Postponement, he hoped, would prepare the public mind for the rescinding of the resolve of Congress, and the restoration of their former favorite to his rank and position in the army. That Greene was moved in part by compassion for the unhappy man, who in addition to his other cares, was mourning the loss of an only son, it is impossible to doubt. The terms of his instructions favored his views. It was impossible to organize the court in conformity with them without calling Steuben from his important command in Virginia; and this, all of his officers declared in writing, to be unadvisable. Gates was anxious for an immediate trial, but submitted, without complaining, to the delay; showing, as so many others have shown, that it is easier to bear adversity with dignity, than prosperity with moderation. On the 21st of the following May, he was permitted, by a special resolve of Congress, to "repair to head-quarters, and take such command as the Commander-in-chief shall direct."¹

¹ *Vide* Journals of Congress, *ad diem*. The order for the court of inquiry, however, was not rescinded.

CHAPTER VI.

Kosciusko sent to choose a Camp on the Pedee. — Drawing the Reins of Discipline. — Execution. — Bad Condition of the Hospitals. — Major Hyrne appointed Commissary of Prisoners. — Want of Hard Money. — Depreciation. — Effect of it on Prices. — North Carolina. — Letter to Governor Nash. — Preparations for changing Camp. — Cornwallis. — Condition of American Prisoners. — Officers of the Maryland Line. — Injudicious Distinction between Certificates. — Bad Weather. — March to Hicks' Creek. — Greene's Opinion of his New Position.

SO far was General Gates from expecting an early renewal of active operations, that he had proposed to a council of war to establish winter quarters at Charlotte; and, supported by their decision, had proceeded already to build huts and get his army under cover when his successor reached that place. Greene did not approve of this decision, for he saw that it would be impossible to bring his army into proper order and discipline, so long as they depended upon the demoralizing process of daily collections for their daily food, the only process by which they could be subsisted in their present position. On the 8th, therefore, he wrote to Kosciusko: —

“You will go with Major Polk and examine the country from the mouth of Little River, twenty or thirty miles down the Pedee, and search for a good position for the army. You will report the make of the country, the nature of the soil, the quality of the water, quantity of prod-

uce, number of mills, and the water transportation that may be had up and down the river. You will also inquire respecting the creeks in the rear of the fords, and the difficulty of passing them ; all which you will report as soon as possible."

On the 16th the army was put under marching orders, but owing to the heavy rains did not begin its march till the 20th. The spot chosen by Kosciusko was on Hicks' Creek, nearly opposite Cheraw Hill, on the east bank of the Pedee, and the site of the modern town of Chatham. Greene, who felt that the only way to "inspire his army with confidence and respect," was by independent action, changed his camp by a "single order," pausing only to make the necessary inquiries, and satisfy himself concerning the eligibility of the new position. "I call no councils of war," he wrote to Hamilton a month later, "and I communicate my intentions to very few." His first attack, indeed, was upon the demoralization of his own troops. "This army," he writes, "is in such a wretched condition that I hardly know what to do with it. The officers have got such a habit of negligence, and the soldiers so loose and disorderly, that it is next to impossible to give it a military complexion."¹ One of the most dangerous irregularities into which the men had fallen, was a custom of going home without permission, staying as long as they chose, and returning as if they had broken no law. Greene announced his intention of making an example of the first offender. In a few days a delinquent was seized, put on trial, con-

¹ Greene to Hamilton. — Hamilton's *Works*, vol. i. p. 206.

victed and hanged, in sight of the whole army, which was drawn up to witness the punishment. The impression was instantaneous. "We must not do as we have done," said the men; "it is new lords new laws."¹

Greene's labor was incessant. Reports began to come in; some encouraging, far the larger part discouraging, but all calling equally for new instructions and new labor. He visited the advanced post at New Providence, to see the men and officers with his own eyes. No details seemed too trivial for his attention; and yet all who observed him saw that every measure formed part of a well digested plan. His first aim was to organize his army by organizing the departments on which it depended. This was successfully initiated by the appointment of Carrington and Davie to the two most important of them. No change was required in the hospital department, which was under charge of Dr. William Read, whom he had long known as a physician of sound judgment, untiring zeal, and great humanity. But the report of the medical store-keeper, like those of all the other heads of department, revealed alarming deficiencies in the most important articles. "How deplorable would the state of the soldier be in case of action," writes Read, on the 14th of December, "without one particle of lint or bandages!"

The office of commissary of prisoners was offered to Edward Giles, who declined it in order to enter the military family of General Smallwood. It was then given to Major Hyrne.

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 28.

In all his measures he was still embarrassed by the want of hard money. In Continental money, depreciation had reached a hundred for one, and the State money of North Carolina was made equally contemptible by "the public and careless manner in which it was given away at the printing-office."¹ Merchants held their goods at exorbitant prices, or refused to accept paper money in payment. Workmen demanded enormous sums for their labor, and often refused to work, at all except for gold or silver. "Please to order me some of the smiths from the army," writes Captain Marbury, "as it is almost impossible to engage the country smiths without hard money and at very high prices." "If I had money," writes John Bradley, an assistant issuing commissary, from Wilmington, "I could purchase rice, flour, and liquor to a considerable amount at this time here."² Mr. Thomas writes that he has made a contract for iron, knowing the price to be extravagant; "but," he adds, "articles cannot be had for less, without ready money." Salt was equally difficult to obtain. The merchants would not sell it for paper money, and Colonel Lock felt that he was making an advantageous bargain when he agreed to allow the wagoners three bushels out of each wagon in part pay for their services.³ And in directing Captain Marbury to employ "the women of the country," to make up some osnaburgs and

¹ Judge Iredell to his wife, 18 May, 1780. — *Life of Iredell*, vol. i. p. 446.

² December 25, 1780. — Greene MSS.

³ Colonel Lock to General Gates, November 30, 1780. — Greene MSS.

shirting for the soldiers, he says, "if you cannot do better they must be paid in salt."

It was not without difficulty that even Continental money could be procured for the payment of express riders. "If it is in your power," writes Major Burnet to Colonel Davie, "to advance the expresses money sufficient for their journey, I must beg you to do it, as it will be out of General Greene's power to supply them; but if not, we must do the best in our power."

It was evident that North Carolina must send to the field something more trustworthy than militia, and that her Legislature must exert itself to clothe and supply its troops. Governor Nash had written on the 6th, promising all the support that the governor and Legislature could give. On the 15th, Greene replied:—

"My knowledge in the art of war is small; but were my abilities and experience much greater than they are, they could be exerted to no advantage without men and supplies. A general without an army, or an army without supplies, can give no protection to the country. The Legislature must lay the foundation for their own security, and on their exertions depends their political existence. Whatever force is committed to my charge shall be employed in the best manner I am able to direct it for the protection and security of the southern States.

"What I wrote your Excellency in my last letter, I now repeat; that all public property upon the sea-coast ought to be immediately removed into the interior country, particularly the articles of rum, salt, clothing, and provisions of all kinds. Should the enemy land at Cape Fear, all the horses and cattle of the country ought to be moved out of their way. A measure of this sort may prevent

their penetrating further than they remove by water. Indeed all private merchandise ought to be seized for the use of the public, and moved, if the enemy appears upon the coast.

“Nothing but a good regular army can save this country from ruin, and I hope the Legislature will determine on a draft to fill up their Continental battalions on their first meeting. Don't be deceived, and trust your liberties to a precarious force; for whatever it may promise you in the first effects, it will bring on you distress and disappointment in the issue.”

He had already written that a draft would do more for the decision of the contest than ten victories.

No sooner had he decided upon a new position for his army, than he began his preparations for the change. Orders were given to collect boards for barracks; to build boats for the transportation of stores; to collect provisions, and do everything that could be done to render the new camp a camp of repose, in which he might complete his work of general organization, and prepare his men for the active duties of the campaign. He was resolved that if supplies failed, no one should lay the blame at his door. “An army,” he wrote, “cannot subsist itself; and if we are drove to the necessity, those in the neighborhood of camp will feel the disagreeable effects of the want of a regular supply. If the troops are not subsisted one way they must be by the other. . . . I must have something to rest upon with certainty, and cannot be kept in the dark without hazarding the safety of the army and the loss of this country.”¹

¹ Letter to Colonel Polk, December 9.

In the midst of these preparations came a letter from Cornwallis, complaining of the violation of a flag and the putting to death of some of the prisoners at Gilbert's Town. It was for Greene a glance at another difficult question, which required firmness, judgment, and an acquaintance with the law of nations to solve. How he solved it we shall see by and by, when we come to the subject of Whig and Tory, and exchange. Upon the question of prisoners he opened at the same time a correspondence with General Moultrie, the senior officer among the unhappy prisoners at Charleston. "I shall be happy," Greene writes, "to give them every relief in my power, until their exchange can be accomplished."

Meanwhile his efforts to secure his own prisoners were thwarted by the remissness of some officers and the greed of some of the workmen. The stockade advanced slowly, and there was but little hope of completing it in season to answer all that he had in view in undertaking it. Still he repeated his exhortations and commands, and the works went on, though slowly.

A more delicate subject arose from the new regulations for the army; upon which the officers of the Maryland line, the best officers of his little army, addressed him in a body two days before the encampment at Charlotte was broken up. It was a repetition of the troubles of which he had seen so much in the northern army, and which a fixed system of promotion would have averted.

"Nothing could give me more pleasure," Greene

replies, "than to have it in my power to oblige a corps of officers whose services have been so important to their country and so honorable to themselves.

"The subject you write upon is delicate, no less so for you than for me. As an officer I feel for you. As your commander it is my duty to represent your grievances and to endeavor to procure you redress. . . . I persuade myself your fears are groundless respecting the intention of the State to incorporate the new regiments into the Continental line. The resolution of Congress for the new establishment of the army says that the officers of the old regiments shall compose the officers of the new ; therefore the State will not have it in their power to impose those officers upon you even if they were guided by principles so unjust and impolitic."¹

As reports came in, and he got a closer view of the condition and sentiments of the people, he found opportunities of removing causes of discontent, of which he hastened to avail himself. Among these was an unjust distinction in the certificates given by the Continental officers and those given by the commissaries of counties ; the latter entitling the holder to a certain portion of salt, which was a first step towards payment, and having also a fixed plan of redemption. When Greene's attention was called to this subject, he immediately proposed to the State Board of War to put both classes of certificates upon an equal footing, by "authorizing the county collectors to take up those certificates given by the Continental officers, and give the inhabitants State certificates in their stead. . . . This is a matter of im-

¹ This question forms the subject of a very important letter of December 31, to Governor Lee.

portance," he adds, "both to the inhabitants and the army; and justice as well as policy render some regulation necessary."

The army had been four days under marching orders, before the weather allowed it to proceed, for it rained eleven days in succession; and in that level region a few hours' rain was sufficient to lay extensive tracts under water. Three days provision had been ordered, but only one was on hand, when, on the morning of the 20th the order was given to set forward. Davie had not yet completed his work of organization, and Polk was absent; and at the very last moment, Greene himself was compelled to issue the orders for sending on in advance, fifty head of live stock to meet the army at their halting place for the night. Very reluctantly too, he gave instructions to seize by impressment all the wagons, horses, and forage that might be needed on the march.

Haly's Ferry, on the Pedee, was the position first chosen, but a better one was found still further down, at Hicks' Creek, on the east bank of the Pedee, the site of the modern town of Chatham, and nearly opposite Cheraw Hill; and thither the little army directed its steps. It was a tedious and distressing march. The roads were drenched with the rain, the draught horses were too weak from want of food to drag their heavy loads without constant urging and frequent halts; and the men too ill clad and provided, to move or keep still, with comfort. On the 26th they reached Hicks' Creek, and Greene bent all his attention upon the

means of making his new camp a camp of repose.

“It is no Egypt,” he wrote to Morgan ; but food and forage were more abundant and more easily obtained. Could he but clothe his men, he would now be able to bring them under discipline. “No army,” he wrote to Steuben, “ever needed it more.”

Details still crowded upon him. “I have no secretary yet,” he writes to Bury Stoddard, on the 29th, “and no officer ever wanted one more, having all the business of the great departments of the army on my hands, besides a most extensive correspondence with governors, boards, committees, commissioners, and a great variety of other orders too numerous to enumerate.”

He had now been almost a month in his department, had studied its wants and its resources, and had taken the first and most important steps for reducing it to system and order. Of these steps and some of their results, he gave a summary view in a letter of the 28th to the President of Congress.

CHAPTER VII.

Returns and State of the Army. — His Officers. — Morgan. — Isaac Huger. — Otho Holland Williams. — Henry Lee. — John Eager Howard. — William Washington. — Edward Carrington. — William Richardson Davie. — Thomas Sumter. — Francis Marion.

THE first authentic returns of Greene's army gave him, as we have already seen, 2,307 men, more than half of whom were militia. Their condition has already been described, and was such as would have filled the most sanguine mind with grave doubts of their power to arrest the tide of invasion which, for the third time, was menacing North Carolina and Virginia. Among them, however, were the two Continental regiments of Maryland and Delaware, that had been trained in the rigid school of Steuben, and had fought so gallantly at Camden. They now formed a nucleus around which, if time and means were given, it would be possible to gather an efficient army. Greene had already seen them tried in the north.

To this small body four hundred eightèen-months' men under Colonel Greene, of Virginia, and Lee's legion of three hundred, partly cavalry and partly infantry, were added about the middle of January.

But although so badly provided with common soldiers, and with the equipments and supplies

which make them effective in the field, Greene was peculiarly fortunate in his officers; all of whom were men of excellent parts, many of them men of superior talents, and several of them distinguished by the services which they had already rendered in some of the most important occurrences of the war.

First in experience, and inferior to only two in the higher qualities of a soldier, was Daniel Morgan, best known till then as colonel of the rifle corps which had done such good service at Saratoga, and now brigadier-general. He was born of Welsh parents, in Hunterton County, New Jersey, in the winter of 1736. Of his parents nothing is known beyond their poverty, and that they were emigrants from Wales. At the age of seventeen he left them to seek his fortune as a laborer, and there is no reason to suppose that he ever saw them again. There is a tradition that he had a brother, whom, in the days of his prosperity, he found in poor circumstances, and endeavored to relieve. But it rests on a frail foundation. I wish that the other tradition, that the cause of his leaving his home at the age when his services would have been most valuable, was a quarrel with his father, had no better authority; but it is said to have come from his own lips. It was in keeping too with the hot Welsh blood which filled his veins from both their sources. During the winter of 1753, he made his way on foot through Pennsylvania, stopping a few weeks at Carlisle, to earn some travelling money by day labor, and passing

in the spring into Virginia, where he took service with Mr. Robertson, a farmer near the little settlement of Charleston, in Jefferson County. His industry and intelligence soon procured him the direction of a saw-mill, and not long after, employment in what was then the responsible and profitable occupation of wagoner. In two years, by thrift and close attention to his work, he found himself master of a sufficient sum to buy a wagon and horses, and set up as wagoner for himself.

He was now turned of twenty, tall, muscular, vigorous, and active ; trained from his childhood to an outdoor life of exertion which gave strength and elasticity to his limbs, with a clear and kindling eye, an open countenance full of character, but full too of good humor, with a keen rustic wit, and a hardihood which secured him the first place in bold enterprises and athletic sports. Nature had done her part in preparing him for distinction, and fortune soon did hers ; for the war which was known to our fathers as the old French War, broke out just as he was prepared to take a part in it. At first, indeed, it was the humble part of wagoner, conveying stores for Braddock's army ; and it is impossible to follow him over the rough roads of the wilderness without remembering that Washington was there also, a student in a higher form of the same rugged school. How often they may have brushed by each other without any inward monition coming to tell them, well matched as they were in height, in vigor of limb, and commanding brow, that a greater contest was at hand

in which they would fight side by side with mutual admiration and trust. It was in the course of this war that Morgan was made to feel the barbarous severity of English discipline, having been condemned for a blow, which his accuser afterwards acknowledged to have been well deserved, to receive five hundred lashes. A less vigorous frame would have sunk under the suffering, and a less vigorous mind would either have been crushed or hopelessly embittered by it. But Morgan soon recovered of the wounds, and when his antagonist not long after acknowledged and probably apologized for the wrong, forgave and forgot it. In a war like that, in which so much depended upon power of endurance and personal prowess, a man of Morgan's energy was sure to make himself known. At one time he appears to have served in the ranks. Once too, by his undaunted bearing and quick military perception, he so inspired his companions, that they not only repelled a fierce assault of French and Indians, but issuing from their defenses at the critical moment, pursued and utterly routed them. It was about this time that he first became known to Washington.

Promotion followed this brilliant display of courage and conduct, and in 1758 he received a commission as lieutenant. His friends had asked for more, and assured Governor Dinwiddie that Morgan as captain would draw large numbers from Frederick and the adjoining counties to his standard. But it was a part of the alienating system of England to keep down the spirit of the

colonists. Washington himself had been refused an English commission, and Dinwiddie was not farsighted enough to see how important it was for the mother country to bind her children to her by the ties of confidence and gratitude. It was while serving under his lieutenant's commission that Morgan received his only wound. The story is so characteristic of his coolness and self-possession, under the most alarming circumstances, that it deserves a place even in this hasty sketch.

The scene was in the valley of the Shenandoah, not many miles from Winchester, and the occasion an ambuscade of French and Indians. Morgan had been sent with an escort of two horsemen to carry a dispatch to the commander of the garrison at Winchester. His road lay along a narrow path formed by a huge precipice, known in that region as the Hanging Rock, which, jutting over a small stream, left no other passage for footman or rider but the scanty space between it and the margin of the water course. It was the very spot for an ambuscade, and local traditions told of a fierce battle which had been fought there by the Delawares and Catawbas many years before. A party of French and Indians were now lying among the rocks which commanded the way, peering out unseen, like tigers on the watch for prey. The first to come within their toils were Morgan and his unfortunate escort. How far the associations and nature of the spot excited their suspicions, we do not know, for Morgan never told, and his companions did not live to tell. It was their only

path, and they rode boldly into it. Their unseen enemy had but to choose his moment and fire. It was the work of an instant; at the first fire the two soldiers dropped dead from their saddles, and Morgan reeled in his with a desperate wound. A bullet had entered the back of his neck, grazed the neck bone, passed into his mouth near the socket of the jaw-bone, and knocking out all the teeth on the left side of his face, come out through the left cheek. The blood gushed after it, and though he kept his seat with an iron will, he felt that his strength was already beginning to fail. The wound, he did not doubt, was mortal; he felt that he must die; but he shrank from the thought of being mutilated by the scalping knife of his savage foe. Such men's thoughts are like instincts in these moments of supreme danger. Morgan's horse, a fleet filly, had stopped short at the sudden alarm, standing motionless with expanded nostril and startled eye. But she was swift of foot, and true to her master's voice. That voice was gone now; but leaning over his saddle-bow, Morgan clasped her neck with his gigantic arms, and as she felt the pressure she started forward at the top of her speed. The enemy saw that he was wounded; saw too that they could not reach him with their rifles without injuring the horse, which they were anxious to preserve, and bending all their attention to secure the other horses, and the scalps, which they valued most of all, left him to a single warrior. In later life, Morgan loved to tell how he watched the expression of that Indian's

face, as he ran with open mouth by the horse's side, looking every moment to see his victim fall; how doubt came over it, and then gradual conviction that the horse was too swift for him, and at last, how he hurled his tomahawk with a hand made uncertain by anger and exertion, and seeing that he had missed, turned back with a yell of baffled fury. Fortunately for Morgan, his horse had, with the singular instinct of that half-reasoning animal, turned back towards the fort. When she reached the gate her rider was insensible.

Thus far Morgan's life had been an upward struggle, in which some of the better elements of his character had been constantly raising him above the original disadvantages of his birth and education. His active body had fed the activity of his mind. By judgment and thrift he had laid the foundations of personal independence. By observation and reflection he had acquired a fund of practical information, without which he could never have performed the duties of the responsible positions to which he was elevated during the War of Independence. And by his intercourse with men he made himself familiar with those varieties of character and springs of action, upon a thorough knowledge of which the success of the statesman and soldier so largely depends. But now a time of trial came, a struggle between the wilder and the nobler elements of his nature. His social position threw him into the company of the wild and reckless. His immense strength, his dauntless courage, and his aspiring spirit, made

him a leader among them. He had neither father nor mother nor brother nor sister to win him to a worthier ambition by the allurements and chastening duties of domestic life. He fought, and came off conqueror; he gamed, and his purse grew heavier; he drank, and his stout frame and hard head kept him apparently sober in the midst of drunken companions. It was a fierce struggle, and almost a fatal one.

But there was still another element in his fiery nature which had never yet been called into play: and when awakened, it was enlisted on the side of virtue. On a small farm in Berkeley County, there lived a young and beautiful girl, the daughter of poor parents, who earned their daily bread in the sweat of their brows. Her name was Abigail Bailey; and the beauty that caught Morgan's eye was the least of her attractions; for she was sweet tempered, gentle, intelligent, and formed to those habits of quiet industry, which are the surest pledge of a happy fireside. Though like Morgan imperfectly educated, like him she was endowed with a rare capacity for education; and a native piety, pure, earnest, and untarnished by bigotry, gave her a strength of moral character which enabled her to exercise a healthy control over the bold and untamed spirit of the wagoner. They were married, and Morgan entered upon a new life. Intellectually they were fitted to grow together; morally she was qualified to awaken him to a higher sense of duty, and a more delicate perception of right. Under this gentle guid-

ance he dropped his wild companions, devoted himself to the cultivation of his farm, and the training of his mind by books. His ambition now was to raise the best stock, and his pride was in his beautiful wife and the two daughters whom she bore him. England and her colonies were at peace with their old enemy the French, and after the brief but fierce outburst of the War of Pontiac, in which Morgan served again as a lieutenant, were at peace with the still more dreaded Indian; and nine years glided gently away for Morgan and his wife, in welcome cares and connubial tenderness. Time had worked out its problem. The man who had led for three years the wildest spirits of the neighborhood, and seemed upon the point of becoming a border ruffian, had become an industrious farmer, a fond husband, and a tender father.

Meanwhile the controversy which led to the War of Independence had begun; and Morgan, who quickly saw that the pretensions of England were incompatible with the rights of the colonists, followed it with close and earnest attention. Should the question be brought to the arbitrament of the sword, he had no doubt as to what his country had a right to claim from him. One more Indian war, known in colonial history as Lord Dunmore's War, came to revive his military enthusiasm, while the question of war with the mother country was trembling in the balance; and on his return from that, Parliament had closed the Port of Boston, and the Colonies called a congress at Philadelphia. "Upon learning these things," he has left on rec-

ord with his own hand, "we as an army victorious, formed ourselves into a society, pledging our words of honor to each other to assist our brethren of Boston in case hostilities should commence."¹

And nobly did he redeem his pledge. Raising a company of ninety-six hardy young woodsmen, trained from boyhood to the use of the rifle, he marched them from Winchester to Boston, six hundred miles, in twenty-one days. In September he joined the expedition against Quebec, shared the hardships of the march through the wilderness, distinguished himself by his judgment and daring during the siege, and still more in the assault, in which he took the lead when Arnold was wounded, was the first to mount a scaling ladder, and the last to give up his sword. His brilliant courage and high qualifications for governing and leading men, did not escape the intelligent observation of the British, who made him alluring offers of promotion in the royal army. "I hope, sir," was his reply to the tempter, "you will never again insult me in my present distressed and unfortunate situation, by making me offers which plainly imply that you think me a scoundrel."

He seemed, indeed, to love his country all the more for the captivity which he suffered in her cause, hard as it bore upon his active spirit. Those eight months of compelled inaction were the most trying part of his adventurous career. At last he was released on parole, and sent by sea to New York, with several of his companions. The ship

¹ Graham's *Morgan*, p. 52.

reached port on the 11th of September, but the prisoners were not permitted to land for several days. Then they were sent in a row-boat to Elizabethtown Point. It was between ten and eleven at night as the boat drew nigh to the shore. The moon was looking down from a clear sky upon the quiet landscape and gleaming waters. Morgan stood in the bow of the boat, his tall form seeming still taller in the mysterious moonlight, and his massive frame trembling with excitement. As the keel grated upon the sand, he leaped from his stand with a vigorous spring, threw himself upon the ground, grasped it with eager hands, and gathering all his long pent up emotions into a single utterance, cried out, "O, my country!"

Promotion awaited him, at Washington's suggestion, and in April, 1777, he joined the army at Morristown with a hundred and eighty men, as colonel of the 11th Virginia regiment. On the 13th of June it was put on light infantry duty, as a corps of rangers. Henceforth we constantly meet his name in connection with important movements; nowhere in brighter light than at the two decisive battles near Saratoga. He shared the hardships of Valley Forge; he contributed by his judicious movements to the success of Monmouth, although not on the battle-field. He followed up the British army on their retreat, and dealt them a sharp blow near Middletown. Few opportunities for distinction offered themselves during the next two campaigns; but Morgan was constantly in service, sharing in every hardship, and ready for every exertion.

I have had occasion to speak freely of the discontent excited among the officers, by the injudicious action of Congress with regard to promotions and half pay. Morgan shared it, for he had seen his juniors promoted over his head; and his private fortune was fast wasting away under the heavy calls which the insufficiency of his pay compelled him to make upon it. His health too had suffered severely from a rheumatic affection which he had contracted during the Canada campaign. These combined motives led him to resign in the summer of 1779, much to the regret of Washington and the whole army.

Long before this, he had named his home the "Soldier's Rest," and a sweet resting-place it proved to him for the next fifteen months. Never had his wife and children seemed dearer; never had he enjoyed the respect and admiration of his neighbors more heartily. Frequent letters came to assure him that he was not forgotten in camp; and wherever the army was spoken of his name found an honorable place. But the brightest of all his laurels was yet to be won.

For now the might of England was directed against the southern States; Lincoln had been conquered; Charleston had fallen. A new general was called for, and Congress chose Gates. Between Morgan and Gates there had been a bitter feud; for Morgan had indignantly repelled the invitation to take part in the cabal which was to place Gates in Washington's seat. The cabal had failed; Gates had retraced his steps, and in a recent interview,

had become reconciled with Morgan. In recalling Gates, Congress had recalled Morgan; not, however, with the rank which was his due; and seeing how well Gates's army was provided with officers, he did not feel that his duty required him to subject himself to the humiliation of receiving his orders from a junior. The defeat of Camden came soon after; and forgetting his just grounds of dissatisfaction, he made all haste to Hillsborough. "Here I am; what can I do for my country?" He was immediately put in command of a legionary corps, composed of some of the best troops of the army, and ordered forward, to act with the militia under General Smallwood.

On the 13th of October he was made brigadier-general. He was acting in the front when Greene took command of the army.

Isaac Huger was a South Carolinian by birth, and member of a family distinguished by eminent civil and military services from the first breaking out of the war. Although not generally known to the country, as Morgan and Marion and Sumter were, he stood high in the esteem of his brother officers, and held an honorable place in the history of the great campaign of 1781. Even the great misfortune of his career, the fatal surprise at Monks' Corner, did not prevent him from taking that rank in Greene's confidence to which his good sense, zeal, and intrepidity entitled him. Nothing, perhaps, illustrates more vividly the straits to which the American officers were reduced for the common comforts of life, than an

anecdote which has been preserved of General Huger. His friend, Dr. Fayssoux, on calling one day at his tent, was refused admittance by the sentinel. The doctor remonstrated; the sentinel replied that his orders were absolute. "Let him pass," cried the general from within, who hearing the altercation had recognized the voice of his friend. The doctor entered, and the mystery was solved. On the bare ground lay Huger, wrapped in an old cloak, patiently waiting till his only shirt should be brought back from the wash.

I have already had occasion to speak of Otho Holland Williams, who acted as Deputy Adjutant-general during the disastrous campaign of Camden. He too had served from the beginning of the war, marching from Maryland to the camp before Boston, as lieutenant of a rifle corps, and learning the elements of his new profession in that school which sent out so many good officers to preserve the traditions of discipline in our ever changing army. And he too served faithfully to the end, coming out of the great struggle with a brilliant name and a broken constitution. Williams was a native of Maryland, and his ancestors were among the colonists who came over shortly after the proprietorship was conferred upon Lord Baltimore. At the time of his birth in 1748 his parents were living in Prince George County, whence they moved to Frederick, where they both died, leaving three children, a daughter and two sons. Otho, the elder brother, was but a little turned of twelve at the time of their death. The

daughter became the protectress of the family ; for marrying early, her husband, a Scot by the name of Ross, took upon himself the charge of his brothers-in-law, and trained the elder for county clerk, the best office in the colony within his reach. Upon the death of Ross his widow married Colonel Steele, of Hagerstown, and continuing faithful to her brothers, secured for them the same attention from her second husband which they had received from the first. It is pleasant to trace the virtues of an eminent man to such a source.

Williams had none of the temptations to contend with which beset Morgan's youth ; neither the domestic solitude which led Morgan to the tavern, nor the exuberant spirits which ensnared him in wild revelry, nor the prodigious strength which involved him in desperate fights and reckless brawls, nor the rough training of the frontier wagoner, nor the turbulent experience of the frontier soldier. His youth was passed with a younger brother for companion, and an elder sister for directress and guide, amid the gentler associations of home, and with the example of domestic duties scrupulously fulfilled, acting upon heart and mind throughout the confiding years of childhood, and the plastic years of early manhood. The war found him in the clerk's office of Baltimore County, copying instruments, and recording deeds in a clear and beautiful hand, which he preserved unchanged to the last ; and here he might have lived year after year, honorably and use-

fully, if a field of higher honor and broader usefulness had not suddenly opened before him. But the whole country was rising in arms, and a rifle company forming in Frederick County, where he had lived the greater part of his life. He joined it as lieutenant, and immediately marched with it to the camp before Boston. When the expedition to Quebec was planned, he was made captain in Colonel Enos's regiment, and—I allude to it with reluctance, for it was the only blot in an honorable career—when the prospect of success seemed utterly hopeless, he joined the members of his corps who voted to return. Something, perhaps, may be pardoned to a sedentary life and a feeble constitution. And it is certain that with the army he lost no ground, for in the November of 1776 we find him a major in Rawlings's rifle corps, which fought so bravely at Fort Washington. A tedious imprisonment followed, which laid the foundations of the disease of which he died. On his exchange, he was made colonel of the sixth regiment of Maryland, which marched with De Kalb to the succor of South Carolina. Of his good service before and after the battle of Camden I have already spoken.

In personal appearance Williams is said to have been graceful, with a military erectness of carriage, and an open, expressive countenance. In character he was warm-hearted and expansive; but upon moral questions firm to a degree which savored somewhat of sternness. As a soldier he was rigid in discipline, requiring from his subordi-

nates the prompt obedience which he always paid to his superiors. Beginning his military career with no advantages of military training, his rare intelligence led him directly to the true sources, and gave him a clear perception of the fundamental principles of the science. His counsel was always the counsel of a clear, deep, and perspicacious mind. His conduct in the field, was ardor, tempered by judgment and self-possession. His bearing in camp, the system which gives vigor to discipline, and insures the punctual fulfillment of every duty. Greene, who had known him in the north, took him at once into his counsels, and communicated his thoughts and designs to him with a freedom and confidence which he seems to have felt with no other but Henry Lee.

This brilliant officer was born in Virginia, on the 29th of January, 1756. Of the officers who rose to distinction during the War of Independence, he was one of the very few who had received a liberal education; having passed through the common collegiate course of the period, at Princeton, under the presidency of Dr. Witherspoon, with Aaron Burr for a classmate, and James Madison for a fellow student. How far he carried his studies after leaving college, I have no means of saying; but it is evident from his writings, that his mind received while there that tincture of intellectual refinement, which is one of the best fruits of classical culture. He was well placed, also, for receiving an early impression upon the great question of the day, for his father was in

public life, and actually engaged, during the year that preceded the war, in negotiating a treaty with the Indians. In 1776 he entered a troop of horse under Colonel Bland, as captain, and first appeared at the main army during the late campaign of 1777. He immediately attracted attention by his activity, his intrepidity, and the soundness of his judgment. Washington, indeed, according to a tradition which Mr. Irving has accepted, looked upon him with a tenderness which the recollection of an early and unfortunate love seldom fails to impart, even to the sternest natures. For Lee's mother was the lowland beauty for whom Washington had sighed at sixteen, and written what none but lovers call poetry. However this may be, Lee's name came frequently before him during that busy autumn and painful winter, and always in connection with some important information gained, or some brilliant action performed. Light-horse Harry became a familiar name at head-quarters, and throughout the army. His relations with Greene began just before the battle of the Brandywine; and the first mention that is made of him in Greene's correspondence, is in reference to a reconnoitering excursion near the Head of Elk, in which he made one of those rapid calculations concerning the number of a party of the enemy, which are often so important to the successful conduct of an enterprise. The first mention of him in Washington's, is as the captor of twenty-four British prisoners on the same ground. He served under Greene

during his expedition into New Jersey, and at the battle of Germantown was selected by Washington to command his guard. Attempts were made to surprise him ; but his vigilance and intrepidity foiled them. On one of these occasions he beat back a body of two hundred men who had surrounded his quarters, although he had "not a soldier for each window." Washington was so delighted with this brilliant exploit, that he not only thanked him in general orders, but writing to him as "My dear Lee," assured him that "the time and season for showing how he appreciated his merit, were not far off." In April he recommended him to Congress for a majority, and the command of an independent partisan corps of two troops of horse. Congress acted promptly upon the suggestion, giving as a reason for the promotion, that "Captain Henry Lee, of the Light Dragoons, by the whole tenor of his conduct during the last campaign, has proved himself a brave and prudent officer, rendered essential service to his country, and acquired to himself and the corps he commanded, distinguished honor."¹

Washington's expectations were fully realized. Lee's activity increased with the increase of his means of action, and every new enterprise confirmed the high estimate which had been formed of his "exemplary zeal, prudence, and bravery." In the following year he performed the greatest of all his exploits, the surprise of Paulus Hook ; and contributed materially to the collecting of

¹ Journals of Congress, April 7, 1778.

the accurate information which made the capture of Stony Point possible. For the surprise of Paulus Hook, he received a gold medal from Congress. But throughout this and the greater part of the next year, although the hostile armies lay near each other, there were very few general movements. Lee was constantly in the saddle; but except at Springfield, where he played an important part, his services were of that kind which are essential indeed to the preservation of an army, but are seldom of sufficient individual importance to be recorded by history. In the spring he was put under marching orders for the south. Greene found him at Philadelphia in October, and urgently recommended his promotion. On this occasion, also, Congress acted promptly, raising him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army, and authorizing him to continue at the head of the Legion. This celebrated corps was composed of two hundred and eighty picked men, commanded by officers of approved intelligence and bravery. It was divided into equal numbers of cavalry and infantry, provided with the best arms, and well clothed. Men and officers were bound together by the attachment which springs from common dangers and common glory, each feeling that his own honor was bound up in the honor of the corps. Lee, who knew the importance of being always ready for service, watched carefully over the health of his men, never relaxing the reins of discipline, nor denying them any indulgence that was consistent with the

good of the service. His horses, too, which were chosen with strict regard to speed and bottom, were carefully trained and tended. On the 15th of January he joined Greene in his camp on the Pedee; and so well had he husbanded the strength of man and horse on the road, that he was prepared to enter upon active service the very next morning.

John Eager Howard, of whom Greene wrote that "he deserved a statue of gold no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes," was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, on the 14th of June, 1752. His father was a large landed proprietor, and seems not to have formed any definite plans for his son, or directed his attention to any particular profession. The war decided his place in life, as it decided that of so many others; and in July, 1776, he was commissioned as captain in a regiment commanded by Colonel Josias C. Hall. With this regiment he fought at White Plains, and took part in the active movements of that active campaign. In December it was disbanded; but on the formation of the new army, he was appointed major in the fourth Maryland regiment, under his old colonel. With this regiment he fought at Germantown and Monmouth. In June, 1779, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the fifth Maryland regiment; and with this rank accompanied De Kalb in that wearisome march into South Carolina which terminated so disastrously at Camden. No one fought longer or more gallantly than he on that fatal day, or was more

prompt, when the fortune of the field was decided, in collecting and reorganizing the remnants of the shattered army. He was a man of excellent parts, sound judgment, a bearing in which equanimity bordered close upon reserve, and a cool deliberate courage which made him peculiarly useful in the decisive moment of battle. No officer of this hard fighting army used the bayonet so freely as he.

The stock of military knowledge which most of the American officers brought with them to the field on the first breaking out of the war was very small. There was not one of them who had ever commanded an army; few of them even a regiment. Washington himself was but a provincial colonel; Greene only a private in an independent company. Even of the foreign officers who joined us, but one had ever reached the rank of brigadier. Charles Lee, who was looked up to as a profound strategist and tactician, though a Polish general, was but an English colonel. In such a state of things, it was a fortunate circumstance for a young officer to enter upon his career under one who had served long enough to acquire some familiarity with the general principles of his profession. Hugh Mercer, though a physician by profession, had seen service in the old French War; and when, at the breaking out of the War of Independence, he was appointed to the command of the third Virginia regiment, his captains and lieutenants felt that they had a commander qualified to teach them their new duties, as well as to lead them

in the field. Among these young officers was William Washington, a distant relative of the Commander-in-chief. He was born in Stafford County, Virginia, on the 28th of February, 1752; and being designed for a professional life, his parents resolved to educate him for the church. But before this intention could be carried into execution, the war broke out, and he was one of the first to offer his services, entering Mercer's regiment as captain. With this rank he served through the trying campaign of 1776, fighting gallantly at the head of his company, and bearing with a manly spirit the fatigue and privations of that laborious march through the Jerseys, to which the soldiers gave the name of "the mud rounds." At Trenton he was wounded in the wrist while leading the van of one of the assaulting columns. Thus far he had served in the infantry. But the experience of the campaign had shown the necessity of a well-trained body of horse, and Congress, at the suggestion of the Commander-in-chief, resolved to raise three regiments of light dragoons. Washington, whose large and vigorous frame pointed him out as a fit leader in a charge of cavalry, was promoted and attached to Baylor's regiment as major. With this regiment he shared a disastrous surprise, which reduced its ranks very low; and in 1780 was sent to serve under General Lincoln, in South Carolina. Here, with some reverses and some brilliant exploits, he continued till the fall of Charleston threw the whole State into the hands of the enemy. When Gates took

the command, Washington, and his immediate commander, Lieutenant-colonel White, applied to him for authority to recruit their regiment. But Gates, who openly avowed his want of confidence in cavalry, refused; and it was not till after the defeat of Camden that an effort was made to restore that arm of the service, so indispensable in southern war. One of the first gleams of success that flashed upon the army, as it was passing from Gates to Greene, was the fruit of that restoration.

Part of the American army lay at Charlotte, part at New Providence, about twelve miles nearer to the enemy. The British foraging parties were very active, and being well supported, often trusted themselves in hazardous positions. One of them even ventured to forage between the two divisions of the Americans. Morgan, who commanded the van of the light troops, dashed forward to give them a blow; but the watchful Briton eluded it, and made good his retreat to Camden. Washington was at the head of the cavalry; and taking a larger circuit than the infantry, learnt that a party of loyalists was within striking distance, at Rugeley's farm, about twelve miles from Camden. It consisted of a hundred men, commanded by Rugeley himself, who, selecting his barn as the strongest point, had secured it by abattis against a charge of cavalry. Nothing but artillery would reach him. Washington came up at full speed, but his hopes were suddenly dashed by the sight of works that his

horses could not mount, and behind which his enemies, good marksmen all of them, as he well knew, were watching his advance with perfect confidence in their means of defense. But Rugeley was known for a weak, vain man; and Washington instantly resolved to try and win by artifice what he could not seize by force. Right within his reach lay the trunk of a tree; a few moments labor gave it the look of a cannon. It was then mounted on wheels, and boldly brought forward, within battering distance of the works. To give a still stronger coloring to the device, a flag was sent in with summons to surrender immediately, or prepare for the fatal consequences of attempting to hold an untenable post. Without waiting for a second summons, the terrified loyalist surrendered at discretion. It was with the fresh honor of this exploit upon him that Washington began his brilliant career under Greene.

Of Edward Carrington's life, previous to his acceptance of the Quartermaster-generalship under Greene, I know but little. He had served honorably in the artillery, and had done good service in the siege of Charleston. How important his services were during the campaign of 1781, and how high he stood in Greene's confidence, is proved by Greene's letters throughout the whole of that anxious period. Fertility of expedients and that exactness of method which harmonizes and combines the most discordant elements, seem to have been the predominant qualities of his mind; zeal, force of will, and untiring

industry, the distinctive traits of his character. He felt the gravity of responsibility without shrinking from it as a burden; and firmly bending all his energies to the accomplishment of his purpose, was always to be relied upon in the execution of a difficult plan or the accomplishment of an important purpose. But for his energy and punctuality in collecting the boats upon the Dan, the retreat which saved the south would have been its ruin. Unfortunately for his place in history, his services, though of that solid and laborious kind which are felt throughout an army, from the Commander-in-chief to the lowest subordinate, were still of that obscure kind, which never appear in the report of a battle or a siege. A firm stand, or a brilliant charge, gives a higher place in a history of a campaign, than that wise management of resources, and those profound and accurate combinations, which call into play the higher endowments of method, system, and judgment.

In close connection with the name of Carrington comes that of William Richardson Davie, who, though a native of Egremont, near White Haven, in England, was brought to South Carolina at the age of seven, and received his education on this side of the Atlantic. He was born on the 20th of June, 1756, and placed, in 1763, under the care of his mother's brother, William Richardson, the Presbyterian clergyman of the Waxhaw settlement on the Catawba. His uncle, who had no children of his own, adopted him, and made him

his heir. As soon as he was thought to be old enough to be trusted at school, he was sent to the academy at Charlotte, North Carolina, where he went through the usual preparatory course for college, taking readily to his books, and distinguishing himself by an early regularity and zeal, which gave cheering promise of future distinction. From school he went to college, treading close upon the footsteps of his future associate, Lee, at Princeton, which the high reputation of Dr. Witherspoon had made a favorite institution with southern parents and guardians. The war found him at his books; but the tide of patriotic feeling had risen very high at Princeton, and a party of undergraduates was allowed to serve as volunteers during the summer of 1776. Davie was one of them; and after taking his part in the operations around New York, he returned to Princeton in season to secure his degree.

About this time his uncle died, leaving young Davie to his own guidance, and the command of a modest fortune. At first he resolved to prepare himself immediately for the bar, and began his studies at Salisbury. The war had not yet reached that future scene of the hardest contests of the south. The first attack upon Charleston had been repulsed with a success which, like the repulses of the two first assaults at Bunker Hill, had inspired a dangerous confidence. In December of 1777, a new attack was threatened; and Davie, joining a body of twelve hundred men that was raised to take part in the defense of the city, advanced

with them as far as Camden. But the alarm passed, and after three months' service he returned to his studies. In the next year the war came in earnest; but it was not till 1779 that he found himself actually in the field. Then, prevailing upon his friend Mr. Barnett to accept a commission as captain of dragoons, he took a commission under him as lieutenant. The popularity of the captain soon filled the ranks; but his age and health disqualified him for the fatigue and exposure of an active campaign; and when his company joined the main army, the command devolved upon Davie. At his request it was attached to Pulaski's legion, in which he was made major. Under that gallant veteran he took part in several bold enterprises, fighting with varying success, and receiving at the battle of Stono a wound in the thigh which confined him several months to the hospital. As soon as he had gained strength enough to leave his bed, he returned to Charlotte, resumed his studies, and was shortly after admitted to the bar.

Then began for him a new and brilliant epoch. His first circuit led him into a region filled with loyalists, many of whom were waiting the appearance of a British officer to come out openly for the king. Davie at first was supposed to be that officer; and although the mistake was discovered in time to prevent any open manifestation, he saw enough to convince him that the great mass of the people were disaffected. It was no time for seeking the bloodless honors of the bar. He

returned to the field, and spending the last shilling of the estate which his uncle had bequeathed him to raise and equip a troop of cavalry and two companies of mounted infantry, began a series of bold surprises and skillful retreats, sometimes alone and sometimes in conjunction with other corps, which not only contributed to keep the spirit of resistance alive, but aided materially in checking the ravages and counteracting the designs of the Tories. No partisan of this war, in which such brilliant feats of partisan enterprise were performed, displayed a more fertile invention, a sounder judgment, a surer glance of the eye, a profounder knowledge of character, or greater coolness and self-possession in the presence of danger, than he. I have already told how Greene found him employed when he took command of the army, and how urgently he pressed the office of commissary upon him. If we would form a correct estimate of the sacrifice which Davie made in accepting it, we must reflect what it is for a young man of twenty-five, in the fullness of his strength, accustomed to a life of adventurous activity, contending in generous emulation with Marion and Sumter, conscious of his powers, and with the opportunity for displaying them in their full lustre within his reach, to deliberately exchange the saddle for the writing-desk, the sword for the pen, set himself calmly down to examine invoices, estimate rations, and study out the best methods of making good contracts for beef or pork. Greene knew what the

sacrifice was, and took to his confidence and his councils, as second to none, the man who had the self-command and the patriotism to make it.

Another name which recalls thrilling tales of desperate enterprise, surprises at midnight, sudden attacks in the gray twilight of morning, lurking-places in the depths of forests, restless activity, and untiring perseverance, is the name of Thomas Sumter. He comes before us tall, vigorous, dauntless, with a bold bearing, and imperious brow, stern to look upon, fierce in his self-will, arrogant in his decisions, tenacious in his prejudices, resolute and vigorous in the execution of his own plans, remiss and almost lukewarm in carrying out the plans of others. Born in South Carolina just as that colony had passed from the control of the Proprietaries to the control of the King, he lived to see her take the first decided step towards passing out of the Union. Little has been preserved of his early life, although his subsequent career in the Senate of the United States proves that he was not deficient in education then, wherever or whenever acquired. In the Revolution he took an early part, and soon made himself conspicuous as a bold and enterprising officer. But it was not till after the siege of Charleston that his talents were brought fully into play. Then at the head of a body of volunteers he moved rapidly from point to point, keeping alive the hopes of the Whigs and the fears of the Tories in the regions watered by the Broad River, the Ennoree, and the Tiger; making three

bold attacks upon Rocky Mount; destroying a regiment of the enemy at Hanging Rock; meeting a fearful reverse at Fishing Creek; but quickly collecting a new band of volunteers, and repulsing a midnight attack upon his camp at Fish Dam Ford, on the Broad River, and defeating Tarleton's famous legion at Blackstock. A severe wound held him disabled during the first weeks of Greene's command, but early in February he was again ready for the field.

History, like tradition, has her favorite characters, on which she dwells with peculiar fondness, delighting herself in preserving the memory of every exploit, and giving the brightest tints to every circumstance connected with their career. To have lived with them, or served under them, or contributed however slightly to their happiness or their success, constitutes a claim to our interest, and gives a hold upon our regard, which the historian is ever ready to acknowledge. The poet, also yielding to the same influences, employs the choicest flowers of his wreath to deck the favored brow. Of these children of a happy star, no one holds in our Revolutionary history the same place as Francis Marion. His story, irregularly told by a friend and companion, took an early hold upon the heart of the people; and the romantic traits of his career, warming the imagination of a great poet, have been recorded in beautiful verse. Impartial judgment and sober research have left his own laurels unimpaired, although they have dissipated the halo which tradition and fancy had shed around his men.

His life forms one of those pictures upon which the mind loves to dwell, from the singular combination of rare qualities which it displays. His ancestors were Huguenot exiles, who took refuge in South Carolina, from the dragonnades of Louis XIV. His father was a planter near Georgetown, who, portioning out his estate to his children as they came of age, had nothing left for Francis, the youngest, and his next nearest brother, while they were yet children. At sixteen Francis found himself compelled to choose a pursuit for his support. With only a common English education, and no money to carry him through the preparatory courses, he could neither be a physician nor a lawyer. He resolved to be a sailor, and started upon a voyage to the West Indies. But his ship was burnt in a gale, and after tossing about eight days in an open boat, without water and with nothing but the raw flesh and skin of a single dog to eat, and seeing several of his companions die of hunger, he, with the starving survivors, were rescued, barely alive. He renounced the sea, returned to Georgetown, and engaged in farming. The Cherokee war of 1759 found him hard at his work. He was now twenty-six, small in frame, low in stature, but vigorous, active, and healthy. By nature he was taciturn and reticent, with nothing in the expression of his face to attract or interest a casual observer, but still inspiring confidence and commanding respect in those who were brought into intimate relations with him. When, therefore, a company of volunteers was raised to

serve against the Indians, he was chosen lieutenant. In a second expedition, which soon after became necessary, he was made captain. Next came the War of Independence; and joining the first South Carolina levies, he was presently made a major; and with this rank took part in the gallant defense of Fort Moultrie in 1776. His next promotion was to the command of a regiment as lieutenant-colonel. During the siege of Charleston his leg was accidentally broken, a lucky accident, which left him free when the city fell, to engage in an adventurous system of warfare which was the only possible system in that low state of our fortunes. In the course of this he was promoted by Governor Rutledge to a brigadiership. When he first appeared in Gates's camp, he had but twenty men with him, or rather twenty between men and boys. Some of them were negroes. With these he rescued one hundred and fifty of the prisoners of Camden, coming upon the British escort by surprise and overpowering it. Early in September a body of two hundred Tories attempted to surprise him. He had fifty-three men with him when he heard of their intention, and instantly setting forward, surprised an advance party of forty-five, killing or wounding all but fifteen, and then attacked the main body of two hundred, and put them to flight. Before the end of the month he surprised another body of sixty men; and in October one of two hundred.

His force was constantly fluctuating between twenty men and seventy. Up to the 18th of Oc-

tober he had never had over seventy. They went and came as they chose, their number ever ebbing and flowing like the tide. Sometimes the very men who had fought with him were ranged in arms against him ; a few only serving from honest zeal and true love of country. Indeed there was little to draw others to his banner ; and but for the inextinguishable hatred of Whig for Tory and Tory for Whig, his followers would have been those few alone. But hatred supplied the place of virtue.

To arm this fluctuating band he was sometimes compelled to have the saws of saw-mills worked down into swords by common blacksmiths. Sometimes to provide them with powder, he had to search the cartouch boxes of the dead and wounded while the battle was raging. He was even known to go into battle with but three rounds to a man, trusting to the boldness of his onset, and the appearance of numbers, for striking terror into the enemy. Yet he never was known to expose his men rashly, or engage them in a position from which he could not extricate them if baffled.

As his slender form concealed a lion heart, so under his cold, impassive face, there was a perpetual glow of tender sympathies. "It is distressing," he wrote in November, describing Tarleton's ravages from Camden to Nelson's Ferry, "to see the women and children sitting in the open air round a fire, without a blanket, or any clothing but what they had on, and women of family, and that had ample fortunes ; for he spares neither Whig nor Tory." And of himself he writes with a

humane pride: "Colonel Murphy's party have burnt a great number of houses on Little Pedee, and intend to go on in that abominable work, which I am apprehensive may be laid to me; but I assure you, that there is not one house burnt by my orders or by any of my people; it is what I detest to distress poor women and children."

Without claiming for Marion those powers of combination which belong to the highest order of military genius, he must be allowed to have excelled in all the qualities which form the consummate partisan,—vigilance, promptitude, activity, energy, dauntless courage, and unshaken self-control. While watching his enemy, he never forgot that his enemy might be watching him. He never permitted success to lull him into ill-timed confidence, nor failure to depress his energy. Fertile in resources, he was always prepared for sudden emergencies. Thoroughly self-possessed, he could always look calmly upon approaching danger. Quick in his conceptions, he was equally quick in the execution of them. As prudent as he was bold, he always chose his time and place with consummate judgment, and though constantly surrounded by vindictive enemies, and constantly exposed to death or capture by the restless genius and unscrupulous characters of the greater part of his own men, the lustre of his long and brilliant career was never dimmed by surprise. Two principles controlled all his actions, and shaped all his ends; the love of country, pure, earnest, and profound; the love of right, sincere, undeviating, and incorruptible.

CHAPTER VIII.

Greene divides his Army. — Designs of the Enemy. — Cornwallis at Winnsborough. — British Posts and Numbers. — Greene's Plan of Campaign. — Morgan detached to act South of the Catawba. — Advantages of this and of Greene's New Position. — Hard Work. — Progress of Discipline. — Marion acting near the Santee. — Lee reaches Camp. — Attempt upon Georgetown. — Morgan over the Catawba. — Looking for Reinforcements. — Washington defeats a Party of Tories. — Evacuation of Fort Williams. — Morgan Impatient. — Warning Letter from Greene. — Cornwallis Hesitating. — His Plans. — Sends Tarleton against Morgan. — Compelled to divide his Forces. — Morgan falls back to the Cowpens. — Battle.

WHEN Greene resolved to take post at Cheraw, he resolved also to divide his forces. It was a bold step, and a direct violation, as he well knew, of a fundamental principle of the art of war; but there were advantages in it which, in his judgment, fully justified the risk.¹ The subjugation of North Carolina and Virginia had long been a principal object of Cornwallis's movements. But the disaster of King's Mountain had compelled him to renounce for the moment his first invasion of North Carolina, and retrace his steps towards the centre of South Carolina.² Instead, however, of returning to his original position at Camden, he pitched his camp at Winnsborough, an inconsiderable village of from thirty to sixty houses, a

¹ How he felt upon this subject he tells in several letters, and particularly in that of the 24th January to General Varnum, who had just taken his seat as member of Congress.

² Tarleton's *Memoirs*, p. 166.

little further to the north, and on the west instead of the east bank of the Catawba. In his rear lay Ninety-six on his extreme left, covering the country around the head waters of the Saluda. Directly below him lay Fort Granby at the confluence of the Saluda and Congaree; and on his right Camden, the most important of all his posts;¹ the two last at nearly equal distances from Winnsborough and from each other. Thus the main army occupied a central position with regard to the principal smaller posts, secured the communications with Charleston, and had a rich and fertile district in its rear.² According to Cornwallis's returns it consisted of 3,224 men, near a thousand more than Greene's whole force. If we add that they were thoroughly disciplined, and well clothed, armed, and equipped, we shall see that in efficient strength it surpassed the American army fourfold.³

It was evident to Greene that his active adversary was still bent upon the conquest of North Carolina, and waiting only for a propitious moment to enter upon a winter campaign. To meet him in front with an army so inferior in numbers, equipments, and discipline, was impossible. But by dividing his forces, he might not only secure an abundant supply of good food, but confine the

¹ Tarleton's *Memoirs*, p. 183.

² *Ibid*, p. 169.

³ *Vide* an answer to that part of the narrative of Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. which relates to the conduct of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, during the campaign in North America in the

year 1781, by Earl Cornwallis. On page 53 of this answer there is a tabular view of the forces under Cornwallis from January 15 to April 1. In a letter of December 8, 1780, to Baron Steuben, Greene estimates them at 3,250.

enemy within narrower bounds, cut them off from the supplies of the upper country, revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants, establish sure rallying points for the militia of the east and the west, threaten the posts and communications of the enemy, give his friends an opportunity to form small magazines in the rear of the troops, and compel Cornwallis to suspend his threatened invasion.

Therefore, before he set out on his march for the Pedee, he detached Morgan with three hundred of his best troops, and Washington's regiment of light dragoons, with orders to take a position on the south of the Catawba, where he was to be joined by three hundred volunteers under General Davidson, and four or five hundred Georgia and South Carolina militia under Colonel Clark and Colonel Few.¹ This would open a brilliant field of action between Broad River and the Pacolet, and alarm Cornwallis for the safety of the important post of Ninety-six, and the equally important post of Augusta.²

With the remainder of his forces, reduced by this detachment to 1,110, of whom only 650 were Continentals, Greene took post at Hicks' Creek on the Pedee. It was one of the immediate advantages of this position that it prevented the enemy from "attempting to possess themselves of Cross Creek, which would have given them command of the greatest part of the provisions in the lower

¹ Greene to Washington, in Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 190. ² Morgan's instructions are dated Camp Charlotte, December 16, 1780.

country." It was another, that it enabled him to complete the organization of his departments, and attend to the health and discipline of his troops.¹

The more he reflected upon his change of camp the better he was satisfied with it.

"I am here," he writes, "in my camp of repose, improving the discipline and spirits of my men, and the opportunity for looking about me. I am well satisfied with the movement, for it has answered thus far all the purposes for which I intended it. It makes the most of my inferior force, for it compels my adversary to divide his, and holds him in doubt as to his own line of conduct. He cannot leave Morgan behind him to come at me, or his posts of Ninety-six and Augusta would be exposed. And he cannot chase Morgan far, or prosecute his views upon Virginia, while I am here with the whole country open before me. I am as near to Charleston as he is, and as near to Hillsborough as I was at Charlotte; so that I am in no danger of being cut off from my reinforcements; while an uncertainty as to my future designs has made it necessary to leave a large detachment of the enemy's late reinforcements in Charleston, and move the rest up on this side the Wateree. But although there is nothing to obstruct my march to Charleston, I am far from having such a design in contemplation, in the present relative positions and strength of the two armies. It would be putting it in the power of my enemy to compel me to fight him. At present my operations must be in the country where the rivers are fordable, and to guard against the chance of not being able to choose my ground, Kosciusco is employed in building flat-bottomed boats to be transported with the army, if ever I shall be able to command the means of transporting them. I am now at the falls of the Pedee;

¹ Greene to Washington, December 28, 1780. Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 190.

and the region of my future operations must be above the falls of the rivers, until I can control the movements of my adversary. Below the falls, all through this country, from the Alleghany to the sea-coast, and from the Chesapeake to Georgia, the country is champaign, and presenting no passes that can be held by an inferior force. Below the falls the rivers are deep, and their banks are covered with impassable swamps, across which, at long intervals, roads have been constructed, which afford the only avenues of retreat. I cannot afford to get entangled among the difficulties they present, until I can turn upon my adversary and fight him when I please."

There were no idle moments in this camp of repose. The organizing of his departments, and urgent appeals to governors, legislatures, and men of influence, kept Greene's pen constantly employed. The discipline of his troops, both officers and men, so dangerously relaxed by privation and defeat, called for constant watchfulness; for both had serious grounds of discontent, and none but the firmest hand, controlled by the soundest judgment, could have drawn the reins amid such an accumulation of difficulties, without breaking them. With his men, he relied upon his justice, firmness, and above all the active sympathy with which he strove to lighten their sufferings.¹ With his officers, he relied upon the power of social intercourse; inviting them to his table by turns, and endeavoring to give a higher tone to their habits of thought and conversation. There were personal jealousies in the army, dangerous obstacles

¹ Greene's standard of discipline was high; raised undoubtedly higher by his intimate intercourse with Steuben. It forms a prominent subject in his letters at this period.

to the successful union of action ; and in no part of the army more bitter than in the Maryland line, one of the best in the service. These gradually yielded to the influence of social intercourse, and the inspiration of success. When the campaign opened, there was a higher and warmer corporate spirit in this little band than had ever animated it before ; for they could all look up to their commander with confidence and respect.¹

While Greene's active mind was busied with these cares, he was, at the same time, eagerly watching for an opportunity to open the campaign by a bold stroke at some post or party of the enemy. Marion was already actively engaged in the neighborhood of the Santee, between the High Hills and Neilson's Ferry, alarming the enemy by the boldness of his movements, and baffling all their attempts to intercept him, or take him by surprise. On the 12th of January, Lee arrived with his fine Legion, in perfect order for immediate service. The next day he was sent to join Marion, with orders to strike at Georgetown by surprise, and endeavor to alarm the enemy for the safety of his rear. The attempt upon Georgetown was only partially successful. The Americans entered the town, made the commander and several officers prisoners, and but for a mistake of their guides, would have captured the whole garrison. But the guides becoming bewildered, a part of the enemy had time to take refuge in the fort. To carry this

¹ *Vide* a very interesting letter to General Huger of January 27th. Greene MSS.

required artillery; and having none, the assailants were compelled to withdraw.¹ After a short halt to refresh his troops, Marion directed his march towards Neilson's Ferry, with the hope of surprising a body of English and loyalists under Colonel Watson. But Watson, getting timely notice of his danger, threw a party of eighty men into the fort that bore his name, and with the rest of his force retreated to Camden. An attempt was then made to seize the enemy's stores upon the Congaree, but before the plan could be carried out, an express arrived direct from head-quarters, with orders for Lee to make all haste towards Salisbury, and join Morgan, who was retreating before Cornwallis.

Morgan, with his five hundred and eighty men, had crossed the Catawba on the evening of the 20th of December, and holding his way towards Broad River, had passed it on the 25th, and encamped at Grindall's Ford, on the north bank of the Pacolet.² Here he was joined, in the course of the next few days, by Colonel Pickens and Major McCall, with two hundred and sixty mounted Carolinians. On the 28th or 29th General Davidson arrived with a hundred and twenty men, instead of the six hundred that had been expected. The British General had followed his old policy, and while the regular army was preparing to advance,

¹ There is a discrepancy between the account of this affair in Lee's *Memoirs* and his official report. *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 251, and letters in the Greene MSS.

² The *Life of General Daniel Morgan*, by James Graham, a full and trustworthy narrative founded on authentic materials, p. 262. Marion attributes the failure to the want of artillery, and Moultrie to the fright of the guides. *Vide* Lee's

had instigated the Indians to break in upon the frontier, and alarm the militia, upon whose aid the Americans depended, for the safety of their families.¹ Still there were five hundred men already embodied at Salisbury, and full five hundred more were confidently expected.² Davidson, an enterprising and zealous officer, hastened back to Salisbury to organize them.

Meanwhile Morgan bent all his energies upon the collecting of supplies, and more especially upon the collecting of frequent and authentic intelligence of the designs and movements of the enemy; being firmly resolved not to let any opportunity of striking a timely blow escape him. The first opportunity that presented itself was of a party of two hundred and fifty Tories, under a Captain Waters, who were laying waste the settlements round Fairfort Creek, and murdering the inhabitants. Washington, with his cavalry and a body of two hundred mounted militia under Major McCall, men whose blood was heated by the recollection of what they and their families had suffered from the Tories, was sent forward to attack them. A rapid march of fifty miles brought him upon them by surprise. A hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, forty taken prisoners, sixty escaped to tell the bloody tale and diffuse their own terror throughout the country. Washington was now deep within the enemy's lines, but though aware of his danger, was unwilling to

¹ Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, December 29, 1780. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol i. p. 76.

² Graham, pp. 263, 264.

retire without another blow. About fifteen miles north of Ninety-six, and directly upon the line of communications between Ninety-six and Winnsborough, was a stockaded log-house, garrisoned by a hundred and fifty men, and known as Fort William. To surprise this would give double force to the blow inflicted by the surprise of Waters, and Washington resolved to attempt it. Colonel Hays was pushed forward with all speed, at the head of forty mounted militia. But the British commander had received timely warning of his danger, and when the Americans came in sight, had already evacuated the fort and begun his retreat. Thus the garrison escaped, but the fort was destroyed.

A fortnight passed without any further movement of importance on either side, Morgan's adventurous spirit chafing the while at inaction. On the 8th of January came a warning letter from Greene, whose vigilant eye had detected the indications of an early movement on the part of the enemy. Morgan was anxious to push forward into Georgia, but Greene felt that the moment for so decided a measure was not yet come. "The Pedee rose twenty-five feet the last week in thirty hours," he wrote to Morgan on the 19th of January. "Put nothing to the hazard. A retreat may be disagreeable, but is not disgraceful. Regard not the opinions of the day. It is not our business to risk too much."

Meanwhile the British General had not been an indifferent spectator of the movements of his

adversary. The arrival of General Leslie, with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, was a welcome addition to his strength, and every consideration of civil and military policy seemed to require the immediate resumption of his long cherished designs against North Carolina and Virginia. But Greene's division of his forces made him hesitate. He could not advance and leave Ninety-six and Augusta exposed to Morgan. He could not call Leslie over the Catawba, without leaving the region on its right bank open to Greene. In either case, immediate success and the presence of a protecting force were necessary, to allay the doubts and fears of the partisans of the king, which the destruction of the band under Waters, the evacuation of Fort William, and the presence of Morgan had revived in the districts west of the Catawba. He resolved, therefore, to begin his advance into North Carolina without further delay, hoping to get between the two divisions of the American army, and crush them in detail. Leslie was ordered to join the main army. Tarleton, who had already been sent forward to hold Morgan in check, was instructed to push his adversary to the utmost, and either crush him, or drive him across the Broad River, where Cornwallis himself, moving up its left bank, would be in a position to intercept his retreat, and compel him either to disband his forces, or take the chances of a battle.

Tarleton, at this time, held the same place in the confidence of Cornwallis which Lee held in

that of Greene. He was bold, active, and enterprising, and had distinguished himself by an adventurous spirit, which was in perfect harmony with that of his commander. That he was cruel to a conquered enemy, and merciless in laying waste the districts occupied by the Whigs, does not seem to have been regarded as a taint upon his reputation. But, unlike Lee, he was deficient in judgment, often rash, cautious only when his adversary stood at bay, and boldest in the pursuit of a flying enemy. The order to push Morgan to the utmost was very welcome to him, for he was stronger than the American General by discipline, equipments, and numbers; his whole force somewhat exceeding eleven hundred men, inclusive of a detachment from the Royal Artillery, with two pieces. Cornwallis had no doubt of his success, and moving slowly northwards, over roads heavy and broken by recent rains, and crossed by swollen water-courses, reached Turkey Creek, forty miles from Winnsborough, on the eighth day after breaking up his camp. Here, trusting to Tarleton for a good account of Morgan, he resolved to wait for Leslie, whom he did not yet feel to be entirely beyond the reach of a sudden blow from Greene. Greene's division of his forces had compelled Cornwallis to divide his own, and the advantage of numerical superiority was seriously diminished.

Morgan had neglected no means of collecting frequent and accurate information of the designs of his enemy, and no movement of Cornwallis or

Tarleton was allowed to escape his attention. At first he proposed to defend the passage of the Pacolet. But further reflection convinced him that the British General and his trusted subordinate were acting in concert, and he resolved to fall further back towards the upper fords of Broad River, where he would still be within reach of the reinforcements that had been promised him, and be able at the same time to keep up his communications with Greene. However hard Cornwallis might press him, he was still confident of a sure retreat by the fords of the Catawba.

It soon became evident that Tarleton intended to dispute the passage of Broad River, and that Cornwallis was waiting to form a junction with Leslie before he broke up from Turkey Creek. There might be a chance of fighting Tarleton on something like equal terms. Therefore, breaking up his encampment at Grindall's Ford on the 15th, he detached several small parties to watch the fords of the Pacolet and bring him word when the enemy had crossed, while with the main body he fell back to Burr's Mills on Thicketty Creek. The next day he continued his march, and about sundown halted at the Cowpens, a name thenceforward one of the most honored in the annals of the southern war. In the course of the night he was joined by Colonel Pickens, with a fresh body of militia, about one hundred and fifty in all, and fifty more came in before morning. Morgan examined the ground, and resolved to give battle.

Never was a call to fight more cheerfully re-

sponded to. The militia, fresh from their homes, and bringing all the bitterness of Whig and Tory enmity with them, looked forward to the opportunity of meeting regulars in the field, with delight. The Continentals were Howard's Maryland brigade, which had held its ground so long at Camden. The Americans had no cannon, but Morgan felt that the rifle in the hands of men trained to the use of it from boyhood, would do the work of cannon on ground like that which he had chosen. Night passed quickly for the American commander. Though not disposed to place, like Gates, a blind confidence in the militia, he knew that there were times when they would fight like veterans. Sprung from their own class himself, he knew also what language would soonest reach their hearts; and going among them all through the evening, with a cheerful voice and a countenance beaming with hope, he would take up the sword of one and show him how to handle it, joke with another about his sweetheart, and raising his arm with a significant gesture, tell them that "the old wagoner would crack his whip over Ben Tarleton in the morning, as sure as he lived. Just hold up your heads, boys," he would say; "three fires and you are free."¹ He knew too, the importance of bringing his men into the field fresh, and to the good night's rest which he had given them, added the refreshment of a quiet breakfast. Morning found every man prepared and eager for action.

¹ Anecdote related by Major Thomas Young, a volunteer in the battle, and quoted by Graham, p. 292.

Morgan then proceeded to draw up his troops. His choice of a position has been severely criticised, for it was in a region free from swamp and underbrush, and covered with an open wood, which left free room for the use of cavalry, his adversary's strongest arm. There was nothing in the nature of the ground that afforded protection for his flanks, and the Broad River in his rear cut off his retreat.

Still it was not without its advantages. It was an open space, some five hundred yards long, gradually rising till it formed a small hill with its ridge about three hundred yards from the front, and then, after falling away full eighty yards, rising again to a second hill, nearly parallel with the first. When Morgan was blamed for fighting in an open country, with a river in his rear, he calmly answered, "I would not have had a swamp in view of my militia on any consideration; they would have made for it, and nothing could have detained them from it. As to covering my wings, I knew my adversary, and was perfectly sure I should have nothing but downright fighting. As to retreat, it was the very thing I wished to cut off all hope of. I would have thanked Tarleton had he surrounded me with his cavalry. It would have been better than placing my own men in the rear to cut down those who broke from the ranks. When men are forced to fight, they will sell their lives dearly. And I knew that the dread of Tarleton's cavalry would give due weight to the protection of my bayonets, and keep my troops from breaking, as Buford's regiment did. Had I crossed

the river, one half of the militia would immediately have abandoned me.”¹ Such was Morgan’s defense of his choice of a position. The result proved the soundness of his judgment. Like all the best soldiers of the war, he placed little confidence in the militia.

The long slope of the first hill gave full view of the advancing enemy. Near the brow of this hill Morgan posted his best troops. Howard’s Marylanders, two hundred and eighty in all, held the centre; The Virginia militia, under Triplett and Gilmore, were stationed on their left; the Augusta riflemen, under Tate and Buchanan, on their right. The Virginians, though militia by name, were mostly old soldiers of the northern army, who, having served out their enlistment, were serving as substitutes in the militia. The command of this line was given to Lieutenant-colonel Howard, and with the militia and riflemen it numbered four hundred men. On the second hill, about one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of the main line, Washington was stationed with his own well trained corps of eighty horsemen, and McCall’s volunteers, one hundred and twenty men in all.

The militia, three hundred and fifty strong, were placed in front, ranged in open order, on a line three hundred yards long, and one hundred and fifty yards in advance of the main body. They were Georgians and North and South Carolinians. From them one hundred and twenty picked men, famed for their skill with the rifle, Georgians and

¹ I find this in Johnson’s first vol. p. 176.

North Carolinians in equal numbers, were chosen and thrown out in loose order, a hundred yards in front of the first line, to act as skirmishers. The horses of the militia were secured, all saddled and bridled for instant use, in a grove of young pines.

While these arrangements were making, the enemy came in sight, and began immediately to prepare for battle. Had Tarleton been a judicious as well as a bold leader, he would have remembered that his troops had been under arms since three in the morning, toiling over broken roads, and through turbulent water-courses, and part of the time in the dark. But he thought only that he had brought Morgan to bay, and might crush him by a single blow. Halting, therefore, within four hundred yards of the Americans, he drew up his men in a single line, with a troop of dragoons on each flank, the artillery, two grasshoppers, in the centre, and a battalion of infantry and the rest of his cavalry in reserve. Meanwhile he rode forward with a small escort to observe the order and preparations of the Americans. A few shots from the line of skirmishers sent him hastily back again.

While the British line was forming, Morgan rode along his own lines, addressing a few words of apt exhortation to each. He reminded the militia of what they had often done without the support of regulars, and told them what he expected them to do with such chosen bodies of horse and foot to support them. He bade them call to mind his own long experience and unvary-

ing fortune, and exhorted them to take confidence from his example, be firm and steady, and above all aim true. "Give me two fires at killing distance," he exclaimed, "and I will make the victory sure." To the Continentals his words were firm and brief. They needed no exhorting. But he warned them not to lose heart if they should see the militia fall back, for that was a part of the plan of battle, and was carefully provided for. The front line was composed of Georgians and Carolinians. "Let me see," he said to them, "which are most entitled to the credit of brave men, the boys of Carolina or those of Georgia." Then, taking his station in the rear of the main line, he waited in stern silence for the enemy.

The American skirmishing line was the first to feel them as they came dashing on, even before their line was completely formed. But all that Morgan asked of his skirmishers was done, and though compelled to give way before a charge of cavalry, they fell slowly back, firing as they retreated, and had emptied fifteen saddles, before they took shelter with the first line.

The English artillery now opened, and the whole line advanced upon the first line of the Americans, who, waiting calmly till the enemy was within one hundred yards, poured in a deadly fire. The English wavered and slackened their pace. Officers were falling at every discharge of the fatal rifle, and a visible confusion began to creep into their ranks. It was but momentary. Trained by severe discipline, and familiar with the sights and sounds

of battle, they nerved themselves for the deadly encounter, and still moved firmly forward. For awhile the militia held their ground, pouring in volley after volley, and every volley told. But the weight of the whole British line was upon them, and reluctantly yielding to the pressure, they broke and took refuge behind the Continentals. Thus far nothing had occurred which Morgan had not foreseen and provided for; but the decisive moment was at hand. Would the Marylanders fight as they had fought at Camden?

The English, elated by the retreat of the militia, came forward with shouts and huzzas, quickening their pace, and somewhat deranging their order. The Americans received them with a well directed fire, and for fifteen minutes the tide of fight swayed to and fro, the British pressing upon the Americans with the whole weight of their compact line, and the Americans holding their ground with undaunted firmness. Then Tarleton, unable to break them, and seeing his own men waver, ordered up his reserve. At this moment Washington was seen driving before him that part of the enemy's cavalry which had pursued the broken militia, and the militia itself, reformed and still of good heart, coming resolutely up to the support of the second line.

The British reserve came promptly into action; and Howard, as he watched it, saw that it outstretched his front and put his right flank in danger. To meet the danger, he ordered his right company to change front; but mistaking the order,

it began to fall slowly back, communicating its movement to the rest of the line. Howard saw at a glance that he could still count upon his men; for, supposing that they had been directed to fall back to a new position, they moved as calmly as they would have moved on parade. Instead, therefore, of correcting the mistake, he accepted it, and was leading them to the second hill on which the cavalry had been stationed, when Morgan came up.

“What is this retreat?” cried the stern old wagoner, in his sternest tones.

“A change of position to save my right flank,” answered Howard.

“Are you beaten?”

“Do men who march as those men march, look as though they were beaten?”

“Right; I will ride forward and choose you a new position, and when you reach it, face about and give the enemy another fire.”

But before they reached the spot, came a messenger from Washington, who had charged and broken the English cavalry. “They are coming on like a mob,” he said. “Give them another fire, and I will charge them.” In a moment the whole line again stood with face to the enemy, who, confident of victory, were eagerly pressing forward, filling the air with their shouts, and too confident and too eager to keep their ranks. In another moment they were shrinking back, stunned and bewildered by the fire of the Americans.

“Give them the bayonet,” shouted Howard; and pressing home his success, led his men upon them

in a final charge. The shock was irresistible. Some threw away their arms, and sought safety in flight; but far the greater part threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Then an ominous cry began to be heard, and "Tarleton's quarters" passed with bitter emphasis from mouth to mouth. But Morgan and his officers, throwing themselves among the men, and appealing to their better nature, succeeded in arresting the impulse of revenge before a life had been taken. When the moment for counting the immediate results of the battle came, it was found that the English had lost eighty killed, ten of whom were officers, one hundred and fifty wounded, and six hundred prisoners. Of the latter, twenty-seven were commissioned officers. Two stands of colors, two three-pounders, eight hundred muskets, thirty-five wagons with the baggage of the seventh regiment, sixty negroes, one hundred cavalry horses, one travelling forge, and all the enemy's music, fell into the hands of the victors. The American loss was twelve killed and sixty-one wounded.¹

Morgan's entire command, inclusive of the militia who had actually joined him, was about nine hundred and eighty strong. But allowing for the numerous detachments which his position had compelled him to make, he cannot have had more than eight hundred with him in the battle.² Tarleton's strength has generally been estimated at eleven hundred.³

¹ Graham, p. 308.

² Graham, p. 295.

³ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 33. The editor of the Cornwallis correspond-

ence makes it 1,050 — the best troops of the army. Morgan's he estimates as "hardly equal," vol. i. p. 83.

CHAPTER IX.

Morgan crosses the Broad River. — Retreats to Ramsour's Mills. — Bad Roads and Seanty Food. — Cornwallis Deceived. — Pursues Morgan. — Burns his Baggage. — Heavy Rains. — Part of Morgan's Militia leave him. — Cornwallis in Motion. — Greene reaches the American Camp. — Tidings of Morgan's Victory reach Greene's Camp at Cheraw. — Rejoicings. — Greene puts his Army under Marching Orders, and sets out for the Catawba. — Preparations for the Struggle. — Cornwallis crosses the Catawba. — Death of Davidson. — Dispersion of the Militia. — Tarleton at Tarrant's. — Greene waiting for the Militia. — Mrs. Steele. — The Americans cross the Yadkin. — Cornwallis again Disappointed. — Resolves to push the Americans. — Greene joined by the Main Army at Guilford Court-house.

THE winning a victory was but a part of Morgan's merit on this decisive day. Still higher honor is due him for the use that he made of it. Cornwallis was within thirty miles of him, and before nightfall would know what a disaster had befallen his arms. That he, the boldest and most enterprising of all the royal generals, would tamely accept his loss, no one supposed. He was nearer than Morgan to the fords of the Catawba, over which lay the only direct road to a junction with Greene. There could be little doubt that he would strike for them without delay, and direct all his energies to the destruction of the adventurous enemy who had cast such a stain upon him. Instant retreat was Morgan's first duty; and making all his preparations without the loss of a moment,

he put his army in motion while the sounds of battle were still in their ears, and by evening was already on the north bank of Broad River.

Long before daylight he was again in motion, directing his march towards Ramsour's Mills, on the Little Catawba, with the main body, while Washington was sent to a higher ford with the prisoners. The roads were miry and deep, and the water-courses swollen to overflowing by recent rains. He was compelled too, to collect his food day by day as he went on, and his men were already worn down by constant toil. Ten miles a day were all that he could go, and all the way he was looking for the tidings that Cornwallis was at his heels.

Cornwallis fully meant to cut off Morgan's retreat; but the sudden blow which he had received, seemed for a moment to bewilder him. Instead of pressing forward, upon the first intelligence of Tarleton's discomfiture, he paused to effect a junction with Leslie, and then, supposing that Morgan, dazzled by success, would attempt to hold his ground in the neighborhood of Broad River, or hazard an attack upon Ninety-six, directed his pursuit towards little Broad River on the northwest, while Morgan was pushing forward with all his power towards the Catawba on the east.¹ The time lost by this mistake could not be recovered; and when the British general reached Ramsour's Mills on a fork of the Catawba, he found that his active adversary had crossed at the same place two days before, and was already at Sherrald's Ford, on the east bank of the main river.

¹ Graham, p. 331.

Again was Cornwallis disappointed. Could he have intercepted or overtaken Morgan, and rescued the prisoners of the Cowpens, he might still have rendered a good account of his strategy. But to have been twice foiled, to have been guilty of two capital mistakes in an art intolerant of mistakes, was humiliating to the last degree. In an evil hour for his fame, he resolved to try a desperate remedy, and continue the pursuit. But first he collected all the superfluous baggage of the army and burnt it, encouraging his men to the sacrifice by burning his own. Four wagons for the sick and wounded, and those necessary for the conveyance of hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, were all that he kept. Then, lightly equipped and prepared for long and rapid marches, he resumed the pursuit.¹

Morgan, though suffering from a severe attack of rheumatism, and unable to ride out of a walk, had watched his adversary's movements with sleepless vigilance. When he saw him lingering at Ramsour's Mills, he rejoiced in the respite that this timely delay afforded to his wearied soldiers. When he learned that he had destroyed his baggage, he felt sure that a new trial of speed was at hand, and sternly girded himself for the contest. He sent out parties to watch the fords, and do all that they could to increase the difficulty of the passage. He made every effort to rouse the militia, and strengthen his hands for the struggle. A portion of the Georgia and South Carolina militia had left

¹ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 326.

him, and the Virginia militia, having served out their time, were on the march for home. Large numbers had been promised him, but eight hundred were all that came; most of them with the gallant and unfortunate Davidson. On the 27th of January, Cornwallis was in motion. On the 28th and 29th it rained incessantly. On the evening of the 29th the river began to rise. Before the morning of the 30th it was an impassable torrent. On the same morning Greene, accompanied by a single aid and a sergeant's guard of dragoons, rode into the American camp.

Although the battle of the Cowpens was fought on the 17th of January, it was not till the 24th that Morgan's express reached the camp on the Pedee with the joyful tidings.¹ Never was good news more needed or more welcome. It flew quickly through the little army, stirring the hearts and reviving the hopes of all. "We have had a *feu de joie*," writes Williams to Morgan, on the 25th; "drunk all your healths, swore you were the finest fellows on earth, and love you, if possible, more than ever. The general has, I think, made his compliments in very handsome terms. Inclosed is a copy of his orders. It was written immediately after we received the news, and during the operation of some cherry bounce."

Greene's first feeling was exultation. A battle

¹ Greene to Washington, January 24. He writes on the same day a private letter to Washington, and letters to General Varnum, Steuben, and the President of Congress, expressing in all his joy at the victory; but his fear that he shall not be able to follow it up effectively.—Greene MSS.

fought, and a victory won, at that moment of general depression, could not fail to revive the hopes and rouse the spirits of the Whigs; and upon their confidence the fate of the campaign was largely dependent. But presently came the reflection that he had no means of seizing the opportunity for efficient action, although it seemed to lie within his grasp. His men were still half clothed, imperfectly equipped, and the enemy, in spite of his losses at the Cowpens, was still superior in numbers, and abundantly supplied with the munitions of war. It was a tantalizing moment; all around him were rejoicing; but he thought only of the difficulty, and the need of immediate action. "I am of a Spanish disposition," he writes to his wife on the 25th of January, "always the most serious when there is the greatest run of good fortune, for fear of some ill-fated stroke."¹

But whatever the chances, he did not hesitate. First he put his army under marching orders; next he ordered all his detachments to be called in,² and all the stores that lay out of the line he intended to march by, brought to camp. He had always felt and often expressed great anxiety for the supplies on the seaboard. He now directed the commissary of purchases to remove them promptly into the interior. He had already been keeping

¹ Greene MSS. In the same letter he writes: "The birds are singing and the frogs are peeping in the same manner they are in April to the northward; and vegetation is in

as great forwardness as the beginning of May."

² Except Lee, whom it appears from a letter of the 25th January to Marion, he still wished to employ in the enemy's rear.—Greene MSS.

close guard upon his prisoners, to whom he looked for the means of liberating the prisoners of Charleston and Camden from a tedious and painful captivity. The number was now largely increased by the victory of the Cowpens. He ordered the commissaries at Salisbury and Hillsborough to hold themselves in readiness to move both their prisoners and stores towards the upper counties of Virginia. It was not impossible that in the impending contest he might be impelled to cross the Dan, and he charged the quartermaster-general to have boats in readiness for the passage. He renewed his appeals to the governors of North Carolina and Virginia, to fill up their quotas of Continentals, and call out their militia, and repeated his orders to Steuben to hurry on his recruits.¹ Marion he still wished to employ in the rear of the enemy, and wrote to ask his opinion about sending three or four hundred horse across the Santee. "It may be a matter of the highest importance," he writes, "connected with other movements." Then putting his main army under the command of Major-general Huger, with orders to press forward by the direct road to Salisbury, he took a single aid and a sergeant's guard of dragoons, and set out to put himself at the head of Morgan's detachment on the Catawba. It was a fatiguing and dangerous ride of nearly a hundred and fifty miles, through a country infested with Tories, and a violent rain was falling all the way. But the fate of the South depended upon the fate of

¹ Greene MSS. Letters between January 24th and 28th, 1781.

Morgan's little army, and Greene felt that his own place at this critical moment was in front of Cornwallis.

His first inquiry was about the British commander. "He has destroyed his baggage," was the reply, "and seems resolved to push through the country." "Then," he exclaimed with an expressive gesture, "he is ours;" and, passing directly from the saddle to the desk,¹ he wrote to the militia officers beyond the mountains and in the upper country, to embody their men and join the army as early as possible. While the swelling of the river lasted, it would be impossible for the enemy to cross; but with the ceasing of the rain, the waters would begin to fall, and a few hours were generally sufficient to make them fordable again. Could the freshet but last till the militia began to come in in force, the passage of the Catawba might be disputed till the army became strong enough to give battle. One more victory, or even a crippling fight, would force Cornwallis back upon the Santee. But on the 30th, the very day of Greene's arrival, the river began to fall, and on the 31st was falling so fast that the idea of disputing the passage was abandoned, and Morgan ordered to press forward with all haste towards the Yadkin. Greene remained, to make one more effort to collect the militia.

I have already told how Cornwallis had destroyed his heavy baggage, leaving only enough

¹ Greene to Washington, in Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 277.

for the extreme wants of his army. This also he now destroyed ; and reducing his men to the equipments of light infantry, prepared himself for a rapid pursuit. The sudden rise of the river had delayed him at a critical moment ; and he now lay near its right bank anxiously awaiting the fall of the waters. By the 1st of February they had fallen so far that he resolved to attempt the passage.

Dividing his forces in order to distract the attention of the enemy, he sent part under Lieutenant-colonel Webster to make a feint at Beattie's Ford, while with the main body he made a real attempt at McGowans. It was after midnight when he reached the ford, and to his surprise he saw the left bank all ablaze with the American watch-fires. It was evident that his intention had been foreseen, and that the enemy were prepared to dispute the passage. He might well have paused. The river was full five hundred yards wide, and the waters from two to four feet deep, and turbulent with the recent freshet, were sweeping down with an impetuous current. But the rain was again beginning to fall, and a few hours might once more render the fords impassable. Meanwhile his active adversary might succeed in gathering the militia and uniting the two divisions of his army. After all that he had risked, and all that he had lost, he felt that it was better to take the chances of forcing a passage than of further delay. The Guards were ordered to advance and enter the stream ; the rest of the " platoons sup-

porting each other's steps."¹ For the first half of the way they had only the darkness and the swift current to contend against, for the roar of the waters made it impossible for the Americans to hear them. But as the head of the column reached the middle of the stream the light from the watch-fires began to fall upon it, and in a moment the challenge of the American sentinel was heard, promptly followed by the discharge of his gun, and the turning out of the pickets.² Men began to fall, and horses to rear and lose their footing. Leslie's horses were carried down the stream. O'Hara's rolled over with him in the water. Cornwallis's was shot under him; but, as if conscious of his burden, struggled to the shore, dropping dead the moment that he reached it. The terrified guides fled, and by one of those singular chances which give such a character of uncertainty to all the operations of war, their flight saved the army from a heavy loss if not from total defeat. For, following the course of the ford, which at this point diverged to the right, they would have led directly to the regular landing where Davidson, with three hundred North Carolina militia, was prepared to receive and crush them while struggling with the torrent and unable to use their guns. Losing their guides, and ignorant of the changed direction of the ford, the English held straight on across the river; and before Davidson could bring up his men to the landing, the head of the column had reached the shore. A short, sharp

¹ Lee, vol. i. p. 270.

² Stedman, vol. ii. p. 328.

contest followed, and for a while the militia, under the gallant lead of Davidson, held their ground bravely, killing and wounding fifty or sixty of the enemy. But they were now between their own watch-fires and the English, a sure target even for untrained hands; and seeing their disadvantage, gave way. Davidson sprang to his horse, to conduct their retreat; but as he was in the act of mounting, a bullet struck him, and he fell dead, a true and gallant man, whose good sense, sound judgment, and devotion to the cause of his country, had given him a place in the confidence of the militia which could not easily be supplied.¹

With the fall of Davidson the militia lost heart and dispersed, most of them returning home, to protect their families and prepare their fields for planting. Of the eight hundred who had gathered around Davidson the day before, only three hundred remained under arms. These three hundred kept together with the intention of proceeding to the gathering place which had been fixed upon for them on the road to Salisbury. At noon they came to a halt at Tarrant's tavern, about half way between Salisbury and McGowan's Ford; and, supposing themselves safe, dismounted, and began to prepare dinner. But Tarleton was on their track, with a thirst of blood, rendered keener by his defeat; and trusting to the swiftness of his horses,

¹ There is much discrepancy in the various accounts of this affair. Conf. Stedman, Tarleton, and Lamb, for the English view; for the American, Ramsay's *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 207; Gordon, vol. iv. p.

39; Johnson, vol. ii. p. 415; Graham, p. 347. I have chiefly followed Lee Greene, writing from Guilford Courthouse, on the 9th February, represents the militia as breaking at the first fire.

never doubted but that he should come upon them by surprise. This, however, they had guarded against. Their videttes were on the alert, and the alarm was given the moment the enemy appeared in sight. Accustomed to sudden movements, they sprang to their saddles, gave one well directed volley, and wheeling, dashed into the woods. Twelve of the English were killed or wounded, fifteen were dismounted. Of the Americans, a few unarmed old men and boys, who could neither fight nor fly, were cut down by the merciless dragoons, urged on by their merciless leader.¹

This was an anxious day for Greene. He saw that the decisive moment was at hand, and felt confident that if he could but bring out the militia in season, he might venture to meet Cornwallis in the open field. "It is necessary we should take every possible precaution," he wrote to Huger. "But I am not without hopes of ruining Cornwallis, if he persists in his mad scheme of pushing through the country; and it is my earnest desire to form a junction as soon as possible for this purpose. Desire Colonel Lee to force a march to join us. Here is a fine field and great glory ahead."² While Morgan was making all haste towards the Yadkin, Greene had taken up his station at the rallying point of the militia, seven miles beyond Tarrant's, on the road to Salis-

¹ Tarleton's account of this affair has been called in question by Stedman. *Vide* Tarleton, p. 226; Stedman, vol. ii. p. 329, note.

² Greene MSS. — Letter to General Huger, January 30, 1771.

bury. Hour after hour passed slowly away in anxious expectation. The rain was still falling, and the air chill. Day faded into evening, and evening darkened into deep night, and no one came. The sounds of the morning's conflict had not reached him, and midnight was already passed when the weary messenger came up: "Davidson is dead, and the militia dispersed, and Cornwallis over the Catawba." With a heavy heart he turned his horse's head toward Salisbury, where his friend Dr. Read had been anxiously awaiting his arrival.

"What, alone, General?" Read exclaimed, as he saw him dismount with a stiff and weary movement at the door of Steele's Tavern.

"Yes," answered Greene, "tired, hungry, alone, and penniless."

These words did not escape the quick ear of Mrs. Steele. An abundant breakfast was soon set smoking before him, and his landlady, entering the room silently, and cautiously shutting the door behind her, held out her hands towards him with a little bag of hard money in each.

"Take these," said she, "for you need them, and I can do without them."

A portrait of the English king was hanging over the fire-place, a record of the time when Americans loved him and called him their king. Greene turned the face to the wall, and wrote on the back of the picture: "Hide thy face, George, and blush."¹

¹ A few years ago, as I was assured by a gentleman who had seen it, the

Cornwallis pushed rapidly on, for the Yadkin too was swollen by the rain, and the Americans, as he thought, were effectually hemmed in between their pursuers and the impassable river. He did not know that Greene, foreseeing that in the course of his operations he might sometimes be compelled to cross rapidly from bank to bank when the rivers were too swollen to be forded, had provided boats for such emergencies, and carried them with the army. Others were collected on the river. But a new difficulty retarded the march of the Americans. Many of the inhabitants of Salisbury, afraid to trust themselves within reach of the royal army, claimed the protection of their countrymen, and, with such goods as they could transport in wagons or on pack-horses, formed a long train of helpless fugitives stretching far into the rear. It was evening before the whole army could be got over; and the rear-guard, with two or three of the wagons of the fugitives, were still on the west bank when the British advance reached it. A short and spirited engagement followed. The wagons were lost; but the guard effected their passage in safety, carrying all their boats with them. Early the next day Cornwallis came up with his whole army. Right opposite, in full sight, lay the Americans; but dark and swift between the two armies flowed the wild river. He ordered up his artillery, and opened a furious cannonade. The Americans, protected by the nature of the ground, did not heed it.

picture was still hanging in the same place, with Greene's inscription unfaded.

“At a little distance from the river,” writes Dr. Read, “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 fire was obviously directed. Nor were they long without striking it, and in a few minutes 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 immediately resumed.”¹

Cornwallis paused; deliberating whether he should endeavor to get between the two divisions of the American army by crossing the Yadkin lower down, or to cut them off from the fords of the Dan, and force them to fight at a disadvantage. His spies told him that it would be impossible for the Americans to collect boats enough on the Dan to cross at the ferries, and he resolved to push forward and secure them.

There was a momentary pause, during which Greene was watching the movements of his adversary from a sure position in the forks of Abbott’s Creek, not far from Salem. He had studied Corn-

¹ Johnson, vol. i. p. 419.

wallis's character well, and was not without hopes, as he wrote to Huger on the 5th of February, "that from Cornwallis's pressing disposition, and the contempt he has for our army, we may precipitate him into some capital misfortune. If Cornwallis knows his true interest he will pursue our army. If he can disperse that, he completes the destruction of the State; and without it he will do nothing to effect."¹ The moment that the intention of the British commander to strike for the upper fords of the Dan became manifest, Greene felt that there was still a chance of giving battle. When he first reached Sherrald's Ford, he had hoped to form a junction with his main body in a very few days. But, as he wrote to Washington, "heavy rains, deep creeks, bad roads, poor horses, and broken harness, as well as delays from want of provisions," prevented it; and he found himself compelled to change the place of junction from Salisbury to Guilford Court-house. Thither on the 8th of February he directed his steps with Morgan's detachment. On the 9th Huger came up with the main army, which Lee had already joined. Expresses were out in all directions, with urgent appeals to the officers of the militia, and while waiting for their return, Greene proceeded to make a careful study of the ground on which he had resolved to meet the enemy.

¹ Greene MSS. Quoted also by Gordon, vol. iv. p. 40.

CHAPTER X.

Greene not Strong enough to Fight. — Hopes and Fears. — Preparations for the Retreat across the Dan. — Importance of the Retreat. — General Anxiety. — Greene forms a Light Corps, and pushes on in Advance with the Main Army. — Cornwallis Deceived. — Discovers the Ruse, and hastens his March. — Sudden Alarm. — Greene over the Dan. — Washington's Congratulations.

GREENE was again doomed to bitter disappointment. The militia could not be prevailed upon to come out. Arnold's inroad upon Virginia, which I shall relate more in full by and by, had disconcerted Steuben's efforts to collect and send forward recruits. The regular returns gave him but 2,036 men of all arms, only 1,426 of whom were regulars. The British were from 2,500 to 3,000 strong.¹ To fight at such a disadvantage would have been madness; and calmly and promptly he once more prepared to retreat. A council of war, the first which he had called, confirmed the decision.

Great as his disappointment was at finding himself compelled to fall back step by step towards Virginia, yet it was an encouragement to reflect that each step brought him nearer to his base. It was through Virginia that his supplies and re-

¹ Official returns. Gordon gives for January 15, 1781, are 3,224; for the Americans nearly the same number February 1, 2,440; for March 1, 1,999, No. iv. p. 43. In Cornwallis's reply to Clinton, his returns 2,213; for April 1, 1,723. No. vi. p. 53.

inforcements from the northward were to come, and from Virginia herself he looked for an important part of that militia on which a mistaken policy compelled him to rely. Thus far his measures had been attended with a large share of success. He had, by the division of his troops, snatched from his active adversary the advantage of the initiative; had kept down the Tories, and revived the hopes of the Whigs. But how would both Whigs and Tories feel when they saw him turning his steps towards Virginia, and apparently abandoning North Carolina to her own resources?

But North Carolina was not abandoned, nor did he for a moment forget how much there was to fear from the Tories, and how much depended upon keeping up the spirit of opposition among the Whigs. Sumter had recovered from his wound, and was ready to take the field. Greene sent him orders to collect the militia in the upper districts of South Carolina. Marion was directed to cross the Santee, and Pickens, who had succeeded to the place of Davidson in the confidence of the militia, to take command of the men in arms in the rear of the enemy. The heavy baggage and stores were removed to Prince Edward's Court-house. To Governor Nash of North Carolina he wrote freely of his prospects and wants. To Patrick Henry of Virginia he appealed earnestly for fourteen or fifteen hundred volunteers.¹ Carrington had now joined the army, and relieved his commander from the onerous duties of the

¹ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 228.

Quartermaster-general's department. Davie, too, had joined it, and Greene was no longer compelled to perform the part of commissary-general; and although there was not a dollar in the military chest, and the men were still imperfectly clothed, yet their health had been improved by better food, their efficiency had been increased by discipline, and they had begun to feel entire confidence in the judgment and energy of their commander. He had taught them "that he was an independent spirit and confided in his own resources."¹

It was not the distance of the Dan which gave such absorbing interest to this retreat, for that was only a little over seventy miles. But the season was February, the worst month of the year, and the road lay through the red clay region, always difficult for the traveller. Deep and slimy, hardening at night into a rough and broken surface, softening during the day into a heavy mire, and with horses' feet and wagon tracks cutting into it all the way, every step was made with efforts equally exhausting to man and horse. These were obstacles which both armies would meet alike. But one army was well clothed, pro-

¹ Greene to Colonel Lee, February 8, 1781, in H. Lee's *Campaign of 1781*, p. 122, an exceedingly clever and lively book; but too controversial to be perfectly trustworthy. "During the severity of the winter campaign in North Carolina," says Garden, "General Greene passing a sentinel who was barefoot, said, 'I fear, my good fellow, you must suffer

from cold.' 'Pretty much so,' was the reply; 'but I do not complain, because I know that I should fare better had our General power to procure supplies. They say, however, that in a few days we shall have a fight, and then, by the blessing of God, I shall take care to secure a pair of shoes.'" — Garden's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 288.

vided with good shoes for marching, and good blankets for sleeping, and a full allowance of good food. The other was clad, when clad at all, in unsubstantial garments, wholly unsuited to the season, but partly supplied with shoes, with but one blanket to three men, and dependent upon their daily collections for provisions.

Yet on this little army hung the fate of the South; and as men called to mind how Lincoln and Gates had failed, they trembled for Greene. How could he hope with such inadequate means to make head against the best of English soldiers, led by the best of English generals? How could he keep down the Tories, now that the royal troops were at hand to protect and incite them? How could he keep up the courage and stimulate the hopes of the Whigs, with the Tories at their doors to burn and kill? Arnold was in Virginia, at the head of a strong detachment.¹ What was there to prevent him from coöperating with Cornwallis, and crushing Greene between them? Never had there been a moment of deeper anxiety. Never had the separation of north from south seemed so imminent. Never had men listened more eagerly for the steps of the courier, or weighed more earnestly the ground of their few hopes, and their many fears! "My hopes," writes Washington to Greene, "rest on my knowledge of your talents."

"We wait the receipt of further accounts with

¹ "I shall take every opportunity of communicating with Brigadier-general Arnold." Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton. — *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 84.

the utmost anxiety," writes Major Shaw to his brother, when the news of Greene's recrossing the Dan reached the north. "The present is a time of great expectation."¹

And now, like two champions eager to enter the lists, the two leaders prepared themselves for the final struggle. Cornwallis had refreshed his men by rest, had lightened their burden by the destruction of his baggage, had divined, as he fondly thought, the intentions of his adversary, and stood all prepared to dash boldly forward in pursuit. Greene had put his heavy baggage in safety; had taken all the necessary steps for raising the country in the enemy's rear; had provided for the passage of the river, by collecting boats at different points, from whence, in a few hours, they could be brought together at the point he had chosen for a crossing place; and then, dividing his army once more, pushed the main body forward on the direct road to Boyd's Ferry, and ordered the rest, seven hundred picked men, armed as light troops, to throw themselves in front of Cornwallis, and give their companions time to cross the Dan. These seven hundred men consisted of "the cavalry of the first and third regiments, and the Legion, two hundred and forty in all; a detachment of two hundred and eighty infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard; the infantry of Lee's Legion, and sixty Virginia rifle-men."² The command of this choice band

¹ Shaw's *Journals*, p. 90.

Correspondence of the Revolution, vol.

² Greene to Washington. Sparks, iii. p. 227.

was first offered to Morgan. But Morgan was almost helpless from ague and rheumatism, and reluctantly declined. It was then given to Otho Williams.¹

No sooner were his arrangements completed, than Greene put his troops in motion. It was the 10th of February. The main body set forward on the direct road to Boyd's Ferry. The light troops under Williams threw themselves boldly in front of the enemy. Cornwallis, seeing a body of horse and foot before him, slackened his speed in order to bring his long line into closer order, and then moved swiftly and cautiously on. Williams, inclining to the left, came out upon an intermediate road with the main army on his right, and Cornwallis, who still supposing that Greene could only cross at the upper fords, was confident of reaching them before him, on the left.² Greene's plan had succeeded fully. The movements of the main body were effectually masked by the movements of the light troops.

And behind this mask, he pressed forward on the direct road to the ferry; his weary men bearing bravely up against privation and fatigue, marching all day, resting only part of the night, leaving their footprints in blood on the broken and frosty ground,³ with but one blanket for three

¹ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 228. Marshall, who conversed with Morgan about this campaign, vol. i. p. 406. Lee, vol. i. p. 275. Lee's narrative has been supposed to indicate some latent discontent on Morgan's part. *Vide*, also,

two letters of Morgan to Greene, published by Graham, pp. 354-355.

² Lee, vol. i. pp. 277-278.

³ Greene to Washington. *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 234.

as they crouched around their bivouac fires, often with rain, sometimes with snow falling upon their unprotected bodies,¹ and chilled by the frequent passage of deep water-courses. The North Carolina militia lost heart, and by the third day all but about eighty of them had deserted, captains and majors going off with their men.² "You have the flower of the army," wrote Greene to Williams; "do not expose the men too much lest our situation should grow more critical." At four the next morning he writes again, "Follow our route, as a division of our forces might encourage the enemy to push us further than they will dare to do if we are together. I have not slept four hours since you left me, so great has been my solicitude to prepare for the worst. I have great reason to believe that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp night before last."³ And thus resolute, watchful, and provident, he holds on his way.

Meanwhile, Williams was bending all his energies to mislead his adversary and retard his march. "It is Greene's rear," thought Cornwallis, "and I have him in my grasp." The British advance was led by O'Hara, the American rear-guard by Lee. Both knew the nature of the stake, and both were equally resolved to win it.

¹ *Vide* Lee, vol. i. p. 290, note.

² On the 12th he wrote to General Butler: "Not more than one hundred and twenty men (militia) are left with this army to render the regulars the least assistance." On the 13th he wrote: "All the militia of your

State have deserted me, except about eighty men." Greene MSS. Also Gordon, who wrote with Greene's and Williams's papers before him, vol. iv. p. 44.

³ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 45.

Williams had weighed his chances well, and looked at the danger in all its aspects. While day lasted, it was a question of vigilance and speed. But with night came stratagems and surprises. Could the English general once get between the two divisions of the American army, they would both be at his mercy. Therefore, half of the light troops was put each night upon guard, while the other half snatched a hurried sleep. Six hours in forty-eight was the allowance; and so strong is sleep, that no sooner were the night guards set, than every man not on duty threw himself upon the ground wherever the order to halt found him, as if he grudged to lose a moment of his share. At three in the morning the whole body was again under arms, pressing forward to secure a tranquil breakfast, their only meal.¹

And thus they held their way for three days, Cornwallis believing all the while that every step was bringing him nearer to the only point at which his adversary could cross. Little did he dream that the boats which Greene's foresight and Carrington's diligence had provided, were already collected on the south bank of the Dan, prepared to receive their precious freight, and that Kosciusko was busy on the north bank throwing up a breastwork to cover the crossing.²

On the third day, Cornwallis changed his course, crossing with the main body into the high road to Dix's Ferry, the road held by the American

¹ Lee, vol. i. p. 279.

spondence of the Revolution, vol. iii. p.

² Marshall, vol. i. p. 407. *Corre-* 234. Lee, p. 274.

light troops, part of Tarleton's legion pressing forward till it came into contact with Lee. It was the first time that the two legions had met face to face, and in the sudden, sharp encounter, eighteen of the English were killed and only two of the Americans. In the afternoon of the same day, Lee himself barely escaped a surprise. The same afternoon Cornwallis discovered his mistake, and saw that his nimble adversary was again about to elude his grasp. He crossed into the right road, the road to Irvin's Ferry, and continued the pursuit.

It was a question of speed now. Lee and O'Hara were constantly in sight of each other, and more than once within musket shot. The marksmen on the legion flanks could hardly stay their hands at the tantalizing sight. But Williams's stringent orders withheld them from a useless hazard. Yet wherever a water-course crossed the way or a defile retarded for a moment the steps of the Americans, their pursuers would rush forward and try to throw themselves upon the rear. More than once the pursued paused and prepared themselves for an encounter. Soon, however, it became evident that there was little to gain by such a waste of strength, and both parties held on their way at even pace as if they had been parts of the same army.

Day waned, and pursuers and pursued breathed more freely as they saw the grateful evening shadows deepen into night. "We shall get some rest now," said the men. But Cornwallis still held

on, and Williams dared not halt. The night was dark, the wind was cold, and a drizzly mist filled the air. Suddenly the cavalry in advance saw the tree-tops before them lighten up as with the blaze of many fires. As the van pressed forward, the flames grew brighter, and presently a long row of watch fires came into view. The hearts of the Americans sank within them. "Alas, all this toil for such an ending! Has Cornwallis succeeded at last, and hemmed Greene in between the river and a superior army?" Then came a sudden impulse. "If this is the main army, the army on which the safety of the south depends, we will throw ourselves upon the enemy, and buy our brethren's safety with our blood." The noble words passed from mouth to mouth, and reached the ear of Williams. He turned to Greene's last letter. This had been his halting ground two nights before, and some friendly hand must have fed the fires till now.

At last Cornwallis halted, and Williams, keeping far enough in advance to secure space for his videttes and guards, gave the welcome order to rest. Fires were quickly kindled, and all who were not on guard laid themselves down by the grateful blaze, and slept with their arms by their sides. At midnight, Cornwallis was again a-foot, prepared for the final struggle. One more day and his triumph was sure. Therefore, putting forth all his strength, he drove in the American videttes, and pressed on. And ever in the dark, wet night, and over the broken and frost-bound

roads, both armies held on their way cheerfully, for both knew that the end was near. Daylight found them still struggling through mist and mire, and many weary miles were passed before the order to halt was heard again. A much needed hour was given to each army for breakfast, and rest, and onward they pressed once more. Then, somewhat later, a horseman was seen approaching the American van at full speed. Breathless, with joyful haste, begrimed and bespattered with mire, he dashed up to Williams and handed him a letter. It was from Greene, written at two of the same afternoon. "The greater part of our wagons are over," it said, "and the troops are crossing." The welcome tidings passed swiftly from mouth to mouth, and then up went a shout — hurrah and hurrah — till the air rang with it. It reached the British army; and the British general, as he listened, must have found something ominous in the sound. Still he continued the pursuit. With evening another missive came with the auspicious date, "Irvin's Ferry, 5 1-2 o'clock. All our troops are over, and the stage is clear. The infantry will cross here, the horse below. Major Hardman had posted his party in readiness on this side, and the infantry and artillery are posted on the other, and I am ready to receive and give you a hearty welcome."

That night the American army slept on the north bank of the Dan. It was long since they had slept so sweetly, and never had their spirits been lighter. And when they woke at dawn, and

saw through the cold, gray air, the paling watch-fires of the enemy on the opposite bank, their hearts beat high with exultation; not merely that present doubt and fear were over, not merely that they could give rest to their weary limbs and satisfy to the full the cravings of hunger, but because their safety was the safety of the south, and in their own triumph they foresaw the triumph of their holy cause. Officer and soldier met with radiant smile and beaming eye. Around every watch-fire there were tales of risks run, feats performed, and privations endured.¹ Loud were the praises of Williams and his gallant light troops; earnest the commendations of Carrington, who had done staff duty and field duty through those anxious days, and done both so well. But louder and more earnest still were the expressions of their admiration for Greene, who had foreseen every danger, provided for every contingency, and inflicted upon the British arms the severest blow which they had received in the whole course of the southern war.

Greene alone had no time for exultation. Even during the retreat he had found the time for writing which he could not find for sleep; and now the last boat had hardly reached the shore when his pen was again at work. "On the Dan River," he writes to Jefferson, the same evening, "almost fatigued to death, having had a retreat to conduct for upwards of two hundred miles, manœuvring constantly in the face of the enemy, to give time for the militia to turn out and get off our stores."

¹ Lee, vol. i. p. 300.

“The miserable situation of the troops for want of clothing,” he writes to Washington, “has rendered the march the most painful imaginable, many hundreds of the soldiers marking the ground with their bloody feet. The British army is much stronger than I had calculated upon in my last. I have not a shilling of money to obtain intelligence with, notwithstanding my application to Maryland for that particular purpose. Our army is in good spirits, notwithstanding their sufferings and excessive fatigue.”¹ And to Steuben: “We have been astonishingly successful in our late great and fatiguing retreat, and have never lost in one instance anything of the least value.”²

When the tidings reached the north, Washington wrote: “You may be assured that your retreat before Cornwallis is highly applauded by all ranks, and reflects much honor on your military abilities.”³

¹ Greene MSS.

² Ibid.

³ Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. vii. p. 457.

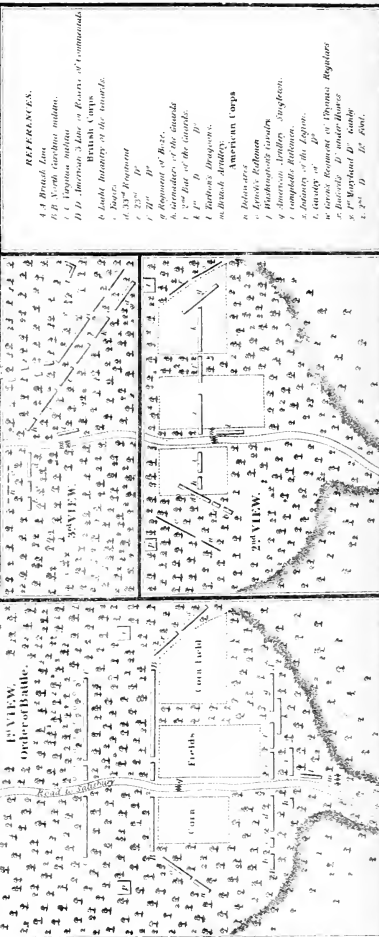
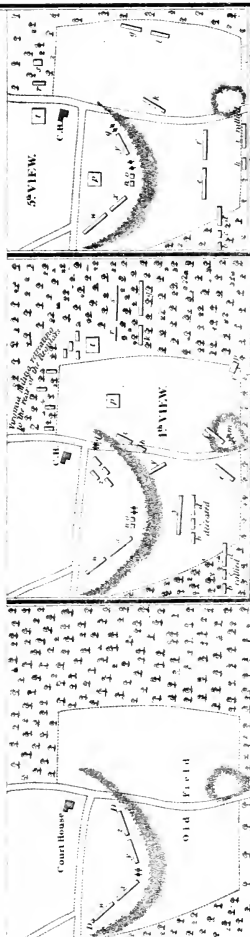
CHAPTER XI.

Rejoicings in the American Camp. — Disappointment of the English. — Cornwallis at Hillsborough. — Calls out the Tories. — They flock to his Banner. — Greene South of the Dan. — The Militia. — Pickens and Lee in the Advance. — Greene's Evening Ride. — Pickens and Lee in Pursuit of Tarleton. — Defeat of Pyles. — Cornwallis crosses the Haw. — Greene's Reinforcements begin to come in. — Cornwallis tries to bring on a Battle. — Greene to Avoid one. — His Manœuvres between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork. — His Reinforcements all in. — Necessity of a Battle for both Generals. — Preparations. — Greene takes post at Guilford Courthouse. — The Battle.

CORNWALLIS was deeply mortified to see himself foiled in one of the most difficult parts of the art of war, by a self-taught general. He had assured the king that South Carolina "was occupied," and Georgia tranquil; and had taught him to look with confidence for the tidings of the conquest of North Carolina. Was pushing Greene across the Dan, untouched and unharmed, the kind of conquest that his master awaited at his hands? Was it indeed a conquest, in any sense? He resolved to hold it as such; and after sending out parties through the country to collect provisions, slowly turned his steps towards Hillsborough. He was now in a district filled by men who had long been looking anxiously for an opportunity of proving their devotion to the royal cause. Till then their fears had kept them back; for on every

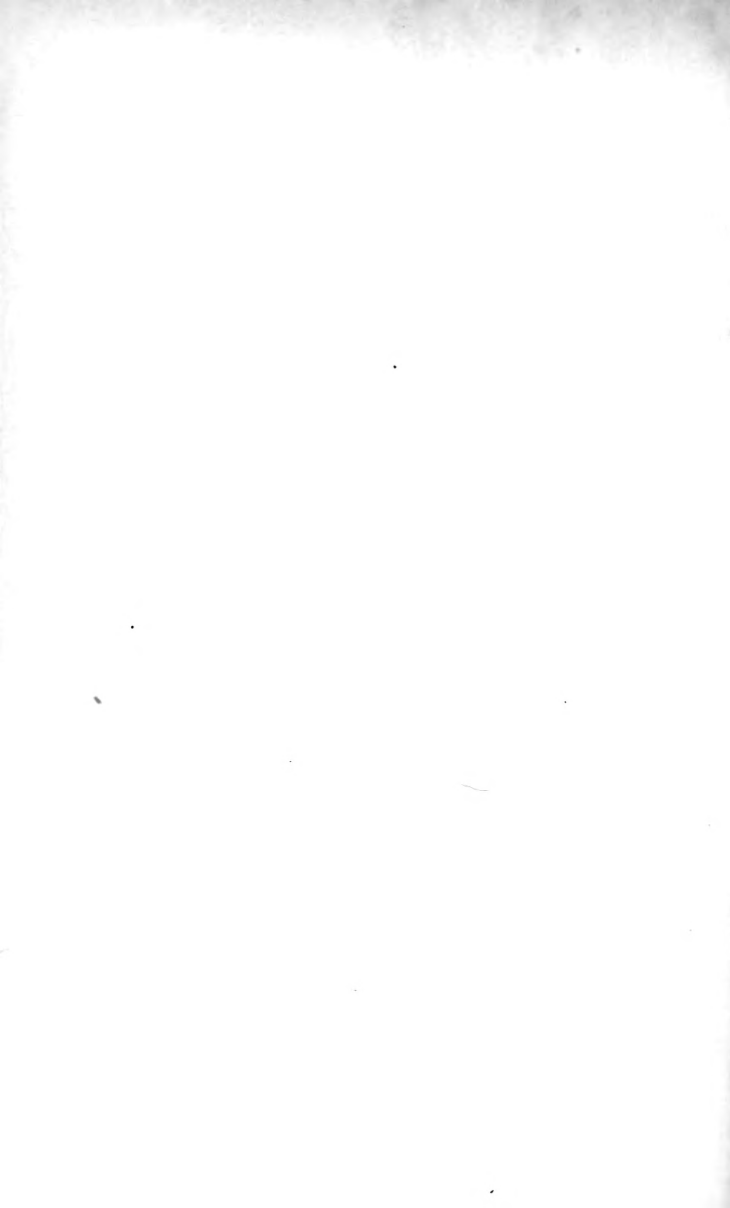
BATTLE of GUILFORD.

5 Views showing the successive changes of the battle.



REFERENCES.

- A A British Line
- B B North Carolina militia
- C Various militia
- D D American Line or Position of Commanders
- E Light Battery of the Guards
- F 23rd Dr
- G 7th Dr
- H Regiment of Horse
- I Remains of the Guards
- J 2nd Bat. of the Guards
- K 1st Dr
- L British Dragoon
- M British Dragoon
- N American Corps
- O Belonging to
- P 1st Battalion
- Q Washington Cavalry
- R American Dragoon
- S English
- T 1st Battalion
- U 1st Battalion
- V 1st Battalion
- W 1st Battalion
- X 1st Battalion
- Y 1st Battalion
- Z 1st Battalion



attempt to rise they had found themselves too weak to hold their ground against the Whigs. But now there was a royal army at hand to protect them. Great had been their joy when they saw Greene retreating before Cornwallis. Greater was it still when, on the 20th of February, Cornwallis raised the royal standard at Hillsborough, and called upon all good subjects to rally around it. The appeal seemed to reach every loyal heart. Tidings came from every quarter that the loyalists were gathering, and might soon be looked for in large numbers. Inducements had been held out in the proclamation for the raising of independent companies. Offers for seven came in in one day. Cornwallis had never been very sanguine in his expectations of efficient aid from the loyalists. But now they seemed in earnest, and his hopes were high. Suddenly the movement slackened, then ceased, the crowd dropping off as swiftly as it had come together. Greene was once more south of the Dan; and Cornwallis again found himself, as in the bitterness of his heart he expressed it, "amongst timid friends, and adjoining to inveterate rebels."¹

Again was Greene in a situation that sorely

¹ "We will then give our friends in North Carolina a fair trial. If they behave like men, it may, be of the greatest advantage to the affairs of Britain. If they are as dastardly and pusillanimous as our friends to the southward, we must leave them to their fate, and secure what we have got." *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 69.—*Vide* also p. 87. Greene sees it from another point of view.

"We have the most unequivocal and full evidence of the disaffection of a great part of this State. The enemy have raised seven independent companies in a single day; and we have the mortification to find that most of the prisoners we take are inhabitants of America." Sparks, *Correspondence of Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 246. Cornwallis to Lord George Germaine, March 17, 1781. Tarleton, p. 259.

tried his patience. He knew that Cornwallis was straitened by the want of his baggage, and that even for ammunition he had no nearer point to fall back upon than Wilmington. Might not the retreat to Hillsborough foreshadow a retreat to Wilmington? Could the rising of the Tories be prevented, would not the British general be compelled to fall back upon the sea-board as hastily as he had advanced to the Dan? One thing only could save him, and that was the failure of the militia to come to the support of Greene. And it seemed as if perversity and folly were combined to hold them back.

First the Legislature of North Carolina interfered, and ordered a body to Wilmington that was all ready to set forward for the Dan. Another body was prepared to march, but the Colonel did not know where to look for his major-general, without whose orders he was unwilling to move. Another was actually on its march towards the army, when orders came to halt at Eaton's Ferry. The Virginians, with the danger at their doors, came promptly forward as volunteers; but the county lieutenants told them that they had not been called together according to law, and dismissed them. An officer of high rank had been looked to for forwarding recruits; but he pleaded his duty as member of the governor's council. "The army is all that the States have to depend on for their political existence," Greene wrote to Jefferson, from the banks of the Dan.¹ But minds already

¹ February 15.—Greene MSS.

deeply imbued with the doctrine of State rights, could not comprehend their danger.

There were some, however, who read the signs of the times more accurately, and understood their duty better. Prominent amongst these were Stevens of Virginia, and Pickens of South Carolina, both of whom had great influence with the militia, and had given abundant proof that full reliance might be placed upon their energy and zeal.

It was no part of Greene's plan to permit Cornwallis to draw out the loyalists, without a struggle. No sooner did the British army begin to file off from the Dan than Pickens and Lee were on their track, with orders to gain the enemy's front, follow his movements as closely as they could do it without danger of being cut off, interrupt his communications with the country, keep down the Tories, and strike at any parties that might already have been embodied. To impress these orders still more deeply on their minds, and take advantage of any fresh information that they might have gathered in the course of the day, Greene himself crossed the Dan in the evening, with a small escort, and pushing forward eighteen miles, joined them in the halting place which they had chosen for the night, on the main road from the Haw River to Hillsborough. He told them that in a few days he should recross the Dan with the main army; that to keep open his communications with Virginia and cover the advance of his reinforcements and supplies, he should direct his march towards the upper country; that he would be too

far off to give them support, and they must redouble their vigilance and activity; that their success depended upon their acting in concert; "and in fervid terms impressed upon them the necessity of unceasing vigilance and the most cautious circumspection."¹ Then, wrapping himself in Pickens' blanket, he caught a short nap, and before dawn was on his way back to camp. It was by this readiness to encounter fatigue and danger, that he inspired his men with such confidence in his vigilance and daring. At the head of an army that was neither regularly fed, regularly clothed, nor regularly paid, everything depended upon the personal ascendancy of the commander. How complete the ascendancy of the American commander was, the sequel will show.

One of Pickens' first steps on halting for the night had been to send out exploring parties on the roads to Hillsborough and to the Haw. Before Greene started for camp, one of them returned, with information that the preceding day Tarleton had passed up the road towards the Haw with a strong body of horse, foot, and artillery. Here was early proof of the wisdom of Greene's measures, for here was a decisive blow to strike. There could be no doubt but that Tarleton had been sent to encourage the gathering of the Tories by the presence of a detachment from the royal army. This then was the moment to strike a blow which should convince them that the royal army could give them no valid protection. Pick-

¹ Lec, vol. i. pp. 303, 304.

ens and Lee immediately set forward in pursuit, and marching diligently all day were within seven miles of the river by nightfall. Here they learned that the British had not yet crossed. With the return of day the pursuit was resumed ; and soon the smoking ruins all along the wayside began to show where the enemy had passed. They learned too, that the Tories were rising throughout the country between the Deep River and the Haw. By noon they were within three miles of their unconscious enemy, who had halted at a friendly farmhouse for dinner. The country was sufficiently wooded to conceal the approach of the Americans ; and Pickens, arraying his men in order of battle, moved eagerly forward. But in vain. Tarleton was already gone. Two officers of the staff, who had remained behind to pay for the dinner, were made prisoners.

But the approach of the Americans had not been suspected, and the English commander was still moving leisurely on, with the intention of proceeding only six miles further that night. There was still a chance of overtaking him, and forcing him to a battle.

And now came another of those strange combinations whereby the soldier's wisest plans are so often thwarted. In the general rising of the country, a Colonel Pyles had collected a body of three hundred Tories, armed with guns, and mounted, with whom he was proceeding towards Hillsborough. He too had learned on his way that Tarleton was at hand ; and like the Americans,

though with a far different intent, was pushing forward to meet him, when two of his number who had been sent on in advance to ascertain where the British were encamped, fell in with a van officer of the Americans. Pickens' approach had been so sudden that the tidings of his having crossed the Dan had not yet got abroad. It was not difficult to deceive men unacquainted with the uniform of Lee's legion, which formed the American advance. Thinking that it was better to strike at Tarleton than at the Tories, Lee resolved to make an attempt to pass them; and getting them between the Legion and Pickens' militia, which their position in a narrow lane rendered practicable, compel them, in the consciousness of their helplessness, to lay down their arms without resistance. The plan was well conceived; the Legion was almost by, and Lee was already in the act of grasping Pyles by the hand, in order to give effect to the summons to surrender, when some quick eye in the Tory left caught sight of the well known green twig of the Whig riflemen, and began to fire. There was no choice now. The two bodies, filled with deadly enmity, stood face to face. The first to strike was sure to conquer, and there could be no second blow. The deadly sabre of the Legion horseman came down upon the head of the hapless Tory before he could raise his gun. In a few moments ninety of the three hundred lay dead, and the survivors with their leader were nearly all wounded. Scattering through the country in wild affright, and bearing

with them the proofs of their disaster, they carried terror into every Tory dwelling, and warmed with a sudden glow the waning hopes of the Whigs. Tradition still points out the little pond in which Pyles, though sorely wounded, succeeded in hiding himself till night.¹

By this time Cornwallis had learned that Greene himself had been seen south of the Dan, and naturally concluded that his army was with him. He instantly recalled Tarleton, despatching three couriers, one after the other, to enforce his orders, as if another Cowpens had cast its shadow before him. Then breaking suddenly up from Hillsborough, he crossed the Haw, and on the 27th of February took post at Alamance Creek, one of its principal tributaries.

Greene too was in motion. On the 23d he had recrossed the Dan with the main army.² For a moment he³ had felt some apprehensions for Halifax, an important strategic position, and sent Kosciusko to put it in a state of defense.⁴ Reinforcements began to come in. The energetic Stevens brought him seven hundred militia. Four hundred joined him from Botetourt County. Colonel Campbell was expected with six hundred, and

¹ Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 387.

² The principal original authority for the preceding narrative is the xxivth ch. of Lee. The outlines are found in Gordon, vol. iv. letter 2d. His account of the destruction of Pyles' corps (pp. 48, 49) differs materially from Lee's (vol. i. pp. 308, 315).

Stedman calls it a massacre (vol. ii. pp. 333, 334), and Lee indignantly repels the charge (vol. ii. p. 312, note). Greene's account is more like Gordon's than Lee's.

³ Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 245.

⁴ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 235.

Colonel Lynch with three hundred.¹ But the "loose and uncertain footing" they were on, made it impossible to attempt anything "with confidence."² Yet he was determined to fight Cornwallis the moment he felt strong enough. Meanwhile he trusted to the "resources of his fertile mind,"³ for holding his ground.

And now began another trial of skill, one of the most remarkable of this marvelous campaign. The Haw River forms the water communication with Wilmington, changing its name midway in its course into that of Cape Fear. Its head waters receive their tributaries from the westward, in the course of about twenty miles, forming two successive triangles, with their apexes at the junctions of the tributaries with the principal stream. The northernmost of these tributaries is Troublesome Creek, the southernmost the Alamance, the central Reedy Fork. The usual crossing place of Troublesome Creek was the High Rock Ford. Lord Cornwallis lay on the Alamance. The object of the British general was still the conquest of North Carolina, as preliminary to the conquest of Virginia; and as a means of both conquests, the destruction of the army of Greene. Hence his present efforts were directed to the encouragement and protection of the loyalists, to the intercepting his adversary's reinforcements and supplies, and most of all, to the compelling

¹ Jefferson to Washington, in *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 258.

p. 260.

³ I borrow the expression from

² Greene to Washington, *Corre- Lee*.

him to fight at a disadvantage of ground or numbers.

Greene was within a few miles of the English army. A part only of his promised reinforcements had come in, and till they came he did not feel strong enough to give battle. Delay, therefore, was his present object, and every day that he gained from his adversary was a victory. But during this delay, and while keeping out of striking distance, he had his communications with Virginia to watch, and the road by which his reinforcements were advancing, to keep open. The Tories also were to be held in check, and taught that they could not rely upon the protection of the British army while the American army was so near them. It was a bold design, which nothing but unceasing vigilance could accomplish, and nothing but success could justify to the common mind. And here again Greene reaped the fruit of that confidence in his judgment, energy, and skill, which his prompt and independent conduct had inspired.¹

The ground that he chose for his operations was the small triangle between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork. Every day he changed his position, never passing two successive nights

¹ "In the opinion of many, General Greene committed himself to much hazard in his newly adopted system. It was asked, Why not continue in his safe position on the north of the Dan, until, receiving all his expected succor, he could pass into North Carolina, seeking, instead of avoiding, his enemy? This safe and agreeable course was relinquished from necessity. Greene, penetrating Cornwallis's views, foresaw their certain success, if he remained long out of the State, waiting for reinforcements himself."—Lee, vol. ii. p. 321.

in the same spot. No one knew where the next encampment for the night was to be until the hour for halting arrived. He formed his own plans, and called no councils of war; but at the same time took every step which his experience suggested for obtaining prompt and accurate intelligence of the position and movements of the enemy, "for good intelligence," he wrote to Washington, "is the soul of an army, and ought to govern all its movements." That Cornwallis should make a movement towards him without being promptly discovered, was impossible; for Williams, with his tried body of light troops, lay always between them, and was always on the alert. Still Greene did not relax his own vigilance. When the labors of the day were over, and the evening and part of the night had been passed in writing, he would throw himself for an hour upon his camp-bed, and springing to his feet again before the first streak of dawn, go the rounds of the whole army, and visit every sentinel at his post. It was on one of these nights that he received, what he always used to speak of in after life, as the greatest compliment ever paid him. As he passed before the tent of his Virginia namesake, he heard a snoring from within, which left no doubt as to what the brave Colonel was doing. Greene hastily entered, and laying his hand upon the sleeper's shoulder, exclaimed: "Good heavens, Colonel, how can you sleep with the enemy so near, and this the very hour for a surprise?" The Colonel opened his eyes with a

drowsy stare, and looking for a moment at the anxious face that was leaning over him, replied, "Why, General, I knew that you were awake." And all knew it, both officers and men; for from the day on which he started upon his ride from the Pedee to the Catawba, he had never taken off his clothes to sleep.

The movements of the light troops were timed by the movements of the main army, and both so regulated as to cast an air of uncertainty over them, bewildering and perplexing to the enemy. One day Greene would move as if he intended to form a junction with Williams. The next he would fall back upon Troublesome Creek or Reedy Fork, and then suddenly reappear in some other quarter. To the terrified Tories it seemed as though several armies were moving at once over the little triangle, and menacing them from several different quarters. "This," said they, "is no time for declaring ourselves," and to the great vexation of the British general, they hung up their guns, and stayed at home.

Cornwallis was exceedingly perplexed. He could not make a detachment unless he made it so strong as to weaken his main body, for Williams and Pickens and the indefatigable Lee were constantly hovering around him. His foraging parties were harassed, his outposts were not secure, and on one occasion nothing but the extreme darkness of the night saved his baggage from Lee's adventurous cavalry. Still he watched eagerly for an opportunity to strike a blow, and taking advantage

of a heavy morning fog, made an attempt to beat up Williams's quarters, and force Greene to an action.¹ But Williams's vigilance was not to be deceived. Cornwallis had not marched far before the American scouts detected his movement. The light troops were promptly in motion, a courier was dispatched to Greene with intelligence of his danger; and after some skillful manœuvring on both sides, and some sharp fighting at Wetzell's Mills, an important pass on the Reedy Fork, the British general gave over the pursuit.²

Cornwallis was now convinced that it was vain to waste the strength of his troops in efforts to outgeneral the vigilant American; and falling back to Bell's Mills, on the Deep River, he gave a few days of much needed rest to his weary men. Again had Greene won in the trial of strategic skill. "Hitherto," he wrote to Jefferson on the 10th of March, "I have been obliged to practice that by finesse which I dared not attempt by force. I know the people have been in anxious suspense, waiting the event of a general action; but be the consequence of censure what it may, nothing shall hurry me into a measure that is not suggested by prudence or connects not with it the interest of the southern department."³

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 51.

² Lee describes this day's incidents in detail; but there are some serious discrepancies between his narrative, that of Gordon, and Williams's report to Greene. *Vide* Lee, vol. ii. pp. 322-327; Gordon, vol. iv. pp. 50-52. Williams's letter has been published by Johnson, vol. i. p. 463. Tarleton's narrative is evidently a gross exagger-

ation, p. 237. Greene, in a letter of the 10th to Jefferson, calls it "a small skirmish," and that the American loss was trifling, while that of the enemy, opposed to riflemen, was considerable. Greene MSS. In a letter of March 11 to Steuben, he says that Cornwallis may have been aiming at his stores.—Greene MSS.

³ Greene MSS.

But now reinforcements began to come in; a brigade of Virginia militia under General Lawson, two brigades of North Carolina militia under General Eaton and General Butler, and four hundred Continentals raised for eighteen months. On the 10th of March he dissolved the light corps, with warm thanks and commendations. Three days he devoted to the reorganization of his army, and on the 14th he took post at Guilford Court-house, prepared to give battle on ground of his own choosing, or if not attacked to advance and attack the enemy.¹

For both generals a battle was at this time a military necessity. Cornwallis, to push his enemy to the utmost, had stripped his own army of its baggage, and made it impossible to keep the field long without drawing new supplies from his magazines. The nearest point at which this could be done was Wilmington, and the necessity was daily becoming more urgent. His men, with all their advantages of discipline, were mercenaries, fighting for pay and military honor. With an enemy in sight they could be relied upon. But long marches, hunger, cold, and nakedness, were sacrifices which they found it hard to make. Desertions became frequent, even from the Guards, who claimed for themselves the superiority over all the regiments in the service. It was necessary to bring the contest promptly to the decision of the sword. Another consideration pressed upon him

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 53. Greene, in several letters, speaks of his intention to attack Cornwallis. Greene MSS.

urgently. Even though he should win back the State by his troops, it was only through the inhabitants that he could hold it, and more than half of these were Whigs. A successful battle would show them that it was vain to look to the Congressional army for protection; would give courage to their mortal enemies the Tories; and swell the ranks of the royal army with devoted adherents. Without a decided victory he could neither win North Carolina nor hold it.

A battle was equally necessary for Greene; but it was not equally necessary that it should be a victory. A sharp blow, skillfully dealt, might cripple the British army in its present condition, by encumbering it with wounded,¹ and throw Cornwallis, stunned and bleeding, upon Wilmington.

The American army consisted of 4,243 foot, and 161 cavalry. Only 1,490 of them were Continentals. The remainder were militia, called out for a short term of service, and so little to be counted upon for regular duty, that, although there had been 5,000 of them in motion during the manoeuvres of the last four weeks, on the 10th of March there were but eight or nine hundred of them in the field.² To carry out a regular plan, or accomplish a remote object with such materials, was impossible. But they might help to win a battle, or inflict a dangerous blow. Even if part of them should give way before the enemy, it was not probable that all would turn their backs without a

¹ Reason assigned by Greene in a letter to Jefferson.

² Greene makes this statement in two different letters.—Greene MSS.

few rounds, and a few rounds from trained marksmen could not fail to disable some of the enemy, and bring them with disordered if not broken ranks into the presence of the Continentals. If these, also, should be driven from the field, the American cavalry, superior to the English both in numbers and in quality, would render a long or a rapid pursuit impossible. With Cornwallis therefore, defeat was ruin. The worst that could befall Greene was the loss of the field and the dispersion of the militia.¹

Guilford Court-house, it will be remembered, was the spot at which the main army had effected its junction with the detachment under Morgan, on the retreat to the Dan. The advantages which it offered as a battle field for irregular troops had impressed Greene so strongly on that occasion, that now, when the choice of a position seemed to lie wholly with him, he turned his steps thither, resolved to make it the scene of the struggle to which both armies were looking forward with such anxious expectation. It lay in the midst of a vast wilderness, interspersed with small clearings, where some favored spot had been reduced to an irregular and transient cultivation. In the midst of one of these clearings, and on the brow of a large hill surrounded by other hills, stood the building from which the district derived its name. Near it, winding its way through dense forests and thick covert^s of copse-wood, with here and

¹ Letter to President of Congress, March 16, 1781. Greene MSS. Also to Washington of the same date.

there a cultivated field, ran the high-road to Salisbury. The slope of the hill formed a gentle declivity, nearly half a mile in length, and which terminated in a small valley, intersected by a rivulet, and covered with copse-wood. Directly around the court-house the ground had recently been planted, and except in the shrubs and saplings, usually found in new countries even close upon the tracks of cultivation, presented no obstruction to the movements of horse and foot. A few hundred yards down the slope another opening was formed by a long, narrow field, recently planted with corn, and extending, on both sides of the road, to the skirts of a swamp. The swamp, and the little rivulet which formed it, lay on the side from which the enemy were expected. The space between the two clearings was covered by a forest of oaks, and in the clearing near the court-house the road was screened by a high growth of saplings. The whole tract is an undulating slope, broken by ravines, and abounding with strong positions.

From High Rock Ford to Guilford is but a short march, and when the army reached it on the afternoon of the 14th of March, there was still light enough remaining to admit of a second survey of the ground before the order of battle was given out. Then, when all his preparations were completed, and his final orders issued, Greene's aids came to him in a body. "Do not," they earnestly entreated, "expose your person needlessly. Put our lives at every hazard, but be careful of

your own. If we fall, our loss will not be felt; but your death would not only be fatal to the army, but in all probability greatly retard, if not destroy, every hope of securing the independence of the south."¹ The American army slept on their chosen battle-field, hopeful and confident; yet some of them, perhaps, with the thought that the ground on which they lay might before another night be bathed in their blood.

There had been a light frost in the night, and the morning was cold. But the sky was clear, the sun rose bright, and there was a bracing and exhilarating freshness in the air. All felt it, and felt their spirits rise with it, as with a cheerful augury; for all knew that the decisive day was come. And soon the morning duties of the camp were over; breakfast was eaten tranquilly, and then officers and men, forming little groups, or standing apart in solitary meditation, awaited the signal to range themselves for battle.

Meanwhile Lee had been sent forward to watch the enemy. Ere long a courier came in at full speed, with a report for Greene. The van of the British army was on the march. Towards noon the sound of firearms, not far distant, was heard; and presently it was known that Lee had met Tarleton, had driven him in with loss, and was now falling back before the main body. Cornwallis was at hand. Greene instantly proceeded to draw up his troops; and in following him, we must bear it in mind, that his object was to

¹ Gordon, vol. i. p. 68.

cripple the enemy, without putting himself in their power.

With this view he drew up his army in three lines, presenting to the enemy three successive barriers, each of which must be overcome before the other could be reached. The first line was drawn up on the skirt of a wood, with open ground in front of its centre, and with its flanks extending into the wood.¹

The open ground was an old cornfield, about two hundred yards in breadth, and whose side opposite the Americans was bordered by a small rivulet. The fences, most of which were still standing, formed a kind of light breastwork, behind whose shelter those who knew militia best, thought that they might be depended upon for two or three rounds before they gave way; and two or three rounds, as I have already said, might open dangerous gaps in the British line. This line was composed of North Carolina militia, practiced marksmen, armed with muskets and rifles. Few of them, however, had 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 General Butler and General Eaton.

Three hundred yards in their rear, and in the midst of the wood, was the second line. This too was chiefly formed of raw troops, raised for a few weeks' service, although some of them, like those

¹ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 338.

who fought so well at the Cowpens, were old Continentals, doing militia duty as substitutes. They were Virginians, led by Stevens and Lawson. Among the urgent requests that Greene had addressed to Jefferson, was the request that the officers of the militia contingent should be chosen from those who had been thrown out of service by the reduction of the Continental army. Greene's wise counsel had been followed, and the greater part of the officers of the Virginia militia were men who had seen service in the field. But Stevens, whose whole heart was in the cause, had not forgotten the shameful flight of the militia at Camden ; and to guard against another disgrace like that, he placed sentinels all along the rear of his line, with orders to shoot down the first man that attempted to desert his post. Both of these lines extended across the road. Should the North Carolinians fail, there was still ground to hope that the Virginians would take the enemy at a disadvantage. But if both should perform their duty, there could be but little doubt that before the British reached the third line, their own would be demoralized and broken.

This line was composed of Continentals, under Huger and Williams. They were placed in the open ground around the Court-house, about four hundred yards in the rear of the second line, and on the right of the high road from Salisbury. To follow the formation of the hill, they were drawn up with a double front, the two regiments of Virginia regulars under Greene and Hawes on the

right, and the first and second Maryland under Gunby and Ford on the left. The only veteran regiment was that of Gunby. This, it was hoped, would inspire the new regiments by its example, and thus all, at the critical moment, putting forth their combined strength, complete the work of the first and second lines.

To secure the flanks, Washington was stationed on the right with a corps of observation, composed of the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, and Lynch's riflemen; Lee on the left with his own Legion, the flower of the army, a detachment of light infantry, and a party of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, who had won so brilliant a name at King's Mountain. Both of the flanking corps were posted in the woods, and covered the extremities of the first and weakest line. In the road, and a little in advance of the first line, Captain Singleton was stationed with two light pieces of artillery.

When these arrangements were completed, Greene passed along the first line. The day was hot, and holding his hat in one hand, he was wiping the perspiration from his "ample forehead" with the other. His voice was clear and firm, as he called his men's attention to the strength of their position; and like Morgan at the Cowpens asked only "three rounds." "Three rounds, my boys, and then you may fall back."¹ Then taking his position with the Continentals, he held himself in readiness to go wherever his duty might call him.

¹ Communicated to me as a tradition.

Shortly after one, the British van came in view, and Singleton opened upon them with his two field-pieces. The English artillery was immediately brought forward, and a sharp cannonade was kept up for about twenty minutes,¹ while Cornwallis was drawing up his men. He formed them in one line, with no reserve; for knowing their superiority in equipments and discipline, he was resolved to come at once to the bayonet, and drive his adversary before him by one great effort of combined and compact strength. On his right he placed Leslie, with the 71st British regiment, the German regiment of Boze, and the first battalion of the Guards under Colonel Morton; on the left Lieutenant-colonel Webster, with the 23d and 33d regiments, and Brigadier-general O'Hara with the grenadiers and the 2d battalion of the Guards. In the woods on the left of the artillery were the yagers and light infantry of the Guards. 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 to the right and left in quick step, were soon ranged in line of battle.

For a moment Greene hoped that they would not be permitted to cross the open field unbroken,

¹ Greene to President of Congress, letter says, "a very few minutes." March 16th. The first draft of this — Greene MSS.

and every ear was listening eagerly for the sound of the North Carolina guns. But it was a moment's hope; for as the ill-nerved militia saw the enemy advance with firm countenance and regular tread, and arms that flashed and gleamed in the slanting sun, they began to hesitate, and then to shrink; and when, coming still nearer, he paused, poured in one heavy volley, threw forward his dreaded bayonet, and charged with a shout of anticipated triumph, they broke and fled, throwing away in the madness of fear, their guns, most them still loaded, their cartouch-boxes, and everything that could impede their movements. In vain their officers tried to stem the torrent of flight; Eaton and Butler and Davie threw themselves before them, seized them by the arms, exhorted, entreated, commanded in vain. Lee, spurring in among them, threatened to charge them with his cavalry, unless they turned again upon the enemy. All was useless; terror had overmastered them; and dashing madly forward, they were quickly beyond the sound of remonstrance and threat.¹

The British pressed on with loud huzzas; but a sharp fire from the flanking corps under Washington and Lee, galling their uncovered flanks, brought them to a sudden stand. Cornwallis promptly wheeled the regiment of Boze upon Lee; the 33d, with the light infantry and yagers

¹ In a letter of March 18th to Washington, Greene writes: "They left the most advantageous position I ever saw, without scarcely firing a gun. None fired more than twice, and very few more than once, and near one half not at all." *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 267.

upon Washington, and ordered the grenadiers with the 1st and 2d battalions of the Guards to advance and fill up the break in the line. The two corps of observation retired slowly and unbroken, firing, with deadly aim, as they fell back, and in a few moments were in position with the second line. And now was the turn of the Virginians.

Undismayed by the dastardly flight of the North Carolinians, they saw the enemy advance, and as he came within aiming distance, opened upon him with the coolness of veterans and the precision of practiced marksmen. Symptoms of disorder began to appear in the British ranks, and soon their line became seriously deranged. But still discipline held them together; and pressing resolutely forward with the bayonet, they compelled the American right to give ground. The left still held firm.

By this time all of the British army except the cavalry had been brought into action; all had suffered from the deadly fire of the Americans; the line was broken and disunited; the corps scattered, from the necessity of facing the different corps of the Americans; and everything seemed to promise Greene a sure victory. Cheered with the prospect, he passed along the line of Continentals, exhorting them to be firm, and give the finishing blow.

And soon, following the retreating right wing of the Virginians, Webster came out upon the open space around the Court-house, and directly

in front of Gunby's Marylanders. Here for the first time discipline was opposed to discipline. The Americans poured in a well directed fire, and before the British, stunned and confused, could recover from the shock, followed it up with the bayonet. The rout was complete ; and had the cavalry been at hand to follow up the blow, or had Greene dared to bring forward another regiment and occupy an eminence which commanded the field, the fate of the day would have been decided. But these were his only veterans, and the occurrences of the next quarter of an hour showed the wisdom of his determination not to risk any movement that might endanger his last line.

For on the left also the Virginians had at length been compelled to give way. Stevens was wounded in the thigh, and his men, yielding to the bayonet, fell slowly back with their faces to the foe. Leslie was thus left free to join O'Hara ; and uniting their forces, the two generals advanced upon the second regiment of Marylanders. Well was Greene's caution justified ; for with the noble example of the first regiment fresh before them, the second broke and fled. At this critical moment Gunby advanced, and wheeling upon the Guards, met them with gun and bayonet. His horse was shot under him, disabling him for the moment by the fall. Howard took his place ; and Washington, attracted by the heaviness of the fire, came up at full speed, charged, and broke them. Howard followed with the bayonet, and pressing close upon their flying traces, gave them no time to rally or restore their ranks.

Cornwallis's fine horse had been killed, and he had mounted one of a common dragoon, not observing, in his haste, that the saddle-bags had turned under the animal's belly, and were catching in the underwood with which the ground was strown. He was pressing forward to the front, and rushing unawares into the midst of the enemy. A sergeant of the Royal Welsh Fusileers saw his danger, and seizing the bridle guided him to the skirt of the wood.¹ Here the whole scene broke upon him. He saw the rout of his best troops; saw them mixed with their pursuers in irretrievable disorder. The headlong flight must be stayed, or the day was lost, and with the day, the British army. From a small eminence on the skirt of the wood his artillery commanded the ground of the deadly conflict.

"Open upon them, at once!" he cried.

"It is destroying our own men," exclaimed O'Hara, who was bleeding fast from a dangerous wound.

"I see it," replied Cornwallis; "but it is a necessary evil which we must endure to avert impending destruction."

O'Hara turned away with a groan. The fire was opened, striking down equally friends and foes. It checked the pursuit; but half the gallant battalion was destroyed. Still discipline retained its controlling and organizing power. The shattered and disheartened troops were collected and

¹ *An Original and Authentic Journal Year 1783, by R. Lamb, late sergeant of Occurrences during the late American War from its Commencement to the* in Royal Welsh Fusileers, p. 362.

formed anew ; formed amid the dead and the dying, for a third of their number lay dead or wounded on the field.

Meanwhile Greene also had pressed eagerly forward to get a nearer view of the field, without observing that there was nothing between him and the enemy but the saplings that grew by the roadside. But Major Burnet saw it, and warned him of his danger, as he was in the act of riding "full tilt" into them. Turning his horse's head, but without quickening his pace, he rode slowly back to his own line.

It was a trying moment. He had heard nothing from Lee, and naturally feared the worst. The enemy were gaining ground on his right, and had already turned his left flank. The failure of the 2d Maryland regiment had confirmed his distrust of raw troops. It was evident also that the enemy had suffered severely. If he had not conquered, he had crippled them. The chief object for which he had given battle was won ; and faithful to the resolve not to expose his regulars needlessly, he ordered a retreat. The enemy attempted to pursue, but was soon driven back. At the Reedy Fork, three miles from the field of battle, he halted, drew up his men, and waited several hours for the stragglers to come in. Then setting forward again, he returned to his old encampment at the iron works of Troublesome Creek.

CHAPTER XII.

The Battle-field. — Cornwallis sums up his Losses. — Greene at the Speedwell Iron Works. — Sends a Flag with a Surgeon. — Collects his Reports. — His Men in High Spirits. — Hopes to Fight again in a Few Days. — North Carolina Legislature. — Letters. — Cornwallis preparing for Flight. — Issues a Proclamation, and retreats towards Cross Creek. — Greene in Pursuit. — His Plans frustrated by the Militia. — Cornwallis crosses the Deep River. — Greene's New Plan of Operations. — Letters.

THE day had been clear, but night set in dark and cold, and soon a driving rain began to fall. The battle had passed over so large a space that it was impossible to collect the wounded in the brief hours of daylight that were left. Wherever men had fallen most of them still lay, dead and dying promiscuously mingled, Englishman and American, side by side in helpless agony. All through the sad night their shrieks and groans were mingled too. It was fearful to hear them, men who heard them have left written, as the big rain fell upon their unprotected bodies and the cold wind swept in gusts through the forest, bearing on its wild wailings the cry of human anguish. Sometimes a sharp shriek would be followed by a feeble groan, and the groan grow fainter and fainter till death came and all was hushed. Before morning nearly fifty had died from exposure.¹

¹ Stedman, vol. i. p. 346.

Meanwhile the disheartened victor was doing all that he could do to give succor to these wounded men. But he had no tents, and there were not houses enough within reach to hold them. As the reports came in his heart sank within him. Stuart, of the Guards, they said, is killed; and O'Hara of the Royal Artillery, and Talbot of the 33d, and Grant of the 71st; and the elder O'Hara is wounded grievously, and the deeply loved Webster, whom Lee's riflemen had vainly made their target at Wetzell's Mills, is wounded fatally; and the cheerful Maynard, who for the first time had gone into battle with a dark presentiment at heart, too soon and fatally fulfilled; and even Tarleton, though but slightly, and others, too many to tell. When the dolorous register was made complete, he found that the royal arms had been weakened by over six hundred men.¹ If they had barely held their ground before, what could they hope to do now?

Greene was confident, even before he left the field, that he had inflicted a severe blow upon his adversary; but for the first few hours he could not tell how much his own army had suffered in inflicting it. The pursuit soon ceased; and this

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 57. In nothing do historians differ more than in the estimates of casualties. Stedman puts the British loss at five hundred and thirty-two—a hundred less than Greene rates it at in several letters written after full time to make an accurate count. The English and American returns are given in the appendix to Tarleton's 5th

chapter; and extracts from a letter of Greene's also, dated March 30th, in which he says: "From undoubted information we learn that the enemy's loss in the battle of Guilford amounted to six hundred and thirty-three, exclusive of officers, and most of their principal officers were either killed or wounded."

he might justly interpret as a confession that Cornwallis had paid dear for his victory. How dear, another day would show. Meanwhile, as I have already said, crossing the Reedy Fork, he drew up his men on its northern bank, and waited there till the greater part of his stragglers had come in; then, resuming his retreat, he fell still further back to the Speedwill iron works, on Troublesome Creek, about ten miles from the field of battle. It was a weary night march, over deep roads, and under a pelting rain. Day was breaking when he reached his old encampment. Here his first thought was to send a flag of truce to Cornwallis, with a surgeon to attend to the American wounded.¹

And soon his reports also began to come in, cheering beyond expectation. Of his Continentals indeed, three hundred were killed and wounded; of his militia, nine North Carolinians, one hundred Virginians. Of the Virginians two hundred and ninety-four were missing, "gone home," Greene writes, "to kiss their wives and sweethearts;" of the North Carolinians five hundred and fifty-two.² The chief loss by death was Major Anderson, of the Maryland line, a loss severely felt and deeply lamented; by wounds, the heroic Stevens, ill spared at such a moment, and the gallant Huger. But his men were in high spirits, and eager for another battle. "You will see next time," said the second Marylanders to

¹ Greene MSS.

² Gordon, from Greene and Williams's official papers, vol. iv. p. 57.

the first. "We will wipe out the disgrace of North Carolina," said the North Carolinians who had held their ground. There were the Virginia regulars, too, resolved to prove themselves worthy rivals of Gunby's men. A flag came in with a message from Cornwallis; and presently, putting their own interpretation upon it, the men declared that the British commander had summoned Greene to surrender, and that Greene had replied, "I am ready to sell you another field at the same price."¹ The American camp, although the troops were still suffering for food and clothing, and worn down by marching and fighting, had never presented so cheerful an aspect before. All Greene's letters for the first few days after the battle, bear witness to the high spirits of his men, and his intention to push Cornwallis to the utmost. "Our army are in the highest spirits," he writes on the 16th to Sumter, "and wishing for another opportunity of engaging the enemy." As for himself, "he hopes in a few days to fight again with more decided advantage;" and speaking of the loss of the battle-field and his guns, says, "the purchase was made at so great an expense that I hope it may yet effect their ruin." On the 17th he directs General Eaton to re-collect the North Carolina militia, and urge upon the North Carolina Legislature the necessity of filling up their quota of Continentals. On the 18th he instructs Colonel Malmedy to cut off the enemy's supplies,

¹ I have this anecdote from the M. C. for Georgia, whose father Hon. Nathanael Greene Foster, late served under Greene.

and “inform the inhabitants of the result of the battle of the 15th,” the importance of which was daily becoming more evident.¹ He did not yet know that it was the decisive battle of the southern war.² But the consciousness that he had borne himself well, and made the most of his means, manifests itself in a confidential letter to Reed:—

“Here has been the field for the exercise of genius, and an opportunity to practice all the great and little arts of war; fortunately we have blundered through without meeting any capital misfortune. . . . The battle was fought on the very place from whence we began our retreat after the light infantry joined the army from the Pedee. . . . It was long, obstinate, and bloody. We were obliged to give up the ground, and left our artillery; but the enemy have been so soundly beaten, that they dare not move towards us since the action, notwithstanding we lay ten miles of them for ten days. . . . I am happy in the confidence of this army, and though unfortunate, lose none of their esteem. . . . We have little to eat,” he adds, “less to drink, and lodge in the woods in the midst of smoke. Indeed our fatigue is great. I was so much overcome night before last that I fainted. . . . I have never felt an easy moment since the enemy crossed the Catawba, until the defeat of the 15th. But now I am perfectly easy, persuaded it is out of the enemy’s power to do us any great injury. Indeed I think they will retire as soon as they can get off their wounded.”³

On the same day he writes to his wife:—

“We have had a very severe general action with Lord

¹ Greene MSS.

² To Joseph Reed, 18th March.

³ Benton, *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, vol. i. p. 115. Greene MSS. Also *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 348.

Cornwallis, in which we were obliged to give up the ground. The action was long, bloody, and severe. Many fell, but none of your particular friends. Colonel Williams is Adjutant-general of the army, and was very active, and greatly exposed. I had not the honor of being wounded, but I was very near being taken, having rode in the heat of the action full tilt into the midst of the enemy; but by Colonel Morris' calling to me and advertising me of my situation, I had just time to retire.

“Our army, though obliged to give up the ground, retired in good order, and the enemy suffered so severely in the action that they dare not move towards us since. This day he retired toward the Yadkin. He has great pride and great obstinacy, and nothing but sound beating will induce him to quit this State, which I am in hopes of effecting before long.

“The evening after the action I received your letter, which was some consolation after the misfortune of the day. Thus the incidents of human life mix and mingle together; sometimes good, and sometimes bad.

“I see by your last letter you are determined to come to the southward. I fear you will be disappointed in your expectations. Nothing but blood and slaughter prevail here, and the operations are in a country little short of a wilderness, where a delicate woman is scarcely known or seen. While the war rages in the manner it does, you will have little opportunity of seeing me.

“I have had no letters either from Jacob or Griffin, though I have written them several. How goes on the company business? Is the *Flora* frigate successful, or otherwise? As there is a *Jonas* in almost every ship, I fear for her safety. How is my sweet girl Nancy Vernon? Please to present her my most respectful compliments. You write the French officers are very polite to you. This is peculiar to that nation; besides the respect they have for ladies in particular, and especially those they admire, and are connected with people in public stations.

“ Our fatigue has been excessive. I have not had my clothes off for upwards of six weeks ; but am generally in pretty good health. Poor Major Burnet is sick, and is in a situation you would (not) think tolerable for one of your negroes. Morris, too, is not well. Indeed the whole family is almost worn out. The force coming to the southward, and the situation of General Arnold in Virginia, opens to us more flattering prospects to the southward. But how uncertain are human affairs. I should be extremely happy if the war had an honorable close, and I on a farm with my little family about me. God grant the day may not be far distant when peace with all her train of blessings, shall diffuse universal joy throughout America.

“ I beg my kind love to my brothers and all their families, to mother Greene, and all other inquiring friends.”

While Greene was thus looking hopefully forward to another battle, Cornwallis was preparing for flight. Every day had brought out the difficulties of his position in a stronger light. He could not venture to meet Greene again in the field, without exposing his army to destruction. He could not retreat without abandoning his wounded. The hearts of the loyalists were with him, but their fears of the Whigs overmastered their devotion to the king. They had seen Greene driven across the Dan into Virginia, but had hardly had time to spread the glad tidings before he was back in North Carolina. They had been taught to place entire confidence in British valor, but their first levy for the British army had been cut to pieces within a mile of a strong detachment of the royal troops. Food and intelligence they

gave cheerfully, but reserved their swords and rifles for a more propitious occasion.

Still Cornwallis was resolved to assume the tone and language of a victor; and on the 18th of March, he issued a proclamation magnifying his achievements, and calling upon all loyal subjects to come and assist him in restoring the authority of the crown. On the next day he broke up his camp at Guilford, and began his retreat towards Cross Creek, leaving over seventy of his own wounded and the whole of the American under the cover of a flag.¹ At first it was said that he was "retiring towards the Yadkin." But a few hours brought more authentic information. "They are moving towards Bell's Mills," Greene writes to Morgan on the 20th. "We shall follow them immediately, with a determination for another brush." On the 22d, he was at South Buffalo, eighteen miles from Bell's Mills, and wrote from thence to Colonel Polk: "I beg you will spread the news throughout the country, that the inhabitants may be well informed respecting the enemy's situation. Come prepared for another battle." He meant to attack them on their march.² "Cornwallis must be soundly beaten before he will relinquish his hold,"³ he wrote to Lee, and pressing forward with all speed, called in the militia as he went on.⁴ On the 23d he wrote to Jefferson from Buffalo Creek: "Their route is conjectured by some to be towards Cross Creek,

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 57.

² Lee, vol. i. p. 360.

³ Letter to Lee. Lee, vol. i. p. 362.

⁴ Letter to Polk. Greene MSS.

by others towards Pedee. If measures are not taken to furnish us with provisions immediately, we shall be compelled to fall back." Another obstacle arose. The militia, in spite of commands, remonstrances, and threats, had recklessly wasted their ammunition. It took a day to bring it up from the rear, and it was a day lost. Greene feared that Cornwallis might escape him. The roads were deep, the rains frequent and heavy, provision hard to obtain, and good intelligence still harder, for the region through which his route lay was deeply disaffected. Still he pressed on. The 26th found him on the march from Cane Creek to Rigdon's Ford, on Deep River, and from thence he wrote to General Lillington to watch the English in Wilmington, and prevent them from advancing to the support of Cornwallis.¹

But now came the severest disappointment of all. On the 23d he had written to Jefferson about the necessity of calling out a fresh body of militia to take the place of those whose terms of service were about to expire. On the 27th he wrote to him that, counting their time from the day of their "embodiment in their different counties," not from that of their entrance into active service, they insisted upon being permitted to set out on their way home in season to reach it by the expiration of their term of service. Argument with such men was useless. It was vain to tell them that the defeat of Cornwallis would be fatal to the enemy's power in the Carolinas, and

¹ Greene MSS.

frustrate their designs upon Virginia. It was vain to call their attention to the evidences of Cornwallis's prostration, which met them at every step, or ask them how, if he had barely escaped a defeat at Guilford, with his forces entire, he could hope to hold his ground now, with his army encumbered with wounded, and reduced by a third of the numbers with which he had fought on that bloody day? There was but one hope left. There might still be a chance to fight before the evil hour came.

On the 27th he was at Rigdon's Ford, where he hoped to cross the Deep River in time to attack the enemy on their march. But word came that they were still at Ramsay's Mill, twelve miles below. Disencumbering himself of everything that could impede his advance, he "put his army in motion without loss of time, firmly believing that Cornwallis would fight again."¹ But Cornwallis had secured the passage of the river by throwing a bridge across it, and on the 28th, when Greene came up, was already on its right bank, though Lee pressed too close on his rear to give him time to destroy his bridge. Everything around bore witness to the precipitation of the retreat. Some of the British dead were lying unburied by the wayside, and the Americans buried them. Beef was still hanging in quarters in the slaughter pens, and the hungry Americans ate it eagerly; and still ravenous for food, seized upon the garbage that had been thrown aside for the turkey buzzards.²

¹ Greene MSS. Letter to the President of Congress, March 30, 1781.
² Gordon, from Williams' papers, vol. iv. p. 58.

On the next day Greene wrote to Governor Nash, from Ramsay's Mill: "The enemy are on the way to Cross Creek, and probably to Wilmington. I wish it was in my power to pursue them further; but want of provisions, and a considerable part of the Virginia militia's time of service being expired, will prevent our further pursuit. The greatest advantages are often lost by short terms of service."

On the 31st the greater part of his militia will leave him. What shall he do? There would seem to have been no doubt in his own mind. From the 23d to the 27th he had felt sure of the support of the militia for three weeks longer;¹ and even on the 28th he had hoped to bring on a battle in season to avail himself of their aid. But on that day he was compelled to relinquish the hope of overtaking Cornwallis, and on the 29th he wrote to Washington:—

"The regular troops will be late in the field in the southern States, if they are raised at all. Virginia, from the unequal operation of the law for drafting, is not likely to get many soldiers. Maryland, as late as the 13th of this month, had not got a man, nor is there a man raised in North Carolina, or the least prospect of it. In this situation, remote from reinforcements, inferior to the enemy in number, and no prospect of support, I am at a loss what is best to be done. If the enemy fall down towards Wilmington, they will be in a position where it would be impossible for us to injure them if we had a force.

"In this critical and distressing situation, I am determined to carry the war immediately into South Carolina.

¹ Letters to Jefferson. Greene's MSS.

The enemy will be obliged to follow us, or give up their posts in that State. If the former takes place it will draw the war out of this State, and give it an opportunity to raise its proportion of men. If they leave their posts to fall, they must lose more than they can gain here. If we continue in this State, the enemy will hold their possessions in both. All things considered, I think the movement is warranted by the soundest reasons, both political and military. The manœuvre will be critical and dangerous, 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 expect to be ready to march in about five days, and have written to General Sumter to collect the militia to aid the operations. I am persuaded the movement will be unexpected to the enemy, and I intend it shall be as little known as possible. Our baggage and stores not with the army, I shall order by the route of the Saura Towns and Shallow Ford, to Charlotte. By having them in the upper country we shall always have a safe retreat, and from those inhabitants we may expect the greatest support. 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.”¹

No sooner was this resolution taken than he began his preparations for carrying it into immediate execution. “I beg your Excellency,” he wrote to Governor Nash of North Carolina on the same day,

¹ Greene MSS. Letter to Washington. Head-quarters at Colonel Ramsay's, on Deep River, March 29. Published also by Sparks, in *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 277.

This class of actions has been finely characterized by Gibbon, “One of those hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre than in the tumult of a day of battle,” ch. xxx.

“to order to Hillsborough as soon as possible twenty hogsheads of rum for the use of the army. Without spirits the men cannot support the fatigues of the campaign.” To Major Long he wrote for ammunition, and urges the prompt repair of injured arms.

On the same day he sent instructions to General Lillington. “You shall be further supported,” he adds, “as far as I have it in my power, consistent with the great plan of operations. In the meantime keep up the spirits of the people. If the State avail themselves in time of their resources you have nothing to fear.”¹

On the 30th he wrote to Sumter: —

“All these considerations have determined me to change my route, and push directly into South Carolina. This will oblige the enemy to give up their prospects in this State or their posts in South Carolina; and if our army can be subsisted there, we can fight them upon as good terms with your aid as we can here. I beg, therefore, you will give orders to General Pickens and Marion to collect all the militia they can to coöperate with us. But the object must be a secret to all except the generals; otherwise the enemy will take measures to counteract us. I am in hopes, by sending forward our horse and some small detachments of light infantry, to join your militia, you will be able to possess yourself of all their little outposts, before the army arrives. Take measures to collect all the provisions you can; for on this our whole operations will depend. I expect to be ready to march in about five days, and perhaps we may be in the neighborhood of Camden by the 20th of next month or earlier. You will please to inform me of your prospects, and of the probable force I may expect to coöperate with us.”

¹ Greene MSS.

To Lee, also, who was manœuvring with his usual activity in the rear of Cornwallis, he seems to have communicated his intentions in writing; for on the 2d of April Lee wrote: —

“As you have been pleased to honor me with your confidence, I take the liberty to communicate to you my sentiments respecting your plan of operations.

“I am decidedly of opinion with you, that nothing is left for you but to imitate the example of Scipio Africanus.

“This conduct may eventually undo the successes gained by the enemy the last campaign, and must probably render abortive every effort of his lordship to establish himself in this State.

“Thousands of difficulties oppose your success, and yet as I said before, no other system can promise you aught but loss to the United States, and disgrace to your arms. I am conscious that no general, in any period, undertook an enterprise more glorious. I am also conscious that no general ever commanded troops worse appointed or worse supplied than those which form your present army.

“These numerous and material difficulties will require the utmost wisdom and decision to be counteracted.

“I think the following matters claim your immediate attention: —

“The passage of the Pedee; supply of ammunition; transported in such a manner that it cannot be damaged; an extra pair of shoes per man; the 1st regiment of cavalry to be collected, and to join the troops left in this State; the most cautious instructions to the commanding officer of the Pennsylvania division, lest his ignorance of the mode of warfare in this country may expose his troops to ruin; a proclamation pardoning deserters, pointing out the delusion of the Tories, breaking up the paroles given to inhabitants taken from their houses by the enemy, and recommending union and zeal to all orders of the people.

“I am certain that good consequences must result from a proclamation at this period ; perhaps it may be proper for government to do something of this same sort.

“I think it would be politic in government to attend to measures for the forming a public press, as the proper communication of events would tend very much to stir up the patriotism of the people. It would also be politic to apply to their religious feelings and the influence of preachers. By steps of this sort the government might probably put the State in a posture of defense during the absence of your army.”

On Monday, the 2d of April, the militia were dismissed ; and, as if for a pleasant augury, the resolutions of Congress in honor of Morgan and the army of the Cowpens, were received in time to be communicated to the troops in the orders of the day. On the 3d the men were ordered “to wash and clean themselves, to get their arms in good order, and be prepared to march at a short warning.” On the 6th the adventurous march began.¹

¹ Order Book.

CHAPTER XIII.

What had been done thus far. — British Designs against Virginia. — Arnold. — Steuben's Troubles. — General Spirit of Negligence and Exaggeration. — Henry Lee to Joseph Reed. — Greene's Efforts to arouse the Legislatures and People. — Gist in Maryland. — Smallwood. — Macon. — Militia. — Difficulty of filling the State Quotas. — Whig and Tory. — Treaty with the Indians. — Cartel.

AND thus ended the first act of this eventful drama. In December Greene had found the enemy in possession of South Carolina and Georgia, which they held by a line of posts extending from the seaboard to Augusta and Ninety-six; with an army of between three and four thousand men in the field, and several hundred more in garrison; with large bodies of loyalists prepared to rise at their approach, and North Carolina open to Cornwallis from the south, and to Arnold from the north. By a judicious division of his forces he had secured to himself the advantage of the initiative, and compelled his antagonist to engage in a series of hazardous movements, which gave the American arms one brilliant victory; lured the English general from his base; compelled him to fight a battle two hundred miles from his communications, on ground of his adversary's choosing, and in which victory, producing all the results of defeat, left him encumbered with sick and wounded, in the midst of "timid friends" and

bitter enemies.¹ Then North Carolina was freed from the presence of the enemy. Cornwallis led his decimated battalions into Virginia, and ceased to be the immediate opponent of Greene. As time passed away, and events were seen in their mutual dependence, the Battle of Guilford was recognized as the turning point of the southern war.

Virginia formed a part of Greene's command, and was the source to which he chiefly looked for reinforcements, and in a large measure, for supplies. Fully aware of the importance of this State, Sir Henry Clinton was preparing to send a strong detachment against it by water, and open the way for a vigorous coöperation with Cornwallis. With this view Arnold was despatched thither in December; and meeting with little opposition, ascended the James River to Richmond, which he entered on the 5th of January, held long enough to destroy large quantities of valuable stores, and some valuable manufactories, and still burning and plundering by the way, fell back upon Portsmouth. This he immediately began to fortify, with the apparent design of making it the base of future operations.² The Americans watched the movements of the traitor with great anxiety, and an eager desire not only to thwart his plans, but

¹ "I have had a most difficult and dangerous campaign, and was obliged to fight a battle two hundred miles from any communication, against an enemy seven times my number."—The *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 87.

² "I shall take every opportunity of communicating with Brigadier-general Arnold," wrote Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton on the 6th of January. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 80.

to make themselves masters of his person. Washington himself formed a plan for his capture, which, could the French fleet have coöperated in season, could hardly have failed of success. On the 25th of March General Philips entered Chesapeake Bay with two thousand choice troops, and took command of all the British forces in Virginia. Towards Virginia Cornwallis turned his steps with his weary and destitute army. On the 20th of May he reached Petersburg. A fresh reinforcement of eighteen hundred men was awaiting his arrival; and uniting all his forces, he prepared for a new campaign. The story of its vicissitudes, beginning with successful invasion, and ending in the capitulation of Yorktown, belongs to the history of Steuben, Lafayette, and Washington.¹

Steuben, it will be remembered, had been left in command in Virginia, when Greene passed through that State on his way to the southern army. From his organizing mind Greene looked for important results in reducing to order the raw materials of which his forces were chiefly to be composed, and which needed, above all things, the moral strength of discipline. Nor did the sorely tried German suffer himself to grow weary in his exertions, hard as it was for the disciple of Frederick to adapt himself to the political scruples of Jefferson. Questions soon arose, difficult to disentangle, jealousies were awakened, com-

¹ Arnold's official report may be may be found in *Almon's Remembrancer*, vol. ii. p. 350.

plaints grew loud. Steuben had but one aim, to carry out the orders which he had received from Greene, and secure supplies and reinforcements for Greene's army. The Legislature, forgetting that there was but one way of keeping the enemy from their doors, scrutinized every act of the military authorities as if there were full leisure for tranquil discussion. Thus thwarted and fettered, Steuben continued to labor with unremitting zeal, but with dissatisfaction at heart, and an eager desire to escape from the uncongenial task. It was by no shortcomings of his that Arnold obtained possession of Richmond, and ravaged the banks of the James.¹

Among the evils of the times was a fatal spirit of negligence and exaggeration. Men gave themselves up to their ordinary pursuits, and their habitual amusements, as if there were no enemy at hand; and spoke of their preparations for meeting him, as if they had put forth all their strength. "All the way through the country as I passed," wrote Greene to Reed from his camp on the Pedee, "I found the people engaged in matters of interest, and in pursuit of pleasure, almost regardless of their danger. Public credit totally lost, and every man excusing himself from giving the least aid to Government, from the apprehension that they would get no return for any advances."²

¹ The story is told in full in Kapp's admirable *Life of Steuben*; in which I find but one thing to regret — that he is not just towards Lafayette.

² Greene MSS. and *Life of Reed* vol. ii. p. 344. Hamilton's view of what Greene calls the "fatal spirit of negligence," is strongly expressed

“One characteristic,” writes Henry Lee, on the same day, “is applicable to most of our public relations, and is particularly applicable to those from this quarter. Exaggeration of successful operations, diminution to adverse. From hence arise those false hopes which influence our councils, and operate on the exertions of the people.” And after speaking of the probable movements of the enemy, and the condition of the American army, he adds: “This representation is very different from what you have from the civil characters of North Carolina. Rely on it the zeal of these gentlemen leads them into mistakes. I dare say they will tell you of the mighty exertions of their State. It is natural to good men to wish that their countrymen should act with propriety, but it is a public misfortune that this disposition should create opinions which, in their consequences, are injurious to the public good. I remember well when I was in Philadelphia, and Cornwallis’s retreat from Charlotte was announced, some gentlemen high in office from the southern world, spoke confidently of the capture of the British army. Our regular force in the field was not equal to the capture of a British regiment, nor had this little force supplies of provisions to last them three days.”¹

in a letter of October 12, 1780, to Isaac Sears, of Boston, which was intercepted and published by the enemy. “We are told here, there is to be a Congress of the neutral powers at the Hague for mediating of peace. God send it may be true. We want it; but if the idea goes abroad, ’tis ten to one if we do not fancy the thing done, and fall into a profound sleep, till the cannon of the enemy awaken us next campaign. This is our national character.”—Almon, vol. ii. p. 15.

¹ Henry Lee to Joseph Reed. *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 346. On the 4th of May, also, Greene wrote to

Reed: “Those whose true interest it was to have informed Congress and the people to the northward with the real state of things, have joined in the deception, and magnified the resources and strength of this country infinitely above their ability. Many of those who adhere to our party, are so fond of pleasure, that they cannot think of making the necessary sacrifices to support the Revolution. There are many good and virtuous people to the southward; but they cannot animate the inhabitants in general, as you can to the northward. When ruin appears to approach any State, they are

Against this fatal spirit Greene contended watchfully and wisely, addressing frequent letters to Congress and the State authorities, and neglecting no opportunity of setting the truth before them in the strongest colors. Particularly was he anxious to have men in or near the Legislature, who had seen the distresses of the army with their own eyes, and knew by experience how little confidence could be placed in the militia, for carrying out a comprehensive plan. For this purpose he had stationed Gist in Maryland; and when Smallwood went northward, charged him with a similar commission. Every officer on furlough was made an agent in this difficult work; and during the brief respite from retreat, which the flooding of the Yadkin gave him, he found help in the ranks of the army. A young militiaman had been summoned from the army to attend the session of the Legislature, to which he had been chosen during his absence in the field. He refused to go; and his refusal soon reached the ears of Greene. What! refuse to exchange the perilous retreat before a superior force, for a safe seat in the General Assembly? He sent for the young man, resolved to examine and judge for himself.

His name was Macon, a name long and honorably distinguished in later years in the civil history of the United States.

alarmed, and begin to think of exerting themselves; but its approach no sooner receives a check than they sink back into a careless inattention." The letters of Judge Iredell contain striking illustrations of this spirit of exaggeration. According to him,

Greene found in North Carolina an army of from 4,750 to 5,850 men. *Vide* McRee's *Life of Iredell*, passim, and especially vol. i. p. 474. The same spirit prevailed in England; *vide Annual Register*, vol. xxiv. p. 54.

“Why,” Greene asked him “do you refuse to obey the governor’s summons?”

“I have seen the faces of the British many times,” was the reply, “and never seen their backs; and mean to stay with the army till I do.”

This was the kind of assemblyman that Greene wanted; and soon convincing him that while in the army he added but one man to it, but as a member of the Assembly might assist in procuring many, sent him promptly to the new field in which the harvest was so needful, and the real laborers so few.¹

Another evil of the times common, though in unequal degrees, to both north and south, was a blind dependence upon the militia, and a secret apprehension of regular troops. Hence dangerous delays in filling up the State quotas, and dangerous facility in calling out large bodies of militia, to awaken extravagant expectations, to consume provisions, to strip the country bare with their horses, to irritate it by their exactions, to exhaust the supplies of arms and ammunition, never too abundant in the American arsenals, and after a few weeks of irregular service, desert, or claim their discharge on the eve of some important movement. Their numbers, varying from day to day, could never be correctly estimated. Five thousand might be in motion within three weeks, and not five hundred be at hand when most needed. Their waste of food and forage exceeded many fold that of regular soldiers. The

¹ Benton's *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, vol. i. p. 115.

ammunition that was given them for service in the field, was recklessly consumed in shooting birds or game. The arms that were distributed among them when they were called out, were seldom returned when they were dismissed. In friendly districts they set no bounds to their exactions.¹ In hostile districts they gave loose to the deadly hatred of Whig and Tory.

Yet it was not the employment of the militia that Greene condemned, but the blind reliance upon them for a kind of duty which they were not qualified to perform. Under the guidance of Pickens, they rendered inestimable service. Under the eye of Stevens, the Virginia militia fought nobly at Guilford, with the base example of the North Carolina militia before them. Greene makes a broad distinction between the militia of the low country and the militia of the upper country,² praising the high spirit of the former, though sorely troubled by their insisting upon

¹ Greene MSS. *passim*, and especially for the exactions of the militia and the good conduct of the regulars, see an appeal from the Moravians, whom the militia had plundered. In a letter of January 9th to Reed, Greene says: "The loss of our army in Charleston, and the defeat of General Gates, has been the cause of keeping such vast shoals of militia on foot, who, like the locusts of Egypt, have eaten up everything, that it has ruined the currency of the State. It is my opinion there is no one thing upon the Continent that wants regulating so much as the right which the States exercise

of keeping what militia on foot they please at the Continental expense. I am persuaded North Carolina has militia enough to swallow up all the revenues of America, especially under their imperfect arrangements, where every man draws and wastes as much as he pleases. . . . The ruin of the State is inevitable, if there are such large bodies of militia kept on foot."—*Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 345.

² "The back country people are bold and daring in their make, but the people upon the sea-shore are sickly, and but indifferent militia." To Reed, *ut sup.*

the wasteful custom of going into service on horseback. With a regular army of five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, he felt that he could drive the enemy from the field. But with a mere handful of regulars, and dependent upon militia for operations which required discipline and perseverance, he felt that the civil government was inconsiderately protracting the miseries of war, and increasing the danger of eventual subjection. In this he thought as Washington and all the best officers of the army thought.¹

But the darkest feature of the southern war was the savage fury which it assumed whenever Whig and Tory came into collision. Which of the two was most barbarous it is impossible to say, for each seemed to have contended for the bad eminence, as he would have contended for the prize of skill in the use of his rifle. To see their houses burned, their plantations laid waste, their families scattered, and be hunted down in swamps and thickets, like beasts of prey, was common to both by turns. The triumph of the English arms was the signal for Tories to burn and kill. The triumph of the American arms was a warning to them to seek shelter in the deepest and most inaccessible recesses of swamps, or within the distant lines of Charleston. To whichever side vic-

¹ Attempts were made to turn Greene's "political sentiments respecting the nature of the army in this country" against him. Varnum to Greene, Philadelphia, February 10, 1781. Greene MSS.

for succor, but the prospect appears remote, except a temporary aid of militia, which is too precarious and uncertain to commence any serious offensive operations upon."—Greene to President of Congress, April 22, 1781. Greene MSS.

"I have been anxiously waiting

tory inclined, it was still an occasion of kindling new fires, and giving full license to revenge. Some of the bitterest Whigs were in the ranks of the American militia. Some of the most virulent Tories followed the track of the British army. But neither the English nor the American commander can justly be held responsible for the crimes that private vengeance committed in the name of party zeal. Greene's letters are filled with the expression of his indignation, and in bitterness of heart he often predicts the utter depopulation of the country, unless some means are devised for bringing these murderers within the pale of the law. But peace only could do this; nor even peace itself without a desperate struggle.¹

It was in the midst of these trying scenes that Greene issued a commission for the negotiation of a treaty of peace with the Indians of the western

¹ "The animosity between the Whigs and Tories of this State renders their situation truly deplorable. There is not a day passes but there are more or less who fall a sacrifice to this savage disposition. The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, and the Tories the Whigs. Some thousands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a stop cannot be put to these massacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months more, as neither Whig nor Tory can live." Greene to Colonel Davies, May 23d, 1781. In a letter of June he names

a particular regiment, Colonel Hammond's. "This party plunders without mercy, and murders the defenseless people, just as private pique, prejudice, or personal resentment dictate. Principles of humanity as well as policy require, that proper measures should be immediately taken to restrain these abuses, heal differences, and unite the people as much as possible." Greene to Pickens. Extracts from both these letters may be found in Gordon, vol. iv. p. 99. *Vide* also a letter of General Moultrie to General Marion. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, p. 52.

frontier, and began the discussion of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, both equally important; for the Indians had proved useful auxiliaries of the English, and the wretched condition of the American prisoners called imperiously for relief.

CHAPTER XIV.

Greene aims early at the Enemy's Posts in the South. — Calls on Sumter for Information. — Begins his March upon Camden. — Progress of his March. — Improves the Discipline of his Men. — Abuses that had crept into the Army. — Encouraging Tidings. — Sits down before Camden. — Letters to Marion and Lee. — Marion and Lee invest Fort Watson. — Strength of the Position. — Lee asks for a Cannon. — Major Mahem's Tower. — Close Quarters. — The Fort Surrenders.

AT no period during this active campaign had Greene lost sight of the enemy's posts in South Carolina. While Morgan was operating upon Cornwallis's left, Marion and Lee had attacked Georgetown, and alarmed him for the safety of his posts between the Pedee and Santee. When Lee was recalled, Marion still held his ground, sometimes with but a handful of followers, and though often compelled to seek safety in the recesses of swamps, never defeated, never surprised, never disheartened. In March, Sumter also was again in the field, prepared to strike with his usual impetuosity, raising the hopes of the Whigs, and awakening the fears of the Tories wherever he came.

On the day after the battle of Guilford, Colonel Wade Hampton had brought to the American camp authentic intelligence of the state of feeling in South Carolina. It was an additional reason for

Greene to turn his steps thither; and it was partly under the influence of the hope that began to dawn upon him, that he wrote to Jefferson for a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men; and to Sumter, on the 16th of March, "I am very anxious to hear from you the situation of affairs in South Carolina. Reinforcements are coming from the northward, which I hope will enable us to free your State from the savage treatment of the enemy." Of the British posts in South Carolina, the three most important were Georgetown, near the mouth of the Great Pedee, Camden on the left bank of the Catawba, and Ninety-six, near the sources of the Saluda. Camden, the farthest north, and strongest of them all, was held by Lord Rawdon, with a garrison of about nine hundred men.¹ To take this was to break the line of the enemy's posts in the centre, and destroy their main army by the same blow. Towards Camden, then, Greene directed his march on the morning of the 6th of April;² not without exciting surprise in some minds, and apprehensions in others, for not all could comprehend at first the wisdom and vastness of his plan.³

The first day's march brought him to Evans' Mill, on Rocky River, where he remained over the 7th; for although it was his wish to lose no time

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 81.

² Gordon says the 5th, and Lee the 7th. The order had first been given for the 5th, but was changed to the 6th, in consequence of doubtful intelligence concerning the movements of Cornwallis. (The order

book establishes the date, Greene himself says the 7th, in writing to the President of Congress.)

³ Major Eccleston to Colonel Lee, *Vide Lee's Campaign of 1781*, p. 242, note.

unnecessarily, he had no intention of forcing his marches; but hoped, rather, by taking care that his men were well fed and well cared for on the way, to bring them fresh and in good heart into the presence of the enemy. Care was taken, by special orders, that they washed their clothes and cleaned their arms. They were regularly supplied with provisions for a day in advance, and sometimes for three and even four; a gill of rum for the men, and a quart for the officers, forming a regular part of the day's distribution.¹ Greene seemed to take as much pleasure in providing for their comfort, when circumstances permitted it, as firmness in exacting strenuous exertions when the occasion demanded them. He found time also for correcting abuses and tightening the reins of discipline. In the north he had more than once had occasion to lament the impossibility "of carrying on a war without distressing the inhabitants in some degree."² In the south the difficulty was still greater, more especially from the necessity of seizing horses for the public service, and the opportunities for personal oppression which such a necessity afforded. Sometimes horses were impressed without a proper warrant, and sometimes the seizure was made a pretext for exacting redemption money. One of these cases occurred on the march to Camden, and the example was all the more dangerous, as it came from a corporal of the Legion, the picked corps of the army. Out of

¹ Orderly book, *passim*.

archives, 1779 to 1781, inclusive,

² Greene to Reed. Pennsylvania p. 475.

three charges which were brought against him, the gravest of all, the receiving of redemption money, was fully substantiated, and he was condemned to receive a hundred lashes, and be reduced to the ranks. At the recommendation of the court the corporal punishment was remitted, but the degradation was enforced.

From the 11th to the 14th the army was detained at Colston's Ferry, on the Pedee, by the want of boats. The 16th brought encouraging tidings from all quarters.

“The General has the pleasure to inform the army that Colonel Clark, of South Carolina, with a small corps of militia, lately defeated Major Dunlap commanding a partisan corps of horse and foot, killed upwards of thirty, and took the major with forty of his men prisoners of war. The General is also informed that Colonel Horrey defeated a detachment of eighty men from Colonel Watson's regiment; and that the rear of Lord Cornwallis's army suffered considerably in his retreat by the frequent attacks of the Bladen County militia. These circumstances sufficiently evince the disposition of the inhabitants of this country, and may be considered as preludes to victories more decisive and more glorious.”¹

As the army drew nearer to Camden, their arms and accoutrements were inspected anew, and supplies of ammunition issued. On the 17th and 18th they encamped on Lynch's Creek, near Gates's camping ground of the summer before. “The invalids, spare arms, and heavy baggage will be sent off this morning, under guard to Salisbury,”

¹ Orderly book. Camp at Shoemaker's Deep Creek, South Carolina, Monday 16th April, 1781.

said the morning orders. "The women who have children, and all those unable to march on foot, must also be sent off, as none will be permitted to ride on wagons or horses, on any pretense whatever." On the 20th of April they sat down before Camden.

On the 4th of April Greene had written to Marion : —

"This will be handed you by Captain Conyers, who will inform you what we have contemplated. He is sent forward to collect provisions for the subsistence of the army, and I beg you will assist him in this necessary business. The army will march to-morrow, and I hope you will be prepared to support its operations with a considerable force. General Sumter is written to, and I doubt not will be prepared to coöperate with us."¹

On the same day he wrote to Lee : —

"We march to-morrow morning at 7 o'clock. You will take your route towards Cross Creek, and pass the Pedee at Holey's Ferry, or higher or lower, as you may think necessary either for your own security or to effect a surprise upon the enemy's posts on the Santee. The post garrisoned by Watson's corps is the only one which I think you will have a chance to strike at. I have detached Captain Oldham's company to join your Legion, which I hope will enable you to accomplish the business. But you must govern yourself by the intelligence you may get. You have only to remember that our force is small, and that we cannot afford to waste men without a valuable object in contemplation.

¹ Greene MSS. and published by Dr. Gibbes in his *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, p. 48 — a compilation of much value, but wanting those notes which are so essential to the full enjoyment of letters, whether private or official.

“I do not mean that you should march far towards Cross Creek, but only such a distance as you may think necessary to mask our real designs.

“It will be of importance, if it can be easily accomplished, to have all the boats and crafts secured upon the Pedee, from the Great Bluff upwards. This may delay the enemy should they attempt to follow you or us, and will give you time to effect your designs.

“You must also govern yourself by circumstances, in crossing the Santee. Should the enemy pursue us pretty close out of this State, it will not be advisable for you to be separated from us. Give me constant information of your movements and of the intelligence you may get.

“I will transmit you a copy of figures to write to me by and shall write to you by the same table. All good horses fit either for the dragoon or wagon service, which may fall in your way, and which might fall into the hands of the enemy, you will take on with you, giving the owners your receipt therefor.

“Remember that you command men, and that their powers may not keep pace with your ambition. I have entire confidence in your prudence, and flatter myself that nothing will be left unattempted, which may promote the honor or interest of the American arms.”

Lee promptly replied : —

“In consequence of your letter this forenoon I had put my troops in readiness to move. Your letter of this evening informed me that you had postponed the march of the army to the next day. I shall nevertheless move my infantry to-morrow eight miles on the road to Cross Creek, and follow the ensuing day with the cavalry.

“Captain Oldham had better march the direct road from Ramsey’s Mill to Cross Cr  ek, and join my infantry at McIntosh’s.”

Following his instructions, which, it should be

observed, are drawn up with a latitude indicative of Greene's perfect confidence in him, Lee moved rapidly towards the Santee. On the 14th, in accordance with the freedom of action left him by his instructions, he formed a junction with Marion, and on the 15th the combined forces invested Fort Watson.¹

Fort Watson was one of the strongest of those small posts which the British had erected for the preservation of the fertile districts of the Santee and Congaree. It stood upon Wright's Bluff, near the left bank of the Santee, and held a middle distance of about sixty miles on each side, between Charleston and Camden. It lay also near enough to a small lake, known by the name of Scott's Lake, to receive its water therefrom. By position it was very strong; for it was built upon an Indian mound which rose abruptly from a broad piece of table-land to a height of thirty-five or forty feet, and commanding all the ground around it, was inaccessible to everything but cannon. This natural fortress was rendered trebly strong by a stockade and three rows of abattis; and to render an assault still more difficult, there were no trees near enough to the works to afford a shelter to the besieger's marksmen. The garrison consisted of a hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain

¹ Lee in his *Memoirs* represents himself as having been ordered to join Marion; but this is in direct contradiction with his orders, and with Greene's letters to Marion. *Vide* letter No. 74, p. 53, in Gibbes's *Documentary History of the Revolution*.

Lee also says that he was directed to deliver to Marion Greene's dispatch. But the dispatch itself says: "This will be handed you by Captain Conyers, who will inform you what we have contemplated." Lee's *Memoirs*, p. 40. Gibbes, *ut sup.* p. 48.

McKay, a brave and spirited officer. Forty of these men were loyalists or deserters, and might be counted upon for a desperate defense. Neither besiegers nor besieged had cannon.

Great was the surprise of the garrison at finding themselves surrounded by a hostile force; for Greene's descent into South Carolina was not yet known, and Marion was supposed to be hiding himself from Watson. Each party addressed itself manfully to its task. The outworks were quickly carried, and the well filled tents found in them, confirmed the report "that there was a great quantity of stores" in the fort itself.¹ The Americans founded their hopes chiefly upon cutting the garrison off from Scott's Lake, on which they depended for water. This was easily accomplished. But on the third day they found that the British commander had sunk a well within the stockade, and obtained an abundant supply. It was dangerous and disheartening work, for regular approaches could not be made without intrenching tools; and without cover the troops could not venture upon the open table-land. On the 18th Lee wrote urgently for a cannon. Meanwhile the place was closely invested.

But before the cannon could arrive, one of those happy thoughts, which so often decide the fate of great things as well as small, suddenly flashed upon the mind of Major Mahem, an officer of Marion's Brigade. Close at hand was a wood. What was there to prevent the building of a

¹ Lee to Greene, April 18, 1871. Greene MSS.

tower high enough to command the enemy's works? Marion and Lee caught eagerly at the suggestion. Dragoons were dispatched to collect axes from the neighboring farms, and soon the trees were falling under the skillful blows of men trained to the heavy work from their childhood. Maham directed the labor. The proper trees were chosen. Some cut; some carried them on their shoulders to their place at the foot of the fort; some laid them carefully one upon the other, in the shape of an oblong pen, — working rapidly and securely under the cover of night. When the garrison looked out from their fastness on the morning of the 23d, they saw a huge tower overlooking them, its summit crowned with a platform on which a body of picked riflemen were standing all ready to shoot with fatal precision, and between whose base and the fort a breastwork of logs had been raised to protect it from assault. It was now the garrison's turn to seek cover; and while they were shrinking from the rifle, a band of musketeers, supported by the infantry of Lee's Legion, with fixed bayonets advanced to make a lodgment in the "side of the mount near the stockade." Here was the place for individual daring. Ensign Johnson and Mr. Lee, a volunteer in his namesake's Legion, making themselves with difficulty a way up the steep hillside, tore away the abattis, and opened a passage into the works. Further resistance was vain; and McKay, having exhausted every means

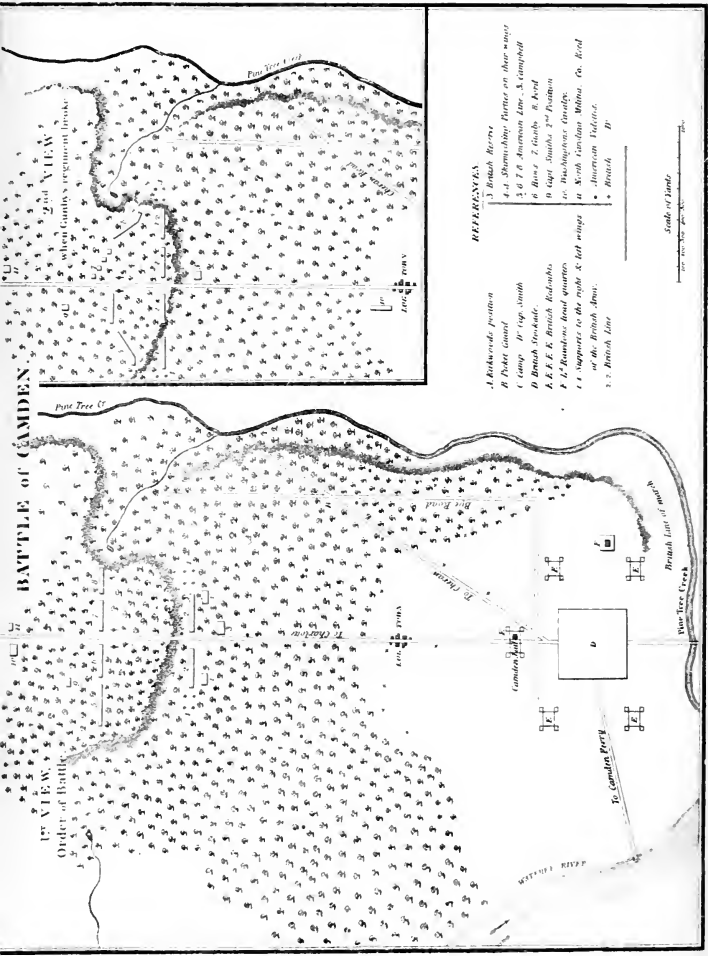
of defense, hung out the white flag.¹ Such was the first fruit of Greene's descent into South Carolina. Nor was the effect upon the public mind less satisfactory. "Our movement this way," he wrote to General Sumner on the 21st, "has revived the hopes of the people; before which, the people were ready to give themselves up as lost forever."²

¹ I have followed Marion's official report, which was written immediately after the surrender. Lee's narrative, which differs from it with regard to the well and some minor

particulars, was not written till thirty years later. Gibbes, p. 57. Lee's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 50.

² Greene MSS.

BATTLE OF CAMDEN



1st VIEW
Order of Battle

2nd VIEW
when Gentry's regiment broke

REFERENCES

- A Ridge road position
- B Pocket Guard
- C Camp
- D British Stockade
- E British Redoubts
- F Quartermen's house quarters
- G Squares to the right & left wings of the British Army
- H British Line
- I 1st Virginia Regiment
- J 2nd Virginia Regiment
- K 3rd Virginia Regiment
- L 4th Virginia Regiment
- M 5th Virginia Regiment
- N 6th Virginia Regiment
- O 7th Virginia Regiment
- P 8th Virginia Regiment
- Q 9th Virginia Regiment
- R 10th Virginia Regiment
- S 11th Virginia Regiment
- T 12th Virginia Regiment
- U 13th Virginia Regiment
- V 14th Virginia Regiment
- W 15th Virginia Regiment
- X 16th Virginia Regiment
- Y 17th Virginia Regiment
- Z 18th Virginia Regiment
- AA 19th Virginia Regiment
- AB 20th Virginia Regiment
- AC 21st Virginia Regiment
- AD 22nd Virginia Regiment
- AE 23rd Virginia Regiment
- AF 24th Virginia Regiment
- AG 25th Virginia Regiment
- AH 26th Virginia Regiment
- AI 27th Virginia Regiment
- AJ 28th Virginia Regiment
- AK 29th Virginia Regiment
- AL 30th Virginia Regiment
- AM 31st Virginia Regiment
- AN 32nd Virginia Regiment
- AO 33rd Virginia Regiment
- AP 34th Virginia Regiment
- AQ 35th Virginia Regiment
- AR 36th Virginia Regiment
- AS 37th Virginia Regiment
- AT 38th Virginia Regiment
- AU 39th Virginia Regiment
- AV 40th Virginia Regiment
- AW 41st Virginia Regiment
- AX 42nd Virginia Regiment
- AY 43rd Virginia Regiment
- AZ 44th Virginia Regiment
- BA 45th Virginia Regiment
- BB 46th Virginia Regiment
- BC 47th Virginia Regiment
- BD 48th Virginia Regiment
- BE 49th Virginia Regiment
- BF 50th Virginia Regiment
- BG 51st Virginia Regiment
- BH 52nd Virginia Regiment
- BI 53rd Virginia Regiment
- BJ 54th Virginia Regiment
- BK 55th Virginia Regiment
- BL 56th Virginia Regiment
- BM 57th Virginia Regiment
- BN 58th Virginia Regiment
- BO 59th Virginia Regiment
- BP 60th Virginia Regiment
- BQ 61st Virginia Regiment
- BR 62nd Virginia Regiment
- BS 63rd Virginia Regiment
- BT 64th Virginia Regiment
- BU 65th Virginia Regiment
- BV 66th Virginia Regiment
- BW 67th Virginia Regiment
- BX 68th Virginia Regiment
- BY 69th Virginia Regiment
- BZ 70th Virginia Regiment
- CA 71st Virginia Regiment
- CB 72nd Virginia Regiment
- CC 73rd Virginia Regiment
- CD 74th Virginia Regiment
- CE 75th Virginia Regiment
- CF 76th Virginia Regiment
- CG 77th Virginia Regiment
- CH 78th Virginia Regiment
- CI 79th Virginia Regiment
- CJ 80th Virginia Regiment
- CK 81st Virginia Regiment
- CL 82nd Virginia Regiment
- CM 83rd Virginia Regiment
- CN 84th Virginia Regiment
- CO 85th Virginia Regiment
- CP 86th Virginia Regiment
- CQ 87th Virginia Regiment
- CR 88th Virginia Regiment
- CS 89th Virginia Regiment
- CT 90th Virginia Regiment
- CU 91st Virginia Regiment
- CV 92nd Virginia Regiment
- AW 93rd Virginia Regiment
- AX 94th Virginia Regiment
- AY 95th Virginia Regiment
- AZ 96th Virginia Regiment
- BA 97th Virginia Regiment
- BB 98th Virginia Regiment
- BC 99th Virginia Regiment
- BD 100th Virginia Regiment

Scale of Miles



CHAPTER XV.

Description of Camden. — Lord Rawdon warned of his Danger. — A Surprise impossible. — A Storm impossible. — Logtown. — Greene takes post at Hobkirk's Hill. — Letter to Sumter. — Marion and Lee watching Watson. — Greene moves to the Lower Side of Camden. — Returns to Hobkirk's Hill. — Orders of the Day. — A Deserter. — Description of Hobkirk's Hill. — The Battle. — Greene's Disappointment. — General Orders. — Gunby before a Court Martial. — Guilty of an Improper Order. — Greene's Plan of Operations unchanged.

THE first settlers of Camden called it Pine Tree, from the dense pine forests which surrounded it. But when the parliamentary contest, which preceded the contest of the sword, grew warm, the Colonists began to count their friends, and give them such marks of their gratitude as their circumstances permitted them to bestow. It was in one of these ebullitions of popular feeling that the name of the great jurist and statesman was given to the humble village that was just beginning to grow into a town on the banks of the Wateree, and was destined to hold so important a place in the history of the southern war.

It is built on a flat near the left bank of the river, and a hundred and thirty miles west of north from Charleston. By position it is strong, being covered on the south and southwest by the Wateree, about a mile distant, and on the east by Pine Tree Creek, a considerable stream, which,

emptying into the Wateree, forms therewith a continuous line of water defense, "on two sides. The other two sides" were protected "by a chain of strong redoubts, all nearly of the same size, and independent of each other."¹ A stockade in the centre completed the works. The garrison consisted of about nine hundred men, and a body of loyalists were said to have thrown themselves into the place the evening before Greene came up. The commander was Lord Rawdon, known in later annals as Earl Moira and Marquis of Hastings, a high-spirited and gallant officer, distinguished like Cornwallis for his activity and decision, and like him destined to fill an important page in the history of British India.

It had been Greene's hope to come upon the garrison by surprise, or rather so suddenly that it would be impossible for them to lay in supplies for a siege. "If the garrison at Camden is not well supplied with provisions," he writes, "it must fall in a few days. I have little hopes of the garrison's falling in any other way, as we have no battering cannon, and too few troops to warrant a storm upon the post."²

But the country through which he passed was hostile, compelling him to move with all the precautions which a judicious general takes in an enemy's territory. He could not even send out a foraging party, without a strong guard to protect it.³ No sooner, therefore, was he seen to

¹ Greene to President of Congress, April 22, 1781.

³ Greene MSS. Letter to President of Congress, April 22. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 92.

² Letter to Sumter, April 15, 1781. Greene MSS.

turn his face towards the Pedee, than swift messengers were sent with all speed to warn Lord Rawdon of his danger. Cornwallis, too, lost no time in sending messengers of his own on the same urgent errand.¹

Thus surprise was impossible; and a storm, "although there were not wanting madcaps enough to urge it," equally so.² For on carefully reconnoitering the works Greene found them stronger than he had supposed. Therefore, after lying a day at Logtown, six hundred yards north of Camden fort, and satisfying himself by careful observation that the works were too strong to be carried by assault, he fell back a mile to the strong position of Hobkirk's Hill; partly with the hope of drawing Rawdon out to attack him, and partly to begin his investment of the town. "Our forces are not equal to a full investiture of the place," he wrote to Sumter on the 23d, "without dividing our forces too much to be secure from insult in any part. This will give the enemy an opportunity to draw what reinforcements they please from other parts. I must depend entirely upon you to secure us on the quarter from Ninety-six and Charleston on the west side of the Wateree, and General Marion on the east side, from Georgetown and Charleston."³

Some time before intelligence of Greene's movements reached him, Lord Rawdon had sent out against Marion, Colonel Watson, one of his best

¹ *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 94.

² Greene to Lee. *Lee's Campaign of 1781*, appendix, p. 13.

³ Greene MSS.

officers, with a detachment of four hundred men. But skilled as he was in partisan war, Watson had a far more skillful partisan than himself to contend with; and every attempt to surprise him or force him to a battle, had failed. Now, however, his own presence was needed at Camden; and thitherward he turned his steps, moving rapidly but cautiously, for he knew that Marion and Lee were in his path. On the evening of the 21st tidings were brought to Greene that Watson was approaching by "unfrequented ways," with the intention of opening himself a way into Camden. To throw himself by a sudden movement between Watson and the besieged, was Greene's instant resolve; and on the following morning he moved "from the upper to the lower side of Camden by a circuitous route, and sent out parties to see if he could learn anything of" the English detachment. The baggage and artillery were ordered to Lynch's Creek, twenty miles in the rear.¹ On the 23d more accurate intelligence was received; Watson was left to Marion and Lee, and on the evening of the 23d the army returned to its position on Hobkirk's Hill.² The stores and artillery were ordered up.

"The general orders respecting passes," say the orders of the day for the 24th, "are punctually to be observed. None are to be granted but by commandants of corps. The rolls are to be called at least three times a day, and all absentees

¹ Greene to Lee. *Lee's Campaign* of 1781, p. 264. ² Orderly book.

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. . . . The troops are to be furnished with two days provisions and a gill of spirits per man, as soon as the stores arrive."

In the night of the 25th, a drummer of the Maryland line had deserted, carrying word to Lord Rawdon that Sumter had not yet come up, that the artillery was in the rear, and that the American army was weakened by detachments, and straitened by the want of food. Rawdon instantly resolved to seize the favorable moment, and attack his enemy.¹

Hobkirk's Hill is a narrow sand ridge of no great elevation, extending on the east to the swamp of Pine Tree Creek. Pleasant country-seats cover it now ; but in 1781 it was covered by a thick growth of continuous forest, through which the great Waxhall road wound its difficult way. From its opposite sides flowed two small streams, one of which ran westward to the Wateree, the other southeastward to Pine Tree Creek. The miry and oozy soil of the banks of the latter obtained for it the name of Miry Branch, and with the creek it formed a line of swamp extending from the hill to the rear of the enemy's works. The approach to the American camp was concealed by the woods and the shape of the ground ; and it was only when the enemy came within

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 57.

shot of their videttes that the Americans could have warning of his approach.

Greene was never guilty of the weakness of despising his enemy; and when he encamped within a mile and a half of the enterprising Rawdon, he encamped in order of battle. His first line was formed, not as at Guilford, where he fought to cripple his enemy, of militia, but of regulars, for he was to fight now for victory. Two brigades composed it; the Virginia brigade under Major-general Huger, consisting of the regiments of Campbell, and Hawes on the right of the road, and the Maryland brigade, commanded by Colonel Williams, and consisting of the regiments of Gunby and Ford, on the left. A second line was formed by the North Carolina militia, under Colonel Read. Washington with his cavalry was stationed on their right; and Kirkwood with his light infantry was placed in front to support the pickets, and retard the enemy's approach. The artillery, under Harrison, was ranged in battery on the road. Thus in complete order and with their weapons ever at hand, the American army held themselves prepared to stand to their arms at a moment's warning. "The sally," wrote Greene to Lee on the 28th, "was what we wished for, and had taken a position about a mile from the town for the purpose, on a very advantageous piece of ground."¹

The troops were under arms at daybreak of the 25th, and had gone through their morning exer-

¹ Gibbes, p. 61, and Lee's *Campaign of 1781*, appendix, p. 11.

cises when the stores arrived. They were looking eagerly for their coming, for the orders of the 24th contained a welcome promise: "The troops are to be furnished with two days provisions, and a gill of spirits per man, as soon as the stores arrive."¹ Stacking their arms, they promptly repaired to the place of distribution. A disappointment awaited them. The food was there, but the spirits had not yet come. They were not far off, however; and receiving the rest of their rations, they made haste to cook it. Some eating their breakfasts in haste, repaired to the brook to wash their clothes. The officers also had been on short allowance, Greene like all the rest. It was full ten before he found time to sit down to a cup of coffee, a rare luxury in his tent.

Suddenly the report of a gun was heard from the woods on the left, and then another and another. Presently the American drum beat to arms, and those who were washing their clothes in the brook, and those who were cooking their food at the mess-fire, seizing their guns, which were at hand, all ready for use, ranged themselves promptly in the ranks. When the line was formed the men were ordered to sit down. "An animated though solemn joy," says an eye-witness, "appeared to pervade the whole army."²

Meanwhile Kirkwood had hastened with the light infantry to the support of the pickets, and the quick, sharp volleys from the woods, told how bravely he was bearing up against the weight of

¹ Order book.

² Greene MSS. Davie's narrative.

the British army. Still he was slowly forced back, disputing the ground foot by foot, to the hill on which the Americans, all in line, were waiting the signal to begin. It was with thrilling nerves that they listened to the approaching battle. It was with throbbing hearts that they saw the blue smoke curling slowly upward above the tufted pines, and tried to guess which way the tide of battle was swaying. And soon Kirkwood with his light infantry, and Smith with the camp guards and pickets, were seen falling slowly back; and pressing close upon them, the British van. A few moments more, and Greene and Rawdon stood face to face.

The English General had ranged his men in a single line, with a corps of observation in the rear; the right wing supported by the volunteers of Ireland, the left by Captain Robertson's detachment. As Greene saw them display, he saw a quick chance of victory in the narrowness of their front, and resolved to strike simultaneously at front, flanks, and rear. Campbell was ordered to wheel upon their right flank, Ford upon their left; Hawes and Gunby to charge in front with the bayonet, and Washington to pass round them under cover of the woods and take them in the rear with his cavalry.

But unfortunately for the success of these manoeuvres, the regiments of Campbell and Ford were new levies, not yet trained to stand fire; and while Ford was exerting himself to bring his men forward, he was struck from his horse by a mortal

wound, and instead of pressing forward to avenge him, they shrank back in dismay. Campbell's likewise failed him at the critical moment, and before either of the flank attacks could be carried out, Rawdon, perceiving his danger, brought up the volunteers of Ireland and extended his line.

Meanwhile the artillery had opened a brisk fire, and the regiments of Gunby and Hawes were advancing to the charge with a firm countenance.¹ The enemy's fire also began to grow heavy; and some companies on Gunby's right, forgetting the order to use only their bayonets, returned it. Still they continued to advance, without any other indications of disorder. But at this moment Captain Beatty, a favorite officer, dropped dead at the head of his company, shot through the heart. The company became deranged; and the confusion quickly extending to that nearest it, both fell out of the line. The other companies were still advancing; and had the rear companies been pressed forward at quick time, the onward impulse might have been preserved, and all yet have gone well. But instead of pushing them all forward, Gunby ordered them to fall back to the foot of the hill, and form there anew. The order was fatal. "We are commanded to retreat," said one to another; and the enemy pressing eagerly forward, the whole regiment gave way. Williams, Gunby, Howard, honored and revered as they were, could do nothing to allay the disorder; and the victors of the

¹ "The whole line," Greene writes on the head of the enemy's column, to Steuben on the 27th, "was soon they were staggered in all quarters, engaged; and the artillery playing and began to retreat."—Greene MSS.

Cowpens, and almost victors of Guilford, yielded to a sudden panic, and broke. Before they could be rallied again, the day was lost.

Only one regiment remained unbroken, the regiment of Hawes. Greene had been with it during most of the fight, and it had suffered more than any of the others. And now again it was advancing to the charge, and was already within forty yards of the enemy, when Rawdon, seeing his advantage, pressed up the hill to take it in flank, and silence the artillery. Greene saw the danger. While there was hope of victory, he had exposed himself to the heaviest fire, and led up his men "like a captain of grenadiers." But when he saw his line broken by the misconduct of his favorite regiment, and the enemy about to double on the flank of the only regiment that still held its ground, he repressed his ardor, and with bitter disappointment issued the order for retreat. Gunby had succeeded at last in reforming his regiment, which now stood abashed at the foot of the hill, a good rallying point for Campbell's and Ford's. Hawes covered them with his, which retired slowly, with a firm countenance, firing as it fell back. Still the artillery was in imminent danger. Harrison had used it with great effect till Hawes was outflanked, but then the matrosses began to drop the ropes, and the artillerymen were looking anxiously around them. But Greene had not lost sight of them; and springing from his horse, he seized a rope with one hand, holding his bridle with the other, and by his voice and example re-

vived the courage of the men. Then he summoned Smith, with his gallant little band of camp guards, to the rescue,—all Irishmen, and not one of them under thirty. Coffin, with the English cavalry, came up at the same time, and in the fierce encounter Smith's men were put to the sword. The cannon seemed lost. But at this decisive moment Washington appeared upon the ground with the American cavalry. Each horseman had a prisoner behind him. To throw the prisoner off was but the work of an instant; and with the impetuous charge, Coffin was put to flight, and the guns saved. But where was Washington during the short, swift moments, that decided the fate of the day?

His orders carried him to the enemy's rear; but the felled trees and thick underwood compelled him to take a wide circuit, and instead of coming into direct contact with their rear, he found himself in the open space between Logtown and Camden, and in the midst of their staff and a miscellaneous body of idlers, whom curiosity had brought out to see the battle. British usage would have justified him in cutting his way through them; but Washington's humanity revolted from such wanton waste of life, and before he could parole them, the fate of the day was decided. His timely succor saved the artillery; and still later in the day, advancing "with the horse and part of the infantry, he drove the enemy from the hill, and obliged them to retreat into town with precipitation."¹ Could he have reached the rear

¹ Greene to Steuben, 27th April. Greene MSS.

of the English line before the Marylanders broke, the whole English army must have laid down their arms.

The Americans retired from the field skirmishing, and in good order; the English making a faint attempt at pursuit, which was soon given over. Between two and three miles from the field of battle, Greene halted to collect his stragglers and refresh his men. Towards evening he fell back a couple of miles further. "The army," say the evening orders, "having received a slight repulse from the enemy, the troops are to encamp this evening at the passes on Saunders Creek and Gum Swamp."¹

Officers and men now looked anxiously for morning orders, for all knew that Greene had taken his defeat sorely to heart. All, too, were eagerly discussing the cause of their failure, for they felt, as they thought it all over, that they ought not to have failed.² The parole and countersign were an indication of the state of Greene's mind: *Persevere* and *Fortitude*.

"Though the action of yesterday," say the orders of the 26th, "terminated unfavorably to the American arms, the General is happy to assure the troops that it is by no means decisive. The extraordinary exertions of the cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Washington, the gallant behavior of the light infantry, commanded by Captain Kirkwood, and the firmness of the picquets under Captains Benson and Morgan, and the good conduct of the camp guards, rendered the advantage expensive to the enemy, highly merit the approbation of the General, and the imitation of the rest of the troops. The General

¹ Order book.

² Davie's narrative in Greene MSS.

presents his thanks to the officers of artillery for the propriety of their conduct on the occasion. Our loss is so inconsiderable, that it is only to be lamented that the troops were not unanimous of a disposition to embrace so excellent an opportunity of gaining a victory.”¹

It was evident that Greene attributed his defeat to the misconduct of the infantry of the battalion; and great was the discontent with which the implied censure was received. “We were ordered to fall back;” said the men, and some of the officers acknowledged that they had communicated the orders.² Gunby asked for a court of inquiry, which was readily granted. “General Huger, Colonel Harrison, and Lieutenant-colonel Washington,” say the orders for Saturday, the 28th of April, at the camp at Rugeley’s Mill, “are to compose a court to inquire into the conduct of Colonel Gunby, in the action of the 25th instant.” On the 2d of May they reported:—

“The court whereof Brigadier-general Huger is president, appointed to inquire into the conduct of Colonel Gunby, in the action of the 25th ultimo, report as follows, namely,

“It appears to the court that Colonel Gunby received orders to advance with his regiment, and charge bayonets, without firing. This order he immediately communicated to his regiment, which advanced cheerfully for some distance, when a firing began on the right of the regiment, and in a short time became general through it. That soon after, two companies on the right of the regiment, gave way. That Colonel Gunby then gave Lieutenant-colonel Howard orders to bring off the other four companies, which at that time appeared disposed to advance,

¹ Order book. Also, Johnson, vol. ² Gordon, vol. iv. p. 85.
ii. p. 85.

except a few. That Lieutenant-colonel Howard brought off the four companies from the left, and joined Colonel Gunby at the foot of the hill, about sixty yards in the rear. That Lieutenant-colonel Howard there found Colonel Gunby actively exerting himself in rallying the two companies that broke from the right, which he effected, and the regiment was again formed and gave a fire or two at the enemy which appeared on the hill in front. It also appeared from other testimony that Colonel Gunby at several other times was active in rallying and forming his troops.

“It appears from the above report that Colonel Gunby’s spirit and activity were unexceptionable. But his order for the regiment to retire, which broke the line, was extremely improper and unmilitary, and in all probability the only cause why we did not obtain a complete victory.”¹

Subsequent reflection confirmed Greene in his opinion. As late as August he wrote to President Reed: “The troops were not to blame in the Camden affair; Gunby was the sole cause of the defeat; and I found him much more blameable afterwards, than I represented him in my public letters.”²

But great as were Greene’s chagrin and “vexation,” the loss of the battle made no alteration in his resolve to drive the enemy from Camden, or in his general plan of operations. “We are now within five miles of Camden,” he wrote to Marion on the day after the battle, “and shall closely invest it in a day or two again.”³ And to Steuben

¹ Order book. Also Johnson, vol. ii. p. 85. In this account of the battle of Hobkirk’s Hill, I have followed Davie,

² *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 361. upon whose authority Marshall made

³ Greene MSS. and Gibbes, p. 60. important changes in his own de-

on the 27th: "This repulse, if repulse it may be called, will make no alteration in our general plan of operations." And to the French minister, "We fight, get beat, rise, and fight again."

scription of it. *Vide* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 6, note. Johnson, vol. ii. pp. 83-93.

In the estimate of casualties and numbers engaged, there are great discrepancies. According to Stedman, Rawdon brought into the field about nine hundred effectives, out of whom, the killed, wounded, and missing amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight.

The American army, according to Marshall, consisted of about twelve hundred in all, Continentals and militia. According to the returns consulted by Gordon, the Continentals were eight hundred and forty-three, the militia two hundred and fifty-four; the whole, including cavalry and artillery, a little over twelve hundred; the killed, wounded, and missing, two hundred and sixty-four. Greene says the two armies were very nearly equal in numbers. Stedman, vol. ii. p. 358. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 7, note (2d. ed). Gordon, vol. iv. pp. 81-85. Greene to President of Congress. Greene MSS.

A remarkable despatch of the imperial ambassador, shows how strong an impression Greene's strategy had made in the diplomatic circles of London:—

"It would be superfluous to inform your princely grace more fully of the encounter of Lord Cornwallis with the American General Greene at Guilford, the 15th of March, and of that of Lord Rawdon on the 25th of the same month, as the news has already been minutely detailed in print in the court gazette of last

Tuesday. I can only have the honor to remark, that notwithstanding the general rejoicing here occasioned by these last advantages, they cannot avoid becoming sensible that the rebels fight as well as the regular troops at present, and that they are more than ever determined to assert their independence. For could more have been undertaken with the best troops, than with those of General Greene? who, after having been beaten at Guilford the 15th of March, led his army to Camden, in South Carolina, a march of sixty German miles in ten days, to make a sudden attack upon Lord Rawdon, and who, if he had succeeded in this, would have advanced directly towards Charleston?

"The friends of the English Government, upon whom they greatly depended, were either not numerous enough, or not sufficiently supported, to follow up the advantages which had been expected. The small armies of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Rawdon, and General Arnold, diminished unexpectedly, notwithstanding their victories, and not speaking of those taken away by sickness; while the rebels were able to collect their well drilled militia, armed with muskets, with the greatest rapidity whenever a new undertaking was necessitated, and were also provided with victuals and forage, the want of which compelled Lord Cornwallis to approach the sea near Cape Fear, after having wandered about the interior parts of North and South Carolina during the whole campaign."

CHAPTER XVI.

What Reinforcements were promised. — Letters to Sumter. — Sumter unwilling to join the Main Army. — Marion's Hearty Coöperation. — Greene's Letter to him. — Lee asks to serve under him. — Lee's Zeal and Activity. — Letters. — Relative Position of the Armies unchanged by the Battle. — Blockade of Camden continued. — Instructions to Marion. — Fall of Fort Watson announced to the Army. — Greene's Anxieties. — Energy of Davie and Carlington. — Armies on Paper. — Failure of Reinforcements. — Consultation with Davie. — Marauding and Desertion. — Court Martials.

WHEN Greene decided to carry the war into South Carolina, he counted upon a reinforcement of fifteen hundred or two thousand men from Virginia, and a thousand from the Carolinas, under Sumter.¹ This would have given him an army of nearly five thousand men; and with five thousand men he could easily have blockaded Lord Rawdon in Camden, made himself master of the posts on the Santee and Congaree, and opened a way to Ninety-six and Augusta. As he advanced towards Camden, he kept Sumter advised of his progress, and of the coöperation which he expected from him.

“Lieutenant-colonel Lee,” he writes to him on the 15th of April, “is on his march from the Pedee to the Santee, and will cross that river somewhere near Nelson's Ferry, and come up on the other side. Perhaps you may make

¹ Greene to President of Congress, April 22, 1781.

your movements coöperate with his and also those of General Pickens. You will keep in mind that our force when collected is very small ; and therefore you should not lose sight of a junction should Lord Cornwallis move this way. If he should not, and the garrison at Camden is not well supplied with provisions, it must fall in a few days. . . . You will not fail to give me constant intelligence of your force and situation, as matters may grow very critical by and by. If the Virginia militia come up, I think we shall fight the enemy to good advantage ; but if not, we shall be weak. It will be necessary, therefore, to have some measures taken to secure a retreat, and a small quantity of provisions should be laid in upon the Catawba, up in the neighborhood of the Waxhaws. The magazine need not contain provision for more than three thousand men for four days. Another collection should be made at Charlotte ; however, this I will attend to ; and I have a magazine forming at Oliphant's Mill, at which place all our baggage and stores are collecting. . . . The Pennsylvania line and reinforcements from Maryland and Virginia are coming to join this army, but it will be some time before they can get up with us. If we can hold our ground until their arrival, I make no doubt we shall have it in our power to drive the enemy out of the upper country.

“North Carolina are collecting their troops also, by drafts, agreeable to the late law, and from present appearances, promise a reinforcement of twelve or fifteen hundred men. Encourage the people, and let us do all we can ; and if Providence smiles upon our endeavors, happily we may have it in our power to give relief to this oppressed country.

“Much blood has been spilt, and more must be spilt before this country can regain its liberty.”¹

On the 19th he wrote again : —

¹ Greene to Sumter, April 15, 1781. Greene MSS.

“The army has arrived, and taken a position within three miles of Camden. The country is barren, and promises no hope of support. My great dependence will be on you for supplies of corn and meal. Both of these articles are immediately wanted, and unless you can furnish me with them, it will be impossible for me to keep my position here. I want to know very much your situation, and how you have disposed of yourself, so as to coöperate with our army on a particular emergency.”

On the 23d he wrote again: “I must depend entirely on you to secure us on the quarter from Ninety-six to Charleston on the west side of the Wateree.” Supplies Sumter sent, corn and meal; but he could not bend his proud spirit to subordinate coöperation, and was still finding excuses for holding aloof from the main army. He had been accustomed to act alone, and in the preceding campaigns had rendered important service in keeping alive the spirit of resistance. That indeed was his true field; but he confounded the desultory action of a body of volunteers, who came and went as they chose, with the systematic action of a regular army, controlled by one mind, and directed to the accomplishment of a definite purpose. Though sorely annoyed, Greene was unwilling, at so critical a moment, to compel a reluctant obedience, which would probably have been followed by a resignation injurious to the general interest; and therefore he bore with him in his delays, praised him in his success, and did all that he could to make the most of his fluctuating assistance. But to Lee, in whom he fully confided, he wrote, “General Sumter has got but few men; he has taken

the field, and is pushing after little parties of Tories toward Ninety-six. Major Hyrne is gone to him, if possible to get him to join us; but this I know he will avoid, if he can with decency." There was one use, however, which his erratic course might serve, and this Greene was disposed to turn to the best account; the enemy might look upon it as part of a general plan, and give more attention to his movements than they really deserved.¹

Very different had been the conduct of Marion, who, upon the receipt of Greene's orders, had promptly united his forces with those of Lee, and acted with him rather as a coöperator than as a superior, in the siege of Fort Watson. No sooner had he completed the reduction of that important post, than he hastened to throw himself in front of Watson, whose movements became, for the moment, the principal object of attention. Lee was so impressed by him that he wrote to Greene on the 20th of April, "I wish you would write a long letter to General Marion. His services demand

¹ The sternest judgment that I have seen upon this subject is in Davie's manuscript sketch of parts of this campaign, from which I copy.

"General Greene was deeply disgusted with the conduct of General Sumter, who had repeatedly refused to obey his express and urgent orders to join him before Camden; to this strange and unmilitary conduct of Sumter, he justly attributed his incapacity to effect the complete investment of Camden; the loss of the action on the 25th; and the arrival of reinforcements under Watson to

the enemy; and considering him as a mere Pandour, or freebooter, whose sole object was plunder, and who therefore, would neither act under him nor in concert with him, he would certainly have arrested him but from considerations arising from the state of the country at the time, and the hope that these rambling expeditions of Sumter might arrest the attention of the enemy, and be considered by them as connected with some plan of general operations, and thereby attract more attention than they really deserved."—Greene MSS.

great acknowledgments, and I fear he thinks himself neglected.”¹

“When I consider how much you have done and suffered,” Greene wrote to him on the 24th of April, “and under what disadvantages you have maintained your ground, I am at a loss which to admire most, your courage and fortitude, or your address and management. Certain it is no man has a better claim to the public thanks, or is more generally admired than you are. History affords no instance wherein an officer has kept possession of a country under so many disadvantages as you have; surrounded on every side with a superior force, hunted from every quarter with veteran troops, you have found means to elude all their attempts, and to keep alive the expiring hopes of an oppressed militia, when all succor seemed to be cut off. To fight the enemy bravely, with a prospect of victory, is nothing; but to fight with intrepidity, under the constant impression of a defeat, and inspire irregular troops to do it, is a talent peculiar to yourself. Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to do justice to your merit, and I shall miss no opportunity of declaring to Congress, the Commander-in-chief of the American army, and to the world in general, the great sense I have of your merit and services.”²

Lee even carried his admiration so far as to ask to be put “in some degree under Marion’s command;” adding, “it will please him, and I admire him.”

But in intelligence, activity, and zeal, no one in these critical days excelled, and few equaled Lee. From Greene’s first communication of his intention to carry the war into South Carolina, Lee had caught eagerly at the historical allusion with

¹ Greene MSS.

² Gibbes, No. 78.

which he had illustrated it, and written in reply, "I am decidedly of opinion with you that nothing is left for you but to imitate the example of Scipio Africanus." In his fervid zeal, he sometimes urged his own views, without always giving full weight to the responsibility which lay upon the shoulders of the Commander-in-chief. "I beg you will send down a field-piece," he writes from before Fort Watson; "it can get to me in one day and a half. I will have horses to meet it, which will go off from me on hearing from you. All things are well here, and no possible danger can attend the sending the cannon. Five minutes will finish the business, and it can immediately return."¹

"I wrote you yesterday," he writes the next day. "A few hours after, I dispatched Dr. Irvin to you, that no want of information might lose me the aid I asked."² Three letters followed on the 20th, one of them in cipher, and all breathing the same eager spirit. There had been an unavoidable delay in sending forward the cannon. But on the 24th, Greene wrote to Marion, "A field-piece is coming to your assistance, which I hope will enable you and Colonel Lee to get possession of the fort. With the artillery you will receive one hundred pounds powder, and four hundred pounds lead. I wish my present stock would enable me to send you a larger supply, but it will not, having sent you near half we have."³

¹ Greene MSS. Lee to Greene, 18 April, 1781.

² Greene MSS. Lee to Greene, 19 April, 1781.

³ Gibbes, No. 78.

But Lee's thirst for action grew with the indulgence. No sooner had Fort Watson surrendered, than he wrote to ask for a detachment of "a hundred picked riflemen, and fifty infantry." With this addition to their strength, he said, he and Marion could render important service. But with all his confidence in him, Greene was compelled to be very cautious in the use of his limited and precarious resources.¹

"You best know your own situation, and your own wishes," he answered, "but you are not well informed of mine. . . . General Marion and you will cross the river together, or act separately, as occasion and intelligence may dictate as necessary, but don't run great risks."²

And again on the next day: —

"Your letter of the 28th has just been received. You write as if I had an army of fifty thousand men. Surely you cannot be unacquainted with our real situation. . . . I am as strongly impressed with the necessity of pushing our operations to the west side of the Santee as you can be, but the means are wanting. We want reinforcements, you want detachments; and if you and General Marion separate, you will be both exposed. . . . I beg you not to think of running great hazards; our situation will not warrant it. If we cannot accomplish great things, we must content ourselves in having avoided a misfortune. . . . I cannot agree with you that the further south we go the better. The posts on the Santee and Congaree should be our great object."³

The battle had made very little change in the

¹ Gibbes, No. 81.

³ Greene MSS., and H. Lee, *Campaign of 1781*.

² Gibbes, No. 82. Like the preceding, first published in Lee's *Campaign of 1781*. Gibbes, No. 82.

relative position of the two armies. Lord Rawdon found himself weaker by nearly three hundred men, and had only Watson to look to for a reinforcement. Greene had lost about as many, but had the promise of reinforcements, both of regulars and militia. Provisions were scarce in the British garrison; and its communications with Charleston were already difficult. It was in no condition to hazard a second battle. How long would it be able to hold out under a rigorous blockade?

To draw this blockade still closer, and intercept Watson, was the immediate object of Greene's attention. "We are now within five miles of Camden," he wrote to Marion the day after the battle, "and shall closely invest it in a day or two again. That we may be able to operate with more certainty against this post, I should be glad you would move up immediately to our assistance, and take post on the north side of the town." Later information led him on the 28th to modify his order.

"Captain Snipes has just arrived in camp," he wrote on that day, "and says that reports were below that we were routed and totally dispersed. You will take measures to have the above contradicted, and the people properly informed. By mistake we got a slight repulse; the injury is not great. The enemy suffered much more than we did. What has happened will make no alteration in our plan of operations; and therefore, I wish you to pursue the same plan as you had in contemplation before. In my last I desired you to move up within seven miles of Camden; but Captain Conyers thinks that with fifty

men below, at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles, all the supplies can be as effectually cut off as if you were at a less distance ; and that if you cross the Santee, you can take all the posts upon the Congaree, and those posts which lie between Camden and the river. I have therefore sent Captain Conyers to conduct the artillery to you, which I was informed this morning by express was on its return, Major Eaton having heard of the reduction of the fort. You will cross the River Santee, or detach Lieutenant-colonel Lee, and direct your force as information and circumstances may direct, either towards Georgetown or elsewhere, as shall appear necessary, keeping me constantly advised of your situation, and leaving a guard of about sixty men, at or about the High Hills of Santee, to prevent supplies from going to Camden. Get all the good dragoon horses you can to mount our cavalry ; those for Colonel Washington's corps, Captain Conyers will take care of. This is a great object, and I beg you to pay particular attention to it."¹

It was not till the 26th of April that tidings of the fall of Fort Watson reached the camp at Gum Swamp. On the 27th it was announced in morning orders, and the names of the victors, Marion and Lee, given out as the countersign for the ensuing day.² In after orders at three o'clock, the army was directed to "march immediately to join the baggage at Rugeley's Mill," where there was a better chance "of recruiting the cattle."³

These were anxious days for Greene. "The country was extremely difficult to operate in, being much cut to pieces by deep creeks and impassable morasses. And many parts are covered

¹ Gibbes, No 80.

² Order Book.

³ Greene to President of Congress, May 5, 1781. Greene MSS.

with such heavy timber and thick underbrush, as exposes an army, and particularly detachments, to frequent surprises.”¹ In spite of the sound judgment and strenuous exertions of Davie, the commissariat was a constant source of anxiety, for it was necessary to provide for retreat as well as for advance, and establish magazines in the rear at the same time that food was secured for daily consumption. Carrington was indefatigable in his efforts to provide the means of transportation, and “measures were adopted to draw subsistence from the depots in North Carolina. The distance, however, was great; the transportation, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Quartermaster-general, difficult and precarious, and the arrival at head-quarters irregular and uncertain.”² Greene was often reminded of his own experience in the north.

For ammunition and arms he was dependent

¹ Greene to President of Congress, April 22, 1781. Greene MSS.

² “The mind looks back with astonishment on the perseverance and success with which General Greene passed through this awful crisis, on which depended the recovery of South Carolina and Georgia, and the independence of the whole southern section of the Union. Many of the greatest captains of every age have been obliged either to abandon their object or sacrifice their armies on the failure of subsistence, even when they had all the advantage of previous arrangement, and widely despotic power. Frederick the Great has recorded, with all the fidelity of history, his numerous embarrass-

ments and painful sacrifices in consequence of the failure of subsistence; and we have seen the most formidable army of modern times, commanded by the late Emperor of France, utterly destroyed from the same cause. The public treasury sunk under the drain of millions expended in the support of the northwestern army under General Harrison, in the late war of 1812, and the embarrassment and sufferings of our troops in every other quarter from the same source, under all the advantages derived from an existing, well-organized government, will never be forgotten.” — Davie’s memoranda in Greene MSS.

upon Virginia, not having even a common armorer with him, or the means of making the slightest repairs.¹ In March the "vein" of the Virginia lead mines had failed, leaving "the army in great distress and danger."² Could Greene have relied upon the resolves of Congress and the State legislatures, he would have been sure of soon finding himself at the head of a respectable army. But the experience of six campaigns had taught him to look with many misgivings upon armies on paper. His regulars were fast leaving him, as their terms of service expired, and the new levies came very slowly in, when they came at all.

"The 2,000 Virginia militia I have been expecting to join us," he writes to the President of Congress on the 5th of May, "have not come out, nor can I learn when they will. Captain Pendleton, one of my aids, who I sent from Deep River to hasten their march, has returned, and informs me that from the criminal negligence of the county lieutenants it is altogether uncertain when they will be ready to take the field, and from the cavillings of some, but a small proportion can be expected at all. . . . Many of the Maryland troops' time of service is expired, and we are daily discharging them; sometimes not less than eight or ten a day, and those some of the best soldiers in the field. Maryland has neglected us altogether; not a man has joined us from that State since I have been in the department."³

"Delaware has not answered my letters," he writes to President Reed on the 4th of May. . . . "North

¹ Letter to Steuben. Greene Washington, April 15, 1781. *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. MSS. p. 292.

² Jefferson to President of Congress. *Jefferson's Works* (Congress edition), vol. i. p. 300. Steuben to

³ Greene MSS.

Carolina has got next to no men in the field, and few militia, and those the worst in the world, for they have neither pride nor principle to bind them to any party, or to a discharge of their duty. Generals Marion and Sumter have a few people who adhere to them, perhaps more from a desire and the opportunity of plundering, than from any inclination to support the independence of the United States.”¹

It was during one of these anxious days, that he sent for Colonel Davie earlier in the evening than usual.

“I found the map on the table,” writes Davie, “and he introduced the business of the night with the following striking observations: ‘You see that we must again resume the partisan war. Rawdon has now a decided superiority of force; he has pushed us to a sufficient distance to leave him free to act on any object within his reach. He will strike at Lee and Marion, reinforce himself by all the troops that can be spared from the several garrisons, and push me back to the mountains. You acted in this quarter in the last campaign. I wish you to point out the military positions on both sides of the river, ascending it to the mountains, and give me the necessary information. You observe our dangerous and critical situation. The regular troops are now reduced to a handful, and I am without militia to perform the convoy or detachment service, or any immediate prospect of receiving any reinforcement. Sumter refuses to obey my orders, and carries off with him all the active force of this unhappy State on rambling, predatory excursions, unconnected with the operations of the army. North Carolina, dispirited by the loss of her regular troops in Charleston,

¹ Parts of this letter are extracted by Gordon, who adds: “Greene complains in this letter of the Marylanders; but they had raised five hundred regulars, who might have joined him in April, if proper pains had been taken by the executive power.”—Gordon, vol. iv. p. 88.

stunned into a kind of stupor by the defeat of General Gates, and held in check by Major Craig and the loyalists, makes no effort of any kind. Congress seems to have lost sight of the southern States, and have abandoned them to their fate, so much so that I am even as much distressed for ammunition as for men.

“We must always calculate on the maxim “that your enemy will do what he ought to do.” We will dispute every inch of ground in the best manner we can, but Rawdon will push me back to the mountains. Lord Cornwallis will establish a chain of posts along James River, and the southern States thus cut off will die like the tail of a snake.’

“These are his very words; they made a deep and melancholy impression, and I shall never forget them.”¹

A cause of deep anxiety to Greene was the difficulty of suppressing marauding and checking desertion, two fertile sources of demoralization to an army. And as a side light in the living picture of the time, it becomes us to observe that in the orders for the 27th of April, immediately after the annunciation of the fall of Fort Watson, we read: “It is reported to head-quarters that one or two houses have been burnt by the troops or women of the American army. Any person

¹ That this conversation actually occurred, the character of Davie forbids us to doubt. But it is equally impossible to doubt that his memory has deceived him as to the time of its occurrence. A letter of the 9th of May to Colonel Lee, shows that Greene at that time had no apprehension of being compelled to retreat before Rawdon. Nor can it be reconciled with his letters and conduct immediately after the battle of Hob-

kirk's Hill, except, perhaps, a letter to the French minister. The siege of Fort Motte did not begin till the 8th of May, and at that time, his mind was occupied with the movements of Cornwallis. Rawdon's superiority began with the arrival of Watson. Those who are familiar with historical research, know how treacherous the memory is in all that concerns details and dates.

hereafter detected in such an offense shall suffer death." And on the 30th, that five deserters were arraigned, and after due consideration of "the charges, evidence, and defense for and against" them, "respectively" found guilty, and condemned to death. "The General," we still read, "approves the proceedings of the court. He would be extremely happy if the offense of these unfortunate men deserved a punishment less severe. But desertion is a crime so dangerous to an army that policy has dictated the mode of correction. The indispensable necessity of giving some serious example, and the recent misfortunes the troops have suffered by the perfidy of some of their unworthy companions, forbid the exercise of lenity, and compel the General to admit the force of martial law. The criminals are to be executed according to the sentences announced against them at four of the clock to-morrow afternoon."

On the 6th of May, when the army lay at Twenty-five Mile Creek, I read: "The rolls are to be called every hour, to confine the soldiers to camp and prevent marauding."

Even for officers the reins of discipline have from time to time to be tightened. On the 2d of May, an ensign of the Virginia line was put upon his trial for sleeping at his post, and suffering a part of his guard to go into the country a plundering. He was found guilty of the first charge only, and condemned to be cashiered. "The General approves the sentence," adds Greene, "and hopes it may prove a warning to prevent others from

falling into the same dangerous negligence, which might prove fatal both to the guard and the army. Officers who are entrusted with the command of the out-guards, cannot be too vigilant, as they have the lives of the whole army in charge, and are answerable for any misfortune that may happen through their inattention.”¹

¹ Orderly Book.

CHAPTER XVII.

Rumors from North Carolina. — Cornwallis supposed to be coming Southward. — Greene prepares for his Coming. — Tarleton again. — Some Good News. — Further Intelligence. — Greene to Marion. — Watson on his Way to Camden. — Major Hyrne. — Preparations for the New Danger. — Letter to General Pickens. — Greene's New Plan of Operations. — Major Hyrne sent to Marion, Sumter, and Lee. — Greene to Lee. — Plan communicated to Lafayette and Steuben. — Rawdon marches out to attack Greene. — Finds him too strongly posted. — Camden evacuated. — Rawdon's Retreat. — Greene writes to the President of Congress. — Surrender of Fort Mott. — Greene in Marion's Camp. — Lee captures Fort Granby. — Letter to Governor Rutledge. — A Cartel established. — Troubles. — Want of Horses. — Impressment. — Troubles from Virginia. — Unwise Action of the Assembly. — Correspondence with Jefferson. — Momentary Alienation of Marion. — Letters. — Sumter and Fort Granby. — Sumter asks Leave to resign. — Greene refuses.

MEANWHILE Greene had never lost sight of the enemy's movements in North Carolina, concerning which many flying rumors found their way to head-quarters, perplexingly mingled with accurate intelligence. He had hardly sat down before Camden, when a report came that a British detachment was marching upon Newbern; and the necessary orders were immediately sent to General Sumner and General Butler. On the 24th of April, he wrote to Marion: "I have this moment got intelligence that Lord Cornwallis crossed the Cape Fear River last week, in order to begin his march towards this State. I beg you

to take measures to discover his route and approach."¹ This was what Greene had always wished for, and he looked anxiously for further intelligence, in order to shape his plans to the new emergency. But day after day passed without bringing any, and on the 29th, the movements of the British general were still doubtful. Tarleton now appears upon the scene as the precursor of Cornwallis. "Keep a good lookout for Tarleton," Greene writes to Marion on the 1st of May, in answer to Marion's letter of the 30th of April, in which he had announced Tarleton's approach. "I think it is probable he is on the Georgetown route; but it is possible he may be on the upper route, as I hear of a guard being lately surprised near the Cheraws. . . . Should Tarleton get into Camden, Lieutenant-colonel Lee with his force must join us immediately. Major McArthur is on his way to Camden, and I fear has passed Sumter. If all those detachments which are directing their course towards Camden get in, the enemy will be strong then." Two pleasant pieces of intelligence are announced in the same letter. Fresh news from Sumter: "General Sumter is on the Congarees, with a considerable force, and still increasing," and fresh news from the north: "The Marquis de Lafayette, with a large detachment from the northern army and the Pennsylvania line, are both on the march to join the southward army."²

Further intelligence, though still perplexing,

¹ Greene MSS., and Gibbes, No. 78.

² Gibbes, No. 84.

came on the 3d of May, and Greene immediately wrote to Marion : —

“ I wrote you day before yesterday that Lord Cornwallis was in motion, and that it was uncertain which way he meant to operate ; but in any case it was necessary for us to collect our force, for which purpose I had given Lieutenant-colonel Lee orders to join the main army immediately, with the different detachments and the field-piece. I am not determined yet what line of conduct to pursue, supposing Lord Cornwallis to move northwardly, and therefore wish you to continue at or near Congaree, so as to prevent supplies from coming to Camden, until you hear further from me. I expect more full intelligence to-night, which will enable me to decide. Don't forget to give me an account of your numbers ; and you would promote the service greatly if you could furnish us with sixty or eighty good dragoon horses. I am sorry for Colonel Kolb's death, and the necessity there is for detaching a part of your regiment.”¹

Sumter also was written to.

“ We shall halt upon the Twenty-five Miles Creek, till I hear further from you, Colonel Lee, and Lord Cornwallis.”²

A few hours more brought important intelligence ; Watson had eluded the vigilance of Marion and Lee, and was “ on his way to Camden.”

“ This is rather an unfortunate circumstance,” Greene wrote to Marion on the 7th, “ as the enemy will begin to be impudent, and to show themselves without their works, which they have never ventured upon since the morning of the 25th. Our force divided, and the enemy collected, put matters upon an unmilitary footing. There is no further intelligence from Lord Cornwallis, which induces me to believe he is marching northwardly. Major Hyrne

¹ Gibbes, No. 85.

² Greene MSS.

will inform you of my plan. Supposing that to be the case, the Major will inform you also how far Lieutenant-colonel Lee is at liberty to continue to operate with you against the fort you were yesterday firing at. I should be exceedingly glad to have an account of the probable operating force you may expect to act with you for some months to come. This will enable me to judge with more certainty the propriety of the plans I have in contemplation.”¹

Meanwhile every preparation was made to meet the new danger. Carriers were kept constantly in motion. Orders were given to secure the public stores. Not a detail seems to have escaped Greene's vigilance. He was too familiar with disappointment to allow himself to be flattered into security by promises of support; and most of his letters are filled with the dangers that he foresaw, rather than the hopes that he cherished.² This trait of his character I have already given in his own words, in the letter to his wife announcing the victory of the Cowpens. Sometimes, however, he found it politic to assume a more cheerful tone, as in a letter of the 9th to General Pickens:—

“It gives me pleasure to find the people are still desirous of affording their assistance to expel the enemy, notwithstanding all their sufferings. Encourage them all you can; and as there is a scarcity of arms, I would take them from the old and infirm, to put into the hands of the young and healthy, who are willing to aid the operations. It would be best, if you could effect it, to get the people to engage for a given time, not less than four months. Great things may be done in that time, as Lord Cornwall-

¹ Gibbes, No. 86.

and Sumner, Mr. Long, Mr. Clay,

² Greene MSS. from April 24 to
May 14. Letters to Generals Butler etc.

lis is in all probability gone northwardly, and will afford the people a happy opportunity of recovering their freedom. . . . Collect all the force you can, and hold them in perfect readiness for the close investiture of Ninety-six, which will soon be undertaken. Nothing new from the northward, only troops are coming to the southward very fast.”¹

These were cheerful tidings for Pickens to spread through the country, and raise therewith the hopes of the Whigs. They were heavy tidings for the garrisons of Ninety-six and Augusta, and heavier still for the Tories.

That Cornwallis was in motion, was sure; but in what direction, was not sure; for his position admitted of his moving either towards South Carolina or Virginia. “I am rather inclined to think,” Greene wrote to Sumter on the 6th of May, “that he will leave everything here, and move northward. I am led to entertain this opinion from its being the original plan, and from the earl’s being too proud to relinquish his object.”

In either case, whether the British general moved towards South Carolina as Greene hoped, or towards Virginia as he feared, what should the American general do? Things were greatly changed since he set out from the banks of Deep River on his adventurous descent upon the enemy’s lines in South Carolina. One strong link in the chain of their defense had been broken. Camden, the strongest of all, was already straitened for supplies; and though capable of withstanding a storm, wholly unprepared to withstand a block-

¹ Greene to Pickens, May 9, 1781.

ade. The fall of the posts on the Congaree might be looked for from day to day. The fall of Ninety-six and Augusta would soon follow, either by voluntary evacuation or by surrender. The great blow in the liberation of South Carolina had been struck. Might not the rest be entrusted to a subordinate? It was evident that the English minister was at last fully awake to the importance of the conquest of Virginia, as the basis of the conquest of the Union. Philips was already there with a strong force. Cornwallis would soon be there, and by joining his own forces to those of Philips, find himself at the head of a formidable army. Where, then, but in front of his old antagonist, was the place for Greene?

Thus reasoned the American general; and unwilling to commit his plan to writing, sent Major Hyrne, a trusted officer, to communicate it orally to Marion, Sumter, and Lee. Lee, ever prepared for bold and decisive movements, accepted it in all but the part assigned to Greene. Unfortunately the details of the plan have not been preserved, and we can only judge Lee's reasoning by Greene's letter of the 9th of May: —

“Major Hyrne having made you fully acquainted with my general plan of operations, it will be unnecessary for me to be more explicit on that head. It gives me pleasure to find that your sentiments so perfectly correspond with mine in all the points except the duty of 310 (General Greene). This I suppose you mean as a compliment, upon your general principles that all men are fond of flattery. But you will give me leave to tell you that if 306 (Lord Cornwallis) is gone to the northward, that great abilities

will not be wanted here. The plan being laid, and a position taken, the rest will be a war of posts; and the most that will be left to be performed by the commanding officer, until we come to Camden, is to make proper detachments, and give the command of them to proper officers. The plan being laid, the glory will belong to the executive officers executing the business. The benefit resulting from our operations will, in a great measure, depend upon the proper management of affairs in Virginia. If the principal officer in the enemy's interest is there, who should be opposed to him? Which will be more honorable, to be active there, or laying, as it were, idle here? From whence comes our supplies to this quarter, and who is most likely to give timely and necessary support to all parts of the department; one that has but a partial interest, or one that is interested equally in all the parts? I am confident nothing would come to this army, and all things be in confusion, if 310 (General Greene) was not to go to the northward. Therefore, whether taken up in a military, personal, or public point of view, I am decided it is his interest and duty to go; nor can I conceive the great inconveniences will arise from it here, you mention. I am confident B——s will arrange matters very well, and 310 (General Greene) will direct him to the proper objects to employ. Much is to be done in Virginia, and without great prudence on our part, matters may be reduced to great extremity there; and depend upon it, the enemy's great push will be against that State, as it may be said, in some sort, to sever the Continental interest asunder. More advantage will result from 310's (General Greene) going than staying; for he can serve them more effectually yonder than here; and vanity will lead him to think that he can oppose the enemy more effectually there than those that will command if he don't go." ¹

¹ H. Lee, *Campaign of 1781*, p. 356.

Lee weighed Greene's reasoning well, and frankly answered on the 10th, "Your reasons concerning the duty of 310 fully convince me that my ideas were erroneous."¹ On the 14th, Greene communicated his intentions to Lafayette and to Steuben; and meanwhile, pushed on with unremitting activity his operations against the English posts on the Congaree, necessary preliminaries to the sieges of Ninety-six and Augusta.

Events were passing rapidly; one of them fortunate for the British general,—for Watson, in spite of the vigilance of Marion and Lee, succeeded in making his way into Camden on the 7th of May;² but the others all favorable to the Americans. On the very night of Watson's arrival, the active Rawdon "crossed the Wateree at Camden ferry, proposing to turn the flank, and attack the rear of Greene's army." But on the very same night, the vigilant American, foreseeing his adversary's designs, had retired to a new position at Sandy's Creek, "five miles higher up the river." But dissatisfied with this as a position to "risk an action in" he removed four miles still further up, to Colonel's Creek, "leaving on the ground the horse pickets and light infantry." The enemy followed, and mistaking the American corps of observation for the American army, drew up in order of battle, and drove in the pickets. "I examined every point of his situation," wrote Rawdon; I found it everywhere so strong that I could

¹ Greene MSS. Lee to Greene, May 10, 1781. Parts of this letter are in cipher. ² Lord Rawdon to Earl Cornwallis, May 24, 1781. Tarleton, p. 475.

not hope to force it without suffering such loss as must have crippled my force for any future enterprise; and the retreat lay so open for him, I could not hope that victory would give us any advantage sufficiently decisive to counterbalance the loss. . . . I therefore returned to Camden the same afternoon, after having in vain attempted to decoy the enemy into action, by affecting to conceal our retreat.”¹

On the 9th Lord Rawdon began his preparations for the evacuation of Camden. It was sad to see the young town made “little better than a heap of rubbish.” It was hard for troops that had fought so bravely and endured so much, to set fire with their own hands to “the greater part of their baggage.” But it was harder still for them to leave fifty-three of their companions and three of their officers behind them, “all too badly wounded to be moved.” The inhabitants also fared hard in this disastrous moment. The jail, the mill, and even private houses were burned, and private stores destroyed, and then the British general set forward on his retreat, directing his steps, first towards Neilson’s Ferry, in the hope of rescuing the garrison of Fort Motte; and failing in that, to Monk’s Corner, within thirty miles of Charleston. Greene “immediately took possession” of the deserted town, and began to level the works. “Had the Virginia militia arrived in time,” he wrote to the President of Congress, “the garrison would have fallen into our hands.”²

¹ Rawdon to Cornwallis, *ut sup.*,

² Greene to Washington and President of Congress, 14 May, 1781.

“On the 11th of May, the post of Orangeburg, commanded by a colonel, and consisting of eighty men and several officers, part British, surrendered to General Sumter, who by his address so intimidated the garrison in the disposition of his artillery and troops, as to produce a surrender of a very strong post without loss of time or men. Great quantities of provision and some other stores were found at this.” So writes Green on the 14th, adding,

“On the 12th Fort Motte surrendered to General Marion.”¹

This was one of the most important posts on the Congaree. The house from which it took its name was a spacious mansion-house, recently built on the summit of a high hill. Around this a deep trench had been dug, and the inner side of the trench protected by strong palisades. A garrison of a hundred and forty men, a hundred and twenty of whom were British or Hessians, defended these strong works. The British commander was Lieutenant Macpherson, “a very gallant officer.” On the 8th the siege began. On the 12th “the approaches had been carried to the foot of the *abattis*.” The fort still held out, and the gleam of Lord Rawdon’s watch-fires was seen on the opposite bank of the Congaree. There was but one way to enforce an immediate surrender, and that was by setting fire to the mansion-house. Mrs. Motte herself was in the American camp, having taken refuge in the old farm-house when her new house

Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. iii. p. 310. Lord Rawdon to Lord Cornwallis. Tarleton, *ut sup.* Rawdon claims to have saved everything worth saving, and to have left only

about thirty of his sick and wounded behind.

¹ Greene to President of Congress and Washington, 14 May, 1781. *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 310.

was converted into a fort. In this humbler dwelling she had received the American officers, setting choice food and rich wines before them. And with the means which her ample stores afforded, she had supplied the wants of the sick, seasoning her gifts with kind looks and soothing words. The stern duty of telling her what a sacrifice her country demanded at her hands, fell upon Lee, who would gladly have shrunk from the task. She heard him with a smile, told him in unpretending words how happy she was to have the opportunity of proving her love of country by her acts; and seeing the bow and arrows with which the house was to be set on fire, begged him to accept a choicer bow and arrows of her own, that the work might be done more surely. In a short time the house was in flames and the garrison prisoners.

A little later Greene, who had been watching the movements of Lord Rawdon, and was hastening his preparations for crossing the Congaree with his army, rode into the camp before Fort Motte with an escort of cavalry. He had grown anxious for the safety of his detachment; and, as at the Yadkin and the Dan, was resolved to see with his own eyes.¹ There he could take Marion for the first time by the hand, and tell him how highly he esteemed him. There he could converse confidentially with Lee, with whom he always rejoiced to take counsel; and there too he could thank, by word of mouth, Finley of the artillery, and Oldham

¹ Greene to Washington and President of Congress. *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 310. *Lee's Memoirs*, ch. xxix.

and Smith of the infantry, and young Eaton, who was soon to lay down his life for his country. It was a moment full of hopes, and of hopes that were not all to prove vain.

On the 14th, the post at Neilson's Ferry was evacuated. On the 13th, Lee, whose detachment was now called the van of the army, began his march for Fort Granby, at Friday's Ferry, about thirty miles west of Fort Motte, with minute instructions from Greene for acting upon the avidity of the commander, Major Maxwell, in order to force him to a prompt surrender. Pressing his march, Lee reached the fort in time to erect a battery in the night of the 14th. Three discharges of his single field-piece brought on a parley, and the offer of security to the baggage, which was largely composed of plunder, a surrender. The militia were disgusted with these easy terms for a band distinguished rather as marauders than as soldiers, and many muttered threats of vengeance. Greene solemnly declared that the first violator of the capitulation should be put to death. Thus three hundred and fifty-two men, the greater part of them royal militia, were added to the American list of prisoners.¹ On the 24th Greene wrote to General Butler: "Since we came into this State we have taken near eight hundred prisoners and fifty officers." In less than a month from the day on which he first sat down before Camden, he had taken four of the enemy's posts, compelled the

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 90. *Lee's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 81, *et seq.* Greene to Lee, May 13.

evacuation of two, and now from the heart of South Carolina, was about to advance against the only two points beyond the sea-board, wherein the British authority was still recognized, Ninety-six, and Augusta.

‘Never yet had his pen written words more grateful to his feelings than the words he wrote to Governor Rutledge from the camp at McCord’s Ferry, on the 14th of May :—

“Camden is evacuated, Fort Motte and Orangeburg taken, Ninety-six and Friday’s Ferry besieged, and a probability of Neilson’s Ferry being evacuated, which will lay open the whole country, should the upper posts be reduced, of which there is a good prospect. From the state in which I find things, and the confusion and persecution which I foresee, I could wish that civil government might be set up immediately, as it is of importance to have the minds of the people formed to the habits of civil rather than military authority. This is upon the presumption we are able to hold our ground, which is altogether uncertain.

“I have not time to go into a detail of matters, but you may depend upon it that many unruly spirits will require bridling in this country to make the people feel a happiness in the success of our arms.”

The reader will remember the early efforts which Greene had made for the establishment of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Anxious as he had been to carry relief to those suffering men, it was not till the 10th of May, in the midst of the active scenes which immediately followed the evacuation of Camden, that he was able to write :—

“I do myself the honor to inclose to your excellency a

copy of the conditions of a cartel agreed to for the exchange of prisoners in the southern department, which I hope will meet the approbation of Congress. The business has been a long while in hand, and many interruptions happened from the operations of the two armies, and the enemy insisting upon conditions contrary to the principles laid down as a rule of conduct for the government of the commissioner on our part. . . . Many hundreds of our people taken by the enemy enlist into their service. At the beginning of the war perhaps this practice was attended with less injury than now. The suffering of our soldiers in captivity in the early part of the war led many from our officers to encourage the men to enlist to get an opportunity to make their escape. But soldiers being long in service become more indifferent which side they serve; and having such plausible pretense to engage in the enemy's service, enter in great number, and are found in arms against us. Indeed one third the force employed in the southern States, if we are to form a judgment from the prisoners we take, are deserters from our army, and prisoners enlisted from our captives. A resolution of Congress declaring that all prisoners of war that engage in the enemy's service, from whatever pretense, shall be treated as deserters, if taken in arms against us, would have a good effect. Should the soldiers enlist with a view to get away, they will embrace the first opportunity when they know they are to be treated as deserters, and those that are not willing to run that hazard to effect their escape, will continue patiently in captivity. At least I think it would be some check to the practice which now prevails to the great prejudice of the Continental interest."

I turn reluctantly from this cheering picture to the familiar picture of disappointment and trial. Of the delays in obtaining reinforcements both of

regulars and militia, much has already been said, and yet there is much to say. To one feature of these embarrassments I have barely alluded. It demands a fuller detail here.

Among the wants of the army, an urgent one was the want of horses, and more especially of dragoon horses; and of the corps yet to be mounted, were the 1st and 3d Virginia cavalry. To speed their preparations for the field, Governor Jefferson had granted impress warrants, and Greene proceeded promptly to enforce them. But, fully aware of the difficulty of using the power which they conferred, in such a manner as to reconcile the owner to the loss of a favorite horse, Greene had enjoined upon the officers to whom he entrusted them, the utmost caution in their selection, and a tone of conciliation and sympathy in their intercourse with the citizen. Still, even to the best disposed, the sacrifice was a hard one; and if among the officers there were any of a rougher nature, or a less scrupulous respect for individual rights, the temptation to offend was difficult to resist. Complaints soon arose. The most valuable horses, it was said, were wantonly seized, even though notoriously unfit for service, and the remonstrances of the owners met with violence and insult. From the plantation the complaint extended to the city, and was presently brought to the attention of the Assembly. The Assembly was very indignant; and in the first heat of its indignation, passed two resolutions on the 7th of March, condemning "the great abuses"

which had "arisen by impressing stallions which, as such, are unfit for service, and by being appraised to enormous sums must incur a debt too heavy to be borne;" requiring that "all officers and others empowered to collect horses be restrained from impressing stallions, breeding mares, or geldings above the value of fifty pounds specie;" that the horses "valued at prices exceeding those proper for dragoons be returned to their respective owners," who were to be paid for the damage they had suffered, and that the governor "cause prosecutions to be commenced against those persons who may have been concerned in the flagrant violations of duty practiced under color of the said impress warrant." To complete their work, they passed on the 17th another resolution, fixing "the price to be given for such horses" at five thousand pounds.

These resolves, Jefferson, with an unwilling pen, communicated to Greene on the 24th, in an official letter, which reached him in his camp on the Deep River just as he had completed his preparations for the invasion of South Carolina. It was disheartening intelligence for such a moment. "I received last evening," Greene promptly replied, "your Excellency's two letters of the 24th and 30th of March. The first upon the subject of the cavalry, the last upon the militia ordered into service.

"I am sorry if any of the officers sent out with the impress warrants have misbehaved. In some instances I believe they have, but in most I persuade myself they

have not. Those horses of very high value, as covering horses or breeding mares, I had given orders should be returned before the receipt of your letter ; and at the time of the officers' going out upon the business of impressment, I gave written instructions not to impress such, as well to avoid expense as to prevent the complaints of the inhabitants. There are only two or three that have been brought to camp that comes under this description. Such I have given particular instructions about. Most of the horses that have been impressed are rather inferior than superior in the quality requisite for the service. Superior cavalry is of the greatest importance to the salvation of this country, and without them you would soon hear of detachments being out to press in every quarter. It is not only necessary that we should be superior in number, but in the quality of the horses. This will prevent the enemy from attempting surprises at a distance, from which so many disagreeable consequences happened last campaign. The militia can only be useful with a superior cavalry, and hundreds and hundreds of them would have fallen a sacrifice in the late operations, had it not been for the goodness of our cavalry and the great activity of the officers commanding those corps. Without a fleet cavalry we can never reconnoitre the enemy, attempt a surprise, or indeed keep ourselves from being surprised. The use and value of them has been but little attended to in the southern department. I observe the price fixed for the purchase of the horses is very low. At the rate that they are now selling in Virginia, it would not purchase by voluntary sale a horse that I would trust a dragoon upon ; and it would be little less than devoting the men, and supplying the enemy with implements, to mount them on such cattle. The difference between good, middling, and bad horses, can only be known to those who have a particular knowledge of the service. No man wishes to promote economy more than I do, or

sees a greater necessity. But furnishing bad horses for the cavalry is neither consistent with good feeling or the precepts of true economy. . . . The enemy are making great exertions for the subjugation of the southern States; and ours must be proportionate, or they must fall. The inhabitants must be brought to bear the burden with patience. One great misfortune is the southern world don't appear to be well acquainted with their own strength. Their pride induces them to wish to be thought powerful; but not being so from the nature and circumstances of the country, they deceive themselves and others."

But before this letter reached Jefferson, he had already written on the 1st of April: —

"Obliged in my public character to be the pipe of communication to the sentiments of others, I must beg leave once to address you as a private man on a subject which has given me uneasiness. My letter by Colonel Morris inclosed some resolutions of Assembly, requiring that all horses impressed and valued to more than five thousand pounds, should be returned to their owners. This was in fact requiring them all to be returned. Should this be complied with fully, I apprehend that it must have the most fatal effect on your operations, which depend so much on your superiority in cavalry. I dare say you will think (if it be true that some of our most valuable horses were impressed and estimated, as has been said, to what they were worth as covering horses) that reasonable economy requires that they should be restored, and that the taking them was ripping up the hen which laid the golden eggs. But as to the great group of those impressed, notwithstanding they may have been valued high, yet they will be cheaply bought if they enable you to strike your enemy and prevent being stricken by him. To return them, have them revalued, as the resolutions propose, and pay the damages

to the owners, would subject the public to a great and certain burden for nothing. Reports which were circulated that those employed in impressing had been so indiscreet as to seize the fine covering horses to castrate some of them (which rendered it impossible to use them for the sudden emergencies which alone justifies impresses) were probably what in some measure induced the Assembly to take up the business. But to this I believe an error was added; they entertained an idea that the furnishing horses to our two regiments of cavalry was the separate expense of the State, a very strange error, which I should not have credited, had not the speaker Lee assured me of the fact. The Assembly was then up so that it was impossible for me to set them right when I received that information. My purpose in writing thus confidentially is to suggest to you the expediency of rectifying any abuses which you may find to have been committed by unreasonable and impudent impresses; and as to the rest, if you find it inconsistent with the public good, as I expect it is, to comply with the resolution, that you should take the trouble of remonstrating on the subject, which will give me an opportunity of laying the matter again before the Assembly, who are to meet the first of the next month, and who, I cannot but believe, will be glad to have an opportunity of correcting what they did, when the error they were under shall be made known to them. I throw myself on your discretion, and show my confidence in it, when I thus venture to write in a private character, what seems to contradict my public duty. I wished you to be made acquainted with facts which cannot be always and fully collected from private votes alone.”¹

It was not till the 28th that Greene found time to write the remonstrance which Jefferson had so judiciously suggested.

¹ Jefferson to Greene, April 1, 1781. Greene MSS.

“Since I wrote your Excellency,” he then writes, “in answer to the resolutions of your Assembly relative to the conduct of the cavalry officers, and the measures pointed out to supply this army in future with horses, I have been considering more fully the tendency and consequences that would attend it.

“It is to be lamented that officers will not exercise more discretion and prudence when intrusted with the execution of an order which seems to invade the rights of a citizen, and not perfectly conformable to the laws and constitution of the land. And it is equally to be lamented that a Legislature should, from a resentment for the misconduct of a few individuals, bring upon an army employed in their service, inevitable ruin, and upon the community disgrace and distress.

“I was very particular in giving my orders to guard against the evils complained of (a copy of which is inclosed), and I have no wish to screen a single officer who has wantonly invaded the property of the people or offered any insult to the inhabitants; but I wish the improper conduct of a few officers may not be made to operate as a punishment upon the whole army. Particular situations and particular circumstances often make measures necessary, that have the specious show of oppression, because they carry with them consequences pointed and distressing to individuals. It is to be lamented that this is the case; but pressing circumstances make it political and sometimes unavoidable.

“When we retired over the Dan, our force was too small to stop the progress of the enemy, or mark the limits of their approach. We appealed to the only means left us to save your country, and prevent the destruction of a virtuous little army. Men were called for; they turned out with a spirit that did honor to themselves and their country. Horses were wanted to mount our dragoons; they could not be procured but by virtue of impress war-

rants. You was convinced of the fact, and therefore furnished me with the warrants for the purpose. I took the most advisable, and as I thought, most effectual means, to have the business conducted with propriety; and I cannot but think the gentlemen generally who were intrusted with the execution of my orders, were governed entirely by a principle of public good. Some mistakes and several abuses appear to have happened in impressing stud-horses instead of geldings; but those mistakes arose from the necessity of mounting our dragoons in such a manner as to give us an immediate superiority over the enemy, as well in the quality of the horses as their number. The people complained; I was ready to redress their grievances; some of the most valuable horses were returned; and I shall direct some others to be restored, notwithstanding the great inconvenience which must inevitably attend this army by it. The Assembly of your State appear to have taken up the matter from a principle acknowledged to be virtuous, but from its tendency must be allowed to be impolitic. The rights of individuals are as dear to me as to any man; but the safety of a community I have ever considered as an object more valuable. In politics, as well as in everything else, a received and established maxim is, that greater evils should, in every instance, give way to lesser misfortunes. In war it is often impossible to conform to all the ceremonies of law and equal justice; and to attempt it would be productive of greater misfortunes to the public from the delay, than all the inconveniences which individuals may suffer.

“Your Excellency must be sensible of the innumerable inconveniences I had to labor under at the time, and the variety of difficulties that still surround us. Nothing but light-horse can enable us, with the little army we have, to appear in the field; and nothing but a superiority in cavalry can prevent the enemy from cutting to pieces every detachment coming to join the army, or employed in collect-

ing supplies. From the open state of this country their services are particularly necessary, and unless we can keep up the corps of cavalry, and constantly support a superiority, it will be out of our power to act or to prevent the enemy from overrunning the country and commanding all its resources.

“The Assembly, I fear, by their resolves, have destroyed my hopes and expectations on this head. Under the law, as it at present stands, it is certain nothing can be done. By limiting dragoon horses to the narrow price of five thousand pounds, it amounts only to a prohibition, and cuts off the prospect of any future supplies. At this moment the enemy are greatly superior to us; and unless Virginia will spring immediately to the most generous exertions, they will indubitably continue so. It is in vain to expect protection from an army which is not supported, or make feeble efforts upon narrow principles of prudence or economy; they only serve to procrastinate the war, and tire out the patience of the people. Already have we experienced, in many instances, the ill consequences of neglecting the army when surrounded with difficulties and threatened with ruin. Great expense of blood and treasure have attended this policy; and to redress the grievances of a few individuals when it will entail a calamity on the community, will be neither political or just. If horses are dearer to the inhabitants than the lives of subjects, or the liberties of the people, there will be no doubt of the Assembly persevering in their late resolution; otherwise I hope they will reconsider the matter, and not oblige me to take a measure which cannot fail to bring ruin upon the army, and fresh misfortunes upon the country.”¹

While these lines were a writing, Cornwallis was on the march for Virginia, and the swift blood-horses which might have made the American

¹ Greene MSS.

cavalry invincible, served to mount the dragoons of Tarleton, and carry destruction into the heart of the country.

Another unpleasant circumstance connected with the mounting of the dragoons, was a momentary alienation of Marion. It was a standing order to commanders of detachments, that no occasion of obtaining horses for the army should be permitted to pass unimproved. In Greene's letters to Marion, he repeatedly calls the attention of the active partisan to that subject, and always in an urgent tone. Still few or no horses came; and it was not without some degree of irritation that Greene read in a letter of Lee's of the 2d of May: "General Marion can supply you if he will, with one hundred and fifty good dragoon horses from his militia, most of them impressed horses. He might in my opinion spare sixty, which would be a happy supply."¹

"Several times I have written you," Greene wrote to Marion on the 4th, "respecting dragoon horses. We are in the utmost distress for want of a number. I beg you will furnish us with all you can. I am told the militia claim all they take from the Tories; and many of the best horses are collected from the inhabitants upon this principle. I cannot think this practice warranted either in justice or policy. If the object of the people is plunder altogether, government can receive but little benefit from them. The horses would be of the highest importance to the public in the regular service."²

Marion was piqued, for measured as Greene's

¹ Lee to Greene, May 2, 1781.
Greene MSS.

² Greene to Marion, May 4, 1781.
Greene MSS.

words were, there was an implied censure in them which he felt to be undeserved.

“Yours of the 4th instant,” he wrote from before Fort Motte, on the 6th of May, “I received, and am sorry to acquaint you that I brought here but one hundred and fifty men; the rest have dropped away wearied with duty, and I believe dispirited in not seeing greater support.

“I acknowledge that you have repeatedly mentioned the want of dragoon horses, and wish that it had been in my power to furnish them, but it is not, and never has been. The few horses which has been taken from Tories has been kept for the service, and never for private property; but if you think it best for the service to dismount the militia now with me, I will direct Colonel Lee and Captain Conyers to do so, but am certain we shall never get their service in future. This would not give me any uneasiness, as I have some time determined to relinquish my command in the militia as soon as you arrived in it (*sic*) and I want to do it as soon as this post is either taken or abandoned.

“I shall assist in reducing the post here, and when Colonel Lee returns to you I shall take that opportunity in waiting on you, when I hope to get permission to go to Philadelphia.”¹

“I am favored with yours of the 6th instant,” Greene wrote on the 9th. “I am sorry the militia are deserting because there is not greater support. If they were influenced by proper principles, and were impressed with a love of liberty, and a dread of slavery, they would not shrink at difficulties. If we had a force sufficient to recover the country, their aid would not be wanted, and they cannot be acquainted with their true interest, to desert us because they conceive our force unequal to the reduction of the country, without their assistance. I shall

¹ Marion to Greene, May 6. Greene MSS.

always be happy to see you at head-quarters, but cannot think you seriously mean to solicit leave to go to Philadelphia. It is true your task has been disagreeable, but not more so than others. It is now going on seven years since the commencement of the war. I have never had leave of absence an hour, or paid the least attention to my own private affairs. Your State is invaded; your all is at stake; what has been done will signify nothing unless we persevere to the end. I left a wife in distress, and everything dear and valuable, to come and afford you all the assistance in my power; and if you leave us in the midst of our difficulties, while you have it so much in your power to promote the service, it must throw a damper upon the spirits of the army, to find the first men in the State are retiring from the busy scene to indulge themselves in more agreeable amusements; however, your reasons for wishing to decline the command, and for going to Philadelphia, may be more pressing than I imagine. I will therefore add nothing more upon this subject till I see you. My reasons for writing so pressingly respecting the dragoons, was from the distress we were in. It is not my wish to take the horses from the militia, if it will injure the public service. The effects and consequences you can better judge of than I can. You have rendered important services to the public with the militia under your command, and done great honor to yourself; and I would not wish to render your situation less agreeable with them, unless it is to answer some very great purpose; and this I persuade myself you would from a desire to promote the common good.”¹

“I assure you,” writes Marion on the 11th in reply, “I am very serious in my intention of relinquishing my militia command; not that I wish to shrink from fatigue or trouble for any private interest, but because I found little is to be done with such men as I have, who leave

¹ Gibbes, No. 87. Greene MSS.

me very often at the very point of executing a plan; and their late infamous behavior in quitting me at a time which required their service, must confirm me in my former intention. If I cannot act in the militia, I cannot see any service I can be to remain in the State; and I hope by going to the northward to fall in with some employ where I may have an opportunity of serving the United States in some way that I cannot be in this country. . . . I send by Major Hyrne a horse for yourself. He is very tender foot, and must be shod before he can be of use; as far as it is in my power to procure more I will send them.”¹

Which feeling was uppermost in Marion's mind on this occasion, anger at seeing himself suspected of not having done all that he could towards mounting the dragoons, or disgust with the militia, it is difficult to say. Both considerations, it is probable, weighed with him almost equally, and he felt for the moment that the means of being useful were failing him. But the persuasive eloquence of Greene's letter was irresistible; and we soon find him following the retreating army of Lord Rawdon, and watching for an opportunity to strike an effective blow, with all the ardor of his most active days.

Sumter too was very angry, that Lee should have anticipated him in the reduction of Fort Granby. Twice in the course of his erratic movements he had approached it with the intention of laying siege to it; but on both occasions had been drawn elsewhere by more attractive game. Mean-

¹ Greene MSS. This letter is a error which prevails concerning striking refutation of the common “Marion's men.”

while Lee, following the letter and spirit of his instructions, had repaired thither immediately after the fall of Fort Motte ; and knowing the difference which a day might make at that critical moment, had succeeded, by skillfully acting upon the cupidity of the British commander, who cared more for the preservation of his plunder than his post, in obtaining an early surrender. Sumter learnt that Lee was before Fort Granby, at Orangeburg, on his return from what he confesses might appear to his commander-in-chief a "whimsical" tour. From thence he wrote on the 14th of May, a general account of the steps which he had taken to harass the enemy, having "been near to Dorchester and within eighteen miles of Monk's Corner."

"I am informed," he adds, "that Colonel Lee has gone to the Congarees. I beg leave to say I am much concerned for it, as there is a sufficient number of troops there to prevent the escape of Major Maxwell until I returned, which will be to-morrow, with the remainder of the troops. If I had known that Colonel Lee had been going to these posts, (I) could have employed the troops I command down the country to very great advantage at this time. So great an opening I have never seen. I hope it may not be disagreeable to recall Lieutenant-colonel Lee, as his services cannot be wanted at that place, and as to his taking the command as at the post at Motte's, I cannot believe it would be your wish ; and notwithstanding I have the greatest respect for Colonel Lee, yet I could wish he had not gone to that place, as it is a circumstance I never thought of, and I have been at great pains to reduce that post. I have it in my power to do it, and I think it for the good of the public to do it without regulars.'

Some doubt of the propriety of what he had written seems to have crossed his mind, as he traced the closing words, for he adds: "You will please to pardon the liberty I have taken."¹

Greene's answer, unfortunately, has not been preserved; but on the 16th Sumter writes: —

"I have been honored with your letter of yesterday's date. I am convinced your reasons are cogent, and your observations exceedingly just; and it has ever been the first wish of my heart to promote and facilitate the public service.

"But with the deepest regret I find the discontent and disorder among the militia so great as to leave no hope of their subsiding soon.

"My indisposition and want of capacity to be of service to this country, induces me as a friend to it, to beg leave to resign my command, and have taken the liberty to inclose my commission, which I hope you will receive, as I find my inability so great that I can't, without doing the greatest injustice to the public, think of serving any longer."²

It is easy to conceive the feelings with which Greene read these letters, and impossible not to admire the self-control with which he subjected them to the public good. Sumter's soldiers were a wild and lawless band, and even some of his officers had, according to his own report, been "made prisoners in the prosecution of disgraceful enterprises." Still policy required that they

¹ Sumter to Greene, May 14, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Greene MSS. Sumter to Greene, May 16th, 1781.

Greene's letter of the 15th has not been preserved. It may possibly be among the Sumter papers; and if so, will, I trust, be published.

It is greatly to be regretted that

should be treated with leniency, and won over, rather than compelled to duty. Sumter himself, though a troublesome subordinate, was a bold partisan, and had won himself a name and influence which, in the unsettled state of the country, it would have been unwise to neglect. Greene resolved to conciliate. Lee was treated as the van of the army, and therefore under the immediate command of Greene himself. Sumter was conciliated and soothed.

“I take the liberty,” Greene wrote to him on the 17th, “to return your commission which you forwarded me yesterday for my acceptance, and to inform you that I cannot think of accepting it, and to beg you to continue your command.

“I am sorry for your ill state of health, and shall do everything in my power to render your command as convenient as the nature of the service will admit.

“It is unnecessary for me to tell you how important your services are to the interest and happiness of this country, and the confidence I have in your abilities and zeal for the good of the service. Your continuing in command will lay the public under an obligation in general, and me in particular; and though it may be accompanied with many personal inconveniences, yet I hope you will have cause to rejoice in the conclusion of the business from the consideration of having contributed so largely to the recovery of its liberty.”¹

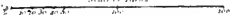
On the same day Greene intrusted him in particular orders with the command of the militia, watching the motions of the enemy below the Congaree, completing the razing of the works at

¹ Greene to Sumter, May 17, 1781. Greene MSS.

the captured posts, and such others duties as belong to a general command. But the day of Sumter's usefulness was past. A brilliant partisan, he was unfitted both by habit and by temper, for regular warfare; and with Greene, the war was a question of science and trained skill. Lee, the most brilliant of partisans, always subjected his movements to the general plan of the campaign. Marion, fertile in expedients, and swift in action, followed his instructions with ready obedience, and literal exactitude. But Sumter knew not how to subject his will to the will of another, or carry out his part in a general plan of operations. Admirably qualified to nourish the spirit of resistance, he was wholly unfit to bear a prominent part in bringing a complicated campaign to a successful termination.

VIEW OF NINETY SIX.

Scale of Yards



The Atlantic

Mt. Pleasant Point & Mill

1st Parallel
2^d Parallel
3^d Parallel

Present Village of
AMBRIDGE

Village of
NINETY SIX

R. Augusta

R. Grand River

REFERENCES.

- a The Spring
- b Stoneade Fort
- c Old Jail
- d Cart House
- e Star Redoubt
- f Fort Mox
- g,h,i The besieging encampments.
- k,l The lines which surround the town.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Lee sent against Augusta. — Siege of. — Pickens. — Clark and Lee. — Reduction of Fort Galpin. — Description of Augusta. — Fall of Fort Grierson. — Brown's gallant Defense of Fort Cornwallis. — A Mahem Tower. — Surrender. — Assassination of Colonel Grierson. — Description of Ninety-six. — Number and Quality of its Garrison. — The Works. — Cruger strengthens them. — Siege begun. — Ground broken. — A Successful Sally. — Garrison summoned. — Siege wears on. — Lee comes up. — Garrison straitened for Water. — Good Progress. — An Emissary. — Tidings from Lord Rawdon. — An Assault. — Failure. — Rawdon at Hand. — Siege raised. — Greene retreats. — Order of the Day.

GREENE was now free to turn his arms against Augusta and Ninety-six, the only two strong posts that remained in the hands of the enemy, and whereon his attention had been fixed from the day on which he had resolved to carry the war into North Carolina.¹ On the 16th Lee was ordered to "march immediately for Augusta, as the advance of the army."² Pushing forward with his wonted rapidity, and marching seventy-five miles in three days, he was soon on the ground. Pickens and Clark were already there, with their militia, each occupying a position which enabled them to prevent the enemy from receiving either supplies or reinforcements. Instant preparations were made for the siege.

The first active measure was the reduction of

¹ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol: iii. p. 312. ² Orders to Lee. Greene MSS.

Fort Galpin, or Dreadnought, a small stockade twelve miles below Augusta, garrisoned by two companies of infantry, and important only as the temporary deposit of the royal annual gift to the Indians; small arms, powder, balls, blankets, liquors, and other articles much needed in the American camp. A stratagem of Lee's, brilliantly executed by Captain Rudolph, of the Legion, quickly put the Americans in possession of this important supply. "Your exertions," wrote Greene to Lee, on receiving his report, "merit my warmest approbation; and Captain Rudolph and the officers and men under his command, my particular thanks, which I beg you to communicate to them."¹ This was a happy beginning; for while it weakened the English commander by two companies, it strengthened the Americans by supplies of which they were sorely in need. All was now ready for the siege of Augusta.

Augusta stands in an oblong plain on the south bank of the Savannah. The river bathes it on the east. Dark masses of uncleared forest covered it on the west. Its defenses consisted of two forts, Fort Cornwallis, a strong and well planned work in the middle of the town, and Fort Grierson, much its inferior in strength, about half a mile further up, on the border of a lagoon. The commander was Lieutenant-colonel Brown, a brave and skillful soldier, but widely known and bitterly hated for his cruelty to the Whigs. The attention of the besiegers was first directed against

¹ H. Lee, *Campaign of 1781*, p. 390.

Fort Grierson, of which they quickly got possession, the greater part of the garrison being killed or made prisoners, in a vain attempt to escape to Fort Cornwallis.

But Fort Cornwallis held out bravely. Brown was a gallant soldier, familiar with all the artifices of war; and his men, chiefly bitter royalists, fought for party as well as for life. Regular approaches were made on one side, frequent sallies on the other; and it was not till recourse had again been had to the Mahem tower, and after fifteen days of open trenches, that the place surrendered.

And here the bitterness of party warfare has left a bloody record. For, while Lieutenant-colonel Grierson, who was no less bitterly hated than Brown himself, was sitting tranquilly in his room, a man on horseback rode up to the window, took deliberate aim, and shot him dead. Then wheeling his horse, he rode swiftly away, promptly pursued, but not overtaken; and although a large reward was offered for his discovery, his name was never known.¹ Brown's life, also, was in danger, and was saved only by a strong escort of Continentals. The Whig militia could not be trusted with the life of a Tory.

And now, of all the British posts in the interior, Ninety-six alone remained.

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 western bound-

¹ Pickens to Greene, June 7, 1781. Gibbes, No. 113.

ary 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 took its name from its distance from Keowee, the chief village of the Cherokees. The district in which it lies is remarkable for its fertility and strength, though at the period of which I write, it had been laid waste far and wide by the desolating war of Whig and Tory. It was a healthy region, also, a very important consideration in the hot months already begun.

The importance of this position had attracted the attention of the British generals, upon their first invasion of South Carolina; and they had established a fort there, which, with Camden and Augusta, formed their line of defense for the western frontier. This line had been broken by the evacuation of Camden, and the fall of the posts on the Congaree and Santee. Ninety-six had thus become useless; and orders were sent to Major Cruger to withdraw his troops, and retire to Augusta. This order never reached him; for light parties of the Americans, hovering round the British posts, cut off all communication between them. Thus Cruger, at the critical moment, was left to his own resources. Like a gallant soldier, he lost not a moment in preparing for defense.

His garrison consisted of five hundred and fifty men, three hundred and fifty of whom were regu-

lars, who had served from the beginning of the war. It is sad to think, as we look at Greene's thin ranks, that these men and their commander, equal in discipline and military skill to the oldest veterans of the British army, were all Americans by birth. The remainder were South Carolina royalists, expert marksmen, who had staked fortune and life upon the success of the royal arms. They had already suffered much, and inflicted much, and there were few among them whose hands had not been stained with the blood of their countrymen. With such men, inspired by such motives, it was easy to foresee a long and arduous siege.

The village had been surrounded from the first with some slight defenses, as a protection against a sudden invasion of the Indians. These amounted to little more than a simple stockade, which, though a sufficient protection against the rude attack of the savage, was of little avail in scientific warfare. Still, however, they afforded a basis for more regular works, and had been preserved by the British officers upon their first invasion of the district. A skillful engineer, an officer of Cornwallis's own staff, was entrusted with the charge of preparing this important post for the royal troops.¹ Under his direction the stockade was strengthened, and new works were erected; the most important of which was a redoubt, about eighty yards to the right of the village, composed of sixteen salient and reëntering angles, and

¹ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 364.

which, from the peculiarity of its shape, had received the name of the Star. From the angles, destructive cross-fires could be kept up, and the whole, being surrounded with a dry ditch, a frise, and an abattis, presented a formidable obstacle to the approach of an enemy. On the opposite side, at the distance of one hundred and eighty yards, a stockade fort had been built upon a small natural eminence, and strengthened within by two substantial block-houses. The fort was divided from the town by a small valley, and a stream which ran through the valley was the principal resource of the garrison for water. A covered way preserved the communication with the town; and as a defense 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 disciplined garrison, the British general might well count upon a vigorous defense.

But Cruger was far from contenting himself with what had already been done. He knew the importance of his post, and felt confident that no common effort would be directed against it. Without waiting for special orders, he called in the loyalists with their negroes from the surrounding country, and set them at work upon his fortifications, to enlarge and complete them. Night and day the incessant toil continued; the masters, at least, working with willing hands, for they knew how much depended upon the approaching contest. Thus a ditch was drawn

around the stockade, and the earth from the excavation 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 made direct and sure. The whole line of defense was secured by an abattis; and thus prepared, and having laid in an abundant supply of provisions, and drawn together a large number of negroes for the relief of the garrison in mere works of manual labor, Cruger calmly awaited the appearance of his enemy. His wife, who had been with him in garrison, went to board at a farm-house within the American lines.

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. His first care was to examine the enemy's works. Beginning by daylight, he followed up his examination in the dark and rainy night that followed; and accompanied by Kosciusko, and Pendleton, one of his aids, made the entire circuit of the fortifications. The enemy heard and fired upon him.

Unfortunately he was not strong enough to make a direct attack upon more than one side; and after stationing his army at four different points, so as to invest the town in every direction, it became necessary to decide which of the two principal works, the star redoubt, or stockade, should be regularly assailed. Could it have been known that the enemy had failed to obtain water by sink-

ing a well in the redoubt, the attack would naturally have been directed against the points which commanded the stream from whence they drew their present supply. But in a former siege, the garrison, though almost destitute of the necessary implements, had succeeded in getting water, and there was no reason to suppose that they would be less fortunate in this. Greene resolved, therefore, to begin with the star redoubt, as the chief point of defense, and which could be held independently of the others.

Ground was broken during the night, within seventy yards of the works, and the trenches pushed on with the greatest activity. But the next day, the garrison, by a vigorous sally under cover of a well directed fire, drove the workmen from the trenches, and although the whole army was instantly put in motion, destroyed the incipient works, and carried off the intrenching tools. It was evident that Ninety-six was not to be easily won. The approaches were begun anew, but from a greater distance, and were pushed forward with the utmost ardor. Day and night the work went on; and while one party toiled in the trenches, others stood by, arms in hand, to protect them. At night they slept on their arms. The besieged made frequent and daring sallies, obstinately disputing every inch of ground; but in spite of all their efforts, the second parallel was completed by the 3d of June. A mine from the first had already been begun, under cover of a battery on the American right.

The garrison was now summoned in form ; but Cruger returned a spirited answer, and the work of death continued. The third parallel was begun ; and although the men were worn down with the fatigue of their previous exertions, they pressed it on with vigor. The garrison, too, still continued their sallies, and gallantly plied their little park of three pieces. Here the Mahem tower came again into play, and overtopping the works, gave the American marksmen a sure stand for their unerring rifles. The enemy's fire was silenced during the day, for not a man could show his head without becoming an instant target. At night it continued, but too uncertain in its aim to do serious harm. An attempt was made to set fire to the towers with red-hot balls ; but this danger had been foreseen, and they had purposely been built of the greenest wood.

On the morning of the 8th of June, Lee arrived with his Legion, fresh from the successful siege of Augusta, and was 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 characteristic activity. In four days he had made such progress that, in spite of the sallies and fire of the besieged, he had almost cut the enemy off from the rivulet. Every pail of water was now won at the risk of life or limb, and presently the danger became too great to be run by daylight. Negroes were then sent out for water in the night, when it was supposed that their black bodies would not be distinguished.¹

¹ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 370.

An attempt was made to set fire to the fort. A sergeant named Whaling, approaching it cautiously with nine men, under cover of a dark and violent storm of wind, was upon the point of applying a match to the abattis, when he was discovered and fired upon. Only four of the party escaped, and unfortunately their gallant leader, who had served from the beginning of the war, and had but a few days more to serve, was not among them.

The siege now seemed to be drawing to a close. On every side the approaches were so far advanced as to leave but little hope to the besieged. Their cannon were silenced during the day by the riflemen from the towers, and a battery within a hundred and forty yards of the works had been raised so high as to command the redoubt. Unless the danger could be promptly met, the men would be swept from their outworks, and compelled to an unconditional surrender. The parapet was already twelve feet high. Major Greene, who commanded in the redoubt, immediately raised it three feet higher, by piling bags filled with sand on its summit. The apertures between them formed loop-holes, through which 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 gallant feats of arms had been performed. But the end was now approaching; and it was evi-

dent that the British commander, with all his skill and resolution, could not hold out many days longer. Officers and men began to look with confidence for an early termination of their labors. Towards evening a countryman was seen riding along the lines south of the town, conversing with the officers and men on duty; yet as a constant intercourse had been kept up between the camp and the country, no attention was paid to his movements. But 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 well had he chosen his time, and so unexpected was his start, that not one of them touched him. The moment that he found himself out of musket shot, he raised his hand towards the garrison with a letter as a signal. It was a dispatch from Lord Rawdon, containing the cheering tidings of his speedy approach with a strong force, to the relief of the besieged.¹

Greene had already been six days in possession of this intelligence; and foreseeing that Lord Rawdon would not delay a moment longer than was absolutely necessary to give a breathing space to his reinforcements just landed from a long voyage, he had taken every step to guard against the danger. Sumter and Marion, strengthened by Washington's and Lee's cavalry, were ordered to form a junction, and leave no effort untried for

¹ Lee, vol. ii. p. 123, says there was a letter. Stedman, vol. ii. p. 371, that the message was verbal.

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.

Everything now depended upon the movements of Lord Rawdon, who had set out from Charleston on the 11th, and was pressing forward by forced marches to the relief of Ninety-six. And Rawdon's movements, it was hoped, would be retarded by Sumter, who had been ordered to keep in his front, and throw every obstacle in his way which an active mind, long trained in the inventive field of partisan war, could devise. As far as Orangeburg, there could be no doubt about the British general's course; but from that point he might, thought Sumter, make a sudden dash at Granby. Here, then, Sumter remained in person, and called up his reinforcements. It was the reasoning of the partisan, and not of the general. Rawdon knew too well the importance of immediate succor to his sorely tried garrison, to think of losing time in trifling efforts; and pressing on without turning to the right hand or to the left, passed his adversary below the junction of the Broad River and the Saluda. Having once got between Sumter and the main army, he was too active and too skillful a general to neglect his advantage; and continuing his march with unabated vigor, was soon far on his

way to Ninety-six. Sumter could no longer either check his progress or join Greene in season to enable him to meet the enemy in the field.¹

For Greene was anxious to fight Rawdon before he came within supporting distance of Ninety-six, and made every effort to rouse the militia, and collect reinforcements. He called, in pressing terms, upon the great militia leaders. "Let us have a field-day;" he wrote to Clark, "and I doubt not it will be a glorious one."²

But Rawdon was near at hand, with two thousand men, and a strong cavalry. Greene's forces did not exceed a thousand, and they were worn

¹ Greene's instructions to Sumter are very precise. Had they been followed, Lord Rawdon would have been sorely crippled.

"It is my wish, if the enemy should advance into the country, that you should collect all the force you can, and skirmish with the enemy all the way they advance, removing out of their way all the cattle and means of transportation and subsistence. It is my wish to have the enemy galled as much as possible in penetrating the country, for it is my intention to fight them before they get to this post. Inform me constantly of their motions, and be always in a situation to form a juncture with us, when you get within three or four days march of this place. Collect all the force you can, and give positive orders for General Marion's force to join you if the enemy attempt to penetrate the country." — Greene to Sumter, June 10, 1781. Greene MSS.

To the President of Congress he writes: "Either from bad intelli-

gence, or from the difficulty of collecting his force, he (Sumter) permitted the enemy to pass him at the Congarees, before he got his troops in motion, afterwards he found it impracticable to gain their front. It was my intention to have fought them before they arrived before the place, could I have collected a force sufficient for the purpose." — Greene to President of Congress, June 20, 1781. Greene MSS.

² June 17, 1781. Greene MSS. To Lafayette he writes on the 23d of June: "I took every measure in my power to retard their march by detaching our cavalry, and ordering General Sumter to collect all the force he could and throw himself in their front. But he neglected it, either for want of intelligence or from the difficulty of collecting his force. For the militia of this country will fight only in their own counties and districts, and it is with great difficulty they can be got out of them." — Greene MSS.

down and wearied by constant labor. It was now the 17th, and there was not a day to lose. Should he hazard an assault? His troops begged for it. "Give us one more chance." "We have a stain to wipe away," said those who had faltered at Guilford and Hobkirk's Hill. Greene weighed his chances carefully. Could the stockade fort be taken, and a lodgment made in one of the angles of the star, the garrison would be compelled to yield. This might be accomplished by a few picked regiments; but a general storm might cripple the whole army. Orders were issued to prepare for an assault at noon of the next day.

Lieutenant-colonel Lee was charged with the attack on the right, with the infantry of his celebrated Legion, strengthened by a detachment from Kirkwood's Delawares, chosen men and true. 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 close upon the footsteps of the forlorn hope, came men with iron hooks fastened to the end of long poles to pull down the sand-bags. When they moved forward a fire from the forts, rifle-towers, and works, was to clear the parapet for them and cover their advance.

Lee was ordered to force his way into the fort,

and then govern his movements by the result of the attack on the redoubt.

Campbell's was a more difficult and dangerous part; for the ditch that he was to pass was swept by a cross-fire from the angles of the redoubt, and the parapet was so high that it was difficult to reach the sand-bags on its top. In face of these obstacles Duval and Seldon were ordered to remove the abattis, and seizing upon the opposite curtain, clear the angle, while the hook-men advanced to pull down the bags. Piling these upon the fascines in the ditch, Campbell was to force his way to the parapet, under cover of the fire from the works.

The hours passed swiftly; a short summer night, a soft June morning, and the trial was at hand. There was a stern joy in every eye, and a high resolve on every brow. The decisive moment was come, and they were ready to meet it in all its terrible responsibility. At eleven the third parallel was manned, and the riflemen were seen taking their stations in the towers. Next followed the first gun from the centre battery, and the men entered the trenches. Then a moment of solemn pause, as some looked around them, some forward, some perhaps upward to the blue sky, and then 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.

The work on the right was quickly done; for the gallant Rudolph, at the head of the forlorn hope, forced his way into the ditch, and after a

short struggle drove the enemy from the fort. Lee instantly prepared to follow up his success, and support the attack on the left.

And here the battle raged fiercely and long, and deadly was the result to assailers and assailed. Duval and Seldon, with their gallant band, leaped boldly into the ditch, and began to throw down the abattis. The enemy's fire met them at their approach, and thinned their ranks at every step. Through every loop-hole and crevice the fatal balls of the rifle poured down, and the projecting and reëntering angles hemmed them in between two walls of fire. Above bristled a deadly array of pikes and bayonets. As the abattis yielded to their efforts, they became at every instant more and more exposed. Officers and men fell around them on every side. Armstrong fell dead at the head of his company. Duval and Seldon were wounded. Still they pressed on undaunted, and now the curtain was won, and the hook-men struggled forward to pull down the bags. Could they but accomplish this, the victory was sure. But the depth of the ditch and the height of the parapet, rendered all their efforts unavailing.

The desperate conflict had lasted nearly an hour, and the ditch was crowded with the wounded, and dying, and dead. There was still a reasonable hope of success, for the fort had fallen, and not a man had flinched from his duty. But Lord Rawdon was already near, with a powerful army, and Greene, never forgetful of his responsibility as commander-in-chief, was unwilling to

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

The assault failed; but Greene felt that he had reason to be proud of his army.

“The general,” he says in afternoon orders, “takes great pleasure in acknowledging the high opinion he has of the gallantry of the troops engaged in the attack of the enemy’s redoubts.

“The judicious and alert behavior of the light infantry of the Legion, and those commanded by Captain Kirkwood, directed by Lieutenant-colonel Lee, met with deserved success. And there is great reason to believe that the attack on the star battery, directed by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, would have been equally fortunate, if the brave Lieutenants Duval and Seldon, who most valiantly led on the advanced parties, had not been unluckily wounded. Their conduct merits the highest encomiums, and must insure them perpetual honor. The loss of the amiable Captain Armstrong, and the dangerous wound received by the intrepid Captain Benson, are to be regretted. Their names cannot be forgotten while acts of heroism are held in estimation. The good conduct of the officers and men who served the artillery at the several batteries merit attention. The consummate bravery of all the troops engaged, and the animated dispositions of those who were ready to engage, gain them the applause of their friends, and the respect of their enemies.

“The General presents his thanks most cordially to both officers and soldiers, and hopes to give them an early opportunity of reaping the fruits of their superior spirit by

an attack in the open field upon the troops now led on by Lord Rawdon." ¹

It was now known by all that Lord Rawdon was at hand, and that the reinforcements which Greene had called for so earnestly had not come. The morning order of the 19th, "The army will march at five o'clock, by the left, to-morrow morning," was received without surprise, though not without chagrin. Greene felt that a cheering word would be welcome, and at his first halt, "five miles east of Saluda River," wrote : —

"Though the circumstances of the war have made it requisite at present to raise the siege of Ninety-six, the General has great hopes that the measures taken to reduce that post will ultimately have their effect.

"The General presents his thanks to Colonel Kosciusko, chief engineer, for his assiduity, perseverance, and indefatigable exertions in placing and prosecuting the approaches, which he is persuaded were judiciously designed, and would infallibly have gained success, if time had admitted of their being completed. The General also presents his thanks to Colonel Henderson, for his constant endeavors to promote the service ; to Colonel Malmedy, for his voluntary assistance in the trenches, and to Captain Dalzien, the assistant engineer.

"The zeal and attention of all the officers of the line and of the different departments, claim the General's particular acknowledgments ; and the patience and fortitude of the troops, so uniformly manifested upon every occasion where duty was performed with fatigue and danger, entitle them to his particular regard." ²

Thus ended the siege of Ninety-six. It had lasted twenty-eight days, and cost the American

¹ Order Book, 18th June, 1781.

² Order Book. Greene MSS.

army one hundred and eighty-five men. "The troops," Greene wrote in his report 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."¹

¹ Greene MSS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Greene's Disappointment. — What will the Enemy do? — Greene resolves to Manœuvre them down to the Lower Country. — Sumter still willful. — Letter to Marion. — The Virginia Plan. — Letter to Lafayette. — Trouble with the Governor of Virginia. — Greene's Letter to General Lawson. — Suggestion of Yorktown. — Calls up Sumter. — Disconraging Answer. — Letter to him. — Rawdon in Pursuit. — Lee on the Watch. — Rawdon falls back to Ninety-six. — The English prepare to abandon it. — Rawdon's Offer to the Inhabitants. — Many accept. — Their Wretched Fate. — Rawdon divides his Forces. — Falls back towards the Coast. — Greene to the President of Congress. — Force detached to the Neighborhood of Charleston. — Partial Success. — High Hills of Santee.

STILL Greene could not but feel his disappointment. It was a cross current in his first tide of success; and his chagrin, though concealed from the army, found frequent expression in his letters. "Our movement to the southward," he wrote to the President of Congress, "has been attended with very great advantages, and had not this reinforcement arrived so soon, or had not the Virginia militia failed me, the measure would have been crowned with complete success."¹ "It is mortifying," he says in another letter, "to leave a garrison so nearly reduced." Some of his officers, it is said, lost heart, and would have persuaded him to fall back upon Virginia. "I will recover South Carolina," he replied, "or die in the attempt."²

¹ June 20. Greene MSS.

² Gordon, vol. iv. p. 96. Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 251.

“I wish, therefore, you would join us with all the force you can,” he writes to General Sumner on the 21st, “for I am determined to maintain my ground in these States at all events.”¹

Some, too, were giving way to personal irritation at the annoyances they received from a “jealous authority watching to take advantage” of them. “But that objection is not sufficient,” Greene writes, “to excuse you from rendering your further services to your country in this time of universal distress.”²

It was difficult in the uncertainty of the enemy’s intentions, and the equal uncertainty of the reinforcements he might receive, to form a satisfactory plan of action. Much must be left to contingencies. However, one thing he was decided upon, “to oblige, if possible, the British army to retire from the district of Ninety-six.” Or, as he expressed it to Lafayette, “I am endeavoring to oblige the British army to evacuate Ninety-six, and to manœuvre them down into the lower country.”³

But even if he could form a plan, how far could he count upon coöperation? Sumter he had tried thoroughly and still found him wanting.⁴ Even in these critical days, when orders were sent to him for a combined movement, it was only after a three days’ search that the express succeeded in finding him, and he was then at Hanging Rock,

¹ Greene MSS.

² Greene to General Polk, June 20, 1781. Greene MSS.

³ To Sumter, June 22; to Lafayette, June 23. Greene MSS.

⁴ Such is the evident interpreta-

tion of Greene’s language and the positive testimony of Lee and Davie, as I have already shown. Sumter himself throws the blame on his men. But he always found men for his own purposes.

“engaged in the prosecution of some measure connected with his command.”¹

“It was my wish,” Greene wrote to Marion, “to have fought Lord Rawdon before he got to Ninety-six, and could I have collected your force and that of General Sumter and Pickens, I would have done it, and am persuaded we should have defeated him; but being left alone I was obliged to retire. I am surprised the people should be so averse to joining in some general plan of operations. It will be impossible to carry on the war to advantage, or even to attempt to hold the country, unless your force can be directed to a point; and as to flying parties here and there, they are of no consequence in the great events of war. If the people will not be more united in their views, they must abide the consequences, for I will not calculate upon them at all unless they agree to act conformable to the great law of recovering all parts of the country and not particular parts.”²

And what was become of the plan of meeting Cornwallis in Virginia? For the war in that State was acting all the while, both mediately and immediately, upon the war in Carolina.³

“We want reinforcements in this quarter,” Greene writes to Lafayette on the 23d, “but I am afraid to call upon you, as I fear you are no less embarrassed and oppressed than we are. What a herculean task we have! To contend with a formidable enemy with a handful of men. In your operations you have one advantage which we have not, that is, you are free from Tories. Here they are as thick as the trees; and we can neither get provis-

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 162. I refer to Johnson the more readily, inasmuch as he is the resolute apologist of Sumter, even to the suppression of the direct evidence of Davie.

² Gibbes, 124.

³ I must recommend to the reader who wishes to form a correct opinion of the trials and difficulties that beset Greene's path at this period, to make a careful study of Kapp's *Steuben*.

ions or forage, without large guards to protect them. They even steal our horses within the limits of our camp. . . . It was my intention to have come to the northward with the greater part of our cavalry, if the enemy had not received a reinforcement here which enables them to take the field, and they are increasing their cavalry by every means in their power, and have a greater number than we have, though not of equal goodness. We are trying to increase ours. Enlarge your cavalry, or you are inevitably ruined. Don't pay any regard to the murmurs of the people. They will bless you when they find they derive security from them." ¹

Not the least among the trials of this period was the interference of the Governor of Virginia with the militia which had been called out to serve in Carolina.

"I should have given you an earlier answer," Greene writes to General Lawson on the 27th of June, "but I found, both by your letter, and others I received from the Marquis, that the militia ordered to the southward was countermanded. Nothing could have been more unfortunate than the tardiness of the militia in taking the field and finally in being countermanded. Nor can I conceive the propriety of the governor of any State giving an order that affects the general interest, after the troops are applied and granted for a plan of operations fixed upon, the success of which depends upon all parts being directed to the same point. Before a force is granted for the service at large, the executive has it in their power to determine whether they will furnish the force or not, but after the order is given out they can have no power over those troops; otherwise a general and an army might be sacrificed, having taken his measures in expectation of support and be disappointed in the most critical situation.

¹ To Lafayette, June 3, 1781. Greene MSS.

“Had the militia marched in time and in force, we should have completed the reduction of all the enemy’s posts long since in this country, and by this been with you in Virginia with the greater part of our cavalry. But for want of the militia our operations have been slow and tedious and finally unsuccessful in the reduction of one of the most important posts. . . . Did the governor suppose that I would not pay attention to Virginia? The moment I got intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was moving northerly, I ordered all the force coming to the southward to halt in Virginia until the enemy’s intentions were more fully explained. Did I not by my special solicitations, and from a persuasion that Virginia would be hard pressed, get the commander-in-chief to order the Marquis back with his detachment for the protection of the southern States? After this particular attention paid to the interest and protection of your State, it was mortifying as well as injurious to the common interest, to find myself deprived of a force on which I had calculated for giving success to our operations in this quarter.

“The Governor, I persuade myself, did not advert to the consequences or he would not have broke in upon my plan, so interesting to the common interest. Had we not moved this way, larger detachments would have been made from this quarter to Virginia than the whole of our force employed here. . . . I have done all in my power to give protection in every quarter, but the efforts of the States have by no means been equal to the emergency and therefore they must patiently submit to the misfortunes which their own tardiness have brought upon them. My utmost exertions shall be continued, and I am ready and willing to encounter every danger and hardship to afford relief to this distressed country. But without support what is to be done? I wish to be in Virginia, but whether it will be practicable for me to leave this country at present I cannot determine.”¹

¹ Greene MSS. He goes over the same ground, though more minutely,

As his attention is thus drawn towards Virginia, another early suggestion of Yorktown falls from his pen.¹ The French minister had written him that the second division of the French fleet was approaching. "I have communicated to Governor Nash," he replies on the 22d, "such parts of your Excellency's letter as you recommended, and I hope some preparations will be made for a plan of coöperation. Virginia, I think, affords the greatest object for the first operations. Lord Cornwallis's army and the fleet and garrison at Portsmouth would be much in our power if the French fleet with a large land force should enter Chesapeake Bay."² To Washington he writes on the same day: "We are anxiously waiting the arrival of the second division of the French fleet. Virginia affords the most inviting object, Lord Cornwallis's army, and the garrison and shipping at Portsmouth. The whole may be taken in three weeks or less; while New York or Charleston will produce a long, tedious, and uncertain siege."³

But now, the most urgent of all these urgent cares was retreat; a retreat which should not carry him too far to prevent him from turning upon the enemy, and fighting him the moment that he found himself strong enough. "The fate of this country must be decided by an action," he

in a letter to Jefferson of the same date, which I give in the Appendix. It is easy to see from these letters on which side Greene would have been found had he lived till the adoption of the Constitution.

¹ I say another, for the germ of

this fruitful idea, undoubtedly lay in the attempt to take Arnold by the aid of the French fleet.

² Letter to the French Minister, June 22, 1781. Greene MSS.

³ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii, p. 341.

wrote to Steuben on the 23d, "if his Lordship thinks proper to contend for that object."¹ The baggage and wounded had already been sent forward two days before, and at five in the morning of the 20th, the army followed. The heats of summer were now upon them, and they marched very slowly, going only eleven miles the first day, and halting five miles east of the Saluda. "I am anxious," he writes from thence to Sumter, "to collect our forces, to enable us to give the enemy the most effectual opposition. I beg you will march your troops and form a junction with us at the cross roads, near the fort at Williams' plantation. On the 21st they halt at Williams' Spring five miles further on."² "The troops," say the orders of the day, "are to clean their arms and accoutrements, to wash their clothes, and to cook their provisions as soon as possible. No passes are to be granted for going into the country, and such as presume to go without permission must be punished in the most exemplary manner. The rolls must be called frequently." Two days, Friday and Saturday, the 22d and 23d, he halts on the banks of Bush River, still intent on opposing the enemy.

Sumter reports discouragingly of his attempt to collect his forces.

"I am sorry," answers Greene, "to find the militia fall off in the way they do. At present I can determine upon no precise plan of operations. My object will be to oblige,

¹ Greene MSS.

them noted down in the margin of

² I give the distances, as I find the Order Book.

if possible, the British army to retire from the District of Ninety-six. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee will move down into the lower country, and I wish Colonel Middleton to join and move down with him. We shall move towards Liles Ford on Broad River. You will continue in the neighborhood where you are, and collect and arrange the militia as fast as you can. Should the enemy move towards us we will form a junction. General Pickens is collecting a considerable force. I am in hopes to see you in a day or two. If you have any meat which you would send to this army, it would be very acceptable.”¹

On the morning of the 23d, came tidings of the enemy. Rawdon had entered Ninety-six in the morning of the 21st, and set out in the evening of the same day in pursuit of the Americans.² “The army will march immediately by the left,” say the orders at two o’clock. They marched fifteen miles to the Enoree, and halted there. Then resuming their march the next day, Sunday, they reached Broad River, fifteen miles further on, by seven in the evening. From Broad River, Greene wrote to Lee: “It is next to impossible to draw the militia of this country from the different parts of the State to which they belong. Marion is below, Pickens I can get no account of, and Sumter wants to make a tour to Monks’ Corner, and all I can say to either, is insufficient to induce them to join us.”

It now became evident that Lord Rawdon would not be able to continue his pursuit much farther. On the 23d, Lee who was watching the enemy, wrote: “His Lordship has no provisions,

¹ Greene MSS.

² Stedman, vol. ii. p. 375.

nor has he taken any measures to get any, except by hand-mills.”¹ “If the British army is in the distress you represent,” Greene replied, “they cannot, they will not follow us far this morning, nor am I of opinion they will pursue us farther. Our army is on the march for Sandy River, towards the cross roads, on the route to the Catawba nation.”² Therefore, continuing his retreat only eleven miles farther, he halted at Timm’s Ordinary, between Broad River and the Catawba, and about equally distant from both, and waited there the development of the enemy’s plans.

Meanwhile Lord Rawdon, with his weary army, retraced his steps towards Ninety-six. It was a painful march, and many of his soldiers, thickly clad in their woolen uniforms, dropped dead by the way. Lee followed close upon his footsteps.³ On the 27th the royal army was gathered for the last time within the precincts of the suffering town.

And now followed one of those sad scenes which give such peculiar bitterness to civil war. It was vain, Lord Rawdon had decided, to think of holding Ninety-six after the loss of Augusta and the posts on the Santee and Congaree. Yet the original object of its erection remained in full force; the district wherein it lay was peopled by devoted loyalists, who needed and deserved protection. In the day of their success they had ruled their Whig brethren with an iron sway.⁴ There was hardly a plantation which had not

¹ Greene MSS.

³ Marshall, vol. ii. p. 12.

² H. Lee, *Campaign of 1781*, p. 418.

⁴ Greene’s letters abound with strong expressions of his abhorrence

been the scene of some bitter conflict or brutal massacre; ¹ hardly a family that had not been the victim of some barbarous outrage. Greene was at a loss for words to express his horror at the scenes that were daily occurring in some part of the wretched country. British officers write with equal abhorrence, and I fear with equal justice, of the barbarity of the Whigs.

In Ninety-six the parts were now to change, for the post was to be abandoned, and the protecting army withdrawn. With a heavy heart the British commander called the principal men among the inhabitants together, and when they were assembled, told them to what a cruel strait the fortune of war had reduced him. "I and my army must go," he said, "but we will not abandon you, nor forget the good service that you have rendered. If you choose to hold the works, I will leave a party to aid you in defending them, and send you from time to time such other succor as you may need. But if you had rather submit to a temporary exile, I will provide a sufficient escort for your families and goods, and send you

of the brutal war of Whig and Tory. In one of the 22d June to the Georgia delegates, he says, "I lament the confusion and inhumanity which takes place; the daily scenes of the most horrid plundering and murder, which can only be accounted for by the great length to which personal animosities are carried, and the want of civil authority. The assistance of every respectable citizen is necessary to check and prevent them."—Greene MSS.

¹ We may literally apply the words of Horace —

Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulchris impia prœlia
Testatur —

Qui gurgis, aut quæ flumina lugubris

Ignara belli? Quod mare Dauniæ
Non decoloravere cædes?

Quæ caret ora cruore nostro?

Carm. ii. 1.

safely within the British lines." Some chose exile, but with an exile's hope of speedy return and full vengeance. Then, dividing his forces, Lord Rawdon set forward on his retreat to the Congaree, with eight hundred infantry, and sixty cavalry, leaving Cruger with his garrison, and the rest of the main army to protect the wanderers.¹

That melancholy train of the wretched victims of loyalty was a sad sight to look upon; and sad and weary was their march towards exile.

At first, indeed, they hoped that they would be put in possession of the confiscated estates below the Congaree, and find or make new homes there. But thither war soon followed them. Then some sought safety in the islands and on the Spanish main. A few ventured back, and threw themselves on the mercy of their countrymen. Many died miserably of the diseases of the low grounds, pestilential to the children of healthy Ninety-six. And many, crowding together into a miserable suburb of Charleston, to which derision or a still deeper feeling gave the name of Rawdowntown, languished there in wretched hovels, till that day of still greater misery for loyalists, when Charleston itself passed forever from the control of their king.

I have spoken of them with compassion, for their sufferings were great. But I must not forget to add that even in those last days at Ninety-six, Tories and regulars, banded together, swept over the long cane district with fire and sword.²

¹ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 374.

² Johnson, vol. ii. p. 163. Moultrie, vol. ii. p. 279.

Lord Rawdon, as we have seen, divided his forces. For himself he reserved eight hundred infantry and sixty cavalry; ¹ the rest he assigned to Cruger, who, after escorting the exiles to a place of safety, was to join the main army at Orangeburg. The Santee and Congaree were henceforth to be the boundaries of the British posts. ² Thither, then, on the 29th of June, he directed his steps, by forced marches, under the burning summer sun. More than fifty of his men are said to have perished from fatigue. ³

Greene's movements I give in his own words to the President of Congress: —

“I did myself the honor to address your Excellency on the 22d of June, at Little River, near Ninety-six. Since which we have been constantly upon the move. In the afternoon of the 23d I got intelligence that the enemy had crossed the Saluda, and were advancing rapidly to attack us. I immediately put the army in motion, having few or no militia with me, and retired towards Charlotte, on which route I had previously ordered provisions and forage to be provided. The enemy pursued us two days; but as our sick, wounded, and stores had all been sent off before, they could effect nothing, though they marched as light as possible, leaving even their knapsacks and blankets behind them. However, it had a terrible effect upon the country; the well affected were flying with their families in all directions. The enemy advanced no further than the Enoree, as we rendered their subsistence difficult by dismantling the mills as we retired. On the morning of the 26th they began to retire towards Ninety-six. We halted near the cross-roads, at a point proper to file off

¹ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 374.

brancer, vol. xii. p. 154. Gibbes,

² Letter of Lord Rawdon to Sir Henry Clinton. Almon's *Remem-*

No. 112.

³ *Annual Register for 1781*, p. 97.

towards the Congaree, and favorable to return to the siege of Ninety-six. As the enemy retired, I kept the Legion close at their heels. Lord Rawdon lay at Ninety-six only two days; and then, with little more than one half his forces, he began his march for the Congaree, leaving Colonel Cruger at Ninety-six with the remainder. From these appearances it was evident the enemy intended to hold the post of Ninety-six, and reëstablish one on the Congaree at Friday's Ferry. In the district of Ninety-six there is the greatest body of Tories in the State, and on the Congaree the greatest quantity of provisions. To prevent the enemy from establishing a post at Friday's Ferry, and holding their ground at Ninety-six (which serves to awe the Georgians and encourage the Indians, who frequently committed depredations within thirty or forty miles of us), we left our baggage, stores, and invalids behind us at Winnsborough, with orders to proceed to Camden, and marched with the army with all possible expedition for the Congarees. His lordship arrived there two days before us; but on our approach he retired to Orangeburg with evident marks of precipitation, which discovered our movements were unsuspected. Captain Eggleston, of Colonel Lee's Legion, made a stroke at his horse, which served to increase his fears. Inclosed is Colonel Lee's report of the affair.¹ The address and gallantry of Captain Eggleston upon the occasion cannot be too highly commended.

“From a persuasion that the enemy would attempt to reëstablish themselves at the Congaree, I had directed Generals Sumter and Marion to collect all the force they

¹ The order of the day for the fourth of July, says: “The General has the pleasure to inform the army that Captain Eggleston, with a part of the cavalry of the partisan Legion, was charged yesterday near Fort Granby, by a body of the British cavalry, of which he took one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, and forty-

five privates, without loss. The gallantry and address exercised by Captain Eggleston, Captain Armstrong, and Lieutenant Winston, upon this occasion, justly entitles them to the thanks of the General, and the approbation of the army. Their troops also merit great applause.”

could, and meet me at that place. But the enemy's movements had given the country such a general alarm that the militia in our interest were tardy in turning out.

"I left the army on the march, and joined the cavalry near the enemy, that I might the better direct the force to the most proper point for operating to advantage.

"We got intelligence by an intercepted letter that Major Stewart, with a reinforcement, was conveying a quantity of provisions and stores from Charleston to Lord Rawdon. We made a rapid march with the whole of our cavalry to intercept them. But unfortunately we were too late. However, Colonel Horree (Horrey) took three of the wagons, loaded with a variety of stores.

"On the arrival of the army at the Congaree, we drew our force together at Beaver Creek. General Pickens was detached to watch the movements of the enemy at Ninety-six. With the rest of our forces, having been joined by Generals Sumter and Marion, with about one thousand men, composed of State troops and militia, we began our march on the 11th to attack the enemy at Orangeburg, and arrived before the place on the 12th. But we found them so strong and advantageously posted, that we had little hope of succeeding in an attempt; especially as our cavalry, from the nature of the ground and position of the enemy, could not be brought to act to advantage; nor could we have improved a defeat, as the enemy had a safe retreat over the Edisto River, and the only pass defended by a large brick jail, not inferior to a good redoubt. In this building, and in several others near it, their troops were posted. Could we have got them out into the open country we could have cut them to pieces in a few minutes. But secured on one side by an impassable river, and covered on the other by strong buildings, little was to be expected from an attack. In this situation we got intelligence of the evacuation of Ninety-six, and that Colonel Cruger with the troops with him were on the march in

the forks of the Edisto for Orangeburg. There was no possibility of striking at him, as the branch of the Edisto which lay between us had no other pass for thirty miles, either above or below, than that which the enemy occupied. As the evacuation of Ninety-six was one great object of our manœuvre, and as the enemy were driven from the Congaree, we thought it was most advisable to attack their lower posts at Monk's Corner and Dorchester (which are nothing but churches occupied), by which we were in hopes to force the enemy at Orangeburg to retire into the lower country for the protection of those posts. Generals Sumter and Marion, with the Legion cavalry, are detached upon this service, and began the march from Orangeburg on the 13th, at which time we began ours for this place, to refresh the army and form a junction with General Sumner and a body of militia expected from Salisbury district. The day after we left Orangeburg the enemy formed a junction with the troops from Ninety-six, and had made no movements day before yesterday." ¹

The force detached against the posts in the neighborhood of Charleston, amounted to about eleven hundred men; ² and Greene looked forward hopefully to the result of an expedition which would have anticipated the battle of Eutaw. But Lee and Sumter could not act together as Lee and Marion had done, and Marion's men felt that they had been rashly exposed for the sake of saving Sumter's men. ³

"The expedition," wrote Greene, "has not answered my expectations, but upon the whole it is clever; there was taken between one hundred and forty or fifty prisoners. great quantities of stores destroyed, upwards of two

¹ Greene to President of Congress, 17th of July, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Greene to Pickens, July 30. Greene MSS.

³ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 173.

hundred horses taken, and a number of wagons. The baggage of the nineteenth regiment was taken, and a considerable quantity of money. Had not General Sumter detached his force too much, and had he not mistaken a covering party for an advance of an attack, he would have taken the garrison at Monk's Corner, amounting to near six hundred men. The enemy evacuated the post, burnt the church and the stores, and fled towards Charleston. They were pursued about two hours after they had been gone by Lieutenant-colonel Lee's Legion, who came up with them near Shubrick's plantation, took their baggage and all their rear guard, amounting to between fifty and sixty men, and obliged the whole party to shelter themselves in Shubrick's house, where Generals Sumter and Marion made an attack upon them; but for want of cannon, which had not been ordered on, they failed. The militia, both officers and men, behaved with great gallantry, and deserve the highest praise. They shot away all their ammunition, which obliged the general to order a retreat. The enemy suffered greatly. Our loss was inconsiderable, though the troops were much exposed. The reason was, the enemy were all raw Irishmen, and knew little or nothing about firing." ¹

Greene was disappointed, and evidently felt that Sumter had made great mistakes. But, wisely controlling his feelings, he thanked Sumter and Marion, and warmly commended their troops.²

How Greene wished his troops to regard the expedition, may be seen from the order of the day of the 26th of July: —

“The General has the satisfaction to inform the army that the detachment of Continental and State troops and

¹ Greene to Pickens, July 22d, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Sumter, Marion, and Lee's letters, and Greene's letters to them, in

the Greene MSS. A spirited, though not perfectly accurate account of this expedition, is given in Lee's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 146, et seq.

militia commanded by Generals Sumter and Marion, and Lieutenant-colonel Lee, have been successful in several rencontres with the enemy, whom they obliged to retreat from Biggin's church, near Monk's Corner, where, as well as on board four vessels taken in Cooper River, great quantities of stores were destroyed. The General presents his thanks to Lieutenant-colonel Lee, for his close pursuit of the enemy, by which their rear-guard, consisting of a captain's command, became prisoners of war; to Captain Armstrong, for his heroic charge through a considerable part of the enemy's line; to Colonel Wade Hampton, for his enterprising and successful attack of the enemy at the Quarter house, within five miles of Charleston; to Colonels Horrey and Lacy, for the firmness with which they received and repulsed the detachment which sallied from Biggin's church under the command of Major Frazer; and to the State troops and militia, for their bravery in attacking the enemy at Shubrick's Bridge. The enemy's loss in the several engagements, is seven commissioned officers and a hundred and fifty privates, prisoners of war."

And now all were to rest for awhile, but to rest watching. Sumter was directed to take post at Friday's Ferry, Marion at Nelson's Ferry, and Lee joined the main army on the High Hills of Santee.¹

¹ Order Book. Greene MSS.

CHAPTER XX.

The Encampment on the High Hills of Santee. — A Comparison. — The Camp a School of Discipline. — Extracts from the Orderly Book. — Efforts to reorganize the Army. — North Carolina. — The Cavalry. — Virginia. — Greene to Governor Nelson. — Recommends a Draft. — Exhaustion of South Carolina. — Whig and Tory. — Letter of Colonel Wade Hampton. — Greene to Pickens. — Reëstablishment of Civil Government. — Greene's Correspondence. — What the Orderly Book shows.

THE High Hills of Santee are a long, irregular chain of sand hills, on the left bank of the Wateree, near twenty miles north of its junction with the Congaree, and some ninety miles northwesterly from Charleston. They are huge masses of sand, clay, and gravel, rising two hundred feet above the river banks, twenty-four miles long, varying in breadth from five miles to one, and fruitful of cotton and grain.¹ Though directly above the noxious river, the air on them is healthy and the water pure, making them an oasis in the wide tract of miasma and fever in which the army had been operating. Both officers and men felt their vigor return as they inhaled the pure breezes.

And how did Greene feel, as he looked around him and recalled to mind the swift succeeding events of the last eight months? In December he was gathering together "the shattered remains

¹ Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 159. Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii.

of a routed army," in a "camp of repose" on the banks of the Great Pedee. From thence, seventy miles northward of where he now lay, began his incessant marchings and countermarchings. Forty miles on the northwest was Winnsborough, from whence Cornwallis had confidently set forth to crush him, and restore North Carolina and Virginia to the British crown. Over two hundred miles northeast of him flowed the Dan, across whose protecting waters he had been driven in swift retreat. A hundred and sixty miles northward, lay the Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, within whose narrow triangle he had so skillfully held his active adversary at bay; and near them, Guilford Court-house, where he had won in defeat the best fruits of victory. A hundred and thirty miles northeastward lay Ramsay's Mill, where he had caught the last glimpse of his humbled adversary, and formed the bold design of carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's possessions. What toilsome days and anxious nights the days and nights of those eight months had been, every dawn recalling him to labor and care, no setting sun bringing promise of repose. And through them all his stout heart had never failed him, his resolute will had never faltered, his strenuous exertions had never relaxed. Dare he promise himself that all would now be well, that fortune had grown weary of buffeting him, and that boldness, firmness, and skill were at last to meet their reward? Not yet. There were still weary marches to make, stout fighting to do, painful

trials of patriotic zeal to endure. And therefore, while all around him were seeking strength in repose, he girded himself anew for new trials.¹

It was his first care that this camp of repose should be a school of discipline :—

“The army will encamp here this afternoon,” say the after orders of Monday the 16th of July. “The troops,” say the orders of the next morning, “will occupy the ground assigned to each corps by the Deputy Quarter-master-general, till further orders.

“The tents are to be regularly pitched, and the greatest care must be taken to preserve cleanliness in camp.

“The guards are to be relieved regularly at sunrise, from which time till eight o'clock the troops are to exercise by companies. The battalions will exercise every afternoon from five o'clock till sundown, and the brigades occasionally, when called upon.

“The rolls must be called not less than four times a day.

“Former orders respecting passes, marauding, etc., must be recurred to, and strictly obeyed. The officer of the day will duly attend the grand parade, at forming of detachments, and the relief of the guards, see that the greatest regularity and order is observed in camp, and that all duties are performed agreeable to the general regulations established by Congress. They are also to attend at headquarters at eleven o'clock, to receive general orders, to superintend the economy of the army, to visit and inspect the guards posted for the security of the camp and provost, to inquire into the state of the prisoners, their crimes and length of confinement ; all which, together with the daily occurrences, are to be reported in writing to headquarters.

“When the field-officer of the day is relieved, he will de-

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 247.

liver to the relieving officer a detail of the guards, inform him of their several posts, and communicate such orders as he may have received respecting their particular duty, and attend at head-quarters at two o'clock. Colonel Williams, assistant inspector-general, will give such instructions as are necessary relative to the discipline of the troops, and all orders delivered by him as deputy adjutant-general, are to be respected and obeyed, as well by the officers of the day as all others.

“The grand parade is in front of the orderly office.”

On Wednesday, 18th, the instructions continue :

“For the greater regularity of doing duty, all daily guards are to attend the grand parade, and be inspected by the officer of the day ; and all guards when relieved, and detachments returned to camp, must be dismissed on the grand parade.

“All soldiers fit for duty, not on extra service by order of the General, or serving as batt-men, with the consent of their commanding officer, must immediately join their corps in camp. The physician in chief of the hospital will give special orders that no men fit for duty be detained, and that returns of all sick and wounded be made immediately. The principal staff officers will also make return of all non-commissioned officers and privates serving in their respective departments, mentioning their names, corps, and how employed.

“It is expected that no officer of the army neglects to make himself acquainted with the general orders, and that they are read daily on the regimental parade.

“The clothing, arms, and accoutrements, are to be cleaned and kept in the best order.”

On the next day, the corps commanders are directed to “prepare for a general muster and inspection, which will begin so soon as paper can be procured for making the necessary returns. . . .

The regimental quartermasters are ordered to provide two or more strong rakes for cleaning the encampment, and regimental fatigue parties must be furnished every other day to burn or bury every offensive matter within two hundred yards of the line.”¹

Another subject of immediate care was the better organization of the army, both to escape that fatal dependence on a militia that was ever coming and going at will, which had so constantly hampered his movements, and so often defeated his wisest plans; and to strengthen that arm on which he placed most dependence in southern war, the cavalry. His letters to leading men in every department of the public service, are full of wise suggestions and earnest appeals. In a measure, too, they were crowned with success. North Carolina had felt deeply the disgraceful conduct of her militia, and the base pretexts which so many of her citizens had employed in order to escape service.² While Governor Nash was yet in the chair, a law had been passed that “those persons who have been lawfully drafted, and have neglected or refused to march and go into actual service on due notice, or find a substitute as therein is directed, shall be held and deemed a Continental soldier for twelve months; and that those persons who have deserted their colors, when in actual service, shall be held and deemed a Continental soldier during the war.”³

¹ Order Book. Greene MSS.

² One of the most common of these, as Greene was informed on his passage through North Carolina,

after the peace, was the making of false ruptures. — Greene's Journal, MS.

³ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 181.

This law was first applied, with varying success, to the men who had fled at Guilford. Burke succeeded Nash, and brought the same spirit to the chair. The Legislature acted with him earnestly. A draft was ordered, to complete the regular quota; and though slowly carried out, nothing but the dearth of arms, which the Legislature could neither buy nor borrow, prevented a strong reinforcement from joining Greene before Ninety-six. Two detachments, of about four hundred men, were sent forward, and five hundred more were expected to march immediately under General Sumner. But what should Greene do for cavalry? He dispatched Colonel Malmedy to Hillsborough, with instructions to plead earnestly for the imperilled army. He found willing hearers. Two hundred horses, and a monthly draft of militia, so as to keep two thousand constantly in the field, with an immediate draft of fifteen hundred to serve three months after joining the army, were cheerfully voted. These were pleasant tidings; and although Greene's experience from the camp before Boston had taught him the danger of relying upon the resolves of public bodies, and upon armies on paper, it was cheering to see that a better spirit was gaining ground, and that the immediate cause of it was the confidence which his genius inspired.¹

Virginia, also, which had borne so large a part in causing the failures of Camden and Ninety-six, first by her delays, and then by the absurd claim

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 182.

of controlling her militia after they had been detached on Continental service, came forward under Nelson, her new governor, with a proffer of two thousand militia, and three hundred horses for the cavalry.¹ Greene eagerly accepted the horses, but urged in earnest terms that instead of placing a vain reliance upon militia, every effort should be made to fill up the State quota of regulars.² Some militia, it is true, would still be needed from time to time, but he had resolved to look for them to the Carolinas and Georgia.

“I hope,” he wrote to Governor Nelson, “every exertion will be made to fill up the line before the men get their discharge; and that your excellency will make every endeavor to enforce the necessity on the minds of the Legislature. Your own experience, no doubt, teaches you the great impolicy of relying too much on the militia. Regulars alone can insure your safety. Men will not yield to the hardships of a camp, nor submit to the severity of discipline, without a certain line of duty prescribed as something professional and by the force of discipline only are they made to encounter dangers and hardships as the most honorable attendants of a soldier’s life. I would by all means recommend drafting, for three or four years, at least. Short enlistments are dangerous, and can give no permanent security. Before you can finish a character for the duties of the field, twelve months’ experience and severe service are absolutely necessary. Eighteen months’ men are but little better than raw, undisciplined militia. Before you can reap any material advantage from them, their times of enlistment will expire, and they will leave you perhaps at a

¹ Governor Nelson to Governor Greene, July 25, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Such indeed was the tone of all his letters, from first to last, not to Virginia only, but to all the States.

moment when everything is at stake; and at a time too when the country looks up to the army for safety and protection; and too frequent calls on the militia serve to weaken the powers of industry, destroy the means of agriculture, and break up the resources of your country." ¹

He would gladly have extended the draft to South Carolina, which had had no Continentals in the field since the fall of Charleston. But upon mature reflection, he was convinced that she had suffered too much from the enemy and the Tories to bear it. In some districts the suffering was so great that he was compelled to order grain to be taken from those who had more than they needed, and distribute it on a reasonable credit to those who were destitute.²

This destitution of whole districts was one of the bitter fruits of the cruel war between Whig and Tory; — a war carried on, as I have already told, by plunder and murder. In July it took more boldly the form of open robbery.

"The situation in which I found this neighborhood," wrote Col. Wade Hampton from Friday's Ferry, on the 29th, "the day after I had the honor of seeing you, is truly to be lamented. Almost every person that remained in this settlement after the army marched, seems to have been combined in committing robberies, the most base and inhuman that ever disgraced mankind.

"Colonel Taylor, who arrived here a few days before me, had apprehended a few of the most notorious of those offenders, whilst the most timid of those that remained were busily employed in collecting and carrying to North

¹ Greene MSS. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 183. ² Greene to Pickens. Greene MSS.

Carolina and Virginia, the very considerable booty they had so unjustly acquired; the more daring, but equally as guilty part of this banditti, seemed to threaten immediate destruction (by murder, etc.) to those who might presume to call the conduct of them, or their accomplices in question.

“Matters becoming thus serious, made it necessary that something decisive should immediately take place. With a few of the State troops and those of the militia who had spirit or inclination enough to engage them in this business, we have secured all of those wretches that could be found, but we find that a number of them, on finding matters were like to terminate against them, (had) taken their flight toward the northward.

“The injured inhabitants are called upon this day to appear against those we have taken up in consequence of their information.

“What decisive measures are to be taken with those who appear to be guilty, as well those who are making off to the northward as those we have in confinement, are objects worthy of your consideration. I have wrote to General Sumter on this subject; but as it strikes me something general ought to take place throughout the State, I am induced to trouble you with this, and hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken.”¹

Greene's attention had already been called to this subject.

“I am exceedingly distressed,” he wrote to General Pickens on the 30th, “that the practice of plundering still continues to rage. Colonel Beard says it has increased to such a degree that the poor inhabitants tremble the moment a party of men appear in sight. If no check can be given to this fatal practice, I am persuaded the inhabitants will

¹ Greene MSS. Part of this letter has been published by Johnson, vol. ii. p. 186.

think their miseries are rather increased than lessened. I beg you to take every possible step in your power to bring offenders to justice, and let those that are capitally concerned be sent prisoners to this camp for trial, for I am determined to subject them to martial law if there is no other method by which the evil can be remedied.

“It is most certainly our interest to encourage the return of the Tories, and I wish you to give them all the encouragement in your power and afford them all the protection you can. But oblige the most notorious to give up their arms, which may be put into the hands of good men.”¹

Colonel Hampton was ordered to send the prisoners to camp to be tried by martial law, and a party of horse was sent in pursuit of the fugitives.

But assistance now came from another quarter; for it was amid these bloody scenes that, for the first time since the fall of Charleston, the voice of the civil magistrate was heard in the unhappy State. When Greene first entered upon his command, he found Governor Rutledge with the army in North Carolina, a willing, but powerless magistrate. Then, and for months after, arms held law silent. But now men bethought them of the danger of martial law as a means of repression, and of its insufficiency as a means of general pacification. They longed for the calm and regular action of constitutional government, the familiar processes of civil law, the free discussions of legislative assemblies. Greene longed for them too, and as he watched the play of wild passions around him, wrote: “I am not fit for a

¹ Greene to Pickens, July 30, 1781. Greene MSS.

military life, for I cannot adopt its maxims.”¹ And therefore it was with a deep and earnest joy that he welcomed Governor Rutledge to his camp on the High Hills. Through what scenes and changes had they passed since they parted in doubt and danger on the banks of the Pedee! How much there still remained to do and to endure before they could give peace to the distracted land. Each set himself earnestly to his task. The first act of the governor was a proclamation against plundering, calling upon civil officers to enforce the laws, and upon the State military officers to give their aid wherever needed.²

On the High Hills, as elsewhere, Greene's pen was ever busy from early dawn to deep in the night, for he still made his first drafts with his own hand. Letters came pouring in upon him also from all quarters, bringing all the facts and conjectures and rumors of his department constantly before him. And every letter was carefully labelled and put on file for reference. They are before me now, file on file; the greater part of them on coarse, dingy paper; a few of them almost illegible from the fading of the ink; some very hard to read from the badness of the writing. Here is the clear clerk-like hand of Otho Williams, breathing calm method and strength. Here is a bold pen dashing over the page with the swift impulse of a sabre stroke. It is the hand of Henry Lee, whose thoughts seem to run away

¹ Greene to Joseph Reed. *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 364.

² Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 506.

with him. This clear, firm hand; wherein every word stands by itself, independent and unsupported, is that of the old wagoner Daniel Morgan. These with the elaborate flourish in the signature are from Francis Marion. The letters are not so bold as Morgan's, yet the page has the same air of independence. But with what undeveloped trait is that flourish connected? In Sumter's there is an elaborate signature and a light flourish. I cannot find the bold, self-willed, insubordinate partisan in those letters that crowd so closely one upon the other; yet whether they announce victory or defeat, the same character pervades them all. There is a tone of higher culture in the letters of Pickens; a certain habit of the pen in those of Davie. But where did William Washington, whose sabre stroke was death, learn to use his pen with such a delicate movement? It is the slight touch of a gentle maiden. Winfield Scott had the same.

Sometimes these letters came to Greene with pleasant and strengthening words of encouragement and remembrance. The French minister writes him, taking care to inclose a translation of his French original: "I cannot but felicitate you upon the continuation of success which have crowned the American arms under your command, and notwithstanding the raising of the siege of Ninety-six, I consider your expedition as very fortunate for the thirteen States." Morgan writes to him: "How is all the old heroes, Washington, Lee, Howard, etc. I have not time to write them; will you be pleased to make my

compliments to them; also to General Huger, Colonel Williams, and your own family respectfully. I saw your letter to the Marquis, and was very unhappy at your situation; that damned reinforcement arrived very unlucky for us.”¹

The new governor of North Carolina writes him: “Your relation of the progress of your arms since your last gives me great pleasure, and I consider your success in compelling the enemy to collect their forces within a narrow compass, and to move lower down the country, as very important.”²

Less pleasant letters come also.

“The command you have placed me in,” writes Major Armstrong of North Carolina, “is the most disagreeable I have ever had since in service. The Continentals are two thirds sick; it requires the rest to take care of the baggage. The Virginia militia are sick, or at best in such order that that it is out of my power to command them to duty; they are determined to go home, insisting that their time is out: the officers say it is out of their power to stop them, for they can desert in the night without their knowledge. I have been talking to them and have in a measure stopped them till your orders by the bearer. . . . I have examined the returns of provisions and find that rations are drawn for upwards of one hundred and fifty men and but one hundred fit for duty.”

Three days later he writes, —

“Since my last upwards of forty of the Virginia militia deserted. . . . Our men are getting sick very fast. I am distressed to know what to do. I am sure if the

¹ Morgan to General Greene, July 24, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Governor Burke to General Greene, July 30, 1781. Greene MSS.

whole army had been picked, you could not have got a more disorderly crew. Plundering and stealing are in full perfection, and done in such a manner that we cannot come to a knowledge of it. . . . I cannot depend upon Colonel Lacey's men to guard the prisoners, for they will not be confined to camp. The militia will every man desert, and I shall not have sufficient men to guard the prisoners and the camp."¹

Two days later still, July 12th, he writes, "I am just now informed that fifteen of them deserted two of their posts at the provost-guard."

The Orderly Book gives us glimpses of the daily life of camp, the daily round of duties and cares; and as I turn its monotonous pages, I marvel that man should ever wish to be a soldier. I open at the 2d of August and read: "Treasure" is the parole; "Useful," the countersign. Long extracts from Charles Thompson's minutes of the resolves of Congress follow. They are meant to flatter the hopes of the ill-clad army.

"All non-commissioned officers and soldiers that are or hereafter may be enlisted during the war (shall) be annually furnished with one regimental coat, full made, one cloth vest, one pair of cloth breeches, one pair of woolen overalls, two pairs of woolen hose, two pairs of woolen socks; one felt hat, one leather cap, four shirts, two pairs of linen overalls, four pairs of strong shoes, one blanket, one rifle shirt, and one pair woolen gloves; also one pair of shoe-buckles, and one stock clasp, every two years. The dragoons to receive two pair boots and one pair spurs, instead of the shoes and buckles annually; also a horseman's cloak every two years."²

¹ Greene MSS. Published also in parts by Johnson, vol. ii. p. 175.

² Order Book, August 11, 1781.

It is a bold bid for the twelve months' men and eighteen months' men. Some are persuaded, but far the greater number shake their heads and say : " Congress is swift to promise, but slow to perform."

I turn another page, Sunday, 5th, the day of rest. How does war recognize it? Under the canvas walls of a large marquee I see grave men sitting with swords by their sides and epaulets on their shoulders, and a stern collectedness upon their faces, which says that no light cause has brought them together. At their head sits the bayonet lover, Howard, with severe brow, somewhat saddened, but sternly earnest. Before them, with an armed soldier on each side, stands Sergeant Radly of the Maryland line. It is no Sabbath service of the sweet Sabbaths of peace that brings him here. The rash man has uttered dangerous words before the soldiery, and now he must answer for them ; for should others repeat them, and act up to them, what would become of our little army and our holy cause ?

" 1st. He has expressed himself in a disaffected manner in presence of the soldiers.

" 2d. He has spoken disrespectfully of Colonel Howard as commanding officer.

" 3d. He has frequently said in presence of the soldiers he would never endeavor to injure the enemy."

Grave, deadly charges, all of them, in camp and war-time, though harmless in peace. Sergeant Radly sees his danger now, and pleads " not

guilty" to them. But the men who heard him come and bear witness against him; and "the court, after examination of the witnesses, are of opinion that the prisoner is guilty of each of the charges exhibited against him and do sentence him to suffer death, two thirds of the court agreeing thereto.

No hope for you from the court, unhappy man. But the General? 'Tis but a straw, yet human nature clings to it.

The General approves the sentence.

Here is the warrant. I look closely at the signature, but I find no tremor there, though I know that the heart of the writer was heavy when he wrote the fatal words. It is a solemn night for the sergeant, and full of bitterness, yet all too short for a last night on earth. Not a word do I find about chaplain, or Bible, or dying message, or dying prayer. Yet some such must have been. I only read in the next day's orders, —

"Sergeant Radly of the Maryland line is to suffer according to the sentence pronounced against him, at six o'clock this afternoon, by being shot to death. The troops are to be under arms and attend the execution."

Six o'clock of an August day leaves nearly two full hours of sunlight still, and ere the first shadows descend, a sharp, rattling volley tells that Sergeant Radly's brief and tainted record is closed forever.

But at least he died a soldier's death, by bullet, not by cord. Not such is your fate, ye who deserted your flag and bore arms against it. You form a long list of Marylanders and Virginians

and Carolinians. In a few cases there are palliating circumstances which the court gladly accepts, and instead of the gallows sends the less guilty to the whipping-post. "One hundred lashes on the bare back;" a mitigation which the General approves and orders the lashes to be laid on immediately. But in most cases the crime is proved in all its enormity and the sentence sternly follows, — "to be hanged by the neck till he be dead." And thus men's minds are made fearfully familiar with death, fearfully thoughtless of the sanctity of human life. A relentless, horrible necessity controls and hurries them on, leaving no time for the softening thought of widow and orphan, and father and mother, crushed, humbled in the dust. Well might Greene sigh for his own fireside; well might he write to his wife, —

"Before this I suppose you are at Westerly. I wish I was there with you, free from the bustle of the world and the miseries of war. My nature recoils at the horrid scenes which this country affords, and longs for a peaceful retirement where love and softer pleasures are to be found. Here, turn what way you will, you have nothing but the mournful widow and the plaints of the fatherless child; and behold nothing but houses desolated and plantations laid waste. Ruin is in every form and misery in every shape."¹

From time to time an officer's name is found among the accused. A staff officer is accused of irregularity; sometimes from ignorance, and he is acquitted; sometimes from corruption, and he is dismissed the service. Nor is the line unrepresentative.

¹ To Mrs. Greene, July 18, 1781. Greene MSS.

sented. Captain-lieutenant Huger "is charged with unofficerlike behavior in barbarously cutting and striking Thomas Kahoo of the Maryland line with his sword and wounding said Kahoo so much as to disable him from doing the duty of a soldier. The court having considered the charge against Captain-lieutenant Huger, the evidence, and his defense, are of opinion that he is not guilty and do acquit him." Captain Conway Oldham of the 1st Virginia regiment is accused of insubordination. The court acquit him with honor.

"The General disapproves, and for the very great respect he has for Captain Oldham, as a good officer, he is sorry he cannot view his conduct in the same innocent light the court did. Subordination and respect from inferior to superior officers is so necessary in the very existence of an army, that the General is surprised that an officer should betray the least symptoms of a want of either, especially as the only sure way of enforcing obedience from inferiors, is to set the example by the conduct to superiors. No army can hope to be useful or honorable where subordination is wanting. Nor can any officer flatter himself of being crowned with military glory, while connected with an army defective in the essential of discipline, however meritorious his conduct may be as an individual.

"A commanding officer of a regiment as head of a corps, has an undoubted right to order any of the soldiers upon any duty he thinks proper, and if he employs them in any improper service, he is accountable to his superior only, to whom those who may think themselves aggrieved should apply for redress."¹

¹ Orderly Book, August 20. Greene MSS.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Story of Isaac Hayne. — Retaliation. — Greene to Marion. —
Memorial of the Officers.

AND now it is my duty to relate one of the saddest episodes of the southern war ; which excited feelings so deep that their bitterness has not yet passed away, and left a stain upon great historic names which the splendor of later achievements can never efface. I have reached the story of Colonel Isaac Hayne.

The fall of Charleston threw into the hands of the victors upwards of five thousand prisoners, nearly two thousand of whom were Continentals. The officers were equally numerous in proportion, reaching two hundred and forty-five in all.¹ By the terms of the capitulation a distinction was made between Continentals and militia, the former being held in a specified place as prisoners of war until regularly exchanged, the latter being “permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole ; which parole so long as they observe shall secure them from being molested in their property by the British troops.”² There was also a large number of prisoners on parole who

¹ Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 61.

² Articles of capitulation. Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 405.

had been taken and paroled previous to the capitulation. The question of adhering to their allegiance to Congress or of returning to their allegiance to the king, was for all classes a question which they alone had a right to decide; and so long as they observed the conditions of their parole, they were entitled to protection of property and person. Such was the language of the capitulation, and such the construction which the second class of paroles bore when read and interpreted in the light of the first. Such, however, was not the intention of the British commander.

For ten days had hardly elapsed from the surrender of the city, when Sir Henry Clinton called by proclamation upon all citizens under the severest penalties to aid in the reëstablishment of the royal government. A fortnight later, by a second proclamation, he annulled all paroles except those secured by the 4th article of the capitulation, and ordered those who held them to regard themselves as royal subjects.¹ In another proclamation, a joint proclamation with Admiral Abuthnot, he announced the same principle. The province was conquered and the inhabitants owed allegiance to the conqueror.

Still, however, up to the battle of Camden the terms of the capitulation were generally observed; though not without occasional and flagrant violations.² But that disaster seemed to secure the subjugation of the province, and confirm the con-

¹ Both these proclamations may be found in Ramsay, pp. 435-443, and Almon, vol. x. p. 82.

² Dr. Fayssoux to Dr. Ramsay Moultrie, vol. ii. p. 397.

quest which the capture of Charleston had begun. Then followed a system of enticement and menace, of corruption and terror, as either seemed best suited to the occasion. It would be long to tell the full story of these disgraceful scenes; how some were tortured by confinement in prison-ships in the midst of small-pox and putrid fever: how some were sent to languish in St. Augustine, in open violation of the articles of capitulation, and tortured the while by false stories of American defeat and disaster. It was a trying situation even for the bravest and most resolute. The preservation of their property, the protection of their families, the immediate enjoyment of personal freedom, the apparent hopelessness of further resistance, pleaded warmly with them for submission; love of country, faith in the justice of their cause, the sense of honor which holds desertion in the hour of need as doubly degrading, made them shrink from a submission which was a virtual misrepresentation of their feelings.

Many lost heart and yielded. By far the greater number held true to their country. They could not look upon their parole as a voluntary gift which might be resumed at will by the grantor, but as a contract which bound both him who received and him who gave. And out of these new relations, new questions and new complications arose, which presently became the cause of new outrages on the part of the victors, and new sufferings on the part of the conquered. Lord Cornwallis, who had resolved to "extinguish the rebellion" in South

Carolina, gave orders immediately after the battle of Camden, that "all the inhabitants" who had submitted and taken part in the revolt, should "be punished with the greatest rigor," and that "every militia man who had borne arms with (the British) and afterwards joined (the Americans), should be immediately hanged."¹ The victory of Camden followed the first of these hangings, and not long after its nine victims were avenged by the hanging of loyalists at King's Mountain. Never was cruelty more fatal to the cause it was meant to support. The feeling which it awakened was exasperation rather than fear. Men saw no middle course between open resistance and absolute submission, and resisted. A little gentleness, a strict adherence to the terms of the capitulation, a judicious lightening of burdens and a friendly and respectful demeanor in the intercourse with the colonists, would have won many and propitiated all. Arrogance, rapacity, and cruelty nourished the hostility which found early expression at King's Mountain, and made possible the march from the Deep River.² It was from these errors that came the tragedy of Isaac Hayne.

Isaac Hayne was a native of South Carolina, who had won honorable distinction, both as a member of the Legislature and an officer in the

¹ *The Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 57.

² Ramsay and Moultrie afford important and trustworthy materials for the statements contained in this

chapter. The letter of Surgeon-general Fayssoux to Dr. Ramsay deserves the closest attention, and may be accepted with implicit confidence. *Vide Moultrie*, vol. ii. p. 397.

militia. By the fall of Charleston, the district wherein he lived came under the control of the royal general and thus, although he was not thrown into the enemy's hands, being in the country at the time of the surrender, he was in their power so long as he remained at his home on the Edisto. At that time his presence at home was essential to the safety of his family, three members of which were prostrated by the small-pox. To make sure of the privilege of remaining with them, he resolved that instead of waiting to be made prisoner, he would repair to Charleston and ask for a parole. To his surprise it was refused him and he was told that he must either subscribe a declaration of allegiance to the king or go to prison. Prison he could bear, but the thought of wife and children alone, exposed to Tory vengeance, helpless from age, sex, and disease, weighed heavily upon his heart. He went to his friend Ramsay, who has told us the story, explained to him his situation and the grounds of his decision.

“I sign this hateful allegiance for my wife and children's sake, loving my country still, as I have always loved her. Could I take them with me and flee, the remotest district would be a welcome refuge. But I cannot; neither the jealous government nor the inexorable disease will let me. I will sign this paper, but in signing it, I will solemnly declare that I will never bear arms against my country. The old militia penalty of a fine to hire a substitute is all that can be asked of me, and that I will pay.”¹

In his eagerness to be with his family he did

¹ I give the substance of what Ramsay has related more fully, vol. ii. p. 279.

not reflect that civil war knows no neutrality. When he told the commandant of the garrison and intendant of police that he "expressly objected to the clause which required him with his arms to support the royal government," they answered him that he never would be called upon to do it. "When the regular forces cannot defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants it will be high time for the royal army to quit it."

And thus with this sore burden upon his heart, he returned home. Vain sacrifice! His wife was sick beyond relief. He could only look upon her transformed face, and see her die. Two children soon followed. Happy would it have been could he have died with them. For what was there left for him in this lonely house and lonelier world? Other children, all too young as yet to spare him, and too young to share his thoughts, or alleviate his cares.

Meanwhile the war continued. Rumors of American successes reached him from time to time. Faithful reports followed. Greene was on the Santee. Camden was evacuated. Louder and louder in swift succession the sounds of war drew nigh. And now he felt all the bitterness of that odious declaration come back to him anew. To see the flag he loved and not be able to strike a blow for it! Painful as was the struggle he was true to his pledge. Light parties of Americans were all around him. He was summoned to take up arms and aid in repelling them. He

pleaded his reservation and refused. Threats of imprisonment followed. What now was his lawful relation to the king? The region below the Edisto was no longer a conquered region. The royal troops can no longer protect him and his household. Will England acknowledge the principle when it tells against her as she acknowledged it when it told for her? These summons and that threat showed full clearly that she would not. Were they not a violation of their contract and a release from his?

He felt that they were.¹ His old friends were arming. He resolved to arm also. No sooner was his intention known than Pickens was entreated to give him the command of the new regiment. He was soon in the saddle, leading an expedition close down to the gates of Charleston. They seized a valuable prisoner, General Williamson, once Hayne's companion in arms against the invader, now serving him with renegade bitterness. When the capture was known, the whole British cavalry was ordered out in pursuit. Trusting to his guard, Hayne halted for breakfast at the house of a friend, two miles from the main body. His militia guard strayed off in search of fruit; and the enemy were upon him before a cry of alarm was heard. He sprang through a door, bounded to the saddle, and put spurs to his horse. By

¹ The chief authority at that period, it will be remembered, was Vattel, and he says: "If the troops of their party should get possession of the place where they dwell, they

are by the laws of arms, released and restored to their nation, and to their former state." — *Vattel*, book iii. ch. xiv.

this time they were in the yard. He forced his way through them without a wound. But a fence was in his path. His horse in leaping it fell, and before he could disentangle himself he was surrounded and disarmed.

And now he is a prisoner in the damp, gloomy, Provost; a prisoner in this bright July so full of promise for the cause in which he believed and for which he had just become free to act. Still only a prisoner of war. There is a cartel now, just signed. Major Hyrne is still in Charleston arranging the final details. The principle involved in his case has been reserved for future discussion, thus carrying with it the suspension of present action.¹ He will soon be in the saddle again.

But in the morning came a letter from the town major, saying: "I am charged by the commandant to inform you that a council of general officers will assemble to-morrow at ten o'clock in the hall of the Provost to try you." An ominous letter, but which awakened no suspicions of what was to follow. He sent for his lawyer, Mr. John Colcott, who unhappily could not be found. In the evening of the next day came another letter from the major. There will be no council, but a simple court of inquiry to "determine under what point of view you are to be considered." He is to have pen, ink, paper, and counsel.

When he came before the court he was con-

¹ A letter of Major Hyrne to General Greene, August 1st, places this decisive fact beyond a doubt.

firmed in the belief that the question under discussion was merely a question of legal position. The members of the court were not sworn, the evidence was not given on oath. Not having seen his counsel, he abstained from calling his witnesses, but answered frankly the questions that were asked him. When the day of trial came, he would have both witnesses and counsel.

But the trial was already over. Saturday the court rose. Sunday morning the town major entered his room with a memorandum in his hand whereon he fixed his eyes as he read, the prisoner fixing his eyes on him as he listened. "I am directed to inform you that in consequence of the court of inquiry held yesterday, and the preceding evening, on your account, Lord Rawdon and the commandant Lieutenant-colonel Nesbit Balfour have resolved on your execution on Tuesday the 31st instant at six o'clock, for having been found under arms and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British government, though you had become a subject and accepted the protection of that government after the reduction of Charleston."

And now for the first time the full terror of his situation broke upon him. Did not a shudder come over him, nature's recoil from the thought of sudden death, as he stood there face to face with the instrument of British injustice, and the vile gallows rose in close perspective before him? But he lost not heart. He asked to see Mr. Colcott, who promptly came, and going over the whole

ground with him, prepared for him a legal opinion. In this opinion it was clearly demonstrated that whether as a prisoner of war, or as a prisoner of State, he was legally entitled to a fair trial. Then he addressed a calm and dignified letter to Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, stating the facts clearly and firmly, asking for a legal trial, and if that were denied, "earnestly entreating that his execution might be deferred that he might at least take a last farewell of his children and prepare himself for the dreadful change."¹

There was that much of humanity in their answer that it was not delayed. "I have to inform you," it ran, "that your execution is not ordered in consequence of any sentence of a court of inquiry, but by virtue of the authority with which the commander-in-chief in South Carolina, and the commanding officer in Charleston are invested. And their resolves on this subject are fixed and unchangeable." But the last farewell to his children, would that also be denied him?

"Seriously entreat his Lordship and Colonel Balfour that I may have time to send for them."

Fraser went with the touching appeal. At three came the town adjutant with the answer, "Your request is rejected."

And thus Sunday and Monday passed away amid ever intruding thoughts of death. On Tuesday at one in the morning, the deputy provost-marshal entered his room. "It is time to prepare to die. Orders have just come. You will leave

¹ Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 511.

your apartment at five o'clock." A half hour passed and again the door opened. This time it was Major Fraser himself. "Colonel Hayne, I am to acquaint you that in consequence of a petition signed by Governor Bull and many more, as also of your prayer of yesterday, and the humane treatment shown by you to the British prisoners who fell into your hands, you are respited for forty-eight hours."

The father's heart was stirred. "I thank them," he replied. "Now I shall see my children." A quick messenger was despatched to fetch them. In a few minutes Major Fraser returned. He had forgotten part of his message. "If General Greene should offer to expostulate in your favor, with the commanding officer, from that instant the respite will cease and you will be ordered for immediate execution." At three o'clock the respite was confirmed by a written message, brought and read by the town adjutant. "Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour have consented to grant to Mr. Hayne a respite for forty-eight hours."

For his friends had not been idle. Beloved, respected, trusted by all, a deep sadness fell upon the town when his danger was known. A petition, headed by the royal Lieutenant-governor Bull and bearing eminent names of both parties, was addressed to Lord Rawdon. Another was drawn up and presented by the ladies of Charleston, his sister among them. His children, clad in deep mourning, were carried to ask their father's life on their knees. Lord Rawdon, in his letter to

Colonel Lee, assures us that he had been surprised into a rash promise, and did all that he could and more than he ought to have done to save the unhappy victim. But Balfour was not to be moved, and to all observers it seemed that Lord Rawdon acted in full harmony with him.

Meanwhile the swift hours were passing. The martyr's friends came to see him and listen to his noble words; for it was strengthening to hear him speak calmly and simply of death. He spoke regretfully of the retaliation that might follow his execution, the blood that might be shed to atone for the shedding of his blood. He had also words of wise counsel for his children, too young as yet to feel their full force, but which might sink deep into the heart, and some day, when the memory of these awful days came back to their matured minds, bear precious fruit. The eldest was but thirteen, and already a man's duty devolved upon him. "Take this packet," said the father, putting into his hands the papers from which history has so freely drawn, "and deliver it to Mrs. Edwards with my request to forward it to her brother in Congress. Go then to the place of my execution, receive my body and see it decently interred with my forefathers." Then pressing them to his bosom, he invoked the blessing of the God of the fatherless upon their young heads and sent them away.

And now the appointed hour was come. He had dressed himself for it with his accustomed care, and calmly took his place in the procession. A few dear friends were with him. A sad crowd

filled the streets through which he was to pass, and thronged the place of execution. The muffled drum gave forth a sound of woe. When he came in view of the instrument of death he paused, for he too, had asked not to die on a gibbet. A friend who stood near him observed it and whispered, "You will now, I trust, exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die." "I will endeavor to," he whispered in reply. The place of execution was outside the city. All was ready there. There was the gallows, the two posts, and cross-beam, and the fatal cord dangling loosely from it. There was the cart and there the executioner, and now here was the victim. All could see him as he ascended the cart, and all saw that his countenance was serene, and his step firm. The executioner made an awkward attempt to get up after him.

"What do you want?" he asked.

"To draw down the cap."

"I will save you the trouble," he gently answered; and raising his hands as high as his pinioned arms would let him, drew it calmly down and shut out earth's light forever. Three of his dearest friends still stood near him and eagerly pressed his hands for the last time. He pressed theirs in return, and asked them not to forget his children; then giving the signal, the cart started, and the man, so loved and so loving, swung a breathless corpse in the bright light of the August morning, while from that polluted spot of earth,

the orphans' cry ascended to the throne of an outraged God.¹

The tidings of this new wrong soon reached the American camp. Never had Greene's indignation been so roused before. It was a flagrant violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the cartel of May, whereby a general release of the militia from parole and from prison had been agreed to. The lists were published, and only five exceptions made, of whom Hayne was not one, although two cases were exactly similar to his. Major Hyrne was actually in Charleston, upon a mission for carrying the convention into effect, when Hayne was brought in. But it was not till he had left that the mock trial began.

Retaliation was the first thought of the American commander, as with a burst of passion, which no one near him had ever seen him give way to before, he struck the table with his clenched fist. Then came the recollection that the prisoners of St. Augustine who had been liberated by the

¹ The original narrative of this sad story is found in Ramsay, who gives the documents, vol. ii. pp. 277 et seq., 511 et seq. Moultrie republished most of them, and Lee told the story with much beauty. Upon the publication of his *Memoirs* he sent a copy to Lord Rawdon, who gave his own version of the tragedy in a long letter to the author. This letter was first published in H. Lee's *Campaign of 1781*.

I cannot accept the defense as either good logic or frank narrative. In one important point it raises a

question of veracity between Lord Rawdon and Colonel Hayne. Both Cornwallis and Rawdon, if American annals are true, were blood-thirsty and vindictive, regarding the Americans as rebels and almost out of the pale of civilized warfare. The decisive evidence against them in this case, is found in the fact that the principle involved in it had just been referred by the consent of both parties to a future discussion; as appears from a letter of August 1, 1781, by Major Hyrne.

cartel were still in the hands of the enemy. Not till they reached the Delaware would they be out of danger.

“You will see by Colonel Harnden’s letter,” Greene wrote to Marion, “that the enemy have hung Colonel Hayne. Don’t take any measures in the matter toward retaliation, for I don’t intend to retaliate upon the Tory officers, but the British. It is my intention to demand the reason of the colonel’s being put to death, and if they are unsatisfactory, as I am sure they will be, and if they refuse to make satisfaction as I expect they will, to publish my intention of giving no quarter to British officers of any rank that fall into our hands. Should we attempt to retaliate upon their militia officers, I am sure they will persevere in the measure in order to increase the animosity between the Whigs and Tories, that they might stand idle spectators and see them butcher each other.

“As I don’t wish my intentions to be known to the enemy, but through an official channel, and as this will be delayed for some few days to give our friends in St. Augustine time to get off, I wish you not to mention the matter to any mortal out of your family.”¹

Greene’s indignation was fully shared by his officers. When they first heard that one so respected and loved had fallen victim to a barbarous policy, they felt sure that their commander would retaliate. A few days, they knew, were required for more accurate information, and they waited patiently. But when they saw day after day pass without any official declaration, they became uneasy, and collecting together, addressed him a memorial expressive of their wishes and feelings.

¹ Greene to Marion, 10th August, 1781. Greene MSS.

“We therefore, with submission,” it closes, “beg leave to recommend that strict inquiry be made into the several matters mentioned, and if ascertained, that you will be pleased to retaliate in the most effectual manner by a similar treatment of British subjects which are or shall be in your power. Permit us to add, that while we seriously lament the necessity of such a severe expedient, and commiserate the sufferings to which individuals will naturally be exposed, we are not unmindful that such a measure, may, in its consequences, involve our lives in additional dangers, but we had rather forego temporary distinctions, and commit ourselves to the most desperate situations, than prosecute this just and necessary war upon terms so dishonorable.”¹

This memorial was signed on the 20th of August. On the 26th came intelligence that the prisoners of St. Augustine were in the Delaware, and on the same day, Greene addressed letters to Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Balfour, demanding an explanation, and issued a proclamation announcing his “intention to make reprisals for all such inhuman insults as often as they take place. And whereas the enemy seem willing to expose the small number of the deceived and seduced inhabitants who are attached to their interests if they can but find an opportunity of sacrificing the great number who have stood forth in the defense of our cause, I further declare that is my intention to take the officers of the regular forces, and not the inhabitants who have joined their army, for the objects of reprisals.”

¹ The whole memorial is given in duty, could not sign it, but fully the Appendix. Lee, being absent on concurred in it.

The letter to Cornwallis, if it ever reached him, found him too much occupied with other cares to give immediate attention to this. But Balfour became alarmed and sent his secretary, Captain Barry, to the American camp "with full powers to negotiate and settle the points stated in your letter."

It is pleasant to reflect that no retaliation followed, for retaliation, however just, has an element of chance in it that seldom fails to awaken sympathy for its victims. Greene was thoroughly in earnest. But the end was obtained without the bloody means. The subject passed from the control of Balfour to that of his successor, General Leslie, at whose request the discussion was referred "to officers appointed to meet and adjust all existing difficulties." Greene's unchanged feeling found expression in a letter to Leslie. "If there is not an order for retaliation in the other case, I am persuaded it will be from the author's not being in our power."¹ A general exchange and the increasing hopes of peace rendered further action unnecessary.

¹ Some of the letters and documents referred to may be found in the fifteenth chapter of Johnson. But my general reference must be to the Greene papers.

How deeply Greene felt upon the subject of retaliation may be seen from an anecdote preserved by Garden. "When Major Skelly, of the Seventy-first Regiment, was taken, report had given him higher rank; he

was called Colonel. When it was ascertained that he was really a major, General Greene, whose mind was evidently greatly agitated, said: I rejoice at the circumstance, as he has the reputation of always having conducted himself with humanity and like a gentleman. Had he been a colonel, he must have suffered." Garden, vol. i. p. 148.

CHAPTER XXII.

Governor Rutledge. — Robert Morris and the New Bank. — Greene to Morris. — Efforts to fill the Military Chest. — New Disappointments. — Letters. — Strange Conduct of Sumter. — Colonel Henderson. — His Letters. — Greene countermands Sumter's Instructions to Henderson. — Slow and Insecure Communication between North and South. — Embarrassments therefrom.

AMONG the hopes which Governor Rutledge had brought with him from Philadelphia, was the hope of filling the military chest by the sale of shares of the new Bank, which was just coming into successful operation under the skillful direction of Robert Morris, the newly appointed superintendent of Finance. As an auxiliary source, Greene was authorized to draw on the superintendent to a specified amount. How utterly the first of these resources failed, his letter of the 18th of August to Mr. Morris will show : —

“I was favored with your letter of the 12th of June by the hand of Governor Rutledge, and am sorry to inform you that the Governor met with none who were willing to interest themselves in the Bank. His route was through a tract of country where the inhabitants are little acquainted with commerce, and therefore not likely to become adventurers in a measure of that sort. But whether it was owing to an objection to this particular scheme or to all projects of this kind, that the people manifested no inclination to become interested in the Bank, I cannot pretend to determine. But certain it is not a single subscriber could be found, nor a shilling of money raised.

“To conduct a war which is carried on so much at arm’s-end as the operations here are, so remote from supplies of every kind, and where the enemy can be reinforced with such facility, and we with such difficulty, and the whole service attended with so many contingencies, and all this to be done without money, and with a force little more than one third equal to the enemy’s, is an unenviable task, and requires more experience and greater abilities than I possess. I find myself frequently ready to sink under the load of difficulties that oppress me, where all our resources depend upon expedients. Hitherto we have combated them with some degree of success, but this cannot be expected to continue without more effectual support. I know that Government is exceedingly embarrassed. I feel for them. But ’tis nothing more than might have been expected from that unhappy policy, to say nothing worse of it, — I mean sporting with public credit.

“No nation ever had greater resources in the confidence of the people than Congress had at the beginning of the war; nor would it have diminished to this day, had they maintained their own dignity and a due subordination of the States. But the desire of indulging those, and easing the people of heavy taxes, led to measures that were no less dishonorable than they have been destructive to our true interest. The tender laws and the plan of redeeming the Continental money, forty for one, have been replete with every kind of mischief. Credit and reputation are much alike, either in public or private life. Once lost they are very difficult to be regained, and no advantage gained at the expense of our credit or reputation can compensate for the loss of them. It was ever my opinion, that we ought to have supported the old Continental money, and I am persuaded it would have afforded us the best medium of any plan we had it in our power to adopt. The hopes of benefiting by its appreciation would have supported its credit. If the States could have been

prohibited from making money, and the taxes kept in motion, the Continental money would have afforded a tolerable medium for business of all kinds. The regulating laws were another source of mischief: indeed those and the tender laws were sufficient to stop all intercourse among men where they could have no election in either price or pay, especially where the legislatures of many States discovered such dishonest intentions. Trade, commerce, and paper money of all kinds, alike depend upon the opinion of people, and wherever compulsion is made use of, they languish and die.

“ I lament exceedingly that Congress have given up so much of their just and necessary prerogatives into the hands of the different States, and I am very apprehensive we shall want that force and vigor in our national character which is necessary to our security, and I am not less apprehensive that intestine broils and feuds will frequently convulse the empire for want of a sufficient respect and dependence of the States upon Congress. Politics is a knotty subject, and all general principles liable to many exceptions. Measures which were promising in prospect often terminate in opposite consequences. Perhaps what I can conceive now unfavorable may produce national advantages. Time will bring all things to light; at present there rests too great a cloud upon the subject for me to penetrate it, and therefore I will drop the matter.

“ When I tell you I am in distress, don't imagine I mean little difficulties, but suppose my situation to be like a ship's crew in a storm, where the vessel is ready to sink, and the water gains ground in the hold with every exertion to prevent it. It is a maxim in republican government never to despair of the commonwealth; nor do I. But I foresee more difficulties than I can readily see how to conquer. I wish to discharge my duty, but events will depend upon the means, and upon the hand of Providence. If I have any opportunity of obtaining money and draw-

ing bills on you, I shall embrace it. But 'tis a very uncertain source, and therefore I leave you to judge of the prudence of exposing an army to such contingencies." ¹

The limit of Greene's drafts was five hundred guineas, which were to be strictly applied to the actual campaign; and those also, were in a measure dependent upon the sale of bank shares. I shall return to the subject by and by. Meanwhile Governor Rutledge found a temporary substitute in the seizure and sale of indigo, of which considerable quantities had been concealed by the planters in the hope of a future market. I have shown how Greene had again been flattered by the promise of reinforcements. They again proved to be armies on paper. Two hundred North Carolina levies and five hundred North Carolina militia, not fully armed, were all that he received. A hundred and fifty men had been raised in Georgia by Colonel Jackson, but before they could be brought into the field, they were stricken down with small-pox. While falling back from Ninety-six, he was promised three thousand five hundred of the fine militia of Mecklenberg and Rowan counties. Five hundred were all that came. The approach of danger had roused them. As it passed away, they went back to their farms. Greene was deeply annoyed.

"I mean not to censure," he writes to Colonel Locke, who was to have led the Mecklenberg militia, "but to represent matters as they appear to me. It is true the

¹ Morris's letter speaks hopefully of the success of the Bank in Philadelphia. — Greene MSS.

people are tardy in taking the field for the support of their liberties, and protection of their distressed brethren. Those in security are too apt to be unfeeling toward those in distress. But where the people manifest such a lukewarm disposition, and decay of patriotism, the laws should be brought in, to oblige them to do what their duty and interest require. You will pardon me if I speak feelingly on the subject; my sufferings and distressed situation will not suffer me to be silent. You are all embarked in the same cause with me, and your ruin is no less certain than ours if you do not support us, though it may come a little later.

“I am not in pursuit of military glory; my object is the safety of the people and the establishment of our liberties. A becoming zeal to promote those ends, I hope, will not be displeasing to the honest citizens of America.”¹

To Governor Burke in speaking of Locke himself he writes:—

“Popular characters at this period of the war are no longer useful; but firm and active men, who have the art of compelling others to do their duty, are the persons we ought to value most at this time.”²

In the busy days that followed the siege of Ninety-six, seven hundred picked men had been promised him by two of the leaders at King's Mountain, Shelby and Sevier.³ “What can detain them?” he exclaimed, as day after day passed by and they came not. They had heard of his advance to Orangeburg, which rumor had magnified into an advance to Charleston, and dismissed

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 209. Greene MSS.

² Greene to Governor Burke, August 2, 1781. Greene MSS.

³ Shelby to General Greene, August 6, 1781. Greene MSS.

their men.¹ But the hardest blow of all came from Sumter.

On the 24th of July Greene had written to Sumter: "As soon as reinforcements arrive, and the troops have had a little relaxation, we will draw our force to a point, and attack the enemy wherever he may be found." Four days later he wrote again: "Care should be taken to refresh your cavalry as fast as possible, as we shall no doubt have severe duty in a few days. The militia should be warned to be in readiness at a moment's warning."

It was evidently Greene's intention to carry out, without loss of time, his original design of cutting the enemy off from the rich district of the Congaree. But Sumter, complaining of illness, made over his command to Colonel Henderson, giving him for his guidance, a memorandum strangely at variance with the intentions of his commander.

"That the troops be immediately moved from the river swamps and encamp from three to five miles at least from the river on a bluff where there is good water; the horses sent into the river swamps with a guard, which the General wishes should be composed of the militia, which shall serve them as a tour of duty.

"The General wishes the troops to have a respite from service until the first of October, and as many of them furloughed home from time to time as the service will permit

¹ Greene to Sumter, July 28. Greene MSS.

"We marched to the Cowpens, Campbell was there,

Shelby, Cleveland, and Colonel Sevier."

Old song quoted by Lossing. *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 421.

of; that Colonel Henderson apply to General Greene for that purpose."

When Henderson, a gallant officer, whose zeal was stimulated by recent imprisonment, read this memorandum he wrote to Greene : —

" Since my letter was closed, received the above memorandums from General Sumter ; many of them really surprise me, that I should come here for no other purpose than to furlough a parcel of troops, and that when the enemy is at our very doors, and their horses to be guarded by militia. No readier way to dismount the men could be devised. Should be much obliged to your opinion on every subject." ¹

And of the number and character of the troops he writes on the same day : —

" With expectations of seeing at least four or five hundred men fit for the field, I came to take command of the *brigade* of State troops, but I find General Sumter has played the *old soldier* with me, for I have not been able to collect quite two hundred fit for action, and they in a most shattered condition. I was doubtful my command would be disagreeable, and nothing would have induced me to have undertaken it but your wish and my own abhorrence of living an inactive life ; however, if I could be assisted by a majority of the officers the men might yet be serviceable. . . . Pray inclose me the articles of war," he adds in a postscript, " as we have here the greatest need of them." ¹

" I sit down," he writes to Governor Rutledge, " to inform you of the number and situation of the State troops, — the former of these may be

¹ Colonel Henderson to General Greene, 14th August, 1781. Greene MSS. ² Greene MSS.

soon done, being not more than two hundred fit for action, but the latter I fear will be tedious and complicated." He then goes on to tell how discontented they were, "both officers and men, a few individuals excepted, who, regardless of every pecuniary reward, are determined to serve their country."

One of the causes of their discontent was their doubts about the fulfillment of the promises made them when they enlisted. Upon this score he gave them assurances which he hoped would "make them easy at least for a while."

"The thirst after plunder that seems to prevail among the soldiery makes the command almost intolerable." All the more so "as this infamous practice seems to be countenanced by too many officers. Until some very severe examples are made, very little credit can be expected from them. The men are likely and brave, and want nothing but severe discipline to make them truly valuable; but this is impossible to bring about unless the necessary assistance is given by officers, which I am sorry to say is not likely to take place, most of them having no more idea of subordination than a set of the rawest militia in the State. This is the more readily accounted for when I am informed that in the choice of the inferior officers nothing else was consulted but the raising the men quick, not the least attention being paid to character. . . . One hundred and fifty men, well horsed and accoutred, would render much greater service than the whole of this brigade. . . . I am told there have been near one thousand horses in this brigade, and at this time I have not accounts of more than three hundred. The badness of the saddles has ruined a great many, and the carelessness of the men in loosing them, and many con-

veyed away and made private property. I fear," he impressively adds, "the greatest consumption has been from this latter circumstance."¹

And now Greene, who hitherto had permitted Sumter's early services as a partisan to outweigh his defects as a subordinate, called to mind all that he had suffered from his willfulness and disobedience. At the opening of the campaign, Sumter had come between him and Morgan, claiming a right to interfere with orders that emanated directly from the commander-in-chief. On the invasion of South Carolina, instead of coming directly into the field and following with all the means in his power the line of action marked out for him, he had held himself aloof at a most critical moment, until he had completed his brigade. When that was completed and he should have conformed his movements to the general plan of action, he suffered himself to be drawn away by every paltry pretext and was uselessly "pushing after small parties of Tories towards Ninety-six." Orders to join the main army were given, and Major Hyrne dispatched to enforce them. But pleading an opportunity for special service, he was allowed to act apart, but with especial instructions to watch the movements of Watson, and prevent him from throwing himself into Camden. But instead of confining himself to this, he made an untimely attempt upon Fort Granby, and Watson passed untouched into the beleaguered town. Then came the proffered resignation of his com-

¹ Henderson to Governor Rutledge, August 14, 1781. Greene MSS.

mission, because Lee, who lost no time in misdirected efforts, had taken Fort Granby without him. But Greene thought of Hanging Rock and Blackstock Hill, and soothed instead of reprimanding him. The people believed in him, and this was not the moment to undeceive them. Another occasion for decisive service presented itself. Greene was before Ninety-six. Four days more would have put the whole garrison into his hands. By prompt and energetic action against Rawdon, Sumter might have secured those four days. But not content with paralyzing Marion, who was looking to him for orders, he allowed the active Englishman to get between him and Greene, and raise the siege. Bad information, and the difficulty of bringing out the militia, were his excuses, and Greene accepted them. At last he joined the main army, but with only his mounted brigade; Taylor, Winn, Tate, and Richard Hampton had left him.

There was still another chance for a blow. He was needed at Friday's Ferry. After a three days' search the messenger found him high up the Catawba, out of the line of action either against Stuart or Rawdon. His last failure was at Biggin's Church, where, by multiplying detachments and leaving his cannon in the rear, he allowed the whole 19th regiment to escape him. But their baggage was taken, and with it the regimental military chest containing seven hundred guineas. The American military chest was empty. Sumter divided his prize among his men.

Greene saw all these things and felt them deeply. But in the absence of civil government, the sense of military subordination was impaired. To have brought Sumter to trial would have introduced a new division among the much divided people. And Greene was too wise a man and too good a citizen to add fuel to a fire that already blazed so brightly. According to Davie, this consideration alone restrained him. I cannot but believe that he forgave much for the memory of Sumter's early services, and carried his hopes to their utmost length in the belief that the love of personal distinction might stimulate the willful partisan to exertion.

But now his long repressed indignation found strong expression : —

“I received your favor of the 14th,” he writes to Henderson, “inclosing General Sumter's order for disbanding his brigade, for I can consider it in no other light. What can be his reasons for so extraordinary a measure I cannot imagine ; nor can I conceive how he could think of taking such a step without consulting me, or obtaining my consent for the purpose. If he supposes himself at liberty to employ those troops, independently of the Continental army, it is time he should be convinced to the contrary. It is true I have granted every indulgence to those troops, and given the general a latitude to act much at discretion. But this I did from a persuasion that his own ambition would prompt him to attempt everything that his force could effect ; and it was never meant or intended to have any operation when the general was not in the field. By a measure of this kind, the country will be left open for the enemy to ravage, and the Continental army exposed to every attack which the enemy may think proper to attempt,

while those troops are at home on furlough. But besides the impolicy, the injustice done the public in granting such extensive indulgences to an order of men who have five times the pay of Continental soldiers, who are confined to the field from one year's end to another, forbids the measure. A comparison of services must give great discontent to the latter, to see the former, who took the field but yesterday, at liberty to go home and see their friends, while those of the Continental army are rigidly confined to their duty. Upon the whole, Sir, I cannot persuade myself that General Sumter gave himself sufficient time to trace out the consequences of the measure he recommends, or rather orders to take place. But be that as it may, I can by no means give my consent to it, and therefore you will not furlough a man or officer, unless for some particular reason; and you will give positive orders to have the whole collected as fast as possible, and every man at home called to the field as soon as may be, who are not employed as artificers. You will procure an accurate return of the the State troops, horses, and accoutrements. It is the governor's intention, and my wish, to have the corps reduced into a less number. Let the horses be recruited in the most speedy and convenient manner you may think advisable, discipline the troops all in your power, and punish plundering with the utmost severity. It would be little less than madness to grant the indulgences General Sumter requires, when the enemy are in motion in every part of the State, and all our regular force, including the State troops, so much inferior to theirs. I have the public good and the safety of the good people of this State too much at heart to think of such a measure." ¹

Among the acts of the enemy which the Americans agreed in branding as an outrage, was the

¹ Greene to Colonel Henderson, August 16, 1781. Greene MSS. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 214.

burning of Georgetown on the 1st of August. The only excuse ever made for it was that the stores were filled with goods greatly needed by the Americans, and which were sure to be appropriated by the American army. If this were a sufficient reason for the destruction of a flourishing town, they were right. Sumter had already dispatched one of his own officers, Captain Davis, to seize the goods, and Greene had sent Captain Conyers to make arrangements for the purchase of them. The flourishing little town paid the penalty of its commercial prosperity.

The communication between North and South was slow and insecure. The horse express was exposed to the usual difficulties and danger of solitary roads, more than doubled in time of war. The mail was equally unsafe. Letters were constantly intercepted, and wherever they could be made to tell against the Americans, given to Livingston for publication and comment. Washington had never dared to write freely to Greene, and Greene was obliged to withhold much that he would have gladly written to Washington. In the camp on the High Hills, it was firmly believed that the northern army was actively engaged in the siege of New York, and tidings of its success were confidently looked for. What will the next step be? was the anxious inquiry. How shall we best turn to account the coöperation of our allies? Greene's views were given at length in a letter to Washington.

Twenty days later he wrote from Camden: —

“ I am much at a loss what are Lord Cornwallis’s intentions in Virginia. I have directed the Marquis to govern his motions by the enemy’s and to detach here if they detach largely from there, and not without. I am also totally ignorant what is going on at New York, having heard nothing from your Excellency since June, which induces me to believe your dispatches are intercepted. I pray God the expedition against New York may succeed and prove the corner-stone of American independence, as it undoubtedly would. I wait with impatience for intelligence by which I mean to govern my own operations. If things are flattering in the North I will hazard less in the South; but if otherwise there we must risk more here.”

It was not till the day of the battle of the Eutaws that he learnt that the siege of Yorktown had been substituted for the siege of New York, and that Washington was “on his way to take command in Virginia.” And when Cornwallis has been subdued, why not liberate Charleston? His patriot heart was stirred. “Charleston itself may be easily reduced,” he promptly writes, “if you will bend your forces this way. And it will afford me great pleasure to join your Excellency in the attempt; for I shall be equally happy whether as principal or subordinate, so that the public good is promoted.”¹

¹ Greene to Washington, August 26, 1781. Greene MSS.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Army in motion. — Pardons. — Descent into the Plain. — Inundations. — Greene crosses the Wateree. — Crosses the Congaree. — Advances toward the Enemy. — Marion joins him. — Description of Eutaw Springs. — The Battle. — After the Battle. — Greene returns to the High Hills.

AND thus, filled with anxious cares and checked with hopes and fears, passed the days in the camp on the High Hills of Santee. And soon July was gone, and the last decade of August begun, and the morning orders of the 22d announce that "The army will march to-morrow morning by the right, in the following order: The North Carolina Brigade, two pieces of artillery. Virginia Brigade, two pieces of artillery. Maryland Brigade. The baggage in the usual order, according to the line of march. The General will beat at four o'clock, when all the small guards will join their corps; the Assembly in forty minutes after, and the March at five o'clock."

Later in the day after-orders are issued, and eagerly listened to. "Several officers of the North Carolina Brigade have represented that Joseph Salyers, under sentence of death for desertion, came to camp of his own accord and promised to atone for his crime by future good conduct, and that he has three brothers, now good soldiers in the southern army. The General with pleasure

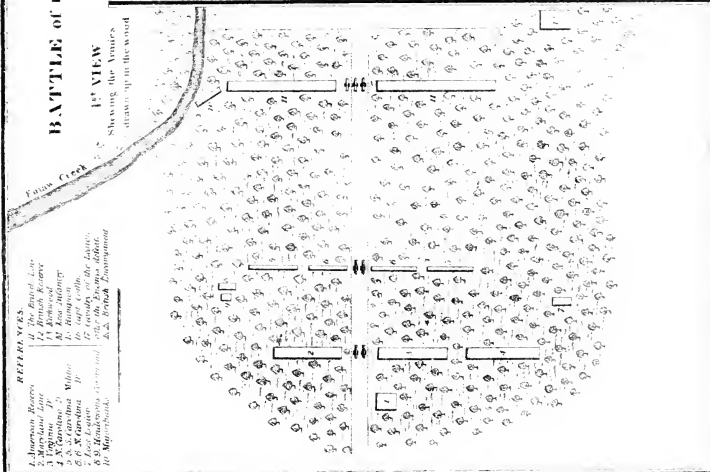
BATTLE of the EUTAW'S.

1st VIEW

Showing the Americans drawn up in the wood

2nd VIEW

Showing their situation after the British were driven into the old field



- REFERENCES.**
- 1. American Reserve
 - 2. Maryland Line
 - 3. Virginia B.
 - 4. South Carolina
 - 5. 2d Carolina
 - 6. 6th Carolina
 - 7. 1st Light
 - 8. 3d Maryland
 - 9. 1st Maryland
 - 10. 1st Virginia
 - 11. 1st British
 - 12. 2d British
 - 13. 3d British
 - 14. 4th British
 - 15. 5th British
 - 16. 6th British
 - 17. 7th British
 - 18. 8th British
 - 19. 9th British
 - 20. 10th British

South of Eutaw
1/2 mile

1781



pardons his offense, and orders him to be released and sent to his duty. Application having also been made for Daniel Cooper, he is pardoned and transferred to Lieutenant-colonel Campbell's battalion of Virginia troops."¹ Thus Greene's last act on the High Hills was an act of mercy. And then, without waiting for the cooler and healthier season to come, he set forth once more to meet the enemy. "We are endeavoring," he wrote to Washington, "to draw a body of militia together at Friday's Ferry, and are on our march to that place to combine our forces, and make an attack on the enemy at McCord's Ferry, if our force will authorize the attempt when we are collected."² The army, counting every man, amounted to two thousand six hundred. In effective strength it numbered only sixteen hundred.³

By air line, the two armies were but sixteen miles apart, for Stuart, the English commander, was encamped near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. But between them were those two large rivers, whose banks, overflowed by recent rains, gave the country for miles and miles the appearance of a vast lake, out of whose waters here and there rose tall trees, bearded with pendent moss, or vast tracts of cane swayed to and fro in the swift current. It was only by making a circuit of seventy miles that Greene could reach his adversary; seventy miles of difficult march-

¹ Order Book. Greene MSS.

³ Marshall, vol. ii. p. 17.

² Greene to Washington, August 26, 1781. Greene MSS.

ing, over heavy roads and through an infected atmosphere.¹

The sun was still burning hot at noon, and to spare his men, he moved only during the cooler hours of the day. As he proceeded he caused copies of his proclamation to be distributed among the people in order to check the alarm occasioned by the execution of Hayne.² At Camden he crossed the Wateree, where Rawdon had crossed it a few weeks before, and still advancing by easy marches and with a tender care for the health of his men, he reached, on the 28th, Howell's Ferry on the Congaree. Here his detachments were ordered to join him. The day before, when near Friday's Ferry, he learnt that Stuart was falling back. He crossed the river and encamped at Mott's plantation, familiar names all of them by the events of a few weeks before. Here intelligence came that the enemy had been reinforced and were making preparations to establish a permanent post at Eutaw Springs, forty miles lower down. This he was determined to prevent at every hazard.³ He ordered all the heavy baggage to Howell's Ferry, on the line of retreat, took with him only two wagons, laden with hospital stores and rum, and moving "by slow and easy marches, as well to disguise his real intention as to give Marion," who had been detached on special service, time to join him, continued his advance toward the enemy. The gallant partisan came radiant with success.

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. pp. 206-216.
Marshall, vol. ii. p. 17.

³ Greene to President of Congress,
September 11, 1781. Lee's *Memoirs*,

² Lee. *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 276-
277. Appendix.

“General Greene,” say the orders of the fifth of September, “has the pleasure to receive a report from Brigadier-general Marion of the success of the enterprise against a detachment of the British army commanded by Lieutenant-colonel D. Brown, near Parker’s Ferry on Pompton River, on the thirtieth ulto. The general with his gallant little corps of partisans attacked and beat upward of three hundred British and Hessians, eighty dragoons, and a considerable body of Tories; killed twenty men dead on the field, wounded about eighty, also killed and took forty horses; with the loss only of a very inconsiderable number killed and wounded. This action does much honor to General Marion, and the officers and men under his command, and will greatly relieve that part of the country, which the enemy have hitherto greatly oppressed by every species of violence.”¹

These were inspiring words for the eve of battle; and the men, already in high spirits from the day when they began their march, felt their hopes rise as they listened to them. On the 7th they were at Burdell’s plantation, and in the evening Marion joined them. One more night, and they will stand face to face with the enemy. There will be swift death for many; but shall there not be joyful victory too?

Meanwhile Stuart lay in fancied security at the Eutaws, wholly ignorant of his adversary’s approach. Not that he had neglected any of the ordinary means of gaining intelligence, but because the vigilant American had cut them all off, “waylaying the by-paths and passes through the different swamps, and even detaining different

¹ Orderly Book, 5th September. Greene MSS.

flags of truce.”¹ At daybreak of the 8th, his rooting parties went out as usual to gather sweet potatoes for the camp. But “about six o’clock in the morning” two deserters came in with tidings that Greene was at hand. The tidings were soon confirmed by Major Coffin, who had been sent out with a hundred and forty infantry and fifty cavalry to collect intelligence. Stuart instantly prepared for battle. Few situations 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 under high banks, thickly bordered with brush and underwood. The only open ground was a large field which had been cleared of its timber 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 thick and strong enough to withstand the light artillery of the Americans. In the rear of the house there was a garden, surrounded by a strong palisade and covering the space between it and Eutaw Creek. A barn and some smaller buildings near it afforded good rallying points in case of disaster. The approach to the rear was embarrassed by springs and deep hollow ways, and, on the right, by the ravine from which the creek flowed, and a thicket rendered almost impenetrable by a low shrub, called in the language of the country “black jack.” On every side the woods came down in dark masses to the border

¹ Lieutenant-colonel Stuart to Lord Cornwallis, September 9, 1781.

of the clearing. Midway through the clearing, and dividing it into almost equal parts, a road had been recently opened, which, forking directly in front of the house and garden and about fifty yards from them, formed two branches, one of which led to Charleston and the other to a plantation on the Santee. The British camp lay in the field under cover of the house and on both sides of the road, and when the troops marched out to form for battle, their tents were left standing.

The British commander saw how much might be made of his position, and in drawing up his army, turned every advantage which it offered him to account. In numbers he was slightly superior to the Americans, having about two thousand three hundred men of all arms, and all of them trained by that exact and rigid discipline which gives a commander full assurance that every order which he issues will be understood and obeyed. And thus, in full reliance that his men would do their duty, he drew them up in a single line on the border of the woods, a few paces in front of his camp. The 3d regiment, the Buffs, formed the right, resting on the Charleston road; Cruger, with the remains of several broken corps, the centre; and the 63d and 64th, two veteran regiments, in air, the left. For the protection of the right flank, Major Majoribanks was posted, with a battalion of light infantry, in a thicket of black jack, 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 of which contained 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 column, came the Continentals, the true strength 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 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. The road lay through woods partly open, with here and there a thicket or a close growth of tangled underbrush; and as day advanced the trees began to cast a grateful shade, tempering by their shadows the rays of the sun, which even in September were fierce and burning. The Americans moved forward slowly and cautiously, in the hope of coming by surprise upon some picket or patrol of the enemy; cheerfully and firmly, too, for their hearts were beating with high hope, 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 into that day's balance.

It was eight o'clock, and they were within four miles of the Eutaws, when Armstrong, who led the reconnoitering 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 enemy came in sight, pressing close upon Armstrong's horse. It was Coffin's detachment, which, mistaking the Americans for a party of militia, charged with headlong speed, confident of victory. But when they looked to see the enemy run, they saw instead saddle after saddle of their own emptied, and heard the sharp whizzing of Henderson's bullets. Then, just as they were falling into disorder, the Legion infantry charged them briskly with the bayonet, and the Legion cavalry by a rapid movement gained their rear. The shock was irresistible; and breaking, with an "every man for himself," they fled madly through the woods, leaving forty prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and several dead and wounded on the field. The battle opened well.

Meanwhile the firing brought Greene to the front. "He was so near me," writes an eyewitness, "that our boots were actually in contact, when an aid-de-camp, galloping up, exclaimed, "General Greene, there is a large body of the enemy in your rear." The General, without turning his head, promptly replied, "Ride up to them,

Sir, and tell them that if they do not immediately surrender, I shall be under the necessity of cutting them to pieces with the horse." The order was obeyed, and the enemy surrendered. "I had been long accustomed to see men cool and collected in battle," says the writer, "but I shall never forget the calmness and appearance of unconcern with which the General gave that order."¹

Believing Coffin's detachment to be the enemy's van, Greene displayed his first column and moved forward in order of battle, as fast as the nature of the ground would permit. Lee was still in front; and marching with his usual celerity, came up in about an hour with the enemy's advance, a body of infantry with one piece of artillery. It was evident that the main body was nigh. He promptly dispatched a messenger to Greene, to advise him of the enemy's approach, and ask for support, and then pressed on to the attack. He was within a mile of the British camp.

In a few minutes Williams was on the ground with Gaines and his field-pieces, which, coming up at full speed, were quickly unlimbered and opened upon the enemy. The first line soon followed; and Lee and Henderson, diverging to the right and left, and firing obliquely as they moved, took post upon its flanks, according to the order of battle. The British van was quickly driven in; and the entire line, pressing steadily forward and firing as it advanced, soon found itself in presence of the whole British army. Stuart quickly saw that he

¹ Garden's *Anecdotes*, vol. iii. p. 210.

had nothing but militia before him, and gladly fancied them the North Carolina militia of Guilford. "Hold firm, my men, and drive them back without leaving your ground."

But on this day Marion and Pickens were with the militia, and they felt like veterans. To prove them, the artillery on both sides was in full play; sometimes hewing off massive branches from the trees; sometimes burying its balls in the huge trunks, which quivered and groaned as they felt the shock; sometimes dashing full into the living ranks, opening fatal gaps, and leaving mangled bodies and pools of blood wherever they passed. Gaines plied his pieces with precision and effect, till they were both dismounted and rendered un-serviceable. At about the same time one of the British cannon shared the same fate. Meanwhile the first line was bearing up against the weight of the whole English army. Their blood had been warmed by the skirmish, and their fire now ran from flank to flank throughout the line, neither too high nor too low, but striking with that fearful precision which daily practice gives to the hunter's aim. It was answered by the deep, regular volleys of the British musketry. The fearful sounds spread far and wide through the gloomy twilight of the woods.

And still the militia held their ground without wavering, and still the unshaken British line kept up its deadly fire. On the right the Legion infantry was engaged with the Sixty-third; 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 gladly have brought the question to a decision by charging the British wing. But his presence could not be spared from the flank; and his men, entering into his spirit, stood by him with unflinching firmness.

But the conflict in the centre, where the untrained militia was exposed to the fire of the Sixty-fourth and part of the British centre, was becoming too unequal to last much longer; and the enemy, making a forward movement, 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. His corps, also, was composed of new levies; for Greene was holding back the strength of his line, the battalions 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 reformed the line of battle. The conflict was fiercely renewed, and the enemy, unable to stand the fire of the Americans, were forced back to their first position.

It was a critical moment for them, 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. Without loss of time Stuart brought up his reserve, and ordered Coffin to take post on the left, where the open ground exposed him to a charge from the Amer-

ican horse. His line was thus condensed, and feeling the support, bore nobly up against the galling fire of their antagonists. On the American left Henderson was wounded, and reluctantly left the field. For a moment his men hesitated. But Hampton promptly put himself at their head, and seconded by Polk and Middleton, soon succeeded in restoring order. Sumner's brigade, too, bore itself nobly, fighting with the coolness and resolution of veterans; and the whole line gained ground. But the British line, strengthened by its reserve, was still the stronger; and after a fierce and obstinate resistance, the American centre was again compelled to retire. The British shouted and pressed forward, and in the ardor of advance, their line became disordered. This was the moment for which Greene had been 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. A shout of exultation arose from the two brigades as the order was heard, and like eager rivals in glory they 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. And now the air rang with the shouts of the two armies as they again mingled in the deadly strife. The fire of the British was quick and heavy, and their bullets fell like hail upon the advancing Americans. The Marylanders, obedient to their orders,

pressed on without pulling a trigger. Williams and Howard were with them, and they knew that the bayonet alone could give them victory. 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 what it meant. He found Campbell at the head of his brigade, and as the gallant soldier was listening to Lee's question, a bullet struck him in 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, were bearing down all before them.

The alarm on the British left soon spread to the centre, and one by one their regiments gave way and shrunk from the shock of the bayonet; all but the brave Buffs, 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 British ranks, already shrinking from the bayonet, they swept them from the field. The route was complete; the enemy fled in all directions, some through the woods, some along the Charleston road, carrying the terror of their defeat up to the gates of the city. The staff officers broke up their stores, and stove their rum

puncheons. Everything was disorder and wild dismay. The battle was won.

It was not so written; and Greene, though he never fought without gaining his end, was never permitted to remain in undisputed possession of his hard-fought battle-fields. On this also, the last and bloodiest, half of his victory was wrung from him when all seemed within his grasp.

The British were in full flight. The Americans were in eager pursuit, though to preserve their ranks they somewhat tempered its ardor. They were soon in the open fields and among the tents. Food and drink were within their reach; and hunger, and above all thirst, tempted them sorely. Too sorely for some to bear. They broke from the ranks. Was not the victory won, and should its hungry and thirsty winners be denied the poor pittance of a meal? They scattered among the tents in eager search for food and drink.

Some, however, and among them the gallant infantry of the Legion, passed on uncontaminated, following close upon the heels of the British, and making prisoners at every step.

Now it was that his fortunate choice of a battle-field stood the British commander at need when every other resource might 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 Continentals were close upon them, and for a few moments there was a desperate struggle at the half-shut door; for some of Lee's men had

nearly entered pell-mell with the enemy; and one of them, already half way in, was trying to make his entrance good, 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 opened a close fire from the windows. Placing their prisoners behind them to shield themselves from the fire, the Americans retreated out of range of the house.

Meanwhile the conflict on the British left, where Majoribanks fought behind the shelter of the impenetrable thicket, was raging with unremitting 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, 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 the British, and if this could be reached there would be clear ground for a charge. Therefore, wheeling by sections, he attempted the delicate manœuvre directly under the guns of the enemy, who, pouring in a well directed fire, brought down every officer but two, and spread death and confusion through his ranks. Washington's horse was shot under him; and

while he was yet struggling to disentangle himself, he was wounded and taken prisoner.

Kirkwood and Hampton were now at hand; and the men of Delaware pressed forward with the bayonet, while Hampton, collecting the shattered remains of Washington's cavalry, still bleeding but not disheartened, made another trial with them. But the position was too strong to be forced, and though Kirkwood held his ground, Hampton was compelled to retire.

Still the defeat of the British line left Majoribanks exposed on his left; and to reopen his communications, he began to retreat slowly towards the house, clinging to the cover of the woods and ravine all the way. 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, Stuart attempted to form once more his line of battle.

Greene too had pressed forward to complete the victory, and brought up his artillery to batter the house. But the pieces were too light to make any impression on its solid walls, and the fire from the windows struck 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. Greene ordered up the Legion cavalry to meet the attack; Pendleton, the aid

who bore the order, not finding Lee with his cavalry, gave it to Eggleston, second in command. The charge, though gallantly made, was unsuccessful; and Coffin, pressing on, forced his way through the scattered Americans.¹

At this moment Hampton came up, and after an obstinate contest of hand to hand, forced the British cavalry back under cover of the house. The pursuit brought him within range of Majoribanks's infantry, and this gallant body pouring in one more well-directed fire, the American cavalry was again repulsed and broken. Hampton, collecting his scattered troops, retired under cover of the woods; and Majoribanks, issuing from his thicket, seized the American artillery, the artillerymen having all been killed or wounded, and dragged it off in triumph. Then returning to the charge, he drove before him the shattered remnants of the Americans, who, still greedy for drink, were lingering among the tents.

The British line was now reformed, and prepared to renew the battle. Greene, too, had rallied his forces in the border of the wood. Most of his corps were still entire; even the cavalry, though it had suffered severely, was not demoralized. The militia were proud of their resolute stand. The Continentals were proud of their brilliant charge. Greene, tradition says, had been so

¹ Pendleton thought that when he made his report he saw an expression of dissatisfaction on Greene's face, and attributed it to Lee's absence from his cavalry. But Lee's friends claim

that it arose from the giving the order to Eggleston and thus bringing on a charge while Lee was not on the spot to lead his men.

delighted with it that he had ridden up to them in the heat of the action and thanked them for it. He might have renewed the battle with good hope of driving the enemy from the field. But he saw that, as at Guilford, he had accomplished the purpose for which he had fought, and crippled his adversary. An unforeseen incident had deprived him of a full victory; but the rich harvests of the Congaree and Santee would no longer be gathered by hostile hands. Before forty-eight hours were over, Stuart would be falling back upon Charleston. Meanwhile the heat, as day advanced, was growing more intense. The last night's encampment was the only place where water could be found in sufficient quantities, and his men had already drained their canteens dry. As the sounds of battle ceased, the cries and groans of its wounded victims already filled the air on every side; some from the open ground over which the bayonet charge had passed, and where the sufferers lay exposed to the fierce sun; some from under the broad arches of the woods. There were prisoners too, to secure; and there were dead to bury. And therefore, dispatching Lee to the British commander with a proposal that both armies should unite in paying the last offices to their dead comrades, and leaving Hampton on the ground with a strong picket, he fell back with the main body to the plantation from whence he had started in the morning.

Even victory bears sad witness to the horrors of war. The weary men moved forward with

slow and heavy steps, their clothes and hands and faces begrimed and empurpled with the marks of battle, and battle's sternness on their knit brows. Some, weakened by wounds, but not disabled, leaned heavily on some comrade, from weariness hardly stronger than they. All along the road, too, were little groups bearing wounded men on rude litters, hastily constructed with boughs and branches. In the afternoon, Pendleton, who by Greene's order was riding through the woods in search of stragglers, came suddenly upon one of them, and on a litter gently borne by some of his faithful soldiers, recognized the dying Campbell. "I got off my horse and went to him," he has written. "He perfectly retained his senses, but was in great pain, and seemed near his end. He asked me who gained the battle. I told him we had completely defeated the enemy. 'Then,' said he, 'I die contented.' I left him, and understood he died shortly after."¹

And amid these groups of suffering or weary men, moved yet another sorrowing band, some with humble mien, some struggling with wounded pride. Englishmen from pleasant fields, Irish from miserable hovels, and Germans from the land of the Rhine. These were prisoners, already over four hundred, and when all were gathered in, filling the full number of five hundred, a fourth of the whole army of their victors.

¹ I find no difficulty in reconciling day. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 233. Lee, the narrative of Lee, who saw him *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 292. Ramsay, fall, with that of Pendleton, who saw vol. ii. pp. 254, 255. him just before his death, later in the

And thus they returned, weary but proud of their success, to the encampment at Burdell's, where rest and refreshment awaited them. But for Greene there was no rest of body or of mind. To give the necessary orders, and write the most urgent letters, were his first care. Then came what he held a sacred duty, the visit to the wounded. They raised their languid heads as he passed slowly among them, with a kind word for each; three hundred suffering human beings; young, many of them, and full of promise; husbands and sons and brothers; all too many to be provided for at once with his scanty means. When he entered the miserable hut where the wounded officers of Washington's cavalry lay, his feelings almost overcame him. "It was a trying duty imposed upon you," he exclaimed, "but it was unavoidable. I could not help it."¹ Four hundred and fifty-four will be missing at to-morrow's roll-call; and of these a hundred and fourteen will never answer to their names again.²

What will Stuart do? was now the most interesting question in the American camp. If he attempted to hold his ground, Greene was resolved to fight him again. Marion and Lee were ordered to watch him. But by the next night the question was answered; for, breaking up his stores, and leaving seventy of his wounded behind, he fell rapidly back by the Charleston road. For a time, at least, there will be no British posts within forty miles

¹ Tradition preserved by Johnson, ² Gordon, vol. iv. p. 170.
vol. ii. p. 236.

of the Congaree. But he was not to escape altogether unharmed. Marion and Lee still hung upon his rear, and cut off small parties by sudden charges. It was a welcome moment for the British general when the reinforcements that he had ordered up, met him, and he could pursue his retreat undisturbed. Greene too, had hastened forward when he heard that the enemy was in motion; but the weather was too hot for a long pursuit. Therefore he halted at the Eutaws for a few days, and made the necessary preparations for sending his wounded forward by water, an easier course for them, in spite of the noxious river miasma through which they had to pass. The army, crossing Nelson's Ferry on the 12th, returned by slow and easy marches to the benign Hills of Santee.¹

¹ The leading authorities for the battle of the Eutaws are Greene's report to the President of Congress, Stuart's report to Cornwallis, Lee's *Memoirs*, and Greene's correspondence, *passim*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

State of the Hospitals. — Greene visits them all. — Wants of the Army. — Discontents. — Hard Money. — The Financier does little for Greene. — His Secret Agent. — Major Burnet in Philadelphia. — News from the Northward. — The Tories rising. — Capture of Governor Burke. — General Rutherford. — Siege of Yorktown. — How Greene's Recruits fail him. — Evacuation of Wilmington. — North Carolina free. — Virginia well protected. — St. Clair and Wayne coming. — Advance to the Round O. — The Enemy fall back. — Dorchester. — The Enemy driven in upon Charleston. — New Positions.

MY story still continues to tell of toil and disappointment and sickness and privation, and the strong will and wise counsel overcoming them all. And first, the story of sickness may be briefly related. To Greene's wounded, three hundred and fifty in number, were to be added three hundred and fifty of the enemy. To the wounded were to be added the sick with the fevers of the season; and of these, in Mayhem's corps alone, there were a hundred.¹ His hospitals formed a line extending as far up as Charlotte, and to make sure of their condition he visited them all.² Nowhere, perhaps, was the destitution of the American army so great as in these receptacles of the sick and dying.³ The hospital stores which were on their

¹ Mayhem to Greene, September 19, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Major Pierce, September 13, 1781. Greene MSS.

³ Greene to President of Congress, October 25, 1781. Greene MSS.

way to camp at the time of Tarleton and Simcoe's invasion of Virginia, had fallen into their hands, and been destroyed. The only compensation that could be obtained for them until other supplies could be procured from the north, was a small stock brought by Governor Rutledge from Philadelphia for the State troops of South Carolina. This, as far as it could go, was now applied to the common use. On the 18th of October there was not an ounce of bark in the whole department.¹ Sugar and coffee could only be obtained from Newbern, and that by a circuitous route, for fear of the British garrison at Wilmington.²

"Our sick and wounded," Greene wrote in October to the President of Congress, "have suffered greatly. The extent of our hospitals, the malignity of disorders, and increasing sick since the battle of Eutaw, together with the numerous wounded on hand, the little means we had to provide for them, and the great number of our physicians, who fell sick in service, have left our sick and wounded in a most deplorable situation. And numbers of brave fellows who have bled in the cause of their country, have been eat up with maggots, and perished in that miserable situation. Hospital stores and medicine have been exceeding scarce; not an ounce of bark have we in the department at this time. But fortunately the cold weather is coming on, and the malignity of the fevers begins to abate. . . . To afford the sick and wounded all the relief in my power, I visited the hospitals from camp to Charlotte."³

Much of the suffering and danger in the well organized hospitals of a regular army is alleviated

¹ Greene to President of Congress. at the rate of fifteen pounds for a hundred pounds of tobacco. Greene MSS.

² They were bartered for tobacco ³ Greene to President of Congress, October 25, 1781. Greene MSS.

by the judicious care of trained nurses. In Greene's army, reduced by the withdrawal of the militia, the burden of attendance fell with double weight on the regulars; and of these few could minister intelligently to the wants of the sick.

Another want closely connected with the health and comfort of the army, was the want of salt. "Captain Meals writes you by this opportunity," Greene writes to Colonel Davie, "of our approaching deplorable situation for want of the article of salt. You are too well acquainted with the wants and sufferings of this little army, to render arguments necessary to induce you to exert yourself to provide for them. I shall only observe that an army which has received no pay for more than two years, distressed for want of clothes, subsisted without spirits, and often short in the usual allowances of meat and bread, will mutiny if we fail in the article of salt; and besides, if they were ever so well disposed under the misfortune, it would soon produce such a variety of distress and complaints, that the greater part would soon be transferred from the field to the hospital."¹

Davie did all that could be done with his scanty means, but they fell far short of the demands of the army. It was hard to see brave men suffer, and not be able to alleviate their sufferings. It was harder still to be compelled to punish, where there was so much reason for complaint. The Maryland brigade addressed pathetic memorials to Greene, which he read with painful sympathy.

¹ Greene to Colonel Davie, October 18, 1781. Greene MSS.

But when murmurs grew loud, and took the tone of mutiny, he scrupled not to use the sternest form of repression. Timothy Griffin, of South Carolina, persuaded mutiny and desertion, and was hanged for it.¹

Much of this suffering might have been averted, could Greene have obtained hard money for the purchase of supplies. The Continental currency had disappeared. The State issues were worthless out of the State that issued them. Virginia had given Greene five hundred thousand dollars, Virginia currency. "It would have been forwarded some time since," wrote Major Clairborne, who was in Virginia, "but Major Burnet on his way to Jersey from your camp, acquainted me you would hardly want it. He advised me to wait for further information concerning it from Colonel Carrington. This gentleman mentions it is unnecessary to send it, as it cannot be useful where you are. Will you be kind enough, sir, to let me have it, and take the inclosed receipt." Greene cheerfully consented, and Clairborne used the bills for his own department.²

I have already told how Morris failed in his first attempt to supply Greene with money. The second, an order on the lieutenant-governor and council of South Carolina for five hundred pounds, Pennsylvania currency, was not of a kind to be immediately available. With this was a draft for a hundred and seventy-three dollars, specie, on

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 172.

² Clairborne to Greene, September 13, 1781. Greene MSS.

Mr. Drayton of Charleston, in favor of Dr. Witherspoon. It was a school bill, Drayton's son having been a pupil at Dr. Witherspoon's school. Greene refused to present the draft. "It is cruel," he wrote, "to make the demand upon a gentleman just returned from captivity, and who is known to be destitute of everything." Far better, he thought, submit to additional inconvenience than seek relief through such a channel. It was not till November that the first cash payment was made to the commander of the southern army; and that was a thousand pounds, Pennsylvania currency, which were immediately employed in the purchase of hospital stores and other necessary supplies.¹

One of the most active and efficient of Greene's aids was Major John Burnet. The health of this gallant officer had given way under the fatigue and exposure of this trying campaign, and he was sent north to try the effects of a change of air. Greene took advantage of this opportunity to entrust him with several important commissions, and one of them was a personal appeal to the Board of War, in favor of his half-clad officers. His appeal was graciously accepted, the supplies voted, and the Superintendent of Finance consulted as to the means of procuring them. For a moment he hesitated, then consented; but with the suggestion, amounting almost to a condition, that they should be purchased in Boston, thus increasing the labor and expense of transportation, and

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 254.

prolonging the sufferings of the army. But Greene had a resource unknown to Morris, the bills upon France which had been placed in his hands when he first entered upon his command, and which he had not been able to use in the South. In Philadelphia, however, they were in demand, and when Major Burnet went to the northward, they were confided to his care. Here, then, was a resource to fall back upon. Twenty thousand dollars of them were promptly sold and the most pressing wants supplied. When the Superintendent learnt that the bills were in the market, he put a stop to the sale.¹

Greene began to feel the effect of his success in his intercourse with Congress and its officers. It was impossible to write in more flattering terms than Morris employed in his correspondence with him, expressing a strong desire to make it more intimate, and in order to protect it from "the danger of inspection," sending him the same cipher which he used in his correspondence with Washington. "While I congratulate you," he wrote on the 10th of September, "on the many successes which you have obtained under every disadvantage, let me also congratulate you on the just sense of your merit which is now generally diffused. 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 re-

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 252. Bur- 10 and November 6, 1781. Greene net to General Greene, September MSS.

source for the want of men, money, clothes, arms, and supplies.”¹

Gold and silver were now coming into general circulation. The Continental currency had become worthless, the State currencies almost equally worthless. The French fleet and French army had brought large sums into the market. The trade with the West Indies was rapidly increasing. A skillful financier was rapidly reviving the commercial faith of the people.² Greene, whose views of finance were singularly just and profound, saw this with intense satisfaction, though it was long before the tidal wave reached him, if indeed it can be said ever to have reached him. Morris, like most men, felt the pressure of his own burdens too keenly to pay due regard to the burdens of others. Friendly as his feelings toward Greene were, he was still willing to let him struggle with his difficulties and embarrassments till every resource had failed, and then, at the last moment, come, as if by chance, to his relief. Greene never knew that the man who thus came to his aid when all aid seemed denied him, was the secret agent whom Morris employed to follow the southern army and open his purse cautiously when endurance could go no further. Had he known it, would he not have told the cautious financier that the General who had given such proofs of magnanimity as he had given, deserved the confidence and sympathy of every lover of his country?³

¹ Greene MSS.

³ Marshall, vol ii. p. 25.

² Greene's *Historical View of the French Revolution*, lecture v.

To those who judged the condition of Greene's army by what he accomplished with it, it never seemed better than now. It had made long marches, it had driven the British army by hard fighting, it had wrested the greater part of the State from the hands of the enemy. Was not this strength? But they who knew Greene's real condition, knew that ten days after the battle of Eutaw he could not have mustered at headquarters a thousand men fit for duty. He was seriously ill himself,¹ and never more tried by destitution and disappointment. But this was no time for rest.

Two days before the battle, Governor Burke had written him, "I do not delay a moment to send you the important intelligence contained in the inclosed extract. — I left Halifax yesterday, and on the road heard a most furious cannonade which lasted several hours, and ended at the close of day. It was heard by the people of the whole country upon Roanoke, and I wait with anxious impatience to know the event, which, as soon as I learn, shall be transmitted to you."

The extract was from a letter from Governor Nelson of Virginia. "But what raises our hopes and joys to the most exalted pitch, and which I have reserved to the last to crown the political feast which this letter will afford you, is a movement of our great General, who on the 27th of the last month was at Chatham, with all the French

¹ Governor Rutledge to General Greene, September 21, 1781. Greene MSS.

troops of the northern army, and a body of Continentals, on his march to Virginia.”¹

Other letters from the same active correspondent soon followed, with positive tidings that Lord Cornwallis, roused by the arrival of the French fleet to the danger of his situation, was preparing for a swift retreat through North Carolina to Charleston.² Startling intelligence came also from below. Stuart's army was again in the field with two hundred cavalry and strong reinforcements of infantry. It was a critical moment. Weary marches and bloody battles again rose in dark perspective before the eye of the American commander. Hampton and Marion were compelled to fall back. British soldiers again came within sight of the Congaree. Was it with the hope of once more making themselves strong in the rich grain districts? Or was it to prevent Greene from disputing the advance of Cornwallis? So at first it seemed. Further news from Virginia would soon tell.

Alarming news it was. Hector McNeil, a daring loyalist, had surprised Hillsborough, made Governor Burke, with some members of his council, some military officers, and other persons of distinction prisoners, and carried them off to Wilmington.³ At the news of this bold stroke the loyalists again took heart, and began to repeat their ravages in the neighborhood of the Pedee. The cruel war

¹ Gov. Burke to General Greene, September 6, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Greene MSS. Letters of 1st and 3d September.

³ Stedman, vol. ii. p. 406. Johnson, vol. ii. pp. 244-249. Acting Governor Martin to General Greene, September 19, 1781. Greene MSS.

of Whig and Tory was kindled anew in the region of Cross Creek. McNeil had gathered about him several hundred Tories. Craig had added a detachment of regular cavalry. But Major Butler met them with an equal number of Whigs, and defeated and dispersed them.¹ Soon after General Rutherford completed their dispersion; and deceitful ashes were again spread over the glowing embers. As the report reached Greene, it came with frightful narratives of Rutherford's cruelty. He immediately addressed him a stern letter of inquiry, setting forth his own views of what policy, justice, and humanity required in the treatment of the Tories. Rutherford denied the accusation, and in a second letter, Greene, while expressing his gratification at finding the reports false, took occasion to expand and enforce his views.

The capture of Governor Burke was a serious blow. Never before had Greene met such active and efficient sympathy in a State governor, and at no period had that sympathy been more needed. By the constitution of North Carolina, the Speaker of the Senate, Alexander Martin, became acting governor. He immediately opened a correspondence with Greene.² Greene felt also that the presence of an active officer was required for moral effect, and directed General Sumner to "set out immediately and make a tour through the State as far as Halifax and into such other parts as [he might] find necessary to promote the public ser-

¹ Colonel Horry to General Greene, ² Mr. Martin, September 19, *ut*
September 20 and 28, 1781. Greene *sup.* Greene MSS.
MSS.

vice." He is instructed at the same time to prepare to oppose Cornwallis. "The peculiar situation of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia may induce him to attempt an escape through North Carolina; you will take every measure in your power to oppose his passage by securing advantageous passes, and by all means keep me constantly advised of his route and movements." ¹

It was soon known that Cornwallis was at bay; that the French fleet had hemmed him in on the water side; the allied army under Washington himself, on the land side. And thus on the 28th of September began the momentous siege of Yorktown. Day by day almost, through the whole length of its duration, Washington told the story of its progress to Greene: to-day the beginning of a parallel, to-morrow the advance of the workmen, the storming of the redoubts, the visible effects of the incessant cannonade, till the 17th of October brought the offer to surrender, and the 18th the final capitulation. It was a happy day on the High Hills when the general orders told the glorious story, and guns were fired, and banners displayed, and the provost thrown open, and comrade clasped comrade by the hand, and God was reverently thanked in grateful prayer. Who could doubt that peace must soon follow? ²

Meanwhile these days brought trials of their own to Greene. Seven hundred recruits, the men of Maryland and Delaware, were on the

¹ Orders to General Sumner, September 25, 1781. Greene MSS.

² Letters of Washington in the Greene MSS.

march for his army, and he looked the more anxiously for their coming, as the term of service of the Virginians was almost out. But when he counted most confidently upon their speedy arrival, there came instead, the tidings that they had been stopped on their way, and ordered to join the army before Yorktown. When he heard this he wrote to Washington: —

“I wrote your Excellency, on the 17th, by Captain Pearce. Since which, I am informed that the Maryland troops, who were expected to reinforce this army, have been ordered to join the army in Virginia. Our situation 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. However, I am told your force in Virginia amounts to little less than fifteen thousand men. If so, the Maryland troops will be of little or no consequence.”

All Greene's officers were not so tolerant. “No troops coming on to you,” wrote Lee to Greene on the 28th of September, “but a perfect monopoly has taken place of men and supplies, to fight a deranged, small army.”¹

But when Yorktown falls what will come next? With a French fleet to shut up the communication by sea, Charleston may be taken in thirty days. So reasoned Greene, longing more than ever for the end of the war. And therefore, he wrote urgently to Washington to follow up the siege of Yorktown by the siege of Charleston, and sent Lee to enforce his arguments, taking little

¹ Greene MSS.

thought of the change which the presence of the commander-in-chief would make in his own position. But the French admiral had pledged his word to be in the West Indies by a certain time, and that time was at hand. He went to be conquered by Rodney, and Washington retraced his steps northward, leaving the conquest of Charleston to Greene.¹

The only post in North Carolina now held by the enemy was Wilmington, and against this Greene had planned an attack, even before the capture of Governor Burke. The plan was promptly resumed while the siege of Yorktown was still in progress. But when that post fell, the British commander felt that his own post was no longer tenable, and evacuated it.

North Carolina was free. Virginia too, was free, and covered, moreover, by two thousand French troops. Would she bethink her now of Greene and his suffering army, and so strengthen his hands that he might promptly put an end to the southern war? Her executive was urged, but in vain, for it was powerless. Vain, too, were Lee's personal efforts to obtain recruits for his Legion. The first hour of her escape from danger was devoted to repose. From that day she did little for the southern army.²

But the Marylanders and the long expected

¹ This subject is mentioned in several letters. Among others, Greene to Washington, *Correspondence of Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 429. Lee's

Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 370. Gordon, vol. iv. p. 199.

² Johnson, vol. ii. p. 258. Greene to Reed, February 27, 1782. Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 376.

Pennsylvanians under St. Clair and Wayne were at last on their way. Sevier and Shelby had joined Greene with a body of picked riflemen, and were put under Marion, with a hint that if he would keep them he must keep them busy.¹ Greene was eager to finish his work. On the 18th of November the tents were struck for the last time on the High Hills of Santee; and the army descending into the low grounds, began its march by Simon's and McCord's ferries to the Round O. While it was yet on its way, a courier from Marion met it with tidings that Sevier's and Shelby's men had deserted him. It was a dangerous weakening of Greene's forces, already so weak; and moreover, he had counted upon them for good service in the delicate manoeuvre he was about to put into execution. Stuart's advance had led to no important result. "They made the movement only in bravado," wrote Marion, "with a view to regain the hold on public opinion which had been forfeited by their recent retreat." As Greene advanced Stuart fell back to Goose Creek Bridge.² The American commander resolved to push him still further down. About eight miles west of Goose Creek Bridge, and fifteen miles west of north from Charleston, lay the village of Dorchester; a fortified post having a water communication with Charleston by the Ashley River, and a secure retreat by either of its banks. It was held by

¹ Greene MSS.

I give as a more convenient reference

² Various extracts from letters in Johnson's sixteenth chapter, which

for the reader, than the letters themselves in the Greene MSS.

a garrison of eight hundred and fifty men, of whom five hundred were regular infantry, and a hundred and fifty cavalry.¹ Greene resolved to outmanœuvre them, counting upon the moral strength he had gained at the Eutaws, to make up for his inferiority in physical strength.² He gave the command of the main army to Williams, with orders to continue the march southward. Then he took one hundred cavalry from Lee's and Washington's commands; one hundred from Sumter's. He took the fine infantry of the Legion, and detachments from the Maryland and Virginia lines. They formed, in all, a little army of four hundred men. He put himself at their head, and when the men saw this, they girded themselves up for bold work.

It was important to come upon the enemy by surprise. Therefore the cavalry was extended over a broad front, in order to cut off communication with them, and the wildest and most unfrequented paths were chosen, to keep as far as possible out of sight. But all around were zealous loyalists, to whom Greene's coming was already known by the evening of the 30th November. All that night the garrison lay on their arms, listening anxiously for the sound of his approach. The morning of the 1st wore slowly away. Fifty loyalists were sent out to reconnoitre. Greene's advanced guard met them and put them nearly

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 176.

destroyed by that battle. Lee in his

² The confidence both of Englishman and Tory in the superiority of the English infantry was entirely

Memoirs dwells upon this fact, vol. ii. p. 379.

all to the sword. The headlong flight of the survivors brought the pursuers close to the garrison. The English cavalry came out to meet them, but recoiling, shrank from Wade Hampton's precipitous charge. Soon after, Greene came forward to reconnoitre, and was quickly recognized. The whole army must be at hand, thought the British commander, and destroying his stores and throwing his cannon into the river, he retreated in all haste towards Charleston. At the Quarter House, five miles from the city, and where the isthmus is narrowest, he was reinforced and halted. At the same time Stuart fell back from Goose Neck Bridge to the same point. Wild alarm spread through the town, rumor magnifying Greene's strength and announcing an immediate attack. The garrison, already three thousand three hundred strong, was strengthened by a body of loyalists, and, as if these were not enough, the most active negroes were called to arms and enrolled. It was the first time that such a sight had been seen in southern war. The frowning Tories now saw to what their loyalty to a man and disloyalty to their country had brought them.

But Greene had accomplished his purpose, and knew his own weakness too well to attempt more. Kosciusko had been sent forward to select a place for encampment, and chose Colonel Saunder's place on the Round O. There on the 7th of December the army halted. On the 9th, Greene rejoined them,¹ and proceeded immediately to arrange his

¹ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 176.

troops. Marion held in check the enemy's right. Sumter occupied Orangeborough and the Four Hole Bridge. Wade Hampton, with fifty men of the State cavalry, was charged with the communications with Marion. Colonel Harden and Colonel Wilkinson kept watch over the movements of the enemy between Charleston and Savannah. And Lee, with the light detachment, guarded the front, carefully concealing the fact so dangerous to be known, that at head-quarters Greene could muster but eight hundred men.¹ Henceforth the influence of the British arms was confined to Charleston Neck and the adjacent islands.²

"Your success at Dorchester," wrote Williams to Greene, "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. I am very happy that you have obtained your wish without risking a general action, and I hope you will be able to keep what you have gotten, till the reinforcement under General St. Clair will enable you to take more."³

"I had the pleasure," writes Washington to young Laurens, "to receive your favor of the tenth of December, and also the report of the judicious and successful movement of General Greene, by which he compelled the enemy to abandon their outposts. This brilliant manœuvre is another proof of the singular abilities which that officer possesses."⁴

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

vol. iv. p. 176. Johnson, vol. ii. p.

² Marshall, vol. ii. p. 24.

266.

³ Williams to Greene, December 4, 1781. Published also, by Gordon,

⁴ Sparks, vol. viii. p. 241.

CHAPTER XXV.

Advantages of the Encampment at the Round O. — Complaints. — Fresh Alarm. — Greene prepares to meet the Danger. — The Reports turn out Exaggerations. — Greene proposes to call the Blacks into Service. — John Laurens. — Failure. — St. Clair and Wayne arrive. — Wayne sent into Georgia. — Preparations for the Meeting of the Legislature. — Greene reconnoitres for a Place of Meeting. — Recommends Jacksonborough. — Attempt upon John's Island. — Army at Skirring's Plantation. — Meeting of the Legislature. — Governor's Address. — Vote of Thanks and Gift to Greene. — John Mathews chosen Governor. — Wayne's Success in Georgia. — Pickens' Indian Campaign. — Murdering Bill Cunningham. — Benjamin Thompson. — Marion's Corps surprised in his Absence. — Expedition to the Combahee and Death of Laurens. — Distress of the Army. — Morris's Difficulties. — John Banks. — Conspiracy. — Troubles among the Officers. — The Legion. — Captain Gunn. — Army at Ashley Hill. — Feeding and clothing the Army. — Reorganization of the Army. — Greene becomes Security for Banks. — General Scott. — False Reports. — Difficulties with the Civil Government. — Governor Guerard. — Doubts and Guesses. — Evacuation of Charleston. — When will Peace come? — Mrs. Greene in Camp. — Time passes slowly. — Army furloughed.

THERE were many advantages in the encampment on the Round O. It lay in the midst of a rich rice region. Game was abundant in the woods, and wild-fowl on the water. Officer and soldier, the well and the sick, found for a while delicacies and abundance. It was the first time that either had been seen in Greene's army.¹

Still from all quarters came complaints and dis-

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 268.

heartening reports. Davie had but little encouragement to give from North Carolina;² Carrington still less from Virginia. Quartermasters complained that they could neither get horses nor wagons; commissaries complained that they were embarrassed on all sides in obtaining supplies. Ammunition was wanting, arms were wanting, and, more than all, men were wanting. Success brought Greene no respite from the saddle and the desk.

In the midst of these anxieties came a new alarm. Through his spies in Charleston he learnt that large reinforcements from Ireland and New York were on their way to South Carolina. If this should prove true, how could he hold his ground with his shadow of an army, against the formidable forces that would be opposed to him? To assure himself of the truth or falsehood of the report he took advantage of a flag that was going to Charleston; and meanwhile wrote urgent letters to Rochambeau in Virginia, and to the governors of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. To General Smallwood he wrote: —

“I fear the misfortunes of this country are never to be at an end. After driving the enemy into Charleston with the remains of our little army, I was in hopes to have a little respite; especially after General St. Clair should join us, which I expect will take place in three or four days. But alas! I got intelligence yesterday, that four regiments of infantry and two of dismounted dragoons were hourly expected from Cork, and three regiments from New York,

¹ F. Hubbard's valuable *Life of Davie*, ch. v., in Sparks, *American Biography*, 2d series, vol. xv.

This force, with what the enemy had before, will make them upwards of eight thousand strong at Charleston, besides what they have at Savannah. Our force when collected together, even after General St. Clair shall have joined us, will not amount to more than one third of the enemy's. In this alarming and distressing situation, I beg of you to have forwarded every man fit for duty in Maryland; and if little articles are wanted for their equipment that they be forwarded after them. Should these reinforcements arrive, and there can be little doubt of it, it may serve to convince you that the enemy mean to make still greater exertions for holding the Southern States; and therefore no time should be lost in filling up your regiments. Unless I am speedily supported, I shall be obliged to abandon the country or expose the army to ruin."

His letters served only to bring out the insufficiency of his resources. Rochambeau could not move until Greene had been pushed over the Dan. North Carolina had not been able to get her Legislature together since the capture of Governor Burke. Virginia was convulsed by a double quarrel, a quarrel with her own governor and with the Superintendent of Finance. "I am sorry to say," wrote Davie, "that I fear the whole power of government would not be sufficient to reinforce you with two thousand men at this time; the truth is, the governor and council is not vested with any power to order them out of the State."

Fortunately the report, though not altogether without foundation, was exaggerated. Two regiments of infantry, with a hundred and fifty dis-

mounted dragoons, were on their way from New York, and sixty artillerists had come from Ireland. Greene felt that he had escaped a great danger. "I have not been frightened," he wrote, "as Doctor Skinner says, but I have been confoundedly scared."¹

The constant embarrassments with which he had to contend in raising men for the army, had already called Greene's attention to the comparative strength of the black and white population. Out of 248,139 inhabitants, 120,000 were black. Yet thus far, no better way of making them available for the defense of the country had been devised than to use them as a bounty in raising recruits.² It was by such inducements that many of Sumter's men had been brought into the field, and it was to secure their payment that he had made inroads upon the plantations of the Tories, and called down a severe retaliation upon the Whigs.³ Greene had observed the negro carefully in his relations with his master, and drawn from these observations favorable conclusions respecting his disposition and capacity. Why should not these sturdy arms and faithful hearts be employed in the defense of the country? Why

¹ Greene MSS.

² "Each Colonel to receive three grown negroes and one small negro.

"Each major to receive three grown negroes.

"Captain, two grown negroes.

"Lieutenants, one large and one small negro.

"The staff, one large and one small negro.

"The sergeants, one and a quarter negro.

"Each private, one negro.

"Under ten or over forty years was a half negro, being valued at four hundred dollars."

Colonel Richard to Major John Hampton, 2d April, 1781.

Gibbes, No 48.

³ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 215.

should they not be converted from property that requires protection, to a means of protection for every other kind of property? "That they would make good soldiers he had not the least doubt," for he had seen them tried. His own body servant, a negro, had fought in the Maryland ranks at Eutaw, and was found, after the battle, transfixed with a bayonet, and with his own bayonet set deep with mortal thrust in the body of his dead antagonist.¹ In the impoverished condition of the treasury he could see no other way of raising a sufficient force for the protection of the country. Had this been done, he thought, from the beginning of the war, the enemy would never have gotten a foothold in it; and even now could they see blacks and whites combined against them, they would soon be convinced of the impossibility of holding their ground. Upon the negroes themselves, he believed that such a measure would have the happiest effect, and instead of exciting discontent and desertion among them, would secure their fidelity. Firmly convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the measure, and none the less fully alive to the prejudices it would encounter, he addressed himself to the governor and council, proposing that four regiments should be raised among the blacks, "two upon the Continental and two upon the State establishment," together with a corps of pioneers and a corps of artificers, each to consist of about eighty men.²

¹ A tradition preserved by Johnson.

² Johnson, vol. ii. p. 274. Greene MSS.

It was not the first time that this measure had been proposed. The younger Laurens had already called attention to it, and it was the hope of seeing it accomplished that brought him to South Carolina a second time. He was again disappointed; but, he wrote to Washington, "It was some degree of consolation to me, however, to perceive that such a philosophy had gained some ground; the suffrages in favor of the measure being twice as numerous as on a former occasion."¹ "I must confess," answers Washington, "that I am not at all astonished at the failure of your plan. That spirit of freedom, which at the commencement of this contest would have gladly sacrificed everything to the attainment of its object, has long since subsided, and every selfish feeling has taken its place. It is not the public, but private interest, which influences the generality of mankind, nor can the Americans any longer boast an exception."²

Greene does not tell us how far he shared Laurens' generous hopes. The governor and council to whom his letter was addressed, referred it to the Legislature, and the Legislature decided that it was a dangerous experiment. Then falling back upon their original plan, they left the great question for the decision of posterity.

On the 4th of January came St. Clair with his Pennsylvanians, weary from their long march and greatly diminished in numbers. It had taken them more than two months to march from York, and

¹ Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 506.

² Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. viii. p. 323.

yet Colonel Harmar wrote in his journal on the 9th of December, "We march too rapidly; at this rate we shall bring but a small reinforcement to General Greene."¹ Some strength they did bring, and, as time revealed, much discontent and mutiny.

And now Greene was free to turn his arms against the enemy in Georgia. With the Pennsylvania troops came Wayne, his early comrade and friend, and to him he gladly committed the conduct of this difficult enterprise. "Try," he says in his instructions, "by every means in your power, to soften the malignity and dreadful resentments subsisting between Whig and Tory; and put a stop, as much as possible, to that cruel custom of putting men to death, after they surrender themselves prisoners."²

No less important was another measure which claimed his attention; for now for the first time in two years the Legislature of South Carolina was about to assemble. "Where shall we meet?" had been the first question, and "At Camden," had been the first answer. Further reflection suggested that not only the meeting but the place of meeting might be so arranged as to make it an illustration of the progress of the war. Greene, taking with him a squadron of cavalry, reconnoitered the country between the Edisto and Ashley, and finding it suited to his views, recommended Jacksonborough, a small village on the Edisto, thirty-five

¹ I regret that I am compelled to quote this valuable journal at second hand. It was lent to Judge Johnson and never restored.

² Greene MSS.

miles westward from Charleston as a favorable position. Will "Leslie," he wrote, "resent the insult of convening the Legislature to sit and deliberate within hearing of his reveille?"

The enemy still held James and John's islands, two of that chain which stretches, in close connection, along the coast from Charleston to Florida. While John's Island remained in possession of the British, Jacksonborough was exposed to a night attack. Greene resolved to seize it. The ground was carefully examined and the enterprise confided to Lee and Laurens. They fixed upon the night of the 13th of January; the main army made a movement forward to support them.

At the appointed hour the gallant young men set forth on their adventurous expedition, moving in two columns. The first column halted a few minutes on the shore to take off their shoes and then silently entered the stream. The water was at their waists, though the tide was nearly out! What will it be when we come back again, the more cautious may have thought. As they crossed they passed close to the British galleys that lay at their anchors within four hundred yards of each other, to guard the ford. If their sentinels heard any sounds they mistook them for the ripple of the ebbing tide and as they paced their decks in fancied security, cried "All's well." Once on shore the first column halted. Where was the second? The night was very dark. Not the keenest eye could pierce the gloom. For a few

minutes they stood peering into it, expecting every moment to see the head of the column emerge from its depths. They listened. There was no sound but the moaning trees and murmuring waters. Some laid their ears to the earth, but heard nothing. Laurens, who best knew the ground, hastened back to the main. Hour passed anxiously after hour. Now and then came a message from Laurens. The column had not been found. Dawn was near. The first column was not strong enough to face the garrison alone. If they would recross they must cross without delay, for the flood tide had set in and the water was already running breast high. Chilled by the night air, for they had been standing all night in their wet clothes, disappointed, wondering what unfriendly chance had snatched the prize from their outstretched hands, they crossed, passing again close between the galleys, and again the drowsy sentinels cried "All's well!" Daylight came at last, and with it the tired and crest-fallen second column. Their guide had deserted them and they had passed the night in weary searching for the turn to the river. At the rendezvous they found Greene. He had ridden forward in the dark, wondering as night wore silently away, that he heard no sounds of conflict. He listened to their tale, and though disappointed, praised them all, for none had failed in his duty. "We will try it again," he said. But before another trial could be made, the enemy discovered what a danger they had escaped and withdrew. Had the Americans succeeded, the evacua-

tion of Savannah must have followed close upon their success.¹

On the 16th of January, Greene took post at Skirring's Plantation, six miles in front of Jacksonborough, on the Charleston road. Never had his war and wayworn army found such quarters before. They were in the midst of the region occupied by the first settlers of Carolina, and wherein a refined civilization had struck deep roots. War had passed lightly over it. The rice plantations still yielded abundant harvests. Spacious houses were seen on every side, in the midst of spacious gardens. The delicate fruit trees of the warm climate filled the orchards. Large tracts bloomed with roses. Limes were wrought into sheltering bowers, or trained in shady walks. Delicate food, choice fruits, rich wines of old vintages, covered the tables, and beautiful women vied with each other in giving utterance to the hopes and feelings which the presence of an American army awakened.²

And then on the 18th of January the Assembly met. There was John Rutledge, the faithful governor whose zeal had never flagged, whose exertions had never slackened, whose faith had never faltered. There was Christopher Gadsden, greatly feared and bitterly hated by the enemy, because of his clear head and firm heart. There were emaciated victims of the prison ships; there were mutilated victims of Tory vengeance; there

¹ Lee, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 388 *et seq.* Greene MSS. ² Lee, vol. ii. p. 382.

were rich men suddenly stricken with poverty; there were soldiers seamed with honorable scars. The hearts of the spectators throbbed as they saw them pass into the hall and take their seats on the long vacant benches. But especially on one short, slender man, of grave aspect, whose compressed lips told of indomitable will, as his light and wiry frame told of endurance and irrepressible energy, the eyes of all were fixed, as each pointed him out to the other, whispering in earnest admiration, "That is Marion."

When all were assembled, the governor arose, and addressed them in solemn words, recalling to their minds the dark days they had passed through together, and setting distinctly before them the duties of the present hour. The Senate and the Houses responded in the same earnest and dignified tone, reëchoing, less from custom than from feeling, his thoughts and words, and especially the words by which he called their attention to "the wisdom, prudence, address and bravery of the great and gallant General Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers and men under his command, — a general who is justly entitled, from his many signal services, to honorable and singular marks of your approbation and gratitude."¹ And not stopping there, the Senate, through their speaker, John Lewis Gervais, presented a special address to Greene, and the House passed a bill, "vesting in General Nathanael Greene, in consid-

¹ Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 335.

eration of his important services, the sum of ten thousand guineas.”¹

By the constitution of South Carolina, one of the first duties of the new Assembly was to choose a governor. Governor Rutledge not being reëligible, John Mathews, Greene’s firm friend of the Congressional committee of 1780, was chosen in his stead. It was a fortunate choice; for South Carolina was a restless member of the confederation, jealous of Congressional influence, and ever ready to assert her own dignity at the expense of the dignity of the national government. With Mathews in the chair, it was easy for Greene to do justice to both. With one less friendly for governor, it was always difficult, and sometimes, as the experience of the next year showed, impossible to avoid a collision.

When at the close of 1782 Greene looked back upon the military history of the campaign, he wrote to his northern friends that it had been as dull and insipid as that of the preceding [year] had been critical and interesting.”² The active events may be briefly told. Its general object was to cover the country, confine the enemy within the narrowest limits, reconquer Georgia, and if possible without the aid of a fleet, compel the evacuation of Charleston. The manœuvring and fighting were chiefly confined to Georgia, where Wayne found a fine field for the display of his military talents. The full narrative of the

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 284.

eurs in different letters. Greene

² The same form of expression re- MSS.

conquest of Georgia belongs to the history of that great soldier. I shall relate it briefly, for I would not willingly trespass upon the ground of his future biographer.

Wayne's instructions are dated the 9th of January, 1782.¹ He lost no time in repairing to his command. Upon his advance the enemy retired to Savannah, and the State government soon established itself at Ebenezer.² A less active man would have contented himself with holding his ground. Wayne, though greatly inferior to his adversary in numbers, harassed him by frequent attacks, and burnt some of his magazines under the shelter of his guns. On the 1st of April he was reinforced by two hundred veterans under Colonel Posey. The militia had not answered his summons, and he had been compelled to call upon Greene for reinforcements. The English continued to rely upon the coöperation of the Indians, and murdering and scalping inroads formed parts of every Christian invasion. But it was only by large presents that these savage allies could be retained, and Augusta had hitherto been the gathering place for the Choctaws and Creeks when they came for their annual gifts. Now that Augusta was in the hands of the Americans, they were directed to come for them to Savannah; and Colonel Brown, the Tory leader, set forward with a strong detachment to conduct them thither. But the Indians quarrelled over a great national

¹ Greene MSS.

² Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 366.

game of ball, and returned home. Wayne had watched their movements closely, eager for an opportunity to strike. Here was the very opportunity for which he was waiting, though none but a very bold man would have dared to use it. The forces of the enemy were divided. Brown was on his march back to Savannah. Wayne threw himself in front of him, thus coming between the garrison of Savannah and Brown's detachment; and the American advance entered the road by which the British were marching, just as their front came in view. It was about midnight. Wayne lost not a moment. The order to charge was given, before the enemy, unprepared for the encounter, had time to collect themselves. The cavalry under Hughes and Boyer, the infantry under Parker, shouted and dashed forward, and in a moment the panic-stricken British were broken and scattered. Some fell into the hands of the Americans. Some made their way through the woods to Savannah. A few were wounded; a few killed.¹

The next day Wayne drew up his men in front of the town, but the enemy made no attempt to resent the insult. About a month later, towards the end of June, he was still manœuvring in the neighborhood of Savannah. The proximity of the enemy kept him constantly on his guard; and, like Greene on the Troublesome Creek, he never passed

¹ Lee's account of this affair, ii. p. 432. Part of Wayne's report though given with many details, is singularly at variance with Wayne's official report. *Vide Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 297. *Vide also* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 33.

two successive nights in the same place. On the 23d he was at Gibbon's plantation, a few miles above the town, with every avenue to his camp on the town side closely guarded. There was no enemy in his rear, and he placed only the usual sentinels there.

But under the dense cover of the woods, waiting for the deeper shades of midnight, crouched Emistasigo, the great warrior of the Creeks, with his band of chosen braves. He had made his way thither from his far-off hunting grounds, toiling day after day through unfrequented tracts, under the centennial trees of pathless forests, crossing slimy and trembling morasses, fording and swimming deep and rapid water-courses, with a little parched corn, pounded into meal, for his only food, silent and unseen, and waiting with Indian patience for the moment to strike. And now the moment was come.

They had kept later hours than usual in the American camp. Captain Parker had returned in the evening from a fatiguing round of duty with the light troops, and to give his men a better chance of rest had taken post in the rear, near the artillery. At length all his arrangements for the night were completed, and his weary men stretched themselves on the ground to sleep. Silence, suddenly to pass for some into the silence of death, spread with the deepening darkness over the American camp.

Then the terrible chief ranged his warriors for the onset. With stealthy steps they advanced

towards the slumbering camp. A blow of the silent tomahawk dispatched the sentinel. Then came the swift Indian charge, and the horrible Indian war-whoop. The first few that started up they killed, and bounding on, reached the cannon. Could they turn these dreaded engines against the Americans, their triumph would be sure. They set themselves to the task; but while they were toiling at it with unskillful hands, Parker was silently drawing off his men towards head-quarters, and forming them with the quarter-guard, and Wayne was in the saddle. "Meet them with the bayonet," was his first order to Parker. "Let Posey come up with the bayonet," was his first order to an aid, and dashing forward with Parker's men, he plunged into the darkness and battle. So swift was the onset that although Posey came up almost upon the run, the enemy were broken and scattered before he reached the ground. Wayne's horse was shot under him, and he fought hand to hand in the midst of his men. Some of the fugitives were overtaken and killed. The greater part escaped. When all was over, and the victors examined the battle-field by the returning light, they found Emistasio lying in his blood with seventeen of his dead braves and all his white guides around him.¹

Soon after, July the 11th, Savannah was evacuated, the regulars going to strengthen the garrison at Charleston, and Brown with his loyalists taking refuge in Florida. And thus, with great honor to

¹ Marshall, vol. ii. p. 34. Greene MSS. Lee, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 404-431.

Wayne, ended the war in Georgia. "Georgia is ours," wrote Greene to Williams, in September, "and Wayne has acquitted himself with great honor."¹

I have no longer battles to describe, or movements of successful strategy to relate. The war still continues to paralyze industry, to fetter commerce, to bring sudden desolation to the family hearth. But the flame was gradually fading with the increasing prospect of an official suspension of hostilities, and there is but little for history to record. The inroad of "murdering Bill Cunningham," which once more brought the Cherokees into the field, though attended with circumstances of great personal suffering, neither retarded nor hastened the approach of peace.

Of more permanent interest, though not of lasting influence, was the incursion which led to the temporary dispersion of Marion's brigade; and I shall briefly relate it, because it connects with my story a name which Americans will always utter doubtfully, hardly knowing how far their pride in scientific and philanthropic eminence should be allowed to temper their shame and sorrow for disloyalty to freedom and country.

Marion and Mayhem were in attendance upon the Assembly at Jacksonborough, and Marion's brigade lay at Wambaw under Colonel Horry, when intelligence came that a detachment of two hundred horse, five hundred infantry, and two pieces of artillery, was moving up Cooper River

¹ Greene to Williams, *Reed's Reed*, vol. ii. p. 471.

under the command of an American of bitter loyalty, who, in 1775 had left his New England home, and finding favor in the eyes of Lord George Germaine, was put into office as under secretary, and towards the close of the war placed at the head of a regiment of the king's American dragoons; first Benjamin Thompson at first, then Sir Benjamin, and at last, after eminent civil services at Munich, Count Rumford of the empire. But these later honors had not yet come to him; and now, in 1782, he was pressing forward, with much loyal bitterness at heart, to strike a fatal blow at the true hearted Marion.

No sooner was Marion informed of the danger, than he hastened forward with Mayhem to meet it. Mayhem's regiment lay near his plantation; the brigade at Wambaw, under Colonel Horry. Unfortunately Horry was sick. A sharp ride brought Marion and Mayhem to the spot where the regiment lay. Here the report met them that the enemy were falling back; and believing it to be true, Mayhem rode on to visit his plantation, and Marion remained to rest from his hard ride. Five hours later came a second message. The brigade had been surprised and dispersed. Putting himself at the head of Mayhem's men, Marion spurred fast to the scene of the disaster. Hard riding soon brought him within five miles of it. Man and horse required a breathing space, and refreshment, and he halted to give it to them. The horses were unbitted and fed, the men prepared to snatch a hasty meal. Suddenly the clat-

tering of many hoofs was heard, and as the Americans raised their heads to see from whence it came, they saw the royal cavalry before them. A moment's slackening of their advance gave the Americans time to bit their horses and mount. These were the moments in which Marion thought fast. His men were better enough mounted to make up for the difference in numbers. A bold charge might annihilate the English cavalry. There was but one way to the plantation, a long lane, at the further end of which the enemy were pausing. "Charge," cried Marion, and every rein was slackened, every spur struck deep into the horse's flanks, every sabre raised flashing in sunlight, over the rider's head. On they dashed with the triumphant shout of men accustomed to victory. And now, were this a Homeric tale, I should tell how some hostile god, invisible in celestial mist, touched with extended spear the leader of the front section, loosened his joints and struck a sudden terror of impending death into his heart. For at St. Thomas', not long before, that leader had been first among the bravest, and here, suddenly wheeling his horse, he dashed into the woods on the right, drawing the whole regiment after him in hopeless disarray. Marion himself was swept away by the resistless torrent of flight. Most of the men escaped, less, it is said by their own exertions than by the hesitation of the enemy, doubtful of their victory. Still the regiment was broken, and the brigade, also, was broken. Horry was ill. Some of the precautions which

Marion never neglected, had been neglected by his subordinate, and the enemy took them by surprise. A twelvemonth earlier, the blow might have been fatal. Now it produced only a few more desolate hearths, a little more human suffering.

A sadder interest invests the expedition to the Combahee; that interest which always attaches to a young life cut short in the fullness of its promise. And in the life that was cut short there, promise and performance were so richly blended, so much had already been done, there was so manifest a power and so ardent a desire to do more, it had inspired so much love, commanded so much admiration, connected itself so closely with the happiness of a wide circle of good men, and opened such prospects of usefulness to country and mankind, that we feel as if the banks of the Combahee were a vast battle-field, whereon humanity itself had received a fatal wound. Few young men ever inspired a deeper personal interest in older men, than John Laurens. None had won so high a place in the affections of Washington, and Greene, and Hamilton; none had rendered more important services under more difficult circumstances. Intemperate courage was his only fault, and for that he atoned with his life. But in that courage he found strength to break through the slow forms of diplomacy, and obtain important aid at a critical moment. By that courage he had been led to the acceptance of a truth still dimly perceived by the greatest minds,

and recognizing the negro as a man, boldly claimed him as an ally in the war for independence. He had been one of the first to ask permission to follow Greene to the South, with the hope, as he tells Washington, of prevailing upon the southern legislatures to admit negroes into the army.¹ But his services were required for the special mission to France, and he had not returned in time to take part in the great campaign of 1781. But he had hastened south as soon as possible after his return, and on Lee's retirement, had been put in command of the light troops.

Towards the end of August a foraging fleet had been sent out from Charleston to collect provisions. General Gist was ordered immediately out to protect the district of the Combahee. Believing Laurens to be more usefully employed, he did not direct him to join the detachment, although the light troops were in the field. "Vague intelligence reached me of the march of the light troops," Laurens wrote to Greene on the 24th of August. "Will you be so good as to inform me whether anything is likely to be done?" When assured that the troops were on the march he hurried forward to place himself at their head. A redoubt was to be thrown up on Chehaw Creek, and he asked to be intrusted with its defense. Fifty infantry and a few matrosses with a howitzer, were put under his command. He was to set forward at daybreak.

Meanwhile the evening hours passed merrily

¹ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii.

away under Mrs. Stock's hospitable roof, where he had taken up his quarters for the night. There was a joyous party of ladies there, all eager listeners to the pleasant words of their daring young countryman. Laurens' romantic heart was stirred. The glow of the days of chivalry came over him. It would be double glory to fight and conquer in the light of woman's approving eye. "O! let me build you a platform," he said, "on which you can stand and smile on us as we fight." Thus night wore away. At three in the morning he was in the saddle, with his two gallant companions, Captain and Lieutenant Smith, ranging his men for the advance. A few gay words of adieu as they filed off and the march began. Tramp, tramp, went man and horse, the hollow sound of their measured tread floating heavily on the damp morning air to dangerous ears. Then sudden and swift from out the ambushed wood came the fatal bullets. "Charge!" cried Laurens, striking his spurs into his horse and dashing forward. A bullet struck him, and he fell. His men turned and fled. Gist was hastening onward, and already near at hand, too late to avert the disaster, too weak to force the enemy from their position. At last they reëmbarked and fell down the river. Then the disasters of that brief skirmish were seen. Laurens was dead; and near him lay both Smiths, grievously wounded.¹

And thus in a nameless skirmish, and, but for his name, forgotten, fell this gallant youth, just

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 299. Gist's report is among the Greene MSS.

when his greatness was ripening, and a broader field of usefulness was opening before him. "Poor Laurens," writes Greene to Williams, "has fallen in a paltry little skirmish. You knew his temper, and I predicted his fate. I wish his fall had been glorious, as his fate is much to be lamented. The love of military glory made him seek it upon occasions unworthy of his rank. His State will feel his loss, his father will hardly survive it."¹

I return for the last time to the distresses of the army; "distresses," says the unexaggerating Marshall, "that if plainly described, truth would wear the appearance of fiction."²

"For upwards of two months," writes Greene in August, "more than one third of our men were entirely naked, with nothing but a breech cloth about them, and never came out of their tents; and the rest were as ragged as wolves. Our condition was little better in the article of provisions. Our beef was perfect carrion; and even bad as it was, we were often without any. An army thus clothed and thus fed, may be considered in a desperate situation. However, we have struggled through it. Our supplies of provisions are better but scanty and uncertain. Some clothing is arrived, and, added to what the governor procured, render the troops pretty comfortable, and the army very contented and easy, especially as we have it now in our power to issue rum eight times a month."³

None of the devices of Congress for the support of the army had been successful, and least of all that of specific supplies. Impressment, always odious, had been submitted to, though not with-

¹ Greene to Williams, September 7, 1782. *Reed's Reed*, vol. ii. p. 471.

² Marshall, vol. ii. p. 25.

³ Gordon, vol. iv. p. 292.

out reluctance, while the exigence was extreme. But after the fall of Yorktown the hope of peace became a dangerous confidence, and measures were framed in accordance with what men wished to believe, rather than with what they actually knew. The Assembly of Virginia began by suspending specific contributions, making impressment, except by act of the Legislature, a penal offense, and stopping the circulation of paper money. The northern army was fed and clothed by contract. The southern army was thrown for support upon the southern States. Greene was vested by the Superintendent of Finance with ample powers to draw the State quotas to his aid in any way that both parties could agree upon. Greene suggested that each State should become contractor for the supplies it was bound to furnish. But in his efforts to restore the credit of the confederation, Mr. Morris had created the impression that his coffers were filled with silver and gold. Virginia claimed her share, and a sharp discussion followed between the Superintendent of Finance and the State; which ended on the part of the State in a resolution to discontinue her contributions and support her own officers and recruits by contract. "We have determined to feed your officers and what few troops we have, by contract," wrote Governor Harrison in January, "and if we succeed, some cattle may be spared when they are fit to eat."¹

¹ Governor Harrison to Greene, January 21, 1782. Greene MSS. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 312.

North Carolina also claimed her share of Morris's treasures, and, like Virginia, attempted to compel the discussion of questions which could only be discussed with safety in times of peace. She continued her specific taxes, but she raised no money for her quota; and the quartermaster having no means of transportation, a few cattle were all that she contributed to the support of the army. Nor was her contribution to the ranks of the army more effective. "North Carolina," wrote Greene in August, "hath had few other soldiers than non-jurors and disaffected, and those for different terms of service."¹

Thus the whole burden fell upon South Carolina, for Georgia was utterly destitute, and even Wayne's army had drawn its supplies from the sister State. It was a heavy burden for a State so long in the hands of the enemy. She, too, abolished impressments; but she established a board of supplies, and the governor and Legislature set themselves seriously to the task of carrying out the resolves of the Assembly. An estimate of the daily amount of bread and meat required for the support of the army was prepared, and the governor, whose good-will no one could call in question, agreed to furnish it. But in April I find Greene writing: —

"I am much afraid 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

¹ Greene MSS.

without rice, and some days without either. Supplies coming to the army in this way keep the men continually murmuring and complaining. Men will bear disappointment for two or three days at a time, but when the supplies are continually irregular, and frequently deficient, the soldiers will get impatient, and that will soon grow up into a disagreeable discontent. To produce these frequent disappointments, there must be a defect in the arrangements, or a want of industry in the execution. I am not acquainted with Mr. Hort, but I am afraid he has more method than dispatch. To fill the place he is in, activity is no less requisite than method and integrity. Your Excellency knows of how much importance it is to have the army constantly and well supplied; and in our situation how dangerous a failure. I beg you will, therefore, explain to Mr. Hort the necessity of being punctual. The service must suffer if the troops are without provisions; and God only knows what may be the consequences should the enemy avail himself of one of those unfortunate moments to attack us. We are very near the enemy, even within surprising distance. It is dangerous, therefore, hazarding the least discontent in a matter which never fails to produce discontent in an army. Our troops were never without provisions so much during all last campaign as they have been since Mr. Hort has undertaken the business, and the provisions not more than twenty or thirty miles off.”¹

Nor was the suffering for want of clothing less severe. All were in clothes nearly worn out, many in tatters, many with but a remnant of some garment pinned around their waists with the thorn of the locust-tree. The heavy musket bruised sorely the naked shoulder. The cartouch box

¹ Greene to Governor Matthews, April 1, 1782. Greene MSS. and Johnson, vol. ii. p. 315.

pressed roughly upon the unprotected loin. More than a thousand were so naked that they could not be put on duty of any kind; three hundred were without arms. Their only luxuries, rum and tobacco, were seldom to be obtained. In an active campaign these things could be borne. But in an idle camp they were dangerous subjects of meditation and debate.

Temporary palliatives afforded some relief. Private citizens contributed from their own stores by subscription. A contraband trade was carried on with Charleston, under the eye of Lee and Laurens, and some articles of first necessity procured, by the exchange of goods for rice. When the army advanced to Bacon's Bridge at the head of the Ashley, a communication was opened by water, and a brisker trade carried on, the authorities on both sides winking at the illegality in consideration of the mutual advantage. A larger and more productive commerce was opened through Georgetown and other posts on the coast. Rum, blankets, hospital stores, some articles of clothing and the indispensable article of salt, were obtained through these channels and paid in drafts on the Superintendent of Finance. The agent in this intercourse was Mr. John Waties, afterwards chancellor of South Carolina.

Another personage now appears upon the stage, never henceforth to be wholly unfelt in Greene's history till the grave had closed over both, — John Banks, of the firm of Hunter & Banks of Fredericksburg, in Virginia. Mr. Waties had dealt

with him in the course of his public purchases, and found him upright and obliging. Mr. Clay, the army agent, had dealt with him and found nothing to excite a suspicion of his honesty. Captain Pendleton, Greene's aid, had known him long and held him in high esteem. When, therefore, he came forward with an offer to supply the army according to invoices, and take his pay in bills on Mr. Morris or one of the southern States, and asked that, in return, he should be allowed to trade with Charleston, Mr. Waties earnestly recommended that the offer should be accepted. But without waiting for Greene's answer Banks came to Georgetown, explained his intentions to the militia commander, Colonel Lushington, and obtained passports for Charleston. To what consequences this led we shall soon see.

Meanwhile the monotonous months were wearing slowly away, bringing little alleviation to the suffering army. Then men's faces began to reveal the discontent of their hearts. Murmurs began to be heard, low at first and indistinct, but which might gradually swell into mutiny unless sternly repressed. The Pennsylvanians, "who had been well paid and well clothed"¹ for their mutiny in the North, had brought their bad spirit and some of their bad men with them to the South. This dangerous temper had not escaped the observation of the enemy's spies, and skillful emissaries were soon in communication with the disaffected. Sergeant Gornell, who had led a regiment in the first

¹ Words used by Lafayette.

mutiny, was bought over. Peters, Greene's steward, was in the conspiracy. Zealous in their bad cause, they sought to win the discontented Marylanders; but failed in their attempt. Still the plot was spreading. The symptoms of mutiny became more manifest. American spies told of suspicious movements in the British garrison. Greene was on his guard. Colonel Harmar of the Pennsylvania line kept a watchful eye on his men. In the midst of these doubts and suspicions came a camp woman with the story of what she had accidentally overheard. A party of horse was to approach the American camp in the night, and the mutineers were to seize Greene and his leading officers and deliver them up to the enemy. Greene acted with characteristic energy. The evidence against Gornell was complete. He was immediately arrested, tried, and condemned to death. In the following night, twelve of the conspirators, all, perhaps, who felt themselves hopelessly compromised, went over to the enemy. On the next day Gornell was shot, and five sergeants were sent into the interior under guard. "This decisive step," wrote Greene to Williams, "put a stop to it, and you cannot conceive what a change it has made in the temper of the army."¹

Trouble came from another quarter also. A great change had taken place among his officers. Williams, broken in health, was in Maryland, waiting for the brigadiership to which Greene had urgently recommended him. Howard, too, was

¹ Greene MSS. Greene to Williams, June 6, 1782, in Reed's *Reed*, p. 470.

there, not yet recovered from his wounds. Davie was in North Carolina. Of the most familiar faces one only remained, and that was clouded. Lee complained that his services had not been properly recognized. Greene replied in the language of friendly remonstrance. "No man in the progress of the campaign had equal merit with yourself, nor is there one so represented. . . . I think whoever reads my letters and knows the facts, will agree that I have done ample justice both to the friend and the officer." The captains and subalterns of the Pennsylvania line took umbrage at the appointment of Captain Wilmot of the Maryland line to an enterprise in which they claimed a part for themselves, and remonstrated in language utterly inadmissible in the relations between commander and subordinate. "You must consider yourselves," Greene replied, "as officers of the Continental army, bound by its laws, and governed by military maxims. You are under military and not civil government. If you feel any injury, it must be as officers of the line of the army, and not those of any particular State. You may be assured, I have the strongest disposition to oblige and to do justice to the merit and services of every officer, but I must confine myself to such maxims of military government, as are necessary to do justice to the public and to the army at large."¹

Two good officers, Horry and Mayhem, were divided by a question of rank. With a strong re-

¹ Greene MSS. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 324.

gard for Mayhem, Greene felt bound to decide in favor of Horry. "I will also write to Lieutenant-colonel Mayhem, decidedly," he wrote to Marion, "upon the dispute respecting his rank. I am sorry the colonel carries that matter to so disagreeable a length. Rank is not what constitutes the good officer, but good conduct. Substantial services give reputation, not captious disputes. A captain may be more respectable than a general. Rank is nothing unless accompanied with worthy actions."¹

But the most serious trial came from the Legion, a body which Greene likened to "the Prætorian guards," difficult to govern and impatient of subordination.² On Lee's retirement they had come under the command of Laurens, and were greatly dissatisfied, going even so far as to call him a bad cavalry officer. Somewhat later, in forming a brigade for General Gist, a re-formation of several corps became necessary, and the infantry and cavalry of the Legion were nominally separated. This was far from meeting the views of the officers, who had private aims of their own. Major Rudolph had hoped to become Lee's successor, a post for which, excellent officer as he was, Greene did not believe him to be altogether qualified. A strong remonstrance was drawn up by the officers to be accompanied by a tender of their commissions. But before it was sent, a secret intimation of the design was conveyed to head-quarters.

¹ Most of the correspondence upon this subject is to be found in Gibbes. ² Greene to Williams. Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 471.

Greene immediately sent for Rudolph and tried by a full statement of the question to convince him of his error. Rudolph persisted, and the remonstrance and commissions were sent in. Greene felt the indignity; but he loved the corps, both for Lee's sake and their own. He was willing to give them one more chance. His forbearance was mistaken for hesitation.

“What was the effect?” he wrote to Lee. “Little less than contempt. They would allow no alternative but the revocation of the order. This I could not do and therefore accepted their resignations; and would had it been the officers of a whole army who imposed so disagreeable a necessity. The truth of the affair was, the officers intended by the combination to cram the thing down my throat at all events, flattering themselves that their number and consequence would deter me from accepting their resignations. It is unfortunate for mankind,” he significantly adds, “that so few know how to set a right value upon themselves. It requires good sense, a general knowledge of men and things, an attention to the spirit of the times, and state of circumstances, as well as a regard to the rights and pretensions of others, to form a just estimate of ourselves. Men are too apt to overrate their value; and light minds, when they render you service, will make you feel their importance.”

When the officers saw that their commissions were accepted, “they were thunder-struck:” and upon the suggestion, that they would still be allowed to resume them and appeal to Congress, they hastily recalled their resignations. The appeal to Congress Greene permitted, though he disapproved of it; for he felt sure that “it could

not produce an explanation favorable to the Legion." But he could not convince them. "They said I had promised an appeal to Congress, and to Cæsar they would go." There the question was referred to a committee which promptly confirmed Greene's order.¹

Among the abuses which had crept into the army under the influence of want of pay was the appropriation of public horses to private use. In the first organization of the cavalry an allowance was made to the officer for the purchase of a horse, and a fair allowance made for the loss of one in the course of public duty. But not receiving their regular pay, officers naturally took for their own use the best horses of the common men or of those obtained by impressment. The use, which in the beginning admitted of some palliation, gradually became an abuse, and soon there was scarcely an officer in the cavalry who had not from one to three public horses, which he felt at liberty to exchange or sell at will. Greene's attention was first called to the subject by the report of Colonel Ternant, Steuben's deputy-inspector, who was on a tour of duty in the southern army.

The case was a flagrant one. Captain Gunn of White's regiment, had exchanged a public horse with Captain Armstrong of the Legion, for two other horses and a slave. The case was reported by Colonel Ternant. It admitted of but one con-

¹ Greene to Lee, *Campaign of* vol. ii. p. 426. Journals of Congress, 1781, Appendix. Lee's *Memoirs*, August 23, 1782. Greene MSS.

struction; it was a private bargain for public property. Greene ordered a court of inquiry. To his surprise the court justified the exchange, and Gunn, in a defiant tone, called upon him to approve the sentence. Instead of approving, Greene disapproved in general orders the finding of the court, ordered the horse to be restored, and referred the whole question to Congress. Congress referred the question to the secretary at war and upon his report declared that they were "well satisfied with the general orders issued" by Greene and that "the principles advanced in his orders [were] well founded, and that an approbation of the sentence of the court would have been to establish a precedent repugnant to reason and justice, and subversive of that order and justice which give security to public property." How Gunn took this reproof we shall see by and by.¹

On the 6th of July the army moved down to Ashley hill, where they found pure water and a dry soil, but no exemption from the dreaded fever. Men and officers suffered alike. Greene was forced to see the suffering without the power of alleviating it, for military necessity compelled him to hold his ground. Hard feelings were beginning to rise between civilian and soldier. The work of the army was well nigh done and the people were tiring of it. Greene was deeply anxious. "It is high time the enemy were out of this country;" he wrote to General Barnwell.² "The people

¹ Greene MSS. Journals of Congress, August 21, 1782.

² July 31, 1782. Greene MSS.

appear to have far greater attachment to their interests than zeal for the service. They begin to think [the army] can live on air. Our troops are more than one third of the time without provisions." A warm appeal to Governor Matthews brought out the humiliating confession, "Unless you can afford us a military aid in collecting supplies, it is impossible, from the present temper of the people, to promise either regular or effectual supplies to the army."

The northern army had suffered greatly from the cupidity which kept the markets of New York and Philadelphia, where they paid in gold and silver, well supplied, while the American camp, where they paid in Continental bills or commissary certificates, was starving. Greene's army was suffering from the same cause. "I beg leave, without reserve," wrote Governor Matthews, "to mention that one essential cause of the distress of the army, is the prodigious quantity of provisions that are daily carried into Charleston. This infamous traffic is carried on by the persons who will contribute nothing for the army, because they can get an enormous price and the cash for what they send to town. This gives great discontent to the good people of the country; and has at length produced even a backwardness in them."¹

In addition to all these trials, dysentery, the scourge of armies, set in, seizing upon those whom the fever had spared. And thus, amid alternations

¹ Governor Matthews to General Greene. Greene MSS., and published by Johnson, vol. ii. p. 352.

of suffering, summer passed and the end of October came. Then in the orders for the 29th I read,—

“ The General sincerely sympathizes with the army in their sufferings for want of provisions, and cannot but express the high sense he has of the dignity and patience with which they bear it; but as their sufferings are of a much longer continuance than he had the fullest assurance should happen, he is obliged, in order to relieve the present distresses of the army, to send out military parties to collect beef and hogs. Each brigade, therefore, will furnish a subaltern and twelve men to make an immediate collection; and that it may be done in the most regular manner, the parties will take order from Major Forsyth at the magazine, both as to the places of selecting and the mode of delivery.

“ As this mode is always disagreeable to the inhabitants, and creates animosities between them and the army, nothing but the last necessity can render it eligible, and when adopted, it should be conducted with the greatest prudence, delicacy, and equality among the people. The General desires the officers, therefore, who go on this duty, to regulate their conduct accordingly, and prevent, as far as possible, any insults and impositions upon the inhabitants; and such as neglect it may expect complaints will most assuredly follow them to camp.”¹

A letter of the 24th to Mr. Hort, which he had promptly communicated to the governor and council, had prepared them for this decision. Some of Greene's friends thought that he was risking too much; for the South Carolina grant had not yet been carried out.

But winter was at hand and winter clothing could not be impressed. The military chest was

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 355.

empty. Morris's resources were running low. Day by day the powerlessness of the confederation "for the want of obligatory and coercive clauses on the States" was becoming more apparent. Congress had hoped much from an impost duty of five per cent.; and all the States, except Georgia and Rhode Island, had accepted it, though not willingly. When the refusal of those States was known, Virginia withdrew her acceptance. The prospect of feeding, clothing, and paying the army grew very dim. Great changes were taking place in the army. Two complete regiments were formed out of the Pennsylvanians and Marylanders, and the rest sent home. Before they set out on their long winter march northward, the clothing received from Yorktown was distributed amongst them. The new regiments were next to be provided for. But how?

It was evident that Charleston was the only place in which clothing could be procured. Lincoln, the Secretary of War, gave Greene full authority to procure it, and Greene immediately began to cast about him for the means. Then it was that he first saw John Banks. "I will supply you," said the eager merchant, "and take bills on Mr. Morris in payment, if you will advance me seven hundred guineas."

A receiver on the part of the United States was in camp, Mr. George Abbott Hall, who was also the secret agent of Mr. Morris. Greene knew that he had public money in his hands; and for what purpose could Morris have intrusted it to

him, but for the service of the southern department? Very reluctantly he advanced the sum required. Banks, whose Charleston friends had procured him the privilege of free communication with the city, promptly fulfilled his part of the contract, and the army was soon clothed, — “better clothed,” said Wayne, “than I ever saw an American army before.”

Thus far everything went on smoothly. Banks was in great favor with the merchants to whom he brought money, and the army to whom he brought clothes. He had fulfilled all his engagements, and if with a large profit, with no larger a one than he was fairly entitled to. A natural question followed. He has clothed the army; why can he not feed it too?

Proposals for supplying the army with provisions had been before the country several weeks without calling out a single offer. The price, all said, was too low. The risk, most thought, was too great. Banks was willing to take the risk, but not at the price proposed. Negotiations were opened through Colonel Carrington, on whom the duty naturally devolved. The price was gradually reduced from thirteen and one fourth pence sterling the ration, to something less than eleven. With excellent judgment, Carrington consulted the Legislature through their speaker, Hugh Rutledge. “The terms are thought too high,” the speaker answered, after referring the question to the Legislature, “but as no others have been offered, and the pressing necessities of the army

call for immediate relief, it is thought that it will be needless to keep open the contract any longer, under the idea that more advantageous propositions will be received."

Nor did the question admit of delay. The season of general rejoicing and pleasant gatherings around the family board was come. "Poor Christmas!" wrote Colonel Harmar in his journal; "no beef nor rum for the men." Banks' offer was accepted, and the army fed.

But soon it became manifest that Banks had ventured too far. The bills on the Superintendent of Finance, in which he was to receive his payment, began to be looked upon with suspicion. Merchants refused to take them except at a discount that would have quickly led to bankruptcy. The approach of peace checked the sale of goods, for all looked forward to a fuller market and lower prices. Banks' creditors grew importunate. He was getting more and more involved. Fortunately for him, unfortunately for Greene, his interests had become closely interwoven with the interests of the army. For him to stop payment would be the signal for the army to stop eating, and as they had bayonets in their hands, it was fearful to think what would inevitably follow.

Under these circumstances the creditors offered to give up the assignment which they held from Banks, if Greene would come in as surety between them and their debtor. Banks, in payment for the debts thus assumed, agreed to assign to Greene for his protection, the bills on Mr. Morris,

including the bills drawn under the contract for clothing, which were in the hands of an agent in Philadelphia. "All future bills for subsistence were to be made payable to the creditors." It was a trying moment for Greene. The grants of the Carolinas had brought him independence. Should he expose it to the chances of a contractor's fulfillment of a contract? The army looked to him for protection. Could he see them starve? The agent who held Banks' bills was Mr. Pettit. Greene knew that he could be relied upon for protecting the interest of his friend. Banks had recently strengthened his hands by taking into partnership Forsyth and Burnet, who had retired from service, and they were bound to Greene by services received and friendship proved. The danger was contingent; the necessity urgent. The fatal instrument was signed; and presently it became apparent that it was not well to confide in the honor of a desperate speculator.

But in this character Banks was not yet known; and he had recently rendered the officers a material service, under circumstances which gave it, in Greene's eyes, the aspect of a personal favor. The officers, like the soldiers, had been long without pay, and their wardrobes were greatly reduced. To procure them the means of making a decent appearance in the society of Charleston, Greene had given them bills upon Morris to the amount of two months' pay. The only house that would receive these bills without a ruinous discount, was the house of Forsyth

& Co., of which Banks was a partner, which offered to take them in payment for purchases made at their store. Greene felt that the house had rendered his officers an important service, and was grateful to them for it.

The house of Hunter and Banks was a Virginia house, and when Banks received his first bills he forwarded them through the agency of Forsyth, not yet known to be connected with him in business, to his partner in Fredericksburg. The mails were irregular, slow, and unsafe. As an officer of the staff, Forsyth had a right to send dispatches through official channels. As he was making up the parcel for Hunter & Co., a Captain Shelton of the wagon-master's department was looking over his shoulder, and fancying that he saw something wrong in it, hinted to General Scott, to whom he had been directed to deliver it with the request that he would forward it to Governor Harrison, that it probably contained the clew to a dangerous intrigue. Scott did not hesitate to open the outer envelope, which contained only a short billet to Governor Harrison, requesting him to forward the package to its address, and the inner envelope also, in which he found letters from Banks and Forsyth, with a full account of the transaction and a request that Burnet's connection with it should be kept secret. The next day brought another letter from Banks, showing that he had been dealing largely in double papers for importing salt and shipping tobacco. One passage in it referred directly to Greene:—

“I find General Greene an exceedingly agreeable man ; and from hints dropt already, expect his proposals for an interest in a house we may establish in Charleston.

Another passage, hastily read, seemed also to refer to Greene. “By the superior interests of my friends in Charleston, I have a passport, not only to return to camp, where General Greene advised my passing some time previous to evacuation ; but have also leave to return to town, an indulgence not obtainable by any person in either party.” Scott, “in order to do justice to the public, and detect any species of speculation that might be on foot at the public expense,” forwarded copies of these letters to the governor.

But Governor Harrison took a very different view of the matter. He had formed too high an opinion of General Greene to allow the mere suggestions of such a man as Banks' own letters proved him to be, to raise a doubt in his mind concerning the uprightness of a man to whom the nation was so deeply indebted. His council took the same view. The original letters of the 7th of November covering the bills, were forwarded to their address unread, and a strong reproof administered to General Scott. Scott, thrown upon his own defense, sent copies of the suspected letters. It was evident that Burnet and Forsyth had formed engagements which as officers they had no right to form. But what had this to do with General Greene ?

Then for the first time the governor learnt the contents of the letters of November, and on the

24th of December he wrote to General Greene calling his attention to a "dangerous partnership" into which some of the officers of his army had entered, and assuring him that "Banks' insinuations had made no impression upon him or his council."

Greene was deeply irritated. With calumny he had been made familiar by his experience of the Quartermaster-general's department. But there was something in this misinterpretation of an act performed with a single eye to the public good, that touched him to the quick. He sent for Wayne and Carrington. "What shall I do?" And in taking counsel with them he regained his self-control. He then sent for Banks and gave him the letters to read, Wayne and Carrington standing by. Banks acknowledged his imprudence, but claimed that he had meant no ill. The allusion to Greene he could easily explain. In his first interview with him Greene had said that the war was nearly over, and Major Burnet, one of his aids, who had been bred a merchant, proposed when he left the army, to go into business, if his friends approved. "Should he do so," Greene had added, "I shall be obliged to you for any services that you can render him." Fatal calumnies have more than once been built upon foundations as slender as this.

The favors shown to Banks in his intercourse with Charleston, were not shown him by Greene. It was to his Charleston friends that he was in-

debted for them, as a careful examination of the passage would show.

These things Banks stated under oath before Judge Pendleton. At the same time all the papers relative to the transactions with Banks were put into the hands of Wayne and Carrington for examination. After a careful study of them they published a handbill exonerating Greene from all participation in the commercial part of the affair. But Greene, who held that "no man was without his enemies but a fool," had bitter enemies of his own. By these the improbable calumny was eagerly caught up and repeated, not only during the few years of his remaining life, but over his early grave. But I have anticipated events in order not to break the connection of this part of my story.¹

It might have been well for Greene's tranquillity if he had accepted the friendly suggestion of Gouverneur Morris and allowed his name to be brought forward for the ministry of war; for after full trial of government by committees, Congress had transferred the executive government to departments with a responsible head. In February 1781, Robert Morris had been made Superintendent of Finance. There was much delay in filling the other departments. For the department of war, Lincoln, Schuyler, and Sullivan, were candidates, and Gouverneur Morris and other friends of Greene were anxious to add his name to the

¹ The materials for this narrative are found in Greene's papers. They are very voluminous and complete.

list. Morris, who seems to have had it most at heart, wrote him a long and able letter urging it upon him. But Greene, though anxious to escape from public life, preferred the labors of an office with which he was familiar, to the untried responsibilities of a new department.

“I am too much a stranger,” he replied, “to the nature and duties of the office, to wish the appointment, if there were no other objections. But when I consider the constitution of the United States, the feeble powers of Congress, the difficulty of combining our force, the local policy of the States, the want of vigor, prudence, and zeal among our military men for the public good, in preference to their own pleasures and promotions, I can see many other objections. I confess our affairs hitherto seem to have been too much under the direction of chance, and to have acquired too little consistency and method to fix upon any general plan for their order and direction. Even the powers of Congress are undefined, and the intervention of the States unlimited. What is to be expected from a delegated power, by one, subject to the control of another? I cannot well form an idea of national policy, when the constituent parts claim absolute and independent sovereignty. It is true, these are qualified by the confederation, but in a way that leaves the seeds of much confusion; sufficient, in my opinion, to counteract the best plan in the world; and in a way that will leave the secretary responsible, without having it in his power to avoid the evil.

“Something of this sort happened to me this campaign, and I mentioned the matter to Congress. Troops that were destined for one purpose, were, by the State, directed to another. It embarrassed and distressed me exceedingly for a time; and though we did not meet with a capital misfortune, we lost many advantages.

“You think I am fond of an army and a busy scene; you

mistake my feelings ; I am truly domestic. The more I am in an army, and the more I am acquainted with human nature, the less fond I am of political life. At this time there is no retreating from it without evident marks of disgrace. I am but too sensible, for my own happiness, of the fickleness of fortune ; nor have I any confidence in my own ; having felt too many adverse strokes to think myself one of her children. But to retire from the army into a department of greater responsibility, subject to more expense, and exposed to equal if not greater misfortune, will be neither wise nor prudent.

“To tell you the truth, my dear sir, I am poor, and I wish not to climb to a station from which I may be cast headlong in a moment, and lost without the means of support. Eminence always begets envy ; and it is more difficult to support ourselves in high places than to arrive at them.”

No State was more jealous of its assumed rights than South Carolina, or less prepared to work harmoniously with an efficient Congress. It was fortunate for Greene that the civil government was not fully organized until the enemy had been driven into Charleston. From Governor Rutledge he had received sympathy and countenance. But it was little that the governor could do while the possession of the greater part of the State was still divided with the enemy. The assembling of the Legislature at Jacksonborough brought, by the law of rotation, a new governor into office. He, too, was Greene's friend. The Legislature was largely composed of men who had been anxiously watching the movements of Greene's army, or actively taking a part in them. But it was very

evident that the two powers must sooner or later come into collision.

The first clashing arose from a successful expedition of Kosciusko's, in which a number of valuable horses were captured. The law of Congress and general orders required that they should be sold at auction and the proceeds of the sale, after a reasonable deduction had been made for the compensation of the captors, be paid into the general treasury. But what became of the rights of the original owners?

This question was quickly brought to the test, for citizens of South Carolina presently came forward to claim several of the horses as their own, and called upon the governor and his council to protect them in their claim. The governor wrote to Greene, who thus found himself involved in a question of postliminy. It was debated in the governor's council, and discussed in a council of war. Greene appealed to Vattel as the most recent and highest authority upon the subject.¹ But as an act of courtesy, he permitted the claimants to hold their horses on stipulation, until the question could be decided by Congress.

A still more serious question arose after the evacuation of Charleston. The law of rotation had again brought a new governor into office, Benjamin Guerard. A new Legislature, glowing with the factions that had grown out of the confiscation laws, had taken the place of the wise Legislature of Jacksonborough. Greene had never

¹ Vattel, book iii. ch. xiv.

approved of those laws, and although no one had been more resolute in holding the Tories in check while they had arms in their hands, no one was readier than he to receive them back into citizenship now that they had laid them down. "Where is there justice or wisdom," he said, "in punishing these men, who can no longer injure us, for having always continued to think as we all thought ten years ago?"

This was enough to irritate the party of confiscation: but he was soon compelled to go still further.

While he was lying with a small army in the neighborhood of Charleston, and everything depended upon accurate and early intelligence of the movements of the enemy, he had confided to Colonel Laurens the delicate task of opening a communication with the city. This Laurens had successfully accomplished by means of loyalists who were anxious to buy forgiveness of their countrymen. The price of their services was pardon and the restoration of their estates. Had Laurens, a citizen of South Carolina, lived, his personal popularity would have enabled him to fulfill his promises. After his death, Greene felt that the obligation to fulfill them had fallen upon him as a solemn legacy. His representations were received with evident dissatisfaction.

But it was not in his nature to shrink from duty, and duty imposed a still bolder encounter with public opinion. Taxes and loans, as is well known, had failed to meet the demands of the Treasury,

and an impost of five per cent. on importations had passed Congress, and obtained, as has already been said, the assent of all the States but two, Rhode Island and Georgia. Stimulated by the refusal of these States, Virginia had withdrawn her consent, and it was feared that South Carolina was about to follow her example.

It was a very grave question. Morris saw bankruptcy in it; for he had counted upon the impost for the means of paying the troops. Greene with a half-starved, unpaid, and discontented army, saw mutiny and bloodshed in it. He had always maintained a confidential correspondence with the governors of the States comprised in his command. Why should he hesitate, in the presence of this imminent danger, to do what he had never hesitated to do in moments of less danger? Jefferson and Burke and Harrison and Rutledge and Mathews had given ear to his suggestions, and thanked him for his zeal. The first acts of the revived civil government of South Carolina had been performed in his camp, under the protection of his guns. Now that the civil government was growing strong again, would it see danger in the counsels of its approved supporter and friend?

Greene thought not, and writing to the governor on the 8th of March, 1783, and calling his attention to the threatening aspect of the army, both in the North and the South, to the weakness of Congress and the necessity of supplying it with the means of fulfilling its contracts, he said:—

“ I confess I am one of those who think independence

can only prove a blessing under Congressional influence. . . . If we have anything to apprehend, it is that the members of Congress will sacrifice the general interest to particular interests in the States to which they belong More is to be dreaded from their exercising too little than too much power. . . . The present repose affords a prospect of permanent revenue. The eyes of the army are turned upon the States in full expectation of it. It is well known that Congress have no revenue, and the measures of the States will determine the conduct of the army."

The governor sent Greene's letter to the Legislature, accompanied by a letter of his own, enforcing opposite views. The members could hardly contain themselves for anger, while the letter was reading. "A Cromwell," some cried, "a Dictator: can we not manage our own concerns? Are we to be terrified by threats of mutiny and violence? Let us first be paid our advances and then let Congress, or its swordsmen, require this duty!"¹

Greene was not only deeply wounded, but greatly surprised.

"I find my letter of the 8th to your Excellency," he wrote on the 14th, "has been greatly misapprehended by some of the members of the Assembly. I did not conceive it unparliamentary to receive information from military men, and that stating probable consequences, was invading parliamentary freedom of debate and decision. If to be ignorant of facts and a stranger to many circumstances connected with a determination are essential to freedom of thinking or acting, I confess myself unacquainted with the first elements of civil liberty or legislative freedom. . . . I thought I was in the way of my duty in making the rep-

¹ Johnson, vol. ii. p. 388.

resentation. I think so still ; and if my expressions were less guarded than they might have been, it was from a persuasion I both had and merited the confidence of the people.”¹

But the governor and Legislature were not to be convinced, and South Carolina withdrew her acceptance of the impost when that impost was the only source to which Congress could look for the means of fulfilling its compact with the army. “The people of this State,” Greene wrote to Washington on the 16th of March, “are much prejudiced against Congress and the financier. Those who came from the northward think they have been amazingly neglected by both in their distresses. Their general disposition leads more to an independence of Congressional connection than I could wish, or is for their peace or welfare. This State has contributed more than any other State, it is true, towards the Continental expenses ; but necessity obliged them. I wish all the States could see how much the tranquillity of each depended upon giving effectual support to Congress.”² But a step was made in advance. In August he wrote to Washington : —

“The Assembly of this State have rejected the impost act recommended by Congress. Had your circular letter been printed a fortnight earlier, I am persuaded it would have brought them into the measure. On once reading in the House it produced an alteration of sentiment of more than one quarter of the members. . . . Although the State did not come into the plan recommended by Con-

¹ Greene MSS.

² Greene MSS. and *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iv. p. 5.

gress, they have laid a tax of five per cent., under the authority of the State, to be solely for the Continental use. This I attribute entirely to your letter. Its effects have been astonishing.”¹

Another and more serious difference followed in April. An English officer, a Captain Kerr, who had married in Charleston, came to town under the protection of a flag, regularly addressed to the commandment of the post. When Governor Guerard learnt that a flag had been received, he treated it as an infringement upon his authority, and claiming that all flags should be addressed to him, sent the sheriff to arrest Captain Kerr and the crew of the vessel that had brought him. The astonished officer appealed to Greene, who promptly assured him of his protection. The governor persisted, leaving Greene no choice but action. But before he proceeded to act, he called a council of war and laid the papers before them. “Has Captain Kerr violated any of the usages of a flag?” “No,” was the unanimous answer. Then taking possession of the passes to the city, he ordered that no flag should be admitted without permission from head-quarters. Kerr was released, but, as if for a closing insult, ordered to leave the city at once and the State within ten days. He again appealed to Greene.

“The order sent you by the Governor,” wrote Greene, “you will pay no regard to. When I am ready to discharge your flag I will inform you. The time and manner of your leaving the State

¹ Greene MSS. and *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iv. p. 38.

shall be made as agreeable as possible. . . .
 I am exceeding unhappy at this last instance of indelicate treatment you have met with. . . .
 Nothing but my wishes to preserve the tranquillity of the people, and the respect and regard I have for their peace and quiet, could have prevailed on me to have suffered your flag to be treated in the manner it has been." To Governor Tonym, who had sent the flag, he made a full apology. To General Lincoln he wrote, asking that the subject might be referred to Congress, and assuring him "that precedents for such encroachments [on United States' authority] should not be founded on his failure to resist them."¹ "Never," Greene writes, "was there such an idle dispute; none but a lunatic would have engaged in it."²

The monotonous months wore slowly away. The fall of Cornwallis had awakened hopes of a speedy evacuation of Charleston, and an early peace. Every indication of the intentions of Parliament was closely scrutinized. Greene's letters show how anxiously he read the debates in Parliament, and how keenly he scrutinized the news from the continent. In May, 1782, Laurens doubted an early evacuation.³

When tidings of the defeat of De Grasse came, Greene looked for a new invasion of Carolina.

"Fortune seems to smile upon the perseverance of Great Britain," he wrote to Washington. "Count de

¹ Greene MSS. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 389.

³ Laurens to Washington, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 506.

² Greene to Williams, 11th April, 1783. Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 474.

Grasse's defeat, mentioned in my official letter, appears to be much more important than I expected. . . . This misfortune will put it out of the power of our ally to coöperate with us in these States or to the northward. I expect the enemy, from finding it impracticable for the French to coöperate with us, and from having again the command of the sea, will detach from New York to this quarter to prosecute farther operations. However, this will depend upon the force they have at New York. All that will be necessary there will be a good garrison. They cannot have offensive operations in view there. Their force is unequal to it; but by detaching a part to this quarter they can improve it to advantage, and leave New York in perfect security.

“I have always been of opinion that further attempts would be made for the subjugation of this country, should fortune favor them in the West Indies. I can see no other reason for having held footing in it so long. Should Count Rochambeau be ordered to this quarter for offensive operations, I hope your Excellency will also come yourself; for it will not be for the honor of America that a foreigner command an American department. If this cannot take place, I could wish the American force could act independent of his command, and only act by conjunction. I believe my rank will give several French officers a right to command me; but if the honor of the nation was not connected with it, I should have no objection. However, I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever you may think necessary for the good of the service. My desire to be useful is so much greater than my wish for command that there are no conditions to which I will not cheerfully submit that are not personally disgraceful, to promote the interest of this country.

“I fear Virginia will do little while the French army is in that State, either for herself or the Union. As far as I can learn, little or nothing has been done for several

months past ; nor can I learn that any decisive measures are pursuing for the purpose. Whatever may be your Excellency's intention with regard to the French army, it would not be amiss to inform the governor that they may expect that army to leave them shortly, and that great exertions are necessary for their own security. It may serve as a spur, and the genius of America often requires spurring.

“ I wish to know your Excellency's intentions in this quarter, as early as possible. Many measures will be requisite to accommodate matters to your views, if you have anything offensive in view. Could the French army have arrived in this country by the middle of this month, I am confident we could have obliged the enemy to have evacuated it. Reports say your Excellency had a narrow escape through the Clove. Mrs. Greene joins me in respectful compliments to yourself and Mrs. Washington.”¹

In June came overtures for an armistice. It was partly a measure for Congress and partly for the State government to decide, and to them Greene referred it. Anxious as he was for peace, he feared that by granting the freedom of purchase which the armistice proposed, he should prolong the stay of the enemy in South Carolina. It was feared, also, that advantage might be taken of it to prepare for an attack upon the French possessions in the West Indies.² The proposal was refused.

In July Greene still doubted. “ The people of this country have their expectations raised,” he wrote to Washington on the 11th, “ and are sanguine in their hopes that Charleston will be

¹ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 509.

² Leslie to Greene, June 30th. Greene to Leslie, July 1.

speedily abandoned. There are some preparations on which their opinions are founded, but I must confess they seem to be rather contracting their works than abandoning the place. . . . The enemy are so well informed of the want of energy and exertion in the States that I am apprehensive they will withdraw part of their troops, leaving a small garrison to be held in constant readiness to evacuate, whenever they find a combined attack meditated against them.”¹

Appearances wear a more decided aspect towards the end of August. “It is said,” Greene writes to Washington, “that Captain Pigot is on this coast with near thirty sail of the line to take off the garrison of New York. A part of the fleet is to take post at Beaufort, to take off the garrison of Charleston. It is said the enemy within a few days past have been meditating an attack upon us.”²

In October the evacuation is reduced to a certainty, and Greene consults Washington about the fortifications.

“On our possessing Charleston, the fortifications will come under consideration. My object would be to render it sufficiently strong to protect its trade against sudden descents of three or four thousand; but when a force invades it that is superior to the natural strength of the country it must fall; and to incur a large expense in the fortification, and sacrifice the garrison only to protract its fall for a few days, will be neither wise nor prudent. I should recommend, therefore, whenever there appears a force sufficient

¹ Greene MSS. *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 525.

² *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 530.

to possess the town by regular approaches, to abandon it, and to have the principal magazine of the country at Camden.

“To leave the town without any fortifications, will render trade so unsafe as to be highly injurious to the public finances; besides, the perpetual alarm to which the inhabitants will be constantly exposed, will render their situation exceedingly disagreeable.”¹

Doubts about peace seem still to linger in his mind. “Although our prospects are flattering, and peace appears to be approaching,” he wrote to General Weedon, “yet we ought to move with circumspection, as the British will practice every art to deceive us. And could they humble the pride of France, they would soon return to the charge here. But this, I hope, they will not be able to effect, and from necessity be obliged to submit to peace on terms of independence to the United States.”

The same letter contains an expression of his real feelings with regard to foreign aid. “It was my pride to get rid of the enemy without foreign aid. I am proud of an alliance, but wish, for the honor of America, that liberty may effect her own deliverance. I should like supplies from our friends, but wish to fight all the battles ourselves.”

The British lingered. There were many preparations to make and many interests to consult. A large number of slaves had been drawn into service under various pretexts. Eight hundred

¹ Greene to Washington, October 4, 1782. Greene MSS. and *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 535.

were employed in the engineer department alone. There was hardly an officer who had not more than one in his service. What was to be done with them? There were large British interests at stake also; goods sold on credit and property held by marriage settlements and dower. Leslie, a humane and equitable man, was desirous of arranging these conflicting interests to the general satisfaction. At the suggestion of Governor Mathews, commissioners were appointed and an arrangement nominally reached, by which all negroes within the power of General Leslie were to be restored, except such as had "rendered themselves obnoxious by services rendered the enemy, and such as had been expressly promised their freedom." When the day for enforcing the treaty came, it was found that, under one pretext or another, the greater part of the slaves were carried away: not a thing to be regretted, if they had been carried to freedom; but it was asserted then, and never, that I am aware, has been disproved, that they were carried to a worse than Carolina bondage in the West Indies.¹

On the 10th of December Greene wrote to Washington: "I doubt not your Excellency expected to hear of the evacuation of Charleston long before this. The enemy are not yet gone, although now just upon the eve of their departure. In two days more the town will be free."²

¹ Moultrie and Ramsay are the principal American authorities upon this subject. I have not had access to any refutation of the charge.

² *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 541.

Two more days must be added, and then, on the 14th of December, the day so dreaded by some, so yearned for by others, came. There had been heavy hearts and light hearts in Charleston, through the long night; pillows pressed by aching heads that would never press them again, doors darkened by unwelcome forms that were never to darken them again. There were sad faces and happy faces in the thronged streets, as some took their last look of familiar scenes, and some pressed, exultingly, their own thresholds once more. The morning gun boomed heavily over the awakened city. English hands will never fire it there again! Then came the mustering of English troops within the lines, of American troops outside the lines. At a given signal the march began, the British first; Wayne with three hundred infantry, eighty of the Legion cavalry, and a detachment of twenty artillerymen, with two six-pounders, following at the distance of two hundred yards. And thus they moved slowly down the King Street road; not far, as some may have remembered, from the spot where, but eighteen months before, Isaac Hayne had unrighteously been put to death; straight on through the city gates they moved, the British calling out every now and then to the Americans, whose step exultation quickened, "You come too fast for us." Once within the gates they filed off to Gadsden's wharf, where their boats were waiting. By 11 o'clock they were all on board, and the American troops, entering, took post at the State-house.

Then, at three, came Greene on horseback, escorting the governor and his council. An officer and thirty of Lee's dragoons led the van, as they had often led it on bloody fields; Greene and Mathews rode next, side by side. General Moultrie and General Gist followed; then came the governor's council; and last, citizens and officers in joyful procession. As they passed along the streets, old men and old women, and young women in widows' weeds, and young maidens decked with flowers, and children with wondering faces, cried "Welcome," and "God bless you;" and handkerchiefs were waved and wreaths cast down from thronging balcony and crowded window, and grateful eyes were bent on Greene, their great deliverer, and those gallant bands to whom they owed this happy day. In Broad Street the cavalcade dismounted to take each other by the hand, and then every man went his own way.

The next morning's sun brought another agreeable spectacle. Out in the harbor three hundred vessels lay in curved line at their anchors, swaying to and fro with the tide. They were English ships waiting to bear the English army away. It was a pleasant sight to see them spread their white sails and turn their prows seaward.¹ Then came throngs from the country crowding in to look upon their beautiful capital again, and for days the human tide flowed rapidly through the crowded streets. But soon the old round of daily cares began, and as men set themselves to their wonted

¹ Moultrie and Ramsay are the original authorities for the evacuation.

tasks, some to their law or their medicine and some to their merchandise, the fears of the past were forgotten, and with them what all owed to the soldier.

And thus the war passed away from South Carolina. How soon will peace come? Negotiations had been going on at Paris for several months, but Greene could not yet persuade himself that after reëstablishing her supremacy on the ocean, England would lightly forego so good an opportunity to strike another blow. If we would strengthen the hands of our commissioners in Paris, he reasoned, we must prove that we are ready for war here. Washington entertained the same doubts. They both remembered that when the tidings of the French alliance came, they were received by the whole country as the assurance of peace; and in the hope of an early peace, men ceased to prepare themselves for a continuation of the war. Therefore Washington and Greene went on thinking over a new campaign.¹

The prospect was not very encouraging. "All the southern States," Greene wrote in October, "are in a deplorable situation, and will require a great deal of nursing and care to establish good government and give a proper spur to agriculture and commerce. At present there are no courts of justice in any of the States, and it is dangerous travelling in almost every part of the country, from the great number of robbers and private plunderers that infest the roads. From these cir-

¹ Greene MSS.

cumstances your Excellency can judge how feeble must be the efforts of a people in this situation, reduced to poverty by continual depredations.”¹

Two months pass away, and the prospect is no brighter.

“By intelligence from Charleston,” he writes in December, “the British troops are going to the West Indies. The Hessians and such of the Provincial corps as remain, are going to New York, which is not to be evacuated until spring; nor do I believe it will then, if the war continues. I am afraid the southern States can produce but few men in the field, by any possible exertion in their power. South Carolina and Georgia, I am sure, cannot. The force that North Carolina will have in the field after a few days will not exceed seven hundred men. There is a detachment of Virginians here, which had better be completed from the troops laying in Virginia to a regiment, or march from here and join those in the State. I shall wait your orders on the subject.

“Whatever disposition you intend to make with the troops in this department, I could wish to be made acquainted with it as early as possible, to be in readiness to carry your orders into execution as early and as fully as as possible. South Carolina and Georgia have not more than one small battalion of troops, and those not of the best kind. The enemy’s force at St. Augustine is not contemptible, which, aided by the savages and the militia, now numerous from its being a place of resort for the Tories, may make a serious impression upon Georgia. The State, without a considerable force to protect it for some time, cannot recover from the ravages it has felt, or even prosecute any trade or agriculture. Charleston will be stripped and left defenseless until new fortifications can be raised and cannon provided. In this situation, and being altogether

¹ *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 537.

* uncertain of the enemy's future plan of operations, I hope it will not be thought that I have detained too many troops for the present.¹

Greene had offended Congress.

"I am told a letter of mine, some time past," he wrote to Colonel Biddle in September, "gave offense to Congress, wherein I portrayed the real situation of the army and the States generally. When a man is largely in debt and his affairs in confusion, he is loth to look into them; but it is impossible to apply a remedy without a knowledge of them, and he that will not submit to the inquiry must soon be ruined. I am sure Congress has not a faster friend than I am, nor has few done more to promote their interest; but they had rather be flattered than informed, and I am too honest to do this, and therefore I shall never be one of their favorites. They may employ me because they find their account in it, but they don't love me, and therefore lay hold of every little circumstance to pick a quarrel with me. But I will not quarrel with them, nor will I give them any just ground to complain, either in matters of duty or respect. In time they will be convinced of the truth of my observations, and perhaps discover their prejudices."²

In December, 1781, Washington had written to Greene from Philadelphia: "Mrs. Greene is now in this city on her way to South Carolina. She is in perfect health and in good spirits, and thinking no difficulty too great to be encountered in the performance of this visit. It shall be my endeavor to strew the way over with flowers. Poor Mrs. Washington, who has met with a most

¹ Greene MSS. and *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 542. tember 1, 1782. Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 381.

² Greene to Clement Biddle, Sep-

serious stroke in the loss of her amiable son and only child, Mr. Custis, is here with me, and joins me most cordially in every wish that tends to your happiness and glory.”¹

In March, 1782, Mrs. Greene reached camp, bringing a cheerfulness with her, which was widely felt, and Greene greatly needed. Thenceforth there was something of that home atmosphere in it for which he was always longing. Every now and then in his letters comes a pleasant mention of her like a glimpse into his heart. “I have just returned from a ride with Mrs. Greene, who rides on horseback,” he writes to Williams in June. “Mrs. Greene is not in good health, but gay,” he adds. “They call her the French lady in Charleston. She is very much your friend, and laments your absence from the army.”

From the same letter we get a general view of head-quarters. “Our family is much as formerly. Pearce and Pendleton as polite as ever; Morris, as careless; Burnet, as cross; and Shubrick, as impudent. Morris is courting, but at a distance, too much I fear, to get the citadel. Poor fellow, he is now unwell at Mrs. Elliot’s. Washington is married, and fats upon the rice swamps.”²

A letter of August to Colonel Pettit contains a fuller sketch:—

“Your account of George’s genius, temper, and improvement is truly flattering. Nothing can be more grateful to

¹ Greene MSS. and Johnson, vol. ii. p. 432.

Greene to Williams, June 6, 1782. Reed’s *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 470.

the feelings of a mother, and it is not unpleasant to the heart of a father. We feel ourselves much obliged to Mrs. Pettit and the young ladies for the care they took of George during his stay with you. I will not say how much I am obliged to you for your fatherly attention, but be assured if I never had esteemed you before I should have loved you now. Mrs. Greene is not here to make you any acknowledgments, nor to answer your letter. She, Colonel Morris, Captain Pendleton, and Doctor Johnson went to one of the sea islands a few days past, called Keewan. It is said to be pleasant and healthy. There is a fine beach to ride on, a fine place to bathe in, a plenty of fish and game of all kinds. The air is charming and there is fruit in abundance. Morris has had the fever, Pendleton still has it, and Doctor Johnson was in rather a declining way, having had a pretty severe attack of the fever. Mrs. Greene has not had the fever, but there were various symptoms of an approaching attack, and the faculty advised the whole to go to the sea islands, where it was thought a change of air, diet, and exercise might restore each to health. An agreeable young lady named Miss Fenunk, has gone with Mrs. Greene for female company. They carried books, cards, and a backgammon table to fill up the vacant time. Yet with all these advantages I don't expect she will be prevailed upon to stay a fortnight. I wish she may continue there long enough to work a change in the habit of her body, without which I very much fear a fever might prove fatal to her. The people are very friendly, and strive to render this country agreeable and pleasing to her, but the fevers fill her with apprehensions. She is a great favorite, even with the ladies, and has almost rivaled me even where I least expected it; her flowing tongue and cheerful countenance quite triumph over my grave face. I bear it with great philosophy, as I gain on one hand what I lose on the other." ¹

¹ Greene to Colonel Pettit, August 29, 1782. Greene MSS.

In November he had the fever himself. When the evacuation of Charleston became certain, he wrote to Williams: "On our entering Charleston I expect a great frolic, and to terminate with a fine ball. The governor acts with dignity, spirit, and gallantry. Mrs. Greene has set her heart upon it. You know I am not much in this way."¹ Mrs. Greene had her ball, and the room was decorated by Kosciusko, with magnolia leaves hung up in festoons, and pieces of paper curiously cut in imitation of the flowers.²

There was little of historical interest in the few months of inactive war that remained. Some danger was apprehended from the enemy in St. Augustine, and Greene went to Georgia to make preparations for meeting it. Christmas came with its smoking boards and merry gatherings. "Poor Christmas!" is the record in Harmar's journal; "no beef nor rum for the men." Towards the close, symptoms of mutiny reappeared. A body of cavalry was stationed at Eutaw under Major Swan. They grew restless, not without cause, and the major went to Charleston to ask instructions from Greene. On his way back, he found the whole corps on the march under the lead of their sergeants; their officers following at a distance in the rear. The earnest appeal of their commander and the promise of forgiveness brought them to a sense of their duty, and they returned to their camp. Then it was, as has already been stated, that Greene put his personal

¹ Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 473.

² Garden, vol. iii. p. 168.

fortune in jeopardy to preserve his soldiers from starvation, and the citizens from the violence of an outraged soldiery.

At last, on the 16th of April, 1783, came the news of peace. On the 22d, there was a general illumination in Charleston; on the 23d fire-works and a *feu de joie* on James' Island. The army, too, was called upon to rejoice, but they had neither bread nor rice.

The fears and discontent of the northern army found expression in the Newburg letters. Greene read them with deep alarm. He already knew that some men with whom he generally sympathized believed that the only way of obtaining justice from Congress and the States, was by a union of the army with "all the public creditors." "That Congress have not powers," wrote Gouverneur Morris in February, "I see, I feel, and I lament. If the "foreign war, that great friend of sovereign authority," ceases, "I have no hope, no expectation that the government will acquire force: I will go further, I have no hope that our union can subsist, except in the form of an absolute monarchy."¹

Greene shuddered at the idea of bringing in the army as a means of influencing the civil authority. Even Washington had written: "The patience and long sufferance of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant."²

¹ Greene MSS. and Johnson, vol. ii. p. 394. ² Marshall, vol. ii. p. 38.

Nor was this strange. The original act establishing half-pay for life had been passed in October, 1780. Subsequent events made it evident that the funds for the payment of this sacred debt would never be voted by the States. A committee, of which General McDougal was chairman, was sent to ask that the half-pay for life should be commuted for a single definite payment. It would have been far more honorable for Congress if the commutation of five years half pay for the half pay for life, had been voted before instead of after the Newburg addresses.

And now the troops began to clamor for their discharge. "The war is over," they cried, "and we enlisted only for the war." The fear of another contest with the deadly fever augmented their discontent. So bold did it become that Greene was once compelled to overawe the mutinous by the sight of cannon loaded with canister and artillerymen with lighted matches. A hundred of the Virginia cavalry threw off all authority and set out on their march homeward, with a Sergeant Dangerfield for leader, and the best horses of those of their comrades who would not join them, for booty. They counted upon an easy pardon at home, and, unfortunately for the cause of good order, found it.¹

At last orders came for dismissing the troops on furlough. A small fraction of their pay was advanced. The North Carolinians and Virginians

¹ Greene to General Scott, May 17, 1783. May dleton to Greene, July 17, 1783. 20, 1783. Captain Watt, May 23. Greene MSS. Colonel Baylor, May 27, etc. Pen-

marched home to be furloughed. The Pennsylvanians and Marylanders were to be sent by water; but so great was the difficulty of obtaining transports that it was not till July that they could be embarked. A third of their number was already on the sick list, and many rather than encounter the deadly fever again, deserted, although desertion carried with it forfeiture of pay. One of Greene's last public acts was to write farewell letters to the governors of the States comprised in his command: in all of which, while congratulating them upon the return of peace, he calls their attention to their debt to the army. "Often," he says, "in the worst of times, have I assured them that their country would not be unmindful of their suffering and services; and humbly, yet confidently, do I hope that their just claims will not be forgotten."

And thus gradually the actors in these momentous scenes pass away. Let us give them a farewell glance, before we part from them forever. Huger returns to his plantation. Sumter had withdrawn months before, with a bitterness at heart that was to find vindictive expression over Greene's early grave. Marion had years and honors and domestic happiness in store. Washington found a happy home in South Carolina, where he had wedded beauty and wealth. Burnet and Pearce went into business, and died young. Morris, notwithstanding Mrs. Greene's prognostics, succeeded in his 'left-handed courtship,' and became a planter. Pendleton went to the bar. We

shall meet him at Greene's death-bed. Williams married, but died early, of a disease contracted in service, loved, honored, and deeply lamented. Howard had still a long and prosperous career before him. Our last glimpse of Lee leaves him in his Virginian home, with a rich and beautiful wife by his side. Time brought bitter changes, and, for a proud spirit, the extreme of adversity; but for our story he is still the brilliant Light-Horse Harry. Kosciusko passes to a broader field; becomes the leader of an oppressed nation, triumphs marvelously, is crushed by overwhelming numbers, dies in exile, and is buried in the sepulchre of the kings of Poland.

A few monotonous pages, will tell the uneventful story of all of life that was yet vouchsafed to Greene.

BOOK FIFTH.

FROM THE PEACE TO HIS DEATH.

1783 - 1786.



BOOK FIFTH.

FROM THE PEACE TO HIS DEATH.

1783-1786.

CHAPTER I.

Greene's Plan of Life. — Sets out on his Journey Northward. —
Journal.

FOR eight years Greene had never laid his head upon his pillow without anxious thoughts of the morrow; had never waked without feeling the burden of care return with returning day. Now he was free to come and go at will. The duties of a general were all fulfilled. Henceforth he has only the duties of a husband and a father. Yet it must have been long before he learned to wake without asking himself, What is my first care to-day? His plan of life was formed. He would live hereafter as a private citizen. He would become a planter, bring his estate under cultivation, and divide the year between Rhode Island and Georgia. To see his friends under his own roof, to direct the affairs of his plantations, to watch over the education of his children, to indulge his love of books, and from his quiet retreat look out upon a busy world and observe the

progress of public events, was a delightful anticipation. The sailing of the last transport was the signal of personal freedom ; for till then the calls upon his time and purse had been constant. Many of his officers were in want, and to whom could they go but him? It was not till he had provided for others that he was at liberty to provide for himself. When he had completed his arrangements in South Carolina he made a short visit to Georgia, to inquire into the condition of his estate there. Then with his secretary, Major Hyrne, and his aid, Edwards, for companions, he set his face northward. We will follow him part of the way in his own journal :—

August 15, 1783.— We lodged this night at Colonel Horry's plantation on the Santee. His farm-house is one of the most spacious as well as convenient I have met with in my travels. The plantation is upon the Santee, and finely cultivated. In front of the house is a beautiful pasture, over which is interspersed a great number of live oaks in natural order, which give it a very agreeable appearance. His plantation is large and fortune extensive, and it is said he has all the fears of poverty about him. Our cavalry fared well, we indifferent, the keys and liquors not being to be had.

16.— We passed the Santee, a long river with rich borders. It extends to the mountains, and when its northern borders is fully cultivated will afford produce almost sufficient for all the world. Rice, indigo, hemp, and indian corn are its great staples. The ferries and causeways over this river are a reproach to government. Nothing adds more to the reputation and convenience of a people than good roads and well regulated ferries. Strangers pass with pleasure, and agriculture and commerce are pro-

moted. Here the ferry-boats were in bad order, and the roads almost hedged up with bushes. We got to Georgetown about noon, and were very politely received and entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, who is Major Hyrne's sister. We stayed here two days, waiting for Colonel Carrington to join us, but as he did not come agreeable to promise it was conjectured he had got another kind look from Mrs. Harlston, and business furnished a pretense for a longer stay.

19. — We left Georgetown, which stands on a tongue or peninsula of land, formed by three great rivers, the Pedee, Black River, and the Waccamaw on one side, and a small river called Sampet Creek on the other. It was burnt by the enemy in 1781. It is well situated for trade, and in time will be a considerable place. Its situation is pleasant but rather unhealthy. Our horses had been sent up to Mr. Joseph Allston's the day before we left Georgetown, and Colonel Hamit was kind enough to furnish us with a fast sailing canoe to convey us up there by water; but he would not let us pass his plantation without taking a look at it. He led us to his indigo works in all the pride of wealth, melting under the scorching sun, and almost suffocated with the disagreeable smell of the place. The business was agreeable to him who felt the profits, but to us it was a heavy tax, our curiosity having been satisfied before. Edwards got out of all patience, and I was afraid would not preserve his good breeding. However we left the colonel in the most perfect good-humor. Our passage up to Mr. Allston's was pleasant and our arrival critical; for the moment we got into the house there came on a heavy shower. Mr. Allston gave us a cordial reception and regaled us with fine old wine. His fortune is ample and his heart was open. He is about fifty, with a fine open countenance and manly appearance, possessing an excellent judgment and supporting a good private character; but he has been rather too attentive to his interest to be pop-

ular among the people. He has a number of fine rich plantations laying upon the fertile borders of the Waccamaw, from which he has accumulated a prodigious fortune from the articles of rice and indigo.

20. — We set out for Wilmington, having poverty before us and leaving plenty behind us. This day would have been distressing both to man and beast but for Mr. Allston's ample provision for both. The roads were sandy, and the travelling heavy most part of the day, except in crossing Long Bay, where the beach is hard and the riding easy and delightful. In crossing this we had a grandeur of incidents not common. It lays open to the sea, and is about sixteen miles long. While we were upon it there came up a heavy thunder-shower. To behold the sea rolling on one side upon the beach in all the majesty of the ocean, and on the other hand to see the forked lightning play, and hear the broisterous thunder roar, filled the mind with admiration, one of the most pleasing passions that can occupy the human soul. But we got a prodigious wetting by a heavy shower, and that soon banished all our philosophy and put us a little out of temper. We halted at one Varren's, who looks as if he eat all his own provisions. It is certain he had none for us, either for man or beast. In size he is little inferior to Sir Edward Bright; in filthiness as dirty as imagination can form. It was our intention to put up here all night, but his poverty and appearance obliged us to ride twelve miles farther to a Mr. Bull's, where our situation was but little mended. With great difficulty we got something for our horses, but nothing for ourselves. The house made a good appearance without, but had no furniture within excepting an ugly old woman and a dirty old man without principle or decency, whose want of modesty produced a bill four times as large as it ought to have been.

21. — We got to Mr. Russes. The country through which we passed was very poor and the roads bad. A

great extent of country in this quarter is too barren to afford any means of sustenance and will always remain uncultivated. At Mr. Russes everything had the appearance of poverty, but things were decent and clean, and the landlord and lady kind and obliging.

22. — We set off for Wilmington very early in the morning and rode sixteen miles to Learward's Ferry to breakfast. And here again we had another of those scenes which are so disgusting to the eye and offensive to the smell. With much difficulty we got a little bread and milk, and this we were obliged to eat amidst the squalling of children. We got away from this place as soon as possible. The man was tenant to a gentleman who married one of General Howe's daughters. Edwards was taken with a fever, and Hyrne and he, between them, led us all in the party out of the way five or six miles. The former was very sick and with difficulty got to Wilmington, where we found good quarters and better cheer than we had met with after leaving Mr. Allston's. The roads the last day were intolerable, and the causeway at Wilmington very bad; but neither were as bad as Major Edwards had painted them. This kind of exaggeration has one good effect; bad as we may find things we are pleased to find them better than we had expected. Wilmington is situated near the mouth of Cape Fear, formed by two branches which runs a great distance into the country, called north-east and north-west. The trade of this place will be considerable as agriculture increases. But Cross Creek will prevent its ever becoming very capital. The manners of the people are plain, and they made some show of rejoicing on our arrival by bonfires in the streets, firing of guns, and faint illuminations. The town lays partly under a hill, and is not very handsomely built or elegantly laid out. We were visited by all the principal people and our stay urged, but neither the pleasures of the place or the hospitality of the people could detain us more than a

day. We dined with Mr. McCallister, who formerly led the advance party at the taking of Powley's Hook by Lieutenant-colonel Lee. He put into this place by accident from Charleston, heard of a rich widow, boldly attacks her in the Hudibrastic style, and carried her off in triumph in a few weeks. She is an agreeable lady with a very pretty fortune, — a handsome reward for a bold enterprise. How many difficulties are got over if but boldly attempted, as well in the affairs of love as those of the field.

23. — We continued at Wilmington and took lodgings at Mrs. Weeks', a woman of a noble figure and agreeable manners; but she has a perfect Jerry for a husband. No pen can draw a character more perfect than this man answers to the character of Jerry Sneak. The town was all illuminated this evening and made no bad appearance.

24. — We set off for General Lillington's, and dined with Mr. Jones about twelve miles. He gave us some excellent eider and fine old cherry bounce; but he detained us so long for dinner that it was within night before we got to General Lillington's; the roads being very sandy, we found it heavy travelling.

25. — We set off for Colonel Blount's, having the major, his son, for our pilot. We rode five-and-forty miles this day, and lodged at one Winsett's, a very dirty place. We breakfasted the day before at Simmons', who told us the country had all been laid under water; for that it had rained forty days and forty nights. Major Blount entertained us with several curious anecdotes. . . .

26. — We breakfasted with young General Caswell. He has a pretty wife, and gave us a polite reception. He was so liberal to our servants, and fed our horses so plentifully, that the first got drunk and the last got foundered. To-day we were to have dined with Colonel Blount, and should have got there in good season, but the major, either from the effects of cherry bounce and morning bitters or

from the charms of Mrs. Caswell, found his head so like uncle Toby's smoke-jack that he missed the way where he was as well acquainted with it as with his bed-chamber, and led us at least seven miles out of the road, which prevented our arriving till within the evening. From this to Wilmington is about one hundred and eight miles; the country generally level and the soil sandy and poor; but there are spots of most excellent land. Colonel Blount gave us a most cordial reception and introduced us to his family. His person and his manners appear with great dignity. He is very generous, polite, and hospitable; and all in that way which is most pleasing, being free from affectation and that troublesome civility of always teasing one to eat or drink or make free without leaving one at liberty to do either but by importunity. The colonel is no less marvelous than hospitable; he says a family in his neighborhood was excused from military duty from the amazing quantity of water they drank, each carrying a large tubful to bed with them. . . . This is related as a fact. So great was the aversion to the military service in this neighborhood that out of fifty-eight persons fifty-six were found to have artificial hernia. . . . This may appear extraordinary, but fear is ingenious to contrive modes of escape from approaching danger. Nothing can give a more striking proof of the danger of the southern service than this anecdote. . . . There is now in the neighborhood of Hillsborough a seventh son of a seventh son, who is said to cure only with the touch every species of complaint. Marvels in North Carolina thicken apace. Prodiges of every kind are propagated and believed. Hundreds of people are encamped round about this child, who is but eight years old, and will take nothing for the cures he performs. There are things in nature far above our comprehension. This may be one of them; but in this enlightened age, when science and philosophy have banished all those wonderful tales which formerly amused the world, I am not apt to be credulous.

27 and 28. — We remained at Colonel Blount's for the recovery of my horse. His house is agreeable situated near the river Contentment, which runs a great distance into the country. His farm is large and fortune considerable.

29. — We set out for Halifax and lodged at Colonel Hardy's, an old gentleman who had lived with one wife upwards of fifty years, and was near eighty years of age.

30. — From this to Tarborough the country is hilly; generally pretty good land and very healthy. The people would take no money from us. We dined at Mr. Blount's in Tarborough, a small village situated upon the banks of the river. Our reception was polite and entertainment agreeable. We lodged this night at one Major Philips'. He invited us home with him, but the poor man's heart seemed heavy; our retinue was so large as caused too great a consumption of corn.

31. — At break of day we left this for Halifax, and breakfasted within eleven miles of it, at one —, whose fondness for talking was little less than the man's Horace complains of. Edwards and myself got each a book to avoid his impertinence, but having lived long in South Carolina, and being a good planter, he interested Hyrne pretty deeply in his conversation. We were met on the road by a number of officers and citizens and conducted to Colonel Ashe's, where we lodged during our stay in that quarter. Halifax is a little village, containing about fifty or sixty houses, on the banks of the Roanoke, one hundred miles from the sea, and promises at some future day to be a considerable place. Mr. Wily Jones has the only costly seat in or about this place, and is one of its principal inhabitants. Colonel Ashe and he married two sisters, both agreeable women.

Sept. 1. — We dined with Colonel Jones, and was agreeably entertained with an account of his races, he being a great sportsman, and prostitutes most excellent talents to

pleasure which should be employed in the service of his country.

2. — We dined with Colonel Long, a character directly opposite to Mr. Jones'. He has no taste for pleasure, but is remarkably industrious. He has been quartermaster-general to the States most part of the war. His mechanical ingenuity and great attention to business were admirably adapted to the wants and disposition of the people of that State. This evening the officers and citizens gave a ball, and we were received at the assembly room with a discharge of twenty cannon. The notice of the ball had been so short, as our stay had been uncertain, the collection of ladies was not large, yet their numbers were considerable and the appearance tolerable. The room was very decent and the supper genteel. The company were in grand spirits, and all seemed to enjoy the amusements. Edwards took himself to a gaming table and won most of his money back from Captain *Borruit* (?) which he had given him a few days before for a pair of fine bay horses well matched. The appearance of this officer the next morning after his losses, which amounted to near thirty guineas, was sufficient to disgust every man with gaming. The workings of his soul was visible in his countenance. If his feelings were painful to us, how must they have been to him. Nothing so distressing as self-reproach, and nothing so painful as to be author of one's own ruin. We have neither retreat or consolation to compose us. All is dark and horrible. Ruin lays before us, and madness and folly surround us. But to return to the ball, where the sparkling ladies enlivened every soul and sweetened every pleasure. The evening closed agreeably, and the company parted in great good humor. Miss Housen (?) Miss Long, Miss Taddy, and Miss Gelahrick (?) were the most celebrated for beauty.

3. — We left Halifax accompanied by a number of both officers and citizens. During our stay at Halifax there

had fallen a considerable body of rain and there was a remarkable change in the air. The thermometer fell from 90 degrees to 58. This made the riding cool and the roads delightful. Our passage through North Carolina had been rendered as agreeable as possible by the polite attention of the inhabitants. It will be a long time before this State will begin to feel its importance. Dissipation and idleness are too predominant for either law or reason to control. The people live too remote from each other to be animated by a principle of emulation. Where men live more contiguous they warm and rouse the passions of each other, and the desire of excelling inspires one common spirit of industry. What adds to the misfortunes of this State is, morality is at a low ebb and religion almost held in contempt, which are the great pillars of good government and sound policy. Where these evils prevail the laws will be treated with neglect and the magistrate with contempt. Patriotism will have little influence and government continues without dignity. We lodged this night at Hixes Ford, where we had a specimen of that worst of evils which can inflict the lower orders of people in any community, a general disposition for gaming. It is the bane of all honest industry, and while it corrupts the morals it ruins the manners. Neither taste nor sentiment can prevail where this evil gets footing. Happily for the States the higher order of people have not caught the contagion so fully. Every vice is in the train of gaming, and ruin and disgrace will soon follow, if the example of the better order of people don't correct this folly. There will be neither spirit of union or principles of liberty to support our republican form of government. Ruin the morals and corrupt the manners of any people and they will soon become the fit instruments of tyranny and despotism. Great pains is taking to the southward to ruin the influence of what is called the aristocratic interest. It may appear strange, but I fear it will prove true the sooner their influence is

lost the sooner monarchy under some form will begin. This order of men appear to be the only barrier to some enterprising spirit from rising up and putting down the republican fabric and building on its ruins monarchy if not tyranny. Sapping the powers of Congress and lessening their influence will also facilitate this business. With what avidity does people often embrace measures which gratify but for a moment and lay a train for their ruin.

4. — We started early and breakfasted at Mr. Clevey's. This is a religious family and the happy fruits was visible in everything about them. He is one of Wesley's disciples and appears to be an honest man. I could not help contrasting the happy prospects of this family with the wretched appearance of things at the place where we dined. In one there was neatness, plenty, and everything of the best kind; in the other noise, dirt, and all kind of filthiness prevailed. This man affects a general acquaintance with the British nobility, and says he knew the king when a boy, and that his appearance was always more like a shoeblack than a prince royal. At the former house Edwards got to reading "Pilgrim's Progress," and got as far as Flash Lane and went to church. He is remarkable for new doctrines as well as singular sentiments. Hyrne always opposed him. Before Carrington's arrival, Edwards always used to be boasting that he was sure of his support, but they no sooner met than, like two game-cocks, they fell to fighting, and Hyrne and myself left quite at liberty to philosophize. We passed through Petersborough and lodged at Mr. Bannister's. He is a man of fortune and lives genteelly. Mrs. Bannister is not handsome, but sensible, and elegant in her manners. This evening we went to Mr. Saint George Tucker's, who has a great turn for poetry. His lady is a most elegant woman as well in her manners as her person, and she is as sociable as she is pleasing. It is happy for her husband that he is a man of letters, and has a good natural genius, without which she

must have felt a great superiority. We had a genteel supper and spent the evening sociably.

5. — We left Petersburg for Richmond. This town is situated under a hill upon the river Apomatic. Trade flourishes here, but the place is very sickly. Many families of distinction live in the neighborhood of this place, but few or none in it. A little below this town the Apomatic empties itself into James River. Tobacco and flour are the great staples of trade at this place. Mr. Bannister has one set of mills with which he manufactures sixty thousand bushels of wheat every year, that stands within a mile of this place. The profits are not less than £2,000 sterling. We intended to have dined to-day with Colonel Cary, but he was from home over James River at Mrs. Rastall's, and we crossed the river and dined with her by especial invitation, and returned in the evening to Colonel Cary's. The roads from Petersburg to this place are very uneven, not less so than the Northern States.

6. — Colonel Cary being an old bruiser, and swearing by God I should dine with him to-day, and doubling his fist at the same time, I did not care to contradict him for fear of a blow. He is one of patrician order and a man of great property, very liberal in his sentiments and hospitable in his disposition. By a hint I gave him when he went to the southward, he told me he had saved the greater part of his property. We went this evening to Richmond, the capital of Virginia. The governor was out of town, but the corporation met and presented me with a polite address, and an invitation to a public dinner. The first I gave an answer to, but the last I was obliged to decline as I was in a hurry to get forward. This city is agreeably situated upon the side of a large hill, little short of a mountain, about half a mile below the falls upon James River. It is a thriving place and bids fair to be a great place of trade. Here Colonel Carrington parted with us, and here I had the pleasure of seeing Clairborne, formerly one of my fam-

ily in the staff. He was not altered, being as formal as ever.

7. — We were obliged to halt to get our horses shod and to receive and answer the address which was delivered by the mayor.

8. — We set out for Fredericksburg and lodged at Mr. John Baylor's, a man of considerable property, naturally very covetous and yet ostensibly generous. A great macaroni in dress, and was once the head of the Macaroni Club in London. He possesses middling abilities and rather a morose temper. But what makes me have rather a disagreeable opinion of him is having treated his wife very ill, who is a very agreeable woman. Edwards took a pleasure in mortifying him by exaggerating the South Carolina fortunes; comparing them with his, his appeared small. Before Edwards began on this subject, he was boasting of its extent, and he had not penetration enough to discover Edwards was a humming of him.

9. — We got to Fredericksburg, but dined by the way at General Spotswood's, whose lady appeared to be an excellent breeder. General Weedon received us with open arms, and would not let us go on the next day or the day after.

10. — We dined with the general and invisited Mr. Hunter's works. They are a great curiosity to a mechanical genius. Fredericksburg stands near the falls upon the Rappahannock River. The rich borders upon this river, and the great extent of country to the southwest of it, will make it a place of some trade; but I think it will never answer the expectations of the inhabitants.

11. — We had a public dinner and a very polite address, and we spent the day and evening sociably.

12. — We set out for Mount Vernon, General Washington's seat. Within a few miles of Dumfries I overset my carriage, broke the top and harness and bruised myself not a little, and if I had not lifted up the carriage and

let it pass over me, it is probable I might have got killed or badly wounded, for the horse started upon a run and drew the carriage after him until the harness gave way. I felt the hurt at first, but more afterwards. At Dumfries we got a little repaired, but was obliged to stay a night there, contrary to my intention. Colonel Grayson lives at this place, which stands upon a creek that empties into the Potomac. We spent an agreeable evening. He was formerly of General Washington's family, and then in the Board of War, and is possessed of a pretty good history of the war.

13. — We dined at Mount Vernon, one of the most beautiful situations in the world. The house has more dignity than convenience in it. Nature never formed a finer landscape than may be seen at this seat. The Potomac River in full view, with several little bays and creeks. The plain and the hills, joined to the features on the waters, forms a most beautiful scene. Mr. Lund Washington, his lady, and Doctor Stewart and Miss Basset, were at the seat. We stayed and dined and then set out for Alexandria. The evening I was taken very ill with a fever, after my arrival, which lasted me, with very little remission and no intermission, eight days. The constancy of the fever and the excess of the pain reduced me very low. Colonel Fitzgerald was polite enough to have me removed from Lomexas (?) Tavern to his house, and he and his lady were exceeding kind. Dr. Brown attended me. He was bred at Edinborough, and for a considerable time in the army. He is thought to be eminent in the practice of physie. I ate not a mouthful of anything for six days. The loss of appetite, want of sleep, and other causes, made me very faint. The corporation presented me with a handsome address and provided a public dinner, but I was too sick either to receive their address or partake of their dinner. However, I was told they had a social time upon the occasion and all things terminated agreeably. R. H.

Lee and many others came to see me, but I was too unwell to enjoy company, and most part of the time to see any. Timothy Richardson also came to see me, and being a very old acquaintance I was glad to see him. It was like meeting accidentally with one of my own family. Colonel (illegible) and his son William, an amiable youth, was to see me, and carried off Major Hyrne on a visit to Mr. Mason's, where one of the young ladies made a great impression on his heart. The day before I left this place I rode out to Mrs. Custis' seat, near six miles from Alexandria, and beautifully situated on the river Potomac. From this seat you have a sight of George Town, the river that runs up to Bladensburg, and extensive prospects with great variety of hills and dales up and down the Potomac. Mrs. Custis was not at home, and this left the plan incomplete. The beauties without wanted the charm within. Alexandria stands upon the Potomac, happily situated for trade, having a large back country very fertile and growing in produce. If the Potomac should be made navigable above the falls this town will grow amazingly. It is regularly laid out and some good buildings in it, and more putting up. Shipping of almost any size can come up to this city. Tobacco, flour, corn, hemp and many other articles are exported from hence. This was the most favorable position for the enemy to have taken possession of for distressing the Southern operations, and Virginia in particular. They could have command from this to the ocean by their shipping, and, with their parties, from hence to the mountains. Virginia would have had no trade by land or water or got any supplies. Colonel Fitzgerald's gallantry in 1781 saved it from being burnt by the British. A party came up on purpose and paraded before the place, but the colonel made so good a display of the few men he could collect that the enemy were frightened and did not land, although they were five times the number of his men.

The colonel's lady is an amiable woman and he a very generous, hospitable, clever fellow. They live happily together and really deserve it: may many blessings attend them for their kindness to me.

Before I take my leave of Virginia I cannot help remarking that the ladies appear to be brought up and educated with habits of industry and attention to domestic affairs, while the gentlemen attend to little but pleasure and dissipation. This State is powerful in numbers, rich in revenue, and yet is weak and poor. Its extent is the great difficulty of governing it properly. There are many sensible men in it, but they all are interspersed throughout the State, they have no one general plan of policy, but each has his own scheme. A want of a spirit of union perplexes their politics and weakens their counsels. The democratic part of the community have got too much influence. The dignity of government or the faith of the nation has too little weight with this order of people. They are sacrificed to present advantages of interest of little consequence. Nothing ought to be more sacred with a people and yet nothing is more sported with.

24. — We set out for Annapolis; dined and lodged at Mr. Deggs'. This is one of the most respectable families in Maryland; Governor Lee married his daughter, an only child. She is one of the most agreeable women in the world. She has the most interesting countenance I ever saw. Nature seems to have formed her to animate and please. Governor Lee is little less engaging than she is. Mrs. Deggs is an elegant woman, Mr. Deggs a good country squire. Economy his theme and censure his delight.

25. — We got to Annapolis and dined at the tavern. Major Jennifer invited me to take lodgings with him. The governor was out of town, but returned the next morning. Here I had the pleasure of seeing the celebrated Mrs. Loyd. She is a most elegant woman, but not so perfect

a beauty as from some my imagination had formed her. The propriety of her conduct is not less remarkable than her beauty.

26. — We dined with the governor, who is a very polite character and a great friend of the army. He drank several toasts, which were accompanied with the discharge of thirteen cannon. A ball was proposed; but the weather being good I excused myself and set out. Major Hyrne was in the pouts all day, and would not go into Baltimore that night. Before we left Annapolis the corporation presented us with an address expressive of their respect and affection. I got into Baltimore about ten at night and put up at Mr. Grant's. Before I quit Annapolis I could not help observing this place is proposed for the fixed residence of Congress. Its situation is both pleasant and healthy, but too much exposed in time of war for the purposes of deliberation. Baltimore is a most thriving place. Trade flourishes and the spirit of building exceeds belief. Not less than three hundred houses are put up in a year. Ground rents is little short of what they are in London. The inhabitants are all men of business. Here I had the pleasure of meeting two of my old officers, General Williams and Colonel Howard. The pleasure of meeting is easier felt than described. The inhabitants detained me four days to pay me the compliments of an address and a public dinner. The affection of the inhabitants was pleasing and the attention of the people flattering. Hyrne got wounded here with a spear, and though it penetrated the heart he still survived.

CHAPTER II.

Familiar Road. — Arrival at Philadelphia. — Meets Washington at Trenton. — They go together to the Congress at Princeton. — Honors paid to Greene. — Return to Rhode Island. — His welcome Home. — Business Cares. — Embarrassments arising from his becoming Surety for Banks. — Journeys South. — Plan of making Slaves Copy-holders. — Declines to serve as Commissioner for negotiating Peace with the Indians. — His Interest in the Impost Tax. — The Cincinnati. — Letters. — Captain Gunn. — Mulberry Grove. — Letters to Ethan Clarke. — Visit to Savannah. — Sunstroke. — Death. — Burial.

MUCH of the road now lay on familiar ground, some of which he had anxiously reconnoitered during the eventful campaign of 1777. He crossed the Brandywine; he stopped to rest at Wilmington. Three times had he passed over that road before; once in advance, once in retreat, once on his way to take command of the southern army; with doubt and anxiety for companions each time. How pleasant to feel that the doubt and the danger were ended; to look out upon the wayside and see the smoke curling peacefully over the cottage chimney; to look out upon the fields and see the harvest gathered by the hands that had sowed the seed. As he drew near to Philadelphia, soldiers and citizens came thronging out to meet him; all the principal officers of the army, all the chief officers of the civil department, all the citizens distinguished

by their zealous support of the Revolution. The streets were thronged, the windows crowded. Feeling was too deep for utterance. The vast crowd, solemnly silent, gazed on him and called to mind all that he had done for them in their day of trial. But when he reached the door of the hotel, a long, loud shout arose, "Honor to the victor of the South! Long life to Greene!" "Then," writes one of his aids who heard it, "I thought his triumph complete."¹

Congress was at Princeton, whither it had been driven by the disgraceful mutiny of the Pennsylvania line. Greene, anxious to close up the business of his department, and go home, followed them. He could not pass through Trenton without greeting his old friend Colonel Cox. Washington had arrived at Cox's house just before him, and was still on the stairs. Each grasped the other's hand; each gazed upon the other's face. What love, what faith, what confidence there must have been in that gaze; for it told of eight years of trial, and peril, and suffering, and not a moment of distrust.

The next day the two friends set out together for Princeton. What material for conversation every step of the way. Little did they think that it was the last time they would ever journey side by side. An invitation from the President of Congress to an informal dinner met them as they dismounted.

With a different feeling from any that he had

¹ Garden's *Anecdotes*.

ever experienced before in writing to him, Greene, on the 7th of October, wrote to the President of Congress : —

“ I beg leave to inform Congress that I have just arrived from my southern command, the business of which, I hope, has been closed agreeable to their intention, in furloughing all the soldiers and putting a stop to every Continental expense. It is now going on nine years since I have had an opportunity to visit my family or friends, or pay the least attention to my private fortune. I wish, therefore, for the permission of Congress to go to Rhode Island, having already obtained the consent of the Commander-in-chief.”¹

In reply Congress resolved, “ that a committee inquire and report a suitable expression of the approbation of Congress, of the general’s conduct in his late command.” The committee was composed of Mr. Ellery, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Duane, and reporting on the 18th, Congress resolved : —

“ That two pieces of the field ordnance taken from the British army at the Cowpens, Augusta, or Eutaw, be presented by the Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, to Major-general Greene, as a public testimonial of the wisdom, fortitude, and military skill which distinguished his command in the southern department, and of the eminent services which amidst complicated difficulties and dangers, and against an enemy greatly superior in numbers, he has successfully performed for his country ; and that a memorandum be engraved on said pieces of ordnance, expressive of the substance of this resolution.

“ *Resolved*, That the Commander-in-chief be informed that Major-general Greene has the permission of Congress to visit his family at Rhode Island.”²

¹ Greene MSS.

² *Journals of Congress*, vol. iv. p. 298.

But before he began this welcome journey he wrote to the President of Congress : —

“ The letters and miscellaneous papers containing a history of the southern operations, which are now in my hands, may contain something which Congress or their officers may have some occasion to have recourse to. Loose files are easily disordered, and where they are frequently inspected the papers sometimes get lost. If Congress should think it an object worthy the expense, and would indulge my wishes, I should be glad to get the whole papers properly arranged and transcribed into bound books. I have taken the liberty just to suggest my wishes, and will take the trouble of directing the business, if Congress will be at the expense of a clerk to do the writing.”

Congress replied the same day by a resolve : —

“ That the Secretary furnish General Greene with a clerk to copy into a book or books, the papers or letters in his possession relative to the southern operations ; and that the record thereof be lodged in the Secretary’s office.”¹

The original plan was not fully carried out. But a selection from his dispatches was copied into two folio volumes which are still preserved in the archives of the Department of State.

And thus, full of honors, Greene set his face homewards. His first letter from Rhode Island was addressed to Governor Greene : “ I arrived at this place night before last, and am happy to set my foot once more on the land of my nativity.”² Here for the first time he saw all his children together. Honors and thanks were awaiting

¹ *Journals of Congress*, November 1, 1783. Greene. Newport, November 29, 1783.

² General Greene to Governor

him here also. Newport and Providence and other towns of the State presented addresses of thanks and congratulation. But none, perhaps, touched him more than the addresses from East Greenwich and Coventry, and the welcome of his old comrades of the Kentish Guards. What changes had taken place in that little band since he first entered their ranks as a private and marched with them to the Massachusetts border at the tidings of the battle of Lexington. Varnum, their first colonel, had done good service as a brigadier-general. Christopher Greene, their first major, had distinguished himself at Quebec, had won the honorable title of Hero of Redbank, and was sleeping in a bloody grave on the banks of the Hudson. There were new faces in the ranks, new faces among the officers, but enough of the old generation to give a familiar aspect to the new. As he looked upon the well-known streets filled with well-known faces, he felt that he was at home again.

But already he knew that he had not yet reached a haven of rest. A part of his time at Philadelphia had been devoted to the examination and settlement of his public accounts; which, having been carefully kept by his secretaries, were, with the exception of two or three points which required special legislation, easily arranged. But his private responsibilities had assumed a menacing aspect. I have omitted the mention of several things in their chronological order, that I might bring the whole subject together in one connected view.

In the first volume of this work I have spoken of the forges of Potowomut and Coventry, and the firm of brothers who conducted them. All of Greene's property at the beginning of the war was invested in this firm, and when he entered the army, he looked chiefly to it for the means of supporting his family. Thus his name and interest remained in it, but the management of the business was intrusted to his brothers. Jacob, the eldest brother, went to live at Coventry. But their attention was not confined to their original pursuit. Not only the adventurous and speculative minds of the day, but the discreet and sober were turned to privateering, which held a very different place in the public code from what it holds now. Many large fortunes were made by it, many articles of first necessity were brought by it into the ill-provided markets of the young State, and much loss inflicted upon the enemy. The Greene brothers also engaged in it, and occasional inquiries in Greene's letters show the interest that he took in it himself. Their success was not sufficient to induce them to make large investments, although they continued to hold shares in different vessels till the end of the war. In 1778 the property of the firm was divided. Greene's brother Jacob, and his cousin Griffin Greene, managed the part that was assigned to him in the division. And thus passed the first years of the war, the expenses of his position and the irregularity of his pay, making serious inroads upon his small fortune.

As quartermaster-general his position was materially changed. How reluctantly he accepted that office, how generously he offered to conduct the military department of it for a year without any other compensation than his regular pay as major-general and the expenses of his military family, has already been seen. But having accepted it, what was he to do with the profits? There were no stocks to invest them in. The government credit was running low. To keep them by him in Continental bills which were depreciating daily, involved a present sacrifice of the interest, and a prospective sacrifice of the principal. Nor had he time to give to private business, with such a weight of public business upon his mind. Under these circumstances he formed with Colonel Wadsworth, commissary-general, and Barnabas Deane of Connecticut, a firm under the name of Barnabas Deane & Co; he and Wadsworth supplying the greater part of the capital and Deane undertaking the active management of the business. He put other sums into the hands of Colonel Coxe and Colonel Pettit, both of them men of business experience. From neither of these investments were the returns large. In both of them he was compelled to rely almost absolutely upon the judgment and integrity of his associates. Fortunately they deserved his confidence.

But with a prominent position to support and a growing family to educate, he was a poor man. He could not go back to Warwick to live. Yet

something he must do to provide for the future. At one time, he entertained the idea of forming a partnership with Colonel Wadsworth, and settling in New York. The gratitude of the Carolinas and Georgia came at a happy moment to relieve him from this anxiety. He was thenceforth independent. But another perplexing question met him on the threshold of his new home. Both South Carolina and Georgia had invested their grants in southern plantations, which, without slaves, were profitless. Could he become a slaveholder? I have but two records of his sentiments upon this subject. "As for slavery, nothing can be said in its defense," he writes to a Quaker, who had taken him to task for having belied his Quaker training by taking part in a war and accepting property in slaves. "But you are much mistaken," he continues, "respecting my influence in this business. With all the address I was master of, I could not obtain the liberty of a small number, even for the defense of the country; and though the necessity stood confessed, yet the motion was rejected. The generosity of the Southern States has placed an interest of this sort in my hands, and I trust their condition will not be worse but better."¹

The other record I find in a letter to him from Dr. Gordon, the historian. "I shall rejoice to hear," Gordon wrote on the 26th of September 1785, "that you have tried and succeeded in the plan of admitting the negroes to the rights of copy-

¹ Greene MSS. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 451.

holders, which, if it could be once effected, might possibly tend to their increasing so as to render further importations of them needless. Could you by your example, prove instrumental in demolishing slavery and the importation of negroes, I should think you rendered the human species nearly as much service as when you was fighting successfully against British attempts to reduce the white inhabitants of America to the hard condition of slaves." ¹

Unfortunately the details of the plan have not been preserved, and Greene's early death prevented him from carrying it out. Thus much of it, however, remains to show that on this, as on so many subjects, his mind was in harmony with the most advanced minds of his age.

And now the hope of a calm domestic life was before him, with only the chances of the seasons to awaken anxiety, and all the pleasures that books and friends and the sight of his children growing up around him could give, to wing the hours. It was but a momentary hope; and here we find again the ill-boding name of John Banks. I have already told how, at a critical moment, Greene had become security for the house of Hunter and Banks, in order to enable them to fulfill their contract for feeding the army, and that bills on the financier had been deposited with Mr. Pettit for Greene's protection. Great was his astonishment, greater still his alarm, when he learnt, on reaching Philadelphia, that those bills

¹ Doctor Gordon to General Greene. Greene MSS.

had been withdrawn by Banks and most probably applied to other purposes. From that moment the gnawing anxiety of pecuniary responsibility took the place so long filled by military responsibility, and never till death did the burden fall from him. John Banks died a bankrupt. Burnet, who had become connected with him in business, died. The efforts of other members of the firm to do something for Greene's relief were unsuccessful. The creditors, even while bearing solemn witness that Greene had no original interest in the contract beyond his desire to protect his army from starvation and the citizens from the violence of starving soldiers, came to him for payment. He was compelled to sell, at great loss, his estate in South Carolina, and removing his slaves to Georgia, confine his operations as a planter to Mulberry Grove, the place which the State of Georgia had given him on the Savannah. He was compelled to make long journeys, to entangle himself in the meshes of the law, and struggle with present embarrassment in its most annoying forms.

Had American credit in Europe been better, he might have found relief in a loan, which, enabling him to carry out his plans for the improvement of his estate, would in a few years have enabled him to meet all his obligations. But European capitalists looked with distrust on the weak-handed confederation ; and American capitalists had other uses for their money.¹ After a long struggle with

¹ There is a very interesting letter which Americans were held in Europe of Reed's upon the low esteem in Europe. It was written from London

daily embarrassment, he addressed a statement of the whole transaction, expressing the hope that if all other modes of relief should fail, Congress would indemnify him for losses sustained in a public cause.¹

Newport was now his temporary home, though he was often called away by his business in the South. There is a stately house in Mill Street, a relic of the best colonial days, and nearly in front of the old stone mill from which the street derives its name. It stands a little back from the street, with an air of dignified retirement, well suited to the semi-aristocratic time to which it belongs, and you ascend by steps to the threshold trodden by Greene, and Lafayette, and Kosciusko, and Steuben, and so many others whose names belong to history. This was Greene's home during the greater part of his stay in Rhode Island. Under that roof Lafayette passed pleasant days, talking hopefully of the future of his France, and with no shadow of Olmutz on his path. There Steuben told interesting stories of the Great Frederick, and Kosciusko painted in imperfect English the wrongs of Poland; and Gordon questioned curiously the actors in the scenes which his homely but honest pen was busily recording for posterity. Family traditions tell, also, of visits to Potowomut, and paint the retired soldier at the old forge and on the brink of the old mill-pond with these com-

February 12, 1784, and is published in Reed's *Reed*, vol. ii. p. 403. The original among the Greene papers contains a paragraph relative to a loan for Greene, which is omitted in the printed letter.

¹ *Vide* Appendix.

panions of his historical life at his side. Then, too, the doors of the old homestead just over the Warwick border, were thrown open, and the hand which had guided the political helm of Rhode Island so firmly during the darkest years of the war, was held out to him in earnest welcome. Another figure, too, belongs to this group as our traditions paint it, a man of sober mien and thoughtful brow, slender, but very tall, as my memory recalls him, who had borne himself worthily at Quebec and Red Bank, and when the days of his service were over, had become a son of this household, the Samuel Ward of Greene's Coventry life. How serene but for the embarrassments in which his love of country had involved him, would these days have been!

Public service still came to seek him. In March, 1784, he was appointed one of five commissioners to negotiate a peace with the Indians. But he had resolved to withdraw from public life, and declined. In 1786, he was appointed assistant judge of his county in Georgia. But this also he felt obliged to refuse. Still he watched with deep, and often with anxious interest, the course of public events. The five per cent. impost, which had given him so much trouble in South Carolina, met him in Rhode Island. "I shall try by all possible measures," he wrote to Robert Morris on the 9th of January, 1783, "to bring this State into the general plan of finance, but it will take time, and in order to bring the thing about, I believe it will be necessary to get it to pass the Assembly

under a qualified sense, which will be the groundwork of its finally passing agreeably to the plan of Congress. Nothing more can be done than this, and to urge it will defeat the whole.”¹

In July he wrote again, —

“ The Legislature of this State have again rejected the impost and by so great a majority and from such false reasoning, that I begin to despair of their coming into the measure at all; at least in season to save us either from convulsions or bankruptcy. At the opening of the session public opinion seemed to promise the most favorable issue, nor would there have been the least difficulty but from the art and the insinuations of Mr. Howell and Mr. Ellery. Mr. Howell undertook to prove that the State, by adopting the impost, would lose four fifths of its revenue collected upon it. This argument was conclusive with far the greater part of the members, who could not enter into the sophistry of his arguments. To this he added that there was little expectation in Congress that the State would ever come into the measure, and that it was not the wish of the most sensible of that body that they should. He insisted upon the credit of the United States standing fair in Europe, and that the bills noted for protest in Holland was from the scarcity of money from the numerous applications, and not from any apprehension of our funds. I produced your letter to the contrary, but all to no effect. Mr. Ellery went upon the common danger of altering the constitution, and frightened the people with the loss of liberty. Many arguments were used by General Varnum and Mr. Marchant to remove these prejudices, but to little purpose. The general spoke two hours and a half; his arguments were learned, sensible, and conclusive, but they were unavailing. The truth of the matter is, a large majority of the members are incompetent judges of so complicated a question. In-

¹ Greene MSS.

fluenced by present prospects of interest, and frightened with the future loss of liberty, they are ignorantly led into measures unjust to many, and which must be fatal to themselves. The people have much less wickedness than ignorance, but the latter is equally fatal to a just policy. What is to become of us and our national honor, God only knows. No people ever had brighter prospects shaded so unexpectedly.

“The Assembly have adjourned to August. A liquidation of public security is talked of. That is, the possessors shall receive no more than they gave for them. Many of the holders begin to be frightened and to soften down respecting the impost. If the impost is not adopted I am sure this will take place. And the apprehensions from this quarter may gain it a majority. But this is uncertain; nor am I sanguine about it.

“I go for South Carolina in a few days and shall return before the meeting of the next Assembly.”¹

In August he writes to Washington from South Carolina in the same anxious tone: —

“In this country many discontents prevail. Committees are formed and correspondences going on, if not of a treasonable nature, highly injurious to the tranquillity and well-being of the people. And I wish they may not break out into acts of violence and open rebellion against the authority of the State. Nor am I without some apprehensions that the situation of our public credit at home and abroad and the general discontent of the public creditors may plunge us into new troubles. The obstinacy of Rhode Island and the tardiness of some other States seem to pre-

¹ Greene to Robert Morris, Newport, July 3, 1784. Greene MSS. For the whole of this subject, so far as Rhode Island is concerned, I would refer to Staples' *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*. All the

passages relative to it are indicated in Mr. Guild's admirable index; the completest and most satisfactory I have ever seen since the days of those editors, fearless of toil, who framed the old *Indices Verborum*.

sage more mischief. However, I can but hope the good sense of the people will correct our policy in time to avoid new convulsions. But many people secretly wish that every State should be completely independent, and that as soon as our public debts are liquidated, that Congress should be no more, — a plan, that would be as fatal to our happiness at home as it would be ruinous to our interest abroad.”¹

Washington had written to him earnestly about the Cincinnati, and urged him to attend the general meeting of the order at Philadelphia. In the letter from which I have just quoted, Greene, after telling why he had not been able to comply with this wish, goes on to say:—

“The clamor raised against the Cincinnati was far more extensive than I expected. I had no conception that it was so universal. I thought it had been confined to New England alone; but I found afterwards our ministers abroad and all the inhabitants in general throughout the United States were opposed to the order. I am happy you did not follow my advice. The measures you took seemed to silence all the jealousies on the subject, but I wish the seeds of discontent may not break out under some other form. However, it is not to be expected that perfect tranquillity can return at once after so great a revolution, where the minds of the people have been so long accustomed to conflicts and subjects of agitation.”²

Although president of the State society for Rhode Island, Greene never took an active part in their proceedings; rather, I should think, from want of time than from want of inclination; for

¹ Greene MSS.

² Greene MSS. *ut sup.*

he accepted the election and provided himself with the insignia of the order.¹

There was another kind of labor, which Greene's kindness of heart brought upon him, the labor of mediation. Those who had wrongs and those who had claims, came to him for active sympathy; sometimes making necessary a letter to Washington, sometimes to Congress, sometimes to a State government. None who had a real claim upon his intervention invoked it in vain.

More trying still were the demands upon his purse. Many of his officers found themselves unable to discharge the debts which the want of pay had compelled them to contract, and they appealed to him for aid. Large amounts were thus consumed in small sums, greatly to his personal inconvenience. But he could not see them suffer. Sometimes the appeal was made under false pretenses; and in one case, that of Baron Glasbech, a foreign officer, who had distinguished himself at the Cowpens, he lost a thousand dollars.

I have already told of the court of inquiry upon Captain Gunn, and the confirmation by Congress of Greene's decision. Gunn had settled in Geor-

¹ This badge, a gold eagle, was procured for him in France by General Lafayette. It is now in the possession of my brother, Nathanael Greene, M. D., of Newport, Rhode Island, his successor by the rules of the order, and the representative of his name.

Greene's connection with the order was so brief that I have not felt called upon to enter into any details con-

cerning the society itself. The curious reader will find a satisfactory sketch of it in the *North American Review* for October, 1853, and in Kapp's *Steuben*, ch. xxvi.; also two very interesting papers in the "Contributions to American History" which form the sixth vol. of the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

gia, married a lady of large fortune, and entered public life. He had nursed his wrath also, during three years, and when Greene took possession of Mulberry Grove, sent him a challenge through Colonel Jackson. To have accepted it, would have been to acknowledge that a commanding officer is personally responsible to a subordinate for acts performed in the regular course of duty. This Greene's ideas of military subordination would not permit him to do, and explaining the matter to Colonel Jackson, as a mark of personal respect, he refused the challenge. When Jackson learnt what the real question was he withdrew. Another messenger was found, Major Fishburne; and Greene persisting in his refusal, Gunn sent him word that he should attack him wherever he met him. "Tell him," said Greene, "that I shall always carry pistols." Fortunately for both they never met. To remove a lingering scruple, for for a soldier, the question, as public sentiment then stood, was a delicate one, Greene consulted Washington. "As I may have mistaken the line of responsibility of a commanding officer, I wish for your sentiments on the subject."

"Under the state of the case between you and Captain Gunn," Washington answered, "I give it as my decided opinion, that your honor and reputation will stand not only perfectly acquitted for the non-acceptance of his challenge, but that your prudence and judgment would have been condemned for accepting it; because if a commanding officer is amenable to private calls for the discharge of his public duty, he has a dagger always at his breast;

and can turn neither to the right hand nor the left without meeting its point. In a word he is no longer a free agent in office, as there are few military decisions which are not offensive to one party or the other."¹

It was not till late in the autumn of 1785 that Greene's arrangements for establishing himself at Mulberry Grove were completed. Thenceforth his winters were to be passed on his plantation, his summers in Rhode Island. A long and boisterous passage of sixteen days, during which a man was lost overboard and the vessel twice in danger, brought him to Savannah. I have often been told that when the cry of man overboard was raised, he was the first to exert himself for his rescue, throwing him a hen-coop to cling to.

¹ Greene MSS. After Greene's death Washington wrote to Colonel Wadsworth: "I have received your letter of the 1st instant and thank you for the communications it contains. It has given me much satisfaction to find that the letter I had written to my much lamented friend, General Greene, respecting his affairs with Captain Gunn, had got safe to his hands. Had the case been otherwise, and he had harbored a suspicion of my inattention or neglect, the knowledge of it would have given me real pain."—Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ix. p. 20.

I add the rest of the letter as a touching record of Washington's attachment to Greene, and equally honorable to both.

"Persuaded as I always have been of General Greene's integrity and worth, I spurned those reports which tended to calumniate his conduct in the connection with Banks; being

perfectly convinced, that, whenever the matter should be investigated, his motives for entering into it would appear pure and unimpeachable. I was not without my fears, though, that he might suffer in a pecuniary way by engagements with that man. I would fain hope, however, that the case ultimately may be otherwise; and that upon a final settlement of his affairs, there will be a handsome competency for Mrs. Greene and the children. But should it turn out differently, and Mrs. Greene, yourself, and Mr. Rutledge should think proper to intrust my namesake, G. W. Greene, to my care, I will give him as good an education as this country (I mean North America) will afford; and will bring him up to either of the genteel professions that his friends may choose or his own inclination shall lead him to pursue, at my own cost and charge."

His children, too, long remembered his taking them to the quarter-deck to see a whale that was passing very near them.

It was some time before the house could be made thoroughly comfortable. Then domestic life began its regular flow. He has left us a picture of it in letters to his friend Ethan Clarke of Newport, husband of the Anna Ward whom he had loved but could not win.

“We found the house, situation, and out-buildings, more convenient and pleasing than we expected. The prospect is delightful, and the house magnificent. We have a coach-house and stables, a large out kitchen, and a poultry-house nearly fifty feet long, and twenty wide, parted for different kinds of poultry, with a pigeon-house on the top, which will contain not less than a thousand pigeons. Besides these, are several other buildings convenient for a family, and among the rest, a fine smoke-house. The garden is in ruins, but there are still a great variety of shrubs and flowers in it.”

In addition to the superintendence of his plantation, he was busily employed in preparing for the cutting of timber on Cumberland Island, in which he had purchased a large interest. On one of his visits to this island he was led to extend his journey to St. Augustine, where he was received with military etiquette and attended by a guard of honor.¹ There was a brightening up of the horizon

¹ “From Savannah we hear that on the 10th ultimo General Greene and Colonel Hawkins set out from that town to take a view of the islands and inland navigation of that State, and to visit his Excellency Don Vincent Emanuel de Zéspedes, governor of East Florida, and returned on Saturday following. They were received at St. Augustine with every mark of politeness and attention, and every military honor was

as his sunset drew nigh. On the plantation above him was his dear friend, Wayne. At Savannah, within daily reach, was his former aid, Pendleton. His table was seldom without a guest. His library was well filled, and between the letters which he received and the letters which he wrote, his portfolio was never empty and his pen was daily employed. Then there was the delight of watching the progress of his children and holding them on his knee. All the humor and freshness of his youth came back to him through their youth. Not many years ago there was an old lady living,

paid the General worthy so great a character. A captain and fifty men were sent to his quarters as his guard, which the General modestly refused accepting, as being no longer in a military character. Sentinels were placed at his quarters and the different guards of the garrison paid him the same honor as they do a lieutenant-general of their own nation. They were entertained during their residence by the governor in a most splendid and elegant manner. The commandant, the treasurer, the secretary, and every other officer of his Catholic Majesty in East Florida seemed to vie with each other in those marks of unaffected friendship which so justly characterize the Spanish nation. The General was escorted to St. John's by the colonel-commandant of horse and a party of dragoons. He was received by the officer commanding at that post with hospitality and politeness, and from thence he was attended by the colonel-commandant through the inland navigation, to the river St. Mary's,

where the commodore commanding his Catholic Majesty's ships on that station received him with the flag of Spain displayed at his foretop, and saluted by the discharge of thirteen cannon. After partaking of an elegant entertainment which the commodore had provided for the occasion, he was attended by the commodore in his barge (and again saluted by thirteen cannon) to Cumberland island in the State of Georgia, where the colonel-commandant of horse and the commodore took leave of the General and Colonel Hawkins.

"Such attention and respect as has been paid by the governor and officers at East Florida to a great and beloved general, must impress the minds of the people of the United States with like sentiments to every officer of his Catholic Majesty, who may come among them."—*New Hampshire Gazette*, June 10, 1785.

I am indebted for my knowledge of this passage to Colonel Thomas F. De Voe, of New York.

who remembered seeing him after the war play "Puss in the Corner," with his wife; and his youngest son always recalled him as a tall man, who used to take him on his knee and teach him funny songs. In April he paints another picture for his friend Clarke.

"This is a busy time with us, and I can afford but a small portion of time to write. We are planting. We have got upwards of sixty acres of corn planted, and expect to plant one hundred and thirty of rice. The garden is delightful. The fruit-trees and flowering shrubs form a pleasing variety. We have green peas almost fit to eat, and as fine lettuce as ever you saw. The mocking-birds surround us evening and morning. The weather is mild, and the vegetable kingdom progressing to perfection. But it is a great deduction from the pleasure we should feel from the beauties and conveniences of the place, that we are obliged to leave it before we shall have tasted of several kinds of fruit. We have in the same orchard apples, pears, peaches, apricots, nectarines, plums of different kinds, figs, pomegranates, and oranges. And we have strawberries which measure three inches round. All these are clever, but the want of our friends to enjoy them with us renders them less interesting."

And thus, smoothly and pleasantly, but for pecuniary care, his days passed on.

On the 12th of June he was called to Savannah to meet Mr. Collet, one of the creditors of Banks. His wife was with him, and they passed the evening at the house of Captain Pendleton. The next morning they started early, intending to breakfast and spend the day with Mr. William Gibbons, who lived on the plantation below Mul-

berry Grove. As a rice planter Greene was curious to see the rice fields of his neighbor; and without regarding the intense heat of the sun, he walked out with him to look at them. He was too old a campaigner to take an umbrella. In the afternoon on his way home his head began to ache. It was still aching when he rose in the morning, and ached all Wednesday without suggesting sun-stroke. Thursday the pain became intense directly over his eyes, and there was an evident swelling of the forehead. Major Pendleton arrived towards night, and was struck with Greene's depression, and unwillingness to engage in conversation. He communicated his alarm to the family, and a physician was sent for. The physician, also, saw nothing of sun-stroke; and taking a little blood, and administering a few common remedies, went away. The disease was left almost free to do its fatal work.

And now it increased rapidly. The head was greatly swollen; the inflammation wide-spread and fiery. A second physician was called in. Blisters were applied. Blood was drawn freely, and all in vain. To keep the house perfectly still, the children were sent to a neighboring plantation — too young to feel the calamity that was impending over them, although they preserved dim recollections of the scene in extreme old age. Wayne arrived, but only to weep silently with the weeping family. The sick man sank into a stupor for which science could do nothing. Saturday and Sunday came and went and left no

hope behind. All through Sunday night Wayne watched by his bedside. Towards dawn the heavy breathing grew fainter. At six of Monday morning it ceased.

“I have often wrote you,” wrote Wayne to Colonel James Jackson, “but never on so distressing an occasion. My dear friend General Greene is no more. He departed this morning at six o'clock A. M. He was great as a soldier, greater as a citizen, immaculate as a friend. His corpse will be at Major Pendleton's this night the funeral from thence in the evening. The honors, the greatest honors of war are due his remains. You, as a soldier, will take the proper order on this melancholy affair. Pardon this scrawl; my feelings are but too much affected because I have seen a great and good man die.”

A messenger was dispatched to Savannah with the tidings. Men started as they heard them. But a few days before he was walking those very streets with the firm tread of health. He was so young, too, for all that he had done—only forty-four. There was still so much for him to do, in the perilous days that were coming. Who could supply his place?

Hasty preparations were made to pay the last honors to his remains. Tuesday morning they were brought down the river, and landed in front of the house of Major Pendleton, the very house from which he had started six days before, on his fatal ride home. The militia of Chatham county, and a large concourse of citizens were gathered there to receive them. Minute guns were firing from Fort Wayne as they were put on shore. In

the town there was silence and deep sorrow. The streets were deserted. All the shops were shut. All the shipping in the harbor set their colors at half-mast. The inhabitants, "suspending their ordinary occupations," gathered in mournful procession. The light-infantry with reversed arms conducted the corpse to the left of the regiment, then filed off, right and left, to the front of the battalion. The dragoons took their places on the flanks of the coffin. The march began; the artillery in the Fort firing minute guns as the long line advanced, and the band playing a solemn dirge. The muffled drums gave forth a sound of woe. When they had reached the burial-ground where a vault had been hastily opened, the regiment filed off to right and left, resting on their arms, with faces turned inwards, till the coffin and pall bearers and long train of mourning citizens had passed through. There was a solemn pause as the Hon. William Stevens, in the absence of a clergyman, took his stand by the head of the coffin, and with tremulous voice read the funeral service of the Church of England. Then the body was placed in the vault, the files closed, and marching up to the right of the vault, gave three general discharges; the artillery fired thirteen rounds, and with trailed arms all slowly and silently withdrew.

Then the members of the Cincinnati retiring to the coffee-house, it was moved:—

"That as a token of the high respect and veneration in which this society hold the memory of their late illustrious

brother, Major-general Greene, deceased, George Washington Greene, his eldest son, be admitted a member of this society, to take his seat on arriving at the age of eighteen years; and, *Resolved, therefore, unanimously*, That he be admitted a member of the Cincinnati, and that he may take his seat in the society on his arriving at the age of eighteen: That this resolve be published in the 'Georgia Gazette,' and that the society transmit a copy of the same to the several state societies, and to the guardian of the said George Washington Greene."

The tidings spread fast and far through the length and breadth of the land. They reached Mount Vernon through Lee, then a member of Congress at Philadelphia. "Your friend and second," he wrote, "the patriot and noble Greene, is no more. Universal grief reigns here. How hard is the fate of the United States, to lose such a man in the middle of life. Irreparable loss! But he is gone and I am incapable to say more."

It was a severe blow for Washington and one never forgotten. "General Greene's death," he wrote to Lafayette, almost a year after, "is an event which has given such general concern, and is so much regretted by his numerous friends, that I can scarce persuade myself to touch upon it, even so far as to say that in him you have lost a man who affectionately regarded and was a sincere admirer of you." And when the political horizon grew dark and he was looking to the future with gloomy forebodings he wrote to Knox: "In regretting, which I have often done with the keenest sorrow, the death of our much lamented friend General Greene, I have accompanied it of

late with a query whether he would not have preferred such an exit to the scenes which, it is more than probable, many of his compatriots may live to bemoan ?”

“General Greene lately died at Savannah, in Georgia,” he wrote to Rochambeau; “the public as well as his family and friends has met with a severe loss. He was a great and good man indeed.”

When it was announced in Congress, Lee, Pettit, and Carrington were appointed a committee, and on their report it was —

“*Resolved*, That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathanael Greene, Esq., at the seat of the federal government, with the following inscription : —

“ ‘Sacred to the memory of Nathanael Greene, Esquire, a native of the State of Rhode Island, who died on the 19th of June, 1786, late major-general in the service of the United States, and commander of their army in the southern department.

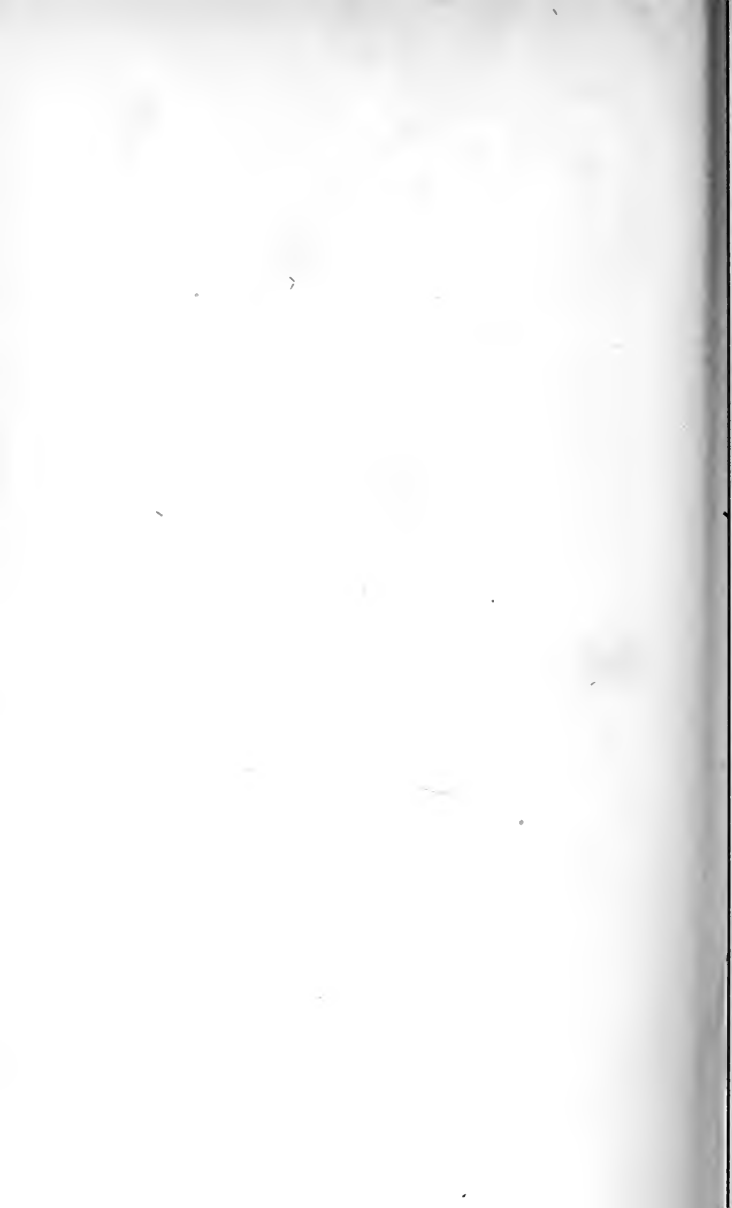
“ ‘The United States in Congress assembled, in honor of his patriotism, valor, and ability, have erected this monument.’ ”¹

And now I have brought to a close this labor of many years. I have told, without exaggeration or reserve, the story of “a great and good man.” His character is painted by his actions, and I shall add nothing to the faithful portrait. If I have succeeded in describing those actions, I shall have

¹ I need not say that this resolution has never been carried out. The only record of Greene at the seat of the national government is the noble statue by H. K. Brown, a gift of the State of Rhode Island. It is not even known in what vault he was buried.

revived the memory of things which cannot be forgotten without grave injury to the present and the future generations, and shall thereby have fulfilled, in part, the wish expressed in my grandfather's will, that his children should do something for the service of their country.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX I.

GENERAL GREENE TO BARON STEUBEN.

CAMP CHARLOTTE, *December 7, 1780.*

MY DEAR BARON, — I arrived at this place the 2d instant, and found the army under General Gates in a most deplorable situation, entirely without tents and almost starved with hunger and cold. The Virginia troops are literally naked and undisciplined. The troops are supplied with provision by daily collections, and that in a country ravaged by the enemy.

Generals Smallwood and Morgan are advanced about fifteen miles on the road to Camden with some cavalry, infantry, and militia. Lord Cornwallis continues at Weymsborough. The enemy have fortified Camden and Ninety-six, and garrisoned those posts.

By the last accounts from Charleston the troops mentioned to be embarking at New York, in General Washington's letter, have arrived at that place.

I have been anxiously waiting to hear from you the situation of the enemy in Virginia, and the progress you have made in the arrangement of the Virginia line.

General Gates sets out for the northward to-morrow. The situation of the army will not admit of holding the court of inquiry at this time.

Lieutenant-colonel Carrington is appointed Deputy Quartermaster-general to the southern army; he will call on you at Richmond. I wish you to give him every aid and assistance in his arrangements and his applications to the State. He will appoint an assistant to the army in Virginia, should the enemy continue there, which I expect in this case.

I must beg leave to recommend you to Governor Jefferson for the particulars of the reduction of Colonel Rugely and his party by Lieutenant-colonel Washington, and of a second attack on General Sumter in which he was unfortunately wounded; but he is recovering again.

You will please to hasten on the stores coming for the Southern army with the greatest dispatch, as they are much wanted.

[*Enclosure.*]

An estimate of the enemy's force advanced with Lord Cornwallis:—

General Leslie's brigade of Hessians	1,000
General O'Hara's, of the Guards	600
Lieut.-col. Webster's, consisting of the 23d 33d } regiments,	800
2d B. 71st }	
Tarleton's Legion: horse, 200; foot, 300 . . .	500
Colonel Hamilton's North Carolina Loyalists . . .	350
	<hr/>
Total,	3,250

GENERAL GREENE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CAMP CHARLOTTE, *December 7, 1780.*

SIR,—I arrived at this place on the 2d of this instant, General Gates having reached this some days before me with a party of the troops under his command,—the rest being on their march to Hillsborough. General Smallwood was below this about fifteen miles toward the Waxhaws, where he had been for a considerable time before General Gates marched from Hillsborough. On my arrival I sent for him, but he was gone towards Camden in pursuit of a party of Tories, and did not arrive in camp till the night before last. Immediately I called a council respecting the practicability of holding a court of inquiry upon General Gates's conduct during his command in this department. The questions stated to the council, and the answers of the members, are inclosed in the papers from Nos. 1 to 5. I wrote your Excellency at Richmond that I should leave the Baron de Steuben to take command in Virginia, which I accordingly did, and to endeavor if possible to make an arrangement of that line, which I have not heard from him, nor whether the enemy have left Chesapeake Bay or not.

As I passed through Petersburg an express arrived from below with intelligence that the enemy had returned; but having heard nothing further of the matter, conclude the report must have been premature.

To give your Excellency an idea of the state and condition of this army, if it deserves the name of one, I inclose you an

extract of a letter wrote by General Gates to the Board of War. (No. 6.) Nothing can be more wretched and distressing than the condition of the troops, starving with cold and hunger, without tents and camp equipage. Those of the Virginia line are literally naked, and a great part totally unfit for any kind of duty, and must remain so until clothing can be had from the northward. I have written to Governor Jefferson not to send forward any more until they are well clothed and properly equipped.

As I expected to find the great bodies of militia that have been in the field and the manner in which they came out, being on horseback, has laid waste all the country in such a manner that I am really afraid it will be impossible to subsist the few troops we have; and if we can be subsisted at all, it must be by moving to the provisions, for they have no way for bringing it to the army.

I have desired the Board of War of this State not to call out any more militia until we can be better satisfied about the means of subsistence for the regular troops and the militia from Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis lies with his principal force at a place called Weymsborough, about half way between Camden and Ninety-six, at both of which places the enemy have a post, and strongly fortified. At Camden they have seven redoubts, at Ninety-six not more than three, but they are very strong. Part if not the whole of the embarkation mentioned in your Excellency's letter of the 8th ultimo, as taking place at New York have arrived at Charleston, and it is said Lord Cornwallis is preparing for some movement.

I have parties exploring the Dan, Yadkin, and Catawba rivers, and am not without hopes we shall be able to assist the army by water transportation.

It is next to impossible to get a sufficiency of wagons to draw provisions and forage, the very great distance we are obliged to fetch it to feed the army.

The inhabitants of this country live too remote from one another to be animated into great exertions; and the people appear, notwithstanding their danger, very intent upon their own private affairs.

Inclosed Nos. 7 and 8 are the reports of General Sumter's last action, and Lieutenant-colonel Washington's stratagem by which he took Colonel Rugely and his party.

I find when the Baron Steuben comes forward there will be a difficulty between him and General Smallwood. The latter declares he never will submit to the command of the former, and insists upon having his commission dated back to as early a period as he had a right to promotion. When that was I know not; as I know of no principles of promotion from brigadiers, majors, generals, except their seniority or special merit. What is best to be done in the affair? Before I order the Baron to come forward, I wish your Excellency's advice in the matter. I fear our army is always to be convulsed by extraordinary claims and special appointments. They are exceeding good men; it is a pity a dispute should arise between them so injurious to the service as it must be. My ideas respecting the power given by Congress for exchanging prisoners of war in this department perfectly corresponds with your Excellency's. I had no idea that it extended to the convention troops; and by my inquiry only meant to learn your advice so that my conduct might correspond with your views.

All the prisoners taken by Colonel Campbell and others have been dismissed, paroled, and enlisted in the militia service for three months, except about one hundred and thirty. Thus we have lost by the folly, not to say worse, of those who had them in charge, upwards of six hundred men.

I am told Lord Cornwallis has lately made a proposition to General Smallwood for exchanging all the prisoners in North and South Carolina. If it is upon terms that are just and equal, I shall avail myself of it, for a great number of prisoners is a heavy weight upon our hands.

I am too little informed of the resources still left in this country, and of the enemy's designs, to tell what disposition to make, or how to dispose of the little force we have in the field. I shall do the best I can, and keep your Excellency constantly advised of my situation.

General Gates sets out to-morrow for the northward. Many officers think very favorably of his conduct, and that whenever an inquiry takes place he will honorably acquit himself.

GENERAL GREENE TO GENERAL KNOX.

CHARLOTTE, *December 7, 1781.*

DEAR SIR, — I arrived at this place on the 2d instant. General Gates was here before me with part of his troops, and

the rest have since joined. The difficulty of carrying on the war in this department is much greater than my imagination had extended to. The word difficulty when applied to the state of things here, as it is used to the northward, is almost without meaning, it falls so far short of the real state of things. The inhabitants are spread over a great extent of country, and one family remote from the other, and not a manufactory scarcely in the whole State, nor are there tools or artificers to be had for any purpose whatever. What adds to our distress is, the greater part of the troops are almost naked, and we subsist by daily collections, and in a country that has been ravaged and plundered by both friends and enemies. The great bodies of militia that have been kept on foot, from the manner of their coming out all on horseback has laid waste the whole country. The expense and destruction that follows this policy must ruin any nation on earth, and the very mode of the defense must terminate in the ruin of the people. With the militia everybody is a general, and the powers of government are so feeble, that it is with the utmost difficulty you can restrain them from plundering one another. The people don't want spirit and enterprise, but they must go to war in their own way or not at all. Nothing can save this country but a good permanent army conducted with great prudence and caution, for the impatience of the people to drive off the enemy would precipitate an officer into a thousand misfortunes, and the mode of conducting the war which is most to the liking of the inhabitants, is the least likely to effect their salvation. Everything here depends upon opinion, and it is equally dangerous to go forward as to stand still, for if you lose the confidence of the people you lose all support, and if you rush into danger you hazard everything. Lord Cornwallis has a much greater force on foot than we have and much better provided. I am in a critical situation, but shall make the most of it. We are in great want of a field commissary. There is no person that has sufficient knowledge of the ordnance and takes proper care of the public stores. A commissary must be had or the department will be in a miserable state. I have written to the Board of War upon the subject, but whose province it is to appoint I know not. I beg my compliments to Mrs. Knox and the gentlemen of your family, and am yours, etc.

GENERAL GREENE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP CHARLOTTE, *December 7, 1780.*

SIR,— I arrived on the 2d of this instant, to which place General had advanced with the greater part of his troops from Hillsborough, and the rest were on their march and have since joined. It was the opinion of a council of war held the 4th, that the circumstances of this army would not admit of an immediate inquiry into General Gates' conduct during his command in this department as appears by the inclosed papers from No. 1 to No. 5, and many officers are of opinion that he is not chargeable with anything but misfortune. The General sets out this day to visit his family in Virginia. It had been determined by a council of war before my arrival to take post at this place. The strength and condition of the army not admitting of further operations. It is fed by daily collections, and has been subsisted with the utmost difficulty the short time it has been here. The counties of Roan and Mecklenburg have been so ravaged by the enemy, militia, and Tories, that little more of anything is left than is necessary to subsist the inhabitants. Indeed the whole State has been so ravaged by the numerous militia that have been kept on foot, accompanied with such a scene of plunder and waste, that I am very apprehensive it will be next to impossible to form magazines sufficient for the support of the few regular troops we have. The country is so thinly inhabited, and the want of money and means of transportation render the collections slow and difficult. The Board of War of this State, from an apprehension, they cannot subsist the regular classes of militia in the field, and from a persuasion that the policy of employing militia principally for its defense is ruinous, have stopped the next class from coming out until further orders, which will leave us nothing but the few regular troops and Virginia militia to oppose the enemy, except the militia under General Sumter and Colonel Marion, who are composed of men whose cases are desperate, being driven from their dwellings, and others who are allied by the hopes of plunder. The first are the best of citizens and the best of soldiers, the last are the dregs of the community and can be kept no longer than there is a prospect of gain. With this force upon such a loose constitution and in such a wretched State, we shall have it in our power to carry on nothing but a kind of fugitive war. The regular forces

that are here, are so naked and destitute of everything, that but little more than half of them are fit for any kind of duty, and unless clothing is soon forwarded their condition must be deplorable. General Gates has given such a just and full description of their situation in some of his former letters that it is unnecessary for me to be more particular. The troops from Virginia may be literally said to be naked. I have desired the Governor not to send forward any more until they are better clothed and equipped; for we had much better be without them, than to have such as are unfit for service. It is a great mistake which many entertain that soldiers can do with little clothing in this climate. The variableness of the weather here renders clothing equally as necessary as to the northward, and perhaps the complaints and diseases that follow the want of it, are greater here than there.

I have parties out exploring the rivers Dan, Yadkin, and Catawba, to see if I cannot aid the business of transportation by water, without which I am convinced our supplies will be scanty if we are able to subsist at all. Virginia must aid us, for this State is inadequate to the burden. Lord Cornwallis is at Winstanborough, about half-way between Camden and Ninety-six, both of which places are strongly fortified, the first with five redoubts and the last with

Besides these places there are a number more fortified posts in different parts of the State, and about twelve or fourteen hundred militia under arms. The reinforcement from New York is said to be arrived in part if not the whole. I cannot ascertain their numbers. Several people from Lord Cornwallis' camp, say he is preparing to move, but where is unknown. The inclosed papers, Nos. 6 and 7, contain the reports of General Sumter's last action and Colonel Washington's stratagem, by which he took Colonel Rugely and his party. I hope these little flashes of success may not slacken the measures for giving support to this army. For nothing of consequence can be effected until we have a permanent army to offer the enemy battle, and then I would march into the heart of South Carolina and oblige them to evacuate all their outposts. In this situation, we should have the country with us, and the success of the war here depends much upon opinion and appearances, such is the state of the money and division of sentiment among the inhabitants.

All the prisoners taken by Colonel Campbell at King's

Mountain are enlarged upon different conditions, except about one hundred and thirty; many have been enlisted in the militia as substitutes and others paroled. The officer that had them in charge confesses his fault and folly, but that will not produce the prisoners; they would have been of the utmost importance in the exchange with Lord Cornwallis. An auditor of accounts is exceedingly wanted here, and the public service suffers for want of one. I have appointed Lieutenant-colonel Carrington Deputy Quartermaster-general for this army, which I hope will meet the approbation of Congress. I have the honor to inclose for your perusal a Charleston paper of 27th ultimo, and am with sentiments of the highest esteem.

GENERAL GREENE TO THE BOARD OF WAR.

CAMP CHARLOTTE, *December 6, 1780.*

GENTLEMEN, — It was said by a certain general that in order to have a good army you must begin by providing well for the belly, for that is the mainspring of every operation. This business is not only important as it respects the army, but as it affects the inhabitants in its consequences. For if an army is not well provided, the people will soon begin to feel the hand of violence, nor is it in the power of a general to avoid it. In a war like ours, conducted principally upon the defensive, and commonly with raw troops and with numbers inferior to the enemy, it is difficult to fix the proper places for magazines; nor would it be political under the present constitution of our army, to form very large ones in any place, as we have not a force to defend them, nor can we afford to lose them. We should have a plenty provided, but there should be a number of deposits, rather than one or two large magazines. Whenever provisions are laid in, regard should be had to the means of transportation, for it cannot be expected that the army can go to the provision, and therefore the provision must come to the army. Nor is it consistent with national policy or military security to disperse an army over the country either to collect or subsist upon the food provided for them, as too many seem to have an idea of. Great events often depend upon little things, and the fate of empires have sometimes been decided by the most trifling incident. Therefore while we are contending for everything that is dear and valuable, we should trust as little to chance and accident as possible. Magazines should,

upon the common principles of war, be formed in the rear. From the present position of the enemy and that of our army, our principal magazines should be at Salisbury, Oliphant's Mill upon the Catawba, and several small ones upon the east side of the Pedee, as high up towards the narrows as possible, that the position of this army may cover them. As transportation is a difficult business and very expensive, I should not recommend forming large magazines of beef, but putting up a large number of cattle to stall-feed. I would salt down as much pork as can be obtained, and have it deposited at places as favorable for water transportation as possible. For it is very seldom that an army is well supplied unless it is furnished by a water communication from the remote magazines. At this place there should be about a month's provision laid in. To have a larger stock in our present weak state, while the enemy are receiving large reinforcements, will not be prudent, nor will it do to trust altogether to supplies to be drawn from distant magazines. This place appears to be the most favorable for opposing the enemy's penetrating the country this way, and for checking their advances upon the lower route unless it is quite upon the sea-coast, for I cannot persuade myself that they will venture to cross the country below, and hazard their line of communication while we remain in a situation for piercing their flank and interrupting their supplies. However I am more afraid they will carry on a war of posts, than make long and sudden marches into the country. Should this be their plan, as I am persuaded it will, from its being evidently their interest and agreeable to their former mode, and if their collective strength is much superior to ours, they can establish a post almost where they please, and by laying in a large stock of provision can easily hold them. For we have no heavy cannon to dislodge them, nor have we strength enough to set ourselves down before a work with security, or confidence of obliging a garrison to surrender. And the idea of storming works, which many speak of with as much familiarity and confidence as they would talk of gathering a basket of fruit, unless it can be effected by surprise, affords but a poor prospect of success. Nor would a post be an object unless we had a force sufficient to hold it after possessing ourselves of it. And to make an attempt and not to succeed, will bring not only disgrace, but will be attended with the loss of our best troops, besides which, while so much depends upon the opinion of the

people both as to men and money, as little should be put to the hazard as possible. Neither the army nor the country want enterprise, and if both are employed in the partisan way until we have a more competent force to appear before the enemy with confidence, happily we may regain all our losses. But if we put things to the hazard in our infant state, before we have gathered sufficient strength to act with spirit and activity, and meet a second misfortune, all may be lost, and the tide of sentiment among the people turn against you, which will put everything afloat in this State, and even endanger its political existence. The people of South Carolina had no idea of the fall of Charleston's producing such serious consequences to their State, nor can you tell what an unfortunate stroke may produce in this. The King of Prussia advises in a defensive war to attend to great objects and submit to particular evils. I recommend moving all the salt and public stores for the use of the army, now upon the sea-side, into the interior country. Salt is such a capital article, that not a moment should be lost in putting it in motion. The enemy are sensible of its importance to us as we are, and as they know it will affect us greatly in the present state of our money, may think it an object to strike at, and the loss of it generally would give us a deadly wound if not a fatal stab. It is my desire that the honorable the Board of War should be with the army or in its neighborhood, and I conceive it indispensably necessary, while the army is so scantily supplied, and the whole executive power rests with them. There should be no less than five thousand barrels of flour and five of Indian meal laid up in the different magazines in this State, and there should also be five or six thousand barrels of salted provisions, principally pork, if possible, and not less than three thousand head of cattle put up to stall-feed, to be driven to the army for slaughter as they may be wanted from time to time. Several hundred hog-heads of spirits will be indispensably necessary, especially if there should be active operations this winter. I would beg leave to propose registering all the wagons and carts in each county and district, and appointing a person to call out such numbers as the service may require either to serve with the army or upon the communications, on the application of the staff officers in the Quartermaster-general's department. Nothing on my part shall be wanting to render this country every service in my power, and though I may not

agree with the people at all times with respect to the mode of conducting the war, they may be assured I have their true interest at heart. I hope and expect the honorable the Board will give me all the aid and assistance in their power, without which recourse must be had to obtain the means of subsistence, not less distressing to the inhabitants than destructive to the discipline and good government of the army.

GENERAL GREENE TO GOVERNOR NASH.

CHARLOTTE, *December 6, 1780.*

SIR, — I wrote your Excellency from General Parsons on my way to camp, which I hope you have received. On my arrival here I find nothing but the shadow of an army in the midst of distress. War is a precarious business where every precaution is taken and subject to great and sudden change. Nothing therefore should be left to chance but what cannot be avoided. In all governments much depends upon opinion, but more in this than almost any other, from circumstances of the currency and the division of sentiment amongst the inhabitants. The liberties of the people are a great object, and the security of their property little less so. I persuade myself therefore, if the inhabitants are rightly informed they cannot be averse to taking such measures and submitting to those inconveniences which are best calculated for their final security, especially as many have already felt the ravaging hand of war. It don't admit of doubt but that the enemy means to prosecute offensive operations against this State. The only matter of uncertainty is the force to be employed and the particular places of destination. Part of the troops said to be embarking at New York, mentioned in my former letter, have arrived at Charleston, and the rest cannot be far distant. The small force which we have in the field is very incompetent to give protection to this State, nor would a large body of militia remedy the evil, as our difficulties in the articles of provision and forage are not less than the want of men, and these evils must constantly increase so long as the war is carried on by the militia of the country. It requires more than double the number of militia to be kept in the field, attended with infinitely more waste and expense than would be necessary to give full security to the country with a regular and permanent army; add to these obstructions to business and the distress it spreads among the inhabitants at large,

and no one who has the true interest of his country at heart can hesitate about the propriety of filling the Continental battalions agreeable to the late requisitions of Congress, which I wish may take place immediately, and if it can be effected by draft, as I am persuaded it can, it would damp the enemy's hopes more than ten victories. It appears to me, the misfortunes which have attended this quarter have been owing to the commanding officers putting too much to the hazard, and this I fear with a view of complying with the wishes and impatience of the inhabitants. By trying to save too much we often lose all. It is natural for people who are afflicted with the calamities of war to wish to make a great effort to remove the evil, but ill-judged exertions only serve to fix the chains so much the faster. It is my wish and it shall be my endeavor to render this State every service in my power, and I hope every aid and support will be given me necessary to crown my exertions with success. I may not always agree with the people respecting the manner of conducting the war, but they may be assured I have their true interest at heart. The King of Prussia says in defending a country you must attend to great objects and submit to partial evils.

It is natural for an army in distress to lose its discipline and invade the rights and property of the citizens, nor is it possible in many cases to avoid it without driving to desperation. Soldiers feel like other men, and their miseries should not be insulted if they cannot be remedied. Many affect to express their apprehensions of the ambitious views of an army. Nothing can be more idle. For what can be effected by an army when left to itself, which can scarcely be subsisted by all the powers of government? It is my wish to pay the most sacred regard to the laws and Constitution of the State, but the emergencies of war are often so pressing that it becomes necessary to invade the rights of the citizen to prevent public calamities. The occasion must always give justification to the measure, and few but the captious will cavil at the matter. This is often what we are drove to at the northward, and the Commander-in-chief never hesitates to take what is necessary for the support of the army; at the same time we consider it as a great misfortune to be reduced to this necessity, for nothing is more destructive to the discipline and good government of an army; and for this reason I could wish that the State would take measures for giving us the most effectual support. Every possible severity shall be

exercised to preserve the property of the people from unjust invasions. Many may think that war can be accommodated to civil convenience, but he who undertakes to conduct it upon this principle will soon sacrifice the people he means to protect. I am really apprehensive for the salt and other public property upon the seaboard. It is an object of so much importance to us, that I think no time should be lost in removing it in the interior country, and wish your Excellency to press the matter as I have done upon the Board of War. I have appointed Colonel Carrington Deputy Quartermaster-general for the southern army, and am to request that your Excellency will comply with all his requisitions in the line of his department as fully as if made by myself. I shall be happy to hear when and where the Assembly is to sit, that I may prepare my requisitions to lay before them at the first of their meeting.

GENERAL GREENE TO GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

CHARLOTTE, *December 6, 1780.*

SIR, — I arrived at this place on the 2d instant, to which place General Gates had advanced with the army some days before I overtook him.

I find the troops under his command in a wretched condition, destitute of anything necessary either to the comfort or convenience of soldiers. It is impossible that men can render any service, if they are ever so well disposed, whilst they are starving with cold and hunger. Your troops may literally be said to be naked, and I shall be obliged to send a considerable number of them away into some secure place and warm quarters, until they can be furnished with clothing. It will answer no good purpose to send men here in such a condition, for they are nothing but added weight upon the army and altogether incapable of aiding in its operations. There must be either pride or principle to make a soldier. No man will think himself bound to fight the battles of a State that leaves him to perish for want of covering; nor can you inspire a soldier with the sentiment of pride whilst his situation renders him more an object of pity than envy. The life of a soldier in its best state is subject to innumerable hardships, but where they are aggravated by a want of provision and clothing his condition becomes intolerable, nor can men long contend with such complicated difficulties and distress, — deaths, desertion, and the hospital must soon

swallow up an army under such circumstances, and were it possible for them to maintain such a wretched existence, they could have no spirit to face their enemies, and would inevitably disgrace themselves and him who commanded them. It is impracticable to preserve discipline when troops are in want of everything, and to attempt severity will only thin the ranks by a more hasty desertion. The article of clothing is but a small part of the expense in raising, equipping, and subsisting an army, and yet on this alone the whole benefit of their service depends. I wish the State to view this matter in its true point of light; some may think it is urged for the sake of military parade, but be assured you raise men in vain unless you clothe, arm, and equip them properly for the field. I should not dwell upon this subject did I not foresee the misfortune that must follow the neglect of it. The States may seem to derive a credit from having numbers in the field, however wretched their condition, but a general with such troops can give no protection to a country. This policy may serve to disgrace an officer, but can never promote the public interest. I see by the Charleston papers, a large reinforcement is coming from New York, and part of it has already arrived. There can be no doubt but that Lord Cornwallis will push his operations this winter, and the utmost exertion on the part of the States is necessary to counteract him. I hope your Excellency, therefore, will press the Assembly to give the most speedy and effectual support to this army. We have no magazines of provisions in this State, but depend upon daily collections for support, and the State has been so ravaged by the numerous militia that have been in the field, that it is a doubt with me whether with the greatest industry and best disposition, any considerable magazines can be formed. I have parties now exploring the rivers Dan, Yadkin, and Catawba, and am not without hopes of finding them navigable with batteaux, which will enable us to transport from the Roanoke to this place, and even within thirty miles of Charleston, with only fifty or sixty miles land transportation. If this plan succeeds, I am in great hopes of receiving very considerable supplies from Virginia, but without it little is to be expected, so great is the distance and so heavy the business of land transportation. This State, from the difficulty of subsisting the regular troops, have postponed calling out their militia until a more pressing moment. This must convince your Excellency of the necessity of sending only such troops here as are fit for actual

duty, as all others will rather distress than promote the service. I inclose your Excellency an account of General Sumter's last affair with the enemy, and Colonel Washington's success, who by stratagem, took Colonel Rugely and his party. I hope these little flashes of success will not relax the exertions of the State to give us support. I have appointed Lieutenant-colonel Carrington, Deputy Quartermaster-general for the southern army, and must beg your Excellency to give him all the aid and assistance from your State which the circumstances of the service may render it necessary to call upon you for, in the different duties of his department, as fully and amply as if I was to make the requisition myself. I have heard nothing respecting the enemy under General Leslie since I left Petersburg, at which place I heard they had returned and landed again at Portsmouth.

GENERAL GREENE TO GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

CAMP NEAR THE CROSS-ROADS BETWEEN
BROAD RIVER AND THE CATAWBA, *June 27, 1781.*

SIR, — The tardiness and finally the countermanding the militia ordered to join this army, has been attended with the most mortifying and disagreeable consequences. Had they taken the field in time and in force, we should have completed the reduction of all the enemy's outposts in this country, and for want of which we have been obliged to raise the siege of Ninety-six, after having the town closely besieged for upwards of twenty days, and when four more would have completed its reduction. For want of the militia, the approaches went on slow, and the siege was rendered bloody and tedious. My force has been unequal to the operations we had before us, but necessity obliged me to persevere, though under every disadvantage, and we should have been finally successful, had not the enemy received a large reinforcement at Charleston, generally agreed to amount to two thousand men, which enabled them to march out and raise the siege. The place might have been taken ten days sooner if our force had been equal to the labor necessary to its reduction. Every post the enemy held either in South Carolina or Georgia, have been either reduced or evacuated except Charleston, Savannah, and Ninety-six, and our success would have been complete had our force been equal to the plan. However, I hope the operations this way will be accompanied with many advantages. Certain it is, the enemy were about to detach from this

quarter to Lord Cornwallis, a greater force than we have had operating here. The reduction of their posts, destruction of their stores, their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, together with the increase of our friends and the decline of theirs, are matters highly injurious to the enemy's interest, and favorable for ours, and the operations would have been rendered still more so, had the militia come forward agreeable to my application and your first order.

The high respect which I ever wish to pay to the prerogatives of every State, induces me to question with all due deference, the propriety of your Excellency's order for countermanding the militia which were directed to join this army. No general plan can ever be undertaken with safety, when partial orders may interrupt its progress. Nor is it just to the common interest that local motives should influence measures for the benefit of a part, to the prejudice of the whole. I conceive it to be the prerogative of a governor to order the force belonging to a State as he may think necessary for the protection of its inhabitants. But those that are ordered out upon the Continental establishment, are only subject to the orders of their officers. Without this just and necessary distinction, there would be endless confusion and ruinous disappointments. I only mention these things to avoid a misunderstanding in future. I have no wish for command further than the interest and happiness of the people are concerned, and I hope everybody is convinced of this, from my zeal to promote the common safety of the good people of these southern States.

I feel for the sufferings of Virginia, and if I had been supported here in time, I should have been there before this, with a great part of our cavalry. But though I have not had it in my power to join the army, I hope your Legislature are convinced that I have left nothing unattempted in my power to afford you all possible protection. You may remember, in some of my former letters, that I had solicited the Commander-in-chief for the return of the Marquis with his detachment to the southward, from a persuasion you would be oppressed, and I have great reasons to believe it had the desired effect. The moment I got intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was moving northerly, I gave orders for the Marquis to halt and take the command in Virginia, and to halt the Pennsylvania line, and all the Virginia drafts. With this force, aided by the militia, I was in hopes the Marquis would have been able to have kept the enemy from

overrunning the State. The importance of cavalry, and the consequences that might follow the want of it, your Excellency will do me the justice to say, I early and earnestly endeavored to impress upon your Legislature, and they must blame themselves if they experience any extraordinary calamities. You would have been in a tolerable situation had your cavalry been sufficiently augmented, and the last reinforcement from New York had not arrived. This gave the enemy such a decided superiority, that there appears nothing left but to avoid a misfortune until reinforcements can be got from the northward. I have the highest opinion of the Marquis's abilities and zeal, and flatter myself that nothing will be left unattempted to give all the protection to the States that his force will admit. Your militia are numerous and formidable, and I hope if General Morgan is out with them, they will be useful.

Though Virginia is oppressed, she is not a frontier State to the southward, which would have been the case had I not moved this way ; and all the force in North and South Carolina and Georgia, would have been lost, besides the disagreeable impression it would have made upon the northerly States to see those to the southward overrun. To divide the enemy's force as much as possible, I have ever considered as favorable to our purposes, as it enables us to employ a greater body of militia and to more advantage.

My heart is with you, and I only lament that the cross incidents in this quarter, have prevented hitherto my pursuing my inclinations that way.

APPENDIX II.

ADDRESS TO GENERAL GREENE.

CAMP, SOUTHERN ARMY.

HIGH HILLS, SANTEE, *August 20, 1781.*

The subscribers, commissioned officers serving in the Southern Army, beg leave to represent to the Honorable Major-general Greene, That they are informed, not only by current reports, but by official and acknowledged authority, that, contrary to express stipulations in the capitulation of Charleston, signed the 12th day of May, 1780, a number of very respectable inhabitants of that town and others, were confined on board prison-ships, and sent to St. Augustine and other places distant from their homes, families, and friends. That notwithstanding the general cartel settled for exchange of prisoners in the Southern Department, and agreed to the 3d day of May last, several officers of militia and other gentlemen, subjects of the United States, have been, and still are detained in captivity.

That the commanding officer of the British forces in Charleston, regardless of the principles and even of the existence of the said cartel, hath not only presumed to discriminate between the militia, and other subjects of the United States, prisoners of war, partially determining who were, and who were not, objects of exchange, but hath even dared to execute, in the most ignominious manner, Colonel Haynes of the militia of the State of South Carolina, a gentleman amiable in his character, respectable in his connections, and of eminent abilities; and this violent act, as cruel as it was unnecessary and unjust, we are informed, is attempted to be justified by the imputed crime of treason, founded upon the unfortunate sufferer's having, in circumstances peculiarly distressing, accepted what is called a protection from the British government.

If every inhabitant of this country, who, being bound by the tender ties of family connections, and fettered by domestic em-

barrassments, is forced to submit to the misfortune of falling into the hands of the enemy, must therefore become subject to such inhuman authority, and if such subjects are liable to be tried by martial law, for offenses against the civil government of the British nation, their situation is truly deplorable. But we conceive, forms of protection that are granted one day, and retracted, violated, disclaimed or deserted the next, can enjoin no such condition or obligation upon persons who accept them. We consider the citizens of the United States of America as independent of the government of Great Britain, as those of Great Britain are of the United States, or of any other sovereign power; and think it just, that indulgences and severities to prisoners of war, ought to be reciprocal. We, therefore, with submission, beg leave to recommend that a strict inquiry be made into the several things mentioned, and if ascertained, that you will be pleased to retaliate in the most effectual manner, by a similar treatment of British subjects, which are, or may be, in your power.

Permit us to add, that while we seriously lament the necessity of such a severe expedient, and commiserate the sufferings to which individuals will necessarily be exposed, we are not unmindful that such a measure may, in its consequences, involve our own lives in additional dangers; but we had rather forego temporary distinctions, and commit ourselves to the most desperate situations, than prosecute this just and necessary war upon terms so unequal and so dishonorable.

APPENDIX III.

I.

BANKS'S CARD.

WHATEVER opinions prevail with the public either from misconstruction or misrepresentation, operating to the prejudice of an individual, have ever been thought a sufficient apology for giving a state of facts, as an appeal to the people. I should feel less solicitude if I stood alone in this matter; but as my letter, lately opened by General Scott in Virginia, has given grounds of suspicion to the prejudice of others, I feel an obligation to give a full history of the transactions mentioned in that letter.

Some few weeks before the evacuation of Charleston took place (but then hourly expected), I was at Georgetown on business, when I was informed the Governor and Council of South Carolina, from the deplorable situation that the inhabitants and their negroes were in for want of clothing, and the impossibility of getting any before winter came on, but in this way, had granted permission to a number of the British merchants, with their property, to remain six months in Charleston after the evacuation. Persuaded that goods would immediately rise after this event, from the increasing demand, and that any contracts made before, to take place after the evacuation, was not counteracting either the views or wishes of the State, I determined to become a purchaser; for this purpose I obtained a flag from Colonel Lushington, who commanded the militia at the post of Georgetown; and with this flag I went into Charleston and made some purchases, to take effect after the enemy were gone.

While there, I was taken very sick, and detained much longer than I expected. After I recovered, in some measure, from my indisposition, I obtained a flag from General

Leslie, through the interest of the British merchants, to visit some of my friends in our army, which lay between sixteen and eighteen miles from town, and to return into the garrison again, a privilege at that time granted to no others, and is the same expressed in my letter opened by General Scott.

On my arrival at camp I was introduced to General Greene, who asked me many questions respecting the garrison, and, among other things, the practicability of purchasing clothing for the army. I told him, that it was not only practicable, but that if the goods were engaged before the enemy were gone, and before the country demands come on, they might be had on much better terms, of the same people, that they would afterwards, and offered my services in the business. The General closed with my offers, and advanced me eleven hundred guineas, and gave me a set of bills on the honorable Robert Morris, Esq., for eight thousand dollars, to secure the clothing; and those are the bills forwarded by Captain Shelton. I procured the clothing, and have negotiated the whole business with Captain Hamilton, clothier to the army.

That I proposed a profit in this business, I readily agree; but I flatter myself, when the risk and mode of payment I am to make for the goods purchased are compared with those I am to receive, it will be found that I have not only dealt justly, but generously with the public, in the supplies of the army.

Before my return to Charleston, in conversation with the General, on the commerce of this country, he told me Major Burnet had thoughts of leaving the army, and going into trade after the evacuation; and that if he should, as he had been long in his family, and as he felt a friendship for him, should be much obliged to me for such services as I might have it in my power to afford him. It was from this conversation, I took the liberty of hinting to my partner the probability of the General's taking a concern with us, not considering his peculiar situation, and how dangerous a measure of this kind would prove to public confidence.

During my stay in camp I had several conversations with Major Burnet, relative to his future plans and prospects; and finding his genius formed for business, I offered him a concern in the house I proposed to establish in Charleston after the enemy were gone, which he consented to engage in, provided his friends to the northward concurred in the measure, and

approved of his leaving the army; and it was on this principle, I understood he wished his name kept secret, until he had succeeded, and settled the matter with his friends, as well as the conditions of retiring, with the Secretary at War.

My conduct was known to the governor and council of this State; and if I had exceeded the limits of propriety, or taken an improper latitude, I should not have escaped their censure or punishment. My views were mercantile — upon just principles, — and have contributed not to my own emolument alone, but also to the convenience of the inhabitants, as well as accommodation of the army.

I am only sorry in this whole business, that I took an improper liberty with General Greene's name, but cannot suppose that an idle surmise can affect a reputation so permanently established; especially, as I have already published to the world, under the solemnity of an oath, that he neither has, or ever had, any commercial connection with me, of a private nature, or intimated a wish or desire of the kind; and also, that he never granted me a flag in his life, or any other privilege or indulgence, for commercial purposes; I say, when these facts are known, I flatter myself every imputation, both with respect to the General and myself, will be removed.

JOHN BANKS.

II.

WAYNE AND CARRINGTON'S CARD.

IT cannot be supposed that a character, stamped with so many marks of public integrity as General Greene's, will receive an injury in the minds of generous men, from the incautious expressions of a private letter, communicating to a friend the surmises of the writer; nor would it be thought necessary to regard the opinions of those of another cast, did the General stand in a private capacity alone; but as it is the duty of public characters to preserve the full confidence of all orders of people, so it is requisite that, whenever any circumstance shall happen, admitting of constructions and interpretations, which may tend to impair the general confidence, such explanations be immediately made as to remove every possible ground for suspicion.

Upon these considerations, General Greene, having received from Governor Harrison copies of letters wrote by Mr. John Banks to Mr. James Hunter, which had been opened by Gen-

eral Scott, wherein the writer had mentioned, that he had reason to think the General had some thoughts of proposing a connection with him in a house to be set up in Charleston, after the evacuation of that place, immediately called on Mr. Banks, and laying the letters before him, in our presence, requested we would hear his explanation of the grounds on which he had taken up such an opinion; from which it fully appeared to have arisen in mere conjecture, from the General's having taken on opportunity to recommend Major Burnet, who had long been in his family, and had some views of quitting the service to go into business. And as the letters also mentioned some indulgences of flags, and advancements by the General to Banks of moneys, and bills on the Superintendent of Finance, which, under the impressions of a private connection, might undergo some misconstructions as to their objects, the General requests us to investigate those points.

As to flags, it appears that Mr. Banks never obtained any from General Greene; and what is said in the letters on that subject, alludes altogether to those obtained from the British general to come out of town.

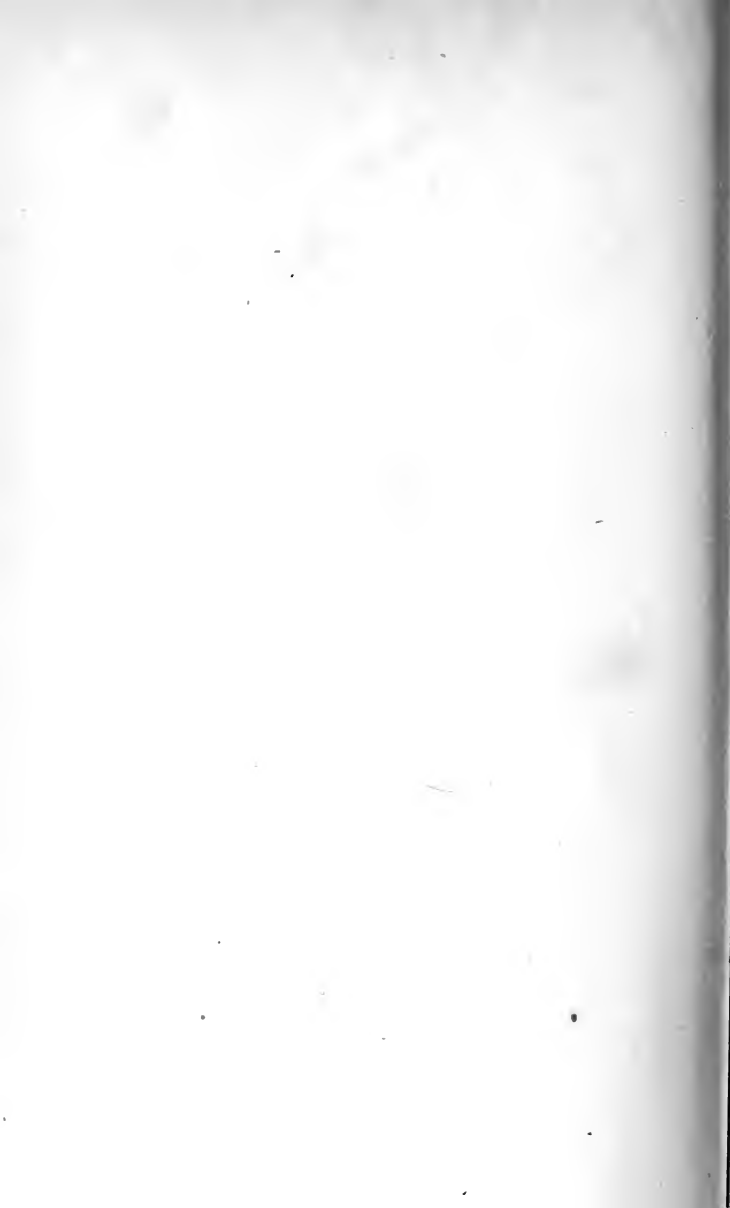
As to the advancement of moneys, and the bills on the Superintendent of Finance, the General, for our information, laid before us the whole papers relative to them; from which we find that the Secretary at War, early in the fall, apprehending the evacuation of Charleston to be near at hand, requested him to take measures for procuring from thence clothing for the army, by drafts on the Superintendent of Finance; that those advancements of eleven hundred guineas, and eight thousand dollars in bills, were made to Mr. Banks for that purpose, at an early period, on account, for procuring the clothing on the most advantageous terms; that due notice of the bills was given to the Secretary at War, with a full state of the steps taken for accomplishing that object; that he fully approved of them, and thanked the General in the warmest terms for his prudent attention to the business, informing him at the same time that the Superintendent of Finance was perfectly satisfied with the drafts, and was ready to take them up. We are happy in being able to add to this state of affairs, that, in consequence of these measures, the southern army is now better clothed than we have ever seen any American troops since the beginning of the war.

What we have said on this subject, together with Mr.

Banks's candid and full narrative, will, no doubt, remove every impression those letters may have occasioned to the injury of General Greene, to whom it must be mortifying to have his conduct made a subject of public discussion, from a transaction which had the public good, and the relief of the suffering soldiers for its objects ; nor can this explanation be necessary to support his reputation, unless the people have lost all sense of a generous confidence, which would too strongly mark a general corruption ; but as private jealousy saps public confidence, we think this explanation may be of public utility.

ANTHONY WAYNE,
EDWARD CARRINGTON.

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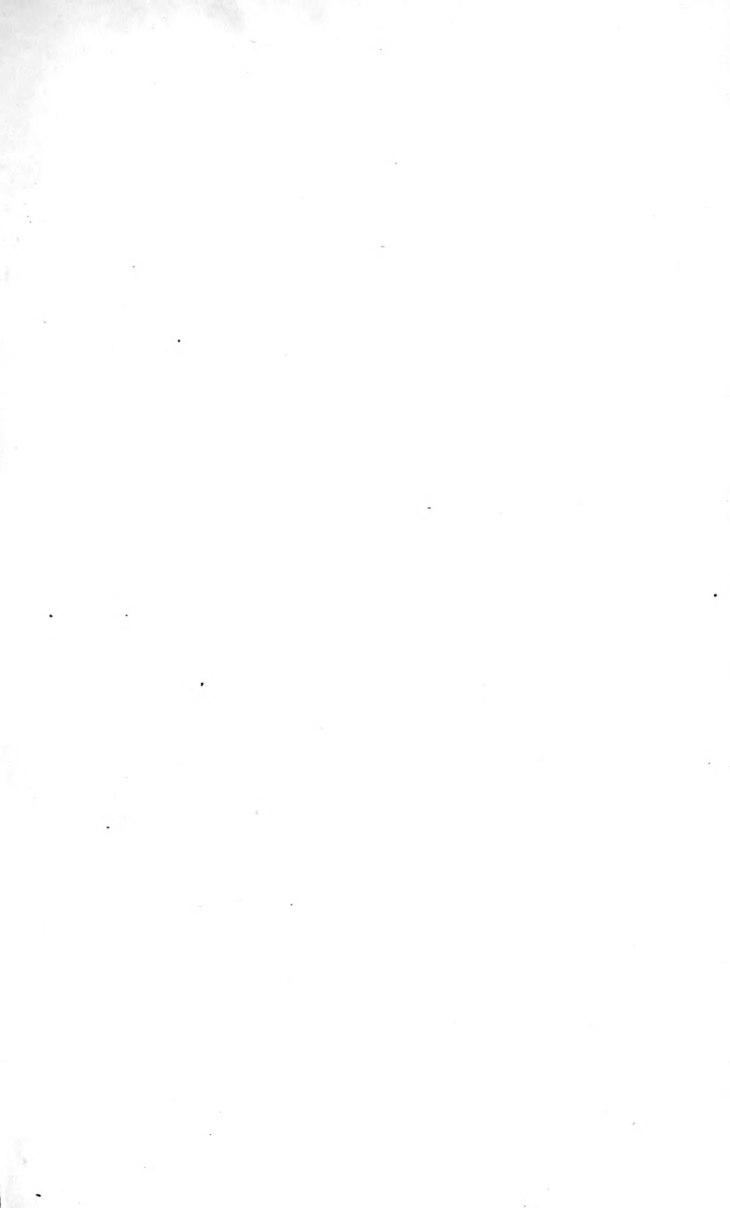
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